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# Ancient Egyptian Fauna : A Lexicographical Study

## Volume II

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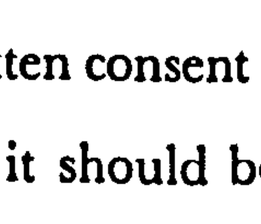


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Volume 2 : Notes


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## Notes : Introduction

1. Hartmann, Systematischen Aufzählung.

2. Note especially Gaillard, Poissons; Lortet & Gaillard, Faune momifiée; Gaillard, Tatonnements.

3. Loret, Faune pharaonique; see in the thesis on the Horus falcon and the oryx.

4. B.v.d. Walle, CdE 33, no.65 (1958) 74-78: Bibliographie de L.Keimer; L.Keimer, Études d'Égyptologie I: Bibliographie de L.Keimer (1924-1940); G.Kircher, MDAIK 25 (1969) 33-39: Zum Keimer-Nachlaß im DAI Kairo.

5. L. Keimer, Études d'Égyptologie VII: Notes au sujet de l'hiéroglyphe , p.1.

6. C.de Rachewiltz, CdE 33, no.65 (1958) 65: General Scheme for the Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Zoology and Botany in Ancient Egypt.

7. Keimer, op. cit., p.2.

8. The most recent work on this subject has been carried out by Boessneck (see, eg, Boessneck, Tierwelt).

9. Compare the attitude of L.du Mesnil du Buisson, Les noms et les signes égyptiens désignant des vases ou objets similaires (Paris 1935) esp. p.147: 'Si l'on écarte les termes hyperboliques ou qualicatifs désignant ces vases par périphrase, on se trouve en présence d'un très petit nombre de mots'.

10. Compare the comment of Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.142-143: 'Vernacular names are most problematic, for a single species may have different names in Upper and Lower Egypt, and between the Bedouin tribes of the Eastern and Western deserts'.

11. Weeks, Egyptology and the Social Sciences, p.59-81: Art, Word and the Egyptian World View, p.62.

12. V.Loret in Lortet & Gaillard, Faune momifiée, p.ii.

13. Recent species lists are included in the notes to the chapters. No lists of insect species have been given as the numbers involved are so vast.

14. Cf also C.L.Barber, The Story of Language (London 1964) p.26: 'In general a primitive people tends to have words for specific things that are important to it (like the particular birds or plants that it eats), and to lump together things (like birds or plants that it does not eat) under some generic expression'.

15. As pointed out by Harris, Lex. Stud, p.15-16, this would not have mattered to the ancient Egyptians: 'for them, words and names had a real significance which it is perhaps difficult to comprehend at the present day, and any object could for magico-religious purposes become whatever it was stated to be'.

16. See Bibliography, Section 4.

17. On 'savanna' and 'arid' habitats see the descriptions in, eg, I.G.Simmons, Biogeography: natural and cultural (London 1979) Ch.3: The biome scale, esp. p.98 & 107 and Kingdon, East African Mammals I, p.33-38.

18. See Bibliography, Section 4, for this work.

19. Eg Störk, Nashorn, p.8-49.

20. See the comments of Flower, Mammals, esp. p.440-441; Kingdon, East African Mammals I, p.37-38; Simmons, op.cit., p.98-108. See too Ch.2: Antelopes and Similar Animals and Ch.9 : Lions and Other Cats.

21. H.G.Andrewartha & L.C.Birch, The Distribution and Abundance of Animals (Chicago 1954) p.335-347, commented on critical population size and various factors which cause animal populations to drop below this level. See also Simmons, op.cit., p.13-14 and 53, esp. p.13: 'Most environmental factors which affect an organism do so along a gradient, and the tolerance of the gradient varies slightly from individual to individual and more widely from species to species'.

22. Note, for example, the comments of W.F.Hume, A Preliminary Report on the Geology of the Eastern Desert of Egypt (Cairo 1907) p.21: 'In the great eastern valleys... are many spots rendered beautiful by the abundance of sayal trees and markh bushes... The larger wadis descending to the Nile always contain a varied if somewhat dry vegetation' and id., Geology of Egypt I: The Surface Features of Egypt (Cairo 1925) p.84: 'Almost every year torrents pour down the deep ravines... which descend from the high limestone plateau east of the Nile. Further south... porous strata... are penetrated by the rain streams which collect in pools shaded by the overarching cliffs'.

23. B.D.Shaw, World Archaeology 8 (1976) 133-148: Climate, environment and prehistory in the Sahara.

24. Note the comment in F.White, The Vegetation of Africa (Paris 1983) p.29: 'In this context animals have been deliberately left out. This is because their habitats are too imperfectly correlated with vegetation types to provide useful diagnostic features. Their ranges either transgress the boundaries of vegetation types or, alternatively, when they are confined to an individual type, they usually occupy only part of it'.

25. On this subject see L.Keimer, Annales de la Faculté des Lettres 11 (1953) : Les limites de l'observation naturaliste dans quelques représentations animales de l'Égypte antique.

26. On the extent and definition of these regions see Darlington, Zoogeography, p.411-475: Ch.7 : Continental patterns and faunal regions (and the world map, p.2).

## Chapter 1 : Notes

1. B. Berlin, D.E. Breedlove, P.H. Raven, American Anthropologist 75 (1973) 214-242: General Principles of Classification and Nomenclative in Folk Biology. For further information on this subject see H.C. Conklin, Folk Classification: A topically arranged bibliography of contemporary and background references through 1971 (New Haven 1972; rev. ed. 1980), esp. p.329-362: Ethnozoology.

2. See P. Kay, Language 47 (1971) 866-887: Taxonomy and Semantic Contrast.

3. C.H. Brown, American Anthropologist 81 (1979) 791-817: Folk zoological life-forms: their universality and growth, esp. p.791-792.

4. Brown, op.cit., p.805: 'Since specific and generic mammal terms maintain their usefulness and salience, broad ecological categories encompassing all mammals are less useful than otherwise'. Cf E.Rosch et al., Cognitive Psychology 8 (1976) 382-439: Basic Objects in Natural Categories, esp. p.432, commenting on the infrequent use of the word 'mammal' by English speakers because 'mammals are thoughtof as members of their basic level classes and are called by their basic names'.

5. Eg A. Jacques, Latomus 22 (1963) 649-663: Noms de plantes et noms d'animaux en latin; E. de Saint-Denis, Le vocabulaire des animaux marins en latin classique (Paris 1947); D'A. W. Thompson, A Glossary of Greek Fishes (London 1947); id., A Glossary of Greek Birds (London 1985, 1936); Landsberger, Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia I; I. Löw, Fauna und Mineralien der Juden (Hildesheim 1969); A. Salonen, Vögel und Vögelfang im alten Mesopotamien (Helsinki 1973); A.L. Oppenheim & L.F. Hartmann, JNES 4 (1945) 152-177: The Domestic Animals of Ancient Mesopotamia.

6. W. Spiegelberg, Der ägyptische Mythus vom Sonnenauge (Der Papyrus der Tierfabeln - 'Kufi') nach dem Leidener Demotischen Papyrus I, 384 (Strassburg 1917) p.39. See also W.J.Tait, Orientalia 37 (1976) 27-44: The fable of Sight and Hearing in the Demotic Kufi text, p.39.

7. M.J. Smith, LÄ V, 1082-1087: Sonnenauge, col.1085.

8. Petersb Proph, pl.14. Also tr. Helck, Merikare, p.84. Cf O.DelM 1176, rto (= Sall II, 11, 6-14, 1).

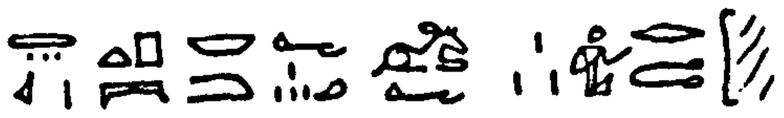
9. For this contrast of mnmnt and ʿwt ḫɜst cf Gen. 3, 14: 'cursed are you above all cattle, and above all wild animals'.

10. K.C. Seele, The Tomb of Tjanefer at Thebes (Chicago, 1959) pl.10 = Wb <1394>.

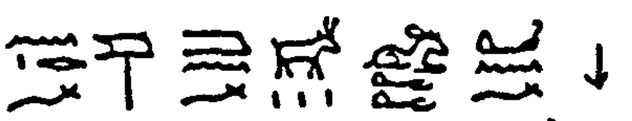
11. A. Korostovstev, BIFAO 45 (1947) 155-173: Stèle de Ramsès IV.

12. For this word (Wb I, 50, 6-7: vierfüssige Tiere... allgemein Tiere...) cf El Arisch, 24, 21:

and 25, 25:

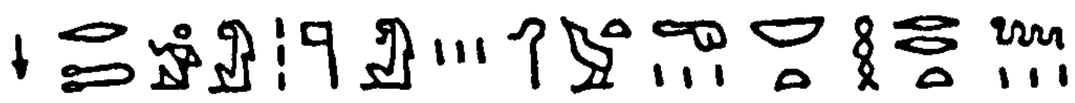


and Esne (Thes II, 625 A, 1):

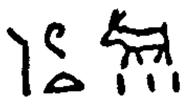


Perhaps the emphasis here is on 'animals with legs' - compare ỉwʿ (Wb I, 50, 3-5: Teil des Beines...) - as opposed to winged, or other, creatures.

13. This word (Wb III, 45, 7: die Tiere) is unattested elsewhere and should probably be read as a miswriting of ʿwt. For a similar writing of ʿwt see Hornung, Pforten I, p.2 (var. O. Unt):



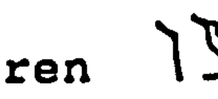
var. (SIs Unt) (RVI Unt)

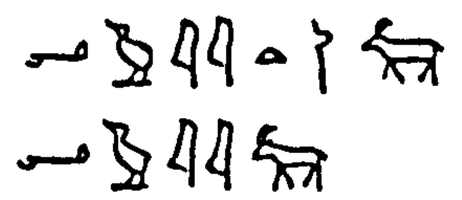
tr. Vol.II, p.33: 'die Menschen und die Götter, alles Vieh und alles Gewürm, das dieser große Gott geschaffen hat'. This opinion was also recorded on the original Wb Zettel: 'wohl verlesen aus  '. Cf C.Maystre & A.Piankoff , MIFAO 74 (1939): Le Livre des Portes I, p.16-17.

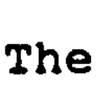
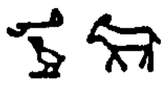
14. A. Erman, SPAW 43 (1911) 916-950: Ein Denkmal memphitischer Theologie.

15. See also S.Hassan, Hymmes religieux du Moyen Empire (Le Caire 1928) p.157-193.

Text in O.D el M 1224.

16. W. Spiegelberg, Rec. Trav. 19 (1897) 86-101: Varia, esp. p.90: 'Ein zweiter Fall dieser Erscheinung hegt in dem Wort "Vieh" vor, welches sich vor dem NR. nicht nachwiesen lässt, es ist zweifellos die neuägyptische Form des älteren  ... Aber wohlverstanden, in beiden Fällen hält die alte Schreibung neben der neuen bis in die spätesten Texte'.

Cf W. Spiegelberg, OLZ 26 (1923) 323-325: [Review of Erman & Grapow, Handwörterbuch] p.324 and Osing, Nominalbildung, p.293; in n.1178, p.844, he also noted the writings: 

The writing  was also noted by H.G.Fischer, JEA 65 (1979) 176-182: [review of S. Hassan, Excavations at Saqqara 1937-1938, reedited by Z. Iskander (Cairo 1975)] p.178, comparing from Posener-Kriéger, Arch Abousir, p.251:  .

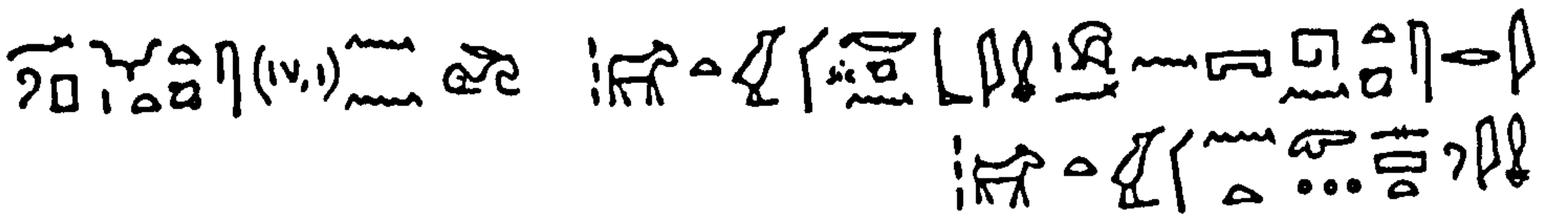
Note the writing: in C.N.Peck, Some Decorated Tombs of the First Intermediate Period at Naqa ed-Der (Ann Arbor 1959) [tomb 3737] p.13.

17. Cf the opinion of P. Montet, RdE 2 (1921) p.57, n.6: 'ꜥwt désigne deux catégories d'êtres, le petit bétail domestique, ânes, moutons, porcs..et d'autre part, les antilopes du désert'.

Weill, Sinai, p.170, No.60: (5) (6)

Posener-Kriéger & de Cenival, HPBM 5th ser., pl.2 & 2A, frag. A (BM 10735, frame 10):

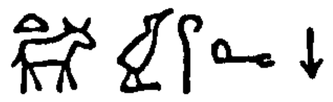
ibid., pl.41 & 41A (BM 10735, frame 7, vso):

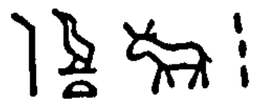
Smith 3, 11: 

Urk I, 3 = LD II, 5:

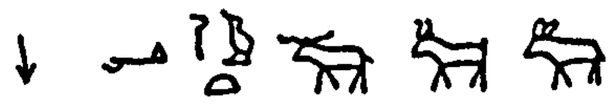
Urk I, 55:

Junker, Giza V, 80:

LD II, 3: 

Westcar 8, 17: 

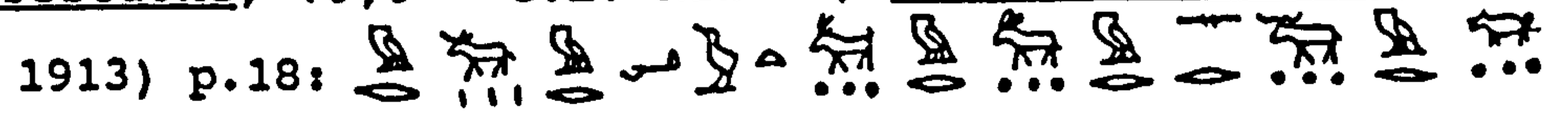
Meir V, 32:

Meir V, 41: 

H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos I (London 1933): EES Memoir 39, p.68; II, pl.75:

(goat, oryx, gazelle, ibex, donkey, aoudad, horse?, unknown, bull)

Totb Nav 18, 27:

Sethe, Lesestücke, 79,9 = C.L. Ransom, The Stela of Menthu-Weser (New York 1913) p.18: 

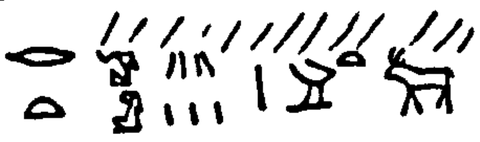
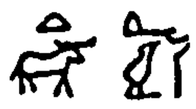
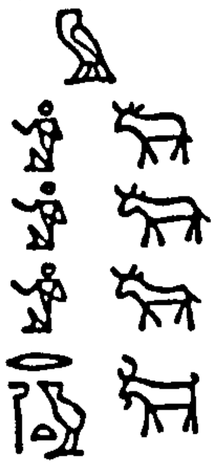
Goedicke , Königliche Dokumente, fig.4 (Cairo 41,890 - Coptos decree of Pepi I ), p.41 & 45: 

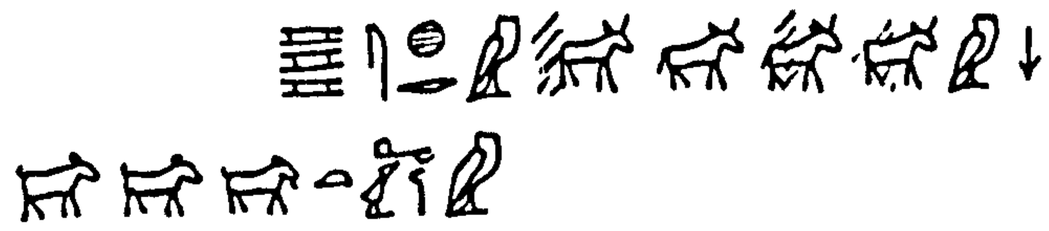
Fig 8: 

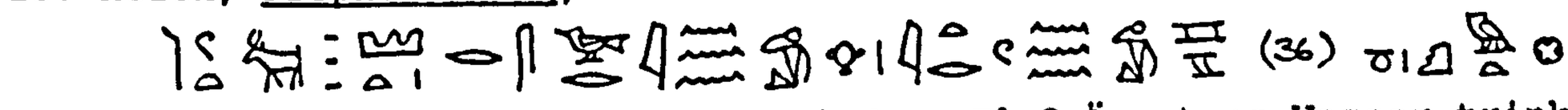
p.97, n.16 (Cairo 41893; Urk I, 281)

Deir el Gebr II, 25 = H.G. Fischer, JARCE 13 (1976) 9-20: Notes, mostly textual, on Davies' Deir el Gebrawi:

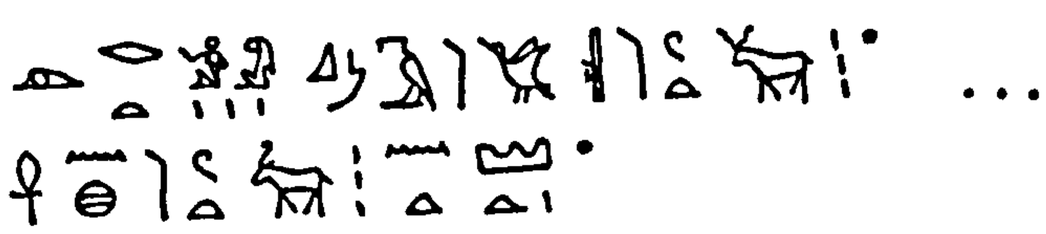


Meir V, 32:

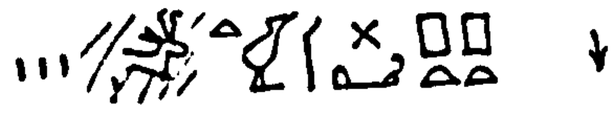
Deir el Gebr II, 24, l.13: 

18. Helck, <u>Prophezeiung</u>, 

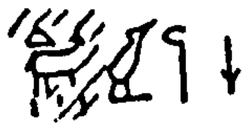
tr. p.33: 'Das Wild der Wüste wird am Fluß Ägyptens Wasser trinken, indem es sich ergeht auf ihren Sandbänken aus Mangel an denen, die sie vertreiben'.

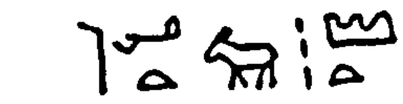
Amonshymn Kairo 8, 2: 

Deir el Gebr I, 11:

Med Habu 116: 

Ptahh II, 18:

Theb Grab 82, pl.9:  (hunted)

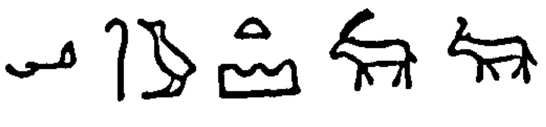
Beni Hasan II, 30: 

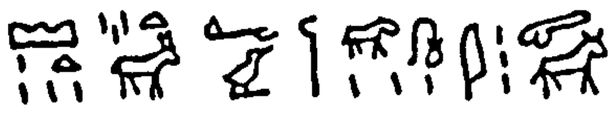
Berscheh I,7 (oryx, ibex, gazelle):

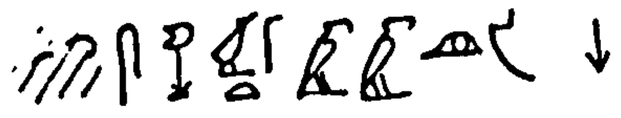
Meir VI, 18 (over representation of oryx, ibex, gazelle):

Kagemni II, 26:

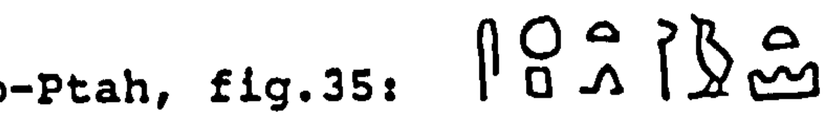
cf I, 14-16.

Junker, <u>Giza</u> VI, p.126 with fig.40 : 

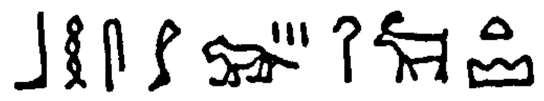
Clère & Vandier, <u>Textes de la première période intermédiaire</u>, p.47, para 33: 

Nianchchnum, pl.19: 

(by 2 oryxes, ibex, aoudad, 3 gazelles, 2 addaxes)

Ny-hetep-Ptah, fig.35:  (by oryx and gazelle)

Sphinx Stele (= Zivie, Giza, p.128, l.5):



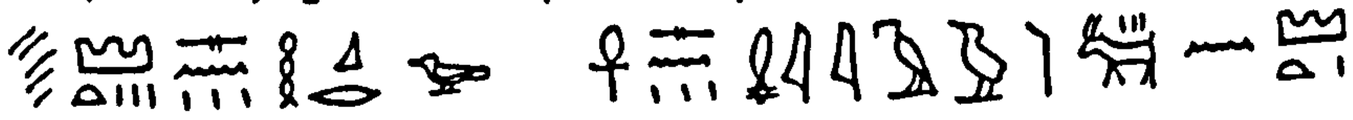
tr. Zivie, p.130: 'il s'occupait et prenait alors du plaisir sur le plateau désertique de la Muraille Blanche et sur ses confins méridionaux et septentrionaux en tirant à l'arc sur une cible de métal, en chassant des lions et du gibier sauvage et en courant sur son char '.

19. This led Hartmann, Systematischen Aufzählung, to identify ʿwt as Capra hircus L.

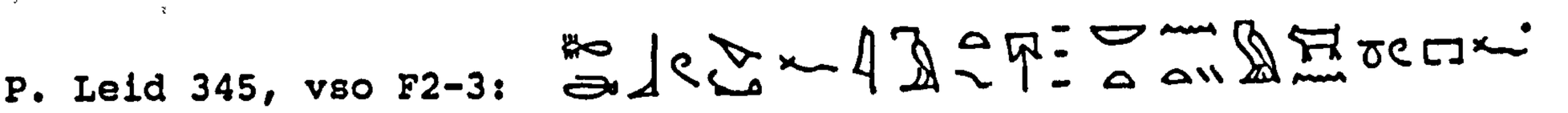
Note Möller, Paläographie I & II, No.139 ỉb and No.138 ʿwt.

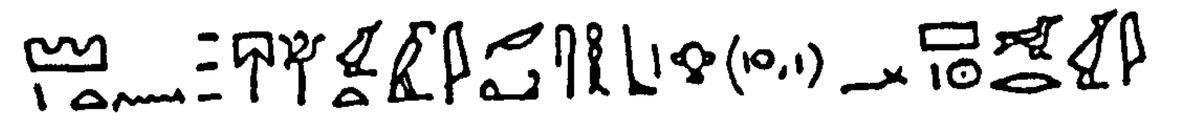
Many of the hieratic signs for these are similar, and this has led to inconsistency in transcription of the determinatives of ʿwt in the texts.

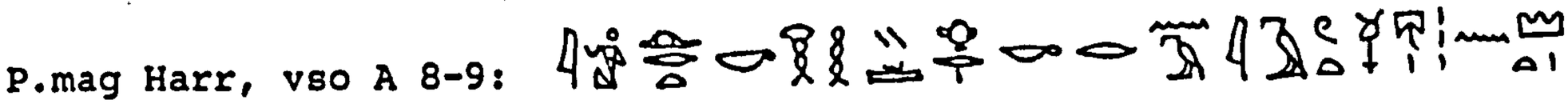
20. Wien (Wresz) p.50-52 (No.138):



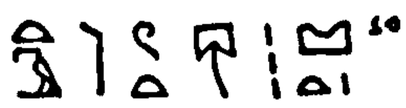
tr. p.52: 'ihre Länder hungern, sie leben wie das Vieh der Wüste' (fragment from tomb of Ḥaremḥab).

P. Leid 345, vso F2-3: 

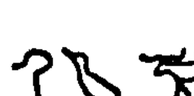
Orb 9, 9-10, 1: 

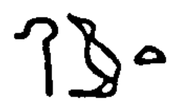
P.mag Harr, vso A 8-9: 

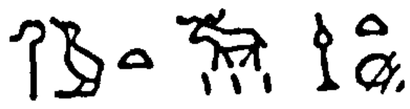
tr. Lange, p.87: 'Richte dein Ansicht zu dem Getier der Wüste' (text p.85).

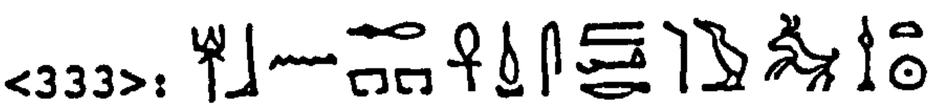
cf ʿwt with this determinative in O.Cairo 25213,2 (Hymn to sun as creator): 

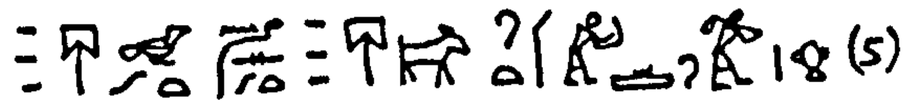
21. Urk IV, 664: 2000 20500

Urk IV, 705:  40 [50]

Urk IV, 722:  1183

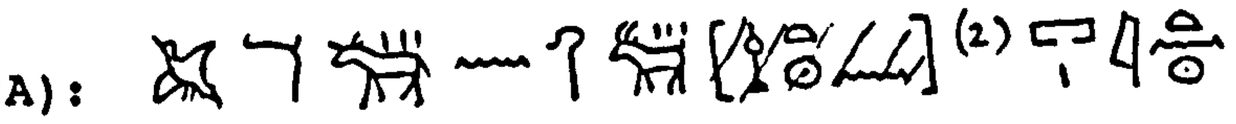
Urk IV, 727: 184 

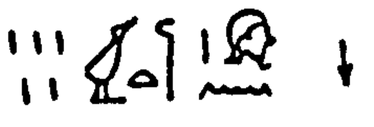
Kairo Wb Nr 333 (Stela of SethosI) <333>: 

P.Ch.B. III, rto 10, 5: 

Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser., tr.p.19: If a man see himself in a dream 'tending small kids, BAD; the perishing of his possessions'.

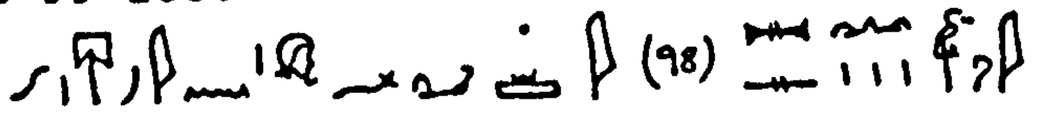
Urk IV, 1955 (1B):

cf Urk IV, 1994 (2A): 

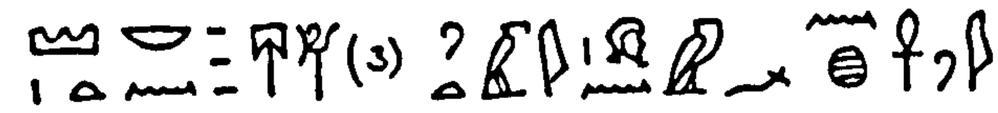
22. Urk IV, 1124 = Davies, Rekhmire, pl.30: 

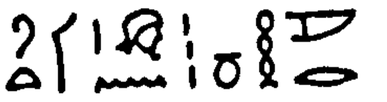
(over a group of young goats)

23. Urk III, 129, 99 (Stela of Harsiyotef):

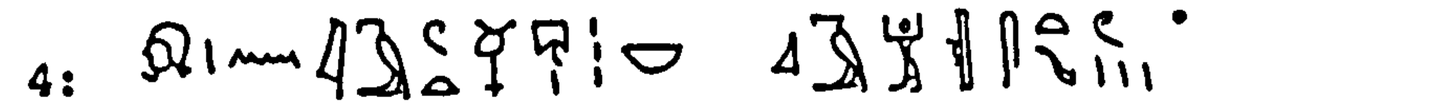
Edwards, HPBM 4th ser, T3, rto 99-100: 

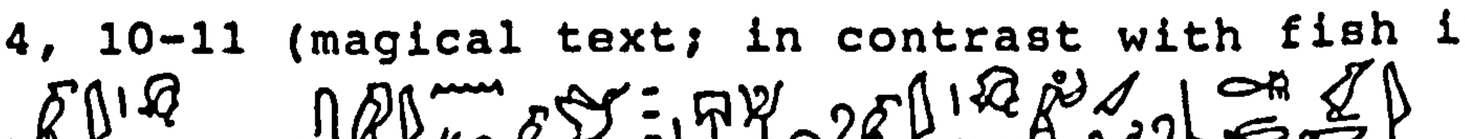
tr. p.76: 'We shall provide him (with) animals, male-servants, barley, emmer, gold, silver, copper, apparel, (100) cattle, goats'.

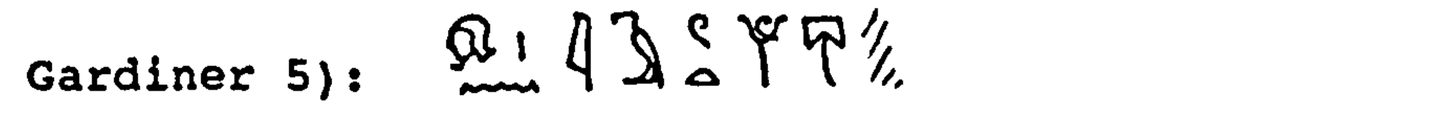
24. Prinzengesch 5,2-3 : 

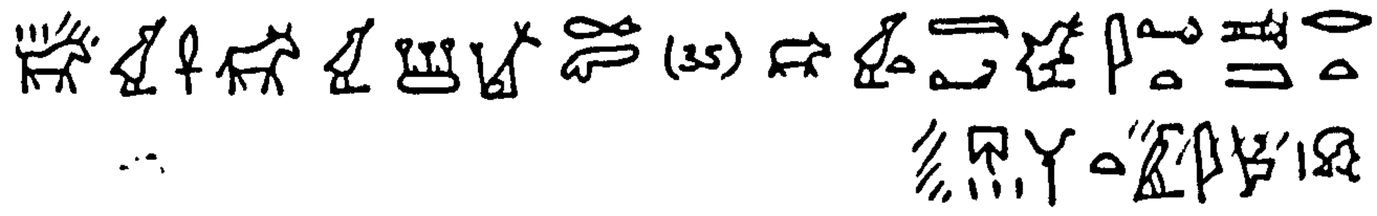
25. P. med Berl 3038, 9,9: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.272; tr. IV$^{1}$, p.155: 'bestes Fett (mrḥ.t) vom Kleinvieh'.

P. mag Harr 11, 4: 

P.Tur P u R 124, 10-11 (magical text; in contrast with fish in sea): 

HO I, pl.33 (O. Gardiner 5): 

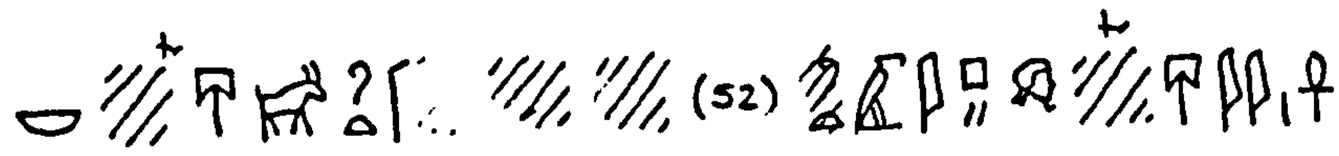
Nauri 1.35: 

A similar list on 1.58 seems to end tp-n-ỉdr nb (cf 1.57 and 75).

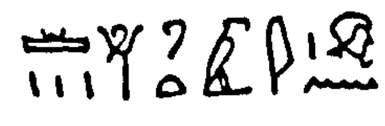
Edwards, HPBM 4th ser., T3, rto, 1.98:

(text n.27)

tr. p.76: 'We shall provide him (with) animals, ... [my omission].... cattle, goats and everything of every kind'.

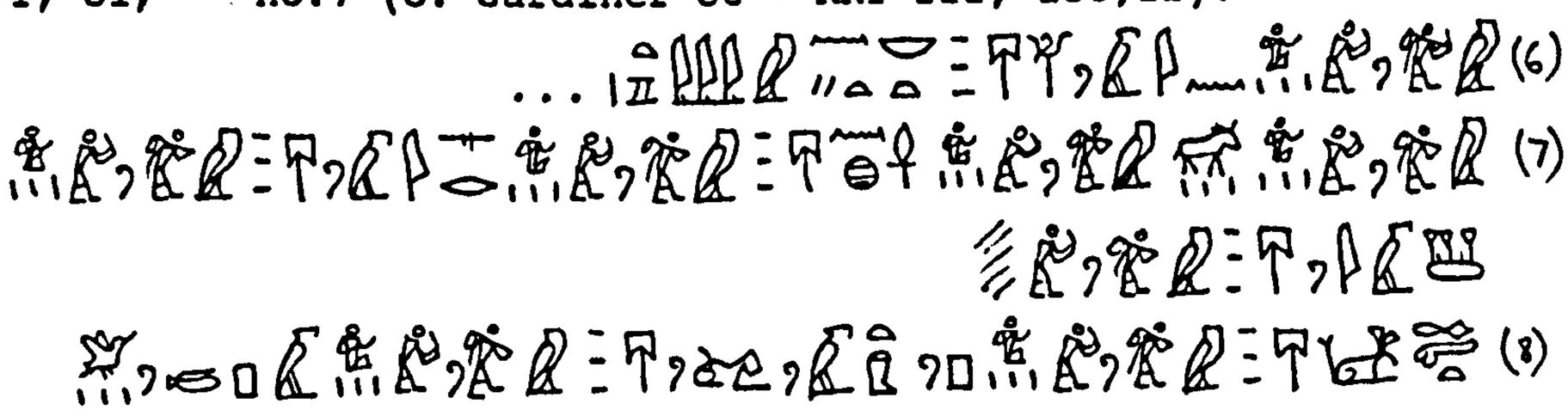
cf B, rto 41-52 : 

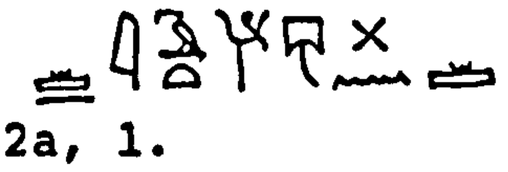
tr. p.115 : 'goats, animals, and every herd'

HO I, pl.7 (O. Leipzig 6) (possibly a love song): 

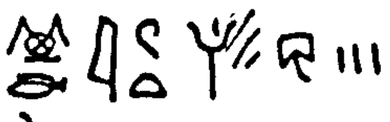
26. CD 400b: 'beast, domestic animal'; Černý, CED, p.182; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.211b; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.223, cf. p.47.

27. LSJ 800a: 'wild animal, esp. of such as are hunted... generally animal... beast, esp. as hostile and odious to man'.

28. HO I, 81, no.7 (O. Gardiner 86 = KRI III, 138,12): 

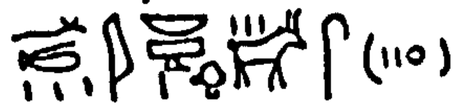
29. Harr 20a, 17 - a list of: 419 ỉw3, 290 rnnnỉw3, 18 ng3, 281 šbnt, ḥr -s3, 740 wndw, 19 tpw, 112 (k3), 1 ỉw3-n-m3ḥd, 54 m3ỉw-ḥd, 1 nr3w, 81 gḥs:  3029

cf Harr 65a, 12; 51a, 11; 32a, 1.

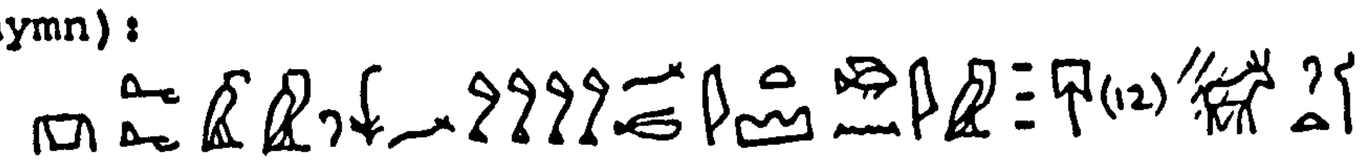
Med Habu 75, 38: a list of cattle, horses, donkeys, goats (ʿnḫw), sheep: 

cf 75, 37 in which dmd ỉḫw appears at the end of a list of cattle arranged according to sex and age.

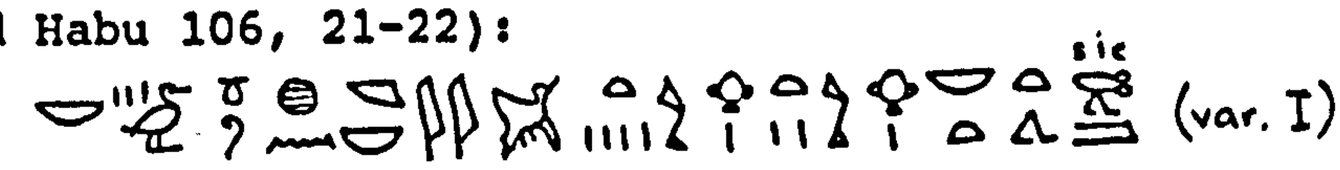
30. KRI II, 626, 16 (Litany to Min-Amun, Luxor = Luxor <564>):



O.DelM 1675 (Nile hymn):

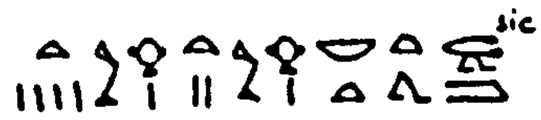


KRI II, 269, 1 (= Med Habu 106, 21-22):

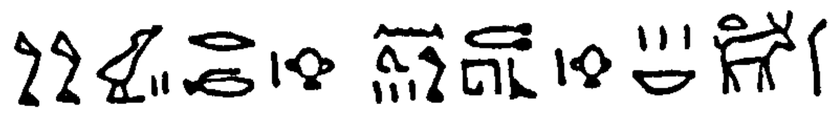


tr. Edgerton & Wilson, Hist Rec Ram III, p.125: 'everything going on two legs or four and all flying and fluttering things'.

LD III, 194 (var. text):

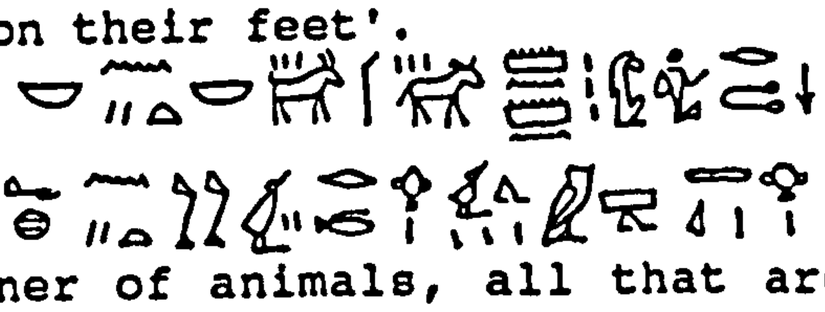


Amarna VI, 27, 5:



tr. Davies, p.30: 'All cattle leap upon their feet'.

& Amarna VI, 27, 8:



tr. p.30: 'mankind, cattle, all manner of animals, all that are upon earth going on foot, and as many as are aloft flying with their wings'.

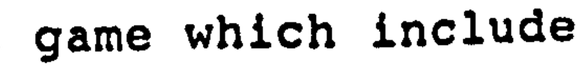
Note too that Bohairic ϥτε ϕϩτ ('four footed') is rendered T&NH in Sahidic in two Old Testament texts (see CD 400b).

31. Kagemni 34 (pl.12):

near a representation of a hyaena being fed. Compare the parallel scene with a ỉwꜣ fed by an ỉmy-r mḏt and named.

P.mag Harr 11, 4 (apparently applying to carnivores): (text n.25)

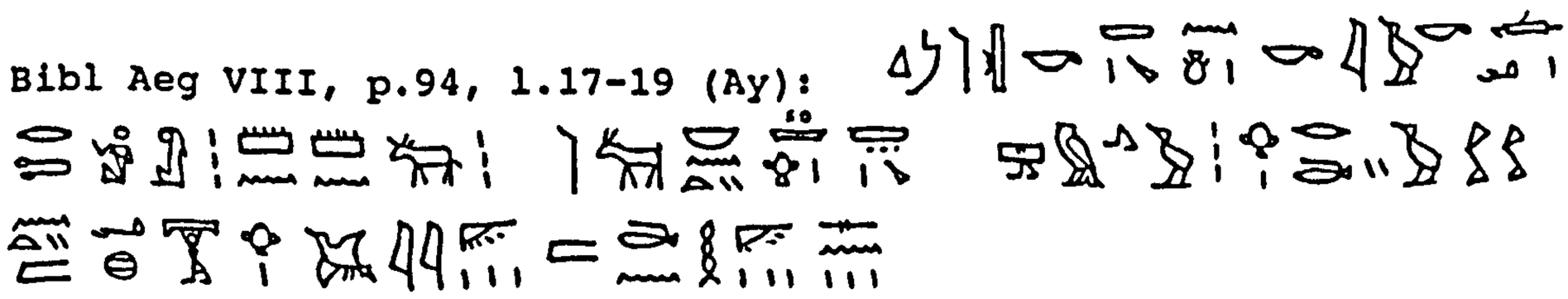
Med Habu 116, 2 (Ramesses III hunts desert game which includes a hare and a canid as well as gazelle, oryx, donkey and hartebeest. The scene is described):



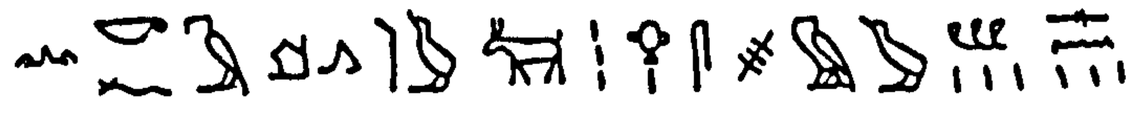
cf Nianchchnum, pl.18 :

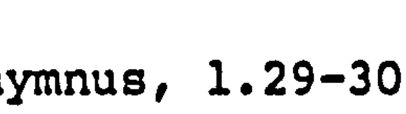
by an oryx, 2 ibexes, 2 addaxes, and a hyaena.

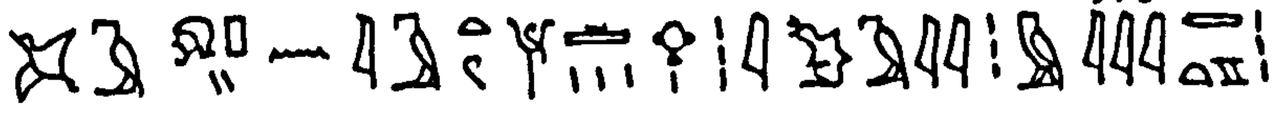
32. Bibl Aeg VIII, p.94, l.17-19 (Ay):

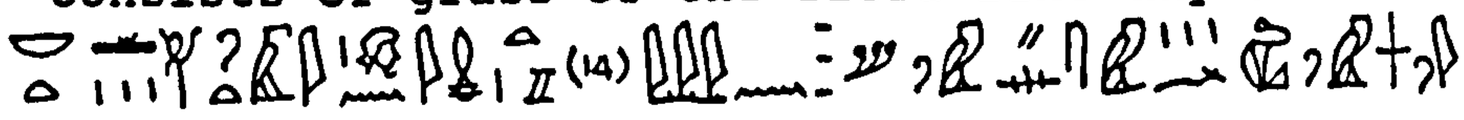


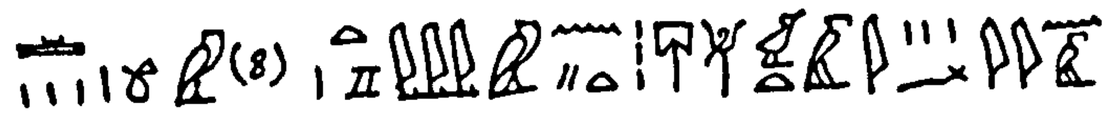
33. HO I, 81, no.7:

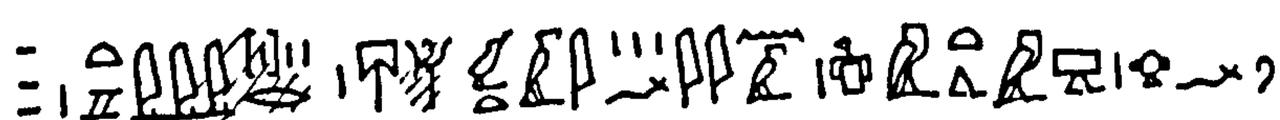
C. Maystre, Les déclarations d'innocence (Le Caire 1937) p.45:

tr.: 'Je n'ai pas chassé le petit bétail de ses herbages'.

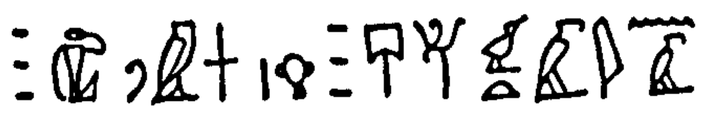
Siegeshymnus, 1.29-30: 

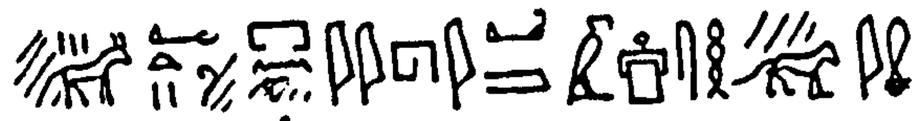
cf Max d'Anii 8, 1-3: 

P.Ch.B.V, rto, 5: Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, tr. p.47: 'his [ie the soldier's] food consists of grass of the field like any head of cattle': 

Sall I, 4, 7: 
(note that a parallel copy gives instead of i3wt).

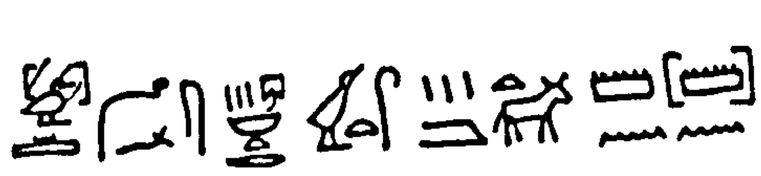
Orb 1, 2: - 
This phrase is repeated in 1,9 where is substituted for i3wt; cf P.Ch.B. I, 6: are referred to in the rest of the text (6,9; 6,11; 6,12; 7.5; 7,5; 7,9) as i3wt :

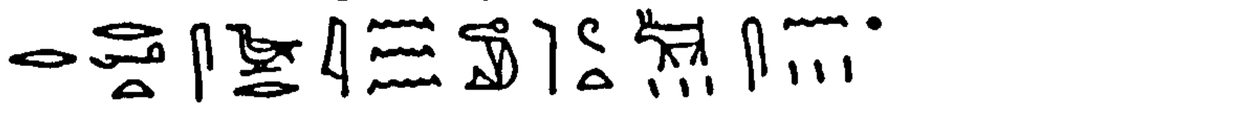
34. An V, 16, 2: 

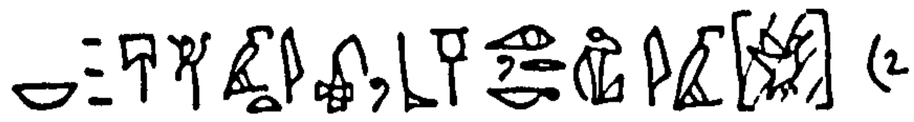
35. KRI II, 151, 11: 

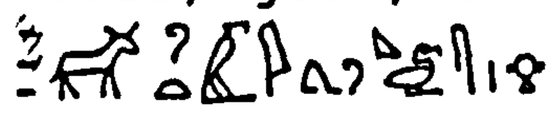
36. Berscheh I,27:

ICE 1 Acts, p.525-532: F.J.Presedo-Velo: Les dernières découvertes à Herakléopolis Magna, Fig. 1 (Stela of hty) p.529:

37. KRI II, 333, 7: 

O. Cairo 25224,10 (publ. ZÄS 1876 p.111):


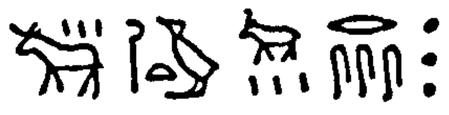
38. P.Varzy (RAD p.60): 

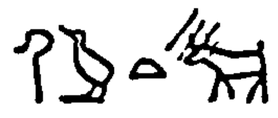
39. P.Ch.B. III, rto 6, 3: Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser., tr. p.15: If a man see himself in a dream 'bringing in the cattle, good; the assembling of people for him by his god': 

40. Posener, Enseignement loyaliste, 14, 2:
tr. p.45: 'C'est un bétail utile à son maître'.

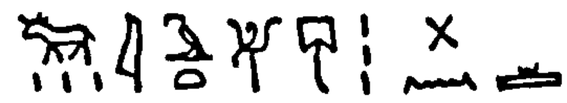
Compare the reference to i3wt without number: 11, 6 (= O.Gardiner 314, HO I, pl.95, no.1, vso 2):
tr. p.41: 'un petit bétail innombrable'.

41. Totb Nav 173, 22:

Armant 8: 

Urk IV, 688:  3636

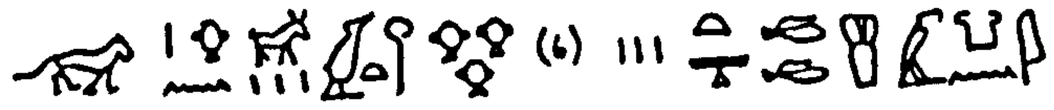
Urk IV, 692: 4622
(cf Urk IV, 699)

Harr 65a, 12:  1142

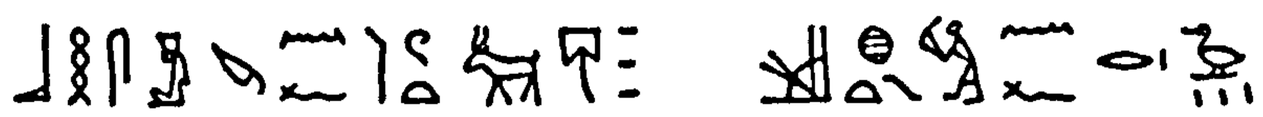
A. Varille, Inscriptions conçernant l'architecte Amenhopte, fils de Hapou (Le Caire 1968) p.23:

Deir el Gebr I, 21:

42. See in the notes above - most references are to tp-n-i3wt; notice that Edwards' B rto 51-42 juxtaposes tp-n-i3wt, ʿwt and ʿnhy.

43. LD III, 31a, 5-6: 

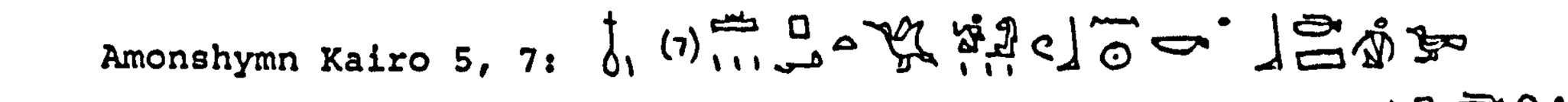
Urk VI, 18 (evil deeds of Seth in Egypt):

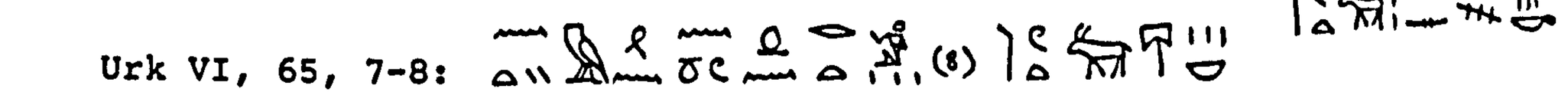


44. Cf Harr I, 51a 1.10: 3079

1.11: 10047

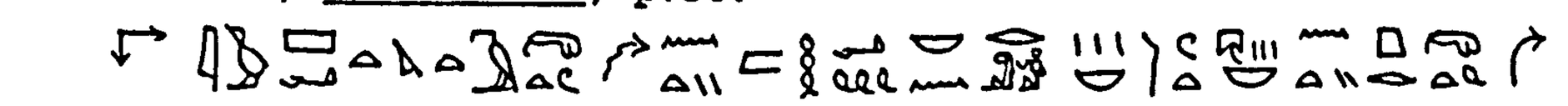
Amonshymn Kairo 1, 6:

Amonshymn Kairo 5, 7: 

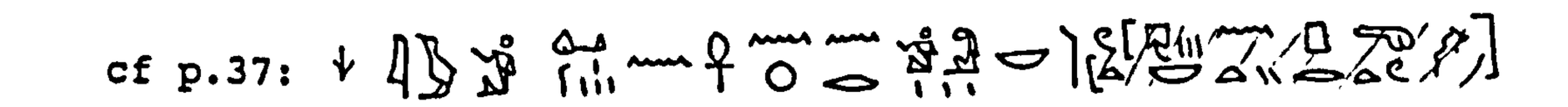
Urk VI, 65, 7-8: 

Mett 128:

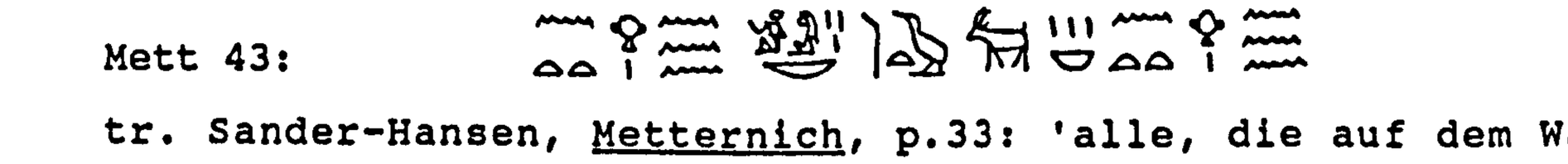
Klasens, Statue Base, p.36:



tr. p.58: 'I will destroy the poison which is in any limb of any man or animal that is poisoned'.

cf p.37: 

tr. p.59: 'I will give breath of life to all men and animals [who are poisoned]'.

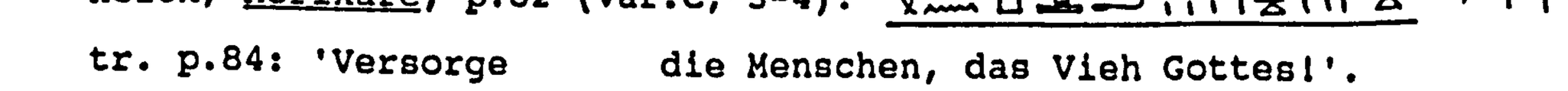
Mett 43: 

tr. Sander-Hansen, Metternich, p.33: 'alle, die auf dem Wasser sind... alles Vieh, welches auf dem Wasser sind'.

45. Hor u Seth 14, 12:

tr. Gardiner, P.Ch.B.I, p.25-26: 'it is I [= Osiris] who made the barley and the spelt to nourish the gods, and even so the living creatures after the gods'.

46. See the examples mentioned by
F.Hintze, ZÄS 78 (1942) 55-56: Noch einmal die Menschen als Kleinvieh Gottes.

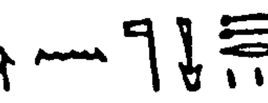
Helck, Merikare, p.82 (var.C, 3-4): 

tr. p.84: 'Versorge die Menschen, das Vieh Gottes!'.

CT I, 154e:

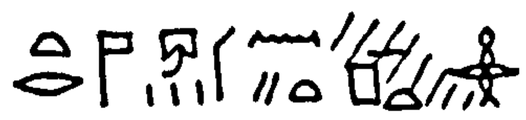
tr. FECT I, p.29: 'See that foe who is among men and gods and the inhabitants of the necropolis ', with n.23.

Cf CT VI, 1e (FECT II, p.106, n.5).

47. BOD 125 B: var. Pa. 

tr. Maystre, Déclarations d'innocence, p.75: 'je n'ai pas tué le gros bétail divin!'

KRI III, 405, 11:

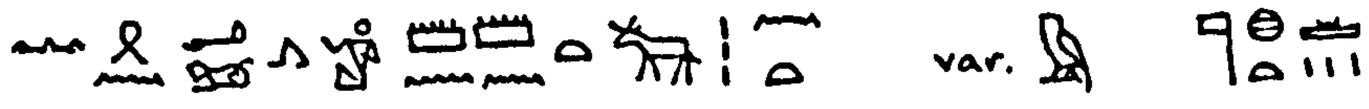
Barquet, Famine, p.21: 

tr.: 'tout ce que l'on (re)cherche pour construire tout temple de Haute et Basse Égypte, les étables d'animaux sacrés'.

Martin Hetepka, pl.69 (363):

(see his comments).

48. Maystre, Déclarations d'innocence, A50:



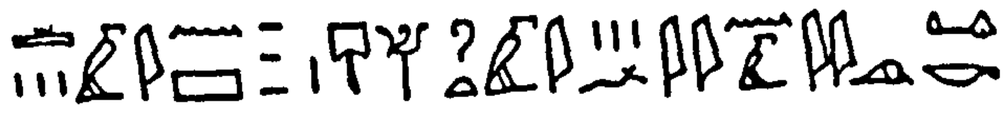
tr.: 'Je n'ai pas tenu à l'écart les troupeaux des biens du dieu'.

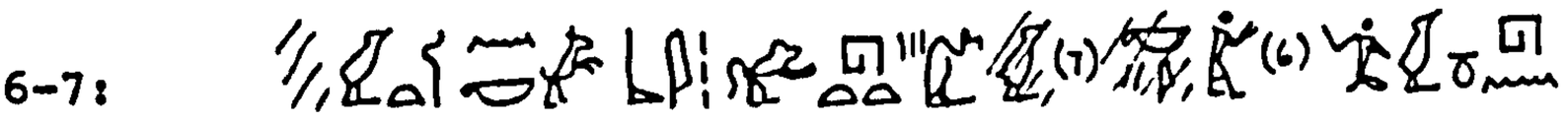
49. Totb Nav 18, 27:

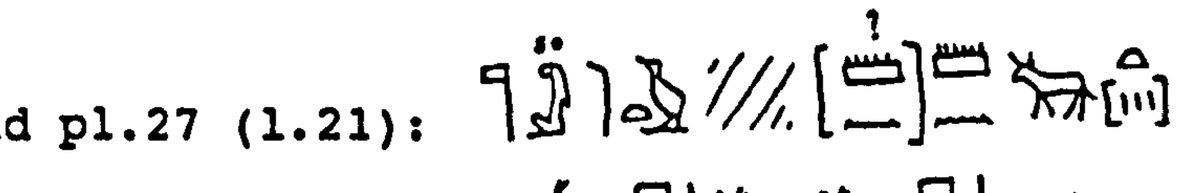
tr. Allen, BOD, p.33: (in a gloss) 'means when Seth's Gang came, having assumed their form of goats'.

50. Totb Nav 15A, 6:

tr. Allen, BOD, p.17: '"Adore him" say the baboons, "praise be to thee" (say) all the animals together'.

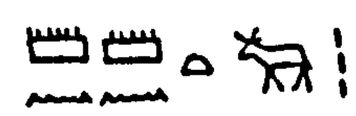
Cf O.DelM 1441, II, 3: 

KRI III, 332, 6-7: 

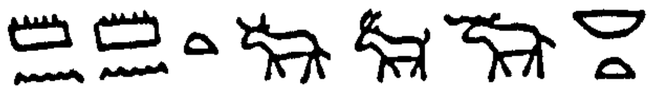
51. Taharqa by the Lake, pl.41 and pl.27 (l.21): 

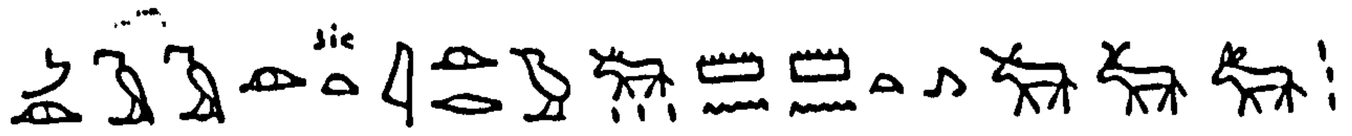
(var. Hibis: )

tr.p.72: 'the god of small cattle and large cattle'.

Admon 5,5: 

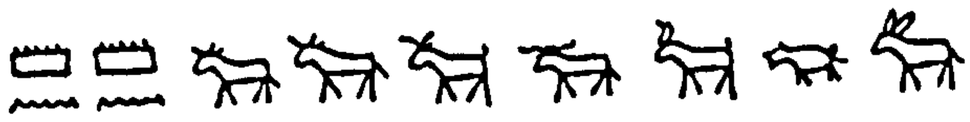
Urk IV, 1309 :

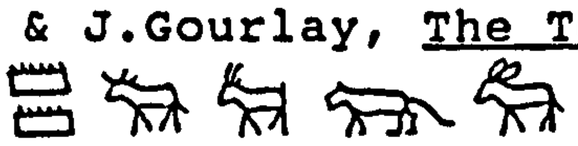
52. Berlin 14753 (Semna Stela): 

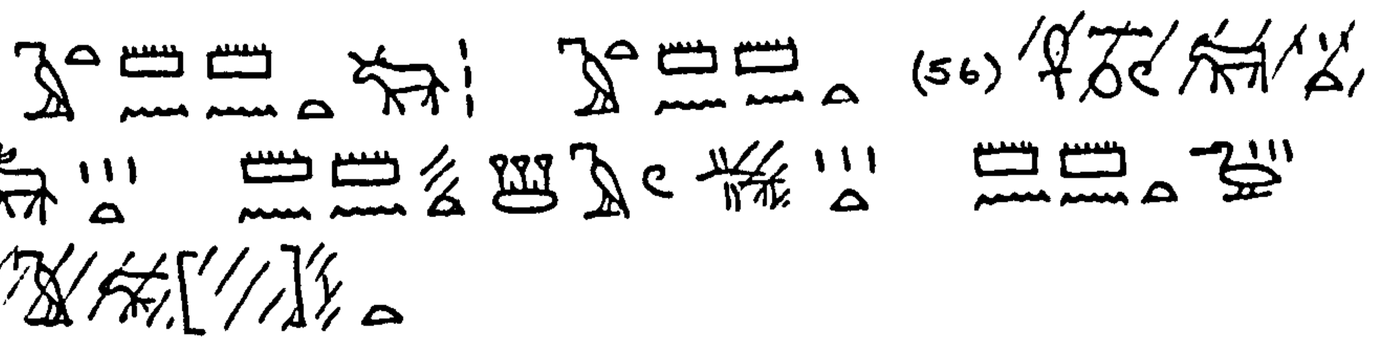
Beni Hasan I, 13: 

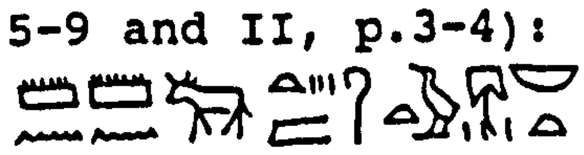
Amonshymn Kairo 6,4:

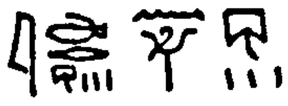
Beni Hasan II, 30: dets:

Urk II, 19 (Satrap Stela): 

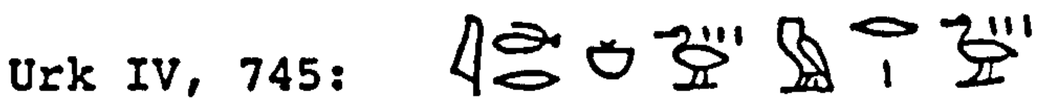
M.Benson & J.Gourlay, <u>The Temple of Mut in Asher</u> (London 1899) p.335: 

53. Nauri 55-56: 

Inscr dédic 87 (= KRI II, 333, 5 + Abyd Mar I, 5-9 and II, p.3-4): 

Petrie Kopt, 18,1 + KRI II, 283, 5 & 11: 

Med Habu 82, 18:

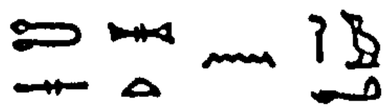
Urk IV, 745: 

Admon 9,4:

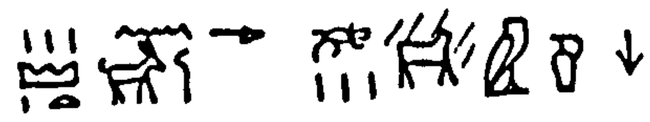
J. Vandier, <u>Mélanges Maspero</u> I, p.137-145: La stèle 20001 du Caire, p.138 (tr. p.139):

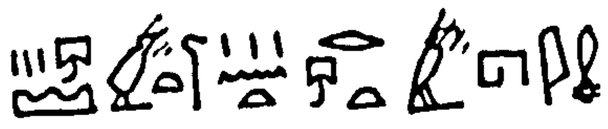
54. Petrie Kopt, pl.18 (=KRI II, 283, 5 & 11): (texts above)

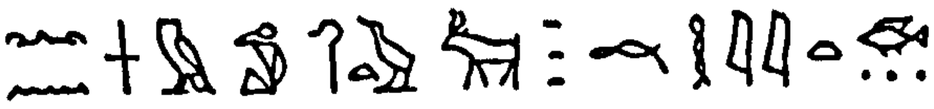
55. Inscr dédic 86 (= KRI II, 333, 7): (text above)

56. LD II, 60: 

tr. Junker, <u>Giza</u> III, p.97: 'Herde von Kleinvieh'.

57. Carter & Mace, Tomb of Tut·Ankh·Amen I, p.50: 

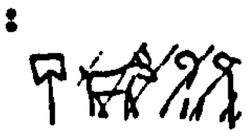
58. Lepsius, Auswahl, p.12. 

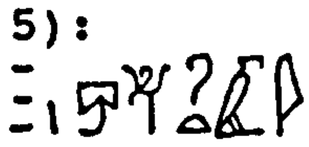
59. Totb Nav 64, 6 (Ca): 

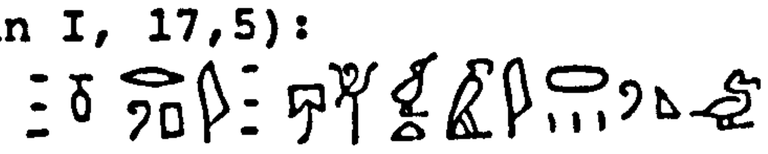
tr. Allen, BOD, p.58: 'One shall recite this spell only when he is pure and spotless, without eating goats or fish or going near women'.

KRI II, 151, 11:

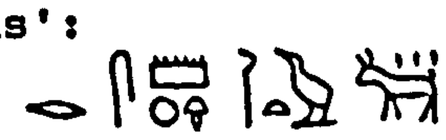
Botti, Sobk, pl.9:

pl.4: 

60. HO I, pl.108, No.1, vso (O.Gardiner 364 = An I, 17, 5): 

Fischer-Elfert, P.Anastasi I, p.120 (An I, 17,5): 

tr. p.149: 'Eine Friedensgabe wird vor dich gebracht, Brotrationen, Kleinvieh und Wein'.

G.A. Gaballa, JEA 63 (1977) 122-126: Three Acephalous Stelae Jd'E No.28569 (formerly temporary register 8.6.24.21) from Saqqara... tr.p.122: 'He causes to come to him great inundations, (x + 2) to multiply grain in this land, to provision their offering, to build up the flocks':
1.x + 2: 

61. Lacau, Sarcophages I, p.180, No.59 (Cairo CG 28083): appears as the name of 'un baton recourbé'.

cf Pyr 202 and Gardiner, Sign List S38 & S39; Montet, Scènes, p.87 and 107; id., Notes de Lexicographie, p.7-8.

62. C.F. Nims, JEA 22 (1936) 51-54: The Demotic group for Small Cattle, p.51: 'the group had already come to be treated as one word, and to have the general meaning of animal' . This view was supported by A.H. Gardiner, JEA 38 (1952) 24-33: Some reflections on the Nauri decree, esp. p.30-31 (n. to 1.58): 'There are grounds for thinking that in some compounds has a generalizing force, though one

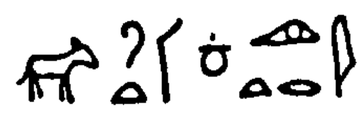
not easy for our modern minds to grasp; the expression hbw tp-trw "seasonal feasts" provides an analogy... Hence it seems legitimate to render tp-n-ỉ3wt nb as "any (other) kind of animal".'

Note that in the Canopus decree (1.5) Greek ζῴων is rendered - cf Urk II, 185.

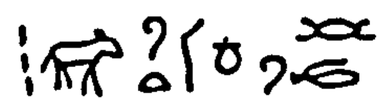
63. Note that Vandier, P.Jumilhac, p.201, n.612, commenting on the text (17, 25), tr. p.130: 'l'arbre de vie à tous les hommes et du fourrage à tous les animaux, domestiques et sauvages' : 'Mnmnt et ʿwt on pourrait traduire, aussi, au gros et au petit bétail, mais, comme mnmnt peut, également, désigner le petit bétail, nous croyons que le scribe a plutôt voulu marquer l'opposition que nous avons exprimée dans notre traduction'.

64. Eg Genesis 1, 25: 'And God made the beasts of the earth according to their kinds and the cattle according to their kinds and everything that creeps upon the ground according to its kind'.

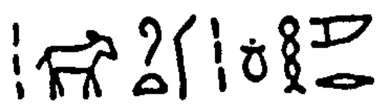
65. Compare, however, the phrase mrḥt rmw in Eb 86, 19 = Hearst 17, 3. A specific fish is apparently not intended; individual fish names do appear in the medical texts. Compare too the similar use of mrḥt  (presumably ỉ3pd).

P. med Berl 3038, 16, 7: 

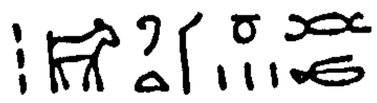
Wb.Drog. V, p.17; tr. IV$^1$, p.10: 'Milch des Kleinviehs'.

P. med Berl 3038, 6, 6: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.447; tr. IV$^1$, p.261: 'Fett (ʿḏ) vom Kleinvieh'.

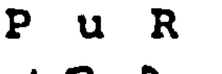
P. med Berl 3038, 9, 3: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.451; tr. IV$^1$, p.264: 'Fett (mrḥ.t) vom Kleinvieh'.

Eb 79, 22: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.139; tr. IV$^1$, p.81: 'Fett (ʿḏ) vom Kleinvieh'.

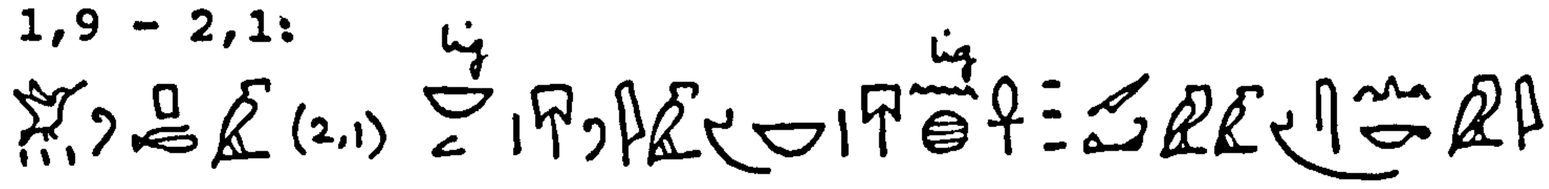
66. Gardiner, loc.cit.

67. P. Tur P u R 120, 10 :  differentiated from 'lion': .

In other examples where the context is ambiguous (eg not accompanied by a representation) it is difficult to decide whether anything more than 'lion' is meant. The term was discussed by V. Loret, Le nom égyptien de l'oryx, in Lortet & Gaillard, Faune momifiée B, p.175-178. He made the distinction between m3 'bête désertique' and m3 ḫs3 'bête fascinatrice du désert' (ie lion) reading similarly m3fdt 'bête rampante du désert' and m3ḥd 'bête blanche du désert' (pp.175-176).

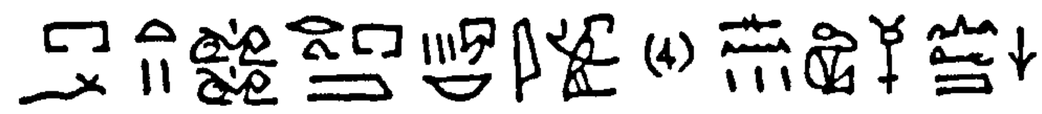
For further discussion see m3ỉ, Ch.9: Lions and Other Cats.

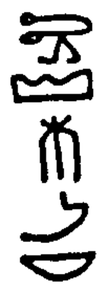
68. P. Tur P u R 121, 8.

69. Sallier IV, 1,9 - 2,1: 

Sallier II, 14, 7-8 (hymn to Nile):

Amarna VI, 27, 4:

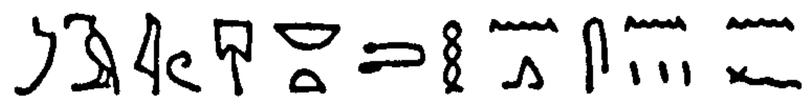
tr. Davies, p.30: 

70. Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1961), p.245 (= Wreszinski, Atlas III, pl.102): 

tr.Edel: 'Die Wüste nimmt die Jungen von jeglichen Wild an sich'; the inscription accompanies a scene showing an ibex, gazelle, addax, wild cow, leopard and cheetah giving birth.

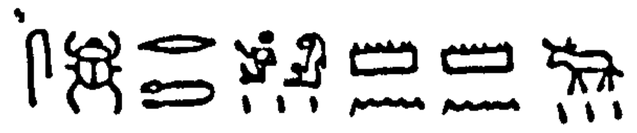
Beni Hasan I, 30:

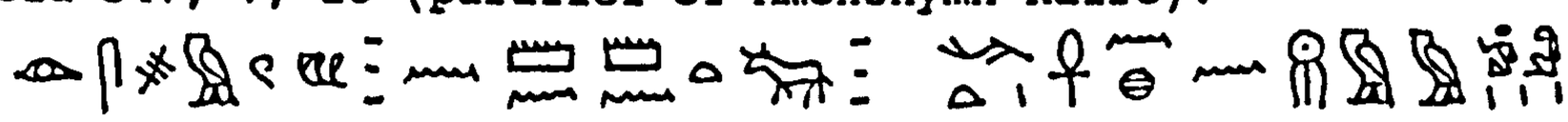
(over four animals, a cow, 2 gazelles? and an oryx):

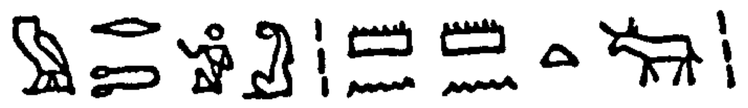
Sall IV, 2, 5: 

cf Ptolemaic texts in de Rougé, Edfu, pl.63 (cf.26) and DGI IV, 119.

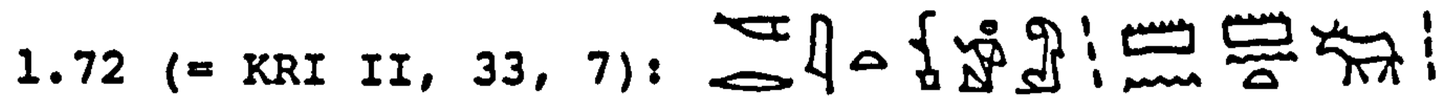
71. Amarna V, 28:

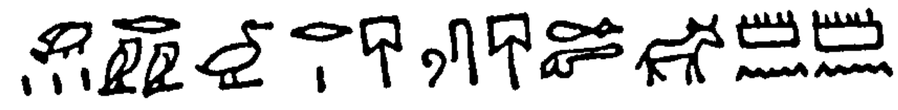
Totb Nav 15A, III, 10 (Vol.I, pl.16): 

P. Leid 347, 7, 10 (parallel of Amonshymn Kairo):


cf Siut I, 271: 

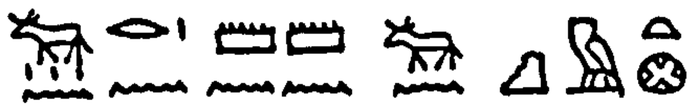
Urk IV, 7 (as booty):

Inscr dédic 1.72 (= KRI II, 33, 7): 

Botti, Sobk, pl.6, 12: 

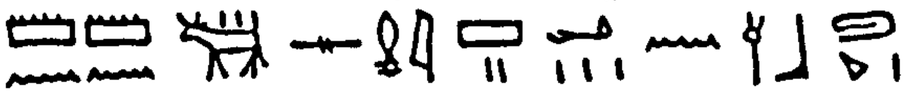
HO I, pl.101, No.5, vso 3 (O. Gardiner 355):

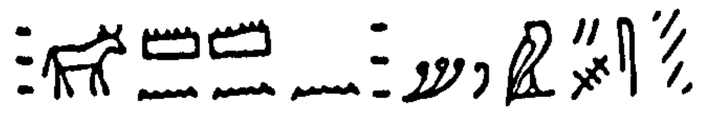
Mnmnt is apparently to be contrasted with (ỉḥw), the most general term for cattle (in which case it should probably be translated 'herd'):

Harr 69, 9 - at the end of a list of cattle:


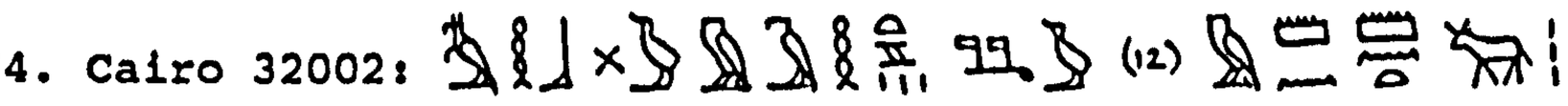
(cf 69, 10; 12b, 7; 32b, 10; 51b, 13).

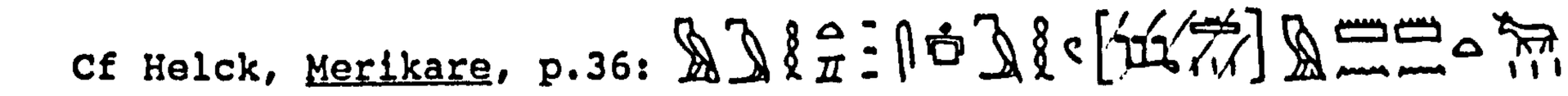
72. Haremheb Krön 25:

Six temples 12, 7: 

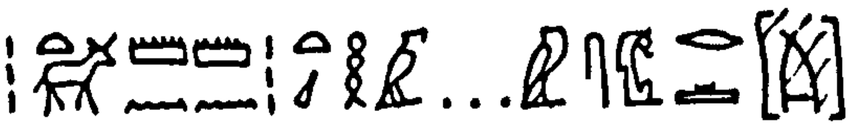
O.DelM 1191, vso x+9: 

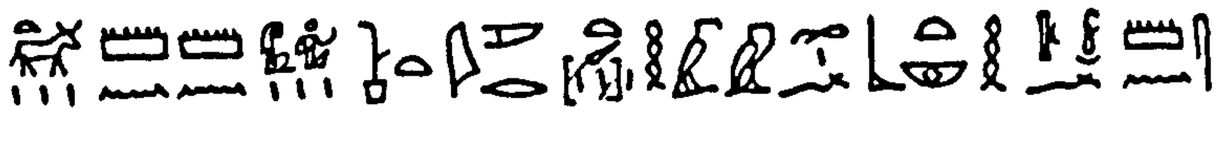
73. Paton, Animals, p.6, no.21.

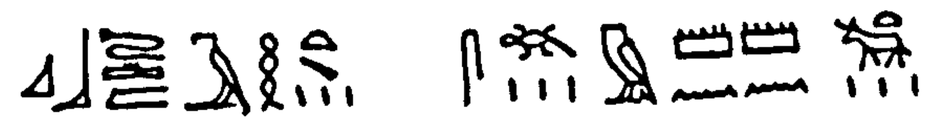
74. Cairo 32002: 

Cf Helck, Merikare, p.36: 

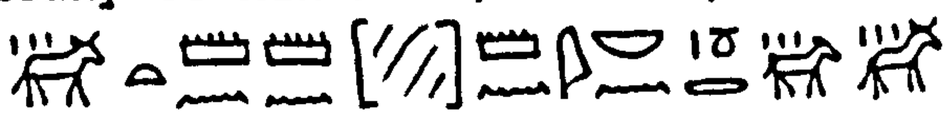
tr. p.37: 'Gib Überfluß für die aktiven Soldaten deiner Begleitung - ausgestattet mit (Besitz)listen, versehen mit Feldern, belehnt mit Herden'.

KRI II, 279, 13: 

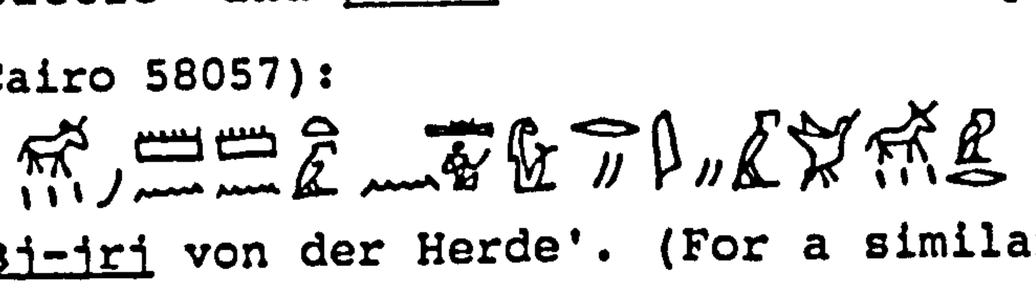
KRI II, 331, 8: 

KRI II, 514, 14: 

75. This is explicit in one text, a litany to Min-Amun, KRI II, 626:



in which cattle, both horned and hornless (ie calves?), appear to be comprised within the term mnmnt. In Harr 7, 9 also, various types of cattle appear to belong to mnmnt; the overseers of (ỉḫ) and ʿb ('horned') are mentioned in connection with the cattle (mnmnt) of Upper and Lower Egypt. Note, however, the difference between the uses of (ỉḫw) 'cattle' and mnmnt in Allam & Černý, Ostraka und Papyri, p.86 (P. Cairo 58057):

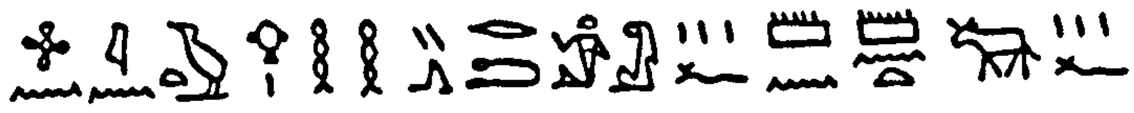


tr. p.288: 'Rindervorsteher P3j-jrj von der Herde'. (For a similar practice see ḥtr and ssmt, Ch.8: Horses and Donkeys.)

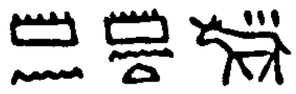
76. Helck, Merikare, p.58:

tr. p.60: 'Ich führte ihre Angehörigen fort, erbeutete ihren gesamten Lebensunterhalt'.

77. Urk IV, 7:



(Cf previous note).

78. KRI I, 195: 

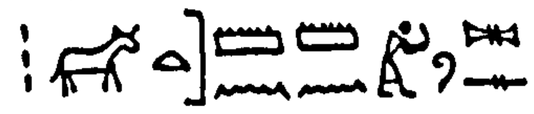
KRI I, 349:

79. Allam & Černý, Ostraka und Papyri, p.86 (Cairo 58057):

(text n.75)

tr. p.288: 'Rindervorsteher P3j-jrj von der Herde...'

80. Condon, Seven Royal Hymns, (col.2, l.4):

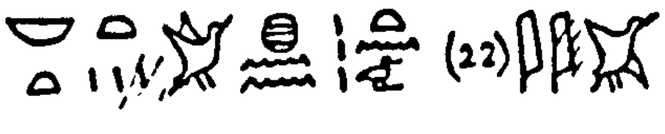


See his comments, p.35, n.4: 'gatherer of cattle'.

81. For this and other translations see above.

82. Also in Amarna VI, 27, 5:

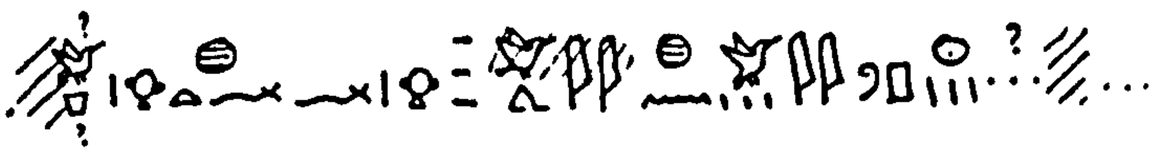
Med Habu 106, 21-2:



LD III, 194:

Sethostempel <100>:

P.Ch.B. XIII, 10:



tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.123: '...which fly and alight upon it in front of...'

83. Champ Not II, 42:

Ebers 98, 4:

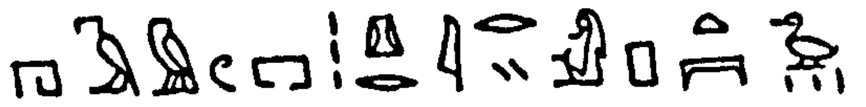
Wb. Drog. V, p.527; tr. Wb. Drog IV[1], p.306.

84. Abyd Mar II, 6 (=LD IV, 2a):

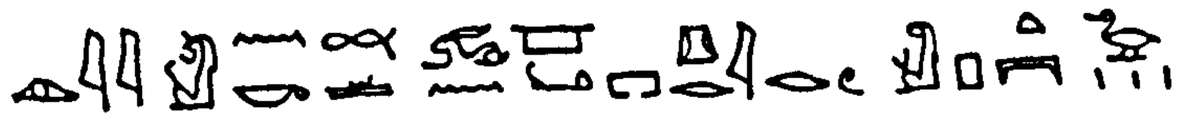
85. CD 671b: 'flying creature' from ϩωλ, CD 665b: 'fly, go'.

