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## **The relationship between humans and dogs in Ancient Egypt**

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# The relationship between humans and dogs in Ancient Egypt



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MA Thesis, Egyptology, Classics and Ancient Civilizations

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# Introduction

In January and February of 2023 I had the privilege of participating in a research trip to Egypt as part of my Master's program in Egyptology at Leiden University. During this journey, I was deeply struck by the way dogs were an integral part of daily life. Everywhere I looked, I saw dogs freely roaming the streets, mingling with the local populace and fulfilling unique roles within society. Albeit, not always in a positive way; some dogs were sick, kicked or malnourished, while in other cases, they were well-cared for and loved. This was in stark contrast to how we often treat our dogs in the Netherlands, including my own two pets, who lead a very different lifestyle, surrounded by luxury and protection.

These observations served as the inspiration for this thesis. As I reflected on the various ways in which the relationship between human and animal manifest across different cultures and historical periods, I realised there was much to learn about the role dogs played in ancient Egypt. This led to my research question: how did the ancient Egyptians perceive and interact with dogs in hieroglyphs, art, daily life, and societal context?

## Previous research:

Prior to this research, the focus regarding the dog in ancient Egypt has been in a broader context. Several studies have been done about the dog and covers diverse aspects, including the depiction of animal behaviour<sup>1</sup>, a dog's personal name<sup>2</sup>, the context of the relationship between dogs and humans, dogs were more commonly preferred as pets by monarchs or aristocrats<sup>3</sup>, studies about the dog breeds, ancient and also modern times<sup>4</sup>, and analyses of the behaviour, genetics, and anatomy of the ancient Egyptian dog to identify its ancestor<sup>5</sup>, and lastly a different perspective on the modern concept of a pet,

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<sup>1</sup> Evans, Linda. *Animal Behavior in Egyptian Art: Representations of the Natural World in Memphite Tomb Scenes*. Aris & Phillips, 2010, 107-108, 122-124.

<sup>2</sup> Fischer, Henry G. "A Supplement to Janssen's List of Dog's Names." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 47 (1961): 152-153. Simpson, William Kelly. "An Additional Dog's Name from a Giza Mastaba." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 63 (1977): 175. Vachala, Břetislav. "Zwei Hundennamen aus Abusir." *Göttinger Miszellen: Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion* 190 (2002): 83-85. Kuraszkiewicz, Kamil O. "Two Dogs' Names from Saqqara." *Göttinger Miszellen* 202 (2004): 78-90. Bouvier-Closse, Karine. "Les Noms Propres de Chiens, Chevaux et Chats de l'Égypte Ancienne. Le Rôle et le Sens du Nom Personnel Attribué à l'Animal." *Anthropozoologica* 37 (2003): 11-38. Zahradnik, Eveline. *Der Hund als geliebtes Haustier im Alten Ägypten: anhand von bildlichen, schriftlichen und archäologischen Quellen. Altes und Mittleres Reich*. Berlin: Pro Business, 2009. Brixhe, Jean. "Cynonymes (Noms de Chiens)." *Göttinger Miszellen* 255 (2018): 25-29. Thiringer, Melissa Marie. *An Egyptian's Best Friend? An Analysis and Discussion of the Depiction of the Domestic Dog in Ancient Egypt*. University of Memphis: Electronic Theses and Dissertations, 2090, 2020.

<sup>3</sup> Osborn, Dale J., and Jana Osbornova. *The Mammals of Ancient Egypt*. Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips Limited, 1998. Houlihan, Patrick F. "Animals in Egyptian Art and Hieroglyphs." In *A History of the Animal World in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Billie Jean Collins, 97-143. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

<sup>4</sup> Janssen, Rosalind, and Jack Janssen. *Egyptian Household Animals*. Shire Publications, 1999. Thiringer, *Egyptian's Best Friend*. Brixhe, Jean. "Contribution à L'Étude des Canidés dans L'Égypte Ancienne." *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 57, no. 1/2 (2000): 5-16. Brixhe, Jean. "Akhénaton mangeait-il ses chiens?" *CRBL* 125 (2014): 5-6. Brixhe, Jean. *Le Chien dans l'Égypte Ancienne: Les Origines*. Club Royal Belge du Lévrier, 2015, 31-34. Brixhe, Jean. "Cynonymes (Noms de Chiens)." *Göttinger Miszellen* 255 (2018): 25-29. Brixhe, Jean. "Two Dog Collars in Maherpra's Grave." *The Sloughi Review* 2 (2018): 17-25. Brixhe, Jean. "A propos de cynonymes. Comment on écrit l'égyptologie." *Göttinger Miszellen Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion* 258 (2019): 25.

<sup>5</sup> Brewer, Douglas, Terence Clark, and Adriana Phillips. *Dogs in Antiquity: Anubis to Cerberus the Origins of the Domestic Dog*. Oxbow Books, 2001.

which *"implies a personal relationship of intimacy and mutual understanding between the animal and the human."*<sup>6</sup>

In some of the works by these researchers other canine species such as the wolf, wild dog, and jackal are mentioned alongside the domestic dog. For sake of brevity and to clearly demarcate the scope of this thesis only the domestic dog will be investigated. For this same reason and due to its complexity religion and the Greco-Roman period will not be part of this thesis. Coptic will be mentioned due to its link with Demotic.

## Thesis structure

This thesis is structured to provide a comprehensive analysis of the relationship between humans and dogs in ancient Egypt. Chapter 1, "Symbolism in Art and Hieroglyphs," explores how dogs were depicted in ancient Egyptian art and hieroglyphs. Chapter 2, "Roles in Daily Life," investigates the practical roles that dogs played in the daily lives of ancient Egyptians and delves into the aspects of the human-dog relationship. Chapter 3, "Human-Dog Relationships & Societal Context," will examine the broader societal and cultural context of the human-dog relationship in ancient Egypt. The conclusion will summarise the findings of my research and reflect on how the relationship between humans and dogs in ancient Egypt provides insight into the broader social and cultural structures of this fascinating civilisation. The appendix will include all images referenced throughout the thesis, providing visual aids for further understanding.

This thesis aims not only to provide insights into the role of dogs in ancient Egypt but also to demonstrate how this relationship had deeper significance within the context of Egyptian society. By studying the interactions between humans and dogs, I hope to contribute to a better understanding of the rich and complex culture of ancient Egypt.

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<sup>6</sup> Mackinnon, Michael. "Pets." In *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*, edited by Gordon Lindsay Campbell. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014, 267.

# Chapter 1: Symbolism in Art and Hieroglyphs

## 1.1 Hieroglyphic Symbolism of the Dog

Language is fluid. Words change meaning over time and are continuously coming into fashion or falling out of favour. Grammar and pronunciation changes over time and can vary based on your location. To see how a word for instance *dog* changed over time, various dictionaries pertaining to a variety of time periods can be consulted.

Language undergoes significant changes throughout the Old Kingdom period to Coptic. These shifts include variations in grammar, vocabulary, and syntax. Consulting dictionaries spanning these periods provides insight into how ancient Egyptian language could have evolved. Several words will be discussed in this chapter, either interpreted as a word for dog or having a link to dogs. The dictionaries, grammar, and sign list that have been consulted are *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit*, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II: Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit*, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800-950 v. Chr.): die Sprache der Pharaonen*, *Das Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache: Zur Geschichte eines Großen Wissenschaftlichen Unternehmens der Akademie*, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, *Hieratische Paläographie: die ägyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit*. Bd I & Bd II, Chicago Demotic Dictionary, AKU-PAL, *Demotisches Glossar*, *A Coptic Dictionary*, *Coptic Dictionary Online*, *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae (TLA)*.<sup>7</sup> All words and signs are illustrated once in the text with a figure; other references to the figures can be found in the appendix.

### 1.1.1 *iw*

According to Raymond Faulkner, one of the first words in the dictionary meaning “*dog*” is *iw*.<sup>8</sup> In Rainer Hannig’s dictionary, two versions of the word *iw* are given. The first being the same as Faulkner, meaning *dog* with the dog as determinative.<sup>9</sup> Both refer to fragments of the Kahun Papyri veterinary

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<sup>7</sup> Gardiner, Alan Henderson. *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*. 3rd rev. ed. Oxford University Press, 1957. Faulkner, Raymond O. *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. Griffith Institute, 1981. Hannig, Rainer. *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit*. Von Zabern, 2003. Hannig, Rainer. *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II: Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit*. Von Zabern, 2006. Hannig, Rainer. *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800-950 v. Chr.): die Sprache der Pharaonen*. 4. überarb. Aufl. Von Zabern, 2006. Erman, Adolf, et al. *Das Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache: Zur Geschichte eines Großen Wissenschaftlichen Unternehmens der Akademie*. Reprint 2021. De Gruyter, 2022. Lesko, Leonard H., and Barbara Switalski Lesko. *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*. 2nd ed. B. C. Scribe Publications, 2002. Möller, Georg. *Hieratische Paläographie: die ägyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit*. Bd I & Bd II. 2nd ed. Hinrichs, 1927. Johnson, J.H., et al. \*Chicago Demotic Dictionary\*. Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures, Chicago, 2001. Accessed April 5, 2024.

<https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-demotic-dictionary>. AKU-PAL. "AKU-PAL Overall." Accessed April 5, 2024. <https://aku-pal.uni-mainz.de/>. Erichsen, W. *Demotisches Glossar*. Munksgaard, 1954. Crum, Walter Ewing. *A Coptic Dictionary*. Reprint, Clarendon Press, 1972. Coptic Dictionary Online. Edited by the Koptische/Coptic Electronic Language and Literature International Alliance (KELLIA). Accessed April 27, 2024. <https://coptic-dictionary.org/>. Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae. Edited by Tonio Sebastian Richter & Daniel A. Werning on behalf of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften and Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert & Peter Dils on behalf of the Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Accessed April 28, 2024. <https://thesaurus-linguae-egyptiae.de>.

<sup>8</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 12.

<sup>9</sup> Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch*, 50.



papyrus.<sup>10</sup> The recto side of this papyrus carries a text written in black and red ink . The parts concerning dogs are H, C, D, and K, and in part D the word *iw* is portrayed.<sup>11</sup>

Hannig adds the entry *ḥ3ꜥ n n3-n* alongside *iw*. Translating to *throw to the dogs (corpse)*.<sup>12</sup> This sentence originates from the Tale of the Two Brothers.<sup>13</sup> In this Hieratic text the phrase *ḥ3ꜥ n n3-n iw* is transliterated, translating to:

*“Presently he reached his home, and he killed his wife, cast her [to...] the dogs, and sat down in mourning over his younger brother.”*<sup>14</sup>

This example does not have further reference since part three of Hannig’s *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch* had not been published at the time. As of Hannig’s passing part three, concerning the time period this tale originates from, has been delayed indefinitely and the example remains as is for the time being.

Further explanation about the meaning of this sentence will be discussed in Chapter 3.

### 1.1.2 *iw̄iw*

*iw̄iw* is another word translating to *dog*, possibly an onomatopoeic representation of *iw*, representing the sound of a barking dog. Although in our modern pronunciation it is more like the sound a crying dog would produce. *iw̄iw* is found in Faulkner<sup>15</sup> and Hannig’s dictionary<sup>16</sup>. Neither specify the type of dog being referred to, which is the same for *iw*. Both Faulkner and Hannig mention the source CG 20506 (Figure 1.1). The word *iw̄iw* is shown at the 6 vertical lines in the second line (Figure 1.2).<sup>17</sup> *iw̄iw* is also found in Wolja Erichsen’s dictionary.<sup>18</sup> The word is masculine and mentions a personal name, further discussed later in this chapter. It is comparable to Faulkner and Hannig, but the determinative is the cow skin, and the hieroglyph of a dog is depicted in Faulkner and Hannig.

### 1.1.3 *krb*

Another word for *dog* is *krb*, found in Leonard Lesko’s dictionary. *krb* is not attested in the dictionaries of Faulkner or Hannig, likely because it appears only in a later period. The breed or type of dog is not specified.<sup>19</sup> Neither does it have a dog as determinative but the A52 sign, a kneeling man with a scourge

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<sup>10</sup> Griffith, Francis Llewellyn. *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob: (Principally of the Middle Kingdom)*. Quaritch, 1898, 8, 12-13, pl 19-20.

<sup>11</sup> Griffith, Francis Llewellyn. *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob: (Principally of the Middle Kingdom)*. Quaritch, 1898, 8, 12-13, pl 19-20.

<sup>12</sup> Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 31.

<sup>13</sup> Gardiner, Alan Henderson. *Late-Egyptian Stories*. Édition de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1931, p 1,6: 1 4.4, 7.6, 7.6. Moldenke, Charles Edward. *The Tale of the Two Brothers: A Fairy Tale of Ancient Egypt: The d’Orbiney Papyrus in Hieratic Characters in the British Museum*. The Elsinore Press, 1898, p 34, 78, line 75.

<sup>14</sup> Simpson, William Kelly, ed. *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, and Poetry*. Yale University Press, 2003, 85.

<sup>15</sup> Faulkner, *Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 12.

<sup>16</sup> Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II*, 32.

<sup>17</sup> Lange, H. O., and Heinrich Schäfer. *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo: No. 20001-20780*. Reichsdruckerei, 1902, 96.

<sup>18</sup> Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 22.

<sup>19</sup> Lesko, *Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, 175.

and is a determinative for ancestors, mummies, and nobles.<sup>20</sup> This difference could imply this version is linked to funerary practices.

Hoch explains that the word is probably of non-Egyptian origin.<sup>21</sup> James Hoch uses other languages like Coptic, Hebrew, Proto-Sinaitic, Akkadian and Amorite with words meaning *dog* for a possible origin. *Kalba* or *kalbu* are possible candidates for its origin and changed to *krb* in Egyptian.<sup>22</sup> The demotic word *krb* does not relate to the word *dog* in Erichsen's dictionary.<sup>23</sup> Consulting the Chicago dictionary further substantiates Erichsen.<sup>24</sup> Here *krb* is a variation of *krm*, neither have associations with dog or animal determinative.

#### 1.1.4 *khb*

*khb* is another word of interest. It does not mean *dog*, but the given translation is *roar, howl and to be violent*.<sup>25</sup> The hieroglyphs contain a sitting Seth animal, man with the striking stick in Faulkner. In Hannig's dictionary it can also be fully spelled out with the shortened Hieratic version of the coil. The equivalent of the unilateral letter w, the quail chick (G43)<sup>26</sup> and both quail chick and coil are used for plural form, the w, or u. Ending the word with D40, which is the forearm with a hand holding a stick, as determinative common in the Hieratic form. The TLA gives a similar translation as Hannig but does not use Hannig as a reference. It does not associate the word with the domestic dog. Possibly due to the Seth determinative.

*khb* is a special case. In contrast to *iw* and *tsm*, it does not translate to dog. The argument could be made it relates to dogs due to the translation to roar or howl. Sounds that relate to dogs. Counter to that argument is *khb* not translation to dog or having a link to dogs due to the E21 determinative<sup>27</sup>, which is a Seth animal. Seth animals refer to something loud, but they are not dogs and bear no relation to them. Looking at the origin of the roar translation from Faulkner, Aylward Blackman mentions it initially meant *assault* and *to be violent*, but can be used like the verb *khz*, which means to *roar*<sup>28</sup>, also mentioned by Faulkner and Hannig.<sup>29</sup>

#### 1.1.5 *tsm*

*tsm* is one of the better-known words meaning *dog*, translated as hound in Faulkner's dictionary.<sup>30</sup> Hieroglyphs show a version with the determinative with the cow skin and a female version adding the letter t. The word below *tsm* in Faulkner shows the same transliteration with a different translation. It

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<sup>20</sup> Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 1327.

<sup>21</sup> Hoch, James E. *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*. Princeton University Press, 1994, 328, 330.

<sup>22</sup> Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian*, 328,330.

<sup>23</sup> Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 565.

<sup>24</sup> Johnson, J.H., et al. *Chicago Demotic Dictionary*. Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures, Chicago, 2001. Accessed April 5, 2024. <https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-demotic-dictionary>. See letter K, page 30.

<sup>25</sup> Faulkner, *Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 287. Lesko, *Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, 177.

<sup>26</sup> Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 1348, 1392.

<sup>27</sup> Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 958.

<sup>28</sup> Blackman, A. M., and H. W. Fairman. "The Myth of Horus at Edfu—II." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 29, no. 1 (1943): 2–36. <https://doi.org/10.1177/030751334302900102>, 19. Faulkner, *Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 287. Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II*, 2580. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 958.

<sup>29</sup> Faulkner, *Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 286. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 958. Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II*, 2580.

<sup>30</sup> Faulkner, *Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 308.

is translated as *train or troops (of hounds)*. Faulkner mentions that this translation is either unknown or doubtful.<sup>31</sup> Faulkner's translation is based on Kurt Sethe's transcription. In this transcription of the hieroglyphs the word *t̲sm* can be seen with the dog hieroglyph with the build of a typical *t̲sm* hound with a curled tail, pointed ears, slim body and pointed snout. Sethe adds a note that *Tsm* in this context could mean to follow like a dog.<sup>32</sup>

The word *Tsm* translated as *hound* in Faulkner's dictionary is also found in Hannig's work. While most versions in Hannig's dictionary are like Faulkner's with *Tsm* spelled out and a dog determinative, Hannig includes a few variations. Specifically, Hannig identifies the dog as a greyhound/dog. In contrast, Faulkner and Lesko simply translate it as *hound*, not further specifying the greyhound or any other breed.

