

Concepts of non-indigenous animals in ancient Egypt

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ABSTRACT (GERMAN)

Tiere findet man in nahezu allen Aspekten der altägyptischen Gesellschaft. Unabhängig von ihrer Funktion, als Ressource für Nahrung, Kleidung und Werkzeug zu dienen, kommt ihnen eine bedeutende Rolle im ideologischen und religiösen Kontext zu. Hierbei handelt es sich nicht nur um heimische Tiere, die das Niltal bewohnten, sondern auch um nicht-heimische Tiere aus den angrenzenden Wüsten- und Fremdregionen und dem Ausland.

Die Gründe für die Inklusion und Konzeptualisierung dieser nicht-heimischen Tiere sind vielfältig: Ihre Herkunft und der fremde Lebensraum, ihr Verhalten und ihre Erscheinung, ihre Funktion sowie Tradition und Familiarität sind bedeutende Aspekte. Mehrere Konzepte dieser Untersuchung lassen sich zudem überschneidend analysieren und bewerten, denn häufig rücken Tiere aufgrund ihrer zu kombinierenden Charakteristiken und Bedeutungen gleichzeitig in den Vordergrund. Wenn heimischen und nicht-heimischen Tieren selbe Eigenschaften zugesprochen werden, fungieren sie oftmals synonymhaft um ein Konzept auszudrücken. Demnach symbolisieren starke und aggressive Tiere Ideen von Chaos und Ordnung, während vertraute Tiere Sinnbilder veranschaulichen und essbare Tiere im Kontext von Opferritualen zu finden sind.

Nicht-heimische Tiere lassen sich in vier übergeordnete Konzepte zusammenfassen: Chaos und Wildheit, Ordnung und Macht, Übergang und Regeneration, Wohlstand und Prestige.

Wichtig hierbei ist, dass diese Konzepte nicht nur den nicht-heimischen Tieren zugeordnet werden, auch heimische Tiere gelten als chaotisch, wild, feindselig, mächtig, prestigeträchtig, wertvoll und symbolisieren Elemente und Ideen der Ordnung, des Übergangs und der Regeneration.

Des Weiteren finden sich nicht-heimische Tiere oft in ägyptischer Umgebung. Dort treten sie neben heimischen Tieren in Erscheinung, wirken vertraut und geläufig. Wüstentiere zum Beispiel sind häufig zwischen Hausrindern in Szenen von Opferritualen, Registrierungen und Inspektionen abgebildet oder Affen fungieren wie Hunde und Katzen als Haustiere.

Die Integration nicht-heimischer Tiere in den Ausdruck eines Konzeptes erscheint folglich unnötig, dennoch verkörpern sie einen gewissen zusätzlichen Wert und ihre Funktion ist nicht vollständig mit heimischen Tieren gleichzustellen. Erwiesenermaßen sind alle untersuchten

nicht-heimischen Tiere immer noch selten und ungewöhnlich, obwohl die Quellen manchmal dazu tendieren das Gegenteil zu demonstrieren. Hinzu kommt, dass es nicht notwendig war, das Jagen und den Import von nicht-heimischen Tieren im Zusammenhang einer ökonomischen Relevanz bzw. einer Überlebenssicherung zu betrachten.

Anders als die Darstellung heimischer Tiere kann die Darstellung nicht-heimischer Tiere als die Versinnbildlichung oder Symbolik einer fremden Region verstanden werden oder den fremden Kontext einer Situation betonen. Zudem werden sie in Konzepte integriert, weil sie eine wahrnehmbare Andersartigkeit aufweisen, die auf ihrer fremden Herkunft basiert. Diese Tiere sind im Besonderen dann wichtig, wenn die Dichotomie zwischen Ägypten und dem fremden „Anderen“ betont werden soll. Je nach Kontext wird dieses Fremde bzw. diese Andersartigkeit positiv oder negativ bewertet. Fremde Orte und ihre tierischen Bewohner dienen darüber hinaus als Quelle der Inspiration für Vorstellungen des Jenseits, zum Beispiel für Vorstellungen von liminalen Zonen und liminalen Wesen. Fremde Orte und das Jenseits werden gleichzeitig als bekannt und unbekannt sowie gewohnt und ungewohnt wahrgenommen und sind an der Schwelle des Wissens und des menschlichen Seins situiert. Folglich überschneidet sich die Vorstellung von realen fremden Regionen mit der Vorstellung von imaginären Orten.

Die Kombination verschiedener Charakteristiken als auch Konzepte erklärt somit oftmals die Anwesenheit eines nicht-heimischen Tieres und maximiert seine Wirksamkeit.

1. INTRODUCTION

Animals are found in virtually all aspects of ancient Egyptian society. Besides a practical function, such as a source of food, clothing, and materials, they also played an important role in ideological and religious beliefs. These animals not only include the ones that lived in the Nile Valley, but also the non-indigenous fauna inhabiting the adjacent desert regions, and animals that had to be imported from further away located foreign regions and countries.

1.1 Aim

The main aim of this study is to reveal and provide a comprehensive overview of the abstract concepts that are related to the animals that are considered non-indigenous to ancient Egypt. Furthermore, the main reasons for these conceptualisations, as well as constant and changing elements are discussed. As such, the various functions and meanings of specific animals or animal groups are considered, compared, and analysed. In this respect, the importance of the non-indigenous origin of the animals is also discussed, as well as the conceptual differences between non-indigenous and indigenous animals.

The timespan primarily encompasses the pharaonic era, with the end of the New Kingdom as the latest included period. However, Pre- and Early Dynastic sources are also included, because (groups of) non-indigenous animals are frequently found in and on the material record of these periods.¹ The inclusion, function and importance of several of the animals in the pharaonic period can at least partially be explained by continuity and tradition, for example the link between the falcon, (wild) bull and lion with kingship.²

Chapter 2 starts with a compilation of background information on various topics upon which the analysis in the subsequent chapters is based. In the chapters that follow, each of the four most important concepts will be discussed (chapter 3-6). These chapters focus on the concepts of chaos and wildness, order and power, transition and regeneration, and power and prestige. The instances and contexts in which these concepts become evident are combined, discussed, and explained. Various smaller chapters follow, in which the importance of numerous animal characteristics, such as their non-indigenous origin, behaviour, and appearance is discussed in greater detail (chapter 7-8). Additionally, attention is paid to the occurrence of individual

¹ This means that the period between ca 3900-1070 BC (Naqada I – End of the New Kingdom) has been covered.

² Hendrickx & Eyckerman, 2012: p. 64; Wilkinson, 2000: p. 27-28.

animals, as well as the individual contexts and settings in which non-indigenous animals occur most frequently, namely the desert hunt scenes, various types of animal rows, religion, and figurative expressions (chapter 9). Lastly, a ‘conceptual conclusion’ discusses the importance and added value of non-indigenous animals in general and as opposed to indigenous animals (chapter 10).

1.2. Sources

The used materials consist of a combination of (zoo)archaeological, iconographic, and textual sources. Another important source is found in the already existing literature on the various sub-categories that are relevant to the topic of this thesis. The focus of this thesis lies indeed on the occurrence and function of non-indigenous animals, but in order to understand the role and meaning of these animals, it is important to look at and compare them with the indigenous animals as well. Considering the immense number and diversity of sources, the secondary literature has been used as a vantage point for locating many of the primary sources. This approach will be discussed in further detail in paragraphs 1.3 and 1.4.

The archaeological record involves zooarchaeological remains in the form of animal bones, ivory, horns, antlers and skin. A focus lies on the various sites where animal remains have been found in a settlement or offering context,³ but also on individual animals that occur in a funerary setting. Compared to the material record, zooarchaeological remains from non-indigenous animals are very limited in number. Additionally, three-dimensional representations of non-indigenous animals are found in the form of figurines and statues, or as decorative elements on various kinds of objects.

The majority of the source material consists of two dimensional iconographic and textual sources that depict or mention non-indigenous animals. For the Predynastic and Early Dynastic period, the focus lies on groups of animals that are found on C-ware and D-ware pottery,

³ Linseele & Van Neer (2009), for example, provide an overview of 17 Neolithic and Predynastic (settlement) sites (p. 58-59, Tab. 3) and 16 Dynastic sites (p. 66-67, Tab. 5) in the Nile Valley where remains of non-indigenous animals have been found.

decorated ivories and palettes. These animals are often found in a hunting scene⁴ or are part of an animal row.⁵

In the Dynastic period, non-indigenous animals frequently occur on tomb and temple walls, but also on smaller objects, such as scarabs and ostraca. Again, these animals are often found in desert hunt scenes.⁶ Non-indigenous animals also frequently occur in offering scenes and settings, especially in the Old Kingdom period.⁷ During the New Kingdom period, these animals are regularly found in tribute scenes.⁸

Additionally, non-indigenous animals are mentioned in various types of textual sources. These sources include religious, literary, and ‘historical’ and autobiographical texts. The religious texts primarily include fragments from the Old Kingdom PYRAMID TEXTS,⁹ the Middle Kingdom COFFIN TEXTS,¹⁰ and several ‘books’ from the New Kingdom, most importantly the BOOK OF THE DEAD,¹¹ but also the AMDUAT,¹² BOOK OF DAY,¹³ BOOK OF NIGHT,¹⁴ BOOK OF GATES,¹⁵ as well as liturgical texts such as the KING AS SUN-PRIEST.¹⁶ The literary texts are mainly (but not exclusively) dated to the New Kingdom period and many of them are bundled in the Late-Egyptian Miscellanies¹⁷ and Late-Egyptian Stories.¹⁸ A great amount of the historical and autobiographical texts and inscription are published in *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*¹⁹ and *Kitchen Ramesside Inscriptions*.²⁰ These sources also include non-indigenous animals that

⁴ Graff (2009: p. 31-32) has listed 41 Predynastic vessels that depict a hunting scene. The majority of these scenes occur on the C-Ware pottery; Hendrickx et al. (2016: p. 508-510: Tab. 1; p. 512: Tab. 2) presents a list of 26 Late Predynastic palettes with animal decoration.

⁵ Graff (2009: p. 87) has listed 61 Predynastic vessels (C-Ware and D-Ware pottery) with a ‘*scène animalière de présentation*’; Raffaele (2010: p. 281, fig. 1) presents a list of 10 Late Predynastic knife handles and other objects with animal rows.

⁶ Decker & Herb (1994: I, p. 292-352; II, Taf. CXXX-CLXXXV) describes and depicts 132 desert hunt scenes.

⁷ The subtheme ‘Procession of desert cattle (Prd)’ is found 114 times in MastaBase (Van Walsem, 2008); Herb & Förster (2009: p. 26 & Tab.1) mention 208 programmes that contain ‘desert animals’ in the Old and Middle Kingdom period.

⁸ Non-indigenous animals are depicted 25 times in the temples and tombs of the New Kingdom period (see p. 335; table 6).

⁹ PT: Allen, 2013.

¹⁰ CT: De Buck, 1935-1961.

¹¹ BD: e.g. Quircke, 2013; Lapp, 2004; TLA; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn: <http://www.totenbuch-projekt.uni-bonn.de>.

¹² Hornung, 1963; Hornung, 1987.

¹³ Müller-Roth, 2008; Piankoff, 1954.

¹⁴ Piankoff, 1954; Roulin 1996.

¹⁵ Hornung, 2014.

¹⁶ Assmann, 1970.

¹⁷ LEM: Gardiner, 1937.

¹⁸ LES: Gardiner, 1932.

¹⁹ Urk: Sethe, 1932-1933; Sethe, 1906-1909; Helck, 1955-1958.

²⁰ KRI: Kitchen, 1975-1983.

occur in figurative language, which reached its peak in the Ramesside Period. The transliterations and translations of many of these texts are available online at the Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae (TLA)²¹ as well, and this database has also been used to search for specific occurrences of the investigated animals.

1.3. Terminology and methodology

In modern research, there is no general consensus on the actual meaning of the term ‘non-indigenous’ or ‘non-indigenous species’. Different study fields, one can think about (conservational) biology, ecology, or sociology, use distinct definitions. These definitions focus on several aspects, such as human introduction, geographical zones, ecological zones, and cultural relations.²²

It is also important to be aware of the difference between our modern interpretation of the country of Egypt and the ancient Egyptian view. Roughly speaking, the ancient Egyptians only considered the Nile Valley and Delta as their country, while from our modern point of view the Eastern and Western Desert, as well as the Sinai region should also be included. However, although these desert regions were not part of geographical Egypt, they did belong to Egypt’s sphere of influence from a political point of view. To make matters less complicated, the animals that are considered ‘non-indigenous’ in this study are the ones that do not have their natural habitat in the human settlement and cultivation area of the Nile region and Delta. These include the ‘desert’ animals that were more or less locally available, the wild animals that were introduced into Egypt by foreign cultures, and the domesticated animals that were introduced into Egypt by foreign cultures.

The term ‘desert game’ does not only refer to the animals that lived deep in the high desert, but also to the animals that were encountered in the mountain ranges and semi-desert plains bordering the Nile Valley.²³

²¹ TLA: <http://aew.bbaw.de>.

²² Knights, 2008; Hettinger, 2001.

²³ See below (p. 80-85) for a more detailed analysis of this term.

Additionally, the use of the word ‘jackal’ as a more or less generic term for various wild canid species seems to be a bit outdated, because the most common ‘jackal’ species of Egypt has recently been reclassified as a wolf.²⁴ Nevertheless, both wolves and jackals could be found in the low and high desert regions surrounding the Nile Valley, and it is oftentimes difficult to distinguish between these species in the source material. Throughout this thesis, the zoologically less specific term ‘wild canid’ is preferred to refer to these animals, but direct quotes and quoted translations that mention the generic jackal have been left intact.

In a similar sense, the word ‘leopard’ is used primarily to refer to the actual leopard as a species. However, in certain instances no distinction seems to have been made between the leopard and the cheetah, most importantly with reference to their hides/skins. However, the leopard seems to be the more common and familiar of these two animals. As such, the word leopard-skin and leopard-hide occurs throughout this thesis as a general term to refer to the hides of both animals.²⁵

The use of the word ‘concept’ in this study also needs some elaboration, because this is a complex term as well.²⁶ There is no consensus among theorists about what concepts are, what types of phenomena they explain, and even about whether concepts exist at all.²⁷ A very broad and general explanation of the term can be found in the work of Murphy, who describes concepts as ‘*an embodiment of our knowledge of the kinds of things there are in the world*’.²⁸

A more recent discussion and definition of the term and the interrelationship between concepts, categories and classification is presented by Pommerening & Bisang: ‘*(...) categories are seen as entities that can be assigned to a certain concept (...) a concept is a mental representation that picks out a set of entities, or a category. That is, concepts refer, and what they refer to are categories*’.²⁹ As complex discursive constructs, concepts consist of bundles of features that are put together and categorized. Moreover, concepts are not rigid, but characterised by an ability to change and adapt to fluctuating needs and intentions.³⁰

²⁴ See below, p. 47-49 and p. 211-215.

²⁵ See below, p. 44-46, 50-52 and 179-181 for more detailed information on the leopard, cheetah and leopard skins.

²⁶ Pommerening & Bisang, 2017.

²⁷ Laurence & Margolis, 2012: p. 291; Jackendoff, 1989: p. 68.

²⁸ Murphy, 2004: back cover.

²⁹ Pommerening & Bisang, 2017: p. 3; Rips et al., 2013: p. 177.

³⁰ Gindhart & Pommerening, 2016: p. 131.

However, it is important to make a distinction between abstract and concrete concepts. Concrete concepts represent physical entities, defined by spatial boundaries and perceivable attributes, whereas abstract concepts are not physical and cannot always be turned into a mental image.³¹ It are exactly these abstract concepts (e.g. *abstract ideas* that cannot be turned into a mental picture) that are highlighted in this thesis. In this work, therefore, the term concept is used as a synonym for abstract idea. These concepts, or abstract ideas, need a vehicle in order to be visualised, expressed, emphasised or understood and non-indigenous animals can function as such a vehicle. The emphasis of this thesis lies on how and why these animals express a certain concept or concepts, and how and why concepts are expressed by these animals. As such, the focus lies on the transition from one perspective to another.³² It will become clear that (a combination of) various animal characteristics, such as their non-indigenous origin and habitat, behaviour, appearance, concrete function, familiarity and tradition can be seen as a reason for their inclusion, and as an explanation for their relationship with and comparison to a concept or concepts.

Considering the incorporation and combination of various types of sources, as well as the constant shift in focus from animal to concept, and *vice versa*, this thesis is not based on one specific theoretical framework.³³ Such an approach would have made it impossible to capture the nuances of the relationships between the non-indigenous animals and the concepts. Much more, each source needs to be analysed based on its own context and characteristics. Consequently, several different types of sources and a combination of methods and approaches

³¹ Wiemer-Hastings & Xu, 2005: p. 719; Weißkopf, 2009: p. 149-150.

³² It is not the aim of this work to reconstruct concrete concepts (e.g. ‘the concept of the leopard’), nor is it the aim to reconstruct abstract concepts (e.g. ‘the concept of chaos’) from an emic vantage point. Whereas both types of concepts are important in this thesis, the focus lies on the interplay, transition, and movement from the concrete to the abstract and *vice versa*. As such, both the method of work as well as the results presented in this thesis show an inherent movement and shift from one perspective to another.

³³ Nevertheless, it is evident that the interrelationship between an animal and a concept is oftentimes constructed by means of metaphorical and analogical structures, and the basis of the various forms of referential relationship between animal and concept (indeed from the signifier to the signified) is frequently rooted in (visual) semiotic transmission (Peirce, 1932). For this thesis, however, it is important to realise that ‘*almost all signifiers transmit meaning on all three levels, the iconic, the indexical and the symbolic. No particular objects are intrinsically icons, indices, or symbols. They are interpreted to be so, depending on what is produced in response. The differences between iconic, indexical, and symbolic relationships derive from regarding things either with respect to their form, their correlations with other things, or their involvement within systems of conventional relationships*’ (Deacon, 1997: p. 71; Gimbel, 2002: p. 46-47). Moreover, considering the high ambivalence of virtually all of the described and depicted animals it is equally important to realise that ‘*being capable of iconic or indexical interpretation in no way diminishes these signs’ capacity of being interpreted as symbolically as well. These modes of reference aren’t mutually exclusive alternatives; though at any one time only one of these modes may be prominent, the same sign can be icons, indices, and symbols depending on the interpretive process. But the relationship between icons, indices, and symbols are not merely a matter of alternative interpretations. They are to some extent internally related to one another*’ (Deacon, 1997: p. 72).

are used to ‘distil’ the various concepts that are expressed by and related to non-indigenous animals.

The use of zooarchaeological remains³⁴ and climate reconstructions³⁵ is essential to determine which animals were indigenous and non-indigenous to Egypt and in what periods. The zooarchaeological material from both the Nile Valley and the surrounding desert regions tells us more about the different animal species that lived in the Nile region, and the animal species that lived in the desert regions. It also shows which animals did not live here and had to be imported from further away regions, and if changes can be observed through time.

Combined with iconographic depictions, these data provide a corpus of the animals that are investigated in this research. The main focus lies on the rather large and visible mammals that could have been found, at least at some point in the discussed period, in the desert regions surrounding Egypt. These animals include the gazelle, oryx, ibex, hartebeest, addax, Barbary sheep, aurochs, lion, leopard, wild canids (jackals/wolves), African wild dog and hyena. Other animals that are included were most likely never indigenous to Egypt but are still found in the source material. These are the horse,³⁶ deer³⁷ and bear.³⁸ The giraffe and elephant were initially present, but are thought to have completely disappeared from Egypt by the time of the Predynastic period.³⁹ The same is suggested for the cheetah, rhinoceros and various types of monkeys.⁴⁰ Most of these animals are found in multiple types of sources.

³⁴ E.g. Pöllath, 2009: p. 79-108; Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 47-78; Pantalacci & Lesur-Gebremariam, 2009: p. 245-259.

³⁵ E.g. Gilbert, 2002: p. 3-75; Kuper & Kröpelin, 2006; Pachur & Altmann, 2006: p. 481-531.

³⁶ Raulwing & Clutton-Brock, 2009.

³⁷ Kitagawa, 2008 & 2008a.

³⁸ Manlius, 1998.

³⁹ Van Neer & Linseele, 2003: p. 11; Linseele et al., 2009: p. 126.

⁴⁰ A cheetah ulna (dated to the Neolithic period) has been found at Kharga Oasis (Briois et al., 2012: p. 185). However, it cannot be excluded that this bone was imported. The rhinoceros and monkeys were only indigenous to Egypt during the Last Interglacial Period. Rhinoceros remains have been found at Bir Tarfawi (Gautier, 1993: p. 138-139) and remains of the green monkey have been found at Sodmein Cave (Linseele & Van Neer, 2009a: p. 25).

The zooarchaeological material provides some additional points of departure that form an important basis for this study and apply to the entire discussed period:

- All of the above-mentioned animals are non-indigenous to the Nile Valley region.
- Even though some of the mentioned animals are included in the zooarchaeological record of the Nile region, the evidence is extremely scarce: '*The general pattern for the Predynastic continues into the Dynastic period, with game present at most sites, but never in large numbers*'.⁴¹ A lack in archaeological data only accounts for this scarcity to a certain degree.⁴² All the discussed animals should therefore be considered as rare and uncommon animals (table 1).
- The hunt on and importation of non-indigenous animals should not be seen as an (important) means of survival and did not have a clear economic relevance. Hunted wild animals were indeed the most important meat providers before the Neolithic period, but from around 5300 BC onwards⁴³ the economy of the Nile Valley inhabitants is primarily based on agriculture and animal husbandry. Domesticated animals living in the Nile Valley were the most important providers of meat and other animal products, also in the Predynastic period.

⁴¹ Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 71.

⁴² Idem, 2009: p. 64-65, 72.

⁴³ Hendrickx, 2013: p. 237.

Zooarchaeological remains of non-indigenous animals in the Nile Valley⁴⁴

Animal	Pre- & Early Dynastic Period	Old Kingdom	Middle Kingdom	New Kingdom
Gazelle	Present	Present	Present	Present
Hartebeest	Present	Present	Present	Present
Wild canids	Present	Present	Present	Present
Aurochs	Present	Present	Present	Present
Ibex	Present	Not present	Present	Possibly imported animal parts
Barbary sheep	Present	Not present	Not present	Not present
Hyena	Present	Not present	Not present	Possibly imported animal parts
Leopard	Present	Not present	Not present	Not present
Lion	Present	Not present	Not present	Possibly imported animal parts
Olive baboon	Present	Not present	Not present	Present
Green monkey	Present	Not present	Not present	Not present
Elephant	Present	Not present	Not present	Possibly imported animal parts
Oryx	Not present	Not present	Not present	Possibly imported animal parts
Addax	Not present	Present	Not present	Possibly imported animal parts
Hamadryas baboon	Not present	Not present	Not present	Present
Deer	Not present	Not present	Present	Present
Giraffe	Not present	Not present	Not present	Possibly imported animal parts
Horse	Not present	Not present	Not present	Present
Cheetah	Not present	Not present	Not present	Possibly imported animal parts
African wild dog	Not present	Not present	Not present	Not present
Bear	Not present	Not present	Not present	Not present
Rhinoceros	Not present	Not present	Not present	Not present

	Desert animals		Present
	Far away regions – initially present		Not present
	Far away regions – never present		Possibly imported animal parts

Table 1. Zooarchaeological remains of non-indigenous animal in the Nile Valley.

⁴⁴ Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 58-59: Tab. 3, p. 63: Tab. 4; p. 66-67: Tab. 5; Von den Driesch & Peters, 1996: p. 77; De Meyer et al., 2005; Von den Driesch, 2006; Von den Driesch, 1997: p. 25: Tab. 1; Raulwing & Clutton-Brock, 2009: p. 41-43: Tab. 1; Gaillard & Daressy, 1905 (Cairo CG 29837, Cairo CG 29838, Cairo CG 29839); Kitagawa, 2008; The Griffith Institute, Burton photograph no. p1629 (Cairo JE 61581): <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/488a-p1629.html> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

Additionally, the zooarchaeological remains give us information about the function and sometimes the conceptualisation of these animals. It can be determined if the animals were eaten, offered, kept in captivity, or if only animal products were imported. The find context, choice of included animals, and social setting are of equal importance. Animal remains can, for example, be found in a normal settlement context, temple area, or buried near or with persons of high elite or royal status. Furthermore, the animals can be included because they are wild or large. The combined buried animals found at the elite cemetery of Hierakonpolis (HK6), for example, are thought to have a protective function against the natural chaos they represent.⁴⁵ These ideas of power and protection are further emphasised, because the biggest and most dangerous non-indigenous animals, namely the elephant, aurochs and leopard, are only found at this part of the site.⁴⁶

Contrary to the limited zooarchaeological evidence, non-indigenous animals are often seen in iconographic depictions. These scenes too provide important information about the use and function of certain animals and their possible presence in Egypt. Additionally, aspects such as animal behaviour, appearance, frequency, and accuracy give insight into emphasised traits and the level of familiarity with an animal or animals. Valuable sources are desert hunt scenes⁴⁷ and several kinds of ‘animal rows’, including offering⁴⁸ and tribute scenes.⁴⁹ Some animals, such as monkeys and lions, can be depicted as pets or favourite animals.⁵⁰ Again, the find context, grouping of specific animals, and the social or ideological setting of these scenes are important. Such a contextual approach is essential, because of the ambivalent nature of virtually every animal. The powerful and strong lion can be an element of chaos, but also a zoomorphic metaphor for the powerful king. A depiction of a baboon can be a manifestation of Thoth, but also a pet animal. In certain instances, concepts that are related to specific animals or an animal group can be visually observed by looking at the lay-out and depicted elements in a scene. On the painted chest of Tutankhamun,⁵¹ the pharaoh battles and slaughters an unorderly mass of desert animals on the lid, and Asiatics in the scene below. And, in a similar fashion, the pharaoh is depicted hunting lions on the other side of the lid, and battling Nubians on the scene below

⁴⁵ Friedman, 2011: p. 85-88; Van Neer et al., 2004: p. 122.

⁴⁶ Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 58-59: Tab. 3, p. 62-63: Tab. 4.

⁴⁷ E.g. Graff, 2009: p. 83-86; Hendrickx, 2011: p. 237-263; Decker & Herb, 1994: I, p. 292-352; II, Taf. CXXX-CLXXXV.

⁴⁸ E.g. Herb & Förster, 2009: p. 26 & Tab. 1; Vandier, 1969: p. 1-58; Van Walsem, 2008: MastaBase: Main theme: Offerings (OF), subtheme: Procession of desert cattle (Prd).

⁴⁹ E.g. Hallmann, 2006.

⁵⁰ E.g. El-Kilany & Mahran, 2015.

⁵¹ Davies, 1962: pl. I-IV.

it. Both scenes are almost identical in composition, and an equation between the wild animals and foreign enemies is evident. Here, the desert animals clearly represent the concept of chaos and are used as a visual and zoomorphic metaphor for foreign human enemies (figure 80-81).

In other instances, a depicted desert hunt puts a bigger focus on the hunt as a recreational activity, emphasising not only the skills, but also the prosperity and wealth of the hunter. The combination of iconography and the accompanying text in the tomb of Amenemhet (TT 82) makes it clear that in this case, contrary to the example mentioned above, the main theme is not 'order over chaos'. The text explains the main aim of the hunt: '*Traversing the desert valleys, exploring the mountains, taking recreation by shooting the desert animals by the beloved of his lord*'.⁵² Thus, similar scenes do not always emphasise the same concepts, and these concepts can also change through time.

Additionally, it is important to compare the iconography with the zooarchaeological record. In certain instances, a difference can be observed between these two types of sources. It is exactly this discrepancy that provides important information about the conceptual ideas behind the depicted animals. Various animals that are hardly found in the zooarchaeological record, such as the oryx and the ibex, are often depicted in the iconography, especially in the Old Kingdom tombs. The iconography thus gives the impression that these animals were common, even though they were not. At the very least, this indicates that these animals were considered special, and they emphasise the prosperity and wealth of the tomb owner.

Similarly, zooarchaeological and environmental data are important to establish the level of historical accuracy in textual sources. It is unlikely that Amenhotep III actually encountered a herd of 170 aurochs,⁵³ and that Khnumhotep captured 12020 gazelles.⁵⁴ These exaggerations aim to emphasise the royal status and power of the king, and the elite status and prosperity of the tomb owner. Ancient Egyptian iconography and texts are indeed essential in establishing conceptual ideas relating to animals, and provide valuable information on animal biology, ecology, and behaviour.⁵⁵ However, they cannot be used as a vantage point for environmental

⁵² Davies, 1915: p. 31 & pl. IX; Decker & Herb, 1994: J 98: I, p. 335; II, Taf. CLXIII.

⁵³ Urk IV: 1739,14-18; Blankenberg-Van Delden, 1969: p. 17.

⁵⁴ Newberry, 1893: I, pl. XXX, XXXVIII.1; Herb & Förster, 2009: p. 32.

⁵⁵ Herb & Förster, 2009: p. 19.

reconstructions: ‘before ancient Egypt’s rich animal imagery is amenable to scientific analysis, its socio-cultural significance must first be considered’.⁵⁶

The textual evidence is, of course, essential in the search for the various concepts that are related to or expressed by the non-indigenous animals. Here too, it is important to see which animals are included or grouped together, how frequent an animal occurs, and in which types of texts they are seen. Furthermore, it is essential to see which animal characteristics have been emphasised, and if an animal can be used in figurative expressions. In some cases, the concept or concepts linked to an animal or group of animals are directly mentioned or made clear in the texts. In the TALE OF THE SHIPWRECKED SAILOR monkeys and several non-indigenous animal products are listed among various foreign products that are described as ‘all kinds of riches’,⁵⁷ indicating that these are indeed valuable and special items. Additionally, concepts can be expressed by means of figurative language, especially in the New Kingdom period.⁵⁸ Amenhotep II ‘rages like a leopard, while he treads the battlefield’.⁵⁹ Here, the leopard is used as a medium to illustrate the concept of ‘raging power’, referring to and emphasising the military supremacy of the king. Simultaneously, it addresses rage as a characteristic of the leopard.

In other instances, concepts are not specifically mentioned, but are evident because of the context in which an animal occurs, and because of the function of the animal in a particular setting. Concepts of transition and regeneration are particularly evident when non-indigenous animals are found at transitional places or other liminal settings, usually in a religious context. One can think about the psychopomp function of canid deities and their link with the desert and cemeteries,⁶⁰ monkeys as inhabitants of the eastern *3h.t*,⁶¹ or gazelle milk as a healing agent.⁶²

The reason for the inclusion and conceptualisation of certain animals can be explained by looking at various factors, such as their non-indigenous origin and habitat, behaviour, appearance, concrete function, familiarity and tradition. Strong and aggressive animals can be related to ideas of chaos and order; the more familiar animals are used in figurative expressions;

⁵⁶ Evans, 2015a (as a critical response to Yeakel et al. (2014) who rely on Egyptian art to reconstruct animal extinction patterns).

⁵⁷ pPetersburg 1115: 162-165: MES, p. 46-47a; Allen, 2015: p. 44-45; Dils, P. & H. Felber in: TLA.

⁵⁸ Hsu, 2017.

⁵⁹ Urk IV: 1290,7-8; Hsu, 2013: p. 10.

⁶⁰ See below, p. 196-199 and 203-216

⁶¹ E.g. in *The Book of Day*; see below, p. 231-232, 239 and figure 128.

⁶² Mentioned in *The Contendings of Horus and Seth* (pChester Beatty I); see below p. 247.

and edible animals can be seen in offering contexts. Furthermore, a comparison between indigenous animals and non-indigenous animals is essential in order to see which concepts are unique or more suited for non-indigenous animals. This again sheds light on the importance of the non-indigenous origin of an animal as opposed to other characteristics.

Furthermore, multiple concepts can be present at the same time, and an animal can be included because of a combination of reasons. In the New Kingdom period, the eastern and western mountains of the *3h.t* can be equated with liminal lion entities that are considered guardians of the afterworld. Actual lions could indeed be found in the desert regions surrounding Egypt, which (partly) explains their function as transitional animals.⁶³ However, simultaneously, these lions or lion entities represent ideas of power, control, and protection. Strong and powerful predators, such as indeed the lion, are ideal candidates to be assigned with protective and guarding purposes.⁶⁴ The combination of characteristics and concepts therefore explains the presence of an animal and maximises its efficiency.

1.4. Previous research

A lot has already been written about the ‘animal world’ of ancient Egypt. Generally, these works can be divided into one of the following categories: ancient Egyptian fauna in general; one specific animal; one specific type of source; and biology or biogeography. Considering the ‘general works’, one can think about titles as ‘*The animal world of the Pharaohs*’ by Houlihan,⁶⁵ ‘*The mammals of ancient Egypt*’ by Osborn and Osbornová⁶⁶ and ‘*Bestiaire des pharaons*’ by Vernus and Yoyotte.⁶⁷ These works are all very useful, because they provide a general overview of the animals and their presence and function in ancient Egypt. However, these studies generally provide only a few examples, and a more detailed approach is lacking. This general information can only be used as a starting point for further in-depth research. What is generally missing in ‘*Bestiaire des pharaons*’, for example, is more information about the zooarchaeological finds of specific animals. This information is included in ‘*The mammals of ancient Egypt*’ for most entrances. However, since its publication in 1998 more finds and information have come to light and consequently at some points the information mentioned can be regarded as outdated.

⁶³ See below, p. 216-221.

⁶⁴ See below, p. 183-188.

⁶⁵ Houlihan, 1996.

⁶⁶ Osborn & Osbornová, 1998.

⁶⁷ Vernus & Yoyotte, 2005.

Other works have focussed on individual animals or a selection of animals. One can think about ‘*La giraffe dans l’Égypte ancienne et le verbe sr*’ by Cannuyer;⁶⁸ ‘*The Gazelle in Ancient Egyptian Art: Image and Meaning*’ by Strandberg;⁶⁹ ‘*The Jackal divinities of Egypt*’ by DuQuesne;⁷⁰ ‘*Untersuchungen zu Antilope, Gazelle und Steinbock im Alten Ägypten*’ by Stolberg-Stolberg;⁷¹ and ‘*Le rôle et le sens du lion dans l’Égypte ancienne*’ by De Wit.⁷² These works all discuss individual animals in greater detail. However, they do not answer the question as to why these animals (and not other animals) are represented or chosen to feature in a specific setting. Furthermore, the discussion of one single animal does not provide information about the interaction between various animal species, and the function and conceptualisation of non-indigenous animals as a group. Other publications have focussed on one specific function or setting of an animal. The frequent occurrence of monkeys under chairs has been studied by Vandier d’Abbadie⁷³ and more recently by El-Kilany & Mahran.⁷⁴ Rummel⁷⁵ has investigated the use and function of the leopard skin. Again, only one aspect has been considered and a general overview of the function of an animal is lacking.

Non-indigenous animals are often found in desert hunt scenes and various types of animal rows. Many of the desert hunt scenes and offering processions are found in the private tomb iconography. These scene types are examined, listed and described by Harpur in ‘*Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*’;⁷⁶ Vandier in ‘*Manuel d’archéologie égyptienne IV & V*’;⁷⁷ and Van Walsem in ‘*MastaBase*’.⁷⁸ Another important work is the ‘*Bildatlas zum Sport im alten Ägypten*’ by Decker and Herb.⁷⁹ The latter provides a good overview for the development of the desert hunt scene over time and changes in compositions. The works of Harpur and Van Walsem focus on the Old Kingdom, whereas Decker & Herb also cover the Middle and New Kingdom periods. These studies have been used as a framework for the desert hunt scenes and offering procession rows. Evans’ study on the representation of the natural world in Old Kingdom tomb scenes provides essential information on the behaviour of specific

⁶⁸ Cannuyer, 2010.

⁶⁹ Strandberg, 2009.

⁷⁰ DuQuesne, 2005.

⁷¹ Stolberg-Stolberg, 2004.

⁷² De Wit, 1951.

⁷³ Vandier d’Abbadie, 1964-1966.

⁷⁴ El-Kilany & Mahran, 2015.

⁷⁵ Rummel, 2007.

⁷⁶ Harpur, 1987; Linacre College, 2006.

⁷⁷ Vandier, 1964 & 1969.

⁷⁸ Van Walsem, 2008.

⁷⁹ Decker & Herb, 1994.

animals and the level of realism depicted in these scenes.⁸⁰ Graff's work has provided a framework for the animal scenes found on Predynastic pottery,⁸¹ and Raffaele offers an overview of Late Predynastic palettes and carved ivory animal rows.⁸² The work of Hallmann brings a detailed account of the tribute scenes that are found in the New Kingdom private tombs.⁸³ It does not, however, provide extensive information on tribute and booty scenes that are seen in the royal monuments of the time. Here, the work of Heinz⁸⁴ is more useful. Gordon's⁸⁵ study provides a lexicographical study of the foreign tribute products. These works focus on the function of tribute, both in iconographical and textual sources, but pay less attention to the specific function and occurrence of animals in these scenes and lists.

Zooarchaeological publications considering animal remains found in the Nile Valley, as well as the desert regions have been consulted as well. Concretely, these studies show which animals are to be considered non-native to the Egyptian Nile Valley. 'Mammals of Africa' by Kingdon et al.⁸⁶ provides information considering habitat preferences and animal behaviour and appearance. Information on the prehistoric presence of animals in the Western Desert is described in chapter four of 'Die Ostsahara im Spätquartär' by Pachur & Altmann⁸⁷. It provides a good overview of the animals that are found at different sites in the Western Desert but covers a very large time period. Evidence of early Palaeolithic and Dynastic remains have been placed in one and the same overview map, which makes it somewhat difficult to work with. More approachable information is found in the article 'The prehistoric gamebag' by Pöllath,⁸⁸ which conveniently lists sites in the Western Desert and the animal remains that have been found there. However, the oases regions are not mentioned. An overview of the zooarchaeological material found in the Nile Valley is present in 'Exploitation of desert and other wild game in ancient Egypt' by Linseele & Van Neer.⁸⁹ The article gives a good overview of the finds and find locations of desert animals outside of their natural habitat. However, it does not include the remains of other imported animals, such as the horse and different species

⁸⁰ Evans, 2010.

⁸¹ Graff, 2009.

⁸² See <http://xoomer.virgilio.it/francescoraf/hesyra/palettes.htm> (last accessed 24 February 2022) for an online corpus of decorated palettes and Raffaele (2010: p. 245-285) for an overview and discussion of carved ivory animal rows.

⁸³ Hallmann, 2006.

⁸⁴ Heinz, 2001.

⁸⁵ Gordon, 1984.

⁸⁶ Kingdon et al., 2013.

⁸⁷ Pachur & Altmann, 2006.

⁸⁸ Pöllath, 2009.

⁸⁹ Linseele & Van Neer, 2009.

of monkeys. *'The History of the Peoples of the Eastern Desert'* by Barnard⁹⁰ gives a good overview of the research that has been conducted in the Eastern Desert region until now. It also demonstrates that the zooarchaeological evidence, for all periods, is extremely limited.

Various authors have focussed their works on the presence of animals in the textual record. *'Ancient Egyptian Fauna: a lexicographical study'* by Wassell⁹¹ provides a comprehensive lexicographical overview of animals in ancient Egyptian texts. The more recent *'Säugetiere in der altägyptische Literatur'* by Bohms⁹² gives a good overview of various mammals and their occurrences and uses in the literature. Grapow⁹³ mentions examples of the use of non-indigenous animals in figurative language.

The topic of nativity and non-nativity relating to ancient Egypt has been addressed by Schlott-Schwab,⁹⁴ with a focus on the dimensions of Egypt. Schneider⁹⁵ has focussed on foreign people in ancient Egypt, and Assmann⁹⁶ and Moers⁹⁷ wrote about ideas of otherness.⁹⁸ These works provide a good insight into the difficulties and often ambiguous aspects considering a research topic dealing with foreignness. However, it cannot be automatically assumed that foreign regions and foreign people are treated the same as foreign animals.

The novelty of this work lies in the fact that this specific research topic has not been researched before. The useful information has been collected, combined, and extended where necessary. The material has been looked upon from different angles and perspectives, which allows for a thorough analysis and (re)interpretation of the material, and consequently a distillation of the concepts of non-indigenous animals. Only by considering and combining various sources and time-periods, comparisons can be made and changes and similarities can be seen. In order to comprehend or explain the concepts applied to the non-indigenous animals, it is also necessary to look at and compare them with the concepts that apply to the indigenous animals. The results of this research foremost reveal and explain the ancient Egyptian view of the various non-indigenous animals, both as individuals, but also as a group.

⁹⁰ Barnard & Duistermaat, 2012.

⁹¹ Wassell, 1991.

⁹² Bohms, 2013.

⁹³ Grapow, 1924.

⁹⁴ Schlott-Schwab, 1981.

⁹⁵ Schneider, 2003 & 2010.

⁹⁶ Assmann, 1996.

⁹⁷ Moers, 2004.

⁹⁸ See below (p. 86-87) for more information on this topic.

2. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

This chapter provides background information on various topics upon which the analysis in the subsequent chapters is based.

The first section focusses on the climatic and environmental changes that mostly occurred before the discussed time period but had an impact on the later periods that form the basis of this research.

The subsequent section introduces each of the individual non-indigenous animals that are discussed in this research. This introduction is followed by a brief discussion on the topic of non-indigenous animals as a group, with an emphasis on (the interpretation of) the term *ḥw.t (n.t) ḥ3s.t.*

A following section presents a short overview on the relationship between non-indigenous animals and the topic of otherness from an ancient Egyptian perspective.

Lastly, the interrelationship between foreign and other regions, places, and experiences and the afterworld and afterlife is discussed. This last section could be seen as an introduction to chapter 5 but is already presented here due to its fundamental importance for understanding the (after)world view of the ancient Egyptians, which is indeed relevant for the other chapters as well.

2.1 Environmental change and animal habitats

It is essential to incorporate climate and environmental reconstructions in order to determine which animals were indigenous and non-indigenous to Egypt, and at which time periods. This data is indispensable, because it demonstrates which regions could theoretically provide suitable living conditions and serve as potential habitats for the various non-indigenous animals that are discussed in this thesis.

The following will provide a brief overview of the climatic changes that occurred over the course of only a few thousand years. These changes hugely effected the choice of human settlement and livelihood, including the introduction of domesticated livestock. Simultaneously, it changed the corpus of wild animals and affected the importance of wild game hunting. However, even though subsistence practices changed over time and some species became extinct to Egypt, these animals did not necessarily disappear from cultural memory and the cultural record. Consequently, it is not only important to be aware of the climatic and environmental conditions during the periods that form the focus of this research, but it is also necessary to understand the climatic and environmental situation of the preceding periods: *‘although climatic and ecological conditions did not determine all aspects of the cultural development, they are the framework in which the cultural development and contacts appeared’*.⁹⁹

Extensive geological and archaeological studies focussing on the Eastern Sahara indicate that there were various marked climatic and environmental changes that occurred over the past 12.000 years, which can be categorised into several distinct occupation phases. These phases will be briefly discussed below and are visualised in figures 1a t/m 1e.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Riemer & Kindermann, 2008: p. 627.

¹⁰⁰ The information that follows is primarily derived from Kuper & Kröpelin, 2006.

Phase 1: 20.000-8500 BCE

The first phase covers the Last Glacial Maximum and terminal Pleistocene and is characterised by a true hyper arid desert climate. During this period, (permanent) human occupation was not possible in the desert regions and focussed on the Nile region (figure 1a).¹⁰¹

Phase 2: 8500-7000 BCE (Early Holocene re-occupation period)

During this period the desert regions were turned into a savannah-like environment due to the arrival of monsoon rains. These regions therefore became attractive and habitable locations for prehistoric human groups. Evidence of human occupation in the Nile region, however, is extremely limited. It is believed that the Nile valley became too wet and marshy, and therefore inhospitable (figure 1b).¹⁰²

Phase 3: 7000-5300 BCE (mid-Holocene formation period)

At the start of this period, human settlement became well established in the desert regions. Simultaneously, this phase marks the introduction of domestic livestock in the Western and Eastern Desert. The archaeological record confirms that domesticated animals were present in the Egyptian desert at an earlier data than in the Nile Valley.¹⁰³ At the end of this phase, multi-resource pastoralism appears to have become the vital human subsistence strategy in the Egyptian Sahara. At the same time, the first farming communities developed in Nile Valley (figure 1c).¹⁰⁴

Phase 4: 5300-3500 BCE (Mid-Holocene regionalization period)

At circa 5300 BCE the monsoon rains began to retreat, causing the onset of desiccation of the desert regions. The prehistoric populations were forced to retreat to the Nile Valley or other ecological refuges, such as the desert oases (figure 1d).¹⁰⁵ From this period onwards, domesticated animals were the most important providers of meat and other animal products: *'the large-scale exodus from the Egyptian Sahara coincides with the rise of sedentary life along the Nile'*.¹⁰⁶ Despite the deteriorating living conditions, hunter-gatherer groups could still be

¹⁰¹ Kuper & Kröpelin, 2006: p. 806, fig. 3A; Kuper et al., 2007: p. 8, fig. 1A.

¹⁰² Kuper & Kröpelin, 2006: p. 805 & fig. 3B; Kuper et al., 2007: p. 8, fig. 1B; Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 55.

¹⁰³ Domesticated caprines were present at Sodmein Cave in the Eastern Desert region at circa 6200 BC. (Vermeersch et al., 2015).

¹⁰⁴ Kuper & Kröpelin, 2006: p. 805 & fig. 3C; Kuper et al., 2007: p. 8, fig. 1C.

¹⁰⁵ Kuper & Kröpelin, 2006: p. 806 & fig. 3D; Kuper et al., 2007: p. 9, fig. 1D.

¹⁰⁶ Kuper & Kröpelin, 2006: p. 806.

found in the desert region, albeit in increasingly declining numbers.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, during the Predynastic period the desert regions outside the oases were generally avoided, because of the hyper-arid conditions. Frequent contacts between the inhabitants of the Western Desert and the Nile region increased during the Old Kingdom period when donkey tracks were created through the desert to connect the Nile region with the oases.¹⁰⁸

Phase 5: 3500 – 1500 BCE (Late Holocene marginalization period)

At 3500 BCE the full desert conditions had returned all over Egypt (including the ecological niches), which more or less coincided with the initial stages of pharaonic civilization in the Nile Valley (figure 1e).¹⁰⁹ Further aridification took place until circa 1500 BCE, at which the present environmental conditions were reached (figure 1f).¹¹⁰

From an environmental point of view, it is not a coincidence that the setting of this research is embedded in the final stage of the Mid-Holocene regionalization period and the entire Late Holocene marginalization period (phases 4 and 5, figure 1d & 1e). By this time, the aridification had fully set in, making only the Nile region and the oases in the Western Desert suitable for permanent settlement. It is during these phases that the clear division between the fertile Nile region and the surrounding desert regions has fully developed. This division is essential, because the focus of this research lies on the animals that can be considered non-indigenous, with the fertile and habitable Nile region as an indigenous point of departure and area of contrast.

¹⁰⁷ Pollath, 2009: p. 93.

¹⁰⁸ Riemer & Kindermann, 2008: p. 625.

¹⁰⁹ Kuper & Kröpelin, 2006: p. 806; Kuper et al., 2007: fig. 1E.

¹¹⁰ Kuper & Kröpelin, 2006: p. 806; Kuper et al., 2007: fig. 1F.

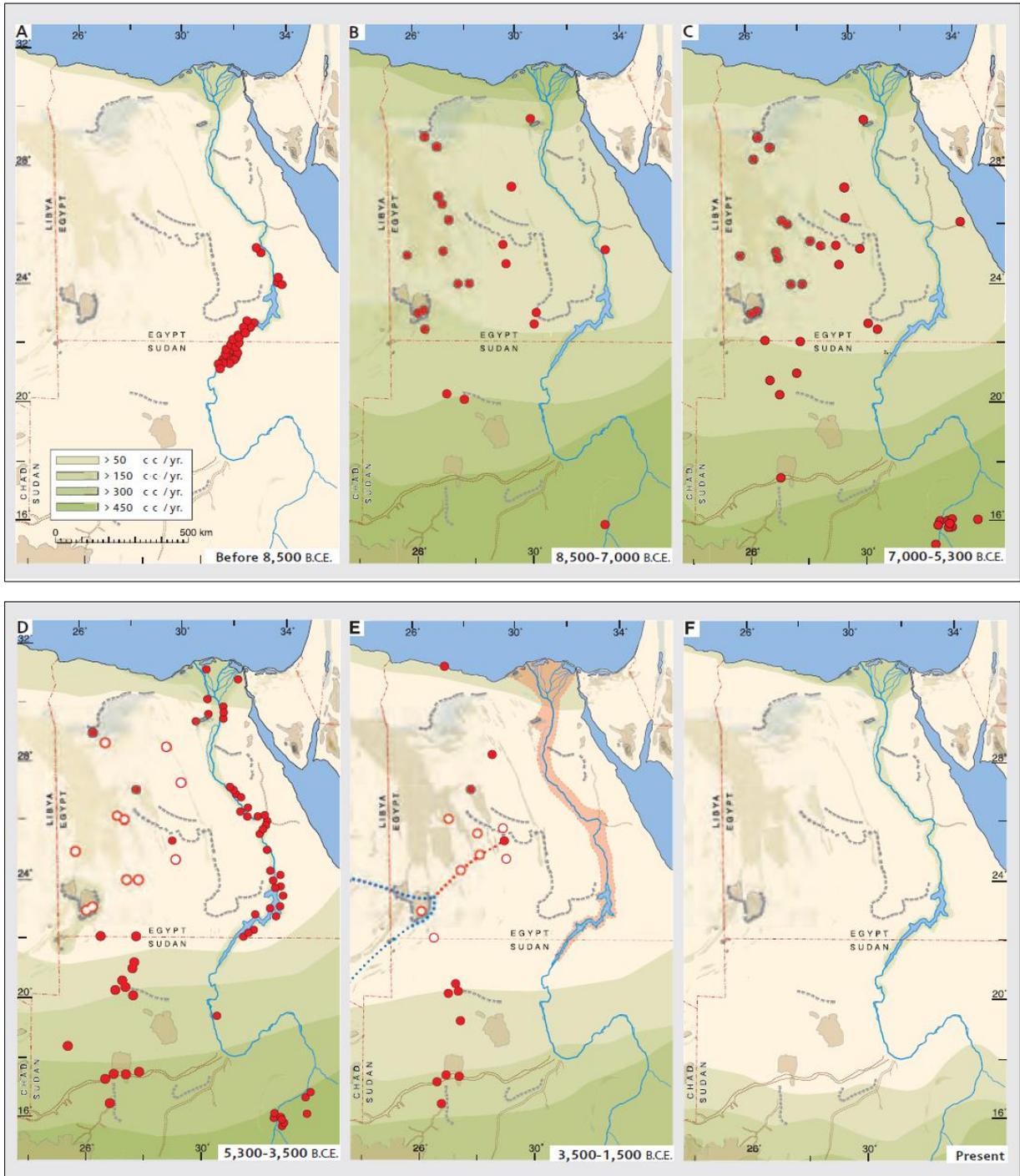


Figure 1a-f. Climate change and settlement in the Nile Valley and desert regions (circa 10.000 BCE - present).

2.2 An introduction to the various non-indigenous animals

In the following chapter each of the investigated non-indigenous animals will be briefly introduced. For each animal, an overview is presented which discusses their relevant characteristics, habitat, current status, ancient Egyptian name,¹¹¹ and relevant literature.

The relevant characteristics include aspects such as the distinctive appearance, qualities, and behaviour of an animal. These elements are important, because they can be used to identify an animal in the source material and differentiate them from other (similar looking) animals or animal species. Moreover, oftentimes the inclusion of an animal in the source material can be at least partially explained by distinctive animal characteristics.

The habitat of the animal discusses the environmental and climatic preferences of the animals, and where they could be encountered (in the wild) and originated from. A general distinction is made between the Nile Valley proper, the adjacent semi-desert environments (low desert), the arid true desert regions (high desert), and locations outside of Egypt (figures 2 and 3). For each animal, the suggested habitat and maximum distribution (covering the Predynastic up to and including the New Kingdom period) is visualised on a map. Even though these suggested distribution maps occasionally highlight rather broad possible habitation areas, it does not mean that the non-indigenous animals were abundantly present. Virtually all of the non-indigenous animals should be considered as rare.

The current status offers information on the contemporary presence of the animal in Egypt or other countries and their conservation status.

The section on the ancient Egyptian name mentions the word or words that are used to refer to the animal in question. Where relevant and applicable, a brief discussion on for example ambiguities in meaning and terminology is presented as well.

Each paragraph ends with a list of relevant literature on and pictures of the animal in question. The pictures include a photograph of the actual animal, as well as a representation of the animal from the iconographic record.

¹¹¹ A table with an overview of the scientific and ancient Egyptian names of the animals is included at the end of this subchapter (p. 78-79, table 2).

The short bibliography includes references to relevant general information on the animals, as well as entrees on previous Egyptological research concerning specific animals.

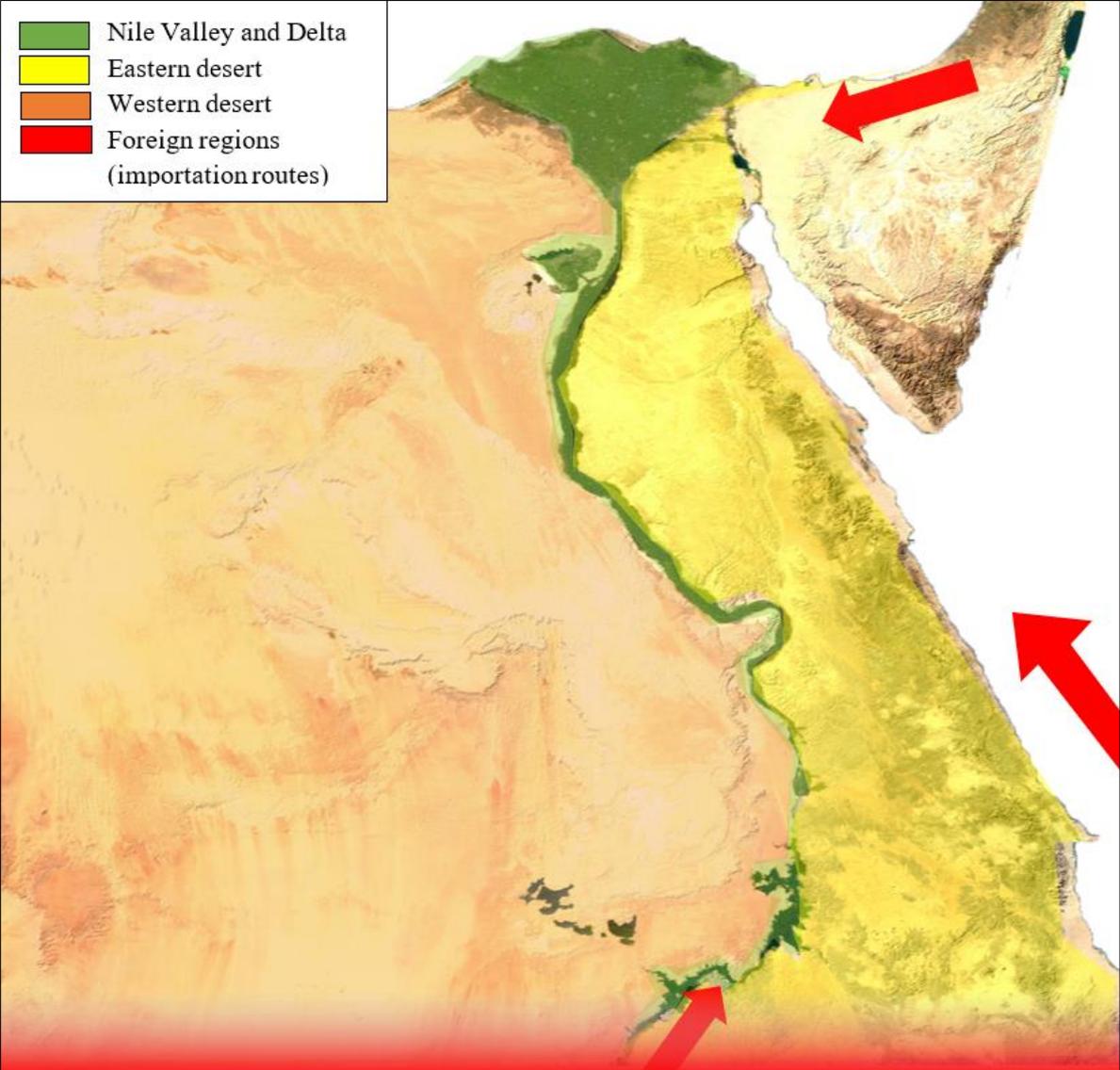


Figure 2. Satellite image of Egypt with the various habitats and regions of origin of the investigated non-indigenous animals.



Figure 3. Transitional landscapes visible on a recent aerial view. (Valley of the Nobles, West Bank at Luxor, Sheik Abd el-Qurna).

2.2.1 Nubian ibex - *Capra ibex nubiana*

Relevant characteristics

The male ibex is characterised by prominent scimitar-shaped horns, with a knobbed anterior surface. The female horns are shorter and without knobs.¹¹² Male ibexes and old females have beards. The ibex has a short tail and relatively short legs and a general tan to greyish colour (figure 4 and 5).¹¹³ The animals live in groups and are most active in the early morning and evening. They are water dependent and were known to travel to the Nile region for water until the early 20th century.¹¹⁴ The ibex is a prey animal, with the leopard as its only likely natural predator.¹¹⁵

Habitat

The ibex prefers mountainous desert terrain and could be found in the Eastern Desert region of Egypt, including the Red Sea mountains and the Sinai (figure 6). The ibex most likely shared its habitat with the rather similar looking Barbary sheep.¹¹⁶ However, these two animals do not prefer the same altitude: the ibex is mostly found in higher altitudes, and the Barbary sheep in the low mountains.¹¹⁷ Contrary to the ibex, the Barbary sheep could be found in the Western Desert as well.

Current status

The ibex can still be found in Egypt, albeit in small numbers. (IUCN status: vulnerable).¹¹⁸

Egyptian name

The general term for the ibex is *ni3w* (Wb II, 202: 1-4), with a less common variant *nr3w* (Wb II, 280: 3). Additionally, the term *im3.t* (Wb I, 79:1-2) is connected to the ibex as well.¹¹⁹

¹¹² Kingdon et al., 2013: VI, p. 600.

¹¹³ Idem.

¹¹⁴ Osborn & Helmy, 1980: p. 520.

¹¹⁵ Kingdon et al., 2013: VI, p. 602.

¹¹⁶ Osborn & Helmy, 1980: p. 515.

¹¹⁷ Manlius, 2009: p. 124.

¹¹⁸ Ross et al., 2020: <https://dx.doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.UK.2008.RLTS.T3796A10084254.en> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

¹¹⁹ The term *sdnf* is also mentioned as a special kind of the ibex (Bohms, 2013: p.357; Hannig 2000: 1224). This translation is refuted by Wassell (1991: I, p. 27).

However, the exact meaning of this word is more disputed. It is translated as a female ibex,¹²⁰ as a more general term for female wild game (including the female ibex),¹²¹ or as a different species similar in appearance to the ibex.¹²²

The translation of female ibex is a plausible and likely option. The mastaba of Ti clearly shows a male ibex (*ni3*) and its less robust female variant (*im3.t*) in the same scene.¹²³ According to Stolberg-Stolberg the different names could be linked to the fact that the ibex is a sexual dimorphic species.¹²⁴ Contrary to for example the gazelle or oryx, it is easy to differentiate between a male and female ibex. However, it cannot be excluded that the term does not refer to the ibex, but to a similar looking yet different species. Wassell believes that the term possibly refers to the wild goat. The above-mentioned example from the mastaba of Ti describes the animal as a *hm.t im3.t*, thus as a female-female ibex. This could indicate that the term *im3.t* ‘was a species name in its own right, with the female specifically designated here’.¹²⁵ Contrary to the ibex, the wild goat could not be found in the Eastern Desert region. The animal is native to the regions to the north and north-east of Egypt. If the *im3.t* represents a wild goat, it would be a ‘true’ non-indigenous importation, similar to the deer.

It is unlikely that the term *im3.t* has an additional meaning as ‘female wild game’. This interpretation is based on a single occurrence of the word, accompanied by three animal determinatives, on the lid of an Old Kingdom sarcophagus. However, the animal determinatives do not represent three different species (i.e. ibex-oryx-gazelle), but depict the same animal three times. With its short tail and long horns, this animal greatly resembles the ibex.¹²⁶

Relevant literature

Bohms, 2013: p. 357-361.

Stolberg-Stolberg, 2003: p. 48-50.

Wassell, 1991: p. 20-27.

Kingdon et al., 2013: VI, p. 600-603.

Osborn & Helmy, 1980: p. 515-521.

¹²⁰ Bohms, 2015: p. 357.

¹²¹ Wb I, 79: 1-2.

¹²² Wassell, 1991: I, p. 24.

¹²³ Wild, 1953: pl. CLXV.

¹²⁴ Stolberg-Stolberg, 2003: p. 61-62.

¹²⁵ Wassell, 1991; I, p. 24.

¹²⁶ Wassell, 1991: I, p. 24; Petrie, 1900: pl. XXXVIIa, column 189.



Figure 4. Picture of a (male) Nubian ibex.

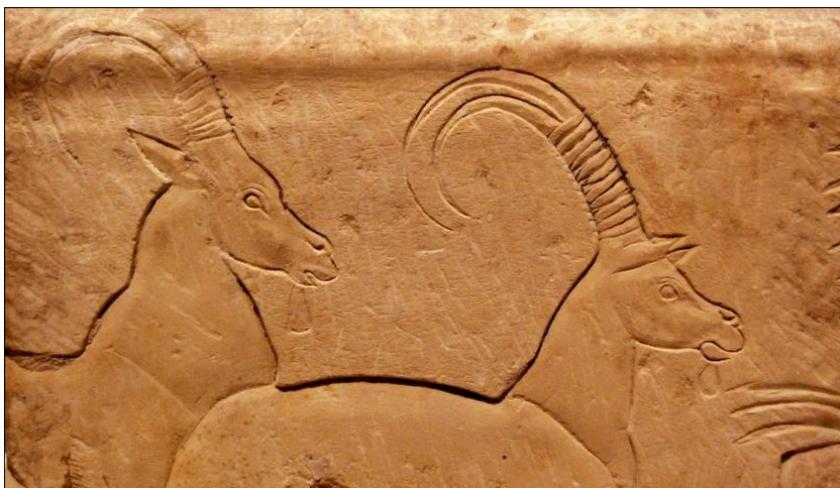


Figure 5. Two ibexes on a feeding trough from the North Palace of Amarna. New Kingdom, Dynasty 18. (Toledo Museum 1925.744.)

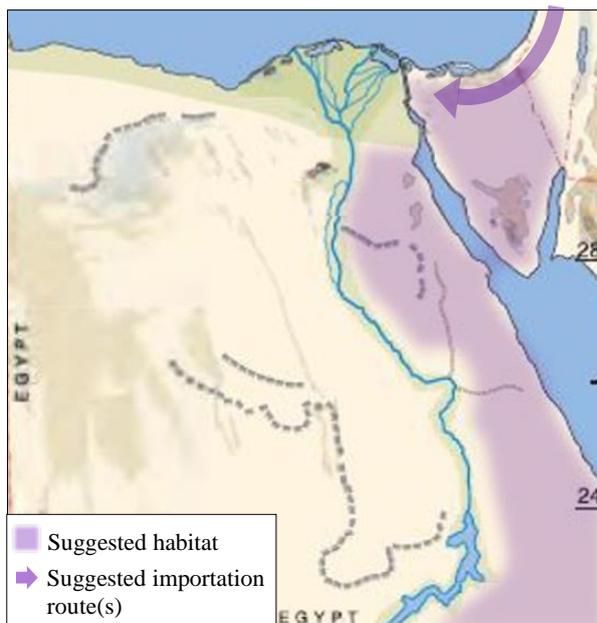


Figure 6. Suggested habitat and possible distribution of the ibex in ancient Egypt (Predynastic period – New Kingdom). Distribution conform and based on Manlius (2009: Fig 1.16, p. 115).

2.2.2 Oryx (various) – *Oryx dammah* (Scimitar-horned oryx; most common)

Relevant characteristics

The standard and most commonly occurring oryx species in the ancient Egyptian record is the scimitar-horned oryx. This large antelope is characterised by its very long, ridged horns arching over its back. The oryx has a general light grey, beige pelage, with a red-brown colour on its neck, shoulders, and upper legs (figure 7 and 8). The animals live in herds and are a nomadic species that are known to walk long distances to find water, food or shelter. The oryx is a well-adapted desert species and can survive months without drinking.

The Arabian oryx (*Oryx leucoryx*)¹²⁷ has a general white pelage, with dark brown legs and black stripes on its neck and face.

Habitat

The scimitar-horned oryx is well adapted to an arid environment and could be found in the Western desert regions. Although the animal preferred the oases and wadis, it could also survive in the true desert (figure 9).¹²⁸

The Arabian oryx, on the other hand, could only be found in the Eastern desert regions.

Current status

The scimitar-horned oryx cannot be found in Egypt anymore and is extinct in the wild. (IUCN status: extinct in the wild).¹²⁹

The Arabian oryx possibly existed in the northern Sinai until the beginning of the 19th century.¹³⁰ Today, the animal is reintroduced to the Arabian Peninsula, Israel and Iraq, but is not found in Egypt. (IUCN status: Vulnerable).

¹²⁷ Kingdon et al., 2003: VI, p. 571.

¹²⁸ Idem, p. 587.

¹²⁹ IUCN SSC Antelope Specialist Group, 2016:

<https://dx.doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.UK.2016-2.RLTS.T15568A50191470.en> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

¹³⁰ Osborn & Helmy, 1980: p. 481.

Egyptian name

In its fullest form, the term for the scimitar-horned oryx is *m3-ḥd*, but is also occurs as *m3* (Wb II, 11: 3-8).¹³¹ According to Stolberg-Stolberg the same term could also refer to the Arabian oryx. However, due to the rarity of this species in the record, it almost always refers to the scimitar-horned oryx in practice.¹³²

Relevant literature

Kingdon et al., 2013: VI, p. 571, 586-592.

Osborn & Helmy, 1980: p. 480-482.

Stolberg-Stolberg, 2003: p. 27-29.

Bohms, 2013: p. 34-43.

Wassell, 1991: I, p. 21.



Figure 7. Picture of a scimitar-horned oryx.

¹³¹ The Wörterbuch translates the word as ‘*die weisse Säbelantilope (oryx leucoryx)*’, which is an incorrect zoological designation. Stolberg-Stolberg (2003: p. 29) presents a more up-to-date translation of the words: *Nordafrikanische Säbelantilope (Oryx gazella dammah)*.

¹³² Stolberg-Stolberg, 2003: p. 24.



Figure 8. Relief of an oryx in the mastaba of Idut. Saqqara, Old Kingdom, Dynasty 5.



Figure 9. Suggested habitat and possible distribution of the scimitar-horned oryx in ancient Egypt (Predynastic period – New Kingdom). Distribution roughly conform and based on Manlius (2009: Fig 1.8, p. 115).

2.2.3 Gazelle (various) - *Gazella dorcas* (Dorca gazelle; most common)

Relevant characteristics

There are several different gazelle species represented in the ancient Egyptian record, of which the dorcas gazelle (*Gazella dorcas*) is by far the most common one.

In the iconography, the gazelle is characterised by its curved, more or less S-shaped horns and short tail. The dorcas gazelle is rather small and has a pale sandy-fawn coloured pelage, with a dark brown strip on its sides and a white belly (figure 10 and 11).¹³³ The animal lives in herds and migrates seasonally in search of food. Gazelles are adapted to arid environments, but dependant on water.

Habitat

The dorcas gazelle can be found in a wide range of habitat (including coastal desert regions, wadis and river margins), but is not adapted to the hyper arid desert zones.¹³⁴

In ancient times, the animal could be found in the Eastern and Western (semi) desert regions, and near the Nile Valley during the dryer seasons (figure 12).

Current status

The dorcas gazelle can still be found in Egypt, albeit in small and rapidly decreasing numbers. Most specimen live in protected areas in the Sinai region. (IUCN status: vulnerable).¹³⁵

Egyptian name

The generic name for gazelle is *ghs* (Wb V, 191: 1-9), but in most instances the term refers to the dorcas gazelle. In two instances, the term *gs3* (Wb V, 206: 2) is used to identify a different type of gazelle.¹³⁶ In the more recent literature, the animal is always identified as the Soemmerring's gazelle (*Nanger soemmerringii*).¹³⁷ In the iconography, the two species are sometimes paired together and can be distinguished by the shape of their horns.¹³⁸

¹³³ Kingdon et al., 2013: p. 340.

¹³⁴ Kingdon et al., 2013: p. 342.

¹³⁵ IUCN SSC Antelope Specialist Group, 2017:

<https://dx.doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.UK.2017-2.RLTS.T8969A50186334.en> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

¹³⁶ In the mastabas of Ti and Idut (Wild, 1966: pl. CLXVI; Macramallah, 1935: pl. XX). The Wörterbuch translates the term as an 'Art Antilope'.

¹³⁷ Strandberg, 2009: p. 10; Stolberg-Stolberg, 2003: p. 39; Bohms, p. 74.

¹³⁸ Strandberg, 2009: p. 10, fn. 3; p. 55, fn. 42; figure 11.

Relevant literature

Strandberg, 2009.

Bohms, 2013: p. 74-84.

Stollberg-Stolberg, 2003: 34-47.

Kingdon et al., 2013: VI, p. 338-346.

Wassell, 1991: I, p. 20-21.

Osborn & Helmy, 1980: p. 486-514.



Figure 10. Picture of a dorcas gazelle.



Figure 11. A Soemmerening's gazelle (left) and dorcas gazelle (right) in the sun temple of Niuserre. Abu Gurab, Old Kingdom, Dynasty 5. (Berlin Inv.-Nr. ÄM 20036.)



Figure 12. Suggested habitat and possible distribution of the (dorcas) gazelle in ancient Egypt (Predynastic period – New Kingdom).

2.2.4 Bubal hartebeest - *Alcelaphus buselaphus buselaphus*

Relevant characteristics

The Bubal hartebeest can be clearly distinguished from other horned animals by its lyre-shaped horns. It has a red-brown pelage and an ‘*abnormally long face*’ (figure 13 and 14).¹³⁹

The animal depends on surface water and prefers a grassland environment. As such, it is not well adapted to a desert climate.

Habitat

The Bubal hartebeest preferred sub-steppe, sub-desert to semi-forested areas. In ancient times they could be found near the wadis and oases of the Western Desert, and the fringes of the desert, close to the Nile (figure 15).

Current status

The Bubal hartebeest is extinct. The last individual was killed between 1945-1955.

Other hartebeest species are still present in the more southern countries of the African continent. (IUCN status: extinct).¹⁴⁰

Egyptian name

The most commonly occurring name for the hartebeest is *šs3.w* (Wb IV, 543: 5).

In a few occasions, a hartebeest is described as *dbn.w*¹⁴¹ (Wb V, 568: 2) or *hbn*¹⁴² (Wb II, 487: 6).

Relevant literature

Bohms, 2013: p. 34-36.

Stolberg-Stolberg, 2003: p. 19-21.

Wassell, 1991: I, p. 22-24.

Osborn & Helmy, p. 454-456.

¹³⁹ Osborn & Helmy, 1980: p. 484.

¹⁴⁰ IUCN SSC Antelope Specialist Group, 2017a:

<http://dx.doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.UK.2017-2.RLTS.T813A50181474.en> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

¹⁴¹ E.g. in the mastaba of Mereruka (Wilson & Allen, 1938: II, pl. 153). Although Wassell disagrees (1991: I, p. 22) the animal clearly represents a hartebeest. It has to be admitted though that the name could have been placed over the wrong animal.

¹⁴² In the tomb of Baqet III (no 15) at Beni Hassan (Newberry, 1893: II, pl IV). Wassell (1991, I: p. 24) believes the word refers to a different subspecies of the hartebeest.



Figure 13. Picture of a hartebeest



Figure 14. Hartebeests in the tomb of Rekmire (TT 100). Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, New Kingdom, Dynasty 18.

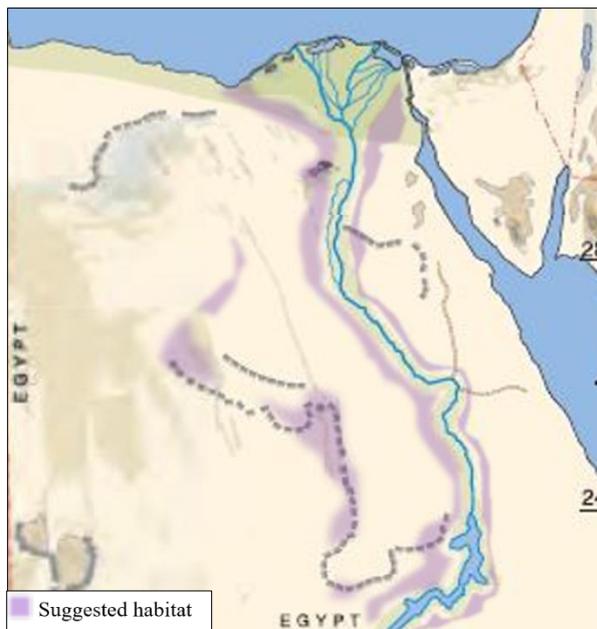


Figure 15. Suggested habitat and possible distribution of the hartebeest in ancient Egypt (Predynastic period – New Kingdom). Distribution conform and based on Manlius (2009: Fig 1.10, p. 115).

2.2.5 Addax - *Addax nasomaculatus*

Relevant characteristics

The addax is a large antelope that is characterised by its pale pelage and large twisted horns (figure 16 and 17). It is the ‘*most desert-loving large ungulate, occurring in areas of extreme temperature and aridity*’.¹⁴³ The animal lives in small herds and travels long distances in search of grazing.¹⁴⁴ In the past, the addax has been seen close to the oryx and the gazelle.¹⁴⁵

Habitat

In ancient times the addax could only be found in the western desert regions of Egypt (figure 18).

Current status

The addax cannot be found in Egypt anymore and very limited number exists in the wild today. (IUCN status: critically endangered).¹⁴⁶

Egyptian name

The addax is referred to as *nwdw* (Wb II: 226, 15-16).

Relevant literature

Osborn & Helmy, 1980: p. 482-484.

Kingdon et al., 2013: VI, p. 566-571.

Stolberg-Stolberg, 2003: p. 32-33.

Wassell, 1991: I, p. 22-23.

¹⁴³ IUCN SSC Antelope Specialist Group, 2016a: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.UK.2016-2.RLTS.T512A50180603.en> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

¹⁴⁴ Kingdon, 2013: VI, p. 569.

¹⁴⁵ Idem, p. 567.

¹⁴⁶ IUCN SSC Antelope Specialist Group, 2016a.



Figure 16. Picture of an addax.



Figure 17. Two addaxes in the tomb of Mereruka. Saqqara, Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6.



Figure 18. Suggested habitat and possible distribution of the addax in ancient Egypt (Predynastic period – New Kingdom). Distribution roughly conform and based on Manlius (2009: Fig 1.7, p. 115).

2.2.6 Barbary sheep - *Ammotragus lervia*

Relevant characteristics

The Barbary sheep is well-adapted to the rugged and mountainous areas of the deserts and semi-deserts of Egypt and can survive for long periods of time without drinking water. The animal has a brown-reddish pelage with a long mane from its jaw to its upper foreleg. Contrary to the ibex, it does not have a beard.¹⁴⁷ The horns of the animal are heavy and relatively broad, curving backwards and outwards (figure 19 and 20).

Habitat

The Barbary sheep could be found in the mountainous regions of the Eastern and Western Desert and semi-desert of Egypt (figure 21).

Current status

Small numbers of the Barbary sheep can still be found in North Africa, including isolated areas in the south-eastern and south-western parts of Egypt. (IUCN status: vulnerable).¹⁴⁸

Egyptian name

The ancient Egyptian name for the Barbary sheep is *ib3w* (Wb I, 62: 18).

Relevant literature

Hendrickx et al., 2009.

Manlius, 2009.

Wassell, 1991: I, p. 23.

Osborn & Helmy, 1980: p. 521-525.

¹⁴⁷ Osborn & Helmy, 1980: p. 522.

¹⁴⁸ Cassinello et al., 2021: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.UK.2008.RLTS.T1151A3288917.en> (last accessed 24 February 2022).



Figure 19. Picture of a Barbary sheep.



Figure 20. Depiction of a Barbary sheep in the mortuary temple of Sahure. Abusir, Old Kingdom, Dynasty 5.



Figure 21. Suggested habitat and possible distribution of the Barbary sheep in ancient Egypt (Predynastic period – New Kingdom).

2.2.7 Deer – *Dama dama mesopotamica*

Relevant characteristics

It is difficult to identify the deer species that are present in the iconography, but they are usually referred to as the Mesopotamian fallow deer (*Dama dama mesopotamica*). Zooarchaeological remains of this (imported) species have been identified at the New Kingdom site of Qantir. However, it cannot be ruled out that the European fallow deer (*Dama dama*) was imported as well.¹⁴⁹ Both types of deer prefer green sub-humid woodlands and are not adjusted to a desert climate and environment. The males of both species can be recognised by their branched antlers (figure 22 and 23).

Habitat

The deer has most likely never been indigenous to Egypt or its surrounding desert regions. The Mesopotamian fallow deer had to be imported from south-west Asia and the European fallow deer from south-eastern Europe (figure 24).¹⁵⁰

Current status

The Mesopotamian fallow deer is endangered, but a few hundred individuals are still present in Israel and Iran. (IUCN status: endangered).¹⁵¹

Egyptian name

The ancient Egyptian word for deer is *hnn* (Wb II, 495: 19-20). In the New Kingdom period a new word is used to refer to the deer: the Semitic loanword *iyr* or *i3yr*. (Wb I, 38: 16).¹⁵²

Relevant literature

Kitagawa, 2008 & 2008a.

Bohm, 2013: p. 88-90.

Wassell, 1991: I, p. 25-26.

¹⁴⁹ Kitagawa, 2008a.

¹⁵⁰ Kitagawa, 2008: p. 218.

¹⁵¹ Werner et al., 2015: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.UK.2015-4.RLTS.T6232A22164332.en> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

¹⁵² See also Hoch, 1994: p. 17, Nr 1.



Figure 22. Picture of a Mesopotamian fallow deer.



Figure 23. Depiction of a deer in the mortuary temple of Sahure. Abusir, Old Kingdom, Dynasty 5. (Berlin Inv.-Nr. ÄM 21783.)



Figure 24. Suggested origin and importation route of deer into Egypt (Predynastic period – New Kingdom). Conform and based on Kitagawa, 2008: fig. 1, p. 543.

2.2.8 Aurochs - *Bos primigenius*

Relevant characteristics

The aurochs is the considerably bigger ancestor of our modern domesticated cattle. The animal had a dark pelage and large, heavy horns with a lyre-shaped curvature. In the ancient Egyptian iconography, the animal is usually depicted with incurved horns (figure 25 and 26). Aurochs lived in herds and were not adapted to desert environments and climates.

Habitat

It is believed that the aurochs preferred marsh-regions and marsh forests, such as the river valleys. In ancient times, the animal could be found on the fringes of the desert, close to the Nile (figure 27).

Current status

The aurochs has been extinct since the 17th century. (IUCN status: extinct).¹⁵³

Egyptian name

The ancient Egyptian term for the aurochs is *sm3* (Wb IV, 124: 1-10). However, the generic word for ‘bull’, *k3* (Wb V, 94: 9-10) can also be used. In these instances, it depends on context whether the aurochs or the domesticated bull is intended. Oftentimes, however, it remains unclear which of the two is envisioned.¹⁵⁴

Relevant literature

Bohms, 2013: p. 422-428.

Navajas, 2009 & 2011.

Beierkuhnlein, 2015.

¹⁵³ Tikhonov, 2008: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.UK.2008.RLTS.T136721A4332142.en> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

¹⁵⁴ Bohms, 2013: p. 422.

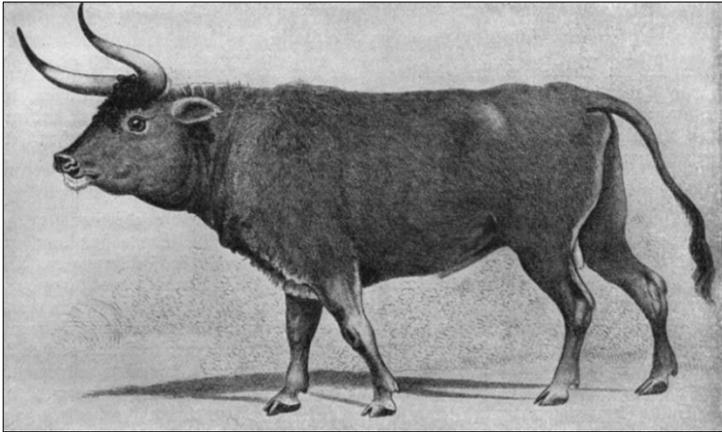


Figure 25. A depiction of the extinct aurochs.



Figure 26. The aurochs on the Bull Palette. Late Predynastic period. (Paris Louvre E 11255.)

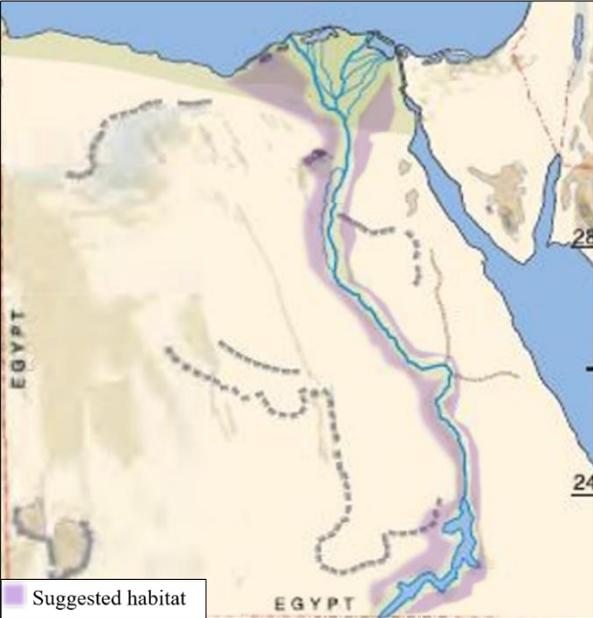


Figure 27. Suggested habitat and possible distribution of the aurochs in ancient Egypt (Predynastic period – New Kingdom).

2.2.9 Leopard - *Panthera pardus*

Relevant characteristics

The leopard is a solitary predator that prefers to hunt at night. It preys on a wide variety of animals, including domestic livestock and other carnivores. The leopard has a yellowish pelage with distinctive rosette-shaped markings (figure 28 and 29).

The leopard looks somewhat similar to the cheetah (*Acinonyx jubatus*). The cheetah, however, is slenderer, has solid black spots on its fur instead of rosettes, and distinctive black facial tear marks.

Habitat

The leopard has a wide range of habitat, which varies from rainforest to rocky desert regions. Leopard remains are almost exclusively found in the Eastern Desert,¹⁵⁵ but the animal could probably be found in the mountainous desert and semi-desert regions of the Western Desert as well (figure 30).

Current status

It is thought that the leopard can still be found in Egypt, albeit in very small numbers. The North-African subpopulation should potentially be classified as critically endangered. (IUCN status: vulnerable).¹⁵⁶

Egyptian name

Until the Middle Kingdom period, the leopard is referred to as *b3* (Wb I, 415: 4). From the New Kingdom onwards the word *3by* is used (Wb I, 7: 11). It should be noted though, that these designations seem to be ‘*generic terms for the class to which the Egyptians assigned both the cheetah and the leopard, and so the zoologically less specific term ‘panther’ seems to be a suitable translation*’.¹⁵⁷ However, between the leopard and the cheetah, the leopard seems to be the more prototypical animal.¹⁵⁸ In the New Kingdom, a distinction is occasionally made between the southern and the northern *3by*.

¹⁵⁵ Van Neer et al., 2013: p. 297.

¹⁵⁶ Stein et al., 2020: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.UK.2016-1.RLTS.T15954A50659089.en> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

¹⁵⁷ McDonald, 2002: p. 231.

¹⁵⁸ Idem.

The southern version (*3by šm^c*) refers to the leopard (Wb I, 7: 12-13), whereas the northern version (*3by mḥ*) refers to the cheetah (Wb I, 7: 14).¹⁵⁹

The terms *b3* and *3by* can also refer to the hides of these animals. Interestingly, the animal hide is more often mentioned than the actual animal, especially before the New Kingdom period.

Relevant literature

Bohms, 2013: p. 190-199.

McDonald, 2002: p. 226-338.

Kingdon, 2013: V, p. 159-168.

Helmy & Osborn, 1980: p. 451-455.

Wassell, 1991: I, p. 71-73.

¹⁵⁹ Earlier attempts to distinguish between the leopard and cheetah are more controversial. The tomb of Baqet III (no 15) at Beni Hassan shows two felids with the captions '*b3 šm^c*' and '*b3 mḥ*'. These captions are often translated as leopard and cheetah, but the animals look more like lions (McDonald, 2002: p. 229).

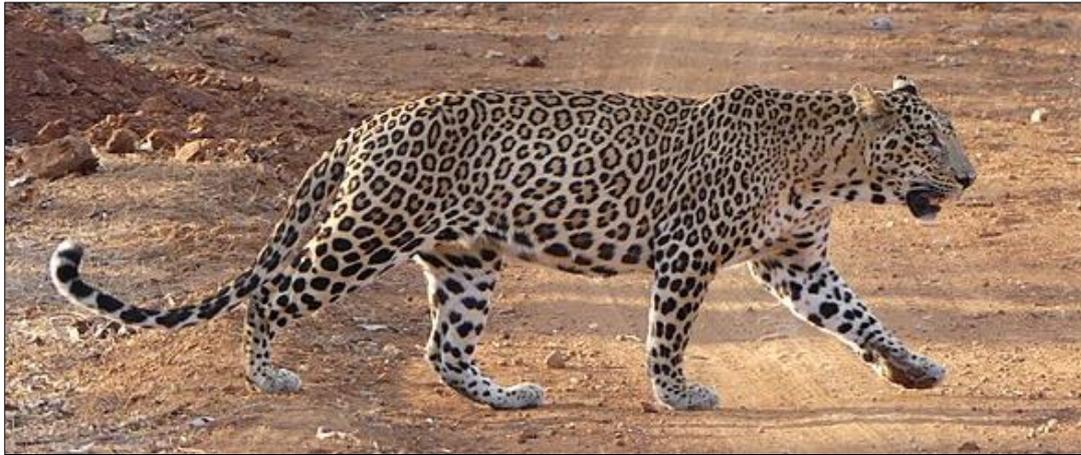


Figure 28. Picture of a leopard.

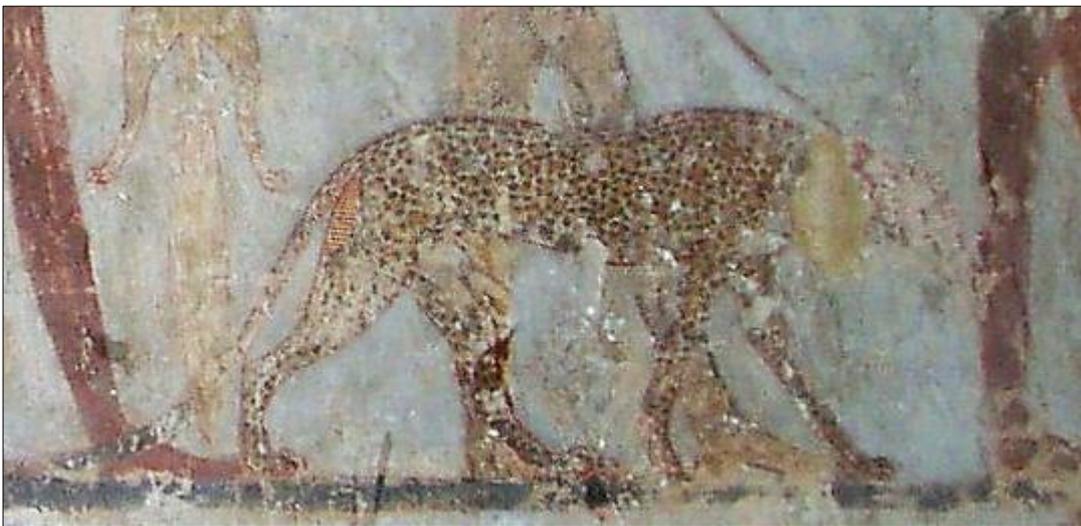


Figure 29. A leopard in the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100). Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, New Kingdom, Dynasty 18.

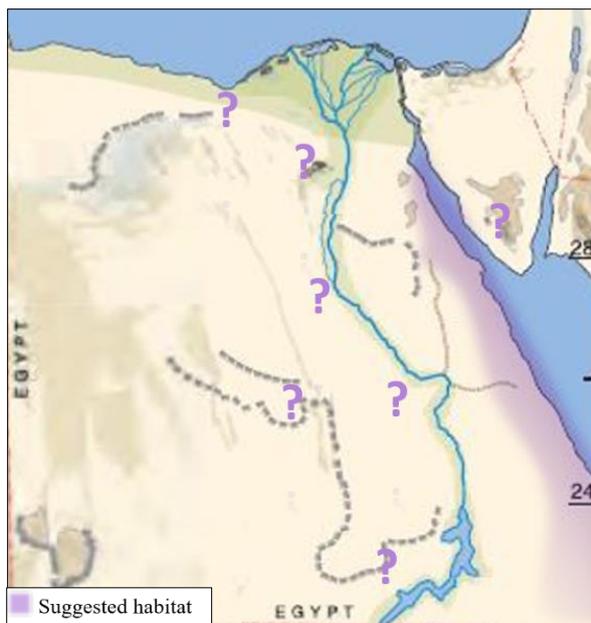


Figure 30. Suggested habitat and possible distribution of the leopard in ancient Egypt (Predynastic period – New Kingdom).

2.2.10 Wild canids (various) - *Canis lupaster* (African wolf; most common)

Relevant characteristics

The most common ‘jackal’ species of Egypt has recently been reclassified as a wolf.

The animal formerly known as the Egyptian jackal (*Canus aureus lupaster*) is no longer seen as a subspecies of the golden jackal (*Canus aureus*), but reidentified as the African wolf or African golden wolf (*Canus lupaster* or *Canus aureus lupaster*).¹⁶⁰ This African wolf looks like a ‘large blackish yellow dog with a dorsal mane’¹⁶¹ and is larger than the golden jackal (figure 31). The status and the historical distribution of the golden jackal in Africa therefore remains unclear, but several other jackal species, such as the side-striped jackal (*Canis adustus*) and the black-backed jackal (*Canis mesomelas*) are native to Africa. It cannot be excluded that these species used to live in Egypt as well.

From an osteological point of view, it is difficult to differentiate between several types of canid species, such as the domestic dog, the African wolf and (various species) of jackals. Quite often the bone material is accumulated into one category.¹⁶² Moreover, even when a distinction can be made between the domestic dog and wild canids, it is usually not clear whether the bone material derives from a jackal or a wolf.¹⁶³

In the iconographic record it is usually much easier to differentiate between the domestic dog and the jackal or wolf. In a few hunting scenes, domestic and wild canids are depicted side by side. The dogs usually have a slender tucked-up abdomen and a curled-up tail, whereas the jackals or wolves have a long and thick tail and normal belly.¹⁶⁴ Still, in most instances it is not possible to determine whether a wolf or a jackal is depicted (figure 32).

Jackals and wolves are nocturnal animals and frequently have their dens in tombs and natural caves. They are known to prey on domestic animals and crops and are considered a nuisance to farmers.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁰ Koepfli et al., 2015; Hoffmann & Atickem, 2019.

¹⁶¹ Osborn & Helmy, 1980: p. 36.

¹⁶² E.g. category ‘dog / jackal’ (Kitagawa, 2013: p. 348, Tab. 2); category ‘dog (/ African wolf)’ (Kitagawa, 2016: p. 31-71; 94-95).

¹⁶³ E.g. category ‘golden jackal and / or Egyptian wolf’ (Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 52, Tab.1).

¹⁶⁴ See also p. 211-215 below for a discussion on the (identification of) canid deities.

¹⁶⁵ Osborn & Helmy, 1980: p. 370.

Habitat

The African wolf used to live and can still be found in the semi-desert regions adjacent to the Nile Valley (figure 33).

Current status

The African wolf is widespread in the northern and north-eastern parts of Africa, including Egypt. (IUCN status: least concern).¹⁶⁶

The side-striped jackal is a common species in sub-Saharan Africa (IUCN status: least concern).¹⁶⁷ The black-backed jackal can be found in East Africa and southern Africa (IUCN status: least concern).¹⁶⁸ The golden jackal has a large range and can be found in most parts of Eurasia (IUCN status: least concern). Until recently, its habitat used to cover large parts of Africa as well. However, these African ‘golden jackals’ have been reclassified into a previously overlooked distinct species: the African wolf.¹⁶⁹

Egyptian name

The most commonly occurring name for the jackal or wolf is *wnš*. (Wb I, 324: 16-18). However, the animal can also be addressed by the word *s3b* (Wb III, 420: 5-13). In the tomb of Baqet at Beni Hasan both terms are used to refer to depictions of jackals or wolves.¹⁷⁰ The *wnš* is depicted slightly larger than the *s3b*, which could indicate that two distinct species are referred to. A particular kind of foreign wolf or jackal is called *ish3b* (Wb I, 132: 22). The animal is described as a *wnš dšr* that can be found in Syria.¹⁷¹

Relevant literature

Evans, 2008 & 2011.

Bohms, 2013: p. 311-331.

Osborn & Helmy, 1980: p. 360-371.

DuQuesne, 2005.

¹⁶⁶ Hoffmann & Atickem, 2019: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.UK.2019-1.RLTS.T118264888A118265889.en> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

¹⁶⁷ Hoffmann, 2014: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.UK.2014-1.RLTS.T3753A46254734.en> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

¹⁶⁸ Hoffmann, 2014a: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.UK.2014-1.RLTS.T3755A46122476.en> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

¹⁶⁹ Hoffmann et al., 2018: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.UK.2018-2.RLTS.T118264161A46194820.en> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

¹⁷⁰ Newberry, 1893: II, pl. IV.

¹⁷¹ pAnastasi IV: recto 13,3-13,4: LEM, p. 49-49a; Dils, P. in: TLA.



Figure 31. Picture of an African wolf.



Figure 32. A wild canid (wolf / jackal) on the Hunters Palette. Late Predynastic period. (London BM EA 20792.)



Figure 33. Suggested habitat and possible distribution of wild canids (wolves / jackals) in ancient Egypt (Predynastic period – New Kingdom).

2.2.11 Cheetah - *Acinonyx jubatus*

Relevant characteristics

The cheetah has a slender build and yellowish pelage, characterised by black spots. It has a distinct black facial ‘tear streak’ (figure 34 and 35).¹⁷² The females usually live alone, whereas male cheetahs can live in small permanent groups of up to four animals. It is the fastest land animal and can reach a speed of at least 105 km/h. Cheetahs prefer to hunt during the day, and usually prey on small to medium-sized animals, including domestic livestock.¹⁷³

Habitat

Cheetahs have a wide variety in habitat, including shrubland, grasslands, savannas and even hyper-arid desert regions.¹⁷⁴ Although there are indications that the cheetah used to live in Egypt,¹⁷⁵ it is believed that the animal had already completely disappeared by the time of the Predynastic period. The animal or the skin of the animal had to be imported from regions that were located to the south of Egypt (figure 36).

Current status

Today, most cheetahs can be found in southern and eastern Africa, but the animal lives in Iran as well. (IUCN status: vulnerable).¹⁷⁶

Egyptian name

The words *b3* (Wb I, 415: 4) and *3by* (Wb I, 7: 11) are generic terms for the leopard and the cheetah, but most commonly refer to the hides and skins of these animals. Only in the New Kingdom period, the cheetah can be clearly distinguished from the leopard and is occasionally referred to as the ‘northern *3by*’ (*3by mh* - Wb I, 7: 14).¹⁷⁷

¹⁷² Kingdon, 2013: V, p. 187.

¹⁷³ Idem, p. 190-192.

¹⁷⁴ Durant et al., 2015: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.UK.2015-4.RLTS.T219A50649567.en> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

¹⁷⁵ Briois et al., 2012: p. 185.

¹⁷⁶ Durant et al., 2015.

¹⁷⁷ The terms *b3 mh* (Wb I, 415: 6) and *ntr.t* are connected to the cheetah as well (Wassell, 1991: p. 48). However, in both cases the words are used to designate an animal that more closely resembles a lioness (McDonald, 2002: p. 228-230).

Relevant literature

McDonald, 2002.

Wassell, 1991: I, p. 71-73.

Kingdon, 2013: V, p. 186-196.

Osborn & Helmy, 1980: p. 455-459.

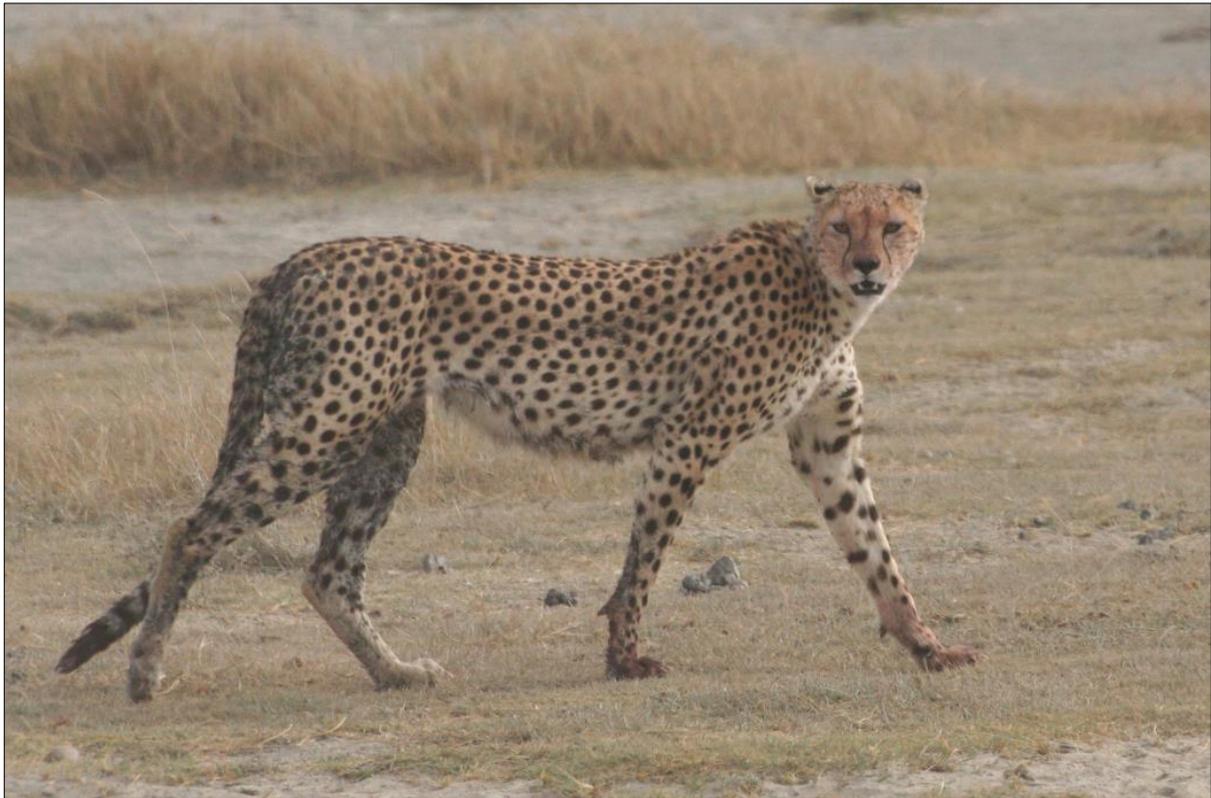


Figure 34. Picture of a cheetah.



Figure 35. A 'living' cheetah in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri. New Kingdom, Dynasty 18.



Figure 36. Suggested origin and importation route of the cheetah into Egypt (Predynastic period – New Kingdom).

2.2.12 Lion - *Panthera leo*

Relevant characteristics

Lions are very social animals, and usually live in prides. The females hunt in groups and mostly at night.¹⁷⁸ Their prey usually consists of medium and large-sized ungulates and they also form a threat to livestock and even humans. The lion is a sexual dimorphic animal, which is most notably pronounced by its size and pelage. Male lions can often be recognised by a mane of longer hair (figure 37 and 38.)¹⁷⁹

Habitat

The lion can be found in a wide range of habitats. Although they can survive in arid environments and are often seen in semi-desert locations, they are not found in the hyper-arid open desert regions. Especially in North Africa, lions used to live in mountainous regions (figure 39).

Current status

Although lions used to be present in North Africa, including Egypt, they have become extinct to this part of the continent in the last 150 years.¹⁸⁰

Lions can still be found in most countries of sub-Saharan Africa (IUCN status: vulnerable).¹⁸¹

Egyptian name

The ancient Egyptian word for lion is *m3i* (Wb II, 11: 14-19). It often occurs in the combination *m3i ḥs3* (Wb II, 12: 2-5) which can be translated as fierce lion.¹⁸²

A rarer, and possibly older term for the lion is *rw* (Wb II, 403: 8).¹⁸³

¹⁷⁸ Kingdon, 2013: V, p. 153

¹⁷⁹ Idem, p. 149.

¹⁸⁰ Bauer et al., 2016: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.UK.2016-3.RLTS.T15951A107265605.en> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

¹⁸¹ Idem.

¹⁸² See also below, p. 362.

¹⁸³ Wassell, 1991: I, p. 70.

Relevant literature

De Wit, 1951.

Bohms, 2013: p. 200-235.

Lange, 2016.

Wassell, 1991: p. 69-71.

Kingdon, 2013: V, p. 149-159.



Figure 37. Picture of a lion.



Figure 38. A lion at Medinet Habu. New Kingdom, Dynasty 20.

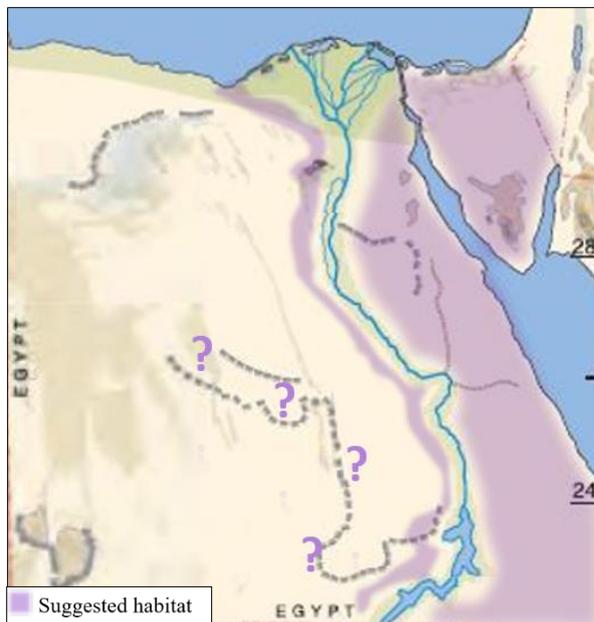


Figure 39. Suggested habitat and possible distribution of the lion in ancient Egypt (Predynastic period – New Kingdom). Distribution roughly conform and based on Manlius (2009: Fig. 1.4, p. 114).

2.2.13 African wild dog - *Lycaon pictus*

Relevant characteristics

African wild dogs are very social animals and hunt in groups. Amongst others, they can be distinguished from other canids by their ‘outsized’, round ears and their multi-coloured pelage (figure 40 and 41).

Habitat

African wild dogs can live in a variety of habitats, including forest regions, the semi-desert and short-grass plains.¹⁸⁴ They are well adapted to dry conditions and do not need a steady water supply to survive. In ancient Egypt, the animal could be found in the (semi) desert regions,¹⁸⁵ and is more adapted to a hot desert climate than other wild canids, such as wolves and jackals (figure 42).

Current status

The African wild dog is extinct in Egypt but can still be found in the sub-Saharan regions. Currently, their distribution primarily focusses on the southern and south-eastern parts of Africa.¹⁸⁶ A few individuals might still be living in Algeria, but they are considered highly endangered (IUCN status: endangered).¹⁸⁷

Egyptian name

The animal seems to have disappeared from the visual record after the Predynastic period¹⁸⁸ and there are no known words that specifically refer to the African wild dog. According to Bohms, the African wild dog falls into the same category as the jackals or wolves, and as such could also be addressed by the word *wnš*.¹⁸⁹ The word *š3* has been linked to the animal as well. Nevertheless, although it is likely that the *š3* refers to ‘*an animal of the dog or jackal type*’,¹⁹⁰ a more specific identification cannot be made.

¹⁸⁴ Woodroffe & Sillero-Zubiri, 2020: <https://dx.doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.UK.2020-1.RLTS.T12436A166502262.en> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

¹⁸⁵ Hendrickx, 2006.

¹⁸⁶ Woodroffe & Sillero-Zubiri, 2020.

¹⁸⁷ Idem.

¹⁸⁸ Hendrickx, 2013: p. 252.

¹⁸⁹ Bohms, 2013: p. 311.

¹⁹⁰ Wassell, 1991: p. 47; 81.

Relevant literature

Hendrickx, 2006.

Bohms, 2013: p. 311.



Figure 41. Picture of an African wild dog.

Figure 40. An African wild dog on the Hierakonpolis palette. Hierakonpolis, Late Predynastic period. (Oxford E. 3924.)



Figure 42. Suggested habitat and possible distribution of the African wild dog in ancient Egypt (Predynastic period – New Kingdom).

2.2.14 Elephant - *Loxodonta africana* and *Elephas maximus asurus*

Relevant characteristics

The African elephant (*Loxodonta africana*) is bigger in size and has bigger ears than the Asian elephant (*Elephas maximus*). It is, however, believed that the now extinct Syrian elephant (*Elephas maximus asurus*, a subspecies of the Asian elephant) could be compared in size to the African elephant.¹⁹¹ Both male and female African elephants wear tusks, but only some male Asian elephants have tusks.¹⁹² African elephants live in herds and are known to travel long distances in their search for water and food (figure 43 and 44).

Habitat

The African elephant occupies a variety of habitats, including woodlands, savanna, grassland, and wetlands. Since they rely on water for drinking and bathing, they are not well adapted to the hyper-arid and open desert regions.¹⁹³

The African elephant could be sporadically found in Egypt in earlier times. For the period discussed in this thesis, elephants most likely did not live in Egypt anymore and had to be imported from the south (African elephant, *Loxodonta africana*)¹⁹⁴ or possibly from the Middle East (Syrian elephant, *Elephas maximus asurus*; figure 45).

Current status

The African elephant can still be found in sub-Saharan Africa but is an endangered species (IUCN status: endangered).¹⁹⁵

The Syrian elephant was possibly already extinct around 100 BCE.¹⁹⁶

Egyptian name

The ancient Egyptian name for elephant, but also for ivory, is *ḥw* (Wb I, 7: 15-17). The two meanings can be distinguished by their determinatives. The word elephant uses the animal itself

¹⁹¹ Pfälzner, 2013, p. 114.

¹⁹² Busch, 2006: p. 87.

¹⁹³ Gobush et al., 2021: <https://dx.doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.UK.2021-2.RLTS.T181008073A204401095.en> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

¹⁹⁴ Van Neer et al., 2004.

¹⁹⁵ Gobush et al., 2021.

¹⁹⁶ Williams et al., 2020: <https://dx.doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.UK.2020-3.RLTS.T7140A45818198.en> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

as a determinative, whereas the product usually uses the harpoon (Gardiner T19) or tusk (Gardiner F18) as a determinative.¹⁹⁷

It has been suggested that, until the Middle Kingdom, the term could refer to the rhinoceros as well.¹⁹⁸ There is, however, no unequivocal evidence that supports this claim.¹⁹⁹ The iconographic and textual evidence depicting and referring to the rhinoceros is extremely scarce and not seen before the New Kingdom period.

Relevant literature

Friedman, 2004.

Van Neer et al., 2004.

Pfälzner, 2013.

Busch, 2006 & 2008.

Wassell, 1991: p. 54-56.



Figure 43. Picture of an African elephant.

¹⁹⁷ Busch, 2008: p. 16-17.

¹⁹⁸ Eg. Störk, 1977: p. 193-194; See also Wassell (1991: p. 55-56) for a more elaborate discussion.

¹⁹⁹ It cannot be said for sure that ‘fantasy animals’ that show rhinoceros characteristics (e.g. in the tomb of Baqet III (no. 15) at Beni Hassan) actually represent the ‘real’ animal. See however Störk (p. 202-203) for a different opinion.



Figure 44. Elephants on an ivory comb. Late Predynastic period. (New York MMA 30.8.224.)



Figure 45. Suggested origin and importation routes of elephants ancient Egypt (Predynastic period – New Kingdom).

2.2.15 Giraffe - *Giraffa camelopardalis*

Relevant characteristics

The giraffe is the tallest terrestrial mammal in the world (figure 46 and 47). The giraffe is a browser and prefers to eat Acacia species. They live in groups and prefer a sedentary lifestyle. Giraffes are dependent on water, but do not need to drink daily.²⁰⁰

Habitat

Giraffes prefer a woodland and savanna habitat. Although giraffes used to live in Egypt, they were most likely already absent by the time of the Predynastic – Early Dynastic period. The giraffe could be encountered in more southern regions and had to be imported to Egypt (figure 48).

Current status

Giraffes can still be found in southern and eastern Africa, albeit in decreasing numbers. (IUCN status: vulnerable).²⁰¹

Egyptian name

The ancient Egyptian name for the giraffe is *my* (Wb II, 58: 14), but it only occurs in a handful of textual references. However, the giraffe occurs often as a determinative (Gardiner E27) to the verb *sr*: to foresee, to announce.²⁰²

In the Ptolemaic period the word *sr* could be used to refer to the giraffe as well. There is some sparse evidence that this term already referred to the animal in earlier times.²⁰³

Relevant literature

Cannuyer, 2010.

Wassell, 1991: I, p. 26-27.

Bohms, 2013: p. 85-87.

Pachur & Altmann, 2006: p. 499-503.

²⁰⁰ Pachur & Altmann, 2006: p. 499-500.

²⁰¹ Muller et al., 2018: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.UK.2016-3.RLTS.T9194A136266699.en> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

²⁰² Cannuyer 2010: p. 18-39; see also below, p. 357.

²⁰³ The Annals of Amenemhat II: M 12+x: Farag, 1980: p. 78; Brose, M. in: TLA.

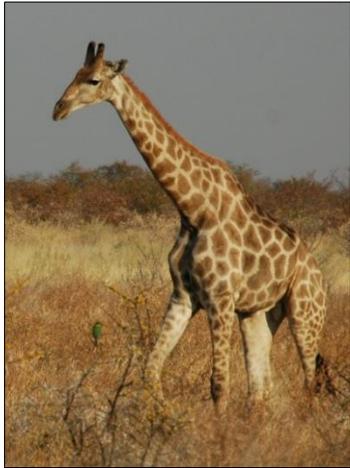


Figure 46. Picture of a giraffe.

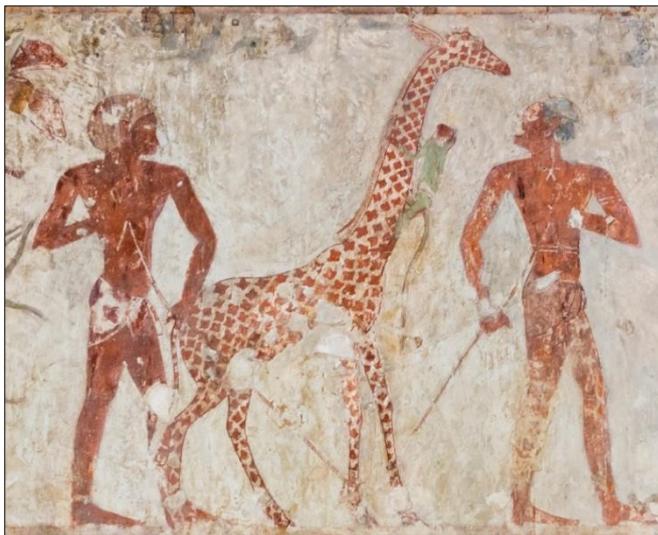


Figure 47. A giraffe in the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100). Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, New Kingdom, Dynasty 18.



Figure 48. Suggested origin and importation routes of giraffes into Egypt (Predynastic period – New Kingdom).

2.2.16 Hyena - *Hyaena hyaena*

Relevant characteristics

The striped hyena can be recognised by its striped pelage, especially at its legs. Their shoulders are higher than the rest of their body (figure 49 and 50). The striped hyena is a scavenger, but they occasionally actively hunt for prey. They are nocturnal animals and are known to enter cultivated areas at night in their search for food and water.²⁰⁴

Habitat

The striped hyena is still present in Egypt. Hyenas can be found at the desert margins, often in abandoned tombs. They are dependent on water and are therefore not adapted to the hyper-arid desert (figure 51).

Current status

The striped hyena has a large distribution area, including most of North and East Africa, as well as the Middle East and Central Asia and India. (IUCN status: Near Threatened).²⁰⁵

Egyptian name

The most common word for the hyena is *ḥt.t* (Wb III, 203: 16-17). The variant *ḥtyi* occurs in the New Kingdom period.²⁰⁶

Relevant literature

Ikram, 2001 & 2003

Bohms, 2013: p. 117-121.

Osborn & Helmy, 1980: p. 422-432.

Wassell, 1991: I, p. 53, 94-95.

²⁰⁴ Osborn & Helmy, 1980: p. 422, 429.

²⁰⁵ AbiSaid & Dloniak, 2015: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.UK.2015-2.RLTS.T10274A45195080.en> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

²⁰⁶ Bohms (2013: p. 117, fn 1) interprets the word *ḥt.t* (Wb II, 503: 12) as a possible variant; Wassell mentions *ḥtb* as another possible variant (Wassell, 1991: I, p. 94-95; II, p. 360, nr. 129 & 130).



Figure 49. Picture of a hyena.



Figure 50. A hyena in the tomb of Kagemeni. Saqqara, Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6.

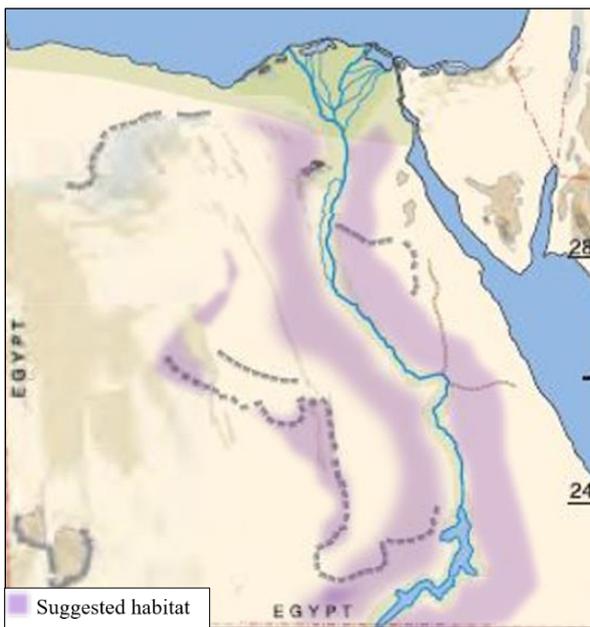


Figure 51. Suggested habitat and possible distribution of the hyena in ancient Egypt (Predynastic period – New Kingdom).

2.2.17 Bear - *Ursus arctos syriacus* (Syrian brown bear)

Relevant characteristics

The brown bear is one of the largest terrestrial carnivores but feeds on both plants and animals. Despite their bulky appearance, brown bears are good swimmers and, in rare cases, are known to climb in trees. Apart from breeding and cub raising, the brown bear is a solitary animal. The Syrian brown bear (*Ursus arctos syriacus*) is the smallest subspecies of the brown bear and has a light brown pelage (figure 52 and 53).²⁰⁷

Habitat

Brown bears can be found in a variety of habitats, most notably forests, shrublands, and wetlands, but also temperate desert regions.²⁰⁸

The brown bear has never been indigenous to Egypt or its desert regions,²⁰⁹ but the Syrian brown bear is native to the Near East and its historical habitat used to cover most parts of the region (figure 54).

Current status

The brown bear is the most widely distributed bear and can be found in North America, Europe and Asia (IUCN status: least concern). The Syrian brown bear is nearly extinct and has virtually disappeared from the Near East, but isolated subpopulations might still be present in Iran, Iraq and Turkey.²¹⁰

Egyptian name

Unfortunately, the few representations of the bear that exist in the iconography are not accompanied by a name. It is, however, believed that the word *htm.t* (Wb III, 198: 14) can be

²⁰⁷ Masseti, 2012: p. 187.

²⁰⁸ McLellan et al., 2017: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.UK.2017-3.RLTS.T41688A121229971.en> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

²⁰⁹ See however Manluis (1998) who argues that it is likely that the brown bear could be found in the Sinai and possibly the Eastern Desert during the discussed time period. However, even though brown bears lived in parts of north-west Africa until the 19th century (Algeria, Tunisia), recent DNA research suggests that it is possible that the ancestors of these North African brown bears did not reach the continent via the Middle East (Calvignac et al., 2009).

²¹⁰ Idem.

translated as bear.²¹¹ The term occurs in a few New Kingdom texts and is translated by the Wörterbuch as follows: ‘*ein wildes Tier in Syrien (neben Löwe und Panther genannt)*’. In PAPYRUS ANASTASI I the *ḥtm.t* is described as a tree-climbing animal. The text greatly resembles a depiction with a bear-like animal that is found in the temple of Luxor.²¹²

Relevant literature

Manlius, 1998.

Bohms, 2013: p. 44-48.

Wassell, 1991: I, p. 95-96.



Figure 52. Picture of a Syrian brown bear.

²¹¹ Posener, 1944; Wassell, 1991: I, p. 95; Bohms, 2013: p. 44.

²¹² See also below, p. 134-135 and figure 183.



Figure 53. Bears in the mortuary temple of Sahure. Abusir, Old Kingdom, Dynasty 5. (Berlin Inv.-Nr. ÄM 21828.)



Figure 54. Suggested origin and importation route of the Syrian brown bear into Egypt (Predynastic period – New Kingdom).

2.2.18 Horse - *Equus ferus caballus*

Relevant characteristics

There are no indications that wild horses used to be present in Egypt or elsewhere in North Africa after the Pleistocene period.²¹³ The domestic horse found its way into Egypt around the Second Intermediate Period. From the New Kingdom onwards, horses are often seen in the iconography, but it is not clear which breed or breeds are depicted. Just like present-day horses, the animals show many different colours, e.g. black, white, chestnut and mixed colours. Skeletal remains from several horses that have been found in Egypt demonstrate that the Egyptian horses were relatively small compared to modern domestic horses.²¹⁴

The domestic horse can be trained and put to use as a working animal or as a means of transportation. The ancient Egypt horses were most commonly used and depicted (in pairs) in front of a chariot (figure 55 and 56).

Habitat

Horses are not indigenous to Egypt and had to be imported from the Near East. Although there is a suggested connection between the Hyksos and the introduction of horses into Egypt, it is likely that the horses entered Egypt via various trade routes and regions to the north and north-east of Egypt, including the Levant, Syria and Anatolia (figure 57).²¹⁵

Current status

Domestic horses are very abundant and can be found in all parts of the world.

Egyptian name

There are two terms that are used to refer to horses: *ḥtr* (Wb III, 199: 11 – 200: 12) and *ssm.t* (Wb IV, 276: 18 – 277: 7). Before the arrival of the horse the term *ḥtr* had a meaning of ‘*team of yoked quadrupeds*’, referring to cattle or donkeys. By the end of the Hyksos period the word contracts its new meaning as a reference to horses and chariots, more concretely with a meaning of ‘*a team of horses (with a chariot)*’.²¹⁶

²¹³ Raulwing & Clutton-Brock, 2009: p. 40

²¹⁴ Idem, p. 49, 51.

²¹⁵ Bibby, 2003.

²¹⁶ Goldwasser, 2017: p. 48-49, 51.

The loanword *ssm.t* appears not much later and refers to the horse itself, rather than a team of chariot horses.²¹⁷ Another loanword, *ibr* (Wb I, 63: 15) is believed to have the meaning of ‘stallion’.²¹⁸

Relevant literature

Bohms, 2013: p. 260-277.

Wassell, 1991: I, p. 63-65.

Delpeut, 2018.

Raulwing & Clutton-Brock, 2009.

Goldwasser, 2017.



Figure 55. Picture of domestic horses.

²¹⁷ Idem, p. 53-54.

²¹⁸ Wassell, 1991: I, p. 64; Goldwasser, 2017: p. 55.



Figure 56. A pair of horses in the tomb of Menna (TT 69). Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, New Kingdom, Dynasty 18.



Figure 57. Suggested origin and importation route of the horse into Egypt (Predynastic period – New Kingdom).

2.2.19 Rhinoceros - *Diceros bicornis* and *Ceratotherium simum*

Relevant characteristics

Two rhinoceros species can still be found in Africa today, the black rhinoceros (*Diceros bicornis*) and the white rhinoceros (*Ceratotherium simum*). The white rhinoceros is characterised by a wide mouth and the black rhinoceros by a hooked mouth. The wide mouth is more suitable for grazing, whereas the hooked mouth is more suitable for browsing. Both species have two horns on their skull (figure 58 and 59). The white rhinoceros is considered more sociably than the black rhinoceros.²¹⁹

Habitat

The white rhinoceros prefers grassland and bushland savanna. The black rhinoceros inhabits a wider variety of regions, including savanna and shrubland, but also desert areas. Both species need to drink water daily.

The white rhinoceros used to live in Egypt but was already extinct by the time of the Predynastic - Early Dynastic period. Both species could be encountered in more southern regions and had to be imported to Egypt (figure 60).

Current status

The two species can still be found in southern Africa. The northern white rhinoceros used to be present in Sudan but is now extinct to the region and critically endangered with only two living individuals left. Although the number of white rhinoceros is rising, the species is still at risk due to the increased poaching threat (IUCN status: near threatened).²²⁰ The number of black rhinoceros is also rising, but their number is still very low. (IUCN status: critically endangered).²²¹

Egyptian name

The rhinoceros is called *škb*²²² and is only mentioned twice in the textual record.

Both instances are dated to the New Kingdom period.

²¹⁹ Pachur & Altmann, 2006: p. 492-493.

²²⁰ Emslie, 2020: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.UK.2012.RLTS.T4185A16980466.en> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

²²¹ Emslie, 2020a: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.UK.2012.RLTS.T6557A16980917.en> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

²²² Wassell, 1991: I, p. 56.

Relevant literature

Störk, 1977.

Wassell, 1991: I, p. 54-56.



Figure 58. Picture of a white rhinoceros.

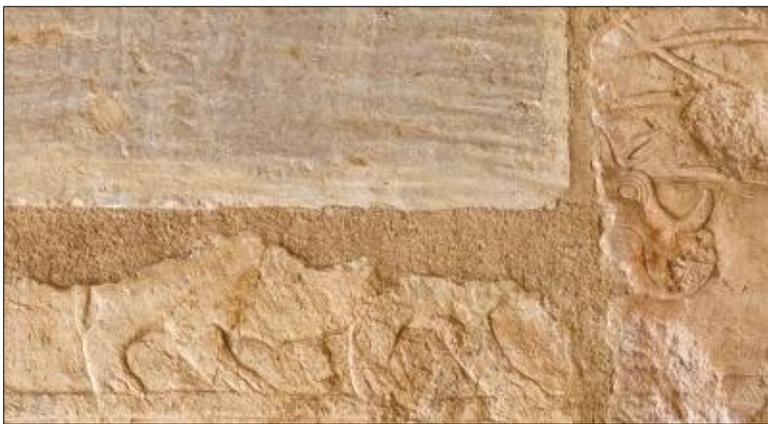


Figure 59. A rhinoceros in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri. New Kingdom, Dynasty 18.



Figure 60. Suggested origin and importation routes of the rhinoceros into Egypt (Predynastic period – New Kingdom).

2.2.20 Green monkey - *Chlorocebus aethiops*

Relevant characteristics

The green monkey has an olive to brownish coloured pelage with a white belly and black hands, feet, and face (figure 61 and 62). They are social animals and live in packs. The monkeys often sleep in trees and forage for food in groups.²²³ Like other monkeys, they use their hands for grabbing and carrying things.

Habitat

The African green monkey (or grivet monkey) can be found in a variety of habitats, including shrubland, open woodland and savanna regions. It is often found close to rivers and needs to drink water daily.²²⁴ The green monkey is not adapted to a (semi-) desert environment.