86. See CD 345a.

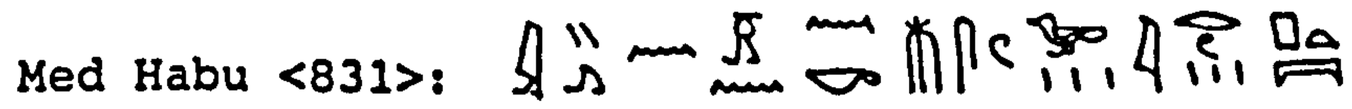
87. Harr 8, 11:



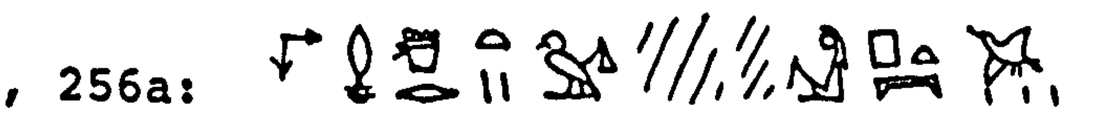
Harr 28, 2:



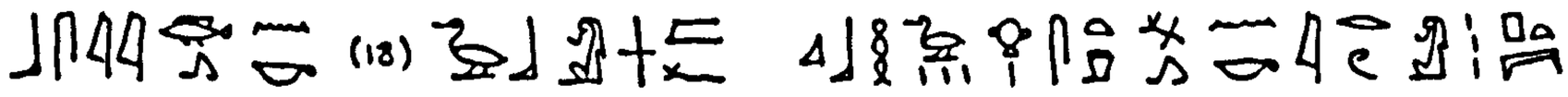
Med Habu <831>:



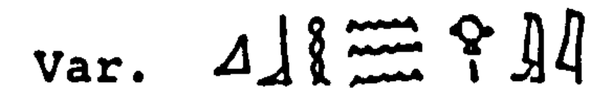
LD III, 256a:

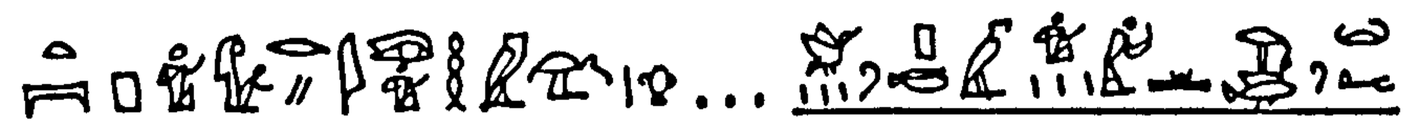


Med Habu 105, 18:

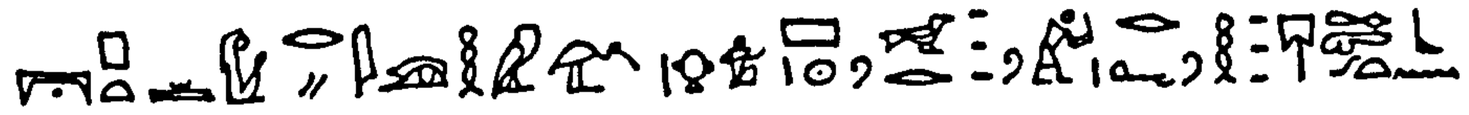


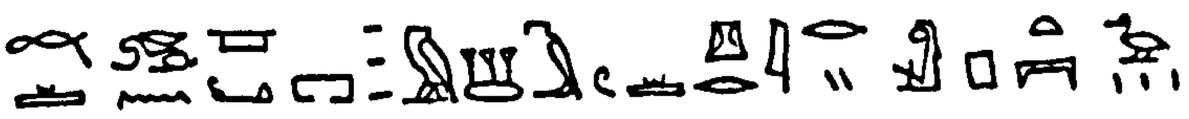
tr. Edgerton & Wilson, Hist Rec Ram III, p.123: 'I have given thee heaven [and its creations]. Geb presents to thee (18) that which is in

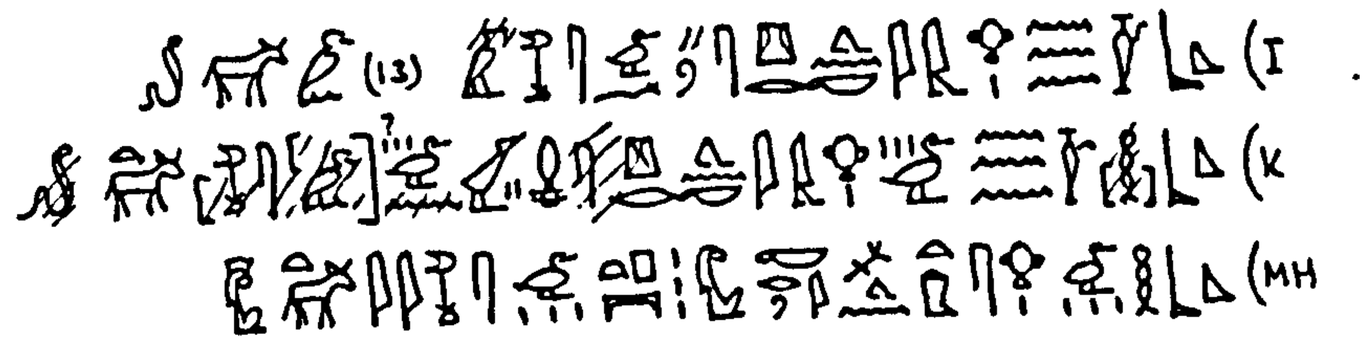
him; the bird marshes lead to thee the denizens of the heaven'; with n.18b: 'The det[erminative] shows that the <u>ỉryw-pt</u> are birds. Var.  "The [bird-marsh] comes to thee with its [birds] (<u>sr</u>?)"'.

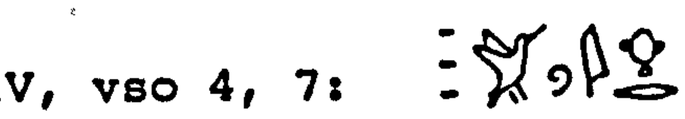
Sall II, 8, 6: 

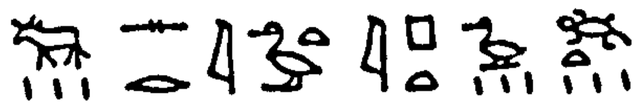
tr. Brunner, <u>Lehre des Cheti</u>, p.23: 'Der Vogelfänger - es geht ihm sehr schlecht- sieht nach den Vögeln [= guckte in die Luft]'. See also the comments of Caminos, <u>Tale of Woe</u>, p.21 (with n.2).

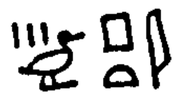
An IV, 12, 7: 

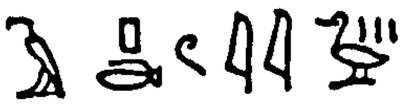
Harr 48, 1: 

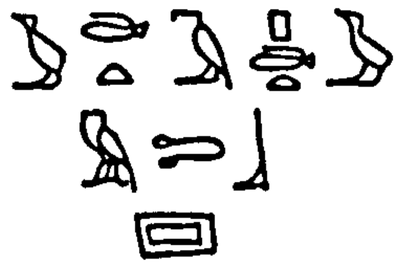
88. KRI II, 267, 15: 

89. Sall IV, vso 4, 7: 

90. Louvre A90: 

Barguet, <u>Famine</u>, pl.4, 1.10: 

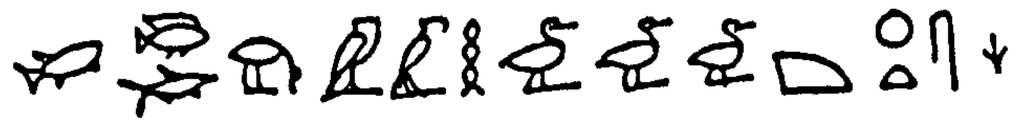
P.Tur P u R 88, 10: 

Ptahh II, 5: 

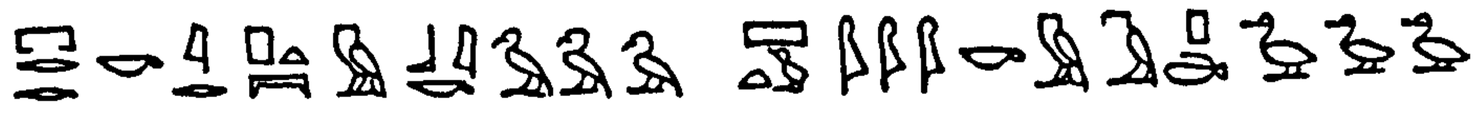
Cf H.G. Fischer, <u>ZÄS</u> 105 (1978) 42-59: Five Inscriptions of the Old Kingdom, p.46, para.2, with n.14.

On the writing <u>3pdwt</u> see also Osing, <u>Nominalbildung</u>, p.842, n.1149; p.589, n.519; L Störk, <u>LÄ</u> II, 503: Geflügel.

91. Pyr 461:

Meir IV, 8: 

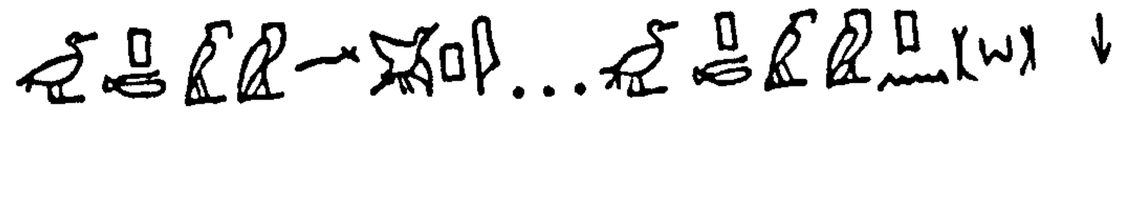
Ti pl.25:

Pyr 913: 

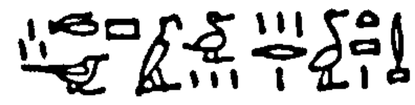
Erman, Reden und Rufe, p.37:

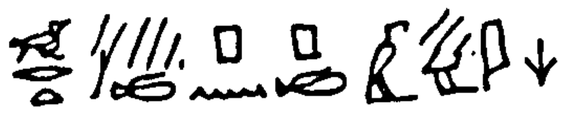
Ptahh I, 27 and 28 (by scene showing various ducks, geese and a swan).

92. Gardiner, Sign List G38-G39, stated that the determinative of 3pd is Anser albifrons.

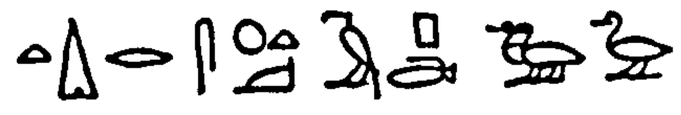
Pyr 366: (pintail) 

A. & A. Brack, Grab des Haremheb (Mainz-am-Rhein 1980) pl.5: (pintail).

Clère & Vandier, Textes..., p.47, 33 (BM 134 [1164]): 

Deir el Gebr I, 14: 

Deir el Gebr I, 5:

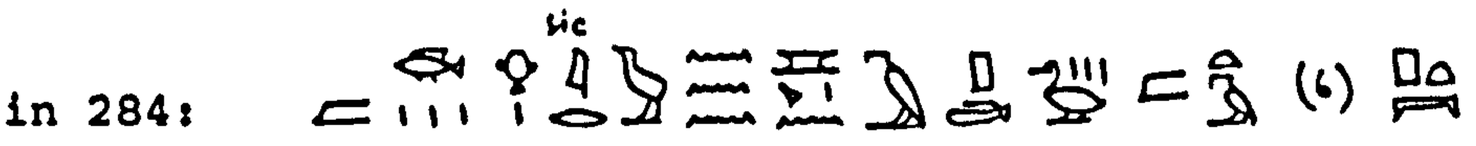
Murray Saqq Mast I, 11: 

Cf Junker, Giza VI, fig.40, p.127:

p.126: 'Das Wortzeichen für 3pd ist durch drei Gänse verschiedener Art wiedergegeben'.

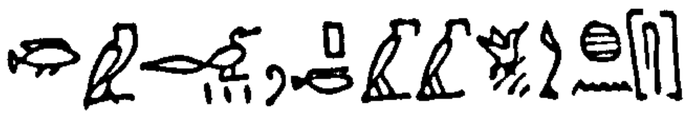
Writings of [3pd] with a bird only (without phonetic complements) are not considered here.

93. CD 518b: 'goose and other edible birds'; Černý, CED, p.227; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.289; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.248.

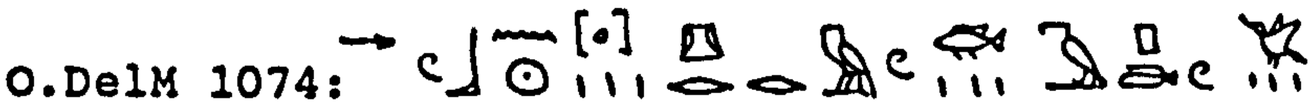
94. Turin 284: 

tr. Maspero, Mission en Italie, p.89: 'Je chante tes [= of Thoth] vertus aux poissons dans le fleuve, aux oiseaux dans le ciel'.

Condon, Seven Royal Hymns, p.12, 9-10:

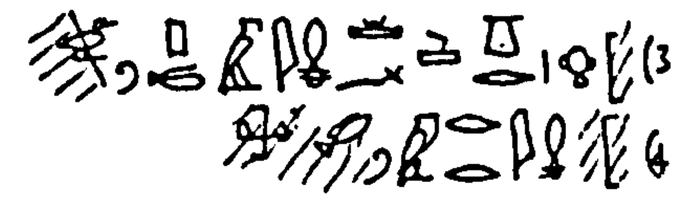
p.12, 2: 

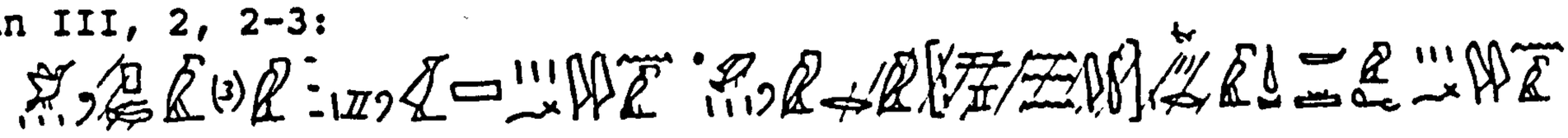
tr. p.22.

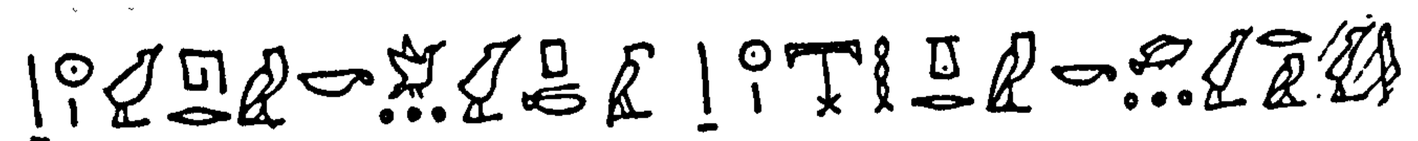
O.DelM 1074: 

tr. Helck, Prophez eiung, p.30: 'Doch vergangen sind jene glücklichen Zeiten der Fischteiche, die für das Fischaufschlitzen bestimmt sind, übervoll an Fischen und Vögeln'.

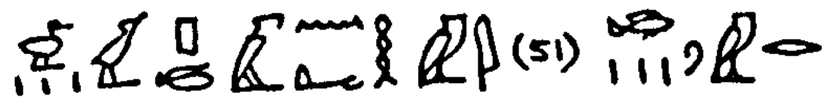
O.Cairo 25212:

Lopez, Ostraca II, pl.100 (no.57319, rto): 

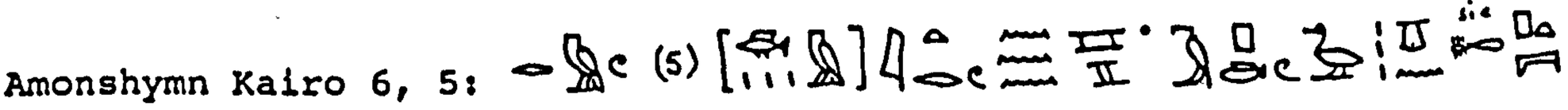
An III, 2, 2-3: 

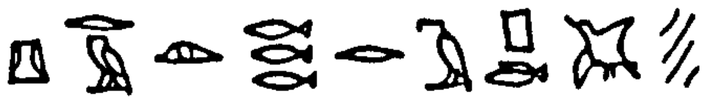
O.DelM 1227: 

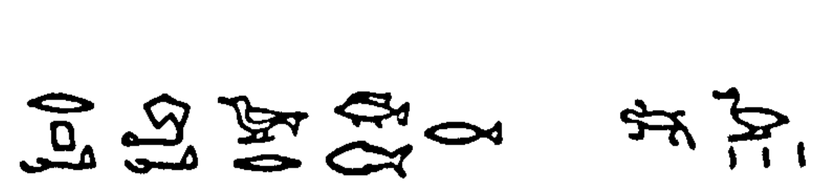
O.Gardiner 28 (HO I, pl.9):

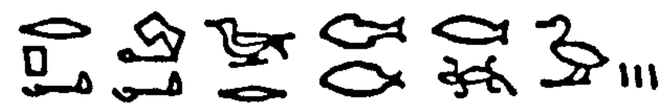
Schiffbr 51: 

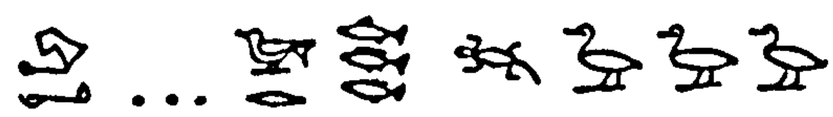
Admon 10, 4:

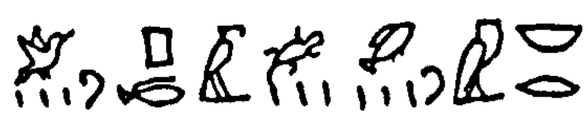
Amonshymn Kairo 6, 5: 

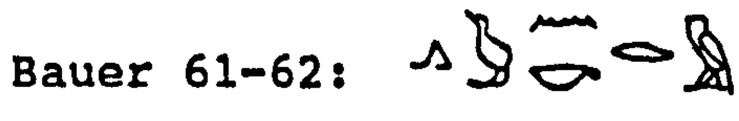
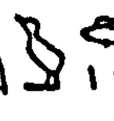
Deirelb II, 5: 

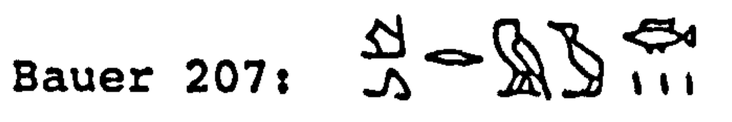
Urk VII, 39, 10-11: 

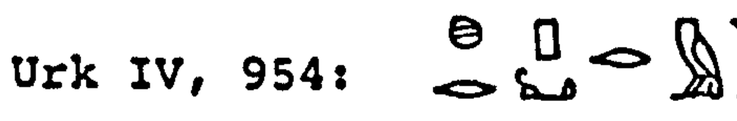
Beni Hasan I, 34: 

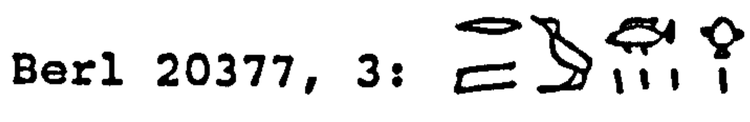
Beni Hasan II, 18, 3: 

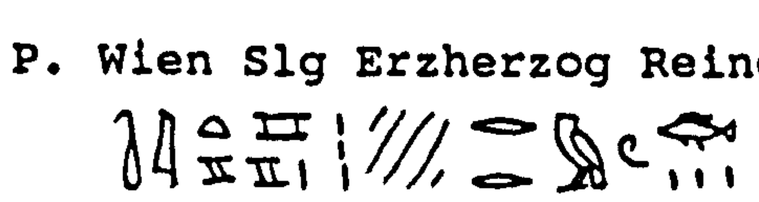
KRI II, 378 = HO I, pl.9, no.3: 

Bauer 61-62:  (62) 

Bauer 207: 

Urk IV, 954: 

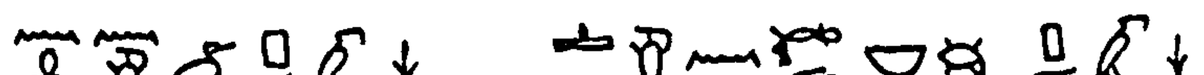
Berl 20377, 3: 

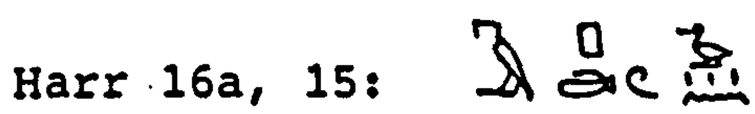
P. Wien Slg Erzherzog Reiner 6 (Führer Taf.6): 

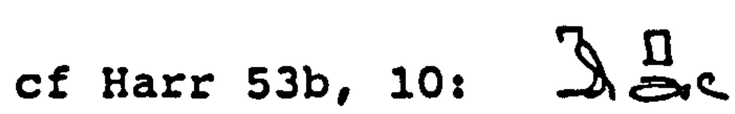
Compare the bird and fish determinatives of certain terms denoting quarry from the marshes: rsf (Wb II, 449, 4-6: Vögel und Fische als Beute, als Speise, als Gabe des Nils uä, with n.4), ḥb (Wb III, 62, 2-7: der Fang von Fischen und Vögeln).

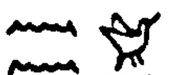
95. See, eg, O.Gardiner 86 (HO I, pl.82, vso); P.Ch.B. V, rto 8; O.DelM 1176, rto; and also elsewhere in this thesis.

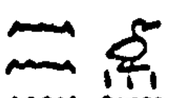
96. Kairo 1565 = Mar Mast p.412-5:

Nianchchnum pl.67: 

97. Harr 16a, 15:  126300

cf Harr 53b, 10: 

KRI II, 818, 1 (Turin Canon, rto II, 13): 9999. 

KRI II, 807, 10 (Ships' Logs): ∩ 

Cf 808, 1; 808, 13; 813, 7; 818, 1;

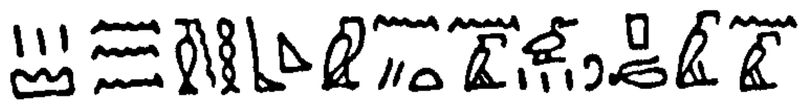
98. W.C. Hayes, JNES 10 (1924) 82-104: Inscriptions from the palace of Amenhotep III. Fragments of 17 amphorae used for storing birds in the palace bore labels (Nos.170-181) describing the contents of the jars as , occasionally determined by , 'meat'. The phrase was read by Hayes as ꜣpd-mr 'channel-bird', 'pond-fowl'. Two of the labels further qualified this with 'of msyt-bird' and 'of srt-bird'.

See too Leahy, Malkata IV, p.24, pl.17 (no.81-84) and 35; Koenig, Jarres hiératiques, pl.19 (no.6168-70, 6174, 6178-81); Caminos, Fishing & Fowling, pl.15, 3, 1.2.

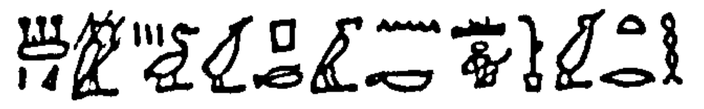
99. Wb III, 381, 14: als Bez. für Sümpfvögel, das man jagt.

For a writing of this word showing coot(?) and kingfisher(?) as determinatives, see Nianchchnum, pl.74 & 75 (detail).

100. Wb V, 30, 8: die Wasservögel.

101. Condon, Seven Royal Hymns, p.11, 8: 

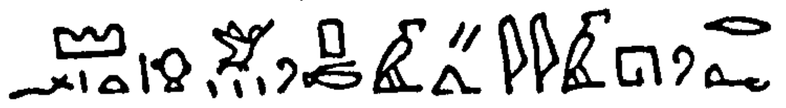
tr. p.19: 'The birds, those in the cool waters, [they fly down in] 9. a flock when they have migrated to the Black-land. Every pond is full'.

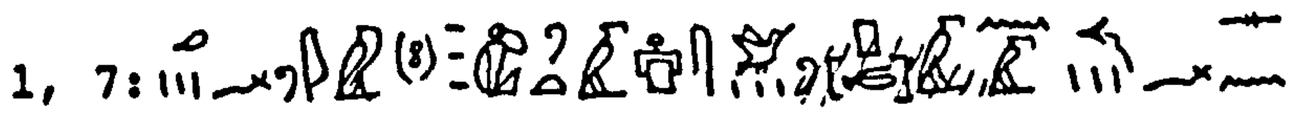
102. KRI II, 333, 6 [Inscr dédic 90]: 

103. W.Guglielmi, ZÄS 103 (1976) 101-112: Zur Symbolik des Darbringens des Straußes der Sḫt.

104. Helck, Prophezeiung, p.25:

tr. p.26: 'Ein scheuer Vogel wird in der Lagune Unterägyptens nisten'. Cf Goedicke, Neferyt, p.20, p.84.

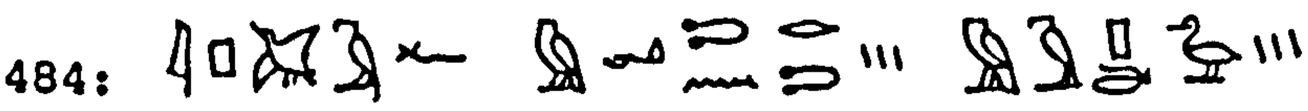
Contrast birds going to the desert in O.DelM 1176, 16: 

105. O.DelM 1265, col.1, 7: 

106. Pyr 461:

tr. Sethe, UuK II, p.252; comments p.262.

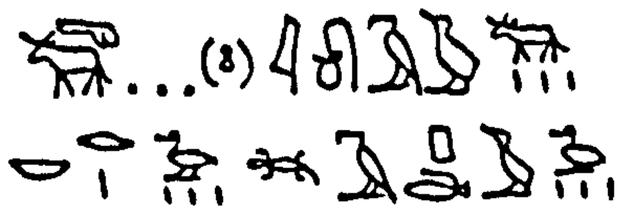
Pyr 913: (text above n.91)

Pyr 1484: 

tr. Sethe, UuK V, p.427; comments p.437.

107. Pyr 366: (see n.92)

tr. Sethe, UuK II, p.82: 'Es fliegt dieser W. davon (empor) als Gans und läßt sich nieder (schwebt) als Käfer'.

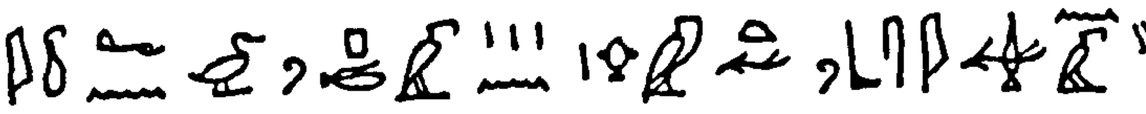
108. Hatnub graffito 26 l.7-8 (Unt IX): 

Louvre A90: (above)

109. Pyr 1530:

tr. Sethe, UuK V, p.473: 'Er steigt hinab (zum Boden) als eine grüne Gans (Ente), und es steigt zu ihm hinab auch der Herr der Seen der D3.t (d.i. Re). N hat sich gereinigt in den Seen der smn-Gans'.

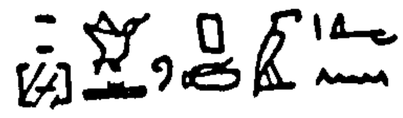
110. See, eg, H. Goedicke, WZKM 59/60 (1963/64) 1-2: A list of things found in the ruined tomb opposite the tomb of Amennakhte son of Ipuy, pl.1, 1, l.4, tr. p.91: 'One ebony folding stool with duck's heads, repaired'.



Also tr. L.M. Zonhoven, JEA 65 (1979) 89-98: The Inspection of a Tomb at Deir el-Medîna (O. Wien Aeg 1); p.91 (text p.90).

111. R.O. Faulkner, JEA 38 (1952) 128: 3pd = duck.

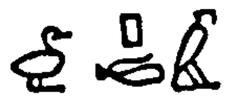
112. See K. Martin, LÄ V, 1051-54: Vogelfang, -jagd, -netz, -steller, esp. n.18 and 19.

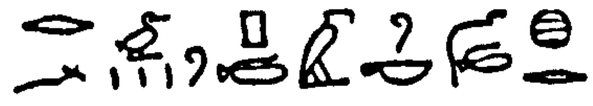
113. O.BM 5636 (HO I, pl.86, no.4, l.3): 

On the phrase, see

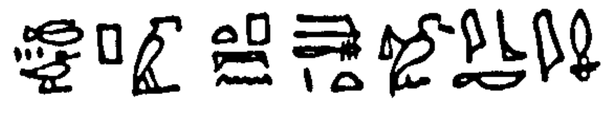
W. Spiegelberg, ZÄS 37 (1899) 18-46: Demotische Miszellen, comparing ḥ n tbwt 'pair of sandals'; Osing, Nominalbildung, p.754; 425; 120.

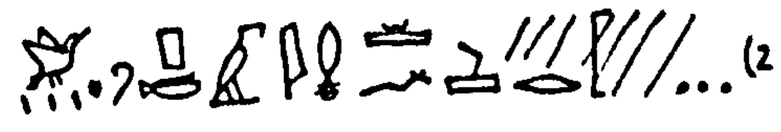
114. CD 12a: 'chicks'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.13b; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.8.

115. Such occurrences are very numerous; see, for example, in Barta, Opferliste, p.97; idem, Opferformel, passim. Cf also perhaps, James, BM Texts pt 1, pl.42, No.1293: 

116. An I, 10, 4: 

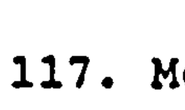
tr. Gardiner, P.Anastasi I, p.13*: 'If thou wert to see him at evening in the darkness, thou wouldst fancy him a passing bird'.

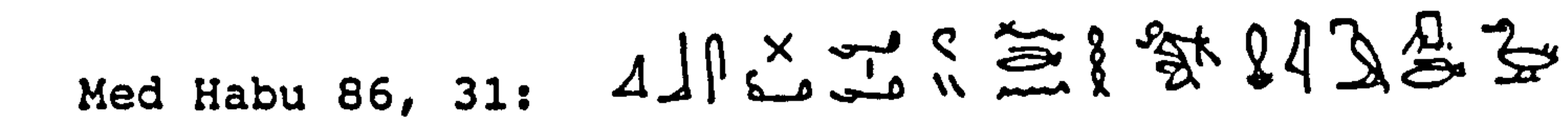
Cf KRI II, 151, 11: 

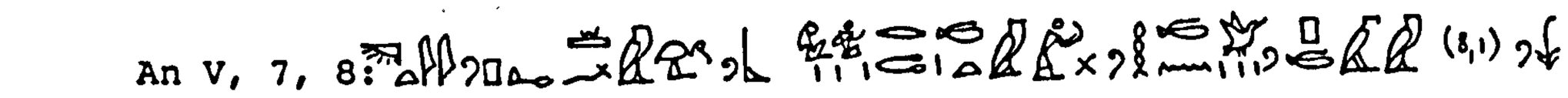
O.DelM 1636 (love song): 

Sall II, 8, 6: (see above, n.87)

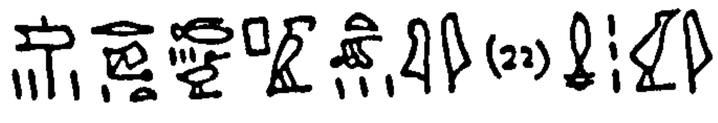
See also elsewhere in these notes.

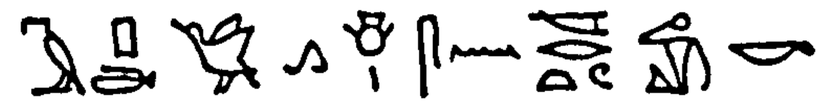
117. Med Habu 86, 22: 

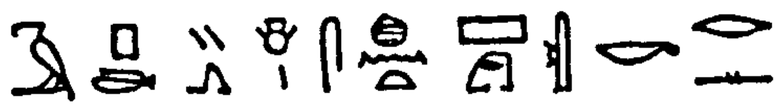
Med Habu 86, 31: 

An V, 7, 8: 

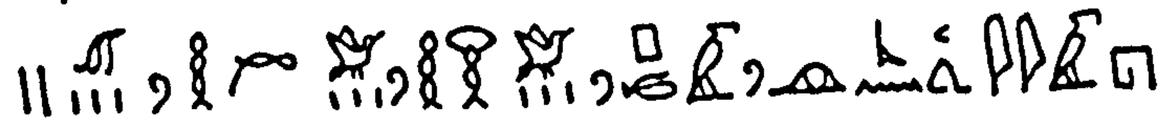
For this practice see also Gardiner, AEO I, p.101*.

118. KRI II, 151, 12: 

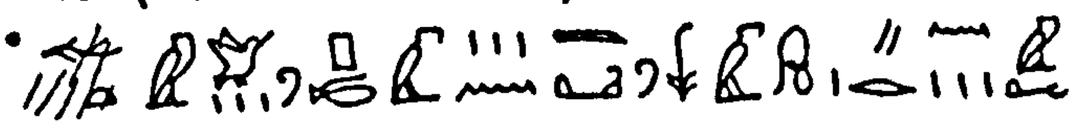
119. Fetsges 14, 21: 

Festges 15, 3: 

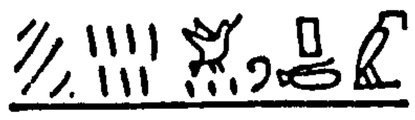
120. Inscr dédic (KRI II, 333, 6):

121. Koenig, P.Boulaq VI, rto 11, 5 : 

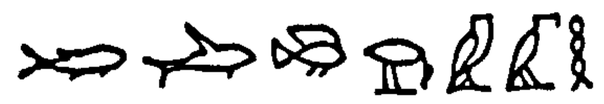
tr. p.113: 'Certes, si je le dis , alors les taureaux ne copuleront plus, on ne concevra plus d'enfants , les bateaux ne navigueront plus vers le Nord ou (5) vers le Sud, le vent ne soufflera plus, et les oiseaux ne déposeront plus d'oeufs <dans> leurs nids '.

122. HO I, pl.43, no.1, rto 10 (O.Gardiner 339): 

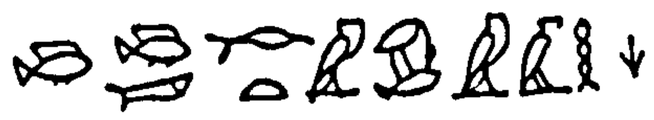
For other animals 'in trees' see ky (Ch.20: Insects).

123. P.Ch.B. VIII, rto 11, 4: 

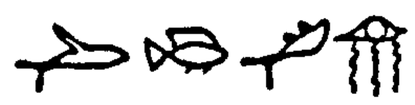
tr. p.71: 'GEESE, 7'.

124. Meir IV, 8: 

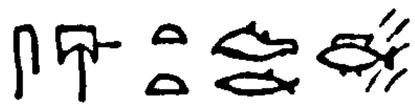
Berscheh I, 20:

Deir el Gebr I,3: 

Deir el Gebr II, 5:

Mereruka II, 169 (A13): 

Kagemni I, 18; 20-21 : ;

Petrie Dend pl.5: 

H.Goedicke, WZKM 54 (1957) 46-50: Eine Variante des 'Hirtenliedes':

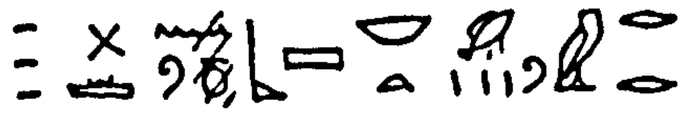
The frequency of the occurrence of certain fish as determinatives of both rmw and mḥyt was studied by P. Montet, BIFAO 11 (1914) 39-48: Les poissons employés dans l'écriture hiéroglyphique. In order of frequency, the signs used were those determining the fish names ʿḏ, bwt, ỉn, bs, ʿḥ3, wḥʿ and špt. Compare Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.17-19. For three signs used to write rmw see Nianchchnum fig.12.

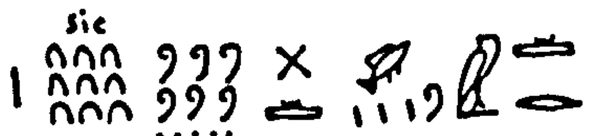
125. Gamer-Wallert, op.cit., p.16.

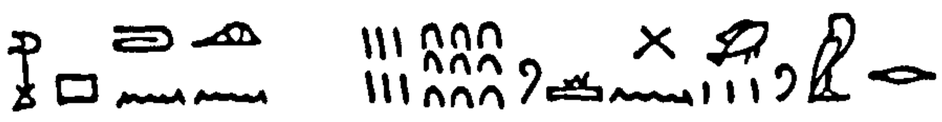
126. See the classificatory lists given above, and also ỉpd, n.94.

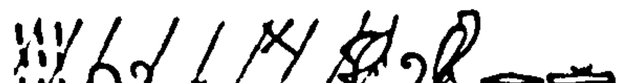
127. Eg O.DelM 78,3.

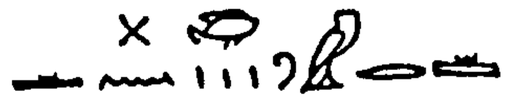
See also the next note.

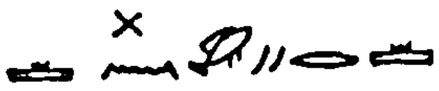
128. P.Ch.B. V, rto 8, 13: 

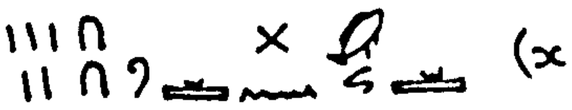
O.DelM 139, 3: 

O.DelM 75, 3: 

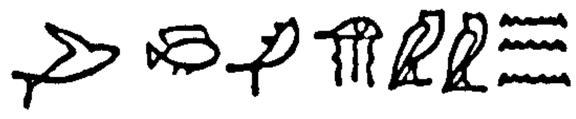
O.DelM 192, 5: 

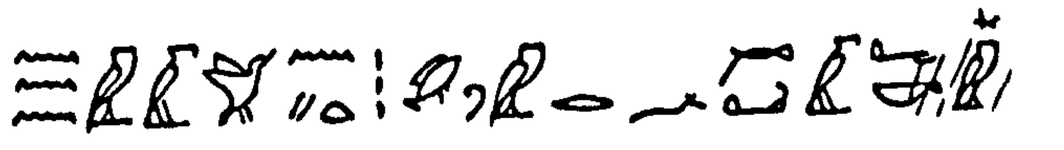
RAD (Gurob) p.27, J5: 3240 

W5: 3330 

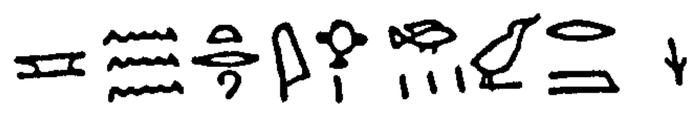
Lopez, Ostraca II, pl.90, no.57280: 

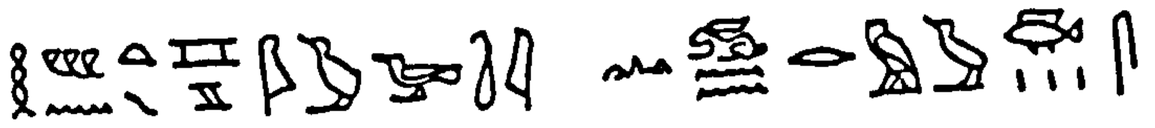
129. Lebensm 66:

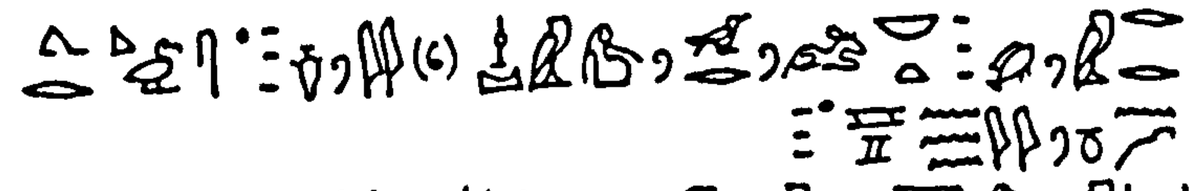
Mereruka A13 (II,169): 

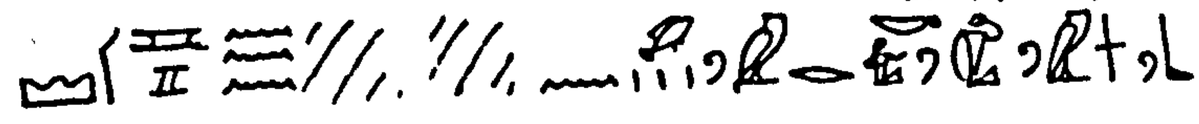
P.Ch.B. XII, 4: 

tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.122: 'Behold he seizes the fish which are in the water'.

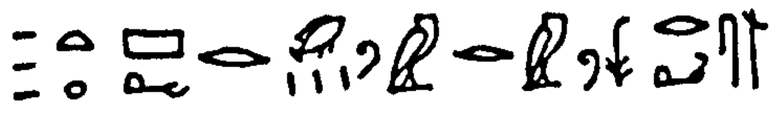
130. Amarna VI, 27, 6: 

131. M u K Rs 1, 1: 

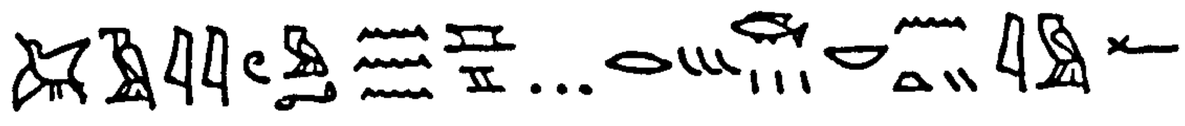
O.DelM 1675, vso 5-6: 

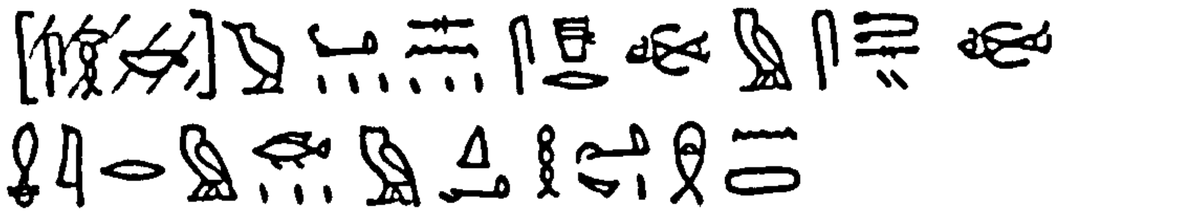
An I, 27, 3: 

tr. Fischer-Elfert, P.Anastasi I, p.231: 'Hast du nicht Fische aus [seinem Brunnen/Teich] gegessen?'

132. An I, 21, 2: 

tr. Fischer-Elfert, P.Anastasi I, p.170: 'Reicher ist sie an Fischen als an Sand'.

P. Tur P u R 124, 10: 

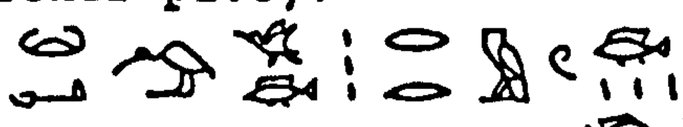
133. Urk IV, 659: 

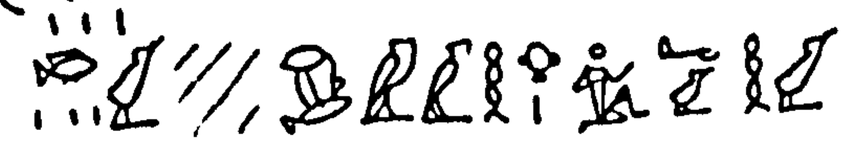
134. CT II, 42:

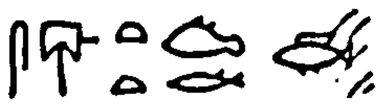
tr. Morenz, Naturlehre, p.120: 'Es leben... Krokodile von den Fischen' (my omission).

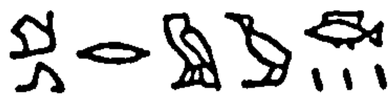
For fish as the prey of jackals see wnš.

135. Theb Grab 60 (Antefoker pl.5):

Glos Gol 3, 12: 

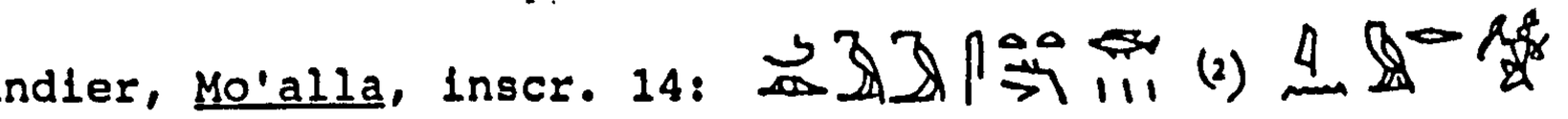
Berscheh II, 16: 

Petrie Dend pl. V: 

Bauer 207: 

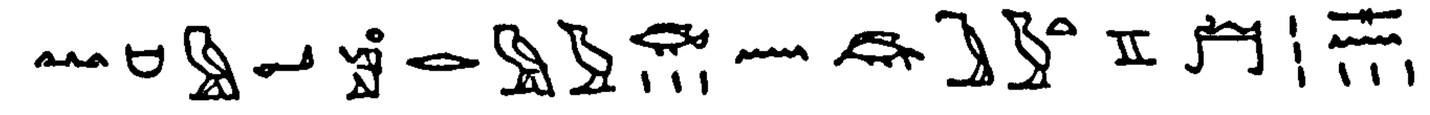
Bauer 228-229:

Abyd Mar II, 54/5, 16:

Vandier, Mo'alla, inscr. 14: 

tr. p.261: 'Voir harponner les poissons par le chef des soldats, le chef des prophètes, Ankhtifi, l'excellent'.

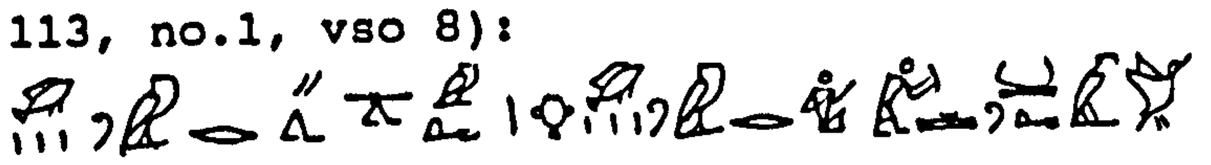
Maystre, Déclarations d'innocence, p.47:



tr. 'Je n'ai pas pêché les poissons de leurs étangs'.

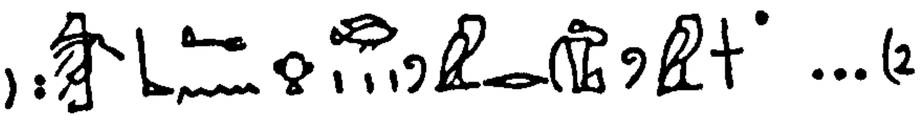
Cf M.Korostovtsev, BIFAO 45 (1947) 155-173: Stèle de Ramsès IV, p.162.

O.Gardiner 28 (HO I, pl.113, no.1, vso 8):

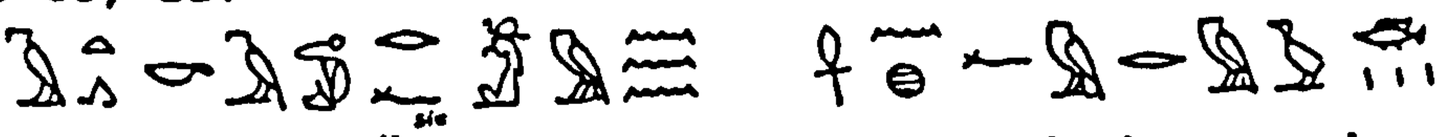


136. Totb Nav 65, 15:

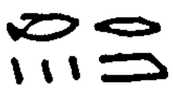
P. med Berl 3038, 15, 12:

O.Gardiner 335 (HO I, pl.101, no.4): 

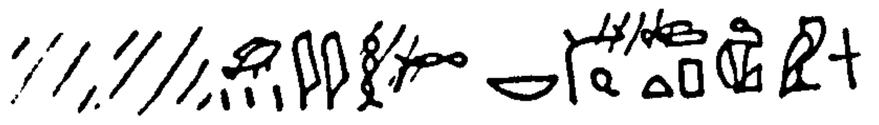
137. BOD 65, 11:



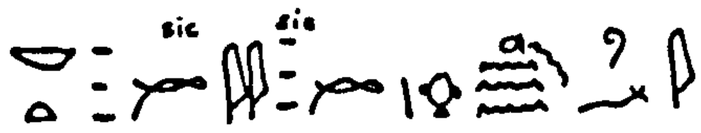
tr. H.Grapow, ZÄS 49 (1911) 48-54: Bedrohungen der Götter durch den Verstorbenen, p.49 (no.6): 'es soll der Nil emporsteigen zum Himmel und von der Wahrheit leben, und Re soll ins Wasser hinabgehen und von Fischen leben'.

138. Geogr Pap frag 11/12 (pl.10): 

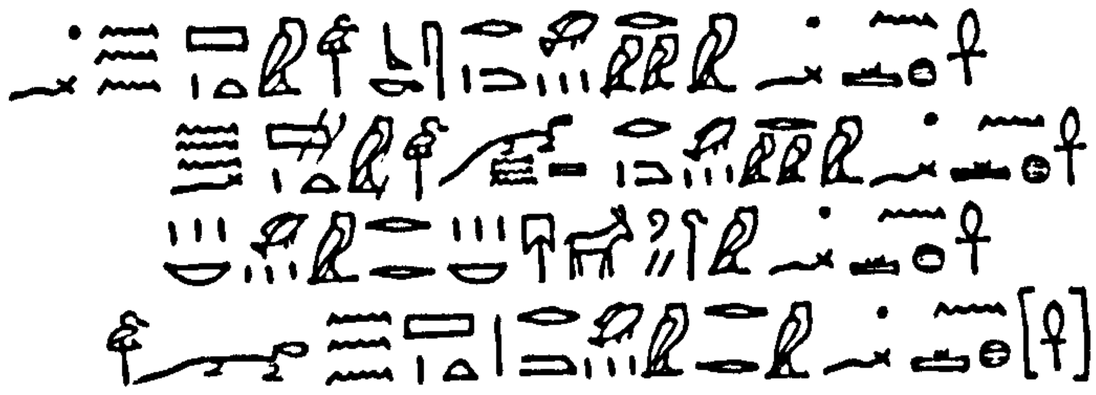
Piankhi 151-152:

Bakir, Cairo Calendar, rto 17, 8: 

tr. p.27: 'Do not eat or taste(?) mehyet-fish... on this day'.
(Compare also his p.15 and other references on p.27.)

P.DelM I, vso 2, 4: 

tr. p.5: 'Le Thoth en bois de moringa étant mis à son cou tandis qu'il s'abstient de tout poisson'.

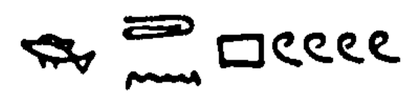
139. Botti, Sobk, pl.4, 5: 

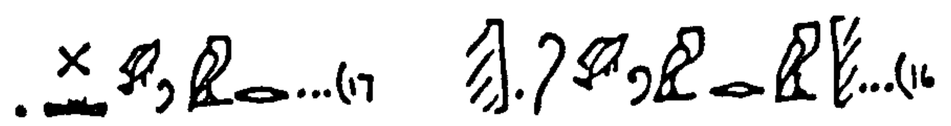
11: 

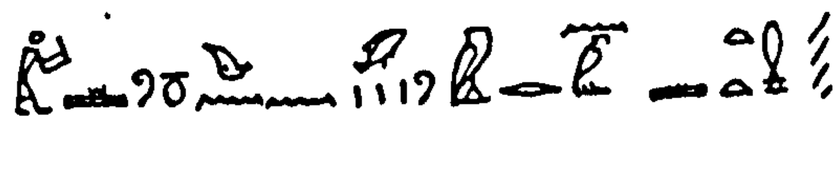
11, 6: 

11, 12: 

140. Eg O.Cairo 25622, 1; 25624, rto 3, 7; 25641, 3; 25683, 3; 25228, 4; 25365, 4, 6; 25299, 7; 25246, 12; 25593, rto 3; 25605, 4; 25660, 4; 7; 19; KRI III, 161, 12 (O.Berlin P11238); III, 146, 5 (O.Berlin P.12337); Gardiner, Theban Ostraca, p.16h; O.DelM 1194, vso 1; 3; 1045 vso 2; 3; 137, 1; 142, rto 4; vso 1; 193, 3; 197, 1; 3; 237, 3; 306, 2; 323, 2; 325, 4; 332, 4; 453, 3; 4; 247, 3; 427, rto 13; 554, vso 5; 666 vso 6; 690, 3; 395, passim; 584, 2; 3; 592, 2; 606, 7; 630, 3; 4; 567, 3; 32, rto 2; 42, 2; 46, 13; 78, 3; 76, 3; HO I, pl.19, no.1, 3; 8; pl.65, no.5, vso 4; pl.58, no.1; pl.60, no.2; pl.70, no.2, 9-10; pl.72, no.4, 2; 3; pl.50, no.3, 4-5; KRI III, 41, 9-10; Lopez, Ostraca III, 57416.

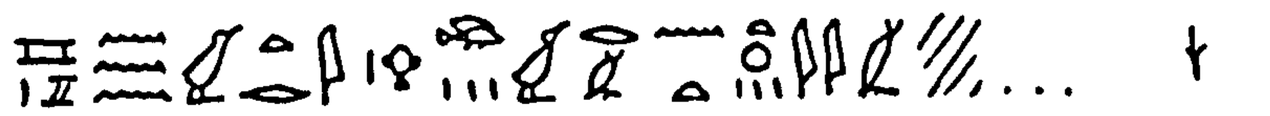
141. Gardiner, Theban Ostraca, p.10-11 (B8): 

KRI II, 818, 4ff (tax lists): 

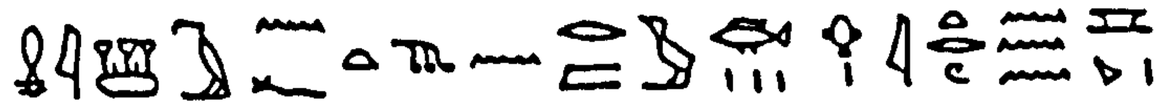
RAD p.27 (Gurob) X, 1, 1: 

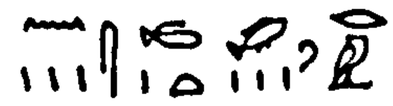
RAD p.47, vso 3, 19 (strike papyrus):

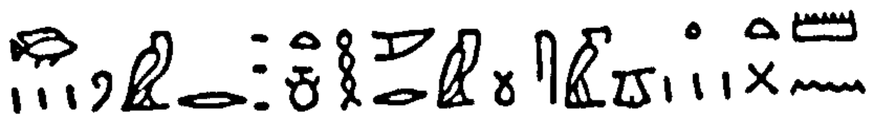
142. From the number of examples in the same context with phonetic complements written out these writings should almost certainly be read rmw. Examples are too common to be included here.

143. Totb Nav 172, 3: 

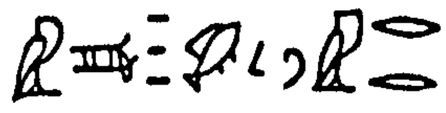
M u K 1, 2:

Amarna III, 129: 

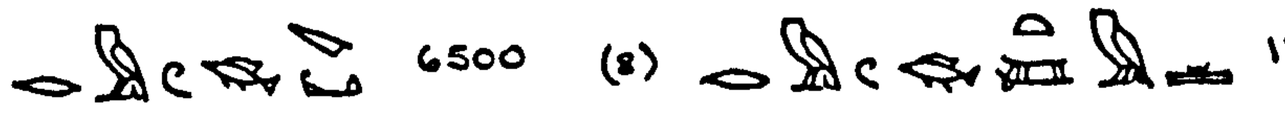
144. Hayes, JNES 10 (full reference n.98): 

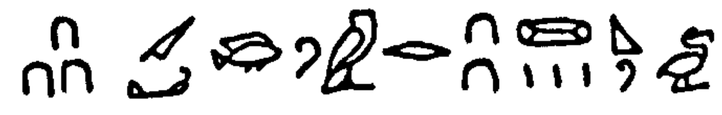
145. P.DelM pl.10, 8: 

tr. p.5: 'Tu le fumigeras avec de l'encens sec et du mnḫ, (lui-même étant) enduit d'huile de poissons, (verso 3, 1), de miel et de résine '.

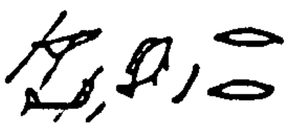
146. P. Tur P u R 121, 7: 

147. Harr 20b, 15-21a, 1:

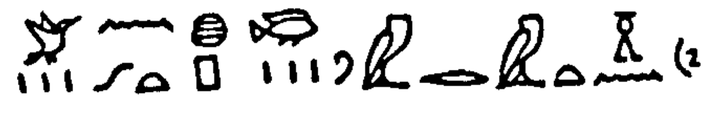
Harr 65c, 7-8:  6500 (8)  13100

Spiegelberg, Correspondances, p.93 (P.B.N.237, frag.6):


HO I, pl.32, no.5 (O.Petrie 43) 4: (II,4

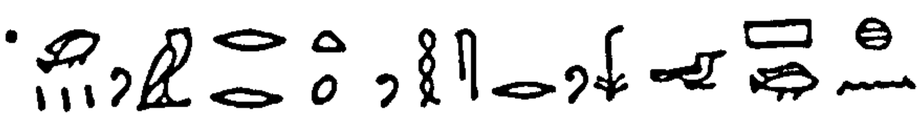
O.Cairo 25607, 2: 

O.DelM 75, 4:

148. HO I, pl.7, no.4 (O.Leipzig 6) 2:  (2

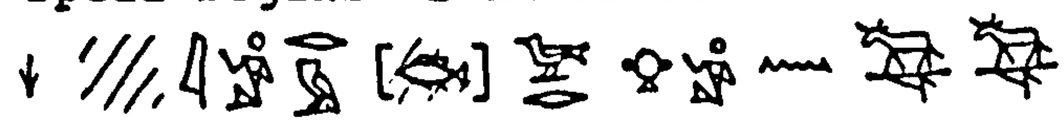
O.DelM 106, rto 4:

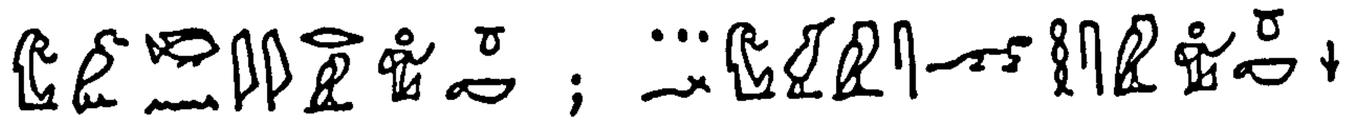
The meaning of wdḥ is difficult to deduce from the entries in Wb (I, 409-410).

149. Sall II, 4, 8: 

tr. Brunner, Lehre des Cheti, p.22: 'er stinkt mehr als Fischlaich'.

150. See Neugebauer & Parker, Astronomical Texts I, p.68 and 75-76.

151. CT VII, 183j: Spell begins 'I am Sobek' - 

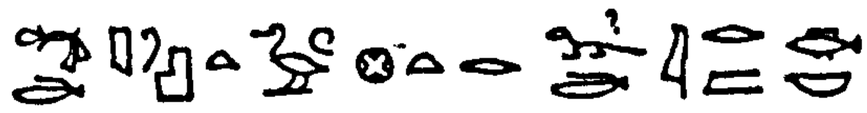
BOD 88 : 

tr. Thausing & Kerszt-Kratschmann, Totenbuch, p.23: 'Ich bin Sobek, der vom Geraubten herbeischafft... Ich bin der grosse Fisch im Gewässer'.

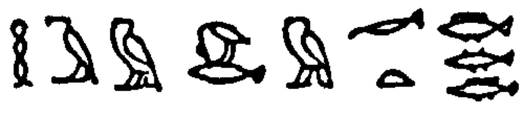
Cf Vernus, Athribis, p.387, n.1, and for the king as Sobek-Rēʿ designated ḥkꜣ n mḥ(y)t 'ruler of fish', Ombos I, 59, 60, 14. See also Gwyn Griffiths, Horus and Seth, p.88, and sšnw below.

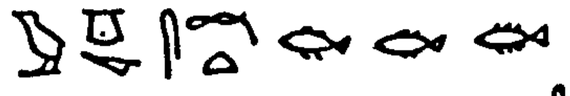
152. See Ch.19: Reptiles and Amphibians, for these terms.

153. H. Brunner, MDAIK 16 (1958) 5-19: Eine Dankstele an Upuaut, p.7:



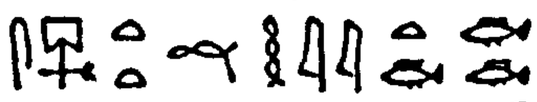
tr. 'Upuaut-Rê, der Herr der Verehrung, der.... rettet (??) Siut vor dem Krokodil (?) und allen Fischen' (my omission). Brunner commented: 'Auffallend ist die Nennung von Fischen als gefährlichen Tieren. Oder sollte im Volksmund etwa "Fische" eine Bezeichnung für alles sein, was im Wasser schwimmt, so wie etwa der Vogel auch als Deternativ für Schmetterlinge [sic!] oder Heuschrecken dient?'

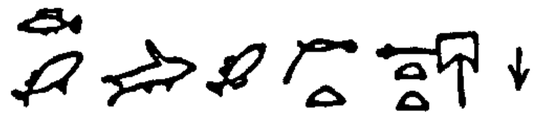
154. Deir el Gebr I, 3: 

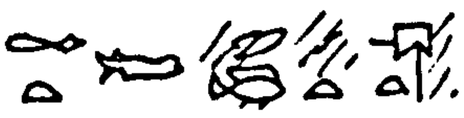
LD II, 46: 

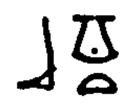
Kagemni 66 (Vol.I, pl.19-21):

Mar Mast D60:

Louvre C18: 

Junker, Giza IV, p.28: 

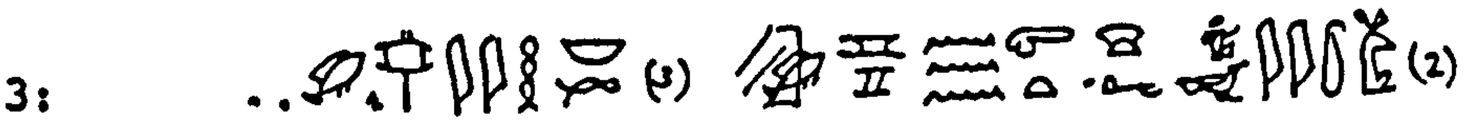
van de Walle, Neferirtenef, p.68 (with n.227): 

155. Nianchchnum fig.10: 

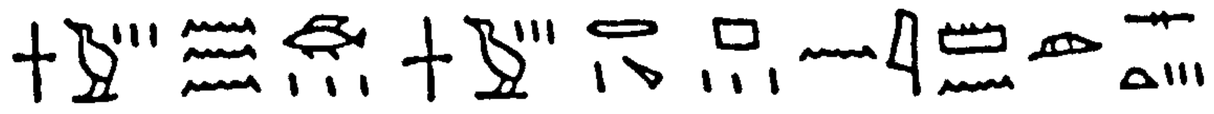
156. Louvre C18; Mar Mast D60; Deir el Gebr I, 3; Nianchchnum pl.74.

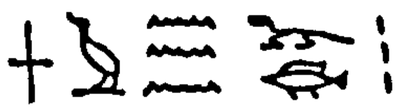
157. Nianchchnum fig.10:

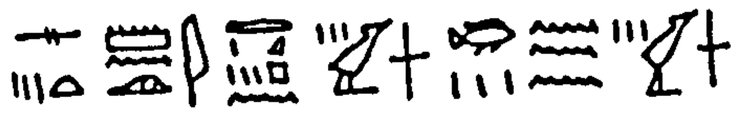
tr. p.81: 'Gib deine Speise (im Austausch) gegen meinen Fisch als Kaufpreis !'

158. O.DelM 397, 2-3: 

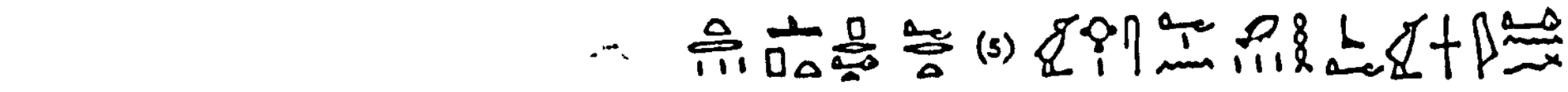
159. Amarna VI, 15, 4:

Luxor <562>: 

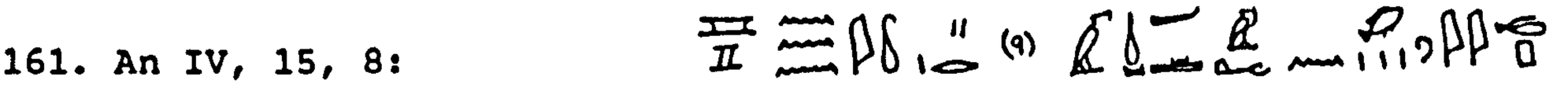
Mett 39/40: 

KRI II, 626 (103): 

160. V. Schmidt, Museum Munterianum (Brussels 1910) 1, p.15:



161. An IV, 15, 8:



tr. Caminos, LEM, p.200: 'tpy-fish of the pond', with the comment, p.211: 'an unidentified but well attested fish'.

P.Turin 1983, rto 41 (T1):

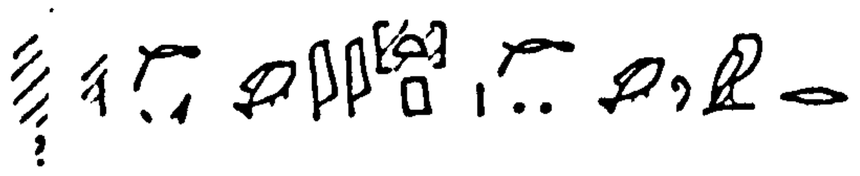
tr. Edwards, HPBM 4th ser, p.52: 'We shall cause her heart to accept everything, all meat and all fish which she will eat', with n.19.

Not to be read rpy as by Loret and Vandier d'Abbadie; see Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.38.

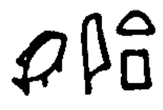
162. Compare dpy denoting crocodiles; for more on the word see Ch.19: Reptiles and Amphibians.

163. Helck, Materialien, p.228, No.14: 'nicht identifizierter Fisch'; Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.21, n.60-64.

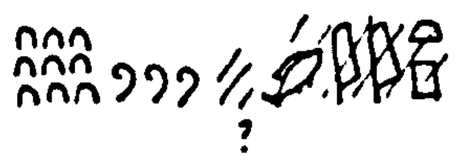
O.DelM 222, VI, 11:



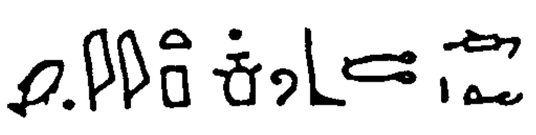
O.DelM 36, rto 6:



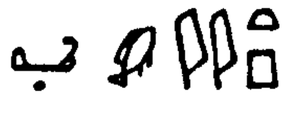
vso 7:



O.DelM 569, 9:

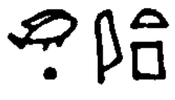


O.DelM 606, rto 16:

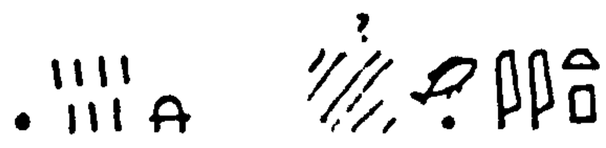


10:

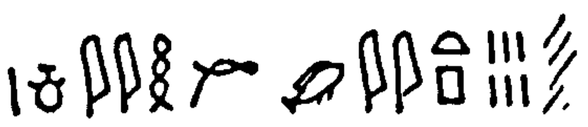
O.DelM 664, 5:



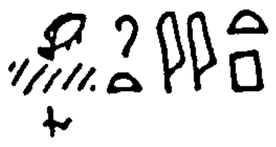
O.DelM 274, rto 4:



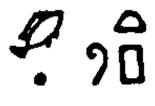
O.DelM 282, 5:

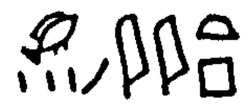


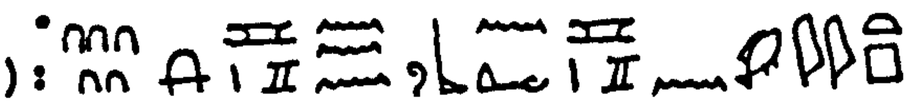
O.Cairo 25583, 3:

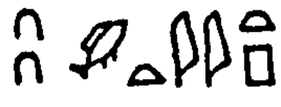


O.DelM 97, vso 10:



O.DelM 218, 1: 

KRI III, 146, 6 (O.Berlin P12337): 

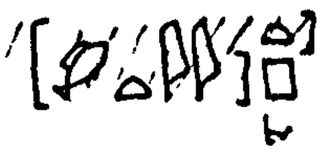
164. O.DelM 81, 3: 

Gardiner, RAD, 17, 6:

17, 15:

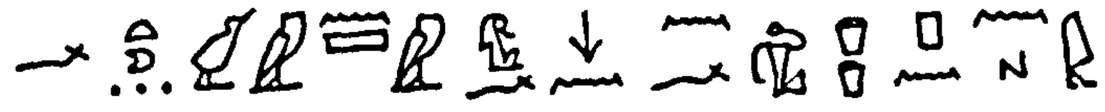
O.DelM 222, I, 5:

O.Cairo 25582, rto 2 & 3:

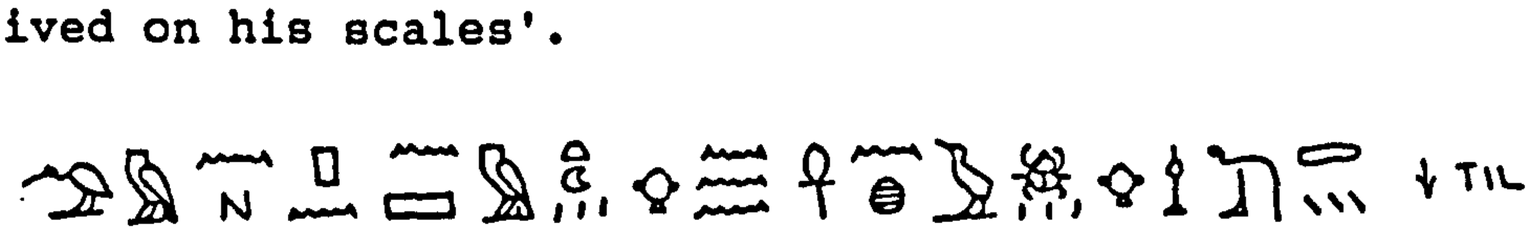
vso 1: 

165. Amonshymn Leid 2, 7:

tr. Zandee, Hymnen, (pl.2) p.18: 'De "schubben" springen in het water'.

Cf CT IV, 3: 

tr. FECT I, p.204: 'the god [Sobek] comes, having eaten his brother and lived on his scales'.

CT VI, 398 : 

tr. FECT II, p.296: 'N has found fish-scales in the living waters which came into being at the river banks'.

For the verb cf Totb Nav 153, B.I; Botti, Sobk V, 15-16 and Wb I, 581, 15: als Name des Netzes. Fttw is therefore likely to be another general descriptive name for fish - or other animals acting in a similar way - as was noted by P. Derchain, BiOr 28 (1971) 320-323: [review of Gamer-Wallert, Fische], p.321: 'Quiconque a observé le grouillement des poissons dans un filet qui se reserre autour d'eux et les sauts prodigieux par lesquels ils tentent de retourner à l'eau... reconnaîtra la pertinence de l'image'. As to nšmwt he noted: 'Il signifie littéralement "porte-écailles"' and compared the title 'overseer of horn, hoof, feather and scale (nšmwt/nšmyt)', mentioned in the text below.

166. BM 2635.

167. On mḥyt note Montet, Scènes, p.9: 'Le fourée de papyrus est presque toujours précédé de ses éléments phonétiques... Ce mot mḥ.t dérive certainement de la racine mḥỉ "immerger", "mettre à l'eau"... À la même racine appartiennent encore le collectif... mḥt, les poissons, littéralement: "les immergés".' Cf Derchain, loc.cit.: 'mḥjt déjà, qui ne paraît se distinguer du premier [rmw] que par l'emploi, ne signifie-t-il pas réellement "la gent nageuse"...' For mḥw naming the crocodile, and obviously from the same root, see Ch.19: Reptiles and Amphibians.

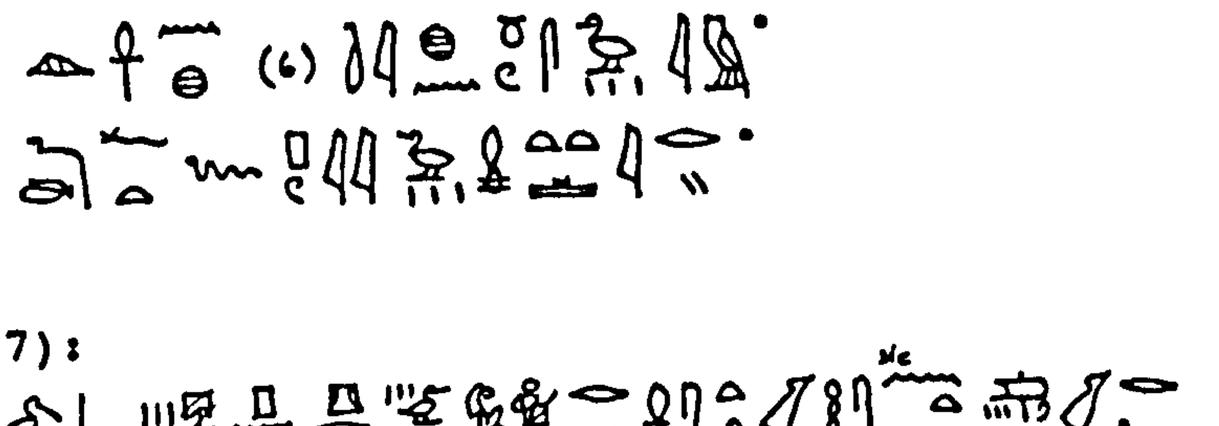
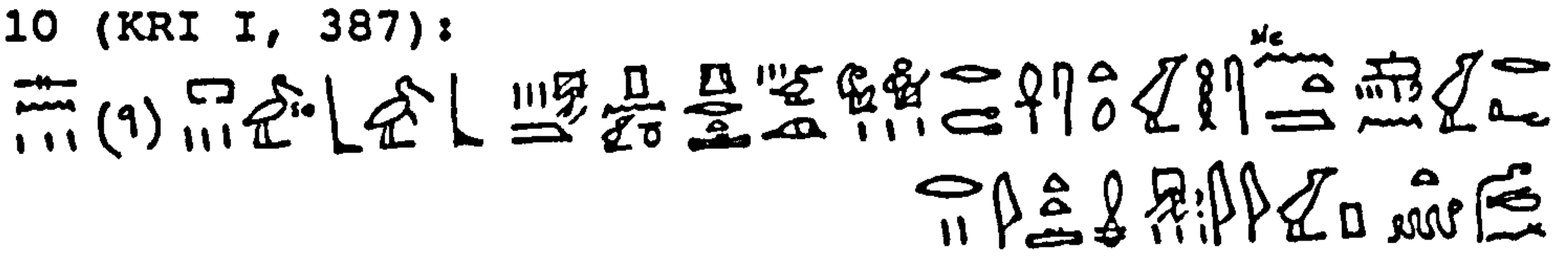
168. Cf Derchain, loc.cit.: 'certains mots en viennent à désigner le poisson parce que celui-ci tombe justement dans leur champ sémantique, sans pourtant qu'il le couvre en entier'.

169. ḫnn: Esne (Brugsch Thes IV, 651A) and Gr Oase 16 <21>. Derchain, loc.cit., commented: 'Le sens d'autre part paraît devoir être "ceux qui frétillent"', comparing Wb III, 288, 7: tanzen and Wb III, 286, 19-20: Verbum... rühren.

ḫww: Edfu II, 13, 11. Considered by S. Sauneron, BIFAO 64 (1966) 1-10: Remarques de philologie et d'étymologie, esp. para 41, p.8, to be a possible error for ḫdw (Wb III, 355, 19: Art Fisch). This Derchain, loc.cit., described as 'les prises, poissons ou oiseaux, que l'on ramène dans un filet'. On ḫdw as the name of a type of fisherman see Guglielmi, Reden, p.167. Cf CT IV, 35 (tr. FECT I, p.213) and also Wb III, 355, 20: Art Wasservögel.

gr: Edfu Mammisi 61, 2; Edfu V, 114, 10-11; Edfu VII, 212, 10; Esna V, 207. Meeks (AL 77.4665), read ḫrw, however, translating: 'les êtres qui se trouvent en bas', comparing Wb III, 392, 2-3. This seems plausible, given the term for birds ḫrỉw meaning 'those on high' (see above in the text) and was also considered the correct reading by Derchain, op.cit., p.321. Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.451, continued to compare the word with Coptic ϭ(ϵ)λ in ϭ(ϵ)λϐοοϒ.

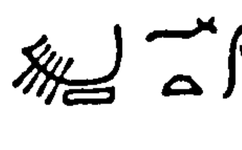
170. The translation 'worm' was rejected by K. Piehl, Sphinx 4 (1901) 145-163: À propos du dernier numéro de la Zeitschrift, esp. p.147: 'je n'ai jamais entendu parler de vers qui piquent, les textes magiques attribuant constamment la propriété de donner les piqûres (vénimeuses) aux bêtes appelés '.

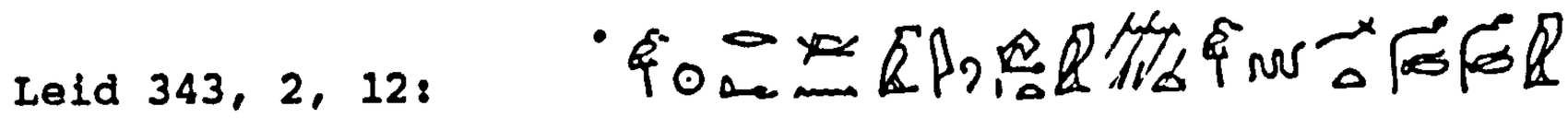
171. Amonshymn Kairo 6, 6: 
Berlin 6910 (KRI I, 387): 

172. See examples in the notes below, and BM 190, 1.24; 31; 35.

173. Gurna Sethostempel <150>:
'Your ddft is fixed on your forehead to overthrow your enemies'.

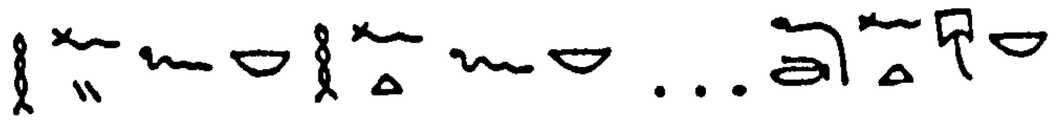
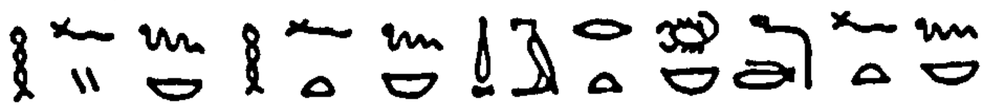
For the idiom see also Urk IV, 390.

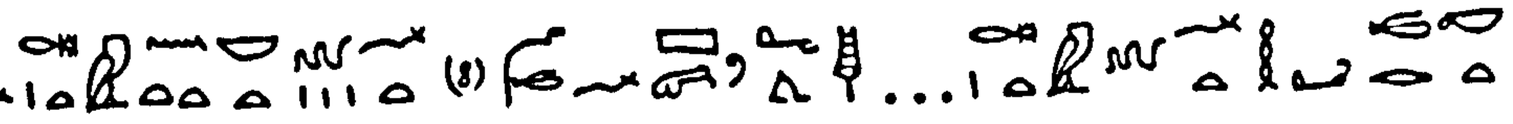
174. Totb Nav 110 : 

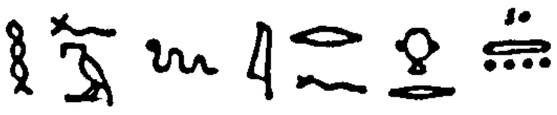
Cf P. Leid 343, 2, 12: 

For the association of ddft and ỉrt see also Iversen, Hieroglyphic Dictionary, p.22 (1.13) and of ḥf3w and ỉrt, Edwards, HPBM 4th ser (T2, rto 102), with p.66, n.60.

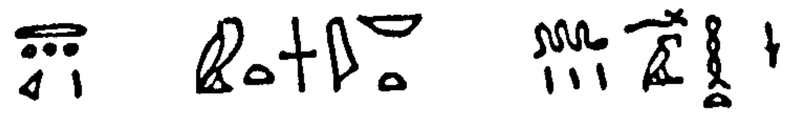
175. Totb Nav 154, 5: (see text p. 8)

Cf Kop Stela 1.2 <86>: 
(and 1.9 <90>): 
& the amuletic decrees referred to below in the text.

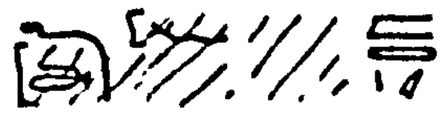
176. Eb 20, 7-8: 
Wb. Drog V, p.200; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.114.

177. Urk I, 23B: 

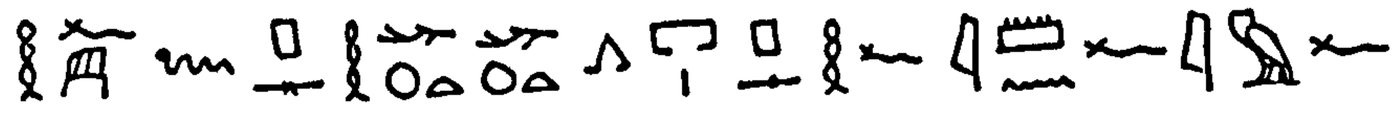
Amduat II, 16:



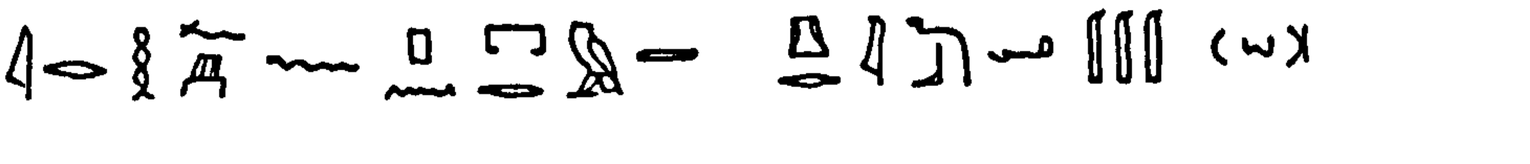
Amarna I, 36:



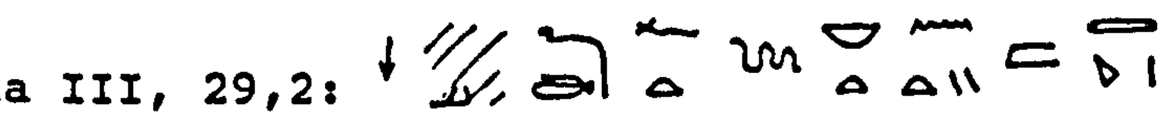
Pyr 247:



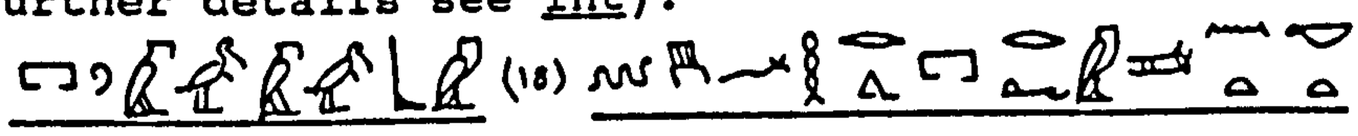
Pyr 442:



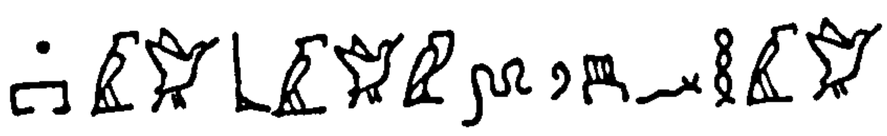
Amarna III, 29,2:



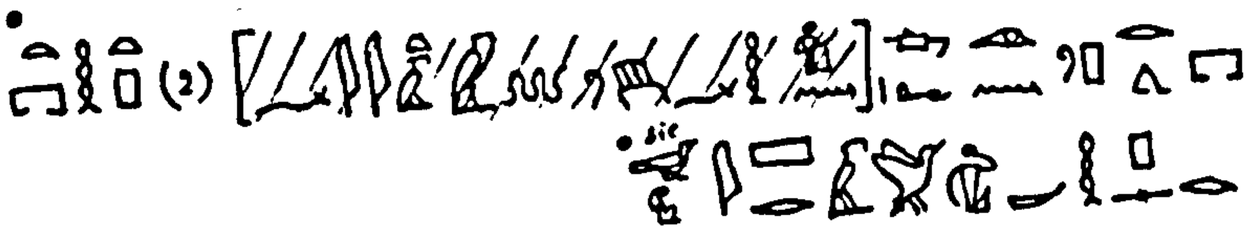
Eb 97, 17: (for further details see Int):



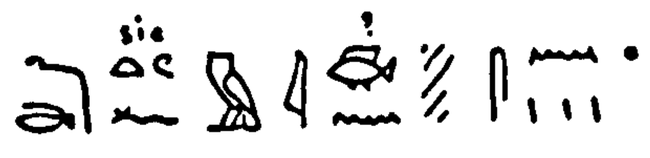
An IV, 1b, 12:



Prinzengesch 8, 1:

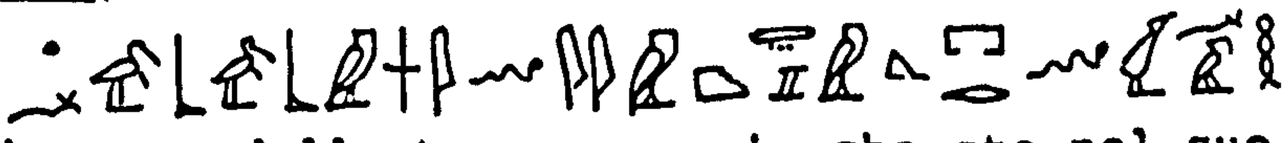


Erman, Gebete, p.21:



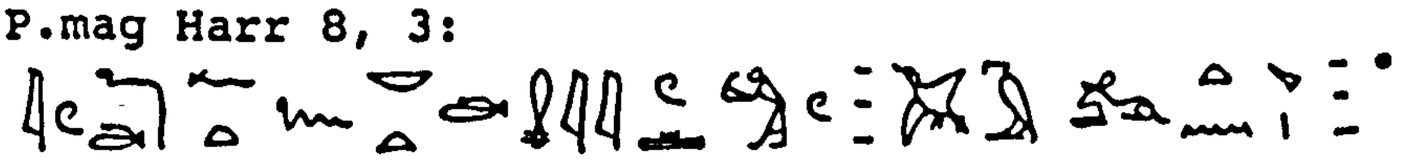
tr.: 'Der die Menschen auf ihren Betten erweckt und die Würmer in ihren Löchern'.

Roccati, P.ieratico 54003, rto 11:

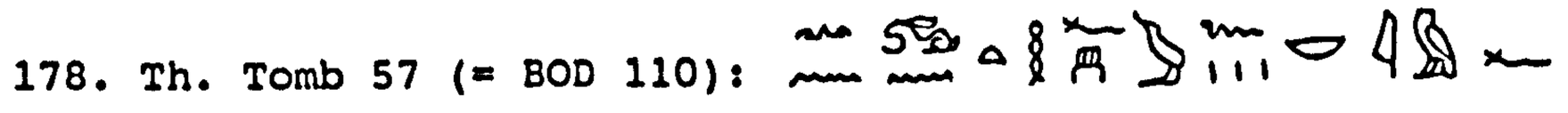


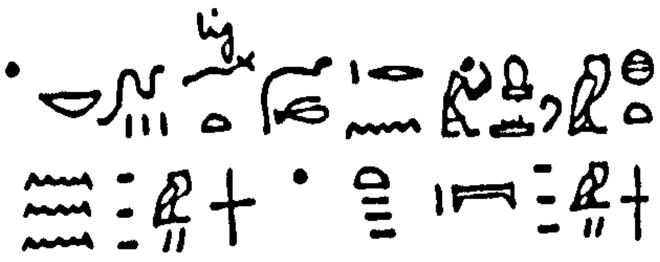
tr. p.25: 'Serpente che esce dalla terra , naia che sta nel suo buco'.

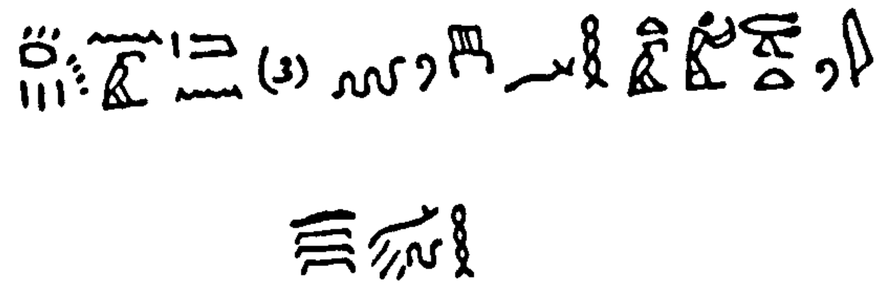
Cf P.mag Harr 8, 3:



tr. Borghouts, AEMT, p.89 (no.131): 'And all reptiles - they will touch the ground, from fear of your violence, Amun!'

178. Th. Tomb 57 (= BOD 110): 

P. Tur P u R 31 + 77, 14: 

P.Sall I, 6, 2: 

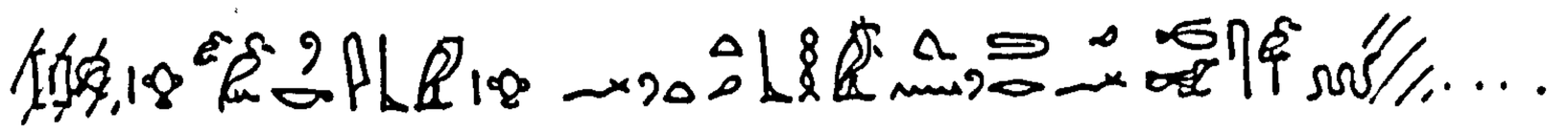
Geogr Pap, pl.10 frag.11:

Kairo 34001:

Lansing 6, 8:

179. P.Ch.B. XI A, rto 1:

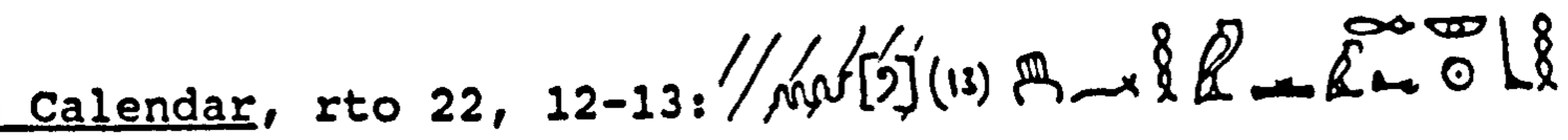
tr. p.118: 'Behold, snakes are filled with fire'.