It seems that Hannig translated *Tsm* and *t̲sm̲t* as *greyhound* with one exception: *t̲sm n ḥnk̲yt* which he translates as *lapdog*.<sup>33</sup> The German translation is *Schoßhund*, which may carry a different connotation, such as 'companion dog,' in German. This exception is largely based on one stela supposedly showing a lapdog. (Figure 1.1) Material on the stela is inconclusive due to the quality of the imagery. The image shows a person seated and a person standing. There could possibly be a dog underneath the chair or on the seated person's lap. Due to possible overexposure this cannot be determined. Closer inspection of the stele would be required to determine the validity of this translation.

Hannig's reference to CG 20506 (Figure 1.2) is further cause for doubt concerning this translation, with line 2 showing the transliteration *iw̲iw* for *dog* and line three the transliteration *t̲sm* followed by *n ḥnk̲yt*.<sup>34</sup> Following the translation *lapdog* is illogical since the dog in this example is too large to be qualified as such.<sup>35</sup>

Another reference by Hannig is to Hatnub, spelled *Tsm* and while translated in the text as his *dogs*, the *n ḥnk̲yt* is not followed by it.<sup>36</sup> A translation to *lapdog* would not fit here since nowhere the text refers to the deceased sitting down and the dog being with or on him, it is only translated as:

“... seine Hunde bei (?) ihm”<sup>37</sup>

Here a man is portrayed with his bow and dog. The hound has a curled tail and pointed snout as a greyhound would (Figure 1.3). The build of the dog is cause for doubt. Normally, a greyhound would be depicted with a slender, long body and legs. In this case it is smaller with shorter legs and a blunt snout. This could be attributed to the artist or be referring to a saluki type dog, see chapter 1.3.1, not a lapdog.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Faulkner, *Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 326.

<sup>32</sup> Sethe, Kurt Heinrich. *Ägyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im akademischen Unterricht: Texte des Mittleren Reiches*. 3e unveränd. Aufl. WBG, 1928, 82, 17.

<sup>33</sup> Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II*, 2761.

<sup>34</sup> Lange, H. O., and H. Schäfer. *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches im Museum von Kairo. Vol. 4, Tafeln. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, nos. 20001-20780*. Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1902. Plate XXXIV (20506).

<sup>35</sup> Lange, *Grab- und Denksteine*, 96.

<sup>36</sup> Anthes, Rudolf, and Georg Möller. *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1928, 79-80.

<sup>37</sup> Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, 80.

<sup>38</sup> Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, 80.

Another example of a saluki type dog can be seen on the stela of Hennoe (Figure 1.4) dating back to the First Intermediate Period.<sup>39</sup> Tsm is not mentioned but a dog is clearly represented. The characteristics of the dog clearly differentiate it from the greyhound type. The dog has a straight tail, floppy ears and a full and muscular build. The dog is illustrated underneath the chair, making it seem small. Most likely a saluki type dog is depicted here, seemingly small due to the forced perspective.

### 1.1.6 *whr*

*whr* is provided by the TLA and the only word recognised by the TLA and Erichsen associated with *dogs*. The TLA specifically refers to Erichsen for this interpretation.<sup>40</sup> The feminine version of *whr* is *whr.t* originating from The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London. The text provides the following translation:

“ *a longing such as a bitch feels for (6) a dog,* ”<sup>41</sup>

Here both *whr* and *whr.t* are used. The word for *dog* being *whr*, a masculine word, while the *bitch* is the female dog represented by the word *whr.t*.<sup>42</sup> *whr* and *whr.t* do not appear in Hannig and Faulkner. This likely means that they were not used in earlier periods and originate in the later period Erichsens work pertains to. Chapter 1.1.6 provides the name *pꜣwhr* as an example of *whr* used in the personal name of a dog.

### 1.1.7 *ꜥbw* and *ꜥbw.tw*

The TLA provides *ꜥbw.tw* as a word for *dog* and *ꜥbw* for a *personal name*. Hannig does not and gives the meaning ‘*clean*’ or ‘*unclean*’, depending on the context.<sup>43</sup> Erichsen provides a similar interpretation transliterating *ab* as *clean*, having nothing directly to do with an animal determinative or dogs.<sup>44</sup> The translation could be used as a descriptor for characteristics of a dog. A dog could be described as unclean if it has fleas or ticks, or when it sleeps on the street. The TLA further refers to Fischer for *ꜥbw.tw*.<sup>45</sup> Here it becomes clear *ꜥbw.tw* actually refers to *Abutiyuw*, a personal name for a dog. Personal names are further discussed in chapter 1.4. Another reference to Junker also provides a dog with a personal name.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Rijksmuseum van Oudheden. "Stèle van Hennoe." Accessed August 3, 2024.

<https://www.rmo.nl/collectie/collectiezoeker/collectiestuk/?object=151>.

<sup>40</sup> Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 97.

<sup>41</sup> Griffith, F. Ll. *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*. Vol. 3. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1904, vers col XII, 185.

<sup>42</sup> Griffith, *The Demotic Magical*, vers col XII, 184.

<sup>43</sup> Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch*, 263-264, 493-494.

<sup>44</sup> Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 58.

<sup>45</sup> Fischer, Henry G. "An Old Kingdom Monogram." *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 93, no. 1-2 (1966): 56-68.

<sup>46</sup> Junker, Hermann. *Gîza 5. Die Mastaba des Snb (Seneb) und die umliegenden Gräber*. Wien: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1941.

### 1.1.8 *ḥzt* and *ḥzt.t*

These words do not appear until the Ptolemaic period, meaning ‘*sacred dog*’ or ‘*dog*’.<sup>47</sup> The period in which these words first appear fall outside of the scope of this research paper and will not be further expanded on.

### 1.1.9 *καλωπογ* and *ογζορ*

In Coptic it is immediately fascinating to observe two types of distinction between the word for *dog*<sup>48</sup>, namely *ογζορ* and *καλωπογ* (Figure 1.5). *ογζορ* being the word for *dog* and *καλωπογ* the word for *small dog*.<sup>49</sup> The Coptic word *καλωπογ* means *dog* while in Greek, the word for *dog* is *κύων*.<sup>50</sup> *ογζορ* is used for *male dog*, and *ογζορε* for *female dog*. No further type or breed of dog is specified for either word.<sup>51</sup>

These more detailed names give an idea for the breed of dog, it being highly unlikely that small dog refers to a greyhound. What breed a small dog could reference to is discussed later in this chapter.

Searching for the word dog in Coptic revealed a few interesting dog-related words. *Dog fly* is interesting in this list because the word *ⲁϥ* translates to *fly*, as the insect. In Crum’s dictionary several examples are given such as *fly*, *wasp*, *bee*.<sup>52</sup> The dog fly is a type of fly found in stables hence another name for dog fly being stable fly.<sup>53</sup>

Another translation, *leafort/dog-headed plant*, used as an ingredient in spells, comes from a text concerning protection against magic.<sup>54</sup> From the Sahidic Coptic text, dating from a later period 601-800 CE., *κενοκεφαλον* is translated as cynocephalum. A note mentions *dog-head* as literal translation is, and it may refer to the leafort of snapdragon plant.<sup>55</sup>

## 1.2 Other Canine Connections in Language

Most words discussed in chapter 1.1 are found in multiple dictionaries. In some cases there are words that either have an association with dogs by describing their tasks or jobs, the sounds they make or their personal names. Personal names will be discussed later in this chapter. When searching for the word dog in the TLA words previously discussed such as *iwiw*, *iwh.w*, *ʿbw.tw*, *whr*, *whr.t*, *ḥzt*, *ḥzt.t* come forward. However a different word such as *bnf* shows up as well (Figure 1.6).<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Wilson, Penelope. *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 78. Leuven: Peeters, 1997, 749 f.

<sup>48</sup> Coptic Dictionary Online. Edited by the Koptische/Coptic Electronic Language and Literature International Alliance (KELLIA). Accessed April 27, 2024. <https://coptic-dictionary.org/>.

<sup>49</sup> Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, 105.

<sup>50</sup> "Woordenboek Grieks-Nederlands." Accessed August 3, 2024. <https://woordenboekgrieks.nl/>.

<sup>51</sup> Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, 50.

<sup>52</sup> Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, 23.

<sup>53</sup> More information about the stable fly can be read in Bishop, F. "The Stable Fly (*Stomoxys caclitrans* L.) An Important Live Stock Pest." *Journal of Economic Entomology* 6 (1913): 112-126.

<sup>54</sup> Dosoo, Korshi, Edward O.D. Love, and Markéta Preininger (chief editors). "KYP T1372: For Buried Magic," Kyprianos Database of Ancient Ritual Texts and Objects. Accessed June 13, 2024. <https://www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/text/kyp-t-1372>.

<sup>55</sup> Dosoo, Accessed June 13, 2024. <https://www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/text/kyp-t-1372>.

<sup>56</sup> TLA, Accessed June 13, 2024. <https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de>

Two more words not mentioned in the TLA are found in Hannig's dictionary. Namely *bnwtj*, meaning *the brutish one*,<sup>57</sup> and *s3b*,<sup>58</sup> meaning *to flow, jackal, jackal lake, dignitary and judge*. All have the jackal determinative or the recumbent dog, but very different meanings. The TLA does not connect these with the meaning dog, likely due to the Seth determinative. Signs will be discussed further in Chapter 1.2.1.

*iwh.w* provided by the TLA seemingly describes a title or job (Figure 1.6). It translates to *keeper (?) of animals (dogs, monkeys)*. In Hannig, *iwh.w* is linked to dogs as well. Hannig interprets it as the profession of the dwarves, hunting-dog keeper.<sup>59</sup> Hunting and other tasks of dogs will be further discussed in Chapter 2.

Another word previously not discussed that could reference a job is *iš.w*. Translating to *dogs (who tow the solar bark)* (Figure 1.6). Although further investigation into the reference and its origin leads to the more probable interpretation of jackals, not dogs.<sup>60</sup>

The TLA refers to *wh*, *whwh*, *bfn*, *bhn* as sounds dogs make when it barks (Figure 1.6). *wh*, *bhn* are both found in Hannig as well, but neither translation provided by Hannig for these words have anything to do with the sound of a bark.<sup>61</sup>

## 1.2.1 Signs

The Alan Gardiner sign list provides an overview of signs with dog or canine animals categorised under the letter E for mammals.<sup>62</sup> E14-E16 are categorised as dog or canine, E17-E19 as jackal and E20-E21 as Seth animal with no connection to the domestic dog.<sup>63</sup> E14 is a determinative for dog, female dog and greyhound. E15 and E16 are the word *inpw* meaning *Anubis*. For example *tsm* is spelled with T14 sign with the throw stick vertically<sup>64</sup>, N35A the three water lines<sup>65</sup> and sign S24 which is the girdle knot.<sup>66</sup>

*iw* uses the F27<sup>67</sup> sign as determinative which is the cow skin.<sup>68</sup> It is used for leather, hide, skin, mice, or mammals. This example of the word *iw* originates in the Doomed Prince story.<sup>69</sup> Hannig also mentions the determinative meaning wolf, jackal and pack. This suggests it may possibly not related to domestic dogs. That does not exclude the possibility of it being a determinative for the domestic dog or that the meaning might have changed with time. Lesko's Late Egyptian dictionary for example does

<sup>57</sup> Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II*, 816.

<sup>58</sup> Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II*, 2082-2085.

<sup>59</sup> Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I*, 60. Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II*, 147.

<sup>60</sup> Stegbauer, Katharina, with contributions by Altägyptisches Wörterbuch, Peter Dils, Billy Böhm, and Lutz Popko. "Sentence ID IBUBdWHrlejYkvpualoklWx5r0." In *\*Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae\**, Corpus issue 18, Web app version 2.1.3, May 16, 2023. Edited by Tonio Sebastian Richter & Daniel A. Werning on behalf of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften and Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert & Peter Dils on behalf of the Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Accessed June 13, 2024. <https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de/sentence/IBUBdWHrlejYkvpualoklWx5r0>.

<sup>61</sup> Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I*, 366,422. Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch*, 715-716,819.

<sup>62</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 458-459. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 1338.

<sup>63</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 460.

<sup>64</sup> Gardiner, Alan Henderson. *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*. 3rd rev. ed. Oxford University Press, 1957, 513. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 1377.

<sup>65</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 490. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 1360.

<sup>66</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 508. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 1372.

<sup>67</sup> Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 1342.

<sup>68</sup> Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II*, 136.

<sup>69</sup> Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, p 1,6: 4.4, 7.6, 7.6.

translates iw as a dog, but there are some differences in the use of determinatives between the different dictionaries. In Faulkner's case, the dog is no longer depicted. The same is true for Hannig's dictionary with a different determinative.<sup>70</sup> In Hieratic it was not commonly used as a determinative and was less precise using the icons.

For Late Egyptian Georg Möller's paleography is consulted and AKU-PAL for Hieratic.<sup>71</sup> Möller classified dog signs under E for mammals like Gardiner. While Gardiner had the dog/jackal/canine signs under E14-E21, Möller's numbers them E127-E130 and E14. AKU-PAL works differently and is more up to date. All signs are included under the header "grapheme". As with Gardiner and Möller a variety of E-numbers are included where E0220<sup>72</sup> is E14/ E127, further explained below.<sup>73</sup>

In Moller's paleography E127 is a depiction of a dog, E128-130 the Jackal and E144 the Seth animal.<sup>74</sup> Interestingly E127 shows examples from dynasty 13 (Bulaq 13) and the Hyksos period, which are later period examples. AKU-PAL shows a Middle Kingdom example from a Hieratic text as an example.<sup>75</sup> Furthermore, three variants are present. The first and second dating from the Second Intermediate Period (Sebekhotep III. Sechemresewadjtaui) and the third originating from the New Kingdom (18th Dynasty, Amenhotep II. Aacheperure). This last example is a hymn from the Cairo Egyptian Museum.<sup>76</sup> No earlier examples are present.

While the jackal, E128-E130, appears in earlier examples from dynasty 3 in Elephantine, Abusir and the Middle kingdom period in Sinuhe. The Seth sign, E144, seems to originate in dynasty 11 onwards. Examples can be found in Sinuhe and the later Hyksos period in Ebers's text. Consulting Möller Bd. II, only E128 and E144 are provided. He gives E128 an 19th dynasty version in Ennene and the 21st dynasty version. E144 seems more popular due to its presence during the reign of Thutmosis III, in Louvre 3226, up to dynasty 21.<sup>77</sup> AKU-PAL has a 128 number as well, E0270.<sup>78</sup> The first example dates back to the Old Kingdom (Teti) and continues into the Greco-Roman period. In the example of Teti it is called a jackal and corresponds to E17 in Gardiner.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Lesko, *Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, 18.

<sup>71</sup> Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie Bd I & Bd II*. AKU-PAL. "AKU-PAL Overall." Accessed April 5, 2024. <https://aku-pal.uni-mainz.de/>.

<sup>72</sup> AKU PAL. E127 in Moller is E0220 in AKU PAL : "Graphemes," Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur – Mainz, accessed August 4, 2024, <https://aku-pal.uni-mainz.de/graphemes#id=192>.

<sup>73</sup> "AKU-PAL: Grapheme ID 192." *Mainz University Graphemic Paleography Database*. Accessed August 7, 2024. <https://aku-pal.uni-mainz.de/graphemes#id=192>.

<sup>74</sup> Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie Bd.I*, 11-13.

<sup>75</sup> "Text ID 5000029." *Mainz University Graphemic Paleography Database*. Accessed August 7, 2024. <https://aku-pal.uni-mainz.de/texts/5000029>.

<sup>76</sup> "Text ID 5000367." *Mainz University Graphemic Paleography Database*. Accessed August 7, 2024. <https://aku-pal.uni-mainz.de/texts/5000367>.

<sup>77</sup> Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie Bd.II*, 11-12.

<sup>78</sup> "Graphemes," *Aku-Pal*, Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz, accessed August 7, 2024, <https://aku-pal.uni-mainz.de/graphemes#id=195>.

<sup>79</sup> Anthes, Rudolf. *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub nach den Aufnahmen von Georg Möller*, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens 9 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1928), 19; pl. 9.

## 1.3 Breeds representations

The challenge of identifying dog breeds accurately from Ancient Egyptian images is important to note as pointed out by Douglas Brewer, and Rosalind and Jack Janssen<sup>80</sup>, as the artistic renditions may deviate from the way the dog actually looked and breeds in ancient Egypt cannot be directly compared to modern breeds. To connect a word to an image is a step that requires careful and critical consideration.

However, specific classifications have been established, which will be further discussed below. In this part of this chapter characteristics will be further discussed. For the purpose of reference and illustration I will show possible current day counterparts that have been used as representations for these classifications and refer to these types going forward. Their representations regarding tasks are further elaborated on in chapter 2.

### 1.3.1 Two variations of sighthounds

The two variations of sighthounds are *tsm*-hounds (Basenji) (Figure 1.7 and Figure 1.8) and sloughi hounds (Saluki) (Figure 1.4 and Figure 1.9).<sup>81</sup> *tsm* is a known word for dog as shown by Faulkner's dictionaries and onwards. It was translated as *hound* and later specifically translated as *greyhound*. *tsm*-hounds have curly tails and pointy ears,<sup>82</sup> linking them to the modern version of the Basenji, a breed of hunting dog. These are short-haired, small, have curly tails, pointy ears and are athletic. They have different colours such as red, black, tricolour and brindle.