It used to be present in Egypt around 115.000 BCE, but most likely did not inhabit the country anymore by the time of the late Predynastic period - Early Dynastic period.

The animal could be encountered in or had to be imported from regions to the south or south-east of Egypt, e.g. Sudan, Eritrea or Ethiopia (figure 63).

Current status

The green monkey does not live in Egypt but can be found in sub-Saharan Africa. (IUCN status: Least Concern).²²⁵

Egyptian name

The green monkey is named *gif* (Wb V, 158: 12-20). Various alternative forms occur as well: *gwf* (Wb V, 160: 9), *gf* (Wb V, 166) or *gʒf* (Wb V, 155).²²⁶

It is unclear which monkey is referred to by the word *kʒry* (Wb V, 116: 9-10), *kyw* (Wb V, 110: 4) or *kyky* (Wb V, 116: 12). The monkey is described as an intelligent animal that can be tamed and trained to dance and carry objects.

²²³ Kingdon, 2013: I, p. 267-270.

²²⁴ Wallis, 2019: <https://dx.doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.UK.2019-3.RLTS.T4233A17957721.en> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

²²⁵ Idem.

²²⁶ Wassell, 1991: I, p. 78-79.

Relevant literature

Goudsmit, 2000 & 2000a.

Bohms, 2013: p. 11-33.

Wassell, 1991: I, p.75-80.

Kingdon, 2013: II, p. 267-271.



Figure 61. Picture of an African green monkey.



Figure 62. A green monkey in the tomb of Userhat (TT56). Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, New Kingdom, Dynasty 18.



Figure 63. Suggested origin and importation routes of the green monkey into Egypt (Predynastic period – New Kingdom).

2.2.21 Olive baboon and hamadryas baboon - *Papio anubis* and *Papio hamadryas*

Relevant characteristics

Two baboon species are represented in the ancient Egyptian record: the olive baboon (*Papio anubis*) and the hamadryas baboon (*Papio hamadryas*). The olive baboon is usually seen in the earlier periods and the hamadryas baboon most frequently occurs from the New Kingdom onwards. The olive baboon has a grey to olive-brown pelage and a dark face (figure 64 and 65).²²⁷ The hamadryas baboon has a lighter pelage and pink face. The males have a prominent greyish-white mane (figure 66 and 67). Both species are active during the day, live in groups and are very vocal.²²⁸

Habitat

The olive baboon can be found in a variety of habitats, such as grasslands, savannas, woodlands, and mountainous areas. The hamadryas baboon prefers a semi-desert environment. They need access to drinking water and a rocky environment to sleep.²²⁹

Baboons cannot be found in Egypt and there is no evidence that they were present in the Nile Valley region during the discussed period. The hamadryas baboon had to be imported from the Red Sea coast in the south-east (Eritrea and Ethiopia). Olive baboons could be found in Sudan to the south (figure 68).²³⁰

Current status

The olive baboon is a very abundant and widespread species and native to tropical Africa. (IUCN status: least concern).²³¹ The hamadryas baboon is primarily found in Ethiopia, but also in Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia, and in the south-west of the Arabian Peninsula. (IUCN: status: least concern).²³²

²²⁷ Kingdon, 2013: II, p. 233.

²²⁸ Idem, p. 221; 223-224.

²²⁹ Idem, p. 222.

²³⁰ Goudsmit, 2000: p. 96, fig. 6.3; Goudsmit 2000a: p. 20-21, pl. XX.

²³¹ Wallis, 2020: <https://dx.doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.UK.2020-2.RLTS.T40647A17953200.en> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

²³² Gippoliti, 2019: <https://dx.doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.UK.2019-3.RLTS.T16019A17953082.en> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

Egyptian name

The Egyptian word for baboon is *iʿn* (Wb I, 41: 5-9). Additionally, numerous epithets exist that refer to baboons as well.²³³ However, these epithets seem to refer to the appearance and behaviour of the baboon, rather than the actual animal.²³⁴ The sun-adorning monkeys, for example, are often referred to or depicted as baboons. These divine beings are also often named *imy.w-htt*, which can be translated as ‘those who scream’ or ‘those who rejoice’ (Wb II, 504: 4-6, 12).

Relevant literature

Bohms, 2013: p. 11-33.

Wassell, 1991: I, p.

Goudsmit, 2000 & 2000a.

Kingdon, 2013: II, p. 221-224; 233-238.



Figure 64. Picture of an olive baboon.

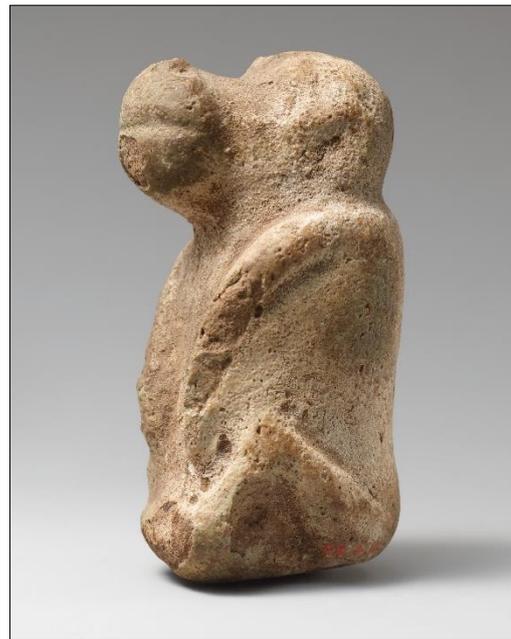


Figure 65. Figurine of an olive baboon. Abydos, Early Dynastic period. (New York MMA 03.4.4.)

²³³ See below, p. 229 and Wassell (1991: I, p. 77) for an extensive list.

²³⁴ Wassell, 1991: I, p. 77-78.



Figure 66. Picture of a hamadryas baboon.

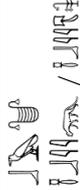


Figure 67. A hamadryas baboon in the tomb of Ay (KV 23). Valley of the Kings, New Kingdom period, Dynasty 18.



Figure 68. Suggested origin and importation routes of baboons into Egypt (Predynastic period – New Kingdom).

Naming the non-indigenous animals: English and ancient Egyptian terminology

Generic name	Scientific name	Transliteration	Hieroglyphic name	Wörterbuch reference
Hartebeest	<i>Alcelaphus buselaphus buselaphus</i> (Bubal hartebeest)	šš3.w (dbn.w / hbn)		Wb IV, 543: 5 Wb V, 568: 2 / Wb II, 487: 6
Aurochs	<i>Bos primigenius</i>	sm3 k3		Wb IV, 124: 1-10 Wb V, 94: 9-10
Wild canids (Wolf / jackals)	<i>Canis anthus lupaster</i> (Egyptian wolf; most common)	wns s3b (ishb)		Wb I, 324: 16-18 Wb III, 420: 5-13 Wb I, 132: 22
African wild dog	<i>Lycyaon pictus</i>	(wns) ?		Wb I, 324: 16-18
Hyena	<i>Hyaena hyaena</i> (Striped hyena)	ht.t htyi		Wb III, 203: 16-17
Lion	<i>Panthera leo</i>	m3i (rw)		Wb II, 11: 14-19 / 12: 2-5 Wb II, 403: 8
Leopard	<i>Panthera pardus</i>	b3 3by / 3by smc		Wb I, 415: 4 Wb I, 7: 11-13
Gazelle	<i>Gazella dorcas</i> (Dorca gazelle; most common)	ghs (gs3)		Wb V, 191: 1-9 Wb V, 206: 2
Ibex	<i>Capra ibex nubiana</i> (Nubian ibex)	n3w (nr3w / im3.t)		Wb II, 202: 1-4 Wb II, 280: 3 / Wb I, 79: 1-2
Barbary sheep	<i>Ammotragus lervia</i>	ib3w		Wb I, 62: 18
Oryx	<i>Oryx dammah</i> (Scimitar-horned oryx; most common)	m3-hd m3		Wb II, 11: 3-8
Addax	<i>Addax nasomaculatus</i>	nwdw		Wb II, 226: 15-16

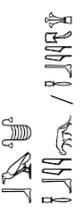
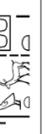
Cheetah	<i>Acinonyx jubatus</i>	<i>b3</i> <i>3by / 3by mh</i>		Wb I, 415: 4 Wb I, 7: 11, 14
Giraffe	<i>Giraffa camelopardalis</i>	<i>mmy</i> <i>(sr)</i>		Wb II, 58: 14 Wb IV, 189
Elephant	<i>Loxodonta africana</i> (African elephant) <i>Elephas maximus asurus</i> (Syrian elephant)	<i>3bw</i>		Wb I, 7: 15
Rhinoceros	<i>Diceros bicornis</i> (Black rhinoceros) <i>Ceratotherium simum</i> (White rhinoceros)	<i>s'kb</i>		Not in Wb : Mond & Myers, 1940: II, pl. CIII.
Green monkey	<i>Chlorocebus aethiops</i> (African green monkey)	<i>gif</i> <i>(g3f / gwf / gf)</i> <i>(kyw / k3ry / kyky) ?</i>		Wb V, 158: 12-20 Wb V, 155 / 160: 9 / 166 Wb V, 110: 4 / 116: 9-10, 12
Baboon	<i>Papio anubis</i> (Olive baboon) <i>Papio hamadryas</i> (Hamadryas baboon)	<i>i'n</i>		Wb I, 41: 5-9
Bear	<i>Ursus arctos syriacus</i> (Syrian brown bear)	<i>h'm.t</i>		Wb III, 198: 14
Deer	<i>Dama dama mesopotamica</i> (Mesopotamian fallow deer)	<i>h'm</i> <i>i(3)yr</i>		Wb II, 495: 19-20 Wb I, 38: 16
Horse	<i>Equus ferus caballus</i>	<i>h'ir</i> <i>ssm.t</i> <i>(ibr)</i>		Wb III, 199: 11 – 200: 12 Wb IV, 276: 18 – 277: 7 Wb I, 63: 15
Desert game	-	<i>5w.t n.t h3s.t</i>		Wb I, 170: 14

Table 2. Naming the non-indigenous animals: English and ancient Egyptian terminology

2.3 The ʿw.t (n.t) ḥ3s.t

There is no ancient Egyptian word for ‘non-indigenous animals’. However, many of the animals that are discussed in this thesis can be part of the ‘ʿw.t (n.t) ḥ3s.t’. This term is constructed of the words ʿw.t and ḥ3s.t. Both words will be briefly discussed below, followed by an interpretation of the term ʿw.t (n.t) ḥ3s.t.

ḥ3s.t 

The term ḥ3s.t is usually translated as hill country, desert, or foreign country.²³⁵ The word uses the ‘hills’ determinative (N25 ) , which also functions as a phonetic ideogram of the word ḥ3s.t itself. The determinative is interpreted as a visual representation of the rugged and hilly terrain that is found in the proximity of, but outside the Nile Valley.²³⁶ Cooper argues that the first meaning of the word is therefore ‘hill country’ and only by extension refers to foreign land.²³⁷ This means that the primary focus seems to lie on a topographic foreignness, that could extend to a political foreignness.

As such, the term xAs.t and the hill-determinative can, for example, be used to refer to the hilly and mountainous desert region to the east of Egypt: ḥ3s.t-i3b.t .²³⁸

The hill-determinative is also given to the necropolis or desert and even to the (hidden) valley where Thutmoses IV apparently found his Nubian enemies: .²³⁹ Certainly, such a valley would not be hilly or mountainous, but it is a physical landform that is located *outside* of Egypt. All these locations can therefore be considered foreign from a topographic point of view, but not necessarily from a political point of view.

An interpretation of the term xAs.t and the hill-determinative as ‘foreign country’ might be more suited for the instances where the emphasis lies on locations and toponyms (or ethnonyms) that are not only foreign to Egypt from a topographical point of view, but also in a political sense, for example the ‘Goldland of Kush’: ḥ3s.t-nbw-n(y)-Kš .²⁴⁰

²³⁵ Wb III, 234: 7 – 235: 21; Hofmann, 2000: p. 17.

²³⁶ Cooper, 2015: p. 34.

²³⁷ Cooper, 2015: p. 102.

²³⁸ Urk IV: 1547, 17.

²³⁹ Urk IV: 1547, 20.

²⁴⁰ Mahfouz, 2005: p. 72; Cooper, 2015: p. 107.

Interestingly, the hill-determinative is not only given to ‘real’ foreign locations, but also to various localities in the afterworld, ‘perhaps positioning these places as part of the same sphere as foreign places outside of the Nile (...)’.²⁴¹ An example is found in the writing of Nedit, the place where Osiris was murdered: .²⁴² However, this toponym can be written with the ‘Egyptian-place’ determinative (O49 ) as well: .²⁴³ According to Cooper, this interchangeability occurs at locations that were topographically ambiguous, and therefore difficult to place either inside or outside the Nile Valley. In this case ‘(...) the confusion was due to the very nature of the unobserved environment of the netherworld, making it difficult for the scribe (or author) to know which classifier was appropriate’.²⁴⁴

Thus, even though the word *h3s.t* and the ‘hills’ determinative are indeed used for multiple types of landscapes and topographies, these regions all have a communal factor: they are found outside of Egypt.²⁴⁵ A fitting translation of the word would be *foreign space* outside of the Nile region.²⁴⁶ It further depends on context whether this foreign space refers to a hilly region, political foreign country or even a location in the afterworld. The term therefore intrinsically includes the totality of locations outside of the human habitation and cultivation area, but also outside of human experience. Depending on context, the foreignness of these spaces is therefore embedded in and expressed by a topographic, political and / or metaphysical dichotomy and contrast between the *h3s.t* and the domestic Nile Valley.

ʿw.t 

The term *ʿw.t* is a more ambiguous term. It is commonly agreed upon that the word refers to an animal or a group of animals. However, the exact meaning remains somewhat of a debate and a translation of the term is not without difficulties.

According to Wassell, the term *ʿw.t* most closely resembles ‘mammal’. As the word most commonly takes the sheep or goat determinative () , these animals can be seen as the

²⁴¹ Cooper, 2015: p. 36.

²⁴² PT 412: § 721b.

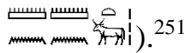
²⁴³ PT 247: § 260b.

²⁴⁴ Cooper, 2015: p. 41.

²⁴⁵ ‘For the Nile-centric culture of the Egyptians, it sufficed to illustrate whether a toponym was in or outside the Nile Valley (...)’ (Cooper, 2014: p. 44).

²⁴⁶ Cooper, 2015: p. 36.

most typical examples of the group.²⁴⁷ The term can also be found in a ‘desert’ context. In these instances, the gazelle is the most typical animal of the group: .²⁴⁸

Goldwasser argues that in the Old Kingdom period the term refers to cervine animals,²⁴⁹ such as goats, antelopes and deer. From the Middle Kingdom onwards, it can also include bovines. A suited translation would therefore be ‘*herbivore quadrupeds*’.²⁵⁰ However, even though cattle could indeed be referred to by the word as well, the term $\epsilon_{w.t}$ is, as stated above, most commonly accompanied by a goat or sheep determinative. As such, the word is often translated as small domestic livestock (*Kleinvieh*), as opposed to (herds of) larger livestock or herds of cattle (*Großvieh*—*mnmn.t*: ).²⁵¹

Meeks, on the other hand, suggests that $\epsilon_{w.t}$ includes all animals that have been controlled by humans and that are kept in a confinement. As such, the term could refer to domesticated animals, but also to captured desert animals that were destined for slaughter. A mix of both domesticated animal-determinatives and desert animal-determinatives can indeed be given to $\epsilon_{w.t}$: .²⁵²

Additionally, he argues that the difference between $\epsilon_{w.t}$ and *mnmn.t* should not be sought in the size of the animals (*Kleinvieh* versus *Großvieh*), but rather relates to variations in freedom of movement: confined animals *versus* (herds of) animals enjoying a certain freedom of movement in nature, even if they are supervised by humans (e.g. grassland cattle).²⁵³

As such, domestic animals that are usually classified as $\epsilon_{w.t}$ could also be included in *mnmn.t*, but this is never the case for the $\epsilon_{w.t}$ (*n.t*) *h3s.t*. Certainly, these wild desert animals would run away if they were allowed to roam around in semi-freedom.²⁵⁴ Thus, according to Meeks, the term $\epsilon_{w.t}$ does not refer to a taxonomic classification, but rather to the economic use of the animals in question, and more specifically to the lack of freedom of movement.²⁵⁵

²⁴⁷ Wassell, 1991: I, p. 59.

²⁴⁸ Wassell, 1991: I, p. 9-10; Newberry, 1893: II, pl XXX.

²⁴⁹ Goldwasser uses this term to refer to ‘herbivorous quadrupeds with different types of horns’, excluding the subfamily *Bovinae* (Goldwasser, 2002: p. 63: fn. 17).

²⁵⁰ Goldwasser, 2002: p. 84: ‘*quadrupeds – not including carnivores*’.

²⁵¹ Wb I, 170: 7-18; Wb II, 81: 17-23. See also Bohms, 2013: p. 2-3; Guth, 2019: p. 73-74.

²⁵² Frankfort, 1933: I, p. 68; II, pl. LXXV.

²⁵³ See also Goldwasser (2002: p. 72), who translates the term as ‘*the moving ones*’ or ‘*the roaming ones*’.

²⁵⁴ Meeks, 2012: p. 528-529.

²⁵⁵ Meeks, 2012: p. 523-526; see also Guth (2018, p. 10) who puts an emphasis on the inherent notion of movement attached to *mnmn.t* as well.

Guth, on the other hand, argues that the meaning of the word w.t heavily depends on context, and that it can refer to many different animals and animal combinations: ‘*So kann m.E. ohne Probleme festgehalten werden, dass der jeweiligen durch w.t bezeichnete Begriff je nach Kontext entweder als allgemeiner Sammelbegriff „Kleinvieh“ gebraucht wird oder dass damit eine spezifische bzw. zwei bis mehrere Tierarten wie Ziegen(herde), Schaf(herde), Schweine(herde), Esel(herde) etc. bezeichnet werden können, was nicht zwingend an chronologischen Veränderungen oder Entwicklungen festgemacht werden kann, sondern je nach Kontext variieren und daher ganz individuell entschieden werden kann*’.²⁵⁶

w.t (n.t) h3s.t 

This context-based approach of the words $h3s.t$ and w.t is especially relevant and applicable when one takes a closer look at the combined term w.t (n.t) h3s.t , which is usually translated as desert animals,²⁵⁷ desert game,²⁵⁸ or small-cattle of the desert.²⁵⁹ The term only uses herbivorous desert animals as determinatives, such as the gazelle, ibex and oryx. In a few cases, all three of these animals are included simultaneously: .

In order to obtain a better understanding of this term it is not enough to look at the textual examples, including the use of (animal) determinatives, but it is essential to include the iconographic record as well. The tomb of Rekhmire, for example, mentions the presentation of the w.t (n.t) h3s.t (with a gazelle determinative). The accompanying iconography shows a row and a pile of animals that indeed include various herbivores, but also wild canid species.²⁶¹ A closer look at the iconography therefore illuminates that the term w.t (n.t) h3s.t does not exclusively refer to the small-cattle or herbivorous animals of the desert, but to carnivores as well.

Similarly, the term does not exclusively refer to animals that have (already) been contained and that have a clear economic purpose. In the desert hunting scenes, the animals are indeed often depicted in (large) enclosures, but the w.t (n.t) h3s.t are also described and depicted as wild animals that roam around freely in the desert regions surrounding Egypt. THE TALE OF THE

²⁵⁶ Guth, 2018, p. 74.

²⁵⁷ ‘Wild der Wüste’: Wb I, 170: 14; Hannig, 1995: 132.

²⁵⁸ E.g. Goldwasser, 2002: p. 70, fn. 37.

²⁵⁹ Thuault, 2017: p. 322-324.

²⁶⁰ Von Bissing, 1911: II, pl. XXVI.

²⁶¹ Davies, 1943: pl. XLIV and XLV; see also below, figure 174: bottom register.

DOOMED PRINCE, for example, mentions a journey into the foreign desert regions, where the protagonist keeps himself alive by hunting all the wild animals ($\epsilon_{w.t} nb n h_{3s.t}$).²⁶² Moreover, it is not true that members of the $\epsilon_{w.t} (n.t) h_{3s.t}$ are never part of the *mnmn.t*.²⁶³

Even though it can be argued that oftentimes the ultimate intent of the hunt is the containment of these wild animals, the focus of the term $\epsilon_{w.t} (n.t) h_{3s.t}$ itself seems to lie more on the foreign origin of the animals (combined with the act of hunting or collecting), than on the result or aim of such a hunt. In this respect, it is also important to mention that fantasy animals can be part of the hunted desert animals as well.²⁶⁴ Obviously, the concrete economic relevance of these creatures is non-existing.

Interestingly, desert animals can be included as part of the ‘normal’ $\epsilon_{w.t}$, but domesticated and Nile-bound animals are never part of the $\epsilon_{w.t} (n.t) h_{3s.t}$. Clearly, an animal had to be wild and come from *outside* of Egypt to be part of the $\epsilon_{w.t} (n.t) h_{3s.t}$. Monkeys, however, are not part of the $\epsilon_{w.t} (n.t) h_{3s.t}$, even though they are wild and were not found in Egypt. These animals had to be imported from more southern regions with a greater resemblance to the Nile Valley than to the desert or semi-desert regions. As such, they were not encountered during hunting activities that took place in a contrasting landscape. The primary focus therefore lies on the environmental and scenic dichotomy between the Nile Valley and its contrasting desert and semi-desert surroundings, and not necessarily on a political foreignness. Additionally, the animal must be linked to hunting pursuits.

The term $\epsilon_{w.t} (n.t) h_{3s.t}$ therefore seems to refer to and include all the *wild* animals that are found in the *contrasting landscapes* outside of the Nile Valley (i.e. the desert and semi-desert regions) and that can be included in a *hunting* (or collecting) setting. The essence of this interpretation is already captured in the commonly used translation of the term as ‘desert game’.

However, here too a context-based approach is essential. The above has demonstrated that the term $\epsilon_{w.t} (n.t) h_{3s.t}$ could indeed be used as a collective term for all the desert wildlife that is found in a hunting context. Nevertheless, more often than not the term specifically refers to a

²⁶² pHarris 500: verso 5,2-5,3: LES, p. 3-3a; Popko, L. in: TLA; see below p. 375.

²⁶³ Goldwasser, 2002: p. 73; Bohms, 2013: p. 2.

²⁶⁴ E.g. Tomb of Baqet III (no. 15: Kanawati & Woods, 2010: photo 205-206; Decker & Herb, 1994: J 66: I, p. 319-320, II, Taf. CXLVI); tomb of Khnumhotep II (no. 3: Kanawati & Evans, 2014: pl. 36b-c, 37a; Decker & Herb, 1994: J 77: I, 324-326; II, Taf. CLIII); tomb of Khety (no. 17: Kanawati & Woods, 2010: photo 207; Decker & Herb, 1994: J 67: I, p. 320).

smaller group of desert animals, in particularly the most representative of these animals: the (larger) prey animals of the desert, such as the gazelle, oryx and ibex.

The term 'desert game' is used in the same manner throughout this thesis: the emphasis lies on the (larger) prey animals, but it occasionally refers to the totality of hunted desert animals as a collective.

2.4 Otherness, alienism, alterity and non-indigenous animals

All the discussed non-indigenous animals have in common that their natural habitat is situated outside of the fertile Nile region and the human habitation and cultivation zone.

Nevertheless, the relationship between these animal ‘outsiders’ and the ancient Egyptians is characterised by a great ambivalence. This ambivalence, which consists of a constant shift between ideas of hostility and benefit, and inclusion and exclusion, can be seen throughout the whole discussed period.

Assmann²⁶⁵ and Moers²⁶⁶, amongst others, wrote about the concept of ‘otherness’ in ancient Egypt. Although the focus of these articles lies on humans and human interaction, these conceptualisations can be related to and are relevant for this research. Both authors make a distinction between two different forms of ‘otherness’, namely alienism (*Fremdheit*) and alterity (*Andersheit*). Assmann describes the two terms as follows:

*‘Der Andere ist der Partner in einem übergreifenden System symbolischer Klassifikation und Kontradistinktion. Der Andere entsteht durch Individuation, Abgrenzung, aber nicht durch Ausgrenzung. Die Grenze, die zwischen „mir“ und dem Anderen, „uns“ und den Anderen gezogen wird, ist immer eine „Grenze zwischen“, niemals eine „Grenze bis“; es handelt sich um eine gegenseitige Abgrenzung. Fremdheit dagegen entsteht als das Jenseits einer „Grenze bis“, die sich als Horizont von Eigenheit und Vertrautheit bestimmen läßt (...)’.*²⁶⁷

Moers too describes alienism as a construction of otherness that is based on total exclusion. As such, the perception of the excluded oscillates heavily between the extremes of fear and threat on the one side, and fascination that is triggered by the people and the products on the other side.²⁶⁸

At first sight, many of the settings and sources incorporating non-indigenous animals that will be discussed in this thesis seem to perfectly fit into these descriptions of alienism.

²⁶⁵ Assmann, 1996.

²⁶⁶ Moers, 2004.

²⁶⁷ Assmann, 1996: p. 78.

²⁶⁸ Moers, 2004: 128-129; Assmann (1996: p. 78) states that this fascination (which he describes as exoticism) increases alienism.

Certainly, the ‘chaotic’ desert animals and the ‘exclusive’ tribute animals express a type of otherness that clearly emphasises fear and fascination. However, this attempt of exclusion because of destruction or fascination, goes hand in hand with a certain experience with, and thus inclusion of, the other. As such, an otherness that is constructed as absolute, is in fact accompanied by at least some knowledge of and familiarity with this other.²⁶⁹

This demonstrates ‘*daß man von einer soliden Vertrautheit mit der Unvertrautheit ausgehen kann*’.²⁷⁰

Non-indigenous animals are used in contexts that explicitly put an emphasis on their foreignness and otherness, but this otherness is often explained by emphasising and / or depicting specific characteristics that demonstrate a great familiarity with these animals. This also becomes clear when non-indigenous animals are used as figurative expressions. Their presence in metaphors or similes automatically demonstrates a level of familiarity, or as Grapow writes:

*‘Die wesentliche Aufgabe jedes bildlichen Ausdrucks, sei es eines eigentlichen Vergleichs, sei es eines abgekürzten, also einer Metapher, ist die, etwas Unklares zu verdeutlichen, für etwas schwer Meßbares doch einen Maßstab zu geben, kurz „ein unbekanntes Verhältnis auf ein bekanntes zurückzuführen“ (...). Zu diesem Zweck, dem er überhaupt seine Entstehung verdankt (...) überträgt der Vergleich etwa eine Eigenschaft, Form, Farbe u. ä. eines Wesens oder Dinges auf das, was verdeutlicht werden soll’.*²⁷¹

This rather paradoxical construct indicates that the non-indigenous animals are indeed considered as the other, or express and emphasise ideas of otherness. This type of otherness can be compared to a (premature form of) alterity rather than alienism, or should maybe even be seen as an in-between form of alterity and alienism. The non-indigenous animals can indeed be considered as threatening or fascinating entities, but they are never radically unknown. They are indeed characterised by an inherent, but not an absolute type of otherness. Depending on context, this type of otherness is consequently used to express, accentuate, shift between or fuse various different concepts.

²⁶⁹ Moers (2004: p. 130) describes this as premature form of alterity.

²⁷⁰ Moers, 2004: p. 130.

²⁷¹ Grapow, 1924: p. 3-4.

2.5 The afterworld, liminality and non-indigenous places

The inherent, but not absolute type of otherness that is characteristic for the non-indigenous animals is especially important in various otherworldly and liminal settings, which will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5. However, in order to understand and explain the inclusion of these animals in these specific contexts it is important to recognise various underlying fundamentals of the ancient Egyptian (after)world view(s). This topic is already discussed here, because these fundamentals form an integral part of the other chapters as well, especially when expressions of chaos, power, or prosperity are embedded in an afterworldly setting or when the dichotomy between foreign places and Egypt is emphasised.

The following will discuss how the afterworld and the world of the living are related, and how this relationship is used to conceptualise the appearance of the afterworld. Furthermore, it will be mentioned how elements of and actions in this world are used to conceptualise ideas of passage and initiation to and in the afterworld.

2.5.1. Non-indigenous regions as liminal zones

Although ‘the west’ is clearly the place of the dead in this world,²⁷² it has to be admitted that it remains somewhat unclear if the term already refers to a distinct region in the afterworld in the Old Kingdom, as is certainly the case in later periods (e.g. the AMDUAT).²⁷³ Nevertheless, these ideas overlapped to a considerable extent, clearly demonstrating the (half) otherworldly character of the west and the desert region. Non-indigenous regions, namely the desert regions surrounding Egypt, as well as far-away located foreign countries situated at the ‘edge of existence’, can be seen as liminal zones between this world and the next.

The landscape and environment of the barren desert regions are completely different from and can be seen as the opposite of the fertile Nile region. In a sense, the desert is literally situated between life and death. Here, life itself is sparse and death is always lurking, since travelling the region can be a dangerous undertaking. An overlap between life and death, between this world and the next, is especially eminent for the west and the Western Desert. This is the place where the sun goes down every night, and where the dead are usually buried: ‘*When you set at the western 3h.t, the land is in darkness and in a state of death*’.²⁷⁴ As such, the west, the

²⁷² Fitzenreiter, 2009: p. 329, fn. 9.

²⁷³ Hornung, 1963: II, p. 3; Hornung, 1987: I, p. 110; Richter, 2008: p. 82.

²⁷⁴ Great Hymn to the Aten (tomb of Aye, no. 25): Davies, 1908: p. 30, pl. XXVII, 3; Lichtheim, 1976: p. 97; Sperveslage, G. in: TLA.

Western Desert and the necropolis are used as each other's equivalents as places of death. Many Old Kingdom tombs mention the burial of the deceased in these places: *'may he be buried in the west'*²⁷⁵ / *'in the Western Desert'*²⁷⁶ / *'in the necropolis in the Western Desert'*.²⁷⁷ The tomb, which in itself also connects the living and the world of the living with the dead and the world of the dead, can be a personified form of the Western Desert as well. In the tomb of Amenemhat she says: *'That I embrace you with my arms, that I lead life to you, that I indeed be the protection of your body'*.²⁷⁸ Thus, the desert regions, and especially the west and Western Desert, are simultaneously other and foreign places and the realm of the dead. Furthermore, the otherworldly character of the desert, but also of far-away countries can be explained by looking at the 'distance decay' effect: *'in nonindustrial societies, distance was an almost insurmountable barrier, and, in consequence, mythical qualities were ascribed to distance. To travel beyond the visible horizon was not just to journey a long distance, it was to reach the conjunction of earth and sky'*.²⁷⁹ Concretely, this means that *'the further away from one's own home space one is, the less is known about the location and consequently the more general, or even fantastic, the descriptions of the landscape'*.²⁸⁰ Thus, the distinction between the imaginary world and the real world increasingly fades as the physical distance between places grows. Of course, this effect is primarily based on the fact that an increase in distance simultaneously means an increase in unfamiliarity. As such, an overlap between this world and the next can be observed, emphasising aspects such as otherness, differences, oppositions and distance between Egypt and non-indigenous regions.

Nevertheless, this does not mean at all that the Egyptians avoided these regions of danger, death, and opposition. Apart from seeing the desert as a hazardous wasteland, it was also a region of potential. By leaving the Nile Valley and travelling into the desert and far away-countries, the traveller would indeed experience *'another realm remote and outside the regular temporality of life by the Nile. To the sedentary valley inhabitants the desert would have represented 'out there', an area of mystery and wonder which was symbolically remote from everyday life'*.²⁸¹

²⁷⁵ E.g. in the tomb of Khuwiber (G 8674): Hassan, 1944: p. 250, fig. 108; Grunert, S. in: TLA.

²⁷⁶ E.g. in the tomb-complex of Meresankh III (G 7530-7540): Dunham & Simpson, 1974: fig. 10; Grunert, S. in: TLA.

²⁷⁷ E.g. in the tomb of Ti: Steindorff, 1913: Taf. 139; Grunert, S. in: TLA.

²⁷⁸ Davies, 1915: p. 48, pl. X; Hays, 2010: p. 7.

²⁷⁹ Pirie, 2009: p. 250.

²⁸⁰ Robinson, 2006: p. 120.

²⁸¹ Lankester, 2016: § 13.

In this respect, Lankester interprets the Predynastic desert hunt as a rite of passage. The desert hunt will be interpreted from various conceptual points of view in the chapters that follow. In chapter 3, for example, it is stressed that the focus of the Predynastic desert hunt does not lie on the actual killing of the animal(s), but on their domination.²⁸² However, it could simultaneously be argued that this lack of killing stresses the importance of the *experience* of hunting and the *journey* out into the desert environment.²⁸³ Here too, the emphasis lies on the dichotomy between Egypt and the chaotic other. However, at the same time, this otherness and unfamiliarity is also perceived in a more positive sense. Apart from being a dangerous, negative, and chaotic place, the desert is also an awe-inspiring, mysterious, and special place. It is the complete opposite of the familiar, normal, and trivial life in the Nile Valley. The elite hunters departed from the normal social world and by ‘going out there’ they entered and experienced a liminal zone, an area between the normally ordered social world and the supernatural otherworld, after which they returned as transformed and heroic figures:²⁸⁴ *‘here in the space between this world and the next, the participants engage in a series of intensely emotional and physical acts and can achieve a sublimely real transformation of who they are. As a result, those who undertake the journey return as ‘special’ and possess new power, which includes the ability to dominate the normal/social world. This then feeds in to their political power’.*²⁸⁵ The returned elite hunters did not only conquer chaos, but also experienced and conquered the unknown. For this process of transformation to be successful, they had to go far away from the everyday environment and come back again: *‘the subjects could draw on the power of the liminal realm, and then complete their transformation on re-entering and re-engaging with the normal social world’.*²⁸⁶ Experiencing otherness is thus of essential importance and focusses on opposing rhythms of life. Amongst others, this dichotomy is found in other routines, activities, different environments – and indeed special and unknown animals.

However, at the same time it can be said that the *‘natural resources derived from geomorphically complex regions in the deserts and hills surrounding the immediate Nile valley imply a familiarity with desert and rocky environments’.*²⁸⁷ Furthermore, the desert regions were the points of connection between Egypt and foreign countries that were located even further away. Networks of roads linked the Nile Valley with the resources and regions in the desert

²⁸² See below, p. 106

²⁸³ Lankester, 2016: § 11. Note also that killing the animals is often seen in a Nile hunting context (Hendrickx, 2013: p. 249), again demonstrating a conceptual difference between the two types of hunts.

²⁸⁴ Lankester, 2016: § 4.

²⁸⁵ Idem: § 5.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ Robinson, 2003: p. 57.

regions and beyond. Contacts between Egypt and far-away regions already existed in prehistoric times and continued to be present throughout the whole pharaonic period, in some periods more extensive than in other.²⁸⁸ The same is true for the afterworld. This is an unknown place because no one ever visited and returned from it and explained to the people on earth what he or she had encountered.²⁸⁹ It can also be considered unknown, because one does not need a map or a guide for a place one is familiar with. However, simultaneously the afterworld can be considered a known location, because the ancient Egyptian sources described in detail what this place looked like.²⁹⁰ This means, that the desert and other foreign regions (both real and imaginary places) have in common that they are simultaneously experienced as known and unknown, familiar and unfamiliar: they are ‘in-between’ zones. It can thus be said that ‘*there were two types of encounters between Egypt and other lands: those that actually occurred (...) and those with imaginary lands invented by the Egyptians*’.²⁹¹

The ‘real’ far-away regions apparently lay at the border of Egyptian knowledge and human experience, but were not completely unknown and were technically accessible to the Egyptians. This contrasts with the ‘imaginary’ afterworld, which exists outside of human experience and which was deliberately made inaccessible to humans.²⁹² However, for the ancient Egyptians themselves, the afterworld was not an ‘imaginary world’: it was very much part of reality.²⁹³ Still, ideas considering the layout of the afterworld had to come from somewhere. Indeed: ‘*the imaginary can never be totally novel, only projected as an extension or inversion of the known*’.²⁹⁴ As such, it is interesting to see that the ‘more familiar’ and real unknown and other (i.e. the desert and additional foreign regions) can be used to conceptualise the imaginary unknown and other: the afterworld.²⁹⁵ Just as ‘*details of non-western culture are borrowed to realise the exotic*’ in modern science-fiction,²⁹⁶ details of non-indigenous regions are borrowed to realise the afterworld and afterlife. Consequently, the boundary between the real world and the metaphysical world can sometimes be rather subjective and unclear.²⁹⁷ Moreover, the landscape and appearance of the afterlife were formed according to and based on the real-life

²⁸⁸ See e.g. Andelkovic, 1995.

²⁸⁹ Robinson, 2006: p. 120.

²⁹⁰ This is somewhat of a paradox: why would one need a map of a familiar place?

²⁹¹ Layton, 2003: p. 203.

²⁹² O’Connor & Quirke, 2003: p.1.

²⁹³ This is of course true for all religions that incorporate concepts of an afterworld.

²⁹⁴ Layton, 2003: p. 203.

²⁹⁵ Layton, 2003: p. 211.

²⁹⁶ Layton, 2003: p. 211-212.

²⁹⁷ Robinson, 2014: p. 192.

experiences the Egyptians gained from their own environment. Robinson, for example, puts a special emphasis on the similarities between the description of the afterworld in the AMDUAT and the characteristics of the desert landscapes located at both sides of Egypt. Of special interest is a region called Rosetau. It literally means ‘*place of dragging*’ and is linked to a variety of interconnected places, belonging to this world as well as the afterlife. Originally, it was part of the Memphite necropolis and sacred to Sokar. Alternatively, it occurs as a place in the afterworld. In the Book of Two Ways it appears as the culmination of two paths, one of land and one of water, at the border of the sky. It is the underground place which contains the corps of Osiris underneath a mountain of sand. Furthermore, it is also the designation of the centre of the AMDUAT, more precisely the domain of the Fourth and Fifth Hours.²⁹⁸ This place is clearly different from the rest of the composition, and comprises a sandy region dedicated to Sokar. Here, the solar bark needs to be dragged over the sand:²⁹⁹ ‘*from the fourth Hour, the solar bark begins a descent into a desert world, where it is dragged over sand and rock, passing snakes and scorpions, some benign, others evil. Doors bar the ways through this landscape of ‘mysterious ways of Ro-setau’ and secret passages*’³⁰⁰ (figure 69). In the same respect, Schneider also describes the major impact the real-life environment could have had on the conceptualisation of the landscape of the *dw3.t*. He believes that the two gigantic sweet-water oceans that are mentioned in the Second and Third Hours of the AMDUAT refer to the Chad Basin, where two major lakes were situated in pharaonic times.³⁰¹ Similarly, these regions in the afterworld can be inhabited by non-indigenous animals that are encountered in real non-indigenous regions.³⁰² As such, it can be argued that: ‘*the landscape of the Am Duat should be seen as a mirror image of this world, a metaphysical overlay, unknown and inaccessible to the living, yet laid upon, around and within the physical environment but known only to the divinities or solar visitors who nightly might pass through its ways*’.³⁰³

Moreover, the presence of ‘imaginary animals’ in descriptions of the afterworld as well as in some desert hunting scenes³⁰⁴ demonstrates the half-otherworldly character of the ‘other’ regions that surround Egypt. On the one hand, the real world is integrated into the imaginary world. On the other hand, aspects of the imaginary world are seen in the real world. The desert regions surrounding Egypt, as well as the far-away countries located at the edge of existence

²⁹⁸ Coche-Zivie, 1984: p. 303-309 (LÄ V: ‘*Ro-setau (R3-st3w)*’); Hermsen, 1991: p. 82, fn. 22, p. 111, 236.

²⁹⁹ Hornung, 1999: p. 36.

³⁰⁰ Robinson, 2003: p. 53.

³⁰¹ Schneider, 2010a: p. 6.

³⁰² Schneider, 2010a: p. 11: ‘*At any rate, the palaeoecology of the Chad palaeolakes confirms the presence of pythons and other animals mentioned in the second and third hours of the Amduat, such as baboons (..)*’.

³⁰³ Robinson, 2003: p. 55.

³⁰⁴ See below, p. 118 and p. 262, fn. 1219.

perfectly fit the description of a liminal zone, a zone that is *'betwixt and between the normally ordered social world and the supernatural other/next world'*.³⁰⁵ An overlap between the afterworld and real geographical non-indigenous regions can thus be observed (figure 70). A binding factor is found in the fact that both are simultaneously experienced as known and unknown, familiar and unfamiliar, and are situated on the edge of knowledge and human existence. As such, non-indigenous regions can indeed be seen as liminal zones.

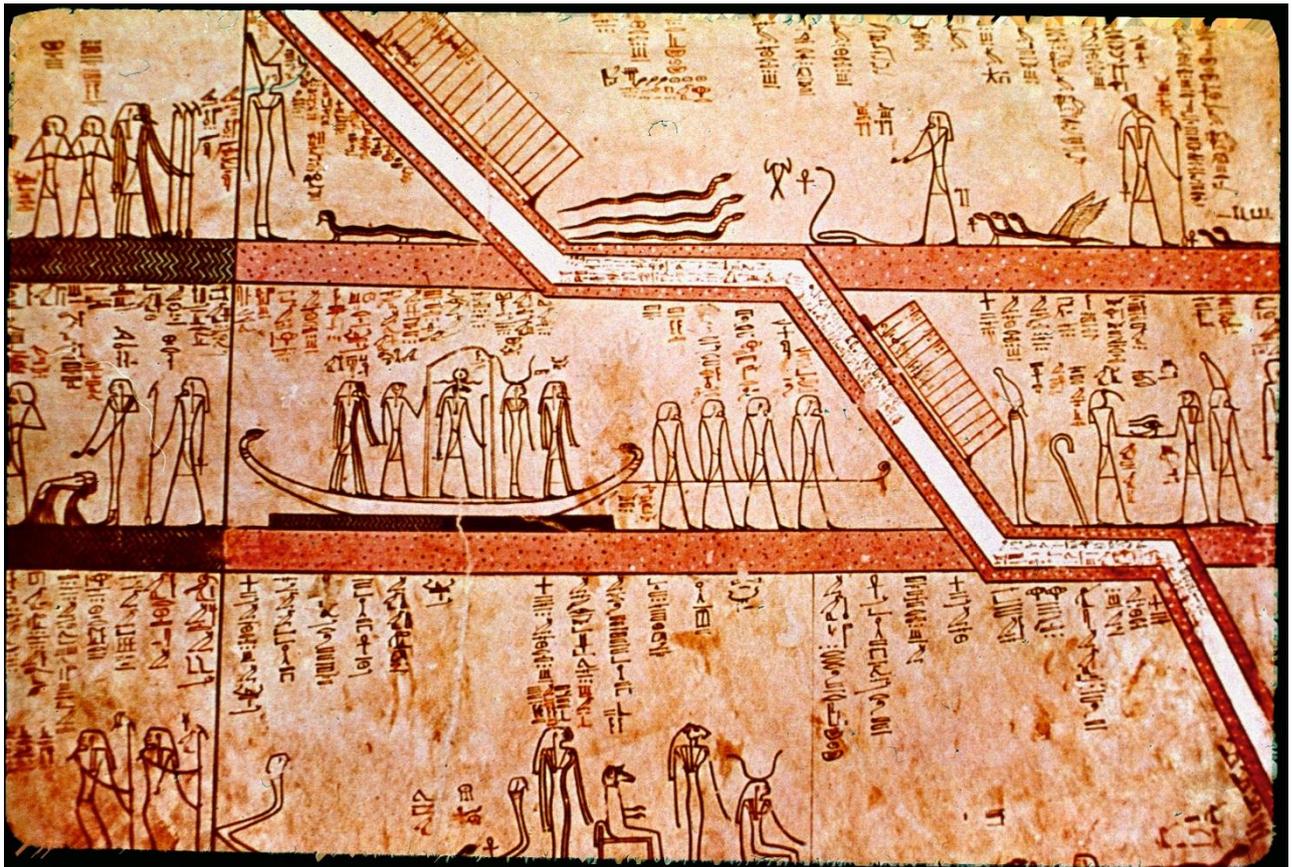


Figure 69. The desert region as an inspiration for the Fourth Hour of the Amduat in the tomb of Thutmose III (KV34). Valley of the Kings, New Kingdom, Dynasty 18.

³⁰⁵ Lankester, 2016: § 4.

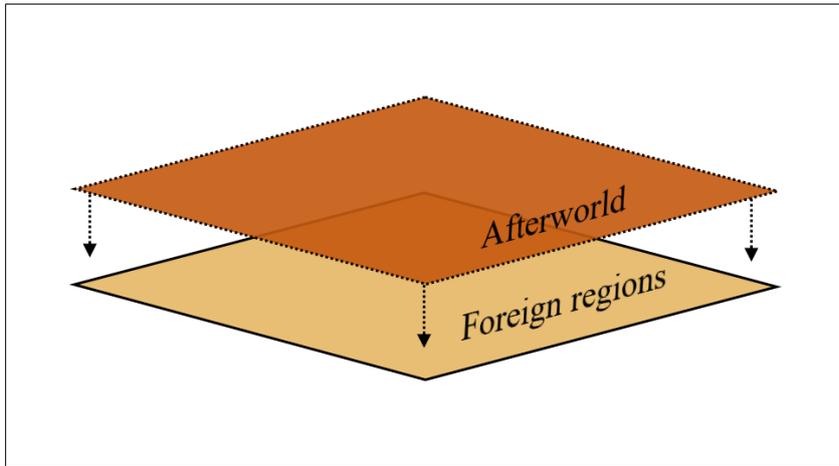


Figure 70. Foreign regions can be seen as a liminal zone between the ‘real world’ and the ‘imaginary world’, with the afterworld as a metaphysical overlay.

2.5.2 Border regions as liminal zones

Additionally, an overlap or ‘contact points’ between worlds can be found at actual places or periods of transition that are experienced or observable in this world. As such, the liminal character of these places or periods is associated with ideas of liminality and transition in the afterworld.

Environmental border areas

These transitional zones include actual environmental border-areas, such as the desert-edge (the border-zone that separates the Nile Valley from the high desert) and the river Nile that separates the settlements on the east from the necropolis in the west. The cemeteries were often located on this liminal zone on the desert-edge to the west (figure 3). After death, the deceased is physically transported from his or her home to the necropolis. This journey encompasses a crossing over the Nile from the east (the land of the living) to the west (the land of the dead), and from the profane to the sacred.³⁰⁶ The crossing from east to west is therefore also a transition between spheres and states of existence: from being alive in the realm of the living, to being dead in the realm of the dead.

Celestial border areas

From a celestial perspective, transitional zones can be found at the ‘horizontal’ regions, the ‘locations’ situated between the earth and the sky, where the sun sets and rises. Intimately related to these zones are the periods of dusk and dawn, which can be seen as transitional phases between day and night in the cycle of the sun. The term *ꜣh.t* is often translated as the ‘*place of*

³⁰⁶ Rzeuska, 2011: p. 576.

light' or 'horizon', but these translations are not entirely correct. The fundamental meaning of the word '3h' is 'to be effective' and is not related to the word 'i3h – to shine'.³⁰⁷ Also, the horizon cannot be reached, because it moves along with the beholder, whereas the Egyptian 3h.t can be reached.³⁰⁸ Much more, the 3h.t should be seen as the region just below the visible horizon: *'Die 3h.t ist diejenige Region, wo die Sonne schon (bzw. noch) wirksam ist und ihr Licht spendet, wenn sie noch nicht (oder nicht mehr) sichtbar ist, sich also unter dem Horizont befindet, während der Morgen- und Abenddämmerung. Aus diesem Grund ist 3h.t immer ein einheitlicher Begriff, auch wenn man für das Gebiet selbst eine östliche und eine westliche 3h.t unterscheiden kann, und daher ist die 3h.t ein besonders geheimnisvoller Ort, der bei der Schöpfung für die sichtbare Erscheinungsform "geheim gemacht" worden ist (sšt3 3ht.s n hprw.f), und deshalb auch besondere Kräfte hat bzw. freisetzen kann'*.³⁰⁹ Indeed, the 3h.t is a place of transition. Here, the process of transfiguration takes place. It is the place from which the sun rises and sets, and it is the place where the deceased becomes an 3h.³¹⁰ At the time of dusk and dawn, the sun is in the 3h.t and therefore not visible, but its effect is already (or still) there. As such, a proper translation of 3h.t would be 'place of invisible effectiveness', or 'place of becoming effective'.³¹¹ This place is located just beneath the horizon where the sun sets and rises. A similar idea is evident for the deceased who wishes to become an 3h or is already transfigured into an 3h. The transformation means that the deceased has become effective, due to an invisible power that is inaccessible to human knowledge. The result of the transformation process in the place of transformation is described in the following ways: the deceased is 'going out from the 3h.t' and he is 'going out on this day in the true form of a living 3h'. This is the ultimate goal of the deceased.³¹² Moreover, the 3h.t is not only a liminal zone because of the transformation of the deceased into his new 3h-state. It is also an actual place and region of transition. Belonging to both the earth and the sky, it is described as the transitional region between the earth, sky and the afterworld that can be entered and exited through doors or gates. Thus, it is said that 'the door of the 3h.t' is opened 'for the emergence of the day-bark'.³¹³ Similarly, the sun enters the dw3.t at night through the 3h.t: 'this god enters the western gate of the 3h.t'.³¹⁴

³⁰⁷ Jansen-Winkel, 1996: p. 205-207.

³⁰⁸ Assmann, 2005: p. 335.

³⁰⁹ Jansen-Winkel, 1996: p. 204.

³¹⁰ PT 532: § 1261b: 'become an 3h in the 3h.t!'; Topmann, D. in: TLA; Hays, 2009: p. 211.

³¹¹ Allen, 1988: p. 6.

³¹² PT 301: § 455b and PT 260: § 318c; Hays, 2009: p. 204.

³¹³ PT 311: § 496a; Hays, 2009: p. 204.

³¹⁴ Hornung, 1963: II, p. 3; Hornung, 1987: I, p. 110; Richter, 2008: p. 82.

Furthermore, a distinction is occasionally made between an eastern *3h.t* and a western *3h.t*, corresponding to the liminal periods just before sunrise in the east and sunset in the west. As such, the *3h.t* can also be connected to the ‘border-mountains’ on the east and west, which is exemplified by the terms ‘*3h.t n.t b3h.w*’ and ‘*3h.t n.t m3n.w*’.³¹⁵ Thus, the two mountains describe the places on the edge of the world³¹⁶ where the sun comes out and enters the *3h.t*.³¹⁷ The same mountains can also be called ‘Yesterday’ and ‘Tomorrow’.³¹⁸ These border-mountains, but also the *3h.t* can be interpreted as liminal places located on the ‘edge of existence’ and between worlds. As such, the *3h.t* also seems to equal the entire belt of far-away foreign regions around Egypt (*God’s Land*),³¹⁹ and specific regions of the *3h.t* are equalled with real specific far-away foreign regions and cities. THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF HARKHUF mentions an expedition to the country or region of Yam, and its inhabitants are described as ‘*3h.tyw*’, the people that live at or in the *3h.t*: ‘*You have returned in safety from Yam (...) you have brought a dwarf of divine dances from the land of 3h.t-inhabitants*’.³²⁰ As such, the *3h.t* separates and combines day and night; yesterday and tomorrow; the earth, sky and afterworld; the world of the living, and the world of the dead and the gods; life, death and resurrection; and the known and the unknown. Furthermore, an interplay of ‘inter-worldly border traffic’ is observed between the *3h.t* and non-indigenous regions, both ‘located’ on the edge of the world and therefore also between worlds.

2.5.3 Architectural structures as liminal zones

These ideas of transition and liminality are also found in architectural structures, such as the tomb, palace, and temple. These buildings are contact points between the world of the living and the world of the dead and the gods, and only accessible to ‘initiates’. It has already been mentioned that the tomb can represent the Western Desert,³²¹ but it is equalled to many more places. It not only houses the body of the deceased but is also ‘*the place where the hidden deceased becomes effective after rebirth*’.³²² As such, the tomb can be equalled to the *3h.t*. The same is true for temples and palaces: the deceased, the gods and the king are (usually) not

³¹⁵ Assmann, 1980: p. 4 (= LÄ III: ‘*Horizont*’).

³¹⁶ Also exemplified by a section on the fallen obelisk of Hatshepsut at Karnak (Urk IV: 372, 9): ‘*my western boundary is as far as the mountain of Manu*’; Breasted, 1906: II, p. 134 § 321.

³¹⁷ Jansen-Winkel, 1996: p.208, fn. 45.

³¹⁸ De Wit, 1951: p. 126; see below, p. 187 and p. 218.

³¹⁹ Saleh, 1981: p. 107-117.

³²⁰ Urk I:128,8 & 128,15-16; Hafemann, I. in: TLA.

³²¹ See above, p. 89 and fn. 278

³²² Hays, 2009: p. 195.

visible, but still effective.³²³ Senedjemib-Inti was buried near the pyramid of Khufu, which is mentioned in his mastaba: *‘the coffin with its lid was brought to the ‘3h.t of Khufu’ in order to put it in the tomb’*.³²⁴ In the tomb of Rekhmire the burial of the deceased is also described, and the tomb is equalled to Osiris, as well as the 3h.t: *‘Your father Osiris has placed you in his embrace in his name of 3h.t’*.³²⁵ A description in the tomb of Amenemhat equals the tomb to even more otherworldly regions: *‘Making a [goodly] burial (...) causing the god to ascend unto his 3h.t, conduction him to the shaft of the Necropolis in peace, in peace besides the great god. Proceeding in peace to the sky, to the 3h.t, to the Field of Rushes, to the dw3t, in order to lead him to the place where the great god is’*.³²⁶ As such, the tomb is equalled to all of the mentioned places: the sky, 3h.t, Field of Rushes, and the dw3t.³²⁷ Furthermore, the tomb can also be called *‘w^rbt – pure place’*, comparing it to the Place of Embalment.³²⁸

Apart from this general equation of the tomb with various regions, specific parts of the tomb can also be interpreted as such. Considering the pyramids, Allen has argued that each chamber represents a specific otherworldly region.³²⁹ This hypothesis has been successfully rejected by Hays,³³⁰ but specific parts of the tomb can be assimilated to the dw3t in the New Kingdom period. In the Ramesside period, the term *‘could be employed in a secular context as a purely physical reference to the innermost crypt’*.³³¹ PAPHYRUS LEOPOLD-AMHERST discusses tomb robberies and the robbers say: *‘we found its dw3t, we took lighted candles in our hand and went down’*.³³² The term is most likely a reference to the lower parts of the tomb, where the deceased is buried.³³³ Furthermore, it has been suggested that Rosetau, the ‘place of dragging’ not only refers to a region in the afterworld, but also to the sloping passage upon which the coffin of the king is dragged to the burial chamber in the New Kingdom: *‘Man könnte daher annehmen, daß das begehbare Gangsystem, das jetzt anstelle des verfüllten Schachtes zwischen Kultteil und Sargkammer die Verbindung herstellt, Ro-Setau als einen mythischen Ort realisieren soll’*.³³⁴

³²³ Jansen-Winkel, 1996: p. 205.

³²⁴ G 2370: Urk I: 66,5-6; Grunert, S. in: TLA.

³²⁵ TT 100: Hays, 2009: p. 195; Otto, 1960: I, p. 204-205, 74B d-e; Davies, 1943: II, XCVIII (2).

³²⁶ Davies, 1915: p. 49 & pl. 11; Hays, 2010: p. 6.

³²⁷ Hays, 2009: p. 196.

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹ Allen, 1994.

³³⁰ Hays, 2009.

³³¹ Hays, 2009: p. 196.

³³² pLeopold II-Amherst, 2.8: Capart et al., 1936: p. 171 & 178, pl. X.

³³³ Capart et al., 1936: p. 178; Hays, 2009: p. 196, fn. 7.

³³⁴ Assmann, 1984: p. 289-290.

In the tomb of Thutmoses III (KV 34) the Fourth Hour of the AMDUAT is depicted before the entrance to the burial chamber. Three breaks are seen in the desert paths that mirror the three stairways that lead into the burial chamber.³³⁵ *‘the placement of the hours in strategic positions on the walls of his burial chamber enabled the transformation of this chamber into a working microcosm of the Netherworld - the hidden space of the Duat, through which the sun would travel during the night’.*³³⁶ Indeed, an overlap between places and actions in this life and the afterlife is evident.

The palace of the king can also be compared to the *3h.t*, for example the palace of Merenptah: *‘It is a letter -so that one is informed- to the palace, l.p.h. (named) Mery-Maat, the 3h.t in which Re is’.*³³⁷ The same is true for temples. In the Abydos Decree, the gods address Seti I and mention the temple of Osiris in Abydos: *‘You have built his temple like the 3h.t of the sky’.*³³⁸ Additionally, the temple is compared to the sky: *‘he has built the temple like the sky’.*³³⁹

A similar contact point between the realm of the living and the afterworld is suggested by the naming of the Amarna-capital of *3h.t-Itn*: *‘In der neuen Hauptstadt 3h.t-jtn ist der Gott, die Sonne, natürlich nicht physisch präsent, auch nicht als Kultbild, aber seine "Wirkung" auf Erden, als Gott, soll sich von jetzt an gerade von seiner "Hauptstadt" aus entfalten’.*³⁴⁰

Furthermore, the stability and endurance of the temple of Medinet Habu is compared to the mountains of the east and west: *‘The temple of king User-Maat-Re-Meri-Amun, united in eternity in the domain of Amun, is enduring as the mountain of Manu, forever’*³⁴¹ - *‘The temple of king User-Maat-Re-Meri-Amun, united in eternity in the domain of Amun, is enduring as the mountain of Bakhu’.*³⁴² As such, these structures are not only contact point between worlds, they *are* the afterworld or a representation of the entire cosmos. This is perfectly described by Assmann with references to the temple: *‘Viewed from the outside, the temple is a highly protected area, an enclave of the sacred in a profane world, a tightly sealed vessel of radiant divine power that has mysteriously taken up earthly residence on this very spot. But viewed*

³³⁵ Richter, 2008: p. 82-83.

³³⁶ Idem, p. 101.

³³⁷ pAnastasi II, 5.6-7: Hafemann, I. in: TLA.

³³⁸ Abydos Decree, 7: Griffith, 1927: p. 197 & pl. XL; Hafemann, I. in: TLA.

³³⁹ Mariette, 1869: T.I.Pl.19b; Grapow, 1924: p. 26.

³⁴⁰ Jansen-Winkeln, 1996: p. 214.

³⁴¹ Nelson, 1930: MH I, pl. 16.18.

³⁴² Nelson, 1930: MH I, pl. 17.17.

from within, this vessel of holiness separated from the world is itself the entire world. The temple represents a cosmos beyond which there is nothing more'.³⁴³

2.5.4 Doors and gates as liminal zones

Apart from the buildings as a whole, individual elements too are considered border-zones, especially doors and gates. The opening of doors is an important theme since this 'action' allows the deceased or initiate to enter or leave a specific place. In the PYRAMID TEXTS, the theme concentrates on the opening of the Doors of the Sky, so that the deceased can enter. This is not that surprising, because in these texts the realm of the gods is 'located' in the sky and the deceased has to ascend and cross the sky in order to reach it. From the Middle Kingdom onwards, the opening of doors also focusses on entering the subterranean underworld.³⁴⁴ The Doors of the Sky occur in various other contexts that not only focus on entering, but much more on exiting and appearing from a place. As such, the term can be interpreted as '*an exalted metaphor of the dénouement following rebirth*'.³⁴⁵ From the New Kingdom onwards, the priest that had access to the innermost sacred part of the temple and opened the shrine containing the sacred image of the god is called the '*wn ʕ3.wy nw p.t – Opener of the Door-leaves of the Sky*'.³⁴⁶ When the doors of the temple-shrine are opened, the priest recites: '*the Door-leaves of the Sky are opened on earth*'.³⁴⁷ As such, the doors of the shrine are in fact the Doors of the Sky through which the god passes in the morning. The same 'opening song'³⁴⁸ occurs in related contexts that also '*reveal the sacred image of a resurrected god*',³⁴⁹ such as the procession of statues and the opening of the mouth ritual.³⁵⁰ In this respect, some interesting parallels can be seen between the temple and palace layout in the architecture of the New Kingdom.³⁵¹ The (elevated) location of the temple sanctuary corresponds to the throne room of the palace. Thus, a parallel is observed between the god in his shrine and the king on his throne. The same is true for the temple pylons and palace façades: '*the divine image emerging through the pylon, or the king passing through the palace façade or appearing in the Window of Appearances, are both equivalent of the sun shining forth and revitalizing the cosmos*'.³⁵² As such, from an internal

³⁴³ Assmann, 2001: p. 35-36.

³⁴⁴ Assmann, 1989: p. 143.

³⁴⁵ Hays, 2009: p. 215.

³⁴⁶ Vittmann, 1986: p. 795-796. (LÄ VI: 'Türöffner des Himmels'). In the late period the title '*wn ʕ3.wy ʒh.t – Opener of the doors of the ʒh.t*' also occurs in the same context.

³⁴⁷ Assmann, 2001: p. 36.

³⁴⁸ Assmann, 2004: II, p. 178.

³⁴⁹ Hays, 2009: p. 214-215.

³⁵⁰ Assmann, 1969: p. 253.

³⁵¹ O'Connor, 1989: p. 77.

³⁵² O'Connor, 1989: p. 78.

perspective, the *3h.t* and the Doors of the Sky are equalled to the central core of the palace and the temple. Viewed from outside, the *3h.t* and the Doors of the Sky are visualised by the temple pylons and the palace façade through which the sun, god and king emerge.

Furthermore, the palace-façade false doors that are to be found in pyramids,³⁵³ as well as ‘normal’ false-doors can be interpreted in a similar way. These doors allowed the deceased to exit and enter the tomb, indeed to ‘come forth by day’, and bring him or her into direct contact with the offerings:³⁵⁴ *‘The symbolism of the door appears at every frontier over which the deceased is supposed to pass in order to return to the world of the living and the false door is the most important symbol. The tomb is not meant as a blockage between the world of the dead and the world of the living, but as an ‘interface’, and the false door is the most important symbol of this interface aspect’.*³⁵⁵ Interestingly, in the 18th Dynasty, the false-door can also be seen as a model of the tomb itself.³⁵⁶

Additionally, it has been suggested that the term ‘Doors of the Sky’ can also refer to the Place of Purification.³⁵⁷ Indeed, the Doors of the Sky as well as the Place of Purification effected the transition from death to resurrection.³⁵⁸ By the time of the Middle Kingdom period, the Place of Purification and the Place of Embalming seem to refer to the same structure,³⁵⁹ and Willems emphasises the importance of the entrance and exit of the Place of Embalming. The protection of the deceased inside was one of the primary aims of the Hour Vigil, and as such *‘rites were carried out to ensure that only those officiants entitled to do so could enter the building (the rite of passage) and that evil powers were kept at a distance’.*³⁶⁰

As such, a close connection can be observed between the initiation rites of priests, the Hour Vigil, and the Judgement of the Dead. Indeed, purification and initiation go hand in hand.³⁶¹ The journey of the deceased to Osiris is assimilated to the journey of the priest on his way to the innermost sanctuary of the god.³⁶² Both have to overcome ‘obstacles’ in the form of doors that separate one room or region from the other. Also: *‘just as the priest had to vow, during his*

³⁵³ Hays, 2009: p. 215-216.

³⁵⁴ Assmann, 2005: p. 339.

³⁵⁵ Assmann, 2003: p. 47.

³⁵⁶ Assmann, 2003: p. 48.

³⁵⁷ Brovarski, 1977: p. 107-115.

³⁵⁸ Vos, 1993: p. 158.

³⁵⁹ Willems, 1996: p. 382, fn. 69.

³⁶⁰ Willems, 1996: p. 382.

³⁶¹ Assmann, 2005: p. 156.

³⁶² Assmann, 1989: p. 149.

*first initiation and upon entering the temple, not to have committed certain actions, the deceased must, in the same way, give assurance of his purity upon entering the sacred sphere of the hereafter. It would therefore appear that we are dealing here with a priestly initiation ritual, which only subsequently became part of the literary and conceptual vocabulary of funerary religion’.*³⁶³

2.5.5 The funeral as a liminal phase

The ancient Egyptian worldview comprises a tripartite structure: *‘the world of the living, the world of the dead, and an Elysian world for which there are many names and descriptions in Egyptian texts such as “field of rushes”, “field of offerings”, “bark of millions”, and “house of Osiris”’.*³⁶⁴ This means that the deceased not only passed over from the realm of the living to the realm of the dead, but also from the realm of the dead to the realm of the gods. As such, the realm of the dead itself, as well as being in the realm of the dead, should also be seen as a phase, zone, and state of transition. The last transition, namely from the realm of the dead to the realm of the gods, is also one from temporality to eternity: *‘The distinction between the world of the dead and the Elysian world (...) consists in the fact that the world of the dead is a place where the dead are dead, whereas the Elysium is the place where those who were granted resurrection from death lead a new, eternal life’.*³⁶⁵ These transitions, that are all related to the afterlife, fall together with practical transitions, and ritual actions and words in the realm of the living. As such, an overlap between action and reaction in the different realms can be observed: *‘the acts to be performed by the deceased follow very closely the pattern of funerary rites enacted on earth’.*³⁶⁶ Accounting for small differences between the various chronological periods, Hays discerns seven major complexes of funerary rituals: the procession to the necropolis; the procession to the place of embalmment; the embalming and mummification; the post-embalming rituals; the procession to the tomb; the opening of the mouth; and the mortuary service.³⁶⁷ After death, the deceased is physically transported from his home to the necropolis, effectively crossing from the profanum to the sacrum.³⁶⁸ The deceased also crosses the Nile, exiting the land of the living in the east and entering the land of the dead in the west. From here, the deceased is brought to the *‘sh-ntꜣ – Divine Booth’* and the embalming hall where the purification, embalming and mummification processes take place. The ritual of embalmment

³⁶³ Assmann, 1989: p. 151.

³⁶⁴ Assmann, 2002: p. 125.

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁶ Willems, 1996: p. 285.

³⁶⁷ Hays, 2010: p. 2-3.

³⁶⁸ Rzeuska, 2008: p. 576.

and mummification ideally lasted for seventy days. Simultaneously, the deceased person was to spend seventy days in the world of the dead before entering the world of the gods.³⁶⁹ Of course, the embalming and mummification of the corpse are methods to preserve the body. Much more, however, this can be seen as a process of transfiguration, where the deceased obtains a new body and a new state. The process is thought to restore life to the corpse, and simultaneously restores and exalts the social sphere of the deceased.³⁷⁰ It is an essential part of the integration and initiation into the divine sphere.³⁷¹ Afterwards, post-embalming rituals that are associated to the night hours took place. These rituals seem to be a resume and re-enactment of the rites of embalming and funeral processions. The night before the body leaves the Place of Embalming in order to be transported to the tomb, an Hour Vigil is responsible for the protection and the transfiguration of the deceased. A ritualised Judgement of the Dead could be performed ‘*which paralleled or prefigured those conducted in the sky or underworld*’.³⁷² As such, the two notions of mummification and justification are closely linked. Assmann describes justification as ‘*moral mummification*’.³⁷³ Likewise, Smith described mummification as ‘*corporeal justification*’.³⁷⁴ Next follows the procession to the tomb. Again, the deceased is not only transported to his final resting place in the world of the living, but simultaneously passes through the realm of the dead on his way to the realm of the gods, where eternal life awaits him.³⁷⁵ Before entering the tomb, the opening of the mouth ritual is carried out. The mouth and the eyes of the deceased are symbolically opened, which gives the deceased the ability to communicate again and defend himself at the Judgement of the Dead.³⁷⁶ It is therefore a precondition for passing the divine tribunal successfully. Furthermore, the deceased is being ritually transformed into an *ꜣh*. The deceased is now put into the tomb, which can be described as a personified form of the Western Desert,³⁷⁷ and laid to rest in the burial chamber. In the afterworld, he continues his journey in the realm of the dead and arrives at the Hall of Judgement, where he is ultimately incorporated into the realm of the gods – assuming a good outcome of the trial of course.

³⁶⁹ Assmann, 2002: p. 134.

³⁷⁰ Assmann, 2002: p. 127.

³⁷¹ Assmann, 2003: p. 50.

³⁷² Smith, 2017: p. 262; Hays, 2010: p. 6.

³⁷³ Assmann, 2002: p. 132; see below, fn. 924.

³⁷⁴ Smith, 2017: p. 262.

³⁷⁵ Assmann, 2005: p. 114.

³⁷⁶ Hays, 2010: p. 7-8; Willems, 1996: p. 80-81.

³⁷⁷ Hays, 2010: p. 7; see above, p. 89 and fn. 278.

The combined funerary and religious proceedings described above, starting with the death of a person and ending with his transformation into an *3h* and acceptance into the world of the gods, is of course a classic example of a ‘rite de passage’.³⁷⁸ However, even though the initial transition from being alive in the world of the living, to being dead in the realm of the dead is a change of status, this is not yet the desired final state and goal of the deceased. The most important rite of passage is that from being dead in the realm of the dead to being resurrected and transfigured in the realm of the gods.

As such, the entire voyage the deceased had to take, including all the examinations, obstacles, and dangers he had to conquer and pass in order to be transfigured and accepted into the realm of the gods should be seen as a process of transition, a liminal zone. The ‘grand finale’ of this liminal journey takes place at the Hall of Judgement, where the deceased is trialled: he has to recite the negative confession and his heart is weighed. If the outcome of the trial is positive, the deceased will acquire a new state, namely that of an *3h*, a transfigured spirit, and is accepted into a new community: the realm of the gods. These ideas are also reflected in the funerary practices. The physical transportation of the corpse from the home of the deceased, via the Place of Embalming to and into the tomb in the necropolis demonstrates an accumulation of elements of change and transition: ‘*by virtue of the physical transport involved, the rituals prior to the Opening of the Mouth imply transitional periods between former states of being and desired ones*’.³⁷⁹ These stages of transition include the embalmment and mummification process and are completed after the deceased has been judged, and successfully vindicated and transfigured during the course of the evening wake, respectively by completing the opening of the mouth and glorification rituals in front of the tomb and the actual interment. As such, ‘*the mummy, the coffin, the burial chamber and the whole textual, symbolic and material equipment of the secret part of the tomb must be understood as the eternalisation of the status which the deceased has reached by means of ritual*’.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁸ Van Gennep, 1960: p. 21.

³⁷⁹ Hays, 2010: p. 8.

³⁸⁰ Assmann, 2003: p. 50.

3. CONCEPTS OF CHAOS AND WILDNESS

The concept of chaos, and more importantly the defeat of chaos and the (re)establishment of order, is one of the most important concepts in ancient Egyptian ideology. On a general level, it can be said that the preservation of order, by keeping disorder away, was a key task of the pharaoh: *'it is only with his presence and intervention that opposite realities such as chaos and order, foreign enemies and Egyptian state, Desert and Nile Valley, Upper and Lower Egypt, wilderness and settled spaces, can be mastered, cemented and unified with the supernatural ruling essence of kingship'*.³⁸¹

Non-indigenous animals frequently occur in a chaotic context, either as individual animals or as a group. Amongst others, this conception is attributed to their wildness, combined with the fact that they are not found in Egypt. As such, the animals can represent the concept of chaos in general, or various specific forms of chaos. The latter form includes, for example, dangerous animals, hostile regions, human enemies or abnormal and unwanted human behaviour.

The link between or equalisation of wild and non-indigenous animals with chaos is seen throughout the whole discussed period. It is interesting to see that this idea becomes especially clear in the iconography. A beloved representation of the concept of order over chaos is found in the form of wildlife hunting. In the case of the non-indigenous animals, the main focus lies on the desert hunt. This theme is seen throughout the Dynastic period, but the link with order and chaos is especially prominent and important in the Pre- and Early Dynastic period.

Especially for these early periods, it is extremely difficult to shed light on the conceptual world that existed before the development of a fully developed writing system. Indeed, without texts as a reference point, the interpretation of the sources can be problematic or impossible. For this reason, an emphasis lies on the sources where a combination of multiple animals and elements are seen. Without these interfaces and interactions, interpretations remain mere speculations, especially because specific animals can have different meanings depending on context.

The first part of this chapter will discuss these Predynastic sources. Afterwards, the Dynastic period will be discussed. Here, the focus does not only lie on the iconographic and archaeological material, but of course also on the textual material.

³⁸¹ Raffaele, 2010: p. 256.

3.1 The Predynastic period

3.1.1 White Cross-Lined pottery, the desert hunt and order over chaos

Hunting is a common theme on the so-called White Cross-Lined or C-Ware that is dated to the Naqada I-IIA periods.³⁸² Most of this pottery has been found at the cemeteries of Upper Egyptian sites. Although some debate is still going on considering their purpose and use, it seems most likely that they were created for more than one reason. Above all, the pottery should be seen as prestigious items.³⁸³ Although most of the examples have been found in a funerary context, the pottery is also occasionally found in settlements, which suggests a more ritual context.³⁸⁴ The focus lies on depictions of wild animals. Apart from the dog, domestic animals are absent.

The concepts of order and chaos, or rather the concept of order over chaos, should be considered the main theme of the C-Ware pottery,³⁸⁵ and the decoration on this type of pottery is usually interpreted as referring to military violence and victory.³⁸⁶ Furthermore, the C-Ware thematic often seems to be based on dualities: the fertile Nile region and the barren desert; water and mountains; life and death.³⁸⁷ However, it is perhaps more important to realise that the iconography should not be interpreted in terms of one, but of several overlapping concepts and dualities that are all intertwined. One and the same scene can show a dichotomy between the Nile and desert region, reality and symbolism, and order and chaos.

Most of the non-indigenous animals that occur on this type of pottery are seen in a hunting context. Graff presents a list of 41 vessels that represent the Nilotic or the desert hunt.³⁸⁸ These scenes should not be interpreted as being purely realistic or symbolic in nature. Rather, they depict a combination of realism and symbolism.³⁸⁹ The theme of order over chaos is above all visualised in two fashions, namely by the depiction of hunting scenes and military victory scenes. These two types of scenes are not necessarily segregable, and a parallel between the hunt and military victory can be observed.³⁹⁰ As such, the animals and the hunt function as a

³⁸² c. 3900-3700 BC (Hendrickx, 2006b: p. 92, Tab. II. 1.7; Hendrickx & Förster, 2010: p. 826).

³⁸³ Navajas, 2011: p. 33.

³⁸⁴ Navajas, 2011: p. 31.

³⁸⁵ Hendrickx & Eyckerman, 2015: p. 197-199.

³⁸⁶ Hendrickx & Eyckerman, 2012: p. 25.

³⁸⁷ Graff, 2009: p. 22-23.

³⁸⁸ Graff, 2009: p. 84.

³⁸⁹ Hendrickx, 2010: p. 113-115.

³⁹⁰ Hendrickx, 2013: p. 256.

medium to represent these concepts of order and chaos. The control over chaos that is conceptualised by these scenes foremost expresses the social and political power of the controller. However, this does not mean that the scenes do not have a religious significance as well, because these levels are almost always linked and not mutually exclusive.³⁹¹ Even though the hunt is an important theme in Predynastic scenes, the actual killing of the animals, or dead animals are usually not depicted, and the emphasis lies on catching (and thus controlling and dominating) the animals.³⁹² The following part will look more closely into the chaotic elements that are seen, and specifically the function of the non-indigenous animals that are included. It will become clear that chaos is represented by both wild indigenous as well as wild non-indigenous animals. Moreover, the depicted wild animals can represent several forms of chaos. A specific animal can, for example, be a representative of or a symbol for ‘wild animals’ in general; of human enemies; or of specific regions.

3.1.1.1 Desert animals as chaotic animals

The majority of the animals that are depicted as part of a desert hunt scene consists of the various Bovidae that used to live in the low and high desert regions of Egypt: these are the Barbary sheep, aurochs, various types of gazelles, oryx, ibex, hartebeest, and wild donkey.³⁹³ The Barbary sheep and the aurochs appear to be the most frequently depicted amongst these animals.³⁹⁴ However, one should keep in mind that this view might be biased, since it is often not clear or disputable which animal is depicted, and the Barbary sheep and aurochs are among the more easily recognizable species.³⁹⁵

The decorations are based on realism, inasmuch as they represent the actual animals that lived in and around Egypt. Moreover, archaeological evidence has shown that these animals were indeed hunted in real life.³⁹⁶ However, the same archaeological evidence also shows some discrepancies. The gazelle was for example the most commonly hunted desert animal, but it is only sporadically depicted in the iconography.³⁹⁷ The same can be said about the Nilotic

³⁹¹ Hendrickx & Eyckerman, 2012: p. 63; Hendrickx & Förster, 2010: p. 826, 834.

³⁹² Hendrickx, 2013: p 249. The hippopotamus and the wild donkey should be seen as exceptions.

³⁹³ Graff, 2009: p. 30-34.

³⁹⁴ See Graff (2009: p. 32-34) for a discussion of aurochs and Barbary sheep depictions; Navajas (2009: p. 81-87) for a list and depictions of aurochs representations; and Hendrickx et al. (2009: p. 206, Tab.1) for a list of Barbary sheep depictions.

³⁹⁵ The Barbary sheep is characterised by horns that are curved backward and outward, and turned towards the spectator (Hendrickx et al., 2009: p. 190 & Fig.1). The aurochs is characterised by incurved horns that are also turned towards the spectator (Hendrickx, 2002: p. 279).

³⁹⁶ Linsele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 58-59, Tab. 3.

³⁹⁷ Ibid.

wildlife. Abundant and commonly ‘hunted’ animals, such as fish, are only rarely depicted.³⁹⁸ Also, the animals do not show realistic behaviour and therefore do not depict a narrative.³⁹⁹

Thus, the animal depictions do not show an actual image of the immediate surroundings and actions and are only roughly based on reality. Much more, however, the depicted animals were chosen as representatives, consequently making them symbolic in nature. A specific animal or group of animals could therefore symbolically stand for the totality of wildlife or hunted animals in general.

The most dangerous and destructive wild animals of their habitat, namely the hippopotamus and crocodile, are depicted in the Nilotic scenes.⁴⁰⁰ However, this is not the case for the desert hunt scenes. Dangerous predators, such as wild canids (jackal/wolves), lions, or leopards are not depicted. On the contrary: the focus clearly lies on the large prey animals of the desert. In these scenes, the domestic dog is often seen as a hunter.⁴⁰¹ It can be said that the emphasis lies on the duality between the dog as a hunter, domesticate, predator, and an element of order, versus the various large desert animals as prey, undomesticates, and elements of chaos. Moreover, as stated above, the focus does not lie on the most abundant or most commonly hunted animals. Rather, it is the rarer, more special animals that stand out. It is not that hard to imagine that the animals that are considered rare and are not encountered on a daily basis are particularly well suited for an elite context. Thus, the choice for the specific desert animals seems to be based on a combination of the above-mentioned characteristic: the animals are actually found in the low and high desert, wild, relatively large, non-indigenous, rare and prey animals (figure 71).

³⁹⁸ Fish are only depicted sporadically: ‘*Il a été très surprenant au cours des dépouillements de voir à quel point les poissons sont peu nombreux dans le bestiaire nagadien, alors qu’ils abondent sur les sites*’ (Graff, 2009: p. 86). Small birds are not represented at all: ‘*Il est évident que ce court panorama est sans rapport avec la richesse de la faune égyptienne; en particulier tous les petits oiseaux (moineaux, alouettes, passereaux, hirondelles,...) sont absents des peintures nagadiennes*’ (Graff, 2009: p. 38).

³⁹⁹ Hendrickx & Eyckerman, 2012: p. 31; Hendrickx, 2013: p. 256, note 1.

⁴⁰⁰ Hendrickx & Förster, 2010: p. 826.

⁴⁰¹ Hendrickx, 2006: p. 723-725.

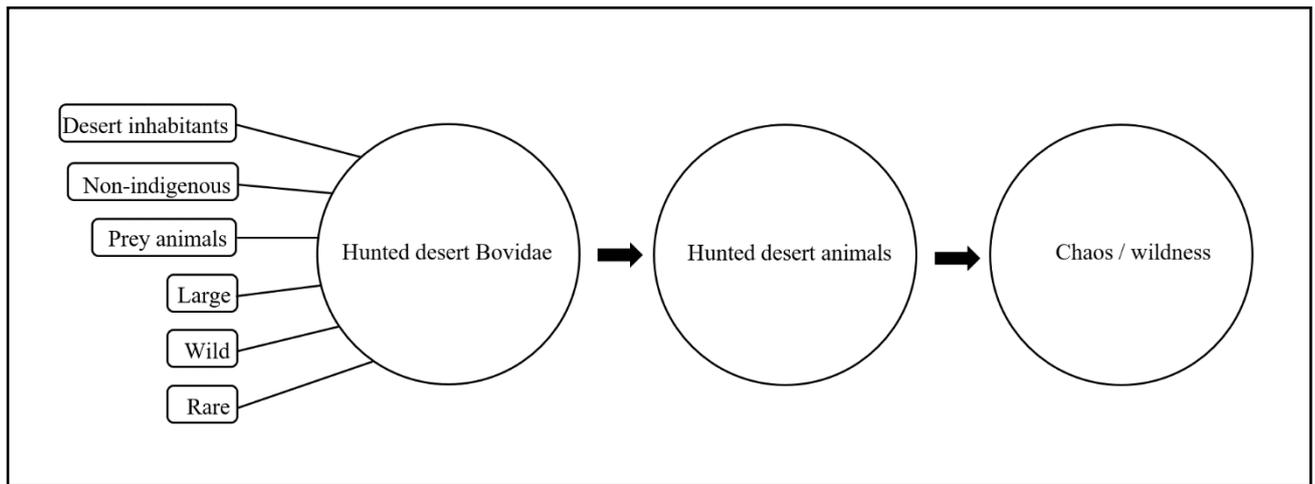


Figure 71. Hunted desert Bovidae and their characteristics as representatives of the ‘totality’ of hunted desert animals and as such an expression and visualisation of the concept of chaos / wildness.

3.1.1.2 Non-indigenous animals and chaotic regions

Apart from representing chaotic wildlife as such, there are indications that these animals are simultaneously used as representatives or markers of geographical regions and space.

Desert animals – The desert region

A clear dichotomy is seen between the Nile Valley on the one hand and the desert regions on the other hand. A selection of the ‘real’ animals that lived in these regions, combined with other aspect such as vegetation and geographical elements, were chosen to represent these regions.⁴⁰² As such, the indigenous respectively non-indigenous character of the animals is extremely important. In essence, the animals can be seen as representatives of their specific habitats. A combination of various animals can be used to make clear that we are dealing with a hunt in a desert environment. Simultaneously, the fact that the emphasis does not lie on dangerous wild animals (as is the case in the Nilotic scenes) indicates that the challenge of the desert hunt, above all, seems to be focussed on the dangers of the desert as a chaotic environment, rather than the actual animals that are being hunted.⁴⁰³ At the same time, this also demonstrates the symbolic importance of the depicted desert animals as representatives of, or a symbol for this dangerous, chaotic environment and region (figure 73).

⁴⁰² Graff, 2009: p. 91.

⁴⁰³ Hendrickx & Eyckerman, 2015: p. 206-207.

Barbary sheep – The desert (hunt)

Considering individual animals, it has been suggested that the depictions of the Barbary sheep represent the desert hunt in general, or rather the totality of hunted desert animals.⁴⁰⁴ This animal is a well-suited representative of ‘desert animals’ or ‘the desert’, because it has its habitat in both the eastern and western desert regions. Furthermore, it is well adapted to the desert environment, it is the largest animal living deep into the desert, and it occurs relatively frequently in the zooarchaeological record.⁴⁰⁵ In this respect, not only its wildness, but also the non-indigenous habitat of the Barbary sheep is an important factor. The presence of a Barbary sheep therefore specifically demonstrates that we are not just dealing with a hunting scene, but with a hunting scene in the desert (figure 72 and 73).



Figure 72. A desert hunting scene with a Barbary sheep and three hunting dogs. Naqada, Predynastic period, Naqada I-IIb. (Oxford AN 1895.482.)

⁴⁰⁴ Hendrickx, 2013: p. 255; Hendrickx et al., 2009.

⁴⁰⁵ Hendrickx, 2013: p. 255. Nonetheless, the presence of Barbary sheep in the zooarchaeological record is certainly not as abundant as the presence of the commonly hunted gazelle.

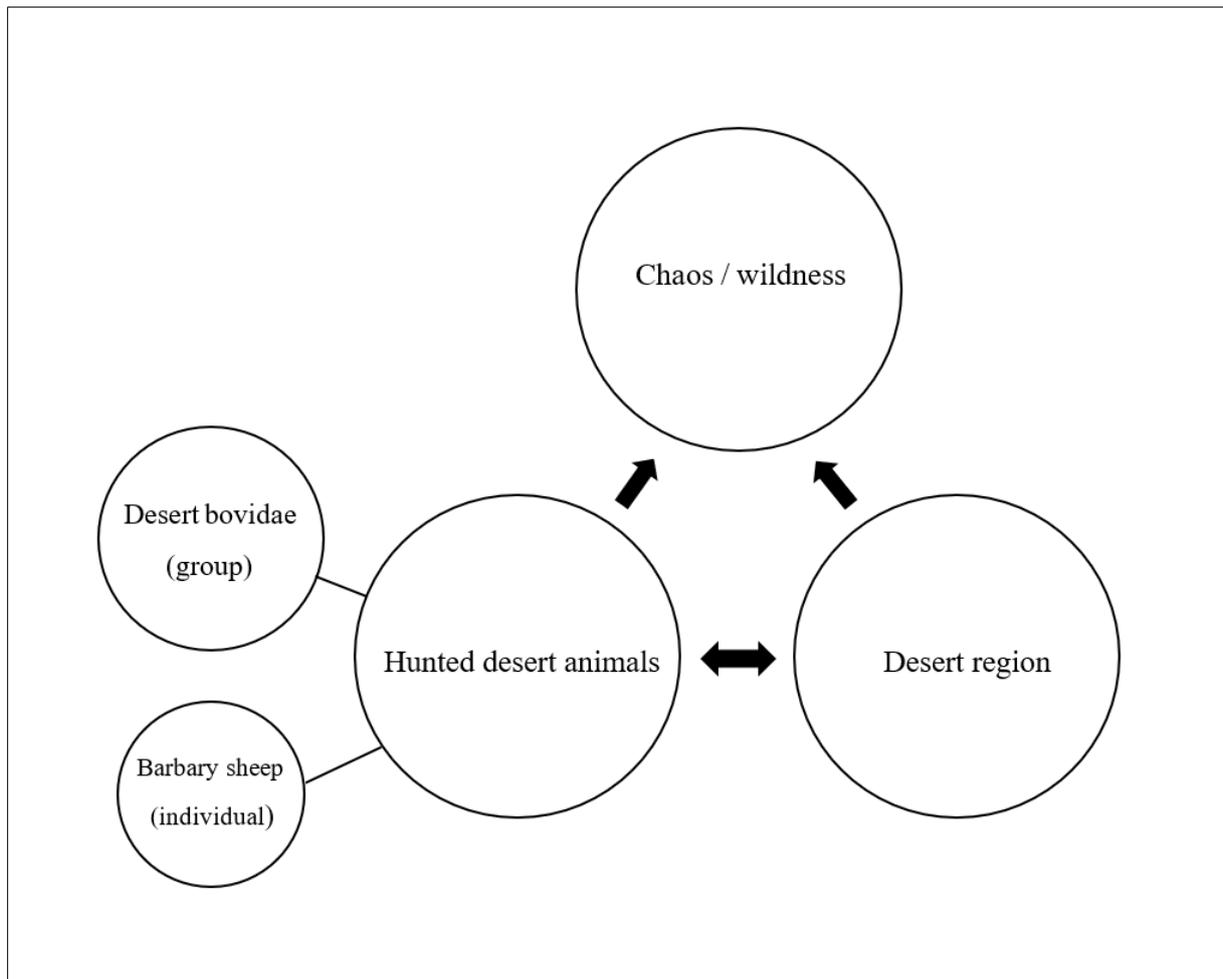


Figure 73. Desert animals as a group (Bovidae) or individual (Barbary sheep) as representatives or visualisations of the desert region and as such a visualisation of chaos

Aurochs – Elephant – Foreign regions

Both Friedman and Navajas mention and interpret the iconography depicted on a C-Ware bowl (London BM EA 49025) that has been found at el-Mahasna.⁴⁰⁶ The inside of the bowl shows depictions of hippopotami and crocodiles, whereas the outside is decorated with depictions of aurochs and elephants (figure 74): ‘*The more common Nilotic scene on the interior shows two of the largest and most feared animals of the milieu and suggests that the elephant and wild bulls juxtaposed on the exterior were considered their desert counterparts and may have been equated in the minds of the Egyptians as the most powerful forces in their respective ecological niches*’.⁴⁰⁷ The bowl thus seems to represent both the Nile region, as well as the desert region.⁴⁰⁸ Navajas states that the object might be seen as the first cosmography ever represented in the

⁴⁰⁶ Scharff, 1928: pl. 5; Friedman, 2004: p. 152, fig. 14.1 & 14.2; Navajas, 2011: p. 33-34.

⁴⁰⁷ Friedman, 2004: p. 152-153.

⁴⁰⁸ See Patch (2011: p. 61) for a different interpretation. According to her, the bowl depicts the dualism between water and land.

Nile Valley.⁴⁰⁹ Both the elephant and the aurochs are not true desert animals and were most likely found in the low desert regions, rather than the high desert. Moreover, it has been suggested that real elephants could not be found locally and had to be imported from more southern regions.⁴¹⁰ In this respect, not only the nearby (aurochs) but also far away desert regions (elephant) are represented.⁴¹¹

It should also be noted that both scenes likely depict hunting scenes. The object in between the hippopotami in the Nilotic scene has been interpreted as a net.⁴¹² However, the identification of the object in between the elephants and aurochs seems to be more problematic. Graff leaves it ‘unidentified’,⁴¹³ Navajas sees it as a trap or net,⁴¹⁴ and Friedman interprets it as an animal skin.⁴¹⁵ However, Navajas emphasises the great similarities in composition between both sides: there are two hippopotami and two elephants depicted, and the same goes for the crocodiles and the aurochs; the hippopotami as well as the elephants are facing each other; and both the crocodiles and the aurochs seem to be in a ‘moving’ position.⁴¹⁶ Considering the overlapping thematic and composition, it would make sense to follow Navajas and interpret the ‘unidentified’ object on the desert side as some kind of hunting device – just as is the case for the Nilotic side.

The iconography of BM EA 49025 thus seems to represent a cosmography of chaos and order, with the aurochs and elephants (as well as the hippopotamus and crocodile) as chaotic elements that are or need to be controlled.

⁴⁰⁹ Navajas, 2011: p. 34.

⁴¹⁰ Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 63; Van Neer et al., 2004: p. 113; see above p. 57-59.

⁴¹¹ Friedman, 2004: p. 163; Navajas, 2011: p. 37.

⁴¹² Navajas, 2009: p. 73; Graff, 2009: p. 176: Arm 6: ‘*filet de pêche*’.

⁴¹³ Graff, 2009: p. 185: NI 28: ‘*losange au contour double, hachuré*’.

⁴¹⁴ Navajas, 2009: p. 74.

⁴¹⁵ Friedman, 2004: p. 151.

⁴¹⁶ Navajas, 2009: p. 74-75.



Figure 74. C-Ware bowl as a cosmography of chaos and order. Visible here are two elephants (outside) and several crocodiles (inside). El-Mahasha, Predynastic period, Naqada IC-IIA. (London BM EA 49025.)

3.1.1.3 Wild animals and chaotic people

It has already been mentioned that the animal hunt in general (both Nilotic and desert) and the control of wild animals can be equalled to military victory. This idea is particularly evident on two vessels that have been found at tomb U-415 at Abydos. These vessels show wild animals and human captives, and as such combine animal representations with human victory scenes.⁴¹⁷ The two vessels are considered to form a pair. Whereas U-415/1 focusses on the hippopotamus hunt (figure 91),⁴¹⁸ U-415/2 combines animals of both the Nile and desert region.⁴¹⁹ In this respect, it can be suggested that both indigenous and non-indigenous wildlife are equalled to human enemies. Indeed, *'the enemy in the natural environment and the enemy in the social environment have been equated'*.⁴²⁰ As such, it can be suggested that the control over the totality of wild animals and regions, as well as the totality of human enemies is being depicted (figure 75).

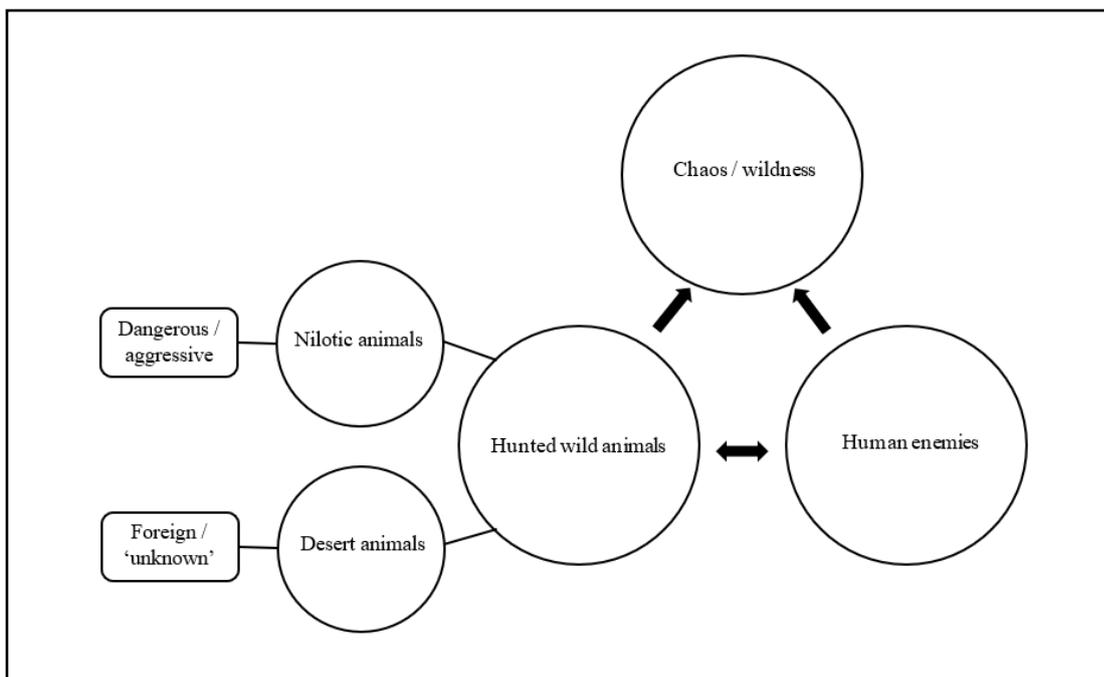


Figure 75. Hunted wild animals as an expression and visualisation of chaos / wildness as well as and human enemies.

⁴¹⁷ Abydos U-415/1 and Abydos U-415/2 (Hendrickx & Eyckerman, 2012: p. 27-28, fig. 1d-e); figure 91.

⁴¹⁸ See below, p. 154.

⁴¹⁹ Hendrickx & Eyckerman, 2010: p. 122-123.

⁴²⁰ Hendrickx, 2013: p. 247.

3.1.2 Decorated Ware: animal rows and order over chaos

The context of the slightly later Decorated pottery (D-Ware), dated to the Naqada IIC-IIID period,⁴²¹ is primarily funeral. As such, the concepts are more heavily linked to ideas of the afterlife and the renewal of life.⁴²² Although the theme of ‘order over chaos’ is still to be considered the most important concept, it is represented in a different fashion and should be viewed as an expression of religious-political power.

3.1.2.1 Desert animals as chaotic animals

Hunting scenes, as well as depictions of human prisoners or military victory scenes are rarely depicted on this type of pottery. Instead, the theme of order over chaos is most clearly seen at the depiction of animal rows,⁴²³ shifting the focus from active domination to submission.⁴²⁴ Furthermore, contrary to the C-Ware, Nilotic animals are extremely rare in D-Ware.⁴²⁵ This implies that the chaos that needed to be controlled is heavily focussed on the desert region and its non-indigenous animals, rather than both regions and ‘all’ dangerous or wild animals. The addax, ibex and ostrich are the most frequently occurring animals on this type of pottery (figure 76).⁴²⁶ The ostrich is completely absent from the C-Ware, and the addax and ibex are only sporadically represented on the C-Ware.⁴²⁷ Again, the presence of these animals is based on actual desert wildlife. However, just as has been demonstrated for the C-Ware, all of these animals are highly underrepresented in the zooarchaeological evidence.⁴²⁸

3.1.2.2 Desert animals and chaotic regions

It is interesting to see that a prominent role is reserved for the desert animals, rather than wild animals in general. This suggests that desert animals and the desert region are of especial importance in a ritual context. As such, the concept of order over chaos refers more heavily to the chaos of foreign regions as environments⁴²⁹ than, for example, foreign peoples (and military victory)⁴³⁰ or Nilotic elements.

⁴²¹ c. 3600-3350 BC (Hendrickx, 2006b: p. 92, Tab. II. 1.7; Hendrickx, 2011: p. 76).

⁴²² Hendrickx & Eyckerman, 2010: p. 133; Hendrickx, 2010: p. 116; see below, p. 244-123.

⁴²³ Graff et al., 2011: p. 455-456; Graff, 2009: p. 86-87.

⁴²⁴ Hendrickx & Förster, 2010: p. 836-837.

⁴²⁵ Graff et al., 2011: p. 455-457.

⁴²⁶ Graff, 2009: p.156 (Ab 1 & Ab 3), p. 164 (Ao 1 & Ao 2); Graff et al., 2011: p. 447.

⁴²⁷ Graff, 2009: p. 38, 156, 164.

⁴²⁸ Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 58-59, Tab. 3.

⁴²⁹ Graff et al., 2011: p. 460-461; Hendrickx & Eyckerman, 2015: 206-207; Hendrickx, 2013: p. 255.

⁴³⁰ Victory and prisoner scenes are not seen in the D-Ware (Hendrickx & Eyckerman, 2010: p. 125).

The desert region: addax and ibex

It is suggested that the frequent depiction of both the addax and the ibex is heavily linked with regionality. In reality, the habitat of the addax is limited to the Western Desert, whereas the habitat of the ibex is limited to the Eastern Desert. Combined, these two animals represent the entire (chaotic) desert region, and therefore the control over the totality of foreign places.⁴³¹

The desert region: ostrich

A similar idea can be suggested for the ostrich. This animal can live deep into the desert and could be found in both the eastern and western desert regions. In this respect, the animal could be seen as a representative of the totality of chaotic desert animals (similar to the Barbary sheep on the C-Ware), again simultaneously symbolising the totality of foreign regions and possibly the afterworld.⁴³² These ideas are not only expressed on the D-Ware pottery, but are also strengthened by the presence of the remains of desert animals at the ceremonial centre at Hierakonpolis (HK29A): *‘By their associations with these two regions, the animals together would symbolise all deserts, and thus all of the chaotic life to be brought under control by the ritual slaughter at sites such as HK29A at Hierakonpolis’*.⁴³³

The Afterworld

Although difficult to prove, it is tempting to believe that a connection exists between the non-indigenous desert regions and the afterworld, both in their own way types of ‘other’ and to some extent ‘unknown’ worlds.⁴³⁴ In this respect, the addax, ibex and ostrich could not only serve as representatives of the desert region, but also of the totality of foreign and other places, possibly including the afterworld. This idea is especially tempting, because the main theme of the scenes depicted on the D-Ware is related to funerary aspects and the afterlife.⁴³⁵ The chaos is thus above all found outside of Egypt, which emphasises the dichotomy between Egypt and other regions, both real and imaginary.⁴³⁶

⁴³¹ Graff et al., 2011: p. 458-459.

⁴³² Graff et al., 2011: p. 460.

⁴³³ Idem: p. 460-461.

⁴³⁴ See above, p. 88-94.

⁴³⁵ Hendrickx & Eyckerman, 2012: p. 33.

⁴³⁶ Graff et al., 2011: p. 455-457.



Figure 76. D-ware pottery showing rows of ibexes (top) and ostriches (bottom). Predynastic period, Naqada IIC-D. (London BM EA 65361.)

3.1.3 Late Predynastic decorated ivories and palettes: desert hunt and animal rows

Non-indigenous animals are frequently found on palettes⁴³⁷ and decorated ivories,⁴³⁸ which are usually dated to the end of the Naqada II period and beginning of the Naqada III period.⁴³⁹ Again, the conceptualisation of order over chaos is the main theme, represented by animals in a hunting or animal row context. The animal rows mainly occur on knife handles, and can be compared to the animal rows that are found on the earlier D-Ware. Whereas the chaotic layout of the hunting scenes on palettes puts an extra emphasis on the wild character of the animals, the linear arrangement of the animal rows on the ivories puts a bigger emphasis on order, control and balance.⁴⁴⁰ Indeed, *'the two types of representation can be considered as consecutive stages, the first one being the active domination through hunting and the second one the submissive animals as orderly rows'*.⁴⁴¹ In other words: the one follows the other.

In general, the combination of elements of chaos, and elements of order and control is primarily used to visualise concepts of power and authority: *'individuals that could dominate and subdue the forces of animal chaos would be recognised as powerful enough to also dominate human foes and lead society'*.⁴⁴²

3.1.3.1 Non-indigenous animals as chaotic animals

Just as has been demonstrated for the D-Ware, the animals that needed to be controlled in the animal rows on the ivories or desert hunting scenes on the palettes are all non-indigenous, which indicates that the emphasis lies on the control over foreign regions and not just the wild. However, a difference can be observed in the choice of animal species. Whereas the earlier sources primarily focussed on the larger (horned) prey animals, the palettes and ivories show a more varied collection of animals. Three novelties stand out, namely the depiction of:

⁴³⁷ See Hendrickx et al. (2016: p. 508-510: Tab. 1; p. 512: Tab. 2) for a list of Late Predynastic palettes.

⁴³⁸ See Raffaele (2010: p. 281, fig. 1) for a compilation of animal rows on knife handles and other implements.

⁴³⁹ Raffaele, 2010: p. 245; Hendrickx, 2006: p. 728; Hendrickx et al., 2016: p. 508, fn. 4.

⁴⁴⁰ Raffaele, 2010: p. 258.

⁴⁴¹ Hendrickx & Förster, p. 2010: p. 836-837.

⁴⁴² Kinsman, 2016: p. 20; see below, p. 149.

1. Wild predators: Leopard,⁴⁴³ lion,⁴⁴⁴ wild canid,⁴⁴⁵ and African wild dog⁴⁴⁶
2. ‘True’ non-indigenous animals: Deer⁴⁴⁷
3. Fantasy animals: Serpopard,⁴⁴⁸ ibex-fish,⁴⁴⁹ griffin⁴⁵⁰

Generally speaking, the animals in the animal rows as well as the animals that are being hunted in the palettes represent the chaos that needs to be controlled. Considering the hunting scenes, we see the usual desert Bovidae (Barbary sheep, gazelle, ibex, oryx, addax, hartebeest, etc.). However, the deer, fantasy animals and predators can also be part of the scene now (figure 78, 96, 98 and 99).

Combining chaos and order

Often, the fantasy animals and predators are chaotic and controlling elements at the same time. In the hunting scenes, predators and fantasy animals have a controlling function: they are hunting prey animals themselves. However, simultaneously, they are part of the chaotic wildlife and also needed to be controlled by human hunters.⁴⁵¹ This idea of double control is also seen at the animal rows. The non-indigenous animals that are depicted in these rows are all part of the chaos that has been controlled. However, the animals that are seen in the top row, such as elephants, are often considered dominating creatures, reigning over the whole scene (figure 96).⁴⁵² Nevertheless, being chaotic creatures of the desert themselves, they still appear in their own ordered row: ‘*even creatures of order needed to be kept in their place*’.⁴⁵³

⁴⁴³ Hierakonpolis Palette (Oxford E.3924): figure 78; additional depictions and bibliography found at: <http://xoomer.virgilio.it/francescoraf/hesyra/palettes/dogs.htm> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

⁴⁴⁴ Hierakonpolis Palette, *ibid.*; Hunters Palette (London BM EA 20790 & 20792 + Paris Louvre E 11254): figure 98; additional depictions and bibliography found at: <http://xoomer.virgilio.it/francescoraf/hesyra/palettes/hunters.htm> (last accessed 24 February 2022); Abu Zaidan knife handle (Brooklyn Mus. 09.889.118). See Raffaele (2010: p. 281, fig. 1.1) and <http://xoomer.virgilio.it/francescoraf/hesyra/egypt/Brooklyn-knife.jpg> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

⁴⁴⁵ Hunters Palette, *ibid.*

⁴⁴⁶ Hierakonpolis Palette, *ibid.*

⁴⁴⁷ Hunters Palette, *ibid.*; Seyala Mace Handle. See Raffaele (2010: p. 281, fig. 1.6) and <http://xoomer.virgilio.it/francescoraf/hesyra/egypt/Sayala-handle.jpg> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

⁴⁴⁸ Hierakonpolis Palette: figure 99.

⁴⁴⁹ Abu Zaidan knife handle, *ibid.*

⁴⁵⁰ Hierakonpolis Palette, *ibid.*

⁴⁵¹ Evident on the Hunters Palette and Hierakonpolis Palette (*ibid.*): African wild dogs and rows of human hunters are seen framing the sides of these palettes and both act as controlling elements of the chaotic environment they encircle (Hendrickx, 2006: p. 740-742; Hendrickx & Eyckerman, 2012: p. 60-62); see below, p. 156.

⁴⁵² E.g. Raffaele, 2010: p. 263; Hendrickx & Förster, 2010: p. 832-833.

⁴⁵³ Kinsman, 2016: p. 19-20.

3.1.3.2 Non-indigenous animals and chaotic regions: Foreign – ‘Unknown’

This extension of depicted animal species makes it even easier to positively identify the decorations as representations of the control over foreign chaos / the ‘unknown’. Moreover, just as is the case with the C-Ware, a link and assimilation can be made between the hunted wild animals and animal rows, and military victory, human enemies and captives:⁴⁵⁴ *‘When the broader “decorative programme“ of knife handles (and other objects’) is confronted with contemporary arrangements of captives processions or smiting and offering bearers on handles and other predynastic artefacts, it appears that a common ideological intent is concealed beneath the dissimilarly looking surface’.*⁴⁵⁵ This time, however, the non-indigenous aspect of the animals is of equal importance as their ‘wildness’.⁴⁵⁶ The main aspect that all of these animals have in common, whether small, large, predator, prey, real or fantasy, is that, apart from being wild, they are not found in and are therefore non-indigenous to Egypt. Furthermore, the animal species depicted in the animal rows and hunting scenes can vary and do not follow a strict recurrent pattern or arrangement. This suggests that the individual species are without a prominent meaning and the emphasis lies on the total picture:⁴⁵⁷ non-indigenous animals in general represent the chaos that needed to be controlled. Not just one, but different non-indigenous animals, possibly representing geographical regions and/or ethnic peoples, are being controlled: indeed, the totality of the foreign, the unknown, and the other world (figure 77).⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁴ Hartung, 2010: p. 111-112, 119-120, fig. 5-6; Raffaele, 2010: p. 102, 282, fig. 2.

⁴⁵⁵ Raffaele, 2010: p. 258.

⁴⁵⁶ Indigenous wild animals, such as the hippopotamus and crocodile, are not included.

⁴⁵⁷ Raffaele, 2010: p. 265.

⁴⁵⁸ This is also the reason why the focus of this part lies on these specific sources and scenes. It is exactly the presence and combination of multiple animals and elements that enable us to say more about the conceptual ideas behind them. Without these interfaces and interactions, interpretations remain mere speculations, especially since it has already been made clear that an animal can have different meanings depending on context. Therefore, the combination ‘giraffes + palm trees’ and ‘elephants + hills’, for example, will not be discussed in greater detail here. Although numerous interpretations have been proposed, ranging from elements of chaos (Köhler, 1999) to solar animals (Westendorf, 1978) for the giraffes, and toponyms (Jimenez-Serrano, 2004) or royal names (Dreyer, 1998) for the elephants, their exact meaning still remains unclear (Whitehouse, 2004: p. 1126-1127; Hendrickx & Förster, 2010: p. 834).

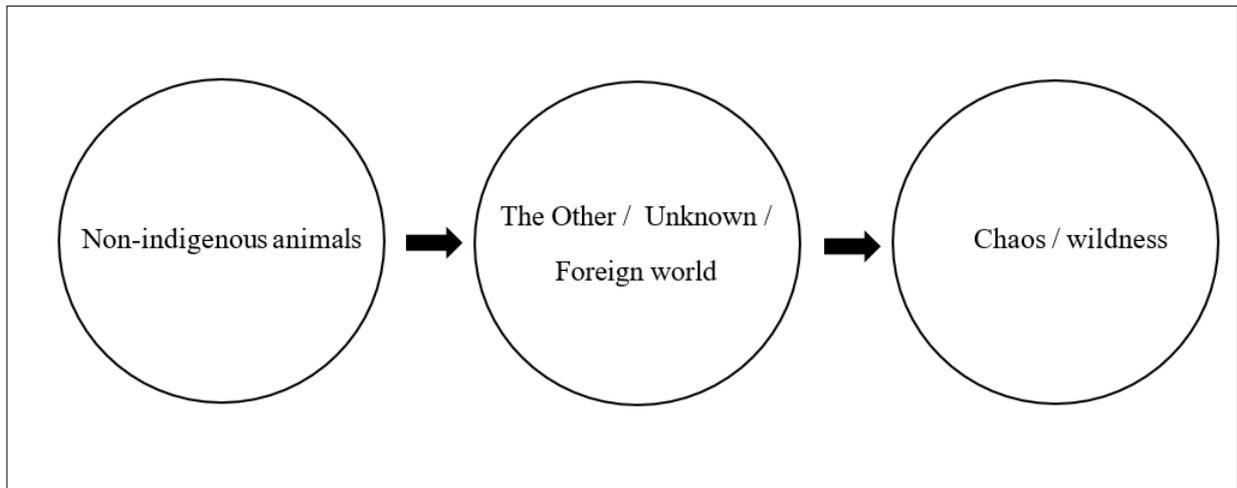


Figure 77. Non-indigenous animals (as a group) as an expression and visualisation of the other, unknown and foreign world, and as such as the concept of chaos/wildness.

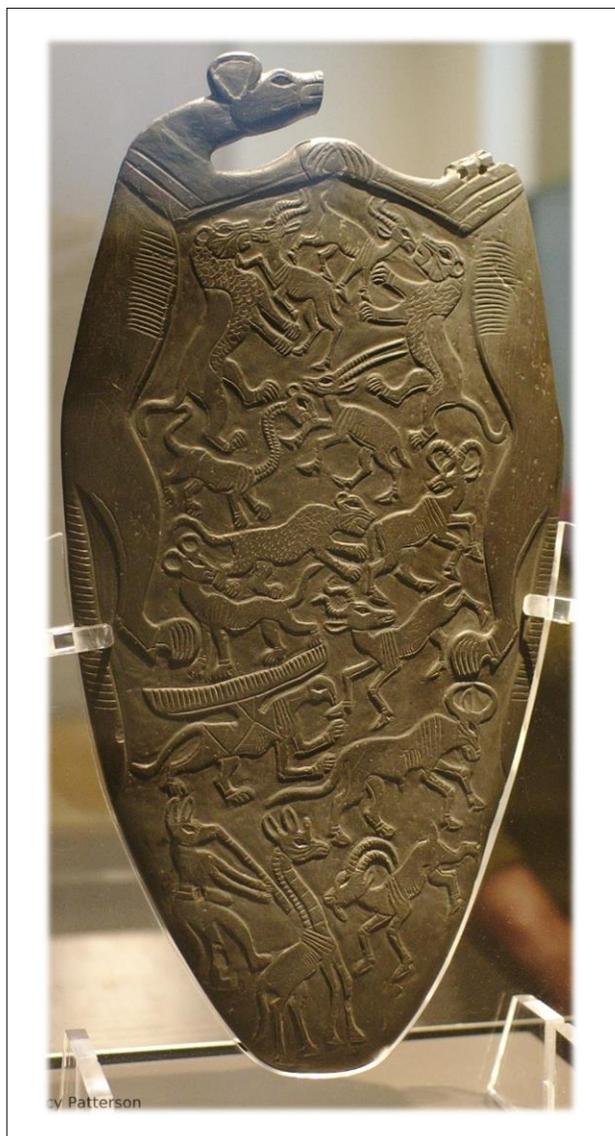


Figure 78. Chaotic desert animals on the Hierakonpolis palette: Bovidae, wild predators, and fantasy animals. Hierakonpolis, Late Predynastic period. (Oxford E. 3924: verso).

3.2 The Dynastic period

3.2.1 The Dynastic desert hunt and order over chaos

Even though hunting wild animals was not essential for survival, the desert hunt, as well as hunting in the Nile Valley, remain beloved themes throughout the Dynastic period, especially in the iconography of tombs and temples. However, hunting should certainly not be seen as a very important theme, and therefore a clear difference can be observed between the Predynastic and the Dynastic hunt. In the Dynastic period, the inclusion of a hunting scene seems to purely optional, especially the desert hunt.⁴⁵⁹ Here too, the animals and the environment can be interpreted as elements of chaos. Amongst others, this becomes clear when looking at the layout and content of the scenes. Marshall emphasises that a high level of artistic individuality is seen in these types of scenes: *‘the way in which the artists construct each scene and the specific things selected to be included or excluded are dependent upon individual choice. Although certain elements may be identical, each scene as a whole is unique in its composition’*.⁴⁶⁰ This less structured layout and content, as opposed to other scene types, can be explained by the fact that the desert and its animal inhabitants are characterised by an inherent sense of disorder. A freer and more chaotic layout perfectly suits the chaotic setting.⁴⁶¹ This contrast is well visible at the Old Kingdom temple of Sahure (figure 79)⁴⁶²: *‘The simple figural lineup in front of a large image of the king has been transformed in this relief into a densely packed mass of terribly wounded and frightened animals inside a netted stockade. The animals are shown in a multiplicity of postures and groupings with figures facing in diverse directions and overlapping in a variety of ways. The irregular assemblage contrasts with the dignified uniformity of the officials who march sedately behind Sahure and at the bottom of the scene. This is an example of the age-old Egyptian juxtaposition of order and chaos, but Sahure’s artists have given unusual drama to the basic scheme and have depicted each of the animals with unequalled care and compassion’*.⁴⁶³ This is not only true for the Old Kingdom, but also the later periods. Hodel-Hoernes describes the difference between the Nilotic hunt and the desert hunt in the New Kingdom tomb of Userhat (TT 56) as follows: *‘By comparison, the hunt in the papyrus thicket is disappointingly conventional’*.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁵⁹ Van Walsem, 2014: p. 73-75.

⁴⁶⁰ Marshall, 2012: p. 125.

⁴⁶¹ Altenmüller, 1980: p. 224 (= LÄ III: *‘Jagddarstellungen’*).

⁴⁶² Borchardt, 1913: II, BI 17.

⁴⁶³ Arnold, 1999: p. 91-92.

⁴⁶⁴ Hodel-Hoernes, 2000: p. 79.

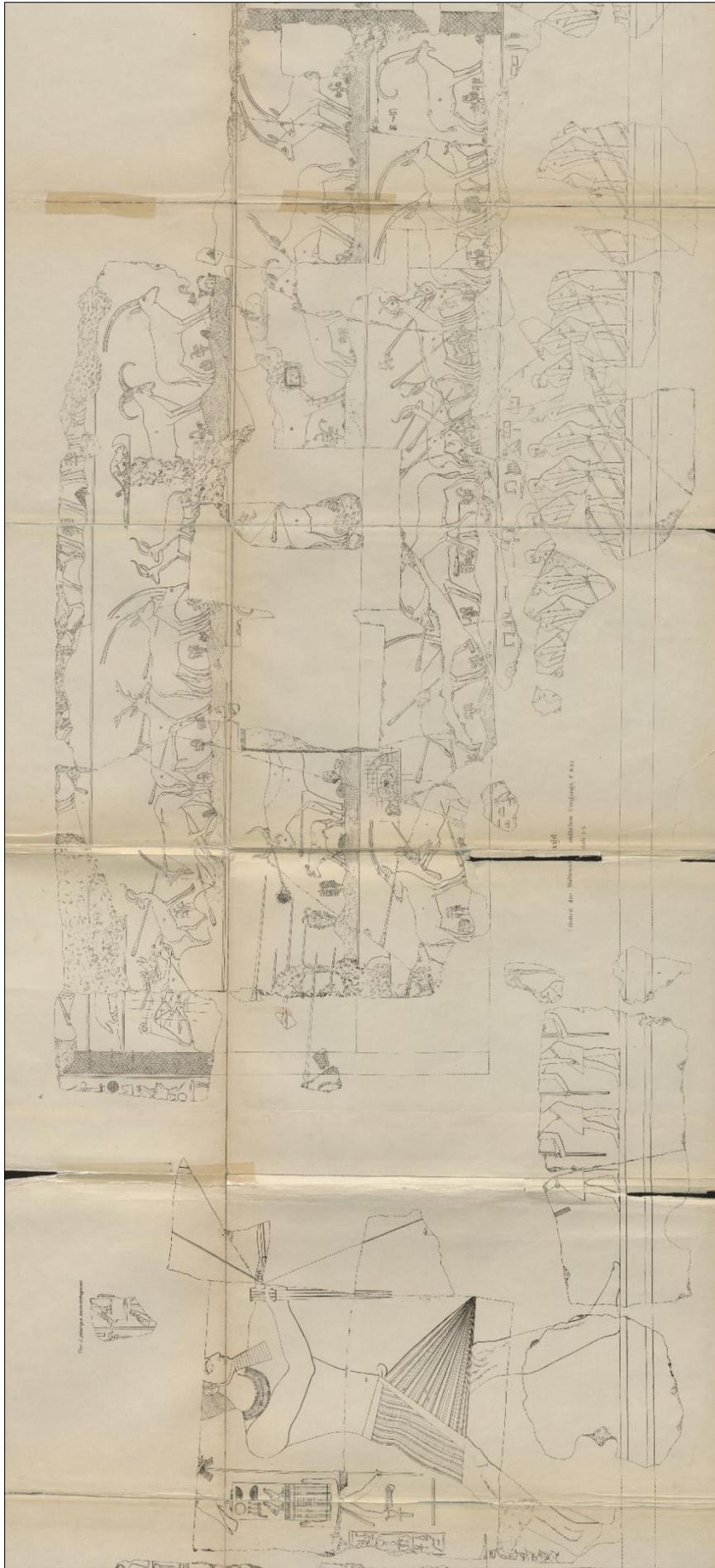


Figure 79. A desert hunt scene in the mortuary temple of Sahure. Abusir, Old Kingdom, Dynasty 5.

Furthermore, especially during the Old and Middle Kingdom periods, these scenes do not only display the hunted animals, but also show the desert environment and desert life as a whole. Not only the actual human intervention in the form of hunting, but also natural animal behaviour is seen. Various tombs show details of mating animal, animals that are giving birth, small animals in front of their holes, or animals that are hunting themselves.⁴⁶⁵ This puts an extra emphasis on the desert as a chaotic environment, instead of only the animals themselves. Although these birthing scenes are occasionally interpreted as referring to regeneration,⁴⁶⁶ the emphasis still lies on hunting and ‘dominating’ these animals. Especially during the Old Kingdom period, texts accompanying desert hunts are rare. However, an inscription in the sun temple of Niuserre next to images of animals giving birth reads: ‘*Seize all desert born animals*’.⁴⁶⁷ In a few cases, the iconography shows depictions of leopards and lions in their natural environment. In these instances, they are not hunted by the human hunters but displayed as hunters themselves. The leopard is depicted in a stalking position, and the lion is seen attacking and killing its prey.⁴⁶⁸ Apparently, working in the desert environment was considered extra dangerous, since prey animals such as gazelles and antelopes attracted dangerous wild animals.⁴⁶⁹ The chaotic aspect of the desert animals becomes even clearer when elite and royal desert hunt scenes are compared to one another. In the private tombs of the Old Kingdom, the tomb owner is usually not seen as a participant of the hunt, but merely as an observer. Apparently, the elite employed trained hunters to participate in this dangerous undertaking.⁴⁷⁰ However, the wild animals and dangerous desert environment obviously formed no real danger to the king. In the royal hunting scenes of the Old Kingdom, it is the king himself who hunts these wild animals.⁴⁷¹ Furthermore, in the hunting scenes of the Old and Middle Kingdom, the lion was occasionally depicted as a predatory animal, hunting its prey. However, it is not being hunted itself. This changes in the New Kingdom, where the lion can be hunted by the king. It seems to be the case that the aurochs and the lion are considered more chaotic and powerful,

⁴⁶⁵ E.g. in the tomb of Akhethotep and Ptahhotep II (Davies, 1900: I, pl. XXII, XXV, XXVI; Decker & Herb, 1994: J 30: I, p. 305-306; II, Taf. CXXXVI; Harpur & Scremin, 2008: p. 100-115 [139-165]). A hilly landscape with various plants is depicted; wild canids and leopards are copulating; a gazelle is hiding; a lion bites an aurochs in its head; and a hedgehog has caught a grasshopper and emerges from a burrow.

⁴⁶⁶ E.g. Strandberg, 2009: p. 58.

⁴⁶⁷ Stolberg-Stolberg (2004: p. 129) correctly states that the original relief depicts Gardiner sign V15 (Gardiner, 1957: p. 523). The accompanying text thus reads *iti h3s.t ms m3 nb* instead of *sm h3s.t ms m3 nb* (Von Bissing, 1956: Pl. XIb; Berlin, Inventar-Nr: ÄM 20036/3).

⁴⁶⁸ Lion: e.g. the tomb of Akhethotep & Ptahhotep II (see above, fn. 465); leopard: e.g. tomb of Nefermaat (Cairo JE 43809: Hawass, 2010: p. 74-75).

⁴⁶⁹ Herb & Förster, 2009: p. 26-27.

⁴⁷⁰ Marshall, 2012: p. 131.

⁴⁷¹ Cwiek, 2003: p. 214-217.

and therefore present a higher order of enemy.⁴⁷² The king, who is responsible for the well-being of the whole country and its inhabitants, could demonstrate his control over real and symbolic chaos by hunting down desert animals in general, but also the particularly dangerous ones, such as the aurochs and the lion. As such, these animals also have a close relationship to the king himself. Although the aurochs is occasionally hunted by non-royal persons,⁴⁷³ the lion is only hunted by the king himself.⁴⁷⁴

Hunting activities are not only depicted in the iconography, but also mentioned in the textual record. Several kings of the New Kingdom mention desert hunts, where they caught various species of non-indigenous animals, such as lions and aurochs, but also elephants and a rhinoceros.⁴⁷⁵ These are indeed some of the most dangerous and powerful animals that are found outside of the Nile Valley. The royal desert hunt thus puts an extra emphasis on the chaotic desert environment and its animal inhabitants because it excellently demonstrates the controlling capacities of the king. Amenhotep III, for example, mentions his lion hunts, where he claims to have shot no less than 102 lions: *'the list of the lions that his majesty brought from his own shooting, from year 1 until year 10: 102 grim lions'*.⁴⁷⁶ However, even though these lions are described as grim, which emphasises their chaotic and dangerous nature, the king is clearly boasting about the high quantity of lions. The focus not only lies on a real or symbolic conquering of chaos (thereby simultaneously demonstrating the power of the hunter), but also emphasises ideas of prestige and wealth.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷² Strandberg, 2009: p. 70; see also below, p. 172: the text accompanying the aurochs hunt of Ramses III mentions various animals, namely the bull, lion and wild canids. However, bulls and lions are apparently considered more dangerous than wild canids: *'he looks upon the bulls and lions just like jackals'* (KRI V: 112,15; Kitchen, 2008: p. 88).

⁴⁷³ For example depicted in the tomb of Djehutyhotep II (Decker & Herb, 1994: J 79: I, p. 326-327; II, Taf. CLIV). The dangerous character of the aurochs might explain why the animals are depicted in a separate register and not among the other desert animals (Strandberg, 2009: p. 70).

⁴⁷⁴ Van Walsem, 2014: p. 72.

⁴⁷⁵ Thutmose III boasts about hunting all of these animals on the Armant Stela (Cairo JE 67377: Urk IV: 1245,12-1246,3; Mond & Myers, 1940: I, p. 183; II, pl. CIII); see below, p. 285.

⁴⁷⁶ The 'lion-hunt scarab' of Amenhotep III: figure 154; Urk IV: 1740, 12-13; Breasted, 1906: II, p. 346-347, § 865; Blankenberg-Van Delden, 1969: p. 17-18; grim lion: *mꜣi ḥsꜣ*.