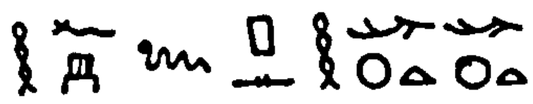
A, rto 7: 

tr. p.118: 'snake, whose tail is turned to its neck, face as a falcon on top of...'

Gardiner, Ramesseum Papyri, pl.31, A, 5:

180. Spiegelberg, Ostraca, pl.4, no.35:

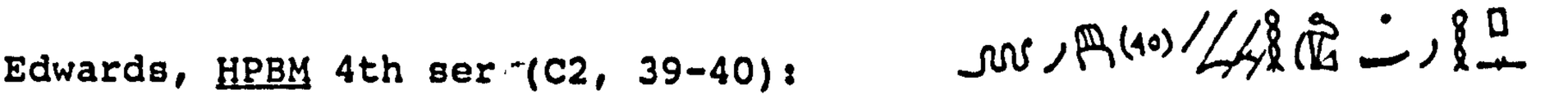
181. Bakir, Cairo Calendar, rto 22, 12-13: 

182. Pyr 247: 

Prinzengesch 8, 1: (text above)

Smith 19, 7:

Wb.Drog. V, p.455; tr. Wb.Drog.IV[1], p.266: (title only).

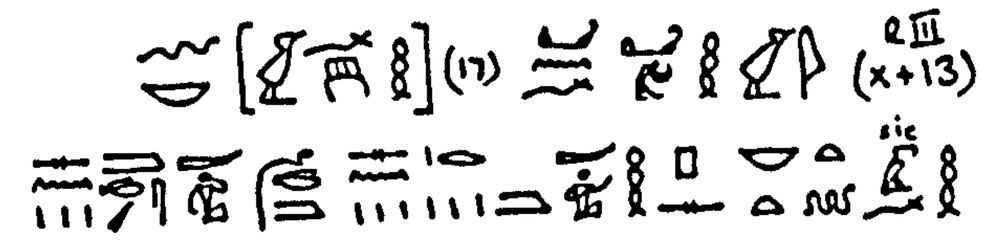
Edwards, HPBM 4th ser (C2, 39-40): 

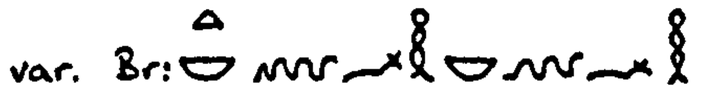
tr. p.100: '[I shall] keep <her> safe from the bite of a serpent'.

ibid. (C1, 66-67):

tr. p.97: 'We shall keep him safe from the bite of a serpent'.

cf ibid. (L2, rto 7): tr. p.14; ibid. (L4, 17): tr. p.27; ibid. (Ch50): tr. p.108.

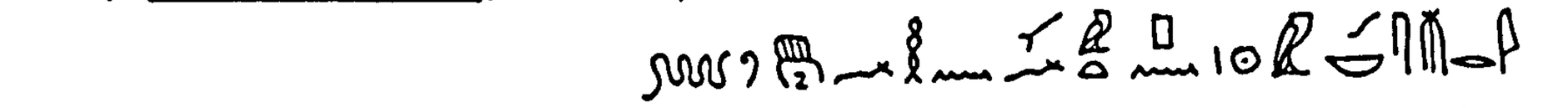
Goyon, P.Brooklyn 47.218.138 

var. Br: 

P.Ch.B. III, rto 7, 19:

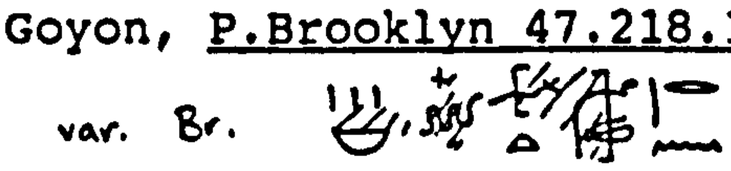
tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.16: If a man see himself in a dream 'he being bitten by a snake, BAD; it means the arising of words with him'.

Bakir, Cairo Calendar, rto 12, 4:



tr. p.22: 'DAY 27: A.A.A. Do not go out. Do not give your back to any work 4. until the sun sets. As to anyone born on this day he will die by a snake'.

183. Goyon, P.Brooklyn 47.218.139, col. X+13:

var. Br. 

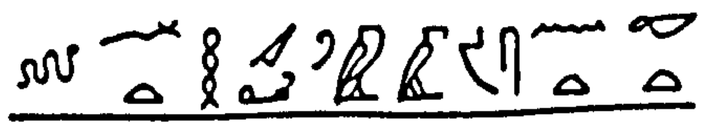
tr. p.155: 'Autre formule de clore la gueule de tout reptile'.

P. Tur PuR 31+77, 7:

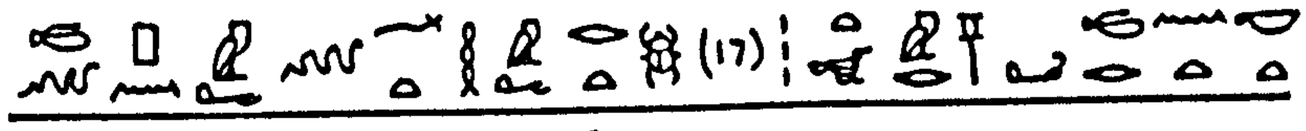
184. Eb 20, 7-8: (above n.176)

Wb. Drog. V, p.199; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.114: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) [für] das Beseitigen des hf3.t-Wurmes im Bauch... Darauf scheidet er aus (wšš) alles Gewürm, das in seinem Bauch ist' (my omission).

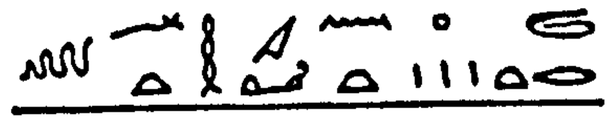
P. med Berl 3038, 1, 3-4:



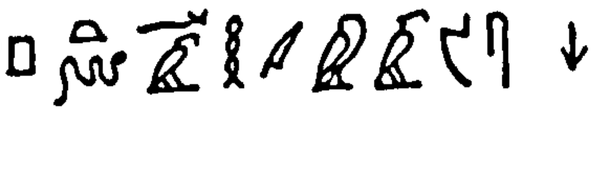
Wb. Drog. V, p.197; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.112: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Töten des hf3t-Wurmes im Bauch'.

Eb 20, 17: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.200; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.114: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Beseitigen einer Krankheit, die entstanden ist durch ein hf3t-Wurm <oder> durch ein pnd-Wurm'.

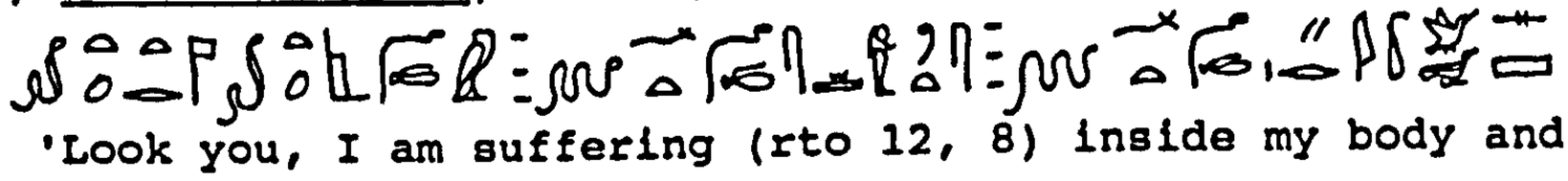
Eb 17, 9: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.193; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.110.

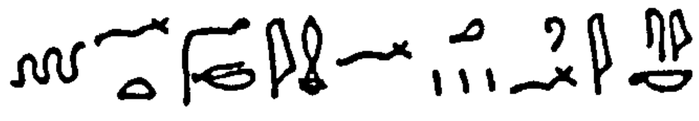
P. Ram III, A, 29: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.199; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.113.

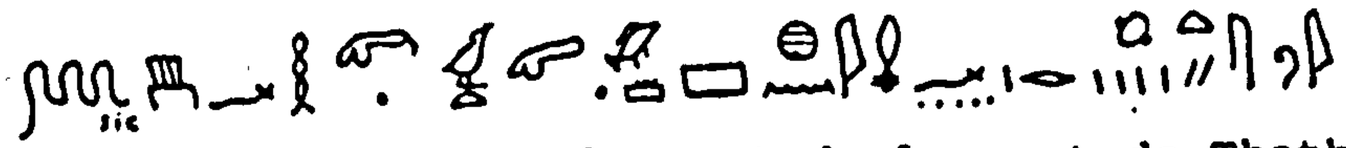
and others (see Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.110-114).

185. Borghouts, P.Leiden I, 348, rto 12, 7-8: 

tr. p.26: 'Look you, I am suffering (rto 12, 8) inside my body and the members there! " - " Do worms interfere (?) ? Do they resemble worms?" - so said the Goddess Isis'.

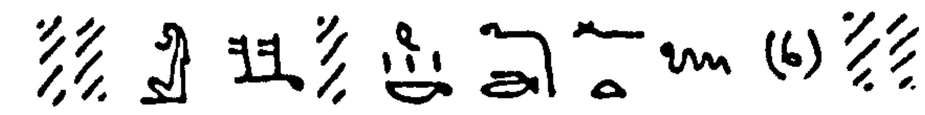
186. P.med Berl 3038, 14, 7: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.129; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.75: 'sein Fleisch ist wie Gewürm'.

187. P. DelM I, 10, 2: 

tr. Černý, p.5: 'Quant à un homme sous la mort de la part de Thoth (vso 2,1) qui [grince (?)] les dents, mâche sa langue, redresse sa nuque de temps en temps et fait... [avec (?)] ses membres, tandis que son haleine sent le venin du serpent, et la sueur coule sur ses membres, Tu feras pour lui....'

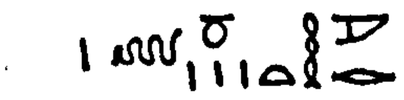
For a similar phrase see Černý, P.D el M I, pl.9, 6 (compared with cattle's breath).

188. M u K 5, 5: 

fpnnt are mentioned in the toes in Hearst 13, 5 (see Ch.18: Reptiles etc).

189. Eb 79, 8:

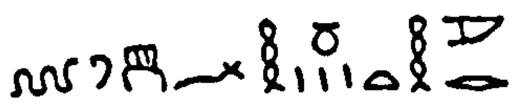
Wb. Drog. V, p.32; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.18: 'Fett (mrht) von einer Schlange'.

Eb 66, 9: 

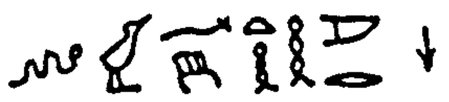
Wb. Drog. V, p.514; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.298: 'Fett (mrḥ.t) einer Schlange'.

Hearst 8, 2-3:

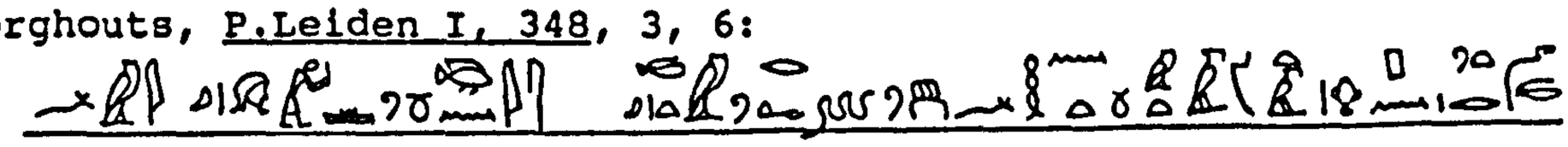
Wb. Drog. V, p.32; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.18: 'Fett (mrḥ.t) von einer Schlange'.

Hearst 10, 7: 

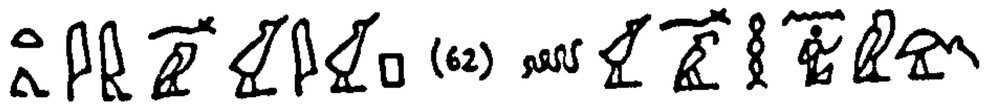
Wb. Drog. V, p.517; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.300: 'Fett (mrḥ.t) einer Schlange'.

P. Ram V, U, 23: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.50; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.28 = (Nr. III): 'Öl/Fett einer Schlange'.

190. Borghouts, P.Leiden I, 348, 3, 6: 

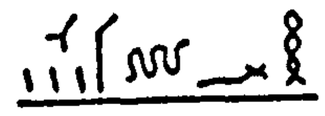
tr. p.18: 'This spell is to be recited over the hide(?) of a snake which is put in the hand. The head should be rubbed with it'.

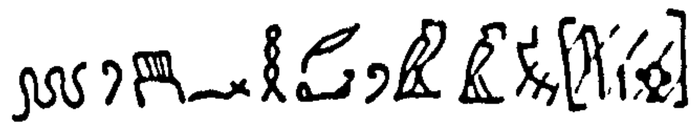
191. Schiffbr 61: 

Urk III, 61 (Traumstele 4):

Text Relig V:

Prinzengesch 4, 4:

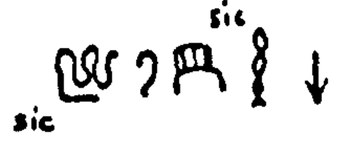
Apoph 29, 26: 

192. P.Ch.B. III, rto 4, 1: 

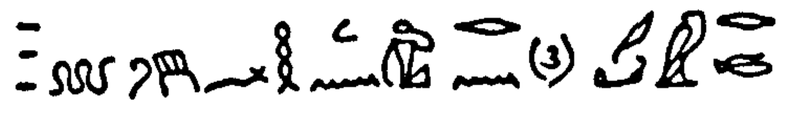
tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.13: If a man see himself in a dream 'killing (sm3m) a snake, good; killing (sm3m) words'.

193. Ḥf3w (esp. in the phrase mrht ḥf3w) in the medical texts denote real snakes, but ḥf(3)t bodily infestations. It is perhaps impossible to know whether these really were considered as 'snakes'; there may have been a size distinction made between the two, female snakes (ḥf(3)t) being considered smaller. Ḥft may name a parasite of some sort or were perhaps merely supposed to be a cause of disease - the similar creature fnt is named as the instigator of toothache in another medical text. For a discussion of 'worms' in medicine see Ghalioungui, The House of Life, esp. p.54-60; 70; 117; 122-124; 144; 176. The ḥft was identified by A.-P. Lexa, La Médecine Égyptienne (Paris 1971) as 'l'ascaris' - see esp. p.212-213. Ebbell, Krankheiten, p.34, tr. likewise : 'Spulwurm (Ascaris)'. Cf G.P.G.Sobhy, Archiv Orientàlnì 20 ( 1952 ) 626-628: Studies in ancient Egyptian medicine, who tr. 'ascaris'; A.von Oefele, Archives de Parasitologie 5 (1901) 461-503: Studien über die altägyptische Parasitologie, p.469: 'Eingeweideparasit'; 'Cestoden'. (He gave 'Ascaris' for pnd.)

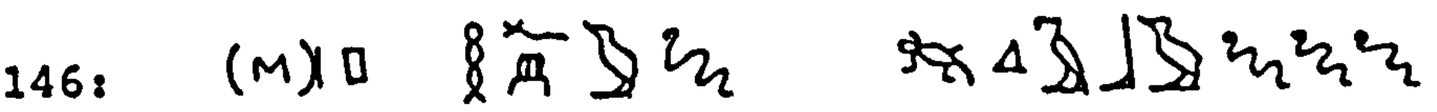
See texts quoted by H.Altenmüller, GM 33 (1979) 7-12: Ein Zauberspruch zum "Schutz des Leibes'.

194. Eg Piankoff , Disque solaire, V, 1: 

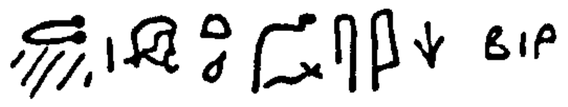
tr. p.29: 'Les serpents'.

Bakir, Cairo Calendar, rto 27, 3: 

tr. p.37: 'Do not get the thought of pronouncing the 3. names of the snakes'.

Pyr 1146: 

tr. Sethe, UuK V, p.29: 'Ich bin der Nḥb-k3.w (var. die Schlange) mit den vielen Windungen'.

195. CT 1142 (VII, 489g): 

tr. Lesko, Book of the Two Ways, p.34: 'He is driven off from these your [wounds] while the underlings are worms upon you'.

196. A. Grimm, SÄK 12 (1985) 29-41 : Das Fragment einer Liste fremdländische Tiere,-Pflanzen und Städte aus dem Totentempel des Königs Djedkare-Asosi, commented: 'so werden diese Eidechsen von den Ägyptern wohl auch der Familie der Schlangen zugeordnet worden sein'. He read the inscription ḥfꜣ šḫr ḥfꜣ nb ḫꜣst, translating: 'Eidechsen: Das Einfangen aller Eidechsen der (östlichen) Wüste'. The inscription could also be read simply ḥfꜣ(w) nb ḫꜣst 'every creeping thing (det. 2 lizards) of the desert'. This avoids the problem of having to decide why - or where - the lizards were caught, as debated by Grimm.

197. G. Daressy, ASAE 17 (1917) 1-20: Fragments de deux cercueils de Saqqarah, no.32:

198. Ebers 88, 5:

199.Assmann, Mutirdis, p.94, n.89.

200. Edfu I, 317: (13)

201. Edwards, HPBM 4th ser (Ch.49):

202. S.Sauneron, L'écriture figurative dans les textes d'Esna (Le Caire 1982) p.58: ;

203. Totb Nav 15 A IV, 10:

For sdr applied to snakes see Gr.Oase 26,16 and Pyr 315.

204. Eb 19,7: (7)

Wb.Drog. V, p.195; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.111.

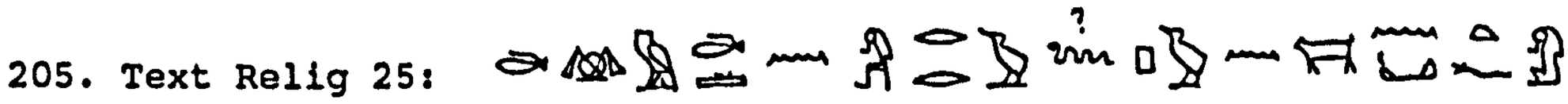
Amduat I, 23 (top; of 3 snakes) :

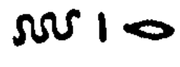
Totb Leps 145, 22:

Totb Nav 64, 27:

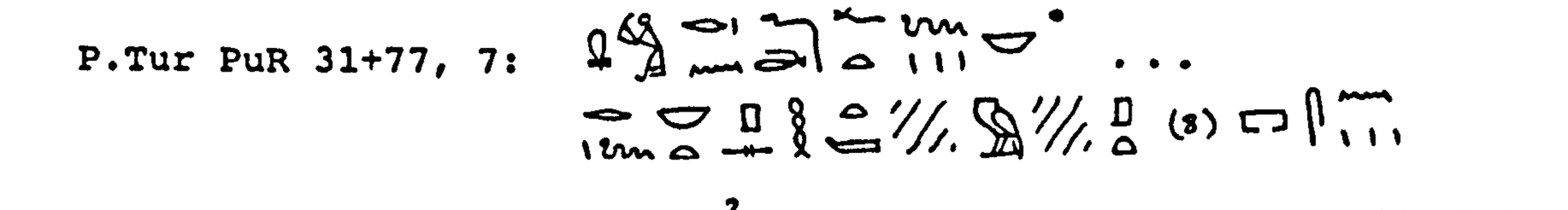
The phrase appears as an epithet of Anubis (Wb III,135,1), the dead Osiris on his bier (Wb III, 135,2), fat geese (LD II, 616) and a snake (Pyr 662).

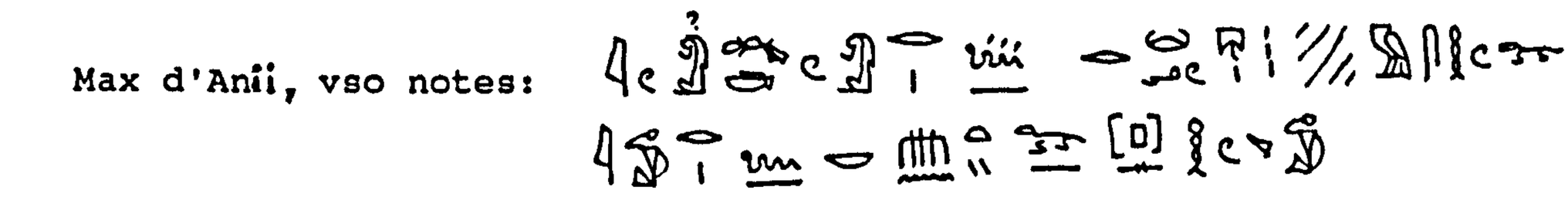
See also Borghouts, AEMT, p.46 (no.73) with n.176.

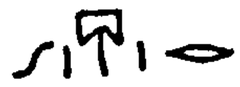
205. Text Relig 25: 

206. See Edwards, HPBM 4th ser (Index p.123) who tr. 'snake, ophidian'.
T3 rto 88 (Turin Mus 1985): 

L5 40-41 = BM 10321: 

P.Tur PuR 31+77, 7: 

Max d'Anii, vso notes: 

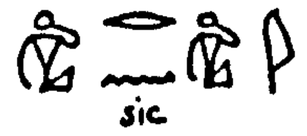
207. NY rto 50 = Met Mus 10.53: 

T1 rto 73 = Turin Mus 1983:

P2 rto 11 = Louvre E8083:

208. P3 rto 87 = Louvre E. 24354:

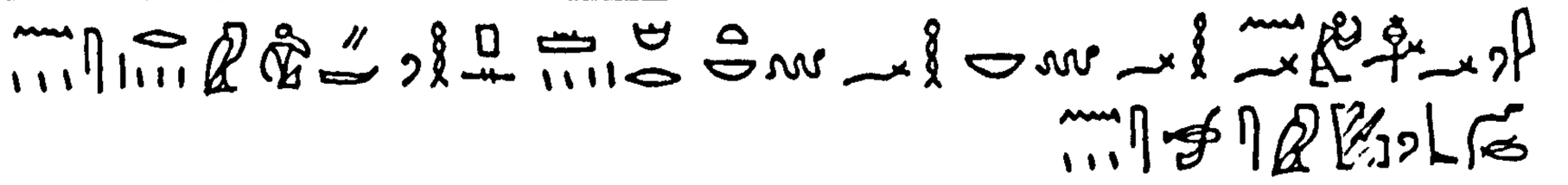
P4, 33 = Bibl.Nat 182:

PH9 (University of Pennsylvania MUS. E. 16724): 


209. Edwards, op.cit., p.111 (Ph. 9): 'mouth'
p.90 (P4, 33): 'mouth(?)'
p.87 (P3 rto 87): 'mouth'
p.81 (P2 rto 11): 'mouth'

210. AL 78.2348: '"serpent", "tout serpent (litt. 'bouche') qui mord"'.
That r was a recognized snake name may be deduced from cryptic writings which give  the phonetic value r (among others) - see E.Drioton, RdE 1 (1933) 1-50: Essai sur la cryptographie privée de la fin de la XVIII dynastie.

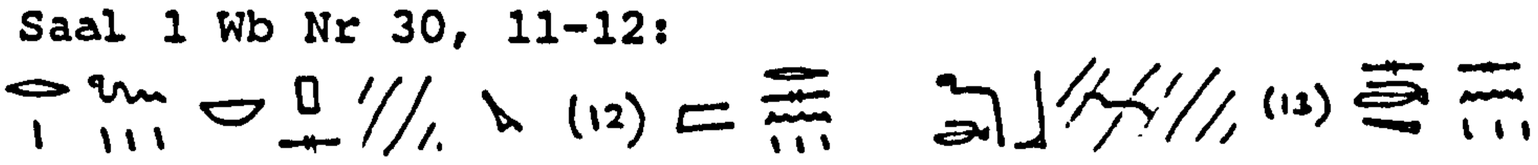
211. Goyon, P.Brooklyn 47.218.138 col. x + 13, 9 - 15):



tr. p.157: 'celui qui châtie pour lui tout serpent mâle et femelle, et caetera, (tous ceux) qui mordent avec leurs gueules (ou) piquent avec leurs queues'.

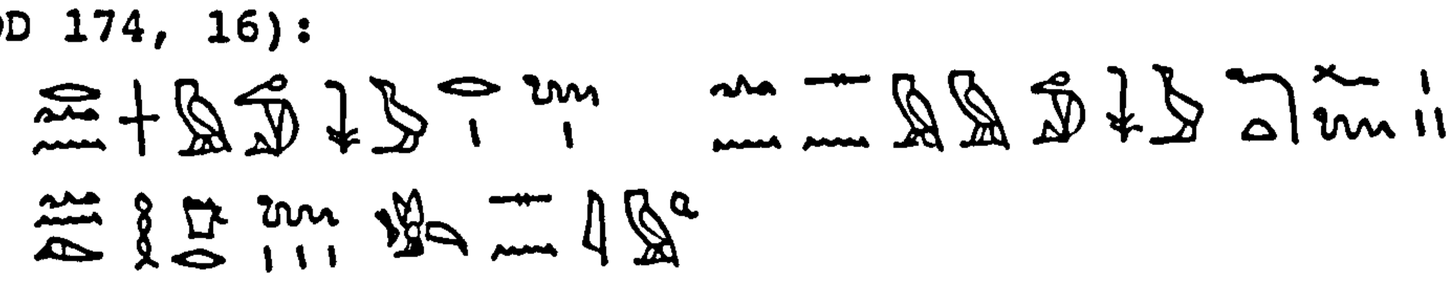
212. L6 vso 12 = BM 10587:

213. Flor Saal 1 Wb Nr 30, 11-12:

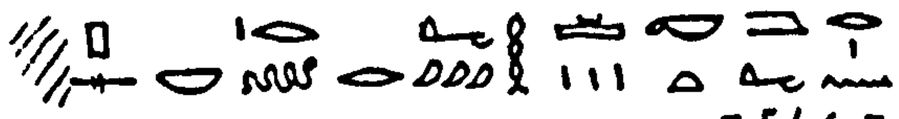


214. Max d'Anii, vso notes: (text above n. 206)

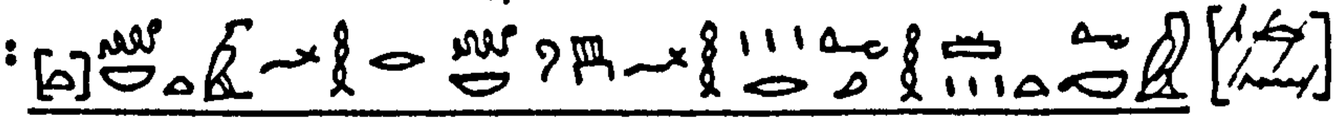
215. G.Daressy, Rec.Trav. 36 (1914) 73-82: Une stèle de Hawara, p.81 (= BOD 174, 16):



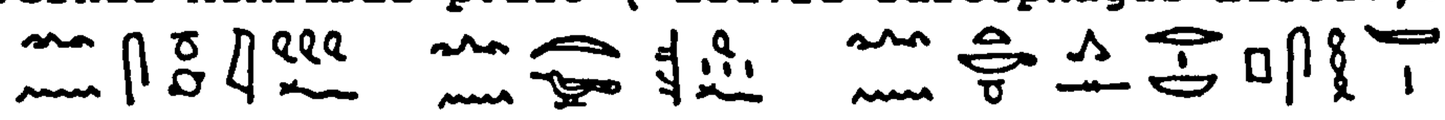
216. Cairo Jd'E 69771, publ. E.Drioton, ASAE 39 (1939) 75-89: Une statue prophylactique de Ramsès III, and cf G.Altenmüller, GM 33 (1979) 7-12: Ein Zauberspruch zum 'Schutz des Leibes':



var P. Ramesseum X :

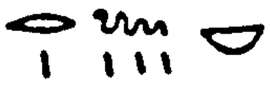


217. Vernus Athribis p.110 (=Louvre Sarcophagus E13017):

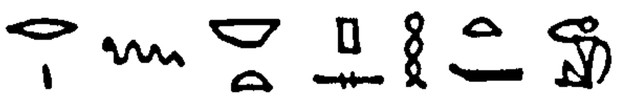


tr.: 'sans que sentent mauvais ses chairs ; sans que soient atteints ses os; aucune bouche qui mord l'attaquera'.

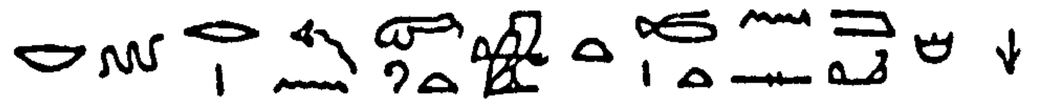
218. BOD 158: In a passage stating that the deceased's flesh and bones shall remain sound like those of a living man; the spell ends (tr. Allen, BOD, p.161) 'no r3-snakes shall eat him':



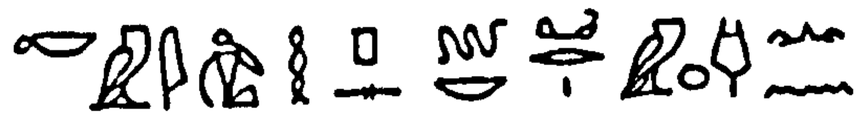
219. P. Tur P u R 123, 13:



P. Tur P u R 131, 1:

220. Mett 25: 

tr. Sander-Hansen, Metternich, p.5: 'O diese Katze, deine Hände (Pfoten) L.25 sind die Hände des grossen Göttercyclus (oder auch) des kleinen Göttercyclus, der deine Hand vor dem Gifte eines jeden Reptils schützt'.

Mett 81: 

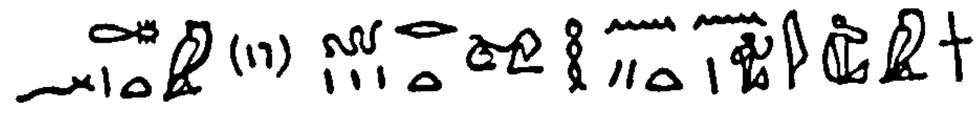
tr. Sander-Hansen, op.cit., p.11: 'Nicht möge irgend ein beissendes Reptil auf dich Einfluss ausüben'.

221. Edwards, HPBM 4th ser, C rto 40 - vso 1:

tr. p.100: 'from the bite of (Verso) a reptile (?)'.

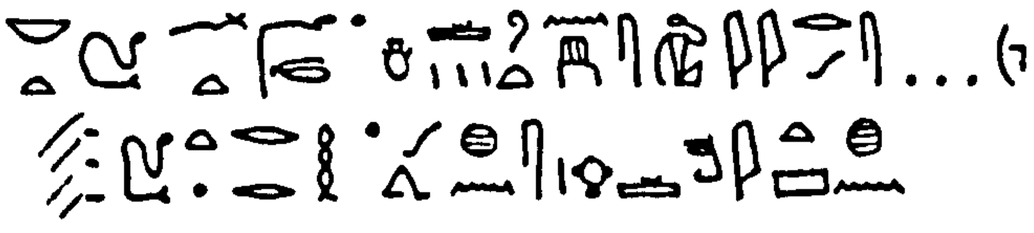
Pfortenb Stunde IV (Sethos IV, 10):

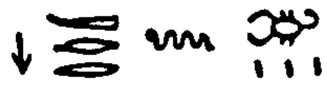
tr. Hornung, Pforten II, p.112.

222. Eb 19,16: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.195; tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1], p.111: concoction 'werde gegessen vom Manne, in dessen Bauch sich ḥrr.t-Gewürm befindet'.

223. See n.13.

224. O.DelM 1675: 

225. Esne (Brugsch Thes IV, 651A): 

226. Wb III, 73, 13: in demütiger (knieender) Haltung kommen (cf Wb III, 73, 6-7 and 14-16). See too Osing, Nominalbildung, p.166 & 299; cf p.488, 664, 669.

227. Gardiner, AEO II, p.69* : 'It is curious how often the consonant f appears in words for snake and the like; is it because it suggested the hissing of a reptile? Possibly ...ddft 'snake', 'worm', might be a compound meaning "which says fff".'
Cf also P.E. Newberry, JEA 34 (1948) 118 : Fy 'cerastes'.

228. CD 740b: 'serpent', cf 741a; CD 792b: 'reptile'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.437; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.332b.

229. See the comment of Goyon, Dieux gardiens, p.8, n.5 (etc):
'R3 est le nom donné en général au serpent ennemi apparu à l'origine, réf. dans E. Reymond [Myth.Or.] p.19 n.1. La suite montrera que ce nom d'espèce recouvre les serpents vénimeux sbty, sfthꜣ etc. par opposition à bꜣ-ʿnhꜣ = sꜣ-tꜣ caractéristique des agathodémons'.

On the contrasting of r and sꜣ-tꜣ note also J.Frank-Kamenetzky, OLZ 17 (1914) 145-157: Der Papyrus Nr. 3162 des Berl. Museums, col.152:
tr.col. 151: 'du verwandelst dich in einen Wurm und trittst ein in die Nekropole im Westen von Theben; du verwandelst dich in den göttlichen Wurm und bist der sꜣ-tꜣ in der Hölle', with the comment: 'Er gehört wohl in die Gruppe kleinerer Schriftstücke funären Inhalts, die in der Spätzeit häufig gewissermassen als Ersatz für den Totenbuch angefertigt worden sind, und deren Inhalt sicherlich auf viel frühere Quellen zurückgeht, die man zum Teil im Totenbuch selber, zum Teil in Inschriften auf Grabsteinen und Särgen des mittleren und neuen Reiches zu suchen hat'. Cf id., OLZ 17 (1914) 97-102: Der Papyrus Nr.3162 des Berliner Museums, col.99, on these'Verwandlungen'.

230. Meeks, Donations, p.13, n.9.

Cf Wb.Drog. VII$^2$, p.630: 'Bei ḫrr.t handelt es sich nicht um eine bestimmte Wurmart, sondern wie bei ḏḏf.t in Eb 64 (Beseitigen des ḫfꜣt-Wurmes) um eine allgemeine Bezeichnung für Gewürm.'
For more on ḫrrt see Ch.20: Insects.

231. Brown, American Anthropologist 81 (full reference in n.3) p.793.

232. V.Loret, Rec.Trav. 38 (1916-17) 61-68: Le titre .

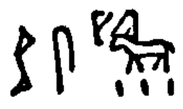
233. Cf E. Hornung, Studium Generale 20 (1967) 69-84: Die Bedeutung des Tieres im alten Ägypten, esp. p.69-70: 'Es entspricht dem Sinn des Ägypters für klare, großzügige Gliederung, daß sich seine Systematik des Tierreiches in erster Linie au den Lebensbereichen der Tiere orientiert, also an den großen Linien der Schöpfungswelt'. Note also W.C.Allee & K.P.Schmidt, Ecological Animal Geography (New York 1937, 1965) p.41: 'The oldest attempts

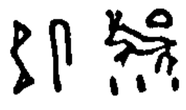
to classify animals, as in the Biblical account of the creation, are based upon their habitat. Pliny in the first century A.D. divided animals into Aquatilia, Terrestria, and Volatilia. An ecological classification has its justification, independence of morphological taxonomy, in view of the obvious structural adaptations involved. A primary division of an ecological classification of animals separates them into air-breathing and water-breathing forms...'

234. This was not the opinion of Hornung, op.cit., p.69: 'Die ägyptische Sprache hat im Laufe ihrer langen Entwicklungsgeschichte kein besonderes Wort für "Tier" geprägt'.

## Chapter 2 : Notes

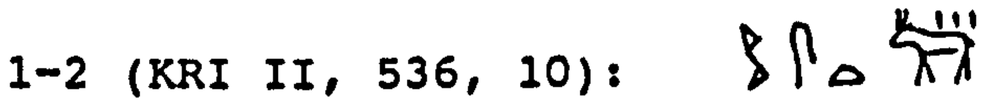
1. Writings to be included here are:

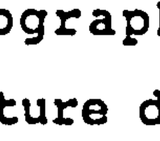
Urk IV, 741: 

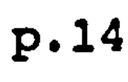
Abyd Mar I, 53 (KRI II, 510, 6): 

Urk IV, 754:

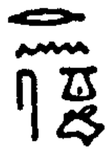
AEO I, pl.2, l.163:

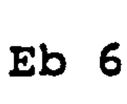
MMAF 8, p.385, 1-2 (KRI II, 536, 10): 

The reading ghs, not pds (suggested by P.Montet, Sphinx 19 (1915) 1-62: Questions de grammaire et d'épigraphie, p.57) (cf various words in Wb I, 566, 13-15), is proven by the example in Eb 98, 7 written . See E.Dévaud, Kêmi I (1928) 136-146: Études et notes de grammaire, de lexicologie, de paléographie etc., égyptiennes et coptes, No.VIII, p.143-5: Sur la lecture de  . This writing was read bḥś.t in Wreszinski, Atlas II, p.186-188 and as ḫhst in Or Ant Coll XIII, fig.21, 5.

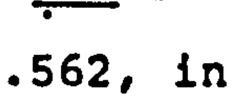
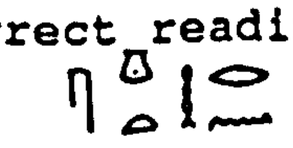
W.Stevenson Smith, A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom (London 1946) pl.586 = Top. Bibl. $III^2/I^2$, p.148(2): 

Reisner, Giza Necropolis I, pl.57b

= Top. Bibl. $III^2/I^2$, p.125: 

Eb 65, 18: db n gḥ 'gazelle horn' (see further in the text): 

Leid K15:

Also belonging here is the ḫts read by Daressy, Le Mastaba de Méra (Le Caire 1898): MIE 3, p.562, in  ; the correct reading is discernible from Wreszinski, Atlas III, pl.90 as: 

For gazelles in ancient Egypt see also E.Brunner-Traut, LÄ II, 426-427: Gazelle.

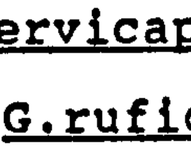
2. CD 839b; Černý, CED, p.340; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.350a; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.472; cf Osing, Nominalbildung, p.20 & p.614, n.614.

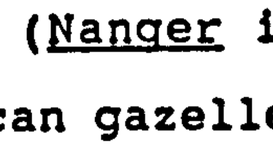
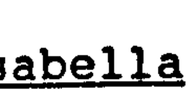
3. Authors differ in the species identified from ancient records. Hoogstraal, Mammals of Egypt III, p.234-235, recorded three species, the Egyptian forms being G.dorcas dorcas (L), G.gazella arabica (Lichtenstein) and G.leptoceros leptoceros ( Cuvier). These were also the species noted by Flower, Mammals of Egypt, p.438-439 (Dorcas gazelle; Arabian or Mountain gazelle; Slender-horned or Sand gazelle, or Rhim, which Keimer knew as Loder's Gazelle). Gazelles found close to Egypt include G.dama dama (Libya), G.d.ruficollis (Sahara - Dongola and Sennar) , G.g.gazella (Syria and Palestine), G.subguttarosa (Persian or Goitred Gazelle; Palestine and Arabian peninsula), G.dorcas littoralis Blaine (Nubian Dorcas gazelle), G.dorcas saudiya Carruthers & Schwarz, (Arabian Dorcas Gazelle; Sinai, Arabian peninsula), G.leptoceros marica (Arabian peninsula). East African gazelles include G.granti (Grant's gazelle), G.soemmeringi Cretschmar (Soemmering's gazelle), as well as G.dama. (After Kindon, East African Mammals III D, p.423; Hufnagl, Libyan Mammals; Hoogstraal, loc.cit.).

   Hartmann, Systematischen Aufzählung, suggested for ghs: G.dorcas, Antilope arabica (ie G.g.arabica; Antilope is now used only of the blackbuck A.cervicapra of India), A.cuvieri (G.g.cuvieri of N.W. Africa), and G.ruficollis (G. dama ruficollis). Paton, Animals, E21d, gave Nanger ruficollis (Nanger is an occasional variant of Gazella used of the East African gazelles), G.isabella (ie G.dorcas isabella) and G.soemmeringi.

4. Macdonald, Encyclopaedia of Mammals II, p.581; Hufnagl, Libyan Mammals, p.51; Corbett & Hill, World List of Mammalian Species, p.141.

5. See eg the frontispiece in Vandier, Mo'alla.

6. Ti pl.128: 

   Macramallah, Idout, pl.20:  

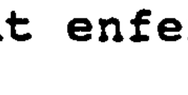
   In Idut it has a long tail, but this is short in Ti. In both it appears in parallel with ghs.

7. Setzer, Mammals of Sudan, p.580.

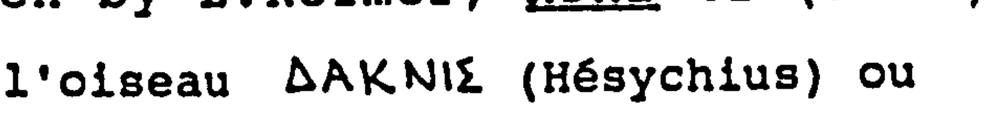
8. Lortet & Gaillard, Faune momifiée A, p.79ff.

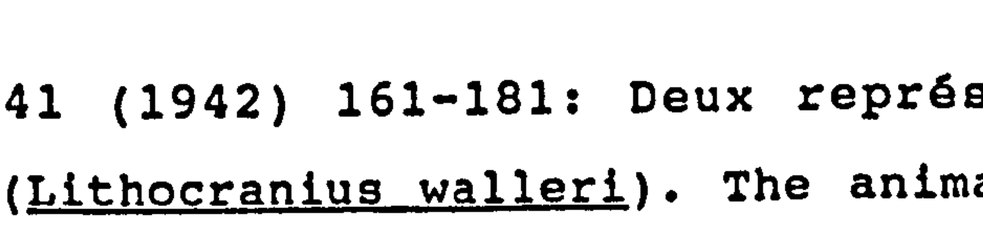
9. Keimer, Ms notes in the DAI, Cairo (box file No.28).

10. Eg the pair of gazelles in Sahure II, pl.17, one of which has horns shown in profile, the other from in front.

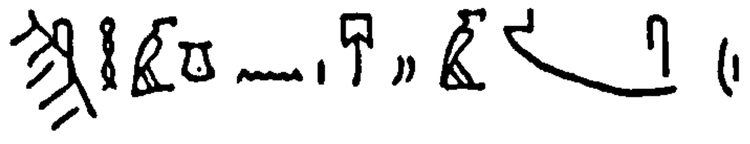
11. Hülshoff, Igel, fig.29, p.84: 'Über dem Gabenbringer die Beischrift m3wd als einer Sammelbezeichnung fur Kleintiere' (cf p.16); Wb II, 28, 13: Beischrift zu gefangenen kleinen Tieren, die man in Kasten trägt; Erman & Grapow, Handwörterbuch, p.60: 'Kleine Tiere die man in Kasten trägt'; Mar Mast D60, p.344, No.3, commented: 'On amène un moufflon. Un homme tient, suspendue à son épaule une cage où sont enfermés deux petites gazelles et trois hérissons'; Montet, Scènes, p.136, who noted LD II, 54:  as a variant of m3-ḥd 'oryx' - again this appears over animals (a gazelle(?) and another animal) carried suspended from a pole; the ḥd sign is a copyist's error. H.T. Mohr, Mastaba of Hetep-her-akhti (Leiden 1943) p.42, noted this mistake in translation. Compare references to m3wd 'palanche' given by L.Keimer, ASAE 41 (1942) 315-332: Remarques au sujet de l'oiseau ΔΑΚΝΙΣ (Hésychius) ou ΔΑΚΝΑΣ (Festus). Cf also here Janssen, Commodity Prices, p.385-7.

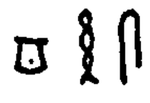
12. See L.Keimer, ASAE 41 (1942) 161-181: Deux représentations égyptiens du Gerenuk (Lithocranius walleri). The animals on the pre-Dynastic schist palette were also identified as gerenuks by F.Legge, PSBA 31 (1909) 297-319: The carved slates and the season's discoveries, p.298, though cf p.300 on giraffes, and rock drawings, noted by Winkler, Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt, found near Silwa do appear to show these animals.

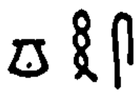
13. Deir el Gebr I, 11: 

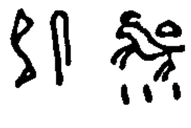
Beni Hasan II, 13: 

14. For gazelles as a sacrificial animal: see Kees, Tieropfer, p.83/85.

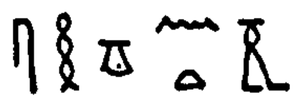
O.DelM 1653 (love song): 

LD II, 80: 

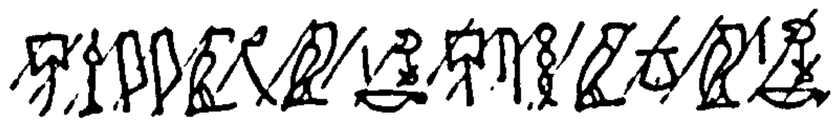
LD II, 44: 

KRI I, 194: 

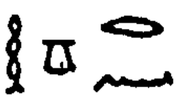
LD II, 102:

Ti 128: 

Mar Mast D3:

P.Ch.B. IX, rto 1, 8: 

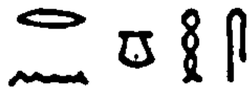
Mar Mast D15 (p.211):

Mereruka A13: 

A6:

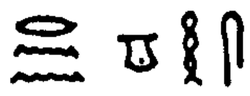
Kairo 1543:

Siut I, Beischrift 73:

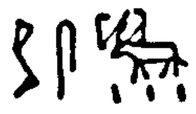
Ptahh II, 19: 

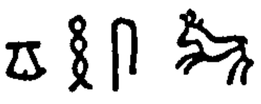
Davies et al., Saqqara Tombs I, pl.31:

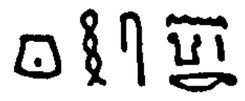
Sheikh Said pl.4: 

Beni Hasan I, 35: 

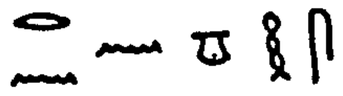
Kairo 1565:

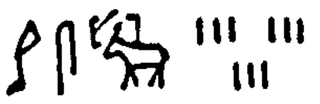
Urk IV, 741: 

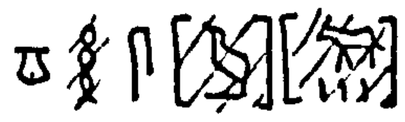
Med Habu 152 (list 19):  2

Beni Hasan II, 4: 

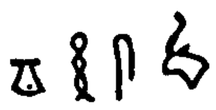
Harr 4, 8:

Ny-hetep-Ptah, fig.35 & 36: 

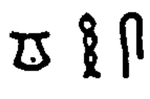
Urk IV, 754 - additions to daily offerings: 

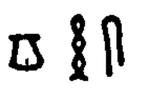
Urk IV, 171: 

Urk IV, 1255:

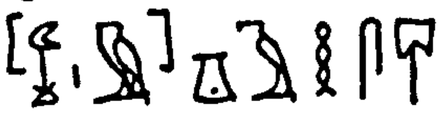
Junker, Giza III, 99: 

" IX, 189:

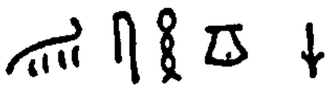
" XI, 206 (= fig.79, p.205): 

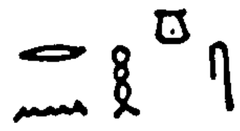
" XI, 214 (= fig.82, p.213): 

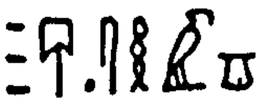
" VII, 222 (= fig.88, p.221):

E.Bacchi, Il rituale di Amenhotep I (Torino 1948) p.32-33: 

Wien (Wresz) p.81-84, Stela 147:

Beni Hasan I, 38: 

Nianchchnum, fig .19: 

15. Koller 3,6: (tribute from Nubia) 

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.438; 'gazelles, oryxes, ibexes'; comments p.440.

Mutrit Berl 18, 2:

See too Säve-Söderbergh, Ägypten und Nubien, p.223 and n.10.

16. Eb 56, 13:

Wb. Drog V, p.80; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.46.

Eb 98, 7:

Wb. Drog. V, p.528; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.306.

Eb 66, 22:

Wb. Drog. V, p.515; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.299: 'Kot der Gazelle'.

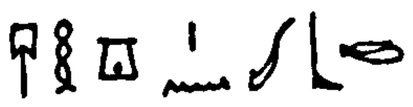
P.med Berlin 3038 6, 8-9:

Wb. Drog. V, p.447; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.261: 'Kot von der Gazelle'.

See too Wb. Drog. VI, p.539-40.

Hearst 10, 6-7:

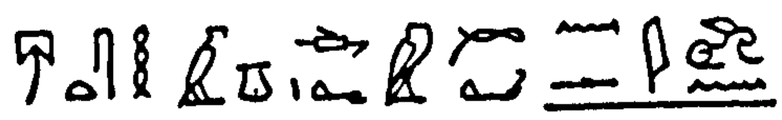
Wb. Drog. V, p.517; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.300.



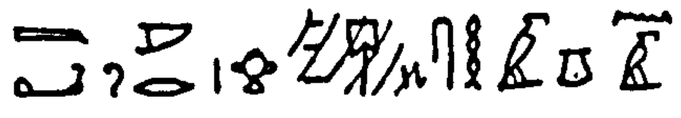
Eb 65, 18-19:

Wb. Drog. V, p.512; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.297.

17. Hor u Seth 10, 7 (Hathor uses gazelles' milk to restore sight to the blinded Horus):



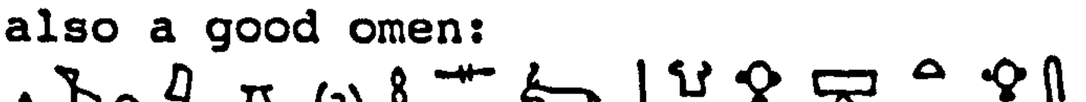
Cf An IV, 10, 5 (a prayer to Amon):



tr. Caminos, LEM, p.171: spoken by 'the herdsmen (10, 5) in the field, the fullers on the river bank, the Medjay that are come out of the district, and the gazelles upon the desert'.

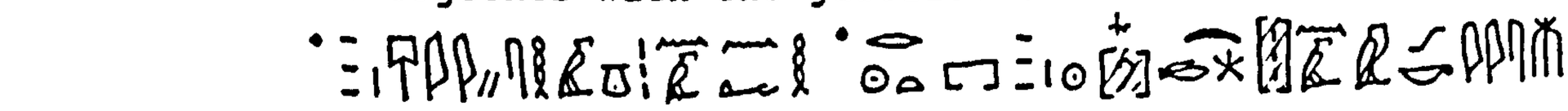
Gazelles were also a good omen:

Hamm 110, 2:

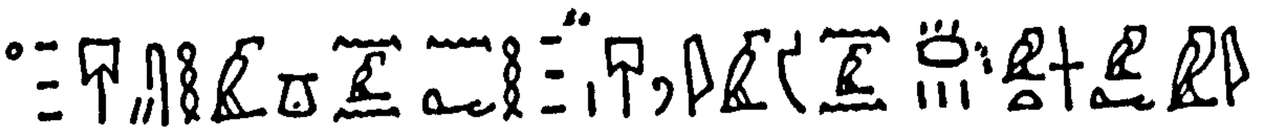


P.Turin A, vso 1, 9:

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.451: 'You are neither a quail(?) nor a youngling of a bubalis, because (vs.1, 9) you were born in the month of winter together with the gazelles'.



P.Leid 348, vso 9, 5:



tr. Caminos, LEM, p.497: 'I have received the letter which (vs.9,5) my lord sent to you: "Give fodder to the oryxes and the gazelles".'

18. Zibelius, Aeg Siedl, p.251.

19. O.DelM. 273:

20. This name supercedes both O.algazel Oken and O.tao Smith; see, eg Honacki et al., Mammal Species of the World, p.338.

21. Haltenorth & Diller, Mammals of Africa, p.67-68, distribution map p.66.

22. Haltenorth & Diller, loc.cit.

23. Haltenorth & Diller, loc.cit.; Kingdon, East African Mammals III D, p.579.

24. A. Bonnet, L'oryx dans l'ancienne Égypte, in Lortet & Gaillard, Faune momifiée B, p.159-164, considered that the earliest representations from ancient Egypt were of O.beisa, gradually replaced by O.leucoryx which forced the former into the horn of Africa.

V.Loret, Le nom égyptien de l'oryx, in Lortet & Gaillard, op.cit., p.175-178, esp. p.177, supposed that mȝ-ḥḏ was the origin of Arabic 'behiza', from which 'beisa' is derived. However (p.175) he also considered mȝ-ḥḏ, lit. 'bête blanche du désert' a suitable description of O.leucoryx.

Boessneck, Haustiere, p.30, also recognised O.beisa (as well as O.algazel and O.leucoryx) from Egyptian representations as did W.E. McLeod, Self bows etc (Oxford 1982): Tut'ankhamun Tomb Series IV, p.47: 'To judge from the pictures, both the white oryx [O.tao] and the beisa were known to the ancient Egyptians... The name of the white oryx (and possibly by extension the beisa) was mȝ-ḥḏ... The animals on the bow-case are neither white nor scimitar-horned; it is hard to escape the conclusion that they represent the beisa'.
L.Keimer, ZÄS 72 (1967) 121-128: Bermerkungen zu ägyptischen Bogen aus Antilopenhörnern, also identified this oryx from drawings. A

horn of O.beisa (Cairo 42914), probably from the MK, was supposedly found by A. bey Kamel in 1910, but this was the only horn of this type known to Keimer. He suggested that the horn bows he studied were made from the slightly curved horns of O.leucoryx.

25. Haltenorth & Diller, loc.cit.

26. Flower, Mammals of Egypt, p.440.

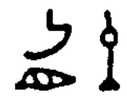
27. While curved horns are the more common, straight horns may be seen on oryxes in certain representations eg Beni Hasan II, 28; Klebs, Reliefs NR, fig.56, p.76; Stevenson Smith, Art & Architecture, pl.100(B); Beni Hasan III, 1 (frontispiece).

28. Beni Hasan III, 1 (frontispiece): brown on face, neck, chest, underside & back.
Beni Hasan I, 27: brown on face, neck, chest.
Davies, Paintings I, pl.8 (text p.21).
Junker, Giza VI, pl.2 + fig.16.
Junker, Giza IV, pl.12.
Medum 14: brown on neck, chest, upper legs, black on face.
Medum 27: brown on lower flank.
Junker, Giza VI, p.128, cf fig.40, p.127 & pl.11.

Cf (b/w) Meir IV, 9 (shading on neck, chest & upper foreleg); Vandier, Manuel V, pl.2 & pl.4; Wreszinski, Atlas I, pl.340.

29. Macdonald, op.cit., p.571: coat 'pale with neck and chest ruddy brown and brownish markings on the face'. Compare on O.leucoryx: coat white with black markings on the face, legs dark chocolate brown to black, tawny line across flanks, and O.gazella: 'fawn with white underparts, black and white markings on the head; black line down throat and across flanks; black tail'.

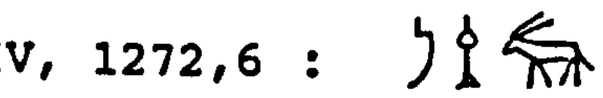
30. On other animal names with four radicals see Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1963) p.175-176.
Beni Hasan I, 30 :
LD III, 200:
Abyd Mar I, 156:
Kairo 1565:
Mereruka A 13:

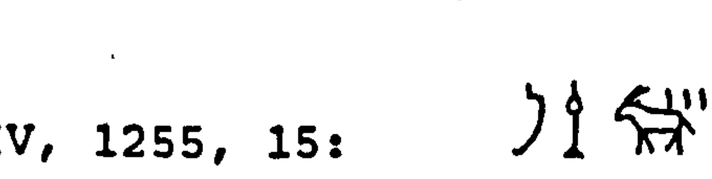
G.Daressy, ASAE 16 (1916) 193-212: La nécropole des grands prêtres d'Héliopolis sous l'Ancien Empire I, p.206: (butchered animals) 

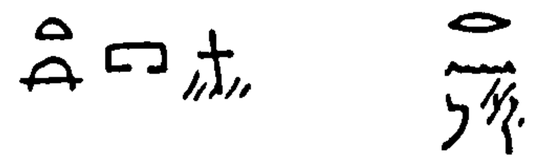
Habachi, Tavole II, p.78, 49 (Frag.C.) (Offering List):

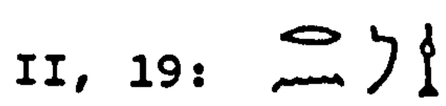
Junker, Giza IX, 189, (fig.86, p.186):

Med Habu III, 152-160 (4 times, various festivals) :

Urk IV, 1272,6 : 

Urk IV, 1255, 15: 

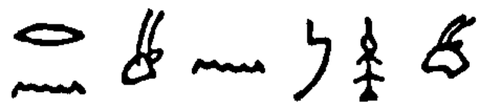
31. Davies et al., Saqqara Tombs I, pl.31: 

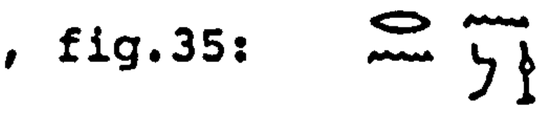
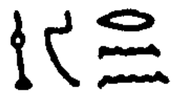
Ptahh II, 19: 

Mar Mast D41 (tr. 'un antilope femelle' p.287):

Deirelb 37:

Beni Hasan I, 30:

Pyr 806:  var. :

Ny-hetep-ptah, fig.35:  36: 

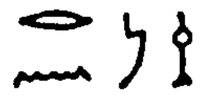
Nianchchnum pl. 44 : 

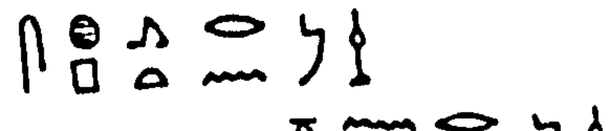
fig.36: (Cf pl.45, 82, 84, 46, 47, 48 a & b, 101 (14.2); 117 (22.1) n.652, fig.18; 119 (23.1) fig.19 ; 161 (35.2) pl.82).

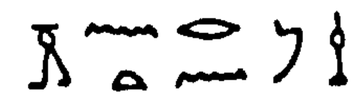
Martin, Hetepka, pl.22 (19):

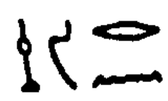
Junker, Giza IV, p.96:

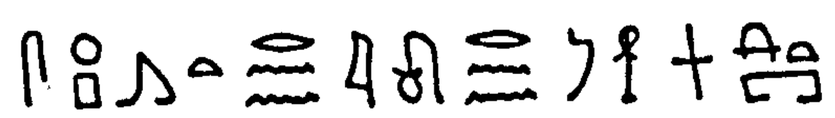
Junker commented: 'Die Antilope hat nur kurze Stümpfe als Hörner, wird also wohl ein ganz junges Tier sein'.

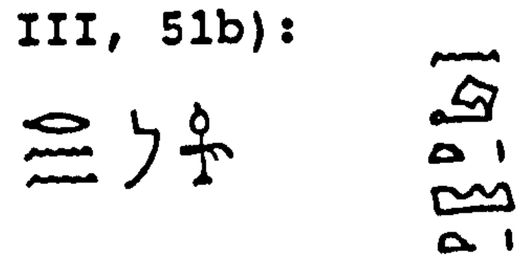
For an example of this animal when young, unnamed, being carried by man following a grown m3ḥd, see Meir II, pl.11.

Junker, Giza, IV, p.222 (fig.88, p.221): 

XI, p.206 (fig.79, p.205): 

VI, p.65 (fig.16, opp.p.64): 

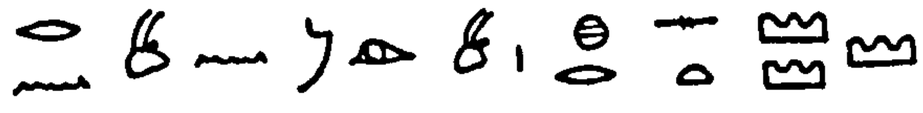
Mereruka pl.100B: 

Caminos, Temples of Buhen, II, pl.40 (LD III, 51b): 

32. Meir III, 5:

CAA Pelizaeus III, 110:

See also the next note.

33. Pyr 806: 

LD II, 102:

Junker, Giza VIII, p.86 (fig.36, p.85): 

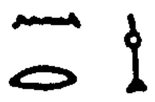
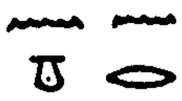
34. Junker, Giza I, p.147 (fig.23, p.146) (CAA Pelizaeus III, 72):

35. Sahure II, pl.55-6:

LD II, 19:

22a:

23:

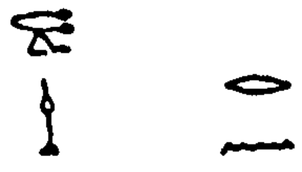
24:  in front of 

25:

Mar Mast C16:

Junker, Giza X, p.131 (fig.45, opp. p.128):

Junker, Giza VII, p.75 (fig.31, p.72):

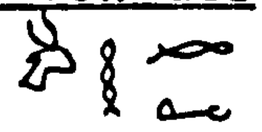
I, p.252 (fig.63): 

III, p.183 (fig.27, opp. p.166):

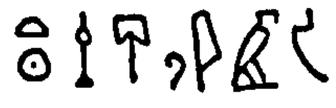
II, p.169:

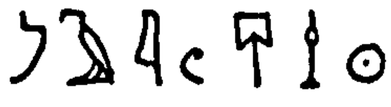
III, p.99:

James, BM Texts Pt.1, pl.30, No.718:

36. I. Gamer-Wallert, Ägyptische und Ägyptisierende Funde von der Iberischen Halbinsel (Wiesbaden 1978) p.81, fig.21: 
in addition to notes cited by Wb.

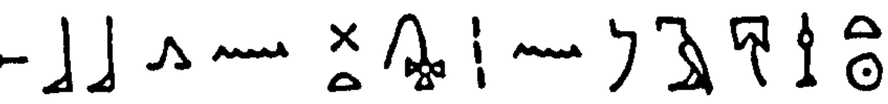
37. Gardiner, Sign List F27-28.

eg Koller 3,6: 

Harr 28,4: 

P.Ch.B. IV, vso 10,11:

Kairo 20512: (name of dog bḥkȝỉ explained thus)

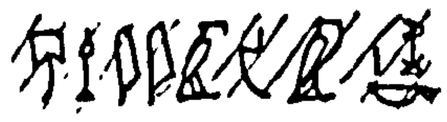
Mutrit Berl 16,3: 

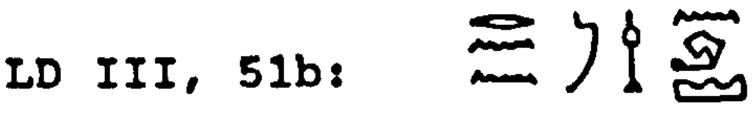
Harr 20a, 12:

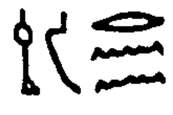
Harr 20a, 13:  54

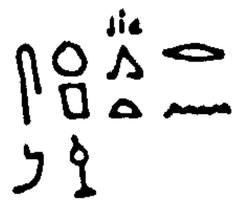
Harr 35b, 15:  230

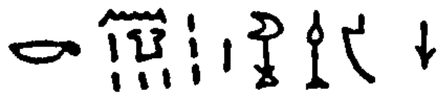
38. In Lortet & Gaillard, op.cit., followed by Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1963) p.180: 'das weiße Wüstentier'. Similarly Sahure II (Text) p.123 : ms-ḥḏ 'weißer Löwe'.

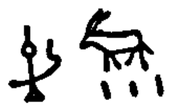
39. P.Ch.B. IX, rto 1, 8 : 

LD III, 51b: 

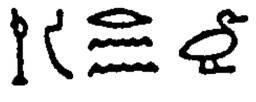
Sheikh Said pl.20: 

Junker, Giza VII, p.221, fig.88: 

Meir II, pl.11: 

KRI I, 194: 

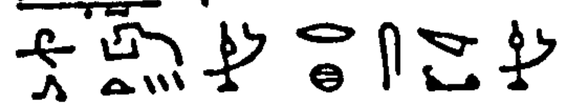
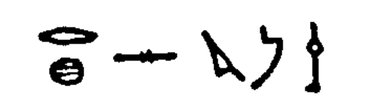
Beni Hasan I, 38:

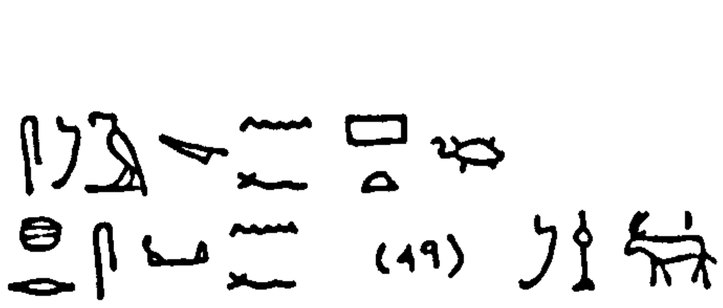
40. Beni Hasan I, 30: 

Mereruka A13:

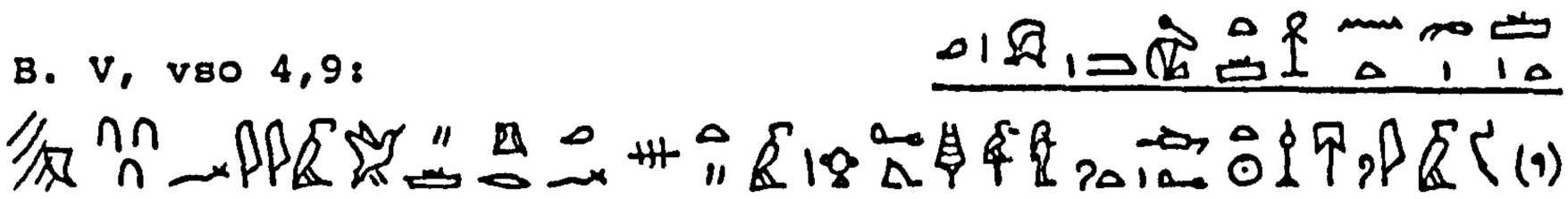
LD II, 102: (text above n.33)

41. See M.Hammad & H.F.Werkmeister, ZÄS 80 (1955) 104-8: Haus und Garten im alten Ägypten, for orxyes kept in Amarna gardens.

42. Mutrit Berl 16,3: shb n sdt n mɜhdt (see above for the text)
Abyd Mar I, 486 (KRI, 193): 
Luxor MMAF 15 pl.68, fig.214: 
Note the cuts taken from the mɜhd in KRI I, 93: ỉm, gnn, psdt, ȝsrt. See also P.Derchain, Rites égyptiens I : Le sacrifice de l'oryx (Bruxelles 1962) and Kees, Tieropfer, p.82f.

43. Shorter, Prt-m-hrw, p.75:

(49)
tr. p.63-64: 'The son of Nut has his weapons; he has slain the tortoise, he has driven back the criminal serpent'.
On the oryx as an evil beast see P.Germond, SEG 13 (1989) 51-55: L'oryx, un mal-aimé du bestiaire égyptien.

44. P.Ch. B. V, vso 4,9:



tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.50-51: 'A charm for exorcizing headache' which ends: 'To be recited <over> an image of Rē', Atum, Shu, Mehyt, Geb, Nut, Anubis, Horus, Seth, Isis, Nephthys, and an oryx on whose back stands a figure carrying his lance' with n.1: 'Perhaps the words 'of Horus' have been omitted, since vignettes depicting Horus as a falcon on the back of an oryx are found, though without the lance, on both sides of the Metternich stela'.

45. CD 605a: 'hartebeest (bubalis buselaphus)'; Černý, CED, p.259: tr. as Crum; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.336: 'Antilope'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.275a: 'antilope'.

46. Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1963), p.175, noted this from P.Montet Kêmi 6 (1936) 81-129: Les tombeaux dits de Kasr-el-Sayad, p.107:

47. Eg the hunting scene in Sahure II, pl.17.

48. Alcelaphus buselaphus Pallas has been divided into seven subspecies: A.b.major, A.b.tora, A.b.lelwel (Lelwel), A.b.swayani, A.b.lichtensteini, A.b.cokei (Coke's Hartebeest) and A.b.caama; see Kingdon, op.cit., III D, esp. p.407 with distribution map. A.b.tora is the most northerly, appearing in Sudan, with A.b.lelwel and A.b.swayani to the south and south-west and the south east respectively. A.b.tora is, therefore, the most likely to have appeared in ancient Egypt, though another possible subspecies is A.b.buselaphus, now extinct. Dorst and Dandelot, Mammals of Africa, p.220, described it as having been 'from north-west Africa'.

49. L.Keimer, ASAE 42 (1943) 257-70: L'identification de l'hiéroglyphe ỉw.

50. Vandier, Manuel V, p.6 (b): 'Antilope chesa qu'on appelle également djebenou' after Schäfer in Wreszinski, Atlas III, p.70, n.1, who identified the dbnw as a 'Kuhantilope' (hartebeest), 'Bubalis buselaphus' (sic).

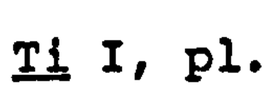
51. Meeks, AL 78.4911: 'une espèce de bubale'.

52. Mereruka A, 13 (pl.153; Wreszinski, Atlas III, pl.37):

53. C. Gaillard, Revue d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie 11-12 (1912) 1-20: Les tâtonnements des égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire à la recherche des animaux à domestiquer, p.12.

54. Flower, Mammals, p.441, noted this addax among the animals of Egypt, though it was already extinct there when he was writing, the last specimen having been shot in 1910. This animal was described by Haltenorth & Diller, Mammals of Africa, p.68 as: 'Reindeer size and build...Adult colour lightens with increasing age, often with individual variations. Winter coat dirty grey to greyish-brown; summer colour whitish grey-brown.' The distribution of the addax is very restricted today. They are found only in the south Sahara, north of the range of the Scimitar Oryx, though 150 years ago they occupied the whole of the Saharan and Libyan deserts, reaching Egypt and the Sudan (ibid, p.68; distribution map p.70).

55. Gaillard, op.cit., p.10.

56. Epron & Wild, Ti I, pl.24: 

57. Walker, Mammals of the World, p.1444. See too in Gaillard, op.cit., p.12: 'il semble bien...que ce soit la coloration différente du pelage qui a frappé les anciens Égyptiens et les a conduits à distinguer, par un nom spécial, les animaux à robe grise des animaux à poil fauve ou jaunâtre'.

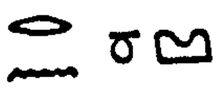
58. Medum, pl.27: and 28: . These animals are clearly addaxes; note in particular the white rump and white mark on the head depicted here, as in Haltenorth & Diller, Mammals of Africa, pl.11 (p.332). The nwdw in Medum pl.14 is uncoloured.

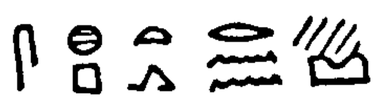
59. Eg Deir el Gebr I,11 : hnn & hnnt over goats;
Vandier, Manuel V, p.17, fig.8 (= Junker, Giza VII, p.75, fig.31, p.73): rn nwdw over an animal with ibex-like horns;
LD II, 102: wšȝ rn nwdw ỉmy mdȝt over an oryx;
Davies et.al, Saqqara Tombs I, pl.6: rn mȝ[ḥd] over an antelope with long, gazelle-like horns.

60. Davies et al., Saqqara Tombs I, pl.6 (only part of the back of the animal remains):

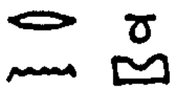
61. Kairo 1698:

Kairo 1552:

Petrie Deshasheh pl.11: 

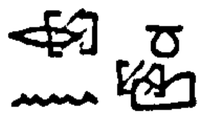
Siut I, 76: 

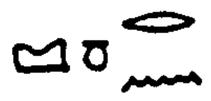
Mar Mast D60:

Mar Mast D41: 

Mereruka C1 (unpublished)

Ti, pl.128:

Nianchchnum p.117 (221.1) n.653, fig.19: 

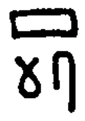
Nianchchnum p.161 (35.3) pl.82 : 

Junker, Giza IX, p.189 (fig.86, p.187):

Junker, Giza XI, p.203 (fig.79, p.204):


62. Edel, Inschriften Nuiserre (1961), pl.12. Female addax giving birth, marked:

63. Ti, pl.128:

Ptahh II, 19: 

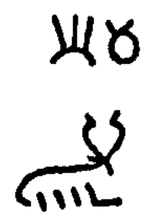
Mar Mast D15:

Kairo 1543:

Ny-hetep-Ptah, fig.36:

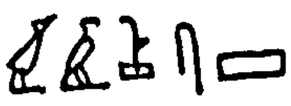
P. Montet, Kêmi 6 (1936) 81-129: Les tombeaux dits de Kasr-el-Sayad, p.107, register 2:

Beni Hasan I, 38:



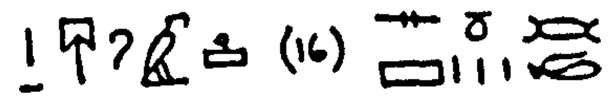
Deir el Gebr I, 11:

Beni Hasan II, 4:



64. AEO I, pl.2, l.166:

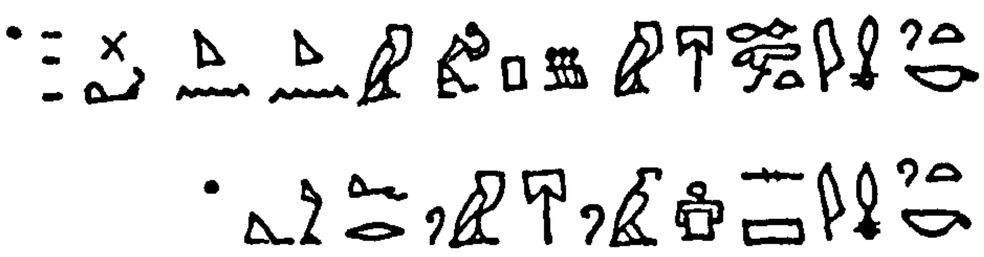
65. Eb 31,15-16:



Wb.Drog. V, p.259; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.142: 'Fett (ʿḏ) der Kuhantilope'.

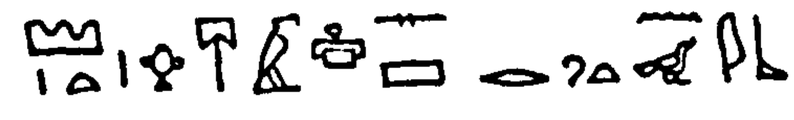
66. P.Turin A, vso 1, 8: (see ḫḥs above).

67. An IV, 2,6:



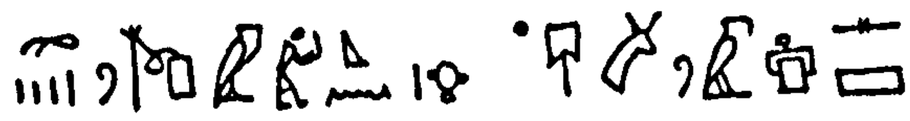
Caminos, LEM, p.131, tr.: 'Your ear is deaf (?) (2,6). You are like an ass in taking castigation. You are like a bubalis in fleeing'.

Lansing 3, 8:



ibid, p.382 : 'You are worse than a bubalis on the desert that lives (3,9) on running; it spends no mid-day ploughing and has never yet trodden the threshing platform at all.' (Comments p.383).

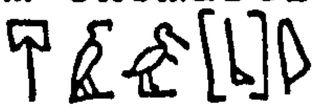
cf An I, 1,1 - 3,5:



68. Dram Texte pl.11 & 22.

69. L. Keimer, ASAE 48 (1948) 43-45: Le signe . Elsewhere (ASAE 42 - full reference above) he noted a few examples (see p.268-270) of the raised tail not usually found in representations and hieroglyphs of these antelopes.

70. Note the inclusion of the ibex in multiple determinatives of ʿwt ḫ3st along with the gazelle and oryx (see Ch.1: Classification).

Cf AEO I , pl.2, 1.167 (Ramesseum Onomasticon) ỉb3w is listed between ỉš|s3w and t3, m[m]ỉ: 

71. On the possibility of C.i. siberica depicted among the treasures of Tutʿankhamūn see D.J.Osborn, JEA 73 (1987) 243-244: Corrections in the identifications of the alabaster ibexes in Tutankhamun's treasures. See for comparison his previous comments with C.A.Reed in AJA 82 (1978) 273-283: Taxonomic Transgressions in Tutankhamun's Treasures, and M.Eaton Krauss & E.Graefe, The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamun (Oxford 1985) esp. p.19-20.

On C.i.nubiana in Egypt see Haltenorth & Diller, Mammals of Africa, p.104 (map p.105); Hoogstraal, Mammals of Egypt III, p.236-237.

Hoogstraal, Mammals of Egypt III, p.237, recorded the subspecies A.l.ornatus I. Geoffroy, Egyptian Barbary Sheep, from Egypt. This animal is often found in Egyptological literature as Ammotragus lervia Pallas (earlier A.tragelaphus or Ovis tragelaphus). However, Ammotragus has recently been placed within the genus Capra; see G.B. Corbet, The Mammals of the Palaearctic Region : a taxonomic review (London & Ithaca 1978) p.217, who recorded the Barbary Sheep as Capra lervia (Pallas), with C.l.ornata (Audouin) in Egypt.

72. A.Ember, ZÄS 50 (1912) 86-90: Notes on the relation of Egyptian and Semitic, compared Assyrian na(i)alu 'ibex'; this term is translated 'roe deer' in the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary, p.225-6.

73. The name is presumably connected with ỉb3 'dance' (Wb I, 62, 8-13: tanzen), perhaps a description of the animal's gait in its generally rocky habitat. Jequier, Matériaux, p.22, noted of ỉb3w: 'Mot signifiant "le sauteur".'

ʾIb3w is often translated by French 'mouflon'. In English 'mouflon' designates the European wild sheep (Ovis musimon), originally confined to Corsica and Sardinia. Another sheep, sometimes called the Asiatic Mouflon , (O.orientalis) is found from Cyprus, Asia Minor, Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Northern India and Southern USSR. Ovis tragelaphus is no longer a recognised species. See Geist, Mountain Monarchs, p.8.

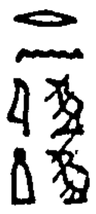
74. Beni Hasan II, 4:

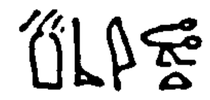
II, 13:

Beni Hasan II, 4:

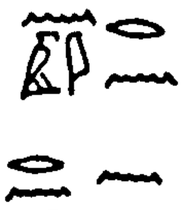
II, 30:

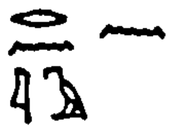
Fischer, Orientation of Hieroglyphs, p.4, fig.1 (= Hayes, Scepter I, p.99):

75. Mar Mast D41 (p.288):  sic

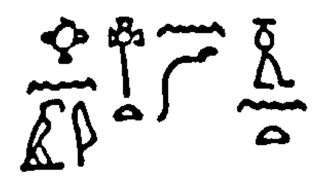
Ti, pl.128 (4th register): 

Nianchchnum 119 (23.1) + n.662, fig.19 :

Junker, Giza VI, fig.16, opp. p.64: 

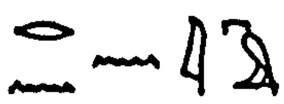
Davies et al., Saqqara Tombs I, pl.31: reg.2: 

reg.3:

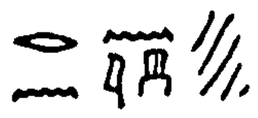
Junker, Giza III, p.184 (fig.27, opp. p.166): 

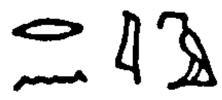
Junker, Giza XI, p.203 (fig. 78, p.204):

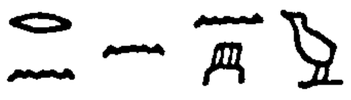
Nianchchnum, pl.67a:

Berlin 1108: 

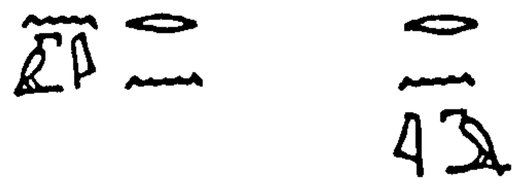
Ptahh II, 19:

Petrie Deshasheh pl.23: 

Mereruka A 12: 

Beni Hasan I, 17: 

Nianchchnum p.117 (22.1) fig.18:



p.140 no.13, pl.67:

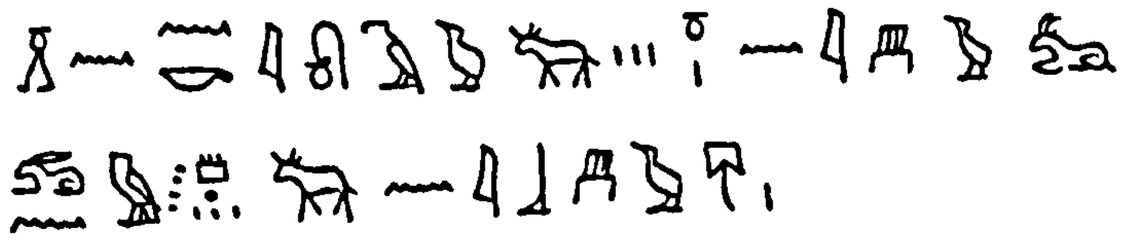
Martin, Hetepka, pl.11 (8):

pl.23 (23):

Koller 3, 6:

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.438: (see above, n.15)

Text relig 22:



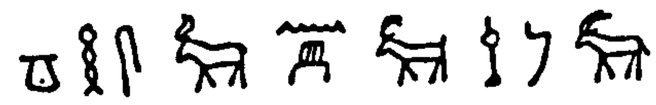
var.

Beni Hasan I, 38:

Urk IV, 741:

Abyd Mar I, 53:

Luxor Opetfest No.18:

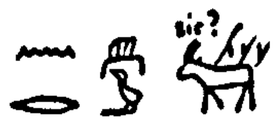


Kairo 1565 (= Mar Mast p.412-415):

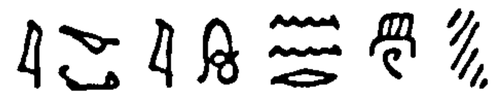
Harr I, 20a, 14:

Habachi, Tavole, p.78:

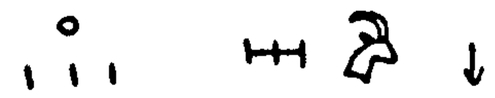
KRI I, 194:



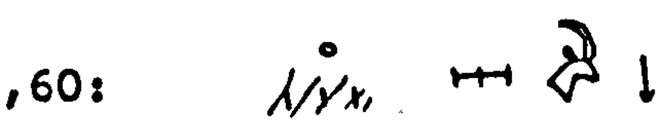
KRI I, 195:



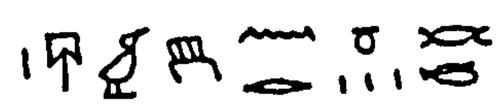
76. AL 77.5323.

77. P.Ram V, L,31: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.58 (No.19); tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.33: 'Fett (ḏ) des Steinbocks'. See too Wb. Drog. VI, p.305 with n.1.

cf P.Ram V, L,60: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.49-50 (No.15); tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.28: 'Fett (ḏ) des Steinbocks'.

Eb 52,12: 

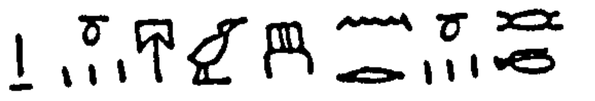
Wb. Drog. V, p.69; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.40: 'Steinbock'.

Eb 52,14:

Wb. Drog. V, p.70; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.40: 'Steinbock'.

Eb 68,10:

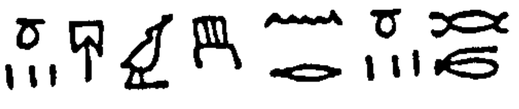
Wb. Drog. V, p.378; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.217: 'Steinbock'.

Eb 68,19: 

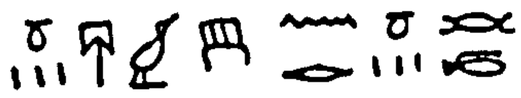
Wb. Drog. V, p.377; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.217: 'Steinbock'.

Eb 70,15:

Wb. Drog. V, p.357; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.205: 'Steinbock'.

Eb 70,22: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.356; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.204: 'Steinbock'.

Eb 79,20: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.139; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.81: 'Steinbock'.

P.Ram V, No.15:

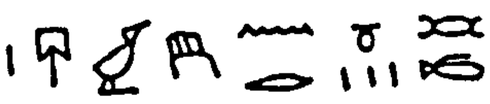
Wb. Drog. V, p.51; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.29: 'Steinbock'.

Eb 82,18-19 (Hearst 8, 16):

Wb. Drog. V, p.57; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.32: 'Steinbock'.

Hearst 8,14:

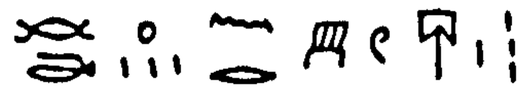
Wb. Drog. V, p.57-8; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.32: 'Steinbock'.

Hearst 12,13: 

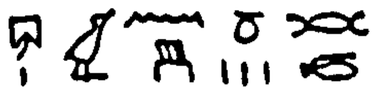
Wb. Drog. V, p.121; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.71: 'Steinbock'.

Hearst 15,5:

Wb. Drog. V, p.352; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.202: 'Steinbock'.

Smith 16,11: 

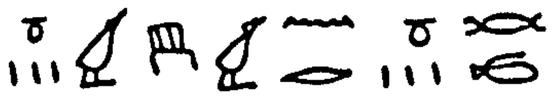
Wb. Drog. V, p.345; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.198: 'Steinbock'.

Smith 14,6: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.340; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.195: 'Steinbock'.

P.med Berl 3038, 7,9:

Wb. Drog. V, p.427; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.249: 'Steinbock'.

P.med Berl 8,12: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.451.; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.263: 'Steinbock'.

Eb 66,11:

Wb. Drog. V, p.514; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.298: 'Fett (mrḥ.t) des Steinbocks'.

P.med Berl 3038, 6, 8:

Wb. Drog. V, p.447; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.261: 'Kot vom Steinbock'.

78. See eg in v.d.Horst, Chaeremon, p25. For a full study of this subject see eg L. Keimer, ASAE Suppl. Cahier 5 (Le Caire 1947): Interprétation de quelques passages de Horapollon; P.E. Newberry, JEA 34 (1948) 119: The hieroglyphs  and .

79. L. Keimer, Annales de la Faculté des Lettres 11 (1953): Les limites de l'observation naturaliste dans quelques représentations animales de l'Égypte antique.

80. L.Keimer, BIE 36 (1955) 455-476: Interprétation de plusieurs passages contenus dans les 'histories' d'Hérodote, p.457-458: 'j'ai depuis longtemps l'impression que les représentations des scènes de chasse et de paysages désertiques, peuplés d'animaux réunissent beaucoup d'espèces de gibier que le roi et les artistes qui l'accompagnent avaient vues, que le pharaon avait abbatues aussi bien en Égypte qu'à l'étranger.... De cette manière on comprendrait également pourquoi les espèces dont chacune avait son aire de distribution particulière paraissent dans les anciennes scènes de chasse l'une à côté de l'autre: l'antilope addax, animal des plaines désertiques, à côté du bouquetin, habitant généralement les

montagnes, etc.'.

81. See Schaller, Mountain Monarchs, fig.15, p.53 (distribution map of Capra and Ammotragus species in Europe, Africa and the Near East).

82. Likewise Vandier, Manuel V, p.47: 'la femelle d'un ibex'. Jéquier, Matériaux, p.112, noted on this word: 'Nom d'un quadrupède à la robe brune', 'D'après la forme du corps et surtout des cornes, l'amait est très probablement une sorte d'ibex; il ressemble également beaucoup à l'abaou, qui paraît dans les mêmes scènes...et qui semble devoir être assimilé à un mouflon.'

v.Bissing, ZÄS 53 (1917) 148: Miszellen: Die Verwendung von Musterbüchern im Alten Reich, read sm3t, commenting 'ebenso daß damit nicht der Steinbock, sondern die Mendesantilope bezeichnet wird'; this identification is, however, incorrect. The sm3t is clearly a cow in the reference quoted by him (sun-temple of Niuserrē'). This reading was corrected by Sethe, ZÄS 54 (1918) 136-138: [Miscellen], after comparison with the writings in Ti and at Beni Hasan.

83. Ptahh II, 19:

Beni Hasan II, 4:

84. Ti, pl.128:

85. Rather than Sethe's tr. (op.cit., p.136) : 'Das Herbeibringen eines weiblichen Tieres, einer imst'.

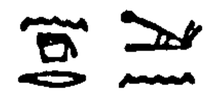
86. See esp. the discussion in Ch.4: Cattle.