In Ancient Egypt the *tsm*-hounds (Figure 1.8) were portrayed with various colourings. Ranging from black on white to shades of yellowish, greyish, and mottled brown<sup>83</sup> As shown in the *tsm* dogs from Khnumhotep's tomb (figure 2.4). They were mostly depicted in the Old Kingdom.<sup>84</sup>

*Tsm*-hounds were used for hunting. A notable characteristic resemblance of the modern Basenjis is that they do not bark. In Ancient Egypt, greyhounds were known to attack and take down large prey despite their small size. Being silent would be a useful characteristic to sneak up on and take down larger prey. There is no way to know if these hounds shared this characteristic with the modern Basenji. *tsm*-hounds were used by nobility to hunt for sport from the 3rd millennium onward.<sup>85</sup> They were also used as herding dogs to drive prey into traps.<sup>86</sup> When herding, it was important that the animals were not killed but captured in large numbers. Here the dogs had a role of hunting and herding these animals without killing them.<sup>87</sup>

Going forward, *tsm*-hounds will be referred to as greyhounds, with a note that not all greyhounds are exactly alike, and differences exist between modern-day greyhounds and those in Ancient Egypt.

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<sup>80</sup> Janssen, *Egyptian Household Animals*, 9. Brewer, *Dogs in Antiquity*, 33.

<sup>81</sup> Janssen and Janssen, *Egyptian Household Animals*, 9.

<sup>82</sup> Janssen and Janssen, *Egyptian Household Animals*, 9; Brewer, *Dogs in Antiquity*, 32.

<sup>83</sup> Osborn, *Mammals of Ancient Egypt*, 60.

<sup>84</sup> Thiringer, *Egyptian's Best Friend*, 15.

<sup>85</sup> Bard, *Predynastic and Early Dynastic*, 69.

<sup>86</sup> Hendrickx, *Late Predynastic/Early Dynastic rock art*, 206.

<sup>87</sup> Riemer, *Desert animals in the eastern Sahara*, 27.



Sloughi, possibly a Berber pronunciation of the Saluki, is often shown as a breed with floppy ears and a slender build. They are seen in the Old Kingdom continuing into the Middle and New Kingdom. They are sometimes visible alongside greyhound dogs in hunting scenes.<sup>88</sup> They also appear as family dogs.<sup>89</sup> In Nebamun's tomb,<sup>90</sup> a female Saluki-type dog is depicted lactating.<sup>91</sup> From the Middle Kingdom until the end of the New Kingdom their depiction changes. The muzzle is shorter, they look heavier and show a variety of fur colours.<sup>92</sup> The colours shown are white with either brown or black patches, tan, cream and black.<sup>93</sup>

As mentioned earlier, it is important to take artistic renditions into consideration. These portraying's could be the Sloughi/Saluki type dog, but could have looked different. Just as differences exist within the Saluki breed today. Where some have feathered fur on their legs, thighs, ears and last part of the tail (Figure 1.8), others have shorter fur.<sup>94</sup> These differences within a certain breed could have led to the difference in their representation across time, without necessarily differentiating multiple breeds.

### 1.3.2 (Modern) Corgi/dachshund

This breed has comparatively fewer depictions. The ones that exist originate in the Old and Middle Kingdom with floppy or pointed ears and short legs which look like the modern corgi (Figure 1.10) and dachshund (Figure 1.11).<sup>95</sup> The first Corgi-like dogs appeared in the early 12th century AD. Possibly as early as the 10th century AD under Hywel Dda, King of Wales.<sup>96</sup> Different types of Corgis exist. The Pembroke Corgi has a fox-like head, standing slightly pointed ears and a straight tail which points upwards. The Cardigan Corgi has a common ancestor as the Dachshund. This breed has more of a passion for hunting and slightly differs from the Pembroke.

The Dachshund is a creation of German breeders. They appear with short, long and rough hair and are mostly used in the hunt for foxes and badgers.<sup>97</sup> There is no evidence these breeds have an Egyptian ancestor. Depictions do suggest a very similar breed of dog, resembling modern Corgis or Dachshunds, did exist at the time.

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<sup>88</sup> Thiringer, *Egyptian's Best Friend*, 16-17.

<sup>89</sup> Osborn, *The Mammals of Ancient Egypt*, 65-66.

<sup>90</sup> Davies, N. M., and A. H. Gardiner. *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*. Vol. I. University of Chicago Press, 1936, 35, pl 15.

<sup>91</sup> Brixhe, *Two Dog Collars*, 24.

<sup>92</sup> Janssen, *Egyptian Household Animals*, 9. Brewer, *Dogs in Antiquity*, 34.

<sup>93</sup> Thiringer, *Egyptian's Best Friend*, 16.

<sup>94</sup> More information about the modern Saluki breed can be found on: NVOW. "Rasinformatie." Accessed April 5, 2024. <https://nvow.nl/onze-rassen/saluki/rasinformatie>.

<sup>95</sup> Thiringer, *Egyptian's Best Friend*, 17

<sup>96</sup> Dijkhorst-Noij, R.C.M. "Geschiedenis." Dutch Welsh Corgi Association. Accessed August 3, 2024.

[https://welshcorgiassociation.nl/?page\\_id=69](https://welshcorgiassociation.nl/?page_id=69).

<sup>97</sup> "De variëteiten." Accessed August 3, 2024. <https://www.teckelclub.nl/rasinfo/de-varie%ef%bb%bfteiten/>.

A possible example can be found in the Cairo museum (1.11).<sup>98</sup> A stela dating from the Middle Kingdom, under CG 20596 (JE 21905) at Abydos.<sup>99</sup> Hans Lange and Heinrich Schäfer describe the object in depth with no mention of the dog on the stela. Jacques Vandier also mentions this stela. Some aspects are described but the dog is not mentioned. Looking closely at the stela, a dog can be seen underneath the chair, standing, with a curled tail and pointy ears. With just a cursory look it could be identified as a pig. A closer look leads me to believe it resembles a well-loved and slightly overweight corgi or dachshund type dog. Despite the curled tail, not typically found in modern Corgi or Dachshund, Corgis can curl their tail. The pointy snout and ears resemble a modern dachshund. In this case the curled tail could be a unique characteristic or a variation within the breed.

### 1.3.3 Mastiff-like

This breed was rarely depicted, but appears during the Predynastic, Old and New Kingdom.<sup>100</sup> They are portrayed with a long tail, floppy ears and a big muzzle. According to Brewer this could mean these represent a heavier sighthound.<sup>101</sup> The modern Mastiff (Figure 1.13) is a large breed of dog characterised by a short coat, long tail, and broad muzzle, bearing striking resemblance to the Ancient Egyptian dogs in these depictions. A possible example of this breed is found on a macehead from Hierakonpolis depicting three dogs and three lions (Figure 1.14).<sup>102</sup> The dogs are of similar size compared to the lions. Their bodies are bulkier than the often seen greyhound dogs. A possible figurine of a mastiff was also found here.<sup>103</sup>

### 1.3.4 “Pariah dog”

Depictions of the pariah dog have been found from the Predynastic, early Old and Middle Kingdom.<sup>104</sup> They are named pariah due to their resemblance to modern stray dogs (Figure 1.15 and Figure 1.16).<sup>105</sup> Pariah dogs are depicted as large dogs, with straight or partly curled tails, pointy ears and a wolf-like appearance.<sup>106</sup> A possible example is a stela in the Cairo museum dating to the Middle Kingdom, from the reign of Mentuhotep, under CG 20697 (JE 12642) at Abydos, This stela depicts a dog seemingly small in size (Figure 1.17). While Lange describes the stela in depth, it is only noted that a dog is seated under the chair.<sup>107</sup> The dog has pointy ears, a slender build and a thin and loose, almost catlike, tail. Due to its comparatively mixed characteristics I would argue that this represents either a pariah dog or mixed breed dog.

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<sup>98</sup> Vandier, Jacques. *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne Tome II, Les grandes époques*. Picard, 1954, 492-497, fig 299 top right p 495.

<sup>99</sup> Lange, *Grab- und Denksteine II*, pl. 53; ii, 236-237.

<sup>100</sup> Thiringer, *An Egyptian's Best Friend*, 17.

<sup>101</sup> Brewer, Clark, and Phillips, *Dogs in Antiquity*, 37.

<sup>102</sup> Quibell, James Edward, et al. *Hierakonpolis, Part 1*. B. Quaritch, 1900, p 8, pl 19. Bard, K.A. "Some Predynastic and Early Dynastic Representations of the Dog," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 32 (2005): 68. Osborn, *Mammals of Ancient Egypt*, 60.

<sup>103</sup> Quibell, *Hierakonpolis* 7, pl 12, 13, 20.

<sup>104</sup> Thiringer, *An Egyptian's Best Friend*, 17.

<sup>105</sup> Osborn, *Mammals of Ancient Egypt*, 57.

<sup>106</sup> Osborn, *Mammals of Ancient Egypt*, 57.

<sup>107</sup> Lange, *Grab- und Denksteine*, pl. 53; ii, 325-326.

### 1.3.5 Mongrel/mixed breed

This last breed is the rarest breed, even though Brewer suggests that most dogs in Ancient Egypt would have been mongrels.<sup>108</sup> Other words for mongrel are or mixed breed (Figure 1.18). The latter will be used in this chapter. The aforementioned stela CG 20697 (JE 12642) depicts a possible representation of this breed (Figure 1.17). The mixed breed often has no known purebred ancestors, and are the result of unintentional interbreeding of different breeds.

As suggested by Brewer, most dogs in Ancient Egypt were likely mixed breed dogs to some extent. While I agree, I find it likely there were some breeds with preferred characteristics, such as the greyhound, saluki, mastiff and corgi/dachshund-like, which were bred to some extent to preserve these characteristics. This is substantiated by their mostly unchanging representation through time, making it possible to differentiate these breeds.

As discussed, in ancient Egypt dogs were depicted in various forms and held symbolic significance that evolved over time. One of the most prominent examples is the depiction of the Tsm breed, also known as the greyhound. The Tsm dogs were slender and agile, resembling modern-day greyhounds or Saluki's. The greyhounds were portrayed with pointed ears and a lean body, ideal for their role as hunting companions and guardians, and the Saluki's similar build but with flopped ears. The language used to describe dogs evolved significantly over time. The term *iw*, originally a broad term for *dog*, gradually came to represent domesticated dogs, see chapter 2.1.3, reflecting their roles as companions and protectors in society. On the other hand, *ism* emerged as a specialised term referring to sleek and agile breeds like greyhounds, prized for their hunting abilities and role as guardians. This distinction highlights how Egyptians valued specific traits in their canine companions.

## 1.4 Individual names

In some cases dogs had their own personal names. These could refer to physical descriptions such as colour, distinct characteristics or qualities.<sup>109</sup> Several studies have been done concerning named dogs. One of the first is Jozef Janssen's list.<sup>110</sup> Others either added more names to the list or made a different numbering list.<sup>111</sup> Thiringer noted "*The total number of named dogs before the inception of this research was 95 names, numbered from 1 to 93.*"<sup>112</sup> The entire list of dog names consists of 95 names, and a couple of these will be discussed in this chapter.

A known named dog is *Abutiyuw*, which can be an onomatopoeic representation of a dog's bark, a special dog in Giza. The dog was a guard dog and received a special burial. *Abutiyuw* was buried in a tomb alongside several treasures, among which: fine linen, a coffin, incense and perfumed ointment.<sup>113</sup> The dog was a royal guard dog, but also a cherished part of the family as a household pet. This shows dogs were not merely used as labour animals in hunting, guarding and herding but were treated as part of a family.

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<sup>108</sup> Brewer, *Dogs in Antiquity*, 39.

<sup>109</sup> Janssen, *Egyptian Household Animals*, 11. Thiringer, *Egyptian's Best Friend*, 53.

<sup>110</sup> Janssen, Jozef M. A. "Über Hundennamen im pharaonischen Ägypten." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung*. Otto Harrassowitz, 1958.

<sup>111</sup> Fischer, *A Supplement*, 152-153. Simpson, *An additional dog's name*, 175. Vachala, *Zwei Hundennamen*, 83-85. Kuraszkiwicz, *Two dogs' names*, 78-90. Bouvier-Closse, *Les noms propres*. Zahradnik, *Der Hund*, 25-29.

<sup>112</sup> Thiringer, *Egyptian's Best Friend*, 49.

<sup>113</sup> Reisner, George A. "The Dog Which Was Honored by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt." *Bulletin - Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 34, no. 206 (1936): 97.

A second example is a scene that portrays two named dogs. *jꜣkz* and *ꜥbw* are the names given in the TLA. Originally described in Hermann Junker's *Giza 5* of the tomb of Seneb.<sup>114</sup> In this tomb a scene shows greyhound-type dogs with a slim build and pointy ears, curled tails and ribbons around their necks. Their names are written above their depictions (Figure 1.19). The presence of ribbons here will be further discussed in chapter 3.2.1.

Another example is found on the stela of Kai, in the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung: museum-digital museen zu Berlin (AE 22820).<sup>115</sup> Here two dogs are depicted. They are named 5-*nw*, which translates to the *Fifth* and 6-*nw*, which translates to the *Sixth*. "Naming" dogs with numbers possibly indicates the number of dogs which Kai owned. Either throughout his life as a continuing count, or at one point where he owned at least six dogs at the same time.<sup>116</sup>

A fourth example can be seen in the tomb of Maherpra. Here two collars were found, one of which had *ts n.t nꜣw.t* written on it, translating to as *the one from town*, and *ꜥsm n pr.f*, translating to *sighthound of his house*.<sup>117</sup> Since the tomb was found in the Valley of the Kings, as a non-royal, it is a possibility the word town highly likely refers to Thebes.<sup>118</sup> These collars are described in chapter 3.2.1.

A fifth example is found on a stela in what is now the Louvre museum.<sup>119</sup> Its origin lies in Oumm el-Qaab and dates to the Early Dynastic period. On the stela a dog is seen (Figure 1.20). The pointy ears and snout, curled tail and slim body are the typical characteristics of the greyhound type. Shown above the dog, is the name, *šd*, meaning *Sed*.

A sixth example comes from a tomb relief dating back to the Old Kingdom (Figure 1.21), currently residing in the Michael C. Carlos Museum.<sup>120</sup> The relief depicts a dwarf and a dog. The dog has all the typical characteristics of the greyhound type dog. The dwarf is holding the dog by a lead connected to a collar around its neck. Above the dog its name *hbn* is depicted, meaning *ebony*. Likely this name was based on its colour being black or a dark brown.

A final example of a personal name is *pꜣwhr* using the word *whr* (dog) in its name as mentioned in chapter 1.1.6. Its full meaning being *'the dog'*.<sup>121</sup> Not a very creative name for a dog, but an apt description.

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<sup>114</sup>Junker, Hermann. *Giza 5. Die Mastaba des Snb (Seneb) und die umliegenden Gräber*. Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1941, 74-83.

<sup>115</sup> Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. "Stele des Vorstehers der Wüsten, Kai: Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung: museum-digital museen zu berlin." October 6, 2023. Accessed June 7, 2024. <https://smb.museum-digital.de/object/684?navlang=en>.

<sup>116</sup> Janssen, Jozef M. A. "Über Hundennamen im pharaonischen Ägypten." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung*. Otto Harrassowitz, 1958, 178, 181 (nr. 32 & nr. 33).

<sup>117</sup> Brixhe, *Two Dog Collars*, 24.

<sup>118</sup> Davis, T. M., et al. *The Tomb of Siptah; The Monkey Tomb and the Gold Tomb*. London, 1908. Orsenigo, Christian. "Revisiting KV36 the Tomb of Maiherpri." *KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt* 28, no. 2 (2017), 24.

<sup>119</sup> "irregular stele." Musée du Louvre Collections. Accessed August 7, 2024. <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010007751>.

<sup>120</sup> Michael C. Carlos Museum. "Tomb Relief." Accessed August 7, 2024. <https://collections.carlos.emory.edu/objects/13625/tomb-relief>.

<sup>121</sup> Lüddeckens, Erich, and W Brunsch. *Demotisches Namenbuch Bd. I*. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1980.

These examples lead me to believe that the naming of dogs was not an irregular occurrence in Ancient Egypt. Names ranged from simple numbers or descriptors, as shown on the stele of Kai and the name p3whr, to more meaningful names such as *Abutiyuw*. Simply numbering animals or naming one the dog can indicate a less emotional bond between owner and dog. A modern example of this can be seen in farm dogs that live on the property and are simply there to catch vermin or deter predators. They are generally not seen or treated as pets and generally do not reside in the same place the people do. Giving animals personal names such as we often do today, indicates a more personal and emotional bond between owner and dog. They were not merely used for their function but were part of a family. This is further substantiated by examples of burials such as *Abutiyuw* and scenes of dogs in their owners' tomb. Further information about the emotional bonds between dogs and their owners is given in chapter 3.