⁴⁷⁷ See below, p. 285-293.

3.2.2 Desert animals and human enemies

3.2.2.1 Iconography and zoomorphic metaphors

A more symbolic interpretation of the desert hunt as a means to visualise the general idea of ‘control over chaos’, or as a metaphorical representation of control over foreign human enemies becomes particularly evident when a clear one to one link is made between the desert hunt and foreign human enemies. Indeed, a theme already seen in the Predynastic period. It does not seem to be a coincidence that the procession of foreign Asiatic desert dwellers in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hassan is surrounded by a desert hunt. It can be argued that, just like the animals, these people also represent the chaotic world surrounding Egypt. Both types of foreign chaos have been ‘controlled’ and turned to the use of the tomb owner.⁴⁷⁸ However, the most obvious links between the desert hunt, control, and military victory become clear in royal contexts. An unambiguous interchangeability between human enemies and wild desert animals is occasionally seen in the hunting iconography of the New Kingdom.

On the painted chest of Tutankhamun,⁴⁷⁹ the pharaoh battles and slaughters an unordered mass of desert animals on the lid, and Asiatics in the scene below it (on the side of the chest).⁴⁸⁰ In a similar fashion, the pharaoh is hunting lions on the other side of the lid, and battles Nubians in the scene directly below (figures 80 and 81).⁴⁸¹ Both scenes are almost identical in composition, and an equation between the wild animals and foreign enemies is clearly evident. A similar idea can be seen on the wall reliefs of Medinet Habu. These reliefs depict, among others, battles against and the defeat of several foreign peoples. Here we see, for example, the pharaoh battling the Libyans and attacking the Hittites (figures 82 and 83).⁴⁸² Apart from these battle and victory scenes, three animal hunting scenes are incorporated as well: a desert game hunt scene,⁴⁸³ an aurochs hunt scene,⁴⁸⁴ and a lion hunt scene (figures 84-86).⁴⁸⁵ Again, a clear assimilation between hunting and warfare can be observed. The slaughtering and subduing of the Hittite and Libyan enemies, and the hunting of wild animals both show the brave pharaoh who pushes back the surrounding chaotic factors that wish to infiltrate Egypt. On the lion hunt scene, the

⁴⁷⁸ Kamrin, 1999: p. 96.

⁴⁷⁹ Cairo JE 61467: The Griffith Institute, Burton photograph p0016: <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/021-p0016.html> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

⁴⁸⁰ Davies, 1962: pl. I & III.

⁴⁸¹ Davies, 1962: pl. II & IV.

⁴⁸² Nelson, 1932: MH II, pl. 68 & 87.

⁴⁸³ Idem, pl. 116.

⁴⁸⁴ Idem, pl. 117.

⁴⁸⁵ Nelson, 1930: MH I, pl. 35.

dangerous and threatful enemies are not only depicted, but also described as lions: *'The lions are in travail and flee to their land'*.⁴⁸⁶ The same can be seen and read at the aurochs hunt. Again, the pharaoh is hunting wild animals. The accompanying text reads: *'subduing herds of aurochs (...) and slaying the lands of the Asiatics'*.⁴⁸⁷ In this example, it is especially noteworthy that the human and animal enemy are not only depicted, but also textually mentioned in the same context. The equation between human enemies and a powerful foreign animal, such as the lion, is also seen on various smaller objects. An ostrakon from the Valley of the Kings depicts a Ramesside pharaoh spearing a lion. The accompanying text reads: *'the slaughtering of every foreign country'*.⁴⁸⁸ Likewise, a wooden amulet shows the capturing of a lion by its tail, with the text: *'crushing every foreign country'*.⁴⁸⁹



Figure 80. Tutankhamun hunting desert animals (top) and battling Asiatics (below). New Kingdom, Dynasty 18. (Cairo JE 61467).

⁴⁸⁶ Idem; lines 1-6; KRI V: 31,5; Kitchen, 2008: p. 27; lion: *m3i*.

⁴⁸⁷ Nelson, 1932: MH II, pl. 17: lines 1-8; KRI V: 112,16 & 113,1-2; Kitchen, 2008: p. 88; aurochs: *sm3*.

⁴⁸⁸ New York MMA 26.7.1453: <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544076> (last accessed 24 February 2022); Schoske, 1994: p. 422-423.

⁴⁸⁹ Kestnermuseum Hannover, Inv. Nr 2870; Von Lieven, 2000: pl. XX, Abb. 6.



Figure 81. Tutankhamun hunting lions (top) and battling Nubians (below). (Cairo JE 61467).

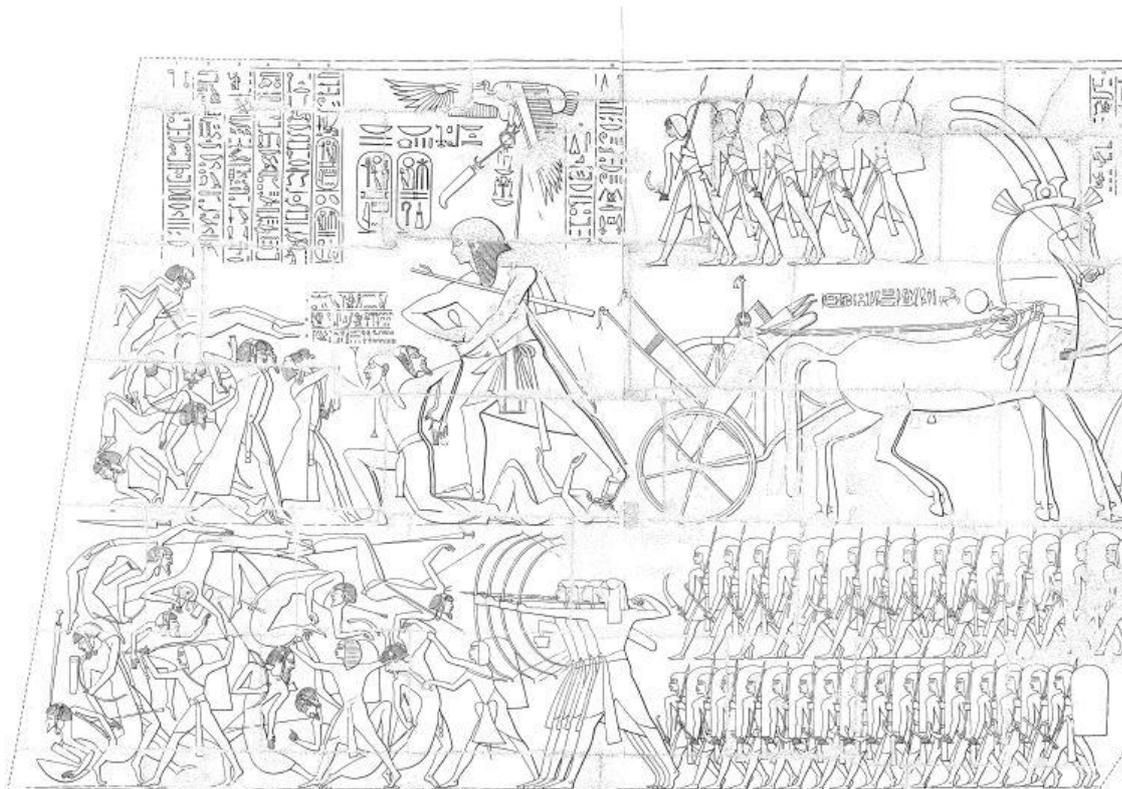


Figure 82. Ramses III in battle with the Libyans. Medinet Habu, New Kingdom, Dynasty 20.

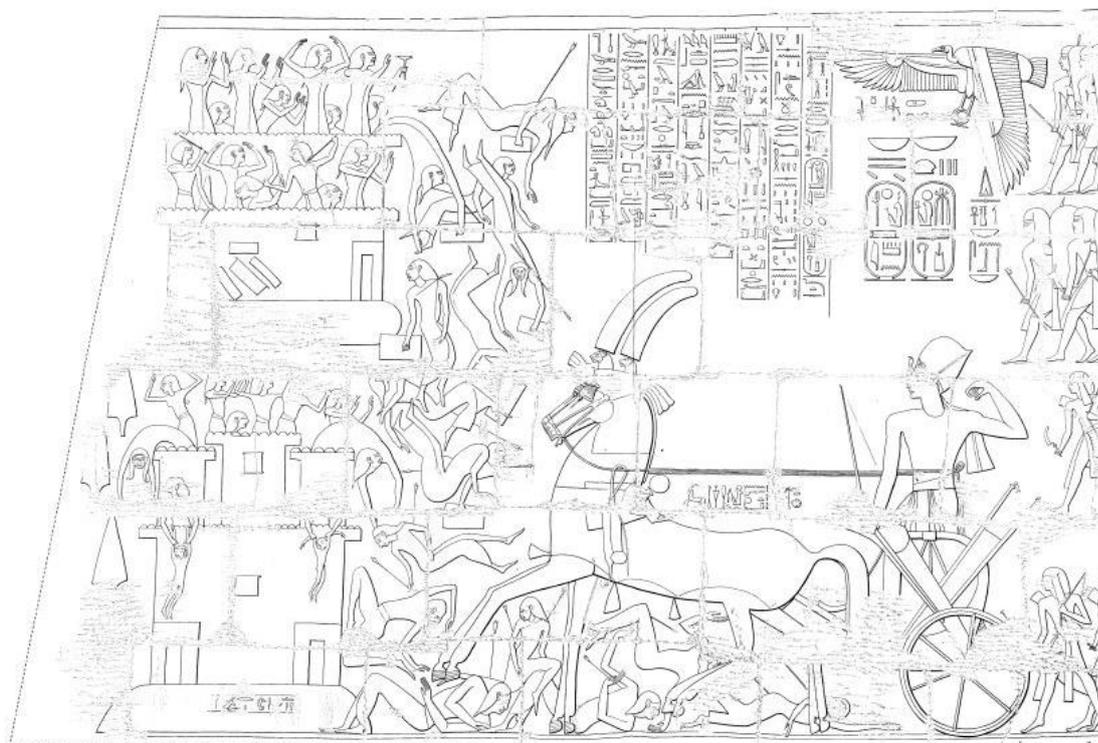


Figure 83. Ramses III attacking two Hittite towns. Medinet Habu, New Kingdom, Dynasty 20.

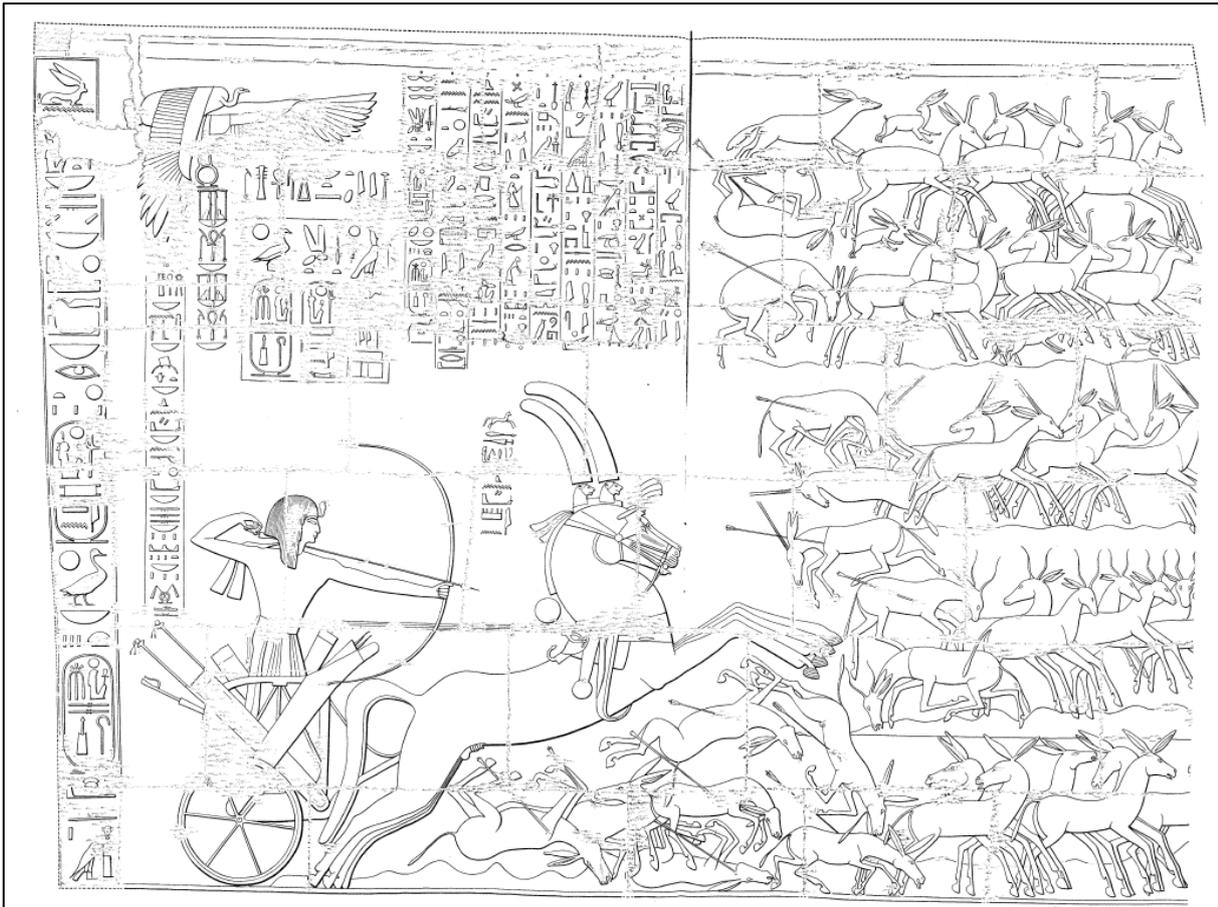


Figure 84. Ramses III hunting wild desert animals. Medinet Habu, New Kingdom, Dynasty 20.

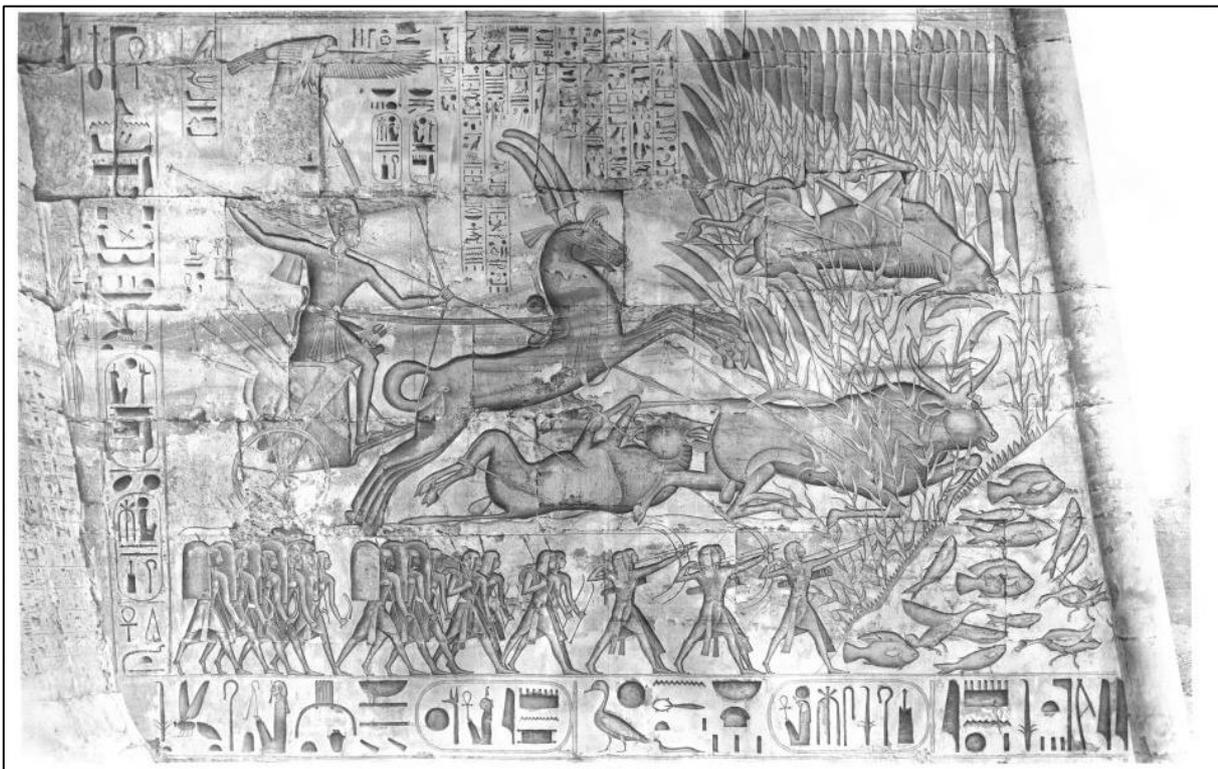


Figure 85. Ramses III hunting aurochs. Medinet Habu, New Kingdom, Dynasty 20.

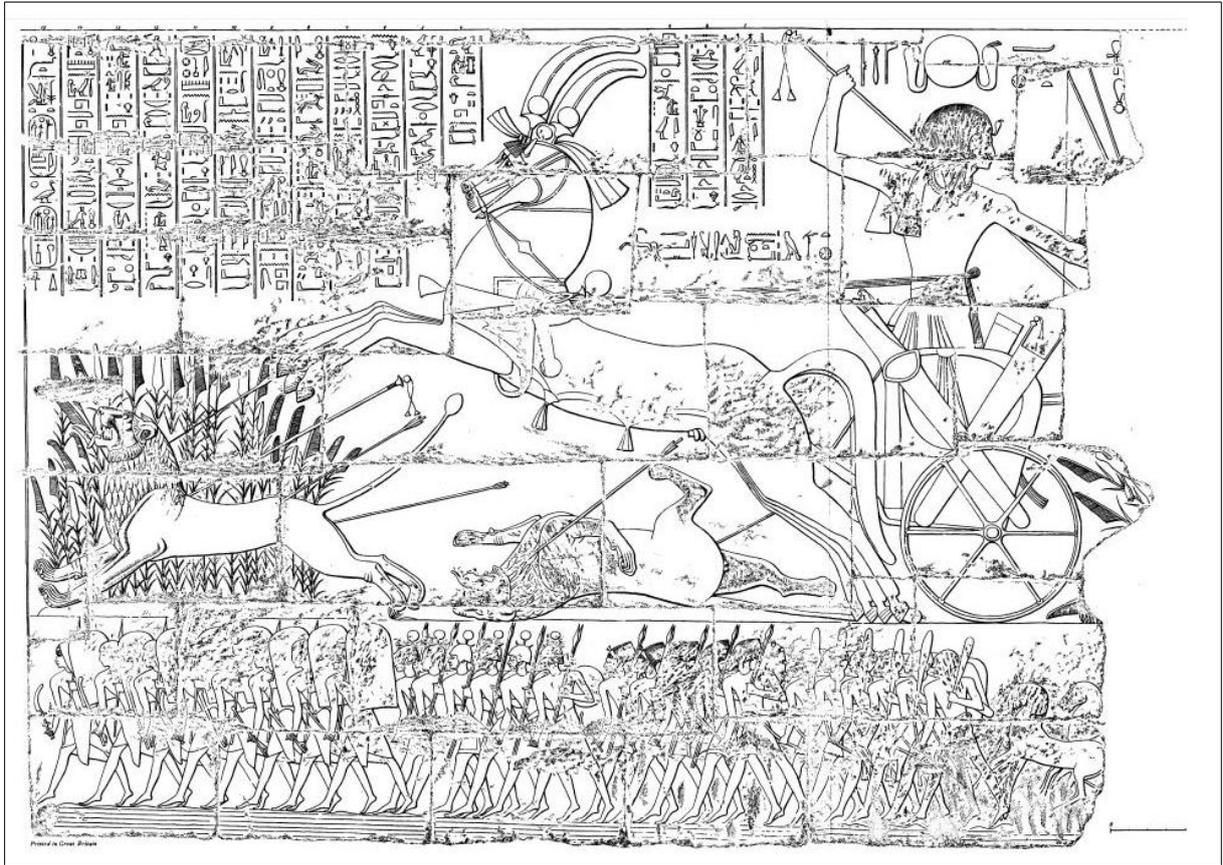


Figure 86. Ramses III hunting lions. Medinet Habu, New Kingdom, Dynasty 20.

3.2.2.2 Figurative expressions in the textual record

Apart from the iconographic record, wild animals are compared to foreign human enemies in several texts. THE TEACHING OF AMENEMHAT reads: *'I have tamed the lions, I have captured the crocodiles - I subdued the Nubians, I captured the Medjay'*.⁴⁹⁰ Here too, hostile and dangerous animals are used as metaphors for human enemies. Thus, in these cases the human enemies and the animal enemies are interchangeable, and both are considered chaotic forces and possible threats to the pharaoh and Egypt. The hunting of lions is described in PAPYRUS ANASTASI II. Merenptah is described as: *'a defender [...] who knows his business, who [shoots] with strong bow at mighty [li]ons. His strength pervades every foreign land'*.⁴⁹¹ Here, Merenptah is described as being more powerful than a lion. Considering the context of the text, it is likely that the lions he is shooting are used as a metaphor for his foreign, human enemies. Not only the most hostile and dangerous non-indigenous animals are used to describe human enemies, but also other animals, such as wild canids or desert game. Here too, the described human enemy is to be considered a chaotic element that needed to be destroyed or dominated. The weak and scared enemy can be compared to wild canids as they try to hide for the powerful king. These animals are indeed most active at night and can use caves as dens.⁴⁹² *'He causes them to stop standing at the battlefield and forget to draw their bows, as they spend the day in caves, hidden like jackals'*.⁴⁹³ Similarly, the enemy is compared to desert game. Quickly, and in great numbers, they run away from the king: *'No one looks back, but flees quickly, stretched out like a herd of desert animals'*.⁴⁹⁴ The power of the king and the defeat of the enemy forces is furthermore compared to the predator-prey relationship between the lion and desert game. The king is: *'Like a lion who seizes, roaring, <tearing> the desert game with its teeth'*.⁴⁹⁵ In the following example, the human enemies are not compared to desert game, but to domestic cattle: *'His majesty was after them like the bull of Ombos, like a falcon in a flock of birds, like a grim lion in a pen of livestock'*.⁴⁹⁶ This is an interesting example, because the king is compared to an infiltrating lion. In most instances, infiltrating animals are used in a negative context. The threat of foreign enemies is for example described in THE PROPHECIES OF NEFERTI, where the

⁴⁹⁰ pSallier II: H12a: Helck, 1986: p. 76; Dils, P. in: TLA; lion: *m3i*.

⁴⁹¹ pAnastasi II: recto 3,7-4,1: LEM, p. 14-14a; Dils, P. in: TLA; lion: *m3i*.

⁴⁹² Osborn & Helmy, 1980: p. 370; see below, p. 211-215.

⁴⁹³ KRI I: 22,4-6; Kitchen, 1993: p. 18. The king can also be described as a lion, while his enemies are *'gathered before him, (as) miserable as jackals'* (KRI V: 31,7-8; Kitchen, 2008: p. 27); wild canid/jackal/wolf: *wnš*.

⁴⁹⁴ Urk IV: 697,13-15; Blumenthal et al., 1984, p. 206; desert game: *ʿw.t (n.t) ḥ3s.t*.

⁴⁹⁵ KRI V: 70,12; Kitchen, 2008: p. 54; desert game: *ʿw.t (n.t) ḥ3s.t*.

⁴⁹⁶ KRI II: 151,10-11; Kitchen, 1996: p. 29. In this instance, the king is compared to a bull, a falcon and a lion, whereas the human enemy is compared to a flock of small birds and a herd of domestic cattle. Additionally, the chaotic nature of the lion (the attacking of livestock should usually be considered a negative action) is depicted as a positive trait in this example; grim lion: *m3i ḥs3*.

consequences of infiltrating desert animals into Egypt are emphasised: *‘The desert game will drink water from the river of Egypt’*.⁴⁹⁷ In this case, this real-life situation has been used to metaphorically describe the threat of chaos in the form of a foreign power or foreign powers. The wild animals that lavish themselves from the Nile can be seen as invaders that infiltrated the country and have taken advantage of it. The threat is directed towards the entire country of Egypt, and not just against one person or group of persons. Apparently, the life-like behaviour of actual desert animals, as well as the fact that they belong in a different habitat makes them suitable as a metaphor for foreign invaders. Here, the desert animals in general are also used to represent a general enemy, instead of a specific animal to represent a specific enemy (such as the lions and crocodiles mentioned in THE TEACHING OF AMENEMHAT).⁴⁹⁸ A similar event is described in THE TEACHING OF AMENEMOPE, where the negative effect of wild canids infiltrating into Egypt is described: *‘the jackals are satisfied, birds are in feast’*.⁴⁹⁹ A wild canid is one of the animals that will take advantage and is part of the chaos that has overcome Egypt. This desert animal will leave its natural habitat and infiltrate the Nile Valley to profit from the easily available food,⁵⁰⁰ leaving the Egyptian fishermen with empty nets. Although not specifically mentioned, the wild canids and the birds could be seen as a metaphor for foreigners and the role of the wild canid is a negative one.

3.2.3 Non-indigenous animals as chaotic animals

Apart from a metaphorical connection between desert animals and human enemies, the chaotic aspects of ‘real’ non-indigenous animals, especially the most dangerous ones, such as the lion, the leopard and the bear, but also wild canids and the horse are mentioned in various literary texts. In PAPYRUS ANASTASII, the dangerous aspects of the chariot (with horses) are mentioned. As a fast means of transportation, especially on the battlefield, the chariot and horses provide great advantages. However, accidents can happen as well: *‘Your chariot is on your side, you are afraid to be crushed by your horses’*.⁵⁰¹ The chariot can also crash, because it has been sabotaged: *‘Your reins have been cut through in the night. Your pair of horses has gone, and is speeding over the slippery ground’*.⁵⁰² Another accident has happened in PAPYRUS ANASTASI III: *‘He had taken the rein on it, but it had thrown him into the thicket. His legs are cut by the rein,*

⁴⁹⁷ pPetersburg 1116 B: verso 35-36: Helck, 2000: p. 33; Dils, P. & H. Felber in: TLA; desert game: *ḥw.t (n.t) ḥ3s.t*.

⁴⁹⁸ See above, p. 131 and fn. 490.

⁴⁹⁹ pBM EA 10474: 7,5: Laisney, 2007: p. 333; Dils, P. in: TLA; wild canid/jackal/wolf: *wnš*.

⁵⁰⁰ Jackals living near the Nile Valley are known to feed from cultivated crops and domesticated animals (Osborn & Helmy, 1980: p. 370).

⁵⁰¹ pAnastasi I: KĀT 142,4: Fischer-Elfert, 1992: p. 142; Dils, P. in: TLA; horse: *ssm.t*.

⁵⁰² pAnastasi I: KĀT 146,8-147,3: Fischer-Elfert, 1992: p. 146-147; Dils, P. in: TLA; horse-pair: *ḥtr*.

his side is pierced with thorns'.⁵⁰³ In the case of PAPHYRUS ANASTASI I, the fictional incidents⁵⁰⁴ that also mention the chariot and horses, are used to demonstrate the fear, inexperience, and incompetence of Amenemope. Not only as a charioteer, but also as a person. According to Hori, this makes him unskilled in his function as Maher. The foreign setting of the stories is important because it emphasises the contrast between Egypt and the region that is apparently unknown to the charioteer. This puts an extra stress on the incompetence and lack of knowledge of said charioteer. However, the foreign origin of the horse is not specifically emphasised. Thus, the chariot has crashed, because of the lack of experience of the charioteer. Hori uses the horses as an example to make his point: these animals can be dangerous and chaotic when handled by an unskilled person.

Infiltrating chaos

The non-indigenous character of an animal is important when the animals themselves are used to emphasise the dichotomy between Egypt and foreign regions. It has been demonstrated above that these animals were not only considered dangerous or a pest to people, but also to their livestock and crops. In PAPHYRUS ANASTASI IV a particular type of wild canid is described as a fierce, nocturnal animal that attacks livestock: '*The ish3b they call a red jackal with a long tail. It goes by night into the stall of bulls, begins with the largest first, and makes no distinction at all (afterwards). Its face is fierce*'.⁵⁰⁵ In PAPHYRUS LANSING, a situation is described where wild canids have eaten the oxen of a peasant: '*He has found it in the swamp. He couldn't find any skin attached to it; the jackals ate it*'.⁵⁰⁶ Here we see a desert animal that has infiltrated the Nile region. The text describes the misfortunes of the peasant, in this case by illustrating the dangers of wild animals that lure in the swamps. Not only wild canids, but lions too are described as a danger to livestock, as has been mentioned above.⁵⁰⁷ The threat of lions is also mentioned in THE TEACHING OF KHETI. The peasant is described as follows: '*He is intact, the way one is intact amongst lions*'.⁵⁰⁸ Basically, this means the exact opposite: if one would find oneself surrounded by lions, one would certainly not feel fine. The same is true for the peasant: his situation does not make him feel safe at all (as if he was surrounded by lions.) This could be a general reference to the danger lions oppose to people, but it could also relate more specifically

⁵⁰³ pAnastasi III: recto 6,8-6,9: LEM, p. 27-27a; Dils, P. in: TLA.

⁵⁰⁴ Gardiner, 1964: p. 5: Amenemope claims to be a Maher, but Hori verbally attacks him by saying he has no right to this title. He has no knowledge of, nor visited some specific foreign places. Even if he did visit these places, he would have been unfit for it.

⁵⁰⁵ pAnastasi IV: recto 13,3-13,4: LEM, p. 49-49a; Dils, P. in: TLA; wild canid/jackal/wolf: *wnš*.

⁵⁰⁶ pLansing: recto 6,5-6,6: LEM, p.105-105a; Popko, L. in: TLA; wild canid/jackal/wolf: *wnš*.

⁵⁰⁷ See above, fn. 496, p. 131.

⁵⁰⁸ pSallier II: 7,1: Brunner, 1944: p. 142; Dils, P. in: TLA; lion: *m3i*.

to the occupation of a farmer as such: they can be considered especially vulnerable to infiltrating lions that are attracted to their fields and livestock.⁵⁰⁹

Foreign chaos

Frequently, non-indigenous animals are used to emphasise the chaos and danger that is found abroad, i.e. outside of Egypt. As such, a clear dichotomy is created between the safe and orderly Egypt, and the dangerous and chaotic foreign regions and animals. This is perfectly described in THE TEACHING OF KHETI, where the dangers of travelling abroad are mentioned, and the implied relief of the protagonist when he enters the safety of Egypt again is stressed: '*Being frightened because of lions and Asiatics, he recognises himself again when he is in Egypt, as he arrives there in the marshlands*'.⁵¹⁰ The protagonist is afraid of lions and Asiatics when he leaves Egypt. In this case, the separate mentioning of lions and Asiatics is interesting, because this makes it more likely that the actual animal is meant here, instead of a metaphor for foreigners as is the case in NEFERTI and AMENEMHAT.⁵¹¹ The chaos that is associated with the foreign lands is emphasised and explained by using a dangerous foreign animal. In THE TEACHING OF MENENA a father talks about his worries and dissatisfaction concerning his son who has left the country to become a sailor. The part that is of interest here can and has been translated in several different ways,⁵¹² but due to the context of the text the translation of Guglielmi is followed: '*If it capsizes in the east, then one says to you as the lions approach, as you are alone*'.⁵¹³ A situation is described where the shipwrecked son will find himself in a dangerous situation in a foreign country, all by himself, surrounded by the lions that live in these regions. The threat of the wild lion is emphasised here, as well as the foreign location of the son: lions are apparently animals that one can encounter in foreign, eastern regions. Surely, the son would not find himself in such a perilous situation if he would have stayed in Egypt. The danger that lies abroad⁵¹⁴ is also emphasised in PAPYRUS ANASTASII, where it is said that: '*Lions are more numerous than leopards and bears*'.⁵¹⁵ These three animals are all predatory animals that can show agonistic behaviour towards people and that are foreign to Egypt.⁵¹⁶ The

⁵⁰⁹ Especially farmers are vulnerable to attacking lions, and the loss of cattle to lions can be a serious financial problem (Kingdon et al., 2013: V, p. 158).

⁵¹⁰ pSallier II: 7,7: Brunner, 1944: p. 156-158; Dils, P. in: TLA; lion: *m3i*.

⁵¹¹ See above, p. 131-132, fn. 497-499.

⁵¹² E.g. Foster, 1984: p. 92: '*Then would they have to speak to you with the respect due a lion...*'

⁵¹³ oChicago OIC 12074: verso 1: Guglielmi, 1983: p. 149, 152; Dils, P. in: TLA; lion: *m3i*.

⁵¹⁴ In this case Magara (Fischer-Elfert, 1992: p. 125-126, 160).

⁵¹⁵ pAnastasi I: KÄT 126,1: Fischer-Elfert, 1992: p. 126; Dils, P. in: TLA; lion: *m3i*, leopard: *3by*, bear: *htm.t*.

⁵¹⁶ It is interesting to see that the combination lion-leopard-bear is also seen in the Old Testament (Fischer-Elfert, 1986: p. 166, fn. u).

presence of the bear among the other two predators puts an extra emphasis on the fact that we are dealing with a situation that takes place outside of Egypt: this animal could not be found in the desert regions surrounding Egypt. Another reference to the bear is found further on in the same text: ‘*Your scream becomes like Qedjerdy, the great one of Asiru, after the bear found him in the bky-tree*’.⁵¹⁷ Here, Hori makes fun of Amenemope by stressing the helpless situation of a foreigner named Qedjerdy. Again, the foreign place is emphasised, and the bear seems to be the perfect animal to clarify that the event takes place abroad and did not occur in the desert or even in Egypt. The fact that the bear is chasing Qedjerdy clearly demonstrates the aggressive and dangerous behaviour of the animal. The dangers that are found abroad are also described in PAPYRUS SALLIER I: ‘*He cannot choose if he is dead or alive, because of the lions and the bears*’.⁵¹⁸ It is not really clear what is meant with the saying ‘*he cannot choose if he is dead or alive*’, but it certainly doesn’t sound positive. Probably it can be interpreted as ‘he is between life and dead’, meaning that he is mortally wounded or in mortal danger. Again, the dangers of predators abroad are emphasised. In THE BLINDING OF TRUTH BY FALSEHOOD Falsehood tries to get rid of his brother Truth by ordering the servants of Truth to throw his brother for the lions: ‘*O, may you grab your master and throw him in front of a savage lion, who has numerous lionesses as his wife, and they will swallow him*’.⁵¹⁹ Although the lions here represent ‘real’ lions, they are used as a device to let chaos win over order. They are described as animals that will kill and eat people.⁵²⁰ Further on, we can read that the servants of Truth take him from the Nile Valley to the desert region, in order to execute their order. This means, that the foreign habitat of the lions also plays a role and the general picture of the dangerous, chaotic, attacking lion that lives in the desert is considered negatively here.

Tamed chaos

The wildness or chaotic character of non-indigenous animals is not only apparent when they occur in hostile situations, but also when it is emphasised that they have been dominated or tamed. In the following examples, the greatest emphasis lies on their ‘wildness’. In PAPYRUS WESTCAR, the lion is used in such a context: ‘*He knows how to make a lion walk behind him,*

⁵¹⁷ pAnastasi I: KÄT 139,1-139,2; Fischer-Elfert, 1992: p. 139; Dils, P. in: TLA; a possible iconographic representation of the described scene can be found on a relief of the temple of Luxor. Here, an animal that resembles a bear bites into the foot of a soldier who has climbed into a tree in order to escape from the animal – without any luck (figure 183; Burchardt, 1914: pl. 6; Wreszinski, 1935: II, Taf. 66-67); bear: *htm.t*.

⁵¹⁸ pSallier I: recto 7,4-7,5; LEM, p. 84-84a; Popko, L. in: TLA; lion: *m3i*, bear: *htm.t*.

⁵¹⁹ pChesterBeatty II: 2,6-2,7; LES, p. 31-31a; Popko, L. in: TLA; lion: *m3i*, lioness: *rby*.

⁵²⁰ Teeter (2002: p. 256) claims that Truth is not killed, because the lions overcome their murderous instincts. However, this statement cannot be verified by looking at the text.

with its leash on the ground'.⁵²¹ Here, a wild animal is tamed by a man: Djedi makes the lion as docile as a lamb, with the use of a magic spell. Apparently, the lion is considered a chaotic, wild, and powerful animal that is difficult to tame. Moreover, not only the taming of the lion is emphasised, but the total control over the animal, which makes the use of a leash superfluous. This stress on taming and teachability can also be seen in the TEACHING OF ANI, where a father and son are engaged in a 'nature versus nurture' conversation. Here, the young Khonshotep objects to the teachings of his father, by claiming that it is impossible for the younger generation to follow the moral code that is so self-evident and important to his father. Ani, however, disagrees and says that people can change their tendencies and urges, by using the taming of wild animals as examples:⁵²² *'The savage lion abandons his wrath, and comes to resemble the timid donkey. The horse slips into his harness, obedient it goes outdoors. (...) The k3ry-monkey carries the situla, although her mother did not carry it*'.⁵²³ The wild character of the lion is depicted here as the opposite of the timid domesticated donkey, which emphasises the contrast between wild animals and domesticated animals. Additionally, it is said that the wild character of the lion can be controlled by taming it. The domesticated horse is not a wild animal anymore, but it needs special training before it can be used effectively in front of a chariot. The wild origin of the monkey is emphasised in the last part of the text. It demonstrates that the behaviour of this *k3ry*-monkey should not be seen as natural behaviour that she learned from her mother, but as something that was thought by man. In this case, the mentioning of the mother of the monkey could also refer to the wild nature of the animal. Monkeys are not native to Egypt and were imported from the south or south-east into the country. It is likely that young monkeys were captured in the wild and then tamed. In PAPYRUS BOLOGNA 1094, a teacher complains about his pupil. It is said that: *'A k3ry-monkey can understand words, he was brought from Kush. One can teach a lion a trick, one can tame horses*'.⁵²⁴ In this case, the learning ability and thus intelligence of these animals is used to contrast with the pupil, who apparently does not want to or cannot learn and listen. Not only is the intelligence of the monkey emphasised, but also its foreign (Kushite) nature. Even the monkey, that comes from a different country and is thus used to a different language, can understand what is being said.⁵²⁵ Apes can indeed learn sign language and can use this method to communicate with humans.

⁵²¹ pBerlin 3033: 7,4-7,5; Blackman, 1988: p. 8-8a; Lepper, V. in: TLA; lion: *m3i*.

⁵²² The bull, dog and goose are also used as example (pBoulaq 4: recto 22,19-23,5; Dils, P. in: TLA).

⁵²³ pBoulaq 4: recto 23,2-23,4; Quack, 1994; Dils, P. in: TLA; Lichtheim, 1976: p. 144; grim lion: *m3i hs3*, horse: *ssm.t*, monkey: *k3ry*.

⁵²⁴ pBologna 1094: recto 3,9-3,10; LEM, 3-4a; Dils, P. in: TLA; monkey: *k3ry*, lion: *m3i*, horse: *ssm.t*.

⁵²⁵ Teeter (2002: p. 254) states that the monkey could possibly be interpreted as a metaphor for the Nubian people.

However, it is highly disputed whether this can be seen as proof of linguistic abilities or whether the apes are just copying humans and perform smart tricks.⁵²⁶ Moreover, the Egyptians are not referring to apes but to monkeys. The lion is used here because of its wild (not necessarily foreign) nature. The animal can not only be tamed, but also trained. The same goes for the horse: not its foreign origins, but the fact that it can be trained is of importance here. A similar situation is described in PAPYRUS ANASTASI III: ‘*One can teach k3ry-monkeys to dance. One can tame horses*’.⁵²⁷ Here again, the emphasis does not lie on the foreign origin of the animals, but rather on the taming and training in order to make them subjective to the wishes of men. In all of the above-mentioned examples, the teacher wishes to ‘tame’ his pupil and uses non-indigenous animals as examples to make his point. Apart from the ‘*k3ry-monkey from Kush*’, the foreign origin of the animals is not specifically highlighted, and the greatest emphasis seems to lie on wildness, taming and trainability.

Tamed lions are also seen in the iconography, where they can wear leashes. These animals should be separated from lion depictions without collars or leashes. The lions without leashes rather represent an aspect of the king, and as such foremost represent concepts of power.⁵²⁸ A tamed lion wearing a collar is depicted on the golden shrine of Tutankhamun (figure 156).⁵²⁹ Here, the king is shooting fowl. The lion accompanies the king but is not an active part of the hunting scene. Amongst others, the tame lion clearly shows that its chaotic and wild nature have been dominated.⁵³⁰

3.2.4 Non-indigenous animals and ‘internal’ chaos

Most of the above-mentioned examples refer to a sense of chaos or wildness that comes from outside. The emphasis lies on the hostility that is found in foreign and wild regions, animals, or peoples. This also includes the domination over or taming of these types of chaos.

⁵²⁶ Cohen, 2010: p. 38-39.

⁵²⁷ pAnastasi III: recto 4,1-4,2: LEM, 24-24a; Dils, P. in: TLA; monkey: *k3ry*, horse: *ssm.t*.

⁵²⁸ See below, p. 168-171.

⁵²⁹ Cairo JE 61481 (see also The Griffith Institute, Burton photograph p1551:

<http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/108-p1551.html> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

⁵³⁰ See also below, p. 297-298.

In a few instances, ‘chaotic characteristics’ in the form of unwanted or abnormal behaviour of the Egyptians themselves⁵³¹ are described or illustrated by means of non-indigenous animals. Insight into what is considered good and bad behaviour is not only gained by looking at the ‘obvious’ texts, such as the various *Instructions*, but is also illustrated in other texts, such as pupil-teacher documents. In these latter instances, it is often the ‘wild’ student that needs to be ‘tamed’. The previous examples have already shown that certain wild animals are compared to people, because they can be tamed and trained. In the following examples, the emphasis lies on other animal characteristics.

Laziness

In several examples the hartebeest is used as a simile for a student that wishes to flee from his responsibilities. PAPYRUS ANASTASI IV says: ‘*You are like a donkey, in taking castigation. You are like a hartebeest on the run*’.⁵³² The same is seen in PAPYRUS TURIN A: ‘*Your face is like a hartebeest, you are prepared and ready to leap away, you are ready to escape*’.⁵³³ The hartebeest is compared to a pupil, because they are both fleeing. Considering the fact that the hartebeest is a prey animal, its natural instinct is to run away when it believes it is in danger. The animal will thus flee from real, physical danger that can hurt or kill it. The student is not running away from actual (mortal) danger but is driven by a lack of interest. Moreover, the fleeing can also be seen as a mental form of fleeing, since the pupil is not fully focussing on his classes. The expression ‘*your face is like a hartebeest*’ might indicate that the teacher can see the fear and urge to flee in the eyes of his student.⁵³⁴ A similar situation is sketched in PAPYRUS ANASTASI IV. Here, horses are used as a simile for the idle pupil and the emphasis lies on the speed of the animals. The student runs away from his responsibilities, quick as a pair of horses: ‘*You have abandoned writing and used your legs like a pair of horses from the thb-building*’.⁵³⁵ Just like the hartebeest, the horse is also a prey animal that will run away when it believes it is in danger. However, the horse is used because of its speed. Although here too the idea of

⁵³¹ Karenga (2004) extensively describes and explains that character traits that are considered negatively are not fixed and can be changed. This means, that character is not static and can be developed, and that the mind and emotions can be cultivated (p. 373). The human person is malleable, teachable, and capable of moral cultivation which leads to his or her higher self. In other words: the good life can be taught (p. 236). In some cases, character flaws are the sources of wrongdoing. Here, the will to self-correct is essential. One needs to recognise, confess to, and accept his or her own responsibility for the morally unacceptable behaviour (p. 246). However, in many cases, moral failure is seen as the result of ignorance. Therefore, teaching and learning becomes a cardinal virtue and the chief focus of moral transformation (p. 242).

⁵³² pAnastasi IV: recto 2,6: LEM, p. 36-36a; Dils, P. in: TLA; hartebeest: *šsʒ.w*.

⁵³³ pTurin A: verso 1,6: Caminos, 1954: p. 450, 507; Brose, M. in: TLA; hartebeest: *šsʒ.w*.

⁵³⁴ Bohms, 2013: p. 36.

⁵³⁵ pAnastasi IV: recto 2,4 - 2,5: LEM, p. 36-36a; Dils, P. in: TLA; horse-pair: *htr*.

‘fleeing from responsibility’ is expressed, the manner in which it occurs is also emphasised: swiftly. Thus, even though the same unwanted behaviour of the pupil is mentioned, different characteristics of the hartebeest and the horses are used. Another example can be found in PAPYRUS TURIN A: *‘Are you a quail? Are you the young of a hartebeest? Because you were born in winter,⁵³⁶ together with the gazelles?’⁵³⁷* Here too, prey animals that will flee when approached are used as a comparison, although Fischer-Elfert believes that the nomadic lifestyle that all these animals have in common is another binding factor.⁵³⁸ Furthermore, the young age of the animals is emphasised, because the teacher is talking to an older student of thirty years old.⁵³⁹ He should not behave like a child anymore and act as a grown up man, settle down and act responsible. In PAPYRUS LANSING the hartebeest is again used as a simile for the pupil: *‘You are worse than a hartebeest in the desert that lives from running around. It never spends the afternoon working on the field and has never entered the threshing floor. She lives, from what the cattle produces, without walking to them’.⁵⁴⁰* In this case too, the fleeing behaviour of the student is emphasised, but it is demonstrated by a different sort of behaviour. Just like a hartebeest, the student does not work, but just hangs around and takes advantage of the work that others have done before him. The hartebeest and the pupil are compared to one another because they both profit from the labour of others and are thus described as social parasites. Again, a difference in behaviour between the animal and human can be seen. First of all, the hartebeest is a foraging animal and will thus travel around to find plants it can eat. Especially in times of drought, the animal could be seen more often in the borderlands of the Nile region in its quest for food for survival. The hartebeest and the pupil are thus compared to one another, because of their parasitic behaviour. However, the essential difference is the fact that the pupil can make conscious decisions and choices: he simply does not want to work. Here, the foreign habitat of the hartebeest is of some importance. The running around in the desert environment, which is located away from the Nile region, equals to the general absence of the pupil from his place of education. And just like the hartebeest, the pupil only stops by and quits fooling around if he can profit from others.⁵⁴¹ Simultaneously, the infiltrating behaviour of the hartebeest is emphasised. It is interesting to see that in this case, the hartebeest and cattle are described as each other’s opposites. The ‘untamed’, fleeing and foraging

⁵³⁶ Yom-Tov et al., 1995: p. 1-6: Hartebeests breed throughout the year; gazelles breed in autumn and give birth 6 months later: in winter.

⁵³⁷ pTurin A: verso 1,8-1,9: LEM, p. 122-122a; Brose, M. in: TLA; hartebeest: *šš3.w*, gazelle: *ghs*.

⁵³⁸ Fischer-Elfert, 1997: p. 38.

⁵³⁹ Caminos, 1954: p. 451.

⁵⁴⁰ pLansing: recto 3,8-3,10: LEM, p. 102-102a; Popko, L. in: TLA; hartebeest: *šš3.w*.

⁵⁴¹ Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 49-53: This displays a situation that could be seen in real life: hartebeests are not true desert animals and needed to occasionally visit the Nile region or the borderlands in order to survive.

behaviour of the hartebeest stands in contrast to the obedient, tame behaviour of the cow. This behaviour is used to describe opposing human character traits: the irresponsible, lazy and profiteering behaviour of the pupil versus the responsible and hardworking behaviour of other people (which are not specifically mentioned).

Blind anger – ‘Hot-mouthed’

In THE CONTENTINGS OF HORUS AND SETH the leopard is used as a simile: ‘*And then Horus, the son of Isis, became furious at his mother Isis, as he came out, as his face was fierce as a leopard, as his 16 deben knife was in his hand*’.⁵⁴² Here, Horus becomes angry at his mother Isis, because she has freed Seth from her attacking harpoon, and he cuts off her head with his knife. Although the reason for his anger is explained, it is not considered a good thing that Horus acts this way. In this case, the anger could perhaps best be seen as an impulsive, blind anger. The same can be seen in THE TALE OF TWO BROTHERS. Here, the wife of the older brother tries to seduce the younger brother. However, the younger brother ‘*became like an angry leopard, because of the wicked speech she made to him, and consequently she became very scared*’.⁵⁴³ However, in this case, the younger brother is able to control his anger and does not attack her. He tells her he will not speak of the seduction attempt in order to preserve the good family relations. However, the wife claims to her husband that the younger brother tried to seduce her, and now the older brother ‘*became like a leopard*’,⁵⁴⁴ and wants to kill his little brother. It becomes clear that the leopard can be used as a simile when a person reacts onto a hurtful situation, caused by the ones he loves. The anger and bloodlust of the leopard can be seen as the most important factors here (although the younger brother seems to be able to control his anger and does not attack his aunt). In all cases, ‘becoming like a leopard’, is not seen as something positive. Blind rage and ‘acting before thinking’ can lead to regrettable behaviour. Horus flees the scene and tries to hide from the wrath of the Ennead. The oldest brother wants to kill his little brother, without listening to his version of the story firstly. This behaviour greatly resembles the contrast between self-control (*gr*) and the lack of control (*šmm*) described by Karenga.⁵⁴⁵ In these instances, the aggressive nature of the leopard is clearly emphasised. Just as the leopard, humans can also be aggressive and raging.

⁵⁴² pChester Beatty I: recto 9,7-9,9: LES, p. 49-49a; Popko, L. in: TLA; leopard: *šby šmʿ*.

⁵⁴³ pD’Orbiney: 3,8-3,9: LES, 12-12a; Popko, L. in: TLA; leopard: *šby šmʿ*.

⁵⁴⁴ pD’Orbiney: 5,4-5,5: LES, 14-14a; Popko, L. in: TLA; leopard: *šby šmʿ*.

⁵⁴⁵ Karenga, 2004: p. 99.

In the TEACHING OF AMENEMOPE the wild canid is used as a simile for a ‘hot-mouthed’ man. It is said that such a man is: ‘*like a young wolf in the pen (...) he causes brothers to fight*’.⁵⁴⁶ This sentence indicates that we are dealing with a provocative man, a deceiver who is not detected as the initial causer of harm and unrest.⁵⁴⁷ These attributes are again human attributes. Although animals could show behaviour that might seem provocative, it can certainly not be compared to the well-thought-out behaviour that is implied here and that is used to deliberately fool and harm other beings. Rather, the naturalistic hunting behaviour of a young wild canid is depicted here. An infiltrating full grown wolf or jackal could do a lot of harm and kill livestock animals. However, it is emphasised here that we are dealing with a young animal. Young predators are not yet as experienced as their parents when it comes to hunting and killing other animals and still have to learn it properly. This can actually be seen as a (playful) hunting lesson, rather than a deliberate provocation. It is likely that this real-life feature is emphasised here: a young, small wolf or jackal can cause a lot of distress among livestock, without actually killing animals. In this case, the brothers as well as the livestock are apparently not able to identify the real causer of the distress and they start blaming each other.

Isolation

In THE LOYALIST TEACHING the lion is described as being lonely and restless: ‘*There is no sleep for the lonely ones. One does not send a lion with a message*’.⁵⁴⁸ Sleeplessness is not a typical characteristic of lions. Lions do sleep, and when they sleep, they close their eyes. These animals prefer to hunt by night, so it is possible that this sleeplessness is associated with the fact that lions do not sleep when humans sleep. Isolation is also not a typical characteristic of lions, since they normally live and hunt in a pride. However, solitary animals are occasionally seen. These are usually young or old males that have been expelled from the group by other lions.⁵⁴⁹ Apparently, sleeplessness and isolation go hand in hand with one another. Parkinson says that ‘*being able to sleep is a sign of security and prosperity: the antithesis of a man with many servants is the solitary man who isolated himself from society*’.⁵⁵⁰ Consequently, it will not be a good idea to send an antisocial person as a messenger, because he will not have the social skills to succeed. Here we see that the outcast lion, that is characterised by its restlessness and social and geographical isolation, is used as a metaphor for an antisocial person who apparently

⁵⁴⁶ pBM EA 10474: recto 12,18: Laisney, 2007: p. 341; Dils, P. in: TLA; wild canid/jackal/wolf: *wnš*.

⁵⁴⁷ Bohms, 2013: p. 321.

⁵⁴⁸ pLouvre E 4864: 10,6: Posener, 1976: p. 119; Dils, P. in: TLA; lion: *mši*.

⁵⁴⁹ Kingdon et al., 2013: V, p. 155.

⁵⁵⁰ Parkinson, 1997: p. 244, fn. 19.

has the same features as an outcast lion. The foreign origin is not specifically mentioned, but emphasised. The behaviour of a man that isolates himself from society also fits into Assmann's concept of '*der Fremde*'.⁵⁵¹

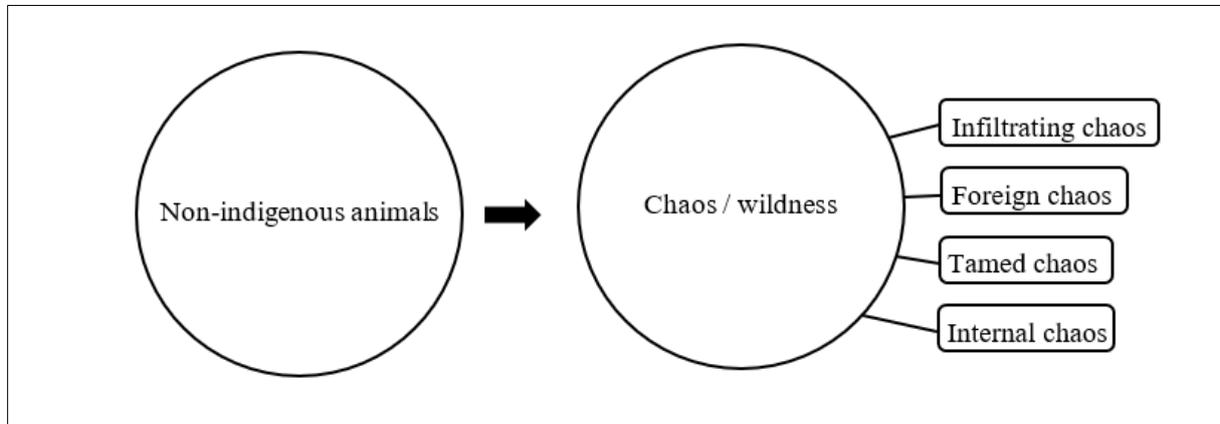


Figure 87. Non-indigenous animals as an expression of various kinds of chaos.

3.2.5 Non-indigenous animals, chaotic animal entities, and the afterworld

3.2.5.1 The ritual slaughter of the oryx

The slaughtering and offering of animals, both wild and domesticated ones, primarily functioned as a means to obtain the necessary provisions for the deceased in the afterlife. However, the defeat of chaos too could be symbolically carried out by slaughtering an animal.⁵⁵² In these instances, the animals are seen as the enemy: they were not considered food for the deceased or the gods, and the pieces of meat could be burned to symbolise the total annihilation of the enemy.⁵⁵³ Examples of this form of ritual slaughter are rare for the iconography of the discussed period, but are frequently seen in later times, where the ritual slaughter of the oryx symbolically represents the annihilation of the enemy.⁵⁵⁴ However, the precursors of these scenes are already seen in the New Kingdom period. In Luxor temple, the oryx occurs as a royal offering. The king holds the animal by its horns and puts a knife to its throat (figure 88: left).⁵⁵⁵ This scene greatly resembles a depiction from the temple of Beit-el Wali where the king holds a Libyan prisoner by his hair and puts a scimitar near his face (figure 88: right).⁵⁵⁶ According to Schoske, the standing pose of the king and the low position of the

⁵⁵¹ Assmann, 1996: p. 94-96; see above, p. 86-87.

⁵⁵² Assmann, 2005: p. 68.

⁵⁵³ Schoske, 1994: p. 434; Junker, 1910: p. 72.

⁵⁵⁴ Derchain, 1962; see also below, p. 251: in the earlier periods, depictions of the king slaughtering an animal should not automatically be linked to the chaotic nature of the animal.

⁵⁵⁵ See also Gayet, 1894: pl. LXVIII, fig. 214.

⁵⁵⁶ Ricke et al., 1967: pl. 10.

weapon clearly indicate that this is a slaughtering scene and not a smiting scene.⁵⁵⁷ It can be argued that the oryx is a representative of the desert region, and as such symbolises the chaos that needed to be controlled.⁵⁵⁸

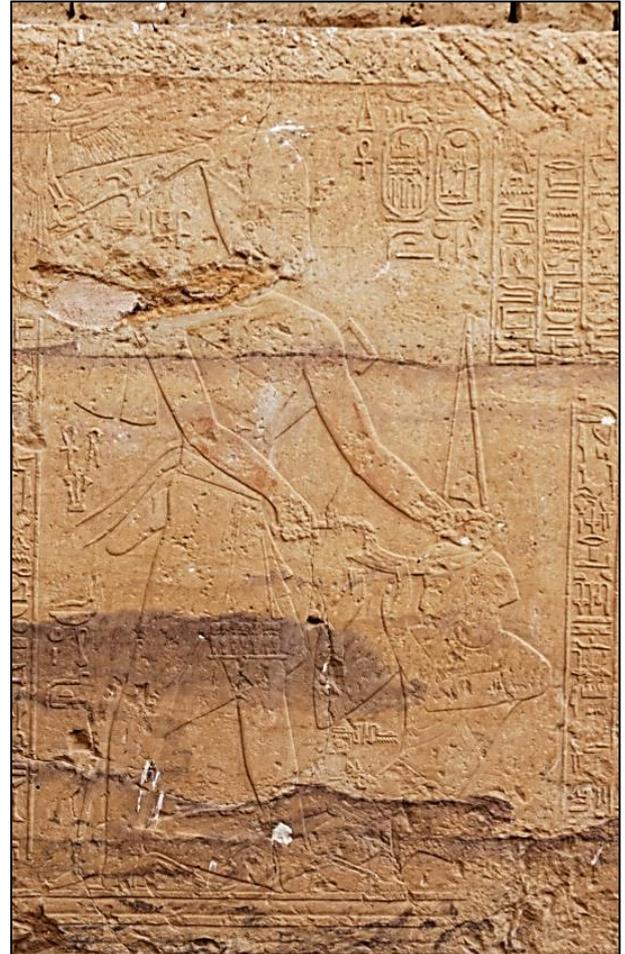


Figure 88. Left: Amenhotep III ritually slaughtering an oryx. Luxor Temple, New Kingdom, Dynasty 18. Right: Ramses II holding a Libyan prisoner. Beit el-Wali, New Kingdom, Dynasty 19.

3.2.5.2 Desert animals as ‘Götterfeinde’

The ritual slaughtering of the oryx can also be linked to the idea that desert animals, and especially the representative desert game, embody a more concrete form of chaos as ‘Götterfeinde’.⁵⁵⁹ This conception becomes more emphasised from the New Kingdom onwards. The idea of Seth as a villain is put more to the foreground with the development of several myths, such as the Onuris legends and THE CONTENTINGS OF HORUS AND SETH, until it rises to a peak in the 25th Dynasty. Thus, the negative aspects of the desert animals become more

⁵⁵⁷ Schoske, 1994: p. 435.

⁵⁵⁸ Strandberg, 2009: p. 13.

⁵⁵⁹ Hornung, 1977: p. 684-685 (= LÄ II: ‘Götterfeind’).

emphasised as the negative connotation of Seth grow.⁵⁶⁰ In this respect, a clear emphasis lies on the desert region as the realm of chaos. Consequently, the animal inhabitants can be considered followers of Seth or are identified with the god himself, because they share their habitat with the sphere of influence of this god. This also includes the animals that could be considered harmless in reality, such as desert game and other small animals. They are considered elements of chaos because they represent the chaotic habitat they live in.⁵⁶¹ In the later periods, the oryx is considered an enemy of the eyes of Re and Horus. However, this animal can already be linked to the destruction of the Eye of Horus in CT 157: *'Let me see your eye, after this has happened to it!' Then he looked at it and he said: 'Behold that stroke (?) over there, while your hand may cover the healthy eye over there!' And then Horus beheld that stroke (?). And then Horus said: 'See, I see it white and white.' That is how this oryx came into being'*.⁵⁶² Even though the text does not describe the oryx as a direct enemy and destructor of the eye, the animal itself as well as its name came into existence because of it. The oryx can therefore be seen as the cause of the 'whiteness', i.e. the injuring, of the eye.⁵⁶³ Furthermore, a New Kingdom magical formula against migraine mentions a statue of Horus holding a spear, while standing on the back of an oryx: *'Recitation: a statue of Ra, Atum, Shu, Mehyt, Geb, Nut, Anubis, Seth, Isis, Nephtys, an oryx (with) a statue⁵⁶⁴ standing on his back with the spear'*.⁵⁶⁵ This described image is also seen on the so called Horus-stelae that are already seen from the New Kingdom onwards and become especially popular in the Late Period. Here, the role of the oryx, as well as other desert animals as *'Götterfeinde'* is underlined. These stelae depict and describe the return of order, in the form of the *wḏ3.t* eye, to Egypt. They have an apotropaic function and often mention magical formulae against the dangers of the desert.⁵⁶⁶ As such, they are also clearly meant to ward off the dangers these animals pose in reality. A stela from Deir el-Medina, dated to the 19th Dynasty, depicts the god Shed holding scorpions, snakes and a lion in his hand, and two crocodiles underneath his feet.⁵⁶⁷ The accompanying text relates to the return of the eye: *'Shed (...) who comes from the desert with the healed eye, in order to protect this building'*.⁵⁶⁸ The eye is visually depicted on the back of STELA CG 9427, which is also dated to the 19th Dynasty. Next to the eye are depictions of Onuris holding a spear and Horus standing

⁵⁶⁰ Te Velde, 1967: p. 67, 144; Te Velde, 1984: p. 910 (= LÄ V: 'Seth'); Stolberg-Stolberg, 2004: p. 170-171.

⁵⁶¹ Stolberg-Stolberg, 2004: p. 162.

⁵⁶² CT II, 334c-338b (157); Faulkner, 1973: p. 135; Bohms, 2013: p. 36; oryx: *m3-ḥd*.

⁵⁶³ Bohms, 2013: p. 37; Stolberg-Stolberg, 2004: p. 178.

⁵⁶⁴ Stegbauer, K. in: TLA: a statue of Horus.

⁵⁶⁵ Papyrus Chester Beatty V, verso 4,7-4,9; Gardiner, 1935: pl. 28; Stegbauer, K. in: TLA; oryx: *m3-ḥd*.

⁵⁶⁶ Sternberg-El Hotabi, 1999: p. 47-48.

⁵⁶⁷ Stela DeM 118; Sternberg-El Hotabi, 1999: I, p. 28 & 232, Abb. 23.

⁵⁶⁸ Sternberg-El Hotabi, 1999: I, p. 28-29.

on an oryx. On the front we see Horus-Shed standing on crocodiles and holding a lion and an antelope.⁵⁶⁹ Lastly, CG 9403, again dated to the 19th Dynasty, also shows Horus on top of an oryx, and Horus-Shed holding a lion and antelope while standing on crocodiles.⁵⁷⁰ These New Kingdom stelae thus depict a direct link with and describe the myth of the return of the solar eye, which is equated to the Eye of Horus respectively Ma‘at itself.⁵⁷¹ As such, the combination of desert animals represents the dangerous desert region that is being controlled by the god. Furthermore, the oryx as an individual animal can already be seen as a manifestation of Seth and an enemy of the eyes.⁵⁷²

Stolberg-Stolberg believes that this tendency also explains the lack of desert animals in the offering rows of the New Kingdom. With the growing proscription of Seth, these animals start to disappear from the tombs.⁵⁷³ They only continue to be common elements of the desert hunting scenes as representatives of the chaotic desert environment.⁵⁷⁴

The fear of real lions and other wild animals also becomes clear in the magical texts, where it is said: *‘Come to me, o, lord of the Gods! May you repel for me lions on the pasture, crocodiles in the river and all snakes that bite in their holes!’*⁵⁷⁵ And: *‘Close the mouth of lions, hyenas, and all kinds of animals with uplifted tails who feed on meat, who drink blood, to turn them aside (to) check their stride, to give them darkness so as not to give them light, to dazzle them so as not to give them eyesight everywhere about me in the night. Stand still you evil jackal!’*⁵⁷⁶ In these instances too, it can be suggested that the wild and dangerous animals are simultaneously considered followers of Seth. The first example is to be recited over a statue of Amun. It not only mentions the dangerous crocodile, but also specifically refers to a crocodile named *Mg3* who is identified as the son of Seth. The second example mentions Horus as the proclaimer.

3.2.5.3 Sekhmet as a destructive goddess

In the funerary texts, the chaotic aspect of the lion is also made clear, especially when Sekhmet is mentioned. This becomes evident in the story of THE DESTRUCTION OF MANKIND, which is

⁵⁶⁹ Cairo CG 9427: Sternberg-El Hotabi, 1999: I, p. 237, Abb 29a+b.

⁵⁷⁰ Cairo CG 9403: Sternberg-El Hotabi, 1999: I, p. 239, Abb. 31; II, p. 117, Taf. 1.

⁵⁷¹ Sternberg-El Hotabi, 1999: p. 36.

⁵⁷² Sternberg-El Hotabi, 1999: p. 36-37.

⁵⁷³ Stolberg-Stolberg: 2004: p. 170.

⁵⁷⁴ However, even though the idea of ‘order over chaos’ is indeed always at least lurking in the background, this argument is not watertight; see below, p. 279-280 for additional explanations that are linked to ideas of prosperity and prestige.

⁵⁷⁵ London pBM EA 10042, recto 6,4-6,5: Borghouts, 1978: p. 86, no. 125; Stegbauer, K. in: TLA; lion: *m3i*.

⁵⁷⁶ London pBM EA 10042, verso 1,3-1,5: Borghouts, 1978: p. 50, no. 83; Stegbauer, K. in: TLA; lion: *m3i*, hyena: *ht.t*, wild canid/jackal/wolf: *wnš*.

found in a few New Kingdom tombs in the Valley of the Kings:⁵⁷⁷ *'Thus Sekhmet came into being, brewage of the night, in order to wade in their blood as far as Herakleopolis (...) Now when the day dawned on which the goddess would slay mankind, in their days of travelling south, the majesty of Re said: 'How good it is! I will save mankind from her.' And Re said: 'Carry it to the place of which she had said 'I shall slay mankind there'. The majesty of the king Re rose early, in the midst of night, to pour this sleeping potion out. Then the fields were flooded three palms high with the liquid, by the might of the majesty of this god. Then this goddess came in the early morning and found them flooded, and her gaze was pleased by it. Then she drank and it pleased her heart. She returned drunk without having perceived mankind. The majesty of Re said to this goddess: 'Welcome in peace, O gracious one!'*⁵⁷⁸ Here, Sekhmet is depicted as a raging lioness that can only be controlled and stopped from killing the entirety of mankind by tricking her. This goddess thus presents a threat to humans, and needs to be appeased in order to calm her down: *'Allerdings muß man bei der Löwin das Wiedererwachen ihrer alten Raubtierinstinkte durch allerlei Kulthandlungen, betäubende Musik, berausenden Trank von blutrotem Wein, Fleischopfer von Wüstentieren, z. B. Antilopen, die als „Feinde“ der Gottheit erklärt werden, fortdauernd verhindern'*.⁵⁷⁹ A passage in the ADMONITIONS OF IPUWER tells about the necessity of offerings in order to control the powers of Sekhmet: *'Is it slaughtering for the lion and roasting on the fire?'*⁵⁸⁰ According to Parkinson the situation describes *'the uselessness of a little man's religious practices (...) to ward off terrifying situations'*⁵⁸¹ and aims to demonstrate that *'offerings cost mankind dear and do not reach the gods effectively'*.⁵⁸² Apparently, her bloodlust is so fierce, that it cannot be satisfied by the offerings. The emphasis thus lies on the uselessness of these actions because it is impossible to satisfy such a bloodthirsty goddess. Sekhmet can indeed be seen as a protector of Ma'at and a defeater of chaos, but in this case, it is implied that she does not do that well of a job and the land remains in chaos and despair.⁵⁸³

However, the power of Sekhmet could also be controlled and as such she has an apotropaic function. She is not only a bringer of plague, but could also cure diseases and ward of disease demons. Still, Sekhmet is the one responsible for the existence of these plagues and diseases in

⁵⁷⁷ Maystre, 1940: p. 53-54: Tutankhamun (KV 62), Seti I (KV 17), Ramses II (KV 6), Ramses III (KV 11), Ramses VI (KV 9).

⁵⁷⁸ Maystre, 1940: p. 67-73 (Line 15-24, based on Seti I); Lichtheim, 1976: p. 198-199.

⁵⁷⁹ Kees, 1931: p. 58.

⁵⁸⁰ pLeiden 344: recto 5,8: Enmarch, 2005: p. 35; Enmarch, R. in: TLA; lion: *m3i*.

⁵⁸¹ Parkinson, 1997: p. 193, footnote 42.

⁵⁸² Ibid.

⁵⁸³ Foster, 2006: p. 79-84: This part of the text is only one of many examples that describe the chaos that has come over Egypt.

the first place. Thus, offerings and other ritual acts for this goddess are not only required to benefit from her protective powers, but much more to protect against the wrath of the goddess herself. She needs to be satisfied, so that she will not ‘attack’ the people. Therefore, it can be said that the priests and worshippers of Sekhmet foremost tried to appease her, because they were afraid of her destructive powers.

3.2.5.4 Chaotic demonic entities

The hostile character of Sekhmet, especially as a bringer of sickness, is also mentioned in magical texts that wish to banish dangerous powers. The EDWIN SMITH PAPYRUS, for example, lists texts that are directed against a disease called ‘the pest of the year’ that prominently features Sekhmet and her ‘messengers’:⁵⁸⁴ *‘Another (incantation) for exorcising the plague-bearing wind, the demons of disease, the evil spirits, messengers of Sekhmet’*.⁵⁸⁵ As such, the speaker can identify himself with Horus: *‘Withdraw, ye disease demons. The wind shall not reach me, that those who pass by to work disaster against me. I am Horus who passes by the diseased ones of Sekhmet’*.⁵⁸⁶ These messengers and evil spirits differ from the ones that are only found in the funerary texts, because they form a potential danger to anyone, regardless if the person is good or evil.⁵⁸⁷ Especially the ‘collective demons’, such as indeed the group of messengers of Sekhmet, operate in both the afterworld and on earth.⁵⁸⁸ In contrast, the majority of the demons found in the funerary texts *‘are demons whose intention is generally known; they do not act at random but follow what we could call a ‘logic of punishment’, which is directed only against evil-doers and those who have no knowledge of the mysteries of the netherworld’*.⁵⁸⁹

3.2.5.5 Chaotic animal entities

Additionally, animals that are considered dangerous on earth are also found among the demonic beings. Similar to the ‘wanderers’ these animals have a more chaotic character, as opposed to the ambivalent nature of the guardian demons.⁵⁹⁰ Not only living persons on earth, but the

⁵⁸⁴ Breasted, 1930: p. 472; Lucarelli, 2010: p. 3.

⁵⁸⁵ pEdwin Smith, verso 18,11-12; Breasted, 1930: p. 476; Stegbauer, K. in: TLA.

⁵⁸⁶ pEdwin Smith; verso 18,13-15; Breasted, 1930: p. 477; Stegbauer, K. in: TLA.

⁵⁸⁷ Lucarelli, 2006: p. 207.

⁵⁸⁸ Lucarelli, 2006: p. 204; Lucarelli, 2010: p. 2: *‘Some demons bring chaos into the ordered world or act upon the world of the living by command of the divine (e.g., the “wanderers”), whereas others mediate between order and chaos or the sacred and the profane by protecting liminal and sacred places on earth and in the netherworld from impurity (e.g., the “guardians”)*’.

⁵⁸⁹ Lucarelli, 2006: p. 208.

⁵⁹⁰ Lucarelli, 2006: p. 211-212; Lucarelli, 2010: p. 6.

deceased too can be threatened by these various dangerous animals in the afterlife. Examples are already found in the Pyramids Texts, listed as ‘Schlangensprüche’ by Meurer,⁵⁹¹ but called ‘apotropaic texts’ by Hays, because not only snakes but also other animals, such as scorpions and lions are mentioned.⁵⁹² Lions are exhorted to leave: ‘*O lion, run away!*’⁵⁹³ or they are threatened by the deceased: ‘*For whom it was commanded ‘Beware, O lion!’*, for whom the command went forth, ‘*Beware, O lion!*’⁵⁹⁴ Furthermore, these texts are primarily defensive in nature and are regarded as magical texts. A contrast is seen ‘*between texts that seek to adapt the deceased to a new mode of existence, assuming new identities, and passing through different regions (“productive magic”) as opposed to those that seek to prevent things from happening to him (“defensive magic”)*’.⁵⁹⁵

The character of many other demons that inhabit the afterworld, especially the guardians, is indeed much more ambivalent than the above discussed wanderers and animals. Indeed, these entities too should be considered elements of chaos, but only to a certain extent. They do not form a threat to the prepared deceased, and as such their chaotic nature can be used to help and protect the deceased during his journey through the realm of the dead and after his acceptance into the realm of the gods. Consequently, these entities will be further discussed in chapters four and five.⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹¹ Meurer, 2002: p. 269-315.

⁵⁹² Hays, 2006: p. 195-220; Hays, 2012: p. 275- 276.

⁵⁹³ PT 287: § 428b; Hays, 2006: p. 206; lion: *m3i*.

⁵⁹⁴ PT 294: § 436b; Hays, 2012: p. 591; lion: *rw*.

⁵⁹⁵ Hays, 2012: p. 276, fn. 973; Referring to Borghouts (1999: p. 151-154).

⁵⁹⁶ See below, p. 187-188 and p. 219-220.

4. CONCEPTS OF ORDER AND POWER

It has been made clear in the former chapter that non-indigenous animals can be linked to or represent several forms of chaos. Usually, these ideas can be explained by (a combination of) their foreign habitat, wildness, dangerous nature, and / or a sense of otherness (which emphasises the dichotomy between Egypt and foreign places). However, chaos should not only be seen as something negative: it is also a necessity and an essential element in Egyptian ideology. Power and status can be obtained and legitimised by the (symbolic) control of chaos. The combination of elements of chaos, and elements of order and control are primarily used to visualise concepts of power and authority. The act of controlling, whether of real wild animals or foreign peoples or regions, is not only essential for cosmic balance, but more conveniently demonstrates the power of the controller: a power that can be applied to this life and the next. The ruler needs an enemy and chaos, in order to demonstrate his power and validate his authority.

Furthermore, the same characteristics and elements that are used to conceptualise ideas of chaos are oftentimes used to conceptualise the exact opposite (but at the same time complementary) part of the duality: order. The ambivalent nature of non-indigenous animals and their characteristics is already seen in the Predynastic period and continues to be present throughout the whole discussed period. Depending on context, the dangerous and powerful nature of certain non-indigenous animals is used as a means to effectuate and establish order. These aspects are desired and considered positive when they, for example, maximise the protective function of certain gods, or emphasise the controlling and empowering force of the pharaoh against his enemies. Powerful and chaotic animals, such as the lion and the aurochs, inhabit qualities that are the same as the qualities of the king. In other words: chaos is a good thing, if this chaos can be unleashed to defeat or protect against a different kind of chaos (figure 89).

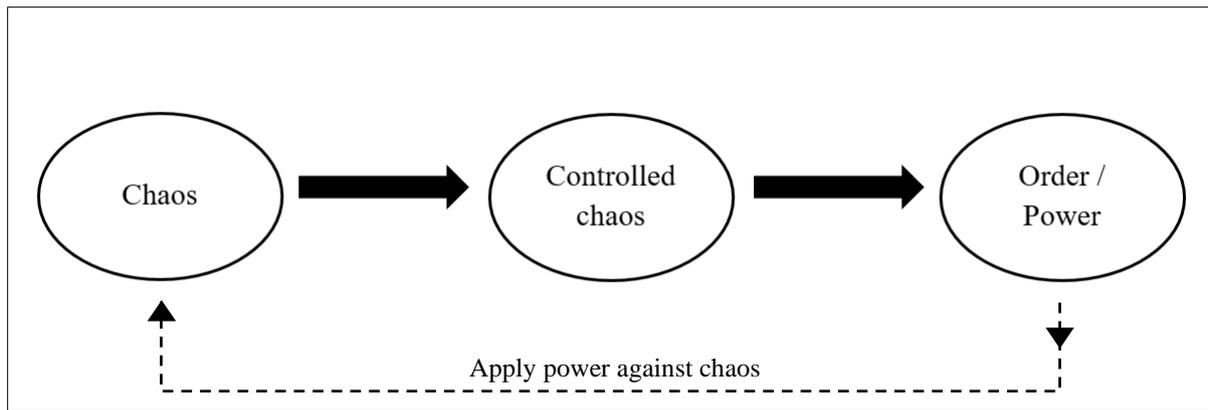


Figure 89. Controlled chaos can be transformed into power and used against chaos.

This chapter will discuss the instances where the non-indigenous animals and their characteristics are used as expressions of the overarching concepts of order and power. These concepts go hand in hand with, and inherently also express ideas of control and protection.

The non-indigenous animals can be used to express and visualize the very idea of order, control, power and protection, i.e. the concept *an sich*. Additionally, an animal can occur as a symbol of royal or military power, a provider of apotropaic protection, or even as a zoomorphic metaphor or simile for a powerful ruler or protective deity. In these cases, the core notion of *non-indigenous animal expresses order / power* is still the basis upon which further (direct) comparisons and assimilations are built upon.

The first part of this chapter discusses the Predynastic sources. Considering the highly ambivalent nature and use of the animals and a lack of textual clarifications, the emphasis on the material from this period lies on the sources where a combination of animals or elements is present.

4.1 The Predynastic period

4.1.1 The elite cemetery of Hierakonpolis (HK6): animal power and protection

The use of non-indigenous animals as an expression of power is not only found in the iconography, but can be observed by looking at the zooarchaeological record as well. Several non-indigenous animals have been buried at the elite cemetery of Hierakonpolis (HK 6), especially during the first phase.⁵⁹⁷ In general, the combined buried animals at HK6 in Hierakonpolis are thought to have a protective function against the natural chaos they represent.⁵⁹⁸ This idea of power and protection is further emphasised by the fact that the biggest and most dangerous non-indigenous animals, namely the elephant, aurochs and leopard, are only found at HK6 and not at the temple area (HK29).⁵⁹⁹ In these cases, the powerful and chaotic nature of the animals should be understood in a more positive sense. Noteworthy too, is the fact that a predatory animal, namely the leopard, is found in this context, but is not seen on the C-Ware. Combined with the powerful elephant and aurochs, this puts a specific emphasis on the power of the animals in question, in addition to the environment they derive from (figure 90). Of course, apart from having a protective function based on their power, the mere presence of these animals in this context means that they have also been overruled by humans, which simultaneously demonstrates the power of the ruler. Furthermore, *‘in addition to ostentatious display, control of these animals also allowed their master to take on their powerful natural attributes for himself’*.⁶⁰⁰

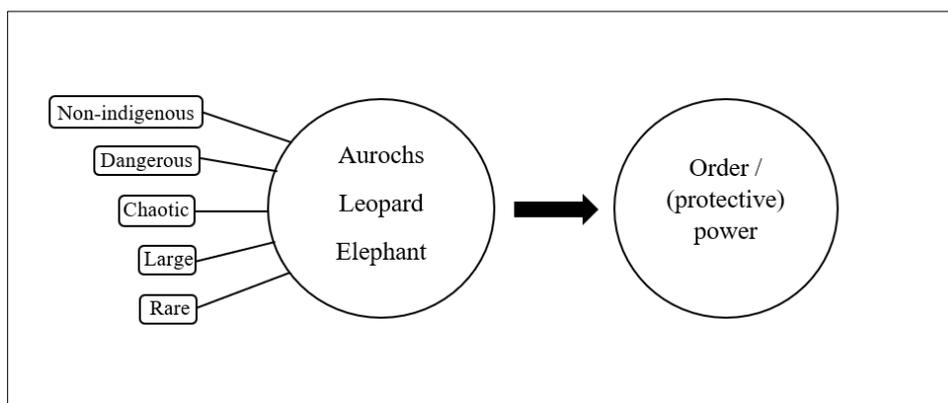


Figure 90. Non-indigenous animals and their characteristic as an expression and provider of power, order, and protection.

⁵⁹⁷ Naqada IC-IIB period, ca. 3800-3650 BC (Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 62).

⁵⁹⁸ Friedman et al, 2011: p. 186.

⁵⁹⁹ Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 58-59, Tab. 3 & p. 62-63, Tab. 4.

⁶⁰⁰ Van Neer et al, 2017a: p. 399.

4.1.2 U-415/1 and Tomb 100: animal assimilation and zoomorphic metaphors

Both Navajas and Hendrickx & Eyckerman emphasise the importance of Abydos vessel U-415/1 and interpret the depicted aurochs as a symbolic personification or a mirror image of the human leader.⁶⁰¹ This vessel has already been mentioned in chapter three,⁶⁰² and shows depictions of an aurochs and hippopotami (figure 91). These two animals (as well as the crocodile and elephant) are also seen on bowl BM EA 49025, where they represent chaotic elements.⁶⁰³ However, in this instance, the function of the aurochs clearly differs from the function of the hippopotami. The hippopotami are hunted, but the aurochs is just standing around. A human leader is also depicted twice, wearing the tail of an animal.

Navajas claims that the animal tail could be identified as the tail of an aurochs, based on the fact that this animal is often hunted and controlled by the leader.⁶⁰⁴ Although it cannot be stated for sure to which animal this tail belongs,⁶⁰⁵ it is clear that it provides the hunter-victor with power. As such, the wearer emphasises his power over wild animals, while simultaneously identifying himself with the animal in question. Furthermore, a parallel can be observed between the prominently depicted horns of the aurochs and the depiction of human arms on a different vessel: *'the form of the oversized horns of the bull on this jar brings to mind the shape of the raised arms of the victorious figure on vessel U-239/1'*.⁶⁰⁶ In this particular example, the non-indigenous aurochs can thus be seen as an element of control and power, and more specifically as a symbolic representation of the (above depicted) leader figure.

However, context is everything, and this does not mean that all the depictions of the aurochs should be interpreted in this way. The animal can thus be an element of chaos, but also of order, depending on the setting. It is important to realise that the choice for the aurochs as a mirror image for the leader can be explained for several reasons. Although the aurochs was certainly considered a chaotic and dangerous animal that needed to be controlled, exactly these characteristics apparently also made it awe-inspiring. Indeed, such powerful and dangerous features become positive and desired aspects when applied to the figure of a leader. Therefore, it seems logical that a leader wishes to identify or equal himself with these powerful characteristics. Moreover, control over a powerful, wild, dangerous, big, rare and foreign

⁶⁰¹ Navajas, 2011: p. 35; Hendrickx & Eyckerman, 2012: p. 28-30.

⁶⁰² See above, p. 113.

⁶⁰³ See above, p. 110-112.

⁶⁰⁴ Navajas, 2011: p. 36; see above, p. 106.

⁶⁰⁵ Although it is unlikely that it should be interpreted as the tail of the African wild dog, which is only seen in later periods (Hendrickx & Eyckerman, 2012: p. 25, 62).

⁶⁰⁶ Hendrickx & Eyckerman, 2012: p. 30; idem (p. 29, fig. 3) for a depiction of Abydos vessel U-239/1.

animal demonstrates the strength and power of the controller in a much greater way than control over, for example, a fish or a hedgehog. This integral link between the leader, the aurochs, the tail, regionalism, foreign enemies, power, strength and victory (indeed, a combination of several different characteristics and concepts), relating to both reality and symbolism, is visualised in figure 92 and explained by Navajas in the following way: *‘The bull became representative of a territory (cosmography), one which was controlled by hunting that animal, and consequently the essence of that animal was assumed by the chief himself (the hunter takes the animal’s tail). In the following stage, the chief took on the complete image of the bull (that is, the complete metaphor) when he had to carry out punitive campaigns or make war on either the populations that lived in the desert (Naqada I) or on communities from the north (Naqada III)’*.⁶⁰⁷

Not only the tail of the aurochs, but also the skin of the leopard can be worn by individuals of high elite status. The iconography of Hierakonpolis Tomb 100, dated to the Naqada IIC period, shows depictions of leopard skins that are *‘worn by and offered (?) to the victor of the combat’*.⁶⁰⁸ Here too, it is likely that the essence of the animal is assumed by the wearer. The leopard, however, is never fully assimilated to a human person in its complete animal form.⁶⁰⁹

⁶⁰⁷ Navajas, 2011: p. 38.

⁶⁰⁸ Van Neer et al, 2013: p. 300.

⁶⁰⁹ I.e. it does not occur as a visual zoomorphic metaphor; see p. 179-181 below for more information on the leopard skin.



Figure 91. Depiction of Abydos vessel U-415/1. Top-middle: leader-figure wearing an animal tail, simultaneously demonstrating control over and identification with the animal. Bottom left: aurochs as an element of order and possible zoomorphic mirror of the leader. Abydos, Predynastic period, Naqada IC. (Abydos SCA storeroom)

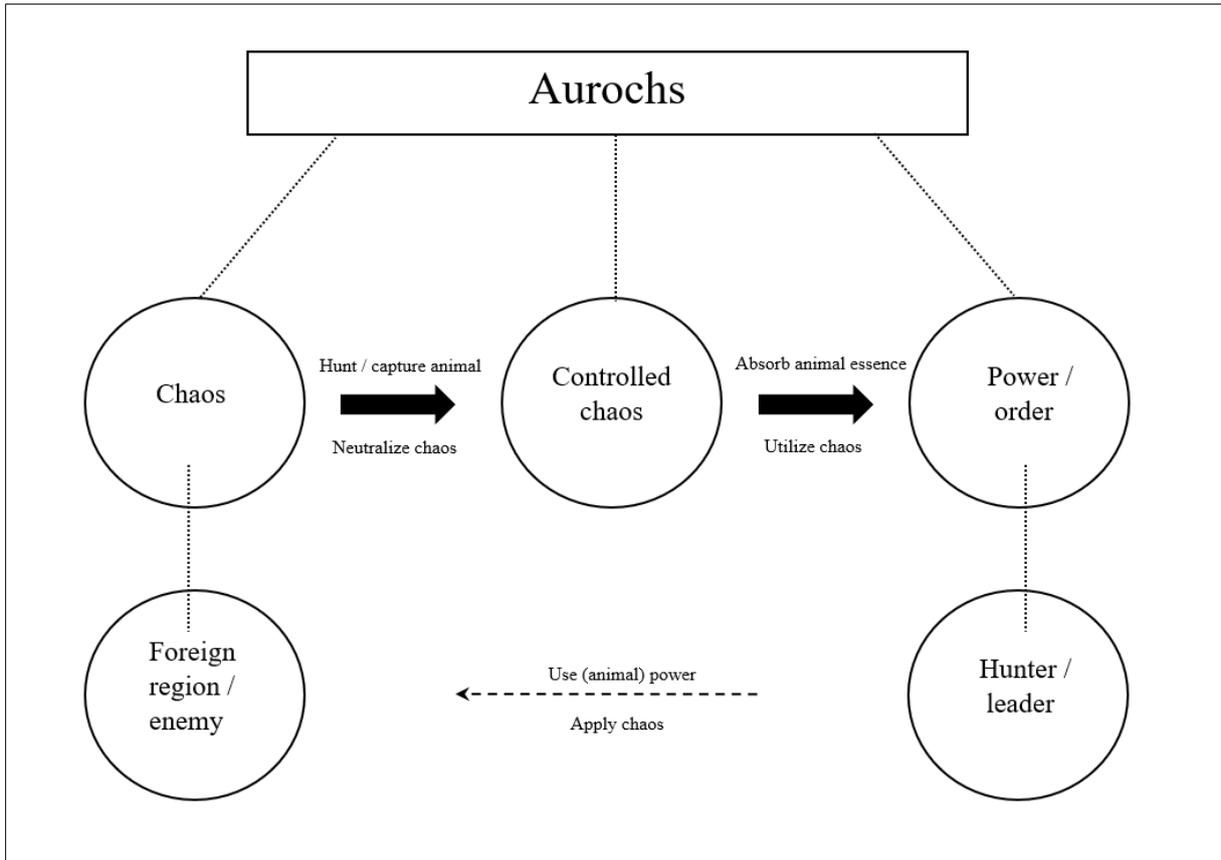


Figure 92. The interrelationship between chaos, control, and power as demonstrated by the ambivalent nature of the aurochs. Depending on context, the emphasis lies on the animal as a (negative) element of chaos (e.g. as a representative of a hostile foreign territory), or as an element of power and control. Controlled chaos, in this case the combination of neutralized chaos (= the hunted or captured animal) and utilized chaos (= the absorption of animal essence, which can be demonstrated by the wearing of animal attributes) provides (animal) power to the figure of a hunter / leader and eventually allows for a direct visual comparison between the full animal form of the aurochs and the human hunter / leader (visual zoomorphic metaphor). This (animal) power, or recycled chaos, can then be used against chaos.

4.1.3 Late Predynastic decorated ivories and palettes

4.1.3.1 Controlling animals and control signs

The chaotic animals that are seen at the hunting scenes on the palettes and animal rows of the Late Predynastic period⁶¹⁰ can be controlled by other animals. Generally speaking, the domestic dog is the most important and most often seen controlling animal, just as was the case for the C-Ware pottery. The animal is found at the hunting scenes on the palettes, but also as a ‘control sign’⁶¹¹ at the end of (abbreviated) animal rows. Other animals that are engaged in a controlling function in these hunting scenes or ‘abbreviated animal rows’⁶¹² are all wild predators (namely the African wild dog, lion, leopard and wild canids) or fantasy animals (figures 78, 93, 94, 98, 99).⁶¹³ Here, the biggest emphasis seems to lie on the fact that these animals are predators, i.e. natural hunters, rather than them being ‘wild’ or non-indigenous.

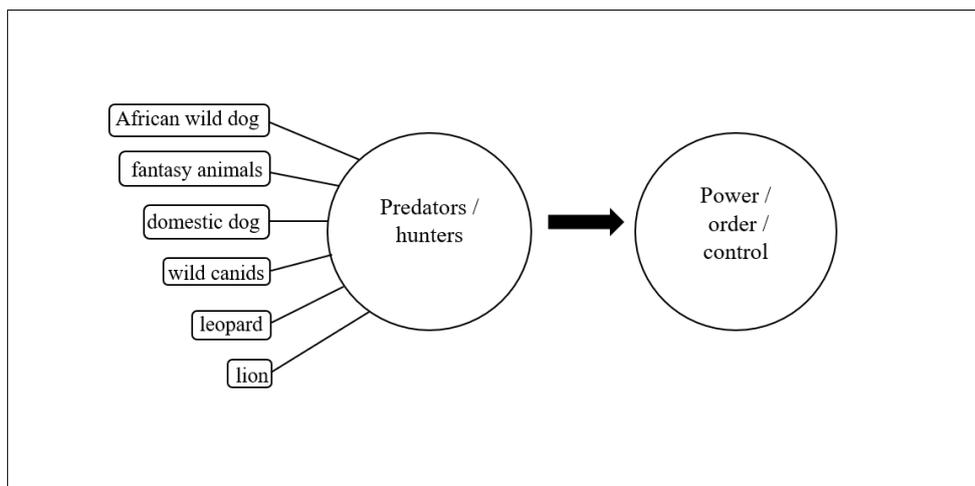


Figure 93. The corpus of controlling animals on hunting scenes (palettes) and abbreviated animal rows in the Late Predynastic period as an expression and visualisation of power, order, and control.

⁶¹⁰ See above, p. 117-120.

⁶¹¹ Kemp et al, 2000: p. 234.

⁶¹² Hendrickx, 2006: p. 728.

⁶¹³ Seyala mace handle: see Raffaele (2010: p. 281, fig. 1.6) and <http://xoomer.virgilio.it/francescoraf/hesyra/egypt/Sayala-handle.jpg> (last accessed 24 February 2022); Hunters Palette (London BM EA 20790 & 20792 + Paris Louvre E 11254): figure 94 & 98, additional depictions and bibliography found at: <http://xoomer.virgilio.it/francescoraf/hesyra/palettes/hunters.htm> (last accessed 24 February 2022); Hierakonpolis Palette (Oxford E.3924): figure 78 & 99, additional depictions and bibliography found at: <http://xoomer.virgilio.it/francescoraf/hesyra/palettes/dogs.htm> (last accessed 24 February 2022).



Figure 94. A wild canid as a controlling animal on the Hunters Palette. Late Predynastic period. (London BM EA 20792.)

The controlling animals that are seen on the ‘real’ animal rows (mostly knife handles) are not the same as the ones mentioned above. Apart from the domestic dog, a fish, bird and a rosette occur as control signs (figure 95 & 96).⁶¹⁴ The reasons for choosing these elements in this context are less straight forward than for the hunting scenes on the palettes. It has been argued that this can be explained by viewing these rows as a combination of reality and symbolism: the (semi) reality of wild, non-indigenous animals brought out of the desert is combined with the abstract concept of control over chaos represented by various more symbolic control signs.⁶¹⁵ However, although it is difficult to identify the fish or bird species,⁶¹⁶ it could also tentatively be suggested that all of these control signs are indigenous elements.⁶¹⁷ Still, it remains unclear if these elements were indeed chosen for this reason, especially because they are not that numerous.

⁶¹⁴ Hendrickx, 2006: p. 737, Tab. 3.

⁶¹⁵ Hendrickx, 2013: p. 257, fn. 14.

⁶¹⁶ ‘The fish differ in shape but all of them might be catfish because of the extensions on their sides’ (Hendrickx, 2006: p. 737).

⁶¹⁷ The rosette should most likely be identified as a palm-tree (Hendrickx & Eyckerman, 2012: p. 49-50), which is indeed an indigenous plant. Also, the wild, non-indigenous predators that can have a controlling function on the palettes are only seen as subdued animals on the ivories and are not used as control signs.

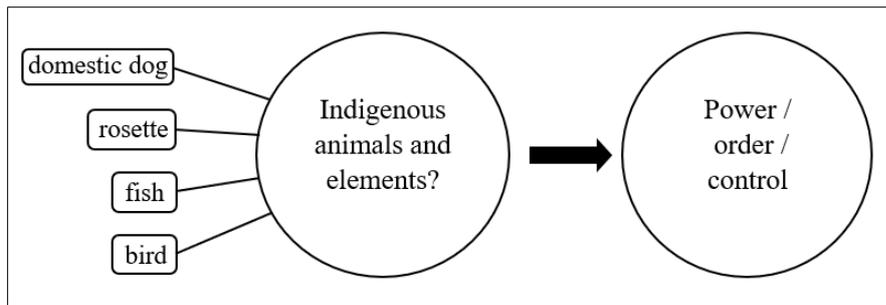


Figure 95. The corpus of controlling animals and control signs on the animal rows in the Late Predynastic period as an expression and visualisation of power, order and control.

A similar authoritative and controlling conceptual meaning can be ascribed to the elephants, vultures, waders/large birds,⁶¹⁸ and giraffes that are often seen at the upper part of decorated ivories, often combined with snakes (figure 96). These animals and animal combinations are different from the general animal rows that have been discussed in chapter three.⁶¹⁹ The layout is more standardised and the specific animal combinations can also be found isolated in other contexts.⁶²⁰ In a similar way as suggested for the control signs, these animals could also be interpreted as having a more symbolic meaning. It remains unclear what these animals exactly mean and why these specific species and combinations are used in this context.⁶²¹ It is, however, interesting to see that for some combinations the pairing of animals seems to be based on bodily characteristics: *'most of these begin with a row of serpents and elephants (snakes and snake-like trunks) or a row of giraffes and long-legged birds (combining long necks and long legs)'*.⁶²² Also, as has already been mentioned before,⁶²³ these animals too occur in orderly rows, suggesting that even these elements of control needed to be ordered themselves.

⁶¹⁸ It is difficult to identify these birds, but Raffaele (2010: p. 264) describes them as possibly representing storks.

⁶¹⁹ See above, p. 117-120.

⁶²⁰ Hendrickx & Förster, 2010: p. 833.

⁶²¹ It is generally accepted that the elephants, vultures, giraffes and waders/large birds are indeed animals of control. The meaning of the snake, however, is disputed. The animal is interpreted as either a chaotic element, that is destroyed by the elephants and vultures/birds (Hendrickx & Förster, 2010: p. 833), but the snakes underneath the elephants could also have a protective and (Raffaele, 2010: p. 262-264).

⁶²² Roth, 2011: p. 196.

⁶²³ See above, p. 118.



Figure 96. Animal rows including controlled animals, control signs and controlling animals on a carved ivory comb. The control animals/signs consist of a dog and rosette (bottom and middle row; first sign) and elephants, waders/large birds and giraffe (upper two rows). Late Predynastic period. (New York MMA 30.8.224)

4.1.3.2 Leadership and kingship

All of the controlling animals and elements that are seen on the decorated ivories are of course symbols and expressions of power, control and domination. However, it remains unclear if these elements could (already) be interpreted as symbols of royal authority⁶²⁴ and / or as symbolic representations of human controllers (for example the king's officials) or the king himself.⁶²⁵

However, clear examples of the use of animals in royal symbolism and as a metaphor for hunters or the king are seen at some of the palettes (and rock art) that are dated to the same period. These instances, that will also include the reign of Narmer, will be discussed below.

Royal symbolism

Various animals are used as 'royal symbols',⁶²⁶ but it remains unclear if they represent a zoomorphic transformation of the king (or an aspect or double of him); a (divine) helper⁶²⁷ / protector / representative; or should be seen as insignia or signifiers expressing the general concepts or certain aspects of 'kingship' or royal power.⁶²⁸ These animals include the domestic dog,⁶²⁹ wild canid,⁶³⁰ falcon,⁶³¹ scorpion,⁶³² vulture,⁶³³ catfish,⁶³⁴ and possibly the elephant.⁶³⁵

⁶²⁴ Hendrickx 2012, p. 51; a 'royal interest' and 'close relationship' between the king and the elephant has been suggested (Whitehouse, 2002; Friedman, 2004: p. 162; Raffaele, 2010: p. 266, footnote 98), primarily based on the depictions found on an ivory knife handle (Oxford E4975). However, more detailed claims about the specific function and role of the animal cannot be made.

⁶²⁵ A direct link between the (cat)fish as a control sign at the animal rows and Narmer cannot be assumed, because there are three centuries between the date of his reign the date of the Abu Zeidan knife handle (Raffaele, 2010: p. 265, fn. 97).

⁶²⁶ Not only animals, but elements such as the rosette and serekh occur as royal symbols/indicators as well.

⁶²⁷ Davis, 1992: p. 168.

⁶²⁸ Of course, zoomorphic metaphors / transformations not only represent the king as such, but simultaneously denote concepts of royal power, strength, military victory, etc.

⁶²⁹ The domestic dog is depicted at a rock art tableau at Nag el-Hamdulab: '*The dog takes a remarkably prominent place in the scene with the king. He is in between the king and the standard bearers*' (Hendrickx et al., 2012: p. 298). However, the importance of the dog as a royal symbol has disappeared in later times.

⁶³⁰ The wild canid is prominently displayed on the Lucerne fragment of the Battlefield Palette (Kofler-Truniger collection, K 8057) and could possibly be identified as a zoomorphic metaphor for the king (see below, p. 163 and fn.651). Depiction and bibliography found at:

<http://xoomer.virgilio.it/francescoraf/hesyra/palettes/Vulptures-Lucerna.htm> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

⁶³¹ Hendrickx et al, 2011: p. 148: '*the falcon is clearly a royal symbol from the beginning of the Naqada III period*'; Evident on e.g. the Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 1 (Hendrickx et al., 2011: p. 140; Hendrickx & Friedman, 2003: p. 96, fig. 1).

⁶³² E.g. Scorpion macehead (Oxford E.3632). Depiction found at:

<http://xoomer.virgilio.it/francescoraf/hesyra/new/KingScorpion.jpg> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

⁶³³ Davis, 1992: p. 132; depicted on the Battlefield Palette (London BM EA 20791): figure 101 ; additional depictions and bibliography of the Battlefield Palette found at:

<http://xoomer.virgilio.it/francescoraf/hesyra/palettes/vulptures.htm> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

⁶³⁴ Narmer Palette (Cairo JE 14716). Depictions and bibliography can be found at:

<http://xoomer.virgilio.it/francescoraf/hesyra/palettes/narmerp.htm> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

⁶³⁵ See above, fn. 624.

It is interesting to see that some of the ‘control signs’ on the decorated ivories representing domination, control and authority, are used here as royal symbols and are thus apparently an ideal motif with which to associate the king.⁶³⁶ These are the catfish, dog, elephant and vulture.⁶³⁷ Some of these animals are indigenous to Egypt, and the dog is a domesticated animal. This shows that it is not the ‘wild’ or the ‘non-indigenous’ aspect that all these animals have in common. It could, on the other hand, be suggested that all of these animals can be considered dangerous in their own way, although one needs to admit that at first sight these are not all the most dangerous or powerful animals one can think of (figure 97).⁶³⁸

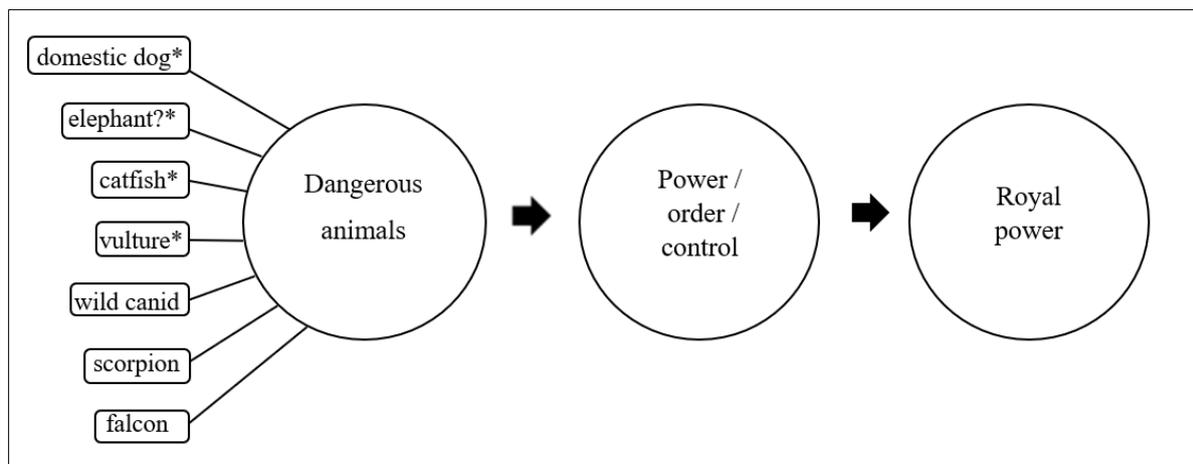


Figure 97. Dangerous animals as an expression and visualisation of royal power. The animals with an asterisk are also seen as control signs on the decorated ivories .

⁶³⁶ Wilkinson, 2000: p.25; however, the scorpion, wild canid and falcon are not seen on the ivories.

⁶³⁷ The same is true for the rosette.

⁶³⁸ See, however, Ikram (2001a, p. 10): ‘No doubt these giant catfish were regarded as fierce, aggressive fighters with a strong instinct for survival; thus it is not surprising that Narmer, the noted warrior, would have included “catfish” in his name’; additionally, these animals can be considered exclusive animals (see below, p. 355).

Animal assimilation and zoomorphic metaphors

It has been mentioned above that various controlling animals are seen on the palettes and animal rows. Of these animals, the African wild dog is the only animal that can be positively identified as a metaphor for human hunters in certain specific contexts.⁶³⁹ In the case of THE HUNTERS PALETTE and the HIERAKONPOLIS PALETTE, a compositional parallelism is seen between the two African wild dogs framing THE HIERAKONPOLIS PALETTE, and two rows of hunters framing THE HUNTERS PALETTE (figure 98 & 99).⁶⁴⁰ It has been suggested by Hendrickx that these animals were primarily chosen because of their hunting behaviour: just as the depicted human hunters, the African wild dogs hunt in groups.⁶⁴¹ A difference can thus be observed between these examples and the earlier ones: on the C-Ware pottery, it was the domestic dog that could sometimes be equalled with the human hunter.

The assimilation between human and animal hunter is even further emphasised, because the hunters on THE HUNTERS PALETTE seem to be wearing the tails of the African wild dogs (but also ostrich feathers) as part of their hunting outfit. Whereas the wearing of ostrich feathers foremost served as a powerful display of the hunters' skills at mastering their target, the wearing of the tail of the African wild dog additionally argues for a human-animal assimilation.⁶⁴² The wearing of animal tails is already seen a long time before THE HUNTERS PALETTE and was apparently not suited for every hunter. In some of the victory scenes depicted on the C-Ware pottery the victors wear animal tails.⁶⁴³ It seems to be the case that this custom is already connected to power in these early periods, where it is not only related to the hunt, but also connected to military violence and victory.⁶⁴⁴ This type of symbolism is also seen on THE NARMER PALETTE, where the king identifies himself with the powerful aurochs by wearing the tail of the animal. Perhaps more interesting, however, is the full assimilation of the king with the aurochs on the same palette (figure 100). The use of the aurochs in its complete animal form as a zoomorphic transformation of the king is also seen on the slightly earlier dated BULL

⁶³⁹ When they are depicted in a 'heraldic' position on the outer rims of a palette (Hendrickx, 2006: p. 740-742). See e.g. the Hunters Palette (ibid) and the Hierakonpolis Palette (ibid).

⁶⁴⁰ Hendrickx, 2006: p. 741.

⁶⁴¹ Hendrickx, 2006: p. 740; Hendrickx & Eyckerman, 2012: p. 60.

⁶⁴² Hendrickx, 2006: p. 732.

⁶⁴³ See above, p. 152.

⁶⁴⁴ Hendrickx & Eyckerman, 2012: p. 62-63.

PALETTE (figure 26).⁶⁴⁵ Additionally, a person close to the king, possibly his son,⁶⁴⁶ is wearing the skin of a leopard on the NARMER PALETTE (figure 102).⁶⁴⁷ Thus, the wearing of characteristic animal parts of powerful animals not only demonstrates the proficiency of the hunters, king or other elite persons in mastering powerful and chaotic animals, but also identifies them with the animal in question. In this respect, the wearer could absorb the power of the animal. Indeed: ‘*mastery over the chaotic powers of the wild may even extend to the very embodiment of the complete animal form*’,⁶⁴⁸ as has been demonstrated for the African wild dogs on the HUNTERS PALETTE and the aurochs on the NARMER and BULL palettes. Apart from the aurochs, it is generally accepted that the lion too (in its complete animal form) is used as a representation and zoomorphic metaphor of the king (figure 101).⁶⁴⁹ Furthermore, the same is probably true for the scorpion⁶⁵⁰ and possibly for the wild canid.⁶⁵¹ In these instances, the animals can be seen attacking⁶⁵² human enemies in a fully ‘realistic’ animal form, without human aspects -such as weapons or arms.⁶⁵³

The above has demonstrated that the core idea of ‘*non-indigenous animal = order / power*’ can be used as a basis upon which additional comparisons and equalizations are build, that can take the form of zoomorphic assimilations and/or zoomorphic metaphors. However, these mechanisms are certainly not straightforward and do not always form clear patterns or predictable consequent stages, which is also demonstrated in table 3. The leopard, for example,

⁶⁴⁵ Hendrickx & Eyckerman, 2012: p. 29; Narmer Palette (Cairo JE 14716): figure 100; additional depictions and bibliography of the Narmer palette found at: <http://xoomer.virgilio.it/francescoraf/hesyra/palettes/narmerp.htm> (last accessed 24 February 2022); Bull Palette (Paris Louvre E 11255): figure 26; additional depictions and bibliography found at <http://xoomer.virgilio.it/francescoraf/hesyra/palettes/bull.htm> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

⁶⁴⁶ Rummel, 2007: p. 111-112.

⁶⁴⁷ The leopard skin as garment is already depicted at Hierakonpolis Tomb 100, dated to the Naqada IIC period (Van Neer et al., 2013: p. 300); see above, p. 153.

⁶⁴⁸ Kinsman, 2016: p. 29.

⁶⁴⁹ Again, context is important. The lion is used as metaphor for the king on the Battlefield palette (London BM EA 20791) but as an element of chaos on the Hunters palette (ibid). Depictions and bibliography of the Battlefield palette found at: <http://xoomer.virgilio.it/francescoraf/hesyra/palettes/vulptures.htm> (last accessed 24 February 2022)..

⁶⁵⁰ Depicted at the minor Gebel Sheikh Suleiman inscription (Needler, 1967; Evans, 2015: p. 151, 157, fig. 1f; LeBlanc, 2015, p. 229). However, the elite hunters or the king are not seen with parts of the lion or scorpion as adornments.

⁶⁵¹ Shown on the Lucerne fragment of the Battlefield Palette (see above, fn. 630); LeBlanc, 2015: p. 230 & fn. 6.

⁶⁵² And not ‘smiting’/ trampling the enemy as is seen in later times (Schoske, 1982: p. 356-404).

⁶⁵³ Animals with human aspects are for example seen on the Narmer cylinder role (Oxford E.3915) where a catfish smites the enemy with human arms (Whitehouse, 2002: p. 434, fig. 4). The Libyan palette (Cairo JE 27434) shows a similar idea, where a lion, falcon and scorpion are holding hoes. Depictions and bibliography are found at: <http://xoomer.virgilio.it/francescoraf/hesyra/palettes/tehenu.htm> (last accessed 24 February 2022). These instances should rather be interpreted as examples of ‘emblematic personification’, whereby signs that convey abstract concepts, such as ‘kingship’ are equipped with human attributes in order to identify them as dynamic elements within a broader group of images, thus personifying a concept (Baines, 1985: p. 42).

occurs as a controlling animal and its essence can be assumed by human figures. Nevertheless, the animal does not occur as a complete zoomorphic metaphor. The lion, on the other hand, can be a zoomorphic metaphor for the king, but it does not occur in a human-animal assimilation context. Considering the highly ambivalent nature of the animals, however, in many cases it remains unclear exactly what type of or whose power or domination is envisioned by the animal(s) in question.



Figure 98. Human hunters (wearing the tails of African wild dogs) framing the Hunters Palette. Late Predynastic period. (London BM EA 20792).



Figure 99. African wild dogs framing the Hierakonpolis Palette. Hierakonpolis, Late Predynastic period. (Oxford E. 3824: recto.)

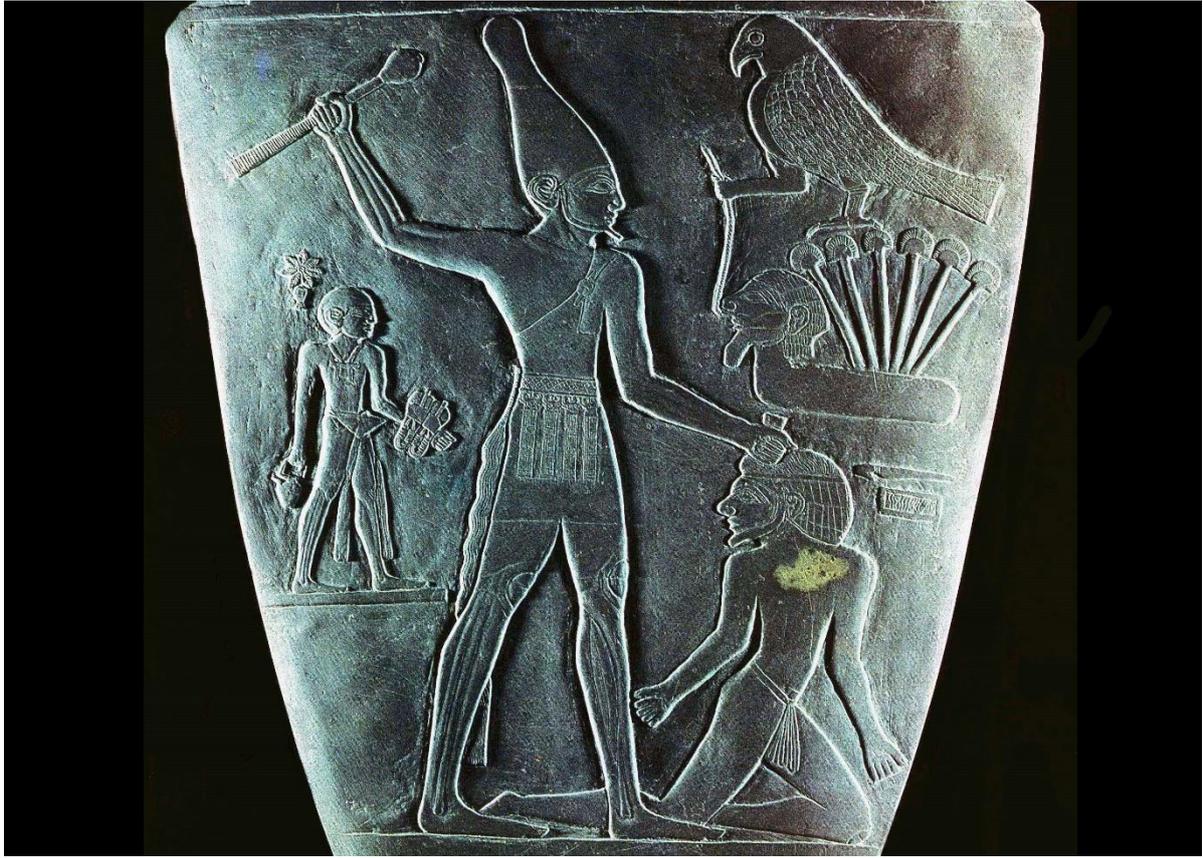


Figure 100. Human-animal assimilation (above) and zoomorphic metaphor (below) on the Narmer Palette. Hierakonpolis, Early Dynastic period. (Cairo JE 14716.)



Figure 101. Zoomorphic metaphor on the Battlefield Palette. Late Predynastic period. (London BM EA 20791.)



Figure 102. Human-animal assimilation on the Narmer Palette. Hierakonpolis, Early Dynastic period. (Cairo JE 14716).

Non-indigenous animals as an expression of power, control and domination					
Animal	Controlling animal	Control sign	Royal symbolism / authority	Zoomorphic assimilation	Zoomorphic metaphor
Lion					
Wild canid					
African wild dog					
Leopard					
(Fantasy animals)					
Elephant		<i>(upper rows)</i>			
Giraffe		<i>(upper rows)</i>			
Aurochs					

Table 3. Non-indigenous animals as an expression of power, control and domination on the decorated ivories and palettes of the Late Predynastic period (including Narmer): ■ = present, ■ = not present, ■ = possibly present.

4.2 The Dynastic period

4.2.1 Royal and military power and control

4.2.1.1 Iconography: visualisation of a concept

Contrary to the above-described periods, the animal depictions of the Dynastic period no longer occur as an embodiment of the king himself. There are indeed various iconographic representations and statues of bulls, sphinxes, lions, and even horses trampling the enemy,⁶⁵⁴ but these depictions should not be interpreted as zoomorphic metaphors for the king. The examples also include statues of lions that are devouring the enemy.⁶⁵⁵ In these instances, it is not clear if indeed (an aspect of) the pharaoh, or rather a concept or helper is envisaged. Much more, animal imagery is used to visualise a specific aspect of the king,⁶⁵⁶ or as a visual expression and representation of a specific concept: that of royal and / or military power and strength.

This idea becomes especially clear in the examples of a sphinx trampling the enemy.⁶⁵⁷ There are no indications that the sphinx was thought to be a ‘real’ animal. Contrary to the griffin or other fantasy animals for example, the sphinx never occurs as part of desert (hunting) scenes. This indicates that the sphinx is the result of a deliberate combination of various aspects into a single creature, in order to visualise a specific concept or specific concepts. The pharaoh is not the sphinx. Rather, the sphinx is the embodiment of his royal power and royal victory. The same can be said about the depictions of lions that accompany the king in military scenes, as seen in the New Kingdom period (figure 104).⁶⁵⁸ These animals do not represent the king as such, but are rather a visualisation of his (military) strength. In this case, the emphasis lies on the untamed, wild and chaotic power of the lion that is compared to the power of the king: *‘its most striking choice of lions, which can never be fully domesticated, expressed his own powers and prowess, as well as forging a symbolic link between him and the undomesticated world; his more than human power was not contained within the merely human cosmos’*.⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵⁴ Schoske, 1994: p. 376.

⁶⁵⁵ Schoske, 1994: p. 356-357, 376.

⁶⁵⁶ Like a visual simile: the king is strong like a bull.

⁶⁵⁷ Already seen in the Old Kingdom period, for example on a block from the valley temple of Sahure (Ćwiek, 2003: p. 205-206; Borchardt, 1913: II, Bl. 8). See e.g. Schweitzer (1948: p. 32-36) for an overview.

⁶⁵⁸ For example seen at Medinet Habu (Nelson, 1930: MH I, pl. 17) and Abu Simbel (Wreszinski, 1935: II, Taf. 181).

⁶⁵⁹ Baines, 1993: p. 65-67.

This could also be the reason why the domesticated dog, that could be equalled to the leader in Pre- and Early Dynastic times, no longer occurs in this context. Hendrickx & Förster have suggested that the ‘ordinary’ domesticated dog did not survive the cut, because this animal was not prestigious and exclusive enough to become a royal symbol.⁶⁶⁰ However, on top of that, the lion seems to be a better candidate to visualise the untamed strength of the king. This idea cannot be found in the domestic dog that, in a sense, has been subdued and is submissive to men. The lions that accompany the king in battle cannot be compared with ‘pet’ lions, such as the one accompanying Tutankhamun on his shrine,⁶⁶¹ and should also not be interpreted as real lions aiding the pharaoh in battle.⁶⁶² Pet lions wear a collar or a leash, and the emphasis lies on the controlling of the animal.

The ‘battle lions’, however, are not wearing a leash or a collar. Rather, these animals, as well as other elements of the scenes, are all visualisations of the king’s *phity*: his strength and power.⁶⁶³ The animal determinative of this word uses aspects of both the leopard and the lion to give this concept a physical form (figure 103), and this use of animal imagery is also reflected in the iconography, for example at Medinet Habu.



Figure 103. The word *phity* written with a distinct lion-leopard hybrid: the spotted skin of the leopard and the mane of a lion. Tomb of Seti I (KV 17), New Kingdom, Dynasty 19.

⁶⁶⁰ Hendrickx & Förster, 2010: p. 830.

⁶⁶¹ Depicted on the golden shrine of Tutankhamun (Cairo JE 61481: figure 156); see also above, p. 137 and fn. 529.

⁶⁶² Which is for example suggested by Rößler-Köhler (1980: p. 1086 = LÄ III: ‘Löwe, L.-Köpfe, L.-Statuen’).

⁶⁶³ Convincingly argued by McDonald (2002: p. 295-302).

Here, the horses and the wheels of the pharaoh's chariot are decorated with lion-leopard imagery, indicating that they should be seen as agents of the king's *phṯy* that destroy his enemies (figure 104). Furthermore, the horses are not described as simply being used by the pharaoh but are actively taking part in the fight.⁶⁶⁴ They are described in the same way as the pharaoh himself. Ramses III described his power as follows: '*I was like a falcon in the midst of small birds*'.⁶⁶⁵ Similarly, it is said that '*his horses are like falcons, (when) they see small birds [...] they roar like a lion(s) [stirred up] and angry*'.⁶⁶⁶ They are '*quivering in every part of their bodies, ready to crush foreign lands under their hoofs*'.⁶⁶⁷ The same is true for the depicted lions: the animals act in the same way as the pharaoh does. They run alongside the chariot, are seen attacking the enemy, and usually look in the same direction as the pharaoh.⁶⁶⁸

In a comparable function, the lion occurs relatively frequently on scarabs. In a few cases, the lion is clearly seen standing above (i.e. trampling, conquering) the enemy in the form of a fallen human figure.⁶⁶⁹ Apart from the lion, other 'real' animals are also used to visualise the power of the king in the iconography, namely the bull⁶⁷⁰ and the horse. The horse only occurs on scarabs,⁶⁷¹ where it is seen galloping over the enemy.⁶⁷²

⁶⁶⁴ Idem: p. 298.

⁶⁶⁵ KRI V: 33,8; Kitchen, 2008: p. 28; Gillen, 2007: p. 3

⁶⁶⁶ KRI V: 22,9-10; Kitchen 2008: p. 20; Gillen, 2007: p. 1-2; horse: *ssm.t*.

⁶⁶⁷ KRI V: 40,12; Kitchen, 2008: p. 34.

⁶⁶⁸ McDonald, 2002: p. 299.

⁶⁶⁹ E.g. Newberry, 1907: pl. VII, No. 36474 (Thutmoses III); Petrie, 1917: pl. XXVII, No. 47 (Thutmoses III).

⁶⁷⁰ Israel Museum, Harry Stern collection: No. 76.31.2068 (Amenhotep III). Depiction available at: <http://www.imj.org.il/imagine/collections/item.asp?itemNum=227874> (Last accessed 24 February 2022); The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore: No. 42.76 (Thutmoses III). Depiction available at: <https://art.thewalters.org/detail/17078/scarab-with-king-as-bull-motif/> (Last accessed 24 February 2022).

However, it is unclear whether in these instances the domesticated bull or the aurochs is meant.

⁶⁷¹ Schoske, 1994: p. 378.

⁶⁷² E.g. London BM EA 13382. Depiction available at:

http://www.britishmuseum.org/collectionimages/AN00125/AN00125791_001_1.jpg (Last accessed 24 February 2022).



Figure 104. Animal imagery as an expression and visualisation of the pharaoh's *phr*: Ramses III (looking backwards), a 'battle lion' (without a collar and also looking backwards), and a pair of horses (decorated with lion-leopard imagery). Medinet Habu, New Kingdom, Dynasty 20.

4.2.1.2 Figurative expressions

Apart from the iconography, non-indigenous animal imagery is also used to describe the king in figurative expressions (figure 105). The use of figurative language reached its peak in the Ramesside Period, but already developed during the 18th Dynasty.⁶⁷³ Of all the animals, the pharaoh most frequently identifies himself with the bull.⁶⁷⁴ From the time of Thutmose I onwards, the Horusname ‘*k3 nht – Strong Bull*’ occurs frequently. Almost all pharaohs of the 18th and 19th Dynasty wear this name.⁶⁷⁵ Apart from its strength, other bull-characteristics are mentioned as well, such as their sharp horns, and trampling hooves. Merenptah is described as a: ‘*Strong Bull, with sharp horns, steadfast at trampling the Asiatics*’.⁶⁷⁶ It is tempting to interpret the image of the strong bull, which is compared to the pharaoh, as an aurochs. An assimilation between the aurochs and the figure of a leader and king has indeed been proven for Predynastic times.⁶⁷⁷ However, in these New Kingdom cases, it is difficult to establish whether the domesticated bull or the aurochs is meant. The word *k3* refers to the more generic word for bull, whereas *sm3* specifically stands for the aurochs.⁶⁷⁸ These two words seem to be somewhat interchangeable. The aurochs hunt scene in Medinet Habu,⁶⁷⁹ for example, is accompanied by a text describing the action: ‘*He looks upon the **bulls** and lions just as jackals (?); victor, relying on his strong arm, who knows his strengths, subduing herds of **aurochs** (...) a **Strong Bull** who rages, and slaying the lands of the Asiatics, devastating their seed, and causing the strong to retreat*’.⁶⁸⁰ The generic word for bull, *k3*, is used to describe both the ‘strong’ king as well as his enemies. However, at the same time, it is made clear that the bulls that are subdued are aurochs: ‘*d3r idr.w n **sm3.w***’. Furthermore, not only aurochs, but domesticated bulls as well are known for their aggressiveness, as is mentioned in THE TALE OF SINUHE:

‘*I am like a **bull** of wandering cattle in the middle of a different herd, whom the **bull** of the herd attacks, whom the longhorn is charging*’.⁶⁸¹ Thus, although it is possible that *k3* can refer to the

⁶⁷³ Hsu, 2013: p. 3. She also mentions that ‘*the figurative expressions of animals are mostly needed for these four purposes: the king’s titulary, the king’s self-presentation in battle scenes, description of the king’s enemies and the king’s origins*’ (idem, p. 15).

⁶⁷⁴ Hsu, 2015: p. 251.

⁶⁷⁵ It is possible that the bull does not play an important role anymore after Ramses III (Bohms, 2013: p. 372).

⁶⁷⁶ KRI II: 166,6; Kitchen, 1996: II, p. 40; Hsu, 2015: p. 249.

⁶⁷⁷ See above, p. 152-155.