87. Petrie, Dendereh (Extra plates) pl.37A: 

88. Sethe, op.cit.; cf Wb's comment: 'auch allgemein "Weibchen" anderer Wildarten'.

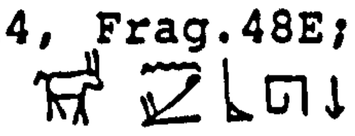
89. This species is sometimes included within that of the domestic goat C.hircus L. Note also the representations of C.aegagrus described by D.J.Osborn, JEA 73 (1987) 243 - 244: Corrections in the identification of the Alabaster Ibexes in Tutankhamun's Treasures.

90. See Schaller, op.cit., p.53 (distribution map; the wild goat is shown to the N & E of Saudi Arabia), p.103 (description) and pl.33.

91. Beni Hasan II, 4 (it is being attacked by a dog): 

92. Loret, Faune pharaonique.

93. For these terms see Ch.4: Cattle and Ch.11: Pigs.

94. Posener-Kriéger & de Cenival, HPBM 5th ser, p.48 (P. Berlin P.15725A, vso); also published in ArchAbousir I p.314, Frag.48E; p.251, E10 'antilope femelle'. The text reads: 

tr. Posener-Kriéger, ArchAbousir I, p.314:

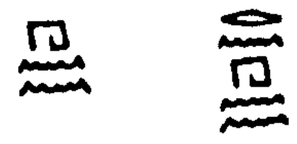
' - 1 boeuf
- 1 boeuf pḏtj (E1)
- 1 antilope femelle (E10)'

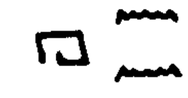
95. The Tiang is the subspecies D.l.tiang, found today in Sudan and the adjoining border region of Ethiopia (according to Haltenorth & Diller, Mammals of Africa, p.81-82). The Western Korrigum, D.l.korrigum, is found from Senegambia to N.Nigeria, Lake Chad and N.W.Darfur. Haltenorth & Diller described the tiang as 'purplish red-brown' (p.81) - compare the colour of hbn, 'ebony' (Wb II, 487, 7-12: das Ebenholz) - and the korrigum as 'glowing reddish brown'.

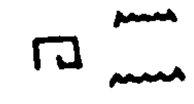
96. Listed in L.Keimer, Mélanges Maspero I, 273-308: Sur deux fragments de cornes de daim trouvés à Deir-el-Médineh, esp. p.291. See also Joleaud, Ruminants cervicornes; K.W.Butzer, LÄ II, 1220: Hirsch; and P.F.Houlihan, JEA 73 (1987) 238-243: Some remarks on deer (Cervidae) in Ancient Egypt.

Note in addition to those listed by Keimer the 'stag' mentioned by S.Hassan, ZÄS 80 (1955) 136-139: The Causeway of Wnìs at Saqqara, but not published as plate/figure. Note that the hnn, and corresponding feminine hnnt, in Deir el Gebr I, 11, are written in error over ibexes.

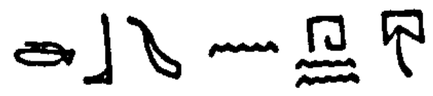
97. L. Keimer, op.cit., esp. p.295.

98. Wreszinski, Atlas III, pl.51 (Mar Mast D41): 

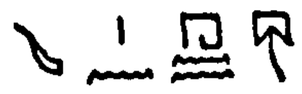
Beni Hasan II, 4: 

Beni Hasan II, 13: 

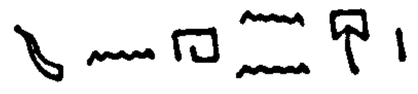
Ti, pl.128:

99. Eb 48, 16: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.60; tr. Wb. Drog, IV$^1$, p.35.

P.med Berl 3038, 6, 9: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.447; tr. Wb. Drog, IV$^1$, p.331.

P.med Berl 3038, 6, 10: 

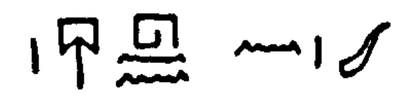
Wb. Drog. V, p.107; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.63.

O.Louvre 3255, 2:

Wb. Drog. V, p.107; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.63.

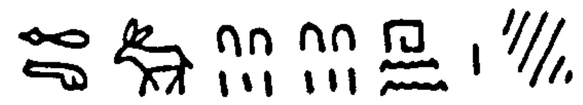
W. Spiegelberg, Rec. Trav. 15 (1893) 67-68: Varia, III: Ein medizinischer Text auf einem hieratischen Ostracon, p.67:

The deer's antler was also used in Coptic medicine; see W.C. Till, Die Arzneikunde der Kopten (Berlin 1951) p.66.

P.med Berl 3038, 11, 11-12: 

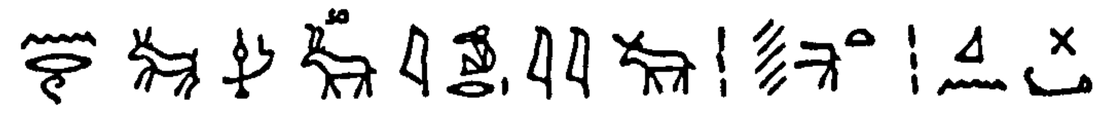
Wb. Drog. V, p.281; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, 159:

'Heilmittel für das Beseitigen von Schleimstoffen, wenn mann an ihnen leidet im Sommer, im Winter, in allen Körperteilen. Terebinthenharz (sntr); Horn des Damhirsches; werde zerschlagen in süßem Bier; ʿmʿ-Teil <des Getreides>; [ ] seine beiden Seiten damit'.

100. Urk IV, 718 (= LD III 31a, 1.6): 

Sethe commented on the determinative of hnn: 'fast wie ein Giraffenkopf'.

101. M.E. Chabân, ASAE 8 (1907) 211-223: Fouilles à Achmounéin, p.216:



cf Assyrian ajalu, 'stag, deer', Chicago Assyrian Dictionary, p.225-6. Coptic ϵlογλ etc, CD 77a: 'hart, hind'; Černý, CED, p.46; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.62b: 'cerf', 'biche'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.49.

102. Eg W.R.Dawson, The Linnaean Society's Journal - Zoology 39, No.264 (1934) 137-145: Deer in ancient Egypt, esp. p.140 & 142.

103. Berscheh I, 7; Puimre I, pl.7 & Petosiris pl.46, 48 & 49.

104. Bénédite, Carnarvon Ivory, also noted: 'no places named after deer exist in the geography of ancient Egypt, a proof that for a long time past there had been no region which could be regarded as the habitat of the Cervidae'.

105. Berscheh I, p.14: 'In the sixth row are the heads of four stags or fallow deer'.

106. G.K. Whitehead, Deer of the World (London 1972) p.91: 'Where this point [tray tine] emerges from the main beam the antlers show marked palmation ... Palmation does occur at the top of the antlers but, compared to that on many D.d.dama heads, it is comparatively light'. See too D. Chapman and N. Chapman, Fallow Deer, Their History, Distribution and Biology (Lavenham, Suffolk 1975) p.91: 'The Persian fallow is larger and typically its antlers have palms nearer the base whereas they are at the top in the European fallow;...some Persian antlers are like some, though perhaps not typical, European antlers'. Grzimek, Animal Life Encyclopaedia XIII, p.210 (pl.2) No.6, shows the antlers, palmated from base to top, very well. Compare also p.215 (pl.7) and p.177, C.e.corsicanus, Mediterranean Red Deer.

107. Dama has recently been included once again within the genus Cervus; see Honacki et al., Mammal Species of the World, p.319-320.

108. This was the suggestion of v.Bissing, Kagemni, p.35 (see here too for identifications made by other authors).

109. Joleaud, Ruminants cervicornes, p.33-34 & 43.

110. See, eg, Burton, Systematic Dictionary, p.224; Clutton-Brock et al., Red Deer, p.11 (fig.2.1).

111. Joleaud, Ruminants cervicornes. Bones of this deer have been found in eastern Sahara (p.50) whence the species retreated during a period of desiccation (p.53); largely, however, their distribution was as today (p.49).

112. He called it Cervus dama.

113. A.R. Wallace, The Geographical Distribution of Animals II (London 1976) p.219: 'Dama..., the fallow deer, is a native of the shores of the Mediterranean, from Spain and Barbary to Syria'.

114. M. Hilzheimer, Zeitschrift für Säugetierkunde 1 (1926) 140-169: Saugetierkunde u. Archäologie. This species was accepted by Keimer (Mélanges Maspero I, p.301) and still appears in K.W.Butzer, LÄ II, 1220: Hirsch.

115. Joleaud, op.cit., p.13 & 20.

116. Chapman & Chapman, op.cit., p.221: 'Little importance can be attached to Dama schaeferi which was almost certainly an aberrant European fallow buck, not a Persian fallow or a relic species from the past'.

117. Whitehead, op.cit., p.155. This species is often found in Egyptological literature as D.mesopotamica Brooke.

118. Walker, Mammals, p.1205.

119. Distribution map in Whitehead, op.cit., p.90 (Map 16).

120. Times Atlas, pl.4.

121. Macdonald, Encyclopaedia of Mammals II, p.528: 'Europe, Asia Minor, Iran... Woodland and woodland edge, scrub'. Note also P.F. Houlihan, JEA 73 (1987) 238-243: Some remarks on deer (Cervidae) in ancient Egypt, esp. p.243, and J.F. Eisenberg, The Mammalian Radiations. An analysis of Trends in Evolution, Adaptation and

behaviour (Chicago & London 1981) p.200: 'The fallow deer (Dama dama) exploits open habitats in the Middle East'.

122. As suggested by A. Nibbi, GM 41 (1980) 61-66: The significance of deer in the ancient Egyptian landscape, esp. p.63. See to the contrary, however, Zeuner, Domesticated Animals, p.431-432: 'The second form of fallow deer is the so-called Persian... it appears to have been adapted to the dry woodlands and steppe scrub of southern Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine' and S.A. Huzzayin, The Place of Egypt in Prehistory (Le Caire 1941) p.99 and 108: 'The Upper Palaeolithic proper was characterised [in Palestine]... by decreasing rainfall... Both desert gazelles and steppe-land deer (Dama mesopotamica) occur in its layers'.

123. Cf Darlington, Zoogeography, p.549: 'Groups of animals often do pass through cycles. They originate, rise to dominance, diversify and spread, decline and retreat, and become extinct... The simplest cycle consists of first the expansion and then the contraction of one group of animals... Individuals tend to disperse at random... but only those individuals that chance to go in favourable directions gain ground; the others are lost. And ground once occupied is usually lost not by deliberate abandonment but by extinction'. On this see also G.M.O. Maloiy ed., Comparative Physiology of Desert Animals (London 1972): Symposium of the Zoological Society of London 31, preface, p.ix: 'It has become apparent also that the desert is not free from invasion by less adequately adapted animals than the truly desert forms. Pressures driving the migrants into the desert are always present and a non-adapted form may often survive many years in severe conditions until locally eliminated'. Note also the opinion of H.G. Andrewartha & L.C. Birch, The Distribution and Abundance of Animals (Chicago 1954) p.333-347, esp. p.335: 'There are two aspects to this phenomenon. One is the final extinction of a population which has been well-established in an area but which has been brought down to low numbers by natural vicissitudes or the deliberate destruction of man. The other is the failure of a small colony of immigrants to become established in a new area which is favourable in all respects except for the sparseness of the colonizing population'.

124. Chapman & Chapman, op.cit., p.221.

125. Giraffes may be further divided into eight subspecies (from Macdonald, op.cit., p.534:

| | |
|---|---|
| G.c.peralta | West African Giraffe |
| G.c.antiquorum | Kordofan Giraffe |
| G.c.cameleopardalis | Nubian Giraffe |
| G.c.reticulata | Reticulated Giraffe |
| G.c.tippelskirchi | Masai Giraffe |
| G.c.rothschildi | Rothschild Giraffe |
| G.c.thornicrofti | Thornicroft Giraffe |
| G.c.angolensis | Angolan Giraffe |
| G.c.giraffa | South African Giraffe |

Giraffes are now confined to the woodlands and wooded grasslands of Africa south of the Sahara. Judging from the present distribution of giraffes it seems most likely that the ancient Egyptians came into contact with the Kordofan Giraffe, the Nubian Giraffe and the Reticulated Giraffe (of these, the first has the most northerly distribution, the last the most southerly). The markings of giraffes differ between the species (see Kingdon, East African Mammals III B, plate opposite p.320, and Haltenorth & Diller, Mammals of Africa, pl.3) and it is the Masai giraffe whose markings most closely resemble those shown in Egyptian paintings. Stork, Nashorn , p.228, considered G.c.cameleopardalis (Nubian Giraffe) as the species most likely to have been met in Punt.

For giraffes in ancient Egypt see also E.Brunner-Traut, LÄ II, 600-601: Giraffe.

126. Eg Weigall, Rock drawings of Nubia, pl.67, 8 and R.Schlichting, Untersuchungen zu den Giraffen in den Felsbilddarstellungen Afrikas und zu ihrer Darstellung in Ägypten (Göttingen 1982).

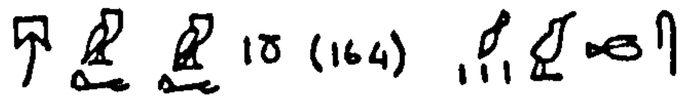
127. A.P. Kozloff, Ancient Art: The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art 65 (1978) 181, noted the acquisition in 1977 of a small ivory giraffe head dated to the reign of Amenophis III; W.Stevenson Smith, JARCE 1 (1962) 59-60: The land of Punt (plate) (head only remains); N.de G.Davies, The Tomb of Rekh-mi-rē' at Thebes I (New York 1943) pl.2; L.Keimer, ASAE 35 (1935) 161-181: Sur deux vases prédynastiques de Khozâm, p.167 (Cairo Jd'E 58677) and pl.IIa, b; N.de G. Davies & A.H Gardiner, The Tomb of Huy (London 1926) pl.27 (tribute of Kush) & pl.26 (heraldic design) - the giraffes of pl.27 are identified as belonging to the 'Nubian

variety' (p.25); G. Daressy, ASAE 7 (1907) 61-63: Deux figurations de girafe; M.Bechaus-Gerst, GM 81 (1984) 67: Ist es denn eine Giraffe?

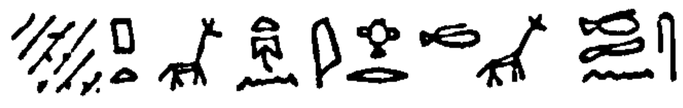
128. Urk IV, 948:

See too N. de G.Davies, JEA 28 (1942) 50-2: Nubians in The Tomb of Amunedjeh.

129. Another possible example occurs at Edfu (Mythe d'Horus pl.2).

130. Schiffbr 164: 

131. Gardiner, AEO I, pl.2A, l.169:

132. Nauri 91 (KRI I, 56, 14-15): 

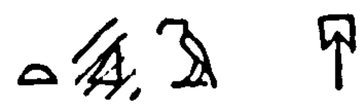
133. CT VI, 180j:

tr. FECT II, p.177: 'Him I devoured piecemeal(?)'.

134. C.Cannuyer, GM 112 (1989) 7-10: Du nom de la girafe en ancien égyptien et de la valeur phonétique du signe , noted sr as an animal name - 'l'annonciatrice' - from Ptolemaic texts only.

135. Edel & Wenig, Jahreszeitenreliefs, pl.13 (No.846); Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1963) p.173:

136. Edel & Wenig, op.cit., pl.17, no.847:

137. AEO I, pl.2A, l.168: 

He commented: 'Too low for ; seems inevitable'.

138. Edfu I, 555:

I, 565: 

Edfu Piehl Inscr II, 111: 

II, 119: 

Alliott, Culte d'Horus, p.309: 

139. See Möller, Paläographie II, no.319 and 393.

140. L.Keimer, BIE 25 (1945) 101-128: La représentation d'une antilope chevaline sur un bas-relief de Saqqara.

141. G.Reisner, HAS 6 (1923): Excavations at Kerma, pl.55(1) no.3.

142. L.Störk, LÄ I, 319-323: Antilope.

## Chapter 3 : Notes

1. Beni Hasan II, pl.4:

2. J.Vandier d'Abbadie, BIFAO 36 (1936-7) 117-123: À propos d'une chauve-souris sur un ostracon du Musée du Caire, idem, Ostraca figurés I, pl.32, No.2232 (Cairo inv. 3010).

3. Vandier d'Abbadie, op.cit.

4. Bought by Schott at Luxor (Vandier d'Abbadie, op.cit., p.120, fig.3 and plate to article No.2); if really 'terre émaillée' and not glazed frit (faience) this is probably a fake.

5. In the MacGregor Collection (plate to article, No.3). Cf the Louvre examples published by Boreaux, Guide-catalogue sommaire II, p.395. Similar figures from the Hilton Price collection originally identified as bats were later identified by E.Lefébure, Sphinx 7 (1903) 25-56: Les dieux du type rat dans le culte égyptien, p.37, as shrews. Cf P.-H.Boussac, La Naturaliste 28 (1907) 211-212: Le chauve-souris dans l'Égypte pharaonique.

6. BM 21901 (see plate to Vandier d'Abbadie, op.cit., No.4). E.A.W. Budge, From fetish to God in ancient Egypt (London 1934) p.86 identified this palette as a bat.

7. G.M. Allen, Bats (New York 1962).

8. He called it 'Egyptian rousette'; the vernacular name used in this thesis is taken from Hoogstraal, Mammals of Egypt I, esp. p.154.

9. Hoogstraal, loc.cit., recorded the subspecies R.a.aegyptiacus E.Geoffroy from Egypt.

10. Hoogstraal, op.cit., p.155, recorded the subspecies T.p.perforatus E.Geoffroy, the Egyptian tomb bat.

11. Kingdon, East African Mammals II A, p.128.

12. W.R. Dawson, Annals & Magazine of Natural History (series 9) 16 (1925) 221-227: Bats as materia medica, p.122.

13. Houlihan and Goodman, Birds, pp.137-139.

14. Davies, Birds and Bats, esp. p.14.

15. Houlihan and Goodman, Birds, p.138.

16. For the illustration of the tail and interfemoral membranes of various bats see J.E. Hill & J.D. Smith, Bats - A Natural History (London 1984) p.17, fig.2.10. Bats with half the tail enclosed within this membrane include the Molossidae (represented in modern Egypt by Tadarida aegyptiaca and T.teniotis) and the 'mouse or rat-tailed' bats of the genus Rhinopoma (R.hardwickei cystops & R.microphyllum microphyllum in Egypt).

    Hill & Smith, noted that: 'Short, free tails are found in the rousettes (Rousettus)', represented in modern Egypt by R.aegyptiacus.

17. See Allen, op.cit., p.127 and 128 (fig.24 and 25).

18. Hoogstraal and Sanborn, Journal of the Egyptian Public Health Association 30 (1955) 103-121: The identification of Egyptian Bats.

19. Hoogstraal, op.cit., p.145-146 & p.151-161 recorded the following:

    Rousettus aegyptiacus aegyptiacus E.Geoffroy, Egyptian Fruit Bat
    Rhinopoma hardwickei cystops Thomas, Egyptian Lesser Rat-tailed/ Mouse-tailed Bat
    R.microphyllum microphyllum (Brunnich), Egyptian Larger Rat-tailed/ Mouse-tailed Bat
    Taphozous perforatus perforatus E.Geoffroy, Egyptian Tomb Bat
    T.nudiventris nudiventris Cretzschmar, Naked-bellied Tomb Bat
    Nycteris thebaica thebaica E.Geoffroy, Egyptian Slit-faced Bat
    Rhinolophus mehelyi Matschie, Mehely's Horseshoe Bat
    R.clivosus clivosus Cretzschmar, Arabian Horseshoe Bat
    R.c.brachygnathus Anderson, Egyptian Horseshoe Bat
    R.hipposideros minimus Heuglin, Mediterranean Lesser Horseshoe Bat
    Asellia tridens tridens (E.Geoffroy), Northeast African Trident Leaf-nosed Bat
    Eptesicus isabellinus innesi (Lataste), Egyptian Isabelline Bat
    Pipistrellus kuhli kuhli Natterer, Kuhl's Pipistrelle
    Pipistrellus ariel Thomas, Ariel Pipistrelle

P.ruppelli ruppelli (Fischer), Ruppell's Pipistrelle

Nycticeius schlieffeni schlieffeni Peters, Schlieffen's Cairo Bat or Twilight Bat

Otonycteris hemprichi hemprichi Peters, Hemprich's Long-eared Bat

Barbastella leucomelas leucomelas (Cretzschmar), Sinai Barbastelle

Plecotus auritus christiei (Gray), North African Long-eared Bat

Tadarida aegyptiaca aegyptiaca (E.Geoffroy), Egyptian Free-tailed Bat

T.teniotis ruppelli (Temminck), Wrinkle-lipped Free-tailed Bat.

Kingdon, op.cit., p.311 (see also distribution map) also recorded

Miniopterus schreibersi Long-fingered Bat

from most of non-Saharan Africa including Egypt, as well as from much of the Oriental and Australian regions.

L.Störk, LÄ II, 263-264: Fledermaus, col.263, left out seven of the above but added:

Plecotus austriacus (included by some authors in P.auritus)

Triaenops persicus.

Flower, Mammals of Egypt, p.376-386, gave in addition:

Rhinolophus acrotis Heuglin, Heuglin's Horseshoe Bat

R.euryale Blasius, Euryale Horseshoe Bat.

20. Hoogstraal and Sanborn, op.cit., p.110: 'The fruit bat, or flying fox, is the largest Egyptian bat and the only one with a claw on the second finger. The tail membrane is greatly reduced and the tail extends beyond it' and p.105: 'Tail short'. (Fig.1, 2 and 4 of the article show R.aegyptiacus from above and below and the skull). The Beni Hasan bats show longer tails than R.aegyptiacus and a claw on the 'thumb' only.

21. Hoogstraal and Sanborn, op.cit., p.111: 'Tail of medium length, projecting through the membrane to upper side'.

22. Hoogstraal and Sanborn, op.cit., p.112: 'Like perforatus, but larger'.

23. Hoogstraal and Sanborn, op.cit., p.107: 'Tail thick & heavy, extending but short distance beyond membrane, muzzle without cutaneous growths'. This bat is depicted in Walker, Mammals of the World, p.381; the tail is like that of the Beni Ḥasan bats.

24. Hoogstraal and Sanborn, op.cit., p.118: 'A large bat with wrinkled lips, broad ears, and tail extending beyond tail membrane'. Cf too p.107.

25. Hoogstraal and Sanborn, op.cit., p.110: 'Tail long, thin and wirelike, extending well beyond the edge of the interfemoral membrane'. These are leaf-nosed bats, but the nose leaf is very small.

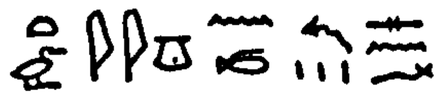
26. Hoogstraal and Sanborn, op.cit., p.111: 'Like cystops, but larger'. An example of this bat was identified by Dr.K. Wassif from Dahshûr in A.Batrawi, ASAE 48 (1948) 585-619: The Pyramid Studies: Anatomical Reports 1948, p.590, (with plates).

Walker, op.cit., p.230, gave a photograph of this and R.hardwickei: 'The tail membrane is extremely short and narrow'.

27. Beni Hasan II, pl.4 & 13. This term was noted by Stern, P.Ebers, Glossary, p.52 (dgyt) which he tr. 'vespertilio'. Cf drgyt (p.53).

28. See the discussion of this bird in Ch.15 : Waterbirds.

29. Gardiner, Sign List A4.

30. Eb 63, 13: 

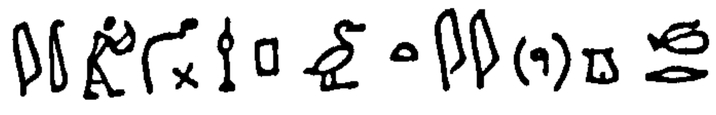
Wb. Drog. V, p.97: tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.57: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Beseitigen einer Einbiegung eines Haares im Auge. Harz 1; Blut der Eidechse 1; Blut der Fledermaus 1; werde das Haar ausgezogen, werden <die Drogen> daran gegeben, so daß es (das Auge) gesund wird.' See also Wb.Drog. VI, p.572: 'Fledermaus'.

Eb 63,18:

Wb.Drog. V, p.98; tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1] , p.58: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel). [To prevent hair growing in the eye a second time] Blut der Fledermaus 1; Rand eines neuen hnw-Topfes 1; Honig 1: werde fein zerrieben, werde gegeben an die Stelle dieses Haares, nachdem es ausgerissen ist.'

P. Ramesseum III, A,15:

Wb. Drog. V, p.100; tr. Wb. Drog. IV,[1] p.59: 'Blut der Fledermaus; Blut des hdrt-Tieres; werde gegeben in schwarze Augenschminke; werde das Auge, das krank ist, damit gefüllt.'

31. Eb 76,8-9: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.417; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.243: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Beseitigen [] Halsvorderseite. Fledermaus gespalten; werde damit verbunden, so daß er sofort gesund wird.'

32. Barns, Five Ramesseum Papyri, pl.10 & pl.18.

33. J.Worrell, Orientalia 4 (1935) 1-37: Coptic Magical & Medical Texts, p.19; tr. p.29: 'Concerning eyelids: That they may not grow. Blood of bat (mixed) with blood of shrimp (?) , when the moon is waning.' See his n.8 for the possible interpretation of 'eyelids' as eyelashes.

34. Griffith & Thompson, Demotic Magical Papyrus I, p.153, Text: 24,32.

35. E.Chassinat, Un Papyrus Médical Copte (Cairo 1921) p.296, prescription 194.

36. Dawson, op.cit., p.226.

37. CD 824a; Černý, CED, p.333; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.461, esp. for bibliography; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.343b.

38. Erichsen, DG, p.582. Cf Osing, Nominalbildung, p.366 (n.46) and p.718 (n.839).

## Chapter 4 : Notes

1. F.E.Zeuner, Man & Cattle, p.9-16: The History of the Domestication of Cattle, esp. p.10 & p.15.

2. Zeuner, op.cit., p.11. See too F.E.Zeuner with A.E.Mourant, Man & Cattle, p.158-166: Summary of the Symposium Man and Cattle, esp. p.159.

3. E.J.Boston, Man & Cattle, p.102-110: Cattle Breeds in Europe and Africa, p.103.

4. Zeuner, op.cit., p.13; cf id., Domesticated Animals, p.222, commenting on clay models from graves at el-'Amra: 'Their horns have the characteristic shape of Bos primigenius, and we must therefore regard them as a primitive breed probably derived from the local wild cattle of the Nile Valley'.

5. Boston, op.cit., p.106.

6. Lortet & Gaillard, Faune momifée A, p.65-66.

7. Lortet & Gaillard, op.cit., p.70. For B.africanus see also Gaillard, Tatonnements, p.7.

8. Lortet & Gaillard, op.cit., p.69.

9. See Zeuner, History, p.206 & Gaillard, Tatonnements. Cf also J.U.Dürst, L'Anthropologie 11 (1900) 656: Notes sur quelques Bovidés Préhistoriques, & id., Rinder.

10. Honacki et al., Mammal Species of the World, p.328-9.

11. Weeks, Egyptology & the Social Sciences, 59-81: Art, Word and the ancient Egyptian World View, esp. p.62: 'When examining Egyptian relief subjects, I suspect that we may have inadvertently allowed ourselves to be mislead in a number of instances, either because we failed to examine all the attributes of the relief subject carefully or because we incorrectly singled out certain attributes as being more significant than others. We followed the rules imposed by our own cultural biases and failed to identify the rules the Egyptians themselves may have used'.

12. Zeuner, Domesticated Animals, p.223.

The existence of a separate species of hornless cattle (rather than naturally or artificially polled cattle) was postulated by E.O.Arenander, Sphinx 22 (1931) 6-24: Polled cattle: Their history, zoological characters and economic qualities. This species, which he called Bos akeratos, he believed to be the ancestor of horned cattle. See too p.15: 'Therefore, when hornlessness spontaneously appears on horned heads, this must be looked upon as reversion to the ancient type, and not as a new formation or mutation'.

Dürst, op.cit., p.85, believed (like Zeuner) that the hornless types should be considered 'als bloße Variationen der Macroceros- und Brachycerosform der ägyptischen Rinder' because of the consistency of shape and colour between the hornless and the long-horned types.

13. E.Andersson, Sphinx 16 (1912) 145-164: La dénomination égyptienne des boeufs sans cornes.

14. Wilkinson, Manners & Customs III, p.33.

15. Hartmann, Systematischen Aufzählung.

16. Ghoneim, Rind, p.49-70, esp. p.69: 'Die alten Ägypter züchteten vier verschiedene Schläge der Primigenius-Rasse. Diese vier verschiedenen Schläge unterscheiden sich z.B. aufgrund von Körper- und Hornform', noting, however, p.49: 'daß man aufgrund der Hornform allein nicht die Rinder in verschiedene Rassen unterteilen kann'.

17. Darby & Ghalioungui, Food I, p.93 &98.

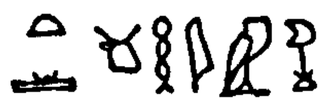
18. Kees, Kulturgeschichte, p.20: 'Bei den Rindern kennt bereits das AR drei verschiedene Arten, eine mit ungewöhnlich langen leierförmigen Hörnern, eine kurzhörnige und eine hornlose; die in alter Zeit ziemlich zahlreich, im NR verschwindet'.

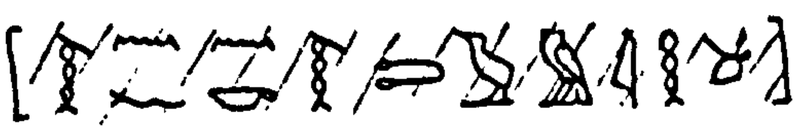
19. L.Störk, LÄ V, 257-263: Rind.

20. Compare the comments of Janssen, Commodity Prices, p.172.

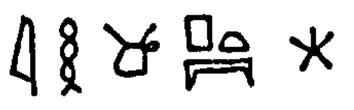
21. See in the notes below.

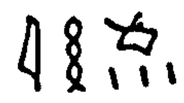
22. See both these terms below. Note also writings of with phonetic complements.

Flor 2497: 

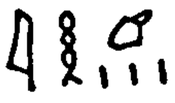
Pyr 1977: 

Cf Pyr 1544:

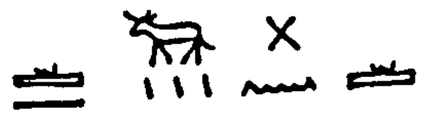
Pyr 1717: 

BM 330 (offering list includes): 

Flor 1660:

Leid V, 33: 

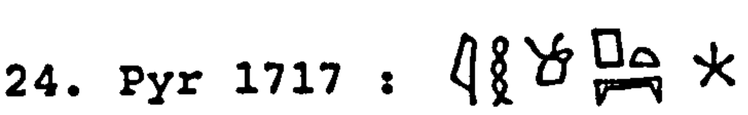
23. See especially lists from the Great Harris Papyrus:

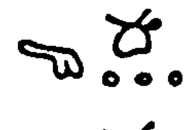
eg Harr 20a, 11 :  2892

cf 32b, 10; 51b, 13.

For similar lists (but shorter) see Harr 35a, 8-14; 37b, 13-38a; 54a, 12-13. Note also :

Med Habu 156:

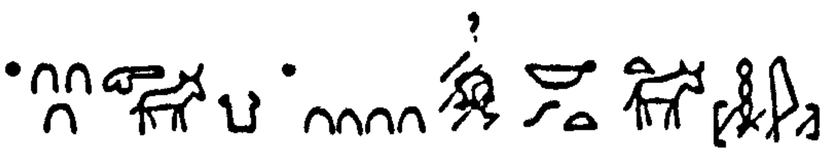
24. Pyr 1717 : 

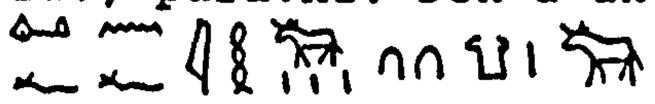
var. Pyr 1026: 

Pyr 803: 

Pyr 1432: 

25. See Wb Belegstellen and below on writings of *ỉw3*, *nq* and *nfrw* with  ; also *k3* and *t3y* applied to cattle and other animals.

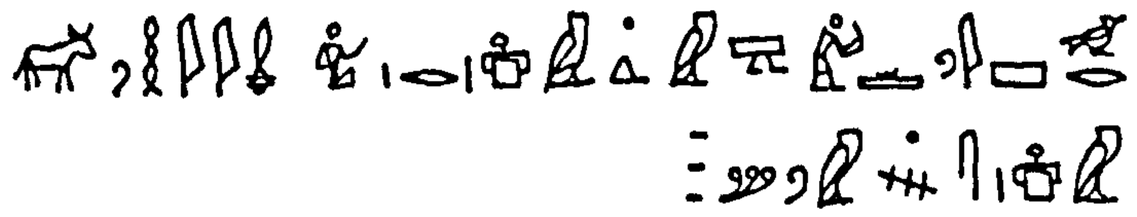
26. See KRI II, 382, 8: 

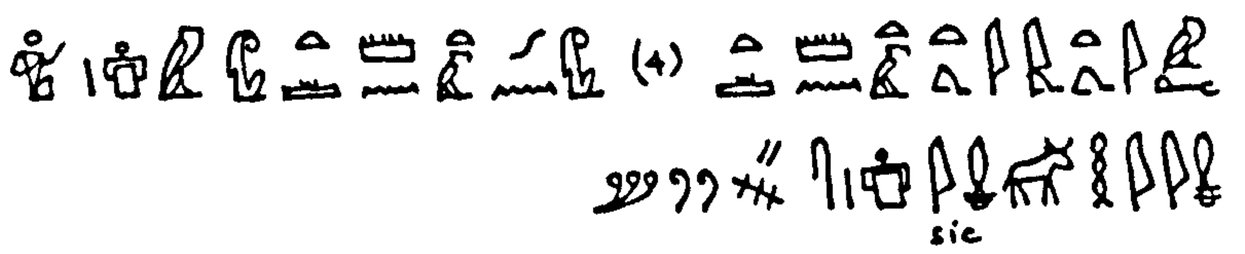
HommSauneron I, p.227, para.XI: Don d'un troupeau et d'une basse-cour, 1.19: 

27. For these texts see under the other terms in the relevant chapters.

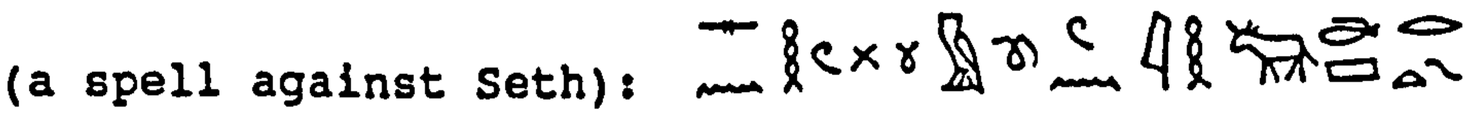
28. Sall I, 4, 3:

For other types of cattle in stables see <u>iwꜣ</u>, <u>nḏ</u> and <u>bḥs</u>.

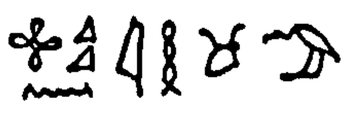
29. An II, 11, 1: 

O.DelM 1057: 

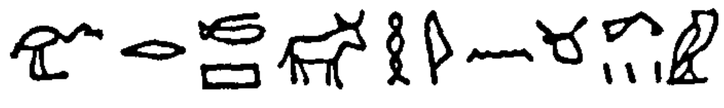

30. Pianchi 102:

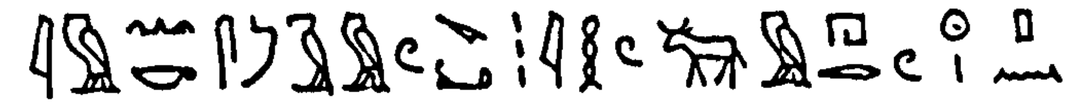
Urk VI, 4-5 (a spell against Seth): 

tr. p.4: '(Die Figur des Seth) mit einer Sehne eines roten Rindes binden; über sie Worte sprechen'.

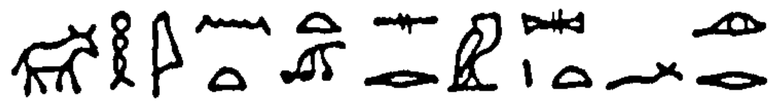
Pyr 1550: 

tr. Sethe, <u>UuK</u> V, p.495: 'Laßt uns essen. laßt uns essen das rote Rind für die Durchquerung des Sees' - as Horus did for Osiris.

Totb Leps 144, 28: 

31. Sall IV, 3, 5: 

32. Wenamun 2, 41 :

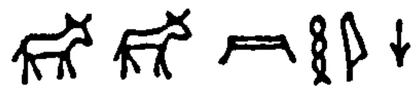
Salt 825, 8, 2 : 

Totb Leps 144, 28 : (above)

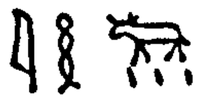
33. Naukratis 11 :

Pianchi 102 : (see above)

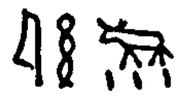
Posener-Kriéger & de Cenival, HPBM 5th ser, pl.48, frag.E (see hbn also):



Totb Pleyte 162, 11-13:



Tur 138:

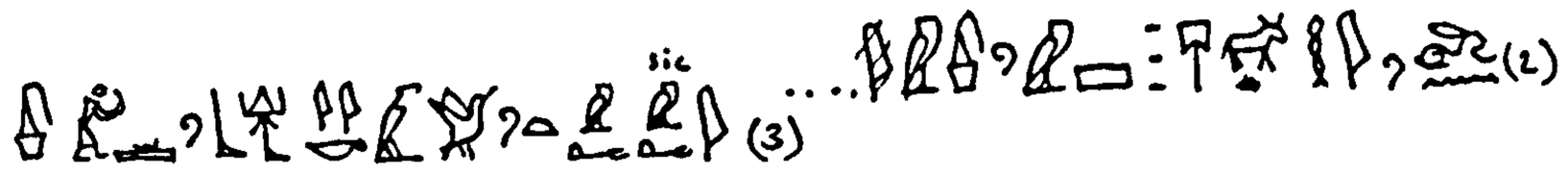


Flor 1661:

34. See, eg, Janssen, Commodity Prices, p.172-177; p.496, n.12: O.Gardiner 247 (ỉḫ written out); p.524-525 - oxen tend to cost between 50 and 120 dbn.

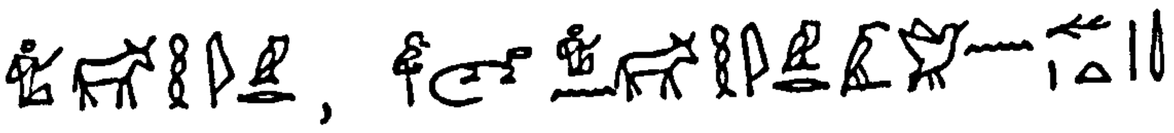
Lopez, Ostraca III, pl.114 (No. 57368):

Černý & Allam, Ostraka, pl.7 (O.Berlin 10645 + 10646, vso):

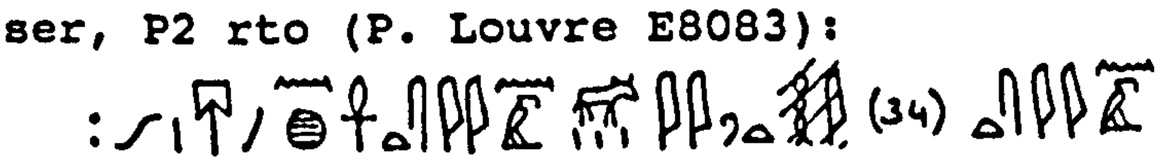


tr. Vol.I, p.30 : 'Er sagte...Rinder waren (fieber)heiß in...Gib deinen Brandstempel...'.

35. Botti, Sobk, 8, 4 & 5:

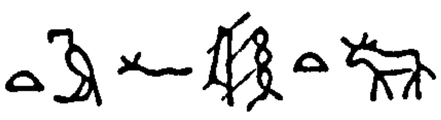


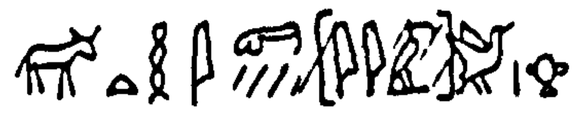
36. Edwards, HPBM 4th ser, P2 rto (P. Louvre E8083):



tr. p.82 (text vol): 'I shall cause to prosper her estate, her people, her cattle, her goats, and all her property in the land'.

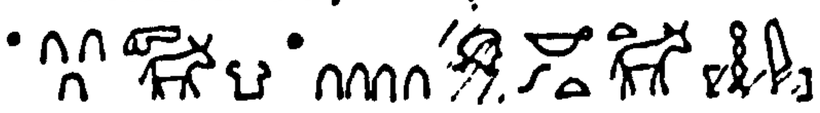
Berl 20377 (Vol.II, p.158-162; p.160):

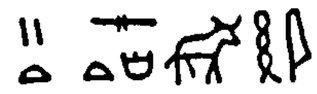


P.Ch.B. III, rto 5, 16: 

tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.14: If a man see himself in a dream 'having connexion with a cow, good; passing a happy day in his house'.

HO I, pl.69, No.2, rto 5 (O.IFAO Inv 388):

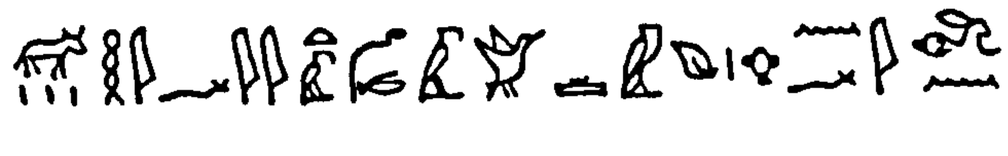
37. KRI II, 382, 8 (O.Ash. Mus. 1945 + O.Mich 90): 

E.Graefe & M.Wassef, MDAIK 35 (1979) 103-118: Eine fromme Stiftung für den Gott Osiris-der-seinen-Anhänger-in-der-Umwelt-rettet aus dem Jahre 21 des Taharqa (670 v.Chr.) l.17: 

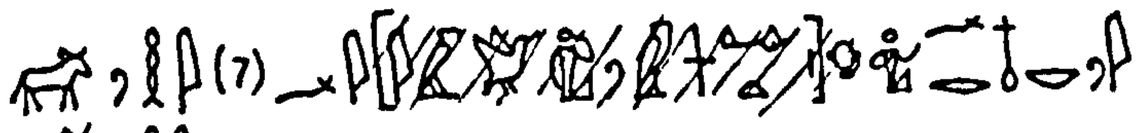
tr. p.106: 'Zwei Kühe'.

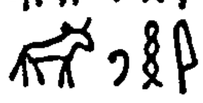
P.Ch.B. I, vso 2:

tr. Gardiner, p.43: 'The day when payment was received by the scribe Peṅanuke for his bull' - goods include: '1 cow'. (The cow was worth 20 dbn of copper; the total paid for the 'bull' was 130).

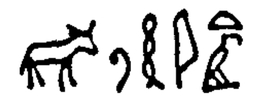
38. Orb 5, 9: 

Note the variant writing in 5, 8:

O.Cairo 25521, vso : 

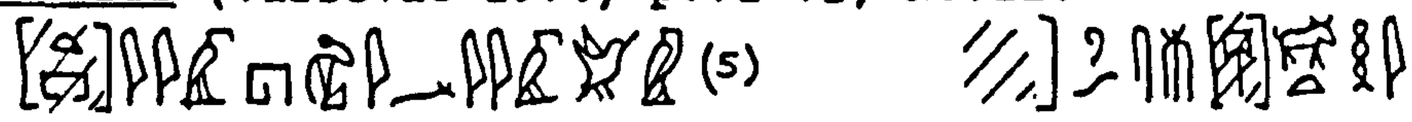
Cf l.11 and l.13: 

but l.5:

HO I, pl.33, No.2, rto 2, vso 1 & 3 (O.Leipzig 16): 

39. O.Cairo 25589, rto 2, 5:

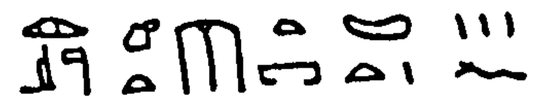
40. M.Marciniak, Deir el-Bahari I. Les inscriptions hiératiques du temple de Thotmosis III (Varsovie 1974) p.71-72, No.12:



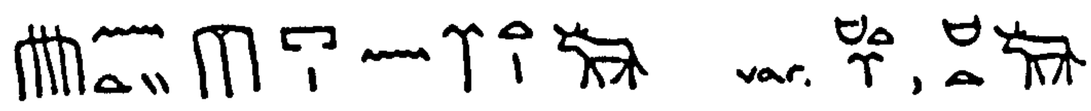
41. Deirelb 11. Dyn III, 9, Aa:

42. See Junker, Giza VI, p.192: 'Der Gott ʾIḥii ist der junge Sohn der Hathor; er wird nur als Kind dargestellt, war aber eigentlich, wenigstens ursprünglich, als männliches Kälbchen gedacht... Vielleicht ist ỉḥii nur die Koseform, ein Diminutivum, von ỉḥ "Rind", wie ja auch ỉḥ.t die Hathorkuh bezeichnen kann'.

43. See, eg, Gardiner, AEO II, p.258*-261*; Loret, Rec.Trav. 18 (1896) 196-209 : Les animaux reproducteurs dans l'Égypte ancienne. The ambiguity is caused in part by the similarity between the signs ḥm (Sign List N41) and ỉdr  (Sign List V 37) in the hieroglyphs, eg Leps Totb 143, 25 :

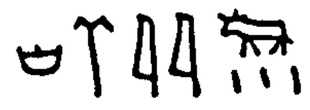


var. Totb Nav II p.368 :



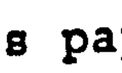
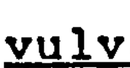
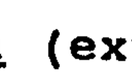
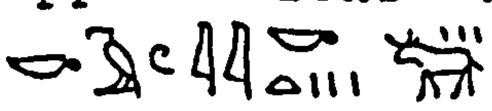
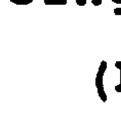
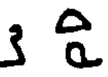
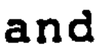
For these signs written with ỉt or ỉd elsewhere see P. Barguet, Kêmi 16 (1962) 7-20: Une liste de pehou d'Égypte sur un sarcophage du musée du Louvre esp. p.13 and 19.

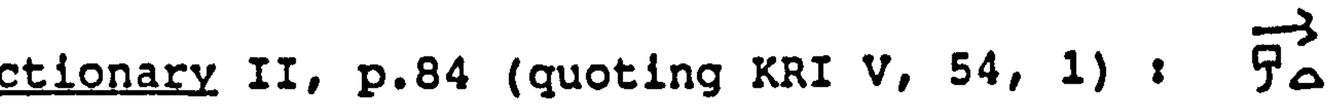
Writings of 'cow' sometimes also included ỉ, eg Leps Totb 148, 31 :



Arch Abousir I, 251 (Eg) :

Writings of wrt (Wb I, 331, 15) in later texts as wryt would provide a parallel case (cf too mst and msyt among bird names), and there seems no reason to read this word other than ḥmt.

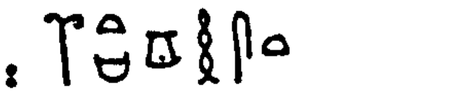
44. F.L.Griffith, Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob (London 1898) p.6, n. to l.2 proposed the reading kỉt for . He pointed out the difference between the words (ỉdr) and (Coptic ϭⲟⲧⲉ, 'womb'), commenting : 'In this papyrus is the word for the womb in general, while  is vulva (exterior), to which medicaments are applied. In Papyrus Ebers, however,  ,  seem convertible with , applications being made thereto, etc. The variant  (Leps., 1.9) for  (Nav.1.3) in Todt, ch.148 suggests that may be read kỉt =  , and that  'cow' is simply the feminine form of  'bull'.' Cf Jéquier, Matériaux, p.22, n.9 : 'Le mot kat désigne toute animal femelle'.

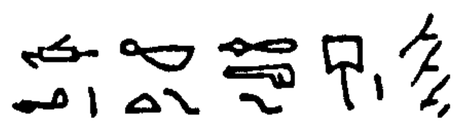
45. Lesko, LE Dictionary II, p.84 (quoting KRI V, 54, 1) : 

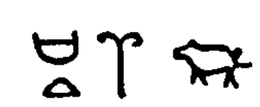
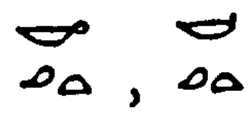
46. See ʿr (Ch.7); ỉʿn (Ch.10); st (Ch.15); k3 (Ch.19) and sm3 (below).

47. See R.O. Faulkner, JEA 58 (1972) 300 : Ḥmt 'woman' as a feminine suffix.

Ti pl.128 :

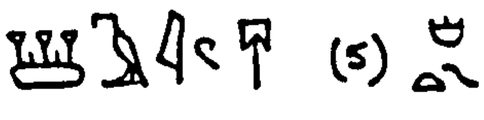
Montet, Scènes, p.136 (= Vandier, Manuel V, p.46, fig.28): 

P. Tur PuR 9, 6 : 

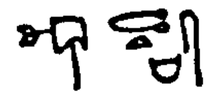
Osireion Text 4 : (Nut)  var. 

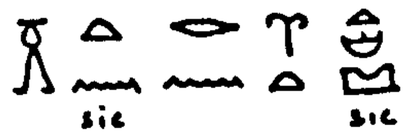
= Dram Texte pl.52 (Text S).

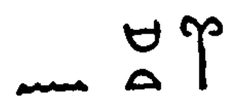
P.Leid 343, vso II, 9 :

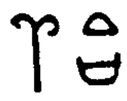
P.Boul XII,rto 12,4-5: 

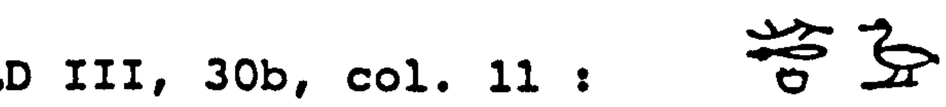
Meir IV, 16 :

Beni Hasan II, 4 (over mating oryxes) : 

Mar Mast D3 : 

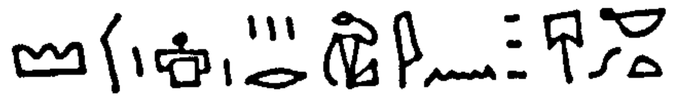
LD II, 61b :  (over goose)

Mastaba of Ptahshepses <var 45> :  (of goose)

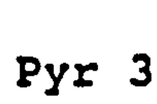
LD III, 30b, col. 11 : 

E. Edel, Hieroglyphische Inschriften des alten Reiches (Opladen 1981) fig. 28 :

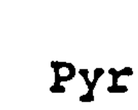
(of a donkey)

An IV, 17, 9 (parallel to ỉbr) : 

Pianchi, 110 :

Pyr 389 :  cf Pyr 1370.

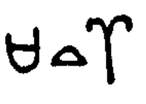
Pyr 716 (T) :

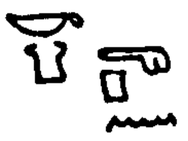
Pyr 253 : 

Meir V, 32 : ; (in error over a sheep)

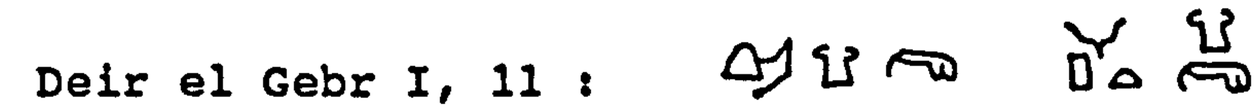
J. Vandier, ASAE 36 (1936) 33-34 : Une tombe inédite de la VI^e dynastie à Akhmîm, p. 35:

tr. p. 34 : 'J'ai acquis un troupeau d'ânesses pleines (?) et elles ont allaité (?) 200 ânes'.

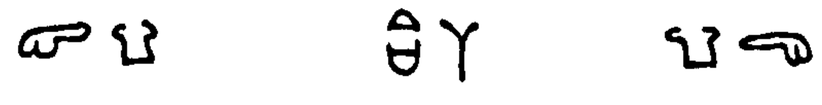
Junker, Giza V, p.78 (over donkeys, goats and sheep): 

48. Simpson, Giza Mastabas IV, fig. 22 : 

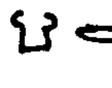
Petrie Deshasheh 18 (over fighting bulls):

Deir el Gebr I, 11 : 

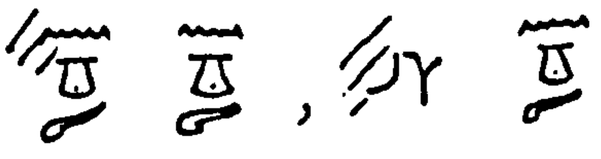
Beni Hasan I, 32 :

Meir V, 32 : 

Meir V, 30 :

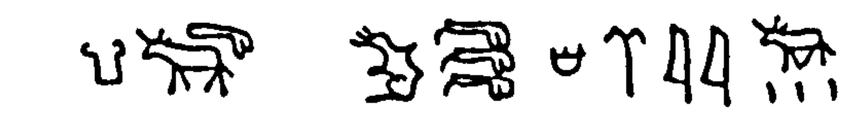
LD Erg 7 :  (with <u>iwꜣ</u>, <u>ng</u>)

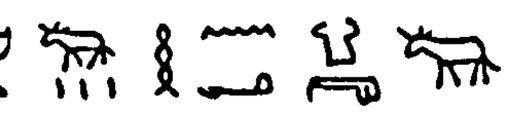
Beni Hasan I, 29 :

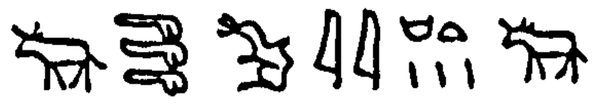
Note also cows with <u>ng</u>: Meir V, 4 : 

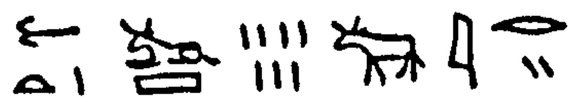
49. LD II, 105:

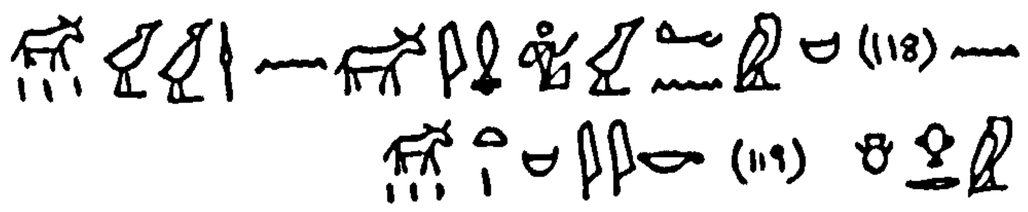
Urk IV, 1020, 11:

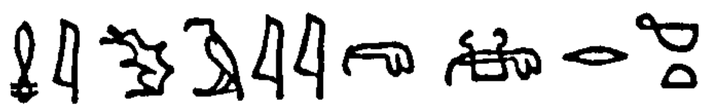
Totb Leps 148, 31: 

Kairo 20520, 3: 

Berl 2066 (Vol.II, p.94): 

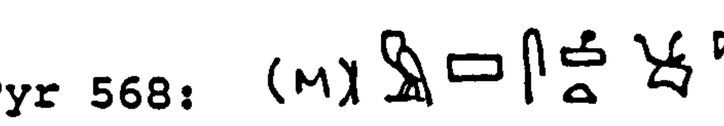
Cf Theb Grab Nr 23 <1420>: 

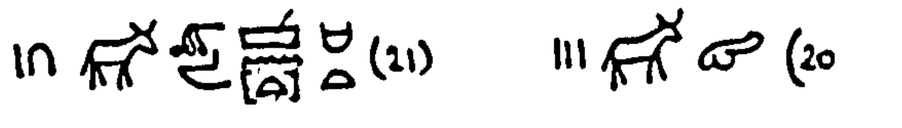
Sinuhe 118-119: 

Hungersnotstele 7-8: Nile - 

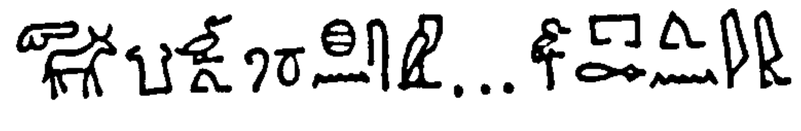
Med Habu 75, 37:

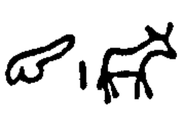
Cf in the medical texts: k3 (Eb 105, 8-16: Wb.Drog. V, p.387; tr. IV$^1$, p.223), hmt (Eb 75, 5-7: Wb.Drog. V, p.190; tr. IV$^1$, p.109).

Cf Pyr 568: 

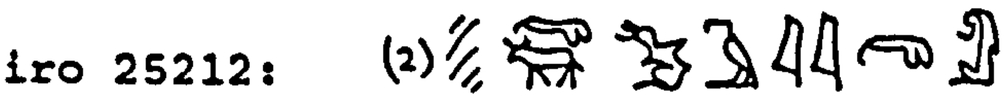
& James, Hekanakhte V, 21: 

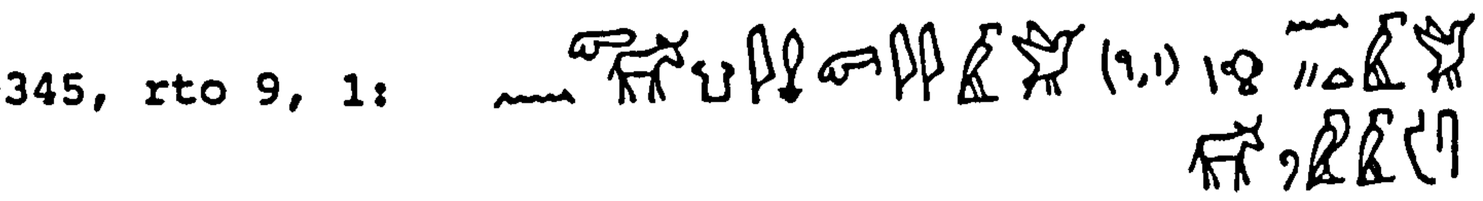
50. Med Habu 75 (KRI V, 53-54): (above)

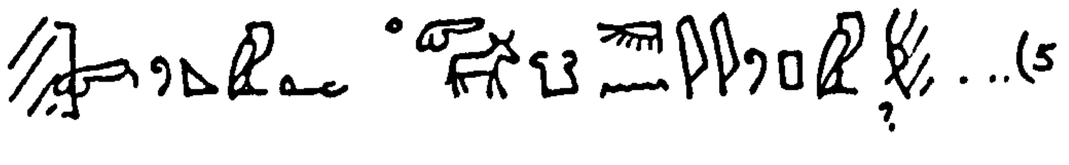
51. P.Brooklyn 47.218.50, 3, 1: 

cf 16, 8: 16, 12: 

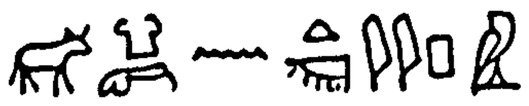
with n.260: ' paraît être une faute de copie pour la graphie habituelle en hiératique . Le signe aurait été décomposé puis écrit phonétiquement'.

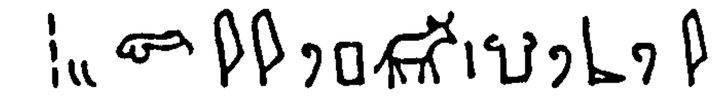
O.Cairo 25212: 

52. P. Leid I 343+345, rto 9, 1: 

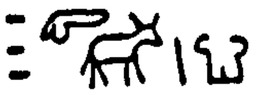
O.DelM 1591:
(cf 1592) 

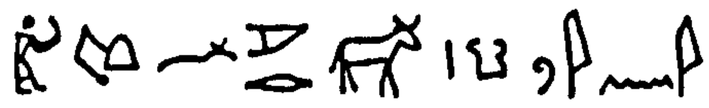
Urk VI, 97:
tr. 'der begattende Stier'; 'ein begattender Stier'.

Spiegelberg, Ostraca, pl.1, 1-2, 1: 

P.Boulaq VI, rto 10, 8: 
tr. Koenig, p.105: 'Malheur à Horus! Ils sont en colère à l'intérieur des ventres, les taureaux ne copulent pas'. (cf rto

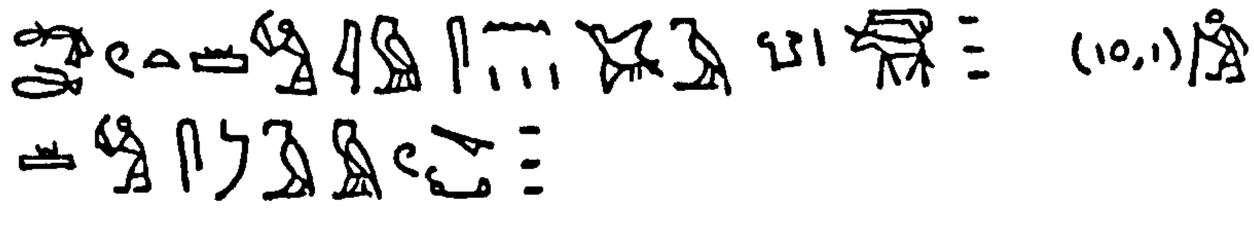
11, 4).

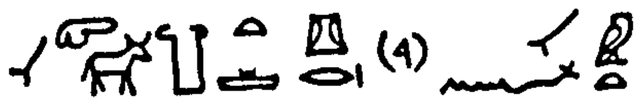
J.-C.Goyon, BIFAO 65 (1967) 89-156: Le cérémonial de glorification d'Osiris du papyrus du Louvre I 3079, 3, 51-52. 
tr. p.101: 'Les taureaux engendrent (  ) et les vaches noires sont gravides...'

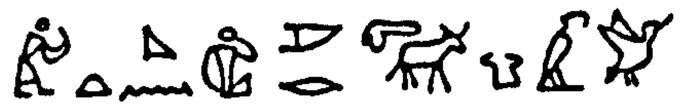
53. Sinuhe 123: 

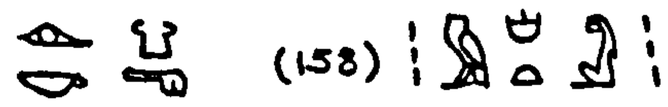
Cf also instances from the notes above of fighting bulls depicted in tomb scenes; also Berscheh I, 18 and Beni Hasan I, 13.

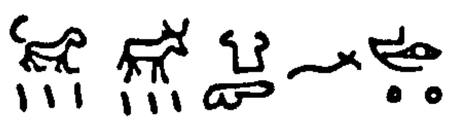
See too P.Behrens, LÄ V, 16-17: Stierkampf. On the significance of these scenes note also A.B.Lloyd, Hommages Vermaseren II, 609-626: Strabo and the Memphite Tauromachy, esp. p.621-623 - who believed that the fighting of the bulls occurred as a result of their close proximity during cattle counts: 'At no period is there any reason to believe that anything more arcane than this is at issue'.

Max d'Anii 8, 19: 

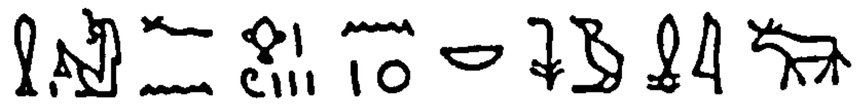
54. Bakir, Cairo Calendar rto 4, 4: 
tr. p.4: 'DAY 6: A.A.f. Anyone born on this day will die of 4. the trampling of a bull'.

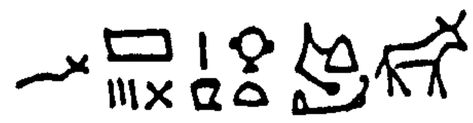
55. An II, 2, 5: 

Pianchi 157-158: 

Med Habu 117, 2: 

Kadesh 133A:

Med Habu 28, 57: 

LD III, 166 : 

Pyr 513:

56. See above on the king; also

Siut III, 23:

Med Habu <75>: (unpublished)

cf Petubastis Sp 14, 25.

57. D.J.Stemming, Man and Cattle, p.111-118: Africa: The Social Background, p.114: 'The Hima king of the Ankole is the "stock bull" of his people. Among the Nuer... the man of local influence and standing is the "bull of the camp"... There is widespread identification of cattle terms with male groups having political functions. The group of Masai warriors which contend for the spoils of the raid are the "black and red oxen". A Hima warrior detachment is a "little herd".' Cf P.Rigby, Cattle and Kinship among the Gogo (Ithaca, NY, 1969) p.59: 'Men who have distinguished themselves in any way are referred to as "bulls"...'

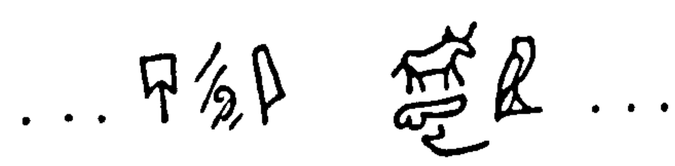
58. Grapow, Bildliche Ausdrücke, p.78-79.

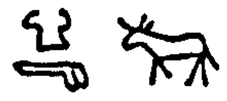
Zandee, Hymnen V, 9 (Amon):

tr. p.94: 'Stier, sterk van rug, zwaar van hoeven'.

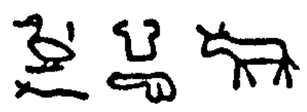
59. Hornung, Pforten I, p.371:

tr. & comments II, p.265, Scene 81.

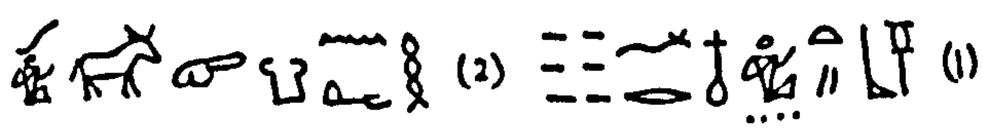
60. Lopez, Ostraca II, pl.82, no.57215: 

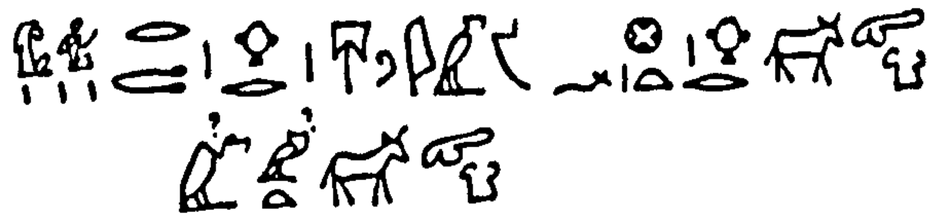
Khartum 18: 

publ. T.Säve-Söderbergh, JEA 35 (1947) 50-58: A Buhen Stela from the Second Intermediate Period, fig.1.

Khartum 5320: 

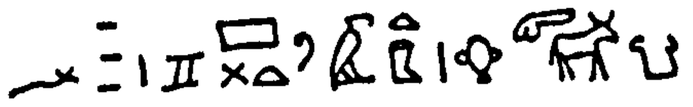
publ. W.B.Barnes, Kush 2 (1954) 19-25: Four Khartoum Stelae, p.29 (fig.).

O.Mich pl.90 (no.30): 

61. Eg P.Leid I, 350, III, 4: 

IV, 27: 

tr. Zandee, Hymnen, p.40 & p.91: 'stier'. Cf also his comments on p.97.

62. An I, 22, 6: 

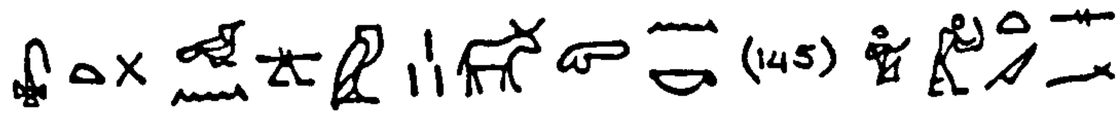
tr. Fischer-Elfert, P.Anastasi I, p.184: 'der Stier auf seiner Grenze'.

63. See, eg, L.Störk, LÄ V, 257-263: Rind, esp. col.261.

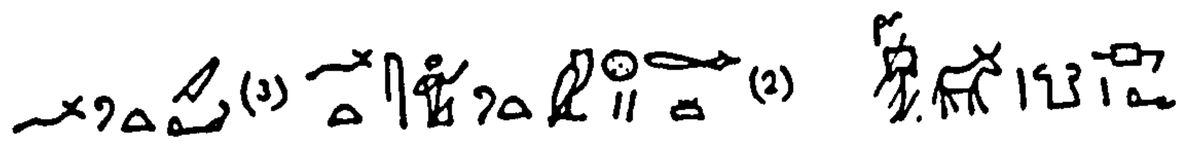
64. F.Daumas, LÄ II, 1024-1033: Hathor, esp. col.1025; D.Arnold, LÄ II, 1041: Hathorkuh.

65. See above, n. 49.

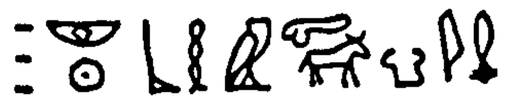
66. Pyr 1026:

Schiffbr 145: 

Abyd Mar I, 53:

O.DelM 675, vso 1: 

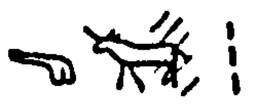
Kahun 10016, 2-3:

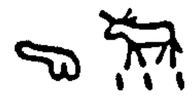
An I, 16, 5: 

tr. Gardiner, P.Anastasi I, p.18* : 'Thou settlest thy fingers... like a bull at a festival'.

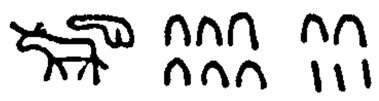
67. Petrie Dendereh pl.11: 33

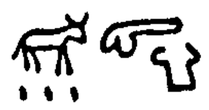
Urk I, 127, 8 (Harkhuf):

Urk I, 144, 15: 

Urk IV, 71, 13: 

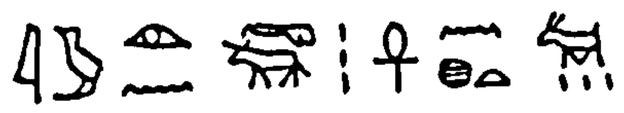
Urk IV, 716:

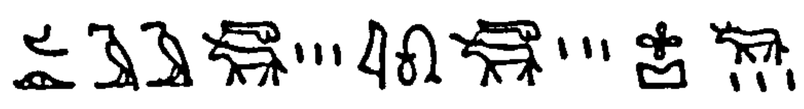
Urk IV, 722, 13: 

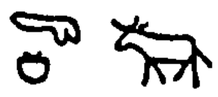
Totb Nav 99, 43 (Aa): 

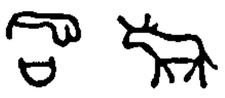
Urk IV, 669: (following tpiw, wndw) 839

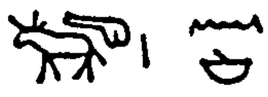
Cf Sethe Lesest 84, 10 (after conquest possessions are seized):

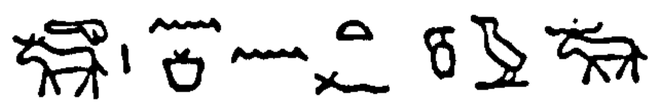
Lange, Hermonthis, p.993: 

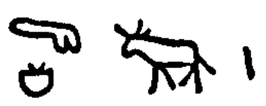
Müller, Felsengräber, fig.5: ↓ 

68. Urk IV, 696:  61

LD III, 31a, 9:  530

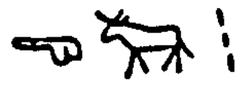
Urk IV, 195:  ( 3 times)

Urk IV, 196: 

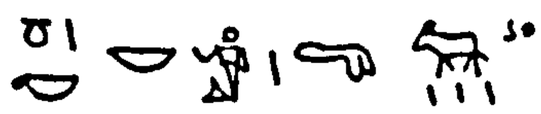
Urk IV, 827: 

69. See above, n.37, for a cow given in part payment for a bull (k3).

70. Siut V, 13:

Stele im Handel Nr.40 <var 183>:  (bis)

Cf Hatnub Graffito 25, 11:

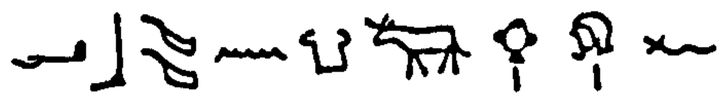
MMA 12, 184: 

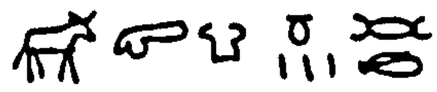


UNIV DUNELM

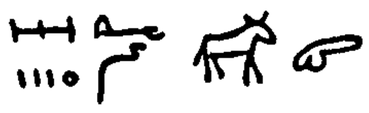
71. Wenamun 4, 11:

tr. Caminos, Tale of Woe, p.57: 'like (a) tanned bull-hide'.

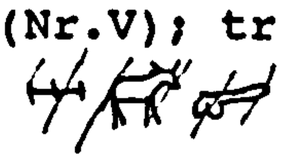
El Arisch Rs pl.25, 22-3: 

72. Eb 105, 13: 

Wb.Droq. V, p.387; tr. IV$^{1}$, p.224: 'Fett (ḏ) des Stieres'.

P.Ram V, U, 33: 

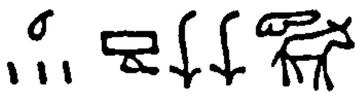
Wb.Droq. V, p.38 (Nr.V); tr. IV$^{1}$, p.22: 'Fett (ḏ) des Rindes'.

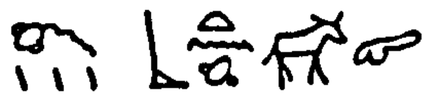
cf U, 51: 

& L 72; L 48; L 32; L 14; L 11 has ;

P.Ram V, L, 49:

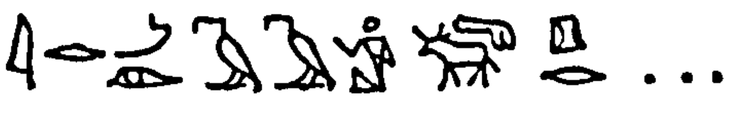
Wb.Droq. V, p.39 (Nr.XVIII); tr. p.22: 'Fett (ḏ) des (männlichen) Rindes 1; Zunge des (männlichen) Rindes 1; Milz des (männlichen Rindes) 1'.

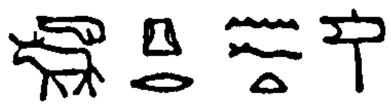
L 50:  cf L 73 and U[69]

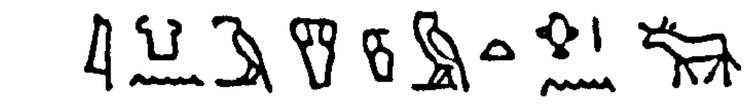
L 54: 

73. P.Kah vet 57:

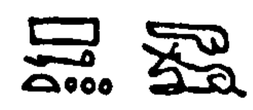
58:

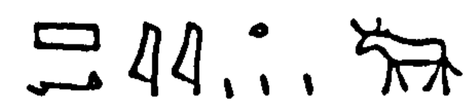
61: 

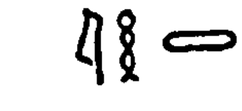
k3 also in this papyrus 34: 

74. Urk IV, 722, 3: 

Urk IV, 732:

75. Urk IV, 756:  236

cf Harr 35a, 12:  69000

cf Wb I, 120: Art Brot:  and see also below for iwꜣ.

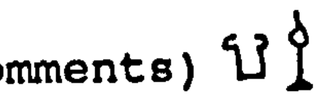
76. Wb V, 96, 11-12: der heilige weiße Stier.

Wb recorded here P.Leid 343+345, vso 21, 1; the animal name is perhaps to be read ỉḥ rather than kȝ, and probably does not refer to a sacred animal, merely a white bull or cow.

Five Theban Tombs, pl.10:

Cf pl.2:

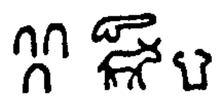
Caminos, Temples of Buhen II, p.40, n.1: (see also his comments)



77. O.DelM 1675, 10 (Nile hymn):

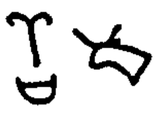


78. HO I, pl.75 (O.Ash Mus Oxford 1945.37 + 1945.33) vso 4:



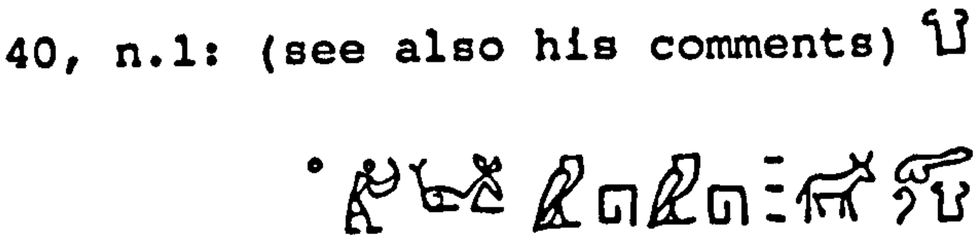
79. Berscheh I, 27:

80. LD II, 25:



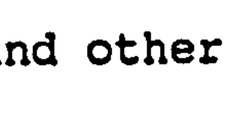
among other types of cattle, and animals including ng, ỉwʿ and ḥr-dbʿ, and other animals.

81. Nianchchnum pl.76-77:



tr. p.155: 'Das Herauskommen aus der Sumpflandschaft zum Oberland durch die Hirten mit ihren Erzeugnissen (und(?)) den großen Rindern '. Cf Montet, Scènes, p.67. On the reading see Junker, Giza V, p.16, with n.1.

82. Medum 13 (with ng, other types of cattle and birds)
(= Junker, Giza II, p.83):



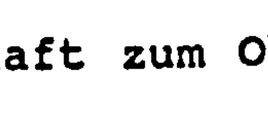
Murray Saqq Mastabas I, 2 (with ng, ỉwȝ and birds):



Cf Simpson, Giza Mastabas IV, fig.30:



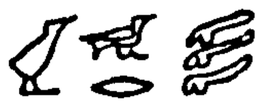
fig.22:



In many cases ng and ḥm(t) (wr(t)) appear together. Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1961) p.248-9, deduced that wrt: 'wie dieses

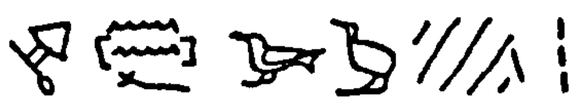
[ng] eine besondere Rinderart bezeichnen muß ("Weibchen des wr-Rindes")... Wahrscheinlich liegt einfach das substantivisch gebrauchte Adjectiv wr "groß" vor, wie auch sȝbt "bunt gescheckt" für eine bestimmte Rinderbezeichnung gebraucht werden kann'. The term was translated 'femelle par excellence (?) = Vache' by G.Roquet, BSEG 9-10 (1984) 227-243: Inscriptions d'Ancien Empire articulées à l'image. Le 'dit' du savetier au mastaba de Ti, p.237.

83. See Wb Belegstellen.

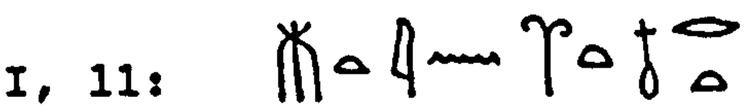
84. Nianchchnum pl.76 (over group of male cattle): 

On readings of the toponym ḥwt-wrw see Hymn Diad 3, 2 (p.37); Borchardt, Sahure I, p.128, n. to pl.70, b, 2; Zibelius, Aeg Siedl, p.9; idem, Fs Edel 456-477: Zu Form und Inhalt der Ortsnamen des AR, esp. p.465 with n.64.

Guglielmi, Reden, p.103 (= Vandier, Mo'alla):

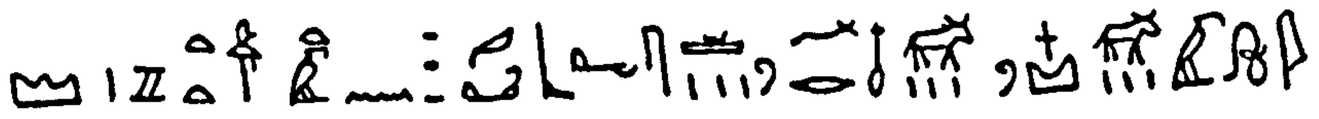


tr.: 'Rudert kräftig zu ihm die Rinder (oder: ihr Großen )!'

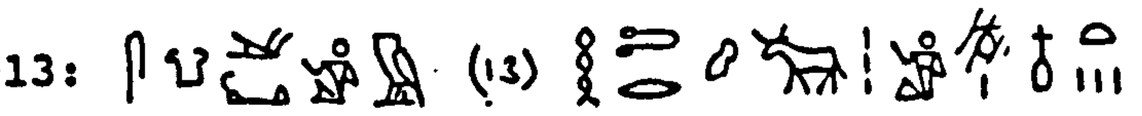
85. Deir el Gebr I, 11: 

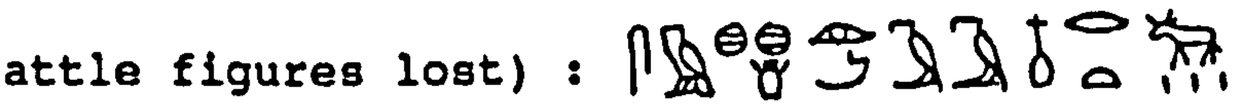
This phrase was commented on by Roquet, op.cit., p.236, translating: 'la femelle mature'; 'Nfrt, ici term technique du vocabulaire des éleveurs "arrivée à maturité, d'où, apte à la reproduction".'

86. An IV, 15, 5:



Caminos, LEM, p.200 read nfrw as an adjective: 'oxen, fine castrated short-horned cattle of the West'.

87. Urk IV, 132, 12-13: 

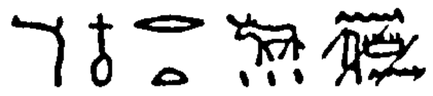
88. Urk IV, 1161: (cattle figures lost) : 

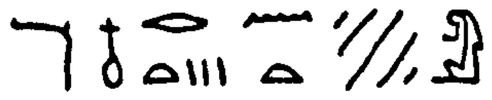
89. Meir I, 20 (= I, 4):

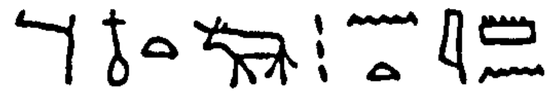
90. Urk IV, 1023:

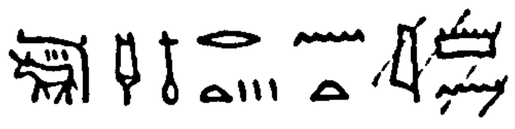
See also ng for this activity carried out by cattle.

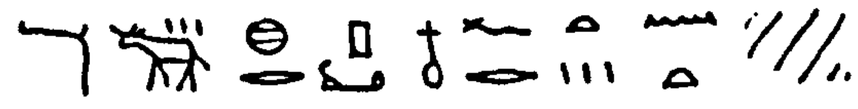
91. Theb Grab 56:

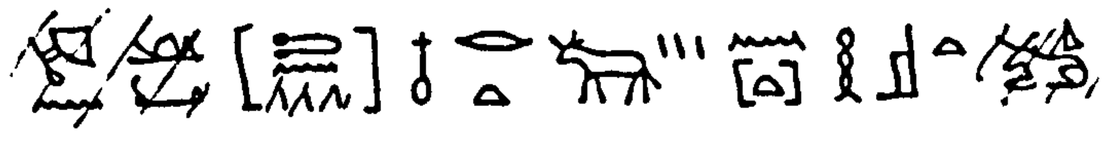
Kairo Wb 271 <511>: 

Kenamun pl.9: 

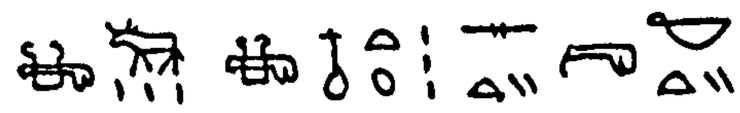
Urk IV, 407: 

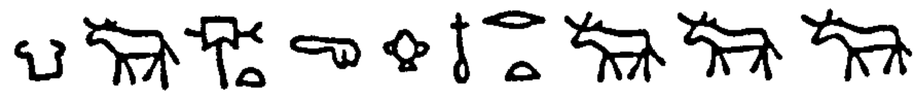
Theb Grab 96a: 

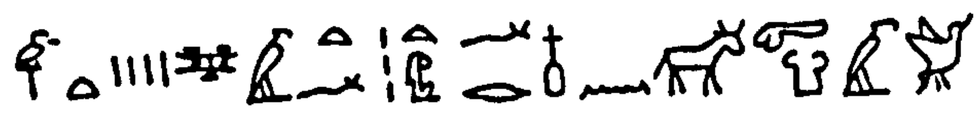
cf Theb Grab 99: 

92. A.H.Gardiner, ZÄS 60 (1925) 62-76: The Autobiography of Rekhmerē‘, p.75: 

tr. Ghoneim, Rind, p.283: 'Es fahren Euch Kühe der ḥs3.t-Kuh, überschwemnt werden die Wege von ihrer Milch'.

93. M.I.Bakr, ZÄS 98 (1970) 1-4: Amon als Herdenstier, p.2: 

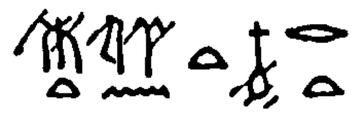
Urk IV, 238: 

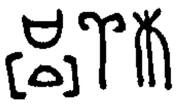
Cf Zandee, Hymnen V, 4: 

tr. p.91: Amun 'De stier van deze vier meisjes'.

94. See, eg, Med Habu 75 (text above, n.50); note the comments of Edgerton & Wilson, Hist Rec Ram III, p.65, n.20b.

95. J.-J.Clère, Archiv Orientální 20 (1952) 629-641: La lecture de la fraction 'deux-tiers' en égyptien, p.637.

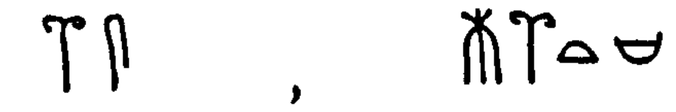
96. Deir el Gebr I, 11: 

Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1963) p.174: 

LD Erg 7:

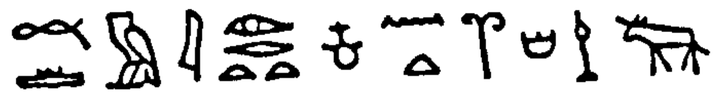
Deir el Gebr II, 19:

Petrie Deshasheh 18:

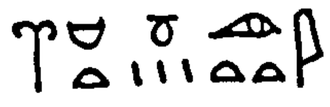
Junker, Giza, p.81 (pl.12) 

Cow's milk is also mentioned in the Book of the Dead:

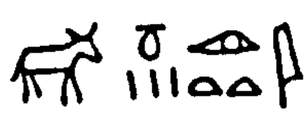
Totb Leps 144, 30:

Cf Dümichen, Grabpalast II, pl.1 & 3: 

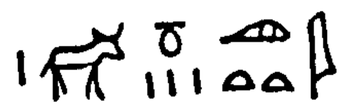
and in the medical texts:

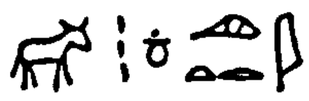
Eb 75, 6: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.190; tr. IV$^{1}$, p.109: 'Milch einer Milchkuh'.

Eb 5, 19: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.207; tr. IV$^{1}$, p.118: 'Milch des Rindes'.

Eb 69, 20: 

P.med Berlin 3038, 16, 7: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.364; tr. IV$^{1}$, p.209: 'Milch des Rindes'.

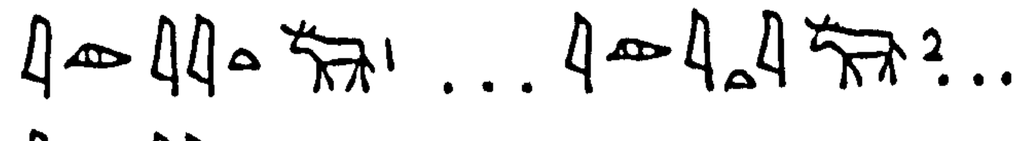
and in the Pyramid Texts:

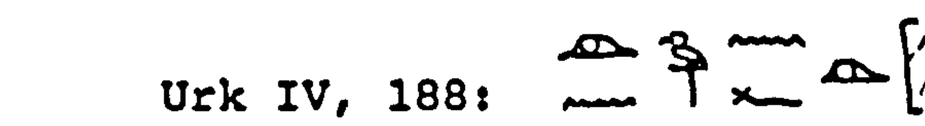
Pyr 531: var. 

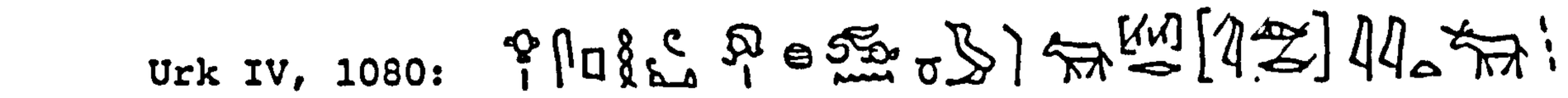
Cows and calves are mentioned in:

Famine Stela, 25-6:

For cow's milk see also nfrt and on the phrase hy ỉrtt, H.G.Fischer, JEA 65 (1979) 176-182 [review].