## Chapter 2: Roles in Daily Life

### 2.1 Daily life and functions

#### 2.1.1 Hunting

In Ancient Egypt canines are depicted in early times in hunting scenes. For instance, The Hunters' Palette depicts a hunting scene with multiple animals, among which three lions, a deer, a hartebeest, an antelope, a hare, an ostrich and two wild canines. According to Katherine Bard these canines are not domestic dogs.<sup>122</sup> I agree these canines are likely jackals, due to their build and their tails, which are thicker than what one would expect in a greyhound rather than dogs. Other hunting scenes exist that likely depict domestic dogs. One such scene exists at a rock art site in Meri dating from the Late Predynastic- Early Dynastic period. Here several dogs are hunting sheep (Figure 2.1).<sup>123</sup> The dogs are portrayed with pointy ears and small upwards curved tails.<sup>124</sup> Leading me to interpret these represent an early version of the greyhound type dogs as mentioned in chapter 1.3.1.<sup>125</sup>

Dogs can be seen in different scenes and hunting a variety of animals. Deer are often depicted in hunting scenes. Dogs would hunt deer by outlasting their fast short bursts of energy, and catching them when they tired.<sup>126</sup> Another often seen animal is the sheep. Sheep are more difficult to locate, but once located are easily hunted.<sup>127</sup>

It is important to note that the aforementioned hunting scenes could also be interpreted as herding scenes. These two types of scenes have a lot in common and look very similar. A dog grabbing the neck

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<sup>122</sup> Bard, *Predynastic and Early Dynastic*, 67.

<sup>123</sup> Hendrickx, Stan, et al. "Late Predynastic/Early Dynastic Rock Art Scenes of Barbary Sheep Hunting in Egypt's Western Desert." In *Desert Animals in the Eastern Sahara: Status, Economic Significance, and Cultural Reflection in Antiquity*, edited by Heiko Riemer et al. Proceedings of an Interdisciplinary ACACIA Workshop Held at the University of Cologne, December 14-15, 2007, 189.

<sup>124</sup> Hendrickx, *Late Predynastic/Early Dynastic rock art*, 198.

<sup>125</sup> Hendrickx, *Late Predynastic/Early Dynastic rock art*, 205.

<sup>126</sup> Berke, Hubert. "Scope and Behaviour of Flight in Saharan Gazelles: A Remarkable Change between 1850 AD and the Present." In *Desert Animals in the Eastern Sahara: Status, Economic Significance, and Cultural Reflection in Antiquity*, edited by Heiko Riemer et al., 132. Proceedings of an Interdisciplinary ACACIA Workshop Held at the University of Cologne, December 14-15, 2007, 132.

<sup>127</sup> Hendrickx, *Late Predynastic/Early Dynastic rock art*, 191.

of an animal could be to kill the animal in a hunting scene or to restrain an animal in a herding scene. Multiple dogs circling an animal can be interpreted as pack hunting, but could also be dogs working together while herding.

An example of dogs depicted together with a herdsman can be found in the tomb of Ipuw, which is both an agricultural scene with the shaduf and goats with the herdsman, another example is from Tomb 31: Khons, where also a herdsman can be seen with cows, goats and dogs.<sup>128</sup> Both scenes date to the 19th Dynasty, during the reign of Ramses II.

In Predynastic times dogs and hunters are displayed on rock paintings and pottery vessels. One example is a pottery dish dating from the Predynastic period Naqada I culture, currently in the Pushkin Museum, (Figure 2.2). Here a man is depicted holding arrows and a bow in one hand and four leashes in the other, each connected to a dog.<sup>129</sup> The dogs are portrayed with long legs, pointy ears and short curled tails.<sup>130</sup>

Another example of a hunting scene is the Two Dog Palette. Here multiple fantastical and real animals are depicted. The hartebeest, oryx and ibex are chased by three domestic dogs (Figure 2.3).<sup>131</sup> These three dogs differ from the dogs on the pottery dish mentioned above. They have floppy ears,<sup>132</sup> shorter muzzles and have a heavier build. These characteristics lead me to believe these are three saluki type dogs as described in chapter 1.3.1. wearing collars and hunting or herding the animals mentioned above.

A well-known example depicting hunting scenes is the Gabel Tarif knife (Figure 2.4).<sup>133</sup> Here four rows of animals are hunting prey. Among these are a leopard hunting a hartebeest, a lion hunting an antelope and a heavy-set dog hunting an unknown animal.<sup>134</sup> The dog has pointed ears, no collar and has a straight tail curling at the end. It looks decisively different from other depictions of the greyhound dog.<sup>135</sup> This difference could be attributed to artistic interpretation. The leopard is very heavy-set as most animals in these scenes. Another example is the golden ceremonial dagger of Tutankhamun (Figure 2.5).<sup>136</sup> It depicts four animals being hunted by lions, dogs and a jaguar. The dogs are collared and have floppy ears typical of the Saluki-type dogs.

As seen on the Gabel Tarif knife and Tutankhamun's dagger, dogs and lions often are portrayed together. As mentioned in chapter 1.3.3 in Hierakonpolis multiple carved mace heads were found. One of these is a grey steatite, or soapstone, carved depicting lions and dogs together (Figure 1.14).<sup>137</sup> The dogs have

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<sup>128</sup> Porter, Bertha, and Rosalind Louisa Beaufort Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings 1, The Theban Necropolis*. 2nd ed., rev. augm. Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1960, 48, 315-316.

<sup>129</sup>Pushkin Museum. "Dish with a Hunting Scene." Accessed May 29, 2024.

[https://pushkinmuseum.art/data/fonds/ancient\\_east/1\\_1\\_a/1\\_1\\_a\\_4777/index.php?lang=en](https://pushkinmuseum.art/data/fonds/ancient_east/1_1_a/1_1_a_4777/index.php?lang=en). Hendrickx, Stan.

"The Dog, the Lycaon pictus and Order over Chaos in Predynastic Egypt." In *Archaeology of Early Northeastern Africa: In Memory of Lech Krzyżaniak*, edited by Karla Kroeper et al., 723-749. Archaeological Museum, 2006, 724.

<sup>130</sup> Bard, *Predynastic and Early Dynastic*, 67.

<sup>131</sup> Bard, *Predynastic and Early Dynastic*, 68.

<sup>132</sup> Bard, *Predynastic and Early Dynastic*, 68.

<sup>133</sup> Quibell, James Edward. *Archaic Objects*. Vol. 2. Egypt Exploration Fund, 1905, 237.

<sup>134</sup> Bard, *Predynastic and Early Dynastic*, 68.

<sup>135</sup> Bard, *Predynastic and Early Dynastic*, 68.

<sup>136</sup> "Gold Dagger and Sheath of Tutankhamun." Egypt Museum. Accessed August 13, 2024. <https://egypt-museum.com/gold-dagger-and-sheath-of-tutankhamun/>.

<sup>137</sup> Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, 68.

collars, short muzzles, straight tails, floppy ears and bulky bodies. These characteristics lead me to interpret as possible mastiff type dogs.<sup>138</sup> Another scene is found in Ballas. Here a lion and dog are depicted together on an ivory spoon.<sup>139</sup> The dog has a rope collar.<sup>140</sup> A third example can be found on an Early Dynastic disc found in the tomb of Hemaka in Saqqara. On this disc several dogs can be seen. They have long pointed ears, curled tails and long legs. Typical characteristics of the greyhound dog.<sup>141</sup> A final example of a dog alongside a lion in a hunting scene is a paddle doll, with a second paddle doll showing a dog and an oryx.<sup>142</sup>

The depiction of dogs in the Predynastic period in these examples show dogs were used for hunting and/or herding. These hunting scenes originate from the Predynastic and Old Kingdom, however there are plentiful Middle Kingdom tombs depicting hunting scenes. One such scene can be found in Beni Hassan in the tombs of Amenemhat, Khnumhotep, Khety, and Baqet.<sup>143</sup>

In the tomb of Khnumhotep a greyhound and saluki type dog are seen side by side. The greyhound has brown/reddish fur and is wearing a collar.<sup>144</sup> The Saluki is portrayed with the typical floppy ears and long tail, its coat is white with black spots (Figure 2.6).

In the tomb of Khety two dogs are depicted. One completely black, the other with a white coat with black spots. Both have the typical pointed ears and muzzle of a sighthound, but are much bulkier than expected. Especially in comparison to the two dogs seen in the Tomb of Khnumhotep. This bulkier appearance could imply these are mastiff type dogs, but can also be attributed to the artistic interpretation, since the other characteristics would imply a greyhound.<sup>145</sup> (Figure 2.7). Neither can definitively be ruled out. I find it more likely these hounds are greyhounds and attribute the excess bulk to the artist in question.

In later periods hunting scenes with dogs fell out of fashion. There seems to be a transition during these periods in how and where animals are represented. Dogs were more often seen under the chair of the deceased. A possible reason could be a practical one. Farmers had less use for hunting dogs and had other avenues of obtaining food besides hunting and were regarded more as companion animals. The change could also have been purely aesthetic, where the dog under the chair became a preferable way of depicting them.<sup>146</sup>

Despite the change several tombs date from the New Kingdom, such as the tombs of Hray Amenemhet, Ineni, Dhutmosi, Rekhmire, Ipuy, Khety, Neferhotep, and show dogs in hunting scenes.<sup>147</sup> The continued display of hunting scenes throughout Egyptian history and tombs indicates a continued relevance of hunting dogs. Whether for the necessity of obtaining food or for sport. The change in their

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<sup>138</sup> Bard, *Predynastic and Early Dynastic*, 68.

<sup>139</sup> Petrie, W. M. Flinders, and J. E. Quibell. *Naqada and Ballas: 1895*. B. Quaritch, 1896, 46. Bard, *Predynastic and Early Dynastic*, 68.

<sup>140</sup> Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas*, 46.

<sup>141</sup> Bard, *Predynastic and Early Dynastic*, 68.

<sup>142</sup> Keimer, L. "Motifs ornementaux peints sur certaines figurines predynastiques." In *Remarques sur le tatouage dans l'Égypte ancienne. Mémoires présentés à l'Institut d'Égypte* 53 (1948): 25-32.

<sup>143</sup> Kanawati, Naguib, et al. *Beni Hassan: Art and Daily Life in an Egyptian Province*. Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2010, Amenemhat p 21-25 fig 20,21,25-26, Khnumhotep p 33-3 fig 27, 29-33, 182-182, Baqet p 41-44 fig 34-38, 187-188, Khety fig 40-42, 185.

<sup>144</sup> Kanawati, *Beni Hassan*, figure 30, 182.

<sup>145</sup> Kanawati, *Beni Hassan*, figure 40-42.

<sup>146</sup> Gilbert, Gregory Phillip. *Weapons, Warriors and Warfare in Early Egypt*. Archaeopress, 2004, 25, 84.

<sup>147</sup> Porter, *Topographical Bibliography I*, 25, 103, 161,182, 210, 315, 387, 449.

depiction in time seems to be of a more aesthetic nature than an indication of hunting dogs falling out of favour.

As mentioned in chapter 1.3.1, dogs that somewhat resemble modern day Saluki can also be seen in the Old Kingdom, at times depicted alongside the greyhound dogs in hunting scenes.<sup>148</sup> These Saluki type dogs have notable floppy ears, differentiating them from greyhounds. They appear in the Old, Middle and New Kingdom. Besides appearing in hunting scenes, they also appear as family dogs.<sup>149</sup> In Nebamun's tomb,<sup>150</sup> a female Saluki-type dog is seen lactating.<sup>151</sup> The mastiffs are more difficult to describe, they are sparsely portrayed during the Predynastic, Old and Middle Kingdom.<sup>152</sup> The ones that are known are in an offering scene and a hunting scene.<sup>153</sup> The pariah breed is also seen in hunting scenes and in a procession scene.<sup>154</sup>

### 2.1.2 Guarding and military

In military scenes, bowmen were often shown alongside dogs. Dogs were used for reconnaissance, scouting and accompanying the bowmen as royal bodyguards.<sup>155</sup> Bowmen in the Old Kingdom used a longbow for hunting as well as military purposes.<sup>156</sup> Figure 2.8 depicts one such military scene. It shows Tjenenu with his wife and dog. Tjenenu can be identified as Nubian by the sash around his waist and the bow and arrows in his right hand. The dog has a slender build, pointed ears and snout. The dog looks to be wearing a collar around its neck. These characteristics lead me to believe this is a sighthound.<sup>157</sup>

The stela of Inyt (Figure 2.9) depicts a military scene dating to the First Intermediate Period. The stela is from Gebelein and made of limestone. The scene depicts a woman and a man alongside two dogs. The RMO gives the man the name Inyt. I disagree with this translation and from the hieroglyphs discern the name Iny-Iqer. Inyt, or Iny-Iqer, has a bow with arrows in his hands just as Tjenenu.<sup>158</sup> Iny-Iqer and his wife are possibly Nubian based on their dress and the manner in which they are portrayed. The dogs both have curled tails, a slender build, pointed ears and snout. Both dogs could possibly be wearing collars, but the quality of the stela makes it difficult to say this with certainty. From these characteristics I would identify these dogs as sighthounds.

Another military scene is the stela of Nenu (Figure 2.10). It dates to the First Intermediate Period and is made of painted limestone. MFA (Boston Fine Arts) claims it to be from el-Rizeiqat, but its origin is

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<sup>148</sup> Thiringer, *Egyptian's Best Friend*, 16-17.

<sup>149</sup> Osborn, *The Mammals of Ancient Egypt*, 65-66.

<sup>150</sup> Davies, N. M., and A. H. Gardiner. *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*. Vol. I. University of Chicago Press, 1936, 35, pl 15.

<sup>151</sup> Brixhe, *Two Dog Collars*, 24.

<sup>152</sup> Thiringer, *Egyptian's Best Friend*, 17.

<sup>153</sup> Osborn, *The Mammals of Ancient Egypt*. 66-67.

<sup>154</sup> Osborn, *The Mammals of Ancient Egypt*, 66.

<sup>155</sup> McDermott, Bridget. *Warfare in Ancient Egypt*. Sutton, 2004, 59.

<sup>156</sup> McDermott, *Warfare in Ancient Egypt*, 24.

<sup>157</sup> Vandier, Jacques, "Quelques stèles de soldats de la première période intermédiaire", *Cronique d'Égypte* (1943), p. 24. Morenz, Ludwig, *Die Zeit der Regionen im Spiegel der Gebelein-Region: kulturgeschichtliche Re-Konstruktionen* (Probleme der Ägyptologie 27), Leiden 2010, p. 240; 244; 251; 269; 321; 330; 332; 333; 363; 527; 529

<sup>158</sup> H. Fischer, 'The Nubian mercenaries of Gebelein during the First Intermediate Period', *KUSH* 9 (1961), 44-80.



unsure.<sup>159</sup> It depicts a Nubian named Nenu, the epithet being Nehy meaning Nubian. Unlike the previous scene, Nenu is not depicted with a bow and arrows, but dogs are present. Both dogs have slender builds with pointed ears and muzzle. One of the dogs is larger than the other, is brown and has a curled tail, leading me to believe it to be a sighthound. The second dog is seemingly smaller and damage to the stela makes it impossible to discern the shape of its tail. If intentionally smaller this could point to a Pariah dog. A more logical explanation would be to attribute this size difference to a lack of space on the stela and the artist making do with what space was left, to make the second sighthound fit.

Kai's stela depicts another military scene (Figure 2.11).<sup>160</sup> The stela is made of limestone and dates to the early twelfth dynasty. Kai has the title of police chief of the western deserts and is holding a bow and arrows. Two collared dogs stand next to him and another three underneath him, without collars. Each dog has their name inscribed. The bow and arrows together with the dogs affirm his military background. Further confirmation of a military background can be read in the inscriptions. Here is stated how Kai was excellent at his job and how he gets praise from his master. The dogs appear to be greyhounds due to their curled tails and pointed ears except the dog on the bottom left who has floppy ears and a less pointed muzzle. In this case I would attribute this to the artist running out of space to properly display the third dog in this row. The first dog on the right is big, the second dog is smaller with its head turned, the final dog is partly drawn over the second dog and might have floppy ears and a rounded muzzle due to lack of space for a proper representation. Another plausible conclusion is that this dog had floppy ears as a unique characteristic.

One example where dogs can be seen during a campaign is the famous battle of Kadesh. At the Ramesseum relief, on the first pylon, one can see the camp where dogs were kept.<sup>161</sup> Examples of war dogs in action are found on Tutankhamun's painted chest where multiple scenes where collared saluki-type dogs can be seen attacking his enemies (Figure 2.12).

Besides stelae and reliefs, there are multiple knives known depicting scenes with dogs. The Gebel el-Arak knife (Figure 2.13) shows a fighting scene and defeated foes on one side.<sup>162</sup> The other side depicts a person flanked by lions on either side. Beneath this scene two collared dogs along with other animals such as gazelles and ibex can be seen. Bard suggests that another leashed domestic dog is depicted, with the argument that it has similarities in later Old Kingdom tombs.<sup>163</sup> The depiction is reminiscent of a domestic dog, with pointed ears and curled tail indicating a possible early version of a greyhound. The shape of the body gives the animal an almost feline quality. This same stylistic choice is present with the other dogs, albeit less pronounced. Leading me to agree with Bard's suggestion.