⁶⁷⁸ Bohms, 2013: p. 422; *sm3*: Wb IV, 124: 1-10; *k3*: Wb V, 94: 9-10.

⁶⁷⁹ Nelson, 1932: MH II, pl. 117.

⁶⁸⁰ *m33=f k3.w m3i.w mi wnš nht.w hn sw hr hpš=f rh ph.ty=f d3r idr.w n sm3.w (...) k3 nht iw=f nšn sm3 t3.w st.tyw fh pr.t=sn m-di ht nht.w*. (KRI V: 112,15-113,2; Kitchen, 2008: p. 88.)

⁶⁸¹ *wi mi k3 n wnd.w m hry-ib ky idr hd sw k3 n w.t ng3.w hr 3mm r=f* (pBerlin 3022: 118-120; Allen, 2015: p. 99-100; Feder, F. in: TLA).

aurochs in certain instances, it is very hard to identify these instances, since both the aurochs and the domesticated bull show identical behaviour. Moreover, this indicates that when this more generic term is used, the emphasis lies on the behaviour, wildness, strength and power of the bull (whether domesticated or not) and not necessarily on its habitat.

Apart from the Medinet Habu scene and text, there are only few other clear instances where the aurochs instead of the domesticated bull is intended. In these cases, the word *sm3* is used. The king boasts about the hunt on aurochs on the memorial scarabs of Amenhotep III and the ARMANT STELA of Thutmose III.⁶⁸² However, in a few cases, it is the aurochs that is described as an element of power and order. The king is identified with an aurochs a few times in the religious texts. *'I am the great aurochs! Offering-bull, bend your horn!'*⁶⁸³ Here, it seems to be the case that the king, as an aurochs, has more power than the other bull.

Furthermore, features of the aurochs, together with the lion, occur as elements of the throne of the pharaoh. This suggests that an emphasis lies on the power of these animals, either as helpers or as aspects of the king: *'May he sit on his firm throne, whose faces are of grim lions, and whose hooves are of a great aurochs'*.⁶⁸⁴ The Middle Kingdom STELA OF MENTUHETEP also mentions the aurochs. This time the animal destroys the enemy: *'An aurochs shall overthrow the enemies of His Majesty'*.⁶⁸⁵ Interestingly, in this function it also occurs as the name of a New Kingdom military ship: *'Then I served as a soldier in his place in the ship "The Aurochs"'*.⁶⁸⁶ Furthermore, aurochs as well as their tails are mentioned on the ARMANT STELA of Thutmose III.⁶⁸⁷ The text described the king hunting several wild animals abroad. An interesting detail is found in the fact that he captures a herd of wild aurochs *'with their tails behind him'*.⁶⁸⁸ Here we see a likely reference to the wearing of the tail of an aurochs as an ornament of the king's clothing. This not only demonstrates the power of the king over the chaotic wild aurochs, but also identifies himself with this powerful animal.

⁶⁸² However, in these instances the aurochs are chaotic (or special) animals, even though the power of the pharaoh is emphasised; see below, p. 285, 290-292.

⁶⁸³ PT 470: §913d-e; Faulkner, 1969: p. 159.

⁶⁸⁴ PT 509: §1124a-c; Faulkner, 1969: p. 184; grim lion: *m3i hs3*, great aurochs: *sm3 wr*.

⁶⁸⁵ Cairo CG 20539: II.b.16-17; Landgrafova, R. & P. Dils in: TLA; aurochs: *sm3*.

⁶⁸⁶ Urk IV: 2, 12-13; Grapow, 1924: p. 79; aurochs: *sm3*.

⁶⁸⁷ Armant Stela (Cairo JE 67377): Urk IV: 1245-1247; Mond & Myers, 1940: I, p. 183; II, pl. CIII; see below, p. 285.

⁶⁸⁸ Urk IV: 1245, 17.

Apart from the powerful and strong bull (either the aurochs or domesticated bull), the king is also compared to various other animals.⁶⁸⁹ These animals also include non-indigenous animals, most notably the lion, leopard and wolf or jackal. It is interesting to see that *‘the king could simultaneously be compared to a variety of powerful animals and that the metaphors were heavily mixed in the effort to stress the superhuman power of the king’*.⁶⁹⁰ The king is said to have lionesses as his mother: *‘N. was conceived by Sekhmet, it is Šsmt.t who gave birth to N’*.⁶⁹¹ This is not that surprising, considering the fact that lion imagery is often used to highlight the power and strength of the king. In this respect, it makes sense that the mother of the king has lion characteristics as well. A same motherly function is seen at a relief from the temple of Niussere, where the king is suckled by a lioness goddess. It is, however, not clear which goddess is represented here.⁶⁹² Furthermore, the king can be compared to Sekhmet from the Middle Kingdom onwards: *‘He is Sekhmet to him, who disobeys his command’*.⁶⁹³ This is actually a reference to THE DESTRUCTION OF MANKIND, where Re wants to destroy mankind for plotting a rebellion against him. Sekhmet (‘the Eye of Re’) is the one who carries out this job. The anger, bloodlust and aggression that is typical for Sekhmet⁶⁹⁴ is used to demonstrate the destructive power of the pharaoh and the danger he opposes to his enemies. Also, the fear that foreigners have for the king is compared to the fear that one has for Sekhmet. In the following example, her function as a bringer of plague is emphasised: *‘The fear of the king is everywhere in the foreign countries, just as the fear of Sekhmet in the year of pest’*.⁶⁹⁵ Furthermore, the power of the pharaoh is compared to the power of Sekhmet. In the following example, a comparison is made between the shooting pharaoh and the shooting goddess who uses arrows as weapons: *‘Who shoots the arrow like Sekhmet does, as he brings thousands to fall who ignore his power’*.⁶⁹⁶

The lion as a figurative expression for the king becomes common in the 18th Dynasty, starting from Thutmose III onwards:⁶⁹⁷ *‘I made them see your majesty as a grim lion, as you made*

⁶⁸⁹ Such as the falcon (KRI V: 93,12–13; Kitchen, 2008: p. 73) and the crocodile (Urk IV: 616, 9–10; Lichtheim, 1976: p. 37).

⁶⁹⁰ Teeter, 2002: p. 267.

⁶⁹¹ PT 248: §262b: Faulkner, 1969: p. 60.

⁶⁹² Borchardt, 1907: p. 41, figs. 21 & 23; Ćwiek, 2003: p. 121.

⁶⁹³ Cairo CG 20538, verso § 5.13: Kamal, 1940: pl. XXXII-XXXIII; Dils, P. in: TLA; However, the king is also Bastet, who protects the two lands (idem, § 5.11).

⁶⁹⁴ See also above, p. 145-147.

⁶⁹⁵ pBerlin 3022: 44-45: Allen, 2015: p. 80; Feder, F. in: TLA.

⁶⁹⁶ pLondon UC 32157: I.7: Allen, 2015: p. 448; Popko, L. in: TLA.

⁶⁹⁷ Hsu, 2013: p.7; Grapow, 1924: p.70. Although it has been demonstrated that the connection between the king and the lion is indeed much older (see above, p.163 and fn. 649).

them into piles of corpses throughout their valleys'.⁶⁹⁸ The strength and power of the king is emphasised by means of lion imagery. As such, various characteristic of the lion are highlighted. The bloodlust of the animal is stressed and compared to the king, who is ready to attack: *'He is like a lion, who has tasted battle. No country can stand before him*'.⁶⁹⁹ Furthermore, the characteristic sound of the lion is mentioned. The loud roaring of the animal is compared to the heavy voice of the king: *'The Son of Amun, strong of arm, is after them like a youthful lion, aware of his strength, heavy of voice, emitting a roar, so that the mountains shiver at his name*'.⁷⁰⁰ And: *'His roaring had gone around the desert land, a lion, who is angry, when he has seen him who attacks him*'.⁷⁰¹ Not only the king, but also his soldiers show this behaviour, possibly referring to their battle cries: *'as they roar like a provoking, angry lion*'.⁷⁰² Similarly, they *'roared like lions in the mountains*'.⁷⁰³ Lion imagery to describe the king's soldiers is already used in the Middle Kingdom. The bravery of soldiers is mentioned in THE SHIPWRECKED SAILOR, and compared to the bravery of lions: *'...their hearts were braver than lions*'.⁷⁰⁴ The natural behaviour of the lion as a dangerous predator, attacking or waiting to attack his victims, is stressed as well. The enemies of the king are compared to real prey animals, such as domestic livestock. The king is: *'Like a falcon in a flock of birds, like a grim lion in a pen of livestock*'.⁷⁰⁵ And: *'Now, the heart of his majesty was fierce and strong, like a hidden lion, ready for livestock*'.⁷⁰⁶ The king destroys his enemies, which is compared to the dangerous teeth of the lion that tear apart the prey. He is: *'Like a lion who seizes, roaring, <tearing> the desert game with its teeth*'.⁷⁰⁷ Apart from its teeth, the paws and claws of the lion are also specifically mentioned as deadly weapons. As such, the emphasis does not lie on the enemy who is ripped apart by the lion's claw, but rather on the act of grabbing and holding the enemies: *'There is a brave, fierce, mighty lion, who seizes with his claw*'.⁷⁰⁸ And: *'His majesty is like an enraged lion, who throws down his attacker with its arms, as he captures with his right (one) and is strong with his left (one)*'.⁷⁰⁹

⁶⁹⁸ Urk IV: 617,2-3; Lichtheim, 1976: p. 37; grim lion: *m3i ḥs3*.

⁶⁹⁹ KRI II: 289,7-8; Kitchen 1996: II, p. 118; lion: *m3i*.

⁷⁰⁰ KRI V: 16,9-10; Kitchen, 2008: p. 15; lion: *m3i*.

⁷⁰¹ KRI V: 13,6-7; Kitchen, 2008: p. 13; lion: *m3i*.

⁷⁰² KRI V: 22,9-10; Kitchen, 2008: p. 20; lion: *m3i*.

⁷⁰³ KRI V: 40,10; Kitchen, 2008: p. 34; lion: *m3i*.

⁷⁰⁴ pPetersburg 1115: 29-30; MES, p. 42-42a; Dils, P. & H. Felber in: TLA; lion: *m3i*.

⁷⁰⁵ KRI II: 151,10-11; Kitchen, 1996: II, p. 29; see also above, fn. 496.; grim lion: *m3i ḥs3*.

⁷⁰⁶ KRI V: 23,4; Kitchen, 2008: p. 21; lion: *m3i*.

⁷⁰⁷ KRI V: 70,11-12; Kitchen, 2008: p. 54; desert game: *ḥw.t (n.t) ḥ3s.t*.

⁷⁰⁸ KRI V: 25,9-10; Kitchen, 2008: p. 22; lion: *m3i*.

⁷⁰⁹ KRI V: 32,11-12; Kitchen, 2008: p. 28; lion: *m3i*.

Another example mentions similar behaviour: *‘The strong and brave lion is the one who is the sole ruler. His claw is equipped like a trap. They come, trembling over their bodies to sleep forever⁷¹⁰ under his arms like mice’.*⁷¹¹ The king is a *‘strong lion, powerful of arm, owner of a strong arm, one who captures the Asiatics’.*⁷¹²

Not only the strength and power, but also the non-indigenous origin of the lion is emphasised and described as an advantage. The lion knows its way in its own habitat and as such, it can conquer every foreign region: *‘The godly falcon, coloured of feather, who crosses the sky like the majesty of Re. The Upper-Egyptian jackal, who hurries and runs and encircles this country in an hour. The grim lion, who traverses the secret paths of every foreign place’.*⁷¹³

The above-mentioned text not only describes the pharaoh as a lion, but also as a wild canid. This latter animal is occasionally mentioned because of its speed: *‘I let them see Your Majesty like a southern jackal, the lord of speed, the runner, who rushes through the two lands’.*⁷¹⁴ And: *‘He opens the roads like a southern jackal, who looks for the region of the ones that attacked him. He has found all Nubian enemies in a hidden valley’.*⁷¹⁵ It is interesting to see that the ideas of speed are linked to the ‘opening of the roads’. This brings the deity Wepwawet to mind, who as ‘the opener of the roads’, is responsible for clearing the path of obstacles and enables the safe journey of the deceased through the afterworld.⁷¹⁶ Apparently, the king identifies himself with aspects of this deity. Wepwawet himself is also described as the opener of the ways: *‘words spoken by Wepwawet: ‘I open for you every good way, as your father has decreed’.*⁷¹⁷ According to DuQuesne, Wepwawet not only opens the ways to rebirth, but is also responsible for the protection of the king and his territory in this life.⁷¹⁸ As such, the deity is closely linked to the living king and military activities.

⁷¹⁰ Freely translated from Wb 2, 226.7-8: *nm^c* – Todesschlaf; Kitchen (2008: p. 48) reads *‘to lay themselves down’.*

⁷¹¹ KRI V: 60,3-5; Kitchen, 2008: p. 48; lion: *m3i*.

⁷¹² KRI V: 37,10; Kitchen, 2008: p. 32; lion: *m3i*.

⁷¹³ KRI I: 17,15 - 18,1; Kitchen, 1993: I, p. 14-15; southern wild canid/jackal/wolf: *s3b šm^c*, grim lion: *m3i ḥs3*.

⁷¹⁴ Urk IV: 617,14-15; Lichtheim, 1976: p. 37; southern wild canid/jackal/wolf: *s3b šm^c*.

⁷¹⁵ Urk IV: 1547,18-20; Helck, 1961: p. 144; southern wild canid/jackal/wolf: *s3b šm^c*.

⁷¹⁶ See below, p. 204-206.

⁷¹⁷ KRI V: 11,10; Kitchen, 2008: p. 11.

⁷¹⁸ DuQuesne, 2007: p. 18.

Additionally, the king can be compared to a leopard. From the New Kingdom onwards, this animal is seen in royal texts.⁷¹⁹ The leopard is specifically mentioned because of its anger and rage. Thutmose II becomes angry like a leopard as he hears about rebellious vassals: *‘His majesty raged at it like a leopard, after he had heard them’*.⁷²⁰ And Amenhotep II *‘rages like a leopard, while he treads the battlefield’*.⁷²¹ Just like the lion, the leopard is also described as a predatory animal that finds himself amongst prey animals. In the following example, the herd is described as ‘resting’, which suggests that the leopard has sneaked upon them before attacking them:⁷²² *‘He is one who turns himself upon all the Nine Bows like a young leopard upon a resting herd’*.⁷²³ This stalking behaviour, as well as its dangerous claws are also mentioned in an inscription at Medinet Habu. Unlike the lion, its claws are not primarily used to catch the enemy, but to rip them apart. Ramses III is compared to a: *‘Leopard who knows his prey, seizing his attacker, whose claws destroy the breast of who(ever) infringes his frontier; raging and stretching out (his) right arm, plunging into the battle and slaying myriads in their places under his horses’*.⁷²⁴

⁷¹⁹ McDonald, 2002: p. 281.

⁷²⁰ Urk IV: 139,9–10; Hsu, 2013: p. 10; leopard: *3by*.

⁷²¹ Urk IV: 1290,7–8; Hsu, 2013: p. 10; leopard: *3by*.

⁷²² As is also seen in the iconography, where the animal is usually depicted in a typical stalking position. See above, p. 123 and fn. 468.

⁷²³ Urk IV: 85,4-5; Sethe, 1914: IV. I, p. 44; leopard: *3by*.

⁷²⁴ KRI V: 26,4-7; Kitchen, 2008: p. 23; leopard: *3by*, horse: *ssm.t*.

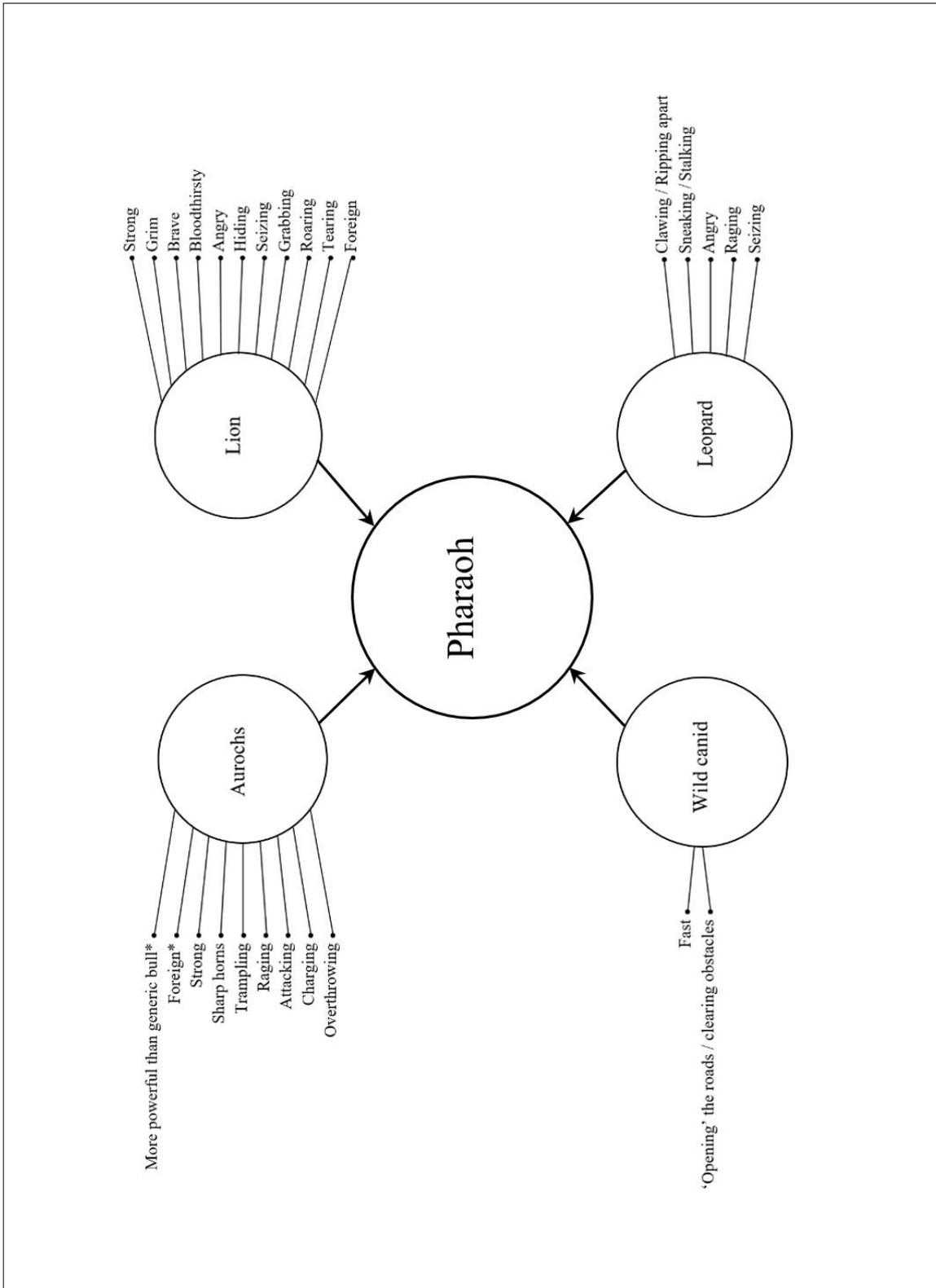


Figure 105. Non-indigenous animals and their characteristics as figurative expressions for the pharaoh: the animals express and emphasise the power of the pharaoh. (N.B.: There is a considerable overlap between generic bull and aurochs characteristics. The characteristics with an asterisk are aurochs-specific).

4.2.2 Religious power and protection

Various non-indigenous animals are found in a religious context. The following part will discuss the instances where these animals are specifically related to ideas of order, power, and protection. The most prominent animals are the lion, wild canids, and monkeys. Additionally, the leopard and more importantly the skin of this animal, has an important religious connotation.

4.2.2.1 The leopard skin as a powerful garment

Ideas of strength, power and protection are inherently attached to the leopard skin.⁷²⁵ More specifically, as argued by McDonald, the leopard skin can be linked to a fiery and brilliant type of power.⁷²⁶ It has been mentioned above that the skin of this animal is already associated with high ranked persons in Pre- and Early Dynastic times.⁷²⁷

The Old Kingdom iconography as well shows persons that are closely linked to the pharaoh wearing such a garment.⁷²⁸ For these persons it has been proven that they are either the real sons of the pharaoh, or high officials that symbolically represent the role of a son, and they are engaged in ritual practices for the king.⁷²⁹ Textual evidence considering the function of this type of garment is extremely rare, but it becomes clear in the PYRAMID TEXTS that the skin functions as an aid for the pharaoh to successfully complete his journey to rebirth and regeneration after death: *'His leopard skin is on him, his sceptre is on his arm, his baton is in his hand, and he rules (?) for himself the dead'*.⁷³⁰ In a private context, however, the leopard skin is seen as a garment of the deceased, rather than the garment of a ritualist.⁷³¹ This corresponds to the mentioning of the leopard skin as a powerful aid for the afterlife, as is demonstrated in the PYRAMID TEXTS. Additionally, it could emphasise the wish of the deceased to identify or display him- or herself as a person of high rank, ideally intimately connected to the royal family.⁷³² The deceased wears the skin at his or her offering table, or while performing other activities,⁷³³ and in a few rare cases the representation of a leopard skin is shown on a coffin lid.⁷³⁴

⁷²⁵ The word leopard is used here, but these skins could be of both the leopard and the cheetah and are used interchangeably (Castel, 2002: p. 17-28). See also Rummel (2007) who interprets the leopard-skin as a symbol of regeneration. It is indeed true that it is directly connected *'mit dem Vorgang einer symbolischen, rituellen Geburtshilfe'* (p. 132) but this does not automatically mean that the skin as such has regenerative qualities.

⁷²⁶ McDonald, 2002: p. 233-275; see also below, p. 359-360.

⁷²⁷ See above, p. 163, fn. 647 and figure 102.

⁷²⁸ E.g. Von Bissing, 1923: II, Taf. 2.

⁷²⁹ Rummel, 2007: p. 114-115.

⁷³⁰ PT 263: §338b-339a; Faulkner, 1969: p. 72; leopard skin: *b3*.

⁷³¹ Rummel, 2007: p. 116.

⁷³² Altenmüller, 2008: p. 77.

⁷³³ E.g. MFA 58.123 (Lilyquist, 1983: p. 6, fig. 4,5); Paris, Louvre E15591 (Ziegler & Bovot, 2001: fig. 35).

⁷³⁴ E.g. Cairo JE 54934 (Donadoni Roveri, 1969: Tav. XL).

From the Middle Kingdom onwards, the leopard skin is only worn by ritualist practitioners, mostly Sem-priests performing funerary rites.⁷³⁵ These Sem-priests are the highest priests and always the real or symbolic sons of the deceased. Additionally, the king can be seen wearing the leopard skin,⁷³⁶ but again this demonstrates his role as a son and the accompanied responsibility for the care of his father. Again, the leopard skin is worn by very important persons with extremely important tasks: these persons are responsible for the successful rebirth and regeneration of the deceased.

In the New Kingdom period, the leopard skin can be considered the characteristic garment of the occupation of priest and not only the high priests. It is worn by persons engaging in both funerary and godly worship. As such, it has a clear representative character, because it displays the occupation of the wearer.⁷³⁷ Still, although the skin can be seen as the general garment of a priest, it seems to be especially important for the most essential parts of the opening of the mouth ritual (figure 106).⁷³⁸ Being one of the most important funerary rituals of all, this indicates that the skin did not fully become a garment with just a representative character. The importance of the leopard skin therefore can be related to the power it represents, which again can be related to the power of the actual animal. It demonstrates the power and competence of the ritualist to successfully perform the most important and critical parts of the rituals. Simultaneously, it provides both the ritualist as well as the deceased with (animal) power. This way, the deceased will be able to successfully complete his or her dangerous journey in the afterlife and be reborn.

⁷³⁵ E.g. in the tomb of Amenemhat (BH2) in Beni Hassan (Shedid, 1994: Abb 71).

⁷³⁶ E.g. Cairo JE 20001, Amenemhat III (El-Shahawy & Atiya, 2005: p. 114); remains of garments made of leopard skin have been found in the tomb of Tutankhamun (The Griffith Institute, Murray-Nuttall Handlist, Card no. 046ff: <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/046ff-c046ff.html> & no. 044q-1: <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/044q-c044q-1.html> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

⁷³⁷ Rummel, 2007: p. 125.

⁷³⁸ Rummel, 2007: p. 132; Assmann, 2005: p. 314.

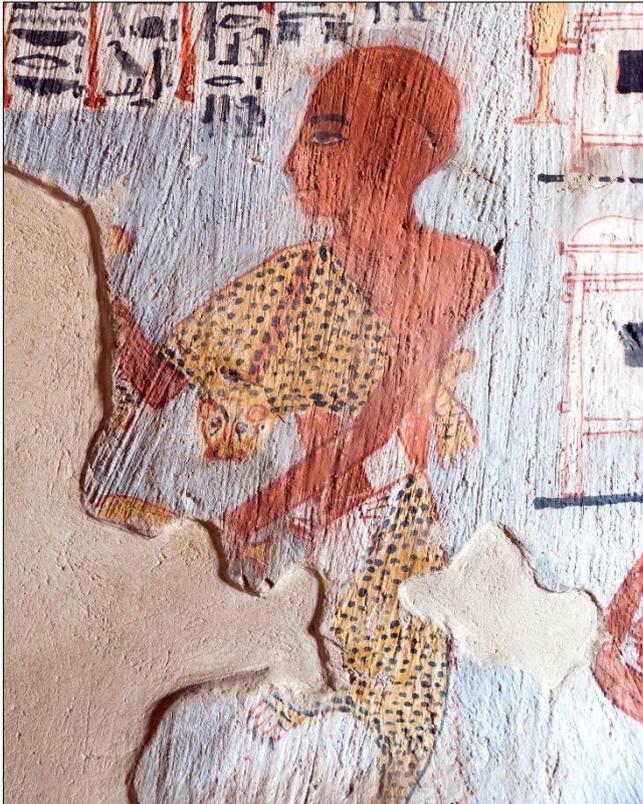


Figure 106. The Sem-priest wearing a leopard skin in the tomb of Roy (TT 255). Dra Abu el-Naga, New Kingdom, Dynasty 19.

Not only the skin, but also the leopard itself, can be interpreted as a symbol of power and strength. The animal is used to visualise the word *ph̄ty*, as has been demonstrated above.⁷³⁹ In these instances, it is often not really clear if a leopard, cheetah or lion is depicted: characteristics of all these animals can be combined into one image.⁷⁴⁰ This demonstrates that it is the idea that matters, that could be related to, or combined by the use of more than one animal. Apart from the already mentioned examples, mixed lion-leopard forms are also seen at the ‘lion-bed’ of Tutankhamun (figure 108),⁷⁴¹ and depictions of double-lions on the vignettes of the BOOK OF THE DEAD can show both lion and leopard aspects (figure 107).⁷⁴² Here too, the animals are interchangeable and combinable, because they both represent the same ideas of strength, power and protection that enable the deceased to be successfully reborn (figure 109).

⁷³⁹ See above, p. 169-171.

⁷⁴⁰ Hornung, 1991: pl. 119.

⁷⁴¹ Cairo JE 62011 (see also The Griffith Institute, Burton photograph p0512: <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/035-p0512.html> last accessed 24 February 2022).

⁷⁴² E.g. pLondon BM EA 10470: figure 107; an additional picture can be found at http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/images/1172-1/BM_EA_10470_7.jpg (last accessed 24 February 2022). Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134357, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134357>.



Figure 107. Left: lion-leopard hybrids in the Book of the Dead with the spotted fur of a leopard/cheetah and the mane of a lion. Vignette on the papyrus of Ani, New Kingdom, Dynasty 19. (London BM EA 10470: sheet 7.)
 Figure 108. Right: lion-leopard hybrid on the 'lion-bed' of Tutankhamun with the distinct facial tear marks of a cheetah and the mane of a lion. New Kingdom, Dynasty 18. (Cairo JE 62011).

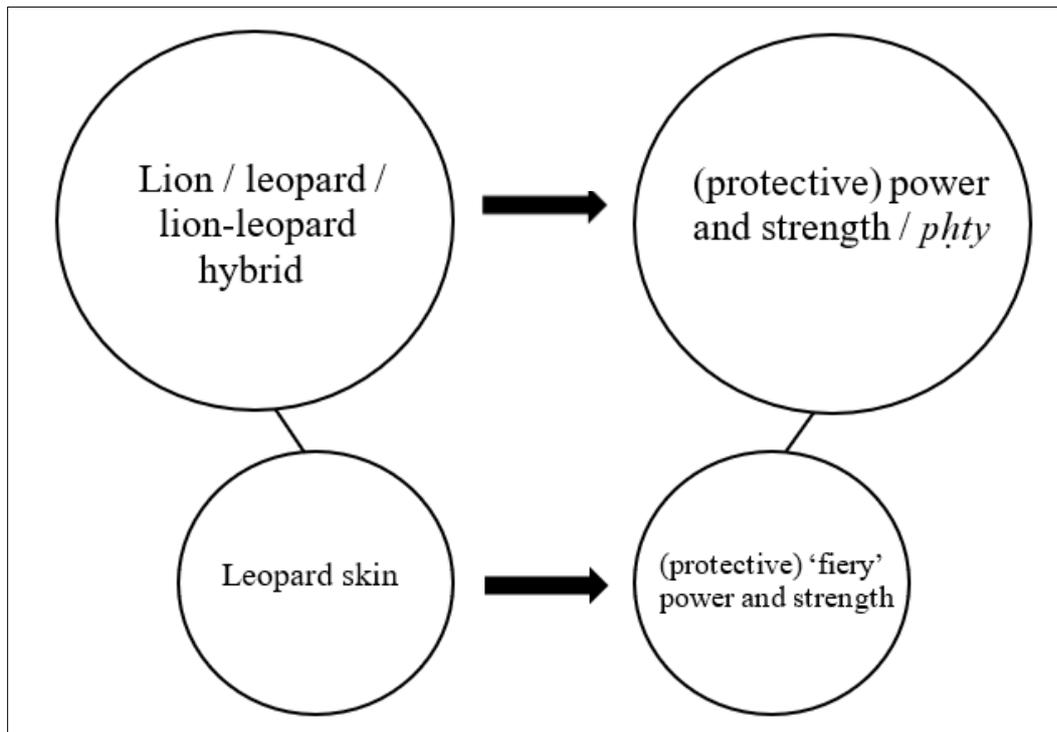


Figure 109. Lion, leopard, and lion-leopard hybrid imagery as a visualization and (physical) representation of the concept of (protective) power, including the leopard skin as a sub-group / sub-concept (= expression and provider of power).

4.2.2.2 The lion as an expression of power and protection

Not only humans, but the gods too can be associated with or identified as lions. De Wit mentions more than sixty gods and goddesses that are related to this animal.⁷⁴³ It is not the aim of this thesis to discuss the various deities and entities that are represented as lions or have lion characteristics in detail. In fact, only a few deities should be regarded as genuine lion gods; all other divinities have become leocephalic following assimilation and syncretism.⁷⁴⁴ This makes it difficult to establish whether leonine aspects of a deity are linked to the actual animal, or rather to characteristics of another deity. Furthermore, the fact that the lion is not distinctive for one god, but connected to so many deities suggests that the animal can also be seen as a more general symbol for power in a religious context: *‘Gewiß sind nicht alle Tiere so eindrucksvoll wie der Löwe und so dazu angetan, Symbol einer bestimmten Mächtigkeit zu werden, die sich in ihnen am reinsten verkörpert’*.⁷⁴⁵ Therefore, the focus here lies on the lion as an animal, the reasons why his animal is used in the various contexts, and which characteristics lie at the basis for the use of this animal in such a wide scope.

In these religious contexts, the inclusion and occurrence of lions can again be explained by their power and their strength. The deceased harnesses the power of deities with lion characteristics or they are his or her helpers. In the COFFIN TEXTS, the deceased is aided by a powerful hunting entity in the form of a lion, who is described as: *‘Masut, the Lady of Seeing, the lioness who sees and hunts at night’*.⁷⁴⁶ Additionally, the deceased compares himself with a strong lion in CT 248: *‘I have eaten my father, I have lived, my strength is the strength of a lion’*.⁷⁴⁷ The deceased can also be compared to the goddess Pakhet. Again, an emphasis lies on the hunting aspect, but also on his dangerous claws: *‘As I appear as Pakhet, the Great One, with flaming eyes and sharp claws, the Lion that sees, that hunts at night’*.⁷⁴⁸ Amun can be described as: *‘The mysterious lion with a loud roar, which tears apart that which falls into his claws, a bull for his town, a lion for his people’*.⁷⁴⁹ In BD 62, the deceased compares himself with the powerful lion and aurochs. It is interesting to see that Re is identified as a lion: *‘I am the one who travels the sky. I am the lion, Re. I am the aurochs’*.⁷⁵⁰

⁷⁴³ De Wit, 1951: III-V.

⁷⁴⁴ Idem: p. 466-467.

⁷⁴⁵ Assmann, 1969: p. 79.

⁷⁴⁶ CT V, 389f-h (469); Faulkner, 1977: II, p. 101; lioness: *m3i.t*.

⁷⁴⁷ CT III, 341c-d (248); Faulkner, 1977: II, p. 193; lion: *m3i*.

⁷⁴⁸ CT V, 399a-d (470); Faulkner, 1977: II, p. 105; Bohms, 2013: p. 204, fn. 27; lion: *m3i*.

⁷⁴⁹ pLeiden 350 I: verso III, 3-4; Zandee, 1947: p. 42-43 & pl. III; De Wit, 1951: p. 216; lion: *m3i*.

⁷⁵⁰ Lapp, 2004: pl. 11: 62, 5-6; Quirke, 2013: p. 149; Backes, B. in: TLA. Based on the version in the Papyrus of Nebseny (pLondon BM EA 9900); lion: *rw*, aurochs: *sm3*.

In this instance, the word *sm3* (and not *k3*) is used, thus referring to the aurochs rather than the generic bull. The lion and the aurochs are mentioned together, and both stand for the power of the god.

Guardian lions as and on objects

Not all visual lions represent aspects that are heavily related to kingship per se. Another important function of lions is that of a guardian, where an emphasis lies on their apotropaic power. Lion statues are occasionally found at temple entrances. A lion pair was situated at the door of the earliest temple shrine at Koptos, most probably dated to the early part of the 1st Dynasty (ca 3000 BC.)⁷⁵¹ It is also believed that both entrances to the valley temple of Khefren were flanked by four lions or sphinxes.⁷⁵² At the very least, it can be said that these lions are guardians.⁷⁵³ Similar lion statues continue to be found at temple entrances of later periods, for example the famous Prudhoe lions, dated to the 18th Dynasty, which were originally placed before the temple at Soleb.⁷⁵⁴ A lion statue found in front of the first door of the Nekhbet temple in Elkab, dated to the reign of Seti I, clearly demonstrates the symbolic role of the lion and its protective function. Here, the lion is described as: '*Horus, who repels evil*'⁷⁵⁵

It is interesting to see that Schweitzer in general does not believe that lions and sphinxes can be considered as guardians, but were placed at the temples because of aesthetic reasons.⁷⁵⁶ However, De Wit rightfully argues: '*If the lion has no guardian function, why is it constantly found near a door?*'⁷⁵⁷ The symbolic meaning of the lion as an embodiment of power and a provider of protection is further emphasised by the fact that statues of lion 'guardians' as well as the lions accompanying the king in temple reliefs seem to be interchangeable with sphinxes. These creatures are often depicted with the body of a lion and the head of the pharaoh. There are no indications that the sphinx was thought to be a 'real' animal. This suggests that the sphinx is rather the result of a deliberate combination of various aspects into a single creature, in order to visualise specific concepts. The pharaoh is not the sphinx, rather the sphinx is the embodiment of royal power, royal victory, and royal protection. Furthermore, there are also examples of sphinxes with the body of a lion and the head of a ram. The sphinxes of the avenue in front of the temple of Amun at Karnak are criocephalic, and have statues of Ramses II

⁷⁵¹ Adams & Jaeschke, 1984: p. 21.

⁷⁵² Even though only their bases have been found (Aldred, 1980: p. 62).

⁷⁵³ Adams & Jaeschke, 1984: p. 31.

⁷⁵⁴ De Wit, 1951: p. 76; Goedicke, 1993: p. 45.

⁷⁵⁵ Schweitzer, 1948: p. 49 & pl. XII.1; De Wit, 1951: p.76; Tylor, 1898: pl. XVII.

⁷⁵⁶ Schweitzer, 1948: p. 36.

⁷⁵⁷ De Wit, 1951: p. 75.

between their forelegs.⁷⁵⁸ Apparently, the image of a lion can also be combined with a god, in this case Amun. Here too, the main function offered by the sphinxes is protection. De Wit writes that: *‘les auteurs que prétendent que le sphinx représente le roi ont raison, ceux qui disent que c'est un dieu, ont raison également et ceux qui affirment que c'est un gardien n'ont pas tort. Le sphinx est tout cela, et peut-être davantage’*.⁷⁵⁹ The same is true for the lions that have been discussed in the above part: they are embodiments of power and protection, and as such they can be seen as guardians.⁷⁶⁰ These guardians can represent the animal as such, aspects of the king, aspects of a god, or a combination. By moving past the guardian lions (or sphinxes), one also moves from being threatened by these figures to being protected by the same figures.⁷⁶¹ From the Old Kingdom onwards, lion-figured waterspouts are seen at temple-roofs as part of a drainage system (figure 110).⁷⁶² Unfortunately, these early waterspouts are not accompanied by inscriptions. However, this protection (against enemies and storms) is described in later examples: *‘Words to recite by the lion: I am the one who repulses the anger of the enemies, who make the feet of the one who transgresses the way tremble. I bring the flood of the day. I swallow the storm. I reject the flood, the night of the storm’*.⁷⁶³ It has to be admitted that ideas and meanings can and do change and evolve through time, meaning that is an erroneous method to simply ascribe the same meaning to similar looking earlier examples of an object based on textual evidence from later periods. However, in this case, even without textual exemplifications, the protective function of the lions is evident: they protect the temple from ‘evil’, in the form of damage that can be caused by rain water. A similar interpretation explains the presence of lion imagery on furniture, especially royal thrones and (funerary) beds. At first, this sort of decoration is only seen on furniture of the king or his family.⁷⁶⁴ Lion decoration on royal furniture is a perfect demonstration of the lion-like power of the king himself. Considering the beds, it is possible that at the beginning the lion-shaped bed was regarded as having a mere apotropaic meaning: resting on the back of a powerful animal is the best assurance against evil

⁷⁵⁸ De Wit, 1951: p. 76; Sullivan, 2010: p. 17.

⁷⁵⁹ De Wit, 1951: p. 82.

⁷⁶⁰ De Wit, 1951: p. 462-463: *‘Ces lions sont de véritables gardiens. Remarquons cependant que tout en étant gardiens, les lions ne cessent pas de représenter le roi (...) Que le lion soit à la fois gardien et roi, emblème de divinité et de royauté, il n'y a là au fond rien qui doive nous surprendre’*.

⁷⁶¹ Strawn, 2005: p. 255.

⁷⁶² E.g. at the mortuary and sun temples of Niuserre at Abusir and Abu Gurab (5th Dynasty), the mortuary temple of Sesostri I at Lisht (12th Dynasty) and the temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu (20th Dynasty): Ventker, 2012: p. 23-31 & Tf. 1-3.

⁷⁶³ Temple of Khonsu at Karnak (Lepsius, 1973: Abt. 4. Vol. IX: Bl. 67b), translation following De Wit, 1951: p. 84. See also Ventker, 2012: p. 125-126 & Taf. 8a.

⁷⁶⁴ Rößler-Köhler, 1980: p. 1087 (= LÄ III: ‘Löwe, L.-Köpfe, L.-Statuen’); De Wit, 1951: p. 160; Schweitzer, 1948: p. 27.

powers for the deceased.⁷⁶⁵ However, especially in the case of the funerary beds, the lions also symbolise resurrection, which will be discussed in chapter five.⁷⁶⁶ Nevertheless, the lion as a symbol of resurrection can be perfectly explained by its inherent power and protective function. These lions represent the powerful qualities of the deceased that enable him to shield himself from, defeat, and conquer the dangers encountered in the afterlife and to be reborn as the sun god every day. As such, the guardian function of lions not only applies to the here and now, but also to the afterlife. The temple is to be considered a copy of the cosmos. As such, the entrance to the temple can be compared and equalled to the entrance to the sky and afterworld.⁷⁶⁷ The double lion (and sphinx) figures assimilate to the temple entrances, doors and gates, and are therefore simultaneously guardians of the afterworld.



Figure 110. A (deteriorated) waterspout in the form of a recumbent lion at the temple-roof of Medinet Habu. New Kingdom, Dynasty 20.

⁷⁶⁵ De Wit, 1951: p. 161.

⁷⁶⁶ See below, p. 216-221.

⁷⁶⁷ See above, p. 98, fn. 343.

Guardian lions in the funerary texts

In the textual and iconographic records, these guardian lions occur under various names, and all have similar functions. They are Aker, Shu and Tefnut, Ruty, Yesterday and Tomorrow, and Manu and Bakhu. These double lions can all be linked to one another in their functions as lions of the *3h.t*, as guardians of the entrance to and exit of the afterworld, and as agents of resurrection for the sun god.⁷⁶⁸ This interconnection has been extensively discussed by De Wit,⁷⁶⁹ but a few examples will be mentioned here as clarification.

The PYRAMID TEXTS already mention that the doors of Aker are in fact the doors of the afterworld. PT 483 in the pyramid of Pepi I uses the word *d3t*, whereas the pyramid of Pepi II uses the word *3kr* with a double sphinx as determinative:

‘The earth speaks: the doors of the Duat are open’ (P)

*‘The earth speaks: the doors of Aker are open’*⁷⁷⁰ (N)

Another spell describes Ruty, the double lion, as Shu and Tefnut: *‘Atum together with Ruty, who created their double divinity and body themselves: that is Shu and Tefnut’*.⁷⁷¹ The COFFIN TEXTS mention the doors of Ruty, the double lion, which the deceased wishes to pass: *‘Guardian of the doors of Ruty, let this N.N. pass!’*⁷⁷² Aker and the double lions are put in a direct connection to one another in CT 510: *‘The earth opens his mouth, Geb has opened his jaws for me (...) Aker does not oppose me, Shu and Ruty do not oppose me’*.⁷⁷³

The VOTIVE STELA OF NEFERABU, which contains a hymn to Meretseger, equals the mountains of the west to a dangerous lion: *‘Beware of the rockface! For there is a lioness in the rockface! She strikes with the stroke of a savage lion, she is after him who offends her!’*⁷⁷⁴ A vignette of the New Kingdom PYPYRUS OF ANI shows two lions, supporting the sign of the *3h.t*. These lions are named *‘Yesterday – sf’* and *‘Tomorrow – dw3w’*.⁷⁷⁵ Similarly, the double lions that support the sign of the *3h.t* in the vignettes of PYPYRUS LOUVRE N. 3292 are called *‘Mountain of the West – m3n.w’* and *‘Mountain of the East – b3h.w’*.⁷⁷⁶ The power of these lion figures can be seen as an obstacle and a threat for the deceased, which is also described in BD 17. A lion-

⁷⁶⁸ De Wit, 1951: p. 73.

⁷⁶⁹ De Wit, 1951: p. 91-157; 464-465.

⁷⁷⁰ PT 483: § 1014a; Faulkner, 1969: p. 170.

⁷⁷¹ PT 301: § 447a-b; Allen, 2005: p. 55; Faulkner, 1969: p. 90.

⁷⁷² CT V, 45d (383); De Wit, 1951: p. 188; Carrier, 2004: II, p. 919.

⁷⁷³ CT VI, 95h, l-m (510); Faulkner, 1977: p. 144; Carrier, 2004: II, p. 1245. (Version B10C reads *rw.ty*, whereas version B9C reads *rw*).

⁷⁷⁴ Turin Museum 102 (=50058): Tosi & Roccati, 1972: p. 94-94, 286; KRI III: 773,2-4; Adrom, 2005: p. 22; Lichtheim, 1976: p. 108; lion: *m3i*, grim lion: *m3i hs3*.

⁷⁷⁵ See above, figure 107 & fn. 742.

⁷⁷⁶ pParis Louvre N. 3292: http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/images/1400-1/Paris_louvre_N_3292_006.jpg (last accessed 24 February 2022). Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134582, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134582>. This papyrus is dated to the 21st Dynasty.

guardian is ordered to let the deceased pass by him: ‘*Go back lion, with your white mouth and flat head! Retreat for my strength! Otherwise: [he who retreats], who guards, without being seen*’.⁷⁷⁷ However, these entities do not act at random but follow ‘*a ‘logic of punishment’, which is directed only against evil-doers and those who have no knowledge of the mysteries of the netherworld*’.⁷⁷⁸ Here, the power of the lion is clearly used in two ways. Initially, it forms a potential threat to the one who wishes to pass the guards. However, the same powers provide the passer-by with protection as soon as the guards have been passed.⁷⁷⁹ This ambivalent nature is characteristic for most of the guardians of the afterworld.⁷⁸⁰ Of course, these demons are dangerous and chaotic. However, even though the deceased encounters many obstacles on his way to regeneration, it is thought that he will succeed on his mission. There is of course a fear that he will not make it, but the general outcome is expected to be positive. After all, he is fully prepared with knowledge, offerings, magic, recitations, a tomb, and so on.

4.3.2.3 Monkeys as guards and judges

Apart from possibly dangerous but ultimately protective lion deities, the deceased passes and meets various monkey-entities in his journey through the afterworld that are potentially hostile. CT 475, a fishermen-spell, relates about the deceased and his wish to not to be caught in the nets of the demon fishers while he crosses the water. He can overcome the hazard by knowledge and says, among others: ‘*I know the name of its fishermen; they are *kfdn*-baboons*’.⁷⁸¹ Clearly, these monkey fishers should be seen as potential enemies of the deceased. In PT 254 we encounter green monkeys as potential enemies of the deceased: ‘*Oh, his green monkeys, who cut off heads, may this Unas pass by you in peace, he has attached his head to his neck, as the neck of Unas is on his torso, in this his name of ‘Head-attacher!’*’⁷⁸² According to Meurer, we could be dealing here with a demonic door guardian.⁷⁸³ The re-attaching of the head is a typical designation for the resurrection of the deceased.⁷⁸⁴ Of course, the deceased wishes to safely

⁷⁷⁷ Lapp, 2004: pl. 44: 17, 99-100; Quirke, 2013: p. 62-63, Section 33. Based on the version in the Papyrus of Nebseny (pLondon BM EA 9900); lion: *rw*.

⁷⁷⁸ Lucarelli, 2006: p. 208; see above, p.147, fn. 588.

⁷⁷⁹ Strawn, 2005: p. 217.

⁷⁸⁰ The same can be said about Sekhmet: the goddess is indeed feared as a chaotic bringer of plague, but her powers could also be controlled and used to ward off diseases (see above, p. 145-147).

⁷⁸¹ CT VI, 27n (475): version BH4C. The baboon-form of the *kfdn.w* becomes clear when looking at the comparable BD Spell 153B and accompanying vignette where three hamadryas-baboons with a fishing-net are seen (Quirke, 2013: p. 381. Translation according to pLondon BM EA 10477). The vignette is seen on pParis Louvre N. 3092: http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/images/1123-1/Paris_L_N3092_048.jpg (last accessed 24 February 2022). Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134308, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134308>.

⁷⁸² PT 254: § 286b-d; Faulkner, 1969: p. 64; monkey: *gf*.

⁷⁸³ Meurer, 2002: p. 87.

⁷⁸⁴ Meurer, 2002: p. 286.

pass these entities on his journey. A similar situation is described in CT 622. In this case, however, the monkeys are the victims instead of the culprit.⁷⁸⁵ Apparently, their own strategy can be used against them to render them harmless – at least until the deceased has passed them: *‘The female monkeys of the sky: that your heads are cut off until this NN has passed by you safely!’*⁷⁸⁶ Monkey-guardians are also shown as illustrations to the BOOK OF TWO WAYS, accompanying CT 1069, 1088, 1142 and 1178. CT 1069 and 1178 mention a guardian called *‘Great Face’*, who is depicted as a monkey demon with a knife on coffin B1C.⁷⁸⁷ The section where CT 1088 belongs to mentions a complex building. The spell itself talks about monkeys and coffin B1C shows a striding baboon at the entrance.⁷⁸⁸ Another monkey is seen with a snake in its hand, belonging to CT 1142.⁷⁸⁹ Hermsen suggests that sentence 489c-d describes this monkey: *‘Maat belongs to that god who is in the midst of the fire, who will never place the just with him’*.⁷⁹⁰ Here we see the ambivalent character of the guardians at work: they are destructive to the unjust, but the just do not need to fear.⁷⁹¹

Although these examples clearly demonstrate the dangerous character and threat of these entities, none of these monkeys are ‘purely’ evil. It seems to be the case that monkeys are never depicted as ‘Sethian animals’, but rather as, for example, the ‘policemen’ of Osiris or under the control of Re:⁷⁹² *‘All of it—the scale, the Devouress, the thugs, and the henchmen—belonged to the threshold the deceased needed to cross so as to remain forever protected from death. For this reason, the threshold could never be high enough, the boundary could never be secure enough, and the character of the guardians could never be terrifying enough. For if the deceased could get there safe and sound, threat turned into protection for him, and the more fearsome the threat, the more effective was his protection, the more unassailable his security, the more insuperable the distance he put between himself and death’*.⁷⁹³ By proving his knowledge about the names of the gates, guardians, parts of boats, nets, and by proving his justness, the deceased therefore did not need to fear these entities and was allowed to pass. This becomes clear when looking at another fishermen text (CT 473). Just as is the case in the already mentioned CT 475, the fishers, their nets and the boat form a threat to the deceased.

⁷⁸⁵ See also: Nyord, 2009: table on p. 146.

⁷⁸⁶ CT VI, 237s-t (622); Faulkner, 1977: p. 205; monkey: *gjt*.

⁷⁸⁷ CT VII, 331c (1069); CT VII, 516e (1178); Faulkner, 1978: p. 143, 187; De Buck, 1961: VII, plan 1, no 40.

⁷⁸⁸ Hermsen, 1991: p. 190, fn. 3; Faulkner, 1978: p. 150; De Buck, 1961: VII, plan 1.

⁷⁸⁹ De Buck, 1961: VII, plan 14, no. 12’.

⁷⁹⁰ CT VII, 489c-d (1142); Hermsen, 1991: p. 131; Faulkner, 1978: p. 176.

⁷⁹¹ The baboons that are described in BD 126 and depicted in the accompanying vignette have a similar function (see below, p. 194-196).

⁷⁹² Assmann, 2005: p. 148; Hornung, 1976: II, p. 71; Piankoff, 1964: p. 27.

⁷⁹³ Assmann, 2005: p. 149.

However, the deceased is able to overcome this danger and consequently becomes a passenger on the boat: *'I will appear as a Great One and will go aboard the boat'*.⁷⁹⁴ The knowledge about the boat, nets, and fishers allows him to change the situation to his own convenience. Similarly, the deceased wishes to make the dangerous head-cutting green monkeys that are mentioned in CT 622 harmless, so that he may pass them. However, the texts suggests that this harmless state should be temporary instead of permanent:⁷⁹⁵ once the deceased has safely passed them, their protective function is needed to ward of unwanted and evil entities.

The specific function of monkeys as helpers, of for example Re or Osiris, rather than potential enemies becomes especially clear when they are also seen and described as such. Monkeys with fishing-nets are depicted in the BOOK OF GATES. These nets have magical powers, and are used to defeat Apophis, the archenemy of Re. The Tenth Hour of the BOOK OF GATES⁷⁹⁶ shows a scene where 13 entities are holding nets above their heads: 9 are human figured and 4 are monkeys, called *'the protectors of Re'*.⁷⁹⁷ They fight against and defeat Apophis by means of *'magical-nets'*. These monkeys do not seem to represent hamadryas baboons, but rather olive baboons or green monkeys (figure 111).⁷⁹⁸ A vignette accompanying BD 17 shows two baboons, as well as Isis and Nephtys in adoration of Khepri in his bark.⁷⁹⁹ In the text, Khepri is requested to save the deceased *'from those keepers of the lists, to whom the Lord of All gives powers so that they might guard against his enemies'*.⁸⁰⁰ It is said that: *'those keepers of the lists'*⁸⁰¹ *are bnty, and Isis, and Nephtys'*.⁸⁰² By combining the text and vignette, it becomes clear that these keepers, among them the *bnty*-baboons, do not only have a praising, but also a protective function. These are powerful beings that protect the Lord of All against his enemies. Simultaneously, this indicates that they are potentially harmful for the deceased and he wishes to be saved from them. The deceased can also get help from a *'cutting'* monkey. In CT 460 the

⁷⁹⁴ CT VI, 13d-e (473); Faulkner, 1977: p. 109.

⁷⁹⁵ CT VI, 237s-t (622); Faulkner, 1977: p. 205: *'The female monkeys of the sky: that your heads are cut off until this NN has passed by you safely!'*

⁷⁹⁶ Hornung, 2014: p. 350-353; Scene 66.

⁷⁹⁷ *s3y.w r^c.w.* Hornung, 2014: p. 350.

⁷⁹⁸ Hornung, 2014: p. 350, 353.

⁷⁹⁹ Quirke, 2013: p. 67-68; pLeiden T2 (SR): http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/images/1161-1/Leiden_T2_016.jpg (last accessed 24 February 2022). Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134346, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134346>.

⁸⁰⁰ Lapp, 2004: pl. 43: 17, 90-91; Quirke, 2013: p. 62, section 32. Based on the version in the Papyrus of Nebseny (pLondon BM EA 9900).

⁸⁰¹ *nw n iry.w sip.w.* Allen (1974: p. 66) translates: *'these examiners'*.

⁸⁰² Lapp, 2004: pl. 43: 17, 95; Quirke, 2013: p. 62, section 32.

deceased says: ‘Now that I am committed⁸⁰³ to this baboon, who cuts of hair, with hair on end, on whose side the great word is being spoken, it will not be repeated by him’.⁸⁰⁴ It is not clear which baboon is mentioned here, but Nyord interprets the cutting of the hair as a threatening act.⁸⁰⁵ This baboon seems to be a guide or helper and protector of the deceased on his journey to the door-keepers of the place of Osiris.⁸⁰⁶



Figure 111. Four (olive) baboons with fishing nets in the Tenth Hour of the Book of Gates. Tomb of Ramses V/VI (KV 9), New Kingdom, Dynasty 20.

A temporary transformation of the deceased is seen in CT 668, which is a garbled version of PT 320:⁸⁰⁷ ‘To become Babi in the realm of the dead. NN has cleared the night, the midnight stars tremble at him, he having appeared mighty and equipped as Babi, the soul of the...of Him who is in darkness, the ... of NN in his hand, it belongs to the Lord of the night sky. The lords are afraid of him, men tremble at him, because NN is Babi, Bull of the baboons, and he who shall see him shall not live. The ... are afraid of NN, those who are on earth tremble at him in their time, because NN is Babi who is among you’.⁸⁰⁸ The deceased in his form as the powerful Babi -the Bull of Baboons and Lord of the Night Sky- is able to conquer the dangers and difficulties that he encounters in the realm of the dead. Furthermore, the deceased can compare himself with a baboon, and as such emphasises the strength of the animal. CT 405 relates about the wish of the deceased to travel to the Field of Offerings, his interrogation and acceptance there, and the ability ‘to go forth by day’. At the end of the interrogation the deceased explains what his wishes are (i.e. inspect his children and receive clothes) and why he should be allowed to lay claim on these things: ‘I am ‘the biter in his coil’; I am the baboon with the strong

⁸⁰³ *wḏ.kw=i n iʿnꜥ pw*. Faulkner (1977: p. 88) reads: ‘Command me to that baboon’.

⁸⁰⁴ CT V, 333d-f (460); Faulkner, 1977: p. 88; baboon: *iʿn*.

⁸⁰⁵ Nyord, 2009: p. 233 & fn. 2233.

⁸⁰⁶ Willems, 1996: p. 308-309.

⁸⁰⁷ Faulkner, 1977: p. 240, fn. 1.

⁸⁰⁸ CT VI, 296n-297h (668); Faulkner, 1977: p. 240; baboon: *iʿn*.

name;⁸⁰⁹ *I am the ḥwnt-animal,⁸¹⁰ which fights stubbornly (?)*.⁸¹¹ The deceased identifies himself with powerful animals,⁸¹² most likely divine beings. The strong name of the baboon seems to be important. Nyord points out that this formulation can be related to CT 243. Here, the deceased says: *'I am the pelican who saw your birth, I have come to inspect my nest. I am in need of a brain(?) from 'the biter in the coil'. I am the baboon, I am stronger than him and you'*.⁸¹³ CT 105 is another 'going forth by day' text, which allows the deceased to go forth from the afterworld and behold the light of day and communicate with the living.⁸¹⁴ Concretely, this means that the deceased is free to move around, not only in the afterworld, but also in the 'real' world.⁸¹⁵ The deceased has already become an *ḥ* and incorporates divine qualities, claiming: *'The Great White One is my strength'*.⁸¹⁶ This 'Great White One' or *ḥd-wr* can be identified as a divine baboon, which will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.⁸¹⁷ In this case, it is the strength of the baboon that is emphasised.

The fact that the green monkeys are described cutting of heads⁸¹⁸ and that a certain baboon cuts of hair,⁸¹⁹ indicates that these monkeys are weaponed with knives. Of course, this puts an extra emphasis on their ferocious character and emphasises the fact that we are not dealing with real or normal animals here. However, monkeys in general seem to be a good choice for 'weaponed' entities, since these animals in reality also have the ability to hold and use tools. Still, knives and other weapons are a common attribute of the entities of the afterworld and should not be regarded as something special or specific for monkeys. For example, the majority of the hybrid and animal-entities that are depicted in the BOOK OF TWO WAYS, are seen with knives in their hands.⁸²⁰ Alternatively, it can be suggested that the occurrence of monkey beings as potentially dangerous (and therefore protective) entities is linked to the aggressive nature of real

⁸⁰⁹ Nyord (2009: p. 134) states: *'the speaker identifies with some powerful animals, the first of which is apparently a snake called "the biter in his coil"*. I am inclined to follow this translation and interpretation, rather than Bohm's vision, who interprets the strong baboon as Thoth and the coil (*k3b*) as baboon intestines (Bohms, 2013: p.19). In other examples where the consumption of baboon-intestines is referred to, *bsk* instead of *k3b* is used (See: Nyord, 2009: p. 128-130 & 134-135; Bohms, 2013: p. 19-20). Moreover: *'the term bsk is quite different, being conceptualized exclusively as a body part to be eaten without otherwise focussing on either contents of function'* (Nyord, 2009: p. 143).

⁸¹⁰ It is unclear which animal is referred to, but Carrier (2004: III, p. 1000) translates: *'une jeune lionne'*.

⁸¹¹ CT V, 210i-k (405); Faulkner, 1977: p. 56.

⁸¹² Nyord, 2009: p. 134.

⁸¹³ CT III, 330-331 (243); Nyord, 2009: p. 134, fn. 910; Faulkner, 1973: p. 190; baboon: *iʿn*.

⁸¹⁴ Assmann, 2005: p. 210.

⁸¹⁵ Assmann, 2005: p. 213.

⁸¹⁶ CT II, 113f (105); Faulkner, 1973: p. 102.

⁸¹⁷ See below, p. 222-224.

⁸¹⁸ PT 254; CT 619; CT 622.

⁸¹⁹ CT 460.

⁸²⁰ De Buck, 1961: VII, plan 1.

monkeys.⁸²¹ This more ‘general’ aggression or violent behaviour is seen in PT 570, where a baboon is fighting another animal or entity: ‘*The baboons are slain by the knmi.t, and the knmi.t is slain by the baboons*’.⁸²² Here we see an example of ‘reciprocal violence’:⁸²³ the animals are so occupied with fighting each other that the deceased can safely pass them.⁸²⁴ It is not clear what animal is meant by the word *knmi.t*, but Faulkner suspects the leopard.⁸²⁵ Independent of the correct translation of *knmi.t*, it can be said that a predator – prey relationship is described. In the first part the baboons are the prey, in the second part the baboons are the predators. This could refer to the strength of baboons united in a group: a single baboon could for example be overpowered by a leopard, whereas a group of baboons could indeed kill a leopard.⁸²⁶ Furthermore, the intimate relationship between baboons and aggression is also expressed by the use of the baboon-determinative for the verb *ḳnd* ‘to rage, become angry’, which is seen from the 18th Dynasty onwards.⁸²⁷

The Judgement Hall⁸²⁸ in the BOOK OF GATES shows two monkeys, who are attacking a swine. One is standing inside a boat together with the swine, the other one outside of the boat. The text that belongs to the monkey outside of the boat reads: ‘*He protects the eye, the monkey of those of the hereafter. Those who are monkeys exalt you, dwellers of the hereafter, unhindered*’. The text that refers to the monkey inside of the boat reads: ‘*When this god has appeared, he causes what was swallowed to be spat out. The words of the justified are exalted, as he renders his judgement, Thoth*’.⁸²⁹ Here, the god Thoth is depicted as a baboon.⁸³⁰ His duties as judge and as the protector of the Eye of Horus are described. The eye needs to be protected against Seth,

⁸²¹ Kingdon et al., 2013: II, p. 234-238.

⁸²² PT 570: § 1462a-b; Faulkner, 1969: p. 225; baboon: *iʿn*.

⁸²³ See Hays (2012: p. 606-607) for additional examples.

⁸²⁴ Meurer, 2002: p. 301.

⁸²⁵ Mercer, 1952: p. 373: ‘“*The baboon is a wild-ox,*” so said *knm.wt*; “*knm.wt is a wild-ox,*” so said the *baboon*’. Faulkner (1969: p. 225) reads ‘leopard(?)’; Allen (2005, p. 179) reads ‘blackbird’.

⁸²⁶ Kingdon et al., 2013: II, p. 238; Cowlshaw, 1994: p. 293: ‘*Males are particularly aggressive towards leopards, where in 4/11 cases the leopard was killed*’.

⁸²⁷ Wb V: p. 56.

⁸²⁸ Hornung, 2014: p. 183-193.

⁸²⁹ Hornung, 2014: p. 188-189.

⁸³⁰ The baboon-manifestation of Thoth is unequivocally present from the New Kingdom period onwards. Earlier dates have been suggested but cannot be verified. Sherkova (2003) sees a connection between Early Dynastic figures of baboons and Thoth (see below, p. 221). Spiess (1991: p. 89-90) suggests that the baboon-form of Thoth can be seen from the Middle Kingdom period onwards. However, the dates of the ‘Middle Kingdom’ sources that are used are in fact unknown and do not have inscriptions (Roeder et al., 1937: p. 37). In one ‘Middle Kingdom’ example, the name Thoth is given to a depicted baboon, but the source most likely dates to the New Kingdom period (Roeder, 1959: p. 168: ‘*Denksteine, meist aus Dyn. XVIII und als Weihung in dem M.R.-Tempel (...) dargebracht, stellen häufig den Stifter vor Thoth dar*’). However, this does not necessarily have to mean that the idea of Thoth as a baboon was not already present in the Middle Kingdom period: it seems not likely, that his baboon-form appeared out of nowhere from one day to the other. Still, concrete evidence for a baboon-form of Thoth before the New Kingdom period is still lacking.

who is represented by the swine. This swine of Seth forms a danger to the Eye of Horus, because it can swallow it.⁸³¹

BD 126 considers another part of the journey of the deceased. He comes across the ‘Lake of Fire’, which is guarded by four baboons, that are otherwise also seen on the bark of Re. The deceased speaks to these four baboons: *‘O those baboons who sit on the front of the boat of Re, who raise what is right to the lord of the limit, who judge the poor and the mighty, who pacify the gods with the furnace of their mouths, who give god’s offering to the gods, and voice-offerings to the transfigured spirits, who live on what is right, who consume what is right of heart, who have no falsehood, whose abomination is evil, who remove my wrongs, who trample my evils, there is no obstacle of mine against you. Let me open the tomb-chamber, enter into Resetjau, and pass by the secret portals of the west. Let me then be given a cake, a jar, a round loaf, like those transfigured spirits, who shall be able to go in and out of Resetjau.’ ‘Come then, we remove your wrongs, we trample your evils, your slaughter is cancelled, we remove the wrongs attaching you to the earth. Enter then Resetjau. May you pass by the secret portals of the west, and be given a cake, a jar and a round loaf. May you go in and out as you wish, like those transfigured spirits and praised ones, summoned daily within the horizon’.*⁸³²

Here, the baboons rejuvenate and purify the deceased and supply him with offerings, so that he may successfully continue his journey through the realm of the dead. The ambivalent nature of this place and its guards is also emphasised: for the unjust, this is a place of doom. Many papyri show a depiction of this lake with its four baboon-guards (figure 112).⁸³³

⁸³¹ Manassa, 2006, p. 122.

⁸³² Lapp, 1997: pl. 70: 126, 2-14; Quirke, 2013: p. 277; Backes, B. in: TLA. Translation based on the version in the papyrus of Nu (pLondon BM EA 10477); baboon: *iʿn*.

⁸³³ E.g. pLondon BM EA 10477: figure112; additional picture found at http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/images/1114-1/London_BM_10477_025.jpg (last accessed 24 February 2022). Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134299, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134299>; pLeiden T2 (SR): http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/images/1161-1/Leiden_RO_T2_003.jpg (last accessed 24 February 2022). Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134346, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134346>.

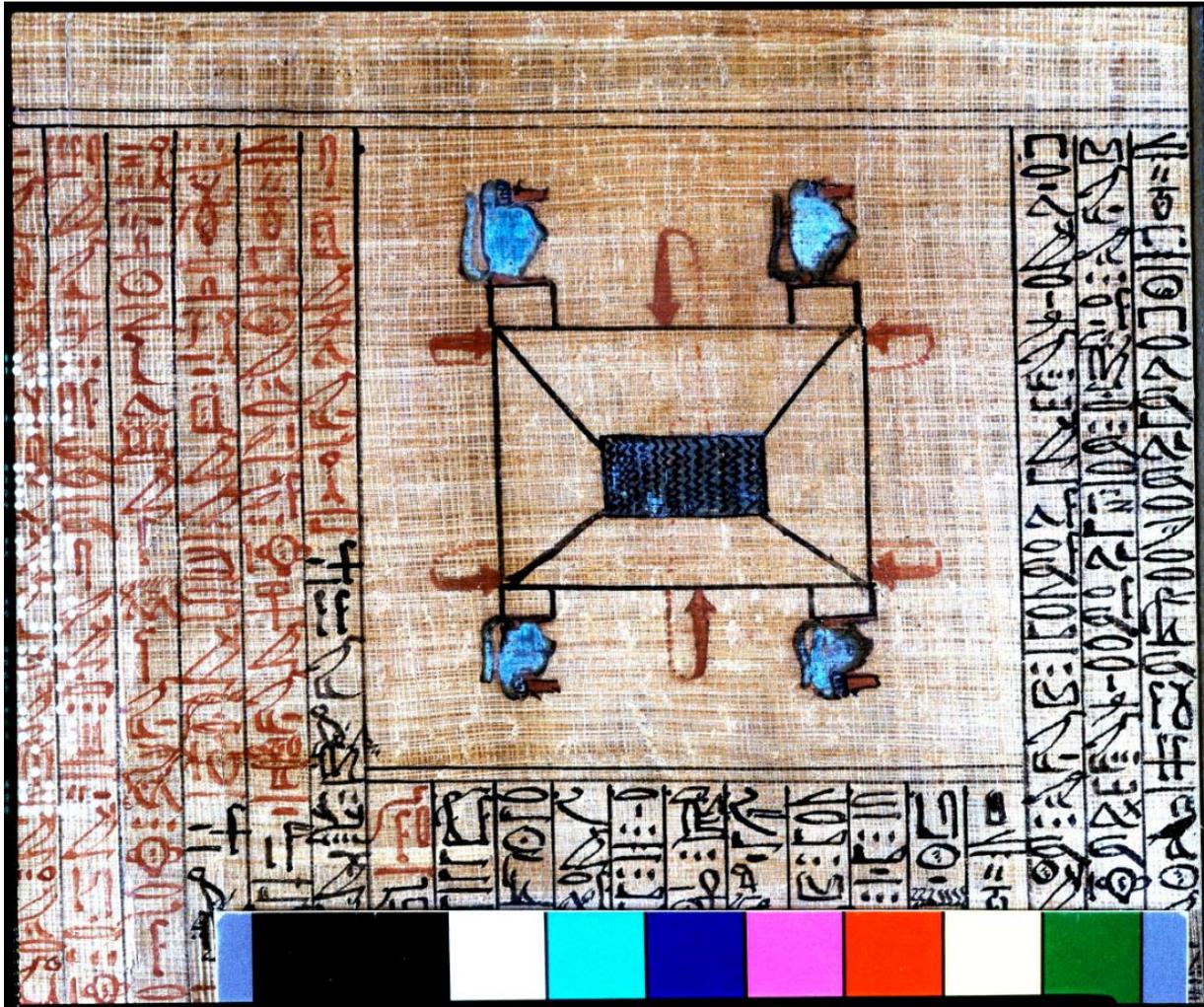


Figure 112. Four baboon-guards at the Lake of Fire in the Book of the Dead. Vignette on the papyrus of Nu. New Kingdom, Dynasty 18. (London BM EA 10477: sheet 24.)

Simultaneously, these four baboons can be seen as ‘judges’. The animals are depicted in a squatting position with their paws on their knees. This position is also seen in real baboons, especially when they are on the look-out. They search for high points so they can oversee their group.⁸³⁴ This is the exact position in which Thoth as a baboon is so often depicted: calmly presiding over the scribes or overseeing the scales. Allon points out, that in the New Kingdom tribunal scenes, Thoth occurs most often in his baboon form when he is depicted on top of the scale.⁸³⁵ This behaviour is also described in the *TEACHING OF AMENEMOPE*, where Thoth is mentioned in his function as judge. His ‘eye encircles the Two Lands’⁸³⁶ and he punishes the scribes that are corrupt. Later on, his well-known function of weighing the heart of the deceased is described: ‘The baboon sits by the balance, his heart is the plummet’.⁸³⁷ This ‘presiding’ and

⁸³⁴ Estes, 1991: p. 514.

⁸³⁵ Allon, 2013: p. 101.

⁸³⁶ pBM EA 10474: 17,9; Laisney, 2007: p. 348; Dils, P. in: TLA.

⁸³⁷ pBM EA 10474: 17,22; Laisney, 2007: p. 348; Dils, P. in: TLA.

inspecting aspect is, according to Boylan, also characteristic for the baboons that are connected to scribes. As a baboon, Thoth is not usually seen as a writer himself or equipped with writing materials, but presides over the writer.⁸³⁸ Furthermore, the vignette and text of BD 126 make it clear that not only Thoth, but also other baboon entities could have a function as a judge. This occupation seems to be primarily based on realistic baboon-behaviour.

The powerful and numerous monkey guards, helpers, and judges are characterised by (a combination) of various qualities and behavioural aspects that are also seen real monkeys, such as aggression, dexterity, strength, and a squatting posture. Just as the earlier described lion guardians, the power of these various monkey-entities and gods follows a two-way system. Their inherent power forms a potential threat but could also be ‘controlled’ and offers protection against enemies.

4.3.2.4 Canid deities as guardians and protectors

It has been demonstrated that lions and monkeys often function as guardians of doors and other portals of transition. Interestingly, canids can occur in the same context. Two canids are depicted as the protectors of the *3h.t* on the vignette to BD 15 of Nekhetamun.⁸³⁹ They are standing on each side of the sign of the east. Here, we would usually see two lions (or lion-leopard hybrids). Apart from canid deities in general, a prominent relationship is seen between the god Anubis and ideas of power and protection.

PT 273 and the connected CT 537 compare the deceased with a powerful wild canid. Although not specifically mentioned, it is likely that Anubis is meant here.⁸⁴⁰ The deceased ‘*empowers himself by living on the essence of the deities*’⁸⁴¹ and is presented as a sole ruler who has power over many others.⁸⁴² PT 273 described the king as ‘*a possessor of jackal powers, his mother does not know his name*’,⁸⁴³ whereas he assimilates himself to Re in CT 573: ‘*I am Re, the sole jackal in the sky*’.⁸⁴⁴ These ideas of power are indeed often attached to the figure of Anubis, and become clearer when looking at additional examples. In most cases, an emphasis lies on his role as a protector and judge. Anubis often bears the epithets ‘*imy-wt* - The One in the Place

⁸³⁸ Boylan, 1922: p. 76, fn. 2.

⁸³⁹ De Wit, 1951: p. 165; pBerlin P. 3002 a-z: http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/images/1137-1/pBerlin_P_3002_065.jpg (last accessed 24 February 2022). Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134322, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134322>.

⁸⁴⁰ Goebis, 2004: p. 155.

⁸⁴¹ DuQuesne, 2005: p. 299.

⁸⁴² Goebis, 2004: p. 154.

⁸⁴³ PT 273: § 394; Goebis, 2004: p. 153-156; wild canid/jackal/wolf: *s3b*.

⁸⁴⁴ CT VI, 177h (573); Goebis, 2004: p. 153-154.

of Embalming' and '*hnt.y-sh-ntr* - Who is over the Divine Booth', referring to the location and the structure where the embalming of the deceased was carried out.⁸⁴⁵ A late epithet for Anubis is '*hr.y sst3* - Who is over the mystery' referring to his function as a protector of secret or mysterious objects.⁸⁴⁶ Furthermore, the term refers to his function as watcher of the mummified corpse.⁸⁴⁷ From the Middle Kingdom onwards, this epithet can be written by the canid-on-shrine sign,⁸⁴⁸ without any phonetic characters.⁸⁴⁹ It has been suggested that the chest or shrine on which Anubis lies is related to the *sh-ntr*.⁸⁵⁰

Apart from occurring in the hieroglyphic writing, the recumbent Anubis on a shrine or chest is also found in the tomb iconography and as an actual object. The Anubis shrines are likely containers for the various sorts of ceremonial equipment that were used in the Place of Embalming. The famous Anubis shrine from the tomb of Tutankhamun⁸⁵¹ contained cult objects, such as jewellery, wooden and faience figures, and alabaster cups with resin and natron.⁸⁵² Furthermore, the iconography shows that such shrines (and chests) were carried or dragged in processions from the Place of Embalming to the tomb.⁸⁵³ Apart from protecting the objects in the shrine or chest, it does not seem a coincidence that the Anubis shrine of Tutankhamun was originally located at the entrance to the treasury, its head facing to the west.⁸⁵⁴ Furthermore, depictions of Anubis shrines are found in the tomb of Seti II (KV 15): on each side of the entrance to the shaft room, and on each side of the entrance to the burial chamber.⁸⁵⁵ These shrines and their placement at entrances resemble depictions of apotropaic gods that are found in tombs in the Valley of the Queens. These gods can be linked to the Hour Vigil around Osiris in the Place of Embalming.⁸⁵⁶ Waitkus' category M5 is of interest here, because it is composed of a depiction of Anubis on a shrine and a depiction of a lion on a

⁸⁴⁵ DuQuesne, 2005: p. 152-154, 157-160.

⁸⁴⁶ DuQuesne, 2005: p. 255.

⁸⁴⁷ Assmann, 2005: p. 194.

⁸⁴⁸ Gardiner, 1957: p. 459, no. E16.

⁸⁴⁹ DuQuesne, 2005: p. 254.

⁸⁵⁰ DuQuesne, 2005: p. 152.

⁸⁵¹ Cairo JE 61444: The Griffith Institute, Burton photographs (e.g. p1092-2):

<http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/261.html> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

⁸⁵² The Griffith Institute, Murray-Nuttall Handlist, no 261e-h: <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/250-299.html#261> (last accessed 24 February 2022); Willems, 1996: p. 145.

⁸⁵³ Willems, 1996: p. 145; Barthelmeß, 1992: p. 26, Abb. 3: TT 409 & Abb. 4: TT 178; p. 29, Abb. 5: TT 215.

⁸⁵⁴ The Griffith Institute, Murray-Nuttall Handlist, Card no. 261-1: <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/261-c261-1.html> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

⁸⁵⁵ Abitz, 1979: p. 16-17, Abb. 3a-b: no. 1 & 1b; p. 20-11, Abb. 4a-b: no. 25a-d; Willems, 1996: p. 146: '*to all appearances time was also too short to have a set of statuettes and shrines made, even though these appear to have belonged to the standard equipment of a royal tomb. As a substitute for the real thing they were roughly painted onto the walls of Seti's burial chamber and the shaft room preceding it instead*'.

⁸⁵⁶ Waitkus, 1987: p. 51; Willems, 1996: p. 147; Assmann, 1977: p. 14-15.

shrine.⁸⁵⁷ Just like the other Anubis shrines, category M5 is also found near the entrance of the burial chamber (and always on the left).⁸⁵⁸ Thus, it becomes clear that Anubis not only guards and protects the contents of the chest or shrine, but also the entrance ways.⁸⁵⁹

Apart from the Anubis shrine, another figure of a recumbent Anubis was found in the tomb of Tutankhamun. A niche in the east wall contained an unbaked clay statue of the god, wrapped with stripes of linen.⁸⁶⁰ In the New Kingdom, four ‘magic bricks’ inscribed with parts of BD 151 are often found in the funerary chamber of royal and elite tombs.⁸⁶¹ The spell itself discusses the protection of the deceased and the tomb, and the vignettes depict the burial chamber as the Place of Embalming. As the divine embalmer, Anubis is standing at the centre, bend over a bed supporting the mummy or a coffin. A protective figure was placed at each corner of the embalming (=burial) chamber.⁸⁶² A separate section dedicated to these four figures is part of the text and occurs, among others, in the PAPYRUS OF NU.⁸⁶³ The account starts with the following phrase, again assimilating the burial chamber with the Place of Embalming: ‘*What is performed in the hidden chamber in the Duat, a secret in the Duat, initiating secrecy in the god’s land*’.⁸⁶⁴ Detailed instructions of the rituals that need to be performed follow. The part that relates to Anubis is found in section g:⁸⁶⁵ ‘*Placed in the east wall. Words spoken (by?) the repeller: “Watch your head, be alert, O one upon the mountain, your moment is repelled, I have repelled your moment, aggressor, I am the protection of Osiris.” This formula is to be spoken over an Anubis of fresh mud, fixed into a brick of fresh mud, on which this formula is inscribed. A niche made for it on the east wall, its face to the west, a wrapping over it*’.⁸⁶⁶

Anubis is thus clearly described as a protector.

⁸⁵⁷ Waitkus, 1987: p. 57: found in QV 52, 44, 43, 42, 40 & KV 11.

⁸⁵⁸ Waitkus, 1987: p. 57, 59: Abb 1.

⁸⁵⁹ Willems, 1996: p. 197.

⁸⁶⁰ The Griffith Institute, Murray-Nuttall Handlist, Card no. 258-1: <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/258-c258-1.html> & Burton photograph p0884: <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/258-p0884.html> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

⁸⁶¹ Roth & Roehrig, 2002: p. 121.

⁸⁶² Quirke, 2013: p. 375.

⁸⁶³ Lapp, 1997: pl. 79; Quirke, 2013: p. 374-375. Based on the version in the Papyrus of Nu (pLondon BM EA 10477).

⁸⁶⁴ Quirke, 2013: p. 374.

⁸⁶⁵ A vignette with the recumbent Anubis is for example seen on the papyrus of Senhotep (pCairo JE 95652): http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/images/1081-1/Kairo_AeM_CG_40004_010.jpg (last accessed 24 February 2022). Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134266, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134266> & Nakht (pLondon BM EA 10471): http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/images/16-1/BM_EA_10471_20.jpg (last accessed 24 February 2022). Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 133529, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm133529>.

⁸⁶⁶ Lapp, 1997: pl. 79: 2,5-2,8; Quirke, 2013: p. 374; Backes, B. in: TLA. Translation based on the version in the papyrus of Nu (pLondon BM EA 10477).

It is his job to repel attackers and protect Osiris.⁸⁶⁷ A late epithet of Anubis is *'ip-ib.w – Accounter of Hearts'*, which describes his role in the Judgement of the Dead.⁸⁶⁸ Here, he usually operates the scale in which the heart of the deceased is weighed against the feather of Ma'at. However, the PYRAMID TEXTS already mention Anubis as an Accounter of Hearts, but here it specifically refers to his role as a punisher of the enemies of Osiris: *'Seize them, remove their heads, cut off their forelegs, disembowel them, take out their hearts, drink their blood and account for their hearts in this your name of Anubis, the Accounter of Hearts!'*⁸⁶⁹ A similar idea is described in CT 781: *'Osiris NN, true of voice, may Anubis rise (...) May he reckon their hearts for you, may he kill the one who acted against you, the chief of the guards!'*⁸⁷⁰ Here too, Anubis is seen as a protector and avenger. Moreover, he stands at the head of the guards, which Willems interprets as standing at the head of judges.⁸⁷¹

Similarly, the weighing of the heart in BD 125 is also an act of protecting Osiris and the deceased after he has entered the realm of the gods. Thus, Anubis is responsible for warding off evil influences, and this protective role is in the same way effected by the process of embalming and mummification. As such, *'the punishment of enemies by a judge, is simply a part of the protective ritual enacted in connection with the embalmment of the deceased'*.⁸⁷²

⁸⁶⁷ The placement of the figures and bricks in the tomb of Tutankhamun demonstrates that the instructions of the Book of the Dead do not always match the archaeology. The Anubis figure was found in the western wall of the burial chamber, instead of the eastern wall. Furthermore, the text that is usually reserved for the Anubis figure is inscribed on an Osiris statue, whereas the Anubis statue itself is not inscribed. Also, five bricks were found, instead of the usual four. The statue of Osiris was probably added as an extra, because there was no place for inscription on the figure of Anubis. See: The Griffith Institute, Murray-Nuttall Handlist, Card no. 258-1: <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/258-c258-1.html> (last accessed 24 February 2022). Régen, 2010.

⁸⁶⁸ Willems, 1998: p. 728.

⁸⁶⁹ PT 535: §1286-1287; DuQuesne, 2005: p. 324; Willems, 1998: p. 737.

⁸⁷⁰ CT VI, 412a-c (781); Willems, 1998: p. 736.

⁸⁷¹ Willems, 1998: p. 736-737.

⁸⁷² Willems, 1998: p. 740.

In all the examples that are mentioned in this chapter, the discussed (non-indigenous) animals, animal parts, or animal-entities and animal-hybrids are characterised by an inherent power, and as such used to *express* the concepts of power and order. However, within this framework of *non-indigenous animal expresses order / power*, some nuance differences can be observed.

In a few instances, animal imagery is used to *express and visualise* the concept *an sich*. In the Late Predynastic period, various (groupings of) animals can represent the very concept / abstract idea of control. Similarly, in the Dynastic period, the lion, leopard, and a combination of these animals occur as a visual embodiment of the abstract idea of *pḥty*.

More often, however, the inherent power that is embedded in an animal or animals offers power to someone or something else, and/or (as a consequence) is used to express the power of someone or something else.

In the first instance, the focus lies on the animal as a provider of power. Here, the powerful nature of the animal, animals, or animal-part offers power to someone or something else. This providing power often occurs as protection. The protective power is, for example, activated and emphasised in the apotropaic function of powerful animals, which is especially visible in a religious context. The various guardian animal-entities, but also the leopard skin offer their protective powers to the deceased or to the Sem-priest.

The power that an animal offers can also be 'absorbed' and provide the absorber with animal-powers. In these cases, the essence of the animal is assumed and added to the qualities of someone or something else.

In other instances, the inherent power that is embedded in an animal, animals, or animal parts is used to express and emphasise the power of someone or something else. This comparative power is found in the various zoomorphic metaphors and animal assimilations, where someone or something is compared or equalled to a powerful animal. As such, the powerful pharaoh can be equalled and compared to the powerful aurochs and lion.

However, these expressions of conceptual, providing, and comparative power are usually intertwined (figure 113). A monkey guardian, for example, offers protection because it has characteristics that are the same as, heavily inspired by, and / or compared or equalled to the

characteristic of an actual monkey. Additionally, someone or something can be compared or equalled to an animal, because it has absorbed and adopted the power of an animal.

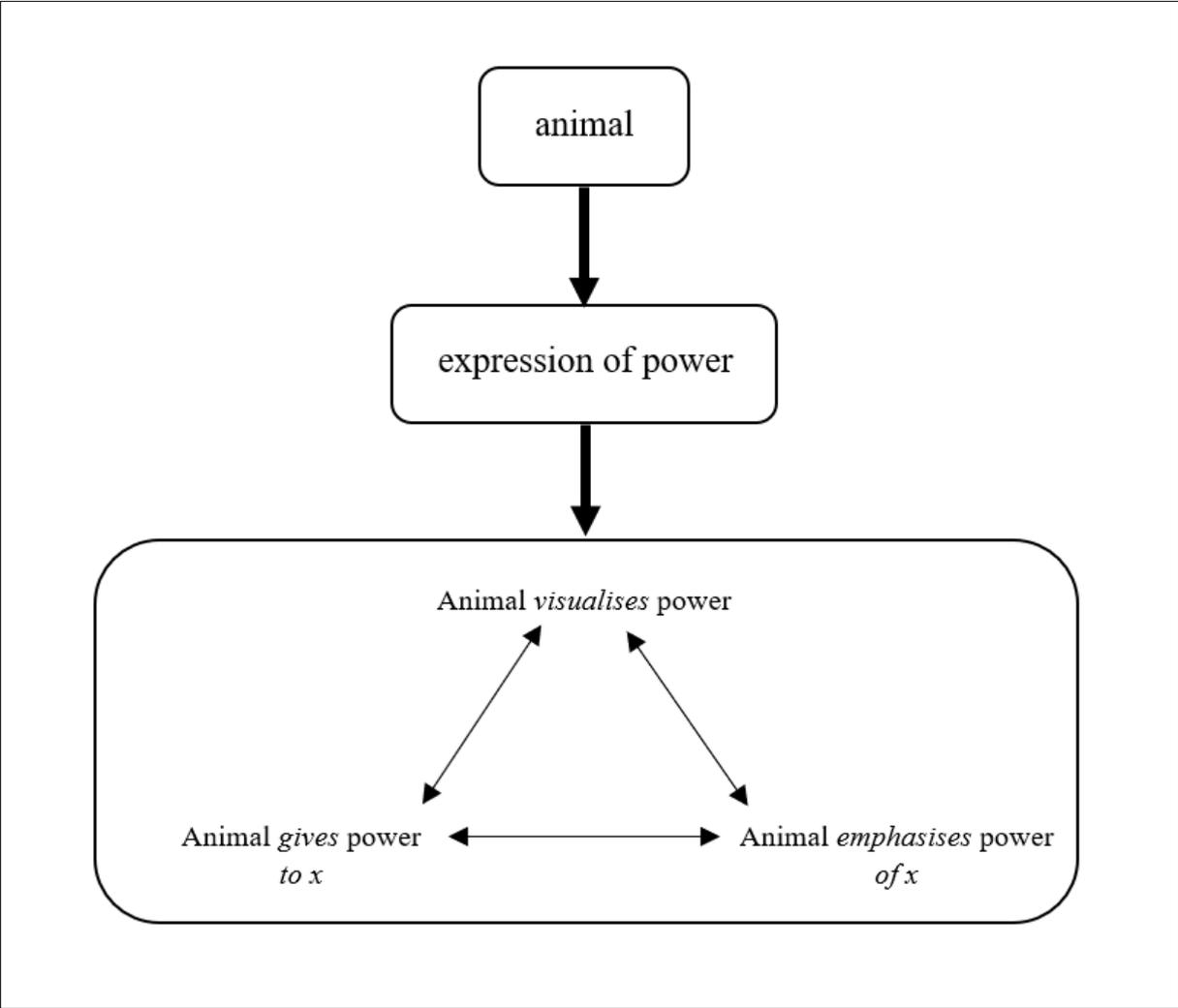


Figure 113. The powerful nature of an animal is used to express the concept of power. The animal can additionally visualise the concept *an sich*, give power to someone or something else, and / or emphasise the power of something else.

5. CONCEPTS OF TRANSITION AND REGENERATION

This chapter will look closer at the concepts of transition and regeneration. The former chapters have shown that non-indigenous animals often occur in a chaotic context or are mentioned because of their power and (therefore) protection. Apart from that, non-indigenous animals are frequently found in situations that are related to ideas of transition. The term transition is used here in a broad perspective and refers to all instances that deal with a change from one key to another, and the process(es) in-between. These ‘keys’ include transitions in state, place, time and sphere. The most important transitions that will be considered are those from life to death to resurrection; from the state of being alive in this world, to the state of being dead and resurrected in the afterworld. Consequently, the majority of this chapter focusses on religious aspects.

It has already been discussed in chapter 2.5 how the afterworld and the world of the living are related, and that this relationship is used to conceptualise the appearance of the afterworld. Additionally, it has become clear that elements of and actions in this world are used to conceptualise ideas of passage and initiation to and in the afterworld. This chapter discussed how this interplay relates to and explains the presence of non-indigenous animals in these specific contexts. Considering the importance of the various religious texts that are discussed, the main focus of this chapter lies on the Dynastic period.

Various non-indigenous animals are intimately connected to the above ascribed ideas and mechanisms of transition and regeneration. The most important ones are (wild) canids, monkeys and lions. Additionally, larger desert game, such as gazelles, ibexes and oryxes are also seen. Each of these animals will be discussed individually below. Often, the use of a species in a specific context can be explained by looking at the behaviour or appearance of these animals in the real world. However, it will become clear that the non-indigenous origin of the animals also plays an important and decisive role.

5.1 Canid deities, transition, and regeneration

Especially prominent canid gods, such as Anubis and Wepwawet, are mentioned and depicted countless times.⁸⁷³ Consequently, it is impossible to discuss all of these sources. This would also be pointless and does not provide an added value, since extensive studies on these various gods have already been published.⁸⁷⁴ DuQuesne points out that there are no incompatibilities between the various canid deities. Although they can be regarded as somewhat distinct from one another, they share many attributes: *‘these gods and goddesses are at times autonomous, but sometimes they coalesce temporally with others, and occasionally one divinity becomes merely a minor attribute of, or entirely supplants, another’*.⁸⁷⁵ From a symbolic and religious point of view, all of these canid gods are strongly connected to death and the afterlife. Almost all of them are simultaneously helpers, protectors, and purifiers⁸⁷⁶ and play crucial roles in the rites of passage of the deceased. As such, they are deeply connected to concepts of transition and regeneration.

The most important canid-deities are Anubis and Wepwawet. It has been suggested that Wepwawet was originally an aspect of Anubis, which at some point split of and assumed a more or less independent existence.⁸⁷⁷ Similarly, Khentyamentiu is considered to be a ‘quasi-independent divinity’. It is argued that he originated as a hypostasis of Anubis, after which he developed into a temporary independence, while he could still be mentioned occasionally as an epithet of Anubis.⁸⁷⁸ As such, it is likely that, at least to some extent, Wepwawet and Khentyamentiu, could be regarded as functions, rather than personalities.

Transition

The god Anubis is mentioned from the later part of the 5th Dynasty onwards, mostly in offering formulae and in the PYRAMID TEXTS. Many titles and epithets demonstrate the chthonic character of this deity, his role as lord and guardian of the dead, and his (semi-)desert habitat. He is often called *‘nb t3-dsr - Lord of the Secluded Land’* or *‘hnt.y t3-dsr - Foremost of the Secluded Land’*. It should be noted that the term *‘t3-dsr’* relates to both the necropolis,⁸⁷⁹ as well as the afterworld: it is the place reserved for those who have attained eternal life, ‘cut off’

⁸⁷³ Other rather frequently occurring canid gods are Anupet, Khentyimentiu, Duamutef and the souls of Nekhen (DuQuesne, 2007: p. 18-21).

⁸⁷⁴ See for example *‘The jackal divinities of Egypt I’* by DuQuesne (2005).

⁸⁷⁵ DuQuesne, 2005: xix.

⁸⁷⁶ DuQuesne, 2005: p. 438-440.

⁸⁷⁷ Idem: p. 397.

⁸⁷⁸ Idem: p. 389.

⁸⁷⁹ Possibly originally the necropolis of Abydos, which was also an important cult centre of Anubis (DuQuesne, 2005: p. 371).

from the community of the living.⁸⁸⁰ Furthermore, he is referred to as *'tp.y-dw=f - He who is upon his mountain'*. This epithet is thought to refer to the mountainous regions next to the Nile Valley, or the rugged terrain of the necropolis.⁸⁸¹ As a funerary god, he is often explicitly connected to the west, and therefore the necropolis and afterworld. Amongst others, he is the *'hnt.y-imn.tyw- Foremost of the Westerners'*; *'nb-imn.tyt - Lord of the West'*; and *'nb-smy.t-imn.tyt - Lord of the Western Desert'*.⁸⁸² Interestingly, these titles can also be used to refer to other canid-deities. Khentyamentiu is of course *'The Foremost of the Westerners'*. Although the title occurs indeed as an epithet to Anubis, Khentyamentiu is more often cited in his own right.⁸⁸³ Like Anubis, he can also be called *'nb-imn.tyt – Lord of the West'* and *'nb-smy.t-imn.tyt - Lord of the Western Desert'*.⁸⁸⁴ Although *'nb t3-dsr - Lord of the Secluded Land'* commonly refers to Anubis, it can also be used as an epithet of Wepwawet.⁸⁸⁵ Also, in the New Kingdom period, Wepwawet is occasionally found as a specific epithet of Anubis.⁸⁸⁶

A more earthly link between canid deities and geographical transition zones is evident in the close relationship between Wepwawet and Asyut, his main place of worship. As an important buffer-zone between Upper and Lower Egypt, and the last way station before the desert-oases⁸⁸⁷ it is an important transitional area between various geographical elements: *'The etymology of Asyut's ancient toponym-S3ww.ti 'The Guardian' refers to her unique geographical position: Situated to the south of the Gebel Abu el-Feda, the most dangerous passage of the Nile to the north of the First Cataract, and at the beginning of the desert road Darb al-Arba'in, Asyut served as a crossroad along the Egyptian trade routes. Asyut was vulnerable and open to incursions, because it provided a direct link to the South. It was therefore a site of great strategic importance for the last five millennia and was involved in wars on numerous occasions'*.⁸⁸⁸

Canid-deities are also described as openers and guards of the doors and ways to and in the afterworld, i.e. they enable the transition from this world to the next. As such, they often work together, and their function could be seen as that of protective psychopomps, guiding the deceased through the afterworld. In PT 505 various deities collaborate, so that the deceased can ascent to the sky. It is Wepwawet's job to open the ways: *'Wepwawet opens a way for me, Shu*

⁸⁸⁰ Hoffmeier, 1985: p. 85-86.

⁸⁸¹ DuQuesne, 2005: p. 160. Although a topographical connection cannot be ruled out.

⁸⁸² Idem: p. 167 & p.170-171.

⁸⁸³ Idem: p. 175.

⁸⁸⁴ DuQuesne, 2005: p. 385.

⁸⁸⁵ DuQuesne, 2005: p. 391.

⁸⁸⁶ DuQuesne, 1995: p. 41, fn. 2; Davies, 1915: p. 43.

⁸⁸⁷ DuQuesne, 2007: p. 17.

⁸⁸⁸ Kahl, 2012: p. 3.

lifts me up, the spirits of Heliopolis erect a ladder for me'.⁸⁸⁹ The opening of the way(s) should be understood as clearing the ways of and to transition of obstacles and adversaries.⁸⁹⁰ PT 302 states that the opening of the ways refers to the transition of the deceased from one world to the next: *'Wepwawet has made me fly to the sky'*.⁸⁹¹ A 12th Dynasty stela from Abydos reads: *'Greetings, Wepwawet, who separates the sky from the earth'*.⁸⁹² Furthermore, in PT 330 the king says: *'I ascend to the sky on the šdšd which is in the separation'*.⁸⁹³ In the Middle Kingdom period, Wepwawet can be called *'nb-šdšd - Lord of the šdšd'*.⁸⁹⁴ This *šdšd* refers to a curious object belonging to Wepwawet that has not been conclusively identified.⁸⁹⁵ Thus, Wepwawet (and the *šdšd*) clear the ways of transition for the deceased, and allow his ascension to the sky. The process and place of transition, described as the opening of the ways, is thus assimilated to the physical juncture between the earth and the sky, which can be interpreted as the horizontal regions or as the *3h.t*.

Anubis too plays an important role in the process of transition between worlds. He enables the ascent to the sky by his voice in PT 437. Furthermore, the *šdšd* of Wepwawet as an ascension-aid is also mentioned in the same spell, demonstrating the collaboration between Wepwawet and Anubis: *'The double doors of Aker are opened for you. The double doors of Geb are thrown back for you. You ascend at the voice of Anubis. (...) You will ascend to the sky as Horus. On the šdšd in the sky'*.⁸⁹⁶ CT 825 is a *'Spell for entering the gate of the Imhet'*⁸⁹⁷ and Anubis is mentioned as the caretaker of the gate: *'I have come in order to do my duty and in order to enter into the gate which is under the care of Anubis'*.⁸⁹⁸ Additionally, a link can be made between the gates of the afterworld and the gates to the Place of Embalming. CT 237 greatly resembles the above text, but refers to the entrance to and secrets in the Place of Embalming: *'I have come to do my duty, to enter the secret gateway into which Anubis is initiated; the secrets of the Place of Embalming belong to me, because of what is in it'*.⁸⁹⁹

⁸⁸⁹ PT 505: § 1090a-d; DuQuesne, 2005: p. 319.

⁸⁹⁰ Roeder, 1996: p. 79.

⁸⁹¹ PT 302: § 463a; DuQuesne, 2005: p. 300.

⁸⁹² Munro, 1960: p. 64, Taf. V.

⁸⁹³ PT 330: § 539a; DuQuesne, 2005: p. 302.

⁸⁹⁴ DuQuesne, 2005: p. 302; Evans, 2011: p. 105.

⁸⁹⁵ Evans, 2011: p. 103.

⁸⁹⁶ PT 437: § 796a-c, § 800a; DuQuesne, 2005: p. 311.

⁸⁹⁷ A place in the afterworld. (E.g. Darnell, 2004: p. 379).

⁸⁹⁸ CT VII, 26m (825); Faulkner, 1978: p. 15.

⁸⁹⁹ CT III, 310b-e (237); Faulkner, 1973: p. 186.

In the New Kingdom period, Anubis can be depicted as a psychopomp, leading the deceased by hand through the Hall of Ma‘at.⁹⁰⁰ Also, a vignette to BD 117 shows Anubis leading the deceased by hand towards a false door, the place in the tomb where the spirit of the deceased could enter and leave the afterworld (figure 114).⁹⁰¹ This corresponds to what can be read in CT 24. This text also deals with the theme of ‘going forth by day’ and the freedom of movement of the deceased: ‘*Anubis is upon you as your protection, Wepwawet has opened the beautiful ways for you*’.⁹⁰² Here, again, Anubis and Wepwawet work together, as protector and opener of the ways, in order for the deceased to successfully travel between this world and the next. On a vignette of the PAPYRUS OF ANI, Anubis stands in front of the tomb. He is holding the mummy of the deceased in order to lead him to his realm (figure 115).⁹⁰³

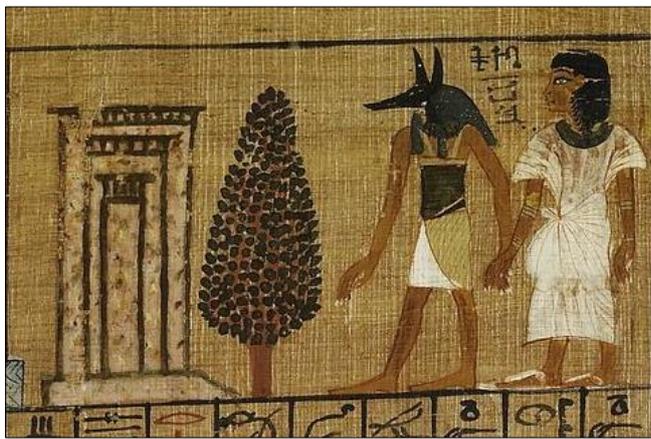


Figure 114. Left: Anubis leading the deceased by hand towards a false door. Vignette to BD 117 on the papyrus of Nakht. New Kingdom, Dynasty 18. (London BM EA 10471: sheet 8.)

Figure 115. Right: Anubis holding the mummy of the deceased in order to lead him into his realm. Vignette on the papyrus of Ani, New Kingdom, Dynasty 19. (London BM EA 10470: sheet 16.)

In addition, two figures of Anubis on a shrine are depicted on both sides of a corridor leading to the burial chamber in the tomb of Pashed in Deir el Medina (TT 3). The northern text identifies the canid as Anubis ‘*who offers his arms at the entrance of the cavern*’.⁹⁰⁴

⁹⁰⁰ As is for example seen on Pectoral London UC 7726: http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/images/2533-1/Pektoral_UC_7726_001.jpg (last accessed 24 February 2022). Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 135142, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm135142>.

⁹⁰¹ E.g. the Papyrus of Nakht (pLondon BM EA10471): figure 114; additional picture found at http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/images/16-1/BM_EA_10471_8.jpg (last accessed 24 February 2022). Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 133529, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm133529>.

⁹⁰² CT I, 74h-i (24); Faulkner, 1973: p. 15.

⁹⁰³ pLondon BM EA 10470: figure 115; additional picture found at http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/images/1172-1/BM_EA_10470_16.jpg (last accessed 24 February 2022). Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134357, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134357>.

⁹⁰⁴ Zivie, 1979: p. 29; pl. 8-9.

Furthermore, in the New Kingdom, Anubis can be called ‘*nb-r-st3w - Lord of Rosetau*’.⁹⁰⁵ The BOOK OF AMDUAT states that Anubis has access to the ways of Rosetau: ‘*The secret ways of Rosetau, the gate of the gods, only one whose voice is heard may pass them (...) The secret way to which Anubis has access in order to conceal the body of Osiris*’.⁹⁰⁶ Thus, Anubis is not merely a guardian of the physical necropolis, and the gates of the afterworld, but also of Rosetau as a metaphysical state.⁹⁰⁷

Furthermore, the tomb of Inherkau (TT 359) shows a depiction of three deities with canid-heads. The accompanying text identifies them as ‘*the Bas of the West who preside in Rosetau*’.⁹⁰⁸ It is interesting to see that Rosetau, the ‘*place of dragging*’ that is described and depicted as a desert-like part of the afterworld,⁹⁰⁹ is intimately linked to canid deities and the desert habitat of the various canid species. It has already been mentioned that, in the New Kingdom period, this ‘*place of dragging*’ can also be a reference to the sloping passage upon which the coffin of the king is dragged to the burial chamber.⁹¹⁰ From the New Kingdom onwards, the actual act of dragging of the solar bark in the afterworld can be performed by canid-entities. In the textual record, the theme is first attested in the 18th Dynasty, in the last text of the Third Hour of the AMDUAT: ‘*the unique one rises up for you, alone, at the towing-rope that the jackals moor*’.⁹¹¹ The iconography shows the theme from the 19th dynasty onwards, and is seen for the first time at Medinet Habu. Here, two canid deities are depicted with a descriptive text: ‘*dragging by the Western Bas*’.⁹¹² Various other tomb paintings and papyri show and describe a team of canid-deities guiding and ‘opening the ways’ for the deceased in this particular manner. A depiction in the tomb of Inerkhau (TT 359) shows the deceased kneeling before four black canids (figure 116). The accompanying text identifies them as towers of the bark and describes their function. These entities assist the deceased during his transition between this world and the next: ‘*Hail to you four jackals who tow the bark, in order to descent from the sky to the Duat. You who report at the mysterious shrine, and traverse the Duat in your mystery. May you tow the Osiris, foreman of the Hall of Maat, Inherkau, in the golden bark. Up to the Lord of ʿnh.t*’.⁹¹³

⁹⁰⁵ Spiegel, 1973: p. 170: Florence 1555 & 2508; Zivie-Coche, 1976: p. 191.

⁹⁰⁶ DuQuesne, 1991: p. 13; Hornung, 1963: I, p. 64-65; II, p. 82-83.

⁹⁰⁷ DuQuesne, 2005: p. 384.

⁹⁰⁸ Cherpion & Corteggiani: 2010: I, p. 222; II, p. 61: pl. 90.

⁹⁰⁹ See above, p. 92-93.

⁹¹⁰ See above, p. 97.

⁹¹¹ Roulin, 1996: I, p. 332; Hornung, 1963: II, p. 74, 76: rem. 13; Hornung, 1987: I, p. 316-317; wild canid/jackal/wolf: *s3b*.

⁹¹² Epigraphic Survey, 1963: MH VI, II pl. 422c.

⁹¹³ Cherpion & Corteggiani, 2010: I, p. 247; II, p. 78: pl. 121; DuQuesne, 2012: p. 9; wild canid/jackal/wolf: *s3b*.

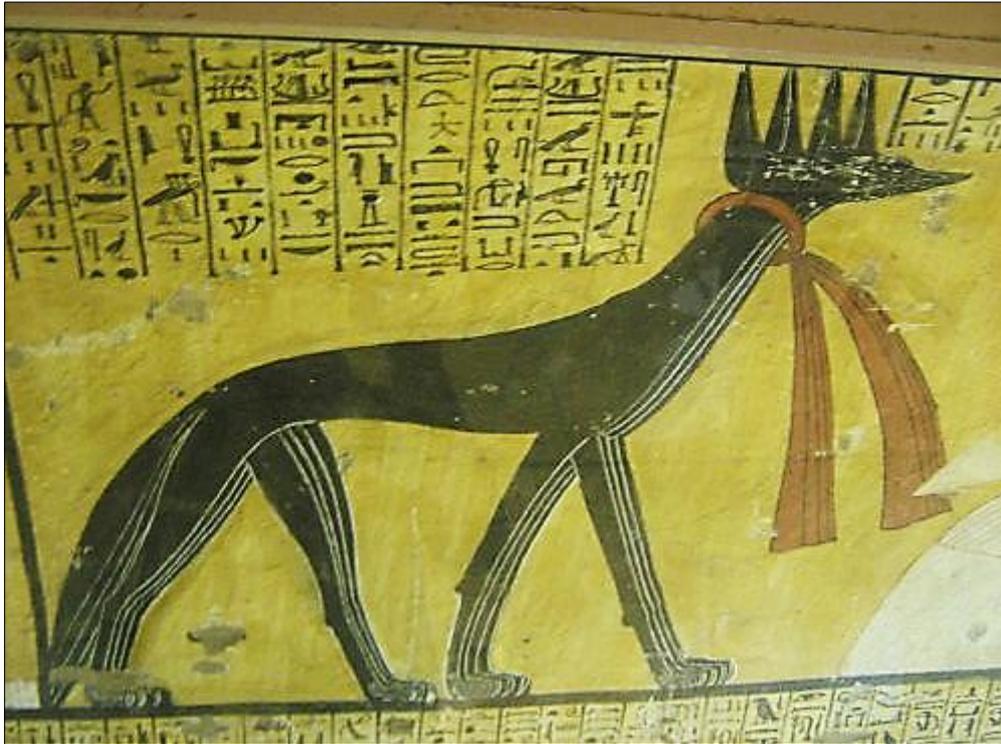


Figure 116. Four black canids in the tomb of Inherkau (TT 359) at Deir el-Medina. New Kingdom, Dynasty 20.

BERLIN STELA 7306 also mentioned these canid-deities and their function as rope-towers. Furthermore, an additional characteristic of these entities is mentioned: they rejoice at the arrival of the sun bark. As such, they empower the sun bark by acclamation and speed it on its way:⁹¹⁴ *‘Re sets in the night bark, manned by the ‘Inexhaustible Ones’. The jackals are gathered at the tow-rope: as they pull you your heart is glad, until you rest at the horizon of the Western Mountain. The transfigured ones, the Western Bas, rejoice as your majesty approaches, for they see you coming in peace, in your nobility as a Ba in the sky’.*⁹¹⁵

The Western Bas are also portrayed in the BOOK OF DAY and described and depicted in Hour Twelve of the BOOK OF NIGHT⁹¹⁶: *‘The Western bas: these are the gods of the flat-lands and hill-countries of the western 3h.t and Heliopolis(?)’. It is they who guide the bark of Re through the sky. The western country whose name is Rbw.⁹¹⁷ This is their country’.*⁹¹⁸ These canid-entities thus belong to the west, the 3h.t, the night, and the sunset.⁹¹⁹ The canids ‘open the ways’ by means of dragging the solar bark, and acclamation. Thereby, they effectively function as

⁹¹⁴ DuQuesne, 2012: p. 12.

⁹¹⁵ Berlin stela 7306: Assmann, 1995: p. 44; DuQuesne, 2012: p. 12; wild canid/jackal/wolf: *s3b*.

⁹¹⁶ See below, p. 237-239 and figure 126 & 127.

⁹¹⁷ ‘Libya’: Darnell, 2004: p. 9 fn. 39.

⁹¹⁸ Roulin, 1996: II, p. 152-153; Piankoff, 1954: p. 426-427; DuQuesne, 1998: p. 87-89.

⁹¹⁹ Assmann, 1969: p. 54.

guides and protectors of the necropolis, the west, the *ꜣh.t*, the afterworld, the deceased, and the sun god. As such, these deities are important characters in the transitional cycle from death to rebirth. Furthermore, a clear link is seen between the non-indigenous Western Desert as the habitat of real wild canid species and the semi-unknown, ‘end of the world’ country of Libya, obviously located to the west of Egypt.

Regeneration

Canid-deities thus play an important role in the transition from one state to another, which, as has been demonstrated, includes the transition from one place to another. These crossings consist of the transition from the realm of the living to the realm of the dead, and the transition from the realm of the dead to the realm of the gods.⁹²⁰ In the case of the latter transition, canid deities also play key roles in various actions and rituals that are needed to restore and ‘resurrect’ the life of the deceased, and allow for a successful and enduring transition to the afterlife and acceptance into the realm of the gods. For this, both the physical body as well as the ‘social person’, i.e. the honour and rank of the deceased, had to be restored.⁹²¹ The deceased has to ‘pass’ safely through judgement, in order to enter and endure in the realm of the gods. In this respect, the Judgement of the Dead should be understood as a transitional ritual, a rite of passage. As such, aspects that relate to the physical person, i.e. embalming, mummification, the opening of the mouth, the placement in the coffin, the burial, the freedom of movement, and provisioning, are intimately connected to aspects that relate to the social person in the form of his vindication at the Judgement of the Dead.⁹²² Assmann explains this interconnection by stating that vindication should be seen as ‘moral mummification’:⁹²³ *‘Guilt, accusation, enmity, and so forth are treated as forms of impurity and decay—as, so to say, immaterial but harmful substances—that must be eliminated so as to transpose the deceased into a condition of purity that can withstand decay and dissolution’.*⁹²⁴ This interrelationship is perfectly exemplified by the functions of Anubis: *‘The figure of the god Anubis, who plays a major role in both themes, clarifies their inner connection. On the one hand, he was the god of the embalming process, working together with Isis and Nephthys in the endeavour to restore the corpse and breathe life into the deceased. On the other hand, he was the master of the scale, and he appears in every single representation of the Judgment of the Dead and the weighing of the heart’.*⁹²⁵ The whole

⁹²⁰ Assmann, 2002: p. 125.

⁹²¹ Assmann, 2005: p. 282.

⁹²² Assmann, 2005: p. 298.

⁹²³ See also above, p. 102.

⁹²⁴ Assmann, 2005: p. 75.

⁹²⁵ Assmann, 2005: p. 282.

process of embalming and mummification is indeed a process of transition between death and resurrection. Anubis, as an embalmer, is responsible for the purification and preservation of the body of the deceased. Additionally, the act of embalming should be seen as an act of ‘re-membering’: bringing the body back together as a whole.⁹²⁶ Anubis removes the bodily secretions and prevents the body from decaying. This is mentioned in CT 755, which is called ‘*A man is not to putrefy in the realm of the dead*’. Here, Anubis is mentioned in his function as embalmer: ‘*do not decay in this your name of Anubis; do not drip on the ground in this your name of jackal*’.⁹²⁷ He also washes the entrails of the deceased, which is necessary for the transition to the sky: ‘*May he ascend to the sky (...) his inner organs have been washed by Anubis*’.⁹²⁸ Additionally, he protects the organs that have been removed: ‘*that is Anubis, he (is) behind the chest that contains the entrails of Osiris*’.⁹²⁹ He makes sure that the deceased does not smell bad: ‘*Anubis makes your smell sweet in front of your seat in the Divine Booth*’.⁹³⁰ The god places the heart back into the body of the deceased: ‘*I bring you your heart and give it to you in its place in your body*’.⁹³¹ Furthermore, he protects and preserves the body by wrapping it in linen: ‘*Anubis the embalmer will swathe you with wrappings from the hand of Tayt*’,⁹³² thereby simultaneously covering and hiding it: ‘*in order to conceal the body of Osiris*’.⁹³³ After the embalming and mummification, the ceremony of the opening the mouth was performed at the entrance to the tomb.⁹³⁴ The vignettes to BD 1 show a figure of Anubis who supports the standing mummy from behind.⁹³⁵ This figure most likely represents a priest wearing a mask, who acts as Anubis.⁹³⁶ Anubis himself is also seen as the opener of the mouth, for example in the tomb of Nakhtamun (TT 335) in Deir el-Medina (figure 117)⁹³⁷ or in the tomb of Seti I.⁹³⁸ Also, one of the adzes that are used to open the mouth can be named after the

⁹²⁶ Assmann, 2002: p. 129.

⁹²⁷ CT VI, 384p-q (755); Faulkner, 1977: p. 288.

⁹²⁸ PT 509: §1122a-c; DuQuesne, 2005: p. 320.

⁹²⁹ BD 17: Lapp, 2004: pl. 43: 17, 96; Hornung, 1979: p. 74 (335); Quirke, 2013: p. 62 (Based on the version in the Papyrus of Nebseny, pLondon BM EA 9900).

⁹³⁰ CT I, 195g (45); Faulkner, 1973: p. 39.

⁹³¹ Beinlich & Saleh, 1989: p. 92, 261: line 2; Assmann, 2005: p. 102. Said by Anubis on his shrine (Cairo JE 61444) found in the tomb of Tutankhamun.

⁹³² CT IV, 375a+d (345): B1P; Faulkner, 1973: p. 280.

⁹³³ Amduat Hour 4: Hornung, 1963: I, p. 65; II, p. 82-83; DuQuesne, 1991: p. 13.

⁹³⁴ Hays, 2010: p. 7; Assmann, 2005: p. 310.

⁹³⁵ E.g. on the papyrus of Hunefer: pLondon BM EA 9901: http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/images/1166-1/BM_EA_9901_5.jpg (last accessed 24 February 2022). Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134351, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134351>.

⁹³⁶ Assmann, 2005: p. 310.

⁹³⁷ Figure 117; see also Servajean, 2011: pl. 8: 27/B.

⁹³⁸ Hornung, 1991: p. 228, pl. 164. (Unfortunately, the figure of Anubis is not visible on the published depiction, but his name and adze are seen).

god: *'I opened for you your mouth with the adze of Anubis'*.⁹³⁹ Although the name of Anubis is phonetically spelled out in two instances, other examples only show a variety of canid logograms. The canid-on-the-standard sign⁹⁴⁰ occurs most frequently, and is already seen in the PYRAMID TEXTS in a similar context.⁹⁴¹ The act of opening the mouth gives the deceased the ability to speak again and defend himself at the Judgement of the Dead.⁹⁴² As such, it becomes clear that canid deities are linked to the general idea of 'opening' and transition: not only as an 'Opener of the Ways', but also as an 'Opener of the Mouth'.



Figure 117. Anubis as an 'Opener of the Mouth' in the tomb of Nakhtamun (TT 335) in Deir el-Medina. New Kingdom, Dynasty 19.

Canid deities explained

For a big part, the close connection between canid gods and ideas of transition and regeneration can be explained by a combination of (foreign) habitat and the behaviour of real canid species. However, before discussing these aspects more thoroughly, it is useful to elaborate upon the relationship between the 'canid-deities' and real animals. Although there is an overall consensus that these gods indeed represent canids, scholars disagree about which specific canid species are described and depicted. However, the majority agrees that jackals or the African wolf are represented. Pouls Wegner, for example, believes that Wepwawet can be identified as the black-backed jackal (*Canis mesomelas*)⁹⁴³ and DuQuesne claims that the African wolf

⁹³⁹ Otto, 1960: I, p. 58, 26d6-7; II, p. 106: Szene 46c.

⁹⁴⁰ Gardiner, 1957: p. 460, no. E18; Davies, 1943: II, pl. CVI(5).

⁹⁴¹ PT 21: § 13c; DuQuesne (2005, p. 293) reads *'adze of Wepwawet'*, but the name is not spelled out phonetically, meaning that it cannot be said for sure if a deity is meant here and if so which one.

⁹⁴² Hays, 2010: p. 7-8; Willems, 1996: p. 80-81.

⁹⁴³ Pouls Wegner, 2007: p. 139-150.

(*Canis lupaster*⁹⁴⁴) is the most likely candidate for Anubis, although he does not rule out the black-backed jackal as another possibility.⁹⁴⁵ Other scholars, e.g. Evans, believe that these canid gods do not represent a particular canid species, but should rather be seen as a synthesis, and thus a hybrid, of all the canid species the Egyptians were familiar with.⁹⁴⁶ This idea seems quite plausible, especially when one compares depictions of dogs and ‘normal wild canids’ that are seen in the iconography, with the depictions of the canine gods. The slender, tucked-up abdomen of the canine gods is a feature that is frequently seen as a characteristic of hunting dogs, but is not emphasised in depictions of the ‘normal’ wild canids that are occasionally part of a desert hunt scene (figure 118).⁹⁴⁷ Furthermore, the ears of the canine deities are quite large and mostly resemble the ears of foxes.⁹⁴⁸ Also, the black colour of Anubis does not correspond to the normal colour of any of these canid species, which indicates that more abstract ideas are visualised, instead of a real animal.⁹⁴⁹



Figure 118. Figure 118. A domestic dog (left) attacking a wild canid (right) in the tomb chapel of Raemkai. Saqqara, Old Kingdom, Dynasty 5. (New York MMA 08.201.1g.)

⁹⁴⁴ Formerly known as the Egyptian jackal (see above, p. 47-49).

⁹⁴⁵ DuQuesne, 2005: p. 2 & fn. 8. However, two years later DuQuesne (2007: p. 20-21) seems to contradict his previous opinion, by stating that the golden jackal (*Canis aureus*) and black-backed jackal (*Canis mesomelas*) most closely resemble the animals who stands for these gods. The ‘Egyptian jackal’ has recently been renamed into ‘Egyptian wolf’ (Koepfli et al., 2015; Hoffmann & Atickem, 2019; see above p. 47-49).

⁹⁴⁶ Evans, 2008: p. 22 & fn. 26; Evans, 2011: p. 104.

⁹⁴⁷ Evans, 2010: p. 120-124. Especially fig. 8-20 – 8-28.

⁹⁴⁸ Evans, 2008, p. 18.

⁹⁴⁹ Evans, 2008, p. 22.

This ambiguity is probably intentional, since Egyptian representations of animals, for example the ones depicted at the desert hunt scenes, are usually more specific and identifiable.⁹⁵⁰ This apparent hybrid form of the canid deities perfectly represents ideas of transition. The fact that characteristics of both the indigenous domestic dog as well as non-indigenous canids are evident in the representations of these canid gods puts an emphasis on the dichotomy and ambivalence between the different habitational zones of the Nile Valley and the desert regions. Simultaneously, an emphasis is put on the dichotomy between domesticated and wild animals. As such, a bridge is created between the ordinary domestic dog of everyday life, and the less ordered and ordinary wild canids.⁹⁵¹ Furthermore, various canid species are closely related: *'Canines are rare in spanning wild and tame easily and comprehensively, and in offering gradations between the two'*.⁹⁵² The canid-hybrid is therefore neither one species nor the other, neither wild nor domesticated, neither chaotic nor orderly, neither an inhabitant of the Nile Valley nor the desert: he is 'in-between', and therefore also in-between worlds (figure 120). Furthermore, all the real animals that are combined in the canid hybrid can be found at topographical places of transition. The non-indigenous canids, such as jackals, wolves and foxes, are known to occasionally infiltrate the desert-edge zones or the Nile Valley searching for food or shelter.⁹⁵³ This also means, that the ancient Egyptians could have encountered them not that far away from their homes, which indicates that a certain degree of familiarity with these animals existed. More specifically, these wild canids, but also feral dogs, could be found at the human burial sites that were usually located on the edge of the desert. As such, it is not a surprise that the canid deities are connected to the necropolis, afterworld, and the border-zone between this life and the next: *'the canine guardian of the dynastic period occupies a marginal zone both in space and in time, in space through its habitat on the low desert, and thus in the realm of the dead, and in time through the transition from this life to the next'*.⁹⁵⁴ Apart from the fact that all these animals were actually encountered at border-zone locations, their strong symbolic connection with burial, death and the afterlife can be further explained by looking at shared behavioural traits. Evans has suggested that food burial, a behavioural trait that is typical for all canid species, can be seen as the major reason for the use of canids as a representation of a mortuary deity such as Anubis.⁹⁵⁵ Moreover, this behaviour is unique for canid species and

⁹⁵⁰ Wilfong, 2015: p. 13.

⁹⁵¹ Baines, 1993: p. 68.

⁹⁵² Baines, 1993: p. 66.

⁹⁵³ Kingdon et al., 2013: V, p. 32-33, 37-38, 41; Osborn & Helmy, 1980: p. 370; see also above (p. 132-133) for examples of infiltrating canids in the literary texts.

⁹⁵⁴ Baines, 1993: p. 68.

⁹⁵⁵ Evans, 2008: p. 20-24.

is not seen in other animals:⁹⁵⁶ *‘Dogs, wolves, jackals, and foxes frequently store excess food by digging a shallow hole, placing the meat within it, and then re-depositing the displaced soil. The ritualized movements and care with which the task is performed may have reminded the early Egyptians of their own treatment of the dead’.*⁹⁵⁷ This means, that all the canid species are *‘an appropriate symbol for a god associated with the preparation and safe burial of the dead’.*⁹⁵⁸ Furthermore, the link between these animals and the concept of transition can be explained by looking at another behavioural trait that is also specific for canids: *‘One of the many characteristics that all of the canid family share is their use of dens in which to rest, give birth, and rear their pups’.*⁹⁵⁹ Again, this type of behaviour is characteristic for all canid species, such as wolves, jackals, foxes and even feral dogs.⁹⁶⁰ Indeed, all the species that are likely iconographically represented by the canid-gods. Jackals, wolves and feral dogs prefer man-made structures, natural places or already existing animal dens over digging a burrow themselves.⁹⁶¹ Foxes more often dig a den themselves, but also use ruins, tombs and quarries as denning locations.⁹⁶² Abandoned tombs form perfect denning locations, especially for wolves, jackals and foxes.⁹⁶³ Thus, apart from their denning and digging behaviour, these animals are also found undertaking these activities in necropolis sites.

It has already been mentioned that Wepwawet can be called the ‘Lord of the *šdšd*’, and that this *šdšd* is difficult to identify.⁹⁶⁴ Evans sees a close resemblance between the *šdšd*-object and iconographic representations of animal burrows.⁹⁶⁵ Consequently, the *šdšd* can be identified as the den of the canid with which it appears.⁹⁶⁶ As such, it is suggested that Wepwawet’s name indirectly refers to the burrowing behaviour of canids: *‘Wepwawet is the one who –by the act of digging- removes obstacles to open a way forward’.*⁹⁶⁷ In this respect, the deity is

⁹⁵⁶ Evans, 2008: p. 19-24: as opposed to the carrion behaviour of jackals that is often proposed as the main explanation for the presence of canid deities in Egyptian religion. However, this behaviour is also seen at other animals, such as hyenas and pigs (Evans, 2008: p. 19-20). Moreover: *‘given the generally beneficial relationship that has always existed between humans and canids, it seems more plausible that the Anubis animal is the manifestation of a characteristic or behaviour that might be viewed in a more positive light’* (idem, p. 20).

⁹⁵⁷ Evans, 2011: p. 115.

⁹⁵⁸ Evans, 2008: p. 22.

⁹⁵⁹ Evans, 2011: p. 111.

⁹⁶⁰ Evans, 2011: p. 112; Osborn & Helmy, 1980: p. 370 & 378.

⁹⁶¹ Jhala & Moehlman, 2004: p. 160; Loveridge & Nel, 2004: p. 165; Osborn & Helmy, 1980: p. 370.

⁹⁶² Osborn & Helmy, 1980: p. 378; Hoath, 2009: p. 75: the red fox is considered *‘a common species frequently encountered even at major sites such as the Step Pyramid’.*

⁹⁶³ Osborn & Helmy, 1980: p. 370, 378.