97. Urk IV, 743 = LD III, 30b, 8: 

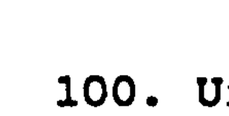
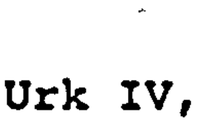
Urk IV, 188: 

Urk IV, 1080: 

98. Beni Hasan II, pl.7:

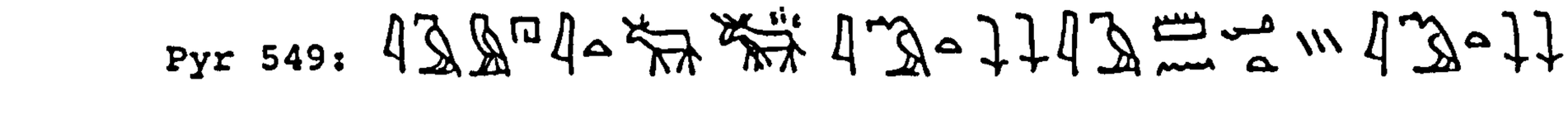
Pyr 27:

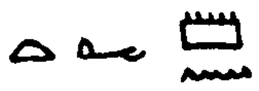
99. Cf Wb II, 77, 10-13: säugen; 78, 1-9: die Amme.

100. Urk IV, 188:  ; 172: 

Urk IV, 72:

101. Pyr 531:

Pyr 549: 

Ti 112: 3 hornless cows by a man carrying a calf (bḥs) are called: 

O.DelM 1675, 11 (Nile Hymn):

102. Urk IV, 72:

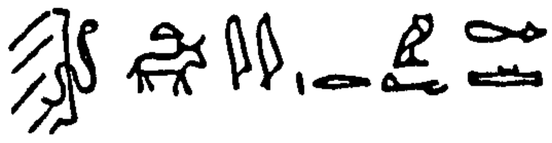
103. Pyr 549: (above)

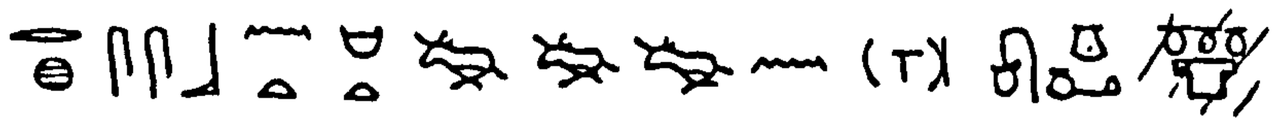
tr. Sethe, UuK III, p.33: 'O ihr jene Milchkühe da, o ihr Ammenkühe da, geht um ihn herum'.

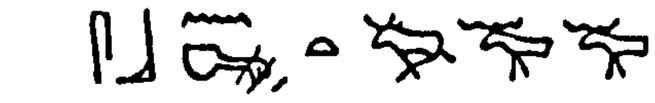
104. P.Leid 343, 6, 11 (= O.Leipzig 17, 1; HO I, 114, 3 (vso) + 14, 5 (rto)):

105. Petrie, Tanis I, 7:

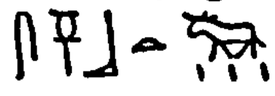
106. See Massart, P.Leid I, 343+345, p.73, n.15b.

107. O.Leipzig 17: 

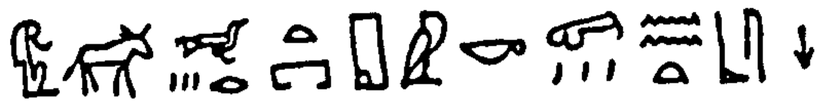
108. Pyr 716: 

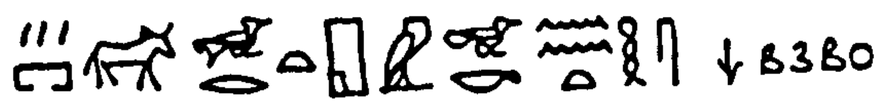
note var. from (P): 

tr. Sethe, UuK III, p.312: 'Geschlachtet sollen werden dem NN. mannbare Kühe am W3g-Feste'.

Sethe commented, p.320-321, that the Middle Kingdom text rewrote the word  , once  in recognition of the old determinative . He explained sbnt: 'nach der Schreibung bei P. offenbar eine Kuh, die besprungen werden kann' and he compared the role of the deceased as 'bull of Heliopolis' also mentioned in Pyr 716: 'Sollen diese Kühe von ihm besprungen werden in der Idee'. This he regarded as the only logical explanation of the presence of cows as animals for sacrifice since: 'Wissen wir doch auch aus den griech. Schriftstellern, daß Kühe nicht geopfert und nicht gegessen wurden'. However, he did not take into account various mentions of cows (ḥm and ḥm-wr - see above) in Old Kingdom offering lists.

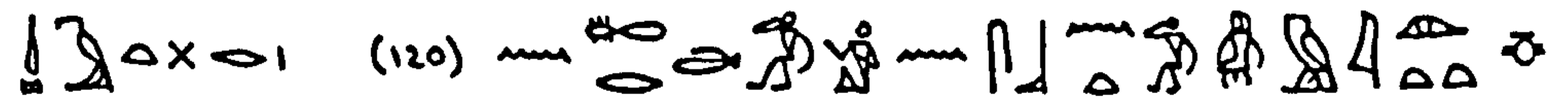
Faulkner (below - p.27, n.30) tr. 'cows in suck'; Meeks, AL 78.3440 tr. "vache gravide".

109. CT I, 143b: 

CT I, 146: 

FECT I, p.26, tr: 'he shall be suckled in the Mansion of the Great Bulls' and p.27, tr. 'O my father N! You ...[my omission]... have been suckled in the Mansion of the Great Bulls'.

Bauer B2, 120:

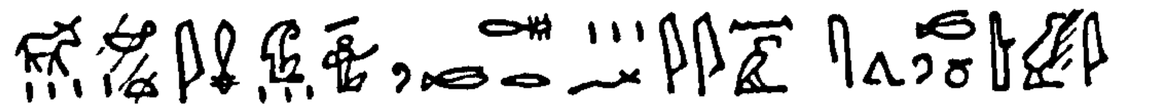


tr. Vogelsang, p.228: 'Da sagte dieser Bauer : Das Nähren des Dürstenden an die Tränen(?)! Das Heranbringen des Mundes des Säuglings an die... Milch!'

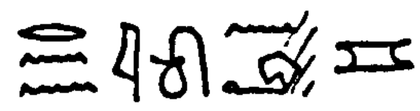
This tr. was adopted by Wb (IV, 90, 2: Säugling). Faulkner, op.cit., p.27 (n.30) tr.: 'woman who gives suck'.

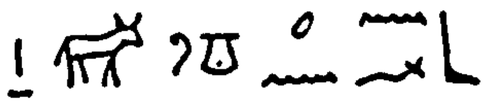
110. J.Vandier, ASAE 36 (1936) 33-44: Une tombe inédite, p.35, n.3: 'le déterminatif semble bien indiquer que ces bêtes, avant d'être sacrifiées, avaient servi à la reproduction'.

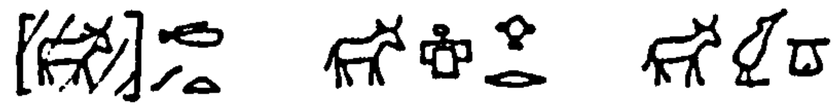
111. An IV, 9, 1 = Lansing 11, 7:
tr. Caminos, LEM, p.165: 'Your stall of bulls doubles the drove and your breeding cows are pregnant'.

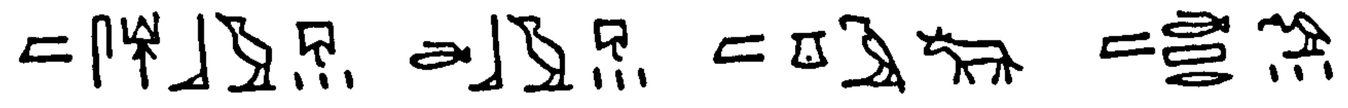
112. P.Leid 343, vso 5, 3: 
tr. Massart, P.Leid I 343+345, p.105: 'she goeth round her children even as cows (do)' - with p.106, n.14.

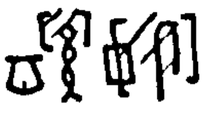
113. Note that *ỉw3* is also the name of a type of fish; for fish names apparently the same as those of other animals see *3bnn* and *r-š3w*.

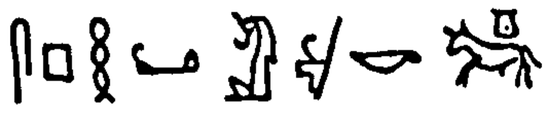
114. Caminos, Temples of Buhen II, pl.40 (= LD III, 58) : 
*rn n ỉw3* heavier in body than *rn n gw* but with legs of similar length. Perhaps to be read *rnn ỉw3* and *rn ngw*?

Eb 22, 6-7: 
Wb.Drog. V, p.201; tr. IV[1], p.115. Cf VI, p.537: 'Art Stier'.

P.Kah 16, 14: 

Compare the writing *g3* in Totb Leps 31, 8-9 : 

and *g* only (no traces of *n*) in Martin, Hetepka, pl.13 : 

and Abyd Mar I, 53 : 

=KRI I, 194 :

115. Montet, Boeufs égyptiens.

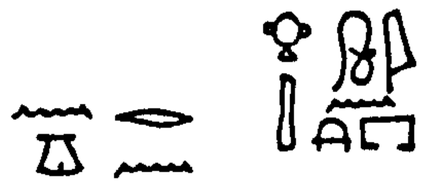
116. See, for example, Ghoneim, Rind, p.73-76; L. Störk, LÄ V, 257-263: Rind; Darby et al, Food I, p.93 and 98; H.S.Smith, Plants and Animals, p.307-314: Animal Domestication and Animal Cult in ancient Egypt, esp. p.307-308.

117. G.Jéquier, Rec.Trav. 30 (1908) 1-9 : Notes et remarques I-XI. VI: les boeufs.

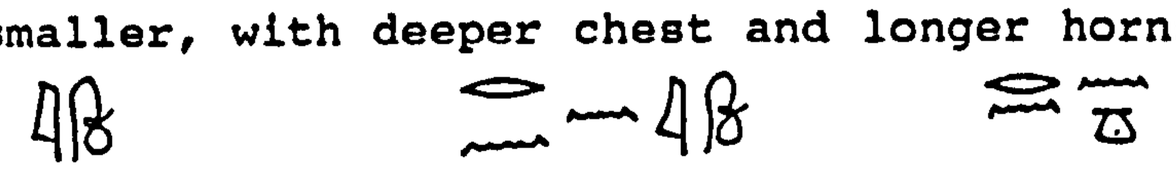
118. E.Otto, JNES 9 (1950) 164-177: An ancient Egyptian hunting ritual.

119. Montet, op.cit., p.47 and 51; cf also id, Scènes, p.138.

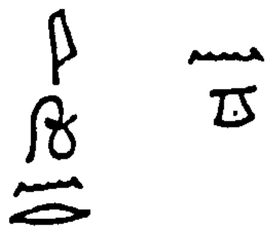
120. Berl 1107 (= LD II, 22) :



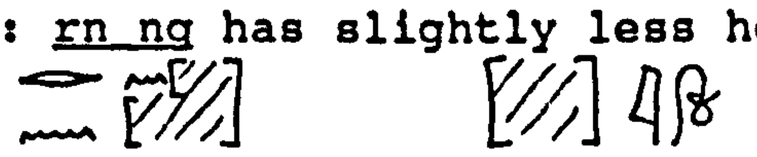
LD II, 49a : rn ng is smaller, with deeper chest and longer horns than rn n ỉw3.



LD II, 25 :

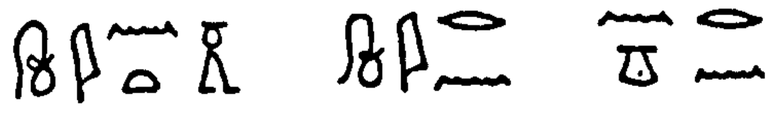


LD II, 50b : rn ng has slightly less heavy body and neck than [rn] ỉw3.

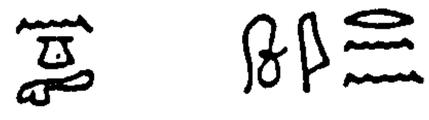


Ptahh II, 21 : ng thinner than ỉw3.

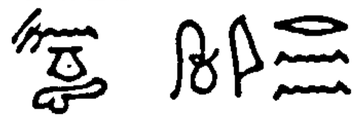
LD II, 91c : rn ng and rn ỉw3 appear identical.



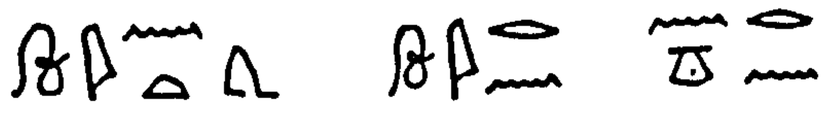
Meir V, 41 : 3 ng, 2 rn n ỉw3; one ng on the upper register is of slighter build than the other cattle.



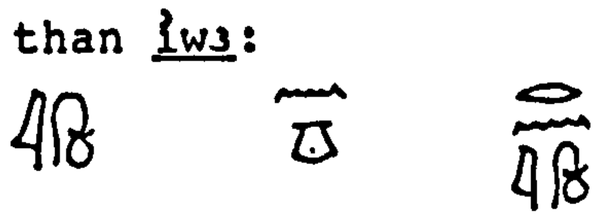
Meir V, 32 : 2 rn n ỉw3 and 1 ng which is lighter in build.



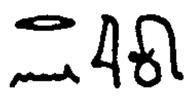
Badawy, Iteti, fig.29: rn ng has similar head but similar build to ỉw3 (hornless) and rn ỉw3.



LD II, 54 : ng more thickset than ỉw3:

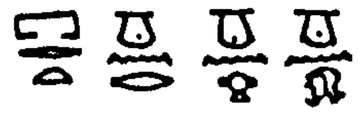


121. LD II, 74c : 3 ỉw3 of different sizes (builds?):



LD II, 70 :

Note also the different colours exhibited by ỉw3 - LD II, 57.

122. LD II, 60 : 

(one of the group is hornless)

Ptahh II, 8 :

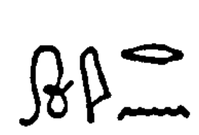
(one of those depicted is hornless)

123. Meir V, 41 :

124. Beni Hasan I, 17; I, 35; Meir III, 4; Mereruka A13 (pl. 152); LD II, 102; Murray Saqqara Mast pl.22; LD II, 70; LD III, 117.

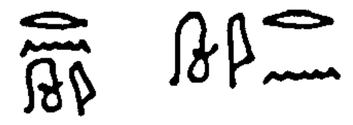
On deliberate deformation of the horns of cattle among the Dinka, Nuer, Suk and Longarim in modern Africa see C.G.Seligman, Studies Griffith, 457-462 : Egyptian Influence in Negro Africa, esp. pl.460 and A. Kronenberg, Kush 9 (1961) 228-277 : The Longarim Favourite Beast, esp. p.260, 263 & 272 with pl.31a. Cf P.Huard, Kush 12 (1964) 63-81: A propos des bucrânes à corne déformé de Faras.

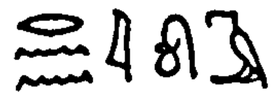
125. LD II, 58 :

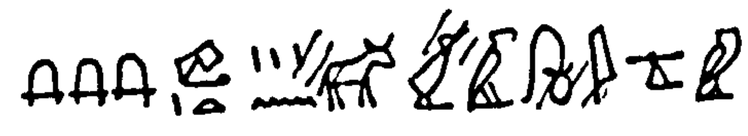
LD II, 62 : 

LD II, 69-70 : 

LD II, 102 :

LD II, 104 : 

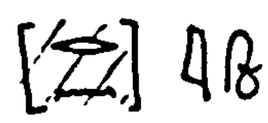
LD II, 129 : 

Deir el Berscheh I, 18 : 

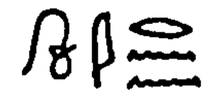
Junker, Giza IX, p.167 & fig. 75, p.164 :

(one hornless, one with short horns)

126. Eg LD II, 22 :

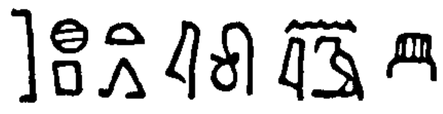
LD II, 50b : 

LD II, 74c :

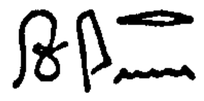
LD II, 129 (= Beni Hasan I, 30): 

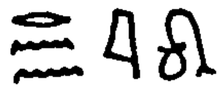
LD II, 132 (= Beni Hasan I, 35):

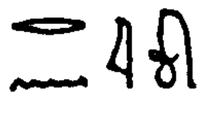
LD II, 49a :

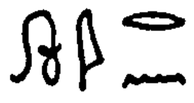
LD II, 45 : 

LD II, 62 : (see n.125)

LD II, 91 : 

Beni Hasan I, 35 : 

Junker, Giza XI, p.59, fig.35 : 

Junker, Giza IX, fig.75, p.164 : 

127. Cf Kronenberg, op.cit., p.272 (Appendix A) who mentions 'cattle born without horns' as being highly favoured by the Longarim; see also E.J. Boston, Man & Cattle p.102-110 : Cattle Breeds in Europe and Africa, esp. pl. X(a).

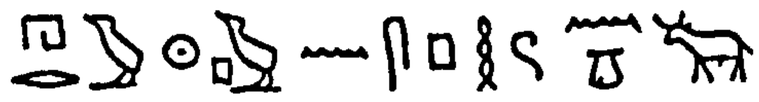
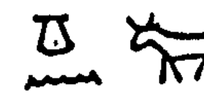
128. See, however, J.U.Dürst & C.Gaillard, Rec.Trav. 24 (1902) 44-76 : Studien über die Geschichte des ägyptischen Hausschafes, p.61 : 'Schon beim Rinde ist die Variation der Hornform eine ungemein grosse und kann diese daher durchaus nie als alleiniges Merkmal der Rassenzugehörigkeit angesehen werden'. This was also the opinion of L.Keimer, Ms. notes in the DAI (File 'Rind II') : 'Quant aux différentes cornes de boeufs de la même taille, grosseur etc., j'ai l'impression que cette différence de cornes n'est pas importante et qu'elle ne constitue pas une race différente, mais les artistes, à cause de leur amour de synchrétiser ils réunissent souvent les boeufs portant les même cornes'; 'j'incline de plus en plus vers l'opinion que les boeufs avec et sans cornes ne constituent pas deux races'.

129. Eg Montet, Scènes, p.189 (on cattle ploughing): 'que l'on pourra toujours identifier, grâce à la silhouette et à la forme des cornes, avec des neg'.

130. See Otto, op.cit., for a full list of references to these texts. He commented, p.167 : 'Ngꜣ obviously designates an actual species of cattle, since in scenes in which cattle are presented, ngꜣ-cattle are shown together with ỉwꜣ-cattle and the term rn ngꜣ

"young animal of the ng3"occurs. Ng3 is thus a species of cattle from which an individual is taken for sacrifice'.

See also -

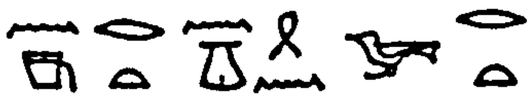
Pyr 286 :  var. 

Ptahh II, 22 :

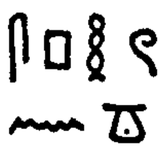
Petrie Deshasheh 17 & 18 : over animal being roped

Vandier, Manuel V, 28-31 (figs. p.149, 169, 235).

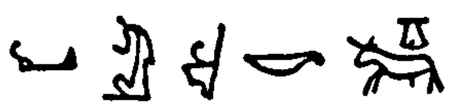
Note that the ng might be described as ndrt (like ỉw3) and k3s as well as sph:

LD II, 14b : 

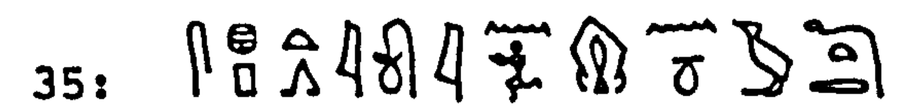
On the ng in ritual see also Lloyd, Hommages Vermaseren, esp. p.612-613 and 625-626.

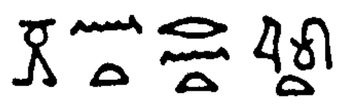
Nianchchnum pl.17: 

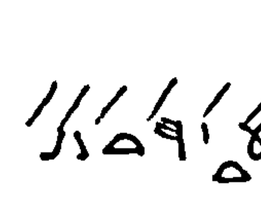
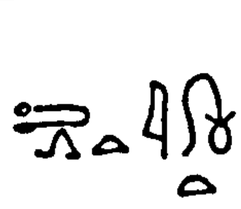
tr. p.65: 'Einfangen des Langhornrindes (mit dem Lasso)'.

Abyd Mar I, 53 : ↓ 

131. Kairo 1559 :

Badawy, Nyhetep-Ptah, fig. 35: 

Murray Saqqara Mast I, 21 : ↓ 

Kairo 1560 :  restore: 

KRI I, 195 : 

KRI I, 193 (= Abyd Mar I, 48) :

132. Jéquier, Rec. Trav. 30 (1908) 1-9: Notes et remarques, p.39.

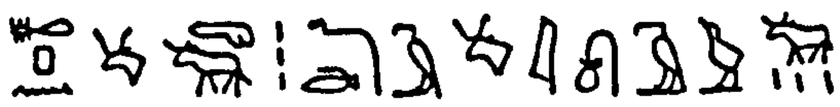
Cf Otto, op.cit., p.169 : 'There is a play on the word ng3, "to kill", and ng3, the name of the victim, just as in Pyr 1544 : "I have killed (ng3) for you the one who killed (ng3) you, as a ng3-bull".'

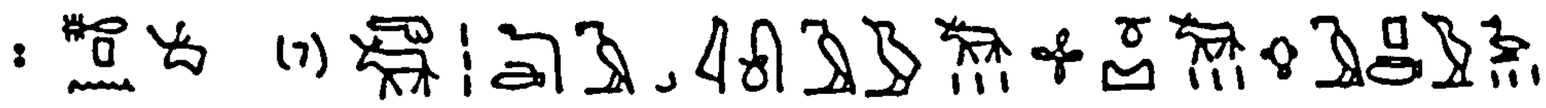
133. Montet, Boeufs égyptiens, p.51.

134. Ghoneim, Rind, p.70 and p.73.

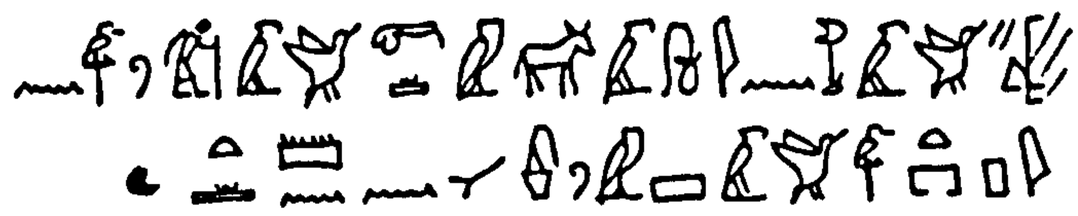
135. Eb 33, 5:

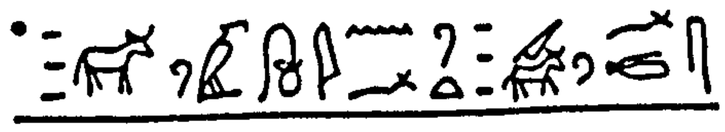
Wb.Drog. V, p.226; tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1], p.129: 'Gekröse (3s) eines fetten Iw3-Rindes'.

Hatnub Graff 20, 19: 

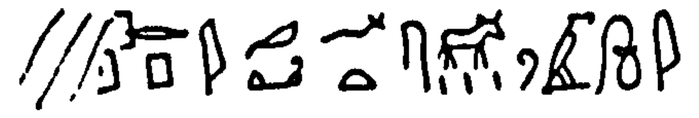
Hatnub 17, 7 : 

tr.: 'mit gemästeten (7) Stieren und fetten iw -Rindern, wndw-Rindern und Vögeln'.

136. O.DelM 1265, 1, 6: 

O.DelM 1176, rto 20-21: 

Abyd Mar I, 48 (KRI I, 193; behind butcher): 

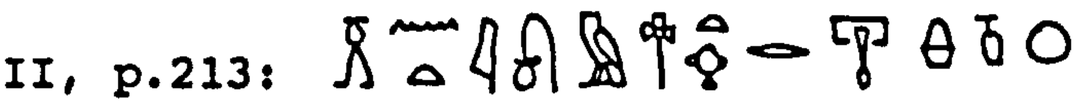
O.Petrie 72 (HO I, pl.14), 2: 

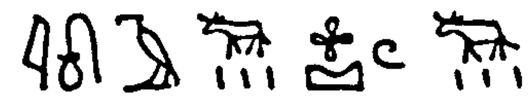
Cf O.Gardiner 28 (HO I, pl.113, no.1, vso 6):

Helck, Merikare, p.80:

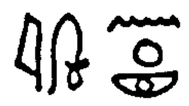
tr. p.81: 'Angenommen wird das Wesen des Gerechten mehr als das Rind des Sünders'.

Sall II, 14, 7:

Junker, Giza III, p.213: 
tr.: 'Herbeibringen von ỉwȝ-Rindern als Geschenk für das Totenopfer'.

Nilhymn (Helck) p.181: 
tr.: 'Langhornrinder und Kurzhornrinder sowie Vögel für das Brandopfer'.

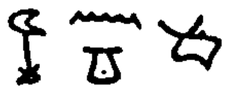
137. Eg KRI I, 195 (Abyd Mar I, 48):

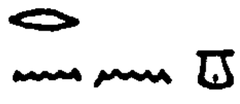
 (bis)

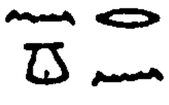
KRI II, 535, 2 (Abyd Mar II, 9):

138. Such examples are very numerous and only a few are presented here.

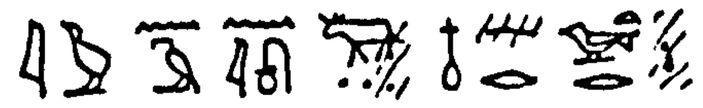
G.Daressy, ASAE 17 (1917) 107: Rituel des offrandes à Amenhotep Ier:
tr.: '[réjouisse] de ton boeuf, parce que le nom de cela est "boeufs"'.

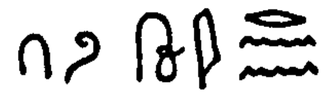
LD II, 5: 

Luksor <222>: 

LD II, 22 (= Berl 1107): 

CAA Pelizaeus III, 72:

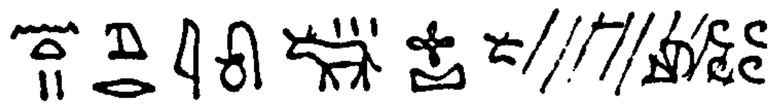
Davies, Rekhmire I, pl.40: 

Sheikh Said pl.20: 

139. Urk IV, 1124:

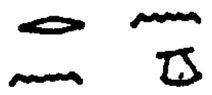
Urk IV, 1125:

Mar Mast E 1 & 2 (p.384):

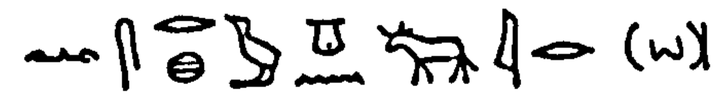
Caminos, Ibrim, pl.32, 1.6: 

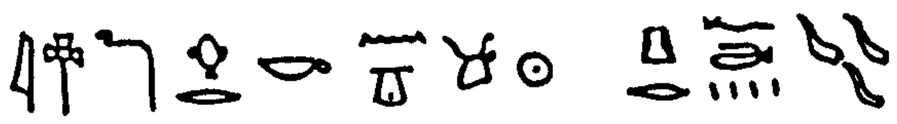
tr. p.67: 'Those who were carrying long-horned cattle and short-horned cattle, 400 men'.

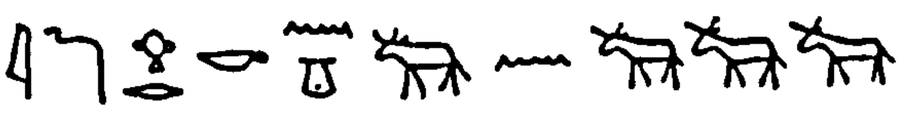
KRI II, 536, 9: ←

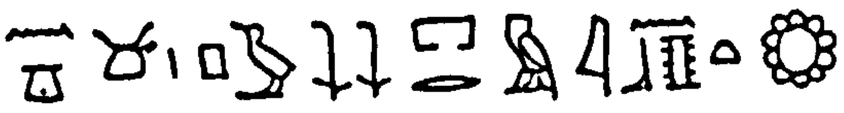
140. Eg (examples are very frequent) Gise (LD II, 49a): 

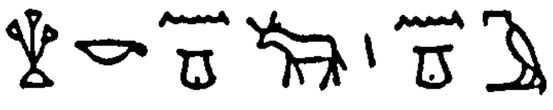
See also in the other notes.

141. Pyr 386: 

Pyr 470: 

Pyr 547: 

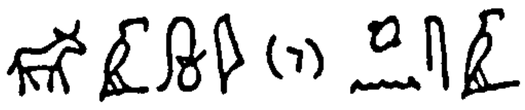
Pyr 2047 (Parallel to Horus): 

Pyr 504: 

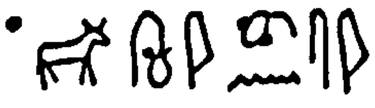
142. See above, n.139.

143. Eb 33, 5 :

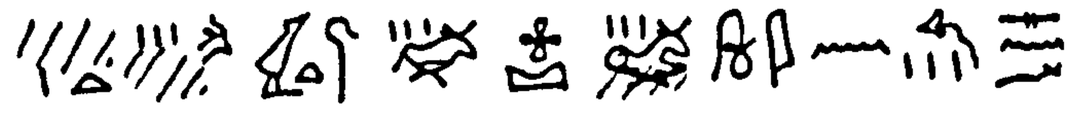
Wb.Drog. V, p.226; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.129.

Eb 33, 7 : 

Wb.Drog. V, p.226; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.129.

Eb 97, 7-8: 

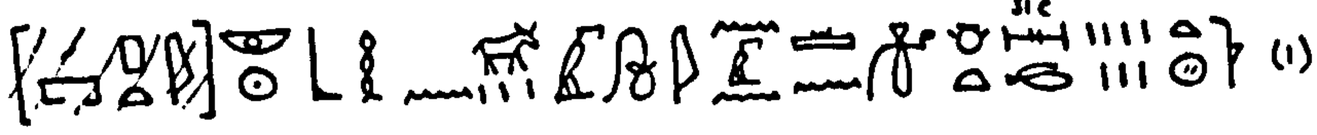
Wb.Drog. V, p.484; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.281.

LD III, 258a, 5: 

Mem Miss V, 229:

Hatnub 17, 5:

tr.: 'der Mist (?) von Rindern auf die Feuerbecken legt... (6) der es zu einem Brandopfer für den Ka des Thot macht'.

Koenig, Jarres hiératiques, pl.14, no.6128: 

Cf ibid., no.6129; pl.15, no.6131; 6136.

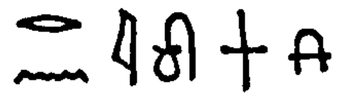
144. Berscheh I, 18: (text above)

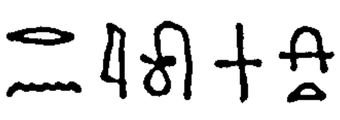
LD II, 22a:

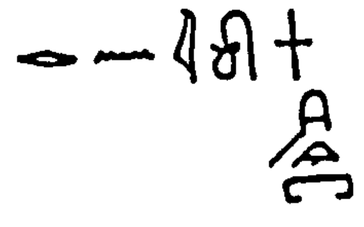
Mar Mast D23:

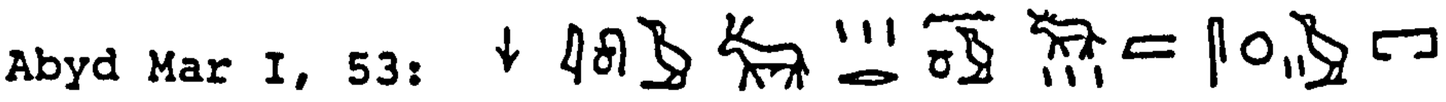
LD II, 62:

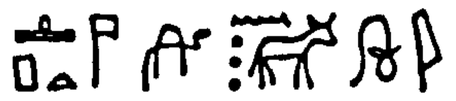
LD Erg, 38: (3 times) = Junker, Giza III, p.145.

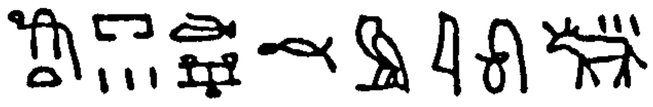
Mereruka B3: 

Mereruka B5: 

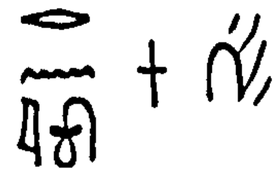
Davies et al., Saqqara Tombs I, pl.6: 

Abyd Mar I, 53: 

KRI III, 335: 

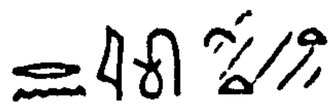
Pianchi 88: 

Lansing 12, 4:

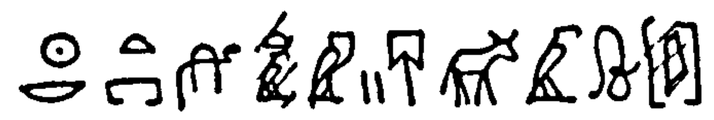
Junker, Giza VIII, p.86: 

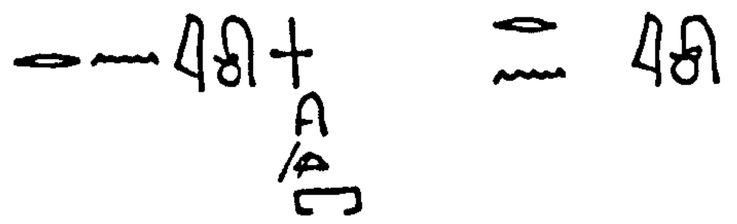
& fig.36, p.85:

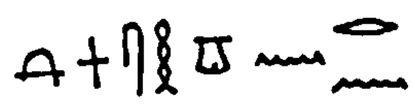
Junker, Giza I, p.226 & fig.51, p.221:

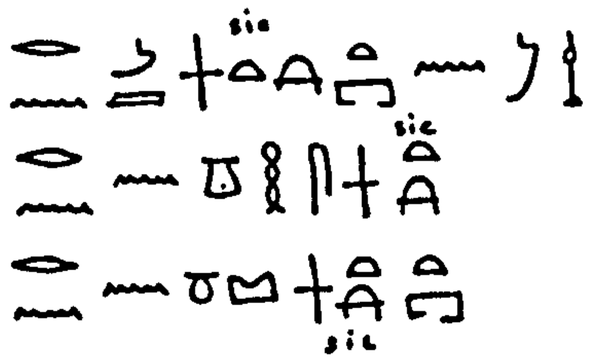
Junker, Giza VII, p.222 & fig.88, p.221: 

Junker, Giza VII, p.86, fig.36:

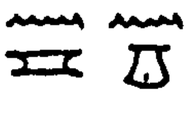
Lopez, Ostraca II, pl.55 (No.57106): 

Davies, et al, Saqqara Tombs I, pl.6: 

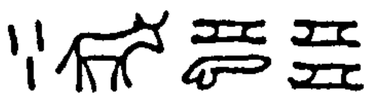
145. Badawy, Ny-hetep-Ptah, fig.36: 

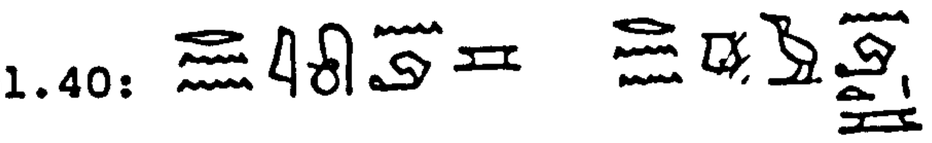
Rue de Tomb pl.80: 

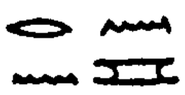
146. LD Erg 7:

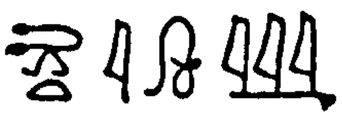


Simpson, Giza Mastabas IV, fig.30:

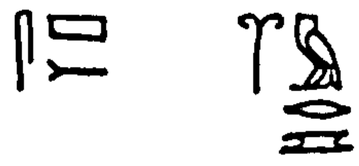
cf Urk I, 77, 11 (= Goedicke, Königliche Dokumente, p.97, with n.16). 

Caminos, Temples of Buhen II, pl.40: 

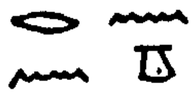
Cf Junker, Giza III, fig.18, p.139 with p.145: 

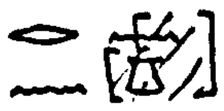
and Dunham, Giza Mastabas I, fig.4: 

In Meir V, 41, both *iw3* and *ng* share the same environment.

cf also LD II, 106: 

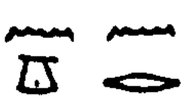
147. LD II, 91:

LD II, 49: 

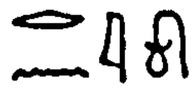
LD II, 50: 

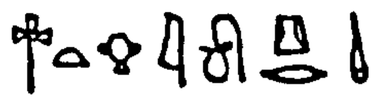
LD II, 54:

148. Meir V, 41:

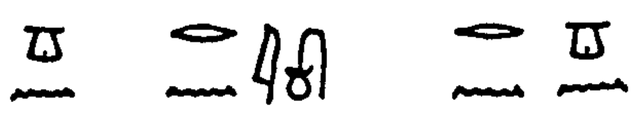
LD II, 24: 

Junker, Giza IX, fig.75, p.164:

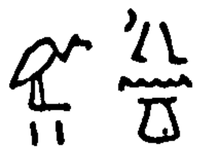
Junker, Giza XI, 60: 

Junker, Giza XI, p.211 (fig.80, p.209): 

149. Meir V, 41:

150. Badawy, Iteti, fig.20: 

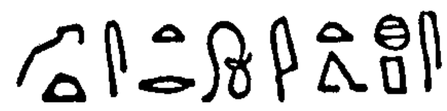
151. See Montet, Boeufs égyptiens.

152. Five Theban Tombs pl.2 (=16): 

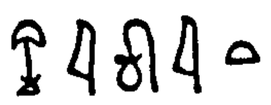
153. Ptahh II, 8:

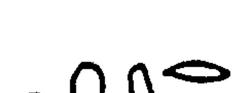
154. Montet, Boeufs égyptiens, p.48: 'les neq, mâles et femelles'; Smith, op.cit., p.307-8: 'The nq was captured by lassoing... The Egyptians bred from the females, and also naturally used them for milking, whereas in the case of the ỉwꜣ, females do not seem to be often represented and breeding in Egypt was probably less common'.

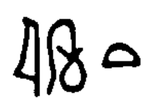
155. See above, ḥmt. Wb originally recorded a feminine form of nq (Wb II, 349, 5) but this was corrected in the Belegstellen.

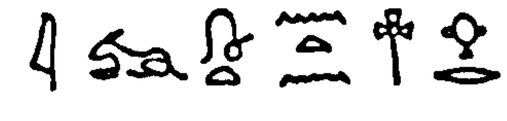
156. LD II, 45: 

Mar Mast D52 (p.317): tr.: 'boeufs'.

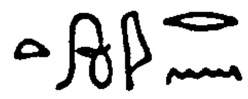
LD Erg 25-6 = LD II, 84: 

LD II, 80: 

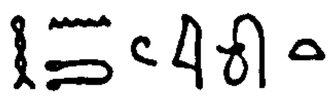
Junker, Giza III, fig.18: 

Dunham, Giza Mastabas I, fig.30: 

Mar Mast D1 (= Murray Saqqara Mast pl.21):

Junker, Giza XI, p.202 & fig.78, p.204: 

See below for *ỉwꜣt* associated with the children of Hathor.

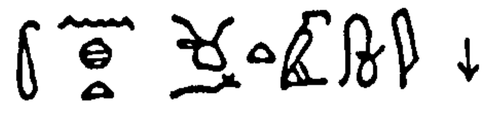
Cf Junker, Giza XI, p.207:  (• Mar Mast D60)
tr.: 'zum Schlachten fesseln'.

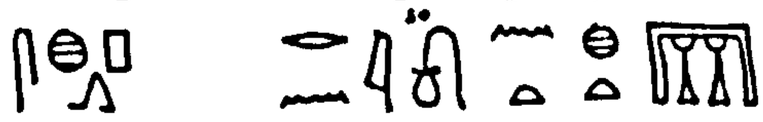
157. Kairo 1560: *tt ỉwꜣt* (text above n. 131)

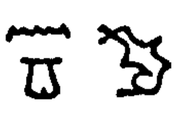
Mar Mast D60 (p.343):
tr.: 'On s'apprête à immoler une vache sans cornes'.

Rue de Tomb 56:

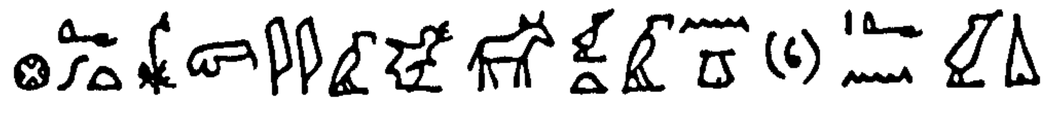
(The fourth reference given by Wb does not read *ỉwꜣt*).

158. CT VI, 298d-e: 
tr. FECT II, p.240: 'She [Hathor] finds her son and his brother; his cattle are strong', with the comment, p.241, n.3: '*ỉwꜣt* ... appears to be a fem. collective'.

159. LD Erg 41 (cow being thrown by ropes):


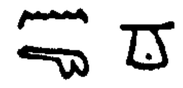
160. Leid K15 (Leemans Mon fun pl.24) : 

Abyd Mar I, 53:

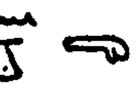
O.Mich pl.26, 6: 

See further in Otto, Mundöffnungsritual II, p73. (Text in Vol.I, p.44).

161. This was not the opinion of Helck, Materialien III, p.285, 'k3 bezeichnet eindeutig die Bullen - so oben in der Aufstellung der Herde von Medinet Habu, wo ng3 den Langhornochsen bedeutet'. Cf below on mnḥ.

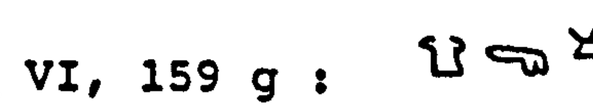
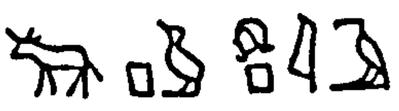
162. Eg Junker, Giza V, p.79, fig. 19 : 

Meir V, pl. 41:

Note the writing from Petrie, Deshasheh pl.18 : 

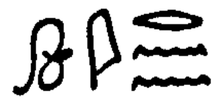
 in these cases may read t3y; in Junker it appears to contrast with ḥmt - see the other animals (donkeys and goats) below it labelled in the same way. See also the comments of P.Vernus, RdE 37 (1986) 139-147: Études de philologie et de linguistique (V), section 15: Rezzou sur les taureaux des Medjay à la XIII$^{e}$ dynastie, esp. p.114.

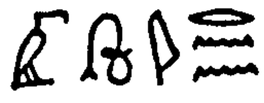
163. See on k3 above.

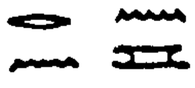
164. CT VI, 159 g :  var. 
tr. FECT II, p.167: 'O Bull who are on your standard'.

See also the publications of A.M.Blackman, ZÄS 47 (1910) 116-132 : Some Middle Egyptian Religious Texts, p.126, and P. Lacau, ASAE 5 (1904) 229-249 : Notes sur les textes religieux contenus dans les sarcophages de M. Garstang, p.237.

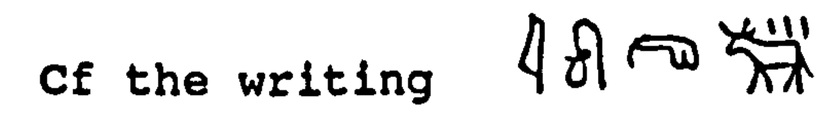
Cf k3 and ng in parallel phrases in Sinuhe 119-120 (see k3).

165. Meir V, 41 :  (bis)

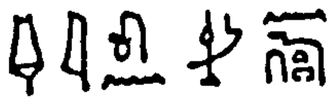
Meir II, 11 :  (bis)

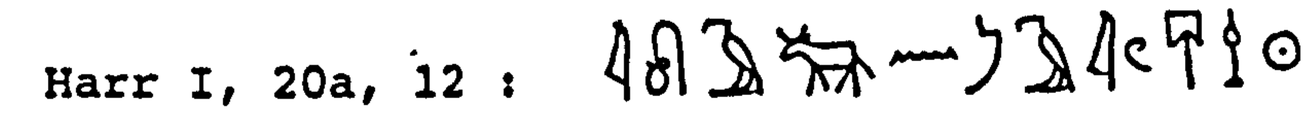
Note the comments of Junker, Giza VI, p.50 : 'Der ỉwỉ ist als Ochs und nicht als Stier gezeichnet. Zwar glaubt man, daß die alten Ägypter das Verschneiden der Tiere nicht geübt hätten, aber es ist doch sehr auffallend, daß bei den Opferrindern nie die Geschlechtsmerkmale angegeben werden. Eine Ausnahme bildet das  '. Cf Hartmann, Systematischen Aufzählung, p.180.

166. Nastesen 37 -38 :

Cf the writing  in Cat des Mons I, 186 (see too nfrw, bḥs and nq for writings of other cattle terms with ).

167. See in the notes above and below, esp. n.46, 47 and 200.

168. Abyd Mar II, 7 (= KRI II, 536, 6) : 

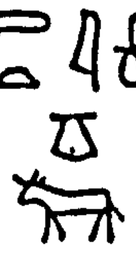
Harr I, 20a, 12 : 

169. Mereruka B5 :

170. Mereruka B5 :

Text relig 22:

KRI I, 195 :

171. Beni Hasan II, 7 : 

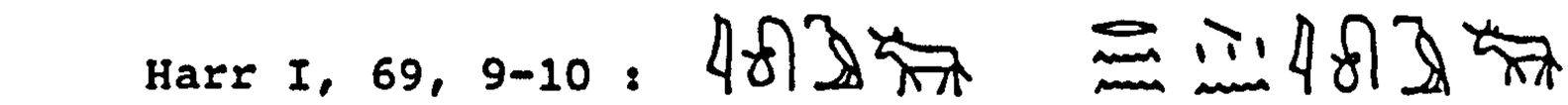
172. Junker, Giza VI, p.50.

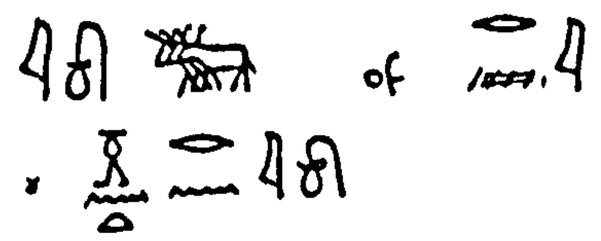
173. Text Relig 22 :

For wnm with goat determinative see Ch.7: Goats.

174. See above.

175. Med Habu 156 :

Harr I, 69, 9-10 : 

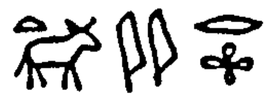
176. Junker, Giza VI, p.126 & fig. 40 on p.127 : 

177. See above. See also James, Hekanakhte, p.53, n.11, for rn n k3 and rnt n k3 'the young (female or male) of bulls'.

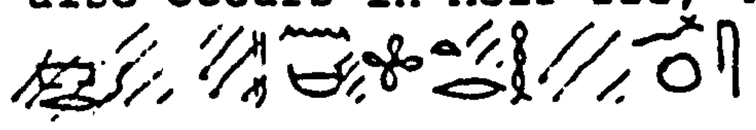
178. See Ch.5: Dogs and Similar Animals.

179. 'Dies Wort und die verwandten werden ausgewachsene aber noch "jungfräuliche" Tiere oder Menschen bedeuten'. For the Coptic see CD 306b: 'virgin, virginity'; Černý, CED, p.142; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.179b; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.169.

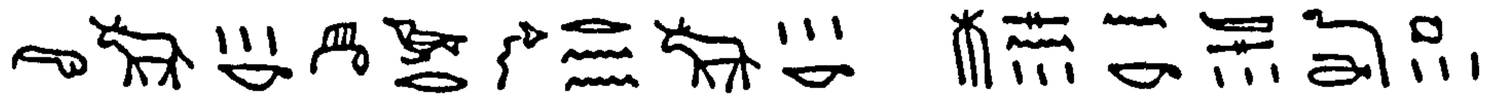
180. Joleaud, Ruminants cervicornes, p.39, noted: 'Le mot Ran...voulait dire, non seulement bête domestique (élevée dans une étable), mais aussi animal vièrge, et c'est dans ce dernier sens exclusivement qu'il s'est conservé en copte; en fait, cette seconde signification impliquait l'idée de bête propre au sacrifice'.

181. Leid K14 (= Wreszinski, Atlas I, pl.422) : 

On the reading of the word and for further examples see J.-J. Clère, Archiv Orientální 20 (1952) 629-641 : La lecture de la fraction 'deux-tiers' en égyptien, esp. p.636 and 637.

It is possible that the word also occurs in Meir III, 4 : 

To Clère, op.cit., n.42, this : 'prouve que le mot pouvait aussi s'appliquer, comme nfrt...à une jeune vache vêlant pour la première fois'. Cf Guglielmi, Reden, p.113, and Osing, Nominalbildung, p.750-751, n.913.

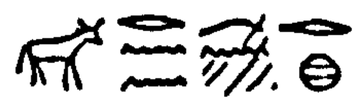
Petosiris Text 58, 1, 25-26 : 

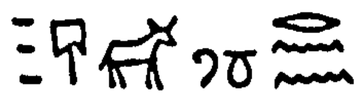
'your bulls making your rnn(wt) pregnant so that they bear you fat calves'.

Cf also Petosiris Text 43 :

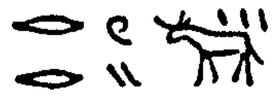
182. P.Ch. B. V, rto 8, 7 :

tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.49: 'oxen, younglings, short-horns, steers'.

Abyd Mar I, 48 (= KRI I, 193) : 

Lopez, Ostraca II, pl.55 (No. 57106) : 

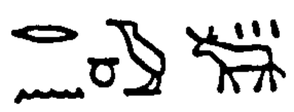
Harr 46, 2 :

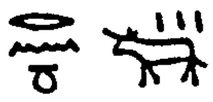
presumably also Med Habu Piehl Inscr I, 149B, 13 : 

rn was also used independently; see eg, CAA Pelizaeus III, 72 (offering list) - rn with the cattle head determinative appears next to ng with a similar determinative:

183. Louvre C11, 4 (= Sethe, Lesestücke, p.76, 21) :

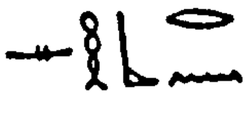
LD III, 651a, 11 (Amada 11) :

Abyd Mar I, 53 (= KRI II, 510, 6) : 

KRI I, 194 (Abyd Mar I, 48) bis:  var.

184. See Joleaud, loc.cit.

185. Junker, Giza VI, p.50 : 'es soll nur besagen, daß das Tier noch jung ist, daß keine alten Tiere mit zähem Fleisch zum Opfer gebracht werden...rn bezeichnet eben nicht das Jungvieh in seiner ersten Zeit, dafür bestand bei den Rindern der besondere Name bḥs'. (On bḥs see below).

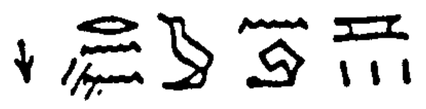
186. Mogensen, Mastaba égyptien, p.21, fig. 15, pl.17 : 

This is depicted with two rn n ỉwꜣ; it is bigger than one, smaller than the other. T.G.H. James, The Mastaba of Khe ka (London 1953) p.61, noted on this subject: 'it is strange, if rn does mean "young", to use it with bḥz which already means "calf"...'. This picture was also commented on by Junker, Giza VII, p.75, in a revision of his earlier ideas : 'Dort steht bei einem hornlosen

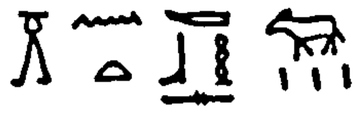
Rind . Es ist aber ein fettes, hornloses Tier mit dem Körperbau und dem Schwanz eines ausgewachsenen Rindes, mit schwerer Wampe; es trägt die Mattendecke und ein Halsband mit Anhängsel; auch das Maul ist mit Stricken umwickelt und aus ihm hängt das Kieferseil. Vor ihm stehen zwei langhörnige Ochsen mit Kieferseil, die genannt werden. bḥs paßt durchaus nicht zu dem Bilde der gewöhnlich mit diesem Worte bezeichnetem Kälber...Vielleicht wollte man das Jungsein des Tieres betonen und mit rn bḥs ausdrücken, daß es ein Jungtier sei, das noch als Kalb bezeichnet werden könne'.

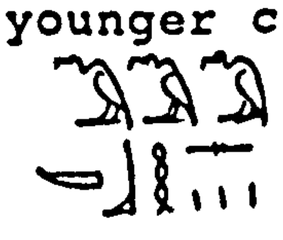
Rn and bḥs appear applied to oryxes in the mastaba of Idut; the animal marked rn n mɜḥd appears to be an adult while the bḥs n mɜḥd is obviously very young (see Macramallah, Idout, pl.20):

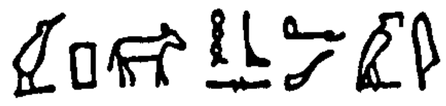
187. Joleaud, op.cit., p.40, noted : 'Ce mot [rn]...semble bien devoir être rendu ici par le qualicatif français "domestique" et s'oppose donc à l'égyptien Ma "sauvage"'. Cf Montet Scènes, p.113 : 'Je verrais donc plutôt dans le  animal dressé, domestiqué, habitué à obéir'.

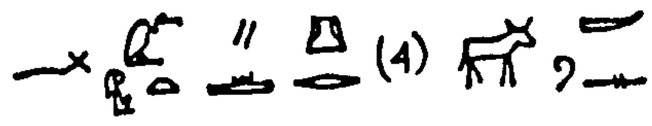
188. Note Caminos, Temples of Buhen II, pl.40: 

189. Note bḥs in a byre (ỉḥy), mentioned elsewhere in connection with cattle.
An IV, 3, 11:
tr. Caminos, LEM, p.138: 'Your byre is full of calves'.

190. LD II, 102a: 

On the same register an apparently younger calf accompanies a group of cows over which is written: 

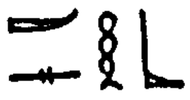
Ti, pl.112 (with mnʿt): 

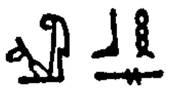
O.DelM 1059, vso 3-4: 

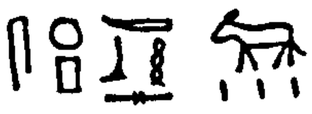
O.Cairo 25589, rto 2, 5:

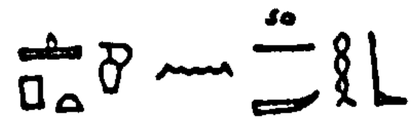
Other references to bḥs as young animals:

LD II, 77 (the calf stands behind a cow which is being milked):

Kairo 36194 (a cow with foot raised to mouth is accompanied by a suckling calf): 

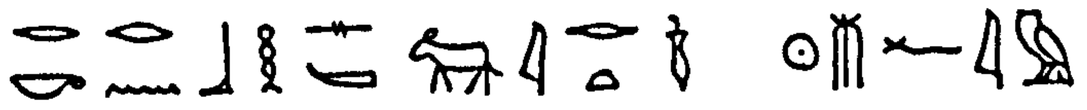
Ptahh II, 8: A man called  carries a calf

LD II, 102b: Somewhat more mature calves than those shown in (a) are entitled: 

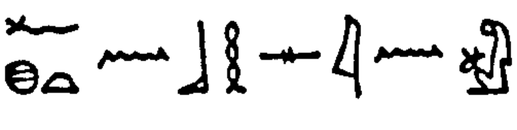
Nianchchnum pl.67c (tr. p.139): 

191. See the previous note; cf too ḫwt bḥs below.

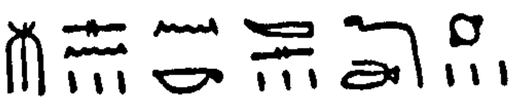
192. The phrase bḥs ỉrtt which Faulkner, AEPT, p.7, tr. 'sucking calf', also occurs in Beni Hasan II, 7 and indicates the reliance of the bḥs on its mother's milk. Cf Wb I, 116, 7:.... Milchkalb.

Pyr 27: 

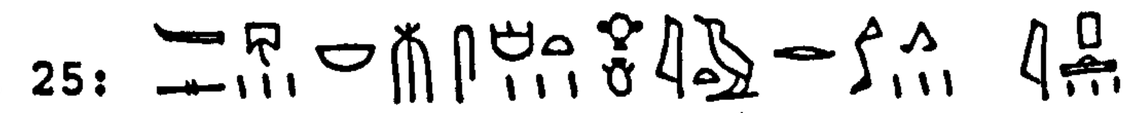
tr. Faulkner, AEPT, p.7: 'your mouth is the mouth of a sucking calf on the day it was born'.

Mar Mast D23 (p.243): 

'Delivery of a calf by the overseer'.

Petosiris text No.58, 1.25-26: 

'Your bulls making your rnn(wt) become pregnant, so that they bear you fat calves'.

Hungersnot 25: 

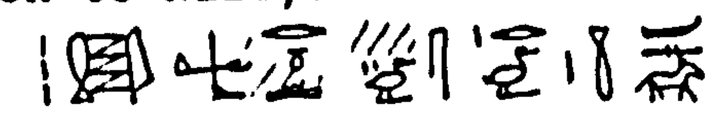
193. Deir el Gebr II, 19:

tr. G.Roquet, BIFAO 78 (1978) 487-495: Wḥm, verbe plein et semi-auxiliare, p.488: 'abreuver (...) un bouvillon d'élevage'.

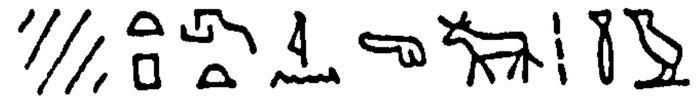
For bḥs šdy see also ḥr-dbʿ.

194. Cf Mar Mast D2: 'un... boeuf sans cornes'.

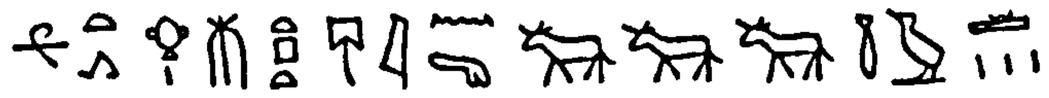
195. LD III, 175a, 10 = KRI I, 91 (invocation to Nile):



196. <u>kȝ wȝḏ</u> describes cattle pulling coffins -

E.Lüddeckens, <u>MDAIK</u> 11 (1943) 1-188: Untersuchungen über religiosen Gehalt, Sprache und Form der ägyptischen Totenklagen, p.29: 

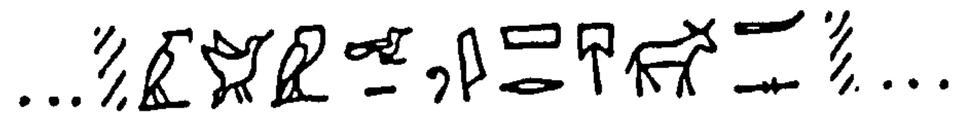
Champ Not I, 836 (Theb Grab 81 = Mém Miss 18, pl.9):



Since <u>bḥs</u> occurs throughout Egyptian history <u>ỉḥ wȝḏ/šrỉ</u> is unlikely to be a synonymous term and should be read 'young/small [ox]'. This is supported by the relatively higher price of the <u>ỉḥ</u> (see Janssen, <u>Commodity Prices</u>, p.88)

The <u>ỉḥ wȝḏ</u> of <u>HO</u> I, pl.77, rto 9 (O.Oriental Hist. Univ. of Chicago 12073) and <u>ỉḥ šrỉ</u> (O.DelM 113, 3) cost 30 and 40 <u>dbn</u> copper respectively.

The <u>bḥs</u> occurs in O.Cairo 25725, 6: with a value of 4 <u>snỉw</u> (20 <u>dbn</u> copper); in P.Berlin 9785, 11-12 (unpublished) two calves (<u>bḥst</u>) cost 1 <u>dbn</u> silver (50 <u>dbn</u> copper) each. A cow in the same papyrus is sold for 16 <u>snỉw</u> ($66^{2}/_{3}$ <u>dbn</u> copper).

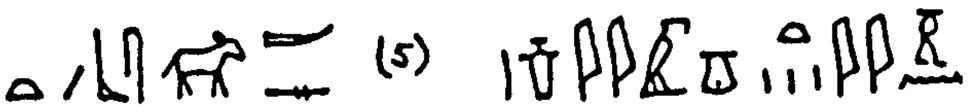
197. P. DelM pl.27 (X vso 5): 

tr. p.23: '(5)... [un] petit veau dans le...'

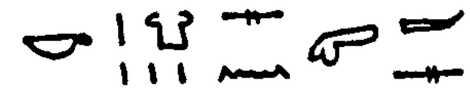
198. See above.

199. Possibly not to be read <u>sʿb</u>.

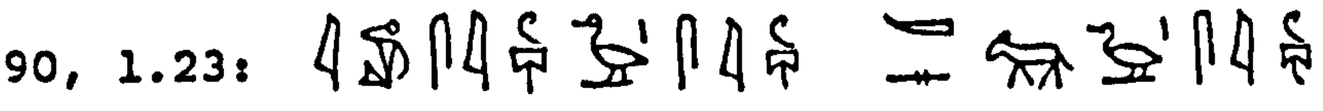
Janssen, <u>Ships' Logs</u> (P.Leiden I, 350, vso & P.Turin 2008 + 2016) (= KRI II, 210-11):



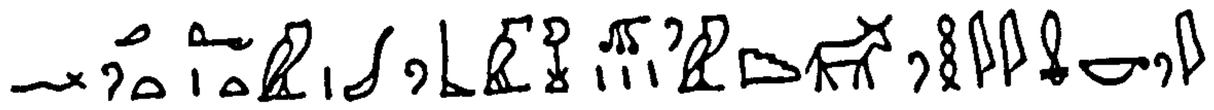
Note Janssen's comment: 'As to the exact meaning of <u>sb</u> I am unable to offer any explanation'. For <u>sʿb</u> elsewhere see <u>nfrw</u> (An IV, 15, 5-6 = An III, 8, 1-8 & cf Ptolemaic <u>sʿb</u> (<u>Wb</u> IV, 44, 1: verschnittener Stier als Bez. für den Mond).

200. Meir II, 11: A young oryx is carried by a man behind a female oryx: 

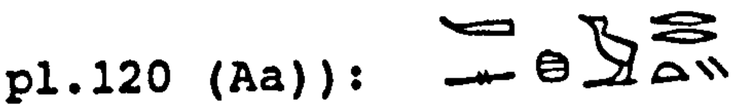
Macramallah, Idout, pl.20:

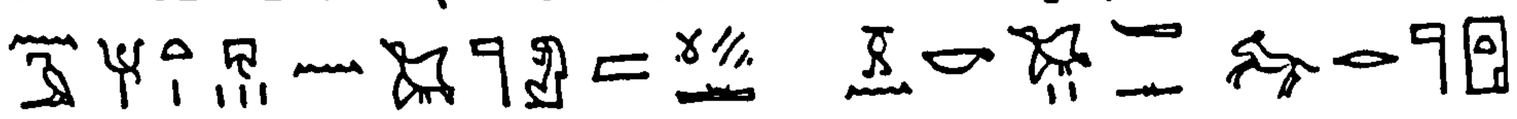
BM 190, 1.23: 

201. See Ch.6: Elephant, Rhino and Hippo for ḫ3b and Ch.20: Insects for ḫwrr.

202. Koenig, P.Boulaq VI, p.84, (col.8,4):


tr. p.85: 'Tu est comme un très jeune boeuf noir lui même' (with n.c).

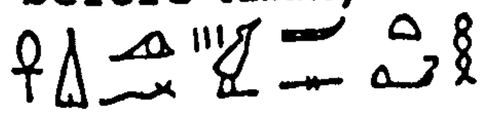
203. BOD 109, vignette (Totb Nav I, pl.120 (Aa)): 

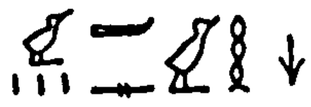
204. Theb Grab 31 <1670> (overseer of cattle says):


205. Discussed at length by A.M.Blackman and H.W.Fairman, JEA 35 (1949) 98-112: The significance of the ceremony ḥwt bḥsw in the temple of Horus at Edfu. See also Kees, Tieropfer, p.476 and H.te Velde, LÄ II, 1-4: Erntezeremonien, col.2.

The ritual appears most often in Ptolemaic texts; earlier examples include:

Berl 11978 (bḥs not written - only colours given).
publ. G.Möller, ZÄS 39 (1901) 71-74: Das Ḥb-sd des Osiris, pl.5 (before Osiris).

Luksor <325> Kammer V = H.Brunner, Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor (Mayence 1977) pl.148 (6 calves brought before Amun):


Deirelb 134 (before Amun): 

Note also calves of black, white and red in Caminos, Temples of Buhen II, pl.20 and p.16.

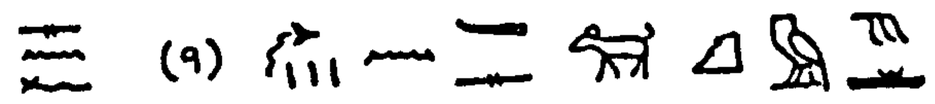
In one case (Edfu I, 101, 18)

w3d 'green' and ỉrtyw 'wine red' replace dšr and s3b (which label the calves).

On 'green' also as a colour among cattle see Gardiner, AEO I, p.22: in the Ramesseum ostracon a bull designated is described 'That is a red bull' (tr. p.23), and E.Iversen, KDVS 34 (1955) 1-42: Some ancient Egyptian Paints and Pigments: A lexicographical study, esp. p.8: 'the only shade of green which could be brought into connection with red is obviously yellow'.

206. P.Kah (med) 3, 20:

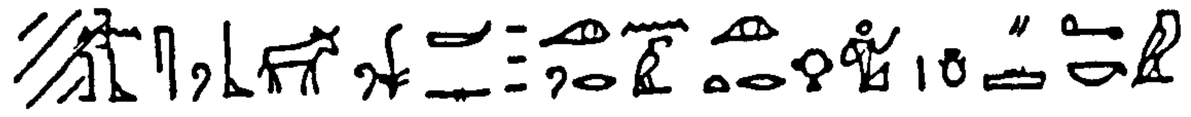
(Incantation to predict whether a woman will conceive or not).

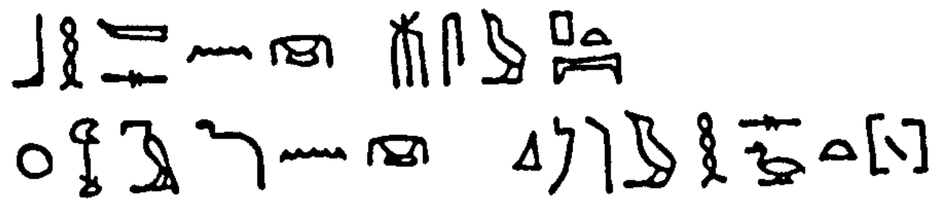
Eb 65, 8-9: 

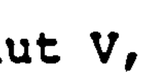
Wb.Drog. V, p.510; Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.296.

Eb 65, 19-20:

Wb.Drog. V, p.510; Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.296.

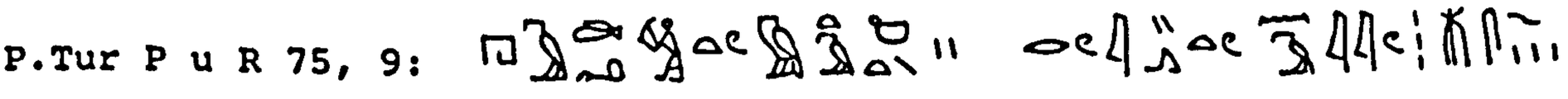
207. O.DelM 1649, I, 6: 

208. Pyr 1029: 

tr. Sethe, UuK IV, p.310: 'NN. [kommt] zu dir, o Re', ein Kalb des Goldes, geboren vom Himmel, ein Mastkalb des Goldes, geschaffen von der Ḥs3.t-Kuh', with p.311: 'Daher ḫ3d wohl auch ein Wort für „Kalb", viell. mit  , dem Namen eines Vorortes von Dendera, wo der Sohn der Hathor  zu Haus war, zusammenhängend oder mit  "Teig" zum Nudeln des Viehs'. (See Wb III, 237, 2-4: Art Teig zu Brot, das aus dem Teige gebackene Brot).

209. A.Ember, ZÄS 51 (1913) 110-121: Kindred Semito-Egyptian Words, para.2.

210. Siut V, 13:

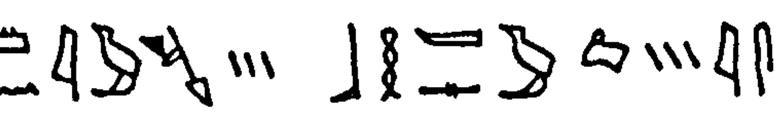
P.Tur P u R 75, 9: 

In the third example recorded by Wb II, 140, 8-9 ms does not have calf determinative but perhaps because the subject of the sentence is not a real animal but Amun, described as a bull: 'Amun the bull, the child (ie calf) of the rnn-cow, the one who lies in a byre'.

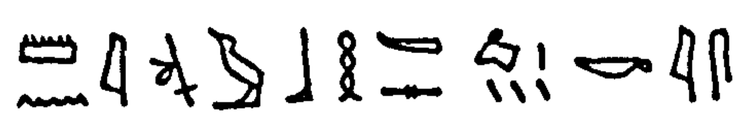
211. Pyr 27: bḥs ỉrt(t) (see above).

Pyr 771:

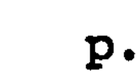
tr. Sethe, UuK III, p.415: 'O NN. da, hüte dich vor Mḥn.tj-n-ỉr.tj, deinem Hirten, der hinter deinen Kälbern ist', with p.420-421.

Pyr 1348: 

tr. Sethe, UuK V, p.271: 'Die Kbḥ.wt setzt ihn auf ihre Seite, sie läßt ihm nieder unter den ḫnt.w-s, wie die Kälberhirten' (with p.277).

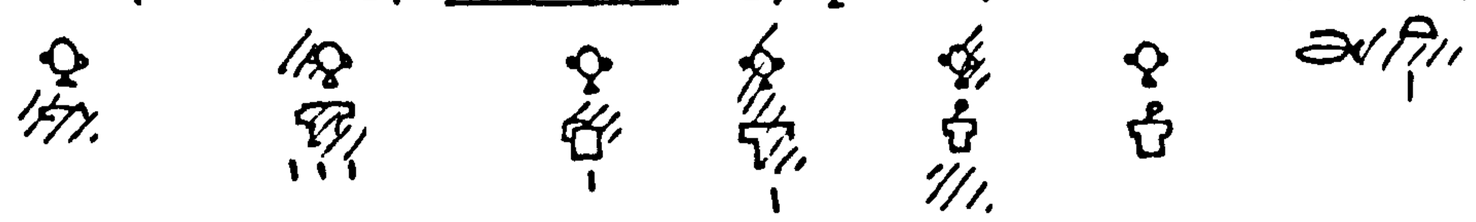
Pyr 1533: 

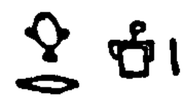
tr. Sethe, UuK V, p.483: 'Du kennt sie nicht, du staunst über sie, du hast sie Umarmung gegeben (in die Arme genommen), wie der Hirte deine Kälber' (with p.486).

212. CD 185b; Černý, CED, p.90: 'young'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.101, recorded  separately from ; tr. the latter 'Junges (von Tieren), Kind'; former 'Kalb, Jungstier' (cf too p.520); Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.121b: ms 'veau' though also 'jeune animal'.

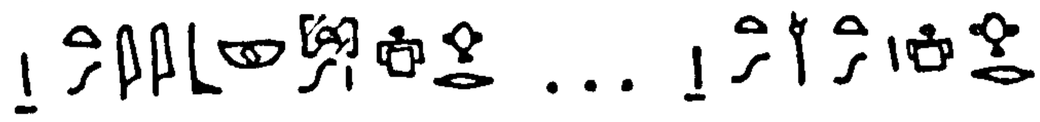
213. CD 48a; Černý, CED, p.30: 'heifer'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.30: 'Kalb'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.34a: 'gémisse'.

214. Gauthier, Dictionnaire VI, p.74: 'le nome du veau divin'. Of the sign he noted: 'Le premier animal est un veau, sautant ou couché; le deuxième est un boeuf (non une vache), le plus souvent debout mais quelquefois aussi couché'.

215. Rekhmire, pl.5-6 (= Davies, Rekhmire II, pl.34; = Urk IV, 1121, 1130-32): 

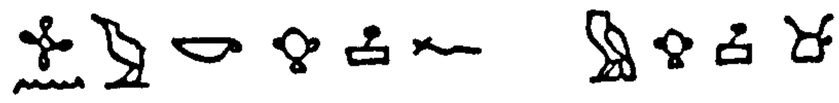
216. Harr 20a, 7: 

P.Kah 16, 14:

P.Gurob, frag F. 1.9 <17> (= Gardiner, RAD, p.19, 1.7):


217. Lopez, Ostraca II, pl.55, No.57106 rto:

218. Posener-Kriéger & de Cenival, HPBM 5th ser, pl.64 & 64A, frag.F:

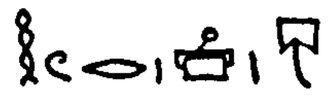
219. Pyr 1544: 
tr. Sethe, UuK V, p.494: 'auf dessen Rücken du sein sollst als einem auf dem Rücken liegenden (Rind)'. Faulkner, AEPT, tr. p.234-235: 'O my father Osiris this King, I have smitten for you him who smote you as an ox; I have killed for you him who killed you as a wild bull; I have broken for you him who broke you as a long-horn on whose back you were, as a subjected bull', with n.1: 'Lit. "on-the-back bull", ie a subjected animal on whose back the king stands'.

220. Edgerton & Wilson, Hist Rec Ram III, p.67, n.37c. They tr. from Med Habu, pl.75 'bullocks, yearlings' and 'heifers, yearlings (female)'.

221. Rekhmire, p.28.

222. CT VI, 344g:
tr. FECT II, p.270: 'I am Nu... men of the blind ones are my cattle' (my omission).

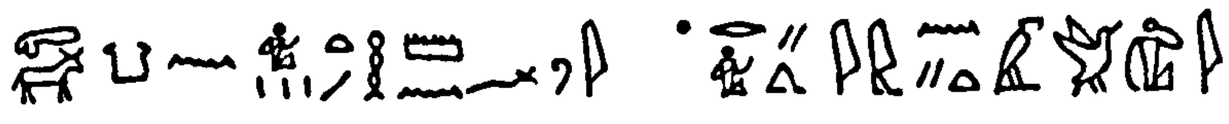
G.Posener, RdE 18 (1966) 45-65. Quatre tablettes scolaires de basse époque (Aménémopé et Hardjédef).
At the top of the tablet (Posener's 'Côté A') two words are written in the space left by the two short lines:

 ; this was identified by him as the 'nom de taurillon' ḥr-s3, lit. 'celui qui vient après, plus âgé'.

223. KRI II, 536, 9: (3)

224. Wb II, 83, 13-17: Jüngling, Bursche. See Gardiner, AEO I, p.214, No.296 (Index tr. 'stripling'); cf No.295. See too W.Spiegelberg, ZÄS 53 (1917) 91-115: Varia, tr. 'Pächter' p.109; P.Ch.B. V, rto 5, 7 and vso 1, 2 (p3 mnḥw/n3 mnḥt respectively).

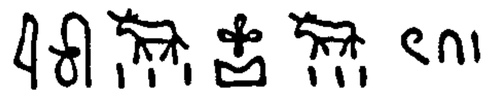
225. Shorter, JEA 22 (1936) 165-168: A Magical Ostracon = O. Armytage [1]:



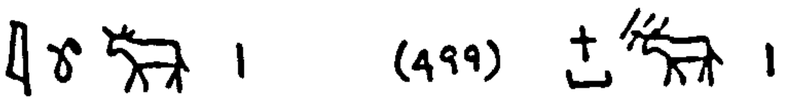
This is a magical text directed against an ox-herd or cattle farmer stating that he will fall victim to one of his own beasts and eventually be dismembered like a sacrificial ox by the magician.

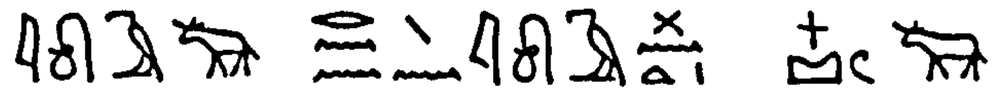
tr. p.165: 'O whoever it is that comes for me, if he is an ox-herd ' but tr. Borghouts, AEMT, p.1: 'O you who come for me <as> a young bull'.

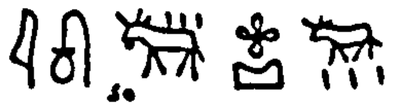
226. Amada 11 (LD III, 65a, 11) :

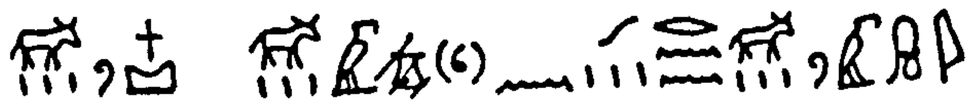
Urk IV, 720 : 

Urk IV, 721 :

Med Habu 150, 499 : 

Harr 69, 9 : 

Urk III, 27 (Pianchi 86) : 

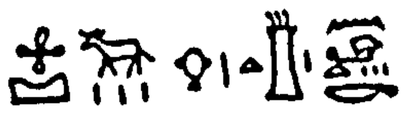
Koller 3, 6: 

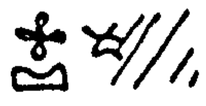
Cat des Mon 1, 186 :

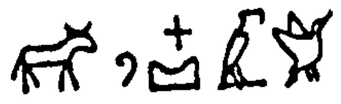
An IV, 15, 5 :

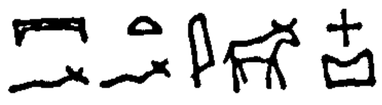
Note here the comment of Caminos, LEM, p.210 on ỉw3(w) wndw which he tr. 'oxen (and) short-horned cattle' 'although the possibility of wndw being joined to ỉw3(w) as a direct genitive cannot be

ruled out altogether. The noun-phrase would then denote some special kind of short-horned cattle'.

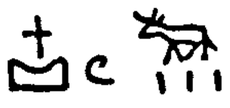
Abyd Mar I, 53 (= KRI II, 510, 7) : 

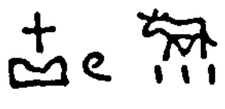
Caminos, Ibrim, pl.32 1.6 (imports from southern lands) : 

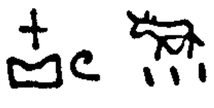
P. Leid I, 350 vso 3, 23 (= KRI II, 810, 10) : 

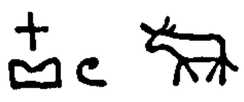
P. Leid I, 350 vso 4, 21 (= KRI II, 812, 11) : 

Janssen, Ships' Logs, p.38, note to 3, 23: 'wndw is the name of a special kind of hornless cattle and of artificially dehorned animals'.

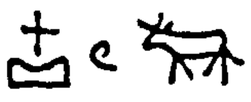
Harr 12b, 7: 

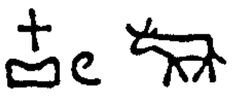
Harr 32b, 10: 

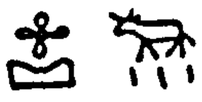
Harr 51b, 13: 

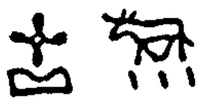
Harr 20a, 12: 

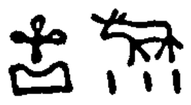
740

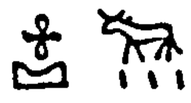
Harr 35a, 8: 

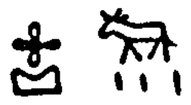
Harr 38a, 1 : 

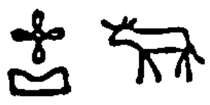
Urk IV, 742: 

Urk IV, 746: 

Urk IV, 741: 

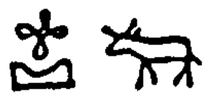
Urk IV, 725 (bis) (Kush; Wawat): 

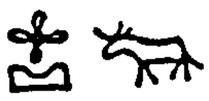
Urk IV, 728 - (Kush): 

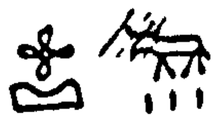
Urk IV, 699 (Retjenu): 

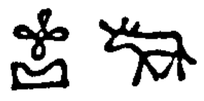
Urk IV, 685:

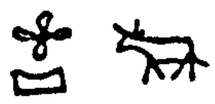
Urk IV, 69 (Retjenu):

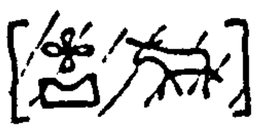
Urk IV, 695 (Kush): 

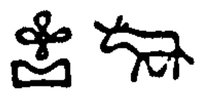
Urk IV, 696 (Wawat): 

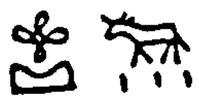
Urk IV, 702 (Kush): 

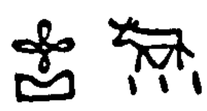
Urk IV, 703 (Wawat): 

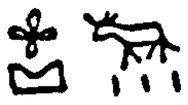
Urk IV, 706: 

Urk IV, 708: 

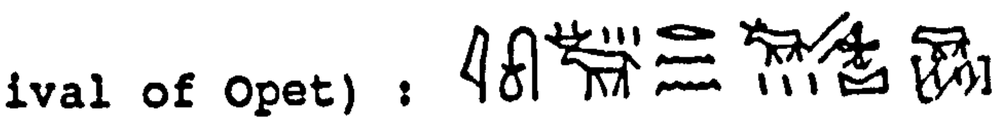
Urk IV, 709: 

Urk IV, 715: 

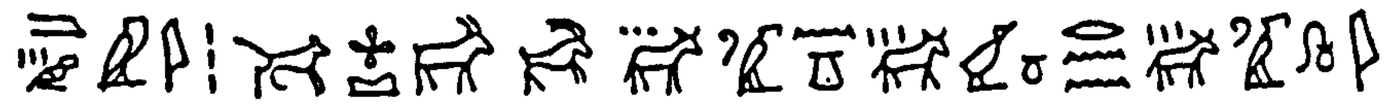
Urk IV, 716 (Wawat): 

Urk IV, 720 (Kush): 

Exceptions :

KRI II, 572, 14 (Festival of Opet) : 

Nauri 19 :



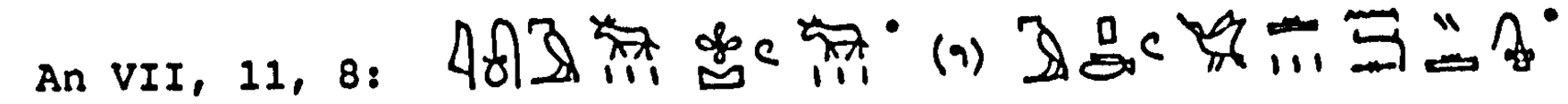
tr. Griffith p.199: 'The stalls are full of fat bulls, kine and oxen , goats, and oryxes; calves are therein in hundreds of thousands'; in n.3 he said: 'The meaning of the different terms for cattle is difficult to define'.

O. Cairo 25356:

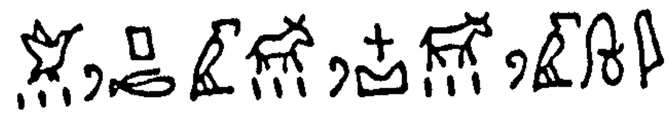
LD III, 258a, 5: (text n.143)

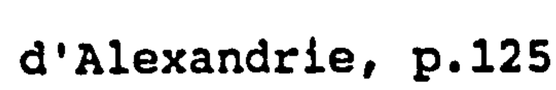
P.Ch.B. I, rto 17, 10:

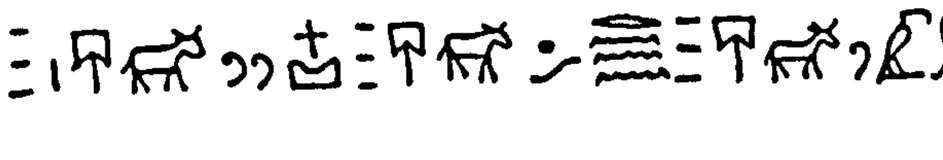
tr. p.38: 'O door, exert not thy power, that an ox may be slaughtered to the bolt, A short-horn to the threshold'.

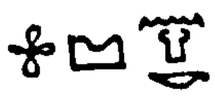
An VII, 11, 8: 

O.Mich pl.30, 1.9:



G.Daressy, ASAE 5 (1904) 113-131: Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques du Musée d'Alexandrie, p.125 (35, no.185): 

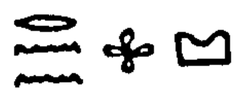
Note the exception in -
P.Ch.B. V, rto 8, 6: 

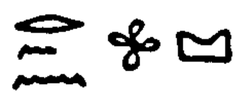
227. Beni Hasan II, 7 : 

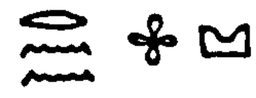
Davies, Rekhmire, pl. 30 :

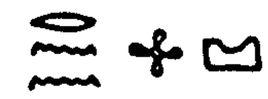
Cf pl. 34 :

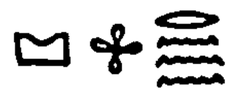
Beni Hasan II, pl.4 :

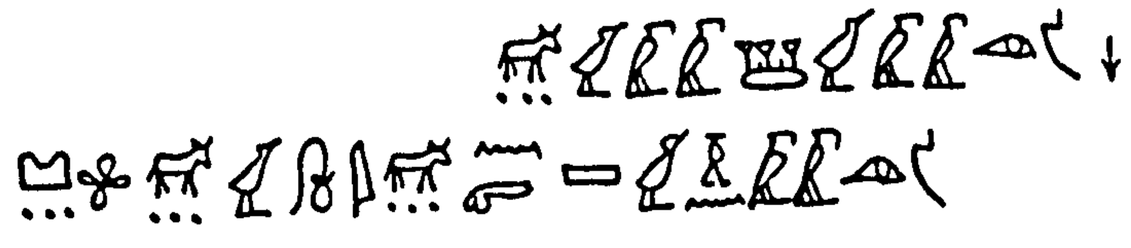
228. LD II, 129 (with 3 rnn ỉw3, 1 rnn n3w) : 

Beni Hasan I, 17 : 

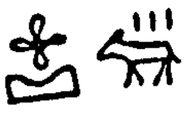
I, 18 : 

I, 35 : 

LD II, 131: 

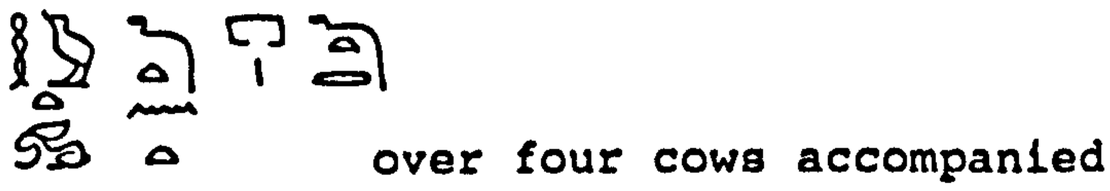
229. Beni Hasan II, 32 : 

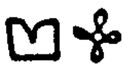
(none of the animals depicted are marked wndw, nor do any have short or trimmed horns, nor are any hornless).

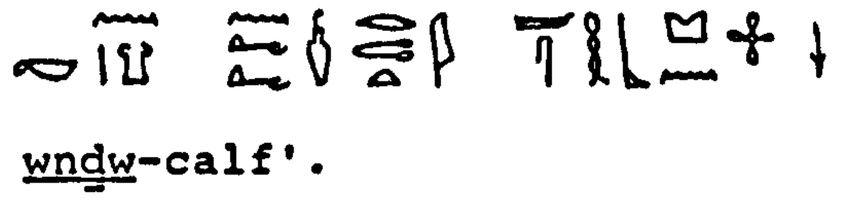
A hornless example is shown by the determinative in KRI I, 194: 

230. Luksor<222> Raum G:
ein Opferrind heisst

231. Totb Nav 125, Einl. 6 :

LD II, 31a:  over four cows accompanied by three calves.