Another knife is the Pitt-Rivers Knife, dating to Naqada II, the Late Predynastic period (Figure 2.14).<sup>164</sup> It was found in Sheikh Hamadeh in the governorate Sohag. The knife is made of ivory with a grip

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<sup>159</sup> Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. "Stele of the Nubian Soldier Nenu." Accessed August 3, 2024. <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/130332>.

<sup>160</sup> Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. "Stele des Vorstehers der Wüsten, Kai: Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung: museum-digital museen zu berlin." October 6, 2023. Accessed June 7, 2024. <https://smb.museum-digital.de/object/684?navlang=en>.

<sup>161</sup> Breasted, James Henry. *The Battle of Kadesh: A Study in the Earliest Known Military Strategy*. The University of Chicago Press, 1903, pl I.

<sup>162</sup> Gilbert, *Weapons, Warriors and Warfare*, 93.

<sup>163</sup> Bard, *Predynastic and Early Dynastic*, 68.

<sup>164</sup> "The Pitt-Rivers Knife EA 68512," The British Museum, accessed August 5, 2024, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA68512](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA68512).

decorated with rows of animals. Due to the state of the knife, discerning the animals is difficult. But they include cranes, elephants, lions, Barbary sheep, hyenas, donkeys and cattle. On the bottom right a dog can be made out. It seems to have a pointy muzzle and a heavier build, suggesting a mastiff or sighthound.

A third knife is a ritual knife from Abu Zaidan, dating to Naqada III, the Predynastic Period (Figure 2.15).<sup>165</sup> Animals such as elephants, lions, giraffes and sheep are depicted. On both sides of the knife dogs can be seen with pointed muzzles and a curled tail. These seem to be sighthounds, but their bigger stature could mean they are pariah hounds. Scale is hard to discern, making it likely these dogs are sighthounds.

Another item decorated with animals is an ivory hair comb dating to Late Naqada III, Predynastic (Figure 2.16). It is decorated with various animals. Three lionesses can be seen on the third row alongside a fourth animal that looks to be a dog biting the hind legs of the third lioness. It is smaller than the three lions in front, has a curled tail, a slender build, pointy ears and muzzle as a greyhound would.

As explained in chapter 1.4 some dogs, like *Abuwtiyuw*, were given personal names. At the Giza complex, in the west cemetery of the pyramid of Cheops, multiple mastabas were built for princes and princesses of the royal family, as well as officials of the court. George Reisner noted that during an excavation a small mastaba (G2188) was unearthed, located between G2196 and G2187, and a limestone block with inscriptions was found.<sup>166</sup>

The limestone block depicts a person holding a dog by a lead. The inscription gives the dog's name, task and burial instructions. The transliteration starts as follows: *t̄sm wnn stp.s r hm.f*, meaning the dog in question likely was a greyhound, further substantiated by the depiction.

*"The dog which was the guard of His Majesty. Abuwtiyuw is his name. His Majesty ordered that he be buried (ceremonially), that he be given a coffin from the royal treasury, fine linen in great quantity, (and) incense. His Majesty (also) gave perfumed ointment, and (ordered) that a tomb be built for him by the gangs of masons. His Majesty did this for him in order that he (the dog) might be honoured (before the great god, Anubis)."*<sup>167</sup>

During times of peace royal guard dogs such as *Abuwtiyuw* would also be used on scouting missions or to help find escaped prisoners.<sup>168</sup> Or they would accompany victorious troops as seen in the tomb of Amenophis II where stand-bearers and one leading dog are depicted.<sup>169</sup>

### 2.1.3 Household pet

As described throughout this paper, dogs were not solely used for their utility in hunting, herding and guarding. These dogs were also kept as household pets and companions. They were displayed seated or

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<sup>165</sup> "Ritual Knife." 2024. Brooklyn Museum. Accessed August 5, 2024.

<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3265>

<sup>166</sup> Reisner, George A. "The Dog Which Was Honored by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt." *Bulletin - Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 34, no. 206 (1936): 96–97.

<sup>167</sup> Reisner, *The dog which was honored*, 97.

<sup>168</sup> McDermott, *Warfare in Ancient Egypt*, 113.

<sup>169</sup> Porter, *Topographical Bibliography I*, 191.

lying down underneath their owners chair.<sup>170</sup> Most often this would be the man's chair.<sup>171</sup> The Stela of Henu, as discussed in chapter 1.3.1, is an example of a possible Saluki-type dog underneath the chair (Figure 1.3).

Another good example is G2196 and can be found in the tomb of Iasen.<sup>172</sup> On the south wall, Iasen is depicted with a dog lying down underneath his chair. The dog is outlined in red, has pointed ears, its front paws are curled back and has a collar around its neck.<sup>173</sup> A similar depiction can be seen in the tomb G2001, that of Tjetu I. Here the dog is depicted under the chair. The dog has a red collar and a spotted coat.<sup>174</sup>

As late as the Late Period, examples of this type of display can be found. In Thebes in the tomb of Pasaba, tomb 279, chief steward of the god's wife, a dog named *Heknu* can be seen underneath a chair.<sup>175</sup> A final example is G8737 in Giza, in the tomb of Ankhmare.<sup>176</sup> Ankhmare is carried in a palanquin by several men. Underneath a dwarf and possible greyhound type dog are depicted. They are on their way home after seeing what has been done to his tomb.<sup>177</sup> The dog seems to be brought along as a guard or companion or both.

A procession with dogs like this is not uncommon in the Old Kingdom. In some cases the owner is seen seated on a palanquin with dogs walking alongside. In other cases dwarfs or attendants are leading the dogs.<sup>178</sup> An example is found in the tomb of Mereruka (Figure 2.17) a dwarf leads two dogs and a monkey by their leash in a procession.

The depiction of dogs in ancient Egyptian art showcases the diverse roles in both hunting and domestic life they fulfilled. Especially the description of *Abuwtiyuw* and the specifics to be met surrounding his burial indicate that some dogs were far more than just utilitarian animals. They were not beasts only to be used, but companions to their master's that were treated well during their life and even after death. Not every dog had the privilege of such a burial and some dogs were, like farm or guard dogs today, seen more as beasts of labour.

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<sup>170</sup> Reisner, *The dog which was honored*, 99.

<sup>171</sup> Thiringer, *Egyptian's Best Friend*, 23.

<sup>172</sup> Simpson, William Kelly. *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery, Part 1: Sekhemka (G 1029); Tjetu I (G 2001); Iasen (G 2196); Penmeru (G 2197); Hagy, Nefertjentet, and Herunefer (G 2352/53); Djaty, Tjetu II, and Nimesti (G 2337X, 2343, 2366)*. Giza Mastabas 4. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1980, 16-23.

<sup>173</sup> Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery*, 18.

<sup>174</sup> Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery*, 7.

<sup>175</sup> Porter, *Topographical Bibliography 1*, 358.

<sup>176</sup> Simpson, William Kelly. "Topographical Notes on Giza Mastabas." In *Festschrift Elmar Edel 12. März 1979*, edited by Manfred Görg and Edgar Pusch, *Ägypten und Altes Testament 1*. Bamberg, 1979, 494-495.

<sup>177</sup> Simpson, *Topographical Notes on Giza Mastabas*, 495.

<sup>178</sup> Thiringer, *Egyptian's Best Friend*, 23.

# Chapter 3: Human-Dog relationship & Societal context

## 3.1 Texts

In Ancient Egypt dogs were described in a variety of texts, including stories, votive stelae, instructions, magical/medical texts and even Coffin Texts. In this chapter, these texts will be examined, highlighting the dog's role in each story.

### 3.1.1 The Doomed Prince

The Doomed Prince, or also known as the prince who is threatened by three fates<sup>179</sup>, is a Hieratic text on Papyrus Harris 500 which survived partially on the verso side. It currently resides in the British Museum. Not the whole text is known since the papyrus is burned and the ending is missing. A summary of the story goes as follows:

The Egyptian King prays for a son, however the queen delivers a baby boy. It is foretold the prince would die by a crocodile, snake or dog. One day the prince asks the king for a dog. Once the prince grows up, he travels to Nahrin, marries a princess and tells her about the prophecy. She wants him to kill the dog, but he refuses. Later she saves him from a snakebite, defeating part of the prophecy.<sup>180</sup>

One day the dog spoke to the prince, telling him he was meant to kill him. Scared of the dog, the prince ran into a pond. Thinking he was safe from the dog, a crocodile grabbed him in its jaws. The crocodile spoke, telling the Prince he was his fate, but he would release him if he helped him catch the imp tormenting the crocodile.<sup>181</sup>

Here is where the story ends. According to Miriam Lichtheim and William Kelly Simpson, most scholars agree that the text possibly has a happy ending.<sup>182</sup> I find a divide among scholars. Adolf Erman, Gaston Maspero, Alfred Wiedmann and Wilhelm Spiegelberg believe the prince could not escape his fate. Max Pieper, Alfred Hermann and Emma Brunner-Traut argue in favour of a happy ending with the prince overcoming his fate.<sup>183</sup>

Of the three fates it is quite obvious how the snake and crocodile would kill the prince. The snake would poison the prince and the crocodile would drown and eat him. In comparison, a dog would seem quite harmless. It could bite the prince, but as a young man he would be able to fight it off. A possible answer

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<sup>179</sup> Lichtheim, Miriam. *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Volume II: The New Kingdom*. University of California Press, 1976, 200. Thiringer, *Egyptian's Best Friend*, 69-72. Wente, Edward F. "The Tale of the Two Brothers," in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, ed. William Kelly Simpson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), 79.

<sup>180</sup> Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 75. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 200. Thiringer, *Egyptian's Best Friend*, 69-72. Wente, *Tale of the Two Brothers*, 79.

<sup>181</sup> Tyldesley, Joyce A., and Julian Heath. *Stories from Ancient Egypt*. 1st ed. Oxbow Books, 2012. pp. 65-77. Lichtheim *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 200- 203. Thiringer, *Egyptian's Best Friend*, 69-72. Wente, *Tale of the Two Brothers*, 79.

<sup>182</sup> Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 75. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 200. Thiringer, *Egyptian's Best Friend*, 69-72. Wente, *Tale of the Two Brothers*, 79.

<sup>183</sup> Burkard, Günter, and Heinz Josef Thissen. *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte. II, Neues Reich*. Berlin [etc: Lit, 2008, 12.

to this could be a rabies infection as a result of a dog bite. Without treatment, a very deadly disease. Examples of knowledge on treating bite wounds by dogs are found in the Demotic magical papyrus of London and Leiden.<sup>184</sup> In one of the spells a remedy for the bite of a dog is described. Putting garlic and something which is called *kmou*, which has no translation yet, on the bite wound and keeping an eye on and addressing it daily would heal the infection.<sup>185</sup> A second spell mentions salt is pounded something, the text is broken here, and applying it to the wound while it is cleaned. A third spell mentions honey pounding with rue then applying on the wound.<sup>186</sup> These spells show dog bites and resulting infections. These were not rare and could explain why people were wary of dogs in a way they were wary of snakes and crocodiles.

The type of dog in the story is a *t̄sm*-hound or greyhound. The text uses *t̄sm* to describe the dog when the prophecies are revealed. When the prince sees a man walking a dog, *t̄sm* is used. Once the prince gets a puppy it is referred to as *t̄sm* as well.<sup>187</sup> The greyhound grows up with the prince and follows him as a loyal friend.<sup>188</sup> At this point the dog is friendly and loyal until it is revealed to be one of the prince's fates. This piece of insight about dogs aims to demonstrate their various characteristics. From their loyal, friendly, and obedient nature to their unexpected and perhaps even wild and dangerous behaviour.

### 3.1.2 Negative traits

This divide in the nature of dogs can be seen in other texts where dogs, or their characteristics, are described as negative or positive. An example where negative traits are used are Coffin Texts<sup>189</sup> in the form of spells. One such spell is spell 37 where a warning is given:

*"The dog which thwarts its master is beaten."*<sup>190</sup>

This spell describes that a disobedient or disloyal dog will be punished or disciplined by its master. This spell shows that dogs should always be obedient and never defy Osiris.

Other spells such as Spell 1064 and 1171, also Egyptian Coffin Texts, do not explicitly mention the word dog but the term *dog-faced* is used.<sup>191</sup> The Egyptian word for this is *t̄sm*.

The votive stela of Neferabu from Deir el-Medina, currently in the British Museum, is another negative example. It is made of limestone and dates back to the 19th dynasty, and Ramses II. It includes a hymn to Ptah (Figure 3.1).<sup>192</sup> There are two sides to this stela. On the front side Ptah is depicted with Neferabu. The hymn describes Neferabu being blinded by Ptah for making a false oath. The hymn continues on the posterior side. In the sixth line *t̄sm* is used for dog, translating to

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<sup>184</sup> Griffith, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus*.

<sup>185</sup> Griffith, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus*, 124-125.

<sup>186</sup> Griffith, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus*, 129.

<sup>187</sup> Gardiner, Alan Henderson. *Late-Egyptian Stories*. Édition de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1931, 1-2.

<sup>188</sup> Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 200-201. Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 76.

<sup>189</sup> Faulkner, Raymond O. *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, Volume I, Spells 1-354. Aris and Phillips Ltd, 1973.

<sup>190</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, Volume I, 27-28.

<sup>191</sup> Faulkner, Raymond O. *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, Volume III, Spells 788-1185 & Indexes. Aris and Phillips Ltd, 1973.

<sup>192</sup> British Museum. "Round-topped Limestone Stela of Neferabu." Accessed June 8, 2024. [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA589](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA589).

*“He caused me to be as the dogs of the street”<sup>193</sup>*

Ptah made it so Neferabu was additionally punished by living like a dog on the street, suggesting this was not a good life. Eventually Neferabu humbles himself and asks Ptah for forgiveness.<sup>194</sup>

Another text negatively portraying dogs is the Tale of the Two Brothers. The story is about two brothers and a treacherous woman. It suggests a woman is killed and her remains thrown to the dogs to be eaten.

*“Presently he reached his home, and he killed his wife, cast her [to...] the dogs, and sat down in mourning over his younger brother.”<sup>195</sup>*

The sentence is partly illegible, but the meaning can be determined through the context.

### 3.1.3 Positive traits

Other texts refer to the positive traits found in dogs. The instruction in Any describes dogs as listening, obeying and following their master.

*“The dog obeys the word, and walks behind its master.”<sup>196</sup>*

Any is a literary work meant for ‘regular’ people, not nobility, with a bit of wealth and schooling. It has different themes, among which honesty, motherhood and religion. The writer gives advice as would a father to a son. In the epilogue father and son discuss the advice, where the son says the advice is hard to understand and follow.<sup>197</sup>

Similar is in the instruction of Amenemope.

*“A dog’s food is from its master, It barks to him who gives it.”<sup>198</sup>*

It is a reflection on the instruction of Ptahhotep, dating to the New Kingdom where personal piety is emphasised. People should be humble and have few material possessions, they should be kind to one another and be humble before god.<sup>199</sup>

A love song of papyrus, Chester Beatty mentions how a person can never be distant from a woman and gives several allegories including the sentence below:

*“For a hunter is in pursuit of it, and a dog with him.”<sup>200</sup>*

In the song the dog is beloved by the hunter, repeating he can never give up his beloved dog and that they are inseparable.

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<sup>193</sup> Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 288. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Volume II*, 111.

<sup>194</sup> Kitchen, Kenneth A. *Ramesseid Inscriptions, Volume 3*. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell Ltd, 1969, 772.

<sup>195</sup> Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 85.

<sup>196</sup> Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Volume II*, 144.

<sup>197</sup> Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Volume II*, 135.

<sup>198</sup> Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient*, 242. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Volume II*, 161.

<sup>199</sup> Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Volume II*, 144.

<sup>200</sup> Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 328.

These texts show dogs had different positive and negative attributes and these were used literally and figuratively in literature. In some texts dogs are loyal and faithful friends. In other cases, they are dirty and live on the streets or even suggest they eat human offal. These different portrayals show that dogs are not inherently good or evil. Dogs can be trained to be great companions to man, but can also be dangerous animals people should be wary of.

## 3.2 Archaeology

### 3.2.1 Collars and leashes

In Ancient Egyptian artwork a variety of collars are shown. From simple bands to braided or decorated designs. From the Old Kingdom to the First Intermediate Period, collars were often depicted as cloth wrapped around the dog's neck.<sup>201</sup>

In 1899, the tomb of Maherpra was discovered by Victor Loret in the Valley of the Kings.<sup>202</sup> Remarkable about this tomb, is that Maherpra was a non-royal, who was normally not buried here.<sup>203</sup> The tomb was opened and closed in Ancient times and valuable items like jewellery are missing. Several other objects remained.<sup>204</sup> Maherpra's tomb contained two quivers, two arm braces, approximately seventy arrows and two dog collars. Despite there being no inscription identifying him as an archer or soldier, it does imply the possibility that he held such a position.

The complete set of bows and arrows could represent a luxurious gift from the king for a loyal companion. The collars could imply Maherpra was responsible for the Pharaoh's hunting hounds.<sup>205</sup> The presence of the dog collars could also be explained by the fact that he was an archer and as discussed in chapter 2.1.2, they often had dogs for scouting and protection.

The first collar (Figure 3.4) consists of two glued leather bands. The band is decorated with embossed patterns and gilding. An inscription in two columns reveals the name of the female dog *t3 n.t n3w.t*, translating to as *the one from town*.<sup>206</sup> The inscription divides two scenes depicting gazelles and ibex being attacked by dogs. Each scene features two groups of animals, with plants and dirt mounds filling the empty spaces at the top and bottom. The gilding has partially worn off, leaving the remaining sections darkened.