⁹⁶⁴ See above, p. 205.

⁹⁶⁵ Evans, 2011: p. 103-115; see Harpur & Scremin (2010: p. 264, 270-271) for examples of animals and their burrows; other authors have interpreted the *šdšd* of Wepwawet as the king’s placenta (initially proposed by Frankfort (1978, p. 71).

⁹⁶⁶ Evans, 2011: especially p. 111.

⁹⁶⁷ Evans, 2011: p. 114.

symbolically greatly related to the concepts of transition and liminality. In the ‘real world’ this space ‘(...) was viewed as the earthen cavity (grave) into which the body of the deceased was placed and, on the celestial plane, the void between earth and sky through which the dead king passed on his way to the stars’.⁹⁶⁸ More concretely, this ‘interspace’ refers to the topographical and environmental juncture between the Nile Valley and the desert; the earthly juncture between this world and the next; and the junction between the earth and the sky. Although the digging or ‘opening’ behaviour itself does not specifically refer to non-indigenous locations, the symbolic interpretation clearly refers to ‘border zones’: the desert-edge; the necropolis and the tomb; and the *3h.t*. Therefore, the combination of all these discussed aspects makes a canid hybrid the perfect representative for ideas of transition and regeneration (figure 119 and 120).

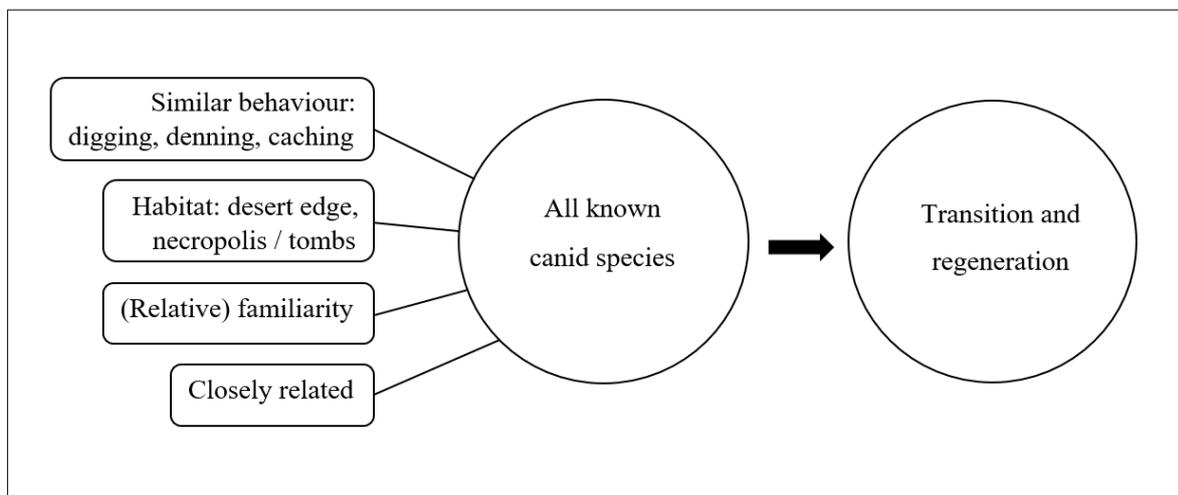


Figure 119. (The combination of) all known canids express ideas of transition and regeneration, amongst others because of several shared characteristics.

⁹⁶⁸ Evans, 2011: p. 115.

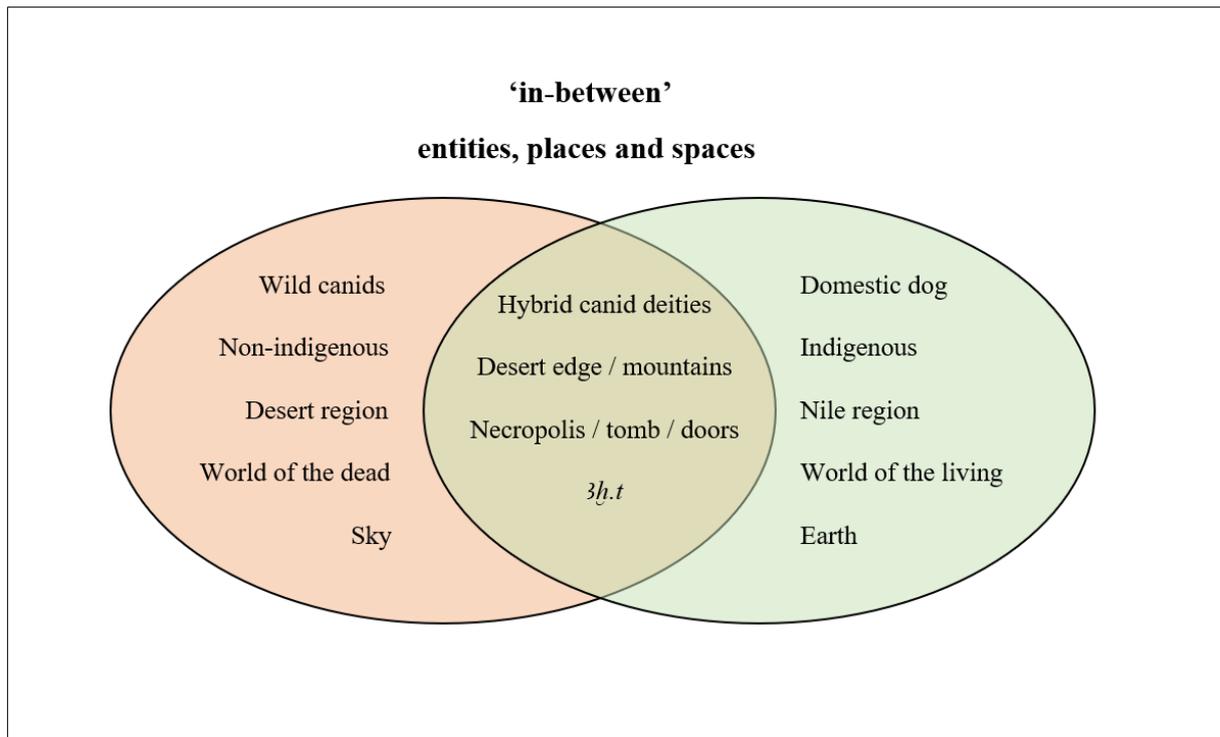


Figure 120. ‘In-between’ entities, places and spaces as transitional agents and elements.

5.2 Lions, transition and regeneration

The former chapters have demonstrated that lions are feared but also praised, because of their strength, power and (therefore) protection. Especially the protective or apotropaic function of the lion is simultaneously heavily related to ideas of passage (i.e. transition). Not only the power, but also the non-indigenous character and habitat of the animal plays an important role in this conceptualisation. Just as the wild canid species, these animals could be found in the semi-desert regions on each side of the Nile Valley, on the border zone between human settlement and the desert region. They were encountered during desert hunts, expeditions abroad, or as infiltrating predators into the Nile region looking for (easy) prey.

De Wit makes a distinction between ‘authentic lions’ and ‘secondary lions’. The first category consists of lion deities that can be considered true lions, whereas the lion characteristic of the second category can be explained by assimilation and syncretism. Several of these genuine lion entities are female, and the cult of lioness goddesses is older than the cult of lion gods.⁹⁶⁹ Lange mentions that the oldest and longest lasting cults are attested in the south and south-eastern Delta region, near the entrance to the Wadi Tumilat. Here, lions may have found a suitable environment and were in contact with humans.⁹⁷⁰ Certainly, the eastern and western Delta

⁹⁶⁹ De Wit, 1951: p. 466-467.

⁹⁷⁰ Lange, 2016: p. 316-317.

regions on the fringes of the desert would have attracted lions, but the semi-desert habitat of lions is situated much closer to the settlement area in Upper Egypt than in the Delta region. Lange believes this early focus on the Delta is heavily related to the presence of large amounts of livestock in this region: ‘(...) *the Delta was the raising ground for large herds of cattle, it was these artificial concentrations which made the fringes of the Delta a highly attractive hunting ground for prides of lions*’.⁹⁷¹ This would also explain the early focus on lionesses instead of lions. Female lions are much more observably, because they hunt in groups and in (semi) open areas with low growing vegetation. Male lions, on the other hand, hunt alone in a denser landscape.⁹⁷² It is remarkable to see a lioness goddess at almost every big wadi mouth,⁹⁷³ and several of these true lioness goddesses have relatable titles. Sekhmet can be called ‘*the mistress at the head of the desert valley*’.⁹⁷⁴ At Deir el-Gebrawi, which is located at the entrances of several wadi’s leading to quarries, Matit is worshipped as ‘*the mistress of Bkm.t*’.⁹⁷⁵ The same is true for Pakhet, who was venerated at Wadi Batn al-Baqara near Deir el-Bahri, also a wadi and quarry area. This goddess can be called: ‘*the great one, who roams the desert valleys in the east*’⁹⁷⁶ and ‘*the great, mistress of Sr.t, in her temple of the inaccessible desert valley, which she hewed out herself*’.⁹⁷⁷ Apparently, Pakhet used her sharp claws to carve out rocks out of the mountain in the desert valley.⁹⁷⁸ Thus, lions are associated with the geographical and topographical transitional zones between the Nile Valley and the desert. Likewise, the lion imagery find on furniture, such as thrones, (funerary) beds and headrests (figure 121)⁹⁷⁹ can also be connected to ideas of transition between two ‘worlds’, spheres and states: the realm of the king and the commoner;⁹⁸⁰ the dead and the living; the asleep and the awake:⁹⁸¹ ‘*He naturally comes in the best position to be the key symbol for the passage from one world to the other, to enter a sacred area (sphinxes), the underworld (Rw.ty lions), and to approach the king (guarding his thrones)*’.⁹⁸² Furthermore, it has already been demonstrated

⁹⁷¹ Lange, 2016: p. 317.

⁹⁷² Ibid.; Kingdon et al., 2013: V, p. 153-154; Lange, 2016: p. 317.

⁹⁷³ De Wit, 1951: p. 285.

⁹⁷⁴ pSallier IV, verso 1.9: Dils, P. in: TLA.

⁹⁷⁵ Tomb of Henqu: Davies, 1902: II, pl. XXIV, 2; De Wit, 1951: p. 299.

⁹⁷⁶ Goedicke, 2004: line 19 (from the right); p. 16 & 91.

⁹⁷⁷ Fairman & Grdseloff, 1947: p. 21; pl. III & IV.

⁹⁷⁸ Idem: p. 14-15.

⁹⁷⁹ E.g. Cairo JE 62020 (figure 121), 62011 & 62028: The Griffith Institute, Burton photograph no. p1236,

p2009, p0154: <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/403c-p1236.html>;

<http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/035-p2009.html>; <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/091-p0154.html>

last accessed 24 February 2022), all found in the tomb of Tutankhamun; see also above, p. 185.

⁹⁸⁰ The king ‘*se montre ainsi à ses sujets tout comme le soleil qui se lève à l’horizon, entre les deux lions*’ (De Wit, 1951: p. 159).

⁹⁸¹ Although sleeping is considered equivalent to a journey in the afterworld (Schlichting, 1984: p. 642-643 = LÄ, V: ‘*Schlaf*’).

⁹⁸² Beaux, 2015: p. 71.

that, at least from the New Kingdom onwards, the lion guardians of the afterworld can be equated to the eastern and western mountains of the *3h.t*, and these can simultaneously be seen as the transition points between the sky and the afterworld.⁹⁸³ In the tomb of Ramses X, the two mountains are called ‘*3h.t* of the east - *3h.t i3b.t*’ and ‘*3h.t* of the west - *3ht imn.t*’.⁹⁸⁴ In the BOOK OF THE DEAD, iconographic representations of *rw.ty*, the double lion, clearly mirror the shape of the mountain(s). The lions can be called ‘Mountain of the West – *m3n.w*’ and ‘Mountain of the East – *b3h.w*’,⁹⁸⁵ or ‘Yesterday – *sf*’ and ‘Tomorrow – *dw3w*’ (figure 122).⁹⁸⁶



Figure 121. Double-lion imagery on a headrest from the tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62). New Kingdom, Dynasty 18. (Cairo JE 62020.)

⁹⁸³ See above, p. 96-96 and p. 187.

⁹⁸⁴ Rosellini, 1844: no. LXV.

⁹⁸⁵ pParis Louvre N. 3292: http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/images/1400-1/Paris_louvre_N_3292_006.jpg (last accessed 24 February 2022). Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134582, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134582>. This papyrus is dated to the 21 Dynasty.

⁹⁸⁶ pLondon BM EA 10470: figure 122; additional picture found at http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/images/1172-1/BM_EA_10470_7.jpg (last accessed 24 February 2022). Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134357, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134357>. Interestingly, lion-leopard hybrids are depicted. This perfectly demonstrates the close relationship between concepts of power, and transition and regeneration. Indeed, multiple concepts are at work at the same time; see also above, p. 181.



Figure 122. The double lion, Yesterday and Tomorrow, mirroring the eastern and western mountains and supporting the sky and the *3h.t*. Vignette on the papyrus of Ani, Dynasty 19. BM EA 10470: sheet 7.

As such, the horizontal regions of the east and the west are also considered places of transition between days, and between day and night. Thus, the lions are likened to the general appearance of the *3h.t*-sign and guard the gates of these horizontal regions, where the daily resurrection of the sun god takes place. The vignettes in the BOOK OF THE DEAD show them as two lions sitting back to back, sometimes supporting the *3h.t*, sometimes the sky, and sometimes the sun disk.⁹⁸⁷ Every day the sun defeats the forces of evil and darkness, and is reborn after it has passed between the double lion. The lion statues and imagery often situated at temple entrances are additional representations of the same idea, especially because the temple can be seen as a small version of the cosmos.⁹⁸⁸

The power of the lion can also be used to symbolise the power of the sun god himself, thereby emphasising his regenerative qualities. Sekhmet for example, as the Eye of Re, represents the wrath of the god. Furthermore, in the BOOK OF THE DEAD, the sun god himself is a lion: '*I am the one who travels the sky. I am the lion, Re. I am the aurochs*'.⁹⁸⁹ The lion, as a solar animal, is therefore intimately connected to the idea of rebirth and regeneration. This is, in fact, the most important form of transition and passage: from this world and this life to the next. The lion guardian, with his white mouth and flat head that has been mentioned in chapter four⁹⁹⁰ is

⁹⁸⁷ Sundisc: pParis Louvre N. 3292 (see above, fn. 985); *3h.t*: pLondon BM EA 10470 (see above, figure 122 and fn. 986); sky: pDublin MS 1661: http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/images/1158-1/Dublin_TC_1661_5.jpg (last accessed 24 February 2022). Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134343, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134343>.

⁹⁸⁸ See above, p. 98 & fn. 343 and p. 184-186 for examples.

⁹⁸⁹ Lapp, 2004: pl. 11: 62, 5-6; Quirke, 2013: p. 149; Backes, B. in: TLA. Based on the version in the Papyrus of Nebseny (pLondon BM EA 9900); see also above, p. 183; lion: *rw*, aurochs: *sm3*.

⁹⁹⁰ See above, p. 188.

identified further on in BD 17: *'The lion with white mouth and flat head: that is the phallus of Osiris. Variant: that is the phallus of Re'*.⁹⁹¹ Here too, the power of the lion is compared to the sun god, who has the power to procreate again every day. The two lions in their forms as Yesterday and Tomorrow can also be identified as Osiris and Re, and therefore represent both the dead as well as the resurrected sun: *'Yesterday belongs to me, I know tomorrow (...) Yesterday is Osiris, Tomorrow is Re'*.⁹⁹²

During the night, the sun god travels through the underworld. He ultimately unites himself with Osiris, his corpse, and gains the power of regeneration. Every morning *'he emerges from the realm of the dead, rejuvenated and glorious, as on the "first occasion"'*.⁹⁹³ It can thus be said that *'in Osiris and Re, the beginning is joined to the end, as are yesterday and tomorrow'*.⁹⁹⁴ This is also exemplified in BD 15IIIB: *'Re sets in the western mountain, he lights the underworld with his rays. This means: Re rests in Osiris; Osiris rests in Re, this means'*.⁹⁹⁵

It becomes clear, that the lion and the double lions can be visualisations of specific aspects of the sun god. In this respect, the western and eastern *3h.t* and mountains too should not be seen as two complete opposites, but as parts of a whole. The horizontal regions denote the two poles of the 'solar axis', both as a duality as well as a unity. This corresponds to the idea of a single transitional gate, covering both the east and the west into one idea of transition *par excellence*.⁹⁹⁶ Thus, apart from being powerful creatures, both 'real' lions, as well as gods and entities with lion characteristics are encountered on the fringes of the desert: the border between the known and the unknown; between order and chaos; between the realm of the living and realm of the dead. In this respect, a clear overlap and relationship can be seen between real lions and their natural habitat, and the lion entities of the afterworld. Indeed, the lion can be seen as *'a powerful watching creature at the edge of the world, whether temporal or spatial. It is on the threshold of life, of time, of space, guarding it. It is the key to a proper transition in whichever dimension'*.⁹⁹⁷ This close connection between lions as powerful apotropaic figures, solar animals, agents of resurrection, and (aspects of) the sun god himself is summarised by De

⁹⁹¹ Lapp, 2004: pl. 44: 17, 106-107; Quirke, 2013: p. 63, Section 33. Based on the version in the Papyrus of Nebseny (pLondon BM EA 9900); lion: *rw*.

⁹⁹² BD 17: Lapp, 2004: pl. 38: 17, 8-9; Quirke, 2013: p. 55, Section 33. Based on the version in the Papyrus of Nebseny (pLondon BM EA 9900); De Wit, 1951: p. 126; Willems, 1997: p. 362.

⁹⁹³ Assmann, 2005: p. 186.

⁹⁹⁴ Assmann, 2005: p. 187-188.

⁹⁹⁵ pCairo JE 95838 (Dynasty 21): Assmann, 1969: p. 93, Assmann, 2015: p. 186 & fn. 5; DuQuesne, 2006: p. 30.

⁹⁹⁶ Assmann, 1970: p. 33-34.

⁹⁹⁷ Beaux, 2015: p. 71.

Wit as follows: '*Le double lion s'assimile à ces portes et devient ipso facto gardien de l'Autre Monde (...) Epousant l'allure générale du signe 3h.t et gardien des portes de l'horizon, où s'effectue la résurrection journalière du dieu-soleil, le double lion, d'abord simple dépositaire des secrets d'outre-tombe, va être assimilé au dieu-soleil lui-mêmes*'.⁹⁹⁸

5.3 Monkeys, transition and regeneration

Although various sources depict several kinds of monkeys throughout the whole discussed period, there is no proof that monkeys were indigenous to Egypt.⁹⁹⁹ When physically present, they had to be imported from other, more southern / south-eastern regions.¹⁰⁰⁰ A difference is thus seen between the imported monkeys, and the desert animals, such as lions and the various (wild) canid species represented by the canid deities. These animals could be found at the border regions between the Nile Valley and desert, and the desert regions as such. Like the lions and canid deities, monkey entities occur in contexts that are related to ideas of transition and regeneration. They assist the deceased on his journey through the afterworld, and the sun god on his daily journey on the solar bark. These ideas are of course heavily intertwined with concepts of power and protection, as has already been discussed in chapter three. Furthermore, the resurrected state the deceased wishes to achieve after death can be described and visualised as being a divine primate. Indeed, it can be the goal of the deceased to become a divine monkey.

Transfiguration: becoming a monkey

The idea of transfiguring into a divine monkey after death can already be suggested for the Early Dynastic period. Small statues, the majority made of faience, have been found in large numbers at Abydos (figure 65), Hierakonpolis, Elephantine and Tell Ibrahim el-Awad, but individual finds have also been found across Egypt.¹⁰⁰¹ Although these statues have been understood in different ways,¹⁰⁰² an interpretation as ancestor figures used as votive offerings

⁹⁹⁸ De Wit, 1951: p. 464.

⁹⁹⁹ Apart from very old remains of the green monkey, dated to the Last Interglacial Period (see above, fn. 40).

¹⁰⁰⁰ Kingdon et al., 2013: II, p. 222; Goudsmit, 2000a: p. 20-21, pl. XX: the habitat of hamadryas baboons is located at the Red sea coast (current Eritrea and Somalia), and was not accessible via Nile travel: these monkeys had to be transported over sea. Olive baboons and green monkeys could be found in the south (Sudan) and imported via Nile travel; see above, p. 75-77.

¹⁰⁰¹ Van Haarlem, 2014: p. 74, fig. 49, 76.

¹⁰⁰² Belova (2003: p. 119) believes that the presence of the baboons in Tell Ibrahim el-Awad can already be linked with the sun adoring monkeys that are seen in later times. She claims that the abundant presence of baboon figures in this eastern border city is linked to the rising sun in the east and the baboon behaviour. Although this is an interesting point, one needs to keep in mind that such statues have also been found in other places. A link between these statues and Thoth (Sherkova, 2003) is also unlikely, mainly because concrete evidence of the baboon-manifestation of Thoth is found in much later periods.

is the most plausible and accepted one. In this respect, both royal and non-royal ancestors could be represented. These statues are often found together with figures of humans. Based on this pairing, Van Haarlem interprets the baboons as representations of ancestors, and the human figures as the donors.¹⁰⁰³ Moreover, the positions of both humans and baboons show great similarities and some of the baboon statues are even occupied with human actions.¹⁰⁰⁴ Apart from these baboon statues, there are two known boat models with baboons on them, dated to the Early Dynastic period. One originates from Tell Ibrahim el-Awad¹⁰⁰⁵ and the other one from Abydos.¹⁰⁰⁶ The baboon in the boat model from Abydos has been convincingly identified as a representation of the deceased pharaoh, whereas the baboons of the Tell Ibrahim el-Awad model are most likely representations of non-royal ancestors.¹⁰⁰⁷ Hendrickx et al. also emphasise the fact that the occupants of such boat-models are usually humans.¹⁰⁰⁸ The reason for the choice of baboons seems to be primarily based on the likenesses between humans and monkeys, which is especially clear for the statues that show monkeys that are occupied with human actions.¹⁰⁰⁹ Although ‘real’ baboons had to be imported from regions located to the south or south-east of Egypt, it cannot be said for sure that their foreign origin was important.¹⁰¹⁰ However, it is tempting to think that the far-away locations where these rather unfamiliar animals came from played a role in identifying these animals with ancestors that passed over to a more or less ‘unknown’ hereafter.

In the textual record, the idea of baboons as royal ancestors is expressed by the terms *ḥ-ḥd-wr.w* and *ḥd-wr*. In the earlier attestations, which includes the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom periods, the term is found in the iconography as well as the textual record¹⁰¹¹ and refers to a place rather than a god or gods. The term is only used in a plural form.¹⁰¹² For these periods a transliteration of ‘*ḥ-ḥd wr.w*’ which can be translated as ‘*The White Shrine of the Great Ones*’¹⁰¹³ is preferred. These ‘*Great Ones*’ represented the deceased forefathers of the pharaoh,

¹⁰⁰³ Van Haarlem, 2014: p. 75.

¹⁰⁰⁴ See for example the categories of Van Haarlem (2014: p.148-153): 1. Human figures: standing, sitting, kneeling, crawling, holding objects. 2. Baboon figures: standing, sitting, holding objects.

¹⁰⁰⁵ N 70/98: Sherkova, 2003: p. 504: fig. 1.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Former collection Kofler-Truniger, MÄS 5, Nr. A 28; Hendrickx et al., 2008: p. 378, fig. 4.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Hendrickx et al., 2008: p. 378; Dreyer, 1986: p. 71.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Hendrickx et al., 2008: p. 377.

¹⁰⁰⁹ See above, fn. 1004.

¹⁰¹⁰ I am not convinced by the ‘*Grenzlagenpolitik*’ suggested by Belova (2003) and Winter (2006, p. 448), mainly because these figures have not only been found at border cities, but across Egypt.

¹⁰¹¹ Godron, 1990: p. 107; Friedman, 1995: p. 23-26, fig. 14.

¹⁰¹² Friedman, 1995: p. 24-26.

¹⁰¹³ Which corresponds to number 7 of Godron’s ‘list’ (Godron, 1990: p.109).

who were represented as baboons. According to Meurer¹⁰¹⁴ PT 475 talks about the pharaoh's ascendance to heaven and his wish to become a member of these 'Great Ones'. The deceased has reached a certain part of the sky that he wishes to enter, in order to become one of the ancestral baboons: 'For I have reached the height of the sky, and I have not been opposed by "the Great Ones of the White Shrine", who are in the street of the stars'.¹⁰¹⁵ The same idea is described in PT 262: 'The White Shrine of the Great Ones will not oppose¹⁰¹⁶ me on the street of the stars'.¹⁰¹⁷ PT 611 is a priestly recitation, in which the deceased is uttered to live again, essentially describing the desired divine and perfect *3h* state of the beneficiary.¹⁰¹⁸ He is uttered to appear as various entities, and one of them is *ḥd-wr*: 'This father Osiris Meryre¹⁰¹⁹ is (*ḥ*-)*ḥd wr* at your fore, Akhs'.¹⁰²⁰ Apparently, the pharaoh is identified as a 'Great White One',¹⁰²¹ or a 'Great one of the White Shrine' who could be seen as the foremost of the Akhs. It is not clear whether this term refers to the leader or greatest of the forefathers, or rather to the whole corpus of forefathers represented in one being, although in this specific case the first option seems more fitting. Either way, the *ḥd-wr* is represented by a baboon or baboons 'whose role it was to transfer lordship of the land to the succeeding king'.¹⁰²²

The writing of the later occurrences of the term, starting with the COFFIN TEXTS of the First Intermediate Period / Middle Kingdom suggests that here the term should be read as 'The Great White One', by which either a single god, or the total corpus of ancestors represented in a single god is meant. The above-mentioned PT 611 is interesting in this respect, because two written versions of the term are known. Both versions mention the term in singular use, and although version M could be read as 'The Great White One', version N demonstrates that 'The White Shrine of the Great One' is a more likely reading. This indicates that a shift took place that incorporates two aspects. On the one hand, a shift from plural to singular and on the other hand a different subject for the term 'white':¹⁰²³ the white colour refers to a shrine in the earlier periods but can refer to the 'Great One' in the later uses. It is possible that the term 'Great

¹⁰¹⁴ Meurer, 2002: p. 33-34.

¹⁰¹⁵ PT 475: §949b-c; Based on Faulkner, 1969: p. 163.

¹⁰¹⁶ 'Oppose' in this respect could best be interpreted as 'deny'. See Mercer, 1952: II, p. 484.

¹⁰¹⁷ PT 262: §334c; Based on Faulkner, 1969: p. 71.

¹⁰¹⁸ Hays, 2006. p. 193.

¹⁰¹⁹ Hays, 2012, p. 236-237: 'the simple appellations such as *it=i* "my father" had the effect of creating a paternal-filial connection between the beneficiary and the officiant representing Horus, the son of Osiris'.

¹⁰²⁰ PT 611: §1725a; Allen, 2005, p. 195.

¹⁰²¹ Godron, 1990: p. 107: This term is written differently in the two versions. M shows *ḥd-wr* and N shows *ḥ-hd wr*.

¹⁰²² Friedman, 1995: p. 25-26.

¹⁰²³ Godron, 1990: p. 110: 'il est très probable qu'à cette époque la signification primitive commençait à ne plus être bien comprise'.

White One’ refers to the looks of the male hamadryas baboon.¹⁰²⁴ As is described above, this translation is indeed valid for the later periods, and the male hamadryas baboon, with its white / grey fur, would indeed be a perfect fit. Although this species is already depicted in the Old Kingdom period, these depictions are extremely rare.¹⁰²⁵ However, in the Middle Kingdom period, the hamadryas baboon is depicted more often, which suggests a growing familiarity with this species.¹⁰²⁶ The contrast between this ‘new’ baboon and the older and more familiar olive baboon might also be the reason for the transition between the more general, plural, and anonymous ancestor-baboons to one specific, individual, ‘alpha’ ancestor-baboon.

A difference in use can thus be seen between these two baboon species. The olive baboon rather stands for ‘*One of the Great Ones of the White Shrine*’, e.g. the deceased king represented as a baboon or a more ‘anonymous’ non-royal person.¹⁰²⁷ With the introduction of (more specific knowledge about) the hamadryas baboon, probably in the late Old Kingdom, the idea of a singular baboon – the ‘*Great White One*’- as the ‘leader’ of the *Great Ones* or the total corpus of royal ancestors, seems to be existing. This idea becomes clearly visible by the time of the Middle Kingdom period. Although this specific *ḥd-wr* does not seem to be and remain that popular, the hamadryas baboon itself does. By the time of the New Kingdom period, it has become the ‘standard’ baboon. Likewise, the ideas of baboons as ancestors, human transfigurations into baboons, and baboons as divine beings remained.

In the New Kingdom period, the adoration of the sun and hymns to the sun-god have become a regular feature of the funerary and liturgical literature.¹⁰²⁸ A prominent feature is the worship of the sun by monkeys. The deceased or living pharaoh identifies himself with and wishes to become one of those monkeys. This idea of a transfiguring into a sun-worshipping monkey is already seen in the PYRAMID TEXTS. PT 315 describes a situation in which the pharaoh wishes

¹⁰²⁴ Kees (1956, p. 21) however suggests that the colour refers to the white crown of Egypt. Nevertheless, the close relationship between *ḥd-wr* and votive baboons that have been found in both Upper and Lower Egypt makes a connection between the term and the colour of the animal more plausible. See, however Goudsmit (2000, p. 112-113), who claims that the *ḥd-wr* is always an olive baboon.

¹⁰²⁵ Hamadryas baboons (but also green monkeys) are climbing on boats returning from Punt at the causeway of Sahure (El Awady, 2009: pl. V). However, the clearest example (depicting the characteristic ‘mantle’ of fur of the hamadryas baboon) is found in the tomb of Niankhnum and Khnumhotep (Harper & Scremin, 2010: p. 155: fig. 164. Below is a depiction of an olive baboon (fig. 165), clearly demonstrating the difference between the two types of baboons.)

¹⁰²⁶ Baboon figures that greatly resemble the Early Dynastic ones sometimes represent the hamadryas baboon from the Middle Kingdom onwards (Bußmann, 2010: p. 203).

¹⁰²⁷ For example the ‘Narmer-baboon’ (Berlin 22607), which is thought to be an olive baboon according to Goudsmit (2000, p. 112) and Bußmann (2010: p. 203). The main reason for this identification is the lack of the characteristic mantle. See also Dreyer (1986: p. 65-73) who has demonstrated that the ancestor baboons can represent non-royal people as well.

¹⁰²⁸ Quirke, 2013: p. 33: ‘*before the new kingdom books of the dead, hymns to the sun are not a regular feature of funerary literature*’.

to sit among baboons and gives praise:¹⁰²⁹ *‘It is Unas, o iʿn-baboon, o htt-baboon, o p3tt-baboon, the hindquarters of Unas are upon the back of Unas, the spine of Unas is on Unas, Unas will make jubilation and rejoices, he will sit amongst you, the hʿ3t.y.w’.*¹⁰³⁰ The pharaoh is thus compared to a baboon, with its rear raised and its shoulders hunched, howling in adoration of the sun.¹⁰³¹ Furthermore, he addresses his wish to become one of them, in this case also indicating a transformation of form.

CT 474 is a fishermen spell. Of the deceased it is said: *‘This NN has escaped from it’*¹⁰³² and *has become this baboon of hh’.*¹⁰³³ The deceased has overcome danger in the form of getting trapped and caught in the fishing-nets of the demon-fishers.¹⁰³⁴ He has successfully crossed the body of water and will attain eternal life as a result. He will therefore be able to become a ‘baboon of Heh’, probably meaning that he will become one of the many sun-worshipping baboons.

BD 100 relates about the wishes of the deceased, namely to *‘become an excellent 3h and embark the boat of Re and his retinue’.*¹⁰³⁵ He explains which actions he has accomplished that are fundamental to the cycles of regeneration,¹⁰³⁶ among others: *‘I have sung hymns to the sun, I have joined the ranks of the sun-monkeys, I am one among them’.*¹⁰³⁷ The deceased can thus become one of the sun-monkeys, by praising the sun.¹⁰³⁸ This transformation into a divine monkey is in fact the transition from death to the eternal and resurrected state of being an 3h.

Monkey helpers

Provisioning the deceased

A successful transition from the realm of the dead to the realm of the gods greatly depends on the receiving of offerings. Furthermore, being part of the divine community can be described as eating from the table of the gods: *‘the Egyptian rite of provisioning the dead was intended to integrate the deceased into the communal feasting of the gods and the transfigured ancestral spirits’.*¹⁰³⁹ CT 580 relates about the deceased’s passage from the realm of the dead to the world

¹⁰²⁹ Te Velde, 1988: p. 133.

¹⁰³⁰ PT 315: §505a-c; Topmann, D. in: TLA; hʿ3t.y.w is translated as ‘youngsters’ by Allen (2005: p. 60) and as ‘hʿ3ty-baboons’ by Hays (2006: p. 235, fn. 27).

¹⁰³¹ Allen, 2005: p. 64, fn. 85.

¹⁰³² Namely the net (Faulkner, 1977: p. 115, fn. 20).

¹⁰³³ CT VI, 21m-n (474); Faulkner, 1977: p. 113; baboon: iʿn.

¹⁰³⁴ These fishermen can also take the form of baboons (see above, p. 188 and figure 111), which perfectly demonstrates the ambivalent character of the animal.

¹⁰³⁵ Quirke, 2013: p. 224.

¹⁰³⁶ Idem: p. 225.

¹⁰³⁷ Idem: p. 224; Assmann, 1995: p. 24 sun-monkeys: imy.w-htt.

¹⁰³⁸ Assmann, 1995: p. 24.

¹⁰³⁹ Assmann, 2005: p. 337.

of the gods. He wishes ‘*not to walk head downwards*’¹⁰⁴⁰ and will be able to overcome this by means of provisions and offerings. The deceased desires a share of the provisions in the realm of the gods and eats of this food in order to belong to it.¹⁰⁴¹ It is said that: ‘*This NN will live from 2 hnm.t-loaves, that came from the altar of Re. It is this green-monkey that will take them for this NN, who is in the house of the turtle*’.¹⁰⁴² Apparently, the green monkey assists the deceased person and steals two loaves for him. As such, the monkey helps him to achieve the desired resurrected state.

In CT 431, the deceased identifies himself with Thoth: ‘*This NN is the devourer, Inert-one, who came out of Nun, (who came from Wenu.) This NN, every Ba belongs to him. This NN lives from the intestines of the baboon*’.¹⁰⁴³ The spell talks about the deceased who is equipped for and in the afterlife: apparently, the intestines of a baboon can serve as nourishment. CT 1017 is a ‘*Spell for living by means of magic and by means of protection in the Two Houses*’.¹⁰⁴⁴ The deceased explains to Orion what he has done in order to be prepared and worthy of joining him in the sky. Nyord explains, that this ‘living’ should be interpreted as the eating or drinking of magic.¹⁰⁴⁵ In this context, the deceased says: ‘*the wrapping / garment is the Great White One*’,¹⁰⁴⁶ probably referring to the intestines of *ḥd-wr*. For the deceased, the intestines of a baboon therefore function as nourishment, and are a means of transforming into an ancestor baboon. In BD 5 the deceased wishes to not work in the domain of the gods and identifies himself with Thoth: ‘*I am the judge of the son of the Inert Ones, the one who emerges from Wenu, who lives on the entrails of the baboon*’.¹⁰⁴⁷ Although Quirke claims that it is not clear ‘*whether the speaker claims identity with the one “who lives off the entrails” of that very animal, or whether the speaker claims to be the judge of that entrail-eater*’¹⁰⁴⁸ Stadler argues that the first option is the correct one.¹⁰⁴⁹ Again, the consumption of baboon-intestines is mentioned, facilitating the transformation into an ancestral baboon.¹⁰⁵⁰

BD 75 addresses the wish of the deceased to go to Heliopolis and take his seat there. He seems well prepared, claiming: ‘*I have come from the limits of the Earth. My wrappings are lighter*

¹⁰⁴⁰ CT VI, 195a (580); Faulkner, 1977: p. 183.

¹⁰⁴¹ Assmann, 2005: p. 337.

¹⁰⁴² CT VI, 195f-g (580); Faulkner, 1977: p. 183; monkey: *gf*.

¹⁰⁴³ CT V, 278-279 (431); Stadler, 2009: p. 189; Faulkner, 1977: p. 73; baboon: *iʿn*.

¹⁰⁴⁴ CT VII, 236a (1017); Faulkner, 1978: p. 117.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Nyord, 2009: p. 358.

¹⁰⁴⁶ CT VII, 238o (1017); Faulkner, 1978: p. 118-119, fn. 19.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Lapp, 1997: pl. 62: 5, 2; Quirke, 2013: p. 20: Based on the version in the Papyrus of Nu (pLondon BM EA 10477); baboon: *iʿn*.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Quirke, 2013: p. 20.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Stadler, 2009: p. 189-199. Based on the parallel CT 431, where it is clarified that the deceased is in fact Thot.

¹⁰⁵⁰ See also parallel text CT 431.

than the intestines of a baboon'.¹⁰⁵¹ This probably refers to the preparation of offerings and provisions, namely baboon-intestines, that the deceased could consume in order to transform into an ancestor baboon. Several authors have mentioned a connection between baboon intestines, mummy-wrappings and ancestor baboons, respectively *ḥd-wr*.¹⁰⁵² This idea only becomes convincing when texts from several different periods are combined, but it is exactly this approach that also makes it somewhat problematic. Still, the idea is quite interesting and in the above-mentioned texts wrappings and garments are indeed compared to or said to be baboon-intestines (BD 75) or *ḥd-wr* (CT 1017), and the deceased is said to live on baboon-intestines (CT 431 and BD 5). Basically, the result can be summarised as follows: ‘*Wenn die Leinenbinden der Balsamierung des Toten zu Eingeweiden des Pavians werden können und der Tote von diesen lebt (...) dann deutet das ganze Geschehen auf einen Transformationsprozeß hin, der möglicherweise notwendig ist, damit sich der Verstorbene im Jenseits mit seinem Ahnen verbinden kann*’.¹⁰⁵³

Thus, the ancestor baboons, *ḥd-wr*, and probably the mentioning of baboon-intestines, can all be linked and seem to be originally based on the resemblances between humans and monkeys. Again, a relationship between these monkeys and their foreign origin fits the picture.

Boat travel: crossing the water and navigating the solar bark

The previous chapter has demonstrated that monkeys are described as guardians of places of passage, such as doors and lakes. Also, on his transitional journey through the realm of the dead, the deceased can get help from or temporarily transform himself into a baboon.¹⁰⁵⁴

Interestingly, various texts and depictions mention and show monkeys that are linked to boat-travel, thereby effectively representing the idea of transition by means of physical passage, travelling, and movement. We have already encountered the potentially dangerous ‘monkey fishers’ and their nets in the so called fishermen-spells.¹⁰⁵⁵ Additionally, CT 404 and 405¹⁰⁵⁶ relate to the wish of the deceased to enter the realm of the gods by crossing a river. He will be able to do so because of his knowledge of the various individual boat parts, as well as ‘*the name*

¹⁰⁵¹ Lapp, 1997: pl. 38: 75, 2; Quirke, 2013: p. 177; Backes, B. in: TLA. Based on the version in the papyrus of Nu (pLondon BM EA 10477); baboon: *ifn*.

¹⁰⁵² E.g. Stadler (2009: p. 189-199). He further argues that this practice can be seen as an explanation for the baboon-form of Thoth: he absorbs / consumes an older baboon-god. Although interesting, it is relevant to note that Stadler himself emphasises that his model is a hypothetical one (idem: p. 199). See e.g. also Kurth (1986: p. 514, fn. 61 (= LÄ VI: ‘*Thoth*’)) who emphasises that the relationship between *ḥd-wr* and Thoth remains unclear.

¹⁰⁵³ Bohms, 2013: p. 20.

¹⁰⁵⁴ CT460, PT 668.

¹⁰⁵⁵ E.g. CT 475 (see above, p. 188).

¹⁰⁵⁶ Which is a somewhat corrupt and altered version of the former (Faulkner, 1977: p. 56, fn.1).

of the helmsman, his name is 'Two Baboons'.¹⁰⁵⁷ A similar idea is evident in CT 395, which is called a 'Spell for going aboard the lotus-bark'.¹⁰⁵⁸ It can be seen as a 'prologue' to the BOOK OF TWO WAYS. The deceased wishes to embark on the lotus-bark, which can be identified as the bark of Re. His knowledge about the different parts of the bark enables him to pass the initiation tests and enter. Apparently, the steering-oars of the bark are called 'The Two Baboons'.¹⁰⁵⁹ After the deceased has successfully embarked this boat, he also wishes to navigate it, which is mentioned in CT 1030. The deceased says: 'I will navigate in her in company with Re, I will navigate in her with Mgf-ib'.¹⁰⁶⁰ Backes argues that Mgf-ib, the 'monkey-hearted one' is a nightly appearance of Re.¹⁰⁶¹ BD 136 can be compared to CT 1030. Here, the deceased is travelling the hereafter in the bark of Re, accompanied by Re himself and a green monkey that has a protective function: 'I travel in it with Re, I sail in it with the green-monkey, who drives back the sky storm-water of that sector of Nut'.¹⁰⁶² Due to the great resemblance to CT 1030, it is likely that here the green monkey is Mgf-ib, the nightly appearance of Re.

Opening the doors and acclamation of the sun (Re)

Chapter four has already discussed the protective function of monkey entities as watchers and door guardians. However, the connection between monkeys and doorways becomes especially visible during the New Kingdom period, where they are primarily linked to the course of the sun. Contrary to the potential threat of the 'demon' guardians of the afterworld, the emphasis here lies on their function as helpers: they worship the sun and sun-god, and open the doors of the *3h.t*. As such, their presence and functions are essential for the transitional processes and 'border traffic' between worlds. Subsequently, they facilitate the rebirth of the deceased, the sun, and the sun-god on a daily basis. Furthermore, they also open the doors and welcome the sun-god and the deceased as they enter the afterworld to start their nightly journey. In the First Hour of the AMDUAT, we see two groups of these sun-praising baboons that each have their own individual name (figure 123).

¹⁰⁵⁷ CT V, 194e-f (404); Faulkner, 1977: p. 49, 53 fn. 51: 'Perhaps in reference to two baboon-topped steering-posts'; 'two baboons': *bn.ty*.

¹⁰⁵⁸ CT V, 68a (395); Faulkner, 1977: p. 20.

¹⁰⁵⁹ CT V, 71c (395); Faulkner, 1977: p. 20; 'two baboons': *bn.ty*.

¹⁰⁶⁰ CT VII, 260c (1030); Faulkner, 1978: p. 128.

¹⁰⁶¹ Backes, 2005: p. 252

¹⁰⁶² Lapp, 1997: pl. 46: 136, 5; Quirke, 2013: p. 301. Backes, B. in: TLA. Based on the version in the papyrus of Nu (pLondon BM EA 10477); monkey: *g3f*.

The first group: ‘*The names of the gods who open for the Great Ba*’:

<i>bnty</i>	<i>bnty-baboon</i>
<i>jfw</i>	<i>who jubels (?)</i>
<i>dhđh</i>	<i>dhđh-baboon</i> ¹⁰⁶³
<i>jb-t3</i>	<i>Heart of the earth</i>
<i>jbjb-t3</i>	<i>Beloved one of the earth</i>
<i>hknw</i>	<i>Praising one</i>
<i>wn(.w)-t3</i>	<i>Opener-of-the-earth</i>
<i>(w)b3-t3</i>	<i>He-who-opens-the-earth</i>
<i>m3n-r^c</i>	<i>Seen by Re</i> ¹⁰⁶⁴

The second group: ‘*The gods who sing for Re when he enters the underworld*’:

<i>httj</i>	<i>httj-baboon</i>
<i>p3tt</i>	<i>p3tt- baboon</i>
<i>bsj</i>	<i>Flaming one</i>
<i>hknw-m-bs=f</i>	<i>He who praises with his flame</i>
<i>jb3w</i>	<i>Dancer</i>
<i>Anonymous</i>	<i>Anonymous</i>
<i>imi-k3r</i>	<i>Who is in the shrine</i>
<i>hnty-t3=f</i>	<i>He who is the foremost of his earth</i>
<i>hnn</i>	<i>He with the phallus</i> ¹⁰⁶⁵

The accompanying, concluding text shows a conversation between Re and these gods of the doorway(s). He utters them to let him pass: ‘*Open with your arms, bnty-baboons! Unfold your doors to me, bnty-baboons!*’¹⁰⁶⁶ The function of these baboons is thus twofold: on the one hand, they guard and open the doors to the afterworld, and on the other hand they adore Re as he enters the afterworld. It is interesting to see that in this case the word ‘*bnty*’ seems to have a general meaning of ‘baboon’.¹⁰⁶⁷

¹⁰⁶³ Hornung, 1997: p. 60: *dhđh*: ‘(die Arme) hängen läßt. (?)’.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Hornung, 1963: II, p. 10.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Hornung, 1963: II, p. 28.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Adapted from Hornung (1963: II, p. 33): First Hour, concluding text, p. 19,2 & 20,4.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Hornung, 1963: II, p. 10.

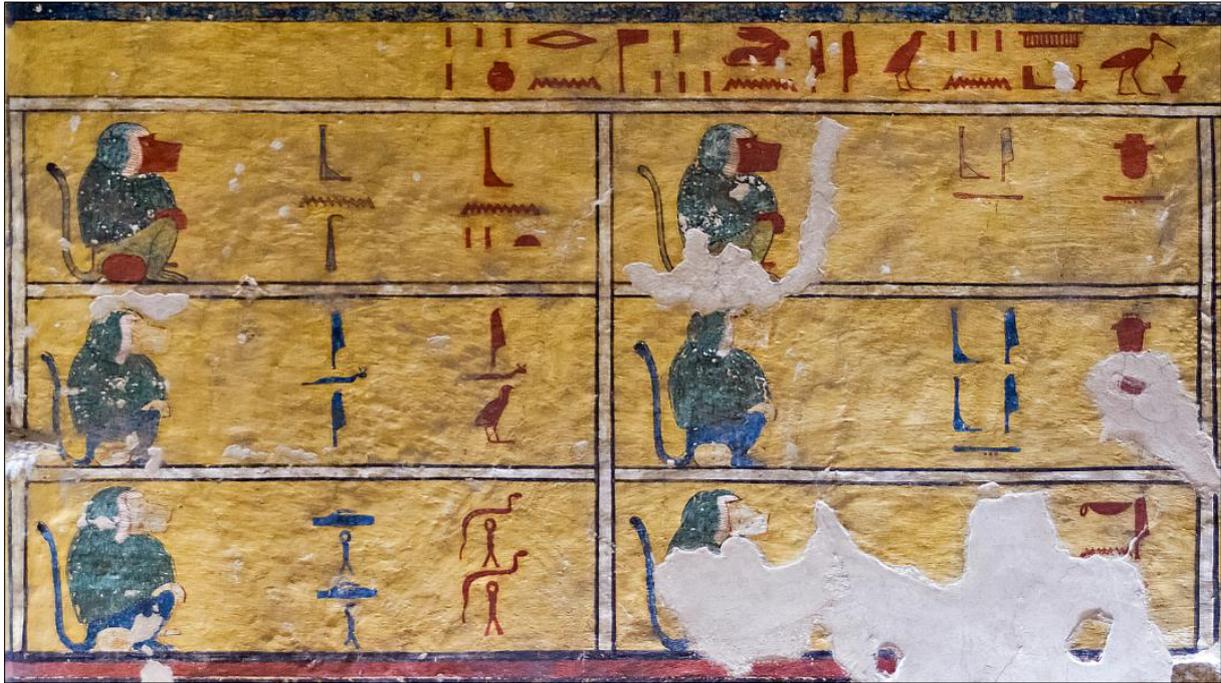


Figure 123. Sun-praising baboons in the First Hour of the Amduat. Tomb of Ay (KV 23), New Kingdom, Dynasty 18.

The Twelfth Hour of the BOOK OF GATES also shows and describes baboons that are praising Re:¹⁰⁶⁸ *‘It is like this: it is they who proclaim Re in the eastern horizon of heaven. They announce this god who created them with their hand, two on the left, two on the right, on both sides of this god. They go forth behind him, and his ba-soul becomes strong when he sees them. It is they who establish his sun disk’.*¹⁰⁶⁹ In the preceding Eleventh Hour¹⁰⁷⁰ a green monkey is encountered, who is standing on a standard. The monkey is named Nnty *‘(‘He from the Nethersky’): ‘He praises for Re, he makes jubilation for the inhabitants of the 3h.t’.*¹⁰⁷¹ The praising monkey should be seen as a representative of the entire corpus of sun-adorning monkeys.¹⁰⁷² Furthermore, its presence shows that not only baboons, but also green monkeys are seen in this function.

BD 15 is characterised by its sun-hymns. These hymns focus on the rising sun (15A), or the setting sun (15B).¹⁰⁷³ BD 15A1 related about the *‘adoration of Re as he rises in the eastern 3h.t*

¹⁰⁶⁸ Hornung, 1980: II, p. 277, Scene 90.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Hornung, 2014: p. 428-429.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Hornung, 2014: p. 262-264, Scene 81.

¹⁰⁷¹ Hornung, 2014: p. 401.

¹⁰⁷² Hornung (1980: II, p. 277-278) mentions that green monkeys are often depicted, whereas the textual record indicates that baboons are meant.

¹⁰⁷³ Quirke, 2013: p. 33.

of the sky'.¹⁰⁷⁴ Although not specifically mentioned in the text, the accompanying vignette makes it clear that baboons are among these worshippers.¹⁰⁷⁵

The deceased will praise and adore Re as he rises, which will make it possible for him to join him. An emphasis thus lies on his wish to become one of the sun-adoring monkeys. Furthermore, it is described what happens when the sun rises, and who are with him: '*When he rises, the common people live, the sun-folk of Heliopolis rejoice over him, the bas of Heliopolis acclaim him, and the bas of Buto and Hierakonpolis exalt him. The baboons worship him*'.¹⁰⁷⁶ Here, it is made clear that various groups interact with one another, including a group of baboons that praise Re.

The so-called PAVIANTEXT¹⁰⁷⁷ mentions the nightly travel of Re (during the Sixth Hour), but clearly resembles the texts that focus on the sunrise. It describes the adoration of the sun-baboons in detail: they dance, leap in the air, sing, and make music and joyful sounds:

'The baboons, who announce Re, when this great god is born at the sixth hour in the underworld. They appear for him only after he came into being. They are at both sides of this god and appear to him when he rises in the eastern horizon of the sky. They dance for him and leap in the air. They sing for him, make music and create 'joyful sound' when this great god appears in the eyes of the rhyt-people and the "people of heaven". They hear the words of joy of Wetjenet. They are the ones who announce Re in heaven and on earth'.¹⁰⁷⁸



Figure 124. The adoration and praising of Re by the sun-baboons and the pharaoh depicted at Medinet Habu. New Kingdom, Dynasty 20.

THE BOOK OF DAY describes baboons that are known as the Eastern Bas.¹⁰⁷⁹ These baboons initiate the rise of Re at dawn. In most other texts, which has also been demonstrated in the former examples, two central tasks are mentioned: adoration and opening the gates of the

¹⁰⁷⁴ Quirke, 2013: p. 34. Based on the version of Qenena (pLeiden T2).

¹⁰⁷⁵ pLeiden T2: http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/images/1161-1/Leiden_T2_007.jpg (last accessed 24 February 2022). Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134346, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134346>.

¹⁰⁷⁶ BD 15A2: Allen, 1974: p. 17; Backes, B. in: TLA. Based on the version of Qenena (pLeiden T2); baboon: *htt*.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Assmann, 1995: p. 24-25; Assmann, 1970: p. 29; Epigraphic Survey, 1963: MH VI, II: pl. 420b. These baboons are depicted in Medinet Habu (figure 124; see also Epigraphic Survey, 1963: MH VI, II: pl. 421).

¹⁰⁷⁸ Assmann, 1995: p. 24-25; baboon: *i'n*.

¹⁰⁷⁹ See also below, p. 239-232 and figure 128.

3*h.t.*¹⁰⁸⁰ This text, however, is more detailed and also mentions additional functions: they praise Re; let him shine; open the doors of the 3*h.t.*; illuminate his travel; stride ahead of the sun-god; and receive instructions from the sun-god:¹⁰⁸¹

Ramses VIa, Ba.

*‘The Eastern Bas, these are the gods of the flat-lands and hill-countries of the Eastern Horizon and (the gods) of Heliopolis’.*¹⁰⁸²

Ramses VIa, Bb.

‘To adore Re, to make him rise by the Eastern Bas. The Eastern Bas are the four gods who adore Re. It is they who make Re rise and open the doors of the four gates of the Eastern Horizon of Heaven. It is they who give light for him at both sides.

*They come before Re when he appears, every day. As the rising takes place they become six baboons. They go on all his roads before the four faces – this is represented on this drawing-on a single neck, similar to this image that is in Mendes. As Re rises, they turn back, to receive the divine words. The West-ones of the barge of Re, it is they who cause the adoration of Re as the West-ones of Heaven by praising him. I know them as divine language. These are the four mysterious spells (over) the bas... and their Seat. Do not pronounce them lest the profane hear them!’*¹⁰⁸³

Transition by means of knowledge: knowing the language of baboons

In order to make a successful transition from this world to the next, the deceased needs to be ‘equipped’ with knowledge. This does not only include knowledge about certain entities, paths, or objects he encounters while travelling the realm of the dead (such as the names of the individual boat parts that have been mentioned above) but also knowledge of a ‘secret language’ spoken by baboons. In the passage from the BOOK OF DAY described above, the deceased also mentions that he ‘knows’ the divine language of the baboons.¹⁰⁸⁴ Understanding this language demonstrates that the initiate can be equalled to the members of the godly community and is indeed one of them. The following passage from the KING AS SUN-PRIEST¹⁰⁸⁵ again speaks about these Eastern Bas. Also, again, it is emphasised that the king

¹⁰⁸⁰ Assmann, 1970: p. 48.

¹⁰⁸¹ Müller-Roth, 2008: p. 133-134.

¹⁰⁸² Müller-Roth, 2008: p. 126.

¹⁰⁸³ Müller-Roth, 2008: p. 128-129; Piankoff, 1954: p. 390-391; baboon: *iʿn*.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Instead of ‘hearing’ it, as is mentioned in the ‘Paviantext’; see Te Velde, 1988: p. 134.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Assmann, 1970.

knows the language of these Bas / baboons: ‘*King N.N. knows that mysterious language spoken by the eastern bas, as they sing the praises of Re when he rises, when he appears in Light-land, when they open the door-leaves for him at the gates of the eastern Light-land, when he fares on the ways of the sky. He knows their (actual, mysterious) appearance and their embodiments, their home (lit., “cities”) in God’s Land. He knows the place where they stand when Re begins his journey*’.¹⁰⁸⁶ The king ‘knows’ their language, appearance, embodiments, home cities and the place where they stand.¹⁰⁸⁷ To the pharaoh, this knowledge is essential: by his liturgical recitations as a sun-priest, he can contribute to a successful course of the sun in a cultic sense, and become one of the adorants during the course of the ceremony. This means, that the living king was also able to, temporarily, transfigure. For the deceased, it facilitated his entry and acceptance as a transfigured *ꜣh* in the realm of the gods: the knowledge thus enables the desired transfiguration.¹⁰⁸⁸

The non-indigenous origin of monkeys

The former examples have demonstrated that monkeys have an important function as helpers of the deceased in his journey and transition from this life to the next. Furthermore, the praising sun-monkeys, who are apparently situated on the edges between worlds, assist the sun-god on his daily course through the sky and underworld. Additionally, the initiation of the deceased or the living pharaoh into the divine community can be accomplished by becoming a divine monkey ancestor and sun-monkey. In this transfigured state, the deceased (or living king) himself becomes a helper, protector and adorant of the sun god.

The following part will pay closer attention to the importance of the non-indigenous origin of these monkeys. It has already been mentioned that the inclusion of monkeys in these contexts can be explained by their general resemblance to humans and monkey behaviour. This seems to be especially true for the general idea of ‘ancestor’ baboons.¹⁰⁸⁹

The connection between monkeys, and the sun and the sun-god seems to be primarily based on the behaviour of real baboons at dawn, including their vocal capacities. Of course, baboons do not ‘adore’ the sun, but they are known to make loud noises at dawn.¹⁰⁹⁰ These ‘dawn choruses’ are in fact indicators of dominance in male baboons. Additionally, a connection can be found between the behaviour of afterworldly baboons and the early-morning ‘sunbathing’ customs of

¹⁰⁸⁶ The translation is a compilation of various versions of the text (Assmann, 1970: p. 1-21); Assmann, 2005: p. 394.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Assmann, 2005: p. 395.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Assmann, 2005: p. 398.

¹⁰⁸⁹ See above, p. 221-222 & fn. 1004.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Kitchen et al., 2003.

real baboons: *'he does not adopt another Egyptian pose, of adoration, though he does raise his arms separately, palm facing inwards, when groomed at sunrise'*.¹⁰⁹¹

It has also been suggested that the apparent close connection between monkeys and boats can be explained by their non-indigenous origin. As such, it is tempting to consider a correlation between the associations of monkeys with water, such as the depiction of monkeys on boats, and the importation of monkeys. These animals were likely (partly) transported with boats over the Nile or sea.¹⁰⁹²

Kenzet (kns.t)

In some instances, a clear link can be observed between foreign regions and sun-monkeys. An 'overlap' between the rising sun in the east, and the south-eastern habitat of monkeys can be seen in CT 173 and CT 1011. These texts both mention the inhabitants of a place called KENZET. This place is already mentioned as a celestial region in the PYRAMID TEXTS.¹⁰⁹³ In CT 173 it is mentioned that *'those who are in KENZET roar in front of the Great Egret'*.¹⁰⁹⁴

CT 1011 reads: *'Awake, o you who rise early, O you who are in KENZET'*.¹⁰⁹⁵ Apparently, the deceased utters these inhabitant to rise, so that he may enter the sky. The ones *'who are in KENZET'*, e.g. the inhabitants of this region, are 'described' by the determinative used for this word: a baboon.¹⁰⁹⁶ This indicates, that the inhabitants of KENZET are indeed baboons, or entities that are manifested as baboons. As such, a connection between baboons and cardinal points is clearly evident. KENZET *'is probably "the sky's eastern horizon"'*¹⁰⁹⁷ and the animals that are known to praise the sun as it rises in the east also live in this south-eastern region. Thus, not only the behaviour of these entities is described (e.g. they 'roar at sunrise'), but also their habitat: the *3h.t* in the east of the sky. Additionally, KENZET is not only a mythical location, but it also occasionally shows up as a 'real' topographical region. Although its actual location is difficult to point out, it is thought to indicate a large territory south of the Egyptian border.¹⁰⁹⁸ It is exiting to speculate that it is not a coincidence that the natural habitat of real baboons (in

¹⁰⁹¹ Thomas, 1979: p. 92 & pl. 4a-d; see also Kingdon et al. (2013: II, p. 235): *'Sun-bathing' at the sleep tree or sleep cliff in the early morning is common*.

¹⁰⁹² See fn. 1025 above and fn. 1400 below.

¹⁰⁹³ Žabkar, 1980: p. 391, fn. 1 (= LÄ III: 'KENSET').

¹⁰⁹⁴ CT III, 53j-k (173); Faulkner, 1973: p. 148.

¹⁰⁹⁵ CT VII, 227h (1011); Faulkner, 1978: p. 111.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Te Velde, 1988: p. 137, fn. 22.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Shmakov, 2012: p. 60; Te Velde (1988: p. 133) describes KENZET as a *'mythical eastern solar country'*.

¹⁰⁹⁸ At least from the New Kingdom period onwards: Žabkar, 1980: p. 391, fn. 1 (= LÄ III: 'KENSET'); see also Shmakov (2012: p. 60): *'The toponym KENZET (knzt) perhaps actually reads k(A)nzt, i.e. k(A)-n-z(mjj)t, "Ka of the desert"'*.

all cases located to the south and south-east of Egypt) and the mythical habitat of the baboon-creatures, both in their own way foreign to Egypt, have the same name.

Wetjenet (wtn.t)

The connection and overlap between the real and the metaphysical world become more apparent during the New Kingdom period. The sun-adoring monkeys are seen in, for example, BD 15A2 and BD 100, the BOOK OF GATES, the AMDUAT, the BOOK OF DAY, the PAVIANTEXT and the THE KING AS SUN-PRIEST. These baboons dance, leap in the air, sing, make music and joyful sound, praise Re, let him shine, open the doors of the *3h.t*, illuminate his travel, stride ahead of the sun-god, receive instructions, and speak a divine language. The inclusion of these animals can be related to the behaviour of real monkeys and their general resemblance to humans. However, in some texts, these mythical creatures are also specifically linked to an actual earthly place. This is for example evident in the PAVIANTEXT: ‘*They hear the words of joy of Wetjenet*’.¹⁰⁹⁹ And in the LITANY OF RE: ‘*Jubilating baboon, one of Wetjenet*’.¹¹⁰⁰ Like Kenzet, Wetjenet can also not be located precisely, but it is thought to be a region to the south-east of Egypt.¹¹⁰¹ Again, this is also the region where real baboons (and especially hamadryas baboons) come from.

5.4 The borderlands between earth and the sky: *t3-ntr*, *3h.t* and real places

It has been demonstrated above that the ‘overlap’ between the real and the metaphysical world becomes especially visible when actual regions are mentioned, such as Kenzet and Wetjenet.¹¹⁰² Not only aspects of real animals, but also actual places in the real world are clearly used to describe or clarify the afterworld. Of special interest is the representation of an apparent belt of foreign regions surrounding Egypt, which functions as a border-zone between the earth and the sky. In this context, these regions have a half-otherworldly character. The earthly homeland of certain creatures is located in this buffer-zone. The same creatures, however, belong to the sky in their manifestation as Bas. This means, that the earthly border-zones are linked to cardinal points.

These ‘borderlands’ apparently lay at the border of Egyptian knowledge and human experience, but were not completely unknown and were technically accessible to the Egyptians. This

¹⁰⁹⁹ Assmann, 1995: p. 25; Epigraphic Survey, 1963: MH VI, II: pl. 420b, line 10.

¹¹⁰⁰ Translation based on Darnell (2004: p. 403). See also Piankoff, 1964: p. 28; and Hornung, 1976: II, p. 71; baboon: *iʿn*.

¹¹⁰¹ Meeks, 2003: p. 64.

¹¹⁰² Rather than the more general landscape features that are seen in the netherworld books (see above, p. 92).

contrasts with the afterworld, which normally could not be experienced or reached by living humans.¹¹⁰³ These foreign regions were sometimes communally called ‘*ḥ3-ntr*’.¹¹⁰⁴ According to Assmann, the joining of the living pharaoh into the course of the sun occurred on three levels:

1. The Sky: the realm of the gods
2. The Borderland: the border-zone-realm of the godly worshippers, and gate area.
3. The Earth: the realm of the pharaoh (who is linked to the sky), and the realm of humans.¹¹⁰⁵

The cardinal Bas

The topic of the cardinal Bas has already been discussed by Assmann in his 1970 dissertation. Here, the emphasis lies on the Eastern Bas that are described in the New Kingdom texts the KING AS SUN-PRIEST. Müller-Roth also discusses the topic in his more recent publication on the BOOK OF DAY.¹¹⁰⁶ He was able to add new and updated information on the topic, based on his own analysis of the material. The cardinal Bas are of interest here because they refer to the cardinal points, which are clearly related to non-indigenous places and regions on earth. These foreign places on earth, in their turn, are linked to certain non-indigenous animals. This idea becomes clear when one does not only consider the baboons, but also the other foreign animals that are represented. The most important information for this research comes from the KING AS SUN-PRIEST, the BOOK OF DAY and the BOOK OF NIGHT. The Western Bas can take a canid form, as has already been discussed above,¹¹⁰⁷ but will be mentioned again in order to present a complete picture (figure 129).

The Northern Bas

The Northern Bas are seen in the BOOK OF DAY and are depicted as ibises (figure 125). About them it is said: ‘*These are the four gods of the flat-lands and hill-countries of the Northern Horizon and (the gods) over the Thigh of the North, who guard Sais and Busiris, the crown of Tasetneferet.*’¹¹⁰⁸ (...) ‘*These are the Lords of the nome of Busiris, whose name is ‘The Two Respected Ones’.* <They> are in the country whose name is Byblos, in the Northern God’s land.

¹¹⁰³ O’Connor & Quirke, 2003: p. 1; see above, p. 91.

¹¹⁰⁴ See e.g. Saleh, 1981: p. 107-117.

¹¹⁰⁵ Assmann, 1970: p. 69-70.

¹¹⁰⁶ Müller-Roth, 2008.

¹¹⁰⁷ See above, p. 207-209.

¹¹⁰⁸ Müller-Roth, 2008: p. 281; Piankoff, 1954: p. 400. From the tomb of Ramses VI: RV1a.

*Their city is Crete. Their transformations appear in the Islands of the Sky, in the northern sea. It is them. Their foreign country is the Northern Horizon’.*¹¹⁰⁹

Assmann already put an emphasis on the importance of the link between migratory birds and the Northern Bas, referring to the work of Edel.¹¹¹⁰ Müller-Roth correctly notices that the Northern Bas are depicted as ibises, which are indeed migratory birds and therefore non-indigenous to Egypt: they were present in the country only a few months a year.¹¹¹¹ The earthly ‘border-zone’ seats of these Northern Bas are linked with ‘far-away’ (semi-unknown) regions, that are communally called the ‘God’s Land’, consisting of Byblos, Lebanon and Crete.

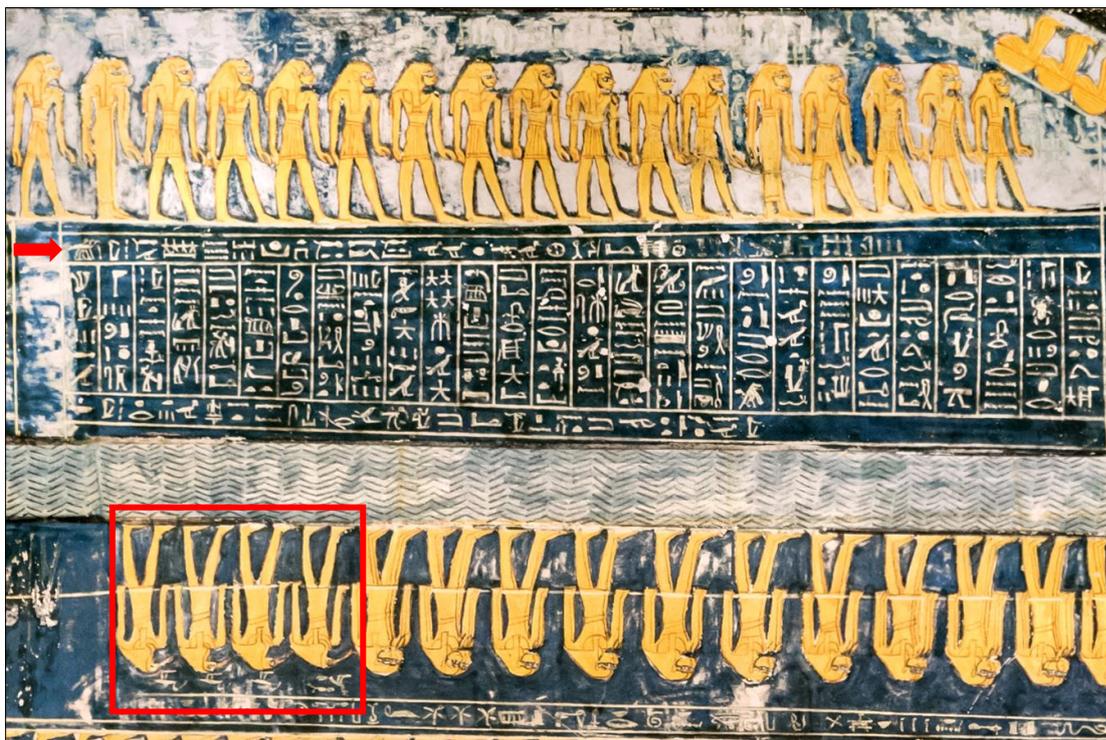


Figure 125. The Northern Bas ‘*b3.w-mh.tyw*’ (with ibis heads and determinatives) in the tomb of Ramses V/VI (KV 9). New Kingdom, Dynasty 20.

The Western Bas

The Western Bas are seen in the BOOK OF DAY and depicted and described in the BOOK OF NIGHT (figure 126 & 127). They are shown as canids in their *hpr*-form on earth. About them is said: ‘*The Western bas: these are the gods of the flat-lands and hill-countries of the western horizon and Heliopolis(?)*’ (...) ‘*The western country whose name is Rbw.*¹¹¹² *This is their country. The*

¹¹⁰⁹ Müller-Roth, 2008: p. 293-294; Piankoff, 1954: p. 400. From the tomb of Ramses VI: RV1b.

¹¹¹⁰ Assmann, 1970: p. 50, fn. 3; Edel, 1961: p. 105-113.

¹¹¹¹ E.g. Janák, 2010: p. 21.

¹¹¹² ‘Libya’: Darnell, 2004: p. 9 fn. 39.

two great rocks in the midst of the Western Sea¹¹¹³ and whose name is the 'Land of people who are at the end of the earth.' This is their city. I know them.' (...) 'As to what Re does... (It is they who are in charge of the sky and) who protect Heliopolis'.¹¹¹⁴ The link between the non-indigenous Western Desert as the habitat of real wild canids and the semi-unknown, 'end of the world' country of Libya, obviously located to the west of Egypt, is clearly evident.



Figure 126. The Western Bas are depicted twice in the Book of Day in the form of four canid-entities: once at the transition point between day and night (left picture), and once at the transition point between night and day (right picture). N.B.: The text underneath the upper two canids in the left picture describes the Eastern Bas (see above, p. 232). The captions to the canids on the right picture falsely identify them as the Eastern Bas (Müller-Roth, p. 83). Tomb of Ramses V/VI (KV 9), New Kingdom, Dynasty 20.

¹¹¹³ According to DuQuesne (1998: p. 89) the 'two great rocks' could refer to Gebelein, but the reference to a place in the middle of a sea in the west remains unclear.

¹¹¹⁴ Roulin, 1996: II, p. 152-153; Piankoff, 1954: p. 426-427; DuQuesne, 1998: p. 87-89.

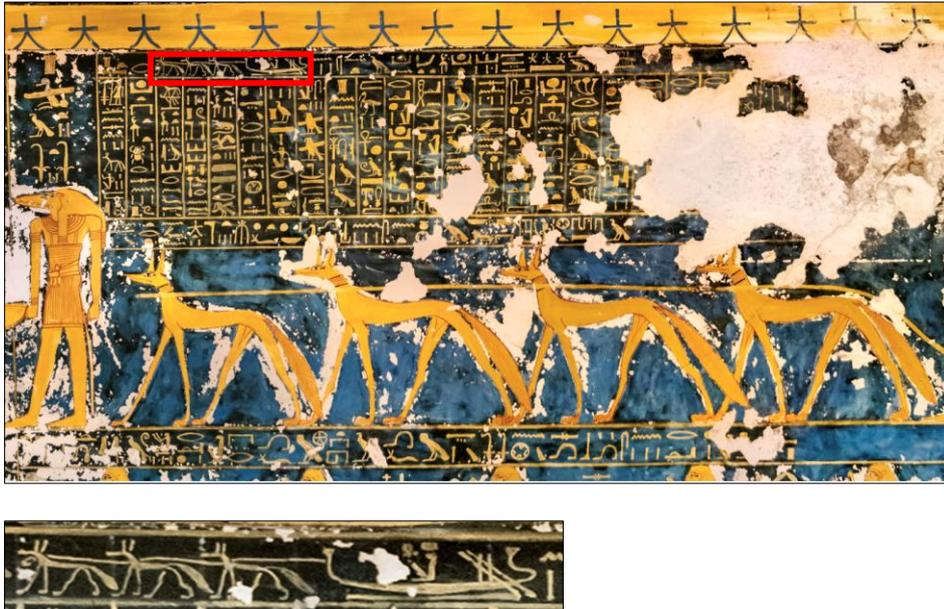


Figure 127. The Western Bas are described in the Book of Night and depicted as rope-towers of the solar bark. Tomb of Ramses V/VI (KV 9), New Kingdom, Dynasty 20.

The Eastern Bas

The same pattern is evident for the Eastern Bas (figure 128). It has already been discussed that the habitat of baboons is described in CT 173, CT 1011, the LITANY OF RE and the PAVIANTEXT. This overlap becomes even clearer in the BOOK OF DAY and the KING AS SUN-PRIEST, where the Eastern Bas (named *bnt.y.w*) are described:

Book of Day

‘The Eastern Bas, these are the gods of the flat-lands and hill-countries of the Eastern Horizon and (the gods) of Heliopolis.’¹¹¹⁵ (...) ‘Bentyw is their name, Punt is their home. <They> are in the country of the Monkey-heads, the foreign land, whose name is Wetjenet, (at) the Eastern Sea. Their country is the Eastern Horizon’.¹¹¹⁶

The King as Sun-priest

‘He knows (...) their home cities in God’s Land’.¹¹¹⁷

The *hpr*-forms of these Bas appear as baboons. They have their cities in God’s Land¹¹¹⁸ and their homeland in Punt and Wetjenet at the Eastern Sea: regions from which real baboons were imported to Egypt.

¹¹¹⁵ Müller-Roth, 2008: p. 126. Based on Ramses VIa.

¹¹¹⁶ Müller-Roth, 2008: p. 155-156. Based on Ramses VIa.

¹¹¹⁷ Assmann, 1970: p. 21; Assmann, 2005: p. 394.

¹¹¹⁸ Assmann, 1970: p. 21 & 50-51.

The Southern Bas

The Southern Bas appear in the BOOK OF DAY and are depicted as rams (figure 128): ‘*The southern Bas: these are the four gods of the flat-lands and hill-countries of the Southern Horizon and of [...]*’.¹¹¹⁹

Unfortunately, their depiction as rams does not seem to fit the pattern. Müller-Roth claims that the relationship between the rams and the south could still be explained by connecting them to the cult of Khnum in Elephantine. However, he also rightfully acknowledges that this link can only be found by taking a ‘detour’, meaning that the foreign link is not as straightforward as has been observed for the other Bas.¹¹²⁰

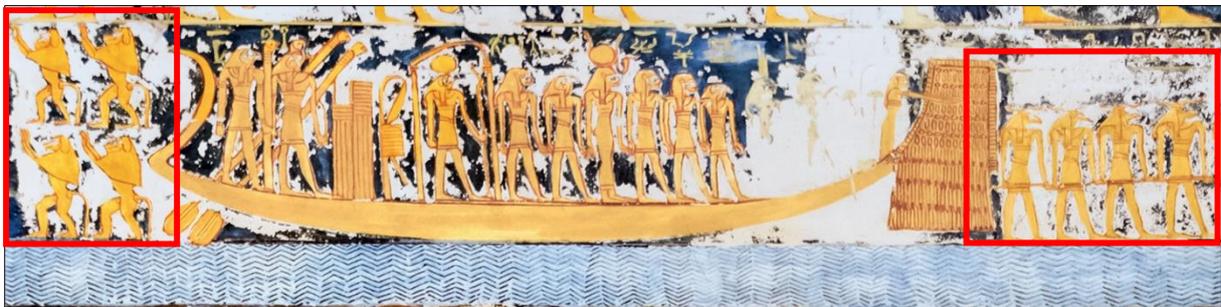


Figure 128. The Eastern Bas (left) and Southern Bas (right) in the Book of Day. Tomb of Ramses V/VI (KV 9), New Kingdom, Dynasty 20.

¹¹¹⁹ Müller-Roth, 2008: p. 174-175. Based on Ramses VIa. The unclear ending probably reads Abydos (*3bdw*) or Elephantine (*3bw*). The latter is more probable due to its location in the south (p. 175: Anm. b).

¹¹²⁰ Müller-Roth, 2008: p. 498.

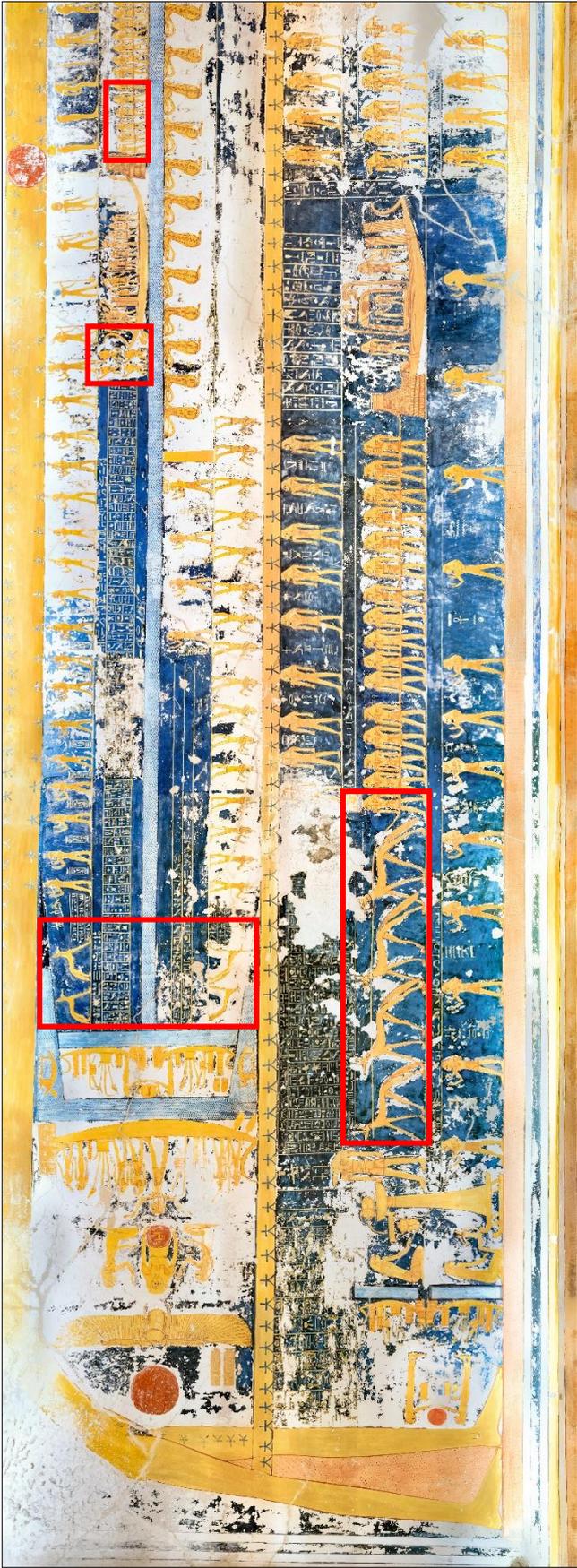


Figure 129. The cardinal Bas in the Book of Day (and Night). Tomb of Ramses V/VI, New Kingdom, Dynasty 20.

Thus, the ‘metaphysical overlay’ that Robinson has mentioned,¹¹²¹ becomes clear when one looks at the descriptions of the places where the cardinal Bas dwell. Both ‘real’ as well as mythical aspects are mentioned, and some terms can be used as each other’s synonyms or equivalent. The *3h.t* seems to equal the entire belt of far-away foreign regions (*God’s Land*) surrounding Egypt, and specific regions of the *3h.t* are equalled with real specific far-away non-indigenous regions and cities. The hieroglyphic characters and determinatives, as well as the iconography accompanying these texts, make it clear that non-indigenous animals have been chosen to represent the *hpr*-form of these Bas on earth. Not only baboons as a manifestation of the Eastern Bas are represented, but other non-indigenous animals as well are seen with a similar function: the Western Bas appear as canid entities and the Northern Bas appear as ibises. This mechanism is summarised in table 4 and visualised in figure 130.¹¹²²

Therefore, it can be said that in these instances, the non-indigenous origin of the animals that are used to represent the cardinal Bas is an important reason for their inclusion. These animals are normally not present in Egypt and the ‘half-otherworldly’ border-zone character of these Bas corresponds to the ‘half-unknown’ border-zone and non-indigenous habitat of these animals. Again, the importance of knowledge is stressed. Not only knowledge of a divine speech (by and as a baboon), but also a detailed knowledge about non-indigenous places and their inhabitants: both real and imaginary.

¹¹²¹ See above, p. 92 and fn. 303.

¹¹²² Based on: Assmann, 1970: p. 50 & 51, abb. 12 and Müller-Roth, 2008: p. 492-495, Tab. 9, Schema 43-44; Morenz (2002: p. 28) claims that a similar use of (mythical) animals linked to cardinal points can be found in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Baqet III (BH 15) in Beni Hassan. However, this claim is not watertight as Quack (2009, p. 351) has already noted.

	Mythical borderland	Real borderland
Manifestation	<i>bz</i> -form: actual appearance	<i>hprw</i> -form: earthly appearance
Northern Bas	Ibis and/or human-like entities	Ibis
Eastern Bas	Baboon and/or human-like entities	Baboon
Southern Bas	Ram and/or human-like entities	Ram
Western Bas	Canid and/or human-like entities	Wild canid
Habitat	<i>3h.t</i>	<i>β-ntr</i> : foreign regions
Cardinal north	1. Northern <i>3h.t</i>	5. Byblos, Libanon, Crete
Cardinal east	2. Eastern <i>3h.t</i>	6. Wetjenet; Punt
Cardinal south	3. Southern <i>3h.t</i>	7. Elephantine?
Cardinal west	4. Western <i>3h.t</i>	8. Libya, Gebelein (?)

Table 4. The interrelationship between the mythical borderland and real borderland, demonstrated by the cardinal Bas, their habitat, and manifestations. The regions marked with numbers (1-8) correspond to the numbers and locations that are displayed in figure 130.

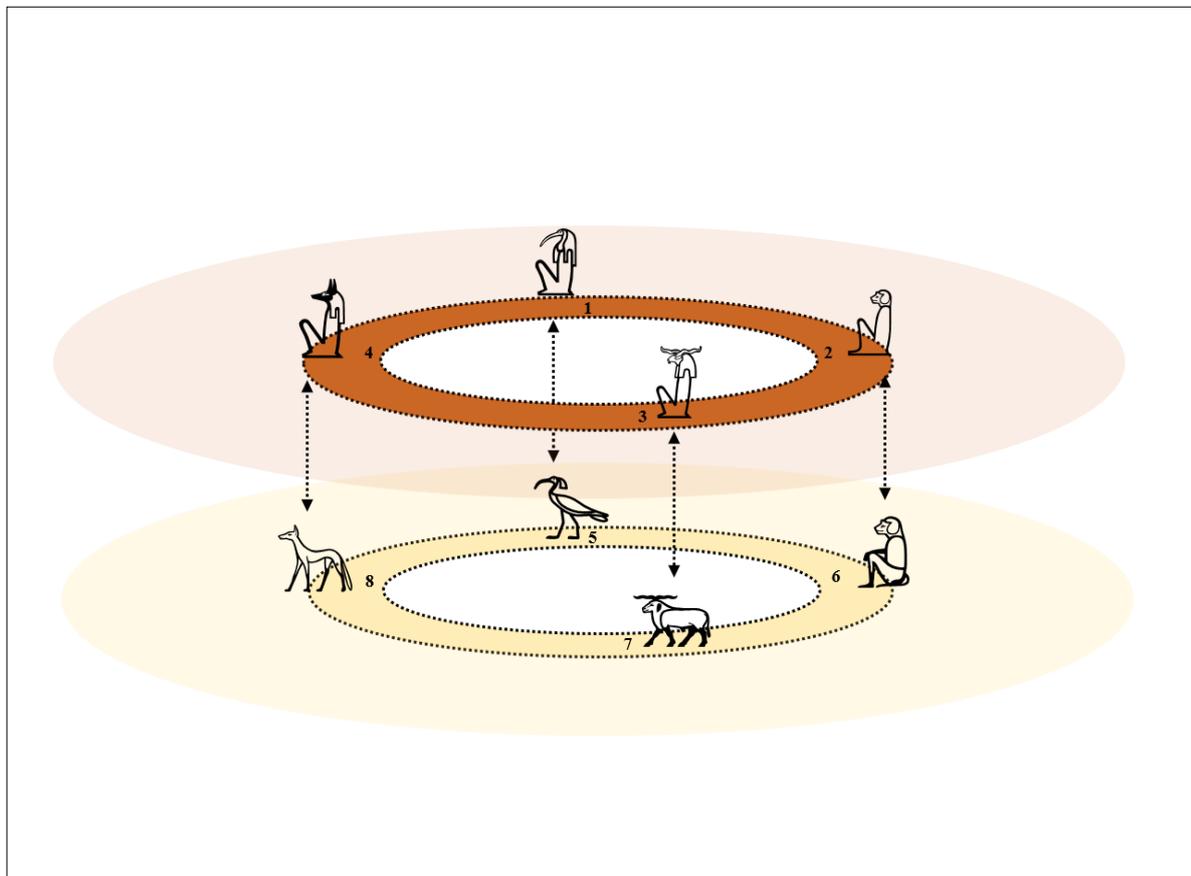


Figure 130. The interrelationship between the mythical borderland and real borderland, demonstrated by the cardinal Bas, their habitat, and manifestations. The (darker) brown belt visualises the mythical borderland and its inhabitants; the (darker) yellow belt visualises actual foreign regions and their inhabitants. The numbers (1-8) correspond to the numbered locations in table 4.

5.5 Desert game, transition and regeneration

Just like the above described lions, canids and monkeys, large desert game (such as gazelles, ibexes and oryxes) are also seen in settings that are intimately linked to ideas of transition and regeneration. Contrary to for example lions and wild canids, these animals are usually not considered very dangerous and are also not known for their aggressive behaviour. Rather, their inclusion is based on other animal characteristics. Additionally, the non-indigenous origin of these animals is important. Because of their habitat, they can be seen as representatives of the desert regions as such. The desert and its animal inhabitants are not only feared, but can also be beneficial. It has been suggested that already in the Predynastic period, the desert can be linked to the afterworld, and more concretely to the afterworld as a chaotic place.¹¹²³ However, the afterworld is not only a place of death, but also of resurrection. As such, the desert can simultaneously be seen as the place where the regeneration of the deceased is effectuated.

5.5.1 Predynastic D-Ware

Horned desert animals

It has already been mentioned that ‘order over chaos’ is the main theme of the D-Ware pottery. This idea is embedded in a funerary context that is heavily related to the afterlife, and more profoundly linked to regionality in the form of non-indigenous and other regions. As such, the ostrich, addax and ibex should foremost be seen as chaotic factors and possibly as representatives of the desert region.¹¹²⁴ However, in certain ritual contexts, the focus seems to lie on the renewal of life, rather than domination. The connection between the renewal of life and desert animals is most obvious for the addax: *‘When the addax is part of a ritual scene that also includes humans, its meaning should be considered in the context of the renewal of life. This does not necessarily contradict the reference to the western desert suggested because the actual meaning of elements within the Naqada IIC-D visual language strongly depends on the context of the elements’*.¹¹²⁵ In this context, the addax, and through it all the wild desert animals that carry horns, are to be interpreted as givers of life.¹¹²⁶ As such, the addax can be interpreted as a representative of these horned wild animals.

¹¹²³ See above, p. 115.

¹¹²⁴ See above, p. 114-116.

¹¹²⁵ Graff et al, 2011: p. 458: fn. 22.

¹¹²⁶ Graff, 2011, p. 61.

This idea is supported by the fact that the ibex¹¹²⁷ can be seen in the same context as the addax, namely where male human figures present horns¹¹²⁸ to them (figure 131). These ideas are perfectly summed up by Graff: to that which is linked to the renewal of life, one asks life, and not power, domination or a balanced world.¹¹²⁹



Figure 131. Male figures presenting horns to the addax (top row) and ibex (bottom row). Predynastic period, Naqada II. (Madrid MAN no. 16169.)

The Ostrich

Although the addressed entities or deities are not directly represented on the D-Ware, they may be evoked by depictions of female figures or standards.¹¹³⁰ However, ostriches and human figures can be used as variations of each other, demonstrating a close link (and assimilation) between humans and birds. These female figures refer to the renewal of life, and the same can therefore be said about the ostrich in this specific context. It is suggested that in these instances, the ostrich is chosen because of its behaviour. He ‘raises’ his wings, which can be compared to the raised arms of the female figures.¹¹³¹

¹¹²⁷ See e.g. Graff, 2009: p. 334, no. 279 (Madrid, MAN no. 16169).

¹¹²⁸ Following the interpretation of the ‘short sticks’ as ibex and/ or addax horns (Graff, 2009: p. 79-82; Graff et al, 2011: p. 455).

¹¹²⁹ Graff, 2011: p. 61.

¹¹³⁰ Graff, 2009: p. 80.

¹¹³¹ Hendrickx & Eyckerman, 2012: p. 40, 44-45.

5.5.2 The gazelle as a regenerative animal

The ‘Place of the Gazelle’

The ambivalent nature of the desert wildlife is further emphasised by looking at STELA DEM 118 from Deir el-Medina. It has been mentioned above that the stela relates about the return of the eye and the defeat of its enemies in the form of desert animals, such as lions, scorpions, and oryxes.¹¹³² However, this particular stela also depicts two gazelles that do not seem to be part of the dominated chaotic desert animals. Much more, they seem to aid Shed as he brings back the eye.¹¹³³ Furthermore, the place that is associated with the death and resurrection of Osiris can be called ‘*ghs.ty*’, which can be translated as the ‘Place of the Gazelle’.¹¹³⁴

PT 478 describes Gehesty as a place of death, the ‘crime scene’ where Seth killed his brother Osiris: ‘*You have come seeking your brother Osiris. His brother Seth has thrown him on his side on that side of Gehesty*’.¹¹³⁵ PT 485B and PT 637 mention the search for Osiris that follows by Geb respectively Horus. It is emphasised that this search takes place outside of Egypt: ‘*he examines the foreign lands, searching for Osiris. He found him, being put on his side in Gehesty*’.¹¹³⁶ The desert location of Gehesty is further emphasised by the spelling of the word in PT 637, where the ‘hill-country’ sign¹¹³⁷ is used as a determinative. However, this location is not only a place of death, but simultaneously a place of resurrection. PT 637 continues with the following sentence: ‘*Osiris filled himself with the Eye of Him whom he begot*’.¹¹³⁸ PT 637 thus tells about the resurrection of Osiris by means of the Eye of Horus, which is equalled to the anointment of the king during the embalming process: ‘*O NN, I also have come to you, I fill you with the ointment which went forth from the Eye of Horus*’.¹¹³⁹ In the COFFIN TEXTS, the location is described as the place where Osiris rises, i.e. as the transitional place between death and resurrection: ‘*Rise up Osiris! On your side in Gehesty! Isis has your arm, Nephtys has your hand; may you go between them. To you are given the sky and the earth*’.¹¹⁴⁰

¹¹³² See above, p. 144 and fn. 567.

¹¹³³ Strandberg, 2009: p. 142.

¹¹³⁴ Strandberg, on the other hand, interprets the *.ty* ending as a dual form (instead of a *nisbe*) and as such suggests an alternative reading of the location as ‘The Place of the Two Gazelles’ (Strandberg, 2009: p. 162-164). She mentions that the occurrence of two gazelles could be based on the behaviour of these animals in nature. Although gazelles usually live in groups, they tend to live and graze in pairs when the climate is more extreme and less food is available (Strandberg, 2009: p. 24); see also Kingdon et al., 2013: VI, p. 343.

¹¹³⁵ PT 478: § 972a-c; Strandberg, 2009: p. 163.

¹¹³⁶ PT 485B: § 1033a-b; PT 637: § 1799a-b; Strandberg, 2009: p. 163.

¹¹³⁷ Gardiner, 1957: p. 488, sign no. 25; Strandberg, 2009: p. 164.

¹¹³⁸ PT 637: § 1800a; Faulkner, 1969: p. 263.

¹¹³⁹ PT 637: § 1800b-c; Faulkner, 1969: p. 263-264, fn. 2.

¹¹⁴⁰ CT VII, 37q-38a (837); Strandberg, 2009: p. 164.

Gazelle milk

This link between the gazelle, the desert, and regeneration is also evident in the THE CONTENTINGS OF HORUS AND SETH. Here, Hathor restores the eyes of Horus by capturing a gazelle, milking it, and pouring its milk into Horus' eyes: *'Then Hathor, mistress of the southern sycamore, went and she found Horus as he lay weeping in the desert. Then she caught a gazelle, milked it and said to Horus: 'Open your eyes, so I can pour this milk in.' He opened his eyes and she poured the milk in. After she poured it into the right and into the left eye, she said to him: 'open your eyes!' He opened his eyes, as she looked at them and she found that they were healed'*.¹¹⁴¹

The gazelle can thus be seen as a device to help the gods, and in this specific case Horus, so that he will be able to win the battle against Seth later. The non-indigenous character of the gazelle plays a role, because this particular part of the story is situated in the desert: the perfect place to find and capture a gazelle. In this case, the desert functions as a place of refuge. Although it may not be easy to do so with a wild gazelle, it is possible to milk this animal, and the appliance of milk as a medical treatment is known from other (medical) texts to treat eye-diseases.¹¹⁴² Obviously, the extreme regenerative powers of gazelle milk that are described here do not reflect a realistic feature of the gazelle or its milk.¹¹⁴³

The Wadi Hammamat gazelle

The so-called Wadi Hammamat inscription describes a quarry expedition of Mentuhotep IV into the Eastern Desert. The aim of the mission was to find stone material for the preparation of the sarcophagus of the king. This text narrates about a miracle that took place during the expedition: *'This miracle which happened for his majesty. The animals of the desert came down to him. And the pregnant gazelle came, walking. Her face was toward the people before her. Her two eyes looked straight ahead. She did not turn back until she arrived at this noble mountain to this block. It was in its place for the lid of the Lord of Life. She gave birth on it. This army of the king looked on. And then her throat was cut, being put on it as a burnt offering. It descended safely. Now, it was the majesty of this noble god, the Lord of the Foreign Lands, who made the sacrifice for his son Nebtawyre'*.¹¹⁴⁴

¹¹⁴¹ pChester Beatty I: recto 10,7-10.9; LES, p. 51-51a; Popko, L. in: TLA; gazelle: *ghs.t*

¹¹⁴² Although not specifically the milk of a gazelle. See e.g. pEbers 368; Deines et al., 1958: IV.1, p. 45; Popko, L. in: SiAE; see also below, fn. 1819.

¹¹⁴³ Moreover, there is no evidence that milk, or more specifically gazelle milk, has any healing benefits whatsoever.

¹¹⁴⁴ Couyat & Montet, 1912: p. 77-78; Strandberg, 2009: p. 171; desert game: *ʿw.t (n.t) ḥ3s.t*, gazelle: *ghs.t*.

Again, the gazelle is a symbol of regeneration: ‘*The reference to the lid as the place where the gazelle gives birth reflects both the form of the block, as a slab suitable for the purpose and the future properties of the lid, where the image of the goddess Nut, the mother that will give the deceased new life, will be inscribed*’.¹¹⁴⁵ The Lord of the Foreign Lands mentioned in the last sentence can be identified as the fertility god Min. Stolberg-Stolberg emphasises that gazelles and other antelopes share their desert habitat with the sphere of influence of this god. Therefore, they are not only associated with chaos and negativity, but also with fertility.¹¹⁴⁶ This again demonstrates the ambivalent character of both the animal and the desert. Furthermore, in this case the gazelle additionally puts an extra emphasis on the desert setting of the events. As such, the gazelle also ‘*represents the role of the desert in mythic thought*’.¹¹⁴⁷ Also of interest is the fact that the gazelle, that apparently has been sent by Min to show the expedition members the right stone, is instantly caught and slaughtered afterwards in order to thank the same god.¹¹⁴⁸

5.5.3 The oryx, ibex and gazelle as regenerative animals

As symbols of regeneration, the gazelle, oryx, and ibex are also quite often found on cosmetic articles, especially in the New Kingdom period. As such, it can be said that: ‘*Die gesamte Tiergruppe der Antilopen, Gazellen und Steinböcke steht mit Göttern in engen Beziehung, die einen Fruchtbarkeits- oder Liebesaspekt aufweisen und können daher eine besonderen Bezug zur Erotik herstellen*’.¹¹⁴⁹ These animals are seen on vessels that were used to hold liquid substances. According to Schoske, the ibex is relatively often depicted on such vessels,¹¹⁵⁰ which is for example seen at Louvre E 12659 and München ÄS 2729 (figure 132).¹¹⁵¹

The Louvre example shows a mother and her young, which could indicate that this was originally a container of milk, although this cannot be proven. However, Quaegebeur argues that not only milk, but also other substances such as oil are used to revive the body.¹¹⁵² Depictions of such vessels are also found in the iconography. The tomb of Qenamun shows similar vessels among the New Year’s Gifts, not only of an ibex, but also a gazelle and oryx.¹¹⁵³

¹¹⁴⁵ Strandberg, 2009: p. 171.

¹¹⁴⁶ Stolberg-Stolberg, 2004: p. 191.

¹¹⁴⁷ Strandberg, 2009: p. 185.

¹¹⁴⁸ Stolberg-Stolberg, 2004: p. 165.

¹¹⁴⁹ Stolberg-Stolberg, 2004: p. 146.

¹¹⁵⁰ Schoske, 1990: p. 96.

¹¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹¹⁵² Quaegebeur, 1999: p. 123.

¹¹⁵³ TT 93: Davies, 1930: pl. XX & XXIIa.

In a few instances, a similar link between animal-shaped vessels and regeneration can be suggested for the monkey. MMA 30.8.134 and 1992.338, both dated to the sixth Dynasty, show monkeys that are holding their young (figure 133).



Figure 132. Two ibex-shaped vessels. New Kingdom, Dynasty 18. (Left: Louvre E 12659; right: München ÄS 2729.)



Figure 133. Two vessels depicting monkeys holding their young. Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6. (New York MMA 30.8.134 and MMA 1992.338.)

Furthermore, in certain contexts the gazelle is particularly associated with women. Females that are closely linked to the king can be depicted wearing a diadem with gazelle-head decoration.¹¹⁵⁴ These headdresses are usually worn by younger women and could therefore possibly be linked to ideas of regeneration. Two of these diadems are part of the collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Arts,¹¹⁵⁵ one of them not only shows gazelles, but also a deer (figure 135 & 181). Similar headdresses are also depicted in the iconography. The daughters of Menna and Paury are portrayed wearing such a diadem in the tombs of their fathers (TT 69 and TT 139). The daughters of Menna both hold a Hathor-faced sistrum in their hands (figure 134), and Paury's daughter is also associated with this goddess.¹¹⁵⁶

Additionally, the oldest daughter of Amenhotep III wears the ornament on a chair found in the tomb of Yuya and Thuya (KV 46),¹¹⁵⁷ and two women with a side-lock wear the diadem in the temple of Ramses II at Elkab.¹¹⁵⁸ Lilyquist concludes that *'it seems clear that New Kingdom women associated with the royal harem wore gazelle diadems, and it can be proposed that there was a reference to Hathor in the diadems. It may be that the gazelle prototype for women was instigated by foreign women'*.¹¹⁵⁹ Additionally, an emphasis lies on the young age of the women. They are represented in their role as daughter or wear a side-lock.

¹¹⁵⁴ Lilyquist, 2003: p. 347-348, Appendix 4.

¹¹⁵⁵ New York MMA 26.8.99: figure 135; see also <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/553269>; New York MMA 68.136.1: figure 181; see also <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544073> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

¹¹⁵⁶ Lilyquist, 2003: p. 157, fig. 93a-b.

¹¹⁵⁷ Cairo CG 51113: Quibell, 1908: pl. XXXVIII & XL; Strandberg, 2009: p. 139.

¹¹⁵⁸ Wilkinson 1971: p. 117; Strandberg, 2009: p. 140.

¹¹⁵⁹ Lilyquist, 2003: p. 161.



Figure 134. Left: a daughter of Menna wearing a diadem with gazelle-head decoration. Tomb of Menna (TT 69), New Kingdom, Dynasty 18.

Figure 135: Right: a diadem with two gazelle heads. Tomb of Thutmose III's foreign wives (Wady D Tomb 1), New Kingdom, Dynasty 18. (New York MMA 26.8.99.)

The oryx and the ibex occasionally occur on ceremonial barks, and here too a connection between the animals, their habitat, and ideas of transition and regeneration can be suggested.

The oryx can be found at the Henu bark connected to Sokar, for example at Medinet Habu. In this example, the king also sacrifices an oryx before the bark.¹¹⁶⁰ A link can be suggested between BD 74 and the offering of the oryx. This chapter often features the Henu bark of Sokar and is called: ‘*Formula for hastening the feet, [going up from the earth]*’.¹¹⁶¹

Eaton sees a connection between the speed of the animal and the name of the chapter: ‘*the goal of this chapter – to be swift-footed- fits well with the offering of the oryx*’.¹¹⁶² Furthermore, the offering of an animal of the desert to a god of the desert makes perfect sense.¹¹⁶³ As such, the oryx does not automatically represent a chaotic animal or an enemy of the gods, but rather functions as a helper. Apart from the oryx, the ibex is also occasionally attached to funerary and ceremonial boats, which is for example seen in the iconography of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri (figure 136).¹¹⁶⁴ These boats are headed to the shrine of Hathor in the west.¹¹⁶⁵ Here too, the presence of a desert animal as an ornament of the bark makes sense, considering the fact that the procession is heading to the west. The famous ornamental bark from the tomb

¹¹⁶⁰ Epigraphic Survey, 1963: MH VI, II pl. 480A.

¹¹⁶¹ Lapp, 1997: pl. 15: 74, 1; Quirke, 2013: p. 176; Backes, B. in: TLA. Based on the version on the papyrus of Nu (pLondon BM EA 10477).

¹¹⁶² Eaton, 2006: p. 100.

¹¹⁶³ Similar to the offering of the gazelle to the god Min in the Wadi Hammamat inscription of Mentuhotep IV.

¹¹⁶⁴ Naville, 1901: DB 4, pl. LXXXVIII & LXXXIX.

¹¹⁶⁵ Naville, 1901: DB 4, p. 2.

of Tutankhamun¹¹⁶⁶ is decorated with two ibex heads at its rear and prow and can be interpreted in a similar fashion. Additionally, Quaegebeur argues that this ornamental boat most likely functioned as a receptive of perfumes, and specifically links the presence of the ibexes at the rear and prow with ideas of regeneration.¹¹⁶⁷

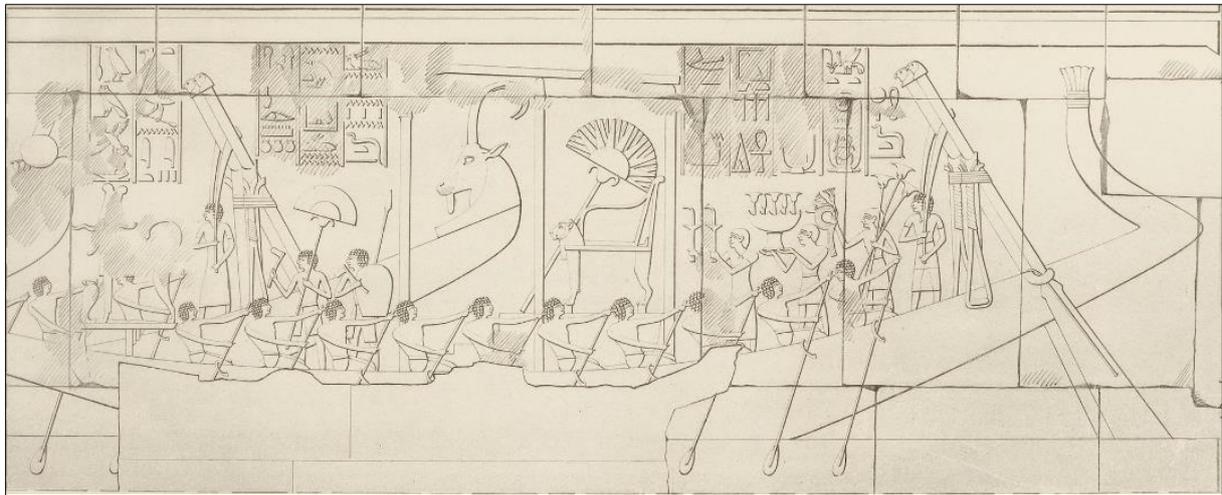


Figure 136. Ceremonial boat with ibex-head decoration in the shrine of Hathor in Deir el-Bahri. New Kingdom, Dynasty 18.

Lastly, it goes without saying that one of the most important aims of animal offerings for the deceased is found in the regenerative qualities that are being forwarded to the receiver: *‘Diese dynamistische Auffassung von der Opfertgabe als einer lebensvermittelnden Substanz gilt in besonderer Weise für das Schlachtopfer’*.¹¹⁶⁸ As such, wild and non-indigenous animals, such as the ibex, oryx, and gazelle are considered especially suitable offering products (figure 137). Fitzenreiter emphasises that these desert animals fall into a category of food that is considered special, and not used for the daily offering. Rather, the butchering and consumption of these animals is part of the festive meal during which the communion between the living and the dead is celebrated:¹¹⁶⁹ *‘Pictures showing animals as offerings contextualise a totally different space: not the everyday world of men, but a sacred zone of space and time where the controlled contact between the living and the dead is possible (and desired, not feared). A special choice of meals, through the metaphor of ‘feeding’ and ‘Essgemeinschaft’, serves to constitute a situation in which the deceased are assured of their spiritual existence and the communication between the dead and the living is made possible. The liminal character of this situation is conjured up by*

¹¹⁶⁶ Cairo JE 62120 (The Griffith Institute, Burton photograph no. p1570: <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/578-p1570.html> last accessed 24 February 2022).

¹¹⁶⁷ Quaegebeur, 1999: p. 130-131.

¹¹⁶⁸ Altenmüller, 1982: p. 580 (= LÄ IV: ‘Opfer’).

¹¹⁶⁹ Fitzenreiter, 2009: p. 317.

music, dance, fragrance, sexualisation, etc'.¹¹⁷⁰ The exquisite and special air attached to the meat of desert animals is perfectly suited for this function, and the frequent occurrence of desert animals in offering rows and slaughter scenes can also be explained for this reason: *'Preparation of food –but only preparation as feast-food- stands as a transforming activity that connects both spheres. Food preparation has a border-passing effect like the activity of a priest*'.¹¹⁷¹



Figure 137. Offerings including a variety of slaughtered desert animals and animal parts including desert game (gazelle, ibex and oryx) in the tomb of Mereruka, Saqqara, Old Kingdom, Dynasty 5.

¹¹⁷⁰ Idem: p. 327.

¹¹⁷¹ Ibid.

6. CONCEPTS OF PROSPERITY AND PRESTIGE

Non-indigenous animals are used in contexts that express the authority, status and power of the leader, king or elite. When depicted or described as elements of chaos, the control over these animals simultaneously demonstrates the power of the controlling figure. Furthermore, the animals can be used as controlling and powerful elements themselves. As such, animals that are considered dangerous or strong are used to express the power of a person. However, non-indigenous animals are also used to express ideas of power and authority in other ways: they are not only chaotic or powerful, but also prestigious and valuable, and consequently demonstrate the wealth and prosperity of the owner. Experiencing the unknown, and the possession of rare, special, and valuable animals from abroad demonstrates the uniqueness and specialness of the leader and effectively separated him from the common people, attributing to his power, authority and (unique) status.

6.1 The Predynastic period

These ideas are already evident in the early material, which becomes especially clear by looking at the chaotic animals depicted on the animal rows of the Predynastic period, and the zooarchaeological material from at Hierakonpolis. The animal remains found at HK6 and HK29 show the physical reality behind the iconography. At least to some extent, the decorated ivories with their rows of animals walking towards the knife blade can be connected to the buried and offered animals at Hierakonpolis.¹¹⁷²

6.1.1 Animal rows on knife handles

The depicted animals on the animal rows¹¹⁷³ are not only important because they have been dominated and are submissive, but also because they are special, rare and (therefore) valuable. The animal rows can be interpreted as a depiction of the ‘result’ of a desert hunt. The hunters departed from the normal social world and returned as transformed and heroic figures.¹¹⁷⁴ As such, the emphasis does not only lie on conquering chaos, but also on experiencing otherness.¹¹⁷⁵ An additional emphasis is thus put on the specialness and exclusivity of the animals, demonstrating the specialness of the hunters themselves. In this respect, it is important to realise that these knife handles were most likely used in a ritual and elite context. Per

¹¹⁷² Graff et al., 2011: p. 455; Friedman et al., 2011: p. 186; Friedman, 2011: p. 93.

¹¹⁷³ See above p. 117-120 & figure 96.

¹¹⁷⁴ Lankester, 2016: § 4.

¹¹⁷⁵ See above, p. 90.

definition, these objects had to be special, rare, and difficult to obtain and create in order to enhance and maximise their power and efficiency and differentiate them from the trivial and purely mundane objects.¹¹⁷⁶ The same can be said about the depicted animals: all of the animals are rare, special and difficult to obtain. Some of them do not even exist in reality.¹¹⁷⁷ Exactly for these reasons they demonstrate and emphasise the power, wealth and uniqueness of the ruler and legitimize his privileged position, both on a worldly and supernatural level.¹¹⁷⁸ This is further emphasised by the fact that not all non-indigenous animals are displayed. The more common or smaller ones, for example hares and hedgehogs are not seen. Furthermore, not all of the depicted animals, such as the oryx and ibex, can be considered extremely dangerous.¹¹⁷⁹ Additional factors that stand out are the variety in animal species that are depicted, and the quantity of each of these species. Not one or two species, but a whole range of rare, non-indigenous animals are displayed. Also, each species is depicted multiple times, demonstrating abundance. As such, the multitude of these special and rare animals promotes the prosperity and wealth of the controller even further.¹¹⁸⁰ Obviously, non-indigenous animals are ideal candidates per definition: they are rare, special, and difficult to obtain.

This link between quantity, abundance and prosperity also becomes clear by looking at the ‘animal rows’ on the LIBYAN PALETTE (see figure 138).¹¹⁸¹ Here, the animals are not non-indigenous and not wild, but indigenous and domesticated. Even though the layout resembles the animal rows that have already been discussed, the function and meaning of the animals on this particular object is slightly different. In my opinion, the rows could be interpreted as early examples of rows of tribute gifts. The emphasis lies on the plurality of the animals and the fact that they came from foreign regions. However, these animals are also indigenous to Egypt and not ‘special’. Indeed, the controlling and domination over foreign regions is displayed, but a major difference can be found in the fact that these military and political activities are not equalled to or compared with a hunt or the result of a hunt. In this case, power, wealth and status

¹¹⁷⁶ Raffaele, 2010: p. 246, fn. 10.

¹¹⁷⁷ See above, p. 118 and figure 78 & 99.

¹¹⁷⁸ Raffaele, 2010: p. 246, fn. 7: ‘*The theme of animal rows is mainly (but not exclusively) found on classes of luxury items which M. Hoffman used to name powerfacts. The term efficaciously resumes the restricted diffusion of this crafts production within the uppermost levels of the early regional polities: elites and royal courts were the creators of the ideology of power, apt to legitimize and maintain their privileged positions in the material world (society) and on the supernatural level (relationship with divine entities both during the life-time and in the afterlife).*’ See also Hoffman (1991: p. 294).

¹¹⁷⁹ See e.g. the Abu Zaidan knife handle (Brooklyn Mus. 09.889.118).

¹¹⁸⁰ Raffaele, 2010: p. 266, fn. 101.

¹¹⁸¹ Cairo CG 14238: figure 138; additional depictions and bibliography found at: <http://xoomer.virgilio.it/francescoraf/hesyra/palettes/tehenu.htm> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

is also not emphasised by special items, but rather by quantity. Taking or receiving considerable amounts of livestock not only demonstrates abundance and prosperity with respect to the receiver, but should also be seen as a considerable economic loss for the region of origin. An emphasis thus lies on the economic value of the animals, and the repetition of the animals foremost promotes abundance and prosperity. As such, the animals are not the ones that are being controlled, but their original owners, i.e. the people they were taken from.



Figure 138. Animal rows on the Libyan Palette: indigenous animals as possible tribute gifts. Late Predynastic period. (Cairo CG 14238.)

6.1.2 The zooarchaeology of Hierakonpolis

Similar ideas of prosperity and prestige can be deduced from the zooarchaeological material at Hierakonpolis that has already been discussed in chapter four.¹¹⁸² Here, the presence of actual remains of wild non-indigenous animals is remarkable. In this respect, it needs to be stressed again that hunting did not have an significant economic relevance, at least not as a means of survival. At HK29, the ceremonial temple area of the site, huge quantities of faunal material

¹¹⁸² See above, p. 151.

have been found. The majority of the faunal remains is dated to the Naqada IIB-C period.¹¹⁸³ For most of the remains it can be assumed that they belonged to animals that were offered and consumed within the complex.¹¹⁸⁴ These assemblages show various special features. The domestic cattle and Nile perch for example, seem to have been selected for their large size.¹¹⁸⁵ Furthermore, the quantity of hunted animals is far higher than at any other Predynastic site.¹¹⁸⁶ It has already been suggested that the offering and consumption of these wild animals could be linked to ideas of control over chaotic forces.¹¹⁸⁷ Still, some caution is advised considering these interpretations:

*(...) certainly not everything that differs from the norm should be interpreted as religious. Instead, the hundreds of identical jars and bottles and the mass of bones from large and succulent animals may simply be the refuse from a Predynastic restaurant—gourmet, of course!*¹¹⁸⁸ Whatever the religious and symbolic significance of the animals, at the very least the choice of animals clearly demonstrates the extreme prosperity of the participants. The combination of the various ‘special’ animals seems to be the ultimate demonstration of the power, prestige, status, and wealth of the ruler and the elite. In this respect, the non-indigenous animals appear to primarily function as ‘enhancers’. However, this seems to be more related to their rare- and specialness, than with the fact that they are non-indigenous.¹¹⁸⁹ The focus on large specimens of domestic animals and fish could demonstrate, among others, the wealth of the ruler. However, the incorporation and consumption of rare and exquisite non-indigenous animals demonstrates this wealth even more.

The same can be said about the non-indigenous fauna found at HK6. Their possible protective function, which is based on their chaotic and powerful nature, has already been mentioned.¹¹⁹⁰ Still, in addition to this interpretation, the incorporation of the most powerful and special non-indigenous animals suggests *‘a focus on the exotic and the rare, and may be considered at minimum as expressions of the power or wealth of their owners’*.¹¹⁹¹ Although non-indigenous animals are found both at HK29 and HK6, the focus of the wild animals that are seen at the elite cemetery HK6 seems to be on the most ‘special’ wildlife. The rarest and most exotic

¹¹⁸³ Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 56.

¹¹⁸⁴ Linseele et al., 2009: p. 114 & 126.

¹¹⁸⁵ Linseele et al., 2009: p. 132-133.

¹¹⁸⁶ Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 56.

¹¹⁸⁷ See above, p. 115.

¹¹⁸⁸ Linseele & Van Neer, 2003: p. 7.

¹¹⁸⁹ The foreign origin of the animals is important, but primarily because this aspect can be seen as a precondition for them to be considered special or unfamiliar (see below, p. 353-355).

¹¹⁹⁰ See above, p. 151.

¹¹⁹¹ Linseele et al., 2009: p. 126.

animals, namely baboons, elephants, aurochs and a leopard, are not found among the wild animals from HK29. Baboons and elephants had to be imported from more southern regions, and although present in the Egyptian desert regions, the aurochs and especially the leopard are to be considered extremely rare for this period.¹¹⁹² Moreover, the more common wildlife, such as fish and gazelles are found in abundance at HK29, but not at HK6. This indicates that the various species of wildlife did not have the same function, and that indeed the most rare and exotic animals were considered ‘extra special’ when compared to the more abundant wildlife. The unique presence of these ‘extra special’ animals at the elite cemetery, indicates that the rarest and most exotic animals are linked to the most important persons of society, emphasising their elite status and wealth.

In this respect, it is also important to realise that at Hierakonpolis, some of the wild animals were not captured and then killed, but kept in captivity for an extended period of time. These animals include the baboon, hartebeest and aurochs.¹¹⁹³ This also demonstrates the wealth, status and power of the owner. A ‘collection’ of special animals provided not only an awesome display, but also required a great deal of effort and high quality food in order to maintain these animals. Furthermore, the burial of whole animals, especially cattle, is of course a loss of food from an economic perspective.

6.2 The Dynastic period

6.2.1 The desert hunt as an economic pursuit

Similar ideas of prosperity and prestige can be related to non-indigenous animals in the pharaonic period. Even though these animals were not essential for survival, they did have an economic purpose for the elite. As such, these animals are most often seen in a hunting, offering and tribute context. Hunting wild desert animals is indeed a recurrent theme in the iconography of royal and private monuments and objects throughout the pharaonic period.¹¹⁹⁴

Herb summarizes the function of the desert hunt as follows: *‘Die Jagd auf das Wilde Tier war im Kern immer ein wirtschaftliches Unterfangen, dessen enormer organisatorischer Aufwand es letztlich ermöglichte, die Rolle der Beteiligten neu zu definieren und das Geschehen je nach Standpunkt des Chronisten als sportlich-recreatives Erlebnis, wichtiges biographisches Datum oder gar politisch-ideologisches Programm darzustellen’*.¹¹⁹⁵

¹¹⁹² Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 63; Van Neer et al., 2013: p. 299.

¹¹⁹³ Van Neer et al., 2017: p. 90, 98-99.

¹¹⁹⁴ Decker & Herb, 1994: p. 266.

¹¹⁹⁵ Herb, 2005: p. 37.

The desert hunt has several different functions, and it depends on the context which of these functions are emphasised. Still, the (elite) economical use lying at its basis should not be overlooked. Apart from a chaos conquering, power-establishing or recreational activity, the desert hunt provided the Egyptians with valuable animal products, such as their meat and pelts. THE TALE OF THE ELOQUENT PEASANT, for example, relates about a peasant who travels from the Wadi Natrun to Egypt, in order to sell various products that were found in his home region, but not in the Nile Valley. Among these products are leopard skins and wolf or jackal hides.¹¹⁹⁶ Additionally, hunters could also be sent abroad in order to hunt and capture these animals: ‘*I appointed for you hunters to capture oryxes in order to offer them to your Ka at all your feasts*’.¹¹⁹⁷ Many of the edible desert animals were indeed used (or wanted) as offerings in the funerary and temple ritual. These consequent stages and actions following a desert hunt (i.e. the keeping and offering of the animals) took place closer to or in the settlement areas and are frequently depicted and mentioned during the Old Kingdom period, but occur less frequently in later periods.¹¹⁹⁸

6.2.1.1 The enclosure-hunt

When non-indigenous animals occur in a settlement setting, it is usually the result of a hunt or expedition that has been undertaken. However, numerous iconographic depictions of the desert hunt show that these animals were often hunted from within an enclosure, and not in their natural environment. This type of hunt should be seen as the result of an ‘initial hunt’ that had been undertaken at an earlier stage in order to collect these animals and put them in an enclosure.¹¹⁹⁹ Such an enclosure hunt would allow the royal or elite hunter to safely hunt wild animals and maximise his catch.¹²⁰⁰

Depictions of desert animals in enclosures are already suggested for the Predynastic period and proven for the Early Dynastic period. Graff et al. suggest that the ‘cross-hatching’ pattern that is occasionally found on D-Ware pottery and connected to desert animals, represents an architectural feature made of perishable materials that could have functioned as an animal enclosure (figure 131).¹²⁰¹ Indeed, reed fences and funerary enclosures of posts with matting attached to them have been found at HK6, and the oval courtyard at HK29A was surrounded

¹¹⁹⁶ See below, p. 307 and fn. 1446.

¹¹⁹⁷ pHarris I, 28.4; Erichsen, 1933: p. 32, 17-18; Breasted, 1906: IV, p. 146: § 266; see below, p. 279.

¹¹⁹⁸ Stolberg-Stolberg, 2004: p. 131.

¹¹⁹⁹ It is, however, highly questionable if such hunting enclosures, holding large amounts of wild animals, really existed. This will be further discussed in paragraph 6.2.3.1 (p. 293-295).

¹²⁰⁰ Marshall, 2012: p. 138.

¹²⁰¹ Graff et al., 2011: p. 437 & 448.

by an enclosure made of wooden posts.¹²⁰² More concrete evidence is found on the NARMER MACEHEAD, where three hartebeests are shown inside an enclosure.¹²⁰³ However, these enclosures are not per definition linked to an actual hunt and could just as well represent the area where the caught animals were kept before they were slaughtered or for display.

In the temple of Sahure, however, the king is actually depicted hunting desert animals that are kept within an enclosure (figure 79). This suggests that the idea of an enclosure-hunt was, at the latest, already in use in the Old Kingdom period. The desert hunt of Sahure clearly shows elements of chaos and portrays the king as a powerful hunter and therefore leader. The detailed layout and irregular assemblage of the scene emphasises the inherent chaos of the desert environment and desert life as a whole.¹²⁰⁴ However, at the same time, such a detailed layout also clearly emphasises the variety in natural elements and the abundance of wildlife that is found in the desert regions.¹²⁰⁵ As such, Herb and Förster argue that the desert is not depicted as a place of chaos, but rather as a place of potential. These scenes provide a visual list of all the economic resources of the desert and their economic utilization.¹²⁰⁶ Moreover, even though the king is clearly depicted as a hunter, the accompanying text to the desert hunt scene of Sahure reads: *‘Inspecting the animals of the desert inside the net’*.¹²⁰⁷ According to Herb, this ‘inspection’ should be seen as the primary motive of the king. He would occasionally check the condition of the enclosure and the animals inside *‘und natürlich hätte er es sich nicht nehmen lassen, hierbei „einen Schuß zu tun“*.¹²⁰⁸

This type of hunting is also depicted in various private Dynastic tombs, for example in the tomb of Mereruka (figure 139).¹²⁰⁹ An interesting detail is found in the tomb of Niankhkhnun and Khnumhotep, where two lions are depicted outside the enclosure, but leaning over it to grab an oryx.¹²¹⁰ One of the oldest depictions of the private desert hunt is found in the Old Kingdom

¹²⁰² Idem: p. 449 & 459.

¹²⁰³ Oxford AM E.3631; Depictions and bibliography found at *‘The Narmer Catalog’*: <https://www.narmer.org/inscription/0080> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

¹²⁰⁴ See above, p. 121 and figure 79.

¹²⁰⁵ E.g. the desert section in the sun temple of Niussere and the desert hunt in the tomb of Akhetotep and Ptahhotep II; see above, fn. 465 & 467.

¹²⁰⁶ Herb & Förster, 2009: p. 24.

¹²⁰⁷ Herb, 2005: p. 30; Borchardt, 1913: II, p. 89, Bl. 17.

¹²⁰⁸ Herb, 2005: p. 30.

¹²⁰⁹ See especially Decker & Herb (1994) for a chronological catalogue of desert hunting scenes: Old Kingdom: e.g. the tomb of Niankhkhnun & Khnumhotep (Decker & Herb, 1994: J 24: I, p. 302-303; II, Taf. CXXXV); Middle Kingdom: e.g. the tomb of Baqet III (BH 15: Decker & Herb, 1994: J 66: I, p. 319-320; II, Taf. CXLVI); New Kingdom: e.g. tomb of Amenemhat (TT 53: Decker & Herb, 1994: J 97: I, 334-335; II, Taf. CLXII).

¹²¹⁰ Tomb of Niankhkhnun & Khnumhotep (Ibid.); Harpur & Scremin, 2010: p. 260-261 [277-278].

tomb of Rahotep. Here too, an ‘inspecting’ activity is mentioned. Although textual explanations accompanying the scenes are very rare for this period,¹²¹¹ the tomb of Rahotep shown the owner overlooking the desert hunt, with an associated text that reads: ‘*Inspecting the net*’.¹²¹² However, this net is only mentioned in the text, but not depicted in the scene.



Figure 139. A desert hunt scene in the tomb of Mereruka. The hunt takes place in an enclosure, which can be seen at the far left and right sides of the image. Saqqara, Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6.

6.2.1.2 Occupational reality

The same action is mentioned in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Djehutyhotep, where it is said that the owner is ‘*inspecting the net of desert animals – they were more abundant than anything else*’.¹²¹³ In these two instances the tomb owner does not actively take part in the desert hunt, but rather watches his ‘people’ in the act. Of course, observing the hunt is just as well a recreational activity,¹²¹⁴ but these inspections also had a more practical function. The keeping, hunting, or supervising of these animals could be part of the official duties of the tomb owner. The 4th Dynasty mastaba of Metjen shows the tomb owner standing next to a depiction of a desert hunt. Part of his title is ‘*official of the desert and commander of the hunters*’.¹²¹⁵ One of the titles of Djehutyhotep is ‘*Gate of every foreign place*’,¹²¹⁶ probably meaning that he is in charge of who and what enters and leaves Egypt, and that he has access to foreign imports. Similarly, Khnumhotep II is called the ‘*overseer of the Eastern Desert*’, connecting the depicted desert hunt in the tomb to specific activities of the owner.¹²¹⁷ Depictions of the desert hunt are more dominant in the Middle Kingdom provincial states, where the nomarchs relied more

¹²¹¹ Van Walsem, 2014: p. 75.