232. Wreszinski, Atlas III, pl.94, c: 

233. Beni Hasan II, 7: 

tr. Janssen, Ships' Logs, p.25: 'a wndw-calf'.

cf LD Erg 29 :

234. Wb I, 326, 1 (wndw.t): der Schiffsbauch

I, 326, 5-6 (wndt.t): Leute, Angehörige jemds. Bewohner eines Ortes

I, 326, 7-9 (wndw.w): die Art, Beschaffenheit von....

I, 326, 10 (wndw.w): Opfergaben, Speisen, uä

235. Maspero, Hymne au Nil, p.37 .

He also suggested the tr.: 'le boeuf ou le veau gras (?)' because of LD II, 129 'qui nous montrent des sujets gras sans cornes' (see above).

236. E.Andersson, Sphinx 16 (1912) 145-164 : La dénomination égyptienne des boeufs sans cornes, p.163.

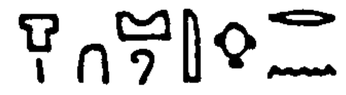
On p.159 he noted that wndw denoted 'boeufs décornés artificiellement; employés également comme noms de boeufs à cornes sciées'.

237. Andersson, op.cit., p.160-163 compared a phrase from BOD 145, 19:

tr. Allen, BOD, p.130: '<the claws> upon me are leopards' but interpreted by Andersson, p.160 'ma figure (mon mufle) est pointue (pointu) comme celle (celui) de l'animal abi'; the name ḥr-ʿnt he therefore explained as describing the rather pointed heads of hornless cattle.

Compare Coptic ϩⲓⲃ 'lamb' (CD 652b); Černý, CED, p.274, postulated an etymology * ḥrj-ỉb. See also Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.564: 'Lamm'.

238. Andersson, op.cit., p.155-156 & p.159; also p.164 (conclusion): 'nom de la race sans cornes; ce nom ne s'emploie que fort rarement pour désigner les boeufs décornés artificiellement'. Cf Ghoneim, Rind, p.76: 'Bei den iw3-Rindern gibt es Langhornrinder, Kurzhornrinder, aber es gibt auch iw3-Rinder, die keine Hörner tragen; unter diesen sind die hornlosen Rinder wie die künstlich enthörnten Rinder zu unterscheiden... Der Ausdruck der Ägypter für diese hornlosen Rinder war ḥr-ḏbʿ'.

239. LD II, 60: 

This text was interpreted by H.Goedicke, RdE 11 (1957) 159-161: Ḥry-ḏbʿ, 'suckled calf' as indicating the animal's weight, with standing as the determinative of 'stone' (ie ▭); the number, 110, he compared with the weight of c.100kg. at which calves are slaughtered today. He believed the ḥr-ḏbʿ to be a large calf (just before beginning to eat grass).

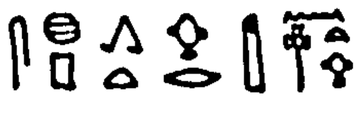
LD II, 62 (being encouraged to eat/drink):

LD II, 105b (being encouraged to eat/drink):

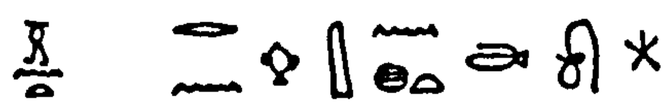
LD II, 25 list (= Junker, Giza III, p.99):

&

(led by hand under chin):

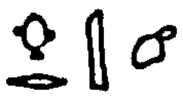
LD II, 102a: 

LD II, 102b:

LD Erg 41: 

tr. Junker, Giza III, p.113: 'für die Morgenmahlzeit'.

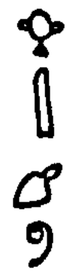
Medum 11:

Kairo 1392: 

Junker, Giza IV, pl.12: (colour)

(note that this animal appears to have short (budding) horns but

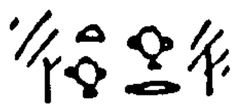
this is an effect caused by loss of paint. On p.96 Junker described it as 'ein hornloses Rind').

Medum 13: 

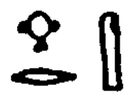
Murray Saqqara Mast, pl.18:

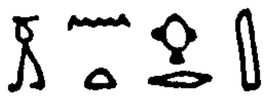
Murray, op.cit., pl.22:

Mar Mast D1:

Junker, Giza III, p.51: 

Junker, Giza IV, p.96 = pl.12 (in colour):

ibid VI, 51 (LD II, 45): 

ibid XI, 147 (= fig.1, p.143): 

ibid XI, 149 (= p.148, fig.62):

ibid XI, p.202:

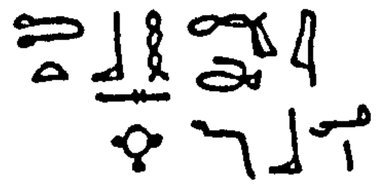
Junker, Giza II, p.83:

ibid II, 181, fig.27:

Kairo 1392:

240. Andersson, op.cit., p.151; Ghoneim, op.cit., p.77: 'Bei den hornlosen Rindern begleitet fast immer die Bezeichnung - ḥr-dbᶜ die Darstellung . Selten findet man die Bezeichnung auch bei künstlich enthörnten Rindern' (no references given).

241. LD II, 22:

242. Dunham, Giza Mastabas I, fig.4: 

243. See examples in the notes above.

244. Goedicke, op.cit.

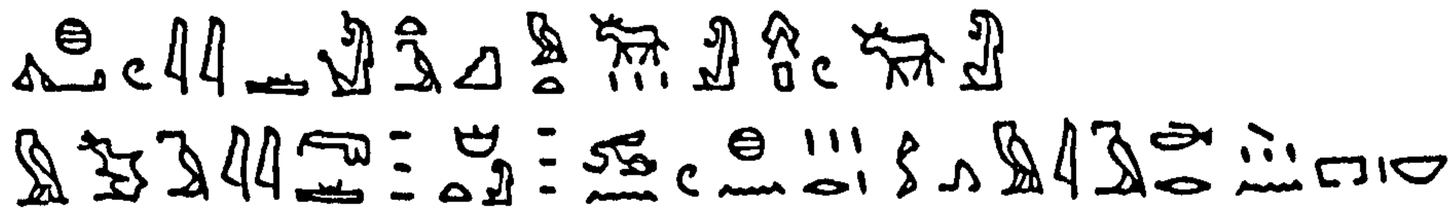
245. Wb IV, 564, 17 - 565, 15: saügen, aufziehen, attested from the Late Period onwards.

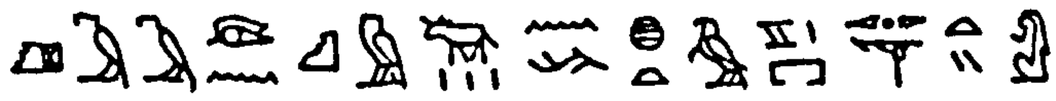
246. Junker, Giza VI, p.51.

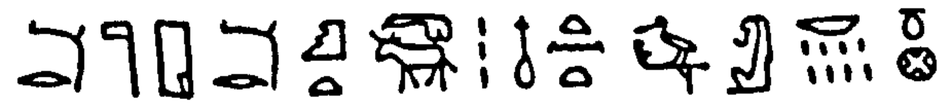
247. Montet, Scènes, p.139.

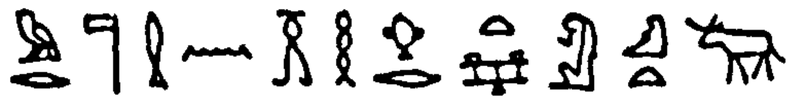
Cf the tr. of G.Roquet, BIFAO 76 (1976) 37-63: Le nom de l'ânon..., p.43, No.22: 'veau de lait' without comment; of Meeks, AL 77.2789: 'veau non sevré'.
Ghoneim, Rind, p.78 with n.1, giving a modern Arabic phrase: 'Pflege sie mit den Fingerspitzen, d.h. mit Sorgfalt'.

248. Andersson, op.cit., p.163: 'La dénomination ḥr-ānz [ie ʿnd, 'point'] ne paraît avoir été employée que dans l'Ancien Empire. Plus tard elle a disparu et le nom général du boeuf: àua sert de nom aussi pour la race sans cornes'.

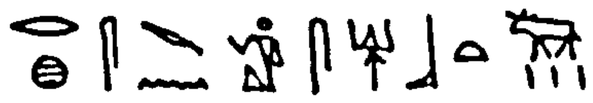
249. Harr 49,4: 

Amenemope 3, 2: 

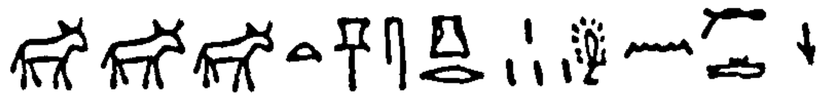
Kairo 20025, 7: 

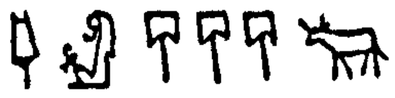
Kairo 1455: 

Louvre C112:

250. Lacau, Sarcophages II, 110: 

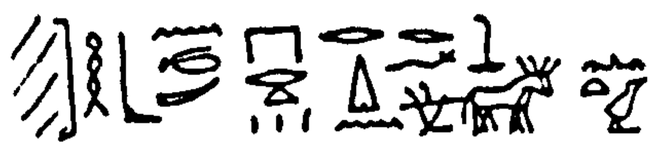
Urk I, 158, 22:

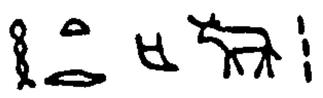
Siut V, 11: 

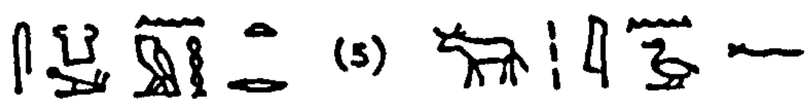
Berl 13502+13503 (Vol.I, 267): 

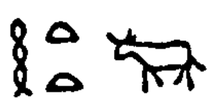
On this see also H.G.Fischer, JNES 18 (1959) 233-272: A scribe of the army in a Saqqara mastaba of the early fifth dynasty, p.257-258.

251. Gardiner, AEO I, pl. V A, tr. p.23. Note esp. in line B8: 'That is a red and black bull'; W.R.Dawson, CdE 30, no.59 (1955) 209-216: La section de l'Onomasticon du Ramesseum traitant des bovidés, commented (p.212) that red and black cannot coexist in an animal coat. On the naming of cattle according to coat colour among the Nuer of Africa see E.Evans-Pritchard, The Nuer (Oxford 1940) p.41-43.

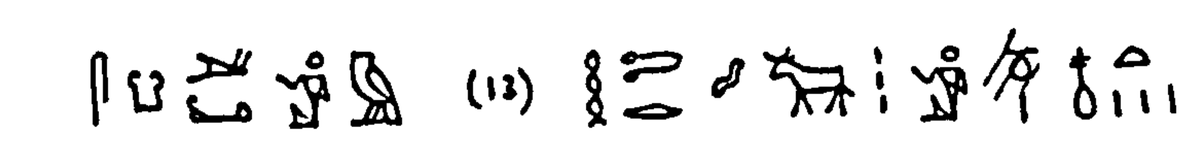
252. Petrie Dendereh pl.11c: 

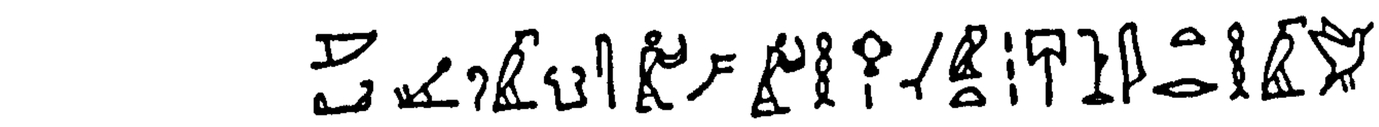
Wb also recorded a writing: 

253. Kairo 20012: 

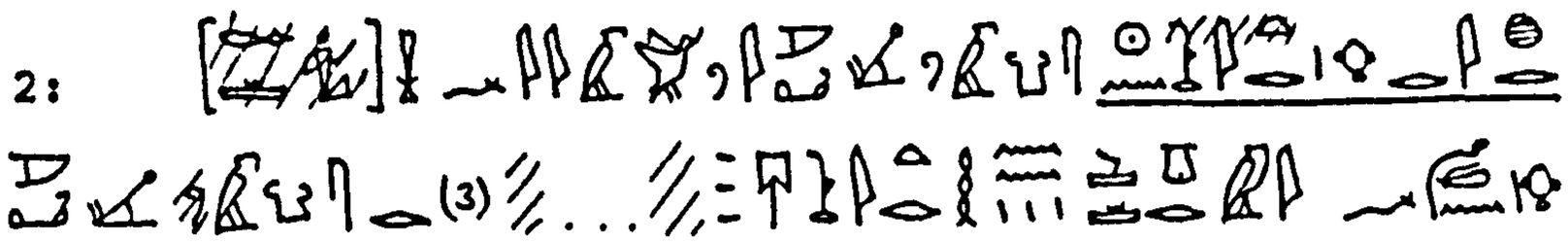
Kairo 20530, 1.14: 

Helck, Hist-Biog Texte, p.78, 1.2:

Urk IV, 132, 9: 

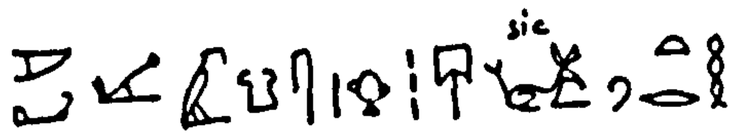
Sall I, 6, 5: 

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.316: 'the yoke of oxen is dead on account of (too much) threshing and ploughing'.

Orb 2, 2: 

Turin A, vso 2, 7:

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.453: 'The yoke of oxen which you took to plough has fallen in the mire'.

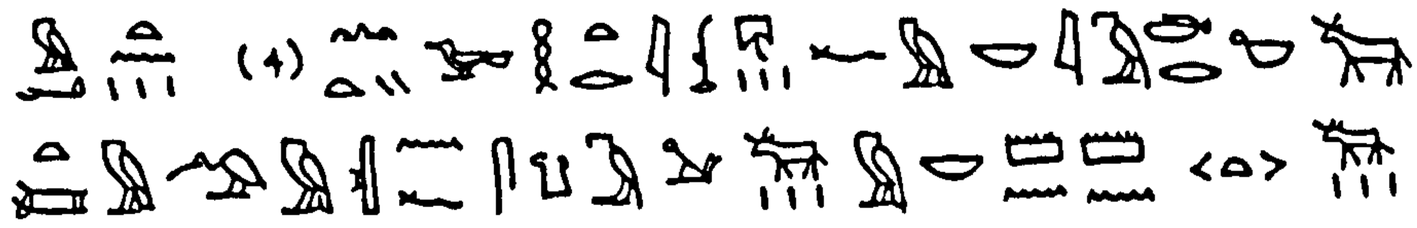
Petersb Proph, rto 19: 

Hamm Nr.12, p.38, 1.19 (D.20):

254. P.med Berl 3038, 9, 7-9:

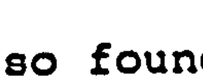
Wb.Drog. V, p.272; tr. IV$^{1}$, p.155 & VI, p.385: 'ḥtr-Tieres'.

255. Hamm Nr.12 (above).

256. Admon 9, 4: 

- the text suggests a close parallelism between sk3 and ḥtrỉ as the etymologies indicate. A similar parallelism is perhaps, therefore, to be expected between ỉ3dr and mnmnt (see Ch.1 : Classification).

tr. Gardiner, p.68: 'Behold, he who had no yoke of oxen is (now) possessor of a herd. He who could find for himself no oxen to plough with is (now) possessor of cattle'.

A writing  is also found in P.med Berl 3038, 8, 5:

Wb. Drog. V, p.449; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.262: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel).

etwas, das aus dem Maul des sk3-Tiers genommen wird; werde gelegt auf Sellerie (m3t.t); werde damit gesalbt (gs) der Mann, der mit Schneiden behaftet ist' (note IV$^{2}$, p.200).

Wb. Drog. VI, p.466-467 tr.: 'ein unbekanntes Tier'.

257. Note too : Kairo 20007:

Leid K14:

Note too the comments of Caminos, LEM, p.392-393, on cattle and other animals (not horses) used for ploughing. For representations of ploughing see Klebs, Reliefs NR, p.2f; Reliefs MR, p.70; Reliefs AR, p.45-46.

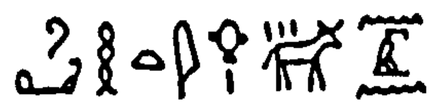
258. See Ch.8: Horses and Donkeys; Ch.7: Goats.

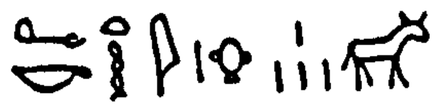
259. Beni Hasan I, 8:

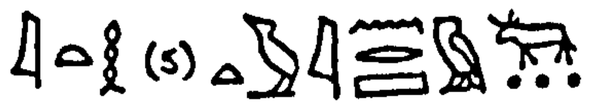
Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, p.174, tr.: 'Abgabe-Rinder'.

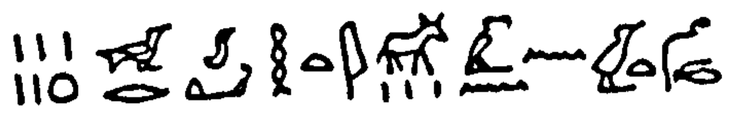
260. Gardiner, AEO I, pl. V A : (620

Cf other texts where cattle are mentioned engaged in ỉṯḥ :

Paheri 3 : 

Sinuhe 194 : 

Urk IV, 25 : 

Theb Grab 181 (Two Sculptors pl.22) : 

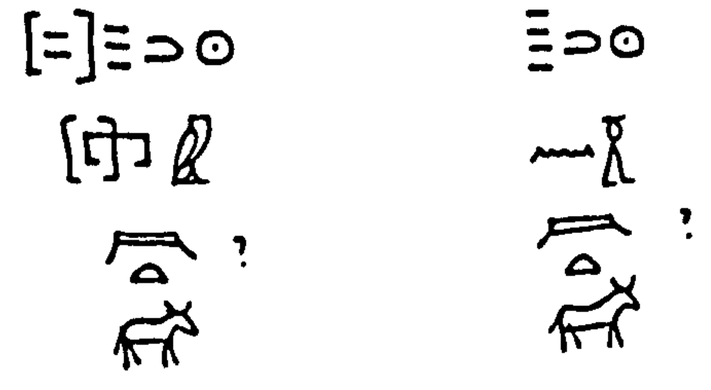
261. Pyr 1544-5 : (text above)

tr. Sethe, U u K V, p.494: 'Mein Vater, Osiris N., ich habe dir geschlagen den, der dich schlug, als ỉḫ-Rind, ich habe dir getötet den, der dich tötete, als šmȝ-Rind, ich habe dir geschlachtet den, der dich schlachtete, als nq-Rind, auf dessen Rücken du sein sollst als einem auf dem Rücken liegenden (Rind). Der dich ausstreckte, ist ein ausgestrecktes (Rind), der dich melkte, ist ein gemolkenes (Rind), der dich taub machte, ist ein taub gemachtes (Rind)'.

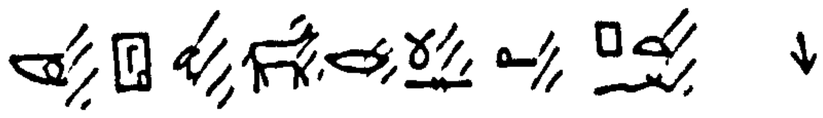
Faulkner commented, FECT III, p.16 (n.7 top): 'We seem to have allusions to the operations of slaughtering; the subduing of the animal (ḥry-sȝ). Its stretching (pdty), its lashing (?) (šsr, translated by me as 'shot (?)', probably wrongly), and its stunning (ỉd, lit 'deaf')'.

262. CT VII, 26n :

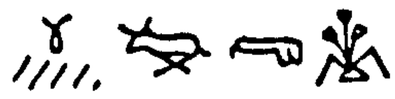
tr. FECT III, p.15 : 'I have not eaten what remains over of the stretched bull after the share-out'. He commented, p.15-16 : 'The significance of the term is not clear, but it could perhaps refer to the legs of the bull being stretched taut prior to lashing them together before butchery'.

263. Posener-Kriéger & de Cenival, HPBM 5th ser, pl.43 & 43 A, frag B (BM 10735 frame 16 rto): 

264. See Posener-Kriéger, Neferirkare-Kakaï, p.249-250 (E1): [CT ref.] 'atteste formellement que le boeuf pḏtj est un animal de boucherie'.

265. Geogr Pap pl.13, frag 40: 

Further Ptolemaic references can be found in A.M.Blackman, JEA 31 (1945) 57-73: The king of Egypt's grace before meat.

266. Abyd Mar I, 53 = KRI II, 510, 5 (text above): 

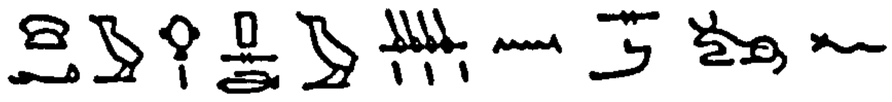
267. Leid K15 :

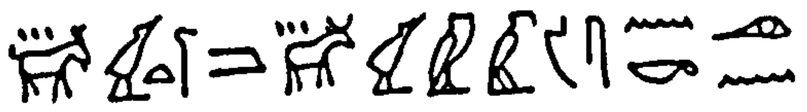
cf Libr dei fun 70:

268. E. Otto, JNES 9 (1950) 164-177 : An Ancient Egyptian hunting ritual. On New Kingdom versions see Otto, Mundöffnungsritual II, p.9, p.26 and p.102 (variant writings p.96).

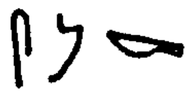
269. Dram Pap p.114.

270. Urk IV, 616 (cf Horus on the back of Seth):



BOD 173, 22 (Nav. Totb nach Aa): 

tr. Allen, BOD, p.181: ' O Osiris, I am thy son Horus. I have come; (I) have made for thee sacrifices of small cattle as thy sacrificial animals'.

271. Deir el Gebr I pl.11: 

Berl 20036 (= Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1963) pl.12): 

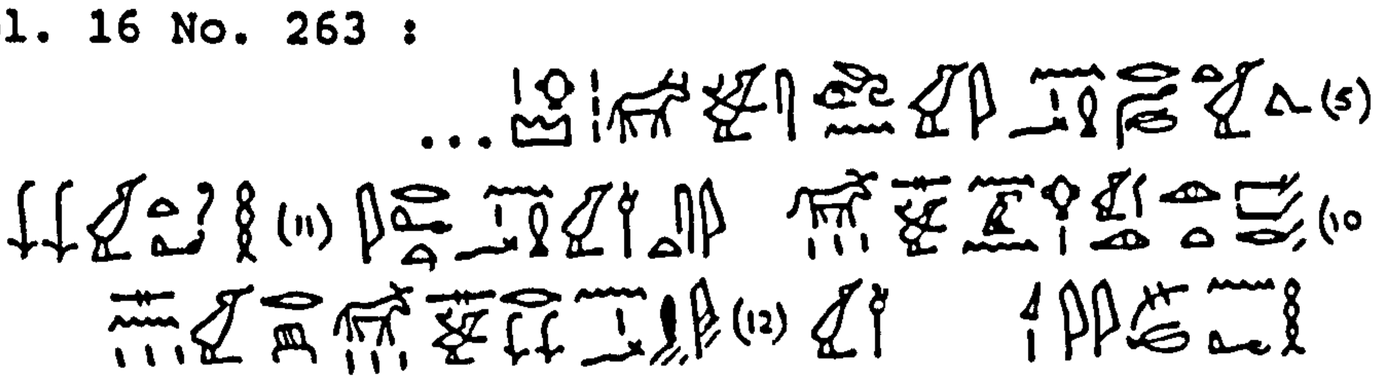
(female giving birth)

Cf sm3 in a list of offerings together with other desert animals in Beni Hasan I, 38:

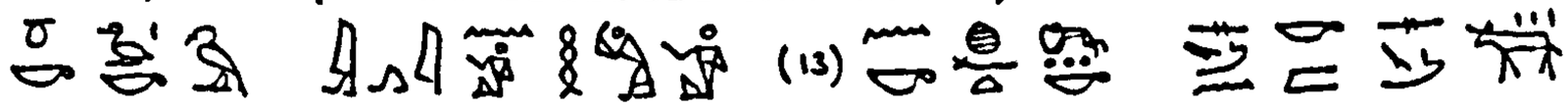
272. Bauer 207:

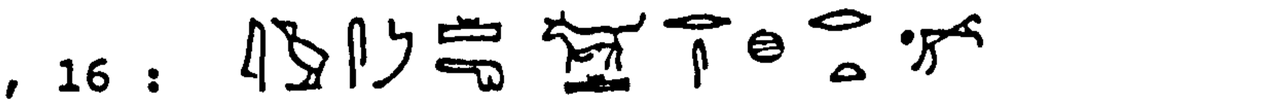
Med Habu 117:

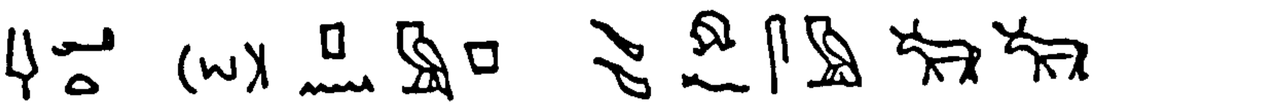
Fraser Scarabs pl. 16 No. 263 :

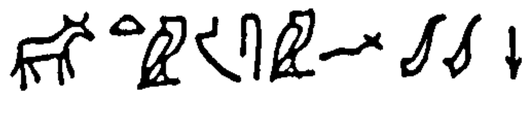


Cf KRI I, 344 (Stela Brussels Mus E5300):



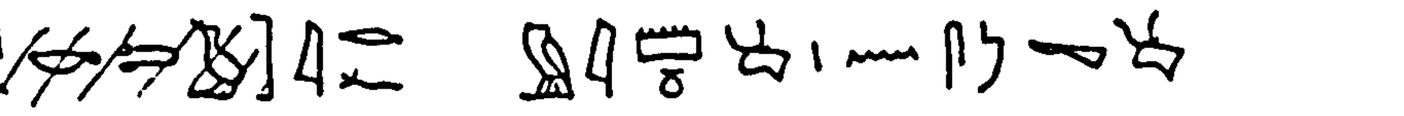
273. Kairo 20539, IIb, 16 : 

274. Pyr 252: 

cf BOD 177, 6 : 

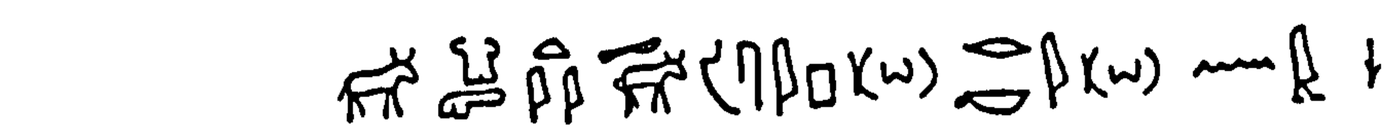
tr. Allen, BOD, p.186: 'Thou lookest downward upon (Osiris, O) N, as a soul whose horns (on his head) are (those of) a wild bull, for thou art a black ram, born of a light-coloured ewe and suckled by four sheep'.

Pyr 481 :

Pyr 944 : 

Pyr 1477 :

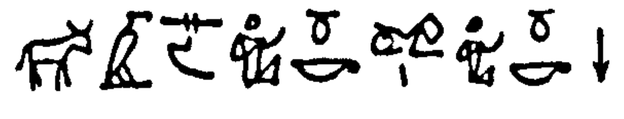
Pyr 1308 :

Pyr 486 : 

deceased also identified with sm3 :

BOD 170, 9 :

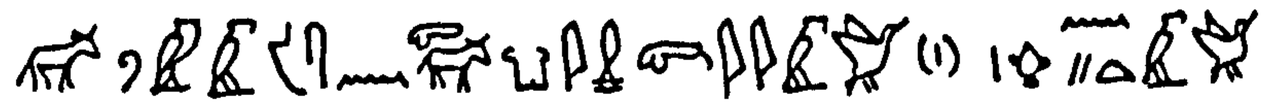
tr. Allen, BOD, p.178 : 'O Osiris N.,...Great is thy reknown. The bier lifts thee, (thou) greater than the wild bull' (my omission).

Totb Nav 61, 60, 62, 8 (= KRI I, 376): 

tr. Allen, BOD, p.55: 'I am the Lion, Re; I am a wild bull'.

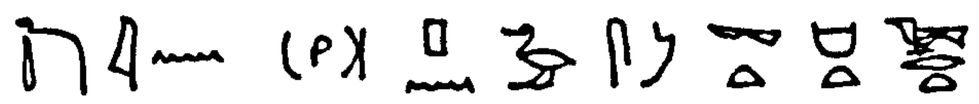
Deities also identified with these animals :

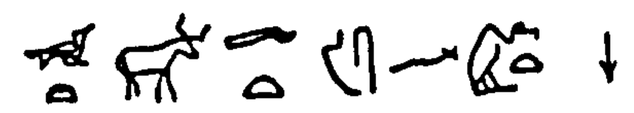
P. Leid I, 343 + 345, 9, 1 rto (of Shu):



tr. Massart, p.77: 'he who fecundateth like a bull of the wild cattle'.

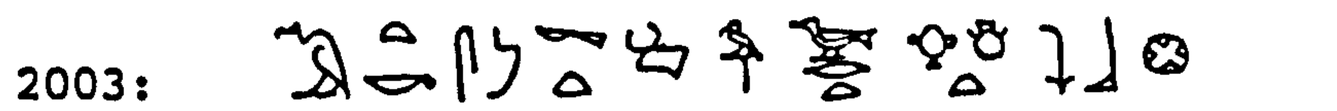
King also identified as son of female sm3, sm3t (wrt):

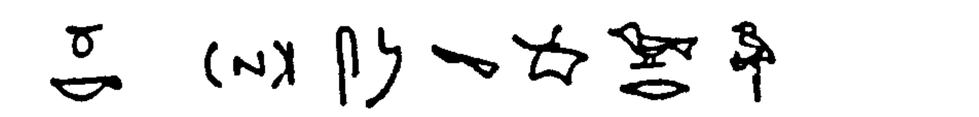
Pyr 1370 : 

Pyr 388 : 

Pyr 729 :

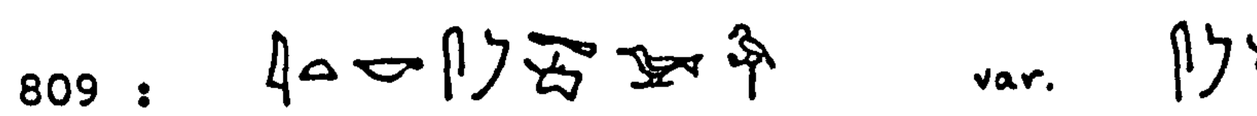
Pyr 1566 :

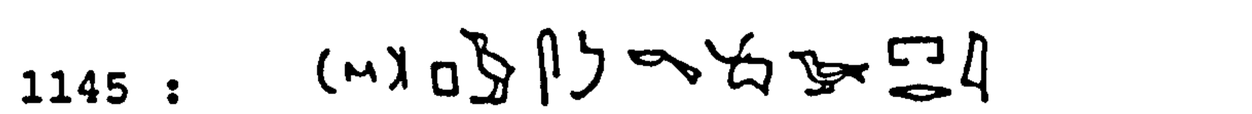
Pyr 2003: 

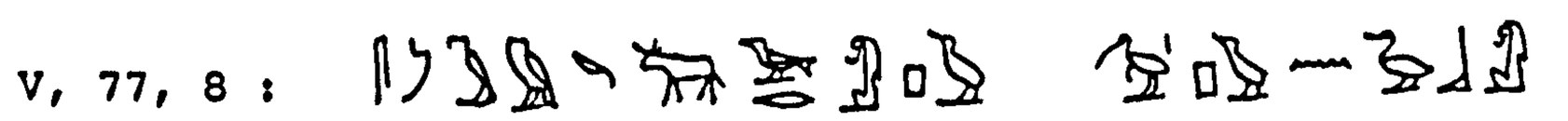
275. Pyr 913 : 

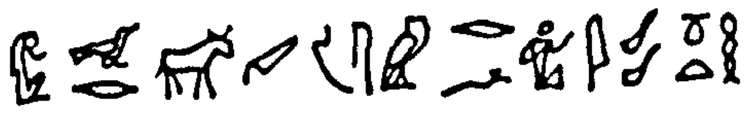
Pyr 201 :

Pyr 625 :

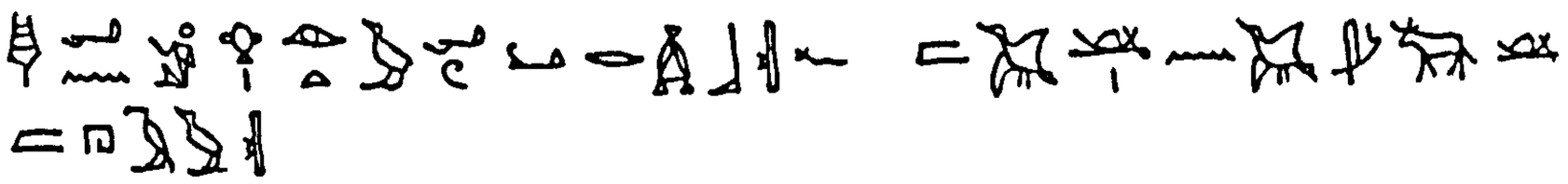
Pyr 809 : 

Pyr 1145 : 

Urk V, 77, 8 : 

cf BOD 17 = CT II, 237c : 

276. Urk IV, 2 :



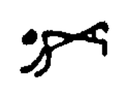
Cf Grapow, Bildliche Ausdrücke, p.79 : 'Als Name kommt "der Stier" meines Wissens nur in dem Schiffsnamen der Wildstier vor. Ein Relief aus Der el Bahri zeigt am Bug des Königsschiffes das Bild eines Stieres, der einen Feind niedertrampelt [= Berlin 1636]'.

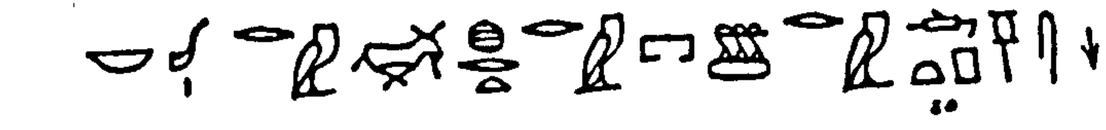
277. CT V, 148 : var.

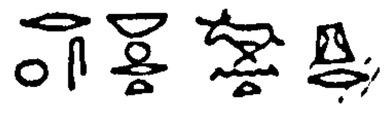
tr. FECT II, p.35: 'Her forward mooring-post is the tail of the great Wild Bull', with n.56.

278. In Sahure II, p.173-175. He accepted Dürst's suggestion in that he believed that the wild animals (Aurochs) might have been replaced at a later date by feral cattle.

279. Dürst, Rinder, p.23-24.

280. Despite this translation in many of the texts quoted by Wb hryt does not have , but  , as determinative. These have been ignored in the present discussion, as have all references from KRI II quoted by Meeks, AL 79.2259: 'animal de sacrifice'.

281. Ti pl. 106 : 

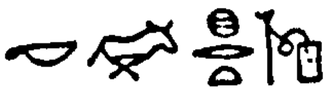
Kagemni 184 (Vol. II, pl. 26) : 

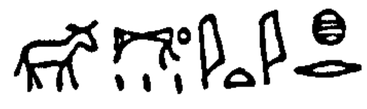
Sethe Lesest 11d (p.64, l.15-16 = KRI I, 34) :

Goedicke, Königliche Dokumente, fig.7, opp. p.86:

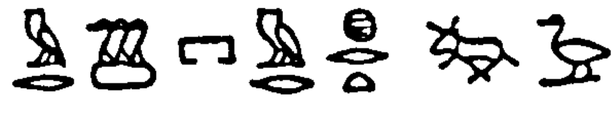
(Among offerings stipulated for feast days) tr. p.81.

Posener-Kriéger & de Cenival, HPBM 5th ser, pl.42, frag.A1, 11:

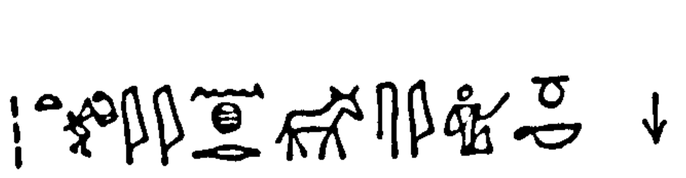


282. BOD 112 : (text in Ch.11: Pigs) 

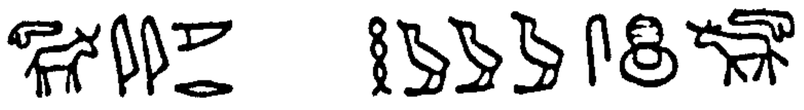
tr. Allen, BOD, p.91: '(but) when Horus was (in) his childhood his sacrifices used to consist of his beef cattle and his pigs'.

Mar Mast D19 : 

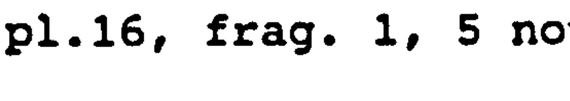
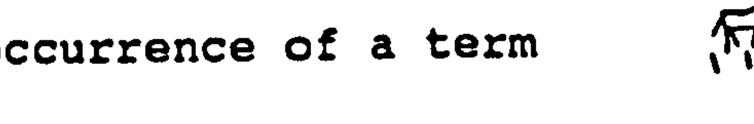
283. Totb Nav 105, 8 :



tr. Allen, BOD, p.85-85: 'I am not a sacrificial bull; none of me has become a mortuary offering'.

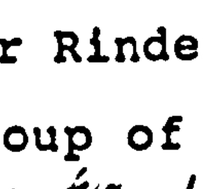
284. Beni Hasan II, 7 : 

Beni Hasan I, 30 (over men restraining fighting cattle):

Beni Hasan I, p.37:



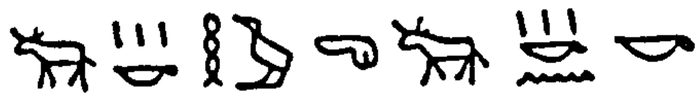
Weill Sinai Inschr. No.23, p.133 ('alles unsicher'): 

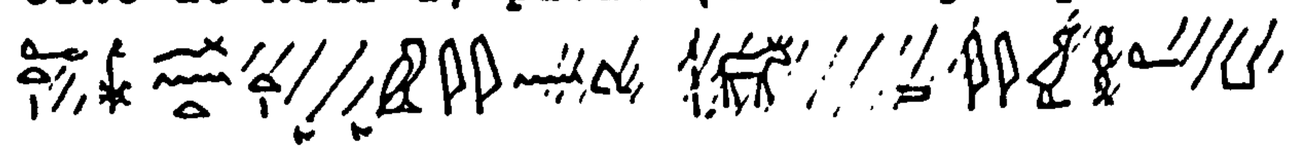
Posener-Kriéger, Arch Abousir I, p.251 (E7):
'La lecture du déterminatif est douteuse'

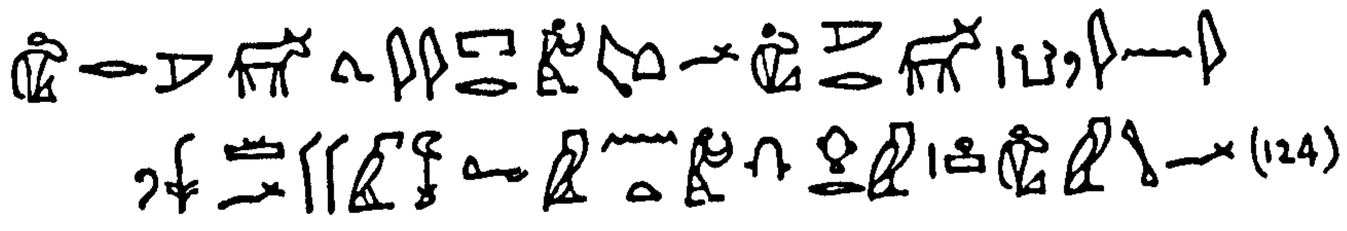
Posener-Kriéger & de Cenival, HPBM 5th ser, pl.44 & 44A, frag F (Cairo 602 Frame 5):


Caminos, Literary Fragments, p.23 & 39, pl. 8, 3, 5, pl. 10, 3, 7 and pl.16, frag. 1, 5 noted the occurrence of a term 

which he read mrw.

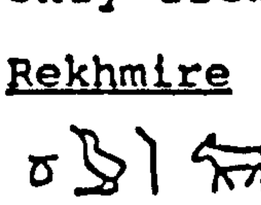
hww is also recorded from Petrie Deshasheh pl.18 (over 3 (4?) bulls) and Sinuhe 118 (here Dévaud read hww where Gardiner saw wdww (see below): 

Note too hwjw (Wb III, 45, 3: allgemeine Bez. für Rinder) from a badly damaged text at Meir I, pl.10 (over a group of cows and calves): 

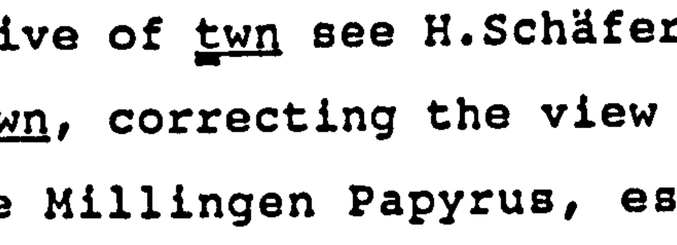
285. Sinuhe 123 : 
(124)

A similar word , obviously with different determinative, which occurs earlier in this text was studied by H. Donner, ZÄS 81 (1956) 61-62: Zum 'Streitslustigen' (  ) in Sinuhe B110:
The term describes a man of the army of Retjenu who advanced into Sinuhe's camp in order to challenge him (to fight).

Compare the semitic terms of similar writing noted in Landsberger, Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia, p.64-65: Akkadian purtu 'cow/calf'; Herbrew pārā 'milch-cow', par, pār 'bull'.

286. Only from Kom Ombo. Wb's reference to Urk IV, 1080 (= Davies, Rekhmire II, pl.12) is incorrect. The word is apparently  (see Wb III, 247, 15) as noticed by A.B.Lloyd, Hommages Vermaseren II, 609-626: Strabo and the Memphite Tauromachy. Lloyd also noted that the name of the 27th day of the lunar month wšb twn is preserved in an astronomical freize at Edfu: 'The wšb is the day when Horus in his aspect as Harendotes "answers for, champions" his father' (p.621). Lloyd apparently did not know of the existence of a term wšb applied to cattle (see his text and n.4) though he did state (p.620): 'In view of the aggressive implications of twn it seems reasonable to assume a similar nuance for wšb'.

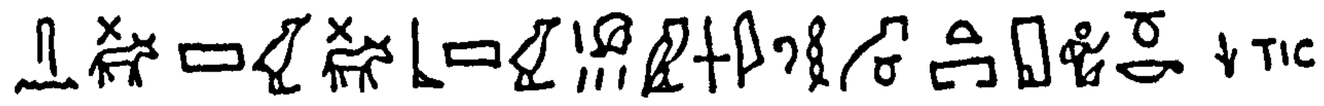
On the determinative of twn see H.Schäfer, ZÄS 43 (1906) 74-76: Das Zeichen für twn, correcting the view of F.L.Griffith, ZÄS 34 (1896) 35-51: The Millingen Papyrus, esp. p.41, n.7, that the determinative showed a lassoed animal. Schäfer compared a similar representation of an oryx pawing at the ground from the 'Weltkammer' of the sun-temple of Niuserrē' at Abû Ghurâb (his fig.4, p.74), concluding of twn's determinative : 'Also nicht ein gefangenes Tier, das ohnmächtig an seinen Fesseln zerrt, sondern ein Stier, die Verkörperung der Kraft, zur Zeit seiner größten Gefährlichkeit' (p.76).

287. Only noted once prior to Ptolemaic texts by Wb.
Urk IV, 1076, 2 : 
this text tr. by Posener, L'enseignement loyaliste, p.42 'Mon nom était ḏḏḥ.w ḫww wšb qui frappe celui qui parle mal de lui (le roi)'. He explained ḏḏḥ as 'désignant une catégorie de bergers chargée de ramener les bêtes difficiles, litt. "enfermeur"' (n.4, p.41).

Cf Urk VI, 89-91, in which ỉrt ỉḫ replaces tp wšbt of the earlier text.

Fairman and Blackman, op.cit., noted wšbt as the name of one of the two cows and two bulls, depicted in Karnak between the king and an ithyphallic Amun-Rē'. (Cf Caminos, Buhen, p.39 with n.41). The king is described as 'lord of sḫt-cows, who nurtures (or perhaps "breeds") wšb-cattle' in Dend Mar III, 52t and 'sovereign of the wšb-cattle' in Edfu IV, 241, 71 and VII, 313, 16.

Wšb is also found in the Coffin Texts - CT IV, 66q:



tr. FECT I, p.228 (Khons speaking; immediately before this passage he speaks of his rôle as conveyor of the gods' anger, the destroyer): 'To me belongs the Mansion of the Lord in which are the heads of the bulls when they act as bulls (?)'.

J.-J.Clère, Archiv Orientální 20 (1952) 629-641: La lecture de la fraction "deux tiers" en égyptien, p.636, took wšbyt to be the name of cattle used to pull the sarcophagi of the deceased. He translated the word 'les répondantes' (n.38) commenting: 'Ce mot wšbyt...n'est sans doute que le collectif de wšbt "pleureuse", lit. "répondante"' (Wb I, 373, 1: Klageweib).

A.M.Blackman, in Randall MacIver and Woolley, Buhen (Text vol.) p.50, connected the cattle name with wšb 'eat, feed on' (Wb I, 371, 3-4: sich nähren von etw). Posener, on the other hand, suggested (op.cit.) p.42: 'D'après le présent example et Urk VIII, 16, 2, wšb désigne un taureau agressif, mal domestiqué, plutôt qu'un "Kampfstier"...Etymologiquement, c'est une bête qui "réplique", une bête indocile'.

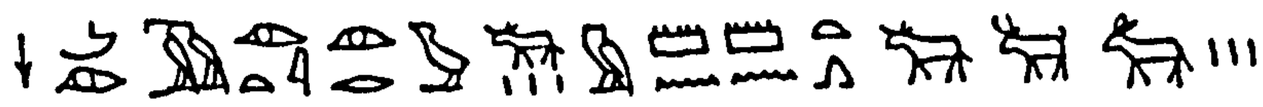
288. There is a reference to ḫwt-wšbt (a toponym) in P. Jumilhac, tr. Vandier, P.Jumilhac, p.132 : 'Quant à la ville de la Vache, son nom est Hout-Ouchébi(t)'. Wšbt appears, without cow determinative, as an epithet of Isis, and Vandier (p.213, n.721) suggested a connection between the wšbt and the legend of the decapitated Isis. He also wondered whether there was a connection between this wšbt and the wšb of Wb: 'S'il est exact que ce mot dérive du verbe wšb = répondre, et qu'il signifie "le taureau qui se venge" (cf. Gardiner, dans Davies, Rekh-Mi-Ré, I, p.81 = vengeful bull [?]), il n'est, peut-être, pas impossible qu'il faille traduire wšbt comme le propose J. Yoytte, par la vache qui se venge, la vache rancunière, le triste sort fait à la déesse expliquant suffisamment le désir qu'elle avait resenti de se venger'.

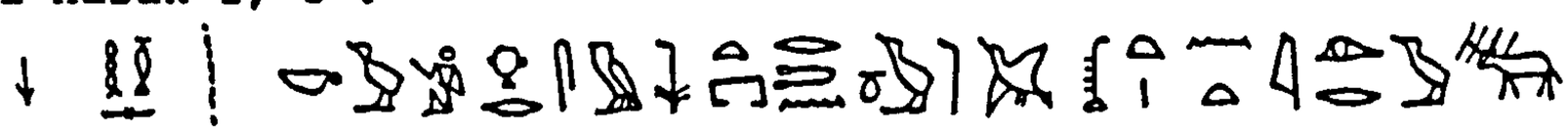
For other examples of wšbt see the previous note.

289. <u>ỉrw</u> was also translated 'Rinderinspektion' - by W.Helck, <u>ZÄS</u> 80 (1955) 109-136: Das Dekret des Königs Haremhab, p.133 (text pl.10 opp. p.114; line 26): 'Starb ein Tier, so mußte die Haut bei der "Rinderinspektion" (<u>ỉrw</u>) abgegeben werden'.

See too Guglielmi, <u>Reden</u>, p.121: 'Die Rinderinspektion nimmt im NR der "Rindervorsteher des Pharao" vor, der die <u>ỉrw</u> genannte Steuer einzuziehen hat', with n.368: '<u>ỉrw</u> wird auch für "Rinderinspektion" verwendet, s. WB I, 114, 4f ; B.1 bezeichnet auch den Ertrag der staatseigenen Herden...und allgemein Abgabe von Vieh '.

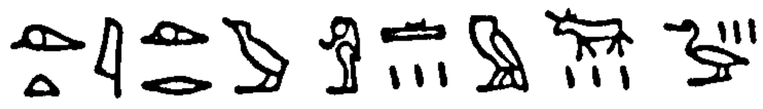
<u>ỉrw</u> appears with cattle determinative only after MK:
eg Meir IV, 16 :
tr. Junker, <u>Giza</u> V, p.80: 'Das Eintreiben der Steuer von Rindern und Ziegen in den mittleren Gauen'.

Cf Beni Hasan I, pl.13 (goats, donkeys & cattle depicted):


Beni Hasan I, 8 :


'I am praised because of it in the <u>pr-nsw</u> every year of cattle taxation'.

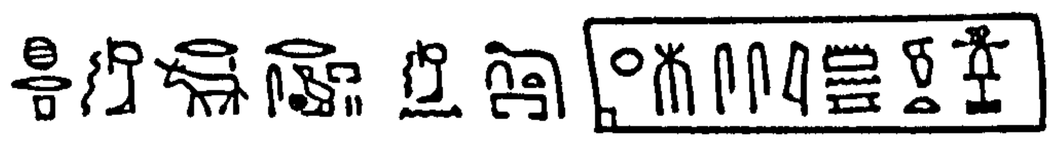
Some examples, eg

Sethe Nb 10, 98:


give the impression that the <u>ỉrw</u> was not specifically a cattle tax ('Viehsteuer' - see Junker above) but a tax inspection which might include cattle.

290. Junker, <u>Giza</u> III, p.83, noted a form <u>ỉryt</u> (<u>Wb</u> I, 114, 19 : Korn als Abgabe) which he assumed to be a different writing of <u>ỉrw</u> (he tr. 'Viehsteuer') with the choice of determinative appropriate to the type of tax decided only by custom (Gebrauch).

291. Abyd Mar II, 7 (= KRI II, 536, 3. In procession, man with first bull):



KRI I, 194, 3:

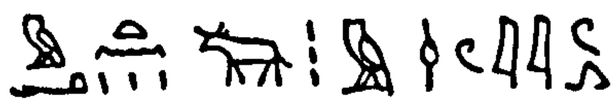
P. Rhind I, 3, 9, also quoted by Wb, has the writing:

tr. Wb Zettel: Cedernöl, mildem Ochsenfett.

292. Wdw is recorded from two texts by Wb :

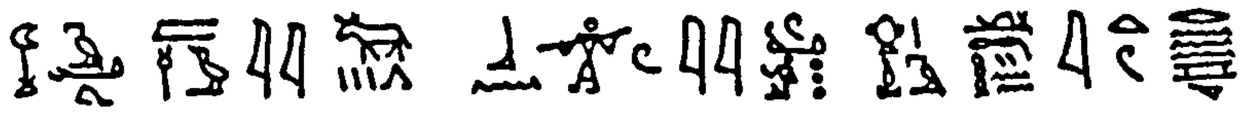
Sinuhe 118 :

Admon 9, 2 :

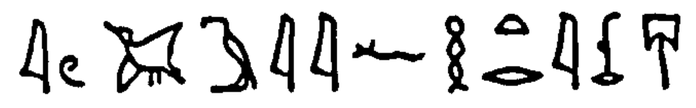


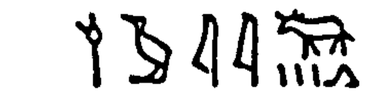
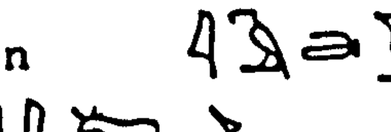
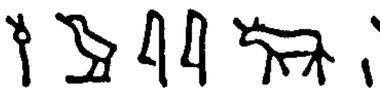
As pointed out by Vernus, Athribis, p.312, n.a, this should be read ỉḫw m wdw - wdw is not a cattle term here.

Cf Israelinschr 24 (Kairo 34025):



'deserting in the manner of wdyw without a herdsman when about to cross the deeps of the river'. Spiegelberg, Siegeshymnus, p.22, n.59 commented : 'Nach der verwandten Wendung (SALLIER I, 7/2-3)



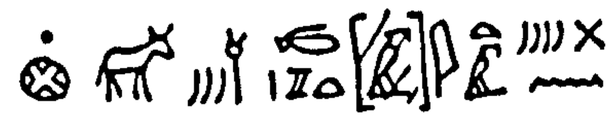
[tr. Caminos, LEM, p. 317-318 : 'No sooner the stable-master stands still in the toil than his horse-team (7,3) is abandoned in the field'] möchte man in  ein Wort für "Weideland" oä zu sehen, und nach dem sinnverwandten  die leichte Emendierung in  . Das Substantivum ist von dem Verbum wt abgeleitet, welches ua terminus technicus für das "zur Weide gehen" von Rindern ist'.

Vernus, loc.cit., rejected both Wb's texts for wdw, preferring (with Dévaud) to read ḫww in Sinuhe and the wdyw of Admon 9,12 as ỉḫw m wdw (quoted above). He did note Gardiner's mention of a word wꜣdw/wdw in AEO II, p.88*- 'il faut peut-être le rapprocher du taureau wꜣd mentionné dans la liste de catégories de bovins publiée par Gardiner op.cit., I, p.22-3'.

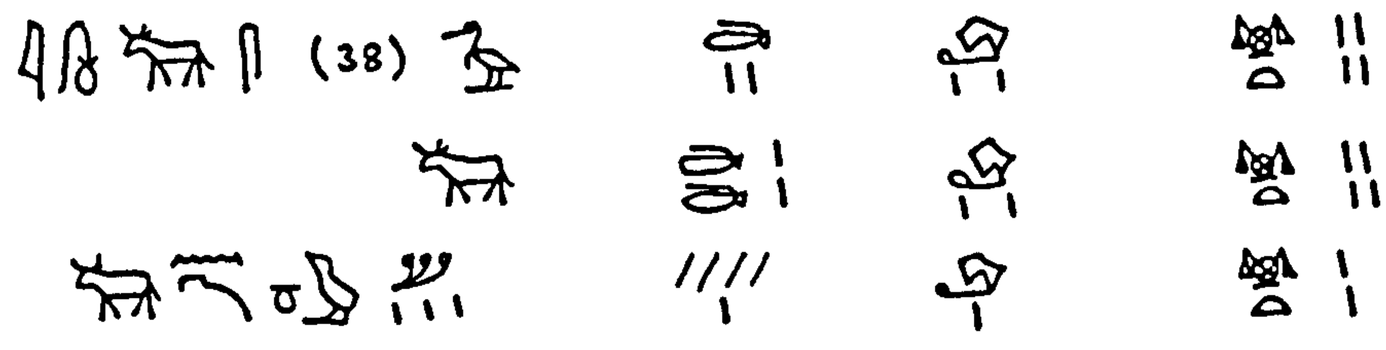
Note also the term in RAD, p.19 (P.Gurob).

Wdy with cattle determinative is also found as a toponym:

Harr 61b, 8:

P. Wilbour B 20, 18: 

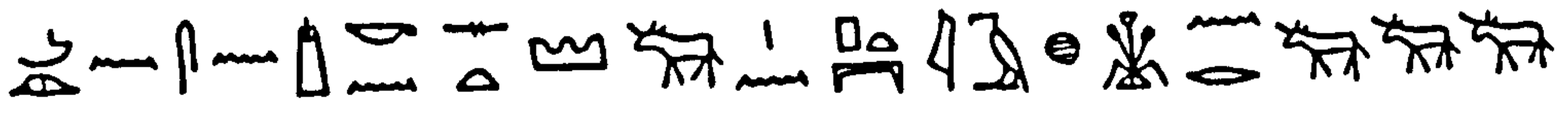
These texts would seem to confirm the existence of a cattle term wdy. Černý, CED, p.28 suggested that Coptic ϬΟΕΙΤ (CD 45a: 'ox or cow') was descended from wdww 'freely moving cattle'. This was not the opinion of Crum (who suggested βοίδιον diminutive of βοῦς) nor of Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.493, suggesting *  as an etymology).

293. Nastesen 38 : 

tr. Schäfer, p.118: 'Verschnittene Stiere, 2 einjährige, 2 ausgewachsene [?], zusammen 4, [Gewöhnliche] Rinder, 2 einjährige, 2 ausgewachsene [?], zusammen 4, .....Rinder, 1 einjähriges [?], 1 ausgewachsenes [?], zusammen 2'.

Nw is thus apparently not a cattle term but some descriptive word applied to cattle (ỉḫ).

294. Pyr 244 :

Pyr 280 : 

Helck, Hist - Biog Texte, p.16 (= LD III, 13):

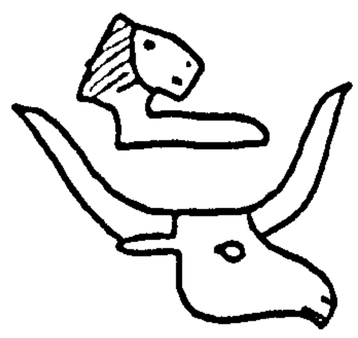
295. Urk I, 211 :

tr. H.G.Fischer, MDAIK 16 (1958) 131-137 : An early occurrence of ḥm 'servant' in regulations referring to a mortuary estate, p.133-134: 'My majesty has decreed that girl-children shall not be included in any ḏḥ3 that is levied in the city of those two pyramids and that provisions of nḥrw cattle (pl. ?) shall not be included with ḏḥ3 that is levied in the city of these two pyramids'.

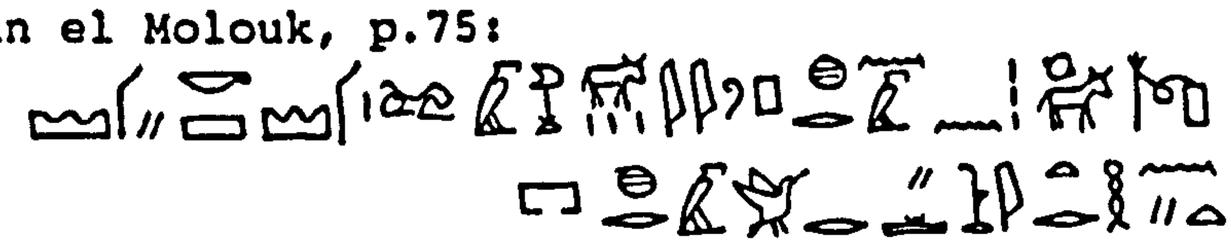
This is the only occurrence of nḥrw relating to cattle.

296. Nastesen 38 (see above); Schäfer tr. here 'ausgewachsene [Rinder]'.

Stevenson Smith, Art & Architecture, pl.12:

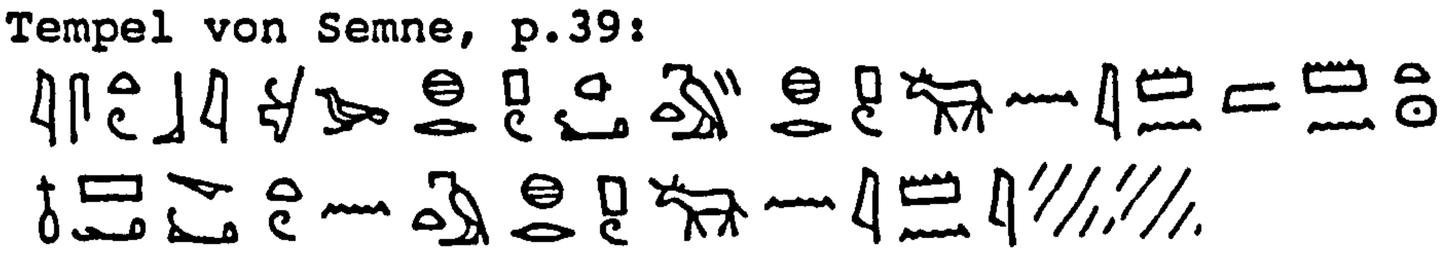


297. O.Cairo, 25764, vso 3 = G.Daressy, ASAE 22 (1922) 75-76: Un ostracon de Biban el Molouk, p.75:



tr. p.76: 'scribe comptable des troupeaux de bestiaux, des Syriens, des Kouchites et de la cavalerie, qui sont pour l'hypogée très auguste des millions d'années du Pharaon à l'occident de Thèbes'.

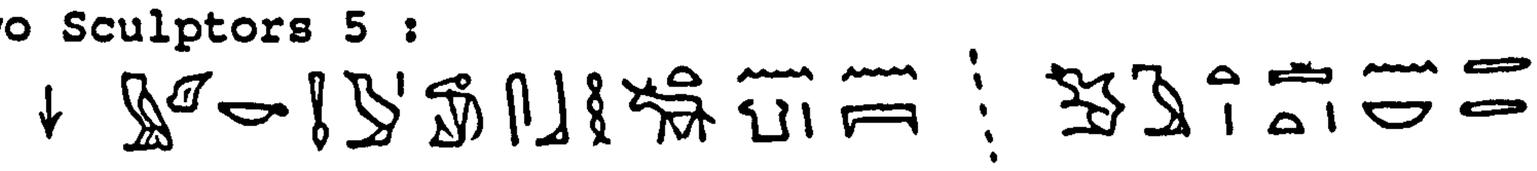
H.Grapow, ZÄS 76 (1940) 24-41 : Die Inschrift der Königin Katimala am Tempel von Semne, p.39:



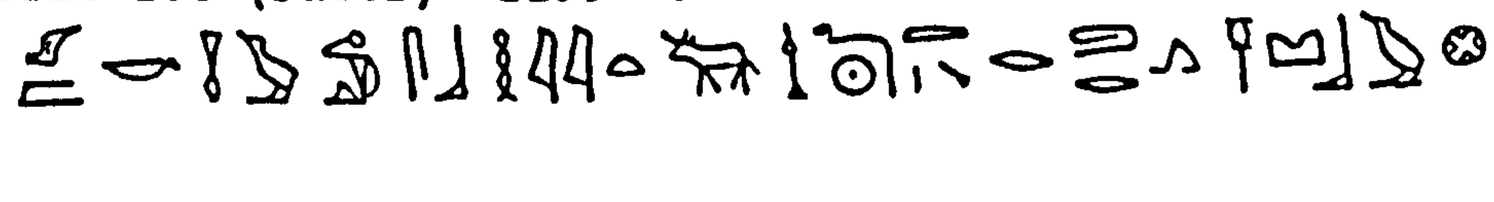
tr. p.40: 'Es wäre schlimm, diese hrp-Kuh dem Amon täglich ... darzubringen' & 'es ist gut, daß die Kuh dem Amon zerlegt wird'. He noted of hrp : 'Das Verbum hrp wird vom Herbeiführen, Darbringen von Tieren, gerade auch Rindern, gebraucht' but offered no further translation, than : 'mit hrp-Rindern' (text p.40).

See also AL 77.3157: 'livraisons, tribut'.

298. Two Sculptors 5 :

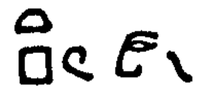


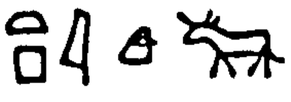
Theb Grab 106 (Paser) <1199> :



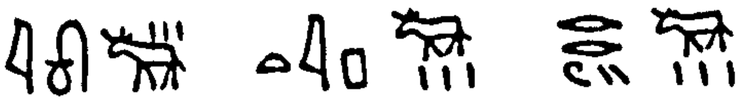
cf perhaps sbḥ (Wb IV, 90, 11-18 : schreien) and the bird name sbḥ (see Ch.15).

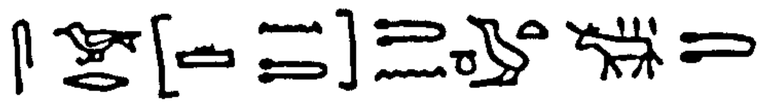
299. Luksor Raum G <227>:

Harr 20 a, 9 :  19

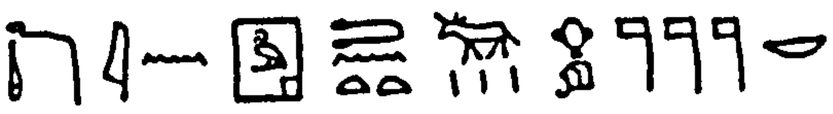
Urk IV, 699 (Retjenu) :  28

Urk IV, 692 ( " ) :

Med Habu (Piehl I, 149 B 1.13) : 

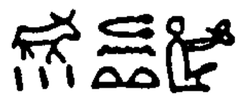
300. Urk IV, 238 (Deirelb 11.Dyn 94) : 

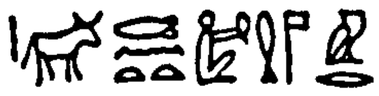
for tntt see :

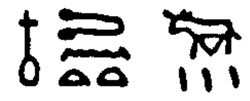
Urk IV, 235 : 

Cairo 1664 :

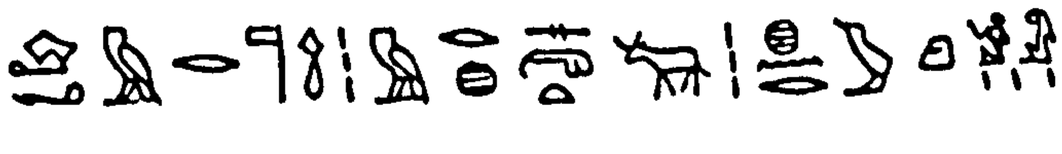
Petrie Dendereh pl.8 (topmost blocks) :

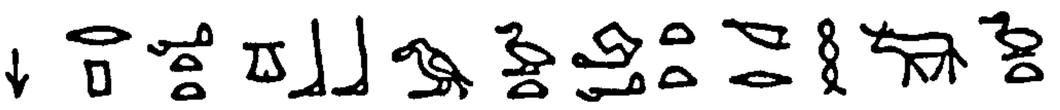
pl.10 : 

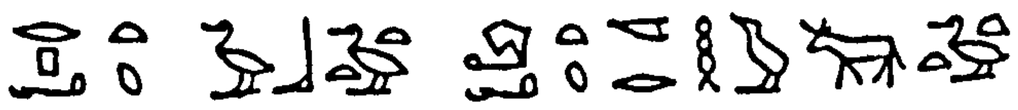
Extra pl. vol pl.11B : 

and in personal names
eg Kairo 28001 (=Lacau, Sarcophages I, 1 ff) : 

The term was also noted by C.J.Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth : two key figures of the ancient Egyptian religion (Leiden 1973) p.33 : 'At Kusae to the north of Assiut, the cows consecrated to Hathor were cattle tntt'.

301. hsmt in Kairo 20024 : 

mrḥw in Kairo 1578 : 

and Urk II, 72 1-2 : 

Note the interpretation of Helck, LÄ II, 1042ff: Hatia: 'Diese Titelreihe läßt erkennen, daß man sich die ḥ3tjw-ʿ als Söhne des Königs in seiner Form als Wildstier, der die Feinde niederwirft, vorgestellt hat. Der ḥ3tj-ʿ war also Träger der königlichen

kämpferischen Macht, der Befehlshaber der Truppen für seinen Vater. Vielleicht ist der Name "Mrḥw" der "Gesalbte", ein alter Name der königlichen Stiererscheinungsform gewesen, der erst später lokalisiert wurde'.

## Chapter 5 : Notes

1. Zoological notes from:
Flower, Mammals; Kingdon, East African Mammals III A; G.B.Corbet, The Mammals of the Palaearctic Region : A Taxonomic Review (London & Ithaca 1978); Hufnagl, Libyan Mammals; Zeuner, Domesticated Animals; M.W. Fox ed., The Wild Canids : Their Systematics, Behavioural Ecology and Evolution (New York 1975); H.W.Setzer, Journal of the Egyptian Public Health Association 36 (1961) 113-118: The canids (Mammalia) of Egypt; R.F. Ewer, The Carnivores (London 1973); L.E. Bueler, Wild Dogs of the World (London 1974); Haltenorth & Diller, Mammals of Africa, pp.170-178.

2. Flower, op.cit., p.398. Distribution from Tripoli to the west of the Nile. Noted from Libya by Corbet, op.cit., p.162.

3. Corbet, loc.cit., from Upper Egypt.

4. Zeuner, op.cit., p.82-83, called it 'essentially North-African' - compare Hufnagl's 'North African Wolf Jackal'. Corbet, loc.cit., L.Wender, Animal Encyclopaedia : Mammals (London 1948) p.224 and Burton, Systematic Dictionary, p.145, all noted it in Egypt alone. Setzer, op.cit., p.115, also remarked: 'The specimens studied from the Delta area are slightly darker in colour than the animals taken further south. There are no significant differences in the skull, however, to justify distinguishing these two populations'.

5. Flower, op.cit., p.399; Hoogstraal, Mammals of Egypt III, p.211, noting: 'Foxes in the Nile Delta are slightly smaller in size and darker in colour than those near and in the Nile Valley and in littoral semideserts'. See too E.Ziemen ed., The Red Fox Symposium on Behaviour and Ecology (The Hague 1980): Biogeographica 18, p.2, fig.1.

6. See n.1, and Hoogstraal, loc.cit.

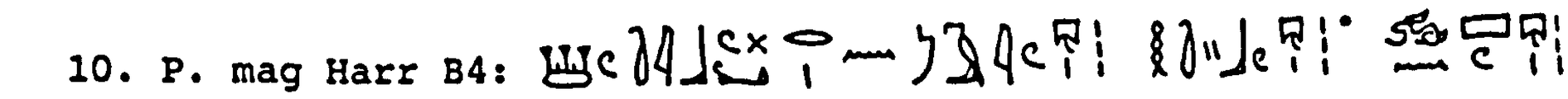
7. St.J.G. Mivart, Dogs, jackals, wolves and foxes : a monograph of the Canidae (London 1890).

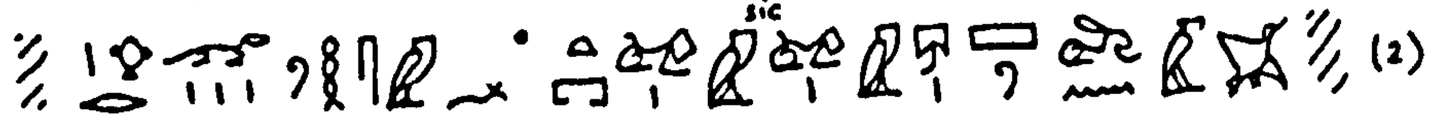
8. L.D. Mech, <u>The Wolf : The Ecology and Behaviour of an endangered species</u> (New York 1970) p.32 with fig.8; R. Fiennes, <u>The Order of Wolves</u> (London 1976) p.65, noting also: 'It is known from Ancient Egyptian records that wolves at one time existed in Egypt and the Western Desert. In those days much of the Sahara supported savannah vegetation... it is tantalising that we do not know what those wolves were like. Were they the Arabian wolves or the pale-footed Asian wolves or some distinct species?'

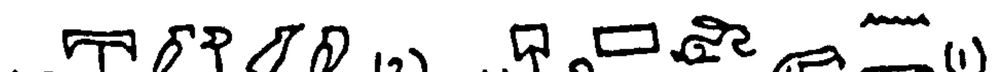
9. Beni Hasan II, 4:

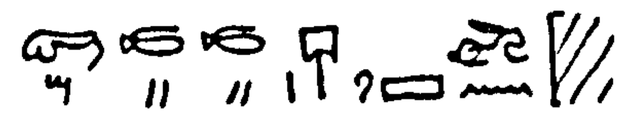
Beni Hasan II, 13:

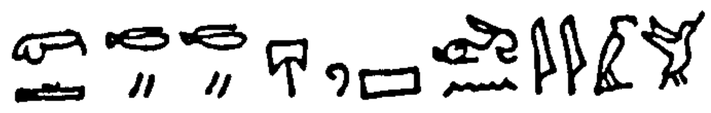
Ros Mon Civ, No. 20, shows the animals to be brown with blackish markings (<u>wnš</u>) and pale grey (<u>s3b</u>) but the colours visible today are ochres, the <u>wnš</u> being darker (J. Ruffle, personal communication, 1986).

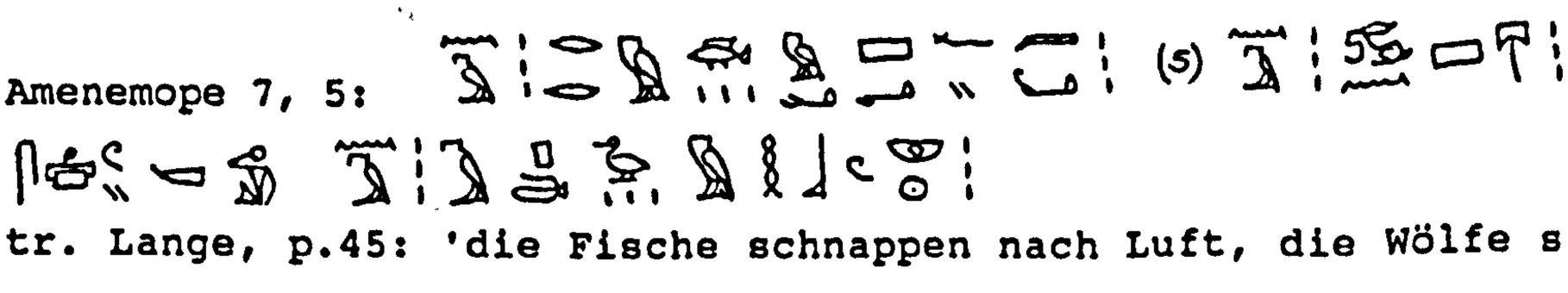
10. P. mag Harr B4: 

11. Spiegelberg, <u>Ostraca</u>, pl.4, no.37, 2: 

12. O.DelM 1598, I, 1: 

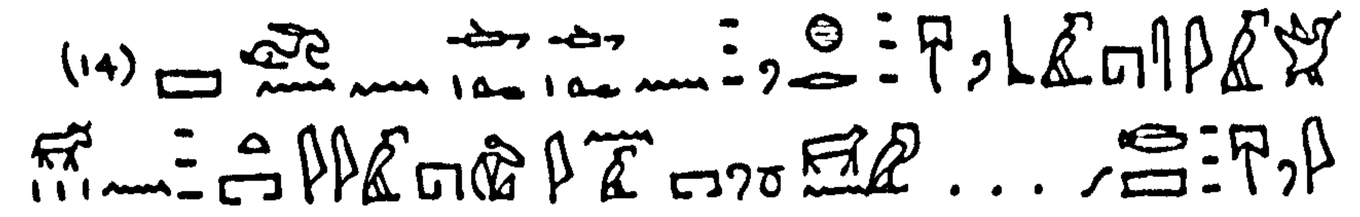
O.DelM 1406, I, 3: 

O.DelM 1038, vso 1: 

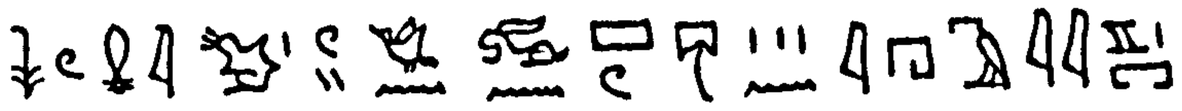
13. Amenemope 7, 5: 

tr. Lange, p.45: 'die Fische schnappen nach Luft, die Wölfe sind gesättigt, die Vögel sind im Fest'.

Note a poor inundation described as <u>ḥ'py wnš</u> in Dend DGI IV, 121.

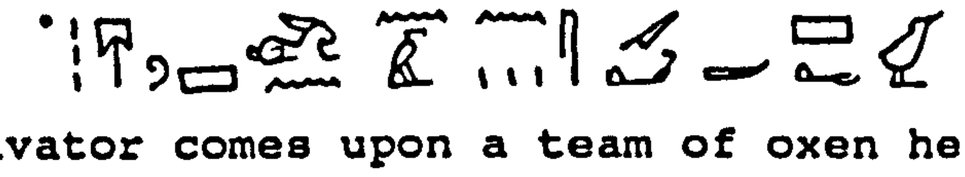
14. An IV, 13, 3-4: 

Amenemope 12, 18:

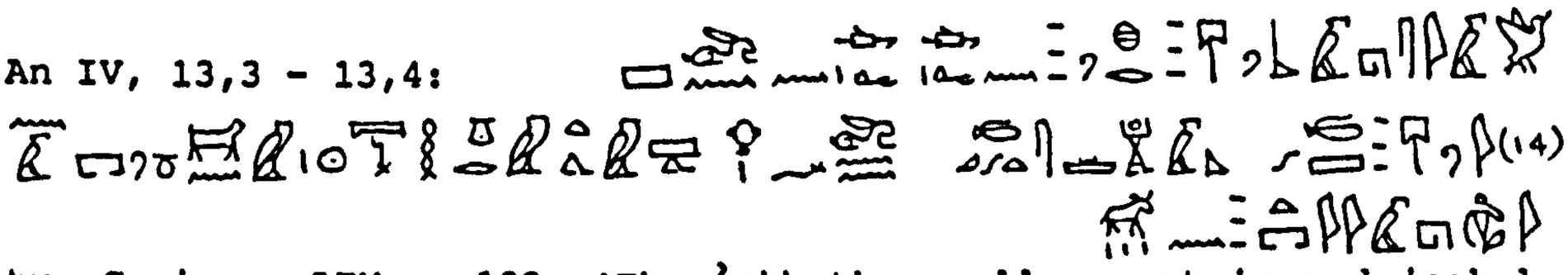


tr. Lange p.65: 'Er ist wie ein junger Wolf im Stall' (cf note p.68).

15. Lansing 6, 6:



tr. Caminos, LEM, p.390 - a cultivator comes upon a team of oxen he has lost but: 'He finds no hides on them, for the jackals have chewed them'.

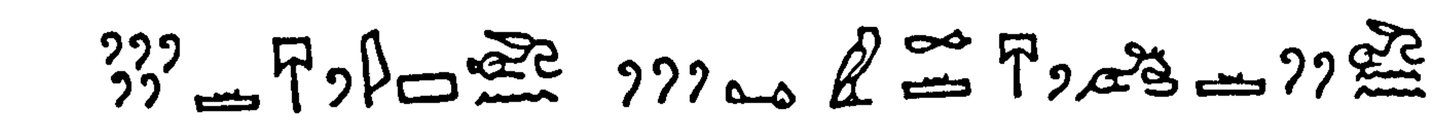
16. An IV, 13,3 - 13,4: 

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.189: 'The ỉshb they call a certain red jackal, (13,4) long of tail: it goes by night into the stall of bulls, begins with the largest (13,5) first, and makes no distinction at all (afterwards).'

Caminos knew of no other instance of the word ỉshb and translated 'A kind of jackal'.

Wb recorded wnšỉw separately from wnš (Wb I, 325, 1: als Bez. einer Hunderasse 'Wolfshund').

17. An IV, 12, 12:

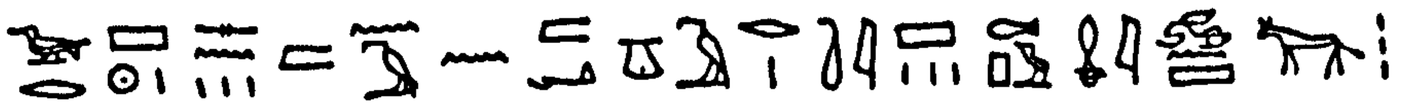


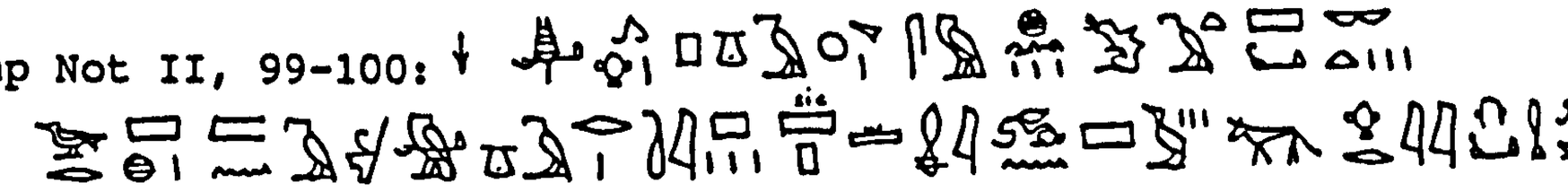
tr. Caminos, LEM, p.189: 'there are 200 large dogs as well as 300 jackals, 500 in all.'

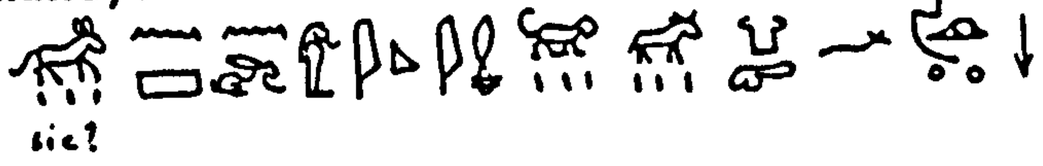
18. P. mag Harr A5: 

An IV, 13, 4 (text quoted above).

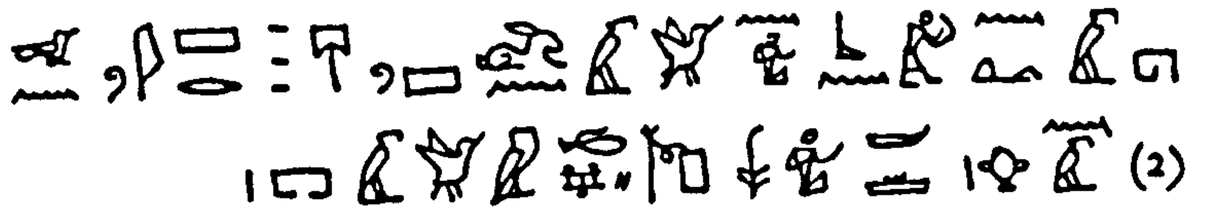
Cf Hufnagl, Libyan Mammals, p.37, who noted of C.a.lupaster: 'For shelter prefers cliffs and caves to self-dug burrows', and Hoogstraal, op.cit., p.210: 'It generally lies up in a desert cave by day and comes out to sun in the late afternoon before wandering to cultivated areas to forage at night'.

19. Karn <378>: 

Champ Not II, 99-100: 

20. Med Habu 117 (lion and bull hunt):

sic!

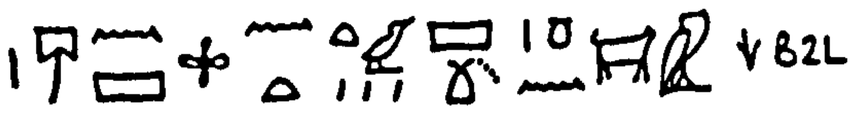
(determinative apparently a donkey)

21. An IV, 13, 1-2: 

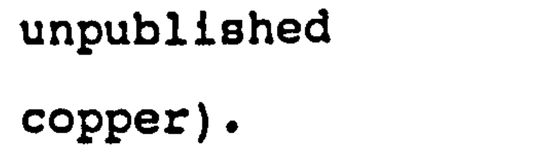
Cf Zeuner, op.cit., p.83: 'Furthermore jackals and even wolves are easily tamed when young'.

22. Janssen, Commodity Prices, p.178-179, quoting the unpublished O. Berlin 12652, vso 4. The wnš cost one dbn (of copper).

23. See E.Edel, ZÄS 102 (1975) 13-30: Beiträge zum ägyptischen Lexikon, para.34: Die Fellbezeichnungen in den Kleiderlisten des Alten Reichs.

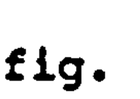
24. CT IV, 131b: var. 
FECT I, p.245, tr.: 'the Jackals'.

Not recorded by Neugebauer & Parker, Astronomical Texts.

25. Gardiner, RAD, p.36 (Text 2,2): 

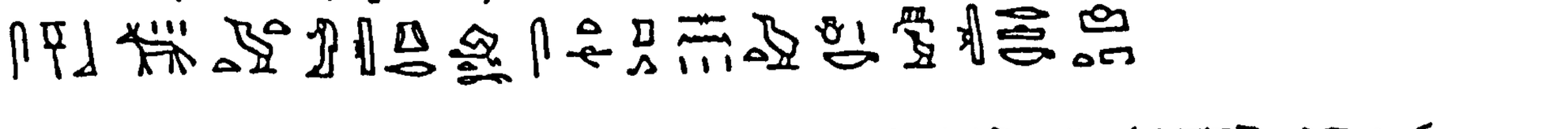
HO I, pl.27 & 27A, No.1, rto 3 (O. Gardiner 20) :
(cf pl. 25, O. Gardiner 14)

Junker, Giza I, p.251: 'Wnš.t wird mit "Wölfin" übersetzt, doch

sollen wirkliche Wölfe in Ägypten nicht vorkommen; die als solche bezeichneten Tiere sollen zwischen Wolf und Schakal, bzw. Hund stehen', eg p.252, fig. 63: 

Ranke, PN I, p.80, 4-6; id., Tiernamen, p.78.

26. See M.H. v. Voss, JEA 41 (1955) 127: The Jackals of the sun-boat.

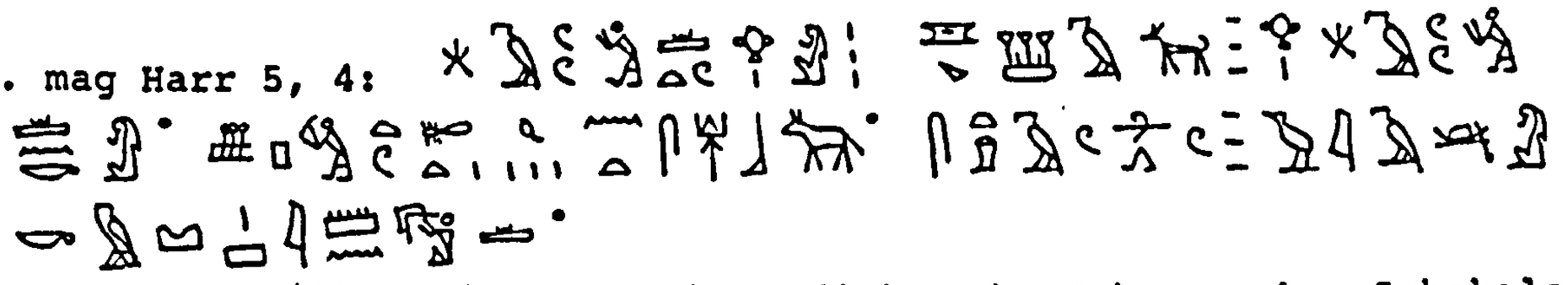
Berl 7306 (Vol.II, p.131):


Bruyère, D el M 1930, p.53, pl.15:

Cf Urk VI, 65, 21/22:

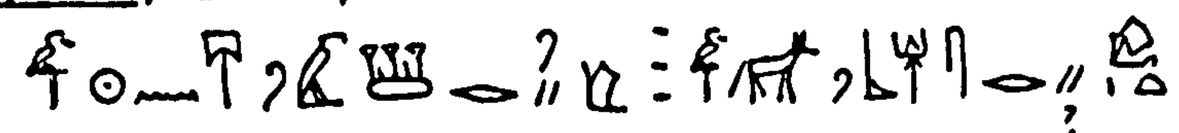
27. Shorter, Pr(t)-m-hrw, p.65:

tr: 'the Seth animal and the jackals receive him'.

P. mag Harr 5, 4: 
tr. Lange, p.42: 'Die... preisen dich. Die Scharen der Schakale empfangen dich, und sie ziehen dein Schiff auf dem geheimnisvollen Berg.'

commenting on ỉš: 'nur hier, Bedeutung unsicher, nach dem Determinativ eine Art von Hunden' (p.46).

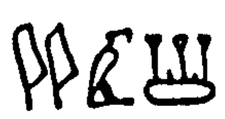
Budge, Facsimilies, tr. p.25: 'wild animals of the desert' and 'jackals'.

Cf Borghouts, P. Leiden I, 347, rto 4, 9:

tr. p.19; see too n.129, p.82 (pl.4).