The second collar (Figure 3.5) is larger and crafted from multi-coloured leather. On the white leather, a pink skin features a repeated pattern of two horses facing each other. These are separated by lotus flowers and framed by two white bands with a narrow green strip in the centre and a green and white band with scalloped edges. A strip of pink skin lines the edges. Sixteen small, gilded leather bulges are placed between the horses, overlapping the borders. The name *t3m n pr.f*, translating to *sighthound of his house* can be seen on this collar. It is in excellent condition, only a few leather bulges have lost their gilding, the green has blackened, and the skin has darkened.<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> Thiringer, *Egyptian's Best Friend*, 18.

<sup>202</sup> Orsenigo, *Revisiting KV36*, 23.

<sup>203</sup> Orsenigo, *Revisiting KV36*, 24.

<sup>204</sup> Brixhe, *Two Dog Collars*, 17. Orsenigo, *Revisiting KV36*, 25.

<sup>205</sup> Orsenigo, *Revisiting KV36*, 30. Brixhe, *Two Dog Collars*, 20.

<sup>206</sup> Brixhe, *Two Dog Collars*, 21.

<sup>207</sup> Brixhe, *Two Dog Collars*, 23.

Collars would typically be used to attach a leash. An example of this can possibly be seen on the Gebel el-Arak knife (Figure 2.6)<sup>208</sup>, an oval shape is on the back of the neck and is possibly a strap for attaching a leash. On the same knife another dog can be seen leashed in that same spot.<sup>209</sup>

Based on the Pushkin bowl (Figure 2.2), where an oval shape is visible underneath the dog's neck, Stan Hendrickx suggests a bell could be attached as well.<sup>210</sup> This would make following a dog on the hunt easier and would keep the dog from killing prey it is herding.<sup>211</sup>

I disagree with Hendrickx on this point. Putting a bell on a hunting dog would warn off any animal in a wide vicinity, the same way we put bells on cats to keep them from catching birds. A bell would be unnecessary for herding since a dog's training would prevent it from killing. A bell would prevent a dog from killing a sheep if it was so inclined. I would argue a more plausible explanation for the shape is either a decorative part of the collar, or it is an abstract representation of a bow as seen in figure 3.2.

The Maherpra collars have no such visible attachment or place where this attachment could have been. This, in addition to the intricate and elaborate designs, lead me to believe they are purely decorative and not meant for anything to be attached to them. A leash would need to be attached to an additional collar which could have been a simple cloth strap wrapped around the dog's neck. An example of this can be seen in figure 3.2.

As shown throughout this thesis, dogs in the Old Kingdom were portrayed with and without leashes.<sup>212</sup> This implies dogs were trained to listen to commands and follow their owner off leash, giving the owner some control over the dog.<sup>213</sup> Other examples are found in the tomb of Mereruka (Figure 3.2 and 3.3). Here multiple scenes show hunting dogs both off and on leash.<sup>214</sup> In one scene the unleashed dogs are free while hunting gazelle and bull. In another, partly broken scene, Mereruka can be seen sitting. Underneath him a lion is seated and further down three dogs and a monkey are walking off leash. Further down the tomb a similar scene is found. Here three dogs and a monkey are all on leash. This implies that during the hunt the dogs and monkey are on leash but are unleashed to hunt prey, returning at their master's call. An attachment to the collar or quick-release knot in the leash, to quickly release them to chase prey could explain some of these miscellaneous protrusions we see near collars and necks.<sup>215</sup>

### 3.2.2 Dog mummies

In Ancient Egypt, the process of mummifying animals was similar to that of humans. The animal's body would be cleaned and purified to prepare it for the mummification process. Similar to human mummification, the bodies of the animals were desiccated to remove moisture. Afterwards the body was wrapped in linen. The quality and quantity of the linen used could vary significantly, often depending on the person's status offering the animal or the intended purpose of the mummification. Once wrapped, the mummified animals were often placed in coffins or sarcophagi, which could be

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<sup>208</sup> Bard, *Some Predynastic and Early Dynastic*, 68.

<sup>209</sup> Hendrickx, *Late Predynastic/Early Dynastic rock art*, 208.

<sup>210</sup> Pushkin Museum. "Dish with a Hunting Scene." Accessed May 29, 2024.

[https://pushkinmuseum.art/data/fonds/ancient\\_east/1\\_1\\_a/1\\_1\\_a\\_4777/index.php?lang=en](https://pushkinmuseum.art/data/fonds/ancient_east/1_1_a/1_1_a_4777/index.php?lang=en).

<sup>211</sup> Hendrickx, *Late Predynastic/Early Dynastic rock*, 206-207.

<sup>212</sup> See earlier chapters and see also Rice, Michael. *Swifter than the Arrow: The Golden Hunting Hounds of Ancient Egypt*. Tauris, 2006, 31.

<sup>213</sup> Hendrickx, *Late Predynastic/Early Dynastic rock art*, 208.

<sup>214</sup> *The Mastaba of Mereruka, Part I. Chambers A 1-10*. University of Chicago Press, 1938, pl 24, 25, 46.

<sup>215</sup>



simple or elaborately decorated depending on the period and the specific practices at different temples or burial sites. The mummified animals were then buried, either in special cemeteries dedicated to animal burials or within the tombs of their human owners.<sup>216</sup>

Examples of dogs buried with great care are *Abutiyuw*, as discussed in chapter 1.4, and the coffin of a dog from Beni Hassan. This coffin is made out of wood. On the outer surface a line of text is present, but the mummy did not survive.<sup>217</sup> In Saff el Baqar tomb of Intef III the mummy of a dog was present inside a black and red painted wooden coffin.<sup>218</sup> The care and cost put into these burials, which in some cases was equal to those of humans, suggests that the dogs were valued companions to the Ancient Egyptians.<sup>219</sup>

## 3.3 Iconography

### 3.3.1 Jewellery

Representations of dogs are also represented in jewellery, figurines and other objects. In jewellery there is an example of a gold pendant from Tell el Dab'a and a silver pendant (Figure 3.6) from the Petrie Museum. The Tell el Dab'a pendant shows dogs with pointy ears, almond-shaped eyes, and open mouths with big teeth showing. Their necks have braided collars, their bodies are muscular, and their legs are big. Each animal has a band around its waist that looks like a belt.<sup>220</sup>

The pendant is likely an import from the Aegean. This can be deduced from the production techniques and style. The design shows overlapping paws as seen in griffons and specific motives such as C-spirals. These are unusual for Egyptian art, but often seen in Aegean art. A lot of cultural exchange took place between these two regions at the time this pendant was made. Styles and art were easily exchanged at the time. It cannot be excluded that the hanger was made in Egypt in the Aegean style.

The silver pendant from the Petrie Museum shows two animals, identified as dogs by Robert Schiestl, with pointed muzzles and curled tails. I would go further and argue these represent greyhound type dogs. This differs from the original interpretation by William Flinders Petrie of two sphinxes with the heads of hawks.<sup>221</sup> The pendant has features that make it possible to compare with other artefacts like the Tell el Dab'a pendant making it useful as a point of reference to discern the origin and context of the Petrie pendant.<sup>222</sup>

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<sup>216</sup> Bard, Kathryn. *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*. Wiley-Blackwell, 2015, 62,65,165. And for further research on the type of burials: Ikram, Salima. "Man's Best Friend For Eternity: Dog and Human Burials in Ancient Egypt." *Anthropozoologica* 48, no. 2 (2013): 299-307. <https://doi.org/10.5252/az2013n2a8>.

<sup>217</sup> Tooley, Angela M. J. "Coffin of a Dog from Beni Hasan." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 74 (1988): 207-211.

<sup>218</sup> Tooley, *Coffin of a Dog*, 211.

<sup>219</sup> Ikram, Salima. *Divine Creatures: Animal Mummies in Ancient Egypt*. American University in Cairo Press, 2005, 89-92.

<sup>220</sup> Walberg, Gisela. "A Gold Pendant from Tell El-Dab'a (Frontispiz)." *Ägypten Und Levante / Egypt and the Levant* 2 (1991): 111-14.

<sup>221</sup> Schiestl, R. "Three Pendants. Tell el-Daba, Aigina and a New Silver Pendant from the Petrie Museum." In *The Aigina Treasure: Aegean Bronze Age Jewellery and A Mystery Revisited*, edited by Fitton et al., 2009, 51-52.

<sup>222</sup> Schiestl, Three Pendants, 51-56.

### 3.3.2 Figurines

Besides jewellery, figurines made from limestone, faience and clay were commonly used in ancient Egypt. Examples are a painted limestone figure from Bershah<sup>223</sup> and a sitting dog from the National Museum of Antiquities (figure 3.7).<sup>224</sup> There are two main types of dog figurines, individual dogs and groups. Individual dog figurines can be identified by features such as smaller hind legs than front legs, or a resting dog with floppy ears. Group figurines often show interactions with humans, such as a small boy or an adult with dogs, typically with floppy ears. These figurines, created by observing real-life interactions, capture the bond between humans and dogs through depictions of playfulness and affection.<sup>225</sup>

In Hierakonpolis, a grey steatite with the three dogs<sup>226</sup>, part of a figurine of a dog, a glazed figure possibly a dog and glazed pottery of a dog and monkey were found as well as the maceheads mentioned in chapter 1.3.3 and 2.1.1.<sup>227</sup> The figurine of the dog (Figure 3.8) only shows part of the neck with a collar and the head. The head is pointed with floppy ears, reminiscent of the Saluki breed. The glazed figurine (Figure 3.10) has little detail. It might not even be a dog. The dog and monkey of green glazed pottery (Figure 3.11) shows a possible greyhound type dog due to its pointed ears and muzzle.<sup>228</sup>

According to Kamila Braulinska, the lack of a coherent style and professionalism in these figurines mean they were not intended solely to ensure a good afterlife for the deceased as grave goods. The individualistic nature of the art likely represented favourite pets to make the afterlife more pleasant.<sup>229</sup> While I agree not all figurines are equally well made or have a coherent style, examples of well-made figurines that are on par with the style in temples and tombs exist. An example is another figurine from the National Museum of Antiquities (Figure 3.8).<sup>230</sup> This figure represents a dog in a style comparable to that in temples and tombs, leading me to believe it possibly represents a greyhound type dog. The magical aspect as burial goods cannot be excluded. The figurine might represent a favourite pet, but could at the same time function as protection and continue its role as guard dog in the afterlife.

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<sup>223</sup> Kamal, A. "Fouilles à Deïr-el-Barsheh (mars-avril 1900)." *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 2 (1901).

<sup>224</sup> Rijksmuseum van Oudheden. hond ; zittend. Accessed August 5, 2024. <https://www.rmo.nl/collectie/collectiezoeker/collectiestuk/?object=14517>.

<sup>225</sup> Braulinska, *Middle Kingdom dog figurines*, 38, 45-47, 52-55, 66.

<sup>226</sup> Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, Part 1, pl 19.6.

<sup>227</sup> Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, Part 1, 7, pl 12.7, pl 18.18, pl 20.12/13.

<sup>228</sup> Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, Part 1, 8 plate 20.12/13.

<sup>229</sup> Braulinska, K. "Middle Kingdom Dog Figurines. General Remarks." In *Company of Images: Modelling the Imaginary World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1500 BC)*, edited by Gianluca Miniaci et al. Peeters, 2017, 65-66.

<sup>230</sup> Rijksmuseum van Oudheden. Beeld van een Hond. Accessed August 5, 2024. <https://www.rmo.nl/collectie/collectiezoeker/collectiestuk/?object=22524>.

# Conclusion

In ancient Egypt, dogs played diverse roles, from loyal companions to hunting aids. Stories like the Doomed Prince highlight dogs as loyal companions with a potential wild side, reflecting their complex nature. This reflects the Egyptians' complex view of dogs as both companions and potential threats. Archaeological finds, like the two decorated dog collars in Maherpra's tomb and figurines in Hierakonpolis highlight the deep bond between owners and their canine companions. Dogs also appear in texts: instructional writings praised their loyalty, while others, like the votive stela of Neferabu, painted stray dogs negatively. The different ways dogs were portrayed tell us about the many roles dogs fulfilled in Egypt. Dogs were important as pets as well as animals that did useful work.

## Practical Roles

A variety of breeds are represented in Egyptian art. In this thesis I have attempted to provide accurate current examples of what these dogs could have looked like and what the characteristics might have been that led them to be preferred breeds for the tasks they fulfilled. Among these, the *tsm*-hound or greyhound-type dog, is depicted in the Old Kingdom primarily in hunting, herding and military scenes. Sloughi hounds are seen from the Old- to the New-Kingdom occasionally alongside *tsm*-hounds. In military roles, dogs are often depicted alongside archers. They would protect and scout. Dogs would also be brought along on campaign as war dogs to attack the enemy. Starting in the Middle Kingdom scenes with a dog underneath the chair of the owner appear. This suggests a shift from dogs only as hunters and herders to dogs becoming a part of the household.

## Symbolic Roles

Dogs were continually represented in Egyptian literature. Acting as symbols representing their good as well as bad characteristics or even the danger they could pose. Their loyal and protective instincts are used in inspiring instructions. Whereas their bad characteristics such as being unclean, dangerous or violent are seen in spells and cautionary tales. This dichotomy leads me to conclude ancient Egyptians were aware how valuable a well behaved and trained dog could be, but also to be wary or even fear untrained or stray dogs.

The companionship these valued dogs brought in life was symbolically continued after death. Dogs were mummified, buried in sarcophagi and interred in special animal cemeteries or alongside their owner to continue their companionship. Figurines representing dogs are found as grave goods, symbolising a favourite pet joining its master in the afterlife to provide companionship and protection. The care taken for the burial process and the creation of effigies tells me Egyptians valued their dogs highly in life and death.

## Perception of Dogs in Cultural Values or Beliefs

Dogs played a major role in Egyptian life in both practical and symbolic ways. Their presence throughout all of periods in Ancient Egypt show they played a pivotal role in Egyptian culture from the outset and throughout. Their loyalty and companionship were highly valued and it was impressed upon Egyptians through tales and songs to follow that example.

Meaningful names were bestowed upon dogs that could reflect their unique characteristics. These were often depicted alongside the dog in their, or their master's, tomb. In death, dogs were treated similarly as their masters. The same care would be taken in their mummification and burial to make sure they could join their masters even after death. The cost and investment of time this took tells me these

animals were valued during and after their life. They were an integral part of Egyptian culture and not excluded from their beliefs after death.

## Evolution and Further Research

The depiction of dogs in Ancient Egyptian society evolved across different periods, reflecting changes in societal needs and beliefs. For a more comprehensive understanding, we will have to look further back in time as well as forward past the periods discussed in this thesis.

To further broaden the scope, research should include canine species such as wolves and jackals. These played crucial roles in the origins and development of domestic dogs and could help better understand how domestic dogs were introduced in Egyptian society.

Future research should extend past the Coptic and Demotic periods, into the Late, Greek and Roman periods. Exploring how perceptions and roles of dogs continued to evolve in a broader Mediterranean context.

Religion was purposefully left out in this thesis, but would be an essential part for further study to understand the broader roles dogs played. Understanding the religious significance of all canine species in Ancient Egyptian life, including their role in rituals and symbols in religious iconography, can provide insight into their cultural and religious importance.

# Appendix

## Chapter 1 figures

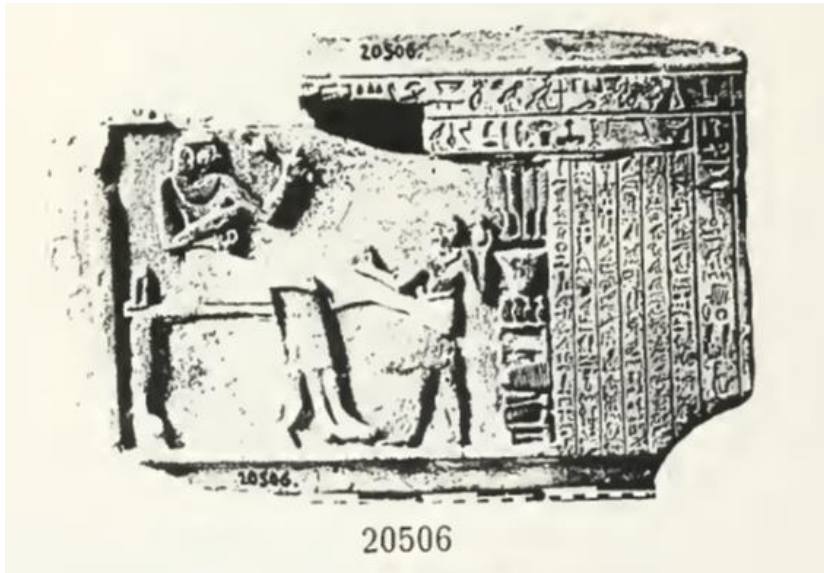


Figure 1.1: CG 20506

Lange, H. O., and Heinrich Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, Plate XXXIV (20506).