¹²¹² Tomb of Rahotep (Meidum, no. 6: Decker & Herb, 1994: J 17: I, p. 298-299; II, Taf. CXXXIII; Petrie, 1892: pl. IX; Van Walsem, 2014: p. 76).

¹²¹³ Tomb of Djehutyhotep II (Deir el-Bersha, no. 2: Decker & Herb, 1994: J 79: I, p. 326-327; II, Taf. CLXII); Newberry, 1895: pl. VII; Gardiner, 1957: p. 113: § 145; desert game: *ḥwt (n.t) ḥ3s.t*.

¹²¹⁴ Van Walsem, 2014: p. 82.

¹²¹⁵ Lepsius, 1972: Abth. II, Bl. 3.

¹²¹⁶ Newberry, 1895: p. 6, 16.

¹²¹⁷ Newberry, 1893: I, p. 56, pl. XXIV; Kamrin, 1999: p. 35; Fitzenreiter, 2009: p. 322-323.

heavily on the resources of the desert than in the residence.¹²¹⁸ In these tombs, ‘fantasy animals’ are occasionally encountered among the desert animals as well, for example in the tombs of Baqet III, Khnumhotep II, and Khety at Beni Hassan.¹²¹⁹ Considering the possible closer connection of the provincial tomb owners with the desert animals, it is likely that an additional function of the hunting scenes in these tombs could be a ‘presentation’ of the animals that lived in the desert. As such, these depictions can be interpreted as a kind of ‘encyclopaedia’ showing the economic resources of the desert, and the animals that lived in this environment.¹²²⁰ Apparently, ‘fantasy animals’ could also be included (figure 140).



Figure 140. Detail from a hunting / presentation scene, situated in an enclosure (depicted in the top register). The animals consist of fantasy animals to the left of the hunter and ‘real’ animals to the right of the hunter. Beni Hassan, Tomb of Baqet III (BH 15), Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 11.

These creatures are of course non-existent according to our etic point of view, but were apparently thought to be real by the desert travellers or hunters: ‘*When hunting in the desert or inspecting the trade roads, the nomarchs could have witnessed shy desert animals in the distance. The vibrating desert air may have distorted body parts of these animals, which made the nomarchs believe the refracted images were as real as other ‘normal’ desert animals.*’¹²²¹ It can be suggested that in these instances the depictions could be closer related to reality, or at least the personal life of the tomb owner, than in other instances.

A desert hunt is, for example, also depicted in the Old Kingdom tombs of Niankhkhnun and Khnumhotep. Both are named ‘*overseer of the manicurists of the king*’,¹²²² which can hardly be related to any desert activities.¹²²³ In this respect, Fitzenreiter emphasises that ‘*the same picture*

¹²¹⁸ Fitzenreiter, 2009: p. 322.

¹²¹⁹ Tomb of Baqet III (no. 15: Kanawati & Woods, 2010: photo 205-206; Decker & Herb, 1994: J 66: I, p. 319-320, II, Taf. CXLVI); tomb of Khnumhotep II (no. 3: Kanawati & Evans, 2014: pl. 36b-c, 37a; Decker & Herb, 1994: J 77: I, 324-326; II, Taf. CLIII); tomb of Khety (no. 17: Kanawati & Woods, 2010: photo 207; Decker & Herb, 1994: J 67: I, p. 320).

¹²²⁰ Berens, 2015: p. 38-39; Herb & Förster, 2009: p. 24.

¹²²¹ Berens, 2015: p. 39.

¹²²² Moussa & Altenmüller, 1977: p. 25-29.

¹²²³ Fitzenreiter, 2009: p. 324.

therefore can be used to express quite different meanings, either connected with ‘reality’ (social, economical, political) or ‘symbolism’.¹²²⁴ The band underneath the desert hunt depicted in the above mentioned tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep suggests that the focus actually lies on the offerings for the deceased: ‘to descend into the west by the leader of the funerary estate to get all sweet things and to present all the animals of the desert’.¹²²⁵ Indeed, the animals needed to be hunted and caught before they could eventually serve as an offering.

6.2.1.3 Desert game as valuable and prestigious offering products

In the iconographic record of the Old Kingdom period, the desert animals mainly functioned as offering goods for the deceased elite or the temple.¹²²⁶ The hunting methods depicted in the Old Kingdom private tombs (as opposed to the royal examples) are often non-lethal, and the emphasis lies on capturing the animals.¹²²⁷ Apart from depictions of the desert hunt, the iconography also depicts what happened to these animals in consequent stages. The tomb of Ptahhotep shows a depiction of the transportation of desert animals. These include hyenas on leashes, a leopard and a lion in a cage, and small and young animals that are being carried in baskets, such as hares, hedgehogs, and baby gazelles.¹²²⁸ In the Old and Middle Kingdom hunting scenes, the lion is occasionally part of a hunting scene, but in these cases the animal is shown as a hunter, and not as being hunted. The same is true for the leopard, and for the cheetah in the New Kingdom period.¹²²⁹ Still, the iconography in the tomb of Ptahhotep suggests that the lion and the leopard were in fact caught during the hunt, also in the Old Kingdom period. However, the lion and leopard are not seen at the consecutive phases, such as slaughtering and offering scenes.¹²³⁰ The skin of the leopard shows up in the offering lists again,¹²³¹ but the lion does not seem to have an economic relevance. Hunting this animal can therefore be seen as a demonstration of power, or as a means to protect livestock or people from

¹²²⁴ Fitzenreiter, 2009: p. 322.

¹²²⁵ Moussa & Altenmüller, 1977: p. 110, Taf. 40; *ḥw.t (n.t) ḥ3s.t*.

¹²²⁶ Stollberg-Stollberg, 2004: p. 127.

¹²²⁷ Marshall, 2012: p. 142-143.

¹²²⁸ Harpur & Scremin, 2008: p. 167-171 [234-240].

¹²²⁹ See above, p. 123, fn. 465 & fn. 468. Realistic depictions of the cheetah are only seen in the New Kingdom period, for example on the sheath of a dagger found in the tomb of Tutankhamun (Cairo JE 61584: figure 186; see also Hawass, 2004: p. 65).

¹²³⁰ Small animals are only seen at offering rows, but not in the slaughtering scenes.

¹²³¹ McDonald, 2002: p. 304-305, Tab. 3.13.

this dangerous predator.¹²³² Perhaps lions were even kept as pets by the elite.¹²³³ Thus, not all of the animals encountered and caught in the desert are shown in the following stages, but apparently only the ones with an economic use.¹²³⁴ The most frequently occurring animals are gazelles, oryxes and ibexes.

Especially during the Old Kingdom period, indigenous animals as well as non-indigenous animals occur in the same context and are treated the same. The animals were transported to the estate of the tomb owner, where they were registered by scribes, and listed as the property of the tomb owner. Like the domesticated animals, the desert animals often wear collars. There are depictions of both domesticated animals as well as desert animals that are tethered to the ground and are eating from a trough, which indicates that they were kept alive for some time before being slaughtered (figure 141).¹²³⁵ This is also indicated by the offering rows that often show extremely fat animals on their way to the slaughter bank. These fattened animals, sometimes decorated with special collars, apparently formed the ideal offer (figure 142).¹²³⁶ At the slaughter scenes too, the animals are depicted together with domestic animals and both groups share the same faith. They are being killed to serve as an offering for the deceased, in order to provide him or her with necessary provisions in the afterlife. The slaughtering of these animals should therefore not be seen as a ritual slaughter aiming to annihilate evil and conquer chaos (figure 143).¹²³⁷

Nevertheless, even though non-indigenous animals, such as the gazelle, oryx and ibex, apparently had an economic value, the consumption or keeping of these animals was not essential for survival. As such, it can be suggested that the primary function of these resources from the desert was to produce surpluses,¹²³⁸ indeed a sign and demonstration of wealth. Furthermore, meat in general should be seen a luxury item.¹²³⁹ The incorporation of non-indigenous animals should therefore per definition be seen as a sign of luxury and status. More

¹²³² See above, p. 260, fn. 1210.

¹²³³ A tame lion is depicted on the golden shrine of Tutankhamun (Cairo JE 61481: figure 156; see also The Griffith Institute, Burton photograph p1551: <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/108-p1551.html> last accessed 24 February 2022); see below, p. 297-298.

¹²³⁴ Herb & Förster, 2009: p. 29-32.

¹²³⁵ E.g. in the tomb of Mereruka (figure 141) or the tomb of Nekhetka (Hassan, 1953: p. 31, fig. 22; Herb & Förster, 2009: p. 23, fig. 5).

¹²³⁶ E.g. in the tomb of Mereruka: figure 142; see also Kanawati et al., 2010: pl. 81-82; Marshall, 2012: p. 144-145).

¹²³⁷ See above, p. 142.

¹²³⁸ Herb & Förster, 2009: p. 24.

¹²³⁹ Ikram, 1995: p. 199-200.

importantly, it can be argued that the rareness of these animals emphasised the wealth of the owner or receiver even further.



Figure 141. A gazelle (left) and ibex (right) tethered to the ground and eating or drinking from a trough in the tomb of Mereruka. Saqqara, Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6.



Figure 142. A fattened and decorated oryx in the tomb of Mereruka. Saqqara, Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6.

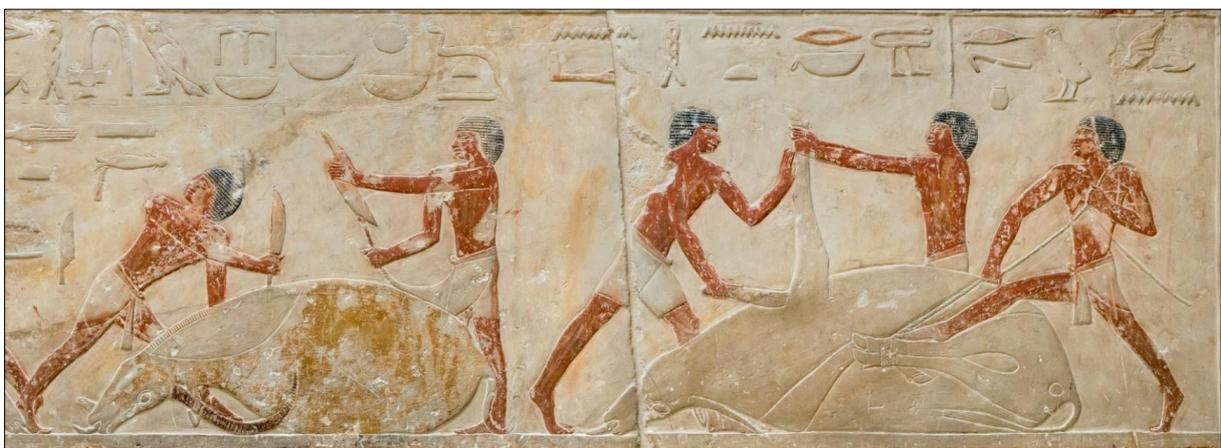


Figure 143. The slaughtering of an ibex (left) and cattle (right) in the tomb of Idut. Saqqara, Old Kingdom, Dynasty 5.

a. Old and Middle Kingdom offering products

Many of the scenes with depictions of hunting scenes and offering contexts are depicted in the funerary chapels of the elite. These chapels were not sealed or inaccessible to the living. On the contrary: these structures were places of interaction between the deceased and his family. Here, the descendants would make offerings for the tomb owner and remember him or her. For the tomb owner, this was not only his or her final resting place, but also a place of self-representation: *‘the funerary installation is the place where things are presented in a way they should be – at least from the point of view of the tomb owner, i.e. the person for whom and during whose life time the funerary installation as a media of social positioning has been made’*.¹²⁴⁰ This is especially evident in the tomb chapels of the Old Kingdom, and explains for a big part the displayed iconographic depictions and themes: *‘A very important element in the “composition” of an Old Kingdom elite personality was stressing by all available means in the way a tomb was decorated his/her social status, most convincingly expressed by attributes of wealth. Expressing a high social status implied a person’s success in life which would result in being granted a “good memory” by posterity’*.¹²⁴¹ It has been mentioned above that in the Old Kingdom period, non-indigenous offering animals are treated the same as domestic animals, such as cattle, and occur in the same contexts. However, the combination of domesticated and wild animals indicates that the latter provided an additional value to the offering. Apparently, it was not sufficient to only present the easily available domesticated animals. One argument can be found in the fact that a combination of non-indigenous animals and indigenous domestic animals allowed for more diversity, which is for example seen in the tomb of Raemkai: various types of birds and cattle are depicted and mentioned, as well as gazelles, oryxes, an ibex and an addax (figure 144). Furthermore, wild animals from the Nile Valley, such as hippopotami and crocodiles, do not play a role in the described and depicted offering ritual, and fish has only a limited role.¹²⁴² Fish, however, was of course consumed, and the same is true for the hippopotamus.¹²⁴³ This indicates, that an emphasis seems to lie on the fact that these desert animals are not only wild, but also special and uncommon, which also stresses their non-indigenous origin. Moreover, the smaller desert animals, such as hedgehogs and hares are seen in the offering rows,¹²⁴⁴ but not in the slaughtering scenes.¹²⁴⁵ The same is true for the domestic

¹²⁴⁰ Fitzenreiter, 2009: p. 311.

¹²⁴¹ Van Walsem, 2006: p. 305.

¹²⁴² Ikram, 2011: p. 361, 364

¹²⁴³ Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 65.

¹²⁴⁴ E.g. in the tombs of Ti (Wild, 1953: pl. CVI) and Niankhkhnum & Khnumhotep (Harpur & Scremin, 2010: p. 293 [313] & p. 380 [410]).

¹²⁴⁵ Herb & Förster, 2009: p. 26, Tab. 1.

livestock: smaller and more common domesticated animals, such as goats and sheep are hardly seen in the offering scenes or lists.¹²⁴⁶ This again shows, that the emphasis lies indeed on special and precious animals, and not just the ones one would encounter in a daily life context. These animals were valuable, which explains the preference (at least in the depictions and descriptions) of cattle over, for example goats. Moreover, animals were chosen because of their size, which is evident in the depictions of huge specimen of cattle. Additionally, animals could be special, because they were uncommon, which is the case for the desert animals. The inclusion of desert animals, both in a hunting context as well as in an offering context can thus be explained by their prestigious and exclusive character: *'Food from the wild is different, it tastes' different, makes it more prestigious than everyday food. Wild animals, rare animals, big and dangerous animals, in extremely high numbers, hunted down or consumed, add a special flavour of elitist abundance to the presentation of the regular income from the domains, comparable to notifications of exceptional royal generosity'*.¹²⁴⁷

¹²⁴⁶ Stolberg-Stolberg, 2004: p. 163.

¹²⁴⁷ Fitzenreiter, 2009: p. 333.



Figure 144. Offering rows showing a variety of animals of animals, including cattle (first row), desert animals (second row) and various birds (third row). The row of desert animals consists of two gazelles (g), an addax (a), an ibex (i) and two oryxes (o). Mastaba of Raemkai, Saqqara, Old Kingdom, Dynasty 5. (New York MMA 08.201.1f.)

Animal quantity and concrete numbers

These sources not only describe and depict extraordinary animals, but their numbers seem to be exaggerated. Indeed, rare animals are presented as common animals. Desert animals such as gazelles, ibexes and oryxes are always present in the offering procession scenes of the Old Kingdom when cattle is also depicted.¹²⁴⁸ Herb and Förster present a list depicting the number of desert animals that are seen in the tomb and temple decoration of the Old and Middle Kingdom.¹²⁴⁹ Among these desert animals, the oryx (653 times), the gazelle (627 times) and the ibex (300 times) are indeed the most common ones. It is interesting to see that the oryx is the most frequently depicted desert animal, especially in the slaughtering scenes.

Although cattle and poultry are the most common types of meat found on the offering lists, desert animals also occur.¹²⁵⁰ Again, the oryx is the most commonly mentioned desert animal, although the gazelle and ibex are also mentioned frequently.¹²⁵¹

The addax too is depicted very often in the Old Kingdom period (figure 17), especially in the offering rows, and the animal is also mentioned in the offering lists.¹²⁵² However, after the Old Kingdom this animal is not seen or mentioned anymore.¹²⁵³ Apart from these animals, Barbary sheep, deer, hyena and hartebeest are also seen in the offering rows (table 5 & figure 145, 147-148). However, the deer,¹²⁵⁴ Barbary sheep¹²⁵⁵ and the hartebeest are not seen among the offering animals anymore after the Old Kingdom.¹²⁵⁶

Interestingly, the gazelle, oryx, ibex and in a few instances the addax are the only desert animals that are found in the slaughtering scenes.¹²⁵⁷ The gazelle, oryx and ibex also occasionally show

¹²⁴⁸ Stolberg-Stolberg, 2004: p. 128.

¹²⁴⁹ Herb & Förster, 2009: p. 26, Tab. 1.

¹²⁵⁰ Ikram, 2011: p. 362.

¹²⁵¹ Stolberg-Stolberg, 2004: p. 128; Lapp, 1986: p. 124-127, 251 (§ 219).

¹²⁵² Lapp, 1986: p. 125: § 219 (5).

¹²⁵³ Stolberg-Stolberg, 2004: p. 130.

¹²⁵⁴ Kitagawa, 2008: p. 211-212 & fig. 3-4.

¹²⁵⁵ Hendrickx et al., 2009: p. 226-227 & Tab. 3.

¹²⁵⁶ Stolberg-Stolberg, 2004: p. 221. All three animals remain to be found at the desert hunt scenes (see e.g. figure 14), and the hartebeest shows up at the registration of the catch, e.g. in the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100: Davies, 1943: II, pl. XLV); the hyena is still seen in an offering context during the Middle Kingdom period, but these instances are very rare. During the New Kingdom period, the animal is only seen in a hunting context (Ikram, 2001: p. 131; 2003: p. 144).

¹²⁵⁷ The slaughtering of desert animals is a theme that is not depicted that often: it is only seen in 7,41 % of all recorded Old Kingdom tombs (Staring, 2011: p. 262; Van Walsem, 2008: MastaBase: Main theme: Slaughtering (SL), subtheme: Desert animals / cattle (D)); the addax is seen in rare occasions, for example in the tomb of Ti (Wild, 1966: II, pl. CXIII). Interestingly, scenes from Giza only include the oryx (Staring, 2011: p. 264-265; fig 2); see also figure 137.

up on the offering table,¹²⁵⁸ which is for example seen on a Middle Kingdom tomb relief of Hanefer and his wife (figure 146).

Although the Barbary sheep is not seen on an offering table or present at the offering lists, the animal is mentioned as an offering animal in CT 62: ‘*there shall be brought to you the young of gazelles, white cattle with short horns, there shall be brought to you males of ibex and fattened rams of Barbary sheep*’.¹²⁵⁹

Hunted desert animals as offering products in various Old and Middle Kingdom scenes and settings					
Animal	Desert hunt	Offering rows	Slaughtering scenes	Offering lists	Offering table
Gazelle					
Ibex					
Oryx					
Addax	(Old Kingdom)	(Old Kingdom)	(Old Kingdom)	(Old Kingdom)	
Hyena				(Old Kingdom)	
Barbary sheep		(Old Kingdom)			
Hartebeest		(Old Kingdom)			
Deer		(Old Kingdom)			
Small animals					
Aurochs					
Lion					
Leopard					
Wild canid					
Fantasy animals	(Beni Hassan)				

Table 5. Hunted desert animals as offering products in the various Old and Middle Kingdom scenes and settings:

■ = present, ■ = not present.

¹²⁵⁸ The hyena is mentioned in an offering list in the tomb of Seshathotep. This suggests that this animal was used for offering purposes as well, even though the animal is not seen in the slaughtering scenes (Junker, 1938: p. 74, Abb. 9a; Ikram, 2001: p. 130, fig. 3; Marshall, 2012: p. 145).

¹²⁵⁹ CT I, 270c-d (62); Faulkner, 1973: p. 58; Stolberg-Stolberg, 2004: p. 163; gazelle: *ghs*, ibex: *ni3w*, barbary sheep: *ib3w*.



Figure 145. Sections of offering rows showing desert animals in the tomb of Kagemni. Left: a hartebeest (h), deer (d) and addax (a). Right: ibexes (i) and barbary sheep (b). Saqqara, Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6.



Figure 146 (left). An ibex and gazelle-head among the offering products on the offering table of Hanefer and his wife. Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 11. (Berlin Inv.-Nr. ÄM 1197).
 Figure 147 (top right). Man carrying a small hyena as offering product. Relief from Giza, Old Kingdom, Dynasty 4 or 5. (Turin S. 1258.)
 Figure 148 (bottom right). Man carrying a small hartebeest as offering product. Relief from the tomb of Metjen. Saqqara, Old Kingdom, Dynasty 4. (Berlin Inv.-Nr. ÄM 1105.)

There are a few sources that list concrete numbers of animal registrations and as such provide a picture of the alleged quantities of non-indigenous animals the Egyptians worked with. The 6th Dynasty tomb of Tjeti at El-Hawawish shows a depiction of a procession of domestic cattle, oryxes and gazelles as they are being brought to the place of slaughtering. The number of animals is written above each species (figure 149):

<i>'i3w-cattle:</i>	3014
<i>Gazelle:</i>	1023
<i>Oryx:</i>	1000
<i>i3w-cattle:</i>	2012 ¹²⁶⁰

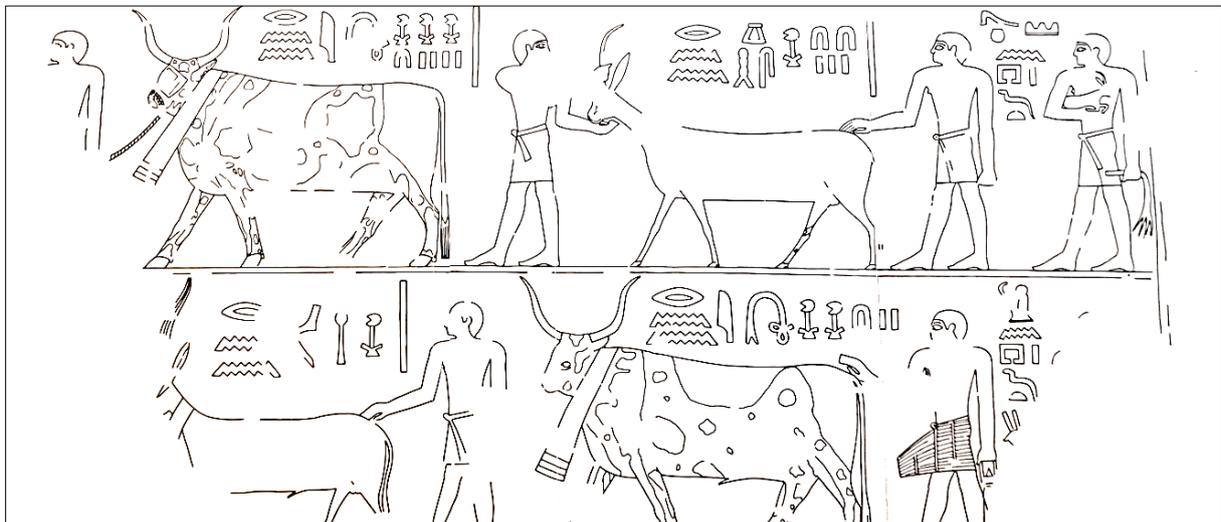


Figure 149. Concrete animal numbers of animal registrations in the tomb of Tjeti. El-Hawawish, Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6.

Another example is found in the 12th Dynasty tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hassan:

<i>'Hyena:</i>	3300
<i>Oryx:</i>	-
<i>Aurochs:</i>	320
<i>Gazelle:</i>	12020
<i>Ibex:</i>	-
<i>Hartebeest:</i>	3400 ¹²⁶¹

¹²⁶⁰ Kanawati, 1980: p. 25-26, fig. 14; Herb & Förster, 2009: p. 32.

¹²⁶¹ Newberry, 1893: I, pl. XXX, XXXVIII.1; Herb & Förster, 2009: p. 32; hyena: *ḥt.t*, oryx: *m3-ḥd*, aurochs: *sm3*, gazelle: *gḥs*, ibex: *ni3w*, hartebeest: *šs3.w*.

Herb & Förster argue that in the cases where concrete numbers are used, such as the examples above, these numbers should be considered as a reflection of reality. The numbers mentioned in the tomb of Khnumhotep II may indeed seem quite high, but they could be interpreted as the result of the totality of captured animals during the whole working life of Khnumhotep II. Moreover, the ratios between the animal species seem to correspond to reality. Gazelles were for example more numerous and easier to catch than aurochs, which is indeed reflected in the list.¹²⁶² Also, Herb suggests that the numbers do not refer to the animals that were captured during hunting activities, but rather reflect the size of the herds of these animals that were taken care of in enclosures near the Nile Valley.¹²⁶³ However, in my opinion, it is still more likely that these exact numbers are exaggerations, just like the generic numbers that are mentioned in the offering lists and processions. A depiction of an offering procession in the tomb of Rawer, for example, includes desert animals, domestic cattle and various birds. The desert animals include two oryxes, an ibex and a gazelle with its young. The total amount of each species is listed above the animals (including the oryx, ibex and gazelle) and is the same for each type of animal: one thousand.¹²⁶⁴ The same use of generic numbers is seen in the offering lists, for example in the Old Kingdom mastaba of Inyefert, where ‘one thousand’ oryxes and gazelles are mentioned (figure 150), and the Middle Kingdom chapel of Ihy that lists ‘one thousand’ oryxes, ibexes and gazelles (figure 151). In these instances as well, desert animals are mentioned in large quantities. However, the use of standardised numbers like ‘one thousand’ indicates that *‘these items are more symbolic, of prestige and aspired to, but not regularly obtained’*.¹²⁶⁵ Furthermore, Stolberg-Stolberg also mentions that the amount of desert animals in the offering rows decreases in the Middle Kingdom period, and that the emphasis seems to shift to domesticated animals. When desert animals are included, individual animals instead of herds are usually depicted.¹²⁶⁶ The numbers in the tombs of Khnumhotep II and Tjeti therefore seem rather high.

¹²⁶² Herb & Förster, 2009: p. 34.

¹²⁶³ Herb, 2005: p. 28.

¹²⁶⁴ Junker, 1938: p. 233, Abb. 48.

¹²⁶⁵ Fitzenreiter, 2009: p. 314.

¹²⁶⁶ Stolberg-Stolberg, 2004: p. 132.



Figure 150. Detail of an offering list in the tomb of Inyefert: 'cattle 1000, fowl 1000, oryx 1000, gazelle 1000'. Saqqara, Old Kingdom, Dynasty 5.



Figure 151. Offering list from the chapel of Ihy. The list includes '1000 cattle, 1000 oryxes, 1000 gazelles, 1000 ibexes'. Saqqara, Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 12.

The zooarchaeological evidence

That these numbers are indeed exaggerations is also supported by the zooarchaeological evidence. The high quantity and frequency of these animals suggested by the iconographic and textual sources do not correspond to the actual animal remains that have been found. In fact, only two aspects seem to match. Firstly, most of the desert animals depicted and mentioned in the iconography and texts are indeed found in the zooarchaeological record and therefore based on reality. Secondly, the remains of gazelle are found relatively often, which corresponds to its frequent occurrence in the other sources.¹²⁶⁷

Considering the zooarchaeological record, a few aspects need to be kept in mind. Ikram mentions that none of the tombs with lists that include desert animals have been found intact. Therefore, it cannot be said for sure that the lack of bone material from these animals automatically means that they were not present in the tomb at one time. Furthermore, especially the older publications often do not include details relating to the offering rituals, such as the animal species that were found at the site or tomb.¹²⁶⁸ Also, the majority of the bone material that has been excavated derives from settlement- rather than offering contexts.¹²⁶⁹

Nevertheless, zooarchaeological remains have been found in offering contexts, and in these cases the percentage of desert animals hardly differs from the percentage of desert animals in settlement contexts.¹²⁷⁰ At Tell el-Dab'a, the bone material derived from ritual contexts has been compared to the material found at the settlement site. In all instances, the percentage of desert animal remains is very low: 0.43% in the offering context; 0.39% in the graves/offering contexts; and 0.34% in settlement contexts.¹²⁷¹ The majority of the bone material comes from cattle, which is indeed the most valued offering animal, but goat and sheep too are well represented.¹²⁷² The latter animals are apparently considered less valuable and hardly occur in the depictions and descriptions of offering animals, but were evidently used as actual offerings.¹²⁷³

Also, the evidence that is available indicates that the dominance of cattle and fowl in offering rituals, as is suggested by the iconographic and textual record, corresponds to the

¹²⁶⁷ Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 47.

¹²⁶⁸ Ikram, 2011: p. 362.

¹²⁶⁹ Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 72.

¹²⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹²⁷¹ Idem: p. 65, fn. 1, p. 66-67, Tab. 5.

¹²⁷² Boessneck & Von den Driesch, 1992: p. 11-12; Ikram, 2013: p. 6001.

¹²⁷³ Boessneck, 1988: p. 74; Stolberg-Stolberg, 2004: p. 163.

zoarchaeological record, not only in the Old Kingdom but also in the later periods.¹²⁷⁴ However, apart from these animals, goats and sheep also occur relatively frequently,¹²⁷⁵ and even pigs¹²⁷⁶ and fish¹²⁷⁷ are occasionally seen in an offering context. This demonstrates that, although these animals were *‘not considered worthy of true funerary offerings, at least in the ideal world of the tomb, both textually and visually (...) it is not beyond the realm of possibility that it would have been used’*.¹²⁷⁸ It is furthermore suggested that, especially in the case of pork, these offerings reflect a lower economic status of the tomb owner.¹²⁷⁹ Moreover, the lack of gazelle, oryx and ibex in the archaeozoological evidence makes Ikram believe that the depictions and descriptions of these animals in an offering context should be seen as a symbolic, rather than a real practice.¹²⁸⁰

Apart from the gazelle, the iconography, and especially the offering rows, put a clear emphasis on the ‘true’ desert animals, such as the ibex, oryx and addax. These animals were usually not found near the Nile Valley, and the presence of these animals in the bone record is extremely rare. However, the inclusion of ibexes, oryxes, gazelles and the occasional hyena in the offering lists and depictions should not be regarded as completely fictional and unrealistic. Even though desert animals are only sporadically found in the archaeological record, they were not completely absent. The gazelle is found relatively frequently, both in settlement and ritual contexts. Bones belonging to at least 3 gazelles have been found in the 1st Dynasty tomb of Qa’a at Abydos.¹²⁸¹ However, most recovered gazelle remains seem to date to the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. Complete gazelle skeletons as well as individual bones have been found at several tombs in Deir-el Bersha, dated to the Middle Kingdom¹²⁸² and the Second Intermediate Period, belonging to six individual animals.¹²⁸³ Additionally, remains of a few young gazelles have been found as foundation offerings at the 11th Dynasty temple of Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahri. An amphora found in a tomb at Tell el-Dab’a, also dated to the Middle Kingdom, contained bones from a young gazelle. At the D6 cemetery at Hiw, 11 gazelle heads were found in a pit and again dated to the Middle Kingdom.¹²⁸⁴ Additionally, two

¹²⁷⁴ Ikram, 2011: p. 363-364.

¹²⁷⁵ Boessneck & Von den Driesch, 1992: p. 11-12.

¹²⁷⁶ Ikram, 2011: p. 367.

¹²⁷⁷ Idem: p. 364.

¹²⁷⁸ Idem: p. 367

¹²⁷⁹ Idem: p. 367-369.

¹²⁸⁰ Ikram, 2013: p. 6001.

¹²⁸¹ Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 69; Von den Driesch & Peters, 1996: p. 77.

¹²⁸² De Meyer et al., 2005: p. 47 (Tomb 10O25/1, Tomb 10O13/1 and Shaft 16L24/1).

¹²⁸³ Idem: p. 47-48; 55-56.

¹²⁸⁴ Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 69-70.

gazelle mummies are known that dated to the 21st and 23rd Dynasty, although these technically fall out of the scope of this research. The first one was found at the royal cache at Deir el-Bahri (TT 320), and the second one in tomb 56 at Deir-el Bahri. Both gazelles were buried together with elite females.¹²⁸⁵

Still, it has been mentioned above that apart from the gazelle, the ibex and especially the oryx are depicted and described as common animals, and the same is true for the addax in the Old Kingdom period. The oryx is even more frequently mentioned in the offering lists and depicted in the slaughterhouse than the gazelle. However, remains of both the ibex as well as the oryx are extremely rare in the zooarchaeological record. Ibex bones have only been found once (in a settlement context)¹²⁸⁶ and the oryx has not been found at all in the material from the Nile region dated to the Old and Middle Kingdom period. In fact, the zooarchaeological remains indicate that after the gazelle, the aurochs and the hartebeest were the most commonly hunted species in this period.¹²⁸⁷ Therefore, one would perhaps expect a focus on these animals in the iconography and descriptions, but this is obviously not the case. Although the aurochs is found in the desert hunt scenes, it does not show up as an offering animal. Similarly, the hartebeest is shown among the domestic cattle, but nowhere near as often as the gazelle, ibex and oryx. The addax is only found once in the archaeological record of this period, and the Barbary sheep not at all. Two deer bones have been found at Tell el-Dab'a.¹²⁸⁸

However, even though remains of oryx and Barbary sheep have not been found in the Nile Valley, bones of these animals have been found outside of the Nile Valley. The remains of one oryx and 4 Barbary sheep, dated to the late Old Kingdom period, were found at the palace area of Balat, located 300 km to the west of the Nile Valley.¹²⁸⁹ Additionally, some oryx bones have been found at the Dakhla 99/38-2 and Jaqub 99/31 sites. These latter sites are more isolated desert places, that primarily functioned as control and watch posts. Here, hunting continued to be the major source of animal protein in the Old Kingdom period. Still, even at these sites, remains of the oryx are extremely rare and the gazelle is by far the most common hunted animal.¹²⁹⁰

¹²⁸⁵ Strandberg, 2009: p. 31; Ikram, 2004: p. 18; Winlock, 1924: p. 30.

¹²⁸⁶ Boessneck & Von den Driesch, 1992: p. 34.

¹²⁸⁷ Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 66-67, Tab. 5.

¹²⁸⁸ Boessneck & Von den Driesch, p. 34; Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 66-67, Tab. 5.

¹²⁸⁹ Pantalacci & Lesur-Gebremariam, 2009: p. 249-250.

¹²⁹⁰ Pöllath, 2009: p. 90, Tab 3: phase IV (El Kharafish 02/5; Dakhla 99/38-2; Jaqub 99/31), p. 96.

Continuing with the evidence from the Western Desert, it is interesting to see that the offering remains in the late Old Kingdom tombs of Balat are almost exclusively from cattle, although some sheep/goat remains have also been found.¹²⁹¹ Here too, cattle was considered more valuable than sheep and goat, and the presence of cattle offerings is in accordance with the high rank of the tomb owners. However, especially here one would perhaps expect to find desert animals in an offering setting. Contrary to life in the Nile Valley, desert animals were more abundant and readily available in this region, and, as such ‘*undoubtedly wild animals were part of everyday life for Dakhla inhabitants*’.¹²⁹² Indeed, remains of desert animals as well as several tablets listing these animals are found inside the palace and the archaeozoological evidence seems to be more in concordance with the textual evidence. Tablet 3685 relates about the transfer of several animals, including an oryx, from the granary of the palace to an unknown other place, probably as a gift to a foreign chief:¹²⁹³ ‘*the servant that I am sends: 20 birds, 2 m3s.t-animals, 1 oryx*’.¹²⁹⁴ Another tablet (number 6164) mentions 26 gazelles, 8 Barbary sheep and 8 wild canids.¹²⁹⁵ Tablet 7194 lists (skins of) domestic cattle and 2 Barbary sheep, and tablet 6948 mentions 1 gazelle and 1 wild canid.¹²⁹⁶

The zooarchaeological material unearthed from the palace area mostly derives from cattle, sheep and goats, but also includes 1 oryx, at least 4 Barbary sheep (as has already been mentioned), and at least 8 gazelles. The animals were likely consumed, as is suggested by burn and cutting marks.¹²⁹⁷ Apparently, these animals were especially appreciated by the royalty of the site and were transported to other regions as gifts. Furthermore, it is likely that the concrete numbers on these lists indeed reflect reality. Even though these animals would have been more readily available at this location, the numbers on the tablets come nowhere near the list of Tjeti and Khnumhotep II. Indeed, the findings at Balat do not seem to be biased by ideological and religious ideas, as seems to be the case for the contemporary tomb and temple decorations and descriptions of the Nile Valley.¹²⁹⁸

¹²⁹¹ Ikram, 2011: p. 367; Lesur, 2015: p. 39-40.

¹²⁹² Pantalacci & Lesur-Gebremariam, 2009: p. 247.

¹²⁹³ Idem: p. 247-248.

¹²⁹⁴ Pantalacci, 2008: p. 152-153; oryx: *m3-ḥd*.

¹²⁹⁵ Pantalacci & Lesur-Gebremariam, 2009: p. 249, fig. 4.

¹²⁹⁶ Idem: p. 249, fig 3; p. 250, fig. 5.

¹²⁹⁷ Idem: p. 249.

¹²⁹⁸ Herb & Förster, 2009: p. 39.

b. New Kingdom offering products

Private tombs

In the private tombs of the New Kingdom period, desert animals still occur in an offering context, but they are no longer seen in the offering rows. The gazelle, oryx and ibex are completely replaced by domestic animals, such as donkeys, goats and sheep.¹²⁹⁹ However, these desert animals are still occasionally seen as individual offerings or placed at the offering table, for example in the tomb of Meh.¹³⁰⁰ However, when compared to their abundance in the Old Kingdom, the presence of desert animals in an offering context should be considered as rare. Contrary to the Old Kingdom, the prestigious character of these animals is not emphasised by exaggerating their numbers, but rather by stressing their exclusiveness.

Royal tombs and temples

Contrary to the private tombs, the gazelle, ibex and oryx are still present in the slaughtering scenes and offering rows in a royal and temple context. An oryx and two gazelles are part of the meat offerings that are presented at the temple of Ramses II at Abydos (figure 152)¹³⁰¹ and a gazelle, oryx and ibex are amongst the slaughtered animals at the Hathor chapel at Deir el-Bahri.¹³⁰² Whereas the offering procession at Abydos depicts extremely fat domestic cattle, the oryx has a 'normal' posture. This suggests that the emphasis lies on the mere presence of this exclusive animal, rather than great numbers and / or fattened individuals.¹³⁰³

Additionally, the presence of these animals among the offerings seems to be particularly relevant for special occasions, such as festivals and temple foundations. Hunters were sent abroad in order to capture these animals, which is mentioned in PAPHOS I: '*I appointed for you hunters to capture oryxes in order to offer them to your Ka at all your feasts*'.¹³⁰⁴

¹²⁹⁹ Stolberg-Stolberg, 2004: p. 136.

¹³⁰⁰ TT 257: Mostafa, 1995: Taf. VII, XXV; Stolberg-Stolberg, 2004: p. 136, Abb. 101.

¹³⁰¹ See also Naville, 1930: pl. XXXI, XXXII; Haring, 1997: p. 121, fig. 4.

¹³⁰² Naville, 1901: pl. CVII; Stolberg-Stolberg, 2004: p. 139.

¹³⁰³ As opposed to Old Kingdom examples, that also show fattened desert animals (see above figure 142).

¹³⁰⁴ pHarris I, 28.4; Erichsen, 1933: p. 32, 17-18; Breasted, 1906: IV, p. 146: § 266; oryx: *m³-ḥd*.



Figure 152. Presentation of meat-offerings, including extremely fat cattle and a ‘normal’ oryx. Abydos, Temple of Ramses II, New Kingdom, Dynasty 19.

Animal quantity and concrete numbers

In the New Kingdom too, desert animals are occasionally mentioned in precise numbers. They occur in a number of offering lists that are related to a temple context, instead of food offerings for the deceased. Thutmose III makes an offering to the gods, possibly as part of a festival celebrated after a successful campaign. The animals-offerings consist of thousands of various birds and a few desert animals:

<i>‘Oryx</i>	2
<i>Ibex</i>	7
<i>Gazelle</i>	9 ¹³⁰⁵

A later example is found in PAPHOS HARRIS I, which, amongst others, lists temple and festive offerings. A list of all the offerings made during various festivals is described on plates 17a – 21b.¹³⁰⁶ Among this extensive list, various types of domestic cattle are mentioned, totalling 2.892 animals.

¹³⁰⁵ Urk IV: 755; Breasted, 1906: II, p. 227: § 571.

¹³⁰⁶ pHarris I, 17a-21b,10; Erichsen, 1933: p. 20-25; Haring, 1997: p. 162.

This list is immediately followed by a list of desert animals:

<i>Male oryx</i>	1
<i>Oryx</i>	54
<i>Ibex</i>	1
<i>Gazelle</i>	81
<i>Total</i>	137 ¹³⁰⁷

Further on in the same text, various types of animals are mentioned again and described as the ‘total of the king’s gifts to all gods’,¹³⁰⁸ including domestic cattle, such as bulls, cows, calves and goats, totalling an amount of 20.602. Right next follows the number of desert animals (namely oryxes, ibexes and gazelles) totalling 367 individual animals.¹³⁰⁹ Although the numbers mentioned on this papyrus are generally accepted to be correct, and seem to be based on administrative records, one needs to keep in mind that the purpose of the text is in its essence of a religious and political nature: ‘Whereas the twofold address (and hence, the twofold audience) leaves us uncertain about the ultimate function of the text, it is clear that it seeks to support the wish of Ramesses III to be received well by the gods after his death, as well as Ramesses IV’s wish for a long and prosperous reign’.¹³¹⁰ Thus, these long lists of offerings and gifts to the temples ‘prove’ that Ramses III deserves a good life in the afterworld and that Ramses IV is indeed worthy of being a king. Still, if one considers these numbers as ‘totals’, thus a total of 137 or 367 desert animals offered at these festivals over a time period of 31 years,¹³¹¹ the annual number of offered animals seems reasonable. More interesting is the fact that desert animals, as well as cattle, were not required for the daily offerings, but only for the festival offerings.¹³¹² The iconographic representation of these events indeed almost always shows the ibex, gazelle and oryx amongst the offering animals.¹³¹³ These valuable animals were therefore desired offering products and reserved for special occasions, beyond the experience of normal everyday life. Furthermore, even though domestic cattle and desert animals are apparently part of the same list, the ratio between both types of animals is far from equal. Desert animals are also mentioned on the Medinet Habu calendar list, depicting the yearly provisions

¹³⁰⁷ pHarris I, 20a,13-16; Erichsen, 1933: p. 24; Breasted, 1906: IV, p. 138: § 242; Stolberg-Stolberg, 2004: p. 164; male oryx: *iw3 n m3-ḥd*, oryx: *m3-ḥd*, ibex: *nr3w*, gazelle: *ghs*.

¹³⁰⁸ Breasted, 1906: IV, p. 194: § 388.

¹³⁰⁹ pHarris I, 71b,9-10; Erichsen, 1933: p. 86; Breasted, 1906: IV, p. 196: § 392.

¹³¹⁰ Haring, 1997: p. 161.

¹³¹¹ Idem: p. 206.

¹³¹² Idem: p. 122.

¹³¹³ Stolberg-Stolberg, 2004: p. 139.

from the royal treasury to the temple. The animals consist of a huge number of fowl, 119 pieces of cattle, 8 gazelles and 8 oryxes. Again, the amount of domestic cattle is considerably higher than the amount of desert animals, suggesting that the latter were more difficult to obtain, which likely added to their exclusiveness.¹³¹⁴

Moreover, as has been mentioned above, desert animals are virtually absent in the slaughtering and offering scenes of the New Kingdom private tombs. Their presence in the royal and temple scenes again emphasises their exclusivity.

The zooarchaeological evidence

For the New Kingdom too, the zooarchaeological record does not include many of these animals. The remains of various non-indigenous animals have been found at Qantir/Piramesse, such as the lion, elephant, giraffe, gazelle, hartebeest, ibex, addax, roan antelope, oryx and deer. However, apart from the deer, it is believed that the material derived from imported animal products, such as their skins. This means, that it cannot be said for sure that living animals were once present on site.¹³¹⁵ Additionally, gazelle and possibly Barbary sheep and oryx have been found at Amarna.¹³¹⁶ Remains of the Arabian oryx have been found at Gebel Zeit in the Eastern Desert (dated to the Middle or New Kingdom period),¹³¹⁷ and two gazelle mummies have been found at Deir el-Bahri (dated to the 21st and 23th Dynasty).¹³¹⁸

It has also already been mentioned that gazelle remains were found as foundation offerings at the Middle Kingdom temple of Mentuhotep. Interestingly, statuettes representing (the meat of) desert animals, instead of actual animals, have been found as foundation offerings in the New Kingdom.¹³¹⁹ In the Ramesside period, both cattle offerings as well as faience model offerings are popular, and the latter is even more dominant.¹³²⁰ Apart from the remains of real animals, probably cattle,¹³²¹ the mortuary temple of Ramses IV also contains faience objects shaped in the form of various parts of meat, as well as two objects in the form of an ibex.¹³²² Weinstein notes that many of these models represent food offerings that never appear as actual

¹³¹⁴ Haring, 1997: p. 407, Tab. 3; p. 412, Tab. 7.

¹³¹⁵ Apart from the deer. Von den Driesch, 2006: p. 309-312; Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 66-67, Tab.5.

¹³¹⁶ Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 66-67, Tab. 5.

¹³¹⁷ Idem: p. 68; Von den Driesch, 2001.

¹³¹⁸ See above, p. 276-277.

¹³¹⁹ Idem: p. 65.

¹³²⁰ Weinstein, 1973: p. 247.

¹³²¹ Idem: p. 247, fn. 84.

¹³²² Carnarvon & Carter, 1912: pl. XL.

offerings.¹³²³ This demonstrates the desire to include animals such as the ibex, but not the actual presence (at least not in high numbers) of these animals in reality.

6.2.1.4 Non-indigenous animals as luxury food

It has been mentioned above that the meat of desert animals was likely consumed in the royal palace found at Balat. The consumption of desert animals as (part of an) exquisite meal is also mentioned in the Middle and New Kingdom literary texts. In THE STORY OF WENAMUN, a deer¹³²⁴ is served as part of a meal: *'Then he sent his secretary out to me, who brought me two jugs of wine and a deer'*.¹³²⁵ In this case, the consumption of the animal should not be seen as a mere method of survival,¹³²⁶ but as a sign of luxury. Although the hunting of deer is seen in several ancient Egyptian depictions,¹³²⁷ it is believed that this animal was never indigenous to Egypt or present in the Egyptian desert regions.¹³²⁸ Therefore, the meat of the deer should be considered an exquisite meal. One can also imagine that a host would serve this kind of food to impress his guest. Here, the foreign character of the deer, as well as the edibility of the animal, are important characteristics. In THE STORY OF SINUHE, the good relationship with foreign people is emphasised: *'Loaves of bread were made for me and wine as a daily ration, cooked meat, roast fowl and desert game as well'*.¹³²⁹ The protagonist is offered bread, wine, meat, fowl, and wild game to eat. Parkinson believes that *'the prominence of wild game in the list keeps his foreign (desert) position in mind'*.¹³³⁰ Here, the wild game is mentioned in order to emphasise the fact that Sinuhe is not situated in Egypt, but in a foreign country. On the other hand, the listing and combining of the different food-items emphasises the abundance and prosperity that surrounds the protagonist. Sinuhe is provided for: he has access to all kinds of food, including various kinds of meat.

6.2.2 The desert hunt as a sportive and recreational activity

It has been demonstrated that hunting desert animals is a means for obtaining valuable (offering) items, which is especially evident in the tombs of the Old Kingdom period. However, apart from this economic aspect, it simultaneously demonstrates the status and prestige of the elite

¹³²³ Weinstein, 1973: p. 249.

¹³²⁴ Hoch, 1994: p. 17, Nr. 1.

¹³²⁵ pMoscow 120: recto 2,68: LES, p. 74-74a; Popko, L. in: TLA; deer: *i(3)yr*.

¹³²⁶ See below, p. 374-375, fn. 1775 & 1776.

¹³²⁷ The animal is also occasionally seen in the Old Kingdom offering rows (see above, p. 269-271, table 5 & figure 145).

¹³²⁸ Kitagawa, 2008a: p. 217-222.

¹³²⁹ pBerlin 3022: 87-89: MES, p. 23-24a; Allen, 2015: p. 93; Feder, F. in: TLA; desert game: *ʿw.t (n.t) ḥ3s.t*.

¹³³⁰ Parkinson, 1997: p. 46, fn. 26.

and king. Furthermore, the activity is described as a favourite pass-time, especially in the New Kingdom period. Indeed, the act of hunting, and especially the hunt on animals that have no economic value, is a sportive and recreational activity. Again, this also demonstrates the prosperity and high status of the hunter.

6.2.2.1 The private desert hunt

In the Middle Kingdom TALE OF THE ELOQUENT PEASANT, the hunting pursuits of Rensi are mentioned: ‘*Look, you are a hunter, who satisfies his desire, bent on doing what pleases him, who harpoons hippopotami, shoots aurochs, who catches fish and snares birds*’.¹³³¹ The fact that wild bulls and hippopotami are being hunted demonstrates that the hunt itself should not be seen as a mere method of survival, but rather as a sporting and leisure activity. After all, if survival is the main purpose of the hunt, other animals that are easier to catch and less dangerous would much more likely be hunted. Thus, the hunt on wild bulls and hippopotami as a sporting activity not only demonstrates the power of the hunter, but also his prosperity. Furthermore, it is specifically mentioned that he does ‘*what pleases him*’. Apparently, Rensi has enough free time (and thus wealth) to engage himself in such activities, instead of working all day. As such, the terms ‘recreation’ and ‘sport’ can at best be described as functionally unnecessary, but psychologically satisfying and possibly performance-orientated behaviour.¹³³² This does not exclusively relate to an active, physical participation in the event, but also includes watching and observing an activity. Thus, recreational behaviour is not only observed and reserved for the active hunter (initially the king and later also private persons) but also for the private tomb owner who is ‘observing’ dangerous and exhausting hunting activities.¹³³³ In the Old Kingdom private tombs, the tomb owner is only rarely depicted as actively engaging in the desert hunt. In the New Kingdom hunting scenes, an emphasis lies on killing the animals and it is often the tomb owner who is the active hunter. As such, the emphasis lies more on the act of hunting as a recreational activity and a sign of status, and less on the catching and keeping of these animals. Contrary to the Old Kingdom period, the hunting scenes of the New Kingdom private tombs are occasionally combined with inscriptions, and the accompanying texts specifically describe the pleasures of hunting. The tomb of Amenemhat, for example, shows the deceased on a hunt in the desert. The animals (hartebeest, Barbary sheep and ibex) are depicted inside an enclosure.

¹³³¹ pBerlin P 3023: B1 236-237: Parkinson, 1991: p. 32-32a; Allen, 2015: p. 287; Dils, P. in: TLA; aurochs: *sm3*.

¹³³² Van Walsem, 2014: p. 82.

¹³³³ *Ibid.*

The text next to the (damaged) scene explains the purpose of this hunt: *‘Traversing the desert valleys, exploring the mountains, taking recreation by shooting the desert animals by the beloved of his lord’*.¹³³⁴ The tomb of Amunedjeh shows the tomb owner hunting desert animals with bow and arrow, this time from a chariot, but with an almost identical textual explanation.¹³³⁵ In the tomb of Mentjuywi the tomb owner is again seen on foot, hunting with bow and arrow. The accompanying text is damaged, but starts with the following description: *‘taking recreation, inspecting (...)’*.¹³³⁶ This demonstrates, that indeed the act of hunting, as well as observing the animals or the hunt can be interpreted as a leisure activity.

6.2.2.2 The royal desert hunt

In a royal contexts too, and especially in the New Kingdom period, it becomes clear that hunting wild desert animals should be seen as a recreational activity, while simultaneously highlighting and emphasising the power, status and prestige of the king. This becomes especially clear in various texts that relate about a hunting trip of the pharaoh in the desert or abroad.

Thutmoses III

The ARMANT STELA of Thutmoses III relates about the king, who has hunted several species of non-indigenous animals: *‘When he spent time taking recreation, hunting in every foreign land, the number that he had captured was greater than what the entire army had achieved. He had killed 7 lions by shooting in the blink of an eye. He had captured a herd of 12 aurochs in an hour that happened at the time of breakfast, their tails were behind him. He had killed 120 elephants in the foreign country of Nyy. (...) He had captured a rhinoceros by shooting in the southern land of Ta-seti’*.¹³³⁷

It is clearly emphasised that the hunt should be seen as a recreational activity. However, the foreign setting indicates a link and assimilation between the hunt and the military activity of the king. As such, it demonstrates his success on the battlefield as well as the hunting field. Still, this assimilation between a hunting and a military pursuit, and between captured and killed

¹³³⁴ TT 82: Davies, 1915: p. 31 & pl. IX; Decker & Herb, 1994: J 98: I, p. 335: II, Taf. CLXIII. Depictions of the tomb owner hunting with bow and arrow on foot, with similar textual descriptions are found at: TT 11 (Decker & Herb, 1994: J 92: I, p. 332; II, Taf. CLIX); TT 39 (Idem: J 96: I, p. 333-334; II, Taf. CLXI); TT 100 (Idem: J 105: I, p. 336-337; II, Taf. CLXVI); TT A.5 (Idem: J 107: I, p. 338-339; II, Taf. CLXVII); desert game: *ʿw.t (n.t) ḥ3s.t*.

¹³³⁵ TT 84: Urk IV: 955; Decker & Herb, 1994: J 111: I, p. 341; II, Taf. CLXIX. The owner is also shown hunting from his chariot with an almost identical description in TT 123 (Idem: J 100: I, p. 335-336; II, Taf. CLXIV).

¹³³⁶ TT 172: Decker & Herb, 1994: J 108: I, p. 339; II, Taf. CLXVIII.

¹³³⁷ Armant Stela (Cairo JE 67377): Urk IV: 1245,12 – 1246,3: Mond & Myers, 1940: I, p. 183; II, pl. CIII; lion: *m3i*, aurochs: *sm3*, elephant: *3bw*, rhinoceros: *škb*.

animals and captured and killed human enemies, is not as clear as in the various examples that are dated to a slightly later period. These have already been discussed in chapter three, and include the hunting scenes and descriptions of Ramses III at Medinet Habu and the chest of Tutankhamun.¹³³⁸

The mentioning of seven lions could be based on reality. The presence of real lions or leopards¹³³⁹ in a royal context is confirmed by the buried remains of at least seven individual animals in Abydos, dated to the reign of Aha in the first Dynasty.¹³⁴⁰ However, apart from this Early Dynastic evidence, remains belonging to actual lions (as opposed to imported animal products)¹³⁴¹ are not found in Egypt before the Late Period.¹³⁴² Furthermore, it is mentioned that the king shot these animals, as well as 12 aurochs, in a very short time span, which seems quite unrealistically. Moreover, although the killing of one or a few elephants sounds like an event that could have happened in reality, the extreme high number of 120 elephants again seems to be an exaggeration.

The same elephant hunt is also mentioned in the autobiography of Amenemhab, who boasts about his own prominent role in the activity: *‘Again [I beheld] another excellent deed which the Lord of the Two Lands did in Nyy. He hunted 120 elephants, for the sake of their tusks and [...]. I engaged the largest which was among them, which fought against his majesty; I cut off his hand while he was alive [before] his majesty, while I stood in the water between two rocks. Then my lord rewarded me with gold; [he] gave [...] and three changes of clothing’.*¹³⁴³

It becomes clear that the king hunted these elephants, because of their tusks. Thus, the high number of killed elephants not only demonstrates the physical power of the king, but also implies that a huge quantity of prestigious and valuable exotic goods has been acquired. By slaughtering these animals, the king not only proves his strength and power, but he also increases his wealth and status, because he acquired the valuable ivory of these rare and prestigious animals. Amenemhab apparently saved the king from a particularly large elephant and cut off its trunk. It is not clear whether the king awards him for his bravery or ‘pays’ him for the precious elephant tusks, but it will be discussed further on that elephant tusks are highly

¹³³⁸ See above, p. 125-130 & figure 80-86.

¹³³⁹ Van Neer et al., 2013: p. 298.

¹³⁴⁰ Ibid; Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 70.

¹³⁴¹ Von den Driesch, 2006: p. 310.

¹³⁴² Callou et al., 2004: p. 211-212.

¹³⁴³ TT 85: Urk IV: 893-894; Breasted, 1906: II, p. 233: § 588; Busch, 2008: p. 82-83. The hunt is mentioned a third time on the Gebel Barkal stela (Boston MFA 23.733: Urk IV: 1233,13- 1234,4; Busch, 2008: p. 81); elephant: *3bw*.

valued exotic products, and are often depicted and described among the lists of tribute products of foreign countries.¹³⁴⁴

Nevertheless, the claim that the king killed 120 animals ‘because of their tusks’ actually emphasises the relative unfamiliarity of the writer with this animal and implies a fictional character of the accounts. Busch states that the killing of 120 elephants does not automatically result in a high amount of elephant ivory, because only the males of the Asian elephants have tusks.¹³⁴⁵ Indeed, more unrealistic than killing 120 elephants, is the killing of 120 male elephants in a single hunt.

Still, there are indications that these accounts are at least partially based on a real event. Although the exact location of Nyy is debated, it is thought to be located in the Ghab Plain in Syria, which was covered with swamps and lakes in ancient times and therefore offered favourable living conditions for elephants.¹³⁴⁶ The biography of Amenemhab also relates about these conditions, by stating that he was standing in water. Moreover, the presence of elephants is confirmed for this region. Five large elephant bones have for example been found at the royal palace of Qatna, dated to the Late Bronze Age I and IIA periods, which coincides with the New Kingdom of Egypt.¹³⁴⁷ In fact, elephant attestations are most abundant for this period, and bone material has been found both in palatial as well as household settings. This indicates that these animals were not monopolised by a single ruler, but occurred naturally in these regions, which also explains why various cities and kingdoms participated in elephant hunts.¹³⁴⁸ Still, even if elephants were present in this region, the ivory of these animals was certainly not considered a common and ordinary product. Even in a royal context, precious elephant ivory was rare and the material was only used for prestigious items: ‘*the royal elephant hunters of Bronze Age Syria pursued this activity not only in order to monopolize one of the most valuable raw materials of their time, ivory, but also to acquire prestige and symbolise their bravery and power*’.¹³⁴⁹ The exact same reasons can be deduced from the Thutmoses III records. Here too, the emphasis lies on the acquisition and demonstration of prestige, prosperity, power, and status, by means of obtaining valuable ivory as well as killing these animals. The unrealistic number 120 emphasises the extreme success of the king: not only in acquiring the precious

¹³⁴⁴ See below, p. 331.

¹³⁴⁵ Busch, 2006: p. 87.

¹³⁴⁶ Pfälzner, 2013: p. 121.

¹³⁴⁷ Idem: p. 112.

¹³⁴⁸ Idem: p. 117, 122.

¹³⁴⁹ Idem: p. 128.

material and killing of the animals, but also by deriving the indigenous human inhabitants of these precious and prestigious animals and materials.

The last animal mentioned on the ARMANT STELA is a rhinoceros that the king shot in Taseti. Although indeed aurochs, elephants and lions should be considered extraordinary and special animals that one certainly did not encounter on a daily basis, we do see them in various Egyptian sources. The evidence considering the rhinoceros, however, is extremely limited. A bone comb found at cemetery U at Abydos and dated to the Naqada I period is decorated with an animal that clearly represents a rhinoceros.¹³⁵⁰ However, apart from this find, unequivocal depictions and references to the rhinoceros are only found in the New Kingdom period. However, for this period too, the evidence is very scarce. Only two depictions and two textual references mention or depict the animal. The first depiction of a rhinoceros is found on the Punt relief in Deir el-Bahri (figure 163).¹³⁵¹ The second depiction and an accompanying description are found at the Month temple in Armant, where the above described ARMANT STELA also originated from. On a pylon, a rhinoceros is depicted that seems to be part of a Nubian tribute scene.¹³⁵² Interestingly, the measurements of the animal are mentioned (figure 153):

Text above its horns:

'[...] 1 cubit, 1 palm'

(Approximately 0.6m.)

Text in front of its forelegs:

'Its circumference: 3 cubits, 5 palms. The height of its foreleg to the ground: 5 ½ cubits'

(Approximately 1,94m. and 2,88m.)

Text between its two forelegs:

'The circumference of its hand on the ground: 2 cubits, 1 palm'

(Approximately 1,12m.)

Text under its belly:

'The circumference of its belly: 13 cubits, 2 palms, 2 digits'

(Approximately 7m.)

Text behind its hind-leg:

'Her circumference: 5 cubits, 3 palms'

(Approximately 2,84m.)¹³⁵³

¹³⁵⁰ Hartung, 2014: p. 151-154, fig. 1.

¹³⁵¹ Smith, 1962: p. 61.

¹³⁵² Störk, 1977: p. 286.

¹³⁵³ Mond & Myers, 1940: p. 160, pl. XCIII; Störk, 1977: p. 286-288; Vernus & Yoyotte, 2005: p. 187-188.

This detailed description demonstrates the extraordinary character of the animal. Apparently, the rhinoceros is so special, that it wasn't necessary to boast about capturing large quantities of the animal, but one rather felt the need to explain what the animal actually looked like by describing its measurements. As such, it not only demonstrates that the king has encountered and experienced, but also that he has knowledge about (and therefore controlled) the extraordinary and the 'unknown': *'Elle visait à montrer que le monde dépasse l'expérience quotidienne qu'en ont ses habitants humains et que, au-delà du connu, il existe toujours de zones à découvrir et des créatures que par leurs aspects ou simplement leurs dimensions dépassent la norme habituelle. À travers cette conception, s'exprime la toute-puissance du démiurge dont la création est si vaste qu'elle offre toujours un par-delà à découvrir, et la toute-puissance de celui qu'il a choisi pour l'explorer c'est-à-dire le pharaon du moment'*.¹³⁵⁴

However, even though the depiction and the description of the animal most likely aimed to demonstrate the above, it actually shows the opposite to the modern observer. Of course, an exaggerated description of the size of the beast perfectly suits a context in which the king boasts about the specialness of his encounter. However, the ratio between the sizes of the individual body parts does not make sense at all. Furthermore, even though the animal clearly represents a rhinoceros, its legs more resemble that of cattle.¹³⁵⁵ Indeed, it looks like *'it must have been drawn by an artist who had never seen one alive (...)'*.¹³⁵⁶

Similarly, it can be suggested that the use of specific instead of generic numbers (such as 'countless' or 'many') aimed to 'prove' the authenticity of a report to the observer, and to make it clear that the depicted and described events were by no means an exaggeration – even though they clearly were.

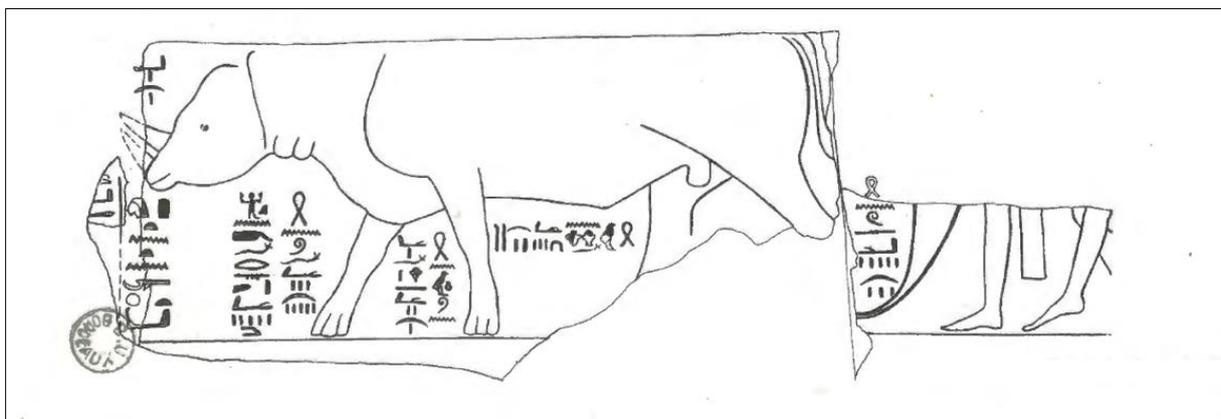


Figure 153. A rhinoceros on the Pylon of Thutmoses III at Armant. New Kingdom, Dynasty 18.

¹³⁵⁴ Vernus & Yoyotte, 2005: p. 188.

¹³⁵⁵ The legs of the rhinoceros depicted at Deir el-Bahri are more lifelike (see below, figure 163).

¹³⁵⁶ Gowers, 1950: p. 62; Störk, 1977: p. 288-289.

Amenhotep II

Just like his father, Amenhotep II also describes his campaign in Syria and related hunting activities. The MEMPHIS STELA relates about this event that took place in the vicinity of Kadesh: *‘They went hunting in Rb^c in the forest. They carried off gazelles, m3s.t-animals, hares and wild donkeys without limit’*.¹³⁵⁷

The animals that are hunted do not seem to be as impressive as the ones his father hunted. His catch comprises the more typical wildlife and no specific numbers are mentioned. An interesting thesis is provided by Störk, who believes that the depiction and description of the rhinoceros on the pylon of Armant described above should actually be attributed to Amenhotep II:¹³⁵⁸ *‘Durch die Nähe der Jagdschilderungen seines Vaters war er geradezu gehalten, es diesem wenigstens in einer Hinsicht gleichzutun und sein Jagddefizit – war es ihm doch bei seinen Nordfeldzügen nicht gelungen, an Elefanten heranzukommen, was zu einer Ersatzjagd bei Rbw (in der Nähe von Kadesch) führte, bei der er sich mit minderem Wild wie Wildeseln, Hasen, usw. begnügen mußte (Urk, IV, 1304) – etwas auszugleichen. Wo Thutmoses III. ein Nashorn erlegt hatte, mußte sich sein Sohn ein lebendes Tier beschaffen’*.¹³⁵⁹

Thutmoses IV

The SPHINX STELA of Thutmoses IV clearly describes a hunting expedition, where he hunts lions and other desert animals, as a recreational activity situated not that far away from the settlement area: *‘he made pleasure upon the desert of Memphis, upon its southern and northern road, shooting at a copper target, hunting lions and desert game, cruising in his chariot, his horses faster than the wind. Together with only one person in his escort, no one else knowing’*.¹³⁶⁰

In this case, the emphasis seems to lie on the idea of spending time in the desert as a place of refuge, of going on an adventure, perhaps even being away from the boredom or responsibilities of everyday life. Apparently, the king is looking for seclusion, because he only took one person with him and has not told anyone else about his plans.

Amenhotep III

Characteristic of the reign of Amenhotep III are commemorative scarabs that mention the deeds of the king. No less than 123 scarabs mention that the king has shot 102¹³⁶¹ lions in a period of

¹³⁵⁷ Urk IV: 1304,5-7; Edel, 1953: p. 119, 130; gazelle: *ghs*.

¹³⁵⁸ Störk, 1977: p. 289-296.

¹³⁵⁹ Störk, 1977: p. 296.

¹³⁶⁰ Urk IV: 1541,8-12; Breasted, 1906: II, p. 322: § 813.

¹³⁶¹ Berman, 1998: p. 13; or 110 lions (Blankenberg-Van Delden, 1969: p. 11).

10 years: ‘The list of the lions that his majesty brought from his own shooting, from year 1 until year 10: 102 grim lions’ (figure 154).¹³⁶² Although it can be argued that the king indeed hunted wildlife,¹³⁶³ the high number of hunted animals seems extremely unlikely. Lions could indeed be encountered abroad, but they should still be considered rare and uncommon animals. However, since a period of 10 years is considered here, the following statement of Decker should be kept in mind: ‘Die monatliche Durchschnittleistung von einem Löwen ist dem passionierten Jäger ohne weiteres zuzutrauen’.¹³⁶⁴ Furthermore, Herb argues that the type of media, namely portable scarabs that could be easily brought into circulation, suggests that these statements are based on real events. For this type of publicity, the report should be based on fundamental facts, because the statements could be tested to a certain extent.¹³⁶⁵ However, in my opinion, the opposite is true. It is exactly the type of media, the large number of scarabs, and the fact that they could be easily distributed around the country that make these scarabs the perfect vehicles for propaganda purposes. As such, and perhaps per definition, these numbers should not be trusted at all - even though it is likely that the king shot a lion or two.



Figure 154. Lion-hunt scarab of Amenhotep III. New Kingdom, Dynasty 18. (Royal Pumphoom Museum, HARGM 3666.¹³⁶⁶)

¹³⁶² Urk IV: 1740,12-13; Breasted, 1906: II, p. 346-347, § 865; Blankenberg-Van Delden, 1969: p. 17-18, 74 (number C 24); see above, p. 124; grim lion: *m3i ḥs3*.

¹³⁶³ See below, p. 294.

¹³⁶⁴ Decker, 1987: p. 163.

¹³⁶⁵ Herb, 2005: p. 25.

¹³⁶⁶ Number C 24 of Blankenberg-Van Delden (1969: p. 17-18, 74).

Among these commemorative scarabs are also five examples that mention a hunt on aurochs: *‘A wonder that happened to His Majesty. One came to His Majesty saying: “There are aurochs on the desert of the region of Shetep” (...) His Majesty appeared in his chariot with his whole army accompanying him. The officers and private soldiers in their entirety and the children of the nursery were instructed to keep a watch on these aurochs. Then his majesty commanded to put these aurochs in an enclosure with walls and a ditch. Then his majesty went forth against all these aurochs. The number of it was: 170 aurochs. The number of that, what his majesty brought from hunting on this day: 56 aurochs. Then his majesty passed 4 days in idleness, in order to rest his horses. Then his majesty appeared in a chariot and the number of these aurochs brought by him from hunting: 40 aurochs. Total: 96 aurochs’*.¹³⁶⁷

It is interesting to see that the account describes the herd of aurochs as a wonder, which indicates that the presence of such a large amount of these animals should be considered an extraordinary and rare event.¹³⁶⁸ I am inclined to say that here too, the numbers are exaggerations.¹³⁶⁹ Nevertheless, the zooarchaeological evidence from Buto and Tell Ibrahim Awad indicates that aurochs were still hunted in Lower Egypt in the Old and Middle Kingdom period,¹³⁷⁰ making it not extremely unlikely that small numbers of the animal were still present in the New Kingdom period. The location of Shetep is unknown, but most likely placed in the Wadi Qena, the Delta or the Fayum.¹³⁷¹ All of these regions would have provided favourable living conditions for these animals. Still, whether the scarabs describe an exaggerated event or a historical account of a ‘miraculous’ event that actually occurred, the emphasis clearly lies on the quantity of these animals, and not only the animal species as such. Additionally, the text specifically mentions that this particular hunt takes place from inside an enclosure.

Seti I

A hunting scene is depicted on a stela of king Seti I. He is seen shooting desert animals, and a lion and oryx are the only animals that can be identified on the damaged scene. The king boasts about killing a lion: *‘Then the king went out for a stroll, like Re (...) Then he caught sight of a big lion, like a godly falcon catches sight of a small bird. (...) He killed the lion in the blink of*

¹³⁶⁷ Urk IV: 1739,5 – 1740,2; Blankenberg-Van Delden, 1969: p. 17; aurochs: *sm3*.

¹³⁶⁸ Herb, 2005: p. 24.

¹³⁶⁹ Both the total size of the herd, as well as the number of individual animals the king shot.

¹³⁷⁰ Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 65-67.

¹³⁷¹ Blankenberg-Van Delden, 1969: p. 13; Herb, 2005: p. 23.

an eye, because he is Re, beloved of his father'.¹³⁷² Although the lion should of course be seen as a dangerous and chaotic animal, the emphasis lies on the fact that the big lion is obviously no match for the king. Indeed, the king compares himself with a bird of prey, and the big lion with a weak small bird that stands no change against his powerful predator. However, it is also mentioned that the king has left the residence, apparently to spend some leisure time by going for a walk. In my opinion, this can be equalled to the other instances where hunting is described as a recreational activity. After all, the stela shows us that he already has his hunting equipment with him. He goes outside, to walk around and shoot some animals. Obviously, he is very successful in his pursuit.

6.2.3 Animal keeping

Apart from a general lack of bone material, other archaeological evidence for the keeping of non-indigenous animals is also surprisingly scarce. The keeping of gazelles and possibly deer can be proven, based on the archaeozoological evidence. Deformities at the bones of the two Middle Kingdom gazelles found at Deir el-Bersha as well as the gazelle bones found at the foundation deposit of Mentuhotep prove that these animals were kept in captivity for some time.¹³⁷³ Furthermore, it is suggested that at Qantir/Piramesse deer were also kept in captivity in the New Kingdom period. 35 Bones are found here and interpreted as food remains.¹³⁷⁴ The fact that both cranial as well as post-cranial skeletal elements are part of the remains, implies that these animals lived on site.¹³⁷⁵ Mummified baboons have been found that are dated to the New Kingdom period, and two mummified gazelles are dated to a slightly later period. Obviously, the horse was also kept as a function animal, primarily as a means of military transportation. This animal will be discussed separately below.¹³⁷⁶

6.2.3.1 Hunting enclosures

The evidence for the keeping of large quantities and herds of non-indigenous animals in enclosures, as is often depicted in the iconography and mentioned in the textual records, is quite problematic. It has been mentioned above that many of the desert hunt scenes take place inside of a hunting enclosure.¹³⁷⁷ This area needed to be quite big in order to house the many different

¹³⁷² Cairo JE 72269: KRI I: 76,15-77,2; Kitchen, 1993: I, p. 65-66; Decker & Herb, 1994: J 125: I, p. 347-348; II, CLXXX; Hassan, 1953a: p. 103-105; fig. 74-75.

¹³⁷³ De Meyer et al., 2005: p. 67-68, fn. 58.

¹³⁷⁴ Von den Driesch, 2006: p. 312

¹³⁷⁵ Kitagawa, 2008: p. 542.

¹³⁷⁶ See below, p. 303-306

¹³⁷⁷ See above, p. 259-261, 292.

species and the high number of animals that supposedly lived here. Furthermore, if these enclosures really existed, looking for wood for the fences was certainly a costly and strenuous undertaking, due to a lack of wood in the Nile Valley: *‘Angesichts der Breite der Artenspektrums, das man üblicherweise innerhalb der Zaunstreifen darstellte, ist davon auszugehen, daß die Gehege von 25km² und mehr erreichten. Entsprechend aufwendig fiel die Errichtung aus. Es waren enorme Mengen hölzerner Pfosten zu zimmern wie auch Seil zu flechten; das Material war über längere strecken heranzutransportieren; und schließlich mußte die gesamte, sich selbst tragende Konstruktion aufgerichtet werden’*.¹³⁷⁸ In fact, if one interprets the depictions and descriptions of the desert hunt scenes as a representation of (a partial) reality, it is essential that these animals were indeed kept in enclosures. Only such a setting would make it possible for the elite and pharaoh to hunt (large amounts of) rare animals, that do not share the same habitat in nature, not that far away from the settlement. Unfortunately, conclusive archaeological evidence for such large enclosures has not been found. However, the iconography shows that these enclosures were likely made of wooden poles and nets. Considering the perishability of the material, it is indeed not that strange that no remains have been found. However, even if it were to be accepted that these ‘wild parks’ did exist, it still seems highly unlikely that huge numbers of animals were kept there.

The only evidence of a large enclosure specifically designated to trap animals is dated to the prehistoric period. A 4 km long stone structure (Regenfeld 96/28) has been found at the Great Sand Sea in the Western Desert, dated to around 6500-4900 BC. Initially, this structure was interpreted as a game drive, comparable to the ‘desert kites’ of the Near East that are used to drive herds of wildlife into an ambush. However, a more recent interpretation suggests that this structure cannot be compared to a desert kite, and was rather used to trap individual animals by means of foot snares.¹³⁷⁹ Thus, based on the archaeological evidence, one can conclude that *‘there are no obvious findings, no sites, and no evidence in the faunal material that proves that the ancient Egyptians captured large herds of desert animals that were then driven to the Nile Valley’*.¹³⁸⁰ Evidence for another enclosure has been found at Soleb in Nubia, possibly dated to the reign of Amenhotep III. Here, an area of about 600 x 300 m has been found near the temple, marked with post holes in the ground at 3 meter intervals. Remains of wood has been found in some of these holes.¹³⁸¹ Also, pieces of flint were found inside the ‘enclosure’, which Leclant

¹³⁷⁸ Herb, 2005: p. 29.

¹³⁷⁹ Pöllath, 2009: p. 97; Riemer, 2009: p. 185.

¹³⁸⁰ Pöllath, 2009: p. 104.

¹³⁸¹ Leclant, 1981: p. 728.

interprets as possible arrow-heads.¹³⁸² Even if one accepts the theory that these are indeed the remains of an enclosure in which animals were kept, it is unlikely that herds of desert animals were kept here for long periods of time, due to the relatively small size of the enclosure. However, captured animals could have been brought here for specific recreational or ritual hunting events. Although Leclant believes that the pharaoh hunted lions within this enclosure,¹³⁸³ this remains pure speculation and nothing can be said about the possible species of animals that might have been kept here.

6.2.3.2 Feeding troughs

At least fourteen stone animal troughs have been found at the North Palace of Amarna, most of them carved with depictions of fattened cattle. Three of these troughs, however, are decorated with depictions of ibexes and hartebeests (figure 155).¹³⁸⁴ A tethering stone is located next to each of these feeding-troughs, indicating that actual animals were bound to these rings. The palace was owned by one of Akhenaten's wives, and later his daughter.¹³⁸⁵ The setting indicates that these were 'special' animals, but there are no indications that large amounts of non-indigenous animals were kept here. Considering that the cattle is depicted as extremely fat, it is likely that they were used as precious offering animals, and the same can be suggested for the oryxes and hartebeests. However, it cannot be excluded that these animals served as a source of exquisite food for the royalty or even as pet animals. A depiction in the tomb of Meryre II at Amarna seems to depict one of the princesses holding a gazelle in her hands.¹³⁸⁶

¹³⁸² *Idem*: p. 732.

¹³⁸³ *Idem*: p. 732-733.

¹³⁸⁴ See also Newton, 1924: pl. XXX.

¹³⁸⁵ Kemp, 2007: p. 4.

¹³⁸⁶ *Idem*: p. 5; Lepsius, 1972: Abth. III, Bl. 99b.



Figure 155. Two ibexes on a feeding trough from Amarna. New Kingdom, Dynasty 18. (Toledo Museum 1925.744.)

6.2.3.3 Royal menageries

It could also be the case that the desert animals depicted on the troughs of Amarna are part of a ‘royal menagerie’ or garden. As such, they could have been part of a wider range of exotic animals and plants that were kept at the palace as part of an impressive and awe-inspiring royal garden, but also as a place of retreat and recreation for the royal family. Most depictions of such gardens display ponds with fish and birds. However, a relief-block that has been found at Karnak in a secondary context but can be dated to the Amarna period, also shows two oryxes and two lions in small enclosures.¹³⁸⁷ The depicted structures are most likely royal domains, although it is not clear which particular building is represented here. It is not likely that these animals had an economic relevance, because a special paddock with cattle is depicted outside of the enclosure. The domesticated animals have been separated from the non-indigenous ones. Furthermore, an elevated pavilion is depicted in front of the oryxes, and the lion enclosures could also be reached by stairs. This suggests that at least part of the function of these animals was to entertain the observers by their mere presence.¹³⁸⁸

However, the existence of these supposed menageries, at least in the pharaonic period, is also problematic, again due to a lack of archaeological evidence. Apart from the above-mentioned animal troughs, no other possible evidence has been found. The long thought existence of a ‘zoo’ at Qantir/Piramesse is now being doubted due to a reinterpretation of the material. Instead,

¹³⁸⁷ Anus, 1971: fig. 3, fig. 5. & pl. XV; Müller-Wollermann, 2003: p. 36-37.

¹³⁸⁸ Müller-Wollermann, 2003: p. 36.

the zooarchaeological material found at the site is believed to derive from imported animal products, such as skins and horns, instead of actual living animals present at the site.¹³⁸⁹

Again, the archaeological evidence indicates that non-indigenous animals were present in Egypt and were possibly kept in enclosures or palaces. However, the evidence does not suggest that large numbers of these animals were present at any time. Furthermore, the possible hunting park at Soleb and the feeding troughs at Amarna are both found in a royal context, indicating that these were special, valuable and prestigious animals.

6.2.3.4 Pet animals

Pet animals differ from the ones that have a clear economical function, for example as providers of meat, milk or skin. The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) defines a pet as: ‘*Any animal that is domesticated or tamed and kept as a favourite, or treated with indulgence and fondness*’.¹³⁹⁰ According to Serpell ‘*the word tends to be used more loosely as a blanked description for animals that are kept for no obvious practical or economical purpose - i.e. pets, as opposed to livestock or working animals*’.¹³⁹¹ Several non-indigenous animals indeed did not have a practical or economical function and could occasionally be interpreted as pets. In all instances, these animals occur in an elite or royal context, meaning that owning such a special animal, or suggesting that one owns such an animal, is certainly a demonstration of prosperity and prestige. Various desert animals were hunted, eaten, and used as offering products. However, in certain instances these animals occur in a context where they can be interpreted as pets or favourite animals. It has already been mentioned that a gazelle is depicted in the hands of a princess in the tomb of Meryre II at Amarna.¹³⁹² Furthermore, mummified gazelles have been found in the tombs of royal women dated to a slightly later period.¹³⁹³ Leopards (or lions) have been found in a Predynastic and Early Dynastic elite and royal context,¹³⁹⁴ and lions are occasionally seen as ‘pets’ of the king. In the iconography, these lions can be separated from the wild ones, because they wear a collar or a leash. A tame lion is for example depicted on the golden shrine of Tutankhamun (JE 61481), where it accompanies the king (figure 156). Additionally, various examples in the literary texts emphasise that this animal could be tamed.¹³⁹⁵ However, it has

¹³⁸⁹ Von den Driesch, 2006: p. 309-312; see below, p. 376-377.

¹³⁹⁰ Oxford English Dictionary (2nd ed.), 1989.

¹³⁹¹ Serpell, 1989: p. 10-11; Flores, 1999: p. 81, fn. 2.

¹³⁹² See above, p. 295 & fn. 1385.

¹³⁹³ See above, p. 276-277 and fn. 1285.

¹³⁹⁴ See above, p. 286 and fn. 1340.

¹³⁹⁵ See above, p.135-137, fn. 521, 523, 524.

already been mentioned in chapter three that the lions in these depictions and descriptions are not only prestigious animals, but also demonstrate and emphasise the power of the king over a powerful and chaotic animal.¹³⁹⁶



Figure 156. A tamed lion depicted next to the Tutankhamun as part of a marsh-hunting scene. New Kingdom, Dynasty 18. (Cairo JE 61481).

Monkeys, however, are surprisingly often depicted in a context where they could be described as pets or even as helpers. It has already been mentioned that baboons have been found at the elite cemetery HK6 in Hierakonpolis. These baboons were kept in captivity, but their pathologies indicate that it was not easy to keep these animals and it is unlikely that they were kept as real pets.¹³⁹⁷ Baboon remains are also known from the New Kingdom period.¹³⁹⁸ These animals could be interpreted as pets, although it cannot be said for sure that this was indeed the case. Interestingly, the aggressive nature of these animals becomes clear because ‘*the baboons were divested of their canine teeth to avoid the risk of injuring anyone seriously while alive*’.¹³⁹⁹ However, the majority of the depicted monkeys in a daily life context consists of green monkeys. Still, even though they are occasionally seen on boats returning from foreign

¹³⁹⁶ E.g. in Papyrus Westcar (see above, p. 135 and fn. 521).

¹³⁹⁷ Van Neer et al., 2017: p. 102.

¹³⁹⁸ See below, p. 316, fn. 1474, 1475.

¹³⁹⁹ Ikram, 2005: p. 4.

expeditions,¹⁴⁰⁰ bone material from this species has not been found in Egypt during the pharaonic period.¹⁴⁰¹ In the Old Kingdom period, these green monkeys are frequently seen in the same contexts as pet dogs: a caretaker (often a little person) walks the dogs and monkeys that are usually wearing leashes (figure 157).¹⁴⁰² In one instance, a leopard is seen in the same context.¹⁴⁰³ This does not necessarily mean that these depictions are based on reality. Monkeys were indeed imported into Egypt and are seen in the same contexts as and co-occur with indigenous animals. However, this does not automatically mean that these were common animals. Rather, it demonstrates that it is suggested that they were. This tendency can be compared to the regular presence of rare and non-indigenous desert game among common cattle in the offering scenes of the Old Kingdom period.¹⁴⁰⁴ Here too, the presence of the non-indigenous animals foremost demonstrates the need of the tomb owner to express his high status.

Baboons are also occasionally seen as pets on leashes (figure 158),¹⁴⁰⁵ but they more frequently occur as ‘helpers’. Baboons are ‘policing’ the market scene,¹⁴⁰⁶ carry a shoulder yoke,¹⁴⁰⁷ or make wine.¹⁴⁰⁸

Although the depictions of monkeys on leashes could be based on reality, the baboons that are seen as ‘working’ animals should rather be interpreted as ‘*touches of comic relief in otherwise formal scenes*’.¹⁴⁰⁹ Even though the literary texts emphasise the trainability of monkeys¹⁴¹⁰ and it is true that ‘*we shouldn’t underestimate the possibilities of training*’¹⁴¹¹ it is highly unlikely that these depictions, or the ones of monkeys as talented musicians (figure 159)¹⁴¹² or hairdressers¹⁴¹³ are based on reality: ‘*In many cases, representations of baboons or monkeys*

¹⁴⁰⁰ Green monkeys are climbing on boats returning from Punt at the causeway of Sahure (El Awady, 2009: pl. V); see Vandier d’Abbadie (1964: p. 171-177) for additional examples.

¹⁴⁰¹ Remains of the green monkey (dated to around 3600 BC) have been found at Hierakonpolis, but the animal was most likely an importation (Linseele & Van Neer, 2009a).

¹⁴⁰² E.g. in the tomb of Mereruka (Kanawati et al., 2011: pl. 12b) where three dogs and a monkey are depicted; Vandier d’Abbadie, 1964: p. 151-166.

¹⁴⁰³ The tomb of Niankhnesut (Kofler-Truniger collection, K 415 A); Vandier d’Abbadie, 1964: p. 163; Müller, 1964: p. 56-57, Abb. A 90.

¹⁴⁰⁴ See above, p. 266-274.

¹⁴⁰⁵ E.g. in the tomb of Atet (Petrie, 1892: pl. XXIV); Vandier d’Abbadie, 1964: p. 152-153.

¹⁴⁰⁶ E.g. in the tomb of Tepemankh (Evans, 2015: fig. 11-27); Vandier d’Abbadie, 1964: p. 154.

¹⁴⁰⁷ E.g. in the tomb of Niankhpepy (Varille, 1938: pl. XI); Vandier d’Abbadie, 1964: p. 170.

¹⁴⁰⁸ E.g. in the tomb of Nefer & Kahay (Harpur & Scremin, 2015: p. 76-77 [100-101]).

¹⁴⁰⁹ Houlihan, 1997: p. 31.

¹⁴¹⁰ See above, p. 135-137.

¹⁴¹¹ Sweeney, 2015: p. 806.

¹⁴¹² E.g. a monkey playing a harp: Brussels KMKMG MRAH E.6765 (figure 159); additional picture available at The Global Egyptian Museum: <http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/images/KMKMG-MRAH/bre.6765.jpg> (last accessed 24 February 2022); Vandier d’Abbadie, 1966: p. 185.

¹⁴¹³ In the tomb of Sebeknakht (Tylor, 1896: pl. 8); Vandier d’Abbadie, 1965: p. 181-183.

clearly belong to the tradition of the 'topsy-turvy world' of Egyptian animals cartoons, where animals undertake unlikely human activities. In some instances, the representation may even be satire or parody, where the point is not so much the humor of a monkey performing a task that monkeys normally cannot execute, but mocking the normal human performer by equating them with a monkey'.¹⁴¹⁴



Figure 157. Dogs and a green monkey on a leash in the tomb of Mereruka. Saqqara, Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6.
Figure 158. A green monkey (left) and a baboon (right) in the tomb of Nefermaat and Atet. Meidum, Old Kingdom, Dynasty 4. (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen AEIN 1133 A.)

¹⁴¹⁴ Sweeney, 2015: p. 804.



Figure 159. A monkey playing a harp. Deir el-Medina, New Kingdom. (Brussels KMKG MRAH E.6765.)

Furthermore, from the Old Kingdom onwards, several animals can be depicted under the chair of the tomb owner, who is usually sitting in front of his or her offering table or receives offering gifts.¹⁴¹⁵ Apart from indigenous and domesticated animals, such as dogs, cats and geese, we also see monkeys, ibexes and gazelles. The monkeys, dogs and cats occur relatively frequently, but gazelle and ibex and goose only sporadically. During the Old Kingdom period, only dogs and green monkeys are seen in this context, and sometimes their keeper is also depicted underneath the chair. In the New Kingdom period, the monkey is the animal that is most often seen in this setting, which is a strong indication of the animal's popularity (figure 160).¹⁴¹⁶ Other animals, such as cats, geese, and in a rare case an ibex are also seen in this context from the New Kingdom onwards.¹⁴¹⁷ The ibex is seen in the New Kingdom tomb of Amenhotep,¹⁴¹⁸ but the gazelle only occurs after the New Kingdom period.¹⁴¹⁹ In the New Kingdom period, baboons are also occasionally depicted underneath a chair, for example on a statue of Ipy from Deir el-Medina. One side of the statue shows a cat sitting underneath the chair, and the other side shows a baboon.¹⁴²⁰ Again, this does not mean that these animals were actually kept as

¹⁴¹⁵ El-Kilany & Mahran, 2015: p. 243, 249.

¹⁴¹⁶ El-Kilany & Mahran, 2015: p. 250.

¹⁴¹⁷ El-Kilany & Mahran, 2015: p. 255, 264: Tab. 2.

¹⁴¹⁸ TT 73: Säve-Söderbergh, 1957: pl. 8; Cherpoïn, 1999: p. 151, fig. 68.

¹⁴¹⁹ Strandberg, 2009: p. 31; El-Kilany & Mahran, 2015: p. 255, fig. 16.

¹⁴²⁰ Bruyère, 1929: p. 19; Vandier d'Abbadie, 1966: p. 174; Sweeney, 2015: p. 806.

pets, at least not on a regular basis. Rather, *‘they show us what the tomb-builders knew or thought about monkeys and baboons’*¹⁴²¹ and function as status symbols.

Additionally, monkeys are frequently seen near women, and as such it is often said that these animals symbolise female sexuality.¹⁴²² However, even though monkeys regularly occur in contexts that relate to ideas of transition and regeneration,¹⁴²³ the link between these animals and eroticism is not as clear as is often suggested. Monkeys are indeed frequently found under the chair of the female nobility, but they also occur under the chairs of males, especially in the Old Kingdom period.¹⁴²⁴

Much more, the animals underneath the chairs should be interpreted as favourite animals, and the rare animals, such as monkeys, baboons and the ibex, as prestigious pets. Again, this does not necessarily mean that these depictions are always based on reality. Especially baboons are strong and can be violent, and they are difficult to keep.

The New Kingdom baboon mummies even had their incisors removed. Thus, even though possessing such a rare animal certainly was a sign of prosperity, actually taking care of it could be a nuisance. However, for the wealthy elite and the king this would not be that big of a problem, since they *‘could presumably delegate the less enjoyable aspects of baboon-keeping to someone else’*.¹⁴²⁵

¹⁴²¹ Sweeney, 2015: p. 804.

¹⁴²² E.g. Manniche, 1987: p. 43-44; Robins, 1988: p. 63.

¹⁴²³ See above, p. 221-243.

¹⁴²⁴ El-Kilany, 2013: p. 26; El-Kilany & Mahran, 2015: p. 256.

¹⁴²⁵ Sweeney, 2015: p. 809.



Figure 160. A monkey sitting under a chair in the tomb of Userhat (TT56). Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, New Kingdom, Dynasty 18.

6.2.3.5 The horse as a prestigious and valuable animal

Horses were kept by the elite as prestigious and valuable animals that functioned as a status symbol for the owner. However, the animal also had a clear practical function, and does therefore not fall in the category ‘pet animal’ as described by Serpell.¹⁴²⁶ It has already been mentioned that this animal too is non-indigenous. It is suggested that the horse was introduced to Egypt by the Hyksos during the Second Intermediate Period, but it is more likely that the animal entered Egypt via various trade routes and regions in to the north and north-east of Egypt, including Syria, the Levant and Anatolia.¹⁴²⁷ Horse remains have been found at various sites, for example at Tell el-Dab‘a, Deir el-Bahri and Saqqara.¹⁴²⁸ The remains of these horses

¹⁴²⁶ See above, p. 297 and fn. 1391.

¹⁴²⁷ Bibby, 2003.

¹⁴²⁸ Raulwing & Clutton-brock, 2009: p. 41-43: Tab. 1.

are dated to the Second Intermediate Period and the New Kingdom. Horses have a clear functional purpose, mainly as a means of military transportation. As such, these animals were associated with the military elite and the king. Chariot teams formed an integral part of the foreign military forces as well (figure 161). Consequently, horses and chariots frequently occur as war-booty and tribute goods from the north in the New Kingdom period.¹⁴²⁹ However, the value of these animals is also mentioned in the literary texts. PAPHYRUS ANASTASI IV mentions the preparations that are being made for the arrival of the pharaoh. Among the display are: *'horse-pairs and fine young horses from Sangar, first-class stallions from Khatti'*.¹⁴³⁰ The foreign origins of these horses is thus emphasised: apparently, the very best horses were brought from these places and were not bred in Egypt. Several of these texts make it clear that horses were expensive, and not just everybody had the means to buy them. Owning these animals can therefore be seen as sign of wealth and prosperity. This is further emphasised by the fact that not only the initial purchase of a pair of horses costs a lot of money, but also the purchase of a chariot and the maintenance of the horses. PAPHYRUS ANASTASI III tells about an army officer who has bought a chariot to accompany his pair of horses: *'He has gotten a nice pair of horses (...) He gave away the belongings of his father and his mother and bought the chariot: its pole for three deben, the chariot for five deben'*.¹⁴³¹ Apparently, this is a huge investment, since he had to spend his parents' money or inheritance. Janssen points out that this price is highly doubtful, because it is actually not that high. However, if the price is to be understood in debens of silver instead of copper it might be more acceptable, especially when the used materials were imported from foreign places.¹⁴³² PAPHYRUS SALLIER I shows that large areas of agricultural land were available and used for the production of fodder for the royal horses: *'30 aurora¹⁴³³ of arable land has been given to me, to make fodder for the pair of horses of the pharaoh, L.P.H., that belongs to my duties'*.¹⁴³⁴ The size of land available for the fodder of only one pair of horses is considerably larger than the average plot needed to feed a family.¹⁴³⁵ Apparently, horse fodder was also brought as a tribute gift. Land was given to the Sherden people (who had been captured and absorbed into the military army) over which they had to pay taxes:¹⁴³⁶ *'(...) and*

¹⁴²⁹ See below, p. 321-323, table 6 (p. 335-336) and figure 174 (top register).

¹⁴³⁰ pAnastasi IV: recto 17,8-17,9: LEM, p. 54-54a; Dils, P. in: TLA; horse-pair: *htr*, (type of) horse: *g3w3*, stallion: *ibr*.

¹⁴³¹ pAnastasi III: recto 6,5-6-9: LEM, p. 27-27a; Dils, P. in: TLA; horse: *ssm.t*.

¹⁴³² Janssen, 1975: p. 329, fn. 97; Herslund, 2013: p. 123-128.

¹⁴³³ Hofmann, 1989: p. 53: about 8.25 acres.

¹⁴³⁴ pSallier I: recto 9,2-9,3: LEM, p. 87-87a; Popko, L. in: TLA; horse-pair: *htr*.

¹⁴³⁵ Katary, 2013: p. 7104: *'according to one landholding pattern, smallholders of various occupations cultivated heritable and alienable plots, usually 3 or 5 auroras in size (...) enough land to support a family'*.

¹⁴³⁶ Emanuel, 2013: p. 19.

bring a tribute of a bushel of grain and fodder for their pairs of horses, consisting of chopped straw'.¹⁴³⁷ Moreover, a passage from the TAKING OF JOPPA demonstrates that it is part of the hospitality of the host to not only look after a 'guest'¹⁴³⁸ but also after his horses: '*Let the maryanna bring in the horses, and let food be given to them; else one aperu raider will pass by them*'.¹⁴³⁹ Djehuty points out that it would be better if the horses of the enemy were stalled inside the Egyptian camp, because they will not be safe outside.¹⁴⁴⁰ This makes two other points clear. Firstly, the horses are apparently a much wanted and valuable booty for raiders. Secondly, the horses are seen as an important element of Joppa's defence¹⁴⁴¹ and thus highly valuable in battle. Additionally, not only fodder was important for the care of horses, but also skincare and regular exercise. This is mentioned in PAPYRUS SALLIER I: '*The horse pairs of my master are all right. (...) Every month I give money for ointment for their anointment. His stable master trots them every ten days*'.¹⁴⁴² The horse is also used to emphasise the wealth and high status of its owner in PAPYRUS LANSING: '*As you are dressed in fine clothing and own horses, as your skty-bark is in the water, as you are provided with servants and are unhindered at the inspection, as a mansion has been built in your town*'.¹⁴⁴³ And: '*You are someone with great pairs of horses and bright sails*'.¹⁴⁴⁴ The high value and the purpose of the horse also becomes clear in PAPYRUS KOLLER: '*Apply yourself to cause to be ready the equipment of the pair of horses that is going to Syria, together with their stable-masters and their grooms as well*'.¹⁴⁴⁵ The text relates about the preparations that are being made for an expedition to Syria.

Although horses are part of the expedition, donkeys are mentioned as well, and these animals were apparently used to carry the equipment. The horses, however, were not used as an animal of burden, probably because of their high value (figure 161).

¹⁴³⁷ pAnastasi II: verso 7,2: LEM, p. 20-20a; Dils, P. in: TLA; horse-pair: *htr*.

¹⁴³⁸ In this case the enemy.

¹⁴³⁹ pHarris 500: verso 1,4-1,6: LES, p. 82-82a; Popko, L. in: TLA; horse-pair: *htr*.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Davies, 2003: p. 9.

¹⁴⁴¹ Davies, 2003: p. 66.

¹⁴⁴² pSallier I: recto 4,8-4,11: LEM, p. 81-81a; Popko, L. in: TLA; horse-pair: *htr*.

¹⁴⁴³ pLansing: recto 8,10-9,1: LEM, p. 107-107a; Popko, L. in: TLA; horse: *ssm.t*.

¹⁴⁴⁴ pLansing: verso 14,6: LEM p. 114-114a; Popko, L. in: TLA; horse-pair: *htr*.

¹⁴⁴⁵ pKoller 1,1-1.2: LEM, p. 116-116a; Popko, L. in: TLA; horse-pair: *htr*.

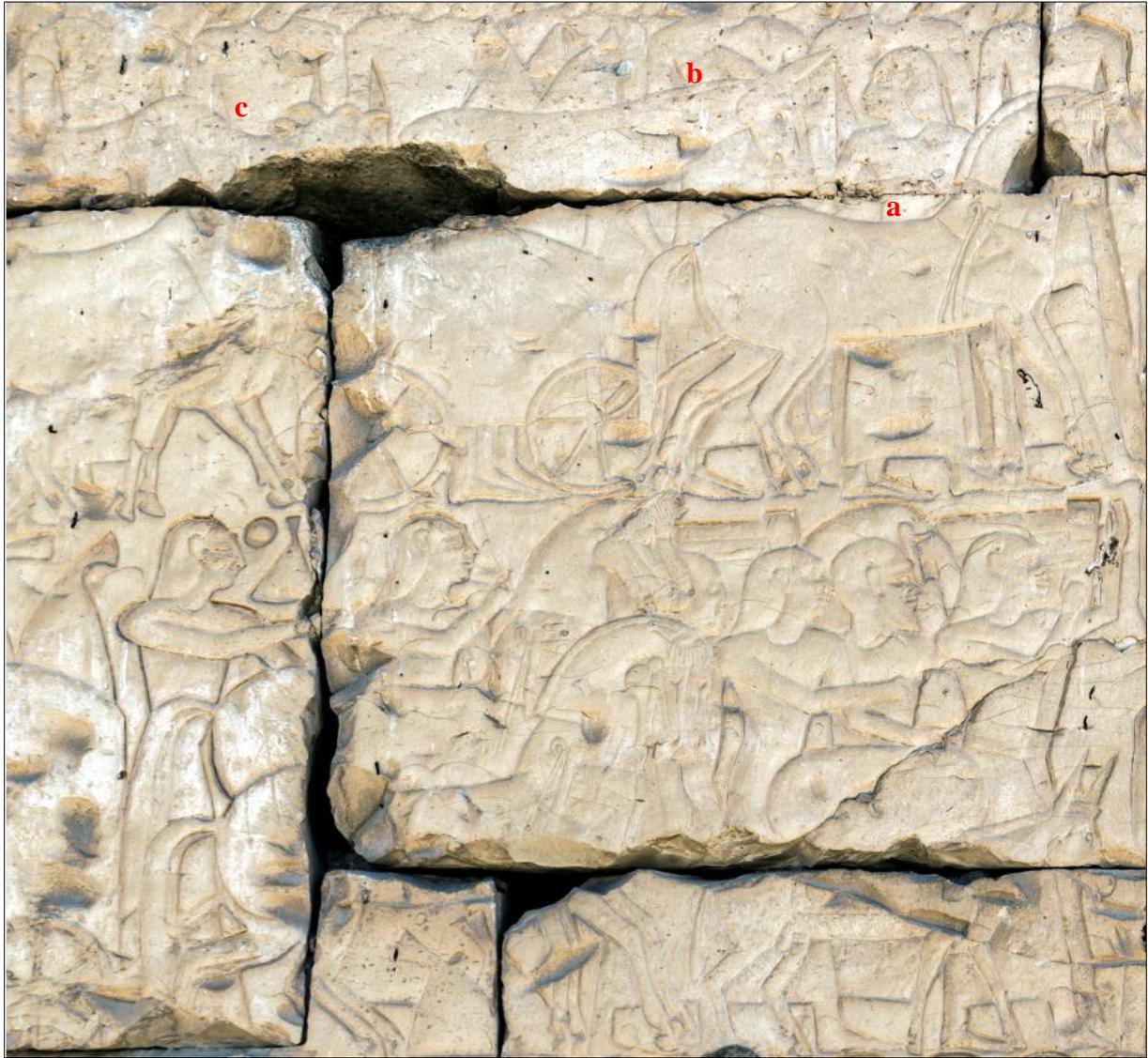


Figure 161. Horses (a), donkeys (b) and (humped) cattle (c) among the Hittite army in the battle of Kadesh. Abydos, Temple of Ramses II, New Kingdom, Dynasty 19.

6.2.4 Non-indigenous animals as valuable trade and tribute products

Apart from hunting non-indigenous animals in the wild (i.e. near the Nile Valley, deeper into the desert, or during a military campaign abroad) non-indigenous animals were also imported into Egypt as trade or tribute products. As such, non-indigenous items were considered beloved import products. In several texts and depictions, various imported animals and their products are mentioned or displayed, often amongst other items of value (gold, minerals, precious stones, etc.). Just as is the case nowadays, products that are not available locally are often of great value and highly desired.

6.2.4.1 Literary texts

In THE TALE OF THE ELOQUENT PEASANT, a peasant travels to Egypt in order to trade his goods. Various luxurious items are listed: *'then this peasant left for Egypt, after he had loaded his donkey with (...) leopard skins, (...) jackal hides (...) mn-birds, n^r-birds, gutted-fowl (?) (...)'*¹⁴⁴⁶ Here, the peasant has loaded his donkey with, amongst others, leopard skins and wolf/jackal skins and wants to travel from the Wadi Natrun to Egypt, where he can sell his products. The trade-commodities the peasant wishes to sell in Egypt consist of products that were found in the home region of the peasant, as well as the Egyptian oases and surrounding desert regions. This means, that although the products are non-native to Egypt, they do not necessarily have to come from locations that are located further away and are associated with foreign peoples. Leopard, wolves and jackals were present in the Egyptian desert and could have been hunted there. These animals are seen in the list because they represent the valuable items from the desert that were not locally available to the Egyptians.

Another list of foreign products is found in the SHIPWRECKED SAILOR. The serpent gives the sailor precious gifts: *'Then she gave me a load consisting of myrrh and sacred oil, incense and balsam, tišps-wood, šš^ssh-spice, black eye-paint, giraffe-tails, a great lump of incense, elephant tusks, greyhounds, green monkeys, monkeys and all kinds of riches'*¹⁴⁴⁷ The precious gifts include giraffe-tails, elephant tusks and (green) monkeys. After the sailor safely returns to Egypt, he hands the gifts over to the king, who is very pleased with them. The foreign origin of the products is important, because this explains why the items are so precious, valuable, and

¹⁴⁴⁶ pRamesseum A: R 1,7-5,1; Parkinson, 1991: 1-3a; Allen, 2015: p. 232-233; Dils, P. in: TLA; leopard-skin: *hn.t n.t b3*, wild canid/jackal/wolf-hide: *h3w.t n.t wns*.

¹⁴⁴⁷ pPetersburg 1115: 162-165; MES, p. 46-47a; Allen, 2015: p. 44-45; Dils, P. & H. Felber in TLA; giraffe-tail: *sd n mmy*, elephant tusk: *nhd.t n.t 3bw*, (type of) monkey: *gwf*, (type of) monkey: *kyw*.

fascinating. The animal products in THE SHIPWRECKED SAILOR include animals that were not native to Egypt or its surrounding desert regions. Elephants, giraffes, (green) monkeys, as well as their products had to be imported from other places. Foreign animals also occur in the literary texts that specifically mention foreign tribute from ‘real’ foreign regions (as opposed to the gifts that are mentioned in THE SHIPWRECKED SAILOR).

The Old Kingdom AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF HARKHUF relates about the various expeditions this official undertook to a region called Yam. The region is usually believed to be located in Upper Nubia, but a Western Desert location has been suggested as well.¹⁴⁴⁸ After his third journey, Harkhuf returns to Egypt with gifts from the ruler of Yam. The list does not mention any living non-indigenous animals, but it does include leopard skins and elephant tusks: ‘*I descended with 300 donkeys loaded with incense, ebony, ḥknw-oil, s3t, leopard-skins, elephant tusks, throw sticks and all sorts of good products*’.¹⁴⁴⁹ PAPYRUS TURIN D presents a list of tribute, consisting of: ‘*oryxes...leopard skins...good gold...Christ’s-thorn fruit...krbti-animals...and all kinds of Nubians*’.¹⁴⁵⁰ The list mentions products of high value, and all of the animals are not native to Egypt. PAPYRUS KOLLER also mentions tribute gifts from Nubia: ‘*When my writing reaches you, you shall cause the tribute to be made ready, consisting of all things, namely: iw3-cattle, calves of ng3-cattle, wnd.wt-cattle, gazelles, oryxes, ibexes, ostriches, (...) ivory and ebony, ostrich feathers, (...) leopard skins, (...) cats of Miw, a green-monkey, baboons (...)*’.¹⁴⁵¹ Here again, the emphasis lies on the high value, as well as the foreign origin of the products. Apart from the different kinds of cattle, all of the mentioned animals are not native to Egypt. The different species of wild animals in these lists therefore emphasise that we are dealing with valuable luxury products from different foreign regions: in the case of the ELOQUENT PEASANT from the desert, in the case of the SHIPWRECKED SAILOR from far away ‘mythical’ countries, in the AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF HARKHUF from Nubia or far into the Western Desert, and in PAPYRUS TURIN D and PAPYRUS KOLLER from Nubia.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Cooper, 2012.

¹⁴⁴⁹ Urk I: 126,17 - 127,3; Goedicke, 1981, p. 9; Lichtheim, 1973: p. 26; leopard-skin: *b3*, elephant tusk: *msw3 3bw*.

¹⁴⁵⁰ pTurin D: recto 1,3-2,1: LEM, p. 130-130a; Brose, M. in: TLA; oryx: *m3-ḥd*, leopard skin: *inm n 3by*

¹⁴⁵¹ pKoller 3,5-4,7: LEM, p. 118-119a; Popko, L. in: TLA; gazelle: *ghs*, oryx: *m3-ḥd*, ibex: *nr3w*, ivory: *3bw*, leopard-skin: *inm m 3by*, monkey: *g3f*, baboon: *ifn*,

6.2.4.2 Iconography

Apart from these textual examples that mention non-indigenous animals as foreign trade and tribute products, they are also seen in the iconography. The tribute, including non-indigenous animals, derives from various foreign regions and peoples.¹⁴⁵² Although the importation of non-indigenous animals is most frequently mentioned and depicted in the New Kingdom, it is not limited to this period.¹⁴⁵³

a. The mortuary temple of Sahure

One of the earliest Dynastic records that shows the importation of non-indigenous animals is found in a royal context. The mortuary temple of Sahure mentions the conquering of the Libyans. Kneeling prisoners and cattle are depicted before the goddess Seshat and the accompanying texts reads: *'recording the number of prisoners brought from all the foreign countries'*. Furthermore, other gods are watching the scene and the one in the right corner says: *'I give you all the beautiful things that are in all the foreign countries'*.¹⁴⁵⁴ This indicates, that although the foreign people could be considered hostile forces, the products that were brought from these foreign regions are praised because of their (aesthetic) value. These scenes and texts are important, because a similar setting is suggested for a scene that was originally located on the north wall of the courtyard that focusses on the military exploits of the king in the Levant. An important part of this scene is now located in the Egyptian Museum in Berlin.¹⁴⁵⁵ The fragment shows three Syrian bears¹⁴⁵⁶ and a Syrian vase, apparently part of the booty that derived from this region (figure 162). The animals wear collars and are tethered to the ground with a leash. Bears were never indigenous to Egypt but could be found in more northern regions.¹⁴⁵⁷ Remains of this animal have not been found in the zooarchaeological record of Egypt. However, the bears are depicted in a realistic manner and vases of the depicted type have been found in the archaeological record.¹⁴⁵⁸ This fragment too shows that the emphasis lies on the valuable, precious, and special products from abroad. Simultaneously, it can be suggested that the bears put an additional emphasis on the region they originate from. The presence of the animal in this scene makes it clear that we are dealing with 'Asiatic' products.

¹⁴⁵² These groups and their origins will be further discussed in § d.2 (p. 324-337).

¹⁴⁵³ See below, p. 324 for Middle Kingdom tribute scenes in a private context.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Ćwiek, 2003: p. 200-201; Borchardt, 1913: II, Bl. 1.

¹⁴⁵⁵ Berlin ÄM 21828.

¹⁴⁵⁶ The original publication (Borchardt, 1913: II, Bl. 3) shows (the remains of) at least four bears.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Gilbert, 2002: p. 53, Tab. 1.1.

¹⁴⁵⁸ E.g. in the tomb of queen Hetepheres (Arnold, 1999: p. 333; Reisner & Smith, 1955: pl. 46d).

As such, it remains unclear whether the presence of these bears in the iconography should be interpreted as a representation of a real event, or if the scene rather depicts a symbolic representation of the wealth that has been found abroad.¹⁴⁵⁹



Figure 162. Syrian bears on a fragment from the mortuary temple of Sahure. Abusir, Old Kingdom, Dynasty 5. (Berlin Inv.-Nr. ÄM 21828.)

¹⁴⁵⁹ Busch, 2006: p. 86.

b. The Punt expedition of Hatshepsut

Perhaps the most famous expedition is the New Kingdom voyage to the land (or region) of Punt under the reign of Hatshepsut. An account of this journey is depicted at the iconography in the temple of Deir el-Bahri.¹⁴⁶⁰ The scenes and inscriptions depict and tell about the expedition, the environment of Punt, and the products that could be found there. Apparently, Hatshepsut undertook the mission because of the wish of Amun: ‘*A command was heard from the great throne, an oracle of the god himself, that the ways to Punt should be searched out (...) to bring wonders from God’s Land for this god, for the fashioner of her beauty*’.¹⁴⁶¹ All the wonderful products were brought back to Egypt, so that the god would be beneficial for her: ‘*It was done, according to all that the majesty of this revered god commanded (...) in order that she might be given life, stability, and satisfaction, like Re, forever*’.¹⁴⁶² In reality, this was most likely a trading mission, even though this is occasionally depicted with some reluctance: the trading goods for the inhabitants of Punt are for example described as an offering to Hathor.¹⁴⁶³

Non-indigenous animals are depicted in many of these scenes. The plate numbers mentioned in the following part refer to the publication of Naville.¹⁴⁶⁴ Plate LXX¹⁴⁶⁵ shows the landscape of Punt, with various plants, trees and cattle, but also hamadryas baboons, a green monkey, a leopard, a giraffe and a rhinoceros. Most of these animals also occur in the scenes that display the products that have been brought back to Egypt. The rhinoceros, however, is only seen as part of the Puntite landscape and was most likely not brought back to Egypt (figure 163).¹⁴⁶⁶

Plates LXXIV and LXXV depict the loading of the ships that are to return to Egypt, which is mentioned in the accompanying text: ‘*the loading of the ships, very full, with the wonders of the foreign country of Punt; every good herb of the God’s Land, heaps of myrrh resin, fresh myrrh trees, ebony, pure ivory, freshly mined gold from Amu-country, tj-šps-wood, hsjt plants, myrrh, incense, antimony, baboons, green-monkeys, tsm-dogs, leopard skins, mrw-workers, together with their children. Never brought any king the like of this, since the beginning of the existence of the earth*’.¹⁴⁶⁷ The hamadryas baboons that are mentioned in the text are also seen on the ships (figure 164).

¹⁴⁶⁰ Naville, 1898: III, pl. LXIX-LXXXVI.

¹⁴⁶¹ Urk IV: 342,11 – 17; Breasted, 1906: II, p. 116: § 285; Breyer, 2016: p. 639-640.

¹⁴⁶² Urk IV: 343,1-3; Breasted, 1906: II, p. 116: § 285; Breyer, 2016: p. 640.

¹⁴⁶³ Gordon, 1984: p.113-114; Breasted, 1906: II, p. 106-107: § 254-255.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Naville, 1898: part III.

¹⁴⁶⁵ See Smith (1962: p. 61) for a reconstruction of the scene.

¹⁴⁶⁶ See also Breyer, 2016: p. 130.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Urk IV: 328,17-329,12; Breasted, 1906: p. 109: § 165; Breyer, 2016: p. 628; ivory: *šbw*, baboon: *iʿn*, monkey: *gwf*, leopard-skin: *inm n šbw šmʿ*.



Figure 163. Depiction of the landscape of Punt, including a rhinoceros, a baboon and her young, and a giraffe at the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri. New Kingdom, Dynasty 18.

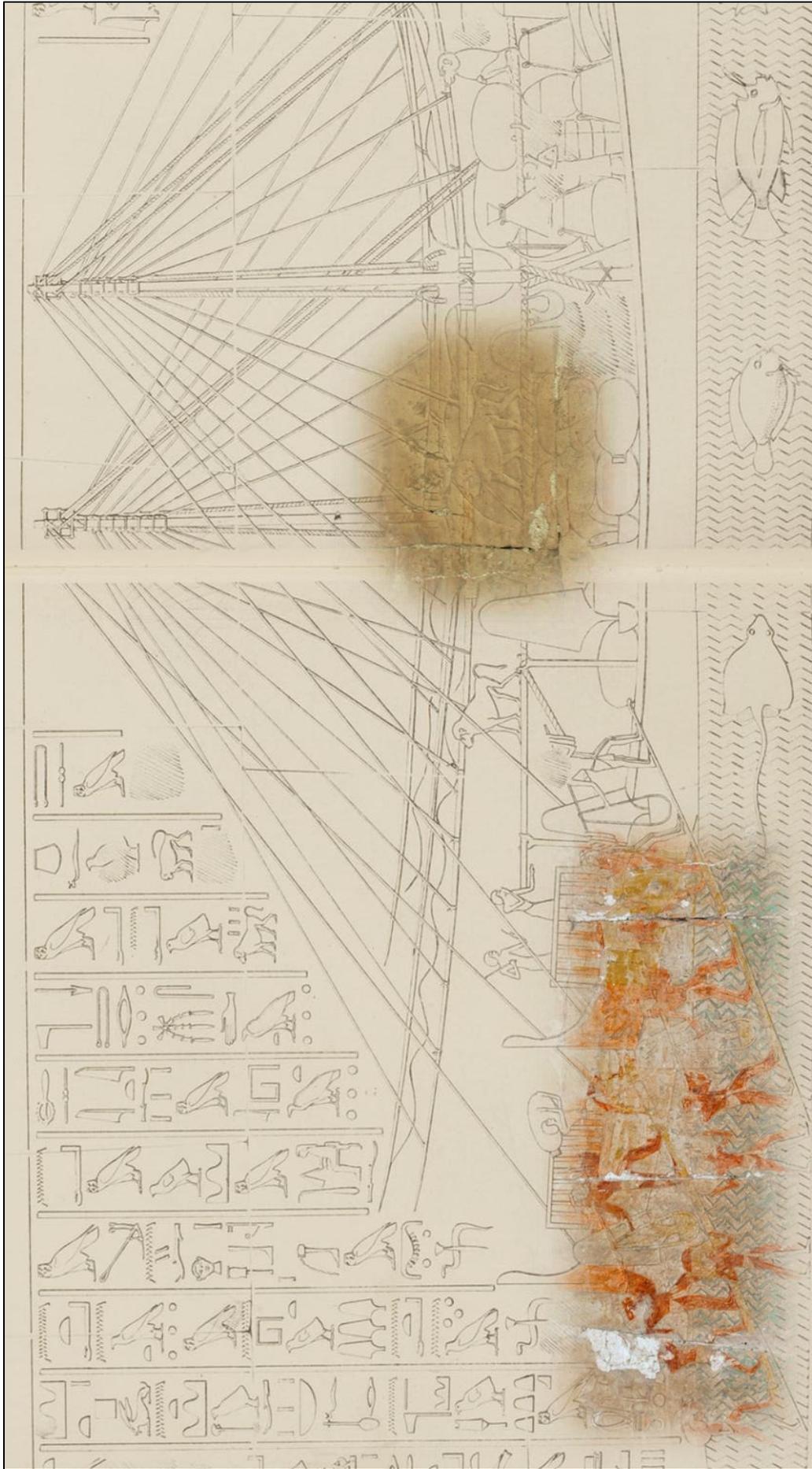


Figure 164. The loading of the Egyptian ships with the wonders of Punt, including hamadryas baboons (depicted on the boats and mentioned in the accompanying text) and green monkeys (only mentioned in the accompanying text). Deir el-Bahri, New Kingdom, Dynasty 18.

Plate LXXVI depicts the presentation of the products to the queen by the Great Ones of Punt. Amongst other valuable gifts, a hamadryas baboon and a leopard are shown, but not mentioned in the texts (figure 165).

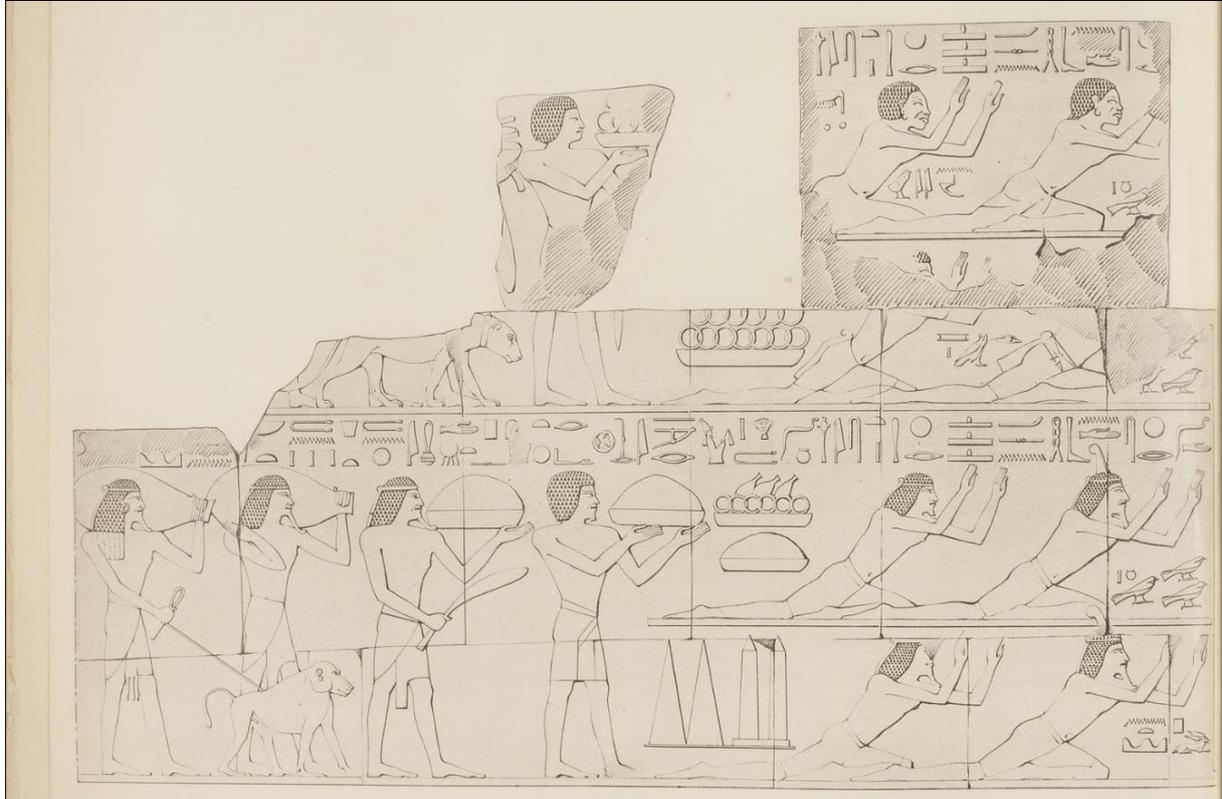


Figure 165. Gifts presented by the Great Ones of Punt, including a leopard and a hamadryas baboon. Deir el-Bahri, New Kingdom, Dynasty 18.

Plate LXXX shows and mentions the gifts that Hatshepsut offers to Amun. These are described as the products of the southern lands. Apart from various valuable and luxury products -such as ivory, wood, rings of gold, and furniture- a giraffe, a leopard, two cheetahs, leopard skins and cattle are depicted as well. The number of cattle is mentioned above the animals: 3300. Furthermore, the text above the leopard reads: *'a living leopard, whom her majesty brought from the <southern> foreign lands'*.¹⁴⁶⁸ The text above the left cheetah reads: *'living cheetah'* (figure 166).¹⁴⁶⁹

¹⁴⁶⁸ Hallmann, 2006: p. 214; Naville, 1898: III, pl. XXX; living leopard: *3by šmꜥ nḥ*.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Naville, 1898: III, pl. LXXX; living cheetah: *3by mḥ nḥ*.