28. Karnak <909> + Sethe Nb 20, 42:

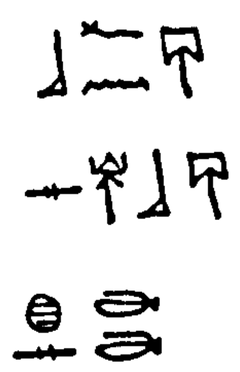
noting of šȝw: 'wie Sab, nur der Schwanz andere' and tr.: 'wie der Ichneumon (?) im Delta'. Edgerton and Wilson, Hist Rec Ram III, p.107, tr. 'like a jackal or sha-beast in the marshes of the Delta', with n.117b: 'Probably corrupt'.

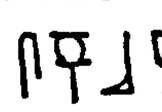
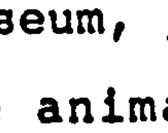
29. Champ Not D.428, No.20:



G. Daressy, ASAE 17 (1917) 1-20: Fragments de deux cercueils de Saqqara, p.20:

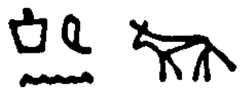
The 'génies' have the bodies of falcons, upraised human arms, and 'Tête de chacal'.



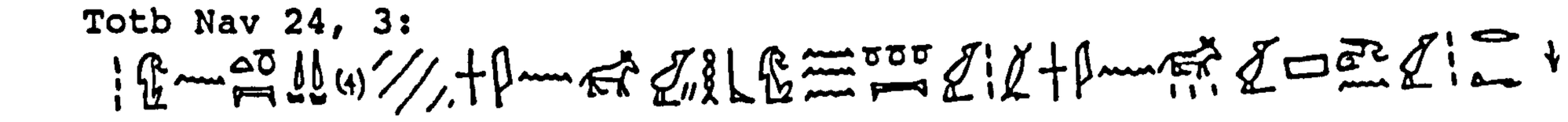
Cf id., ASAE 20 (1920) 165-166: L'animal séthien à tête d'âne. Daressy noted from the sarcophagus of Nsy-ỉmn, priest of Amun, from Deir el-Baḥri (Giza Museum, Livre d'Entrée 29611) three jackals  and three animals  'ayant l'aspect de canidés, mais avec têtes d'ânes... ils n'ont pas la queue haute de l'animal séthien: elle est semblable à celle des chacals'.

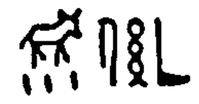
For the names of these dogs see also:

Philae <3041> Phot 72:



Totb Nav 24, 3:



Var. Koefoed-Petersen, Cataloque, pl.58 (p.28, fig.10D): 

wt also appears here in place of wnš; for wt equated with the sȝb šmʿ and possibly Wepwawet see wt.

tr. Allen, BOD, p.37: 'I am <Khepri>, who came into being of himself on his mother's lap, who gave jackals to them that are in the deep and bḥn-dogs to them that are in the Council'.

Cf CT V, 175f:

tr. FECT II, p.46: 'she-jackals' and 'predators (?)', with n.3: 'Lit. "killers"...; a hunting quadruped of some kind seems required as a counterpart to "jackals"'.

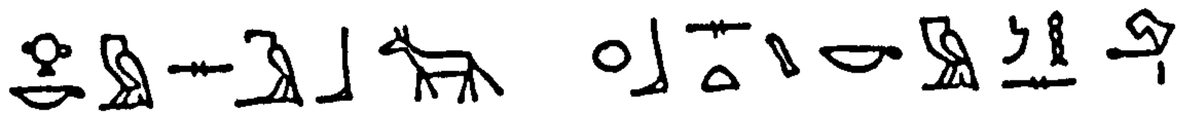
30. See H. Kees, MIO 6 (1959) 157-175: Der Gau von Kynopolis und seine Gottheit, p.172, on Dend Mar IV, 80: 'das Sethtier, das hier übrigens als Canide (ȝš) betrachtet wird, also als Rassenverwandter der "Windhündin Inpwt"'.

31. Beni Hasan II, 4 and II, 13.

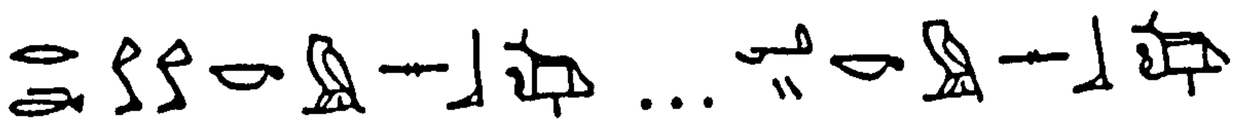
32. Represented in Lanzone, Dizionario, pl.382 and Myśliwiec, Atum I, p.111, fig.69, showing Rē‘-Ḥarakhti in the sun-boat pulled by two Seth-animals and two jackals. For other representations and further discussion see:

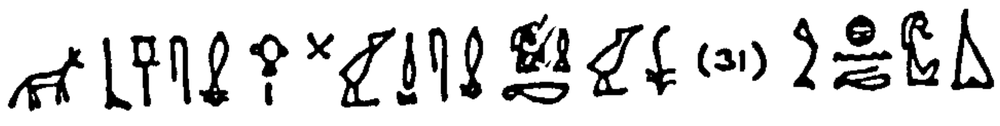
G. Nagel, BIFAO 28 (1929) 33-39: Seth dans la barque solaire; cf H.Grapow & H.Schäfer, ZÄS 73 (1937) 97-102: Eine ungewöhnliche Darstellung der Sonnenbarken, esp. pl.10b; Borghouts, P. Leiden I. 348, p.138-139, n.325; W.Pleyte, Set dans la barque solaire (Leiden 1865) pl.1; H.te Velde, Seth, God of Confusion (Leiden 1967) p.20, n.5; p.21, n.7.

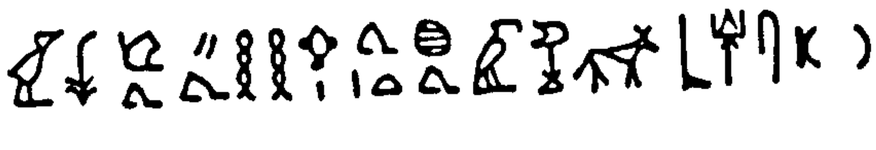
33. Pyr 865:

Pyr 573: 

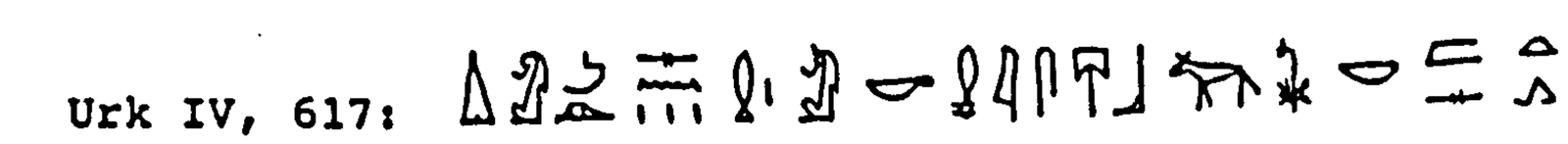
cf Pyr 1235 and Pyr 2108

Pyr 1380: 

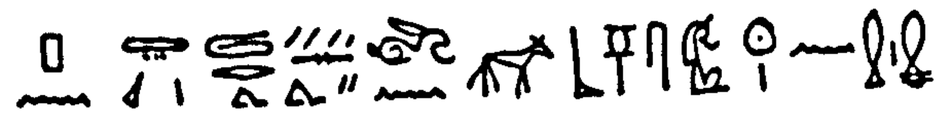
34. KRI I, 31: 

35. LD III, 195a: 

Karnak <909> (see below).

Urk IV, 617: 

LD III, 129: see KRI I, 31 above

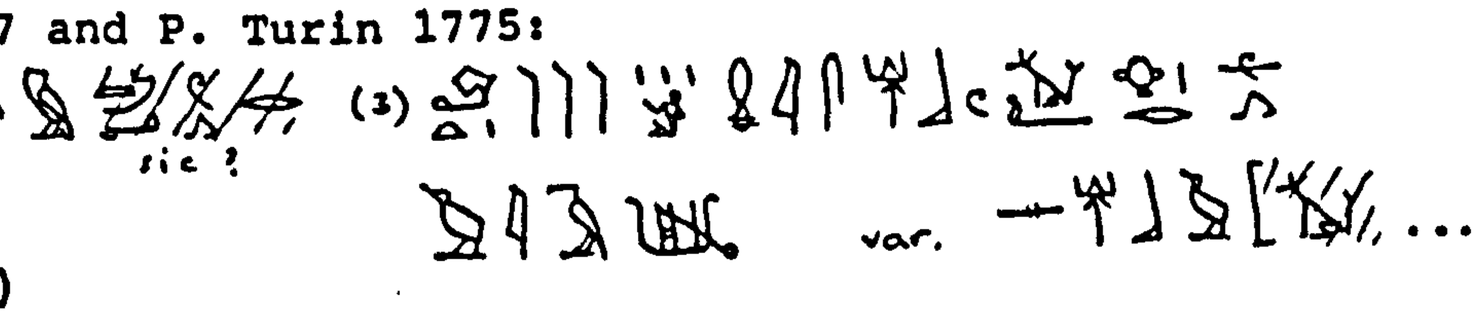
LD III, 130a: 

36. An I, 18, 5:

(FE: )

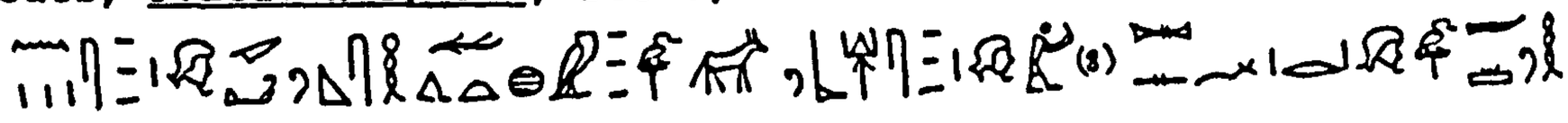
37. M u K E 3, 5:

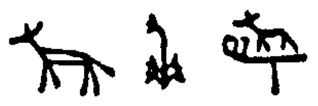
38. G.Daressy, Rec. Trav. 16 (1894) 123-133: Notes et remarques, p.129; E.B. Pusch, Das Senet-Brettspiel im alten Ägypten, Teil 1 (München 1979): MÄS 38, p.399; P.A. Piccione, Serapis 8 (1985) 47-52: Further considerations on Das Senet-Brettspiel im Alten Ägypten.

P. Kairo 58037 and P. Turin 1775: 


(Pusch's text)

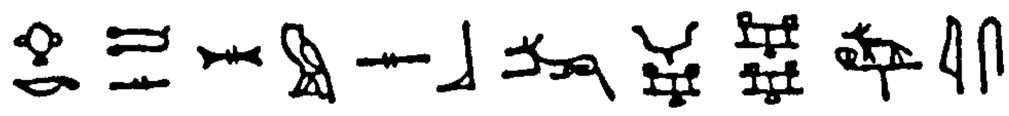
39. P. Jumilhac 15, 12.

40. Borgouts, P.Leiden I, 348, rto 8, 8: 

41. Urk VII, 65, 9 = Siut I, 336: 

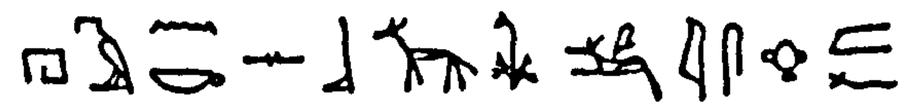
(cf Pyr 804 & 1719)

42. Gardiner, Sign List E17, n.1: 'The Upper Egyptian s3b is, however, the Anubis-animal...; on the other hand, the s3b has close connections with Wepwawet, the wolf-god'.

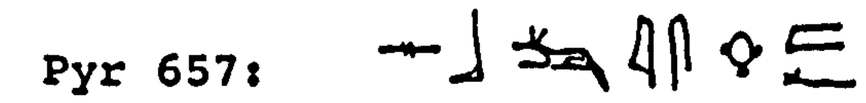
Pyr 2262: 

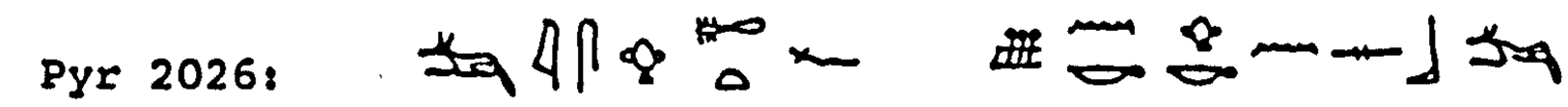
43. W.P. Meyer, ZÄS 41 (1904) 97-107: Die Entwicklung der Kulte von Abydos und die sogenannten Schakalsgötter: 'nun bedarf es kaum die Erwähnung, wie gut die liegende Stellung zum Hund, die Stehende zum Wolf paßt'.

44. Kees, Opfertanz, p.252-3, stressed that even as early as the Pyramid Texts these two gods - Anubis and Wepwawet - were less distinct than Meyer, (op.cit.) admitted, both being identified with Osiris and represented either standing or lying.

Note Pyr 2001: 

cf Pyr 727 (same phrase) :

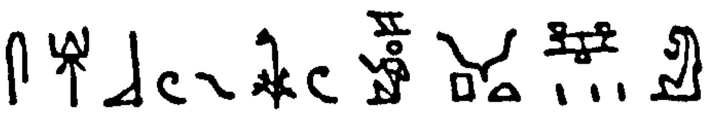
Pyr 657: 

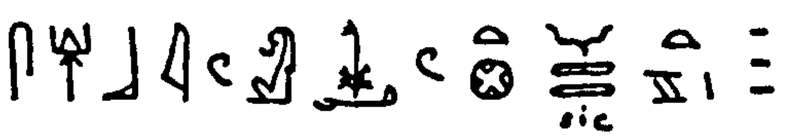
Pyr 2026: 

Pyr 1257:

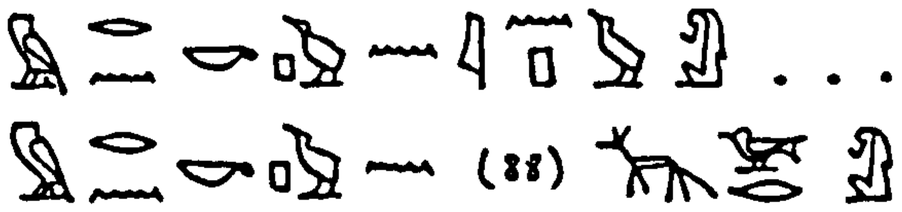
Pyr 1867:

This determinative of s3b (šmʿ) appears as determinative of the name Wepwawet in eg Pyr 1011, 1009.

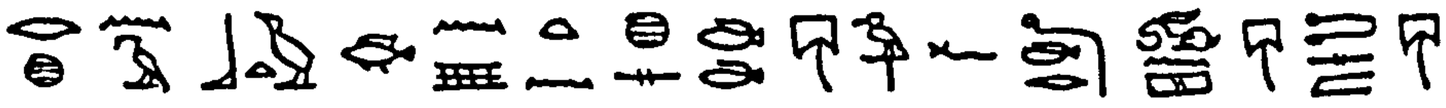
45. P. Leiden 347, 4, 3: 

Pharaohbuch b.13: 

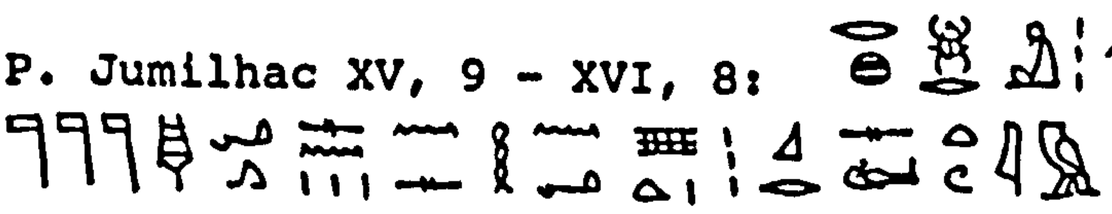
46. E. Iversen, Fs.Edel, 253-261: Remarks on some passages from the Shabaka Stone, p.258.

47. Text Relig 25: 

48. P. Jumilhac XII, 16:



tr. p.123: 'Connaître les interdictions de ce district (ou; nome). 1. La bête hstt de son dieu, c'est à dire le loup et le chien tzm'.

P. Jumilhac XV, 9 - XVI, 8: 

etc.

tr. p.127: 'Connaître les aspects de la bête hstt, c'est-à-dire du chien, ainsi que les dieux qui se manifestent en elle, et les nomes où on <les> a enterrés'.

The text which follows comprises a description of one wnš and nine tsm, each with a different colouring and identified with different gods; the wnš and the second tsm are both identified with 'Anubis, a hypostasis of Wepwawet'. It illustrates the close connection

between the wnš and tsm in mythological contexts of late date. It can be noted that various species of Canis may interbreed without difficulty producing intermediate forms. Hufnagl, Libyan Mammals, p.37, noted C.a.lupaster's interbreeding with feral dogs, describing these crosses as 'large wolf-like animals'. Gaillard identified a skull from Assiut as coming from such a jackal-dog cross (ASAE 27 (1927) 33-42 : Les animaux consacrés à la divinité de l'ancienne Lycopolis).

49. CD 485b: 'wolf'; Černý, CED, p.214: 'wolf'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.274 & 552: 'Wolf'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.235a: 'loup, chacal'.

50. Text quoted in CD 485b.

51. See eg H.Beinlich, LÄ I, 489-495: Assiut.

52. For wnš translated 'Schackal', and ογωνω 'Wolf' see L.Störk, LÄ VI, 1285: Wolf.

53. Hartmann, Systematischen Aufzählung (C.niloticus Geoffroy); Ptahh I, p.18, No.63: 'In spite of its black colour and excessively slender proportions, the evidence seems to identify it with the canis niloticus, or Egyptian fox'.

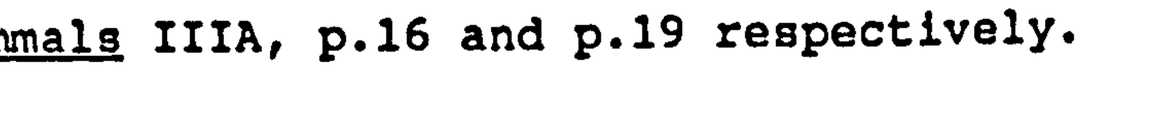
54. Kingdon, East African Mammals IIIA, p.16 and p.19 respectively.

55. Edfu I, 341-2.

56. P. Jumilhac XII, 13 and XV, 9 (see n.48 above).

57. Montet, Fruit défendu, p.96: 'Ne désignerait-il pas l'animal du dieu Oup-ouäit... qui passe tantôt pour un loup, tantôt pour un chacal?'.

58. See n.23.

59. Pyr 1462: 

60. Sethe, UuK V, p.404-405.

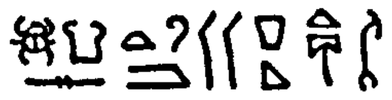
61. Lycaon pictus Temminck. This animal occurs today in the savanna areas of Africa below 20°N, and may have been present in Egypt in early historical times - see H.G. Fischer, LÄ II, col.77-82: Hunde, esp. col.77, with n.1. See too Haltenorth & Diller, Mammals of Africa, p.177-178, with map on p.176.

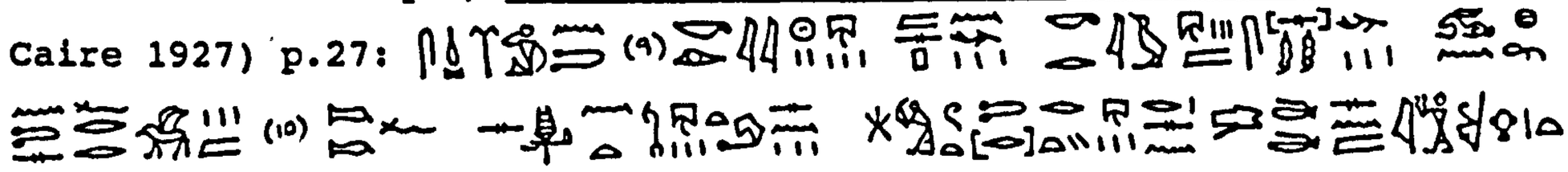
62. Brehm, Tierleben I, p.166.

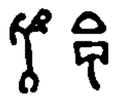
63. A. Ember, ZÄS 51 (1913) 110-121: Kindred Semito-Egyptian Words, p.111.

64. E.Zylharz, Zeitschrift für Eingeborenensprachen 23 (1932-33) : Ursprung und Sprachcharakter des Altägyptischen.

65. Černý, CED p.29; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch p.29; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.336.

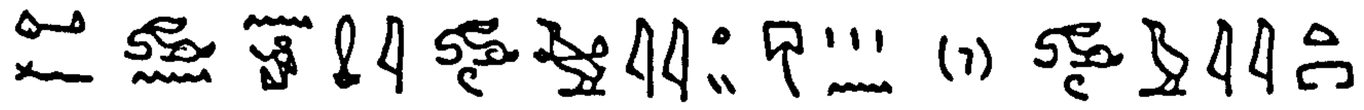
66. LD IV, 65b: 

67. F.Bisson de la Roque, Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud 1926 (Le Caire 1927) p.27:  tr. p.28 (by Drioton): 'les lévriers dressent pour toi le haut de leurs corps'. See, in addition, kỉry-kỉry, krỉw, rrt and also sfrr (Wb IV, 115, 12: ein Fabeltier).

68. Brugsch Rec II, pl.71, 4: 

69. AL 77.0825 & 77.1037.

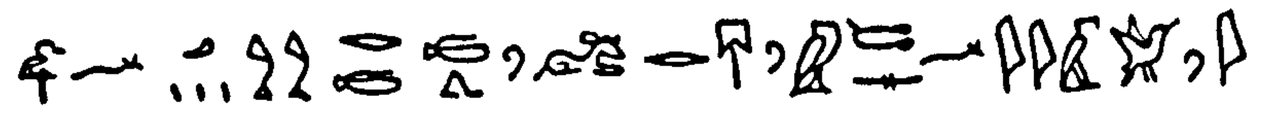
70. E. Iversen, Fs. Edel, 253-261: Remarks on some passages from the Shabaka Stone, p.258, n.16: 'As will be shown elsewhere, there is evidence that the original meaning of wt determined by the jackal in mythological contexts is 'a cub' of fox, wolfe (sic), or dog'.

71. A term wʿyt is found in the stela of Neferabu and was translated 'chiens'' by G. Maspero, Rec. Trav. 2 (1880) 105-120: Notes sur quelque points de grammaire et d'histoire. The term seems to form part of a punning phrase:


tr. p.112: 'Il a accordé que je fusse comme les chiens de la chapelle'. The passage tells of the punishments inflicted on Neferabu for blaspheming - thus w‹yt should be a term of reprobation.

72. Hayes, Scepter I, p.99 and fig.56.

73. Stela Cairo CG 20512. For publications see H.G.Fischer, LÄ III, 81-82: Hundestele.

74. Abb 2, 10: 

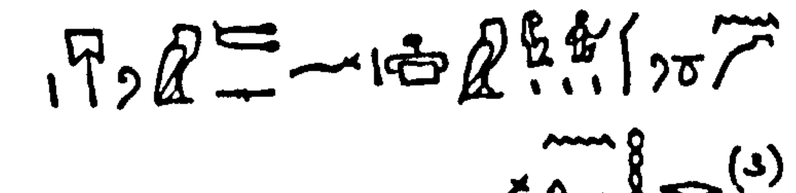
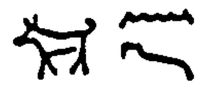
75. A.H. Zayed, ASAE 57 (1962) 143-159: Reflexions sur deux statuettes inédites de l'époque ptolémaïque (Cairo JdE 37335).

76. Davies, Two Sculptors, pl.5 (in colour).

77. Geogr Pap, pl.10, frag 17.
See, eg, Klebs, Reliefs AR, p.30, 34, 63, 67, 68f; Reliefs MR, p.36, 46, 45, 95; Reliefs NR, p.65, 74 etc; Davies, Five Theban Tombs, pl.26.

78. See H.G. Fischer, LÄ III, 77-81: Hunde.

79. J.M.A.Janssen, MDAIK 16 (1958) 176-182: Über Hundennamen im pharaonischen Ägypten; H.G. Fischer, JEA 47 (1961) 152-153: A supplement to Janssen's list of dogs' names; id., J.MMA Suppl. 12 (1977): More Egyptian names of dogs and other animals; W.K. Simpson, JEA 63 (1977) 175: An additional dog's name from a Giza Mastaba.

80. P. Ch. B. I, vso G, 2, 2 (pl.30): 
cf Edfu VI, 74, 4-11: 

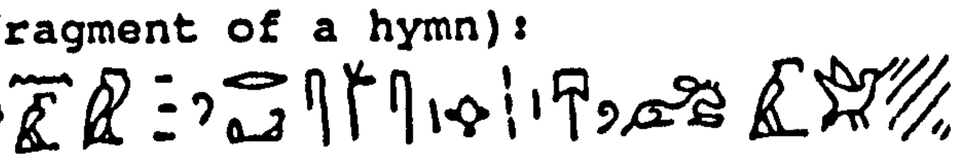
81. Totb Nav 24, 5:
tr. Allen, BOD, p.109: 'faster than greyhounds, quicker than a shadow'.

82. CT I, 154:

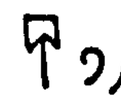
var.

tr. FECT I, 28: 'The dog which thwarts its master is beaten', with p.29, n.21.

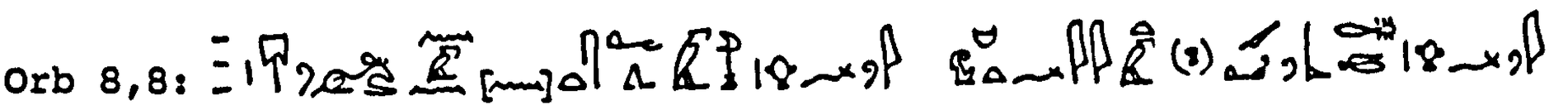
83. P.Ch. B. I, pl.18, vso A,2 (fragment of a hymn):

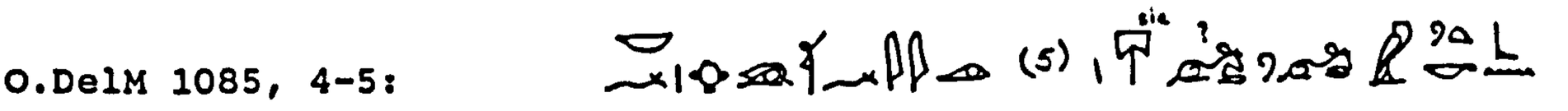


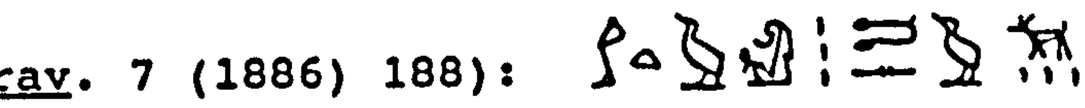
tr. p.39: '...the dog, enriching them in their houses'.

84. An IV, 12, 12: 

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.189 (see above).

85. Orb 8,8: 

86. O.DelM 1085, 4-5: 

87. Vienna Stela No.64 (Rec. Trav. 7 (1886) 188): 

Abyd Mar III, 240:

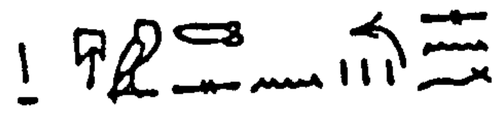
P. Boul 18, 38, 6:

88. See, eg, H.S. Smith, JEA 58 (1972) 43-61: The Rock Inscriptions of Buhen, p.58, tr. 'master of hounds'.

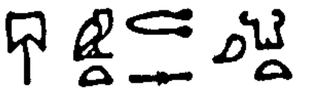
For this and other animals tended by a mnỉw see Černý, Miscellanea Gregoriana, 57-61.

89. O. Gardiner 5 (HO I, pl.18):
(for full text see tp-n-ỉ3wt).

90. Eb 63, 16:



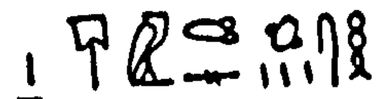
Wb. Drog. V, p.97; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.58: 'Blut des Windhundes'.

Eb 65, 21: 

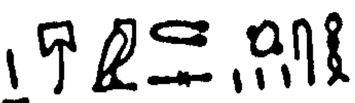
Wb. Drog. V, p.510; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.296: 'Vulva (k3.t) einer Windhündin'.

Eb 66, 15:

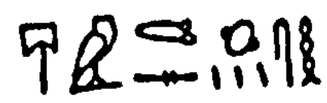
Wb. Drog. V, p.497; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.289: 'Bein (ỉns.t) einer Windhündin'.

Eb 74, 18: 

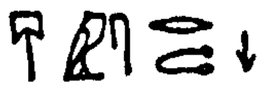
Wb. Drog. V, p.402; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.231: 'Kot eines Windhundes'.

Eb 74, 19-21: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.402; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.232: 'Kot eines Windhundes'.

Eb 75, 5 = Hearst 3, 11: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.21; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.12: 'Kot des Windhundes'.



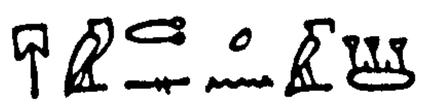
P.Ram IV, E, 1, 3:

Wb. Drog. V, p.544; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.316: '[...des] Windhundes '.

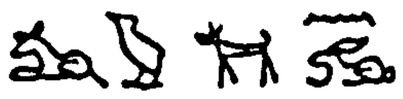
Barns, Five Ramesseum Papyri, pl.20 (tr. p.29).

Hearst 10, 18:

Wb. Drog. V, p.497; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.300: 'Blut des Vulva einer Windhündin'.

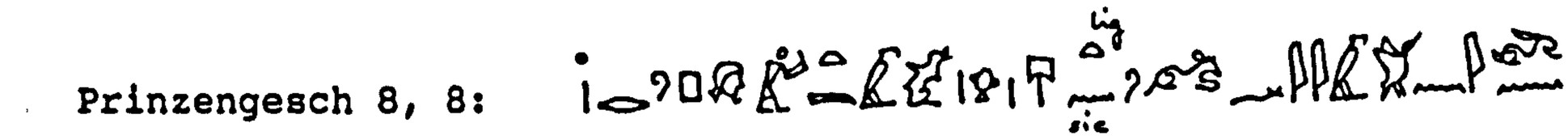
Eb 79, 3: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.437; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.256: 'Kot (šȝw) eines Windhundes'.

91. P.Kah vet 15: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.547; tr. IV$^1$, p.317: 'Hund'.

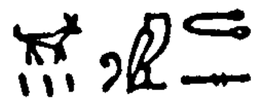
92. Sauneron, Papyrus magique illustré, p.25, n.i.

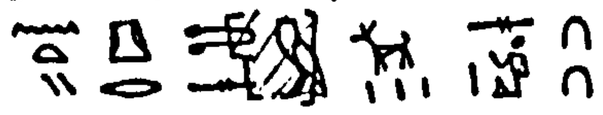
Prinzengesch 8, 8: 

P. Ch. B. III, rto 7, 18:

tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.16. If a man see himself in a dream 'he being bitten by a dog, BAD; a cleaving fast to him of magic'.

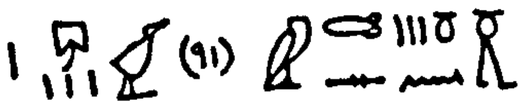
93. Urk IV, 329 (from Punt):

cf Schiffbr 165: 

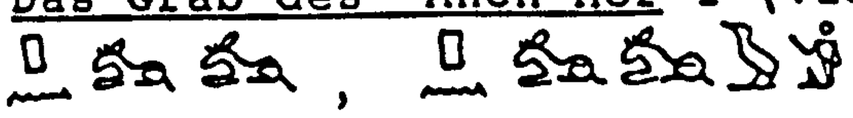
Caminos, Ibrim, pl.32, 1.6 (from 'southern foreign lands'):


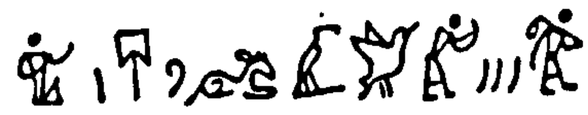
tr. p.67: 'Those who are carrying hounds, 20 men'.

This importing suggested to Erman & Ranke, Ägypten, p.276, that: 'Die Windspielen scheinen übrigens in Ägypten nicht heimisch gewesen zu sein', and Blok, Volksverhalen, p.90, came to a similar conclusion: 'De tsm is van oost-afrikaansche afkomst en wordt met den aap als tribuut naar Aegypte gezonden'. Nevertheless, the importing of an animal does not prove that its only source is outside the country of import. Note too that Sinuhe was given tsm in Syria-Palestine, so the dog was clearly not solely east African: Sinuhe 90-91:



94. Ranke, PN I, p.16 (ỉw) and p.100 (p3-ỉw).
Gardiner, Wilbour Papyri I, pl.33 & 33A, col.70, 1.21:

M. Bietak & E. Reiser-Haslauer, Das Grab des 'Anch-Hor I (Vienne 1978), p.44 (read P(3)-n-ỉwỉw): 

P.Ch.B. I, vso section H 2: 

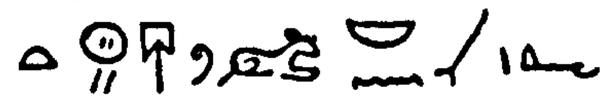
Cf O.DelM 256, rto 13; O.DelM 94, 3.

95. See above, n.91.

96. Černý, P.DelM, pl.10, 7:

tr. p.5: 'Tu ferras pour lui l'image d'Osiris, de la nouvelle lune, du chien couché, du devant de la couroune atef, et celui qui est sans tête, et toutes les écritures qui servent à contourner la mort'.

97. Sauneron, Papyrus magique illustré, pl.4, 2:

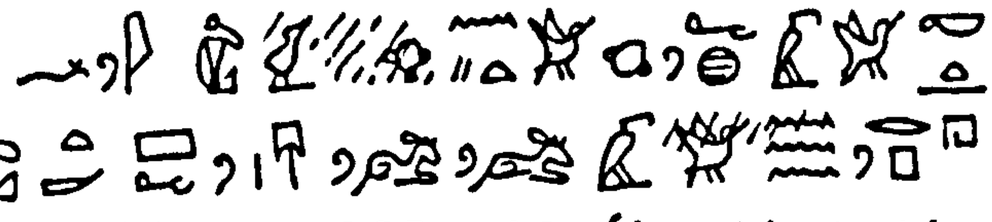


tr. p.23: 'tout danger venant d'un chien, d'une chienne'.

(cf pl.4, 5 and 5, 7)

See, for comparison, Griffith & Thompson, Demotic Magical Papyrus, 19, 1 and 19, 32.

98. P. Leid 343, vso 4, 9:



tr. Massart, P.Leiden I, 343+345, p.105: 'O ḫw that thou [ea]test, while thou art submerged, O dog, chewer of bones'. Cf rto 21, 2 (also ỉwỉw).

99. See above in the notes and text.

100. P. Jumilhac XV, 18f: 'it is a hypostasis of Horus; it is Anti'.

101. P. Jumilhac XVI, 2; XVI, 6.

102. P. Jumilhac XVI, 3.

103. P. Jumilhac XVI, 5.

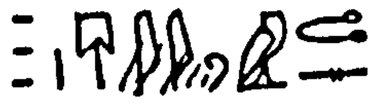
104. P. Jumilhac XVI, 5.

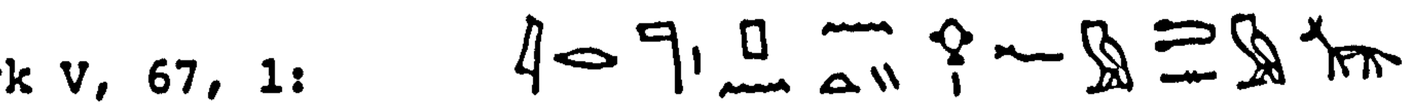
105. P. Jumilhac XVI, 6.

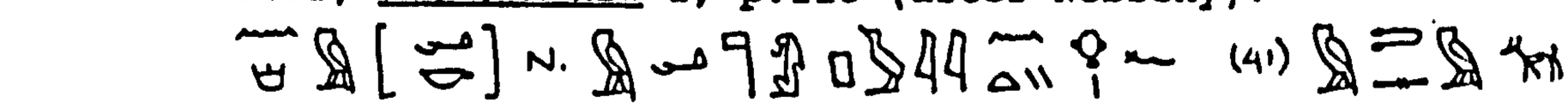
106. P. Jumilhac XVI, 7.

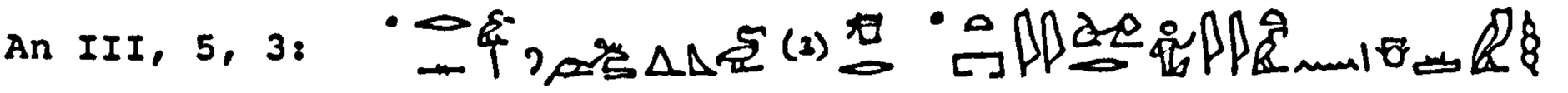
107. P. Jumilhac XVI, 7-8.

See also J. Vandier, RdE 9 (1952) 121-123: Le Papyrus Jumilhac, on this passage, and J.-C.Goyon, Les dieux-gardiens I, p.206-7 & II, p.138 (P. Geneva MAH 15274, rto 4, 5-7) where Baba is described as a ỉwỉw ('You are a ỉwỉw, Baba who goes down to the desert') who is accompanied by 77 black tsm:

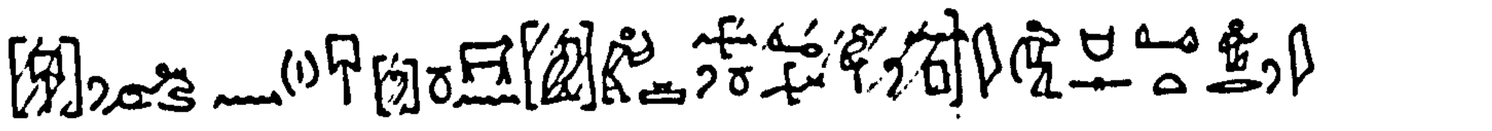


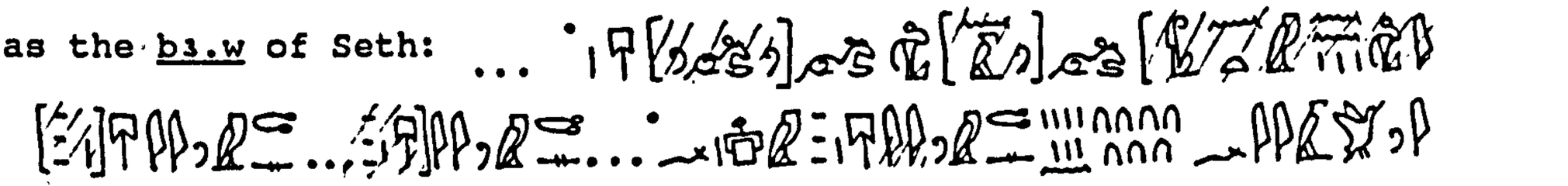
108. Urk V, 67, 1: 

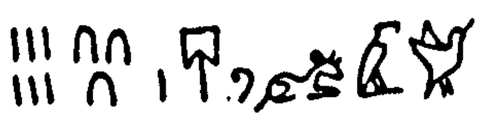
Shorter, Pr(t)-m-hrw I, p.118 (after Nebseny):


109. An III, 5, 3: 
tr. Caminos, LEM, p.88: 'My gateway is happy for the time that (5,3) Dog has entered it', with n. on p.90.

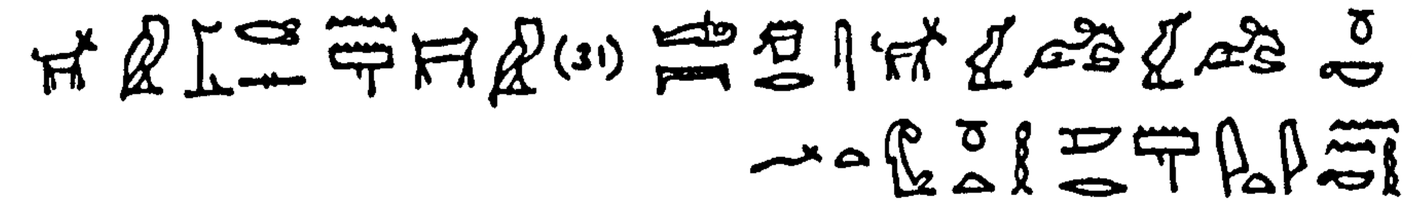
110. J. Vandier, RdE 9 (1952) 121-123: Le Papyrus Jumilhac, esp. p.122, and idem, Papyrus Jumilhac, p.84, 212, n.706. For B3b3 with dog determinative see Totb Nav II, p.313, var Ab (BOD 125, Schlußrede), and n. 107 above.

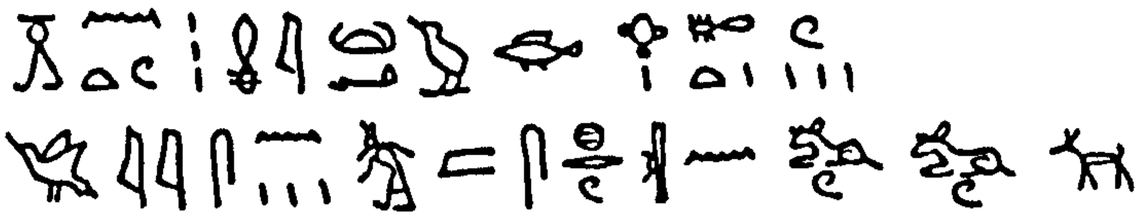
111. P.Ch.B. V, 6, 1: 
tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd series, p.51: 'I will cause Anubis to sit shrouded in the skin of a dog'.

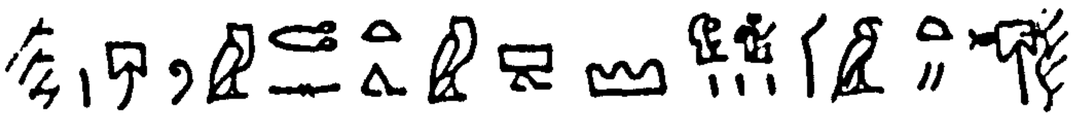
112. P. Geneva MAH 15274, rto 4, 5-7;
tr. Goyon, Les dieux-gardiens, p.206: 'Ah, dresse toi, venin! J'ai trouvé ton nom selon ta forme:- Oui! Tu es un chien-ỉwỉw, (tu es) Bébon qui descend au désert, soixante dix-sept chiens courants à sa suite et leur peau est noire...' These 77 dogs are mentioned twice more in the text. Goyon believed them to be 'les bȝ.w... du chien ỉwỉw'; he compared the preceding passage which gives donkeys as the bȝ.w of Seth: 

Nine ỉwy appear in P. Boulaq VI, Fragment 31, 4:
Koenig, P.Boulaq VI, p.13, asked 'sont-ils à rapprocher des neuf chiens du Papyrus Jumilhac?'
cf Lopez, Ostraca II, pl.68: 

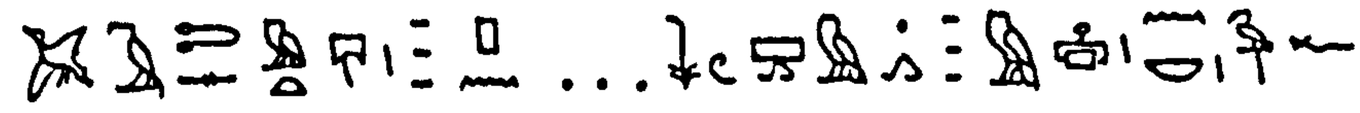
113. When the king accedes to his son's request he tells his servant to take the boy a ktkt šrỉ. For ktkt see Wb V, 146, 1-9: I zittern beben, II sich bewegen, von lebenden wesen, III fortgehen, forthehmen. The phrase is, therefore, translatable as 'a wriggling (puppy)'.

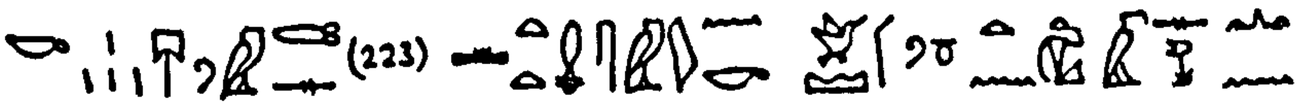
114. Kairo 20506: 

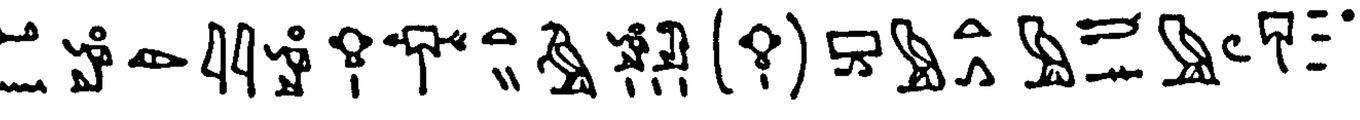
Karn Mar 53, 23: 

Sall II, 12, 1: 

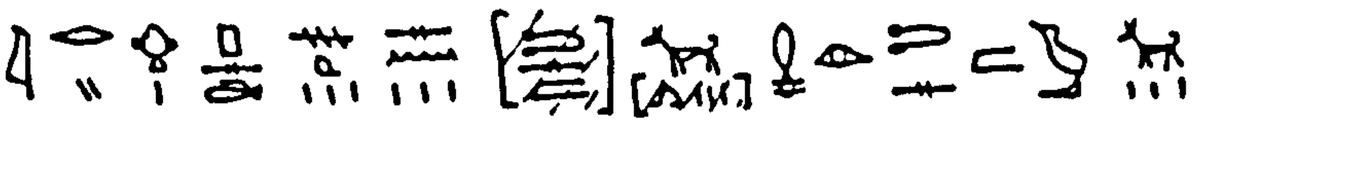
Text from O. Petrie 29, 7 (HO I, pl.11 & 11A, No.2; same text in O.DelM 1363 and P. Milligen 2,5 - 3,6).

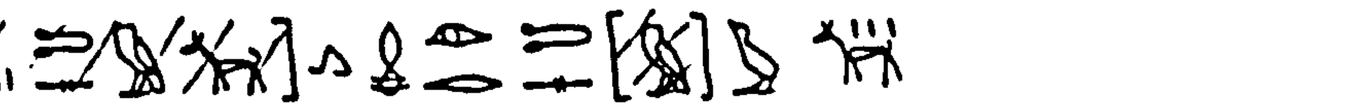
Max d'Anii 9, 3-4: 

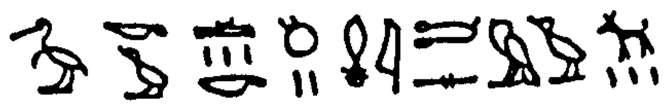
Sinuhe 222-3: 

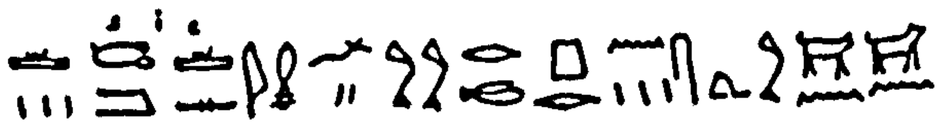
Sall II, 3, 1: 

tr. F.L.Griffith, ZÄS 34 (1896) 35-51: The Millingen Papyrus (teaching of Amenemḥēt), p.47: 'I caused that I should make the Setiu go like hounds (at my heels)'.

Urk IV, 809: 

Urk IV, 321: 

Temples immergés I, p.64, 1.32 (II, pl.166): 

Caminos, Ibrim, pl.40, 1.8: 

115. A. Ember, ZÄS 51 (1913) 110-121: Kindred Semito-Egyptian words, para.88.

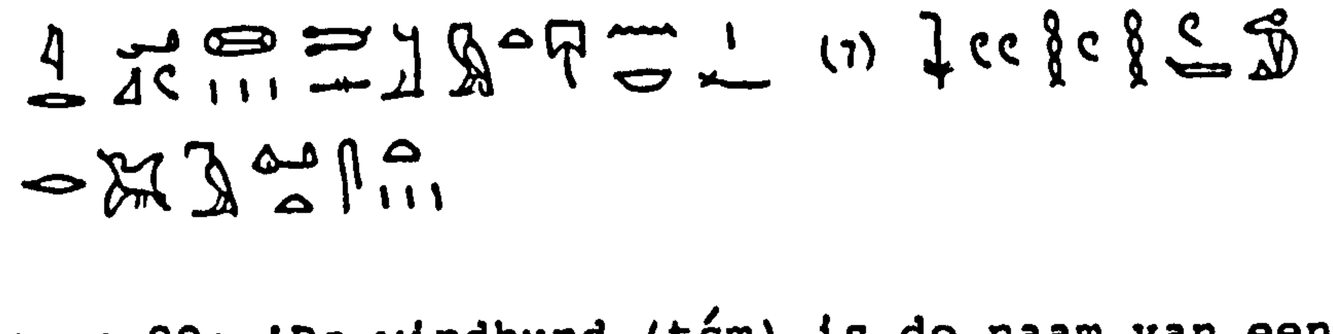
116. F. Behnk, ZDMG 82 (1928) 136-141: Über die Beziehungen des Ägyptischen zu den hamitischen Sprachen, p.138.

117. E. Littmann ZÄS 67 (1931) 63-68: Bemerkungen zur ägyptisch-semitischen Sprachvergleichung, p.66 : 'Der Name ist vom Geheul des Hundes und des Schakals genommen... vgl. noch arab. ʾibn ʾāwà..., neuarab. wāwī "Schakal", und die Schreibung ʾiwʾiw im Ägyptischen'.

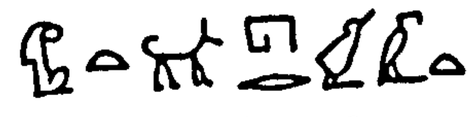
118. Wb I, 48, 17-19: klagen &c; Wb I, 50, 2: klagen, jammern.

119. H.G.Fischer, LÄ III, 77-81: Hunde, col.77: 'probably onomatopoeic-"howler".'

120. T. Handoussa, GM 89 (1986) 23-41: Le chien d'agrément en Ancienne Égypte, p.27.

121. Amenemope 26, 6-7: 

122. Blok, Volksverhalen, p.89: 'De windhund (tśm) is de naam van een species, iw (IV, 4) die van het genus'.

123. Dévéria, Cat Mss du Louvre, p.58 (P. Louvre inv 3108): 

Cf Ranke, PN I, p.83 (whr), p.104 (p3 whr) and p.355 (t3 whr).

124. CD 510b: 'dog'; Černý, CED, p.224; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.242; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.286.

125. Vycichl, ZDMG 101 (1951) 66-71 : Eine vorhamitische Sprachschicht im Altägyptischen, p.70-71, para.21.

126. On a possible subspecies see Y.S. Moustafa, BIE 36 (1955) 105-109: Canis familiaris aegyptica from pre-dynastic Maadi, Egypt.

127. Mar Mast D47 (p.305):

S. Hassan, Excavations at Giza III, fig.47 on p.185 (det. as s3b):

128. See, eg, Haltenorth & Diller, op.cit., p.219-220, distribution map, p.217.

129. Note the work done on the transference of animal names to plants and other (usually smaller) animals in Latin by Jacques and de Saint-Denis (see Ch.1, n.5).

130. Eg N. Davies, JEA 26 (1940) 82: Amenemheb encountering a hyaena, esp. pl.26b; Klebs, Reliefs AR, p.120, 142. On hyaenas (not) used for hunting see Junker, Giza XI, p.236.

131. See Haltenorth & Diller, op.cit., distribution map p.217; Hoogstraal, op.cit., p.221.

132. LD II, 11:

Petrie Deshasheh, pl.9:

Sheikh Said, pl.20:

Kagemni 30 (pl.12):

Kagemni 29 (pl.11-12):

Kagemni 28 (pl.11):

Mereruka A13 (Vol.II, pl.152):

Beni Hasan I, pl.38:

Junker, Giza VI, fig.16, between p.64 & 65:

Junker, Giza VII, p.73, fig.3:

Junker, Giza VIII, p.21:

Junker, Giza XI, fig.92A, p.236:

LD II, 25 (list):

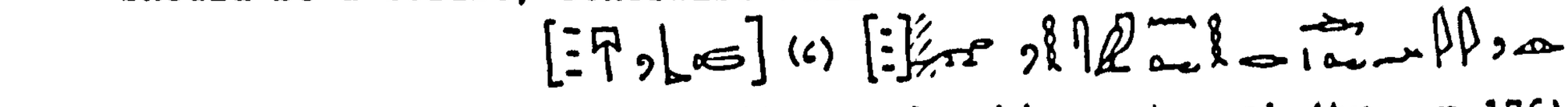
Nianchchnum fig.18 (see too p.118 para.22.1, n.654):

133. Junker, Giza III, fig.27, opp. p.166:

134. W.Vycichl, ZÄS 84 (1959) 70-74: Studien der ägyptisch-semitischen Wortvergleichung, esp. p.73, para.4.

## Chapter 6 : Notes

1. G.Posener, RdE 8 (1951) 171-189: Ostraca inédits du Musée de Turin (Recherches Littéraires III) p.175-178 (O.Turin 9598, rto). One should be a scribe, otherwise will work on a boat and :



'Il fait un avec les crocodiles et les hippopotames' (tr. p.176).

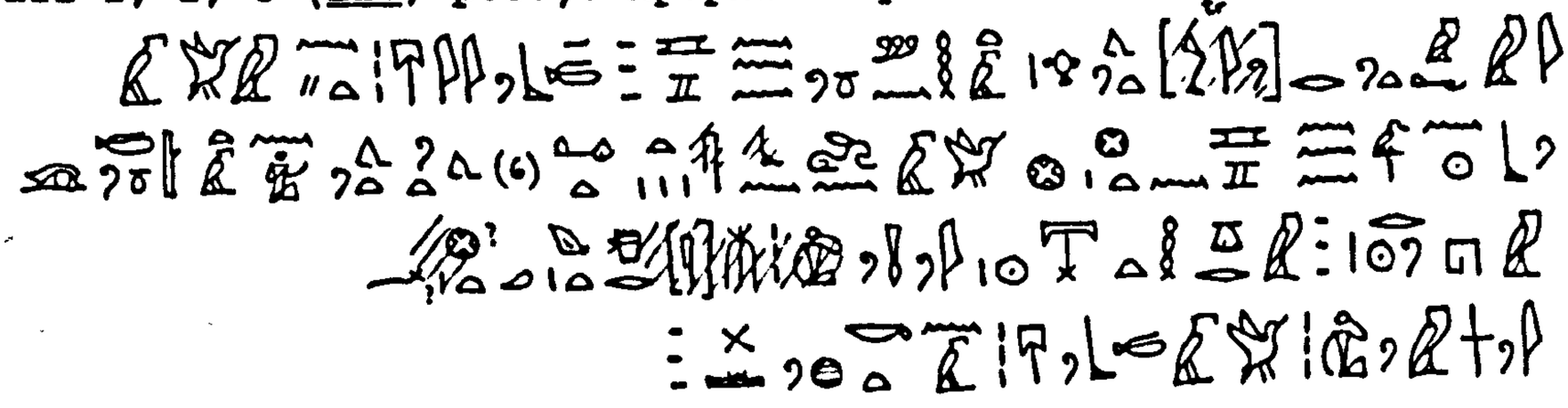
Note here the dangers of hippo hunting indicated by the senet-square showing a hippo-hunt which appears to signify a penalty; it occupies the same position (fourth from right) as the square usually marked mw 'water' which is a penalty. See E.B. Pusch, Das Senet-Brettspiel im Alten Ägypten (München/Berlin 1979) : MÄS 38, p.215-216, p.221, p.323; T.Kendall, Passing through the Netherworld (Belmont, Mass.1978).

2. Vandier, Mo'alla, p.232, Inscr. 11:

tr. p.232: 'son seuil a été rapporté d'Éléphantiné comme l'hippopotame qui s'était mis en fureur contre le maître du Sud'

and in n.i, pp.238-239, he assumed that this is a reference to a legend, possibly involving a local deity, now lost. Note the more common use of hꜥr, which seems to indicate vengeful rage, of another animal, the leopard (3by).

cf Sall I, 2, 5 (LES, p.87): Apophis says:



3. See especially for this T.Säve-Söderbergh, On Egyptian Representations of Hippo Hunting as a Religious Motif (Uppsala 1953): Horae Söderblomianae 3, p.45f; also W.Barta, Untersuchung zur Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs (München/Berlin 1975): MÄS 32, p.109-111.

4. See here L.Störk, LÄ IV, 501-506: Nilpferd, esp. n.1, col.504.

| | |
|---|---|
| ʿḥ3 'fighter' | Wb I, 217, 6: Bezeichnung des Nilpferdes |
| wr 'great' | Wb I, 331, 11: Bez des Nilpferdes als Name des Seth) |
| nhs | Wb II, 287, 14-17: Bez. des Seth als Tier |
| nḥ3-ḥr | Wb II, 290, 15-18 esp.18: als Nilpferd gedacht |
| nš | Wb II, 338, 5: Nilpferd als feindliches Tier |
| nšny 'furious' | Wb II, 342, 1-2: der Wütende, esp.1: von Seth als Nilpferd |
| hry-nty | Wb III, 134, 16: das Nilpferd |
| htm 'destroyer' | Wb III, 198, 7: als Bez. des Nilpferdes als Feind des Horus |
| k3 mḥy 'bull of the (Delta) marshes' | Wb V, 96, 10: als Bez. des Nilpferdes |
| dns 'heavy' | Wb V, 469, 12-14 esp.12: Bez. für das Nilpferd als Verkörperung des Bösen |
| dšr 'red' | Wb V, 493, 13: rot, rot sein |

The names generally reflect the Egyptians' fear of the hippopotamus as a dangerous animal or as the incarnation of destructive forces; the name 'red' is presumably merely a description of the hippo's skin colour (note too that a hippo's sweat is red - Walker, Mammals of the World, p.1369: 'The skin is glandular and exudes droplets of moisture which contain red pigment'). Red was, in any case, a colour closely associated with Seth.

5. ḥmt; see Alliott, Culte d'Horus, p.706-707 tr: 'Je darde contre ((ḥ)r) les femelles d'hippopotames (ḥm.w.t n ḥ3b.w)'. Alliott also noted p.707, n.1: 'L'expression s'oppose à celle qui désigne l'hippopotame mâle' (k3-mḥy, presumably). (For other female animals designated ḥmt see especially Ch.4: Cattle, but also elsewhere).

rnn.t (Wb II, 435, 16: vom jungfraulichen Tieren der Nilpferde) from Naville, Mythe d'Horus, pl.1: 'the pregnant npt have not given birth, their rnnt have not become pregnant'. Cf Alliott, Culte d'Horus, p.707-8, who tr. npt: '(femelles) d'hippopotames'.

6. Collected by L.Keimer, Ms notes in the DAI, Cairo.

7. Divided into the subspecies L.a.africana, Bush or Savanna Elephant, and L.a.cyclotis, Forest Elephant, by Kingdon, East African Mammals III B, p.31. The latter is about 2'-3' shorter than the former and

an inhabitant of equatorial rain forests; see Burton, Systematic Dictionary, p.199. R.A. Carrington, Elephants: A Short Account of their Natural History, Evolution and Influence on Mankind (London 1958) noted of a further subspecies, L.a.pumilio Noack, that the specimen taken by Noack was probably a small forest elephant not a discrete pygmy species, and that later reports of a pygmy race of elephants 'prove to have been based either on immature animals or on unusually small specimens of the ordinary forest elephant'.

8. A misnomer; the name is from 'wide' not 'white' (Afrikaans: Witrenoster).

9. See Kingdon, op.cit., p.93 (Black rhino) & p.107 (White) for distribution maps.

10. The rhinos depicted were identified as the White Rhino by W.Gowers, Antiquity 24 (1950) 61-71: The Classical Rhinoceros. Representations appear in Winkler, Rock Drawings I, pl.20 & 21; W.F.E. Resch, Die Felsbilder Nubiens (Graz 1967) pl.35.

    Elephants represented in Winkler, op.cit., I, pl.14,20,23,27 & 28; (including tuskless examples); II, pl.56, 57.

11. R. Mond & O.H. Myers, Temples of Armant, The Plates (London 1940) pl.93. Cf also the rep. from Deir el-Baḥri, unfortunately unnamed, in W. Stevenson Smith, JARCE 1 (1962) 59-61: The Land of Punt, fig. on p.61 redrawn in Störk, Nashorn, p.221. It is also reproduced in Vandier d'Abbadie, Singes...NE, p.21, fig 60; it was identified by Keimer (Ms notes) as a young Black Rhino (only one horn is drawn). See also Naville, Deir el-Bahri III, pl.70 (lower half of animal only). On the dating of the rep. see Störk, op.cit., p.289-296.

12. Gowers, op.cit., noted clay models of rhino horns found in the Dyn.1 tomb of Hor-Aha at Saqqara (W.B. Emery, Hor-Aha (Cairo 1939) p.72) which he believed to be modelled from the White Rhino (partly because of the lack of evidence for the Black Rhino at this date) and ivory/bone inlays & rawhide cut-outs in shape of rhinos of the Middle Kingdom from Kerma west of the third cataract (Reisner, Excavations at Kerma, esp. pl.55, fig.2 & pl.60, fig.2 & M. Hilzheimer, ZÄS 69 (1931) 39-42: Die Nashorndarstellungen von Kerma esp. p.39, fig.1 & 2.) The latter were again believed to show the White Rhino - as the representations are so good Hilzheimer assumed

that White Rhinos must still have been present near Kerma at that time (p.40-41).

Gowers thus deduced of the distribution of rhinos (assuming all those mentioned to have been the White Rhino) : 'We seem to have a picture in the Nile basin of a gradual retreat by simus due to increasing aridity from a northern front of at least 25N [c. the latitude of Edfu] in the 4th millennium B.C. to about 19N [near Kawa somewhat north of Napata] in the second millennium and 17 [near Meroë] by the beginning of the Christian era'.

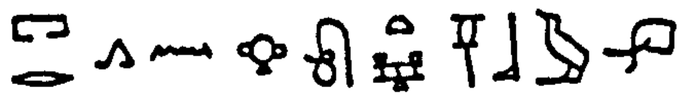
13. See W.R. Dawson, Annals and Magazine of Natural History (Series 9) 16 (1925) 656-660: The earliest records of the elephant, who mentioned
Petrie, Diospolis Parva, pl.12 (slate palette)
Wolf, Die Kunst Ägyptens, p.92, fig.56 (knife-handle)
Petrie, Nagada & Ballas, pl.67 (nome-sign)
cf Capart, Primitive Art, p.141, fig.111, pl.51, fig.11-13 (pot-mark)
Quibell, Hierakonpolis I, pl.6 & 16
Petrie, Koptos, pl.3 & 4
Bénédite, Carnarvon Ivory, p.4 et passim. (On this see also L.Keimer, Histoires des serpents dans l'Égypte ancienne et moderne (Le Caire 1947)).

E. Schott, MDAIK 27 (1971) 99-110: Ein Stempelsiegel in Form eines Elefanten, also mentioned pre-dynastic reps. on vases etc. (p.99, with n.1 & n.3) - Berlin 22388 published by Scharff, ZÄS 61 (1926) 16-30: Vorgeschichtliches zur Libyerfrage, pl.1; an example from Boston published by W.Stevenson Smith, Ancient Egypt as represented in the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston 1952) p.15ff, fig.1; vase Ashmolean Museum 1895, 584, showing ships with elephant standards published by Capart, Primitive Art, p.210, fig.164 & 118, fig.91 ; and on the belt of a Min-statue from Coptos (Capart, op.cit., p.225, fig.167). Compare a slate in the form of an elephant, Berlin 14146, in Scharff, Altertümer I, pl.21 (626).

14. See C.N. Reeves, MDAIK 40 (1984) 227-235: Excavations in the Valley of the Kings 1905/6 : a photographic record, p.234 with n.57-58 (bottom right-hand photograph also pl.35B), an ostacon found in rubbish from the tomb of Ramesses [III]. This was poorly reproduced in Dawson, op.cit., p.659, fig.5, and shows an Indian elephant. Cf Rekhmire pl.12, 22.

15. Eg Edel, <u>Inschriften Niuserre</u> (1963), p.119-123, fig.4 and fig.13; (1961) p.249ff, fig.1 and 2 :

Pyr 234b (Unas pyramid) :

Urk I, 125, 1 (Harkuf): 

Urk I, 245, 3 (Palermo Stone):

cf Urk I, 243, 3:

H.W. Müller, <u>Die Felsengräber der Fürsten von Elephantine aus der Zeit des Mittleren Reiches</u> (Glückstadt/Hamburg/New York 1940), fig.43,p.109, E.26: 'Körper grau, Zahn weiß'. See too <u>Cat des Mon</u> I, 183 (Tomb of Sirenput II, Aswân).

H.G. Fischer, <u>JEA</u> 61 (1975) 33-37: Two tantalizing biographical fragments of historical interest, para. 1, fig. 1 & 2 (blocks from Unas causeway). He commented on the detail in fig.1: 'The form of the elephant resembles that of a rhinoceros'. To judge from the photograph the 'trunk' of the animal in this figure may extend into the damaged area of the block's edge (see his pl.16) and not stop short as in the figure, which might give it a more elephant-like appearance. Nevertheless the horn remains fairly clear.

Cf J.C. Goyon, <u>BIFAO</u> 69 (1970) 11-41: Les navires de transport de la chausée monumentale d'Ounas, p.13, text C:
(cf for wording Fischer, <u>op.cit</u> ., fig.2 (p.34)).

Cf too the det. of <u>3bw</u> on the Late Period (Dyn.26) coffin of Ankhnesneferibrē$^{c}$ (D26) in Sander-Hansen, <u>Anchnesneferibre</u>, p.4.

16. Gardiner, <u>AEO</u> II,p.4: 'the elephant itself appears as determinative in the earliest writings... and it therefore seems certain that the name meant "Elephant", not "Ivory"'.

Cf J.H.Dunbar, <u>Rock pictures of Lower Nubia</u> (Cairo 1941): 'The First Upper Egyptian nome with the capital on the Island of Abu or Elephantine...whether the island was so-called after the cult-animal of the local people (Newberry), after the elephant symbol of its chieftain (Weigall), because elephants were hunted there, because ivory was sold there, or because the island was shaped like an

elephant (just as Khartoum is so called because it is shaped like an elephant's trunk) is not clear'.

17. F.Váhala, ZÄS 98 (1970) 81-83: Der Elefant in Ägypten und Nubien, p.82: 'Ich bin zu der Einsicht gekommen, daß nicht der Elfenbeinhandel, der sich dort konzentrierte, der Insel den Namen gegeben hat, sondern der Elefant oder die Elefantenherden selbst, die damals in dieser Gegend lebten'.

18. This was the opinion of Váhala, op.cit.; see too Zeuner, Domesticated Animals, p.280, who noted that African Elephants were still found in the eastern Sudan in the 19th century.

19. The scene is represented, eg, in Säve-Söderbergh, op.cit., pl.1; Klebs, Reliefs AR, p.36, 37, 68, 69, 70.

20. Meroitic : F.Hintze, Alte Kulturen im Sudan (München 1967) pl.97 (African elephant), with text to plate; id., Masawwarat es Sufra I, 2 (Berlin 1971) pl.47, p.49f, p.70f, p.85; P.L.Shinnie, Meroë (London 1967) p.147; I.Hoffmann, JEA 58 (1972) 245-6: Eine neue Elefantengott-darstellung aus dem Sudan, esp. pl.42 (an unlikely elephant).

Ptolemaic: W.Krebs, Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift Univ. der Rostock (Gesellschaftliche und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe H4) 17 (1968) 427-447: Die Kriegselefanten der Ptolemäer und Äthiopier; id., ZÄS 100 (1973) 41-42: Nochmals die Kriegselefanten der Ptolemäer; id., ZÄS 102 (1975) 153-4: [Miszelle] Eine Gußform eines gezähmten Elefanten aus Ägypten; id., Elefanten in den Heeren der Antike (Rostock 1964); J. Desanges, Actes du 92e Congrès Nationale du Société Savant, Strasbourg Colmar 1967 (Paris 1970) p.31; E. Bevan, A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty (London 1927) p.175; L. Keimer, AFO 16 (1952) 68 : Zum Kriegselefant in der Antike.

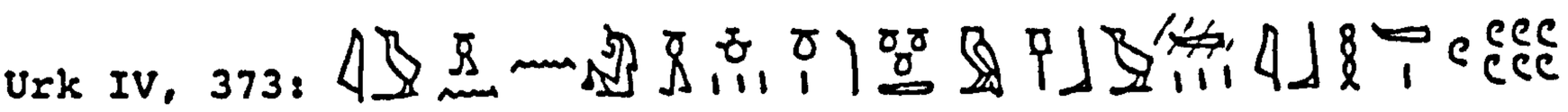
21. Urk IV, 104:

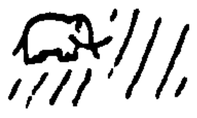
Urk IV, 893:

Urk IV, 1233:

Urk IV, 1245 (Armant Stela):

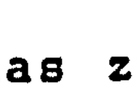
On the position of Ny note Urk IV, 698 (Annals) - the king arrives in Ny when returning south from Naharin. Cf too E.Edel, ZDPV 69 (1953) 98-176: Die Stelen Amenophis' II aus Karnak und Memphis mit dem Bericht über die asiatischen Feldzüge des Königs, esp. p.148-149, and W.Helck, LÄ IV, 749-780: Nija. Here Ny is identified as being at or near Qal'at el-Mudik in Syria. Evidently it lay further to the west (closer to Egypt) than Mitanni; Baines and Málek, Atlas, p.44, show Ny between Beirut & Aleppo.

22. Eg Urk IV, 373: 

Cf Desanges, op. cit., p.45: Cat des Mon I, p.183 (live African elephant from Nubia). 

23. Map of present day distribution of this elephant in Carrington, op.cit., p.29.

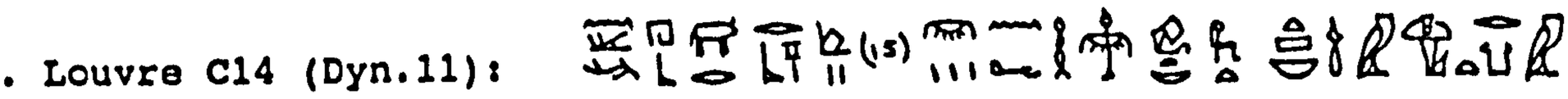
On the African elephant drawn in the Arabian peninsula see : W.Krebs, ZÄS 100, p.42 (with fig.2): 'Ob der Maler den Elefanten an Ort und Stelle oder in Ägypten gesehen hat, läßt sich natürlich nicht feststellen' (it is depicted with other Egyptian and N.African animals) and J.Dayton, Antiquity 42 (1968) 42-45: The Lost Elephants of Arabia.

24. LD Text II, p.97: 'Ein- oder Nashorn  , das zu den Fabeltieren gehört'.

25. Brugsch, Wörterbuch I, p.168.

26. Ms notes in the DAI, Cairo: Nashorn IV.

27. Ms notes in the DAI, Cairo: Nashorn I. Cf Störk, Nashorn, p.202-203: 'Die Tatsache, daß es zusammen mit mehreren Fabeltieren wie z.B. dem Seth-Tier und einem greifartigen Quadruped aufgefürht ist, darf den 'Abu' nicht als zufällig nashörnähnlich geratenes Phantasieprodukt qualifizieren. Sie besagt lediglich, daß man das Tier nie gesehen hat, daß es für den Künstler ein ähnlich unbestimmtes Dasein führte wie ein reines Fabelwesen'.

28. Louvre C14 (Dyn.11): 

See too L. Keimer, ASAE 48 (1948) 47-54: Note sur le rhinocéros de l'Égypte ancienne; H.Sottas, Rec.Trav. 36 (1914) 153-166: Étude sur la stèle C.14 du Louvre; A.Varille, ASAE 33 (1933) 85-94: L'inscription dorsale du colosse meridional de Memnon, p.90 with n.8: 'le déterminatif ne semble pas être un hippopotame mais un rhinocéros que l'on trouve figuré à Beni Hasan avec le nom  '; M.A.Murray, Ancient Egypt 10 (1925) 33-35: The Stele of The Artist, C14 of the Louvre; Boreaux, Guide-Catalogue sommaire I, p.159-160; E.Prisse d'Avennes, Monuments égyptiens (Paris 1857) pl.7; Lepsius, Auswahl, pl.9. Sottas identified this determinative as a hippo, substituted for the forgotten elephant, but as Störk op.cit., p.197, noted, the quite different hippo determinative is found in the same text (l.11). Störk thus assumed that the 3bw here meant 'rhino ivory' rather than the more usual 'elephant ivory'.

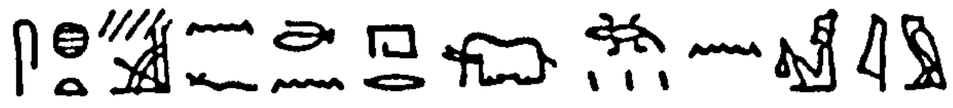
29. Störk, op.cit., p.193-194.

30. Berlin 20038 and 20039.

Cf v.Bissing, ASAE 53 (1956) 319-338: La chambre des trois saisons du sanctuaire solaire du roi Rathourés (V$^{e}$ Dyn) à Abousir, p.326 & 336, who explained 'l'éléphant de l'eau', 'l'éléphant', as the det. of ỉrb3 - 'cet animal n'a rien de commun avec l'éléphant de l'eau representé sur ma planche 1'.

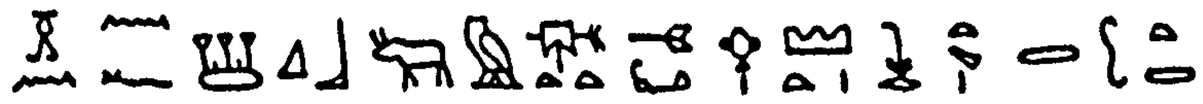
31. Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1963) p.125, 127 & 129-131.

32. H.W.Fairman, ASAE 43 (1943) 193-318: Notes on the alphabetic signs employed in the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the temple of Edfu, p.284 (fig.55).

33. Urk II, 102, 4 = Cairo CG 22183, l.24:


Published by A. Erman & H.Brugsch, ZÄS 32 (1894) 74-87 : Die Pithomstele, p.85; E. Naville, ZÄS 40 (1902/3) 66-75: La stèle de Pithom, p.73. pl.5; id., Store City of Pithom, pl.10.

34. Raphia decree, 1.14. See also W.Spiegelberg, Demotica II (München 1928) p.8: 'Das Wort dnhr bezeichnet den afrikanischen Elephanten'. He noted the opinion of Müller that it was an African loan-word and collected together as evidence a number of words from Sudanese, Hamitic, Kushitic, and Semitic languages of similar construction (p.9).

35. Urk IV, 1246: 
Cf Mond & Myers, op.cit., pl.103.

36. Mond & Myers, op.cit., p.184, n.m.

37. Störk, op.cit.; cf R.Abraham, Somali-English Dictionary (London 1964, 1966) p.229 and Wb IV, 414, 4 (šȝḳ): 'ledernes Gegenstand'. Störk compared here the sakea animal from the 'Black Obelisk' of Shalmanassar III, published by Pritchard, ANEP, fig.353. The obelisk records tribute from Muṣri consisting of camels with two humps; a 'river ox'; an unknown animal (sakeeia); an unknown animal (suusu); elephants; and monkeys. It depicts an ox, a unicorn, an antelope (?), two Bactrian camels, Indian elephants and two monkeys, one larger than the other.

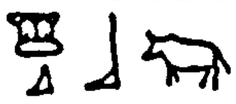
If the 'unicorn' depicted is meant to be a rhino it should be noted that the Indian Rhino (Rhinoceros unicornis L) and Sumatran Rhino (R.sondaicus Desmarest) share (though to a much more restricted degree) the ranges of the animals discussed below. This may be the sakea animal of the text, and related to Egyptian šḳb, but is unlikely to have been imported from Egypt.

Much effort seems to have gone into proving that the Muṣri of the text was Egypt, eg Landsberger, Fauna p.143: 'zumindesten hätte kein Leser bezw, Betrachter das Land Musri anders als auf Ägypten bezogen'. He quoted the suusu as proof, comparing it with Egyptian šs3w. Note, however, that the šs3w has a long tail; the animal depicted on the Black Obelisk has a short one. Störk, op.cit., p.300, also quoted the monkeys as proof that Muṣri was Egypt; he tr: 'Meerkatzen (?) (und) Paviane (?)'. The monkeys are by no means as well drawn as in most Egyptian representations: in any case they do not show the dog-like faces of baboons. Though certain monkeys, eg baboons, are confined to Africa, except for a small population in the S-W tip of the Arabian peninsuala, it should not be forgotten that other species are distributed in addition from

Afghanistan and Pakistan across southern Asia south to Sumatra and north to Japan: see, Kingdon, East African Mammals I, p.53 (map of world distribution of Cercopithecidae & apes).

The modern distribution of Indian elephants includes some of these areas; the Bactrian camel is also found throughout Central Asia. It is surely to the east of Egypt that this tribute originated; arguments that the Egyptians would have sent as tribute animals which they themselves had imported, as in K.A.Kitchen, The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.) (Warminster 1973) p.327, n.462, and Störk, op.cit., p.301, seem convoluted.

Identifications of the 'river-ox' as a hippo, eg Kees, Studi Ippolito Rosellini II (Pisa 1955) p.141-162: Zu den Krokodil- und Nilpferdkulten im Norwestdelta Ägyptens (comparing Egyptian k3-mḥy) and Pritchard, ANET, p.281, do not, for some reason, take into consideration the ox represented on the obelisk, though it is not questioned that the other animals drawn are those mentioned in the text.

38. Grdseloff, ASAE 45 (1947) 107-120: Sur deux passages de la nouvelle stèle d'Aménophis II trouvée à Memphis, esp. p.116, n.1: 'Le nom ỉrbt semble désigner le rhinocéros asiatique qui se rencontrait autrefois en Haute Syrie...à la différence africain appelé  šḳb'.

39. L.Keimer, ASAE 48 (1948) 47-54: Notes sur le rhinocéros de l'Égypte ancienne, p.54.

40. E.Edel, ZDPV 69 (full reference above) p.112: 'Das angebliche Wort für "Rhinocerus", ỉrbt, is unter Heranziehung des folgenden -w viehlmehr in irnt(w) "Orontes" zu verbessern, aus dem es durch falsche Restauration verderbt wurde.' Cf too p.148.

41. Wb III, 212, 2-3: als Bez. für das Nilpferd, auch Göttin in Fayum. See also M.Verner, ZÄS 96 (1969) 52-63: Statue of Tweret (Cairo Museum No.39145) dedicated by Pabesi and several remarks on the role of the hippopotamus goddess, esp. n.3 & 5, and Säve-Söderbergh, op.cit., p.45ff.

42. See Wb Belegstellen.

43. Tr. Wb. Drog. V11[2] , p.975: 'Nilpferd'; VI, p.574: 'das Nilpferd'.

Hearst 16,7:

Wb. Drog. V, p.367; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.211: '[Ein Heilmittel für] einen Biß eines Nilpferds'.

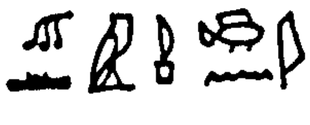
P. med Berl 3038, vso 1,7:

Wb. Drog. V, p.471: tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.274. Cf P.Carlsberg VIII, 7, restored by comparison with this text.

P.med Berl 3038, 7,11:

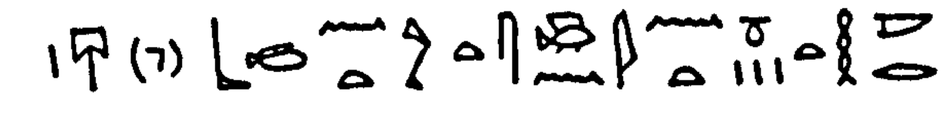
Wb. Drog. V, p.427; tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1], p.250: 'Kot des Nilpferds'.

Eb 64,20:



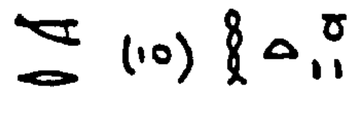
Wb. Drog. V, p.64; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.37: 'Haut des Nilpferds'.

Eb 67,6:



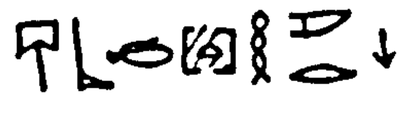
Wb. Drog. V, p.517; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.300: 'Fett (mrḥ.t) vom Bein (ỉns.t) des Nilpferds'.

Eb 66, 9-10:



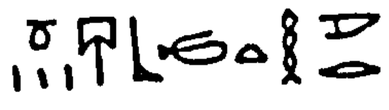
Wb. Drog. V, p.514; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.298: 'Fett (mrḥ.t) des Nilpferds'.

P.Ramesseum V, U, 6 = Eb 82,8:



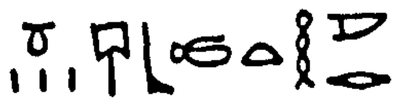
Wb. Drog. V, p.44 (Nr.II): tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1], p.25: 'Fett (mrḥ.t) des Nilpferds'.

P.Ram V, U, 16:



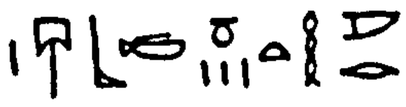
Wb. Drog. V, p.50 (Nr.III); tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.28: 'Fett (mrḥ.t) des Nilpferds'.

P.Ram V, L, 29:



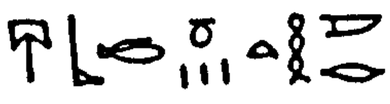
Wb. Drog. V, p.47 (Nr. XVI); tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.27: 'Fett (mrḥ.t) des Nilpferds'.

Eb 26,12:

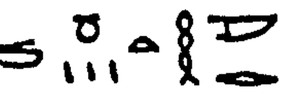


Wb. Drog. V, p.420; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.245: 'Fett (mrḥ.t) des Nilpferds'.

Eb 65,3:



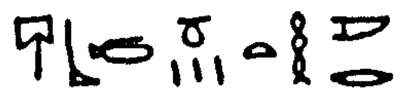
Wb. Drog. V, p.65; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.37: 'Fett (mrḥ.t) des Nilpferds'.

Eb 66, 22: 

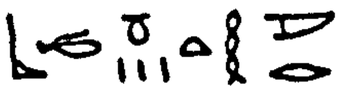
Wb. Drog. V, p.515; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.299: 'Fett (mrḥ.t) des Nilpferds'.

Eb 71, 6:

Wb. Drog. V, p.358; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.206: 'Fett (mrḥ.t) des Nilpferds oder des Schweines'.

Eb 84,8: 

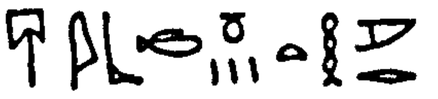
Wb. Drog. V, p.47; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.26: 'Fett (mrḥ.t) des Nilpferds'.

Eb 86, 20: (var. Hearst 2,3: ) 

Wb. Drog. V, p.67; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.39: 'Fett (mrḥ.t) vom Nilpferd'.

Hearst 10,7:

Wb. Drog. V, p.517; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.300: 'Fett (mrḥ.t) des Nilpferds'.

Hearst 11,8: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.429; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.251: 'Fett (mrḥ.t) des Nilpferds'.

44. Pyr 522:

tr. Sethe, UuK, II, p.401-402, comparing MuK, p.12. Illnesses are addressed here in the form of animals - a female hippo & a she-ass. As the spell is later addressed to the illness itself and not the animal Sethe wondered if they were a later addition, or written in error for the name of the illnesses.

45. Mereruka A1 (pl.13): (detail from pl.10)

Sall I, 2,5 (LES, p.87): (text quoted above, n. 2)

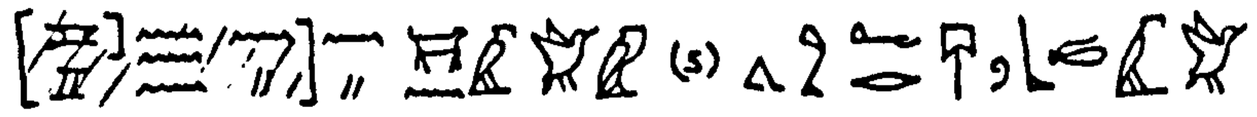
Sall I, 6,3 :

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.315: 'Do you not recall the condition of the cultivator faced with the registration of the harvest-tax after the snake has carried off (6,3) half of the corn and the hippopotamus has eaten up the rest?'

O.DelM 1531, 6:

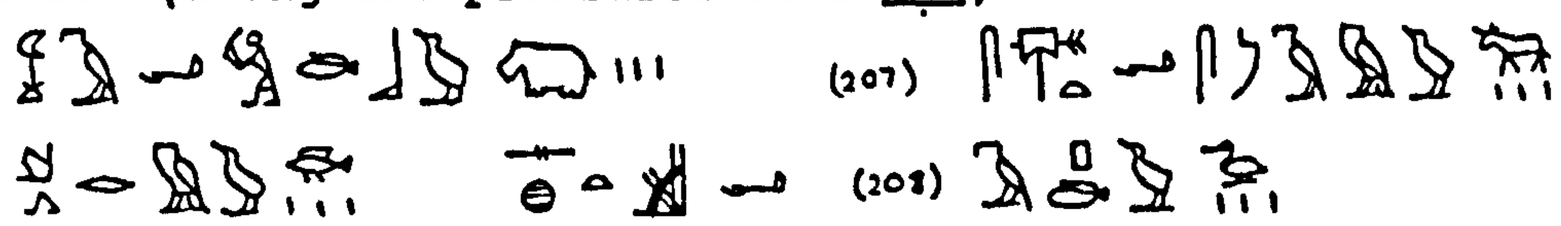
O.DelM 1533, rto x+5:

O.DelM 1537, x+1:

An IV, 1b, 4: 

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.126: 'The hippopotamus is fled (1b,5) from the irrigation basin' in 'an obscure text concerned with fowling and the like'. For hnỉny see Gardiner, AEO I, p.7*f.

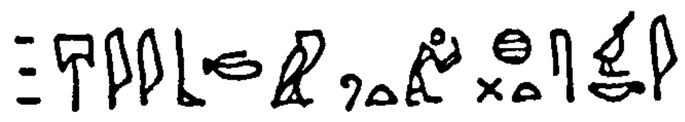
Bauer 206 (among the pleasures of a mḥw):



Amenemope 7,3:

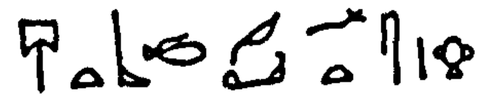
What happens tomorrow may overturn the order of today - 'the water dries up, the crocodiles are uncovered, the hippo is on the dry sands'.

46. Wb V, 434, 2: ob: Peitsche aus Nilpferdhaut (ref. to An V, 17, 5; cf Sall II, 7, 1):



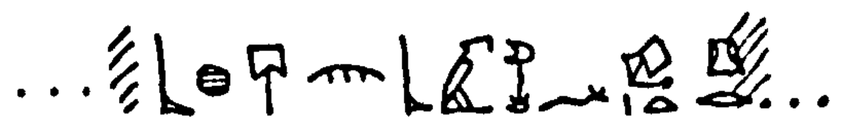
For an animal's skin having the same name as the animal itself see wnš, bȝ, ntrt and mȝst. Caminos, LEM, p.250, tr.: 'I shall cause your feet to desist from walking in the streets, you being beaten with hippopotamus thongs' (see too his note on p.252).

47. db

P.Ch.B. III, 5,10: 

tr.Gardiner, HPBM, 3rd ser, p.14, text pl.6 & 6A: If a man sees himself 'carving up a female hippopotamus, good; a large meal from the royal palace'.

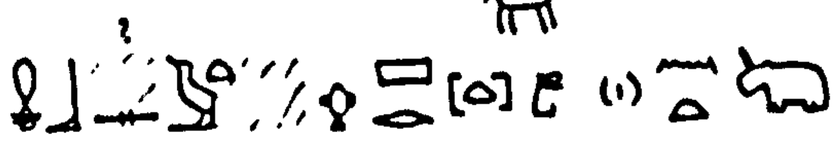
ḫȝb

P.Ch.B. III, 11,11: 

Unfortunately the context is broken: tr. Gardiner, op.cit., pl.8, p.20: 'give to him himself.... He will take up weapons of warfare....before him, a hippopotamus....when he perceives on the second day'.

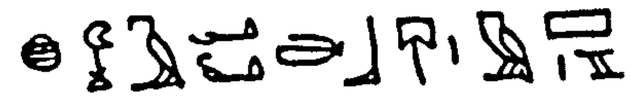
48. Geogr Pap pl.10, frag. 14:

frag.17:

49. Vandier, Mo'alla, p.198, Inscr. 6: 
restored by him to read: 'Alors [mes bras?] furent forts (?), là, [contre eux?] comme un harpon (?) dans les narines d'un hippopotame en fuite.'