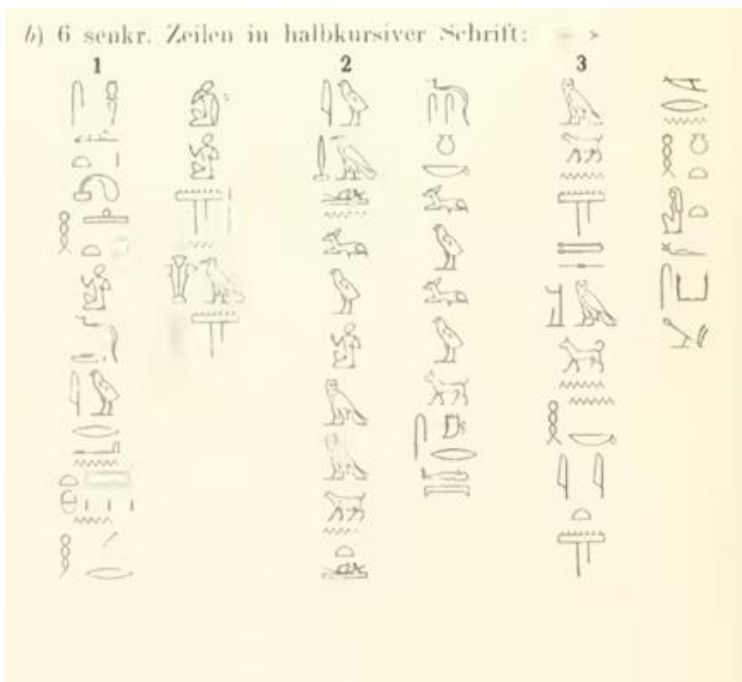


Figure 1.2: CG 20506 Tsm n Hnkyt

Lange, H. O., and Heinrich Schäfer. *Grab- und Denksteine*, 96.

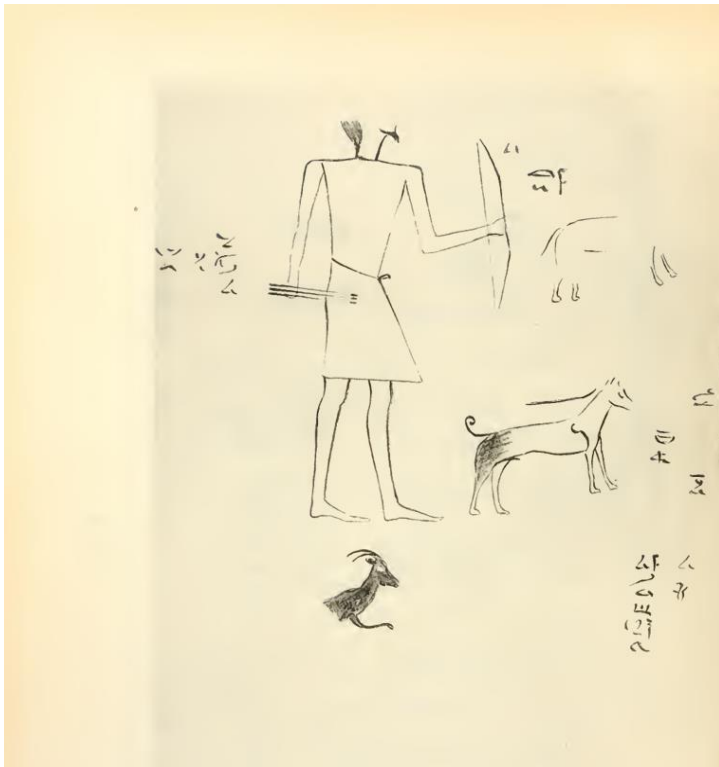


Figure 1.3: Anthes Tafel 32

Photo: Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, 80.



Figure 1.4: Stela of Henu

Rijksmuseum van Oudheden. "Stèle van Hennoe." Accessed August 3, 2024.  
<https://www.rmo.nl/collectie/collectiezoeker/collectiestuk/?object=151>.

αϥ ηογζορ	--	dog fly
καλωπογ	--	small dog, lapdog (?)
καλωπογ	--	small dog, lapdog (?)
κενοκεφαλον	--	dog-headed plant (ingredient in spells)
ογζολμοογ	ογζολ ημοογ	"water-dog", otter (?)
ογζορ	--	(male) dog
ογζορε	ογζοορε	(female) dog

Figure 1.5: Coptic Dictionary Online, words for dog

Photo: Coptic Dictionary Online, ed. by the Koptische/Coptic Electronic Language and Literature International Alliance (KELLIA), Accessed August 7, 2024. <https://coptic-dictionary.org/>

jꜥkz Hieroglyphic/hieratic (ID 853490) 1 sent. Verified  
*common noun* DE **[Name eines Hundes]** EN **[name of a dog]** 2345 BCE – 2181 BCE Junker, Giza V, Abb. 18

jw (ID 21970) 18 sent. Verified  
*common noun (masc.)* DE **Hund** EN **dog** 1939 BCE – 201 BCE Wb 1, 48.3 · FCD 12

Jw (ID 21980) 49 sent. Verified  
*Divine name* DE **Hund (ein Name des Thot)** EN **Dog (Thoth)** 1213 BCE – 200 CE Wb 1, 48.4 · LGG I, 157

ꜥjw (ID 864449) Verified  
*root* DE **[Hund]** EN **[dog]**

jwꜥw (ID 22340) 16 sent. Verified  
*common noun (masc.)* DE **Hund** EN **dog** 1980 BCE – 332 BCE Wb 1, 50.1 · FCD 12

jwꜥw (ID 23060) 1 sent. Verified  
*title / epithet (title)* DE **kleinwüchsiger Tierführer (von Hunden und Affen)** EN **keeper (?) of animals (dogs, monkeys)** 2445 BCE – 2181 BCE Wb 1, 57.15 · Jones, Titles OK, no. 29

jshb (ID 31660) 1 sent. Verified  
*common noun* DE **Bez. eines ausländischen Hundes (Schakal?)** EN **[foreign word for dog (or jackal?)]** 1202 BCE – 1198 BCE Wb 1, 132.22 · Lesko, Dictionary I, 55

js.w (ID 31920) 1 sent. Verified  
*common noun (masc.)* DE **Hunde (die das Sonnenschiff ziehen)** EN **dogs (who tow the solar bark)** 1156 BCE – 1077 BCE Wb 1, 134.20

ꜥbw Hieroglyphic/hieratic (ID 853493) 1 sent. Verified  
*common noun* DE **[Name eines Hundes]** EN **[name of a dog]** 2345 BCE – 2181 BCE Junker, Giza V, 18

ꜥbw.tw Hieroglyphic/hieratic (ID 800002) Verified  
*An animal's personal name* DE **Abutu (Hund)** EN **Abutu (a dog)** Fischer, ZÄS 93, 1966, 57

---

ꜥwhr (ID 867554) Verified  
*root* DE **[Hund]** EN **[dog]**

whr.t (ID 48630) Verified  
*common noun (fem.)* DE **Hündin** EN **bitch (fem. dog)** Wb 1, 346.6 · KoptHWb 286

ꜥwh (ID 868715) Verified  
*root* DE **[bellen]** EN **[to bark (of a dog)]**

whwh (ID 48980) 2 sent. Verified  
*verb (4-rad.)* DE **bellen** EN **to bark (of a dog)** 664 BCE – 526 BCE Wb 1, 351.10 · KoptHWb 30, 285

bfñ (ID 55480) 1 sent. Verified  
*common noun* DE **Hund** EN **dog** 350 BCE – 301 BCE Wb 1, 456.4-5

ꜥbfñ (ID 869522) Verified  
*root* DE **[bellen]** EN **[to bark (of a dog)]**

bñ (ID 56850) 3 sent. Verified  
*common noun (masc.)* DE **Hund ("der Bellende")** EN **barker (dog)** 1425 BCE – 655 BCE Wb 1, 468.20 · vgl. LA III, 79

ꜥbñ (ID 869621) Verified  
*root* DE **[bellen]** EN **[to bark (of a dog)]**

ꜥhzt (ID 874403) Verified  
*root* DE **[Hund]** EN **[dog]**

hzt.t (ID 121070) Verified  
*common noun (fem.)* DE **[ein Hund]** EN **[a sacred dog]** Wb 3, 333.5 · Wilson, Ptol. Lexikon, 749 f.

Figure 1.6: TLA, word search for dog

Photo: TLA, accessed August 7, 2024. <https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de>





Figure 1.7: Modern Basenji, ARBARO SILENTA Basenji Kennel (NL)

Photo: ARBARO SILENTA Basenji Kennel (NL). "Onze Honden | ARBARO SILENTA Basenji Kennel (NL)." Accessed April 5, 2024. <https://www.arbaro-silenta.nl/onze-honden>.



Figure 1.8: Tsm hound Basenji, tomb of Mereruka, Saqqara.

Photo taken by me March 2024



Figure 1.9: Modern Saluki, Canapus Salukis and Whippets

Photo: Canapus Salukis. "The Present." Accessed April 5, 2024.

[https://www.saluki.nl/Canapus\\_Present.htm](https://www.saluki.nl/Canapus_Present.htm).



Figure 1.10: Modern Corgi, Winnie

Photo: "Winnie the corgi." Instagram. Accessed August 2, 2024.

[https://www.instagram.com/winnie\\_the\\_corgiii](https://www.instagram.com/winnie_the_corgiii).



Figure 1.11: Modern dachshund

Photo: Super User. "Abedar's Ice King." Teckelhouse. Accessed April 5, 2024.  
<https://www.teckelhouse.nl/abedar-s-ice-king>.



Figure 1.12: Possible corgi/dachshund, Cairo CG 20596

Photo: taken by author, March 2024 at the Cairo Museum in Egypt.



stiff

Figure 1.13: Modern Mastiff-like

Photo: Bullmastiffkennel. "Yasmin." Accessed April 5, 2024. [https://www.socialgiant.nl/dog-page-yasmin\\_nl.html](https://www.socialgiant.nl/dog-page-yasmin_nl.html).



Figure 1.14: Possible Ancient Egyptian Mastiff-like dog

Photo: Osborn, and Osbornova, *The Mammals of Ancient Egypt*, 60.



Figure 1.15: Modern “Pariah-dog”  
Photo: taken by author at Giza January 2023



Figure 1.16: Modern “Pariah-dogs” and me

Photo: taken by Christel Birkmann-Little at Saqqara February 2023.



Figure 1.17: Possible “Pariah-dog” or Mixed breed

Photo: taken by author at Cairo Museum CG 20697 March 2024



Figure 1.18: Modern Mongrel/mixed breed, my own dog Donny.

Photo: SHOOTS BY ROBIN. "HOME - SHOOTS BY ROBIN." *SHOOTS BY ROBIN*, 28 April 2024.

Accessed August 2, 2024. <https://shootsbyrobin.nl>.

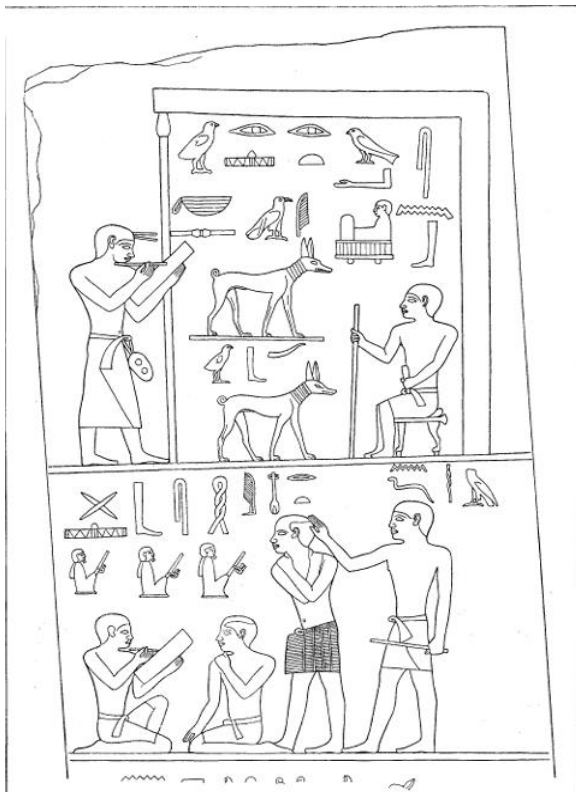


Abb. 18. Mastaba des Seneb, nördlicher Außenposten der Scheinstür, Gewände; mittlere Darstellung; die Abrechnung mit den Hirten.



Figure 1.19: Two named dogs in the tomb of Seneb, Giza  
 Photo: Junker, *Giza* 5, 74-83.



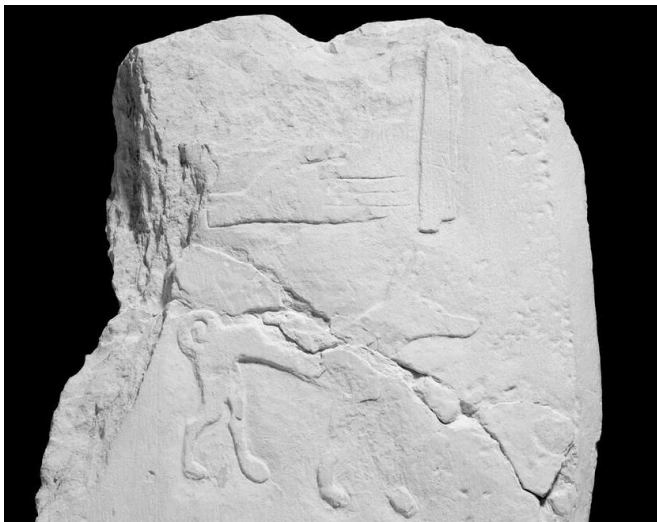


Figure 1.20: Irregular stela, dog names Sed  
"irregular stela." *Musée du Louvre Collections*. Accessed August 7, 2024.  
<https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010007751>.



Figure 1.21: Tomb Relief

Michael C. Carlos Museum. "Tomb Relief." Accessed August 7, 2024.

<https://collections.carlos.emory.edu/objects/13625/tomb-relief>.

## Chapter 2 figures

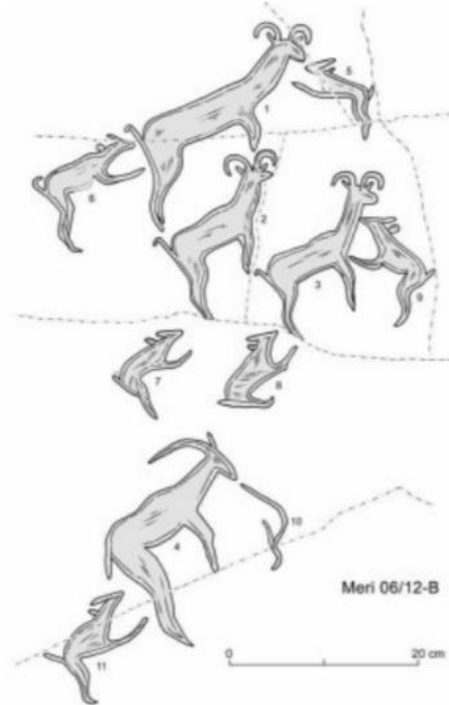


Figure 2.1: Dogs hunting barbary sheep

Photo: Hendrickx, *Late Predynastic/Early Dynastic rock art*, 189.



Figure 2.2: Pushkin Museum pottery dish

Photo: Dish with a hunting scene. Accessed August 7, 2024.

[https://pushkinmuseum.art/data/fonds/ancient\\_east/1\\_1\\_a/1\\_1\\_a\\_4777/index.php?lang=en.](https://pushkinmuseum.art/data/fonds/ancient_east/1_1_a/1_1_a_4777/index.php?lang=en)



Figure 2.3: The Two Dog Palette, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (E.3924)

Photo: Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Accessed August 7, 2024.