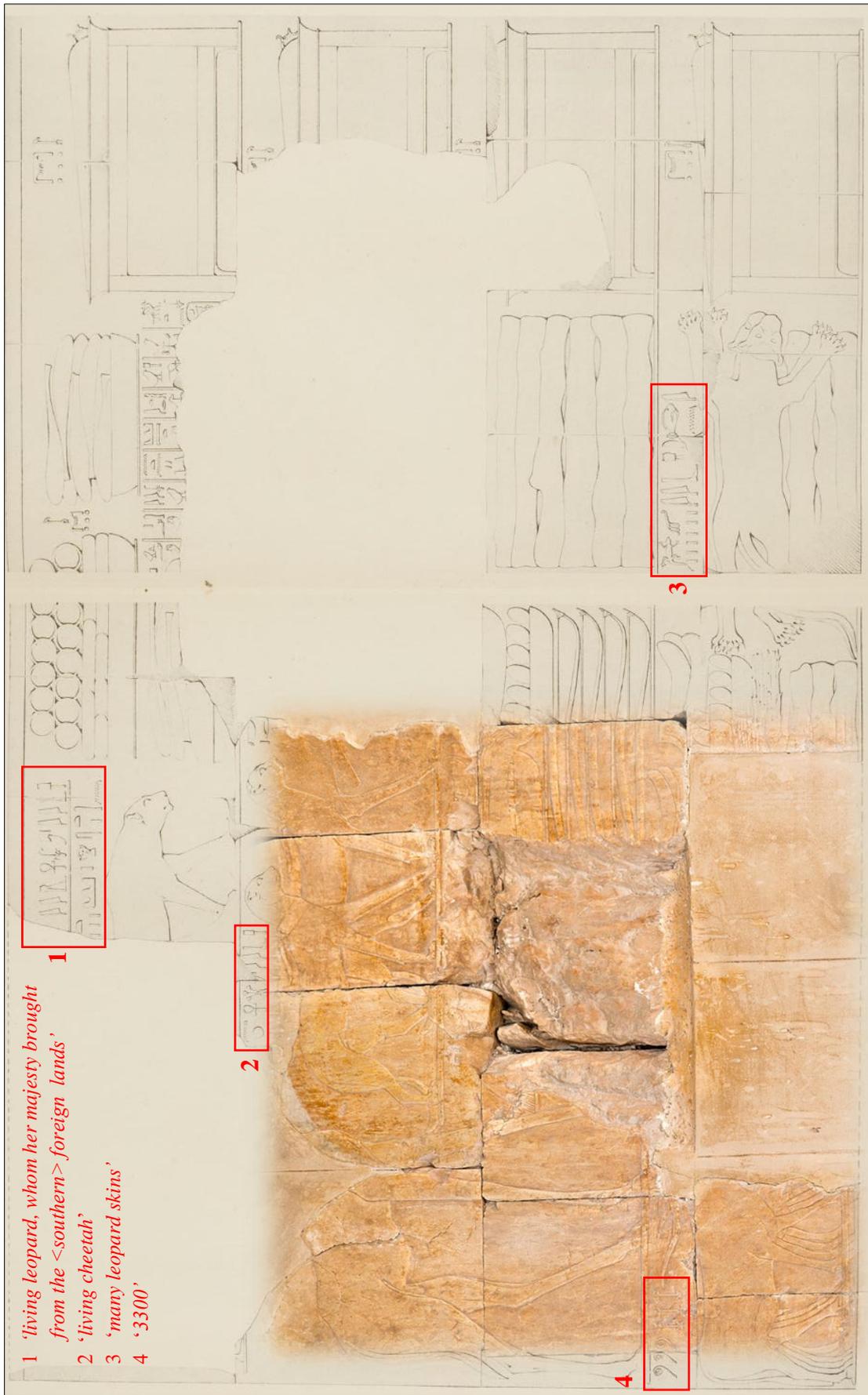


Figure 166. Offering gifts from Hatshepsut to Amun. The gifts include a leopard, a giraffe, two cheetahs, leopard skins and 3300 pieces of cattle. Deir el-Bahri. New Kingdom, Dynasty 18.

Here too, it is evident that the giraffe, leopard and cheetah are considered rare and special animals. In the case of the latter two it is specifically mentioned that they are alive. Contrary to the many thousands of pieces of cattle, the presence of only one or two of these animals already made a big impression. Although it is mentioned that all the precious goods are given to Amun, the specific function of the animals is not mentioned. There is no evidence that suggests that animals that were not on the menu, such as indeed the monkeys, giraffes, leopards and cheetahs, were slaughtered as offering gifts. About the myrrh trees it is said that they should be planted in the temple of Amun at Karnak.¹⁴⁷⁰ It could be the case that the animals were also intended to be placed in a temple-garden context, although the predatory animals in particular needed to be kept in pens and could not just walk around freely.¹⁴⁷¹ However, no concrete evidence of such animal enclosures has been found. It could also be the case that these animals primarily served as items of prestige or as pets for the queen. The iconography often depicts monkeys and occasionally lions in a context where they could be interpreted as pet animals, as has been mentioned above.¹⁴⁷² It cannot be proven whether this was really the case for the lions in the Dynastic period,¹⁴⁷³ but actual baboons have been found in a few New Kingdom tombs¹⁴⁷⁴ and one baboon has been found at Tell el-Dab'a.¹⁴⁷⁵ This confirms that at least these animals were indeed imported into Egypt and present in a royal context. The fate of the larger animals, however, is uncertain. They are only depicted in their country of origin or when they are being presented to the king or god in Egypt. It remains unclear what happened to these animals afterwards. It is not known where they were being kept, or if these animals were actually brought to Egypt in the first place. Manlius holds it for likely that these animals did not survive the journey to Egypt, and emphasises that especially cheetahs are very hard to keep in captivity. Considering the alleged garden situated in the temple of Hatshepsut he concludes: *'peut-être finalement le jardin zoo-botanique d'Hatshepsout ne se sera résumé qu'à un simple jardin botanique?'*¹⁴⁷⁶ However, whether these animals were actually transported to and kept in Egypt or not, the fact that they are depicted and mentioned among the valuable products from regions outside of Egypt demonstrates their valuable and prestigious character.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Breyer, 2016: p. 627, fn. 110. (Although it remains unclear if they really were).

¹⁴⁷¹ See e.g. the possible depiction of a royal garden or menagerie on a relief-block from Karnak that is described above (see above, p. 296 and fn. 1387).

¹⁴⁷² See above, p. 297-303.

¹⁴⁷³ See above, p. 286.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Found in KV50 and KV51: Cairo CG 29837, Cairo CG 29838, Cairo CG 29839 (Gaillard & Daressy, 1905).

¹⁴⁷⁵ Von den Driesch, 2006: p. 312-314.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Manlius, 2008a: p. 60.

This means, that from a conceptual point of view, it does not really matter whether these animals were actually brought to Egypt or not.

c. The ‘botanical garden’ of Thutmoses III

Even though it is not likely that the myrrh-trees that were allegedly imported from Punt were planted at the temple of Hatshepsut, there is evidence that vegetation was planted here.¹⁴⁷⁷ A different kind of garden is found in the depiction of the so-called ‘botanical garden’ of Thutmoses III, which consists of detailed depictions of a vast array of flora and fauna.

The botanical garden at Karnak, however, is not a garden in a strict sense, because there is no evidence of planting: the flora and fauna only exist in the iconography. One gazelle is found in the depictions (figure 167)¹⁴⁷⁸ and at least five birds are non-indigenous to Egypt.¹⁴⁷⁹ However, the focus does not lie on non-indigenous fauna, but rather on non-indigenous flora. Still, these scenes are useful for this research, because they demonstrate how non-indigenous elements are used to depict the extraordinary, which is not always based on reality. Although the vegetation is depicted in great detail, many of the plants cannot be identified: *‘une partie des représentations sont exactes, d’autres sont approximatives et ne reposent que sur un souvenir imprécis; enfin, et ceci est plus grave, il y en a de purement imaginatives’*.¹⁴⁸⁰ Thus, representations of foreign items that at a first glance seem to be accurate, are in fact made up by the artist: *‘A finer and more convincing collection of fakes, cleverly mingled with some genuine objects, is not to be found in any dealer’s shop in Thebes. Who would not be convinced by the verisimilitude of the designs... sprinkled with a liberal addition of Egyptian birds and plants’*.¹⁴⁸¹ The depictions probably aimed to demonstrate and boast about the vast amount of exotic, exclusive, and unknown items brought from abroad, but from an etic perspective and to the modern observer it actually shows that these depictions are exaggerations and only partially based on reality.¹⁴⁸²

However, Beaux comes up with a different conclusion. She emphasises that the depictions focus on displaying the ‘extraordinary’. Indeed, unfamiliar foreign products fall into this category, but also abnormally looking or mutated indigenous products. Although not many mammals are depicted in the iconography, some of the bovids show abnormal features, such as three horns

¹⁴⁷⁷ Wilkinson, 1994: p. 6; Odah et al., 2013: p. 870.

¹⁴⁷⁸ See also Beaux, 1990: pl. X.

¹⁴⁷⁹ Beaux, 1990: p. 274.

¹⁴⁸⁰ Capart, 1925: p. 177-178; Wachsmann, 1987: p. 6.

¹⁴⁸¹ Davies, 1930a: p. 35; Wachsmann, 1987: p. 6.

¹⁴⁸² Comparable to the unrealistic measurements of the rhinoceros on the Armant pylon (see above, p. 288-289).

or two tails (figure 168).¹⁴⁸³ The difficulty in identifying many of the plants could therefore be found in the fact that these do not represent ‘normal’ but abnormal specimens of real plants.¹⁴⁸⁴ Nevertheless, especially when dealing with products from foreign regions, it is not uncommon that hybrids or even non-existent goods are shown. The foreign flora and fauna depicted in the ‘botanical garden’ are said to have been brought back from expeditions to Asiatic regions. Wachsmann, who studied the representations of Aegeans and their goods in Egyptian tombs, mentions that in the iconography ‘*non-existent vessels are created by uniting elements taken from several different sources*’ and that ‘*vessels which existed solely in the artist’s imagination, built up from motifs of varied origin, were inserted into scenes of foreign objects*’.¹⁴⁸⁵ This demonstrates once again that depictions of foreign products should not always be taken at face value. It is interesting to see that these scenes are located inside the main sanctuary of the Amun temple at Karnak, isolated from the rest of the structure. The accompanying texts mention that the plants and animals came from Retjenu and God’s Land. Furthermore, they are described as offerings for Amun. The text on the north-east vestibule reads: ‘*Year 25, under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, who lives forever, plants that His Majesty has found in the land of Retenu*’.¹⁴⁸⁶ The text situated on the north-west side of the vestibule reads: ‘*All kinds of extraordinary plants, all kinds of chosen flowers that are found in God’s Land, and which were brought to His Majesty, when His Majesty went to upper Retjenu to overthrow the countries according to the command of his father Amun. (...) My Majesty has done this to make sure that they are at the disposal of my father Amun, in his great house of the Akhmenu, forever and ever*’.¹⁴⁸⁷ Thus, these special and exquisite products are essentially offerings for Amun. The display demonstrates that the king has extended the boundaries of the known world. It is all this that the king offers to the god as a testimony of the power he has received from him: a power that comprises the entirety of the earth. Of course, the offering is intended to function both ways: by giving the god products that represent ‘the whole world’, the king wishes that the god gives him power. Not only over Egypt and the known, but also over all foreign regions, the unfamiliar, and the extraordinary. Again, whether many of these plants are imaginary or represent rare mutations of real plants -but most likely both- the conceptual message remains the same: the iconography specifically emphasises special and extraordinary types of flora and fauna, both indigenous as well as non-indigenous. Indeed, the

¹⁴⁸³ Beaux, 1990: pl. XXXIV, XXXIX.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Beaux, 1990: p. 60.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Wachsmann, 1987: p. 5.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Urk IV: 777,2-3; Breasted, 1906: II, p. 193; Beaux, 1990: p. 39.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Urk IV: 775,15 – 776,16; Breasted, 1906: II, p. 193; Beaux, 1990: p. 42.

exaggerated diversity and abundance of prestigious items demonstrates that the king has extended the borders of the known world, with the help of Amun, not only from a spatial point of view, but also with respect to its extraordinary aspects.¹⁴⁸⁸



Figure 167. Scene from the 'botanical garden' of Thutmose III showing many different plants, birds, and a gazelle. Karnak, New Kingdom, Dynasty 18.



Figure 168. Two bovids showing abnormal features: the one on the left has three horns and the one on the right has two tails. 'Botanical garden' of Thutmose III, Karnak, New Kingdom, Dynasty 18.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Beaux, 1990: p. 316-317.

d. The New Kingdom tribute scenes

d. 1 Royal and temple tribute scenes

The above examples have shown that the presentation of foreign products is often clearly imbedded in a military context. This is particularly evident in royal and temple settings, where the emphasis frequently lies on the conquering or submission of foreign peoples and the power of the pharaoh over these regions and therefore the whole world. These scenes are usually found in the New Kingdom period.

An especially detailed depiction of a tribute scene in a royal context is found at the temple of Beit el-Wali of Ramses II in Nubia. The scene depicts various non-indigenous animals. The king receives products from Nubia and although the context is of a military nature (the king has a mace in his hand and is described as one who conquers foreign countries)¹⁴⁸⁹ it is not as hostile as other examples that will be discussed below. The products that are being delivered are only depicted in the iconography but not described or mentioned in the inscriptions, which is unfortunately quite often the case. The depicted animals consist of a lion, an oryx, cattle, green monkeys, cheetahs, a giraffe, an ostrich, and a gazelle (figure 169). Apart from these living animals, various animal products are depicted as well, such as ostrich feathers and eggs, cheetah or leopards skins, and elephant tusks (figure 170).

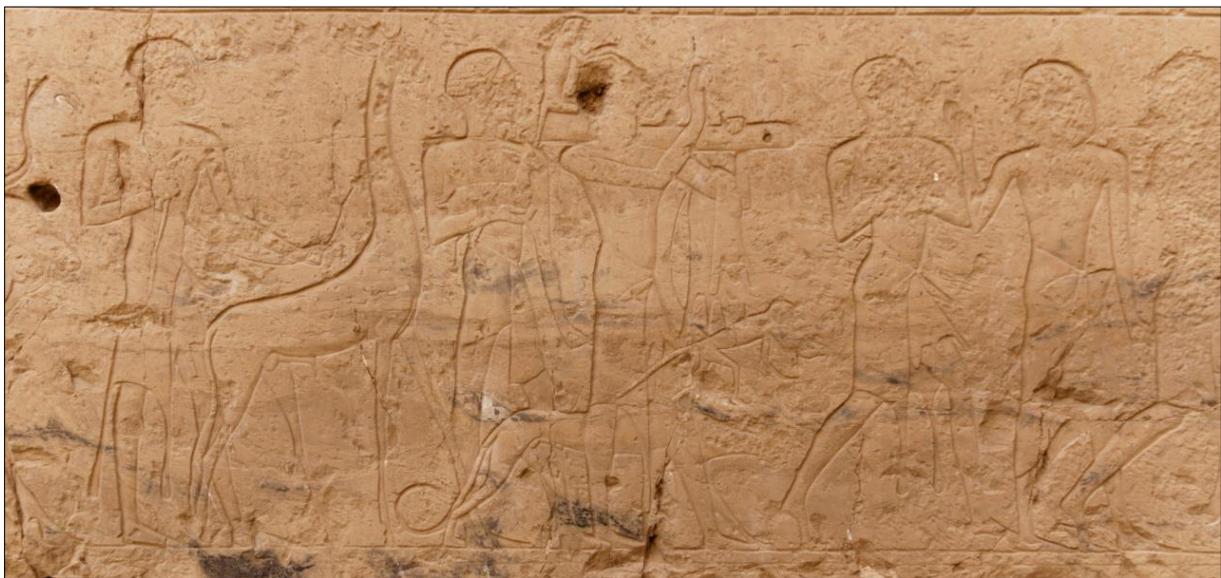


Figure 169. Detail from the rock-temple of Ramses II at Beit el-Wali showing the bringing of various (non-indigenous) animals, such as a giraffe, a cheetah and green monkeys. New Kingdom, Dynasty 19.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Ricke et al., 1967: p. 12, pl. 9; Hallmann, 2006: p. 231.



Figure 170. Detail from the rock-temple of Ramses II at Beit el-Wali showing various luxury products, including ivory tusks, ostrich eggs and feathers, and shields made of animal skins (including leopard-cheetah skin). New Kingdom, Dynasty 19. (Plaster cast by Joseph Bonomi, on display in the British Museum).

Again, these animals and animal products are part of a vast corpus of other luxury products. A similar tribute scene is found on the pylon of Thutmoses III at Armant that has already been mentioned above.¹⁴⁹⁰ Apart from the rhinoceros, other animals are also seen among the special foreign products, namely cattle, a green monkey, and a cheetah. Various animal products are depicted as well, such as ostrich feathers, giraffe tails, ostrich eggs and elephant tusks.¹⁴⁹¹

In other instances, the violent and military background is more prominently depicted. This is especially visible at the end of the 18th Dynasty and continues in the 19th Dynasty.¹⁴⁹²

Examples can be found at the temple of Ramses II at Abydos (figure 171),¹⁴⁹³ the tribute scenes of Horemheb¹⁴⁹⁴, Seti I¹⁴⁹⁵ and Ramses II¹⁴⁹⁶ at Karnak, and of Ramses III at Medinet Habu

¹⁴⁹⁰ See above, p. 288.

¹⁴⁹¹ Mond & Myers, 1940: pl. IX; Hallmann, 2006: p. 218-219.

¹⁴⁹² This tendency is also seen in the hunting scenes (see above, p. 125-130). The few examples that equate hunted animals with foreign human enemies are all dated to this period.

¹⁴⁹³ Wreszinski, 1935: II, Taf. 24-25.

¹⁴⁹⁴ Wreszinski, 1935: II, Taf. 60-62; Hallmann, 2006: Dok. 50, p. 221.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Wreszinski, 1935: II, Taf. 34-44, 45-53; Hallmann, 2006: Dok. 51, p. 224.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Wreszinski, 1935: II, Taf. 59, 69-70; Hallmann, 2006: Dok. 52, p. 229.

(table 6).¹⁴⁹⁷ These depictions show tribute products in a setting where the foreign peoples are depicted as bound prisoners, instead of ‘humble tribute bringers’.¹⁴⁹⁸ Hallmann argues that especially these later depictions have a formal rather than realistic character, and should be seen as a general topos of the theme of ‘bound foreign peoples and their products’.¹⁴⁹⁹ In these situations, the focus seems to lie on ‘taking away’ the property of the defeated enemy. We do not see rare and special animals, such as giraffes or bears, but rather valuable animals that also have an economic relevance and concrete function, such as cattle and horses.¹⁵⁰⁰ However, the horse is also non-indigenous to Egypt and was imported from the north. In these contexts, horses as well as chariots are often part of the ‘war-booty’ that was apparently collected after the king had ‘gloriously’ defeated the enemy on the battlefield: *‘the collecting of these foreigners, whom his majesty has slaughtered, as he was alone, hand and corpse, all together, the horses and the chariots, the bows, swords and weapons of all kinds’*.¹⁵⁰¹ Here too, the human enemies are of course chaotic forces that have been controlled. The animals, however, not so much: the horses and the cattle are part of the vast amount of war-booty, consisting of many other products such as silver, gold, precious stones, minerals and decorated vessels (figure 172).¹⁵⁰² The war-booty collected by Thutmose III after the war in Megiddo is mentioned in his annals at Karnak, which lists extensive numbers of horses and cattle: 2014 mares, 191 foals, 6 stallions, and 1929 pieces of cattle, 2000 pieces of small cattle (sheep or goats), and 20500 pieces of white small cattle (sheep or goats).¹⁵⁰³ Usually, however, the number of horses is much smaller than the amount of cattle. The fifth campaign of Thutmose III for example mentions 32 horses, 618 pieces of large cattle, and 3636 pieces of small cattle that were brought to him from the north.¹⁵⁰⁴

¹⁴⁹⁷ Wreszinski, 1935: II, Taf. 156-157; Nelson, 1930: I, pl. 11; Nelson, 1932: II, pl. 75, 93; Hallmann, 2006: Dok. 55, p. 234; see also below, table 6.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Hallmann, 2006: p. 229, 333.

¹⁴⁹⁹ Idem: p. 333.

¹⁵⁰⁰ A similar focus has been suggested for the Libyan palette (see above, p. 255-131).

¹⁵⁰¹ KRI II: 142, §59A; Kitchen, 1996: II, p. 23; Wreszinski, 1935: II, Taf. 25; horse: *ssm.t*.

¹⁵⁰² The tribute scene of Horemheb at Karnak, for example, shows decorated vessels (with animal decoration) as part of the tribute from *Rtnw* (figure 172); see also Hallmann, 2006: p. 223; Wreszinski, 1935: II, Taf. 61.

¹⁵⁰³ Urk IV: 663,8-664,14; Breasted, 1906: II, p. 187: § 435.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Urk IV: 688,5-11; Breasted, 1906: II, p. 196: § 462.



Figure 171. Bound prisoners and horses as part of the war-booty after the Battle of Kadesh. Temple of Ramses II, Abydos, New Kingdom, Dynasty 19.

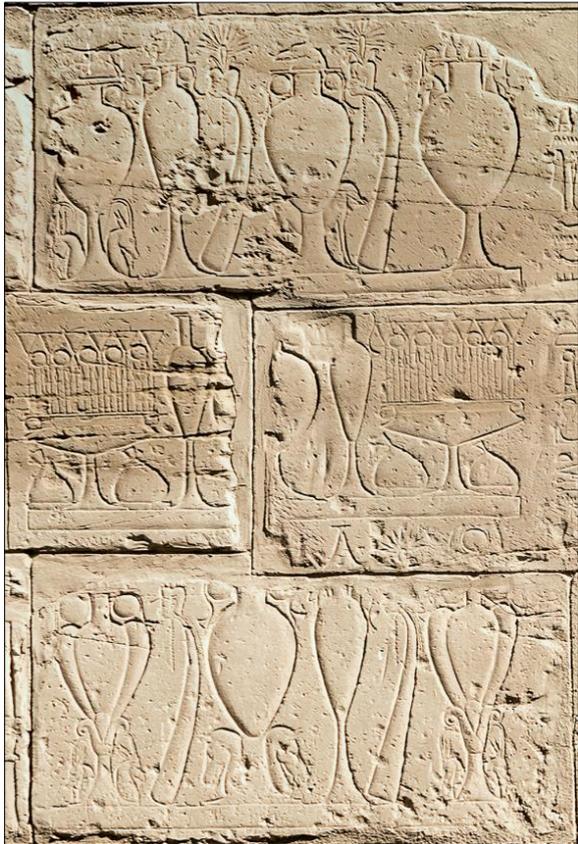


Figure 172. Decorated vessels as part of the tribute from the north (*Rtnw*) presented to the Theban Triad by Horemheb. Karnak, New Kingdom, Dynasty 18.

d. 2 Private tribute scenes

However, although these types of scenes are occasionally found in a royal and temple context, they occur much more often in the private tombs of the elite. Animal tribute or procession scenes are found in a few Middle Kingdom tombs at Beni Hassan.¹⁵⁰⁵ The tomb of Khnumhotep II, for example, shows a delegation of Asiatics (*ꜥ3m.w*). The delegation most likely derives from a north-eastern desert region¹⁵⁰⁶ and presents an ibex and a gazelle (figure 173). The scene is intimately linked to ideas of chaos and control over the foreign people and animals that are delivered,¹⁵⁰⁷ but the animals may also represent tribute gifts.¹⁵⁰⁸



Figure 173. Asiatics presenting a gazelle (left) and ibex (right) in the tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hassan. Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 12. (Painted by Norman de Garis Davies for the Graphic Section of the Museum's Egyptian Expedition, 1931. New York MMA 33.8.17.)

¹⁵⁰⁵ A delegation of Libyans is depicted in the tombs of Amenemhat (BH 2: Newberry, 1893: I, pl. XIII; Rabehl 2006: p. 56-59) and Khnumhotep I (BH 14: Newberry, 1893: I, pl. XLV & XLVII; Rabehl, 2006: p. 179-181). A delegation of Asiatics is depicted in the tomb of Khnumhotep II (BH 3): figure 173; see also Newberry, 1893: I, pl. XXX & XXXI; Rabehl 2006: p. 241-250.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Rabehl, 2006: p. 247; Cooper, 2015: p. 86-87.

¹⁵⁰⁷ See above p. 125; Rabehl, 2006: p. 247-248.

¹⁵⁰⁸ The bringing of *inw*-gifts by the delegation is specifically mentioned in the accompanying text (Newberry, 1893: I, p. 69 & pl. XXX; see also Rabehl, 2006: p. 245-247), but it only refers to eye-paint and does not include any animals.

Most of these scenes, however, are dated to the New Kingdom period. Hallmann has listed and analysed more than 40 instances.¹⁵⁰⁹ Contrary to the royal and Middle Kingdom examples, the scenes in these New Kingdom private tombs are more peaceful, and less focussed on violence and the chaotic aspect of the foreigners. Usually, rows of foreigners are presenting precious and rare products to the tomb owner (who acts as an intermediary for or in behalf of the king) or to the king himself. Contrary to the depictions of bound prisoners, the foreigners in the private tombs often praise the king and ‘*arrive in peace*’ before him, which is for example mentioned in the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100): ‘*Arriving in peace of the Great Ones of Keftiu and the islands which are in the sea, in respectful obedience to the might of his majesty*’.¹⁵¹⁰ Thus, the impression is given that peoples from various foreign countries have come to Egypt to pay their respects, hand over the wealthy products of their lands, and acknowledge the power of Egypt and the king: ‘*Because of the worldview of the ancient Egyptians (...) goods coming in from foreign lands were generally considered as tribute, whether they came as forced contributions, gifts, or trade goods*’.¹⁵¹¹ Thus, according to the Egyptian worldview ‘*the gods had handed over all the countries to the Egyptian king. The foreign countries submitted, because they recognised the supremacy of the Egyptian gods and the military power of the Egyptian king*’.¹⁵¹²

The reality behind the scenes

In reality, however, these scenes most likely refer to an exchange of goods on a reciprocal basis, just as is the case with the Punt expedition of Hatshepsut.¹⁵¹³ This means, that the receivers had to ‘pay’ for these products with Egyptian goods, even though these export products are not mentioned.¹⁵¹⁴ Hallmann also refutes the idea that these products were brought to Egypt to celebrate specific events, such as the coronation of a new king:¹⁵¹⁵ ‘*Die Inhalte der Tributzszenen dokumentieren lediglich das Bringen von jnw-Gaben nach Ägypten im Sinne eines Handelsaustausches, und nicht das Herbeibringen von Tributen, wie es die Art des extensiven und ideologisch verbrämten Form (z. B. Proskynese) der Darstellung suggerieren will*’.¹⁵¹⁶ Furthermore, although it can be argued that ‘*zwar Fremdvölker fast aller dargestellten Typen irgendwann einmal, vielleicht sogar auch häufiger oder in regelmäßigen Abständen, nach*

¹⁵⁰⁹ Hallmann, 2006: p. 353.

¹⁵¹⁰ Davies, 1943: I, p. 20; II, pl. XVIII-XIX.

¹⁵¹¹ Gordon, 1984: p. 333.

¹⁵¹² Idem: p. 335.

¹⁵¹³ See above, p. 311.

¹⁵¹⁴ Hallmann, 2006: p. 247: ‘*Der einzige Export, den es in der ägyptische Ideologie gibt, ist der Lebenshauch*’.

¹⁵¹⁵ Idem: p. 330.

¹⁵¹⁶ Idem: p. 334.

Ägypten gereist sind und auch jnw-Gaben mitgebracht haben'¹⁵¹⁷ it is highly unlikely that multiple foreign peoples were present at the same place at the same time with huge amounts of valuable products. In this respect, it is also interesting to see that representatives from Punt are among the tribute bringers, even though it is not likely that the Puntites ever visited Egypt. The products from Punt entered the country, because the Egyptians travelled to Punt and not the other way around.¹⁵¹⁸ Also, the amount of valuable products mentioned in for example the Amarna correspondence is far more modest than the huge quantities of depicted and described tribute in the temples and tombs. A letter send from the king of Mitanni to Amenhotep III reads: *'I send you a splendid chariot, 2 horses, and 1 date-stone of genuine lapis lazuli as your greeting gift'*.¹⁵¹⁹ Hallmann comments on this phenomenon as follows: *'Denn wenn schon die vergleichsweise geringen Gaben in der Amarnakorrespondenz das Prestige des Gebenden erhöht haben, wie kommt es dann zu einer solchen Unverhältnismäßigkeit in Bezug auf den in den gebrachten Gaben dokumentierten Reichtum angeblich untergeordneter Länder'*.¹⁵²⁰ It is also interesting to see that these tribute scenes are usually not dated: *'the magnates who had the tribute scenes depicted in their tombs did not date them since they were concerned only with showing their kings in all their divine glory rather than as actors in a changing historical scene'*.¹⁵²¹ These peculiarities can be explained by interpreting these scenes and descriptions as largely fictional representations of, at the most, a partial reality. Hallmann concludes that the event of a procession of foreigners and their goods must have happened at least once. This happening could then have served as an example or original motive for the depictions.¹⁵²² Another aspect that vows for a semi-reality of the events is the fact that no fantasy animals are found among the tribute gifts.¹⁵²³ The real-life event is consequently thematically compressed or newly constructed and developed into the familiar tribute-scenes with its diverse types of foreign peoples.¹⁵²⁴ The amounts are exaggerations of products that could have been imported. The king or the tomb owner had the wish to demonstrate his extreme wealth and power, not only during his life, but for eternity.

Even though the reality behind these scenes should thus be doubted, they do tell us more about the conceptual ideas that are related to the non-indigenous animals. When comparing the private

¹⁵¹⁷ Idem: p. 326.

¹⁵¹⁸ Idem: p. 329.

¹⁵¹⁹ New York MMA 24.2.11; Moran, 1988: p. 149-150, no. 102.

¹⁵²⁰ Hallmann, p. 326.

¹⁵²¹ Aldred, 1970: p. 116.

¹⁵²² Hallmann, 2006: p. 2.

¹⁵²³ As opposed to, for example, the desert hunting scenes in Beni Hassan (see above, p. 262 and fn. 1219) or the early animal rows on ivories (see above, p. 118).

¹⁵²⁴ Hallmann, 2006: p. 2.

tombs with the royal and temple scenes, it becomes evident that the private scenes show much more diversity and seem to be less standardised than the royal examples. Furthermore, it has already been mentioned that the rarest animals are only found in the private tombs. The New Kingdom royal examples that do depict these rare animals, namely the tribute scenes at Beit el-Wali, the Punt expedition of Hatshepsut, and the pylon of Thutmose III, follow the tradition of the depictions in the private tombs.¹⁵²⁵ The Punt expedition of Hatshepsut should also be seen as a special case, because this is the only royal example without a military emphasis.¹⁵²⁶ Furthermore, in the private scenes it is virtually always the king who is the recipient of the products, instead of the gods. The presence of these scenes in the private tombs foremost seems to demonstrate the personal wealth of the tomb owner. Moreover, they serve as eternal proof of the intimate connection of the tomb owner with the king, and emphasise that he was a loyal subject *'who carried out his proper duties and who helped to keep the country functioning properly'*.¹⁵²⁷ Although these animals were apparently intended for the king or the temple, the presence and *'acquaintance'* of the tomb owner with these animals again emphasises the high status of the tomb owner: he demonstrates his close relationship to the king, his special office, and knowledge about extraordinary items. Furthermore, the tomb of Rekhmire mentions the receiving of tribute as an enjoyable happening: *'Distracting the heart, inspecting the good place, and receiving of inw'*.¹⁵²⁸

The origin of the foreigners and their products

The tribute, including non-indigenous animals, derives from numerous regions and peoples, which can be roughly divided into two categories: *'far-away'* foreign regions and foreigners, and *'nearby'* foreign regions and foreigners. The peoples that derive from the *'far-away'* regions, in their turn, can be divided into two major groups, namely Northerners and Southerners.¹⁵²⁹

The Northerners derive from various regions, such as *Rtnw* (Retjenu: Syria-Palestine), *Nhrn* (Mitanni: northern Syria and southeast Anatolia) and *Ht3* (Khatti: the land of the Hittites). In the iconography, these different types of foreign Northerners are occasionally distinguished from one another by characteristic features, such as specific clothing- and/or hairstyles. In most

¹⁵²⁵ Idem: p. 333.

¹⁵²⁶ Idem: p. 331.

¹⁵²⁷ Kamrin, 1999: p. 90-92.

¹⁵²⁸ TT 100: Davies, 1943: II, pl. XLIV; Gordon, 1984: p. 178, no. 182.

¹⁵²⁹ These two groups are named *'Typ Syrier'* and *'Typ Nubier'* by Hallmann (2006: p. 261-265).

instances, however, the various types of Northerners all share a similar stereotypical ‘northern look’ and are not distinguished from one another. This indicates that it was more important to show the rather general northern origin of the foreigners and their products, rather than a specific northern region or people. Moreover, all of these different peoples from different northern regions carry the same corpus of tribute gifts.¹⁵³⁰

The same is true for the Southerners. These peoples and their products come from regions called *Hnt-hn-nfr* (southern Nubia), *t3 Nḥsy* (Land of the Nehesy¹⁵³¹), *Itr* (Iter: a region in southern Nubia or Punt) and *K3š* (Kush: (southern) Nubia). They have a distinctive southern look and bring gifts from a southern tribute corpus.¹⁵³² A special type of Southerners is found in the people from *Pwnt* (Punt: Southern Red Sea coast; East Sudan / Eritrea¹⁵³³). These peoples too bring products from the southern tribute corpus, but they are not characterised by a distinctive southern and foreign look.¹⁵³⁴ This could indicate that the Egyptian artists were not familiar with their appearance. It is suggested that the Puntites never visited Egypt, or at least not the Nile Valley proper. Rather, the Egyptians undertook expeditions to Punt in order to obtain the Puntite products.¹⁵³⁵ These tribute goods typically include incense and myrrh. Whereas incense is a product that also often occurs in the standard southern tribute corpus, myrrh is only seen as a tribute product from Punt.¹⁵³⁶

In a few instances the tribute derives from people from the west, such as the Meshwesh-tribe of Libya (*Mšmš.w*). These peoples are not characterised by a stereotypical southern or northern look,¹⁵³⁷ but the products they deliver are typical for the northern tribute corpus. However, they

¹⁵³⁰ Hallmann, 2006: p. 261-264.

¹⁵³¹ This location is commonly translated as ‘Southland’ and its inhabitants as ‘Southerners’ or ‘Nubians’. However, the *Nḥsy*-people are linked to the Eastern Desert as well (Michaux-Colombot, 2014: p. 508-510; Cooper, 2015: p. 66-67).

¹⁵³² Hallmann, 2006: p. 264-265.

¹⁵³³ The (exact) location of Punt is a matter of ongoing debate in Egyptian literature. Cooper (2015: p. 249-261) provides an excellent up-to-date overview, discussion, and interpretation of the issue. The current more or less general scholarly consensus localises Punt in the Red Sea coastal area of Eastern Sudan and Eritrea. Nevertheless, various problems related to the location of Punt remain to be solved: ‘*the broad territorial confines of Punt have been located, but no scholar is sure of the location of Puntite harbours, the extent of trade inland, or whether Arabia was also a constituent part of Punt*’ (Cooper, 2015: p. 252). Also, one needs to keep in mind that ‘*given the large geographic expanse it seems unlikely that Puntite culture is politically, materially, or linguistically homogenous, but rather represents a number of different groups in the southern Red Sea*’ (Cooper, 2015: p. 251).

¹⁵³⁴ Hallmann, 2006: p. 269; Drenkhahn, 1967: p. 5-8.

¹⁵³⁵ Hallmann, 2006: p. 314.

¹⁵³⁶ Hallmann, 2006: p. 160, footnote 1095.

¹⁵³⁷ The Libyans have their own distinctive features, which includes ostrich feathers in their hair (Hallmann, 2006: p. 270).

also bring ostrich eggs and feathers, which are typical for the southern tribute corpus. This might indicate that the Libyans acted as middlemen or western trade partners to bring products from Nubia to Egypt.¹⁵³⁸

Apart from these ‘far away’ foreign regions and peoples, tribute bringers and their products originated from several ‘nearby’ foreign regions, such as the oases of the Western Desert and the outlying areas of the Western Delta.¹⁵³⁹ These tribute bringers look more like Egyptians than foreigners from the north or the south. In a few instances, desert animals are part of the tribute gifts. The animals are brought from the Desert of Koptos (*ḥ3s.t Gbtyw*) and a region called *W3tt-Ḥr*. Both locations are possibly located in the Eastern Desert.¹⁵⁴⁰

The corpus of tribute animals and their products

Just as is the case with the hunting scenes, wild animals coming from the desert regions surrounding Egypt are also seen in a tribute context. A good example is again found in the tomb of Rekhmire,¹⁵⁴¹ where several dead and alive desert animals are brought to and are piled up in front of the tomb owner. The text above the scene reads: ‘*presenting the inw of wild game: oryxes, gazelles, and ibexes; and every good thing of offering*’.¹⁵⁴² The iconography depicts the typical gazelle, ibex and oryx, but also a hartebeest, hare, fox, wolf or jackal, and aurochs. The fact that these animals are already killed suggests that they were probably used for offering purposes, for their skin, as exquisite meat, or maybe even as trophies. The tribute products derive from a place called *W3tt-Ḥr*. It is not clear where this place or region is located, but Hallmann believes it is likely that the term refers to or is at least connected to the *Horus Ways*. Apart from these desert animals, the tribute products from *W3tt-Ḥr* show an overlap with the tribute from the Delta and oases regions. Furthermore, the tribute bringers do not show any particular (foreign) characteristics and look like ‘normal’ Egyptians. Combined with the fact that the animals are specifically referred to as desert game, it is very likely that the term *W3tt-Ḥr* refers to a region in the (north-eastern) desert.¹⁵⁴³

¹⁵³⁸ Hallmann, 2006: p. 316.

¹⁵³⁹ Giddy, 1980: p. 125: fn. 4.

¹⁵⁴⁰ Cooper, 2015: p. 155-156; Hallmann, 2006: p. 35, fn. 224 & p. 156, fn. 1055; see also below, table 6.

¹⁵⁴¹ Davies, 1943: II, pl. XLIV, XLV; see also below, figure 174 (bottom register) for a detail of the scene.

¹⁵⁴² Davies, 1943: II, pl. XLIV-XLV; Gordon, 1984: p. 179, no. 183; desert game: *ꜥw.t (n.t) ḥ3s.t*, oryx: *m3-ḥd*, gazelle: *ghs*, ibex: *nr3w*.

¹⁵⁴³ Hallmann, 2006: p. 35; fn. 224 & p. 156 (fn. 1055).

However, the oryx, ibex and gazelle are also seen among the tribute gifts from further away located countries, both from the north as well as from the south. Stolberg-Stolberg emphasises that in the private tombs of New Kingdom period, the oryx, gazelle, and ibex are not depicted among the various scenes of daily life and registration of animals anymore. Only domesticated animals are seen in these contexts. However, the fact that multiple cattle species can be depicted in the same scene demonstrates that diversity is still an important aspect.¹⁵⁴⁴ Apart from their regular occurrence in desert hunting scenes, an individual oryx, gazelle or ibex is only occasionally seen as a rare and special tribute gift. An ibex is for example depicted among the tribute from Punt in the tomb of Rekhmire,¹⁵⁴⁵ and oryxes are found among the Nubian tribute from the tomb of Huya, and the Syrian tribute from the tomb of Meryre II in Tell el-Amarna.¹⁵⁴⁶ However, even among these ‘traditional’ desert animals we see newcomers. The standard depicted oryx is the scimitar-horned oryx.¹⁵⁴⁷ However, in TT 119 a different species, namely the Arabian oryx¹⁵⁴⁸ is clearly depicted as one of the animals brought from Syria.¹⁵⁴⁹ This species could only be found in the Eastern Desert, and zooarchaeological remains of the animal have been found at Gebel Zeit, dated to the Middle or New Kingdom period.¹⁵⁵⁰

Perhaps more interesting are the animals that could not be found in the regions surrounding Egypt and had to be imported from further away locations. Although the lion and leopard could be found in the desert regions surrounding Egypt¹⁵⁵¹ (and are also found in the New Kingdom desert hunt scenes), they are only seen as imported products from further away regions. Furthermore, animals that could not be found in the desert regions occur as well, namely monkeys (hamadryas baboons and green monkeys), the bear, cheetah, elephant, giraffe, and horse (figure 174: top and middle register). Whereas the meat of edible desert animals such as the gazelle, oryx and ibex could indeed function as offering goods, other animals such as monkeys, the lion, giraffe and leopard were not used in such a context. Indeed, most of these animals did not have a clear economic purpose apart from being a luxury product or a provider of luxury products. Horses were used as a means of military transportation, and it can be tentatively suggested that the meat of the ostrich was used for consumption. Nevertheless, no

¹⁵⁴⁴ Stolberg-Stolberg, 2004: p. 136.

¹⁵⁴⁵ TT 100: Davies, 1943, II: pl. XVII.

¹⁵⁴⁶ Davies, 1905: III, pl. XV; Davies, 1905: II, pl. XXXIX.

¹⁵⁴⁷ *Oryx dammah* (Kingdon et al., 2013: VI, p. 586).

¹⁵⁴⁸ *Oryx leucoryx* (Kingdon et al., 2013: VI, p. 571).

¹⁵⁴⁹ Wreszinski, 1923: I, pl. 340; Gordon, 2014: p. 11: fig. 4.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 68; Von den Driesch, 2001.

¹⁵⁵¹ But certainly not in great numbers.

ostrich bones have been found in the Nile Valley in the Dynastic period.¹⁵⁵² It is, however, well known that the eggs and feathers of these animals were highly valued items. The same is true for the skins of the cheetah and leopard, and the tusks of elephants, which are often seen and described among the valuable imported goods. Occasionally, giraffe skins and tails are also found in this context.¹⁵⁵³

The bulk of the elephant tusks were imported from the south, but individual tusks also originated from the north. Occasionally, it is said that elephant tusks were imported from Libya, but in these cases we are likely dealing with products that originally came from the southern regions around Nubia.¹⁵⁵⁴ The southern obelisk of Hatshepsut mentions the importation of 700 elephant tusks from Libya: *'The inw of the Libyans was brought to me, consisting of the ivory of 700 tusks which were there and many leopard skins of 6 cubits upon the back, and 4 cubits in its circumference for the southern leopard, apart from all the (other) inw of this country'*.¹⁵⁵⁵ Busch considers the number of elephant tusks to be extremely high. Rather than referring to reality, the number is an exaggerated one. The symbolic number demonstrates that the amount of tusks is so high that the gods will definitely be pleased.¹⁵⁵⁶ Also of interest is the fact that apparently various goods were delivered, but the elephant tusks and leopard skins are considered the most important of these imported products. However, the depictions in the tribute scenes and descriptions in other texts usually show and mention more realistic numbers, varying between 1 and 18.¹⁵⁵⁷ Just like the elephant tusks, leopard or cheetah skins are also shown in the iconography on a regular basis.¹⁵⁵⁸ Here too, only a few skins are usually depicted.

¹⁵⁵² Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 68.

¹⁵⁵³ Tails are depicted in the tomb of Amunedjeh (TT 84: Davies, 1942: pl. V) and mentioned in the *Shipwrecked Sailor* (pPetersburg 1115: 162-165: MES, p. 46-47a; Allen, 2015: p. 44-45; Dils, P. & H. Felber in TLA); giraffe skins and tails are mentioned as tribute products from Kush in the Abydos Decree of Seti at Nauri (KRI I: 56,14-15; Hafemann, I. in: TLA).

¹⁵⁵⁴ Busch, 2006: p. 84.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Urk IV: 373,6-11; Gordon, 1984: p. 116, no. 97; elephant tusk: *3bw ibh*, leopard-skin: *inn n 3by*, leopard: *3by šm^c*.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Busch, 2006: p. 90.

¹⁵⁵⁷ Idem: p. 89-90.

¹⁵⁵⁸ E.g. TT 100 (Davies, 1943: II, pl. XVII) & TT 40 (Davies & Gardiner, 1926: pl. XVI). A depiction in TT 40 (ibid) shows that leopard and cheetah skins were used on shields as well (see also figure 170). A shield found in the tomb of Tutankhamun is covered with cheetah skin and shows that such shields indeed existed (Cairo JE 61581: The Griffith Institute, Burton photograph no. p1629: <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/488a-p1629.html> last accessed 24 February 2022).

Unfortunately, no concrete numbers are mentioned in the texts. In one instance, however, the number of men ‘carrying’ living leopards is mentioned:

<i>‘The ones who were loaded with ivory</i>	<i>x + [1]40</i>
...	
<i>The ones who were [carrying] chariots</i>	<i>50</i>
...	
<i>The ones who were carrying living leopards</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>The ones who were brining hunting hounds</i>	<i>20</i>
<i>The ones who were bringing long- and short horned cattle</i>	<i>400</i> ¹⁵⁵⁹

The iconography shows 4 men bringing forth 7 ‘leopards’, although the animals look more like lions.¹⁵⁶⁰ The texts and the depictions do not clarify how many leopards are actually meant.

Considering the fact that we are dealing with wild animals, it is highly unlikely that only 4 men are responsible for the presentation of 7 leopard or lions. Additionally, it is unclear how many living leopards could be controlled by 10 men. What does become clear though, is that much more men are responsible for the presentation of other animals and goods. This suggests that the number of leopards is considerably lower than that of other animals. Contrary to the 10 men responsible for the leopards, 400 men worked with the cattle.

However, the value and prestige attached to various animal products, such as tusks and skins, does not explain the importation of living specimens: one does not need to take the painstaking effort to import living animals if only the animal product was sought after. It is interesting to see that when it comes to the depicted and described non-indigenous living animals, the emphasis does not seem to lie on the quantity of a specific species, but rather on the presence of the animal as such. Usually, only one or two specimens of a species are depicted.¹⁵⁶¹

¹⁵⁵⁹ Cenotaph of Usertatet at Qasr Ibrim: Caminos, 1968: pl. 28; Gordon, 1984: p. 181-182, no. 186; ivory: *3bw*, living leopard: *3by 5nh*.

¹⁵⁶⁰ Caminos, 1968: pl. 28.

¹⁵⁶¹ The seven lions/leopard in the cenotaph of Usersatet at Qasr Ibrim are an exception.

This indicates that:

1. The value is found in the mere presence of the animal, not the huge quantities. This emphasises the rareness and specialness of the animal itself.
2. The value is expressed by means of diversity. Even though individual non-indigenous species are not depicted in great numbers, quite often various species are represented.
3. The depiction of individual animals (as opposed to great quantities) might illustrate the foreign origin of the animal. The presence of the animal symbolically shows the observer that the context is indeed foreign, and that the products originate from (a specific) foreign region. The observer did not need to read additional inscriptions to understand this foreign setting, and in most cases the animals are indeed not mentioned in the accompanying text.

Considering the last aspect, it is interesting to see which non-indigenous animals are unique for a specific region. The gazelle and oryx were brought from all the mentioned areas. Some of the more water-dependent desert animals, namely the hartebeest, aurochs and wild canids, are only seen as desert tribute from ‘nearby’ foreign regions. The bear, elephant and horse are only part of the tribute deriving from the north. The baboon, green monkey, giraffe, leopard, cheetah and rhinoceros are only seen as tribute from the southern regions (see table 6).

Bears and horses indeed had to be imported from the northern regions and were not native in Egypt or more southern regions. Elephants, however, could be found in the north as well as in the south, although the majority of the ivory that was imported into Egypt came from the south.¹⁵⁶² The animal itself is only depicted once in these scenes, and although it is clear that we are dealing with an elephant, it is a very small specimen (figure 174: top register).¹⁵⁶³ Its small size cannot be explained by means of artistic convention, since other animals in the same scene, such as the horses and the giraffe, are depicted in proportions that correspond to reality.¹⁵⁶⁴ It could also be the case that a young elephant is depicted here. However, this does not explain its tusk. It has even been suggested that this animal is in fact a mammoth.¹⁵⁶⁵ Much

¹⁵⁶² A few sources, however, mention and depict the importation of elephant ivory from the north (Busch, 2006: p. 80-85; Busch 2008: p. 19-34).

¹⁵⁶³ Tomb of Rekmire (TT 100): see also Davies, 1943: II, pl. XXIII.

¹⁵⁶⁴ Idem: pl. XX, XXIII.

¹⁵⁶⁵ Rosen, 1994: p. 364.

more likely, however, is the explanation provided by Busch: *‘Die etwas seltsame Physiognomie des Tieres ließe sich damit erklären, dass man lediglich wusste, dass es in diesem Land auch Elefanten gab, über sein Aussehen aber nur durch Mund zu Mund Propaganda informiert war. Der ausführende Künstler hat wahrscheinlich niemals einen Elefanten gesehen’*.¹⁵⁶⁶ Alternatively, the small size of the animal can be explained by interpreting this animal as a symbolic representation of the source of ivory, in this case the north. Indeed, the man next to the elephant holds two elephant tusks in his arm.¹⁵⁶⁷ A bear is depicted next to the elephant, and this animal looks rather small as well (figure 174: top register). Furthermore, compared to the bears from the Old Kingdom mortuary temple of Sahure, the depiction of this bear is much more stylised and less realistic.¹⁵⁶⁸ The horses, however, as well as the animals that are unique for the south, are usually depicted more realistically.

¹⁵⁶⁶ Busch, 2008: p. 30-31.

¹⁵⁶⁷ Manlius, 2008: p. 52.

¹⁵⁶⁸ See above, figure 162; another ‘stylised’ bear is found in the tomb of Amunedjeh (TT 84: Davies, 1941: pl. XIII) greatly resembling the one depicted in the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100).

Animal	'Northern' tribute	'Southern' tribute	'Desert' tribute
Horse¹	Rejenu (<i>Rtmw</i>), Upper Rejenu (<i>Rtmw hr.t</i>), Mitanni (<i>Nhrn</i>), Khatti (<i>Hf3</i>), Meshwesh-tribe of Libya (<i>Msm3.w</i>), Unclear		
Bear²	Rejenu (<i>Rtmw</i>), Mitanni (<i>Nhrn</i>), Unclear		
Elephant³	Rejenu (<i>Rtmw</i>)		
Lion⁴	Upper Rejenu (<i>Rtmw hr.t</i>), Unclear	Kush (<i>K33</i>)	
Oryx⁵	Unclear	Kush (<i>K33</i>), southern Nubia (<i>Hnt-hn-nfr</i>), Unclear	<i>W3it-Hr</i>
Gazelle⁶	Unclear	Kush (<i>K33</i>), Unclear	<i>W3it-Hr</i> , Desert of Koptos (<i>33s.t Gbtyw</i>)
Ibex⁷		Punt (<i>Pwnt</i>)	<i>W3it-Hr</i> , Desert of Koptos (<i>33s.t Gbtyw</i>)
Ostrich⁸		Kush (<i>K33</i>), southern Nubia (<i>Hnt-hn-nfr</i>);	Desert of Koptos (<i>33s.t Gbtyw</i>)
Baboon (hamadryas)⁹		Punt (<i>Pwnt</i>), (Desert of) southern Nubia (<i>Hnt-hn-nfr</i>), Land of the Nehey (<i>3 Nhsy</i>), Unclear	
Green monkey¹⁰		Punt (<i>Pwnt</i>), (Desert of) southern Nubia (<i>Hnt-hn-nfr</i>), Land of the Nehey (<i>3 Nhsy</i>), Iter (<i>Iter</i>), Kush (<i>K33</i>), Unclear	
Leopard¹¹		Punt (<i>Pwnt</i>), southern Nubia (<i>Hnt-hn-nfr</i>)	
Cheetah¹²		Punt (<i>Pwnt</i>), Land of the Nehey (<i>3 Nhsy</i>), Kush (<i>K33</i>), Unclear	
Rhinoceros¹³		Kush (<i>K33</i>)	
Giraffe¹⁴		Punt (<i>Pwnt</i>), (Desert of) southern Nubia (<i>Hnt-hn-nfr</i>), Iter (<i>Iter</i>), Kush (<i>K33</i>)	
Hartebeest¹⁵			<i>W3it-Hr</i>
Aurochs¹⁶			<i>W3it-Hr</i>
Wild camid¹⁷			<i>W3it-Hr</i>

Table 6. The origin of the non-indigenous tribute animals in the New Kingdom tomb and temple scenes: = present, = not present.

- ¹ **Retjenu** (*Rṯnw*): TT 84 (Davies, 1941: pl. XIII); TT 100 (Davies, 1943: I, pl. II; II, pl. XXIII); **Upper Retjenu** (*Rṯnw hr.t*): TT 40 (Davies & Gardiner, 1926: pl. XIX); **Mitanni** (*Nḥrn*): TT 90 (Davies, 1923: pl. XXVIII & XIX); TT 91 (Wreszinski, 1923: I, Taf. 291), Horenhob, Saqara (Martin, 1989: pl. 115, scene 76); **Khatti** (*Ht*): Ramses II: Temple of Anun-Re, Kamak (Wreszinski, 1935: II, Taf. 69 & 70), Station Temple Abydos (Wreszinski, 1935: II, Taf. 24 & 25), Temple of Anun-Re, Luxor (Wreszinski, 1935: II, Taf. 63); **Meswesh-tribe of Libya** (*Mšwš.w*): Great Temple of Ramses III, Medinet Habu (Nelson, 1932: II, pl. 75); **Unclear**: TT 42 (Wreszinski, 1923: I, Taf. 88), TT 63 (Dziobek Abdel Raziq, 1989: Taf. 3d & 33), TT 86 (Wreszinski, 1923: I, Taf. 276), TT 239 (Wreszinski, 1923: I, Taf. 373), Meryre II, Amarna Tomb 2 (Davies, 1905: pl. XXXVII, XXXIX & XL).
- ² **Retjenu** (*Rṯnw*): TT 100 (Davies, 1943: II, pl. XXXIII); **Mitanni** (*Nḥrn*): TT 84 (Davies, 1941: pl. XIII); **Unclear**: TT 81 (Müller, 1906: pl. 8).
- ³ **Retjenu** (*Rṯnw*): TT 100 (Davies, 1943: II, pl. XXXIII).
- ⁴ **'Northern' tribute: Upper Retjenu** (*Rṯnw hr.t*): TT 40 (Davies & Gardiner, 1926: pl. XIX); **Unclear**: Meryre II, Amarna Tomb 2 (Davies, 1905: pl. XXXVII & XXXIX); **'Southern' tribute: Kush** (*Kš*): Rock-temple of Ramses II, Beit el-Wali (Ricke et al., 1967: pl. 9).
- ⁵ **'Northern' tribute: Unclear**: TT 119 (Wreszinski, 1923: I, Taf. 340), Meryre II, Amarna Tomb 2 (Davies, 1905: pl. XXXVII & XXXIX); **'Southern' tribute: Kush** (*Kš*): possibly in Huy, Amarna Tomb 1 (Davies, 1905: pl. XXXVII & XXXVIII); **'Desert' tribute: W3t-Hr**: TT 100 (Davies, 1943: II, pl. XLIV & XLV).
- ⁶ **'Northern' tribute: Unclear**: Meryre II, Amarna Tomb 2 (Davies, 1905: pl. XXXVII & XXXIX); **'Southern' tribute: Kush** (*Kš*): Rock-temple of Ramses II, Beit el-Wali (Ricke et al., 1967: pl. 9); **Unclear**; **'Desert' tribute: W3t-Hr**: TT 100 (Davies, 1943: II, pl. XLIV & XLV), TT 155 (Säve-Söderbergh, 1957: pl. XVI); **Desert of Koptos** (*šs.t Gbtyw*): TT 86 (Davies, 1933: pl. IX).
- ⁷ **'Southern' tribute: Punt** (*Pwnt*): TT 100 (Davies, 1943: II, pl. XVII); **'Desert' tribute: W3t-Hr**: TT 100 (Davies, 1943: II, pl. XLIV & XLV), TT 155 (Säve-Söderbergh, 1957: pl. XVI); **Desert of Koptos** (*šs.t Gbtyw*): TT 86 (Davies, 1933: pl. IX).
- ⁸ **'Southern' tribute: Kush** (*Kš*): Rock-temple of Ramses II, Beit el-Wali (Ricke et al., 1967: pl. 9); **southern Nubia** (*Hnt-hn-nf*): Usertatet, Qasr Ibrim (Caminos, 1968: pl. 26).
- ⁹ **'Desert' tribute: Desert of Koptos** (*šs.t Gbtyw*): TT 86 (Davies, 1933: pl. IX).
- ¹⁰ **Punt** (*Pwnt*): TT 100 (Davies, 1943: II, pl. XVII), Temple of Hatshepsut, Deir el-Bahri (Naville, 1898: III, pl. LXXIV, LXXV); **(Desert of) southern Nubia** (*Hnt-hn-nf*): TT 100 (Davies, 1943: I, pl. II; II, pl. XIX); **Land of the Nehesy** (*š Nhsy*): TT 84 (Davies, 1942: pl. V); **Unclear**: TT 39, one of the baboons is possibly an olive baboon (Davies, 1922: pl. XLII,3), TT 63 (Dziobek Abdel Raziq, 1989: Taf. 3b & 33).
- ¹¹ **Punt** (*Pwnt*) & **(Desert of) southern Nubia** (*Hnt-hn-nf*): TT 100 (Davies, 1943: I, pl. II; II, pl. XVII, XIX & XX); **Land of the Nehesy** (*š Nhsy*) & **Iter** (*Iter*): TT 84 (Davies, 1942: pl. V); **Kush** (*Kš*): possibly in Huy, Amarna Tomb 1 (Davies, 1905: pl. XV), Pylon of Thutmose III, Armant (Mond & Myers, 1940: II, pl. IX), Rock-temple of Ramses II, Beit el-Wali (Ricke et al., 1967: pl. 9); **Unclear**: TT 39 (Davies, 1922: pl. XLII,3), TT 63 (Dziobek Abdel Raziq, 1989: Taf. 3b & 33), TT 89 (Davies, 1940: pl. XXIV).
- ¹² **Punt** (*Pwnt*): Temple of Hatshepsut, Deir el-Bahri (Naville, 1898: III, pl. LXXX); **southern Nubia** (*Hnt-hn-nf*): TT 100 (Davies, 1943: II, pl. XIX), Usertatet, Qasr Ibrim (Caminos, 1968: pl. 28).
- ¹³ **Punt** (*Pwnt*): TT 89 (Davies, 1940: pl. XXV), TT 100 (Davies, 1943: II, pl. XVII), Temple of Hatshepsut, Deir el-Bahri (Naville, 1898: III, pl. LXXX); **Land of the Nehesy** (*š Nhsy*): TT 84 (Davies, 1942: pl. V).
- ¹⁴ **Kush** (*Kš*): possibly in Huy, Amarna Tomb 1 (Davies, 1905: pl. XV), Rock-temple of Ramses II, Beit el-Wali (Ricke et al., 1967: pl. 9), Pylon of Thutmose III, Armant (Mond & Myers, 1940: II, pl. IX). **Unclear**: TT 63 (Dziobek Abdel Raziq, 1989: Taf. 21 & 33), Meryre II, Amarna Tomb 2 (Davies, 1905: pl. XXXVII & XXXVIII).
- ¹⁵ **Kush** (*Kš*): Pylon of Thutmose III, Armant (Mond & Myers, 1940: II, pl. IX).
- ¹⁶ **Punt** (*Pwnt*): Temple of Hatshepsut, Deir el-Bahri (Naville, 1898: III, pl. LXXX); **(Desert of) southern Nubia** (*Hnt-hn-nf*): TT 100 (Davies, 1943: I, pl. II; II, pl. XX); **Iter** (*Iter*): TT 84 (Davies, 1942: pl. V); **Kush** (*Kš*): TT 40 (Davies & Gardiner, 1926: pl. XXXVII), Rock-temple of Ramses II, Beit el-Wali (Ricke et al., 1967: pl. 9).
- ¹⁷ **W3t-Hr**: TT 100 (Davies, 1943: II, pl. XLIV & XLV).
- ¹⁸ **W3t-Hr**: TT 100 (Davies, 1943: II, pl. XLIV).
- ¹⁹ **W3t-Hr**: TT 100 (Davies, 1943: II, pl. XLIV & XLV).

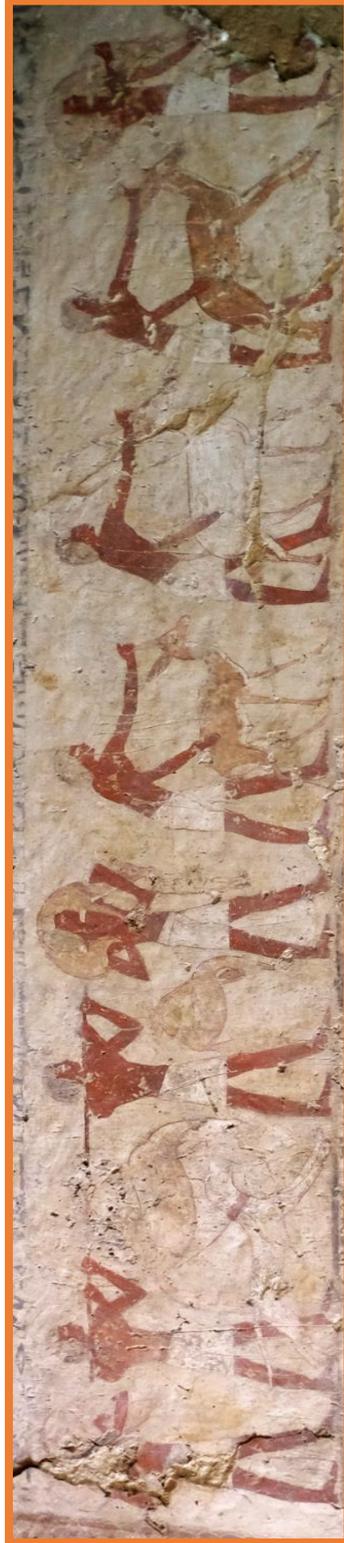
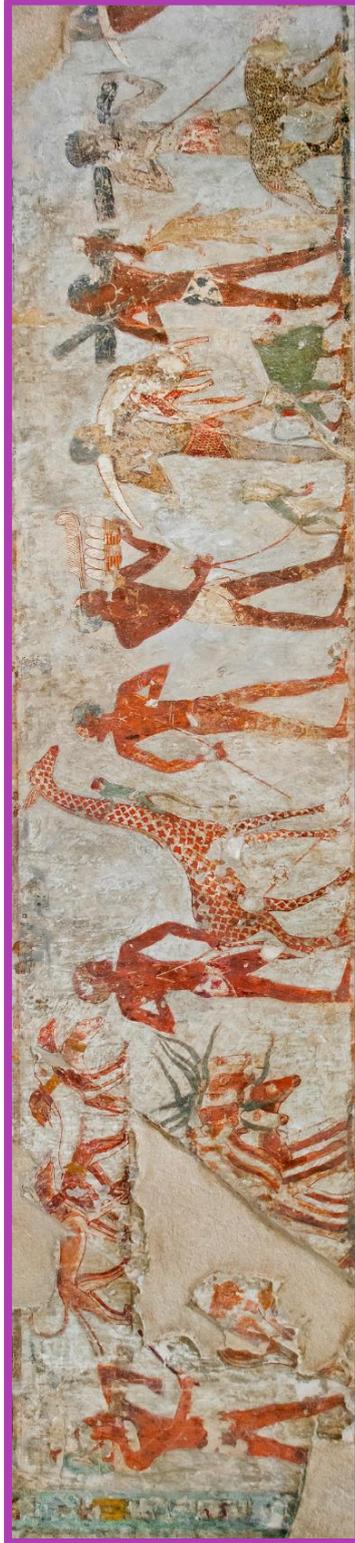


Figure 174. Tribute scenes from the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100). Top register: 'northern' tribute; middle register: 'southern' tribute; bottom register: 'desert' tribute. Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, New Kingdom, Dynasty 18.

d. 3 Non-indigenous animals as decorative elements

Furthermore, apart from these depictions of living animals, animal decoration on valuable ‘tableware treasures’ (such as amphorae and rytha) from the north, and ‘set-pieces’¹⁵⁶⁹ from the south also make it clear that these items came from abroad.

Depictions of the ‘tableware treasures’ from the north

Various vessels, amphorae, etc. with animal decoration are shown among the tribute from the north (figure 172 and 175.) The animals that are found as decorative elements include both indigenous as well as non-indigenous animals. The bull occurs most often, but the lion, leopard, horse, dog, duck, frog, gazelle, oryx and ibex are also seen. Apart from the bull, the ibex too is seen relatively frequently. According to Wachsmann, the vases with an ibex-head on the rim most often occur in workshop scenes.¹⁵⁷⁰ The vases that are seen in the hands of tribute bringers from the north may be considered hybrids, combining Egyptian, Minoan and Aegean elements into one representation.¹⁵⁷¹ Wreszinski believes that they could have been manufactured in Egypt, but copied from an originally Minoan prototype.¹⁵⁷² Stolberg-Stolberg argues that the ibex occurs relatively frequently as a decorative element, because the animal is a representative of the northern regions. This rare animal was more difficult to obtain than gazelles and oryxes, because it could only be found in the Eastern Desert. As such, the animal was not that often encountered during a journey or hunt in the desert, and more related to and considered foreign tribute.¹⁵⁷³ Additionally, Wachsmann emphasises that the horns of the ibex were imported from the north to Egypt as valuable products, for example for the making of composite bows. Even though ibexes could indeed be found in the Eastern Desert of Egypt, their numbers were limited. Furthermore, only older male animals carry horns that are large enough for this specific purpose, meaning that these horns were also brought from abroad to provide in the demand.¹⁵⁷⁴

¹⁵⁶⁹ Terminology by Drenkhahn (1967: p. 140).

¹⁵⁷⁰ Wachsmann, 1987: p. 64.

¹⁵⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷² Wreszinski, 1923: p. 228.

¹⁵⁷³ Stolberg-Stolberg, 2004: p.143-144.

¹⁵⁷⁴ Wachsmann, 1987: p. 91-92.



Figure 175. Tableware treasures from *Kftyw* (Crete) in the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100), including various items with animal-head decoration. New Kingdom, Dynasty 18. (Painted by Nina de Garis Davies for the Graphic Section of the Museum's Egyptian Expedition, 1924. New York MMA 30.4.85.)

Depictions of the 'set-pieces' from the south

Among the tribute from the south we occasionally see a show-table with precious products displayed on it. In the literature these objects are referred to as 'set-pieces'.¹⁵⁷⁵ These set-pieces are always decorated with animal products and/or show animal-shaped details. The animal products that are seen are: ostrich feathers, animal skins (including leopard or cheetah skins), and animal tails. Apart from the animal-elements, these set-pieces are decorated with various scenic details that clearly highlight and represent the southern environment they came from. These elements include palm trees, huts, people, giraffes and green monkeys.¹⁵⁷⁶ Examples of set-pieces with monkeys and giraffes as decoration are depicted at the tombs of Amenhotep-Huy (figure 176) and Qenamun.¹⁵⁷⁷

¹⁵⁷⁵ Drenkhahn, 1967: p. 140.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷⁷ TT 40: Davies & Gardiner, 1926: pl. XXIV, XXIII, XXVI; TT 93: Davies, 1930: II, pl. XIII, XIV.



Figure 176. Various set-pieces showing elements of a 'southern' environment, including palm trees (1), people (2) and a giraffe (3). Tomb of Amenhotep-Huy (TT 40), Qurnet Murai, New Kingdom, Dynasty 18. (Painted by Charles K. Wilkinson for the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1923-1927. New York MMA 30.4.21.)

6.2.4.3 Material record

Non-indigenous animals are not only used as decorative elements on various objects that contain precious foreign products in the visual record, but also in the material record.

Here too, non-indigenous animal decoration is used to emphasise the foreign origin of (the content of) an object, and as such the intrinsic value of rare and exquisite items or products.

Cosmetic vessels

Several vessels and dishes that originally contained substances used for cosmetic purposes are shaped in the form of a gazelle, ibex or oryx. It has already been mentioned, that the animal shapes can refer to the regenerative qualities of both the animal as well as the content of the container.¹⁵⁷⁸ Additionally, it can be suggested that the use of these desert animals emphasises the foreign origin and therefore valuable content of these containers.¹⁵⁷⁹ The ingredients of various cosmetic products were imported from abroad and are part of the valuable tribute products arriving into Egypt. Galena, malachite, and antimony, for example, were used to create eye-paint and, according to the tribute scenes, these ingredients were imported from various countries in the north and south (although malachite and galena could also be found in the Eastern Desert and the Sinai region, and near Aswan and the Red Sea).¹⁵⁸⁰ Incense and myrrh were not found in Egypt and are typical tribute-goods from Punt.¹⁵⁸¹ Furthermore, PAPHNUTUS ANASTASI IV mentions the preparations necessary for the arrival of the king. Incense (from the south) and oils from various foreign regions in the north had to be available for the army of the king: *'Frankincense, sweet moringa oil, djefiti-oil from Alasiya, the best quality of qdwr-oil from Khatti, ynb-oil from Alasiya, nkft-r-oil from Sangar, qnni-oil from Amurru, gt-oil from Takhsi, moringa oil from Naharina: many oils from the harbour to anoint his army and the chariot troops'*.¹⁵⁸² Some of the more famous objects found in the tomb of Tutankhamun, namely an unguent jar and an ornamental boat, most likely functioned as retainer for perfumes (figure 177).¹⁵⁸³ Both objects seem to depict ibexes. Considering the fact that many of the raw products intended for cosmetic purposes were imported from abroad, it can indeed be said that: *'the more exotic the ingredients, the more valued the commodity; the more exquisite its*

¹⁵⁷⁸ See above, p. 248.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Stolberg-Stolberg, 2004: p. 143.

¹⁵⁸⁰ Lucas, 1930: p. 43; Hallmann, 2006: e.g. p. 40, 108, 213, fn. 1454.

¹⁵⁸¹ Lucas, 1930: p. 44; Hallmann, 2006: p. 269.

¹⁵⁸² pAnastasi IV: recto. 15,2-5; LEM, p. 51-51a; Dils, P. in: TLA.

¹⁵⁸³ JE 62122 & 62120 (figure 177); The Griffith Institute, Burton photograph no. p1255:

<http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/584-p1255.html>; The Griffith Institute, Burton photograph no. p1648:

<http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/578-p1648.html> last accessed 24 February 2022); Quaegebeur, 1999: p. 130.

presentation, the greater the appeal'.¹⁵⁸⁴ A similar idea can be suggested for the occurrence of monkeys on objects used for cosmetic purposes, or monkey shaped vessels. Early examples are two sixth Dynasty unguent jars in the form of a monkey (figure 133).¹⁵⁸⁵



Figure 177. An ibex-shaped unguent jar from the tomb of Tutankhamun. New Kingdom, Dynasty 18. (Cairo JE 62122.)

Offering spoons

Non-indigenous animals are also found on several offering spoons, mostly dated to the New Kingdom period. The ivory spoon that is depicted in figure 178 shows a clear ‘Nubian setting’. The spoon is formed in the shape of a palm-tree, and two monkeys have climbed into the spoon-tree and are eating dates, while two Nubian persons are standing underneath the tree.¹⁵⁸⁶

Many other examples of such offering spoons are shaped in the form of a bound oryx, ibex or gazelle (figure 180),¹⁵⁸⁷ or in the shape of a foreigner who ‘carries’ the content of the spoon (figure 179).¹⁵⁸⁸ As such, they represent the valuable and foreign character of the offering. Although the ibex and gazelle are also seen, the oryx occurs more frequently,¹⁵⁸⁹ just as was the case in the Old Kingdom offering lists and slaughtering scenes.¹⁵⁹⁰ This combination of foreign people, foreign animals, and foreign cosmetic products can be interpreted as follows:

¹⁵⁸⁴ Manniche, 1999: p. 7.

¹⁵⁸⁵ New York MMA 30.8.134 and 1992.338; see above, p. 248: figure 133.

¹⁵⁸⁶ Lisbon, Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, no. 165. Additional picture available at: https://gulbenkian.pt/museu/en/works_museu/cosmetic-spoon (last accessed 24 February 2022); Manniche, 1999: p. 88.

¹⁵⁸⁷ Vandier d'Abbadie, 1972: p. 29- 31: no. 11124, 11123, 11043, 22916, 3217, 14710, 1665, 3678, 2321.

¹⁵⁸⁸ Idem: p. 18-19: no. 1735, 1738; Wallert, 1967: Taf 25, P 11 (= Louvre N 1735) & P 13 (= Louvre N 1738); figure 179.

¹⁵⁸⁹ Strandberg, 2009: p. 154.

¹⁵⁹⁰ See above, p. 269.

*‘Die Tiere selbst symbolisieren das Opfer, die Ausländer die Herkunft der geopfert Produkte, wobei dieser Aspekt durch die Wahl der Antilopen, Gazellen und Steinböcke, die ja ebenfalls das Fremdland verkörpern, verdoppelt wird’.*¹⁵⁹¹



Figure 178 (left). Ivory spoon showing a ‘Nubian setting’. New Kingdom, Dynasty 18. (Lisbon, Calouste Gulbenkian Museum no. 165.)

Figure 179 (right). A Nubian and Asian man ‘carrying’ the content of an offering spoon. New Kingdom period. (Left: Paris Louvre N 1735, right: Paris Louvre N 1738.)



Figure 180. Offering spoon in the shape of an oryx. New Kingdom period, Dynasty 18. (Paris Louvre E 3678.)

¹⁵⁹¹ Stolberg-Stolberg, 2004: p. 148.

Diadems

Furthermore, in the New Kingdom period various diadems with gazelle heads are seen, both in the iconography as well as in the archaeological record. These head dresses are seen in a noble and royal context,¹⁵⁹² are usually worn by younger women, and could therefore possibly be linked to ideas of regeneration.¹⁵⁹³ Additionally, the design of these diadems are clearly inspired by Asian influences or the objects were imported from these regions. The famous ‘stag diadem’ is decorated with the heads of four gazelles, and a deer in the middle (figure 181).¹⁵⁹⁴ It was found in the eastern Delta and is dated to the late Middle Kingdom or early New Kingdom period based on its style.¹⁵⁹⁵ It is said to belong to an Asiatic princess,¹⁵⁹⁶ but the exact provenance is unknown.¹⁵⁹⁷

Interestingly, the deer is not depicted in the tribute scenes, although it is present in the zooarchaeological material. Furthermore, it is mentioned once in the annals of Thutmose III among the Asian tribute. Amongst others, the tribute consists of 12 pieces of cattle, 46 donkeys, and 1 deer.¹⁵⁹⁸ Another diadem¹⁵⁹⁹ was found in the ‘Tomb of Three Foreign Wives’ of Thutmose III.¹⁶⁰⁰ These rare and valuable objects were made of expensive materials, such as gold and electrum, and a clear link is seen between these luxury items, the presence of foreign animals, such as gazelles and deer, and foreign women that were close to the king.

¹⁵⁹² Strandberg, 2009: p. 136.

¹⁵⁹³ See above, p. 250-251.

¹⁵⁹⁴ New York MMA 68.136.1 (<http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544073> last accessed 24 February 2022).

¹⁵⁹⁵ Strandberg, 2009: p. 137.

¹⁵⁹⁶ Vernus & Yoyotte, 2005: p. 133.

¹⁵⁹⁷ Kitagawa, 2008a: p. 212.

¹⁵⁹⁸ Urk IV: 718,13; Breasted, 1906: II, p. 210: § 509.

¹⁵⁹⁹ New York MMA 26.8.99 (<http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/553269> last accessed 24 February 2022); see above, p. 250-251 & figure 135.

¹⁶⁰⁰ Lilyquist, 2003: p. 161-162.



Figure 181. 'Stag' diadem. Possibly from the eastern Delta region. Second Intermediate Period. (New York MMA 68.136.1.)

This chapter has demonstrated that ideas of prosperity and prestige can be expressed by focussing on rare and special animals (*extraordinarity*), a great amount of animals (*abundancy*), and / or a variety of animals (*diversity*) (figure 182).

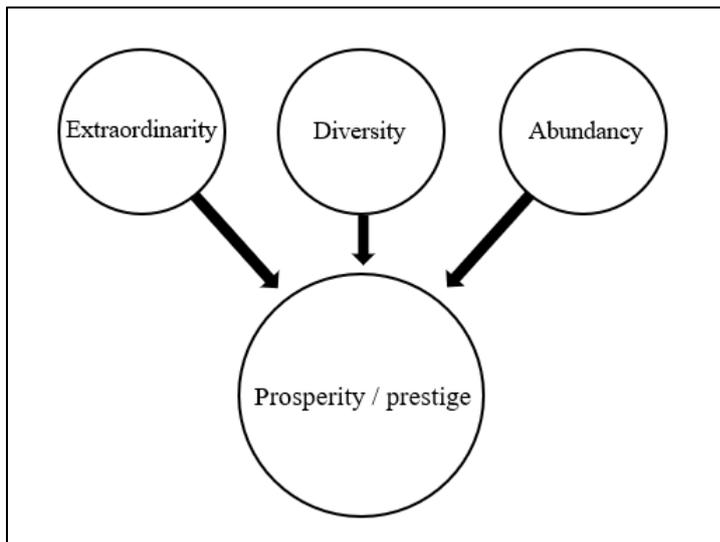


Figure 182. Animals can express ideas of prosperity and prestige because they are extraordinary (the value lies in their rareness) or because they are great in number (the value is found in quantity, often combined with an economic relevance). Additionally, prosperity can be expressed by showing a variety of extraordinary and /or common but economically relevant animals.

Each of these elements can be used separately to express these concepts. Prosperity and prestige can be obtained by the possession of a great amount of cattle (*abundancy*), or by possessing a rare animal, such as a pet-monkey (*extraordinarity*). In the first example, the value is based on the economic significance of common animals, whereas in the second example the value is found in the uniqueness and exclusiveness of the animal.

Oftentimes, however, these factors are combined when a group of animals is mentioned or depicted. The animal rows on the Late Predynastic knife handles, for example, are characterised by the depiction of a great number (*abundancy*) of various different (*diversity*) non-indigenous animals (*extraordinarity*). The animal grouping in the Old Kingdom offering rows focusses on all three factors as well. However, contrary to the earlier 'animal rows', the *diversity* is not only found in the combination of various types of non-indigenous animals, but in the combination of various types of non-indigenous and indigenous species, with an additional bigger emphasis on the economic value of these animals.

In later examples, *abundancy* is still important, but usually reserved for the common and economically relevant animals. The New Kingdom private tribute scenes, for example, display and mention groups of animals that consist of both indigenous and non-indigenous animals. Whereas the value of various types of cattle is expressed by their great numbers, the value of most of the non-indigenous animals is found in the mere presence of the animal species *an sich*. Usually, various different non-indigenous animal species are depicted, but each species is represented by only one or two individuals (*extraordinarity* and *diversity*).

Thus, both indigenous and non-indigenous animals are used to demonstrate the prosperity and social prestige of various elite and royal figures. However, contrary to the more common and domestic animals, many of the non-indigenous animals can express an exclusive or enhanced type of prosperity and prestige. The possession of rare and special animals (from abroad) demonstrates not only the wealth, but also the uniqueness of the owner. As such, the incorporation of special and rare non-indigenous animals can be seen as an important means of exclusive social positioning.

7. NON-INDIGENOUS ANIMALS AND THEIR FOREIGN ORIGIN

The former chapters have demonstrated that non-indigenous animals are often related to the following concepts: chaos and wildness, order and power, transition and regeneration, and prosperity and prestige. This chapter will look at the importance of the foreign origin of these animals. Even though the discussed concepts are certainly not unique for non-indigenous animals, in a lot of cases their foreign habitat is relevant. Non-indigenous animals are used as a symbol or metaphor for a foreign region or people; they emphasise the foreign context of a situation; or their foreign origin is a prerequisite for them to be considered different and special. This means, that an animal can be included because it is foreign. Or at least, one of the reasons the animal occurs in a certain setting is because of its foreign origin.¹⁶⁰¹

7.1 Non-indigenous animals as a symbol or metaphor for a foreign region or people

It has been demonstrated that the foreign origin of non-indigenous animals can be important, because the animals can be seen as representatives of a (specific) foreign region. It has already been mentioned that the animals on the C-Ware pottery can represent the (chaotic) desert region. A combination of various animals, such as the Barbary sheep, aurochs, various types of gazelles, oryx, ibex, hartebeest, and wild donkey can be used to make clear that we are in fact dealing with a hunt in a desert environment. The same can be suggested for some individual animals. The Barbary sheep lives in both the Eastern and Western Desert, and can be seen as a representative of the totality of desert animals or the desert region. The elephant and aurochs too are seen as representatives of both the nearby as well as further away desert regions.¹⁶⁰²

The same has been suggested for the D-Ware. The addax, ibex, and ostrich are often depicted on this type of pottery. The ostrich could be found deep in the Eastern and Western Desert regions, whereas the addax could only be found in the Western Desert, and the ibex in the Eastern Desert. The combination of these animals could therefore represent the totality of foreign places, possibly including the afterworld.¹⁶⁰³ A similar pattern can be observed for the non-indigenous animals that are found on the palettes and decorated ivories of the transitional period between the Predynastic and Dynastic period. The chaos that is being controlled is found in the foreign and unknown,¹⁶⁰⁴ which the animals represent.

¹⁶⁰¹ The inclusion is often based on a combination of characteristics. An animal is used because it is foreign and fast, foreign and strong, etc.

¹⁶⁰² Suggested for C-Ware bowl BM EA 49025 (see above, p.110-112).

¹⁶⁰³ See above, p. 114-116

¹⁶⁰⁴ Lankester, 2016: § 13-14.

The term ‘*ḥw.t (n.t) ḥ3s.t*’, which can be translated as ‘desert game’,¹⁶⁰⁵ refers to and includes all the wildlife that is found in the contrasting landscapes outside of the Nile Valley (i.e. the desert and semi-desert regions) and that can be included in a hunting (or collecting) setting.¹⁶⁰⁶ This terminology not only includes the large prey animals of the desert, but also smaller animals, such as hares and hedgehogs, and predatory animals, such as lions, wild canids and leopards. Interestingly, only a few animals can be used as a determinative for this term, namely the gazelle, ibex and oryx.¹⁶⁰⁷ Apparently, the gazelle, ibex and oryx are the animals that are the most suited representatives of this region. The gazelle could be found in the semi-desert as well as the desert environment, whereas the oryx and the ibex are true desert animals. The term ‘*ḥw.t (n.t) ḥ3s.t*’ can also be determined with all three of these animals at the same time.¹⁶⁰⁸ In this context, the gazelle-oryx-ibex-trinity represents the totality of desert animals. However, when only one animal determinative is used, it is usually the gazelle. This indicates that indeed the combination of the gazelle, ibex and oryx perfectly represents the desert region and its animal inhabitants, but the gazelle is the most important one.¹⁶⁰⁹

It is interesting to see that, although various other animals such as the hartebeest, addax and hyena are seen in the offering rows, only the gazelle, ibex and oryx are seen on the offering tables.¹⁶¹⁰ Moreover, when desert animals are among the listed offerings, it is almost always a combination of these three species.¹⁶¹¹ It seems to be the case that these three animals were the most wanted among the desert animals. However, at the same time, it can be suggested that the presence of these animals indicates that these scenes and references do not refer to reality. Rather, the combination of gazelle, ibex and oryx symbolises the general idea of ‘desert animals’ that are being offered.

Furthermore, it has been suggested that some of the tribute animals that are seen in the iconography of the New Kingdom period symbolise the region they originate from: ‘*Der Elefant könnte vielmehr wie der syrische Bär stellvertretend für die Fauna Syriens gestanden haben*’.¹⁶¹² The bear, elephant and horse are indeed only part of the tribute deriving from the north. The baboon, green monkey, giraffe, leopard, cheetah, and rhinoceros are only seen as

¹⁶⁰⁵ See above, p.4 & p. 80-85; Linseele & Van Neer (2009: p. 48-49) prefer the term ‘*animals from the wilderness*’. They consider the term to include ‘*all species that live away from the Nile river banks and outside the human habitation and cultivation areas*’ (idem, p. 49).

¹⁶⁰⁶ See above, p. 83-85.

¹⁶⁰⁷ See above, p. 83.

¹⁶⁰⁸ For example in the tomb of Kagemni (Von Bissing, 1911: II, pl. XXVI); see above, p. 83.

¹⁶⁰⁹ Wassell, 1991: I, p. 59.

¹⁶¹⁰ After the Old Kingdom period, they are also the only three desert animals that are seen in the slaughtering scenes (see above, p. 279 and table 5).

¹⁶¹¹ See above, p. 269 and fn. 1252, p. 279-282.

¹⁶¹² Busch, 2006: p. 86.

tribute from the southern regions. A similar idea can be suggested for the table-ware treasures, set-pieces and objects used for cosmetic purposes in the shape of or with depictions of non-indigenous animals. The ingredients of various valuable cosmetic products were imported from abroad. As such, the presence of non-indigenous animals on these objects demonstrates the foreign origin of the objects or substance.¹⁶¹³

A connection between the hunt, wild and non-indigenous animals, and (foreign) human enemies is clearly evident in the Pre- and Early Dynastic period: *‘in many respects, wild fauna living in the desert, realm of the unknown, is indeed equated to the enemy coming from foreign territories to threaten the civilized world’*.¹⁶¹⁴ Depictions of the desert hunt remain relatively popular throughout the whole pharaonic period, but a clear link between foreign animals and foreign enemies is only seen in a few instances, and especially in the New Kingdom period. The chest of Tutankhamun and the hunting scenes of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, for example, clearly assimilate the military defeat of foreign enemies with the ‘defeat’ of desert animals.¹⁶¹⁵

7.2 Non-indigenous animals as emphasisers of a foreign context

It goes without saying that the animals that symbolically represent a foreign region or people automatically put an emphasis on the foreign context. However, in most cases the animals do not symbolise foreign regions or peoples. Rather, they represent an actual animal, or a god or demon with characteristics of this animal. In these instances, the presence of the animals can make it clear that foreign elements are at play.

The totality of desert animals represented in a hunting scene emphasises the space and location where the hunt takes place: it is not a marsh hunt, but a desert hunt. The depicted biodiversity therefore stresses the setting. Similarly, the non-indigenous animals that are seen on the Punt reliefs make it clear that the landscape and setting is non-Egyptian. The rhinoceros, giraffe, hamadryas baboons, green monkeys and leopard emphasise the foreign (southern) location of the setting (figure 163-165). The same can be suggested for a scene at Luxor temple depicting a battle that took place in Satuna in the north. The scene shows a man who is being attacked by a bear (figure 183).¹⁶¹⁶

¹⁶¹³ See above, p. 333-334, p. 341-343, table 6.

¹⁶¹⁴ Raffaele, 2010: p. 255.

¹⁶¹⁵ See above, p. 125-130 and figures 80-86.

¹⁶¹⁶ See also Wreszinski, 1935: II, Taf. 66-67. The scene can possibly be linked to a passage in pAnastasi I (see above, p. 135 and fn. 517). Like all of the New Kingdom bear depictions the animal is very stylised.



Figure 183. Relief depicting the Battle of Satuna, including a bear-attack, at Luxor Temple (Ramses II). New Kingdom period, Dynasty 19.

It has been mentioned above that certain non-indigenous animals found in the tribute scenes could symbolically stand for the region they derived from. More generally, the presence of non-indigenous animals among the various tribute goods emphasises the foreign origin of these products, people, and animals.¹⁶¹⁷

This also becomes clear in the textual record. THE TEACHING OF KHETI mentions the dangers that are encountered abroad, as opposed to the safety of Egypt. Lions (and Asiatics) are part of this danger: *‘Being frightened because of lions and Asiatics, he recognises himself again when he is in Egypt, as he arrives there in the marshlands’*.¹⁶¹⁸ Additionally, the combination lion-bear-leopard is used to emphasise to foreign setting, which is for example seen in PAPYRUS ANASTASI I. It is said that: *‘Lions are more numerous than leopards and bears’*.¹⁶¹⁹ The lion and leopard could be found in the desert regions surrounding Egypt, the bear on the other hand was never native to Egypt or its desert regions and lived in the more (north) eastern countries.¹⁶²⁰ The presence of the bear among the other two predators puts an extra emphasis on the fact that the described event takes place outside of Egypt. In the TEACHING OF AMENEMOPE the foreign habitat of the wolf/jackal is important. The animal is described as an animal that does not belong to Egypt, but has infiltrated the country.¹⁶²¹ Similarly, it is said that lions are present in the pasture,¹⁶²² and as such form a threat to the Egyptian cattle.

These emphasisers do not only occur when foreign regions are considered negatively. In the stories of SINUHE and WENAMUN, the foreign context is emphasised by mentioning the meat of non-indigenous animals, namely, desert animals and deer,¹⁶²³ as an exquisite meal.

Furthermore, the king can be compared to various non-indigenous animals. In a few instances, the foreign habitat of these animals is important. The king can be described as a *‘grim lion, who traverses the secret paths of every foreign place’*¹⁶²⁴ or *‘a southern jackal, who looks for the region of the ones that attacked him’*.¹⁶²⁵ In these cases, the foreign origin of the animals is important and can be seen as an advantage, because the animals are familiar with these regions. Additionally, the king not only compares himself with non-indigenous animals, but he also

¹⁶¹⁷ See above, p. 333-334.

¹⁶¹⁸ pSallier II: 7,7: Brunner, 1944: p. 156-158; Dils, P. in: TLA; see above, p. 134; lion: *m3i*.

¹⁶¹⁹ pAnastasi I: KÄT 126,1: Fischer-Elfert, 1992: p. 126; Dils, P. in: TLA; see above, p. 134; lion: *m3i*, leopard: *3by*, bear: *htm.t*.

¹⁶²⁰ Although Manlius (1998: p. 565-581, fig. 2) believes that bears could have lived in parts of the Eastern Desert and Sinai; see above, p. 64-66.

¹⁶²¹ pBM EA 10474: 7,5: Laisney, 2007: p. 333; Dils, P. in: TLA; see above, p. 132.

¹⁶²² London pBM EA 10042, rt 6,4-5; Stegbauer, K. in: TLA; Borghouts, 1978: p. 86, no. 125; see above, p. 145.

¹⁶²³ pBerlin 3022: 87-89: MES, p. 23-24a; Allen, 2015: p. 93; Feder, F. in: TLA; pMoscow 120: recto 2,68: LES, p. 74-74a; Popko, L. in: TLA; see above, p. 283.

¹⁶²⁴ KRI I: 17,15 - 18,1; Kitchen, 1993: I, p. 14-15; see above, p. 176; grim lion: *m3i hs3*.

¹⁶²⁵ Urk IV: 1547,18-20; Helck, 1961: p. 144; see above, p. 176; southern wild canid/jackal/wolf: *s3b šmꜥ*.

hunts them during his military campaigns abroad. Hunting and capturing these animals puts a special emphasis on the foreign context of these happenings. Thutmoses III recreates himself by *'hunting in every foreign country'*. His catch consists of various species of non-indigenous animals, such as aurochs and lions, but also elephants in the north, and a rhinoceros in Nubia.¹⁶²⁶ In a few cases, and especially in the literary texts, the foreign origin of the animals is mentioned or of some importance, but rather functions as a form of background information. The lion in THE LOYALIST TEACHING is lonely and restless. The geographical isolation of the animal is connected to its foreign origin, and is also the reason for its social isolation.¹⁶²⁷ The appearance of the gazelle in THE CONTENTINGS OF HORUS AND SETH makes sense, because this part of the story takes place in the desert.¹⁶²⁸ Similarly, the fleeing gazelle that occurs in THE THREE WISHES emphasises the fact that we are indeed dealing with a hunt in the desert.¹⁶²⁹ The foreign habitat of the hartebeest in PAPYRUS LANSING is also of some importance: the animal runs around in the desert region, which is located outside of Egypt. The geographical isolation of the desert region resembles the general absence of the pupil.

These 'foreign' contexts not only refer to actual locations situated outside of Egypt, but also to the (imaginary) afterworld and various ideas of border-zones and liminality. Non-indigenous regions, namely the desert regions surrounding Egypt as well as far-away located foreign countries situated at the 'edge of existence', can be seen as liminal zones between this world and the next. The 'typical' desert animals described above, namely the gazelle, oryx and ibex, can be linked to certain deities, such as Sokar, Min and Seth, because they share their habitat with the sphere of influence of these gods. Furthermore, a link has been suggested between the desert(-edge) habitat of lions and various wild canid species, and concepts of transition and regeneration between this world and the next.¹⁶³⁰ Similarly, the foreign origin of monkeys is important. The belt of foreign regions surrounding Egypt is represented as a border-zone region between the earth and the sky, and between this world and the afterworld. These regions have a half-otherworldly character and a metaphysical overlay can be observed between the real and the imaginary world. Actual foreign regions, such as Kenzet and Wetjenet, and the non-indigenous monkeys that live there are simultaneously foreign and otherworldly. Furthermore, the connection between monkeys and boats could be related to the fact that these animals were

¹⁶²⁶ Armant Stela (Cairo JE 67377): Urk IV: 1245,12 – 1246,3: Mond & Myers, 1940: I, p. 183; II, pl. CIII; see above, p. 285-286.

¹⁶²⁷ pLouvre E 4864: 10,6: Posener, 1976: p. 119; Dils, P. in: TLA; see above, p.141.

¹⁶²⁸ pChester Beatty I: recto 10,7-10.9; LES, p. 51-51a; Popko, L. in: TLA. The same can be said about the *'Place of the Gazelle'*; see above, p. 246-248.

¹⁶²⁹ pChester Beatty I: verso G 2,1-4: Bernard, 1996: pl. 6; Popko, L. in: TLA; see below, p. 364.

¹⁶³⁰ See above, p. 211-221.

imported by boats into Egypt. Other animals, such as wild canids, the oryx, and the ibex, are also linked to ideas of transportation in the afterworld. These animals drag the solar bark or are attached to it. Again, the inclusion of the animals can be related to their desert habitat.

7.3 The non-indigenous origin as a prerequisite condition for a perceived otherness

This last category is a complex one. In certain instances, the foreign origin of an animal is not important *per se*, but rather a prerequisite and the reason why an animal is considered different, (semi-)unknown, and (semi-)unfamiliar. The foreign origin of an animal or groups of animals is thus one of the main reasons for a perceived otherness. This perceived otherness can be the reason or part of the reason why an animal is considered chaotic, valuable, powerful, or linked to ideas of transition. Additionally, this otherness can be considered as a positive or negative trait, depending on context.

The otherness that is found abroad, and clearly separates Egypt from foreign regions, can be feared and considered hostile and threatening. As such, a clear link is also seen between the conceptualisation of foreign regions and their animal inhabitants. Non-indigenous animals can be considered chaotic and wild, because their habitat is considered a chaotic wilderness and not part of Egypt. Indeed: *'hostile natural environments (...) produce aggressively hostile neighbors who also tend to crowd the Egyptian frontier'*.¹⁶³¹ This is not only true for the human population, but also the animal inhabitants. As such, it does not matter if the animals themselves are dangerous. The fact that they live in a different and dangerous environment, excluded from Egypt, makes them part of the chaos.

However, the otherness that is found and experienced abroad can also be beneficial and sought after. As such, foreign regions can be places of potential and offer products and experiences that cannot be found in Egypt: one can travel abroad to seek refuge,¹⁶³² adventure and recreation,¹⁶³³ or unique and therefore valuable products and experiences in order to gain social prestige. Indeed, prosperity, prestige and status can be gained and validated by means of distinguishing oneself from the collective. Amongst others, this can be achieved by the possession of special, rare and exclusive products, experiences, and knowledge. Additionally, the otherness that is found abroad can be an inspiration for the afterworld.

¹⁶³¹ Moers, 2010: p. 176.

¹⁶³² E.g. in *The Tale of Two Brothers* (pD'Orbiney: 8,8-8,9: LES, 18-18a; Popko, L. in: TLA); *The Doomed Prince* (pHarris 500: verso 5,2-5,3: LES, p. 3-3a; Popko, L. in: TLA); *The Battle of Horus and Seth* (pChester Beatty I: recto 10,7-10,9. LES, p. 51-51a; Popko, L. in: TLA); see above, p. 247 and below, p. 375.

¹⁶³³ E.g. the Sphinx Stela of Thutmoses IV (Urk IV: 1541,8-12; Breasted, 1906: II, p. 322: § 813); see above, p. 290.

It has been mentioned above that the tribute animals clearly demonstrate the foreign context of a scene or text. However, at the same time, these animals are included because they are special, valuable and extraordinary. Even though the totality of these scenes emphasises the control and power of Egypt over chaotic foreign regions and their human inhabitants, the products that are being delivered are not considered hostile. The animals are usually part of a greater corpus consisting of various kinds of riches from abroad that could not be found in Egypt. As such, the emphasis often lies on quality rather than on quantity. Whereas vast amounts of cattle can be part of the tribute goods, the mere presence of one or two non-indigenous animals already made a big impression. The foreign nature of the included non-indigenous animals is important, but mainly because this aspect can be seen as a major condition for specific products to be considered ‘unknown’ or ‘special’: a product is wanted, because it is different, not necessarily because it is foreign.¹⁶³⁴ Therefore, the foreign regions from which these animals derived should be seen as a key factor for making them different, and therefore valuable. Special and rare items, including non-indigenous animals, are ideal prestige products. Possessing rare, special, and valuable animals from abroad demonstrates the uniqueness and specialness of the owner and separates him or her from the common people. Additionally, the king needed to separate himself from the wealthy elite. Especially in this context, the possession of unique and rare luxury products (that could only be found abroad), as opposed to ‘regular’ luxury products¹⁶³⁵ is an important means of (exclusive) social positioning.

Similar ideas of social prestige expressed by non-indigenous animals are also found in more Egyptian contexts that do not put a specific emphasis on the foreign origin or otherness of the animal. However, these aspects are of importance, even though they are not specifically mentioned or emphasised. In many daily live scenes, non-indigenous animals are part of and treated the same as indigenous domesticated livestock, or depicted as pets. Indeed, they seem to belong to Egyptian society and to be abundantly present. Nevertheless, these animals should not be considered common animals, even though this is occasionally suggested. Furthermore, easier available and more common indigenous and domesticated animals are seen in the same contexts and have the same functions. This indicates that the inclusion of non-indigenous and uncommon animals added an additional value. Both indigenous as well as non-indigenous animals are for example seen in an offering context. However, smaller and more common domesticated animals, such as goats and sheep, are hardly seen in the offering scenes or lists.

¹⁶³⁴ Notice however the great correlation and interdependence.

¹⁶³⁵ Such as gardens and ponds filled with fish and birds (Müller-Wollermann, 2003: p. 42), or various kinds of domestic and indigenous cattle and livestock.

Furthermore, the depicted cattle often consists of special specimens: they are extremely large or fattened. This indicates that the emphasis indeed lies on special and precious animals. These animals are wanted because they are extraordinary and uncommon, and non-indigenous animals also fall into this category. The inclusion of (exaggerated amounts of) desert animals can thus be explained by their prestigious and exclusive character. Non-indigenous animals are ideal candidates per definition, because they are rare, special and difficult to obtain. Similar ideas of prestige can also be suggested for the non-indigenous pet animals. Again, rare and non-indigenous animals, such as green monkeys and baboons, are depicted as common. These animals had no economic function, they had to be imported, and were difficult to keep (especially baboons). Owning a special animal, or suggesting that one owns such an animal, is therefore certainly a demonstration of prosperity and prestige.

Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that the king is often compared to dangerous, strong and powerful non-indigenous animals, such as the lion or the leopard. However, apart from these characteristics, the foreign origin of these animals also seems to play a role even though it is not specifically mentioned. The king can express his exclusive status by comparing himself to exclusive animals. This could also be the reason why the domesticated dog, which was equalled to the powerful leader in Pre- and Early Dynastic times, no longer occurs in this context in later periods. The 'ordinary' dog did not survive the cut, because it was not prestigious and exclusive enough to become a royal symbol.¹⁶³⁶

¹⁶³⁶ Hendrickx & Förster, 2010: p. 830.

8. ANIMAL CHARACTERISTICS AND CONCRETE FUNCTIONS

Apart from their non-indigenous origin, animals can be included because of other characteristics, such as their appearance, behaviour, qualities, or concrete function. Oftentimes, both the foreign origin of the animal as well as other characteristics are important.

Different forms and types of natural animal behaviour are seen in the discussed sources. The behaviour can for example be related to the animal's quest for food, social behaviour, reproductive behaviour, learned behaviour, reactions to fear, and specific times of activity. The appearance of the animal describes what the animal looks like, for example, its colour or size. In a few cases, factors such as the age of an animal and the number of animals are also of importance. Qualities are the aspects that depict or describe what an animal is capable of, because of the structure of its body. One can think about speed, intelligence or the ability to give milk. Specific animal characteristics can also be used to describe human behaviour or personality traits, especially in the literary texts. However, an important distinction should be made between animal and human behaviour. In *THE TALE OF TWO BROTHERS* both brothers become '*angry like a leopard*'. However, with animals it is only possible to study objective behaviour and not subjective phenomena.¹⁶³⁷ Aggression is readily observable in animals, whereas anger is a subjective issue in its own right. Nevertheless, generalizations from animal aggression to human anger are common¹⁶³⁸ and are also seen in the ancient Egyptian sources.

8.1 Appearance

8.1.1 Size

It has become clear, that the large size of an animal can be one of the reasons why an animal is considered chaotic, powerful, or valuable. The size of a particular animal is not often specifically mentioned in the textual record, but the iconography and archaeology have demonstrated that a focus often lies on the largest animals of non-indigenous regions. The focus of the desert hunt scenes on the C-Ware lies on the desert region as a chaotic place, and concentrates on the large prey animals of the desert (and not the predators such as the lion, or small ones like the hare). These can also include the more dangerous prey animals, such as the aurochs and the elephant.

At Hierakonpolis, not only the most dangerous but also the biggest animals, namely the elephant, aurochs and leopard, are only found at HK6 and not at HK29. Furthermore, the

¹⁶³⁷ Hinde, 1970: p. 162.

¹⁶³⁸ Averill, 1983: p. 1147.

leopard excavated at the site is an extremely large specimen: *'the rarity of the species, and in particular the extremely large size of the individual, must have added to its value in terms of expressing power, prestige and status'*.¹⁶³⁹

Furthermore, in the iconography of the Dynastic period, the primary focus also lies on the larger desert animals. Small animals such as hares and hedgehogs are occasionally seen in the desert hunting scenes or offering rows, but they are not seen at the slaughtering scenes or among the valuable tribute gifts from the north or the south. Much more, these smaller animals add to the variety and multitude of animals found and caught in the desert.

Even though the king is described and depicted hunting wildlife in general, in many cases the focus lies on the biggest of these animals, such as the aurochs, lion, elephant and rhinoceros. In the AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF AMENEMHAB and the STELA OF SETI I, the big size of an already big animal is specifically emphasised: Amenemhab has killed the largest elephant of the herd, and Seti I did not only see a lion, but a big one. Furthermore, the (exaggerated) sizes of the individual parts of the rhinoceros depicted on the PYLON OF ARMANT are specifically mentioned. The function of the giraffe in the Predynastic and Early Dynastic period is unclear. However, a tendency can be seen in which the animal, with its long neck, is combined with other 'long' elements. Giraffes with long necks are seen next to palm trees with long trunks. Similarly, long-legged and long-necked birds are combined with long-legged and long-necked giraffes on the ivories. The occurrence of a giraffe as a determinative to the verb *'sr'*, which is often translated as *'to foresee / to announce'*,¹⁶⁴⁰ could be linked to the long neck of the animal: the length of its neck enables the animal to see things far away and notice danger before any other animal does. However, Cannuyer argues that the verb *sr* is not connected to prophesying but is in its essence connected to everything that relates to ideas of spreading, stretching, and expanding.¹⁶⁴¹ As such, it is argued that this verb can use the giraffe¹⁶⁴² as a determinative, because of the animals' tendency to stretch out its neck. McDonald, however, argues that these two interpretations (i.e. to foresee and to stretch) are not necessarily incompatible, because it can be *'the stretching action that enables the giraffe's unique perspective'*.¹⁶⁴³ Either way, it is indeed tempting to see a connection between the use of the giraffe as a determinative and the length of its neck: *'that the giraffe is connected only with sr and no other verb argues for interpreting*

¹⁶³⁹ Van Neer et al., 2013: p. 299.

¹⁶⁴⁰ Cannuyer, 2010: p. 18-39.

¹⁶⁴¹ Idem: p. 621-624.

¹⁶⁴² Gardiner sign no. E 27 (Gardiner, 1957: p. 461).

¹⁶⁴³ McDonald, 2012: p. 230.

the physical reality/associations of the giraffe as being closely associated with the core meaning of sr.¹⁶⁴⁴

In other cases, the small size of an animal is emphasised. In PAPHOS ANASTASI I the size of a man is described by using a cat and green monkey as similes: '*He is smaller than a cat and bigger than a green monkey*'.¹⁶⁴⁵ It becomes clear that we are dealing with a very small person. According to Fischer-Elfert¹⁶⁴⁶ the man that is being referred to has dwarfism. Here, the physical characteristics of the animals are important: the cat is used to show how small this person is, and then the green monkey (which has the same size) is used as an extra emphasis so that one cannot have any doubts about the actual size of the person in question.

The relatively small size of monkeys is also of some importance in the iconography. As pets or favourite animals, green monkeys are often seen in the same contexts as other smaller animals, such as cats and dogs. Furthermore, the small size of monkeys made it easier to transport and import them into Egypt, as opposed to elephants or giraffes. This could be one of the reasons why the Egyptians were apparently more familiar with these animals and why they show up in many different contexts, including religion.

8.1.2 Colour and fur pattern

In a few cases, the colour or fur pattern of the animal is mentioned and of importance.

From the Middle Kingdom onwards, the term '*ḥd-wr*' seems to refer to a baboon deity that can be translated as '*the Great White One*'. The term white can refer to the white/ grey fur of the alpha hamadryas baboon.¹⁶⁴⁷ The oryx even uses the colour white in its name: '*m3-ḥd*'. The term '*m3*' is rather unclear, but seems to be used in the meaning of 'desert animal'.¹⁶⁴⁸ As such, the term '*m3-ḥd*' literary means '*white (or bright) animal of the desert*'. However, the oryx that is usually seen in the iconography is the scimitar-horned oryx. Contrary to the Arabian oryx, the fur of this species is not white, but rather light grey or beige. Nonetheless, these light colours still fit the description. Furthermore, the white colour of the oryx is linked to the destruction of the Eye of Horus.¹⁶⁴⁹ The animal is described as the cause of the whiteness of the eye, referring to its injury. As such, the term '*m3-ḥd*' can also be seen as word play and translated as '*having seen white*'.¹⁶⁵⁰

¹⁶⁴⁴ Idem: p. 233.

¹⁶⁴⁵ pAnastasi I: KÄT 92,1: Fischer-Elfert, 1992: p. 92; Dils, P. in: TLA; monkey: *gf*.

¹⁶⁴⁶ Fischer-Elfert, 1986: p. 92.

¹⁶⁴⁷ See above, p. 223-224.

¹⁶⁴⁸ Stolberg-Stolberg, 2004: p. 14; Wassell, 1991: p. 11.

¹⁶⁴⁹ See above, p. 144.

¹⁶⁵⁰ Bohms, 2013: p. 36; Stolberg-Stolberg, 2004: p. 178.

The colour black also plays a role in the discussed sources. However, contrary to the use of white (or bright) it cannot be linked to the appearance of a real animal species. Rather, the colour black seems to emphasise the fact that we are dealing with an abstract representation. This is made clear by the black colour of Anubis and other canid deities, which does not relate to the normal colour of any of the canid species that are united in their appearances. Furthermore, a statue found in the tomb of Tutankhamun shows the king standing on a black leopard.¹⁶⁵¹ Originally, this statue was part of a pair, meaning that there were two leopards instead of one.¹⁶⁵² As such, these statues can be interpreted in a more abstract fashion, relating to the concept of *ph̄ty* or the similarities between the king and the leopard.

The abstract concept of *ph̄ty* can relate to the cheetah, the leopard, and the lion and usually describes the strength and power of the king. As such, the idea is more important than one specific animal.¹⁶⁵³ Similarly, all three animals are seen as predatory animals in hunting scenes. However, in the practice of the opening of the mouth ritual, only the skin of cheetahs and leopards (and not lions) are seen. It seems to be the case that the spotted or rosette pattern on the skins of these animals is important. McDonald has argued that the leopard skin is often linked to words that refer to a more symbolic, fiery, sparkling and brilliant power, as opposed to the physical strength represented by the leopard as an animal and the word *ph̄ty*.¹⁶⁵⁴ As such, it could be the case that the colour and pattern of the leopard and cheetah skins are related to ideas of fieriness and brilliance. In this respect, it is also interesting to see that, from the New Kingdom onwards, the leopard and cheetah skins that are worn are sometimes decorated with stars (figures 184 and 185).¹⁶⁵⁵

¹⁶⁵¹ Cairo JE 60715: The Global Egyptian Museum:

[http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/images/EMC/_400/160-em-1-3--794--1_800x800\[1\].jpg](http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/images/EMC/_400/160-em-1-3--794--1_800x800[1].jpg) (last accessed 24 February 2022).

¹⁶⁵² The Griffith Institute, Burton photograph no. p1010b:

<http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/burton/p1010b.jpg> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

¹⁶⁵³ McDonald, 2002: p. 295-302.

¹⁶⁵⁴ McDonald, 2002: p. 233-275; see above, p. 359-360.

¹⁶⁵⁵ These garments were not always made of real leopard or cheetah skins. A 'fake' leopard-cloak was found in the tomb of Tutankhamun (Cairo JE 62632: figure 184). The 'skin' is made of textile and decorated with golden stars instead of spots or rosettes. Additional decoration includes a cheetah head of plaster and gold leaf (Cairo JE 62631), and claws made of silver (see also The Griffith Institute, Burton photograph no. p0422:

<http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/021t-p0422.htm> last accessed 24 February 2022). The use of fake leopard skins could be explained by a discrepancy between supply and demand, due to the rarity of these animals.

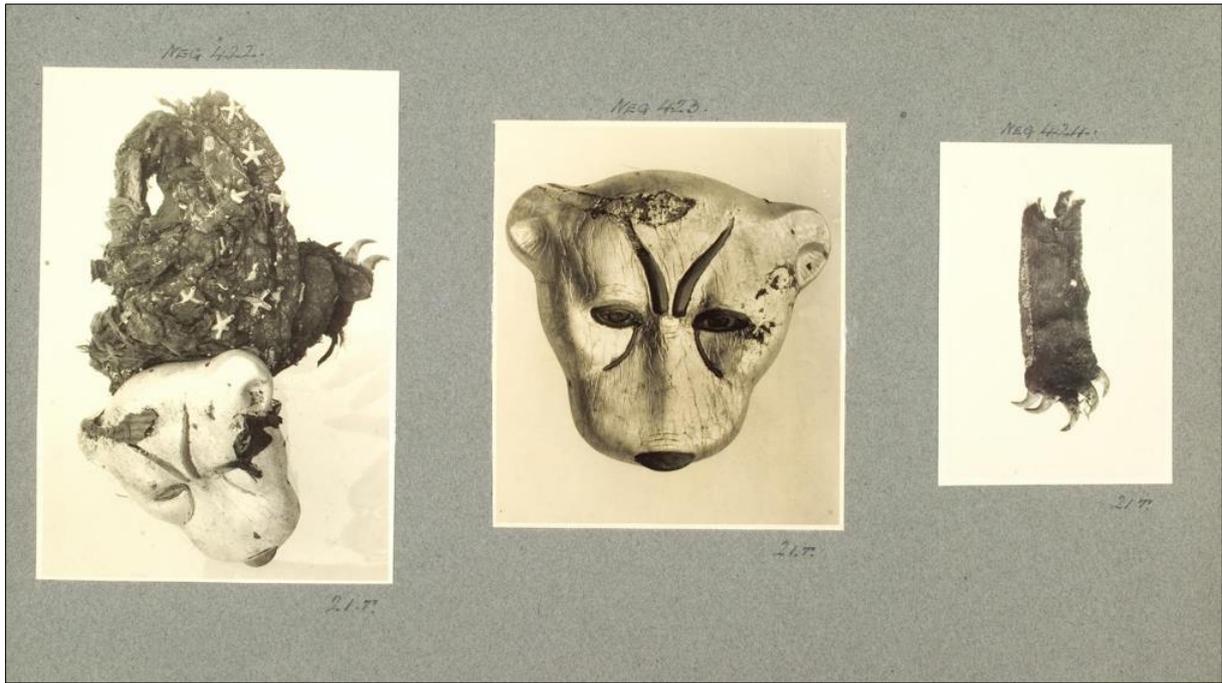


Figure 184. A 'fake' leopard-cloak made of textile with a star-pattern, a cheetah head (plaster), and silver claws. Tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62), New Kingdom, Dynasty 18. (Cairo JE 62631 / 62632.)



Figure 185. A Sem-priest wearing a (fake) leopard-cloak with a starry pattern. Abydos, Temple of Ramesses II, New Kingdom, Dynasty 19.

8.1.3 Horns and antlers

Especially in the Predynastic period, it can be difficult to identify the depicted animals. The bodies of several different animals such as the dog, ibex and Barbary sheep are drawn in an identical manner, meaning that the general shape of the body does not provide us sufficient information to identify these animals.¹⁶⁵⁶ However, the artists emphasised other animal characteristic: *'The horns of the animals are always prominently represented, and certainly functioned as an obvious characteristic for identifying the animals'*.¹⁶⁵⁷ Especially when it comes to species such as the ibex, oryx, gazelle, Barbary sheep, aurochs, and wild donkey, the shape of the animal horns¹⁶⁵⁸ is frequently used as a method to identify and distinguish between the depicted animals.¹⁶⁵⁹ In the Dynastic period as well, the various shapes of animal horns are usually depicted in a realistic manner. However, animal identification is much easier in general, because the animals are depicted in a less standardised and much more realistic manner.¹⁶⁶⁰ Apart from a means of animal identification, it has been suggested that the horns of desert animals can be interpreted as symbols of regeneration on certain types of D-Ware pottery.¹⁶⁶¹ Furthermore, some of the larger human figures on the C-Ware pottery are characterised by their raised arms, which can be interpreted as a symbol of power and refers to the shape of aurochs horns.¹⁶⁶² As such, the oversized horns clearly emphasise the power of the animal.¹⁶⁶³

8.1.4 Human resemblance

The inclusion of monkeys, such as baboons and green monkeys, can be connected to their resemblance with humans. Already in the Predynastic period, these animals can be interpreted as ancestor figures and are often engaged in human activities.¹⁶⁶⁴ Apart from a general human likeness, this connection is intensified by additional shared qualities, such as the extreme dexterity of monkeys. These qualities, as well as emphasised behavioural aspects will be discussed below.

¹⁶⁵⁶ Navajas, 2007: p. 34-36.

¹⁶⁵⁷ Hendrickx, 2002: p. 279.

¹⁶⁵⁸ Or ears in the case of the donkey.

¹⁶⁵⁹ Graff, 2009: p. 22, 31-34; Navajas, 2011: p. 33; Navajas, 2012: p. 173-174.

¹⁶⁶⁰ E.g. Pommerening, 2016: p. 94-95 & Abb. 1.

¹⁶⁶¹ Graff, 2009; p. 79-82; Graff, 2011: p. 61; see above, p. 244-245.

¹⁶⁶² Hendrickx & Eyckerman, 2012: p. 25-27.

¹⁶⁶³ Hendrickx, 2013: p. 239; see above, p. 152.

¹⁶⁶⁴ Van Haarlem, 2014: p.148-153; Hendrickx et al., 2008: p. 378; Dreyer, 1986: p. 71; see above, p. 221-223.

8. 2 Qualities

8.2.1 Seeing in the dark

The lion can be described as an excellent and feared hunter, because it can see at night with its ‘flaming’ eyes.¹⁶⁶⁵ According to Bohms, the term ‘*m3i ḥs3*’ which is usually translated as grim or fierce lion, can be related to the animals’ eyes: ‘*Da der Löwe auch ein Nachttier ist, mag zu der furchterregenden Wirkung des Blickes auch die Leuchtkraft der Augen in der Dunkelheit beigetragen haben*’.¹⁶⁶⁶ The term ‘*ḥs3*’ can indeed have the eye with eye-lid¹⁶⁶⁷ as a determinative. As such, the term indeed refers to a grim and fierce lion, by emphasising its terrible glance. Not only lions, but also hyenas and ‘all kind of animals with uplifted tails’ are feared because of their ability to see in the dark. A magical text aims to repel these animals: ‘*to dazzle them so as not to give them eyesight everywhere about me in the night*’.¹⁶⁶⁸

8.2.2 Speed

Of various animals it is emphasised that they are fast, especially the horse, but also the wolf/jackal, gazelle and hartebeest. Combined with the chariot, the speed of the horse allowed for a fast means of transportation. The speed of the prey animals of the desert, such as the gazelle and the hartebeest, is usually linked to and compared with their fleeing behaviour. More generally, the desert game that is being hunted in the desert hunt scenes demonstrates the fleeing behaviour of these animals as they are being chased by a human or animal hunter.¹⁶⁶⁹ This is also described in the texts, when the human enemies of Egypt are compared to desert animals that quickly run away from the hunter: ‘*No one looks back over their head, but flees quickly, stretched out like a herd of desert animals*’.¹⁶⁷⁰

The speed of the horse is often mentioned in the literary texts. THE THREE WISHES relates about a female lover who wants her male lover to hurry himself and come to her quickly. In the first verse, a chariot with a pair of horses is described as the means of transportation of the messenger: ‘*O, that you may come quickly to the beloved, like a royal messenger in a hurry (...) Horses are waiting for him at their resting place, a chariot is prepared in its place*’.¹⁶⁷¹ Here,

¹⁶⁶⁵ CT V, 389f-h (469); Faulkner, 1977: II, p. 101; CT V, 399a-d (470); Faulkner, 1977: II, p. 105; Bohms, 2013: p. 204, fn. 27; see above, p. 183.

¹⁶⁶⁶ Bohms, 2013: p. 201.

¹⁶⁶⁷ Gardiner sign no. D 6 (Gardiner, 1957: p. 450); TLA: document DZA 23.681.700; Gräßler, 2017: p. 72-74, 284, 322.

¹⁶⁶⁸ London pBM EA 10042, vs. 1,3-1,5; Stegbauer, K. in: TLA; Borghouts, 1978: p. 50, no. 83; see above, p. 145.

¹⁶⁶⁹ See for example the desert hunt scene in the tomb of Userhat (TT 56: Decker & Herb, 1994: Dok. 109: I, p.339-340; II, Taf. CLXIX; Beinlich-Seeber & Shedid, 1987: Taf. 12).

¹⁶⁷⁰ Urk IV: 697,13-15; Blumenthal et al., 1984, p. 206; see above, p. 131; desert game: *ḥw.t (n.t) ḥ3s.t*.

¹⁶⁷¹ pChester Beatty I: verso G 1,1 and 1,3. Bernard, 1996: pl. 5; Popko, L. in: TLA; horse: *ssm.t*.

the messenger is used as a simile for the male lover. The messenger can only travel quickly and go to his lover, because his horses run fast. In the next verse, the horse is mentioned again. This time the horse itself is used as a simile, and the speed of the lover is compared to the speed of the horse. The woman says: *‘O, would that you had come like a royal horse, chosen from one thousand of gw-horses, the best of the stables. It distinguishes itself because of its fodder. Its master knows its paces. When it hears the cracking of the whip, it cannot be hold back anymore. There is no foreign warrior who can overtake it’*.¹⁶⁷² The horse is so fast, because it was chosen carefully from many other horses, and is taken well care of. Apart from a swift reunion of the lovers, another goal is emphasised as well: because of its speed, the horse can escape the danger of foreign troops.¹⁶⁷³ This indicates that we are not just dealing with two lovers who wish to be reunited, but with a forbidden love: apparently somebody else does not want the two lovebirds to be together. The speed of the horse is also emphasised in the ODEM 1078 love song. The text says: *‘I brought my horse before the wind, your love is what drives me’*.¹⁶⁷⁴ Here, just as in verse one of the THREE WISHES the horse is used as a means of transportation. The horse of the male lover is ‘faster than the wind’, so that he can be reunited with his beloved.¹⁶⁷⁵ Similarly, the speed of the horse is emphasised in PAPYRUS HARRIS 500, where the beloved one wishes that her lover comes to her quickly: *‘may you run like a horse at the battlefield to see your beloved’*.¹⁶⁷⁶ Just as in the second verse of THREE WISHES, the speed of the horse is emphasised and linked to warfare. Here, however, speed is not only needed to outrun the enemies, but as a necessary and important skill during battle in general. The speed of the horse does not always occur in a positive context, as has been demonstrated in PAPYRUS ANASTASI I, where the misfortunes of the unexperienced charioteer are mentioned: *‘Your pair of horses has gone, and is speeding over the slippery ground’*.¹⁶⁷⁷

In several instances the hartebeest is used as a simile for the student who wants to flee from his responsibilities. PAPYRUS ANASTASI IV says: *‘You are like a hartebeest on the run’*.¹⁶⁷⁸ The same is seen in PAPYRUS TURIN A: *‘Your face is like a hartebeest, you are prepared and ready to leap away, you are ready to escape’*.¹⁶⁷⁹ The hartebeest is compared to a pupil, because they are both

¹⁶⁷² pChester Beatty I: verso G 1,5-7; Bernard, 1996: pl. 5; Popko, L. in: TLA; (type of) horse: *g3w3*.

¹⁶⁷³ Fox, 1985: p. 67.

¹⁶⁷⁴ oDeM 1078: recto 3-4; Bernard, 1996: pl. 28; Popko, L. in: TLA; horse: *ssm.t*.

¹⁶⁷⁵ Popko, L (in: TLA) suggests another reading, namely ‘as far as the wind goes’, meaning: ‘for you I will go to the end of the world’.

¹⁶⁷⁶ pHarris 500: recto, 1,8; Bernard, 1996: pl. 8; Popko, L. in: TLA; horse: *ssm.t*.

¹⁶⁷⁷ pAnastasi I: KÄT 146,8-147,3; Fischer-Elfert, 1992: 146-147; Dils, P. in: TLA; see above, p.132; horse-pair: *htr*.

¹⁶⁷⁸ pAnastasi IV: recto 2,6; LEM, p. 36-36a; Dils, P. in: TLA.; see above, p. 138; hartebeest: *šs3.w*.

¹⁶⁷⁹ pTurin A: verso 1,6; Caminos, 1954: p. 450, 507; Brose, M. in: TLA; see above, p. 138; hartebeest: *šs3.w*.

fleeing. Considering the fact that this animal is a prey animal, its natural instinct is to run away when it is in danger. The animal will thus flee from real, physical danger that can hurt or kill it. The pupil is also fleeing, but his type of fleeing cannot be equalled to the fleeing of the hartebeest. The student is not running away from actual (mortal) danger, but is driven by a lack of interest. Moreover, the fleeing can also be seen as a mental form of fleeing, because the pupil is not focussing 100% on his classes. This idea of running away from ones responsibility is also exemplified by the quick horse as simile for the student: ‘*You have abandoned writing and used your legs like a pair of horses from the thb-building*’.¹⁶⁸⁰ The combined behaviour of hartebeest and horse describe the behaviour of the student who does not want to learn: he quickly (*horse*) runs away (*hartebeest*) from his responsibilities.

PAPYRUS TURIN A also mentions prey animals that flee when they are approached: ‘*Are you a quail? Are you the young of a hartebeest? Because you were born in winter, together with the gazelles?*’¹⁶⁸¹ The fleeing behaviour of the gazelle is mentioned again in the THREE WISHES, where it stands for the male lover¹⁶⁸² who is on his way to his female beloved. In this instance, the quick gazelle is not only fleeing, but also running towards its beloved: ‘*O, would that you had come quickly to the beloved, like a gazelle that runs in the desert, its legs are stumbling, its body is weary, because fear has entered its body. A hunter is behind her and a dog is with him. They cannot see its dust. It sees a place of rest as a trap(?). She took the river as a road*’.¹⁶⁸³ The speed of the gazelle is important because of two reasons: on the one hand, the swiftness of the gazelle demonstrates the eager of the lovers to be together: they want to be reunited as soon as possible. On the other hand, the swiftness of the gazelle is essential in order to escape from the hunter and dog. This also indicated that speed is not only necessary because of the lovers’ desire to be reunited, but also that somebody else is not happy with their love.

In the POETICAL STELA of Thutmoses III, the speed of the king is compared to the speed of a wild canid: ‘*I let them see Your Majesty like a southern jackal, the lord of speed, the runner, who rushes through the two lands*’.¹⁶⁸⁴ The speed and running capacities of these animals could also be the reason why canid-entities are towing the bark of the sun-god in the afterworld.¹⁶⁸⁵ In PAPYRUS ANASTASI I the speed of a horse is even compared to the speed of a wild canid: ‘*One*

¹⁶⁸⁰ pAnastasi IV: recto 2,4 - 2,5; LEM, p. 36-36a; Dils, P. in: TLA; horse-pair: *htr*; see above p. 138-139.

¹⁶⁸¹ pTurin A: verso 1,8-1,9; LEM, p. 122-122a; Brose, M. in: TLA; see above, p. 139; hartebeest: *šs3.w*, gazelle: *ghs*.

¹⁶⁸² Although the gazelle itself is written in the female form (*ghs.t*).

¹⁶⁸³ pChester Beatty I: verso G 2,1-4. Bernard, 1996: pl. 6; Popko, L. in: TLA; gazelle: *ghs.t*.

¹⁶⁸⁴ Urk IV: 617,14-15; Lichtheim, 1976: p. 37; see above, p. 176; southern wild canid/jackal/wolf: *s3b šm^c*.