<https://www.ashmolean.org/two-dog-palette>

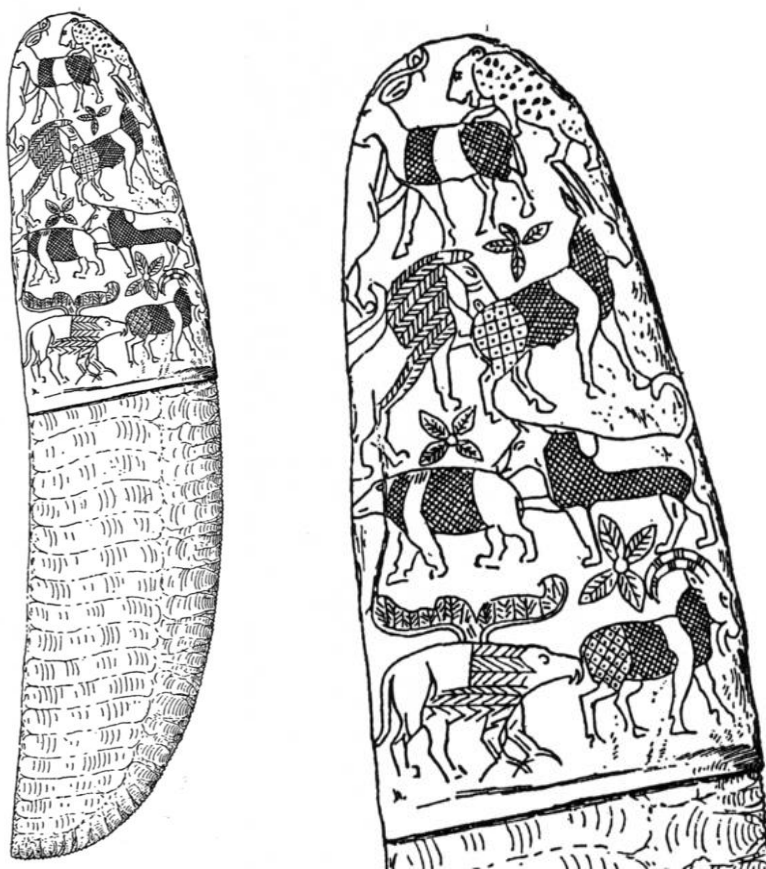


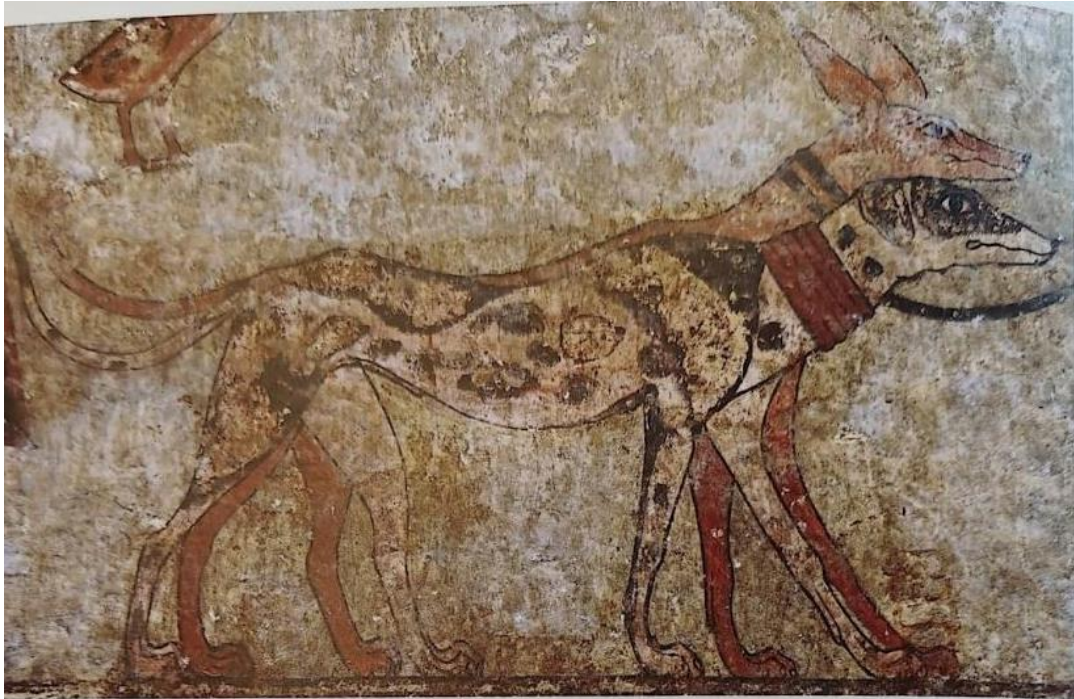
Figure 2.4: The Gebel-Tarif knife of the Naqada III period.

Photo: Quibell, James Edward. *Archaic Objects*. Vol. 2. Egypt Exploration Fund, 1905, 237.

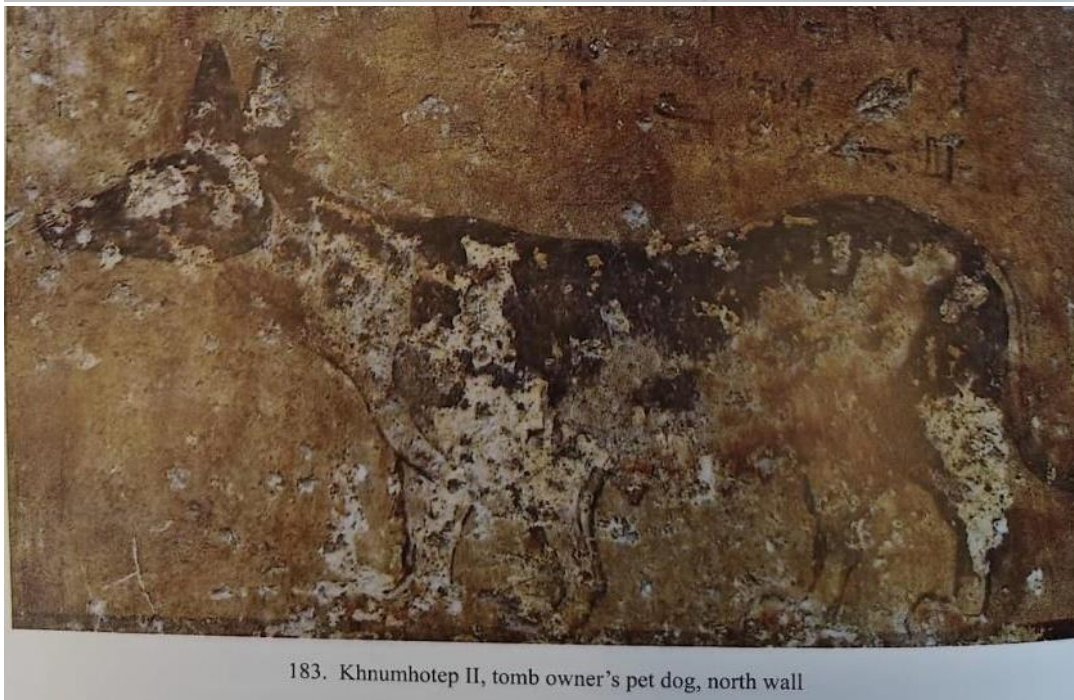


Figure 2.5: Gold Dagger and Sheath of Tutankhamun, Egyptian Museum, Cairo. JE 61584A-B

Photo: "Gold Dagger and Sheath of Tutankhamun." Egypt Museum. Accessed August 13, 2024. <https://egypt-museum.com/gold-dagger-and-sheath-of-tutankhamun/>.



182. Khnumhotep II, hunting dogs, north wall



183. Khnumhotep II, tomb owner's pet dog, north wall

### Figure 2.6: Tomb of Khnumhotep

Photo: Kanawati, Naguib, et al. *Beni Hassan: Art and Daily Life in an Egyptian Province*. Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2010, figure 182.

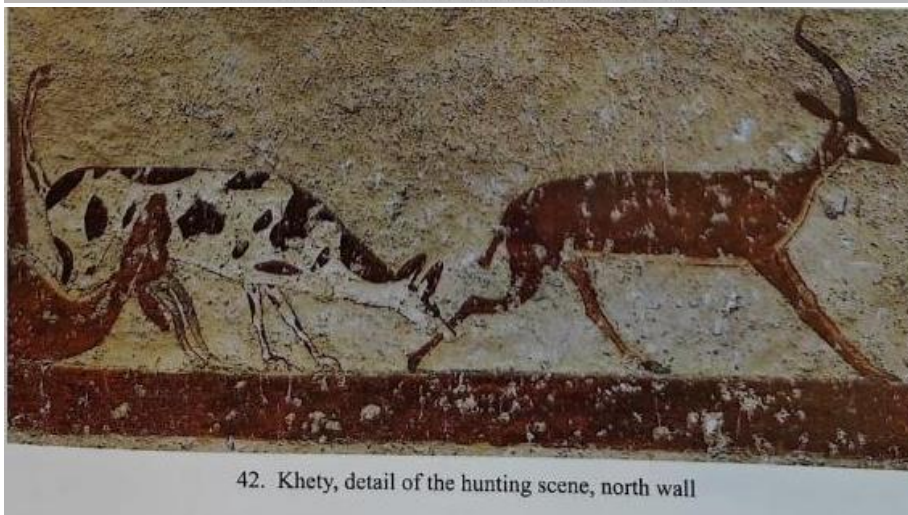




40. Khety, detail of the hunting scene, north wall



41. Khety, detail of the hunting scene, north wall



42. Khety, detail of the hunting scene, north wall

### Figure 2.7: Tomb of Khety

Photo: Kanawati, Naguib, et al. *Beni Hassan: Art and Daily Life in an Egyptian Province*. Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2010, figure 40-42.



Figure 2.8: Statue of Ramses II, Tjenenu

Egizio. "Statue of Ramses II." Accessed August 3, 2024. [https://collezioni.museoegizio.it/en-GB/material/S\\_1270](https://collezioni.museoegizio.it/en-GB/material/S_1270).



Figure 2.9: Stèle van Inyt

Rijksmuseum van Oudheden. "Stèle van Inyt." Accessed August 3, 2024. <https://www.rmo.nl/collectie/topstukken/stele-van-inyt/>.



Figure 2.10: Stele of the Nubian Soldier Nenu

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. "Stele of the Nubian Soldier Nenu." Accessed August 3, 2024.

<https://collections.mfa.org/objects/130332>.



Figure 2.11: Stele Kai, The Neues Museum, Berlin, Germany (ÄM 22820)

Photo: The Neues Museum, Accessed August 7, 2024. <https://smb.museum-digital.de/object/684?navlang=en>



Figure 2.12: Chest of Tutankhamun, Egyptian Museum, Cairo. JE 61467

Photo: taken by author, Egyptian Museum, Cairo, 2024.



Figure 2.13: Gebel el-Arak knife, Musée du Louvre, Paris (E 11517)

Photo: Musée du Louvre, Accessed August 7, 2024.

<https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010007467>



Figure 2.14: The Pitt-Rivers Knife

"The Pitt-Rivers Knife EA 68512," *The British Museum*, accessed August 5, 2024.

[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA68512](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA68512).

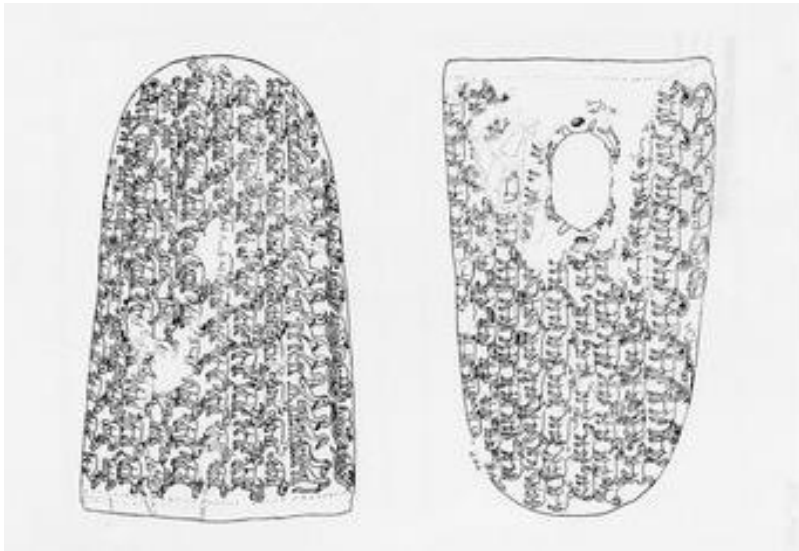


Figure 2.15: Ritual Knife

"Ritual Knife." 2024. *Brooklyn Museum*. Accessed August 5, 2024.

<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3265>





Figure 2.16: Hair Comb Decorated with Rows of Wild Animals

"Hair Comb Decorated with Rows of Wild Animals." 2024. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. Accessed August 5, 2024. <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544067>.



Figure 2.17: Tomb of Mereruka Saqqara

Photo: taken by author, Tomb of Mereruka, Saqqara March 2024.

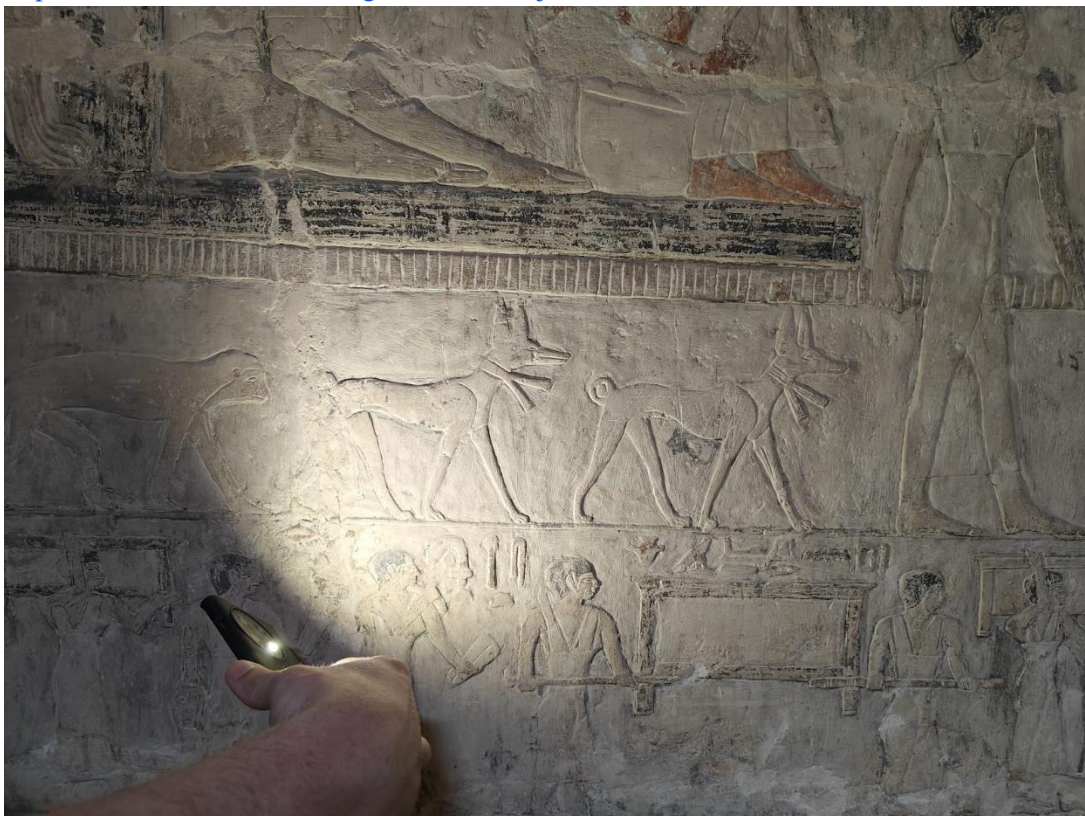
## Chapter 3 figures



Figure 3.1: Stela of Neferabu

British Museum. "Stela of Neferabu." Accessed August 3, 2024.

[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA589](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA589).



### Figure 3.2: Tomb of Mereruka Saqqara

Photos: taken by author, Tomb of Mereruka, Saqqara March 2024.



### Figure 3.3: Tomb of Mereruka Saqqara

Photos: taken by author, Tomb of Mereruka, Saqqara March 2024.



### Figure 3.4: Maherpra first collar, Cairo Museum (CG24075)

Photo: Brixhe, Two Dog Collars, 22.



Figure 3.5: Maherpra second collar, Cairo Museum (CG24076)  
 Photo: Brixhe, Two Dog Collars, 23.



Figure 190 Gold pendant from Tell el Dab'a, F/1-p/17-tomb 14 (TD 7315, Cairo Museum, JdE 98553)



Figure 191 Back view of the Tell el Dab'a pendant.



Figure 192 Silver pendant from the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology (UC 34342). Publication courtesy of the Petrie Museum and the British Museum.

Figure 3.6: Three Pendants. Tell el-Daba  
Photo: Schiestl, Three Pendants, 59.



Figure 3.7: Dog sitting

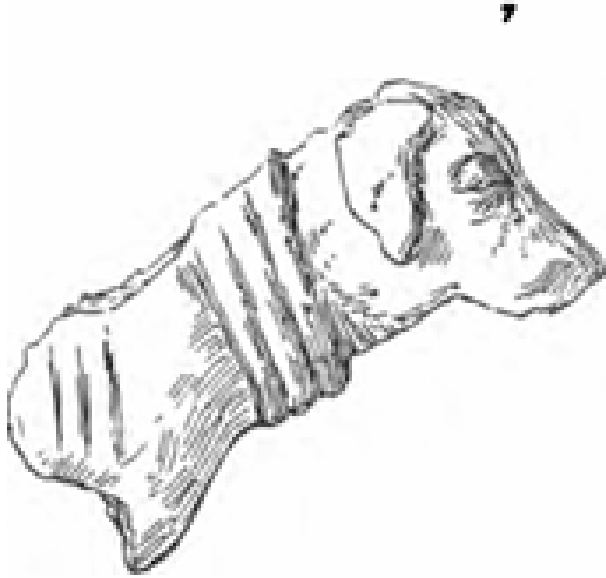
Rijksmuseum van Oudheden. *Hond ; zittend*. Accessed August 5, 2024.  
<https://www.rmo.nl/collectie/collectiezoeker/collectiestuk/?object=14517>.



### Figure 3.8: Statue of a Dog

Rijksmuseum van Oudheden. *Beeld van een Hond*. Accessed August 5, 2024.

<https://www.rmo.nl/collectie/collectiezoeker/collectiestuk/?object=22524>.



### Figure 3.9: Figurine of a dog

Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, Part 1, plate 12.7.



### Figure 3.10: Possible glaze figure

Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, Part 1, plate 18.18.



Figure 3.11: The dog and monkey of green glazed pottery  
Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, Part 1, plate 20.12/13.

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