¹⁶⁸⁵ See above, p. 207-208.

will harness a horse for you that is fast as a red-eared jackal;¹⁶⁸⁶ it is like a storm when it goes forth'.¹⁶⁸⁷ However, a horse can run faster than a wild canid,¹⁶⁸⁸ which makes this horse-wild canid simile actually not that fitting. It is interesting to see that the cheetah, the fastest land animal that exists, is never mentioned in such a context, even though this animal was known by the Egyptians from the New Kingdom onwards at the latest (figure 186).¹⁶⁸⁹



Figure 186. A cheetah depicted on the sheath of a dagger found in the tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62). New Kingdom, Dynasty 18. (Cairo JE 61584).

8.2.3 Strength

An animal can be considered powerful or chaotic, because of its physical strength. The strength of particular animals is not always specifically emphasised, but it can be assumed that the strength of certain animals, such as the lion, leopard and aurochs is one of the reasons for their inclusion and use. In a few cases, the strength of the lion is specifically mentioned. The

¹⁶⁸⁶ Fischer-Elfert translates *j3b.w* 'leopard' instead of 'jackal' *s3b.w*.

¹⁶⁸⁷ pAnastasi I: KÄT 123,3-123,4; Fischer-Elfert, 1992: p. 123; Dils, P. in: TLA; horse: *ssm.t*, wild canid/jackal/wolf: *s3b*.

¹⁶⁸⁸ Slijper, 1966: p. 25. Additionally, the gazelle and the horse have about the same maximum speed.

¹⁶⁸⁹ See for example the desert hunt scene depicted on the sheath of a dagger found in the tomb of Tutankhamun (Cairo JE 61584: figure 186; see also Hawass, 2004: p. 65).

deceased¹⁶⁹⁰ or the king¹⁶⁹¹ compares himself with a strong lion. Furthermore, depictions of lions, leopard-cheetahs, and a mixture of these animals can be used to visualise the king's *ph̄ty*, his strength and power.¹⁶⁹² Interestingly, the chariot and horses of the king can also be seen as an agent of his strength.¹⁶⁹³ The baboon is also specifically mentioned because of its strength, but only in a religious context.¹⁶⁹⁴

8.2.4 Dexterity

Monkeys, and especially green monkeys, can be included because they are extremely dexterous and have the ability to grab and hold items, such as food and tools, with their paws.¹⁶⁹⁵ Monkeys are often depicted with fruits in their paws, for example when they are depicted under chairs¹⁶⁹⁶ or in a tree.¹⁶⁹⁷ This could be the reason why green monkeys steal food for the deceased, or why they '*have possessions*' in the COFFIN TEXTS.¹⁶⁹⁸ Furthermore, these monkeys are also linked to aggressive behaviour in the religious texts, because they are weaponed with knives and '*cut of heads*'.¹⁶⁹⁹ Even though we are not dealing with real monkeys here, it is interesting to see that actual monkeys do have the ability to hold tools. This idea of 'monkeys holding things' related to human behaviour is also seen in the iconography. Monkeys are depicted as musicians,¹⁷⁰⁰ overseers and directors,¹⁷⁰¹ wine-makers,¹⁷⁰² and hair-dressers.¹⁷⁰³ Indeed, in these cases the monkeys can be considered as '*part of the topsy-turvy cartoon world where animals are represented performing unlikely human activities, or parody or satire*'.¹⁷⁰⁴ This idea of role reversal, where animals show human behaviour, is not unique for monkeys. The TURIN EROTIC PAPYRUS for example shows a scene where mice are attacking a fortress ruled by cats,¹⁷⁰⁵ and the SATIRICAL PAPYRUS depicts a lion and a gazelle peacefully playing a board-game

¹⁶⁹⁰ CT III, 341c-d (248); Faulkner, 1977: II, p. 193: '*my strength is the strength of a lion*'; see above, p. 183.

¹⁶⁹¹ KRI V: 37,10; Kitchen, 2008: p. 32: '*Strong lion, powerful of arm, owner of a strong arm, one who captures the Asiatics*'; see above, p. 176.

¹⁶⁹² McDonald, 2002: p. 295-302; Hornung, 1991: pl. 119; see above, p. 168-171, 181-182.

¹⁶⁹³ Nelson, 1930: MH I, pl. 17; see above, p. 168-171 and figure 104.

¹⁶⁹⁴ CT III, 330-331 (243); Nyord, 2009: p. 134, fn. 910; Faulkner, 1973: p. 190: '*I am the baboon, I am stronger than him and you*'; see above, p. 192.

¹⁶⁹⁵ Evans, 2010: p. 94-95.

¹⁶⁹⁶ E.g. depicted in the tomb of Ibi at Deir el Gebrawi (Davies, 1902: I, p. 24, pl. 19).

¹⁶⁹⁷ E.g. depicted in the tomb of Khnumhotep II (no. 3) at Beni Hassan (Houlihan, 1997: fig. 2).

¹⁶⁹⁸ E.g. CT VI, 195f-g (580); Faulkner, 1977: p. 183; see above, p. 225.

¹⁶⁹⁹ E.g. PT 254: § 286b-d; Faulkner, 1969: p. 64; see above, p. 188.

¹⁷⁰⁰ E.g. Brussels KMG MRAH E.6765; see above, p. 299 and fn. 1412.

¹⁷⁰¹ Harpur & Scremin, 2015: p. 138 [176].

¹⁷⁰² Harpur & Scremin, 2015: p. 76-77 [100-101]).

¹⁷⁰³ Tylor, 1896: pl. 8; see above, p. 299 and fn. 1413.

¹⁷⁰⁴ Sweeney, 2015: p. 805.

¹⁷⁰⁵ Turin, no. 2031 RCGE 46617: Omlin, 1973: Taf. II, XI (x+11), XIV.

together.¹⁷⁰⁶ In these cases, the roles of predatory animals and prey animals are also reversed.¹⁷⁰⁷ Still, in these latter cases, the animals clearly show behaviour that cannot be related to reality. In the case of the monkeys, however, these depictions are partially based on reality, and seem to ‘overstretch’ the actual capacities of real monkeys. It is indeed not likely that monkeys are great musicians or wine-makers, but they do have the capacity to hold instruments and other objects in their hands.

8.2.5 Noise and vocal capacity

The textual sources clearly mention the vocal capacities of monkeys. The idea and expression of knowledge of a divine and secret language that is spoken by baboons, and not accessible to common people, becomes especially apparent and important during the New Kingdom period. These sounds are considered to be a mysterious language that only the gods speak. Monkeys are described as ‘jubelating’, roaring (at sunrise), singing, making ‘joyful sound’¹⁷⁰⁸ and praising Re. Although adoring ‘solar-monkeys’ are already described in the PYRAMID TEXTS¹⁷⁰⁹, their ‘jubilation and noises’ remain rather unspecified and the deceased only wishes to ‘join them’ or hears their words. He does not explicitly express that he ‘knows’ the exact words. Te Velde explains that it is during the New Kingdom, when the Egyptians had to learn the old sacred language for ritual and literary purposes in school, that one finds a specific allusion to the mysterious language of these baboons.¹⁷¹⁰ Thus, the general idea of solar worshipping baboons and a mysterious baboon language developed further, as is specifically seen in the solar hymns.¹⁷¹¹ Also, starting from the New Kingdom onwards, Thoth can manifest himself as the language of the creator god¹⁷¹² and he is described as the one who differentiated the languages, i.e. created foreign languages.¹⁷¹³ As such, Thoth, as a god of amongst others knowledge, writing and language, can be associated with the baboon: the animal that was already seen as the ideal sun worshipper and equipped with this divine and secret language *par excellence*.

¹⁷⁰⁶ London BM EA10016,1:

http://www.britishmuseum.org/collectionimages/AN00434/AN00434736_001_1.jpg (last accessed 24 February 2022).

¹⁷⁰⁷ However, this reversal indirectly emphasises the predatory behaviour of for example cats and lions.

¹⁷⁰⁸ Assmann, 1995: p. 24-25.

¹⁷⁰⁹ E.g. PT 315: § 505a-c; see above, p. 224-225.

¹⁷¹⁰ Te Velde, 1988: p. 133.

¹⁷¹¹ See above, p. 232-233.

¹⁷¹² Volokhine, 2004: p.138.

¹⁷¹³ Te Velde, 1988: p. 135; Černý, 1948: p. 121-122.

The literary texts also refer to the vocal capacities and ‘language’ of monkeys. PAPHOS BOLOGNA 1094 relates about a monkey from Kush that can understand words.¹⁷¹⁴ Of course, baboons do not ‘adore’ the sun or speak a secret language, but they are known to make loud noises at dawn. These ‘dawn choruses’ are in fact indicators of dominance in male baboons.¹⁷¹⁵ The vocal sounds of lions are also mentioned, although these noises are not related to a specific language. The roaring of lions is embedded in contexts where the aggressive behaviour of the animal, and the dominance of the king are emphasised.¹⁷¹⁶ The king is like a lion ‘*heavy of voice, emitting a roar*’¹⁷¹⁷ and ‘*his roaring had gone around the desert land*’.¹⁷¹⁸

8.2.6 Teachability

Various non-indigenous animals, such as the lion, monkey and horse, occur in contexts that emphasise their learning abilities¹⁷¹⁹ and they are considered to be intelligent animals. The horse is indeed a domesticated animal, but the monkey and lion are not. Even though these animals can be trained and tamed to a certain degree, they are certainly not the easiest animals to keep in captivity.¹⁷²⁰

8.2.7 Lactation

In THE CONTENTINGS OF HORUS AND SETH, Hathor restores the eyes of Horus by capturing a gazelle, milking it, and pouring its milk into Horus’ eyes.¹⁷²¹ Although it may not be easy to do so with a wild gazelle, it is possible to milk this animal, and the appliance of milk as a medical treatment is known from other (medical) texts to treat eye-diseases.¹⁷²² Obviously, the extreme regenerative powers of gazelle milk that are described here do not reflect a realistic feature of the gazelle or its milk.¹⁷²³

Additionally, a relief from the temple of Niussere depicts the king as he is being suckled by a lioness goddess, which emphasises his power and strength.¹⁷²⁴

¹⁷¹⁴ pBologna 1094: recto 3,9-3,10: LEM, p. 3-4a; Dils, P. in: TLA; see above, p. 136.

¹⁷¹⁵ Kitchen et al., 2003.

¹⁷¹⁶ The king is ‘*like a lion who seizes, roaring, <tearing> the desert game with its teeth*’ (KRI V: 70,11-12; Kitchen, 2008: p. 54); see above, p. 175.

¹⁷¹⁷ KRI V: 16,9-10; Kitchen, 2008: p. 15; see above, p. 175.

¹⁷¹⁸ KRI V: 13,6-7; Kitchen, 2008: p. 13; see above, p. 175.

¹⁷¹⁹ E.g. pAnastasi III: 4,1-4,2 (LEM, 24-24a; Dils, P. in: TLA); pBologna 1094: recto 3,9-3,10 (LEM, 3-4a; Dils, P. in: TLA); see above, p. 137.

¹⁷²⁰ See above, p. 298-298, 302.

¹⁷²¹ pChester Beatty I: recto 10,7-10.9. LES, p. 51-51a; Popko, L. in: TLA; see above, p. 247.

¹⁷²² E.g. pEbers 368; Deines et al., 1958: IV.1, p. 45; Popko, L. in: SiAE; see above, p. 247; see below, fn. 1818.

¹⁷²³ There is no evidence that (gazelle) milk has any healing benefits (see above, p. 247 and fn. 1143).

¹⁷²⁴ See above, p. 174 and fn. 692.

8. 3 Behaviour

8.3.1 Predation and agonistic behaviour

Closely related to strength is the predatory or agonistic behaviour of certain animals. Especially the animals of prey are depicted and described showing types of behaviour that fall into these categories. These animals are depicted or described as aggressive animals, showing various forms of related behaviour, such as the stalking, attacking, grabbing, clawing, biting and killing of other animals. Usually, such behaviour is part of a defensive or feeding strategy of an animal. The predatory animals that are seen in these contexts are the lion, leopard, cheetah, bear, wild canids, and even fantasy animals. However, other non-indigenous animals also show agonistic behaviour. These are the baboon and the aurochs. In the iconography, the lion, aurochs and baboon can be seen attacking humans. The aurochs is occasionally depicted as a charging and attacking animal, but only towards humans and only in the Pre- and Early Dynastic period.¹⁷²⁵ However, in a scene in the tomb of Djehutyhotep the capturing of aurochs is depicted in a special register, suggested that these animals were more dangerous than other desert game when encountered.¹⁷²⁶ The lion too is depicted as a threat to humans, for example on THE BATTLEFIELD PALETTE, where a lion bites a human enemy.¹⁷²⁷ In the later periods too, a lion can be seen attacking a person, for example on two New Kingdom ostraca.¹⁷²⁸ The first example emphasises the aggressive behaviour of an attacking lion as a potential threat to the king, whereas the second example depicts the aggressive behaviour as a threat to the enemy of Egypt. The baboon too shows aggressive behaviour towards humans, as is for example seen in the Old Kingdom tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep, where a baboon on a leash bites a man in its leg.¹⁷²⁹ Much more often, however, animals show these types of behaviour towards other animals. In the hunting scenes and ‘abbreviated animal rows’¹⁷³⁰ of the Pre- and Early Dynastic period, all the wild predators, including fantasy animals, can be engaged in a controlling function. However, although they are depicted behind or touching their prey with a paw or their head, they do not actually bite or injure their prey. From the Old Kingdom onwards, predatory animals can show more violent behaviour. In a few instances, wild canids are seen attacking and biting

¹⁷²⁵ E.g. depicted on the Bull Palette (Paris Louvre E 11255) and the Narmer Palette (Cairo JE 14716); see above, p. 162, fn. 645 and figures 26 & 100.

¹⁷²⁶ Decker & Herb, 1994: J 79: I, p. 326-327; II, Taf. CLIV.

¹⁷²⁷ London BM EA 20791; see above, p. 163, fn. 649, and figure 101.

¹⁷²⁸ New York MMA 26.7.1453 (see above, 126 & fn. 488) & Cairo JE 63802 (Vandier d’Abbadie, 1936: no. 2226; depiction available at the IFAO website: http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/docs/vues/GS_2013_0073.jpg (last accessed 24 February 2022).

¹⁷²⁹ Harpur & Scremin, 2010: p. 155 [165].

¹⁷³⁰ Hendrickx, 2006: p. 728.

prey animals.¹⁷³¹ The lion too attacks and clearly bites into its prey in various hunting scenes.¹⁷³² Furthermore, on a desert hunt scene on a dagger sheath of Tutankhamun, an ibex is attacked by a lion and a cheetah. Both animals have put their teeth into the flesh of the animal.¹⁷³³ This is one of the rare examples where a cheetah instead of a leopard is seen in a hunting scene. In the Dynastic period, leopards are occasionally part of hunting scenes, with their heads low. These depictions usually show the stalking behaviour of the animal as it approaches its prey.¹⁷³⁴ These types of aggressive behaviour are also emphasised in the textual record, either to demonstrate the chaotic or powerful nature of the animal as such, or to emphasise a trait of a person or god. However, one needs to keep in mind that animal and human aggression can be triggered for different reasons. Animals can show aggressive behaviour as a reaction to fear, danger or it can be part of their feeding behaviour. Human aggression, on the other hand, can additionally be a result of anger or feelings of revenge. Whereas the iconography usually shows the leopard stalking its prey, the textual record describes the animal in a more aggressive and violent way. A person or the king ‘rages’¹⁷³⁵ or becomes ‘angry’¹⁷³⁶ as a leopard, and the king is described as a seizing, clawing, and slaying leopard.¹⁷³⁷ As such, the aggressive behaviour of the leopard is compared to the blind anger of a person. Interestingly, the words ‘*ḥꜣr* – to rage’ and ‘*ḳnd* – to be angry’ never use the leopard determinative, even though these behavioural characteristics are clearly linked to the animal. However, these words can use the baboon as a determinative.¹⁷³⁸ This suggests, that the baboon too is seen as an animal that is linked to aggressive behaviour. Moreover, the leopard only occurs as a metaphor and simile from the New Kingdom onwards. As such, the leopard can be seen as a newcomer among other dangerous, powerful, and aggressive animals that are linked to the same verbs or emotions. This suggests an increasing familiarity with the animal.

Similar behavioural aspects are emphasised for the lion. The lion is described as a savage animal that will ‘swallow’ persons.¹⁷³⁹ Furthermore, the king can be a hidden, clawing, seizing, roaring, tearing, raging, and grim lion, which emphasises his bravery and might.¹⁷⁴⁰ Lion behaviour is

¹⁷³¹ Tomb of Meryteti (Evans, 2010: p. 123, fig. 8-22; Kanawati & Abder-Raziq, 2004: pl. 46).

¹⁷³² E.g. in the tomb of Seshemnefer IV and in the tomb of Mereruka (Evans, 2010: fig. 8-1 & 8-3; Junker, 1953: fig. 63; Kanawati et al., 2010: I, pl. 19).

¹⁷³³ Cairo JE 61584: figure 186; see also Hawass, 2004: p. 65.

¹⁷³⁴ E.g. depicted on a relief from the tomb of Nefermaat (Cairo JE 43809: Hawass, 2010: p. 74-75); see above, p. 123.

¹⁷³⁵ Urk IV: 1290, 7–8; Hsu, 2013: p. 10; see above, p. 177.

¹⁷³⁶ pD’Orbiney: 3,8-3,9: LES, 12-12a; Popko, L. in: TLA; see above, p. 140.

¹⁷³⁷ KRI V: 26,4-7; Kitchen, 2008: p. 23; see above, p. 177.

¹⁷³⁸ From the New Kingdom onwards (*ḥꜣr*: Wb III: p. 244; KRI II: 119,7-10; *ḳnd*: Wb V: p. 56).

¹⁷³⁹ pChesterBeatty II: 2,6-2,7. LES, p. 31-31a; Popko, L. in: TLA; see above, p. 135.

¹⁷⁴⁰ E.g. KRI V: 70,11-12; KRI V: 25,9-10; KRI II: 151,10-1; see above, p. 131, 175.

therefore used to demonstrate the destructive power of the king and to show how dangerous he can be to his enemies. It is interesting to see that many lion deities are female. This could be related to the fact that female lions do most of the hunting in a group. Furthermore, the aggressive behaviour is not always specifically mentioned, but can also be deduced from the fact that the animal is presented as a threat or hostile aspect of a situation. The aggression of the lion is compared to the aggression and power of the king, when it is stated that the king is ‘*Sekhmet to him, who disobeys his command*’.¹⁷⁴¹ Similarly, the danger that lies abroad is emphasised by mentioning the fact that ‘*lions are more numerous than leopards and bears*’.¹⁷⁴² These three animals are all predatory animals that are non-indigenous to Egypt and can show agonistic behaviour towards people.¹⁷⁴³

The aggressive and predatory behaviour of wild canids is also mentioned in the textual record. A particular type of wild canid is described as a fierce, nocturnal animal that attacks livestock.¹⁷⁴⁴ Furthermore, wild canids are described as predatory and infiltrating animals. This is mentioned in THE TEACHING OF AMENEMOPE and PAPYRUS LANSING, where wolves/jackals have eaten the ox of a peasant.¹⁷⁴⁵ The predatory behaviour of (wild) canids is also integrated in the religious texts, for example when Anubis is described as the ‘*accounter of hearts*’.¹⁷⁴⁶ Furthermore, the predatory behaviour of lions, hyenas and ‘all kinds of animals with uplifted tails’ is mentioned in the magical texts: ‘*Close the mouth of lions, hyenas, and all kinds of animals with uplifted tails who feed on meat, who drink blood*’.¹⁷⁴⁷

8.3.2 Group behaviour

The group behaviour of lions is described in THE BLINDING OF TRUTH BY FALSEHOOD. It is said that a lion has several wives, which corresponds to the organisation of the pride of actual lions. Furthermore, this social behaviour could be indirectly linked to the prevalence of female lions in a religious context, especially in the earlier periods. Lionesses hunt in groups and in a more

¹⁷⁴¹ CG 20538: verso 5,13; Kamal, 1940: pl. XXXII-XXXIII; Dils, P. in: TLA; see above, p. 174.

¹⁷⁴² pAnastasi I: KÄT 126,1; Fischer-Elfert, 1992: p. 126; Dils, P. in: TLA; see above, p. 134; lion: *m3i*, leopard: *3by*, bear: *htm.t*.

¹⁷⁴³ It is interesting to see that the combination lion-leopard-bear is also seen in the Old Testament. (Fischer-Elfert, 1986: p. 166, fn. u).

¹⁷⁴⁴ See above, p.133 and fn. 505; Kingdon et al., 2013: V, p. 29: ‘*jackals (...) are considered pests due to predation on livestock and game species*’.

¹⁷⁴⁵ pLansing: recto 6,5-6,6; LEM, p.105-105a; Popko, L. in: TLA; pBM EA 10474: 7,5; Laisney, 2007: p. 333; Dils, P. in: TLA; see above, p. 133.

¹⁷⁴⁶ PT 535: §1286-1287; DuQuesne, 2005: p. 324; Willems, 1998: p. 737; see above, p. 199.

¹⁷⁴⁷ London pBM EA 10042, verso 1,3-1,5; Stegbauer, K. in: TLA; Borghouts, 1978: p. 50, no. 83; see above, p. 145; London pBM EA 10042, verso 1,3-1,5; Stegbauer, K. in: TLA; lion: *m3i*, hyena: *ht.t*.

open landscape, and would be more observable than male lions.¹⁷⁴⁸ Another example of the pack behaviour of lions is found in THE LOYALIST TEACHING, where a lion is described as being lonely and restless.¹⁷⁴⁹ An individual lion is more vulnerable without a pride.

The social hunting behaviour of wild canids is also depicted in the iconography. THE HUNTERS PALETTE shows a parallel between human hunters and African wild dogs. Both humans and African wild dogs hunt in groups.¹⁷⁵⁰

The herding behaviour of aurochs and desert animals in general is also mentioned. The king subdues ‘herds of aurochs’¹⁷⁵¹ and the enemies run away ‘stretched out like a herd of desert animals’.¹⁷⁵² In these cases, the fleeing animals of the desert are compared to fleeing foreign enemies. The fact that these animals live in herds corresponds to the large amount of human enemies. The place that is associated with the death and resurrection of Osiris can be called ‘*ghs.ty*’, which can be translated as the ‘Place of the Gazelle’. Strandberg, however, offers an alternative reading of the location as ‘The Place of the Two Gazelles’.¹⁷⁵³ The occurrence of two gazelles could be based on the behaviour of these animals in nature. Although gazelles live in groups, they tend to live and graze in pairs when the climate is more extreme and less food is available.¹⁷⁵⁴

8.3.3 Digging, caching and den making

Canid species are mentioned because of their speed, but also because of their social hunting, predatory and scavenging behaviour. However, other traits are emphasised as well, especially in a religious context. It has been suggested that the link between the various canid species and ideas of transition and regeneration can be explained by their digging behaviour. These animals store excess food by digging small holes, and make burrows or use abandoned structures for shelter.¹⁷⁵⁵ This use of natural structures as shelter can also be compared to the fleeing behaviour of the human enemy. The cowardly Libyans are compared to wild canids that hide in caves.¹⁷⁵⁶

¹⁷⁴⁸ Kingdon et al., 2013: V, p. 153-154; Lange, 2016: p. 317; see above, p. 217.

¹⁷⁴⁹ pLouvre E 4864: 10,6; Posener, 1976: p. 119; Dils, P. in: TLA; see above, p. 141.

¹⁷⁵⁰ Hendrickx, 2006: p. 740; see above, p. 162-163 and figure 98 & 99.

¹⁷⁵¹ Nelson, 1932: MH II, pl. 17: lines 1-8; KRI V: 112,16; Kitchen, 2008: p. 88; see above, p. 126; aurochs: *sm3*.

¹⁷⁵² Urk IV: 697,13-15; Blumenthal et al., 1984, p. 206; see above, p. 131; desert game: *ḥw.t (n.t) ḥ3s.t*.

¹⁷⁵³ Strandberg, 2009: p. 162-164; see above, p. 246 and fn. 1134.

¹⁷⁵⁴ Strandberg, 2009: p. 24; Kingdon, 2013: VI, p. 343; see above, fn. 1134.

¹⁷⁵⁵ Kingdon et al., 2013: V, p. 32-33, 37-38, 41; Osborn & Helmy, 1980: p. 370, 378; Evans, 2011: p. 112; see above, p. 213-215.

¹⁷⁵⁶ KRI I: 22,4-6; Kitchen, 1993: p. 18; see above, p. 131.

8.3.4 Sitting and ‘sunbathing’

Apart from solar adoration by means of vocal sounds, monkeys and especially baboons are also associated with solar worship because of their characteristic sitting positions. ‘Sunbathing’ at dawn is indeed common behaviour for baboons, and the animals do raise their arms during this activity.¹⁷⁵⁷ Furthermore, several baboons that are described as judges are depicted in a squatting position with their paws on their knees.¹⁷⁵⁸ This position is also characteristic for real baboons, especially when they are on the look-out. They search for high points so that they can oversee their group.¹⁷⁵⁹ This is the exact position in which Thoth as a baboon is so often depicted: calmly presiding over the scribes, or overseeing the scales. He ‘*sits by the balance, his heart is the plummet*’¹⁷⁶⁰ and his ‘*eye encircles the Two Lands*’.¹⁷⁶¹ Although a normal baboon is of course not on the lookout because he wants justice, similarities can be found: both the real baboon and the textual baboon (Thoth) are on the lookout to protect their group from harm.

8.3.5 Nocturnality

Several animals are most active during the night, which is also mentioned in the texts. A section of oDEM 1598, which is possibly part of an unknown narrative,¹⁷⁶² tells about the nocturnal behaviour of the wolf/jackal: ‘*Two jackals are mating at night*’.¹⁷⁶³ PAPHOS ANASTASI IV also relates about the nocturnal hunting behaviour of wild canids: ‘*It goes by night into the stall of bulls*’.¹⁷⁶⁴ Furthermore, the texts that mention the adapted eye sight of nocturnal animals, such as the lion, also refer to the nocturnal behaviour of these animals.¹⁷⁶⁵

¹⁷⁵⁷ Thomas, 1979: p. 92 & pl. 4a-d; Kingdon et al., 2013: II, p. 235.

¹⁷⁵⁸ E.g. depicted on the vignette accompanying BD 126; see above, p. 194-195 and figure 112.

¹⁷⁵⁹ Estes, 1991: p. 514.

¹⁷⁶⁰ pBM EA 10474: 17,22; Laisney, 2007: p. 348; Dils, P. in: TLA; see above, p. 195.

¹⁷⁶¹ pBM EA 10474: 17,9; Laisney, 2007: p. 348; Dils, P. in: TLA, see above, p. 195.

¹⁷⁶² Fischer-Elfert, 1997: p. 162.

¹⁷⁶³ oDeM 1598 I: Fischer-Elfert, 1997: p. 160-161; wild canid/jackal/wolf: *wnš*.

¹⁷⁶⁴ pAnastasi IV: recto 13,3-13,4: 49-49a; Dils, P. in: TLA; see above, p. 133.

¹⁷⁶⁵ See above, p. 362.

8.4. The concrete use of the animals

Apart from various characteristics such as behaviour, habitat, appearance and qualities, the primary and secondary animal products¹⁷⁶⁶ of non-indigenous animals are used because of practical and concrete (economical) reasons. As such, the animals serve as providers of food, offering products, clothing, tools and other objects, medicine, labour, and favourite or pet animals.

8.4.1 Transportation

The horse is primarily used as a means of transportation in battle. A chariot was usually drawn by a pair of horses. However, the horse and chariot are never mentioned purely because of their function as a means of transportation, but rather as a *fast* means of transportation, an extension of the power of the king, or to exemplify someone's wealth or inexperience.

8.4.2 Favourite and pet animals

The iconography often depicts monkeys and in a context where they could be interpreted as pet animals (figures 157, 158 & 160). Much rarer are the instances where the lion, leopard, gazelle and ibex can be interpreted as a pet animal.¹⁷⁶⁷ Baboons have been found in a few New Kingdom tombs and gazelles were buried with humans as well.¹⁷⁶⁸ However, these favourite animals were not only included because of entertainment purposes. Much more, they functioned as prestigious pets, emphasising and demonstrating the wealth and status of the owner and dominance over these animals.

8.4.3 Food

Various desert animals are considered edible, such as the oryx, gazelle, ibex, deer, addax, hartebeest and aurochs. These animals are depicted among the more common livestock, such as domestic cattle. Although the majority of the food refuse found at settlement areas usually consists of domestic animals, some bone material of desert animals is usually present as well. Aurochs, hartebeest and gazelle bones dated to the Dynastic period have been found at various sites, indicating that these animals were used for consumption or worked into tools.¹⁷⁶⁹ At Tell

¹⁷⁶⁶ Primary use: the animal needs to be killed (e.g. meat, bone, skin). Secondary use: the animal is still alive (e.g. wool, milk, labour).

¹⁷⁶⁷ See above, p. 297-303.

¹⁷⁶⁸ Strandberg, 2009: p. 31; Ikram, 2004: p. 18; Winlock, 1924: p. 30; see above, p. 277 and fn. 1285, p. 316 and fn. 1474.

¹⁷⁶⁹ Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 66-67, Tab. 5.

el-Dab‘a, the gazelle, hartebeest¹⁷⁷⁰ and hare were certainly eaten, since their remains are ‘*ebenso zerschlagen wie die Knochen von Wirtschaftstieren im engere Sinn*’.¹⁷⁷¹ Furthermore, it is suggested that at Qantir/Piramesse, deer were kept in captivity and probably eaten.¹⁷⁷² The consumption of deer meat and desert game is mentioned in the stories of SINUHE¹⁷⁷³ and WENAMUN.¹⁷⁷⁴ In these instances, the meat of the animals are luxury products. The consumption of desert animals is also mentioned in the DOOMED PRINCE: ‘*Then he went northwards into the desert, following his wish, while he lived from all kinds of desert animals*’.¹⁷⁷⁵ THE TALE OF TWO BROTHERS mentions the hunting of desert animals: ‘*Now, many days later, his younger brother was in the Valley of the Pines, where he spend the day hunting desert game*’.¹⁷⁷⁶ In these instances, the hunting and consumption of the desert game should be seen as a survival-method. The main characters have travelled to the desert region (as a place of refuge) and are dependent on the products of this region.¹⁷⁷⁷ PAPYRUS LEIDEN 348 mentions the keeping of desert animals in a domestic setting: ‘*Give fodder to the oryxes and the gazelles!*’¹⁷⁷⁸ It is important that the livestock, which apparently does not only consists of cattle¹⁷⁷⁹ but also of oryxes and gazelles, is taken care of by giving them food. From this specific text it does not become clear for what purpose these animals were used, but it is likely that they were used for their milk and meat,¹⁷⁸⁰ either for personal consumption or as offering products.¹⁷⁸¹

8.4.4 Offering products

Additionally, many of these edible desert animals were used as, or were at least desired, offerings in the funerary and temple ritual, especially during the Old, but also the Middle Kingdom period. The gazelle, oryx, addax,¹⁷⁸² ibex, hyena, Barbary sheep, deer, and

¹⁷⁷⁰ Interestingly, gazelle and hartebeest remains have also been found at nearby Qantir/Piramesse, but these remains exclusively belong to horn fragments (Von den Driesch, 2006: p. 311).

¹⁷⁷¹ Boessneck & Von den Driesch, 1992: p. 10.

¹⁷⁷² Von den Driesch, 2006: p. 312.

¹⁷⁷³ pBerlin 3022: 87-89: MES, p. 23-24a; Allen, 2015: p. 93; Feder, F. in: TLA; see above, p. 283.

¹⁷⁷⁴ pMoscow 120: recto 2,68: LES, p. 74-74a; Popko, L. in: TLA; see above, p. 283.

¹⁷⁷⁵ pHarris 500: verso 5,2-5,3: LES, p. 3-3a; Popko, L. in: TLA; desert game: ʿw.t (n.t) ḥʒs.t.

¹⁷⁷⁶ pD’Orbiney: 8,8-8,9: LES, p. 18-18a; Popko, L. in: TLA; ʿw.t (n.t) ḥʒs.t.

¹⁷⁷⁷ See also above, p. 353; however, the example from the *Tale of Two Brothers* is interpreted by Hollis (1992: p. 131-133) as a reference to kingship. She claims that the hunting and thus overpowering of wild game demonstrates that he has the skills to be a good king.

¹⁷⁷⁸ pLeiden 348: verso 9,5: LEM, p. 136-136a; Stegbauer, K. in: TLA; oryx: mʒ-ḥd, gazelle: ḡhs.

¹⁷⁷⁹ pLeiden 348: verso 9,5-9,6. LEM, p. 136-136a; Stegbauer, K. in: TLA.

¹⁷⁸⁰ Ikram, 1995: p. 21.

¹⁷⁸¹ Although depictions of gazelle and oryx in captivity are abundant, actual archaeological remains show a different picture: the gazelle is indeed rather frequently seen at settlement sites, but remains of the oryx are extremely rare (Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 65-68); see above, p. 277-278, 282-283.

¹⁷⁸² The addax disappears from the record after the Old Kingdom period; see above, p. 269 and fn. 1253.

hartebeest¹⁷⁸³ are all found in an offering context (table 5 & figure 145, 147-148). In the New Kingdom period, the variety of desert game among the offering animals decreases, but the ibex, gazelle and oryx are still occasionally found. Even though the animal numbers and quantities in the iconography and textual record seem to be exaggerated, remains of some of these desert animals have been found in a funerary or ritual setting. The gazelle has been found in graves and as foundation offerings, and hartebeest has been found in a funerary and offering context.¹⁷⁸⁴

8.4.5 Tools, weapons, clothing, and other objects

These animals were not only valued for their meat or their milk, but also for various other animal parts and products, such as their bones and skins. These animal parts could be worked into tools, clothing, and other objects. One of the deer bones found at Tell el-Dab‘a shows traces of reworking, indicating that it was probably used as a tool.¹⁷⁸⁵ Several worked deer bones are also found at the chariot workshop area in Piramesse/Qantir.¹⁷⁸⁶ The remains of other non-indigenous animals found at Piramesse/Qantir, namely the lion, giraffe, hyena, roan antelope, oryx, ibex, addax and elephant were also located at the chariot workshop area, and are thought to be the remnants of imported skins (with attached feet and heads) and horns. However, these animals had to be imported from the Western Desert, Eastern Desert, as well as northern regions (such as the Levant) and southern regions (such as Nubia),¹⁷⁸⁷ indicating the prestigious character of these animals. As such, it is tempting to interpret these remains as hunting trophies ‘*Doch ihr äußerst schlechter und bruchstückhafter Erhaltungszustand lässt doch eher an die Verarbeitung ihrer Hornscheiden, beispielsweise zu Bögen oder Messergriffen denken, bei deren Abtrennung von den Zapfen mittels Wässern diese stark in Mitleidenschaft gezogen wurden*’.¹⁷⁸⁸ Indeed, the material belonging to the roan antelope, oryx, addax, hartebeest, gazelle and ibex exclusively consists of horn material.¹⁷⁸⁹ The remains of the other non-indigenous animals, such as the hyena, lion, giraffe and elephant are thought to belong to imported skins of these animals. In the case of the elephant remains, a fragment of tusk has also been found. All of these materials were likely used for the production and decoration of the

¹⁷⁸³ The hartebeest, barbary sheep and deer are only seen in the offering rows of the Old Kingdom period; see above, p. 269-271, fn. 1256 and table 5.

¹⁷⁸⁴ Boessneck & Von den Driesch, 1992: p. 76-77: Tab. 12; Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 66-67, Tab. 5.

¹⁷⁸⁵ Boessneck & Von den Driesch, 1992: p. 34.

¹⁷⁸⁶ Kitagawa, 2008: p. 215-216.

¹⁷⁸⁷ Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 69.

¹⁷⁸⁸ Von den Driesch, 2006: p. 309.

¹⁷⁸⁹ Ibid.

royal chariots, the harnesses of the horses, and associated weaponry.¹⁷⁹⁰ The iconography also indicates that the horns of non-indigenous animals were present in workshop areas.¹⁷⁹¹ In this respect, Wachsmann has argued that ibex horns were imported from the north for the preparation of composite bows.¹⁷⁹²

Non-indigenous animal products were part of the trade goods brought to Egypt by merchants, peasants, and hunters. THE TALE OF THE ELOQUENT PEASANT relates about a peasant who travels from the Wadi Natrun to Egypt, in order to sell various products that were found in his home region, but not in the Nile Valley. Among these products are leopard skins and wolf or jackal hides.¹⁷⁹³

Animal hides and skins in general were used for various economic purposes, such as clothing, bags, quivers, ropes, furniture, and chariot parts.¹⁷⁹⁴ It can be suggested that the wolf or jackal hides were used for such practises. The skins of the leopard and cheetah, however, were not used in a daily life setting, but needed in a ritual context. These skins are regularly depicted in the iconography and occasionally mentioned as trade and tribute products. Furthermore, they occur in the Old Kingdom offering lists and the PYRAMID TEXTS.¹⁷⁹⁵ In all instances, these skins should be regarded as special and difficult to obtain items.¹⁷⁹⁶ The tails and skins of giraffes are occasionally mentioned and depicted as tribute products.¹⁷⁹⁷ It is not mentioned what the tails were used for, but bracelets made of giraffe-hair have been found at Kerma.¹⁷⁹⁸

¹⁷⁹⁰ Idem: p. 310.

¹⁷⁹¹ E.g. depicted in the tomb of Piuemre (TT 39: Davies, 1922: pl. XXIII-XXIV) and Mencheperresonb (TT 86: Davies & Davies, 1933: pl. V, XI-XII); Wachsmann, 1987: p. 23, pl. IX & XXXVIII.

¹⁷⁹² Wachsmann, 1987: p. 91-92.

¹⁷⁹³ pRamesseum A: R 1,7-3,1: Parkinson, 1991: p. 1-3a; Dils, P. in: TLA; see above, p. 307 and fn. 1446.

¹⁷⁹⁴ Lucas & Harris, 1989: p. 36.

¹⁷⁹⁵ Rummel, 2007; McDonald, 2002; Altenmüller, 2008; Hallmann, 2006; Gordon, 1984.

¹⁷⁹⁶ Which is also indicated by the presence of fake skins; see above, figure 184-185 & fn. 1655.

¹⁷⁹⁷ Tails are depicted in the tomb of Amunedjeh (TT 84: Davies, 1942: pl. V) and mentioned in the *Shipwrecked Sailor* (pPetersburg 1115: 162-165: MES, p. 46-47a; Allen, 2015: p. 44-45; Dils, P. & H. Felber in TLA); giraffe skins and tails are mentioned as tribute products from Kush in the Abydos Decree of Seti at Nauri (KRI I: 56,14-15; Hafemann, I. in: TLA).

¹⁷⁹⁸ Dated to the New Kingdom period. Boston, MFA 20.1788 & 20.1777. Picture available at: <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/two-bracelets-142906> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

8.4.6 Medicinal uses

Products of non-indigenous animals also occasionally show up in the medical texts. The fat, dung, and horns (or antlers) of these animals are seen in this context. Products of gazelle, ibex, deer, hartebeest, lion and leopard are used as ingredients for medical preparations. Interestingly, the fat of the ibex occurs relatively frequently.¹⁷⁹⁹ The fat of the animal is used for external applications, such as ointments to ‘cool down’ various body parts, to treat burns and other wounds, and to supple vessels and body parts.¹⁸⁰⁰ Similarly, gazelle and hartebeest fat is occasionally used to create ointments.¹⁸⁰¹ The fat of many different animals, amongst others the lion, is used to produce ointment against stiffness and to correct curvature: ‘*fat of the ... animal 1; hippopotamus fat 1; lion fat 1; donkey fat 1; crocodile fat 1; mouse fat 1; lizard fat 1; fat of the prtrsw-animal 1; snake fat 1*’.¹⁸⁰² Likewise, the fat of various animals is combined to create an ointment to stimulate hair growth of a bald person: ‘*Another [remedy] to make the hair of a bald person grow: grim lion fat 1, hippopotamus fat 1, crocodile fat 1, cat fat 1, snake fat 1, ibex fat 1, make it a uniform substance, anoint the head of a bald person with it*’.¹⁸⁰³

Gazelle horn is found in a recipe aimed to prevent hair from turning grey.¹⁸⁰⁴ Furthermore, crushed deer antlers are used against mucus in every body part¹⁸⁰⁵ and as an ingredient of a cooling aid when the head is ill.¹⁸⁰⁶ Deer antlers can also be part of a fumigant to eliminate a demon in the body of a man.¹⁸⁰⁷ The *k3y.t* of a gazelle is part of a cure against a blurry eye.¹⁸⁰⁸ Burned gazelle dung is also used as a repellent against vermin and smeared on walls.¹⁸⁰⁹ Furthermore, gazelle dung as well as excrements of other animals are used as a fumigant against demons: ‘*The beginning of that, what is being made [as] fumigant, that are collected here: s3-*

¹⁷⁹⁹ Wassell, 1991: I, p. 23; II: p. 72, footnote 77; According to T. Pommerening (personal correspondence, 2017) the ibex occurs 29 times, the gazelle 7 times, and the hartebeest 1 time in the medical texts (based on a database covering some 2000 medical prescriptions).

¹⁸⁰⁰ Stolberg-Stolberg, 2004: p. 211.

¹⁸⁰¹ Hartebeest – *šš3.w*: pEbers 142: 31,15-16 (Deines et al., 1958: IV.1, p. 142; Ghalioungui, 1987: p. 45; Popko. L. in: SiAE); gazelle - *ghs*: pHearst 146: 10,6-7 (Deines et al., 1958: IV.1, p. 300).

¹⁸⁰² pRamesseum V no. III (London BM EA 10758); Deines et al., 1958: IV.1, p. 28; Sperveslage, G. in: SiAE; lion fat: *mrh.t m3i*.

¹⁸⁰³ pEbers 465: 66,9-66,12; Deines et al., 1958: IV.1, p. 298; Ghalioungui, 1987: p. 130; Popko. L. in: SiAE. grim lion fat: *mrh.t m3i h33*, ibex fat: *mhr.t nr3w*.

¹⁸⁰⁴ pEbers 458: 65,18-19; Deines et al., 1958: IV.1, p. 297; Ghalioungui, 1987: p. 128; Popko. L. in: SiAE; ‘*b n ghs*’.

¹⁸⁰⁵ pBerlin 3038, no 139: 11,11-12; Deines et al., 1958: IV.1, p. 159; Brose, M. in: SiAE; deer antler: ‘*b n hnn*’.

¹⁸⁰⁶ pEbers 259: 48,14-17; Deines et al., 1958: IV.1, p. 35; Ghalioungui, 1987: p. 86; Popko. L. in: SiAE.

¹⁸⁰⁷ pBerlin 3038, no 69: 6,9-10; Deines et al., 1958: IV.1, p. 261; Brose, M. in: SiAE.

¹⁸⁰⁸ pEbers 339: 56,11-15; Deines et al., 1958: IV.1, p. 46; Ghalioungui, 1987: p. 103; Popko. L. in: SiAE. The word *k3y.t* can probably be translated as ‘dung’, even though the normal word for dung used in the medical texts is ‘*hs*’ (Popko. L. in: SiAE, fn. 2).

¹⁸⁰⁹ pEbers 849: 98,6-9; Deines et al., 1958: IV.1, p. 306; Ghalioungui, 1987: p. 215.

wr mineral, inr-spdw-mineral, lion dung, leopard [dung], ibex dung, gazelle dung, ostrich dung; the man will be censed with it'.¹⁸¹⁰

A few aspects stand out. Although products of the ibex, gazelle, hartebeest and deer occur as ingredients, the oryx is not mentioned at all. Furthermore, the (fat of an) ibex occurs relatively frequently, even though this animal should be considered rare. Also, not animal fat, but only the antlers of deer, and leopard dung are found in the texts. The products of non-indigenous animals were certainly more difficult to obtain than the products of indigenous domestic animals, but definitely not impossible. Animal dung, for example, can be found and collected in nature, without actively hunting, killing, or even encountering the animal. Similarly, animal fat, horns, and antlers could be imported from abroad. It is not specifically mentioned why the products of specific non-indigenous animals are used, but it can be suggested that in a medical context too, they serve as enhancers. The fat, dung and horns of domestic and indigenous animals were more readily available, but products that are more expensive, more special and more difficult to obtain might be considered more effective than ordinary products. Furthermore, the above-mentioned examples have demonstrated that in some cases an emphasis lies on diversity. Not the fat or dung of one animal, but of various different species are found in one and the same recipe.

Alternatively, it can be suggested that the choice of particular animals is related to specific animal characteristics: *'interessant ist aber wieder die Auswahl der Tiere – Ginge es nur um die Salbengrundlage, hätte man ein beliebiges Fett oder Öl nehmen können*'.¹⁸¹¹ Leitz and Pommerening argue that the recipes related to flexibility also use products of fast and agile animals:¹⁸¹² *'(...) beispielsweise wurden Fette sehr wendiger Tiere wie des Welses, des Krokodils und des Löwen gegen Steifheit appliziert (...)*'.¹⁸¹³ Furthermore, the principles of *similia similibus* and *contraria contrariis* are combined in the cure for baldness mentioned above (PAPYRUS EBERS 465): *'Anscheinend verließ man sich bei diesem schwierigem Problem nicht auf ein einziges Prinzip, sondern versuchte es gleichzeitig mit zwei entgegengesetzten Verfahren. Für das Prinzip similia similibus stehen der Löwe, der Katze und der Steinbock, für das Gegenteil – contraria contrariis – stehen die drei Haarlosen Tiere Nilpferd, Krokodil und Schlange*'.¹⁸¹⁴ Similarly, many of the ingredients listed in the recipes that aim to prevent greying

¹⁸¹⁰ pBerlin 3038, no. 68: 6,8-6,9; Deines et al., 1958: IV.1, p. 261; Brose, M. in: SiAE; lion dung: *ḥs m3i*, leopard: *3by*, ibex dung: *ḥs nr3w*, gazelle dung: *ḥs ḡhs*.

¹⁸¹¹ Leitz, 2005: p. 59.

¹⁸¹² Leitz, 2005: p. 59; Pommerening, 2006: p. 107.

¹⁸¹³ Pommerening, 2006: p. 107; additional examples are mentioned in Pommerening, 2017: p. 521-523 & fig 2.

¹⁸¹⁴ Leitz, 2005: p. 58.

are dark or linked to dark colours.¹⁸¹⁵ PAPHYRUS EBERS 458 mentions the gazelle horn as one of the ingredients.¹⁸¹⁶ The horns of this animal are indeed also black or dark coloured.¹⁸¹⁷ A link between the usage of gazelle-*k3y.t* and an eye-disease can be explained by the function of the gazelle as a healer of the Eye of Horus.¹⁸¹⁸ Indeed, ‘*these drugs were embedded in complex mythic narratives (...) reinforcing their power*’.¹⁸¹⁹ The animals mentioned in PAPHYRUS BERLIN 3038¹⁸²⁰ are all wild and non-indigenous. In this case, it is likely that the choice of animals is related to their foreign habitat.¹⁸²¹ As such, these animals represent either the chaos that needs to be averted, or powerful and protective animals (or entities) that can fight the chaotic demon.¹⁸²²

¹⁸¹⁵ Idem: p. 56: the blood of a black calf (pEbers 451) or the blood of the horn of a black cow (pEbers 454).

¹⁸¹⁶ See above, p. 378 and fn. 1804

¹⁸¹⁷ Antagonism: black / not black (Pommerening, 2017: p. 523). The process-orientated approach that Pommerening uses has highlighted the importance of the active ingredient, for example by zooming in on the *snwḥ*-process: the active ingredient (i.e. the gazelle horn) had a major property that was thought to be amplified and accumulated by an incinerating process. As such, the accumulated major property of the raw material replaced the missing physical attributes (idem, p. 523).

¹⁸¹⁸ Mentioned in *The Contendings of Horus and Seth* (pChester Beatty I: recto 10,7-10.9; LES, p. 51-51a; Popko, L. in: TLA); see above, p. 247.

¹⁸¹⁹ Pommerening, 2017: p. 524; similar mythical analogies are found in pEbers 368, where a product is washed in ‘the milk of a woman who has given birth to a boy’, which clearly refers to Horus and Isis (Idem, p. 523 & Pommerening, 2015), and pEbers 63, where the process *hbḳ* has an additional metaphoric meaning and is associated to the of destruction of the Eye of Horus: ‘*the drugs have to be split in the same way as the cause of the disease, or suffering, is to be ‘killed’ or expelled*’ (Pommerening, 2017: p. 525).

¹⁸²⁰ See above, p. 379 and fn. 1810.

¹⁸²¹ The importance of not only the ingredient as such, but also the origin or location of the ingredient has been pointed out by Pommerening with a focus on plants and current anthropological examples: ‘*Ferner spielt der Standort der Stammpflanze, von der die Droge gewonnen wurde, eine entscheidende Rolle; so sind manche Pflanzen einer aus unserer Sicht naturwissenschaftliche definierten Spezies mit ihren daran wachsenden Früchten heilig, weil sie im Zentrum des Dorfes wachsen, oder wirksamer, weil sie auf einem Termitenhügel gedeihen*’ (Pommerening, 2016: p. 92).

¹⁸²² Pommerening, 2017: p. 526: ‘*By simply applying images of the symptoms or their causes or missing properties, symptoms of their causes were forced to leave the body or missing properties were substituted (...) It was the central part of the treatment, connecting the ingredients – imitating symptoms and counterparts- and patients, in order to reenact a fight and the destruction of enemies*’.

9. INDIVIDUAL CONTEXTS, SETTINGS AND ANIMALS

The former chapters have demonstrated that non-indigenous animals are related to various different concepts and are often seen in specific settings and contexts. These animals most frequently occur in a hunting setting; in various kinds of animal rows and lists; in a religious context; and they are used in figurative expressions and figurative iconography. However, not all non-indigenous animals are suited for each of these contexts. Differences can be observed between the inclusion, function, and occurrence of individual animals in specific situations. These differences, including diachronic changes, will be discussed below.

9.1 Non-indigenous animals and the desert hunt

Generally speaking, the totality of desert animals can be used to emphasise the desert location of a setting, usually evident in desert hunting scenes. The larger prey animals, such as gazelles, hartebeests and oryxes, are depicted most frequently. Additionally, predatory animals such as lions, wild canids and leopards, small animals such as hedgehogs and hares, and even fantasy animals are seen as well. These scenes occur in all of the discussed periods, but differences in lay-out and meaning can be observed.

Hunting is a pre-dominant topic in Predynastic art and is often seen on the C-Ware pottery. The emphasis clearly lies on the theme of ‘order over chaos’. The most commonly depicted type of hunt is the Nilotic hunt and the focus lies on dangerous animals, such as the hippopotamus and the crocodile. However, the desert hunt is depicted as well. Contrary to the portrayals of the Nilotic hunt, the focus of these scenes lies on the prey animals, such as the Barbary sheep, aurochs, gazelle, oryx, ibex, and hartebeest. The Barbary sheep and the aurochs appear to be the most frequently depicted of these animals. The main emphasis lies on controlling, and not the killing of these animals. Predatory animals, such as the lion or leopard, are not seen. Contrary to the Nilotic animals, these animals are not considered chaotic because they are dangerous and aggressive. Rather, they represent the chaos that is found in their environment. Apart from being an element of chaos, the aurochs can be used as an element of order as well, and the animal is used as a metaphor for the human leader. A connection between the hunt, wild animals, and (foreign) human enemies is clearly evident for this period: *‘the combination of military domination and hunting is of essential importance for the interpretation of all Predynastic animal representations’*.¹⁸²³

¹⁸²³ Hendrickx 2013: p. 246.

The desert hunt is also seen on the later palettes. However, contrary to the C-Ware pottery, the focus clearly lies on this type of hunt, and not on the Nilotic hunt. This indicates that not only the act of hunting and control over wild animals as such, but also the desert location of the hunt and the otherness of the setting are of importance. Although the reason for this shift in focus remains unclear, it could be viewed in light of the complex and gradual process of state formation and territorial unification.¹⁸²⁴ The emphasis on the desert region and desert animals above all demonstrates the growing idea of the desert region as the home of chaos.¹⁸²⁵ As the Nile Valley became increasingly conquered, the chaos was now primarily found outside of the Nilotic region. A bigger emphasis is thus put on the idea that chaos is found in foreign regions and animals, rather than only wild and dangerous animals and regions. It is this sense of otherness, present in the animals as well as their habitat, that clearly emphasises the dichotomy between Egypt and the other, and between order and chaos. Here too, the hunt is linked to military victory. However, not only prey animals, but also predators and fantasy animals are seen. Apart from the ambivalent aurochs, the prey animals are all elements of chaos, but the predators and fantasy animals can be elements of chaos, but also of order. On THE HUNTERS PALETTE, lions have been struck by arrows, which emphasises the violent character of the scene (figure 98). However, the lion can also be a metaphor for the king and the same is true for the aurochs (figure 26, 100-101).¹⁸²⁶ Additionally, the African wild dog can be used as a metaphor for human hunters.¹⁸²⁷ This not only demonstrates the ambivalent nature of these animals, but also of the desert region. Otherness puts an emphasis on the chaotic character of the animals and environment, but simultaneously made them awe-inspiring, special and exquisite.

In the Dynastic period, the desert hunt is still a beloved theme, and these scenes occur frequently in tombs, temples, and palaces. However, the theme occurs less often and seems to be a purely optional choice: *‘Possibly, the conceptual importance of hunting results during the Old Kingdom in a funerary meaning, derived from royal prototypes. But for Predynastic times, hunting should be considered one of the most important, if not the most important, iconographic elements outside the funerary atmosphere’*.¹⁸²⁸ Here too, the theme of order over chaos plays a

¹⁸²⁴ See Raffaele (2010: p. 252-253) for an alternative explanation: in most cases, the knife handles are made of hippopotamus tusks. As such, it can be argued that the chaotic hippopotamus is still represented, but not as a depiction. Hendrickx & Eyckerman (2012: p. 54-55) argue that the use of hippopotamus ivory adds to the apotropaic function of these objects.

¹⁸²⁵ Kinsman, 2016: p. 19, fn. 65.

¹⁸²⁶ Evident on the Battlefield Palette (London BM EA 20791) and the Bull Palette (Paris Louvre E 11255); see above p. 163 and fn. 645, p. 163 and fn. 649.

¹⁸²⁷ Evident on the Hunters Palette (London BM EA 20790 & 20792) and the Hierakonpolis Palette (Oxford E.3924); see above, p. 162-163 and figure 98-99.

¹⁸²⁸ Hendrickx, 2013: p. 256.

role, but apart from a few New Kingdom examples, no clear link is seen between the desert hunt and military activity. No animals are used as metaphors for human hunters or the king, but they can occasionally represent the human enemy. The African wild dog has in fact completely disappeared from the record after the Predynastic period.¹⁸²⁹ The emphasis lies much more on hunting wild animals as an economical pursuit and recreational activity.¹⁸³⁰ Both functions clearly aim to demonstrate not only the power, but also the prosperity and status of a tomb owner or king. As such, the desert region is much more a place of potential, instead of a place of chaos. Also, fantasy animals are very rare¹⁸³¹ and should no longer be interpreted as elements of order or chaos. Rather, they occur as part of an encyclopaedia showing the animals that are thought to live in the deserts. Here too, the focus lies on the (edible) prey animals, such as the gazelle, ibex, oryx, aurochs, Barbary sheep, hartebeest, deer and addax. However, whereas the aurochs and Barbary sheep occurred relatively often on the C-Ware pottery, they are rarely depicted during the Old to New Kingdom period. The focus seems to have shifted to the gazelle, ibex and oryx. These animals are also the most frequently depicted and described animals in an offering context, and seem to be the most suitable representatives for the desert region. Although the slaughtering of desert animals, and especially the oryx, is certainly a ritual act of the destruction of chaos and evil in the Late Period,¹⁸³² this idea is not prominently visible during the Old to New Kingdom periods. Much more, the slaughtering of these animals aimed to provide the deceased with food and power in the afterlife. Thus, even though the desert hunt and the desert animals are clearly linked to chaos in the Predynastic and Late Period, the meaning of these scenes and animals is much more ambivalent during the Old Kingdom to New Kingdom period, switching between and combining ideas of chaos and fascination.

Predatory animals, such as wild canids, lions, and leopards are occasionally part of the Dynastic hunting scenes and these animals are usually depicted as hunters (but not as controllers) themselves. In the New Kingdom, the lion can also be hunted, but only by the king. Also, in the New Kingdom period, a bigger emphasis lies on the recreational instead of the providing aspect of the hunt. Most of the Old Kingdom hunting scenes do not show the tomb owner as a hunter himself, but rather as an overseer. The New Kingdom scenes are more violent and focus on the tomb owner as a hunter: the animals are often hunted and killed with bow and arrow, rather than being caught alive. The giraffe and elephant are occasionally seen in the Predynastic

¹⁸²⁹ Hendrickx, 2013: p. 252.

¹⁸³⁰ See above p. 258-283.

¹⁸³¹ These creatures are only seen in a few Middle Kingdom tombs from Middle Egypt (Baqet III, Khnumhotep II, and Khety at Beni Hassan); see above, p. 262, fn. 1219 and figure 140.

¹⁸³² Derchain, 1962.

hunting scenes.¹⁸³³ In the Dynastic period, the giraffe is sporadically part of a foreign landscape, but the animal is not being hunted.¹⁸³⁴ The elephant on the other hand, is completely absent from the Dynastic scenes that show a desert hunt or foreign landscape. Already in the Predynastic period, both animals were most likely only found in more southern regions. However, even though the elephant is not depicted in hunting scenes, the hunt on this animal is mentioned in the textual record. In the New Kingdom period, the king boasts about hunting elephants and a rhinoceros as part of his activities outside of Egypt. These royal hunts put an additional emphasis on the most powerful and exclusive animals, and are linked to the military activity of the king abroad.

Between the Old to New Kingdom period, some changes in depicted animal species are also observed. The addax is often included in the hunting scenes of the Old Kingdom, but disappears after this period. Realistic depictions of the cheetah are only seen in the New Kingdom period.¹⁸³⁵ This could be related to a decreasing familiarity with the addax and an increasing familiarity with the cheetah in the New Kingdom period.

Other animals are completely absent from the hunting scenes. Even though monkeys are non-indigenous to Egypt, they are never part of hunting scenes or texts. These animals had to be imported from regions located further to the south, but these regions looked more like the Egyptian Nile Valley than the desert or semi-desert regions. This also means, that monkeys are animals that were not encountered during hunting parties into the desert (table 7).

¹⁸³³ An elephant is depicted on bowl London BM EA 49025 (see above, p. 110-112 and figure 74) and a giraffe is depicted on the Hierakonpolis Palette (Oxford E.3924: figure 78).

¹⁸³⁴ Cannuyer, 2010: p. 142-146, fig. 69-73; p. 153, fig. 79-80; Ikram, 2003: p. 145.

¹⁸³⁵ E.g. Cairo JE 61584 (figure 186); Naville, 1898: III, pl. LXXX; Davies, 1943: II, pl. XVII.

Non-indigenous animals and desert hunting scenes			
Animal	Predynastic C-Ware	Late Predynastic Palettes	Dynastic desert hunt
Gazelle			
Ibex			
Oryx			
Hartebeest			
Barbary sheep			
Aurochs			
Addax			
Wild donkey			
Deer			
Ostrich			
Wild canid			
Lion			
Leopard			
Fantasy animals			Only landscape & Beni Hassan
Giraffe	Only landscape		
Elephant			Only text
African wild dog			
Hyena			
Cheetah			
Rhinoceros			Only text
Horse			
Green monkey			
Baboon			
Bear			

Table 7. The occurrence of non-indigenous animals in various different types of desert hunting scenes:

= present,
 = not present,
 = semi-present.

9.2 Non-indigenous animals and ‘animal rows’

Four ‘types’ of animal rows have been discussed in the previous chapters. The animal rows on the D-Ware pottery, the animal rows on the Pre- and Early Dynastic ivories, the (Old Kingdom) offering rows, and the (New Kingdom) tribute rows. Similarities as well as differences can be observed between these rows.

It has been mentioned that the early animal rows (found on the D-Ware pottery and the ivories) can be interpreted as a result of the hunt. Indeed, *‘the two types of representation can be considered as consecutive stages, the first one being the active domination through hunting and the second one the submissive animals as orderly rows’*.¹⁸³⁶ A similar idea can be suggested for the desert animals that are part of the offering scenes of the Old Kingdom and later periods. However, apart from this resemblance, differences in conceptual meaning can be observed.

The animal rows depicted on the D-Ware pottery can be interpreted as a representation of the ‘order over chaos’ theme, in this case heavily linked to religious (as opposed to military) power. The focus lies on the submission of several desert animals: indigenous animals are not seen. The most commonly depicted animals are the addax, ibex and ostrich. These animals seem to be representatives of the desert region, which is closely linked to the afterworld. Because of this association, the animals had to be non-indigenous, and they symbolised *‘all of the chaotic life to be brought under control by the ritual slaughter at sites such as HK29A at Hierakonpolis’*.¹⁸³⁷ However, the animal remains found at HK29A suggests that the animals were also used for consumption, and some scenes found on D-Ware pottery depict the addax and ibex as ‘givers of life’. As such, the animals could additionally function as nourishment for the deceased or as exquisite food for the elite.

The animal rows on the ivories of the Pre- and Early Dynastic period also exclusively depict non-indigenous wild animals. However, much more animal species are seen compared to the D-Ware pottery, including predatory and fantasy animals. A major focus lies on the fact that these animals have been overpowered: they are walking in orderly rows, and controlling animals and elements are seen at the end of the animal rows. Furthermore, just as has been observed for the hunting scenes of the C-Ware and palettes, a link can be made between the domination of these animals and military victory. Also, the elite hunters did not only conquer chaos and the wild, but they also conquered and experienced the unknown: the animals have to be non-indigenous, in order to maximise the political power of the elite.

¹⁸³⁶ Hendrickx & Förster, 2010: p. 836-837.

¹⁸³⁷ Graff et al., 2011: p. 461.

The wild animals that are part of the Dynastic offering rows can also be interpreted as the result of a desert hunt. However, predatory animals and fantasy animals are not included. The focus does not clearly lie on chaotic aspects and the domination of the unknown. Rather, these animals primarily served as luxurious offering provisions for the deceased or gods. All of the animals are edible, and not only non-indigenous animals are included, but also other valuable indigenous animals, such as (fatted) cattle. Just as is the case for the animal rows on the ivories, variety and quantity are also of importance. However, rather than representing the 'totality of the unknown', the large number of animals and the variety in exquisite and valuable meat foremost emphasises the prosperity of the deceased or owner. For these rows too, it can be suggested that the most frequently depicted animals are representatives of the desert region. The D-Ware pottery shows the addax, ibex and ostrich as these representatives. In the Dynastic Period, however, the gazelle, oryx and ibex are the animals that are most commonly seen. After the Old Kingdom period, the number of non-indigenous animals in offering contexts decreases. However, the same ideas can still be observed as the focus seems to have shifted from diversity and quantity to diversity and quality. The mere presence of a rare and special animal demonstrated the exclusive status of the owner.

This last aspect is also evident for the tribute animals that are often seen in the New Kingdom tomb iconography and listed in the textual sources. Whereas huge amounts of cattle are mentioned, only one or two specimens of individual non-indigenous animals are usually depicted or mentioned. Just as was the case for the early animal rows, these scenes and descriptions clearly emphasise the domination of Egypt over foreign regions. These regions and people could indeed be seen as chaotic and hostile forces that needed to be controlled. However, the products that were brought or taken from these foreign regions, including the non-indigenous animals, are considered valuable and prestigious items. Furthermore, not only non-indigenous animals, but also dogs and cattle are included. The domestic cattle and desert game, such as gazelle, ibex and oryx, could have been used for consumption and offering purposes. However, the importation of other living animals, such as monkeys, the lion, giraffe, leopard, bear, elephant and rhinoceros did not have a clear economic purpose, apart from being a luxury product and status symbol. Alternatively, these non-indigenous animals could symbolically represent the foreign origin they derive from. Monkeys and giraffes, for example, are only seen as products deriving from the south, and the bear is only seen as a product from the north. However, rather than representing chaotic elements or enemies, the presence of these animals emphasises the fact that we are dealing with rare foreign products. Likewise, various cosmetic utilities take the form of non-indigenous animals, such as monkeys or ibexes. Here too, it has

been suggested that the animal-shapes emphasise the foreign origin of the product and content (table 8).

Various animal rows				
Animal	Predynastic D-Ware	Late predynastic ivories	Old & Middle Kingdom offering rows	New Kingdom tribute rows
Gazelle	Present	Present	Present	Present
Ibex	Present	Present	Present	Present
Oryx	Not present	Present	Present	Present
Hartebeest	Not present	Present	Present	Present
Addax	Present	Present	Present	Not present
Hyena	Not present	Present	Present	Not present
Barbary sheep	Not present	Present	Present	Not present
Deer	Not present	Present	Present	Not present
Aurochs	Not present	Present	Not present	Present
Wild canid	Not present	Present	Not present	Present
Lion	Not present	Present	Not present	Present
Leopard	Not present	Present	Not present	Present
Giraffe	Not present	Only top/ 'control' rows	Not present	Present
Elephant	Not present	Only top/ 'control' rows	Not present	Present
Ostrich	Present	Not present	Not present	Present
Green monkey	Not present	Not present	Not present	Present
Baboon	Not present	Not present	Not present	Present
Cheetah	Not present	Not present	Not present	Present
Rhinoceros	Not present	Not present	Not present	Present
Bear	Not present	Not present	Not present	Present
Horse	Not present	Not present	Not present	Present
Fantasy animals	Not present	Present	Not present	Not present
African wild dog	Not present	Not present	Not present	Not present

Table 8. The occurrence of non-indigenous animals in the various animal rows.

Present = present, Not present = not present, Semi-present = semi-present.

9.3 Non-indigenous animals and religion

Not all non-indigenous animals are found in a religious context. The animals that were not found in Egypt or the surrounding desert regions, as well as the later introductions are excluded from the religious texts. This indicates that only the more familiar and more frequently encountered non-indigenous animals have a place in religion. Animals such as the elephant, giraffe, bear, deer and horse had to be imported from foreign regions and are not included. Other animals, such as the lion, wild canids, and various desert bovidae could be encountered in the high or low desert regions surrounding Egypt. These animals are all found in the religious texts.

The monkeys can be seen as an exception. Green monkeys and baboons are religiously included, but had to be imported from the south or south-east. It could be suggested that these animals were included, because the Egyptians were nevertheless relatively familiar with these animals, even though they could not be found in Egypt. Due to their small size, monkeys are easier to transport than the bigger animals. Contrary to animals such as giraffes and elephants, they are indeed seen as ‘passengers’ on boats returning from foreign expeditions. Furthermore, it has been suggested that monkeys were already linked with deceased ancestors and the afterlife in the Early Dynastic period, which could be related to their human-like appearance and behaviour. The link between monkeys and boats is also already seen in the Early Dynastic period. Although speculative, it is tempting to believe that the far-away locations, where these rather unfamiliar animals came from, played a role in identifying these animals with ancestors that passed over to a more or less ‘unknown’ hereafter.

In the New Kingdom period, the religious function and significance of the monkeys grows. Probably as a result of the New Kingdom expansions of the country and foreign expeditions, the contact with monkeys increased, and it is likely that more monkeys were imported into Egypt. Whereas the olive baboon is usually seen in the earlier periods, the hamadryas baboon prevails in the New Kingdom period. The olive baboon could be found in and imported from Sudan, but the natural habitat of the hamadryas baboon is located further away, in Eritrea and Ethiopia.¹⁸³⁸ These regions were more easily reachable by sea routes. The remains of hamadryas baboons have also been found in the zooarchaeological record of the New Kingdom period. In this period, the foreign origin of the monkeys is specifically mentioned, and these regions overlap with the afterworld. Especially the growing familiarity with the hamadryas baboon has its effect on religion. In earlier times, more general characteristics seem to be important, such

¹⁸³⁸ See above, p. 75-77, 221 and fn. 1000.

as the strength of a baboon and a basic resemblance between humans and monkeys. In the New Kingdom period, however, more specific characteristics are significant, again based on a greater familiarity with and closer observation of the animals. Baboons make loud noises when the sun rises, they ‘sunbathe’ at dawn, and sit in a squatting position when they are on the look-out. Combined with the (emphasised) foreign origin of the hamadryas baboons, these types of behaviour can be related to the increasing association between monkeys and solar worship. Furthermore, the hamadryas baboon-form of Thoth is unequivocally present from the time of the New Kingdom onwards, and primarily related to language and speech. Thoth, as a god of amongst others knowledge, writing and language, becomes associated with the animal that was already seen as the ideal sun worshipper and that could speak a divine and secret language. Additionally, the function of Thoth as a judge and overseer of the scales can be related to the squatting position of the alpha hamadryas baboon on the look-out.

Lions as well as (wild) canids play significant roles in ancient Egyptian religion, and various entities inhabit lion or wild canid features. These animals could be found at the desert-edge and in the desert region surrounding Egypt. Furthermore, as predatory animals they could infiltrate the country, looking for easy prey amongst Egyptian livestock. Like the monkeys, lions and wild canids can be considered relatively familiar creatures. Again, a combination of foreign habitat and animal behaviour and appearance can explain their religious importance. Not only general characteristics, such as their power, strength and aggressive behaviour, but also more specific animal features, based on direct natural observation, are emphasised. Female lions do most of the hunting and hunt in groups. They were therefore more observable, which could explain the popularity of female lion entities, especially in the earlier periods. Furthermore, not only the predatory behaviour as such is emphasised, but also the nocturnal activity of the lion. The role and inclusion of male lions increases in the New Kingdom period, probably as a result of the increasing and frequent associations between the strong, powerful, and raging lion and the king. In this period, the term *mꜣi-ḥsꜣ*, the grim lion (with a terrible glance), is also the name of a male lion god.¹⁸³⁹

A similar situation is evident for the canid entities. Apart from more general features, such as their speed and hunting and protective behaviour, more specific characteristics are emphasised as well. One can think about the digging and denning behaviour of both wild and domesticated canids. Considering the prominent roles of wild canids, Baines mentions an additionally argument for their inclusion, namely that of tradition: ‘*the function of these deities as guardians*

¹⁸³⁹ De Wit, 1951: p. 230-234; Bohms, 2013: p. 203; LGG, III: p. 211-212: see especially category *G.b*), where he is described as the son of Bastet.

of the necropolis and as royal heralds can be compared with the role of the wild canines on the palettes'.¹⁸⁴⁰

The gazelle, ibex, and oryx also occur in a religious context, but not that often. However, contrary to the above-mentioned animals, their inclusion does not seem to be based on specific animal behaviour. Rather, their presence can usually be linked to the representative function of these animals. It has already been mentioned that these three animals were considered the most typical desert animals during the Dynastic period, and therefore considered the most suitable candidates to represent this region. They are linked to various gods, such as Seth, Sokar and Min, because they share their habitat with the sphere of influence of these deities. Depending on context, they can either function as helpers of the gods, or evil forces. No specific religious ideas are attached to the hartebeest. This animal could not survive in the deep desert and is therefore not considered a typical desert animal.

The leopard is not mentioned in the earlier religious texts,¹⁸⁴¹ but its skin is important. The use of the leopard skin has a very old tradition, and is already depicted as a garment in the Predynastic period. It is for example seen at HIERAKONPOLIS TOMB 100 and on the NARMER MACEHEAD. Wearing characteristic animal parts of a powerful animal, such as indeed the skin of a leopard, demonstrates the power of the possessor over a chaotic and dangerous animal. Simultaneously, it identifies him with the powerful animal in question. This tradition continues in the Dynastic period, where ritualists close to the king (usually his oldest son), the high-ranked deceased, and later the Sem-priests wear this type of garment. The importance of the skin as opposed to the animal indicates that the Egyptians were more familiar with the skin as an imported product, than with the leopard as an animal. However, in the New Kingdom period, the leopard itself is also seen in a (very limited) religious context, which could be related to an increasing familiarity with the actual animal. The double-lion entities that are for example found

¹⁸⁴⁰ Baines, 1993: p. 68.

¹⁸⁴¹ The translation of  - *3bw* as 'leopard' in Spell 379 of the Coffin Texts (Faulkner, 1977: p. 13; LGG I: 10 [1]) is uncertain for a number of reasons. The spell describes a snake (that needs to be warded off): *m3=k wi m hr=k m 3bw – look at me with your 3bw-face!* (CT V, 43b). If one would accept that the word *3bw* refers to the leopard in this example, it remains unclear whether the animal or its skin is meant. The latter is more likely, because (contrary to the animal itself) the leopard-skin is also mentioned in the Pyramid Texts and other parts of the Coffin Texts (e.g. PT 263: §338b-339a; Faulkner, 1969: p. 72; and CT I, 217d-e (49); Faulkner, 1973: p. 45; see above p. 179). As such, the *3bw*-face of the snake could just as well refer to a face that resembles a leopard-skin: i.e. the snake has a spotted face. It is, however, believed that the word *3by* as a designation for the leopard(skin) only occurs from the New Kingdom period onwards. In earlier periods, including in the above-mentioned PT 263 and CT 49 examples, the animal(skin) is referred to as *b3* (McDonald, 2002). The word *3bw* could also be translated as elephant, but this animal is not known to take the hide-and-tail determinative (Goldwasser, 2002: p. 38). Lastly, version B3L of Spell 379 provides *s3b.w* as an alternative writing of the word, suggesting that the term refers to a wild canid. It is therefore highly uncertain which specific animal or animal product is intended.

on the vignettes of the BOOK OF THE DEAD occasionally take the form of lion-leopard hybrids. In this context, the two animals are interchangeable and combinable, because they both represent the same ideas of strength, power and protection that enable the deceased to be successfully reborn (table 9).

Non-indigenous animals and religion	
Animal	Afterworldly / religious context
Gazelle	
Aurochs	
Wild canid	
Lion	
Leopard	
Green monkey	
Baboon	
Fantasy animals	
Ibex	
Oryx	
Addax	Only D-ware
Cheetah	Only skin
Ostrich	Only D-ware
Hartebeest	
Horse	
Barbary sheep	
Deer	
Wild donkey	
Hyena	
African wild dog	
Giraffe	
Elephant	
Rhinoceros	
Bear	

Table 9. The occurrence of non-indigenous animals in a religious / afterworldly context.:

■ = present, ■ = not present, ■ = semi-present.

9.4 Non-indigenous animals as zoomorphic metaphors and figurative expressions

The above highlighted themes of the desert hunt, animal rows, and religion have demonstrated that, within these settings, the included non-indigenous animals oftentimes function as a medium to express or visualise concepts of chaos, power, transition, and prosperity. Within these themes and settings, elements of realism and symbolism are combined and intertwined - and the same is true for the animals. As such, non-indigenous animals can visualise or emphasise a concept *an sich*, but they can also stand for a group of animals¹⁸⁴² or a foreign region,¹⁸⁴³ or are used as an inspiration for afterworldly entities.

Additionally, some of these animals are equalled or compared to human enemies or human leader figures. The more general connection, comparison or assimilation of non-indigenous animals with the various concepts can thus be used as basis upon which additional and more specific comparisons and equalisations are build, that can take the form of (visual) zoomorphic assimilations, (visual) zoomorphic metaphors and (literary) figurative expressions. In these instances, the non-indigenous animal is equalled or compared to a person or concrete human aspect or *vice versa*.

Usually, the more familiar non-indigenous animals are seen in such a context. This makes sense, because these constructions only work if a person or trait is compared with something the recipient is familiar with.

Hunted desert animals occur as zoomorphic metaphors for human enemies throughout the whole discussed period. Similarly, the lion and the aurochs are equalled and compared to the king throughout the whole discussed period. Apart from its non-indigenous origin, and a relative familiarity with the animal and its behaviour and appearance, the frequent use of the lion is also based on tradition. This animal is already used as a zoomorphic metaphor for the king in the Late Predynastic period. In this early period, the metaphor is found visually in iconographic depictions of these animals. However, the animal depictions of later periods should no longer be interpreted as metaphorical representations of the king himself: *'it appears to have become inappropriate to depict him directly as a wild beast. The imagery was retained, but was used in a more subtle fashion'*.¹⁸⁴⁴ In the New Kingdom period, depictions of hunted

¹⁸⁴² E.g. the Barbary sheep on the Predynastic C-Ware pottery (see above, p. 109-110 and figure 72).

¹⁸⁴³ E.g. the elephant on bowl London BM EA 40295 (see above, p. 110-112 and figure 74) and the addax and ibex on D-Ware pottery (p. 114-116).

¹⁸⁴⁴ Wilkinson, 2000: p. 28.

desert game, including lions, are occasionally used as a zoomorphic metaphor for foreign human enemies, but not for the king himself.¹⁸⁴⁵ The lion can, however, be used to visualise a specific aspect of the king, such as his military power and strength.¹⁸⁴⁶ Lion depictions can thus be linked to the king in all periods, but a slight change in meaning is observed.

Furthermore, the Dynastic examples focus much more on written as opposed to visual imagery. During the New Kingdom period, the use of figurative language reached a peak,¹⁸⁴⁷ which partially explains the increase in the use of animal imagery for this period. Starting with Thutmose III, the lion is commonly used in figurative expressions relating to the king. The comparison between the king and dangerous and powerful animals is especially suited for the 'battlefield context' in which these comparisons so often occur. Apart from this clear link between the lion and the king, the animal is also used to describe other persons, such as foreign enemies or Egyptian soldiers. According to Bohms, the frequent use of the lion in the literary texts can also be explained by its general popularity in other contexts: '*Der Löwe gewann an Bedeutung durch seine Rolle in der ägyptischen Königsideologie und aufgrund zahlreicher Löwengötter bzw. -göttinnen*'.¹⁸⁴⁸

The popularity of the bull as a royal animal can be linked to tradition as well. Here too, a shift in focus is evident between the earlier visual imagery and the later written imagery. However, whereas the aurochs is used as a zoomorphic metaphor for the king in the Late Predynastic period, the later comparisons usually mention a bull or wild bull in general. This means that it is difficult to establish whether the domesticated bull or the aurochs is meant.

In the Late Predynastic period, the African wild dog and possibly the wild canid occur as zoomorphic metaphors for a leader figure or a the king. Contrary to the lion and the aurochs, these animals are not found in this specific context in the later periods. Possibly, these animals were not prestigious enough to survive the cut.

Other animals are only used in figurative expressions, and only from the New Kingdom period onwards. These animals include the leopard, gazelle, hartebeest, monkeys, wild canids, horse and even fantasy animals. The elephant, giraffe, bear, oryx, ibex, addax, Barbary sheep, ostrich, wild donkey, hyena, African wild dog, cheetah, deer, and rhinoceros are not used as individual animals in figurative expressions (table 10).

¹⁸⁴⁵ See above, p. 125-130 & figure 80-86.

¹⁸⁴⁶ See above, p. 168-171 & figure 104.

¹⁸⁴⁷ Hsu, 2013: p. 3.

¹⁸⁴⁸ Bohms, 2013: p. 473.

In these instances, their inclusion is not based on tradition, but on a (growing) familiarity with the animal. The horse was likely introduced to Egypt by the Hyksos during the Second Intermediate Period, and used as a means of transportation in a military context. The late introduction of the animal into Egypt explains why it is, for example, not found in a religious context or in earlier texts. The horse entered Egypt as an already domesticated species, and had a practical function as a working animal. The familiarity with this animal is reflected in their frequent occurrence in the literary texts, where they are described as valuable and fast animals. Consequently, the male lover that rushes to his beloved can be compared to a fast and royal horse.

Just like the horse, the leopard is only used as a simile in the New Kingdom Period. Again, this can be explained by an increasing familiarity with the animal itself (and not just its skin), due to an increase in military campaigns and foreign expeditions.¹⁸⁴⁹ Various expedition reports indeed mention the leopard as a dangerous animal that is encountered abroad, and the iconographic record shows living leopards among other foreign imports.

It is interesting to see that the gazelle and hartebeest are used as similes, but the oryx and the ibex are not. This further indicates that the oryx and the ibex -animals that lived deeper in the desert- should indeed not be seen as common animals. Even though the Egyptians caught these animals during hunting parties or expeditions, no specific details considering their natural behaviour are mentioned. It has already been demonstrated that most of the hunting took place near the Nile Valley. Even though the ibex and the oryx are depicted frequently in the iconography, they are virtually absent in the zooarchaeological record. The hartebeest and the gazelle, however, are both animals that lived closer to the Nile Valley and could be encountered on the desert edge. Hartebeest and gazelle were the main species hunted in the Predynastic period and remained relatively abundant between the Old and New Kingdom period¹⁸⁵⁰ ‘*despite the anthropogenic pressure its populations must have undergone*’.¹⁸⁵¹ Therefore, a relatively familiarity with these animals and their behaviour can be observed. In several texts, the fleeing behaviour of the student is compared to that of the hartebeest and the gazelle.¹⁸⁵²

¹⁸⁴⁹ Interestingly, the griffin also occurs in New Kingdom figurative expressions to emphasise the power and the strength of the king (Gerke, 2014: p. 90). Certainly, its inclusion cannot be explained by a ‘growing familiarity’ with the creature. Much more, the foreign character of this ‘fantasy animal’ stresses the exclusive / unique power and strength of the pharaoh.

¹⁸⁵⁰ Linseele & Van Neer, 2009: p. 66-67, Tab. 5: hartebeest and gazelle remains have been found at Tell el-Daba (Middle Kingdom-Second Intermediate Period) and Kom el-Hisn (Old Kingdom period).

¹⁸⁵¹ Idem, 2009: p. 65.

¹⁸⁵² E.g. pTurin A: verso 1,8-1,9: LEM, p. 122-122a; Brose, M. in: TLA; pAnastasi IV: recto 2,6: LEM, p. 36-36a; Dils, P. in: TLA; see above, p. 363-364.

Non-indigenous animals as animal-human zoomorphic metaphors and figurative expressions		
Animal	Zoomorphic metaphors (iconography)	New Kingdom figurative expressions (textual)
Aurochs		
Lion		
'Desert game'	Combination / totality of desert animals	Combination / totality of desert animals
Wild canid	Only late predynastic palettes	
Gazelle		
Leopard		
Green monkey		
Baboon		
Fantasy animals		Griffin
Hartebeest		
Horse		
African wild dog	Only late predynastic palettes	
Ibex		
Oryx		
Addax		
Cheetah		
Ostrich		
Barbary sheep		
Deer		
Wild donkey		
Hyena		
Giraffe		
Elephant		
Rhinoceros		
Bear		

Table 10. Non-indigenous animals as animal-human zoomorphic metaphors and figurative expressions.

■ = present, ■ = not present, ■ = possibly present.

The animals in green writing do not occur as individual zoomorphic metaphors (animal-human) in the iconography, but can be part of the totality of desert wildlife that is seen in hunting scenes and animal rows on ivories (i.e. can be included in a (result of the) desert hunt context) that is occasionally used as a metaphor for human enemies).

9.5 Individual animals

The above examples have demonstrated that a combination of the non-indigenous origin, behaviour and appearance, practical use, familiarity, and tradition explains the inclusion of certain non-indigenous animals in a specific context and the exclusion of others. Some animals occur in almost all contexts, whereas other animals only have a very limited role.

The lion, wild canids, monkeys, gazelle, oryx and ibex are common throughout the whole discussed period. Other animals, such as the deer, Barbary sheep, addax, hartebeest, aurochs, leopard and horse are present but not that often. The cheetah, elephant, giraffe, bear, rhinoceros and African wild dog are hardly seen at all.

The inclusion of lions, wild canids and monkeys can be explained by their non-indigenous habitat, tradition, relative familiarity, as well as specific animal behaviour. Lions are found in hunting scenes, in the religion, medical texts, in figurative expressions, as pet animals, and tribute gifts. Wild canids are also found in hunting scenes, in the religion, as figurative expressions, and a supplier of skins. Monkeys have a religious purpose, are used in figurative expressions, as pet animals, and as tribute animals.

The frequent occurrence of the gazelle, oryx and ibex can be primarily explained by their non-indigenous origin. As true desert inhabitants, these animals have a representative function. Even though the ibex and the oryx are included in a religious context, indicating a familiarity with these animals, here too their inclusion is primary based on their foreign habitat and specific behavioural aspects are not emphasised. A greater familiarity with the gazelle can explain the slightly greater religious importance and its use in figurative expressions. However, *'although the three are often found together and even on occasion overlap in depiction, they each had their own distinct iconic identity'*.¹⁸⁵³ Whereas the ibex and the oryx can decorate ceremonial barks, the gazelle is not seen in this context. Gazelle, ibex and oryx are valuable offering animals, but among those three, the oryx is the most frequently depicted and described animal. This could also be the reason why the oryx is most frequently found among the bound animals that can be found on offering spoons. The ibex, on the other hand, most frequently occurs on cosmetic dishes, including the tableware treasures from the north. This indicates that the ibex and its products were especially valued foreign products. In the medical texts, ibex fat is mentioned relatively often, whereas the oryx is not mentioned at all. The gazelle is more closely linked to women, and especially foreign women.

¹⁸⁵³ Strandberg, 2009: p. 23.

Other animals, such as the deer, Barbary sheep, addax, hartebeest, aurochs, leopard and horse are present but not that often. As typical desert animals, the addax and Barbary sheep initially functioned as representatives of the desert region and desert animals in general. A link between the addax and the afterworld is observable in the D-Ware pottery. The addax is the most adapted of desert species and was probably not found near the Nile Valley. In these earlier periods, both animals were indeed the most suitable candidates, but they were not the most common animals. The gazelle, for example, was hunted more frequently. It can be suggested that the addax and the Barbary sheep remained some of their representative function during the Old Kingdom period. Simultaneously, the inclusion of such a rare animal emphasised ideas of prosperity and prestige. Both animals are occasionally depicted in hunting scenes and especially the addax is often found at the Old Kingdom offering rows. However, whereas the Barbary sheep can occasionally be found in the desert hunt scenes of the later periods,¹⁸⁵⁴ the addax is not seen or mentioned anymore after the Old Kingdom. Apart from horn remains found at Qantir/Piramesse, the animal is not found in the zooarchaeological record of the Nile Valley in the Predynastic and Dynastic periods, and remains of Barbary sheep are completely lacking. It can be suggested that the disappearance of the addax and the decreasing importance of the Barbary sheep is due to a growing unfamiliarity with the animals. Other true desert animals, such as the slightly more common oryx and ibex, were apparently more suited candidates. Like other rarities, products of the addax were considered precious and valuable import items in the New Kingdom period.

The hartebeest is frequently seen in desert hunt scenes and can be found in offering rows. However, it does not occur as often as the gazelle, oryx and ibex and is not seen in an offering context after the Old Kingdom period. The hartebeest is not a true desert animal, which could explain why it is not as closely linked to the desert region as gazelles, oryxes and ibexes. The relative familiarity with the animal explains its inclusion in figurative expressions.

The aurochs too is occasionally seen in a desert hunt context. However, its initial popularity as a powerful animal seems to be taken over by the more familiar domesticated bull. Still, in the New Kingdom the powerful aurochs is occasionally seen in a royal hunting context.

In a few cases, the deer can be part of the desert hunt and is seen in the offering rows.¹⁸⁵⁵ Also, the animal is already seen in Predynastic times.¹⁸⁵⁶ However, this animal was never native to

¹⁸⁵⁴ E.g. in the New Kingdom tomb of Montuherkhopeshaf (TT 20: Decker & Herb, 1994: J 94: I, p. 332-333; II, Taf. CLX); Hendrickx et al., 2009: p. 227, tab. 3.

¹⁸⁵⁵ Kitagawa, 2008a: p. 211-212, fig. 2-4; figure 23.

¹⁸⁵⁶ Depicted on the Hunters Palette (London BM EA 20792: figure 94 & 98) and the Seyala Mace Handle; Kitagawa, 2008a: p. 210, fig. 1.

Egypt, and it is unlikely that the animal could be found in the desert regions surrounding Egypt: *'The fact that deer were not depicted with much accuracy compared to other large game species (with one nursing individual shown with antlers) strongly suggests that most artists in charge of decorating tombs had never seen deer alive'*.¹⁸⁵⁷ However, products of the deer, such as its antlers, were imported into Egypt and worked into tools or used for medical purposes. The animal was probably kept at Qantir/Piramesse in the New Kingdom period. It has already been mentioned that animals from various different foreign regions are combined in the desert hunt scenes. Perhaps based on its similarities with other edible prey animals that could be hunted, such as gazelles and hartebeests, the deer could also be part of this compilation. Still, the animal does not have a religious connotation and is not used in figurative expressions, which emphasises the rarity of the animal.

The horse is a late introduction. Therefore, it does not have a religious significance and is also not seen in earlier texts and depictions. The inclusion of the horse in the New Kingdom period is based on a growing familiarity with the animal. It had a practical use as a means of military transportation and is therefore also a familiar and integrated animal. Although it is technically an edible prey animal, there is no evidence that horses were eaten, hunted, or used for offering or medical purposes. The horse can be used in figurative expressions, primarily based on its speed and military significance. On the battlefield, the animals can be described as agents of the king's *ph*ty and are actively taking part in the battle. Horses are also part of the valuable tribute and war booty from the northern regions.

As a predatory animal, the leopard is occasionally included in desert hunting scenes, already in the late Predynastic period. However, contrary to the lion, the leopard itself is never shown as being hunted. As a garment, the skin of leopards and cheetahs had an important religious connotation. Remains of leopards have been found in an elite and royal context in the Pre- and Early Dynastic periods. A growing familiarity with the animal itself, and not only its skin, can explain its use as a simile in the New Kingdom period.

The cheetah, elephant, giraffe, bear, rhinoceros and African wild dog are hardly seen at all. The African wild dog has disappeared from the record by the beginning of the Early Dynastic period. It has been suggested that the guardian and heraldic function of the Dynastic canid deities can be compared to the role of the African wild dog on the palettes. However, the reasons for its disappearance remain largely unknown, and has been explained more generally as being *'sacrificed iconographically to the tidy categories of dynastic times'*.¹⁸⁵⁸

¹⁸⁵⁷ Kitagawa, 2008a: p. 217.

¹⁸⁵⁸ Baines, 1993: p. 69.

Depictions of the cheetah are occasionally seen in the New Kingdom iconography as part of a desert hunt or as tribute from the south. Like the deer, this animal is not indigenous to Egypt, but its predatory nature apparently made it suitable for a desert hunt context. Again, the inclusion of depictions of living cheetahs can be explained by a growing familiarity with the animal in the New Kingdom period. However, the inspiration for a hunting cheetah on a dagger sheath from the tomb of Tutankhamun¹⁸⁵⁹ seems to be based on the skin of the animal. The face of the cheetah is depicted from a frontal view and as such greatly resembles (artificial) cheetah heads that were attached to actual or fake animal skins.¹⁸⁶⁰ Furthermore, contrary to the leopard, the cheetah is not used in figurative language.

As a powerful non-indigenous animal, the elephant is found among the buried animals at HK6 in Hierakonpolis. A '*royal interest in this animal*'¹⁸⁶¹ has been suggested, but more detailed claims cannot be made. The giraffe too seems to have had a specific symbolic function in these earlier times, as is for example indicated by the recurrent depictions of giraffes around a palm tree.¹⁸⁶² However, the exact meaning of these depictions, as well as the function of the giraffes remains unclear. Huyge, and before him already Westendorf, have postulated that the animal should be interpreted in a cosmological sense. They believe the giraffe had a role as sun-bearer and functioned as an intermedium between the earth and sky.¹⁸⁶³ However, although this may indeed be the case in Elkab,¹⁸⁶⁴ this reasoning does not hold stake for other sites and examples, and a possible cosmological interpretation could therefore at the most be suggested on a regional level.¹⁸⁶⁵ Whatever function the elephant and giraffe may have had in earlier times, both animals do not have a significant role in the Dynastic period. In the Old and Middle Kingdom period, the giraffe is occasionally found in a desert hunt setting, but in all these cases the animal seems to be part of the landscape,¹⁸⁶⁶ and is not being hunted. In the New Kingdom too, the animal can be part of a foreign landscape, but is again not hunted.¹⁸⁶⁷

The elephant is completely absent in the hunting scenes, but an elephant hunt is mentioned on the ARMANT STELA of Thutmoses III.¹⁸⁶⁸ Both animals are depicted as tribute products in the

¹⁸⁵⁹ Cairo JE 61584: figure 186; see also Hawass, 2004: p. 65.

¹⁸⁶⁰ E.g. Cairo JE 62631; see above, p. 359-360, fn. 1655 and figure 184.

¹⁸⁶¹ Friedman, 2004: p. 162.

¹⁸⁶² Cannuyer, 2010: p. 107-114.

¹⁸⁶³ Huyge, 2002: p. 199; Westendorf, 1978: p. 207.

¹⁸⁶⁴ Huyge, 2002: p. 200: '*(...) it is also remarkable that the greater part of the Elkab giraffe-drawings are oriented westward (over 60%)*'.

¹⁸⁶⁵ Ikram, 2009: p. 269; Lankester, 2012: p. 269-270; Judd, 2009: p. 13.

¹⁸⁶⁶ Cannuyer, 2010: p. 142-146, fig. 69-73.

¹⁸⁶⁷ See above, figure 163; Smith, 1962: p. 61.

¹⁸⁶⁸ Armant Stela (Cairo JE 67377): Urk IV: 1245,12 – 1246,3: Mond & Myers, 1940: I, p. 183; II, pl. CIII; see above, p. 285-286.

New Kingdom period, but they are not listed as such in the textual record. Instead, elephant ivory occurs rather frequently as a highly priced foreign product, both textually and visually. Giraffe tails can also be listed among rare and valuable foreign products.¹⁸⁶⁹ Again, a greater familiarity is suggested for the products than for the animals. The elephant that is found in the tomb of Rekhmire is depicted in a rather abstract rendering, but the giraffe looks more realistic. Remains of both animals dated to the New Kingdom have been found at Qantir/Piramesse, suggesting that the hides of these animals and tusks of the elephant were imported into Egypt. The rareness of and unfamiliarity with these animals is further emphasised by their absence in a religious and figurative context.

The bear and the rhinoceros can be considered the most exclusive among the discussed animals. Both animals are not found in the archaeological record. Bears are depicted as booty deriving from the north in the mortuary temple of Sahure, but are otherwise absent from the Old and Middle Kingdom record. Again, the bear is more frequently seen in the New Kingdom period. Bears are among the tribute from the north in the tombs of Rekhmire (TT 100), Ineni (TT 81) and Amunedjeh (TT 84).¹⁸⁷⁰ Furthermore, the animal is seen as part of a foreign landscape, biting the foot of a foreign human enemy.¹⁸⁷¹ However, whereas the Old Kingdom bears in the mortuary temple of Sahure looked very realistically, the New Kingdom examples are much more stylized. It remains unclear whether the presence of these bears in the iconography should be interpreted as a representation of a real event, or if the scenes rather depict symbolic representations of the wealth that has been found abroad.¹⁸⁷² The bear is mentioned in the textual record, but only as a dangerous animal that one can encounter abroad and it is not used in figurative expressions. The rhinoceros is depicted twice in the New Kingdom period, one time as a tribute animal and one time as part of a foreign landscape. Additionally, it is mentioned once in a royal hunting context. These rare animals are excellent for demonstrating exclusiveness and specialness, prosperity and prestige. The mere presence of such an exclusive animal already made an impact. However, their rarity made them unsuitable for all other contexts. Even though bears and rhinoceroses are certainly powerful, dangerous, and aggressive beasts, the king cannot be compared to these animals. Royal symbolism indeed requires exclusivity, but if an animal is too exclusive the message does not come over.

¹⁸⁶⁹ See above, p. 377 and fn. 1797.

¹⁸⁷⁰ Manlius, 1998: p. 572, fig. 9-11; see above, table 6 and figure 174 (top register).

¹⁸⁷¹ Idem: p. 573, fig. 13.

¹⁸⁷² Busch, 2006: p. 86.

10. CONCEPTS OF NON-INDIGENOUS ANIMALS IN ANCIENT EGYPT

It has become clear that non-indigenous animals are often linked to and express four larger concepts: chaos and wildness; order and power; transition and regeneration; and prosperity and prestige. The reason(s) for the inclusion and conceptualisation of the animals can usually be explained by a combination of characteristics and factors, such as their non-indigenous origin and habitat, animal behaviour and appearance, their concrete function, but also familiarity and tradition. However, none of these concepts are unique to non-indigenous animals. Indigenous animals too can be considered chaotic, wild, hostile, powerful, prestigious, valuable, and are elements of order and related to ideas of transition and regeneration. Furthermore, various non-indigenous animals are often included in an Egyptian setting, where they appear among indigenous animals and seem to be common and familiar.

Oftentimes, both indigenous and non-indigenous animals are linked to a specific concept, because they share the same characteristics. Not only non-indigenous animals, but also indigenous animals can be considered elements of chaos, because they are wild and dangerous. It has been mentioned that the Nilotic hunt, which focusses on the defeat of crocodiles and hippopotami, is the most common hunting-theme on the Predynastic C-Ware pottery. The killing and spearing of the hippopotamus as a symbol of chaos remains a popular theme in the Dynastic period, especially in a royal context.¹⁸⁷³ An early example is found on a cylinder seal from the tomb of Den, where the defeat of the hippopotamus has been equalled to the defeat of the foreign enemy: *'the king represented order over the chaotic forces symbolized both by the hippopotamus and the decapitated enemies. The depiction of decapitated captives in combination with the royal hippopotamus hunting scene shows that the enemy in the natural environment and the enemy in the social environment have been equated'*.¹⁸⁷⁴ Overpowering and killing the wild and dangerous hippopotamus shows and emphasises the power and status of the controller and conqueror in the same way as has been demonstrated for the non-indigenous lion.¹⁸⁷⁵

¹⁸⁷³ Hendrickx, 2013: p. 244; Schoske, 1994: p. 437; Decker & Herb, 1994: I, p. 275.

¹⁸⁷⁴ Hendrickx, 2013: p. 247.

¹⁸⁷⁵ E.g. New York MMA 26.7.1453; see above, p. 126 and fn. 488.

Additionally, the hippopotamus is not only considered a danger to humans, but also a pest to crops. Like the hartebeest mentioned in PAPHYRUS LANSING,¹⁸⁷⁶ the hippopotamus is depicted as a nuisance in PAPHYRUS SALLIER I, because it has eaten part of the harvest: '*the worm has eaten half of the grain, the hippopotamus the other (half)*'.¹⁸⁷⁷ Also, not only infiltrating non-indigenous predators, such as wild canids and the lion, but also indigenous animals are a threat to the Egyptian livestock. The wild and dangerous crocodile, for example, can be depicted as a predator preying on cattle crossing the river.¹⁸⁷⁸

Furthermore, indigenous and domesticated animals can also be perceived as elements of order and are appreciated because of their power and strength. Like various non-indigenous animals, they are used to emphasise the qualities of a person. In the Predynastic period, the domestic dog could be equalled to the human leader and hunter. Also, not only non-indigenous animals such as the lion, leopard and wild canids, but also the indigenous crocodile could be compared to the pharaoh in the Dynastic period. In the POETICAL STELA of Thutmose III, Amun-Re says: '*I came to let you crush the lowlanders, the lands of Metjen tremble in fear of you, I let them see Your Majesty as a crocodile, the lord of terror in the water, unapproachable*'.¹⁸⁷⁹ The most common comparison, however, is between the pharaoh and a bull.¹⁸⁸⁰ The term '*k3 nḥt - Strong Bull*' is an integral part of the Horus name of the king from the 18th to 22th Dynasty.¹⁸⁸¹

Not only certain non-indigenous animals, but also many indigenous animals are linked to ideas of regeneration. The meat of edible desert animals could indeed be used in an offering context, but meat-offerings most frequently derive from domestic cattle and fowl.¹⁸⁸² Furthermore, not only gazelle milk, but also the milk of cows is highly praised because of its rejuvenating and regenerative qualities, in this life and the next.¹⁸⁸³ As such, cow milk is a beloved offering gift.¹⁸⁸⁴ Furthermore, the milk of various cow goddesses rejuvenates and regenerates the king, provides the king with power, and emphasises his divine and royal status.

¹⁸⁷⁶ pLansing: recto 3,8-3,10; LEM, p. 102-102a; Popko, L. in: TLA; see above, p. 139.

¹⁸⁷⁷ pSallier I, 6.2-3; LEM p. 83; Popko, L. in: TLA.

¹⁸⁷⁸ E.g. depicted in the tomb of Ti (Wild, 1953: pl. XCIII, XCIV.A).

¹⁸⁷⁹ Urk IV: 616,9-10; Lichtheim, 1976: p. 37-38.

¹⁸⁸⁰ See above (p. 172-173) for the problems in distinguishing between the domestic bull and the aurochs.

¹⁸⁸¹ Ikram, 1995: p. 8.

¹⁸⁸² Ikram, 2011: p. 363-364; see above, p. 276.

¹⁸⁸³ Bohms, 2013: p. 177: '*Allgemein dienen die Göttinnen in der Gestalt von Rindern der Ernährung und Regeneration von Göttern und Königen*'.

¹⁸⁸⁴ Guglielmi, 1982: p. 128 (= LÄ IV: '*Milchopfer*').

As such, the king can be suckled by Hathor or other cow goddesses, either in anthropomorphic or cow form.¹⁸⁸⁵ Various New Kingdom royal tombs depict scenes of the BOOK OF THE HEAVENLY COW, where the sky goddess Nut in the form of a cow rejuvenates the sun god and raises him to the sky on a daily basis.¹⁸⁸⁶

Additionally, it has been argued that canid deities, such as Anubis and Wepwawet, should be seen as hybrid forms. Various behavioural aspects, such as digging, caching and denning activities, are not only characteristic for wild canid species, but also for the domestic dog. As such, not only wild, non-indigenous canids, but also the ordinary indigenous dog is represented by these entities and linked to ideas of protection, power, and transition.

It has also been demonstrated that non-indigenous animals and their products are valued and wanted items. Desert game is for example often seen in an offering context. However, the meat of indigenous and domesticated animals, especially that from cattle, is also considered a luxury product.¹⁸⁸⁷ Furthermore, even though non-indigenous animals frequently occur among trade and tribute items from abroad, domestic cattle and dogs are also seen in this context. Moreover, (non-indigenous) animals do not have to be included. Many texts and scenes only mention and depict other valuable products from abroad, such as precious stones, minerals, gold, silver, and decorated vessels.¹⁸⁸⁸

It can thus be said that the inclusion of non-indigenous animals is not essential, because all of the discussed concepts can also be represented by indigenous animals or other elements. Both indigenous and non-indigenous animals can occur in the same context and express the same concepts, because of shared characteristics. Lions, aurochs, hippopotami and crocodiles are all wild, powerful, and potentially dangerous animals. For these reasons they can be linked to ideas of chaos, power, and order. Domestic cattle, but also desert game (such as gazelles) are relatively large prey animals that provide meat and milk. As such, they can be linked to ideas of regeneration and prosperity. Various wild canid species, as well as the domesticated dog share similar behaviour, and are therefore linked to ideas of transition, protection, and power.

¹⁸⁸⁵ For example depicted in the shrine of Hathor at Deir el-Bahri (Navelle, 1901: IV, pl. CIV-CV).

¹⁸⁸⁶ Bohms, 2013: p. 177; for example in the tomb of Seti I (KV 17: Hornung, 1991: p. 220-221, pl. 156-157).

¹⁸⁸⁷ Ikram, 1995: p. 199.

¹⁸⁸⁸ Hallmann, 2006; Gordon, 1984.

However, if non-indigenous animals have no additional value and function, then why are they included?

It could be suggested that these animals were not considered different from indigenous animals, and were an integral part of Egyptian society. This would indicate a relative high degree of familiarity and comfortability with these animals, and suggests that these animals were not that special. Indeed, various non-indigenous animals are often included in an Egyptian setting, where they appear among indigenous animals and seem to be common and familiar. One can think about the various desert animals that are depicted among domestic cattle in offering rows, registration, and inspection scenes. Similarly, just like cats and dogs, monkeys regularly occur as pet animals. They are often depicted underneath the chair of a tomb owner, or walk on a leash with their master. Moreover, various non-indigenous animals are included in ancient Egyptian religion and used in figurative language. In these instances, specific behavioural aspects can be emphasised, suggesting a thorough knowledge about the animals in question. One can think about the sunbathing and sitting behaviour of baboons, or the caching activities of wild canid species. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that some animal species, such as baboons and gazelles, were kept in captivity for extended periods.

However, it has also been shown that all of the investigated non-indigenous animals should be considered as rare and uncommon animals (at least when compared to the indigenous animals), even though they are occasionally presented as common. Remains of non-indigenous animals have indeed been found in a Nile Valley context, but the evidence is extremely limited. Furthermore, the hunt on and importation of non-indigenous animals was not necessary for survival and did not have a clear economic relevance. This indicates that non-indigenous animals do indeed have an additional value, and that their function cannot be fully equated to that of indigenous animals.

It might sound like an anti-climax to emphasise that this additional value is found in the fact that non-indigenous animals are indeed non-indigenous and were not found in Egypt. However, it is by no means trivial to highlight the importance of the foreign origin of the animals. To a certain extent, the ancient Egyptians were indeed familiar with all of the discussed non-indigenous animals. Nevertheless, the foreign origin and a relative unfamiliarity with the animals are important reasons for their inclusion in almost all instances.

Furthermore, in several cases these characteristics are ‘hidden’ and at first sight do not seem to be important at all. It can thus be said that the inclusion of non-indigenous animals is usually directly or indirectly linked to their foreign origin, non-indigenous character, a relative unfamiliarity with the animal, and the fact that the animals are uncommon – even when these aspects are not specifically mentioned or emphasised.

Contrary to indigenous animals, non-indigenous animals can be used as a metaphor or symbol for a foreign region, or to emphasise the foreign context of a situation. Logically, indigenous animals do not occur in these situations. The bears that are mentioned in PAPHNOS ANASTASI I and PAPHNOS SALLIER I, and the bear that is depicted on a relief of Luxor temple emphasise the foreign and northern context of the chaotic circumstances.¹⁸⁸⁹ Similarly, the gazelles that are mentioned in the THREE WISHES and in THE CONTENTINGS OF HORUS AND SETH,¹⁸⁹⁰ as well as the desert animals and deer that are mentioned in the stories of WENAMUN and SINUHE emphasise the foreign context and setting of the situation.¹⁸⁹¹ Also, the incorporation of a giraffe, monkey, elephant, bear or horse in the various tribute scenes makes it clear that all the delivered products have a foreign origin.

Additionally, non-indigenous animals can be linked to a specific concept, because of their foreign origin or because of a perceived otherness that is based on this foreign origin. These animals are especially important when the dichotomy between Egypt and the foreign ‘other’ is stressed. Depending on context, the foreign origin or perceived otherness of a non-indigenous animal is regarded as something positive or negative. The otherness that is found abroad can be feared and considered hostile and threatening. Consequently, the presence of non-indigenous animals in such dangerous environments makes them part of the chaos. Alternatively, the otherness that is found and experienced abroad can be beneficial and sought after. As such, foreign regions can be places of potential: one can travel abroad to seek refuge, adventure and recreation, or unique and therefore valuable products (including animals) and experiences in order to gain social prestige. Furthermore, foreign places as well as their animal inhabitants can be used as an inspiration for the afterworld and function as liminal zones and liminal entities. Both types of places are simultaneously experienced as known and unknown, familiar and unfamiliar, and are situated on the edge of knowledge and human existence. Consequently, an overlap between real foreign regions and imaginary places can be observed.

¹⁸⁸⁹ See above, p. 134-135, 349 and figure 183.

¹⁸⁹⁰ See above, p. 352.

¹⁸⁹¹ See above, p. 351.

Thus, even though indigenous and non-indigenous animals can be connected to or represent identical concepts, the reason or reasons for their inclusion can differ. Indeed, the same concepts can be emphasised, but because of different animal characteristics. In the case of the non-indigenous animals, their foreign origin or perceived otherness is often an important reason for their inclusion.

Furthermore, even when the same characteristic are emphasised, the foreign origin of the non-indigenous animals is still relevant: non-indigenous animals are not essentially needed to express or represent a concept, but they can emphasise or maximise a concept. Similarly, non-indigenous animals can be considered more suitable candidates to express a concept. When non-indigenous animals are included, this is (at least partially) directly or indirectly linked to their non-indigenous character.

Especially interesting are the numerous sources that mention or depict a hunt in the desert, or show the results of such a desert hunt. Obviously, the non-indigenous animals that are seen in desert hunt scenes clearly demonstrate that this particular hunt took place abroad, and not in the Egyptian marshes. Wild indigenous animals are therefore not found in such a setting. It has been demonstrated that the conceptual emphasis of these sources can vary. Sometimes the focus lies more heavily on dominating the chaotic and the wild, in other instances the focus lies on recreational aspects or the acquiring of valuable, special and rare items, and in other cases the emphasis lies on dominating or experiencing the unknown. Indeed, these aspects are heavily interrelated and often represented at the same time. However, whereas indigenous animals can be chaotic, wild, powerful, valuable, special and rare, they cannot be used to emphasise a dichotomy between Egypt and the (unknown) other. Only non-indigenous animals can be considered chaotic, powerful, valuable, different, special, and are linked to ideas of transition, because they do not belong to and are not found in Egypt. As such, the inclusion of non-indigenous animals (as opposed to indigenous animals) is essential, when the main focus lies on dominating and experiencing the foreign, the other and the unknown that is not found in Egypt.

It has become clear that both indigenous and non-indigenous animals can be considered chaotic. This chaos is often linked to ideas of danger and threat, as is for example seen on the C-Ware pottery. However, whereas indigenous chaos is often represented by the most dangerous animals of the Nile region, such as the hippopotamus and the crocodile, the chaos that is found abroad more heavily focusses on the region as such.

A foreign region can be considered a dangerous and chaotic place, and in this respect also its animal inhabitants. Foreign chaos is therefore not always represented by the most dangerous animals, but rather by the most representative animals of a chaotic region, such as the Barbary sheep or the oryx.

Also, the other and the unknown not only refers to real foreign locations, but also to the imaginary afterworld. The animals depicted on the D-Ware pottery put an emphasis on the foreign, the unfamiliar and the unknown, and represent ideas of order over chaos, as well as transition and the renewal of life. As such, the emphasis lies on otherness, and aspects that not only differ from normal life, but also from life itself. Foreign and different regions and their non-indigenous animal inhabitants can be assimilated to or represent this afterworld. A link and possible assimilation could be suggested between the depicted non-indigenous and ‘unknown’ animals, and realistic and imaginary ‘other’ and foreign regions.

Controlling and experiencing foreign otherness is also thematised on the discussed palettes and animal rows of the Pre- and Early Dynastic period. Again, the emphasis does not only lie on the domination of wild animals, but also on conquering foreign chaos and experiencing otherness. As such, it is not only important that the hunters conquered chaos and had unique experiences, but also that these activities and experiences took place outside of Egypt. By ‘going out there’ the hunters entered and experienced a liminal zone, an area between the normally ordered social world and the supernatural otherworld. They departed from the normal social world, and returned as heroic figures.¹⁸⁹² It is of equal importance that the results of these experiences, evident in the products that are brought back to the Nile Valley, are also unknown and not found in Egypt. The otherness that is found and experienced outside of Egypt can therefore be considered as negative and positive at the same time. The desert is a place of chaos and disorder, but simultaneously a place of potential. As such, the animals too play a ‘double role’ in which they not only represent the conquered chaos, but are also considered special, rare and valuable. In this respect, it is also important to realise that these palettes (representing the experience) and knife handles (representing the result of the experience) were most likely used in a ritual and elite context. These objects had to be special, rare, and difficult to obtain and create in order to enhance and maximise their power and efficiency, and differentiate them from the trivial and purely mundane.¹⁸⁹³ This is also the case for the depicted animals: they are all rare, special and difficult to obtain, and some of them not even exist in reality.

¹⁸⁹² Lankester, 2016: § 4-5; see above, p. 90, 254.

¹⁸⁹³ Raffaele, 2010: p. 246, fn. 10.

Exactly for these reasons they demonstrate, emphasise and maximise the power, wealth and uniqueness of the elite hunter and ruler, and legitimize his privileged position - both on a worldly and supernatural level.¹⁸⁹⁴

Furthermore, indigenous as well as non-indigenous animals are used as elements of order, power, and leadership. Again, the reasons for these conceptualisations can differ. In the Pre- and Early Dynastic times, the powerful aurochs and lion are not only considered elements of chaos, but can also function as a metaphor for the powerful leader. However, the domesticated and indigenous dog is seen as a symbol of control and power as well, and can be interpreted as a symbolic representation of the leader or hunter. These animals were used for similar conceptual meanings, but for completely different reasons. The indigenous dog is a hunter itself, and as such seems to be a perfect representative of the indigenous, controlling human hunter. The aurochs, on the other hand, can be seen as a representative of the foreign desert environment. Like the lion, it is one of the strongest and most dangerous animals of its habitat. Additionally, the foreign habitat of these animals makes them more exclusive than the ordinary dog. The leader could assume the essence of these wild, exclusive, and chaotic animals to emphasise his untamed and exclusive power. The non-indigenous origin and perceived otherness of the aurochs and lion should therefore be seen as important reasons for their inclusion. This could also explain why the domesticated dog is no longer compared to the figure of a human hunter or leader in later periods: this animal was not prestigious and exclusive enough to become a royal symbol.¹⁸⁹⁵ Additionally, the lion and aurochs are more suitable candidates to visualise the untamed strength of the leader. This idea cannot be expressed by the domestic dog that, in a sense, has been subdued and is submissive to men.¹⁸⁹⁶

In the Dynastic period too, the king can be compared to various dangerous, strong and powerful indigenous and non-indigenous animals, such as the lion, leopard, crocodile and bull. However, the foreign origin of the non-indigenous animals also plays a role, even though this is not always specifically mentioned. The comparison between the king and various dangerous, aggressive, and strong animals indeed emphasises his own power and status. However, an animal that is not only dangerous, aggressive, and strong, but also special and exclusive emphasises the exclusive power and exclusive status of the king.

¹⁸⁹⁴ Raffaele, 2010: p. 246, fn. 7; Hoffman, 1991: p. 294; see above, p. 255.

¹⁸⁹⁵ Hendrickx & Förster, 2010: p. 830.

¹⁸⁹⁶ Hendrickx & Eyckerman, 2012: p. 64.

Similarly, the conquering of wild animals, both indigenous and non-indigenous, demonstrates the skills of the hunter and shows that he is capable of defeating chaos. However, even though all desert animals can be seen as chaotic animals based on their foreign and semi-unknown habitat, the desert predators are even more chaotic. Conquering and defeating the most dangerous and hostile animals of an already chaotic environment again maximises the status of the hunter. It does not seem to be a coincidence that chaotic and dangerous indigenous animals, such as the hippopotamus, can be hunted by private persons as well¹⁸⁹⁷ whereas the lion hunt is reserved for the king only.

Additionally, an animal can be valuable and prestigious because it differs from what is considered normal and typical. This can be an exceptionally large specimen or a mutation of a familiar (indigenous) animal. However, an animal can also be valuable and prestigious, because the animal species itself is unfamiliar and not typical. In this latter case, the non-indigenous origin of the animal can be seen as a precondition for a perceived otherness. Non-indigenous animals are rare, special, difficult to obtain, and therefore ideal candidates to express these ideas. One can think of the occasional inclusion of a bear, elephant or giraffes in the tribute scenes. The possession of (large amounts of) domestic animals could indeed demonstrate the wealth of the owner. However, the incorporation of rare and exquisite animals shows this wealth even more. In these instances, the focus often lies on the mere presence of a non-indigenous animal, and not on quantity. Furthermore, most of these special and rare animals do not have a real economic value and are only seen in a royal context. The king not only needed to separate himself from the common people, but also from the wealthy elite. Especially in this context, the possession of unique and rare luxury products (that could only be found abroad), as opposed to 'regular' and abundant luxury products is an important means of (exclusive) social positioning. The extraordinary character of several of these animals, such as the rhinoceros and the bear, also explains why they are not found in contexts that require a greater familiarity with the animals, such as religious settings and figurative language.

Similarly, desert animals as well as domestic cattle are included in the offering rows and emphasise the prosperity of the tomb owner. The animals that are seen in this context are all edible, and meat in general can be considered a luxury product. However, the foreign origin of the desert animals simultaneously makes them rare and more difficult to obtain than ordinary livestock. Additionally, they are especially wished for during special and festive occasions.

¹⁸⁹⁷ Decker & Herb, 1994: I, p. 276-277.

Here too, the exclusive character of the non-indigenous animals makes them even more valuable and prestigious than ordinary indigenous animals.

Furthermore, it has become clear that the more familiar non-indigenous animals, such as wild canids, monkeys, lions, and various species of desert game are connected to ideas of transition and regeneration and are found in a religious context. They can be associated with hostile creatures in the afterworld, or protective entities that function as guardians, guides, and helpers. Again, indigenous animals have similar functions, and numerous animals are related to these concepts. The demon guards of the afterworld can be manifested in many different indigenous animal forms, such as bovines, birds, crocodiles, snakes, and even frogs¹⁸⁹⁸ and turtles. It has been suggested that the connection between this last animal and its function as a protector and guardian is related to the protective qualities of its shell: *‘après tout, on ne saurait s'étonner qu'on ait pu accorder une signification protectrice à un animal dont l'appareil protecteur est si spectaculairement développé’*.¹⁸⁹⁹ Numerous animals can thus be used for protective and guardian functions that are connected to the afterlife, based on different characteristics. However, the link between non-indigenous animals and ideas of transition and regeneration is also related to their foreign origin. The earthly transition points and overlaps between this world and the next are usually guarded and inhabited by non-indigenous animals. In these instances, non-indigenous animals are preferred over indigenous animals. One can think about the psychopomp function of canid deities and their link with the desert and cemeteries; monkeys as inhabitants of the *3h.t* in the east; or the horned desert animals as afterworldly agents of regeneration on the D-Ware pottery. The combination of foreign habitat and other animal characteristics, such as appearance and behaviour, as well as a relative familiarity with the animals explains their inclusion.

Still, even though indigenous animals seem to be less suitable candidates in these contexts, the inclusion of non-indigenous animals is not essential. The eastern and western mountains and eastern and western *3h.t*, for example, do indeed take the form of lions or lion-leopard hybrids. However, occasionally, these geographical and metaphysical points of transition can also be simply visualised as mountains or anthropomorphic gods.¹⁹⁰⁰

¹⁸⁹⁸ Eg. Cairo CG 9434; Szpakowska, 2016: DemonBase: ID: 3178.

¹⁸⁹⁹ Vernus & Yoyotte, 2005: p. 287.

¹⁹⁰⁰ E.g. depicted in the tomb of Ramses X (Rosellini, 1844: no. LXV).

Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that lions, as powerful animals of transition and regeneration, are frequently found on (funerary) beds. However, these beds do not have to be decorated with lion or animal imagery. Additionally, three beds found in the tomb of Tutankhamun are decorated with animal imagery: one with hippopotami,¹⁹⁰¹ one with cows,¹⁹⁰² and one with lion-leopards.¹⁹⁰³ Indeed, not only the lion, but also other animals have similar apotropaic and regenerative qualities. In these instances, non-indigenous animals indeed can be considered more suitable candidates, because they are linked to transitional zones. However, again, they do not have to be present. Likewise, even though non-indigenous animals can be used to emphasise the foreign context of a situation and are considered especially rare and valuable products from abroad, they do not have to be present. In these instances, the animals cannot be replaced by indigenous animals or indigenous elements. However, they can be replaced by other non-indigenous elements. These elements include additional landscape features, such as plants, desert sand or mountains,¹⁹⁰⁴ but also precious minerals and foreign people.¹⁹⁰⁵

The above has aimed to demonstrate that the inclusion of a non-indigenous animal is usually based on its non-indigenous origin and a perceived otherness, combined with additional characteristics or functions. In most cases, these additional aspects are not unique for non-indigenous animals. One can think about qualities such as strength and speed, aggressive behaviour, and animals that function as providers of food or are seen in a medical context. In a few instances, however, these additional characteristics cannot be found in indigenous animals. It has been mentioned that monkeys can be included, because their appearance resembles human beings, and because of their extreme dexterity. Additionally, only the skins of leopards and cheetahs have a spotted or rosette pattern. Likewise, only the horse is used as a means of military transportation. Similar characteristics are not found among the indigenous animals.

¹⁹⁰¹ Cairo JE 62012; The Griffith Institute, Burton photographs no. p0015: <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/137-p0015.html> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

¹⁹⁰² Cairo JE 62013; The Griffith Institute, Burton photographs no. p0009: <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/073-p0009.html> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

¹⁹⁰³ Cairo JE 62011 (figure 108); The Griffith Institute, Burton photographs no. p2009: <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/035-p2009.html> (last accessed 24 February 2022).

¹⁹⁰⁴ E.g. Graff, 2009: p. 129, pl. 6.5: no. G1-3, V5; Robinson, 2003: p. 53 & fig. 5a-b; see above, p. 92-93 and figure 69.

¹⁹⁰⁵ The foreign origin of the human tribute bringers is emphasised and expressed by characteristic clothing, hair-styles, and facial features (Hallmann, 2006: p. 261-279); products such as incense and myrrh typically derive from Punt (idem, p. 269).

Still, in all of these instances, the foreign context of the animals plays an important role. Although horses are clearly depicted and described in an Egyptian setting, they are only seen in an elite or royal context. Furthermore, it is specifically mentioned that the best horses were brought from abroad and not bred in Egypt. Animal skins were of course used for various economic purposes, such as clothing or the preparation of bags. The spotted skins of the leopard and the cheetah, however, are specifically related to ideas of power that are embedded in a religious and transitional context. They serve as a garment for priests or the deceased elite and are particularly important for the opening of the mouth ritual. The foreign origin of these animals makes them especially suited for an afterworldly context, and the skins of other animals cannot be used in these specific settings. Also, it has been suggested that monkeys can be interpreted as ancestor figures. Not only their human resemblance, but also their foreign origin links these animals with the inhabitants of the afterworld.

Thus, even though no unique concepts can be observed, the foreign origin of an animal is very often one of the reasons for its inclusion and attached conceptualisation. These concepts have been discussed in separate chapters, but it has not been the aim of this construct to demonstrate a clear segregation between the various concepts. Rather, each concept has been discussed separately, in order to emphasise a specific aspect or aspects of an animal or source. Indeed, the same animals and sources are oftentimes discussed in more than one chapter, ultimately demonstrating that not only several animal characteristics but also multiple concepts can be at work at the same time. This shows and emphasises the ambivalent nature of the animals, but also the ambivalence of specific scenes and settings. It is often this combination, not only of characteristics but also of concepts, that explains the presence of an animal and maximises its efficiency.

The above presented findings are summarized in the following concluding statements:

- Non-indigenous animals are frequently linked to and express four larger concepts: chaos and wildness, order and power, transition and regeneration, and prosperity and prestige
- The discussed concepts are not unique to non-indigenous animals
 - all concepts can be expressed by indigenous animals or other elements as well
- All non-indigenous animals are (relatively) rare, not necessary for survival, and not part of everyday / common life
- The nature of all the animals, scenes and settings is highly ambivalent
- Multiple concepts can be expressed and combined simultaneously
- The inclusion of a non-indigenous animal is based on (a combination of) behavior, appearance, qualities, concrete function, level of familiarity, tradition, *non-indigenous origin*, and *perceived otherness*
- Inclusion based on *non-indigenous origin* and *perceived otherness* (foreign-based) is *unique* for non-indigenous animals:
 - these characteristics are usually of a direct or indirect ('hidden') importance
 - contrary to indigenous animals, non-indigenous animals can be:
 - a metaphor or symbol for a foreign region
 - emphasisers of a foreign context and of a foreign-based otherness
 - better candidates for and emphasisers / maximisers of concepts
 - non-indigenous animals are particularly important to emphasise the dichotomy between Egypt and the foreign 'other'
 - this (highly ambivalent) foreign-based otherness can be feared, sought after, or used as an inspiration for the afterworld

ABBREVIATIONS

- BD Book of the Dead: *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn; Quirke, 2013*
- CT Coffin Texts: *De Buck, 1935-1961*
- KRI Kitchen Ramesside Inscriptions: *Kitchen, 1975-1983*
- LÄ Lexikon der Ägyptologie: *Helck et al., 1975-1992*
- LEM Late-Egyptian Miscellanies: *Gardiner, 1937*
- LES Late-Egyptian Stories: *Gardiner, 1932*
- MES Middle-Egyptian Stories: *Blackman, 1932*
- MH Medinet Habu: *Nelson, 1930-1932*
- PT Pyramid Texts: *Allen, 2013*
- SiAE Science in Ancient Egypt
- TLA Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae
- Urk Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums
Urk I: *Sethe, 1932-1933*
Urk IV: *Sethe, 1906-1909; Helck, 1955-1958*
- Wb Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache: *Erman & Grapow, 1982*

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