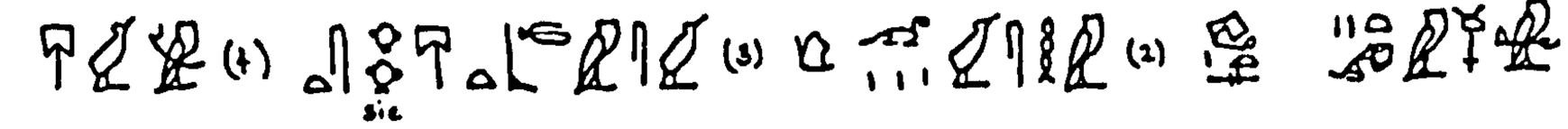
50. Louvre C14:
The artist boasts of his knowledge of representing all manner of gestures, including the 'carriage of the arm of him who slays a hippopotamus (h3b)'. Tr. Barta, Selbstzeugnis, p.104; for other tr. see his p.104-7 and also L.Störk, LÄ IV, col.502: Nilpferd.

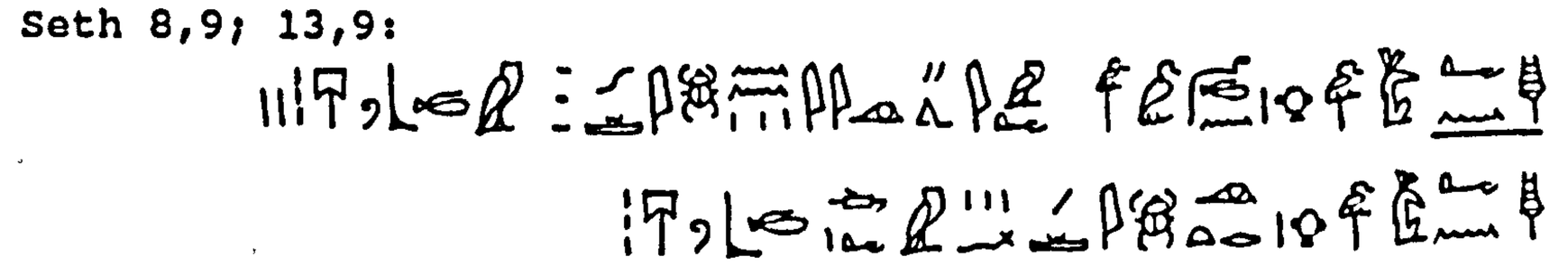
51. Kendall, op.cit., esp. p.25 (fig.19), 26 (fig.20), 27, 52 (no.27). Top. Bibl. I, 1, p.237-241; LD Text III, p.281-282, no.77:
Top. Bibl. I, 1. p.460; LD Text III, p.286-287, No.86.

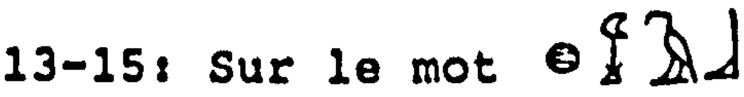
52. Text Relig 20 (CT I, 259): 
tr. FECT I, p.56 with n.5: 'you sit in the Ship of God and you harpoon the hippopotamus in the Winding Waterway, every god being your harpooner' (in the passage the gods serve the deceased in several ways).
Cf Säve-Söderbergh, op.cit., p.33; Pyr 235a; Pyr 1212a.

53. Bauer 206 (see above for the text).

54. Otto, Mundöffnungsritual, p.29, transcribed the word 3bw 'leopard' (his text 27, l.12a) but on an ostracon from the tomb of Ramesses II published by Keimer, Pendeloques, p.[197], fig. 1a (Cairo 44892) the determinative is clearly shown as a hippo.

55. See in the notes above, esp. n.45, and also Totb Nav 125, describing the ʿmmyt:


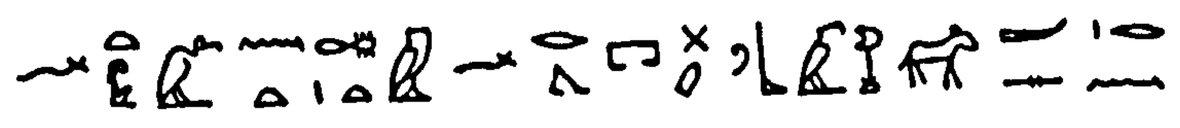
56. Hor u Seth 8,9; 13,9:


57. P.Lacau, JNES 10 (1951) 13-15: Sur le mot  (Pyr 225b, W., Col.302). p.18: 'defenses courbes de l'hippopotame, auxquelles il doit son nom h3bw.'

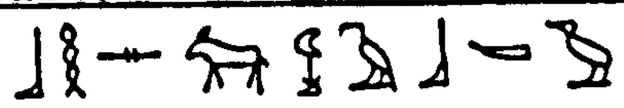
58. L.Störk, GM 43 (1981) 61 : Zur Etymologie von ḫ3b Flußpferd.

59. Pyr 225:

tr. G.Maspero, Rec. Trav. 3 (1882) 177-224: La pyramide du roi Ounas, p.220: 'O hippopotame sorti du bassin terrestre'; F.Lexa, La Magie dans l'Égypte antique II (no place 1925) p.3: 'Enroule-toi autour du petit de l'hippopotame qui est sorti du marais'.

60. Smith vso 19, 15: 

61. E.Chassinat, H.Gauthier & H.Piéron, MIFAO 14 (1906): Fouilles de Quattah, p.65:

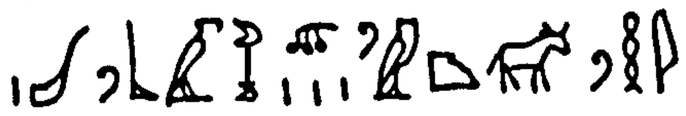
W.C.Hayes, The texts in the mastabeh of Se'n-Wosret-'Ankh at Lisht (New York 1937) pl.10, 1, 474: 

62. CT VI, 189:

tr. FECT II, p.180: 'Come to me, my mother, my mother, for I am the alter ego of my father, the toothless one of my mother;' with n.14, p.181.

63. Lond 190, 1.

64. Sethe, UuK, I, p.173: 'Wenn das zahnlos Kälbchen umschlungen wird das auf dem Weidegrund herausgekommen ist'.

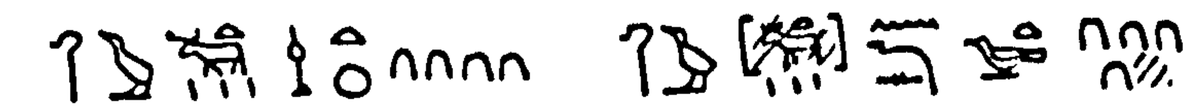
65. Koenig, P. Boulaq VI, col. 8, 1, p.84 : 

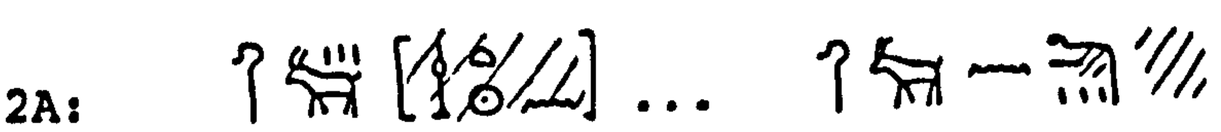
tr. p.85 : 'Tu es comme un très jeune boeuf noir lui-même'.

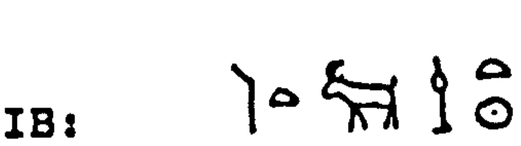
66. A.Ember, ZÄS 50 (1912) 86-90: Notes on the relation of Egyptian and Semitic, para 4; cf. idem., ZÄS 51 (1913) 110-21: Kindred Egypto-Semitic Words, No.41 & p.121, and P.Haupt, ZDMG 61 (1907) 275-297: Eine alt testamentliche Festliturgie für den Ninanortag, p.284 who compared Assyrian dabû with Arabic ṭbwʿ 'to be soiled, filthy'.

## Chapter 7 : Notes

1. Urk IV, 664:

   Urk IV, 705: 

   Urk IV, 1994, 2A: 

   Urk IV, 1995, IB: 

2. Compared with Assyrian ʿunêqi 'Hommel' by A.Ember, ZÄS 51 (1913) 110-121: Kindred Semito-Egyptian Words.

   On goats see also L.Störk, LÄ VI, 1400-1401: Ziege.

3. Wb also said of ʿnḫw: 'neben ʿnḫt = Ziege' but the two writings do not ever occur together, and appear to belong to different dates.

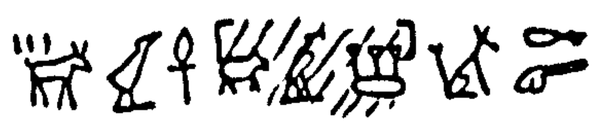
4. Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, p.161: 'Dazu treten dann Ziegen und Schafe, die immer unter dem Begriff "Kleinvieh" (ʿnḫw) zusammengefaßt werden', which he restated in a slightly modified form on p.210: 'Dabei ist auffallend, daß man gern Schafe und Ziegen gemeinsam als ʿnḫw abrechnet, wenigstens in der Ramessidenzeit, in der auf Rechnungsbelegen überhaupt nicht unterschieden wird'.

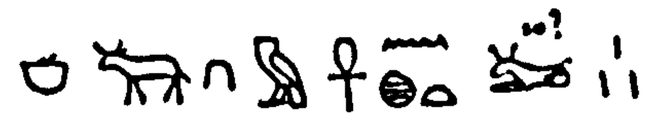
5. Janssen, Commodity Prices, p.165, noted that in the ostraca the terms sr 'sheep' and ʿwt are rare, whereas ʿnḫ is common; he deduced therefore 'that from the Nineteenth Dynasty the word ʿnḫ replaced the older ʿwt as the generic term for "small cattle", at least in the spoken language'.

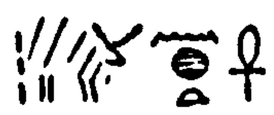
6. Their supposition was based on the offering lists in P.Harris I in which various types of cattle, antelopes and birds appear frequently, but where there is only one instance of any other kind of livestock, ie ʿnḫw (šbn): 38a, 3; 54b, 1; 71b, 13. Janssen is wrong in his assumption that ʿnḫw in this instance replaced ʿwt since the New Kingdom form of this word ỉ3wt occurs several times in P.Harris I (see, for example K.Piehl, Dictionnaire du Papyrus Harris I publié par S.Birch (Vienne 1882)). It is likely, therefore, that the absence of terms for small livestock from this papyrus has other causes.

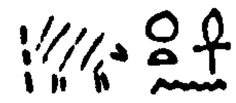
7. Nauri 55-6: → (56) 

Nauri 111:

Nauri 35: 

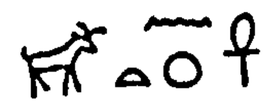
Kairo 20001: 

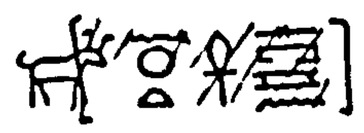
Deir el Gebr I, 7: 

Petrie Dendereh 11 (top right): 

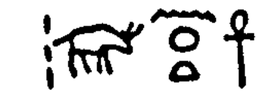
11 (bottom left):

10a:

13 (Tomb 326): 

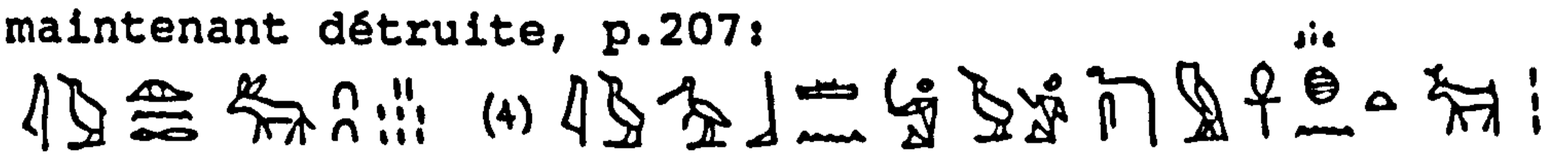
13 (Tomb 331): 

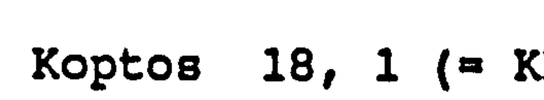
8 (topmost blocks):

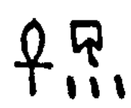
Petrie Dendereh (vol. of extra plates) 7A (top right): 

11B (top right):

G.Daressy, ASAE 15 (1915) 207-8: Une stèle de l'Ancien Empire maintenant détruite, p.207:



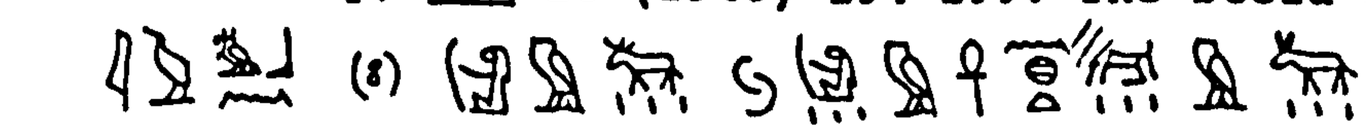
Petrie, Koptos 18, 1 (= KRI II, 283, 10): 

Cf KRI II, 283, 5: 

KRI II, 247, 7: 

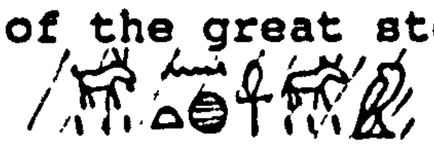
KRI II, 257, 11: 

H.J. Polotsky, JEA 16 (1940) 194-199: The Stela of Heka-yeb, p.194:

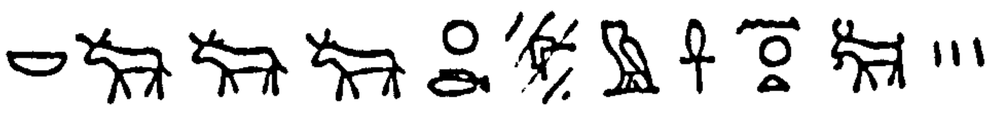


Clère & Vandier, Textes de la première période intermédiaire, p.5, para.7 (= Petrie, Qurneh, pl.10B, 33, p.3 & 17):

H.C. Hayes, JEA 35 (1945) 43-49: Career of the great steward Henenu under Nebhepetrē‘ Mentuhotpe:



Siut I, 247:

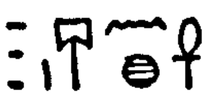


O.Gardiner 5 (= HO I, pl.18, no.1 ):

Edwards, HPBM 4th series,

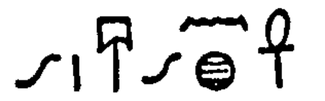
pl.46 (tr. text vol. p.115):

pl.26 ( " p.72):

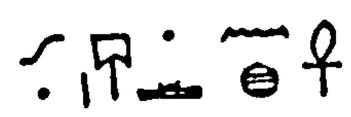


pl.28 ( " p.76):

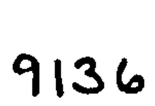
pl.31 ( " p.82):



pl.3 ( " p.12):

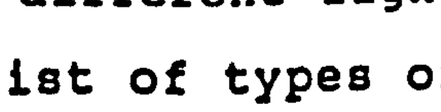


Med Habu pl.75:



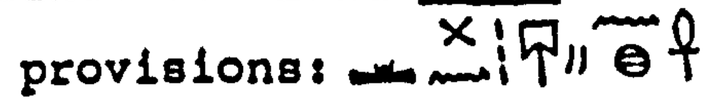

One such example from the ostraca was known to Janssen, op.cit., p.165, n.2. He seemed, however, to view it in a different light from other records on ostraca as a 'technical list of types of cattle', though the words recorded on it are all well attested in other texts and the animal names are by no means unusual (with the exception of ptr which only appears here):

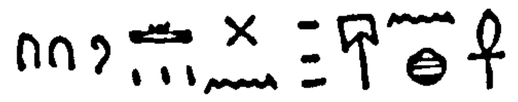
HO I, pl.81, no.7:



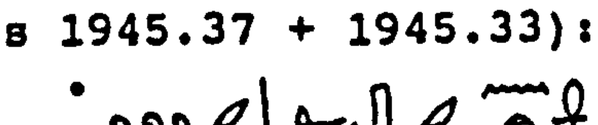
cf HO I, pl.82, no.4:

parallel to mnỉw ỉḥw , mnỉw ȝpd, mnỉw ‘ȝ, mnỉw ptr.

8. For the phrase ʿnḫw šbn note also:
W.Helck, JARCE 6 (1967) 135-151: Eine Briefsammlung aus der Verwaltung des Amuntempels, p.143, tr.: 'Diverses Kleinvieh 50' in a 'Liste der Lieferungen, die für die Nubier, die Federn tragen, und für die Nubier des Landes a-ku-ja-t bestimmt sind, die als Eskorte ausgezogen waren gegen die Beduinenfeinde vom Land Mw-gd' - the list includes metals, weapons, clothes & provisions: 

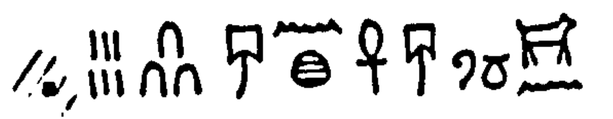
An I, 17, 16: 

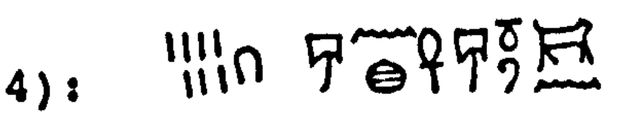
Gardiner, P.Anastasi I, tr. p.19: (in a list of provisions) 'goats of various sorts, 120'. Fischer-Elfert, P.Anastasi I, (tr. p.151: 'Kleinvieh') p.151, n.g, commented: 'ʿnḫ - "Kleinvieh" ist eine Bezeichnung, die im Laufe der 19.Dyn. älteres ʿwt verdrängt, so jedenfalls in der Umgangssprache;... ʿnḫ-šbn wird hier als "Schafe und Ziegen" zu verstehen sein, ʿnḫ alleine bedeutet in älterer Zeit nur "Ziege", "Schaf" dagegen heißt sr, s! See also p.155.

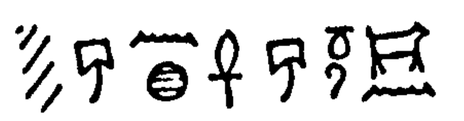
9. KRI II, 382, 7-8 (HO I, pl.75, 1.3: O.Ash. Mus 1945.37 + 1945.33): 

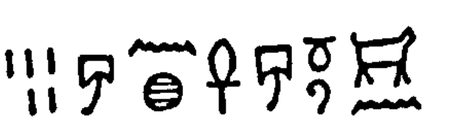
sʿb : Wb IV, 43, 10-11: II (Stiere) verschneiden, kastrieren.

10. O.Cairo 25677, rto 7:

11. Sethosrechn, pl.15 d (KRI I, 279): 

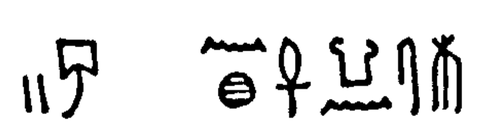
Sethosrechn, pl.13a, col.b, rto 9 (KRI I, 274): 

16: 

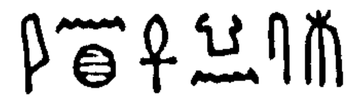
18: 

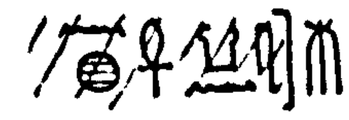
Simpson, Papyrus Reisner II, Section A, page 5, (pl.1 & 1A):

1.25:

1.35: 

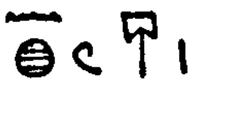
1.43:

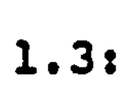
Frag.1, rto 3, 2 (pl.20A & 20): 

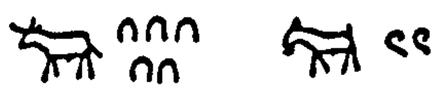
Frag.4, vso 11 (pl.24 & 24A): 

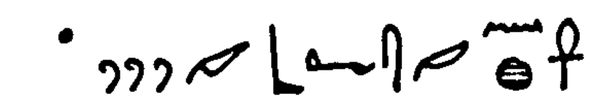
with p.38, n.7: 'msk3 n ʿnḫ, "goat hide, leather"... the commodity is frequent in various lists and accounts of all periods'.

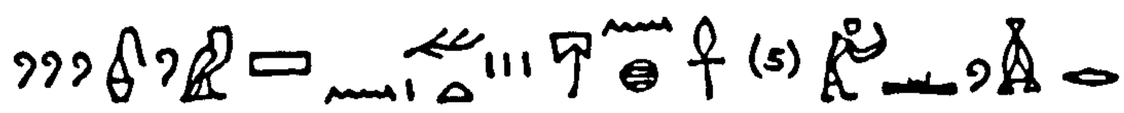
12. O.Mich, pl.48, l.8 (among objects given in exchange for a coffin (wt)):

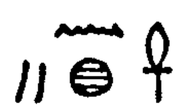
O.Mich, pl.44 (letter) l.1 & 2: 

Cf Allam & Černý, Ostraka und Papyri II, pl.19 (O.Berlin 14214) vso l.3: 

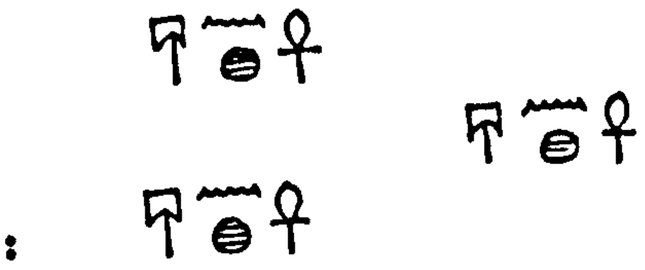
Urk I, 149, 10 (daily pay to workers): 

O.Ash. Mus. 1945.37 + 1945.33: 

O.Cairo 25588, rto 5: 

O.Cairo 25677, rto 7: 

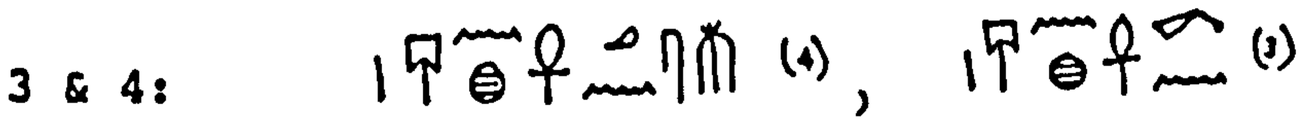
O.Cairo 25682, rto 6:

O.DelM 587, 6: 

7:

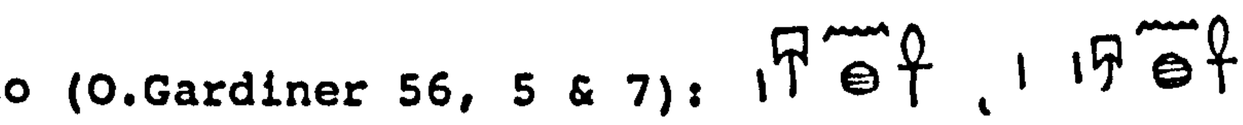
14 :

O.Mich. pl.75, l.5 (No.28, rto x+5):

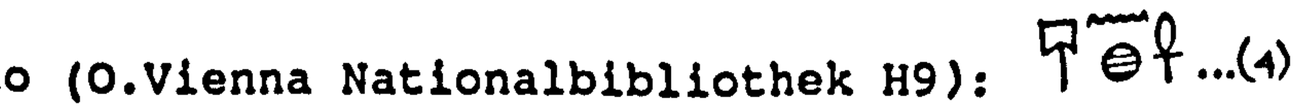
pl.78, Col.1, l.3 & 4: 

HO I, pl.31, No.4 (O.Petrie 48, 8 & 10):

pl.28, No.1, vso (O.Petrie 51, 6):

pl.48, No.2, rto (O.Gardiner 56, 5 & 7): 

" " vso ( " 2, 3, 6):

pl.45, No.3, rto (O.Vienna Nationalbibliothek H9): 

pl.58, No.3, rto 5 (O.Gardiner 163):

pl.85, No.2, l.7 (O.BM 5643):

pl.86, No.4, l.3 (O.BM 5636):

pl.86, No.3, l.4 (O.BM 5644):

pl.61, No.2, rto 5 (O.Aberdeen 1317):

O.DelM 50:

O.DelM 73, vso 3 (in part payment for donkey):

O.DelM 183, 2:

P.DelM I, pl.23, No.VII, rto 2:

O.DelM 574, 2 & 3:

O.DelM 232, col.1, 5 (in list):

O.DelM 118, rto 2:

O.DelM 66, 4:

O.DelM 350, rto col.I, 2 (list of goods):

O.DelM 454, col.I, 8 (list of goods):

O.DelM 696, 4 (property list):

P.Turin Mus. 1984, 108:

tr. Edwards, HPBM 4th ser, p.72: 'We shall cause her to possess cattle, goats, male servants, female servant(s), barley, and emmer'. (Cf similar texts quoted above, n.7).

Prices also recorded by Janssen, Commodity Prices, Table 13, p.166 (some unpublished):

O.Berlin 10626, 14: - unpublished

O.Brooklyn 37.1880 E, 4: - unpublished

O.Gardiner 252, 6: - unpublished

vso 4: - unpublished

6: - unpublished

7: - unpublished

P.Turin 2081+2095, vso II, 5: - unpublished

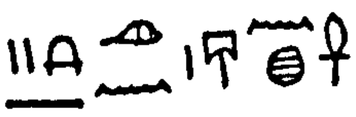
O.Berlin [C], 3: - unpublished

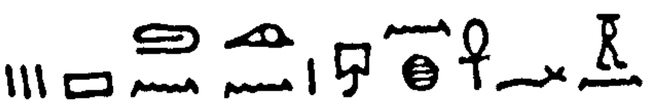
O.Berlin 14365, 2: - unpublished

O.Berlin 14260, 5: - unpublished

O.Gardiner 151, 4: - unpublished

O.Gardiner 172, 11: - unpublished

O.DelM 184, vso 2 (list of things given by Amenemope): 

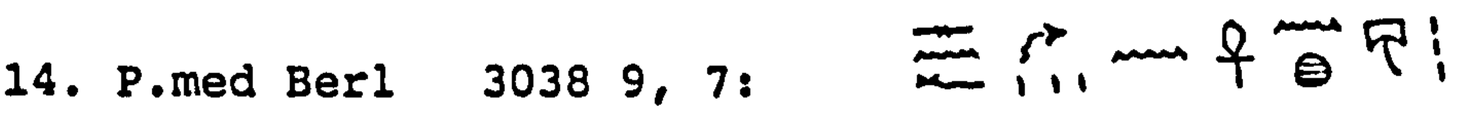
HO I, pl.72, no.3, 1.12 4 (O.Petrie 4): 
tr. Helck, Materialien, p.494: 'Geben des Esels dem Polizisten ʾImn-ḥʿ für seine Arbeit. Zurückkommen mit ihm am 4.pr.t, 15.Tag. Er brachte eine Ziege, macht 3 dbn. Man verurteilte ihn zu 20 dbn durch den Schreiber des Grabes Ḥrj'.

13. Urk IV, 664 (booty from Megiddo): ʿwt ḥdt, ʿwt ndst (see n.1 for the texts)

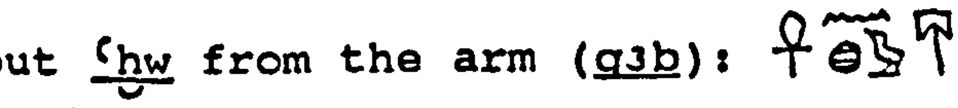
Sahure II, 1 (booty from Libya): 123440 cattle, 223400 donkeys, 232413 goats, 243688 sheep.

Wreszinski, Atlas II, 66 (booty from Libya): 3609 cattle, 184 horses, 864 donkeys, 9136 goats.

Med Habu pl.75 (see above for the text).

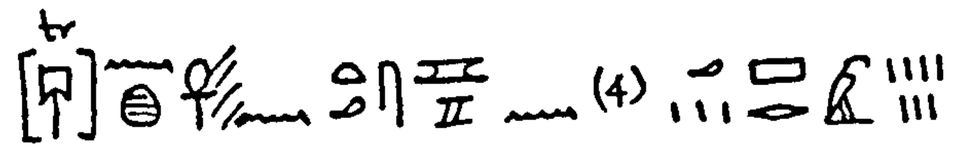
14. P.med Berl 3038 9, 7: 

Wb. Drog V, p.272; tr.Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.155: 'Blut der ʿnḫ-Ziege; Wein; werde getrunken'. Cf mrḥt nt ʿwt in another prescription for this complaint. See too Wb. Drog. VI, p.98.

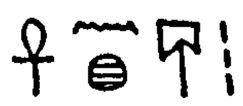
P. Leiden I, 343 vso 10, 1: drive out ʿḥw from the arm (ꜣb): 

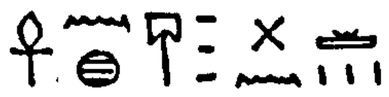
Wb. Drog. V, p.143; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.83-4: 'Blut der Ziege'. Cf snf n ʿr below.

P.Ch.B. V, 7, 4 (fragmentary medical text; the name of the complaint is lost):



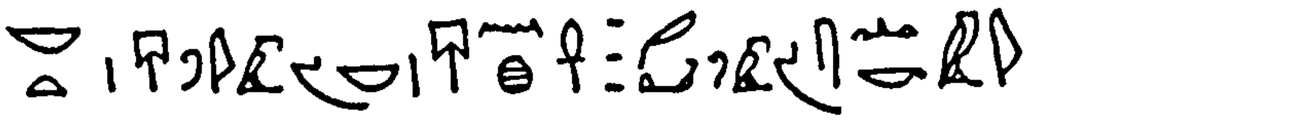
Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, tr. p.52: 'goat's liver'. (pl.29).

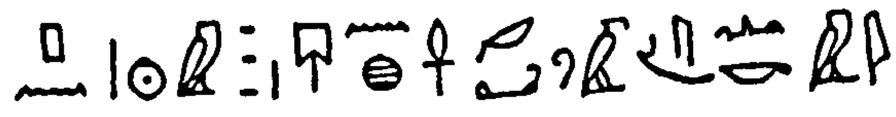
15. Harr I, 38a, 3:  1089

Harr I, 54b, 1:  205

(preceded by cattle and followed by birds in both cases)

Cf ʿr and wʿty in this context also.

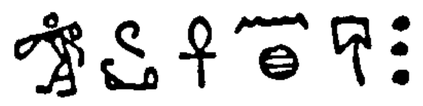
Sall IV, 1, 9: 

Sall IV, 3, 6: 

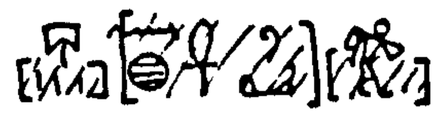
16. P.Ch.B. VIII, vso 10, 10:

tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser., p.75: 'This spell is [to be spoken] whilst thou art pure and clean. Thou shall not taste mehyt-fish,..., goat, nor the abomination of any god or any goddess'.

17. O.Gardiner 86 (HO I, pl.82, vso 4; HO I, pl.81, 7): (see above)

Zivie, Giza, p.232 (Cairo Jd'E 72277): 

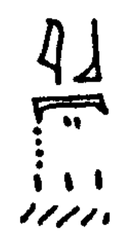
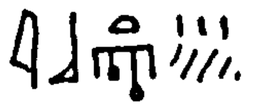
G.A. Gaballa, The Memphite Tomb-Chapel of Mose (Warminster, UK 1977):

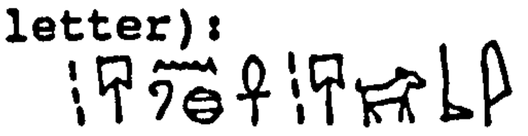


Harr A I, 12:

18. See B.Menu, Le régime juridique des terres... (Lille 1970) p.111.

19. G.Daressy, BIFAO 13 (1917) 77-92: Seth et son animal, esp. p.85, wrongly identified the animal of the hieroglyph as a gazelle.

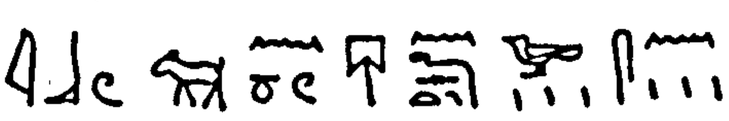
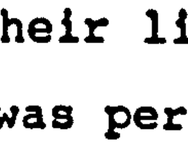
20. Urk IV, 1132:  (Davies pl.33 & 34) 

21. Sall I, 4, 3 (list of provisions mentioned in a letter): 
tr. Caminos, LEM, p.305: 'the kids, the goats'.

An IV, 15, 5: ỉb(w) ḫpn also in list of provisions in preparation for a visit of pharoah:
tr. Caminos, LEM, p.200: 'fat kids of the Southern Province'.

22. Lansing 12, 9:

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.413 (goods of the house of Raia, preceded & followed by cattle terms): 'many goats, capering kids, and many lowing short-horned cattle'.

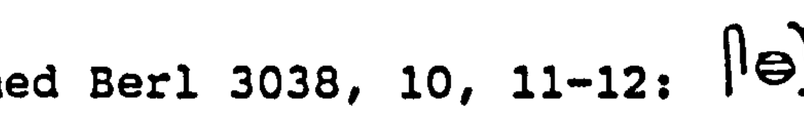
23. P.Ch.B. V, rto 8: 
tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.49: 'oxen, younglings, short horns, steers, goats and their little ones, pigs, live geese'. The writing of ỉb here was perhaps confused with  , Wb I, 63, 8: ein mineralischer Stoff.

Ndst is apparently not used to denote offspring elsewhere (see Wb II, 384-386). The term is used with other animal names as an

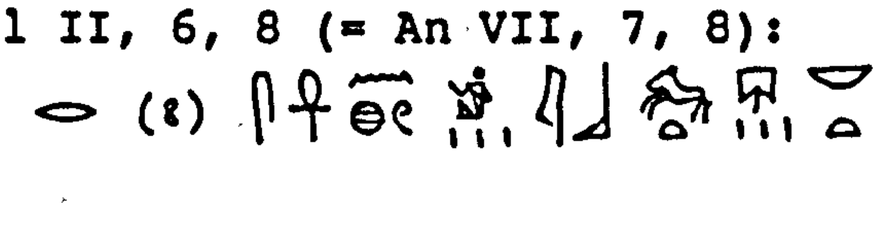
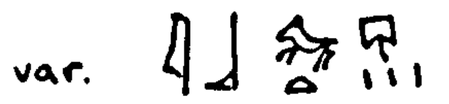
adjective in order to provide a contrast with another adjective (ʿwt ḥḏt, ʿwt nḏst; ḏrt wrt, ḏrt nḏst). Used of people, Wb II, 385, 6, translated nḏst 'Knabe, Jüngling, junger Mann'. From such examples it seems that nḏst means 'lesser', rather than 'small'.

24. Cf above.
Maspero, Hymne au Nil, tr. (index p.25) ỉbt 'subst. fem. veaux , et, en général, tous les jeunes animaux'. Cf Brugsch, Wörterbuch Suppl, p.39-40.

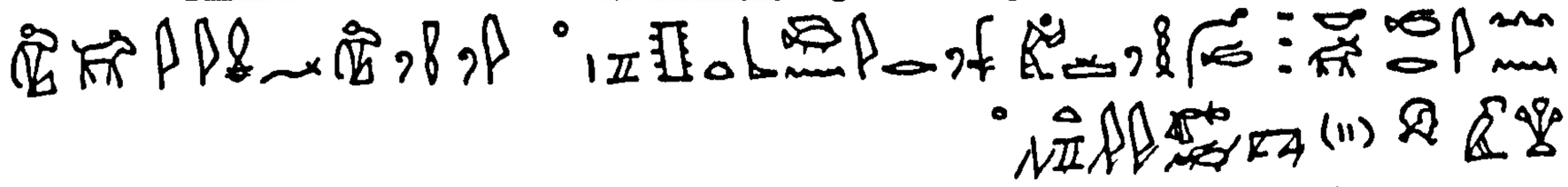
25. Lesko, Dictionary LE I, p.27: 'kid, goat'.

26. P.med Berl 3038, 10, 11-12: 
Wb. Drog. V, p.140-141; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.81-2: to cure complaints of the lower leg (ỉnst): 'Galle (šhw) vom Böckchen und (ḥr) Galle (šhw) vom Bulti-Fisch (tilapia nilotica); werde damit verbunden'. See too Wb.Drog. VI, p.19.

27. Dram Texte, section 44, commented upon by J.Gwyn Griffiths, The Origins of Osiris and his Cult (Leiden 1980) p.211 with n.1. Note also Barta, Opferformel, p.304; Junker, Giza V, p.97-8, fig.26; and also J.Vandier, Mon Piot 57 (1971) p.28-29: L'oie du Nil.

28. Sall II, 6, 8 (= An VII, 7, 8):

var. 
tr. Maspero, Hymne au Nil, p.20: 'pour donner la vie à tout le bétail'. Kees, Tieropfer, p.71, noted the opinion of Junker (ZÄS 48, p.69f) that the sacrifice of an animal as an offering was symbolic of the destruction of the 'Gottesfeind' and that the sacrifice of goats pre-dated historic times. Kees compared the passage from the Book of the Dead (BOD 112) which calls pigs the sacrificial animal of the child Horus. He also compared the connection of these animals in other offering lists (eg Med Habu pl.158, list 45) commenting: 'Beide Male ist es natürlich nicht mehr als Nahrung für die Gottheit gemeint, sondern als symbolische Vernichtung des Seth'. On this he noted (p.73) the gloss to BOD 18 (Urk V, 128-129): 'Es kamen nämlich die Genossen des Seth, indem sie sich in Ziegen (ʿw.t Var. ỉbw "Böckchen") verwandelt hatten. Da schlachtete man sie vor jenen Göttern, und es fiel ihr Blut aus ihnen herab'.

29. Posener, L'enseignement loyaliste, p.120, para.10 (= O.DelM 1203):



tr. (p.28): 'Point de troupeau qui s'isole hors du parc; il mugirait comme le (bétail) assoiffé autour d'un puits'. He believed ỉdr is used metaphorically here for servants who are unhappy away from the work-place (see p.38 and 40 for his explanation).

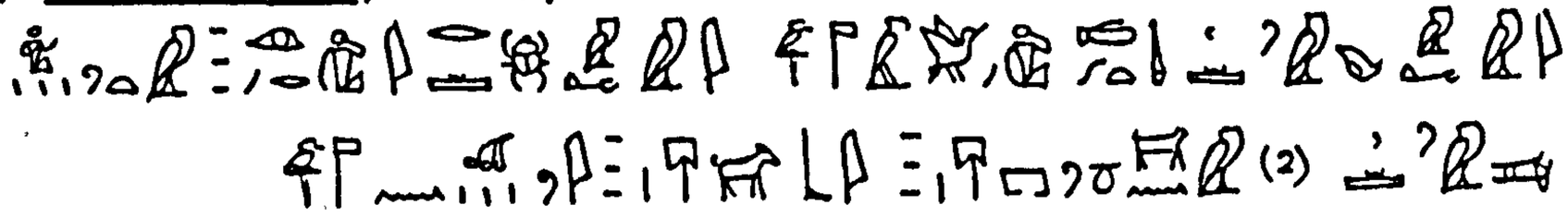
30. See Faulkner, Wilbour Papyri III: Commentary, p.23; Gardiner Vol.1 (Plates): Ch.187, pl.33 (80, 9); Ch.188, pl.33 (70, 15); Ch.190, pl.34 (71, 4); Ch.191, pl.34 (71, 9); Ch.192, pl.34 (71, 16); Ch.193, pl.34 (71, 36); Ch.247, pl.45 (92, 11); Ch.189, pl.34 (71, 1); Ch.194, pl.34 (71, 40); Ch.195, pl.34 (71, 47).

31. Helck, Materialien, p.236 & 240.

32. Helck, Materialien, p.489: 'Gardiner hat das mit "weißen Ziegen" übersetzt, aber da wir sehen werden, daß unter Thutm. III die Ziegen ʿw.t nḏś.t, die Schafe aber ʿw.t ḥḏ.t heißen, so werden wir auch das ỉb ḥḏ als "Schaf" interpretieren müssen'. Cf id. Wirtschaftsgeschichte, p.210: 'ỉb ḥḏ, was wegen der gleichen Namenbildung sicher als "Schaf" und nicht als "weiße Ziege" anzusehen ist, wie Gardiner meint'. Gardiner, op.cit., II, p.23, compared the Greek name place τροφὴ αἰγῶν from an Oxyrhynchus papyrus (P.Oxy. XIV.1687.11), which seems to indicate that it was indeed goats which were intended by ỉb ḥḏ.

33. See G.Daressy, Rec. Trav. 14 (1893) 20-39: Notes et remarques, p.38, No.58, on the toponym mk-sw-(ỉb)-ḥḏ from a boundary stone of the reign of Sethos I from the Faiyûm.

34. Koenig, P. Boulaq VI, rto 9, 1-2:



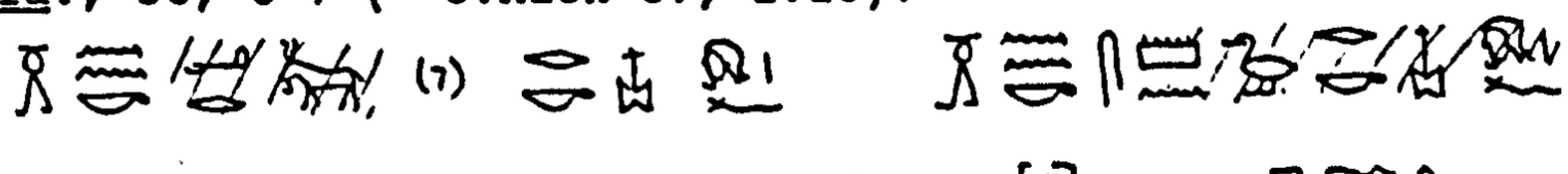
tr: 'Qu'ils écoutent la parole du dieu! Puisse-t-il advenir qu'ils agissent (ainsi) et qu'ils soient tous dans une peau de chevreau (car) c'est la peau du dieu [...]'. He quoted P.Ch.B V, vso 5, 4-6 for another text referring to gods wrapped in the skins of animals associated with them (see ỉw, msḥ etc).

35. Gardiner, RAD, 47 vso 4, 5 (Turin strike papyrus):

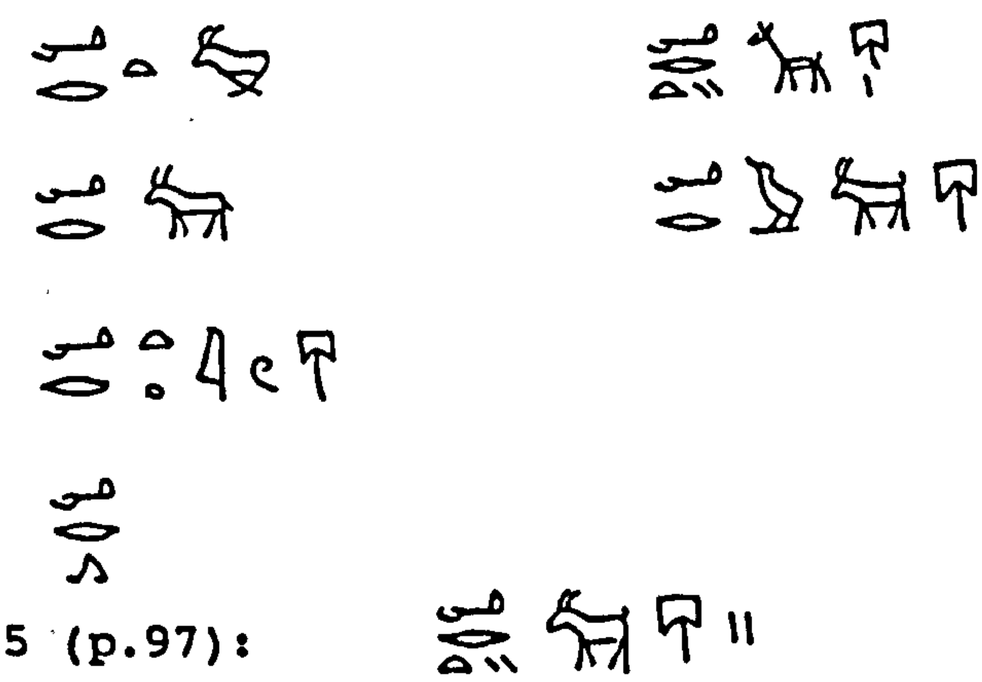
Cf Ranke, PN I, p.100 No.14 (Dyn.20): 'das Böckchen'.

36. Leid K 15:

cf Libr dei fun pl.70, 10 and

ibid., 56, 6-7 (= O.Mich 67, 1.10): 

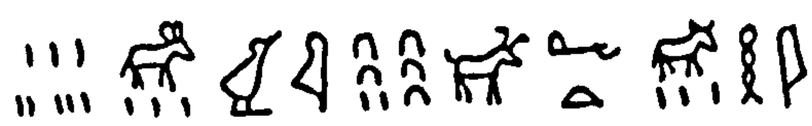
var. O.Mich:

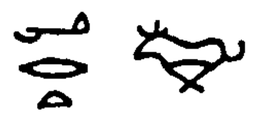
& cf Otto, Mundöffnungsritual I, p.51, 24 IIc, texts 1-7 & var. 62 & 83: 

& var 45 (p.97):

Note too the comments of Junker, Giza V, 98 (with n.1).

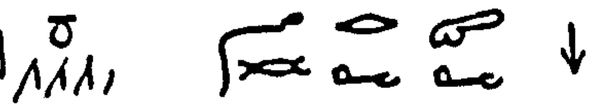
37. Med Habu 158, 1.1001-2:

38. Thes VI, 1527, 8: 

39. H.G.Fischer, Egyptian Studies II: The Orientation of Hieroglyphs (New York 1977) I: Reversals, p.129, n.429: 

Rekhmire pl.107 (det. bull, though elsewhere in text has ʿry + goat det.):

tr. 'The ʿr-animal is brought and its head is cut off; the smn-goose is brought and its head is cut off'. Cf Otto, Mundöffnungsritual, above.

40. P.Ramesseum V, 21, 1, 15: 

(for rest of text see sr).

Wb. Drog. V, p.58; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.32: 'Erweichen von ỉsw.t der Gefäße'; 'Fett (ḏd) des Ziegenbocks 1'. See too Wb. Drog. VI, p.105: 'Ziege/Ziegenbock'.

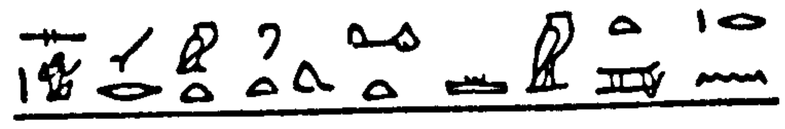
Cf G.Lefèbvre, BIFAO 57 (1958) 173-182: Observations sur le Papyrus Ramesseum V, p.176: 'Parallèlement [to ], le nom ordinaire du bélier s(r) ou s(ỉ), se présente précédé du phallus: ... le scribe a même inventé pour "bouc" une graphie "male de la chèvre-ḫr" ou peut-être "représentant mâle de la race caprine"'.

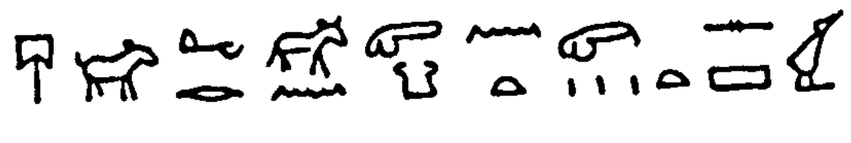
Eb 63, 16:

Wb. Drog. V, p.98; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.58: 'Blut der Ziege' (with blood of various other animals).

(cf snf n ḫnḏ used in P.Leid 343, vso 10,1)

41. See previous note.

P.Ch.B. XV, 2 (BM 10695): 

includes: 

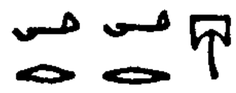
but tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.125: 'the urine of a bull or of a he-goat' (my emphasis), thus translating ḫr 'he-goat', and considering the second n to be superfluous.

42. Thus not as Meeks, AL 77.0692: '"La chèvre et en général "L'animal à cornes"', or Budge, Dictionary I, p.129: 'goat, gazelle, ibex, ram, any horned animal'. Goyon, Confirmation, p.114, commented: 'ḫr désigne le "bouc", gr. τράγος ; cf H.von Deines-Grapow,... p.105; P.Vernus, RdE 19 (1967) 168 (le sens 'chèvre' adopté est trop vague)'. Cf Coptic ϬIH ⲚϬⲁⲘⲠⲈ (CD 803a: 'he-goat'), which appears among the gods of Egypt.

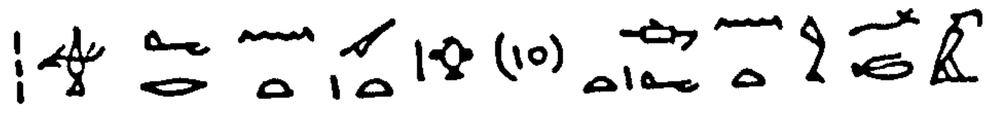
44. Zibelius AegSiedl 57, n.380.
Cf P.Vernus, RdE 19 (1967) 166-169: Une localité de la région d'Heracléopolis.

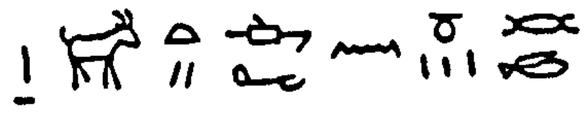
43. P.Bucher, MIFAO 60 (1932): Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II, pl.14; 1st hour; female deity in red crown called:

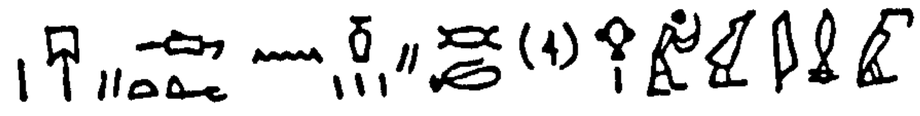
45. Goyon, op.cit. (P.Brooklyn 47.218.50, 16, 10):
tr. p.72: 'le bouc' (see too p.114 with n.274).

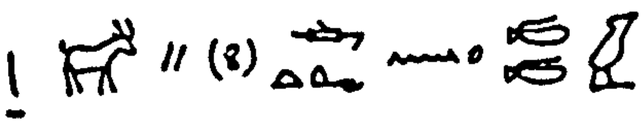
46. Note the translation of this text (at Edfu) by Meeks, RdE 25 (1973) 209-216: Le nom du dauphin et le poisson de Mendes: 
'Son interdit: porter la main (?) sur le bouc et le poisson ỉtn'.

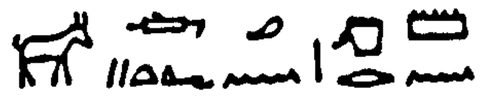
47. LSJ 1809b.

48. P.med Berl 3038, 10, 9: 
Wb. Drog. V, p.134; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.78: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel), was man macht nach diesem Heilmittel als Salbmittel und als Verband. ȝfd-Teil (vom Bein) einer Ziege <und> (ḫr) Sägemehl vom ḫrw-Baum; werde fein zerrieben, werde damit gesalbt (gs) nach dem Trinken, mehrmals. <Das ist> ein Töten der Schmerzstoffe in den beiden Beinen'. See too Wb. Drog. VI, p.128: 'Ziege'.

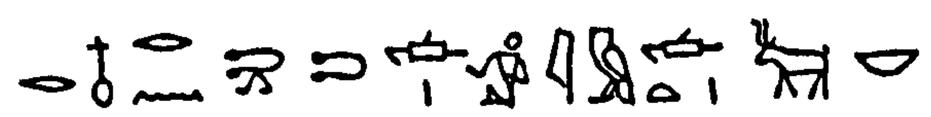
Eb 71, 17: 
Wb. Drog. V, p.358; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.206: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Gesundmachen irgend welchen Sekrets. Fett (ḏ) der Ziege (w.ti) 1; Wachs 1; duftender Gummi 1; ti-šps (Zimt?) 1; frisches Behen Öl 1; werde zu einer Masse gemacht, werde an das Sekret gegeben, so daß es gesund wird'.

Hearst 3, 4: 
Wb. Drog. V, p.452; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.264: 'Beseitigen von Einwirkung an irgendeiner Körperstelle. ḥt-ds-Baum 1; Melilotus (ʿfȝ) 1; Blatt der Dornakazie 1; werde gemischt mit Fette (ʿḏ) der Ziege; werde damit verbunden'.

Eb 64, 7-8 (= Hearst 2, 7): 
Wb. Drog. V, p.366; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.210: 'Ein anderes zweites Heilmittel. Terebinthenharz (sntr) 1; Ocker (stj) 1; Galle der Ziege (wʿ.tj) 1; werde zu einer Masse gemacht, werde damit verbunden'.

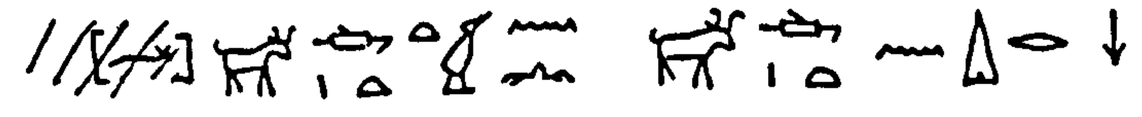
Eb 91, 11: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.104; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.61: 'Wenn es (das Ohr) darunter fettet, dann sollst du ihm machen Mittel für das Trockenmachen einer Wunde: Kopf der ʿmʿm.w-Ratte/Maus; mndr-<inneres> Organ der Ziege; Schale der Schildkröte; ỉnnk-Pflanze; werde damit gepudert oft, oft'.

49. Urk I, 102 (Weni 1.21): 

Urk I, 151 (Kairo 1596):

tr. Wb Zettel: 'Ich lebe von meiner Habe, man schlachtet mir von meinen Ziegen'.

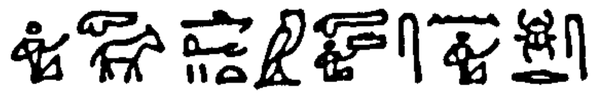
Kairo 1759 (Clère & Vandier, Textes de la première période intermédiaire, pl.1) 1.5: 

tr. Wb Zettel: 'Ich gab eine Ziege dem der keine Ziege hatte'.

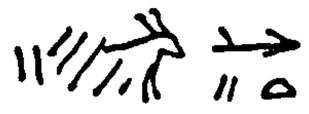
50. Sall IV, vso 4, 5-7:

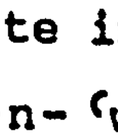
tr. Caminos, LEM, p.335: 'Fine short-horned cattle of the House of Hauron, goats of Horus-is-king'.

Siut I, 292 (Sethe, Lesestücke, p.94, 22-23):

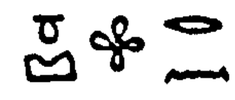
W.M.F. Petrie, Tombs of the Courtiers at Oxyrhynkhos (London 1925): British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account.... 1922, pl.22 (Dyn.11), 1.4 of upper inscription: 

tr. Gardiner, p.19: 'I acquired cattle and got oxen(?) and developed my business in goats'.

Sinai No.91 (Stela from Serabîṭ el-Khadîm): 

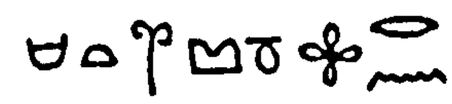
51. Osing, Nominalbildung, p.742, n.897: 'Ein Kollektivum von ʿw "einzelnes Stück (Vieh)". (vgl. ... das seit dem AR belegte wʿti "Ziege" [Wb. I, 279, 7-8] <"*einzelnes Stück" <wʿ(w)tj "einzig; einzeln") dürfte in  u.ä. ʿw.t "Kleinvieh" > Kopt. -H (in TBNH "Tier" <tp-n-ʿw.t) vorliegen ... Die Bedeutung "Arm" von müßte sich dann aus einer Bedeutung "einzelnes Glied" o.ä. ~ʿw.t "einzelnes Glied des Körpers" entwickelt haben'.

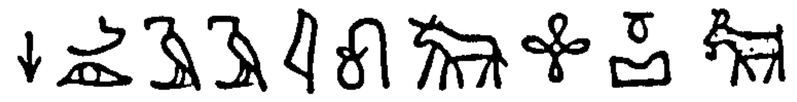
52. Mereruka A, 13 (Vol.II, p.169; Wreszinski, Atlas III, pl.37):

Davies et al., Saqqara Tombs I, pl.6: 

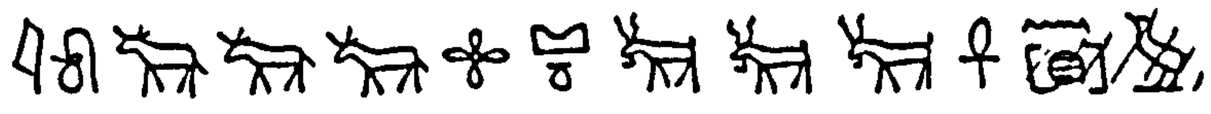
(Note that the animals accompany the dbnw and mɜḥd, examples of desert fauna).

Meir IV, 16 (Junker Giza V, 80):



53. Meir IV, 16: 

tr. Junker, Giza V, p.80: 'Das Eintreiben der Steuer von Rindern und Ziegen in den mittleren Gauen, das Ansehen der ỉwɜ-Rinder und Ziegen'.

Urk I, 134: 

54. Mereruka A 13;

Saqqara Tombs I (see above).

55. Saqqara Tombs I (see above).

56. Meir IV, 16 (see above).

57. Janssen, Ships' Logs, p.38.

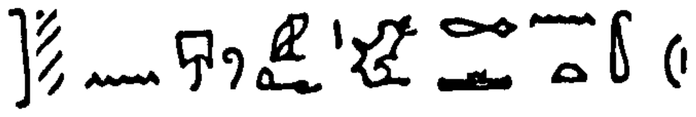
58. G.Roquet, BIFAO 76 (1976) 37-63: Le nom de "l'ânon" ... , p.42, para.8.

59. After Zeuner, Domesticated Animals, p.129, who recorded the domestic goat as Capra hircus L.

60. Zeuner, op.cit., esp. p.137-139, and p.139-140: 'The modern mamber goat, so common in Egypt and adjacent countries today, with its strongly convex nose, drooping ears and long hair, is not a descendant of the ancient breed. More probably it came from the East'.

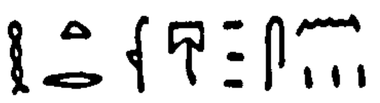
61. Beni Hasan II, pl.32:

62. A.Shisha-Halevy, Orientalia 47 (1978) 145-162: An Early North-West Semitic Text in the Egyptian Hieratic Script (O.Cairo 25759):



(with comments p.151).

## Chapter 8 : Notes

1. The first textual reference to horses appears in the Kamose stela dealing with the expulsion from Egypt of the Hyksos rulers (CGC 34001; the horses belonged to the Hyksos): 

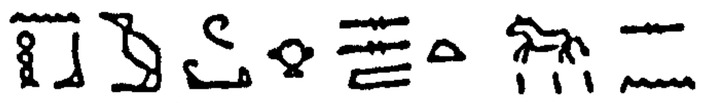
tr. L.Habachi, The Second Stela of Kamose and his Struggle against the Hyksos ruler and his Capital (Glückstadt 1972): Abhandlungen des DAIK: Ägyptische Reihe 8, p.48: 'Per-shak was lacking when I reached it; their horses were fled within'.

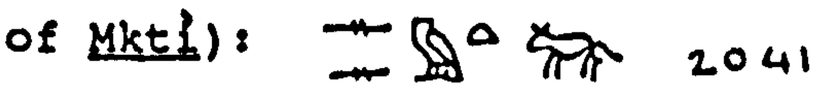
A.Wiedemann, Rec. Trav. 20 (1898) 133-146: Notes et remarques, p.137, believed that Middle Kingdom names comprising htr indicated that horses in Egypt pre-dated the second I P and E.Lefébure, Sphinx 5 (1902) 97-98: Le nom du cheval sous le Moyen Empire, similarly thought that there was earlier evidence for horses. He quoted a twelfth dynasty potsherd bearing traces of a four-legged animal galloping among lotuses - 'c'est-à-dire dans un paysage égyptien' and another showing a horse's tail (publ. W.M.F.Petrie, Kahun, Gurob and Hawara (London 1890) pl.27, no.199 & 200). As, he argued, the Chaldeans possessed chariots and horses in the 3rd millennium BC he considered it possible that the Egyptians also knew them at that time and that their absence from early texts was explicable by their low numbers (p.98). This was rejected by von Bissing, ZÄS 40 (1902) 97: Eine angebliche Darstellung des Pferdes aus dem mittleren Reich, who noted that the potsherd quoted by Lefébure was of a type found in Cyprus (and therefore not native Egyptian) and that on another fragment of the same vase appeared part of an ox, not a horse. Indeed the incompleteness of the vase fragments remarked upon by Lefébure does not allow the certain identification of horses.

See L.Störk, LÄ IV, 1009-1013: Pferd, on horse remains.

2. On words for horses see below (ssmt, ỉbr).
On chariot parts see An IV, 16, 7-7,1 (Caminos, LEM, tr. p.201).
For other words see Wb VI, pt.1, p.179 & p.117. Note the opinion of W.Nagel, Der Mesopotamische Streitwagen und seine Entwicklung im Ostmediterranen Bereich (Berlin 1966), that ssm (sic) & wrrt were introduced before the Hyksos occupation, while ỉbr & mrkbt (always written in the 'syllabic orthography') were later.

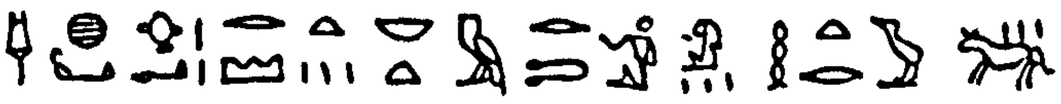
3. Urk IV, 10 (booty from Rtnw):

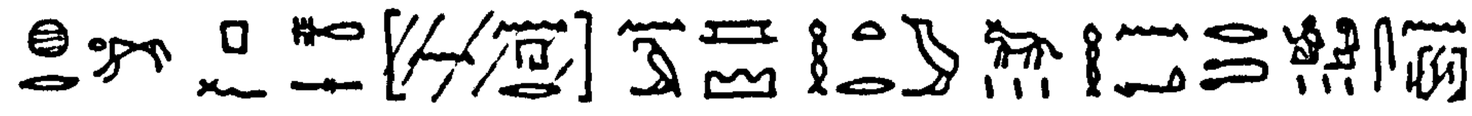
Urk IV, 809 (booty from Rtnw): 

Urk IV, 663 (booty from the dmi of Mktỉ): 

Urk IV, 721 (booty from the dmi of Mktỉ):

LD III, 30a, 12-14 (booty from Nhrn):

Amada 4: 

cf Urk IV, 710: 

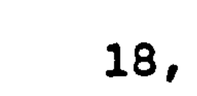
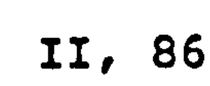
4. As recorded in Urk II, 15:

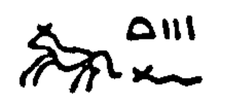
5. P. med Berl 3038, 9, 7-9: ḫpš nt ḥtr (see Wb. Drog. VI, p.385) is not to be included here (see Ch.4: Cattle).

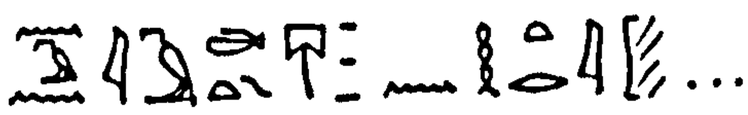
6. See various entries in Wb III, 199,6 - 202,6, and cf J.J. Janssen & R.M. Hall, GM 45 (1981) 21: (ḥtrỉ n) Ỉsh = pair of sleeves? 'The basic meaning of ḥtr appears to be "to bind together"'; 'the fundamental meaning seems to be: two similar parts closely connected'.

7. Wb III, 199, 8-10: Gespann der Rinder (zum Pflügen). See Ch.4: Cattle. Some New Kingdom examples add 'of cattle' to ḥtr, presumably to distinguish it from the then more common association with horses (P. Leid 370, vso. 15; P. Tur PuR 75, 7; Hamm No.12, p.38, 1.19). Ḥtr might also take other determinatives, eg donkeys in Kairo 20499, 1.8.

8. A number of variant writings are attested: smsm, ss, and sst (see Wb III, 474; IV, 274; IV, 143 & IV, 277, 7); also sms, esp. in later texts.

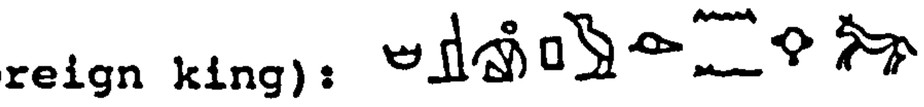
Wb recorded only 3 writings of ssmt with det. only: Petrie Koptos 18, 1 (  ) presumably on the basis of comparison with Urk II, 86: 

Pianchi 89 (see below) and Sphinxstele  (text above), which, because of the -t, it is difficult to read ḥtr.

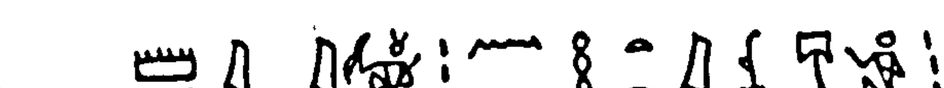
Note, however, KRI II, 463, 15: 

9. H. Donner, ZÄS 80 (1955) 97-103: Die Herkunft des ägyptischen Wortes = Pferd. He maintained 'daß das Schluß-t nicht zum Wortstamn gehört, sondern als ägyptische Endung aufgefaßt werden muß'. (He noted also that Urk IV, 10, 1 had no t ending.)

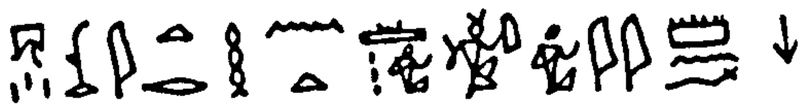
A. Salonen, Hippologica Akkadica (Helsinki 1955) p.12, noted also Akkadian sisū and Aramaic sûs$^{e}$jā and suggested a connection with the place name Susa (Elamite Sûsun, Sûsen, Sûsin; Akkadian Susinak, Sûsan; Assyrian Sûsan; Hebrew Sûsan).

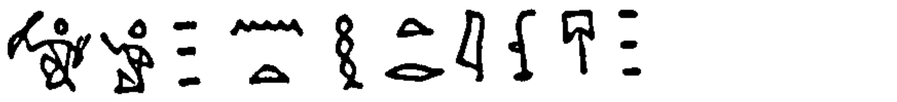
10. Pianchi 89 (of a foreign king): 
and a representation of a horse being ridden in Hayes, Scepter II, p.313, fig.195 (MMA 15.2.3). H.G.Fischer, CdE 62, no.123 (1987) 90-107: Encore des Faux, esp. p.97-99, considered this piece to be a fake.

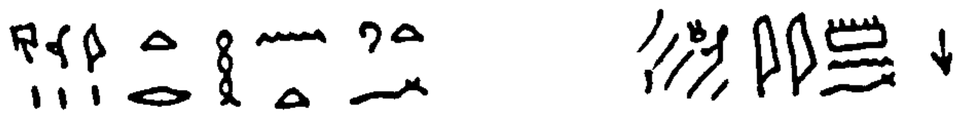
11. Note especially the titles of army officers: ỉmy-r ssmt (Wb IV, 277, 6; AL78.3804; AL79.2763; Helck, Militärführer, p.59-62; Schulman, MRTO, p.46-7; p.145-6); tỉ nt ḥtr (Wb III, 200, 8-9; AL79.2102); ỉdnw nt tỉ nt ḥtr (KRI II, 664, 14; 807, 9). Note too such phrases as mšʿ nt ḥtr ; mnfyt nt ḥtr :

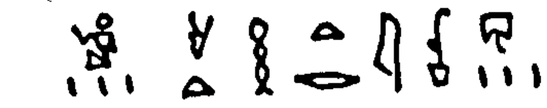
Inscr dédic 45: 

Kadesh 33:

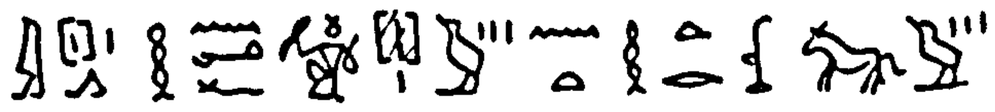
Karn Mar 54, 15: 

Harr 57, 9: 

Med Habu 29, 43: 

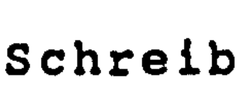
Med Habu 82, 19: 

Kadesh 23:

Kuentz, Kadesh, p.358: 

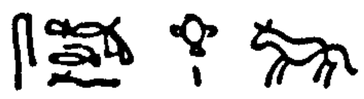
12. Note reliefs at Medinet Habu showing Ramesses III in a chariot hunting bulls (Med Habu pl.117 & 130) lions (pl.35) and desert game (pl.116). Cf Fraser, Scarabs, 263, 8 (pl.16) and Amarna V, 27.

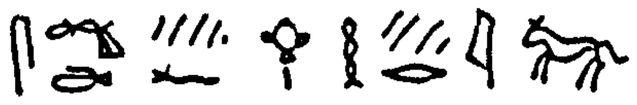
13. Donner, op.cit., p.97 &101.

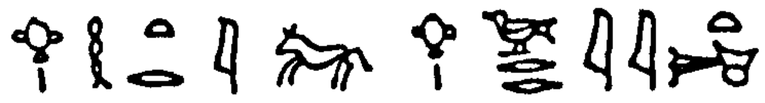
14. Cf the comment of H.Grapow, Studien zu den Annalen Thutmosis III und zu ihren verwandten historischen Bereichen des Neuen Reiches (Berlin 1949) p.35: 'Das Wort für das Pferd wird da, wo es zum erstenmal vorkommt geschrieben (und so auch sonst mehrfach); lautliche Schreibungen wie  und folgen erst beträchtlich später'.

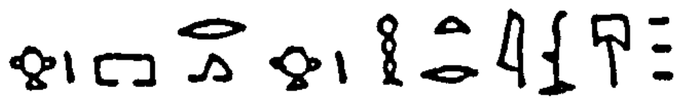
Note that the earlier form is in the plural.

15. CD 723a; Černý, CED, p.300: 'horse'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.393: 'masc. Pferd, Hengst; fem. Stute'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.315a: 'cheval'; 'jument' - 'Le mot dérive de med  htr "attacher"... Depuis la XVIII$^{e}$ dynastie htr est le "cheval"'.

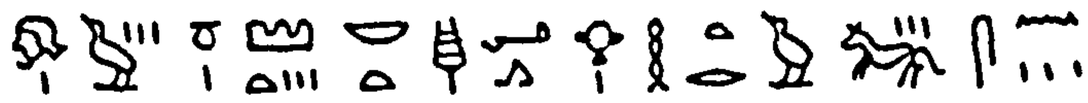
16. Luxor MIFAO 15, 4, 3: 

Karn Mar 35, 63: 

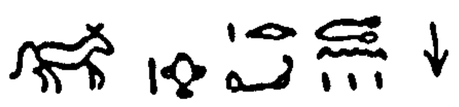
Amarna V, 27: 

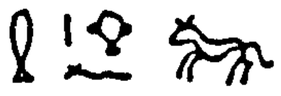
Orb 17, 5: 

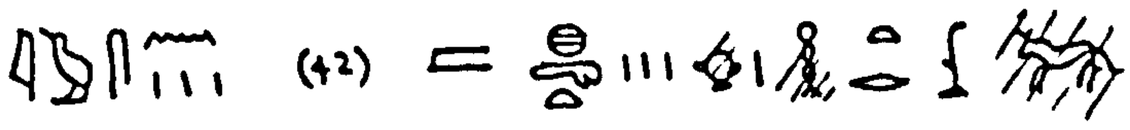
Med Habu 98, 2:

Barkalstele 1.19: 

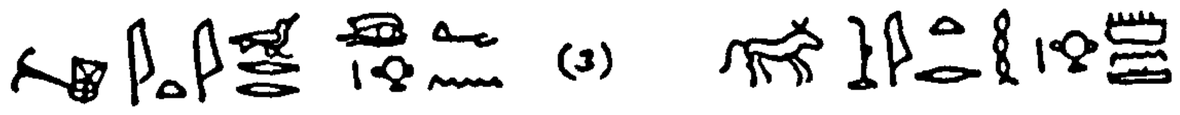
Med Habu 68, 5:

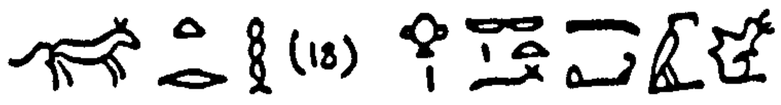
Carter & Newberry, Tomb of T. IV, pl.10: 

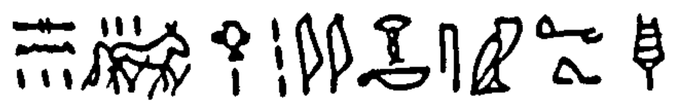
Fraser, Scarabs, 263, 8 (pl.16): 

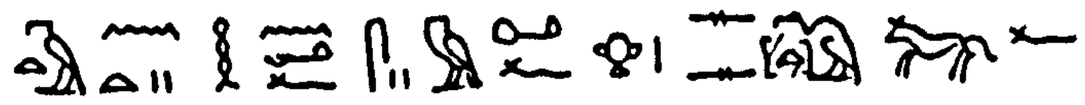
Kadesh 42: 

Zivie, Giza, p.67, l.16:

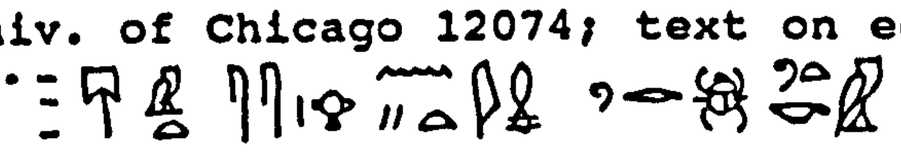
KRI II, 173, 9: 

KRI II, 151, 9: 

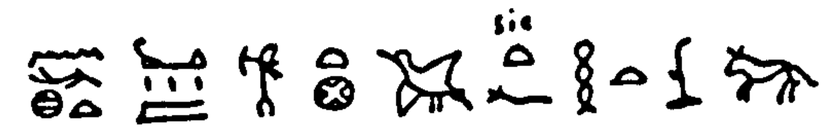
KRI II, 291, 4: 

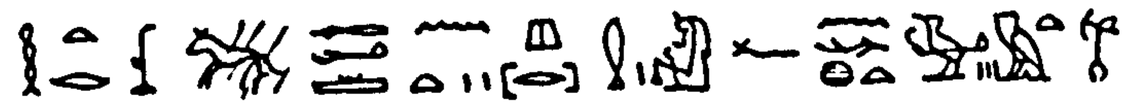
BUT cf KRI II, 87, 12: 

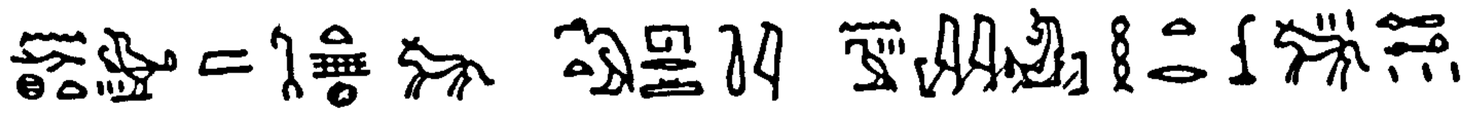
KRI II, 296, 9:

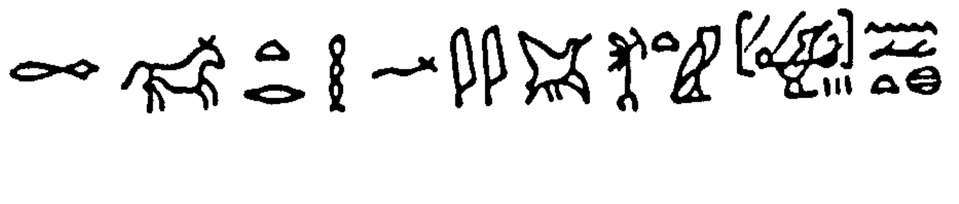
HO I, pl.79 (O.Oriental Inst. Univ. of Chicago 12074; text on edge of ostracon): 

17. Wreszinski, Atlas

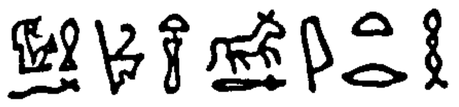
II, 169: 

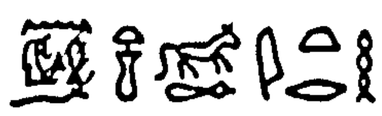
Kadesh 36 = KRI II, 29, 2: 

KRI II, 82, 3: 

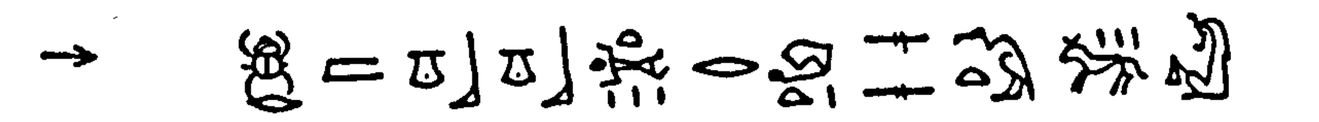
KRI II, 120, 3: 

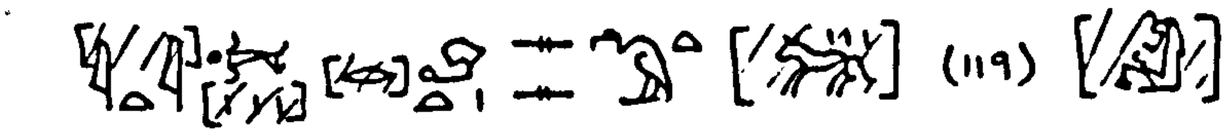
Kairo Wb Nr 103 <266>: Ramesses III

KRI II, 174, 2: 

KRI II, 174, 1: 

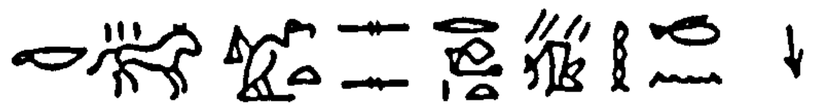
18. <u>Tỉ nt ḥtrỉ</u> - see above.

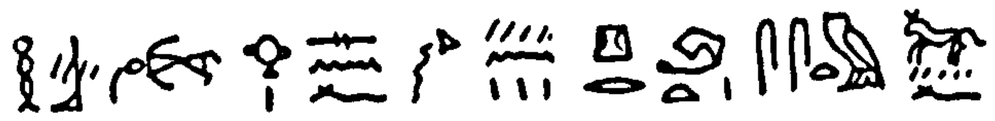
19. KRI II, 45, 15: → 

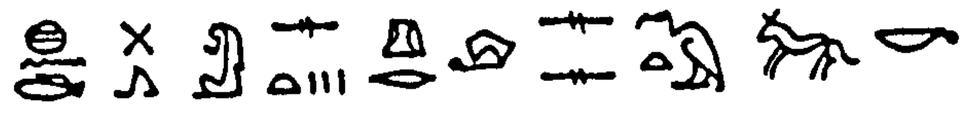
KRI II, 89, 2: 

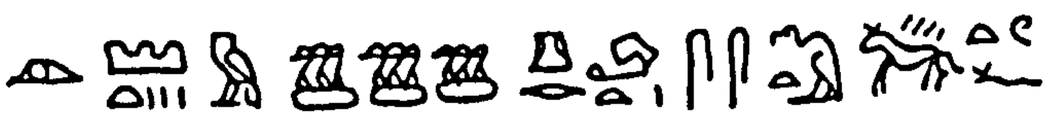
KRI II, 122, 10:

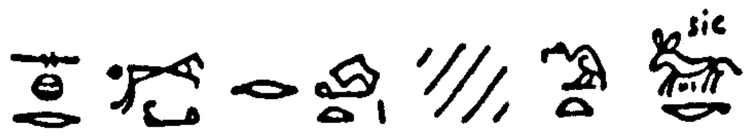
KRI II, 135, 8:

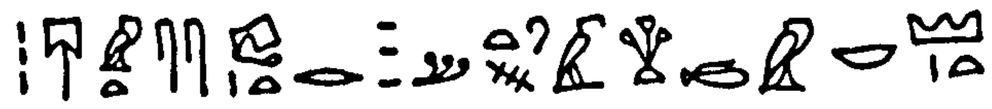
Med Habu 98, 2: 

Med Habu: Sethe Heft 14, 78: 

Med Habu: Sethe Heft 14, 63: 

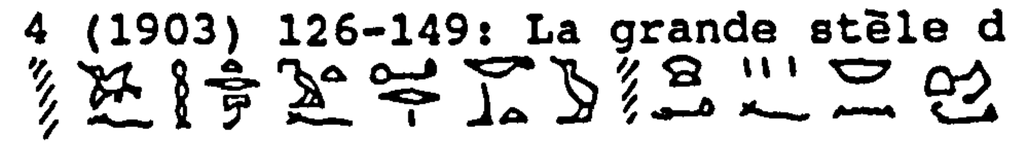
Med Habu: Sethe Heft 14, 69: 

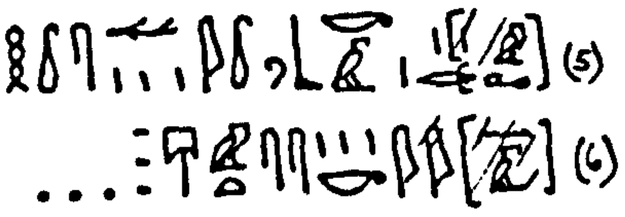
Med Habu: Sethe Heft 4, 48: 

KRI II, 72, 15: 

See above for other references.

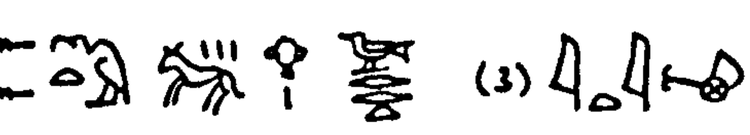
20. Note too the comment of G.Roquet, BIFAO 76 (1976) 37-63: Le nom de l' ânon en égyptien et en copte sk3 (5e Dynastie)-CHC, p.60: 'L'emprunt pur et simple au domaine sémitique - ssm et ses variantes - s'offrait comme une solution que certaines couches de la société égyptienne ont pu... acceuillir. Pourtant il faut croire que l'emprunt comme tel n'ait jamais profondément touché non plus que satisfait l'usage moyen de la langue, disons le paysan et l'homme de la rue. A cet égard, on doit tenir pour significatif le fait que, pour désigner ces nouveaux venus qu'étaient le cheval, la jument et son poulain, la langue usuelle a innové en exploitant de préférence les ressources de sa propre lexique. Et ce sont bien des mots autochtones qui ont fini par étouffer l'emprunt et s'imposer à l'usage'.

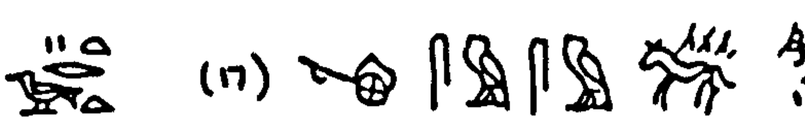
21. G. Legrain, ASAE 4 (1903) 126-149: La grande stèle d'Amenôthès II à Karnak, p.130: 

cf Lopez, Ostraca II, pl.69, No.57155: 

Amarna V, 27: (text above n.16)

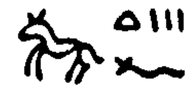
P. Tur PuR 2, 9: 

KRI II, 142, 5: 

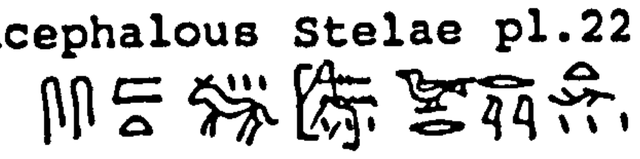
KRI II, 286, 4: 

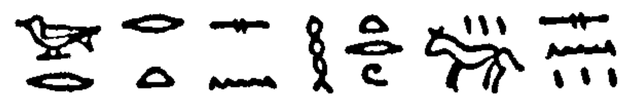
Urk IV, 10:

Urk IV, 809:

Sphinxstele 1.5 = Zivie, Giza, pl.128 (and p.136, n.s.): 

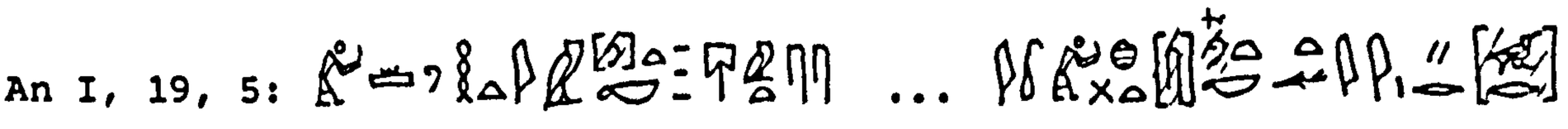
Pianchi 30:

G.A. Gaballa, JEA 63 (1977) 122-126: Three Acephalous Stelae pl.22 (1.x+6) = Cairo JdE 28569; Kairo Wb Nr 375: 

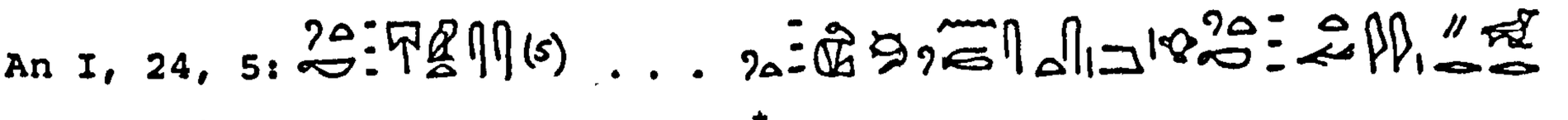
Sphinxstele, 1.7: 

P.Ch.B. I, G, 1, 3:

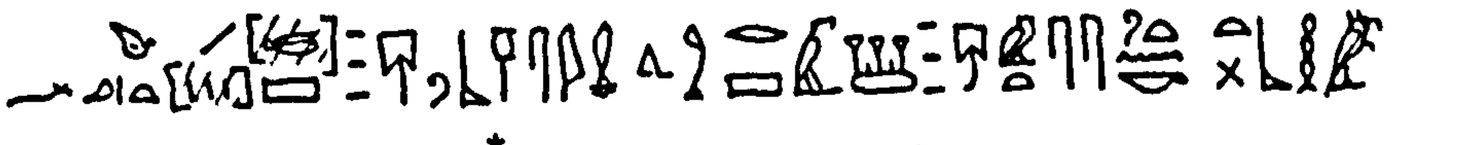
tr. Gardiner, p.35: 'he hath horses at the resting-places, and the chariot <u>stands</u> harnessed in its place'.

An I, 19, 5: 

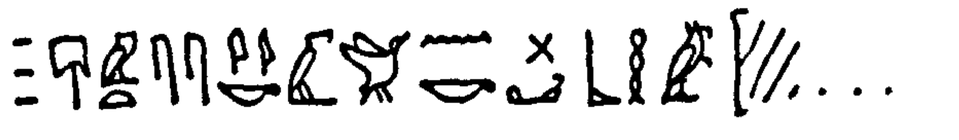
tr. Gardiner, <u>P.Anastasi I</u>, p.21 : 'thy chariot worn by ropes, thy horse being dragged (??)'.

An I, 24, 5: 

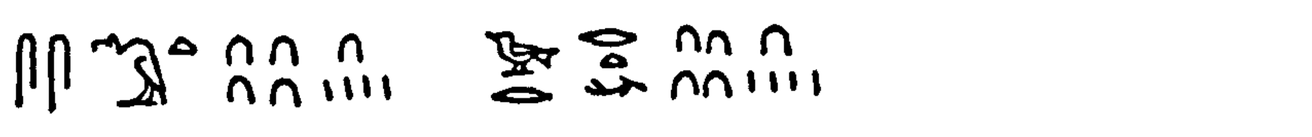
tr. Gardiner, <u>P.Anastasi I</u>, p.26*: 'On thou goest jolting(?) , thy chariot on its side. Thou fearest to crush(?) thy horse'.

22. An I, 18, 5: 

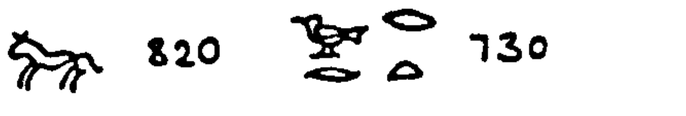
tr. Gardiner, <u>P.Anastasi I</u>, p.20*: 'A horse is harnessed for thee, swift as the jackal red of ear'.

O.DelM 1264, 5: 

Max d'Anii 9, 3:

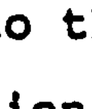
23. Sphinxstele 1.23: 

1.27:

Note, however, the discrepancy in 1.16-17: 

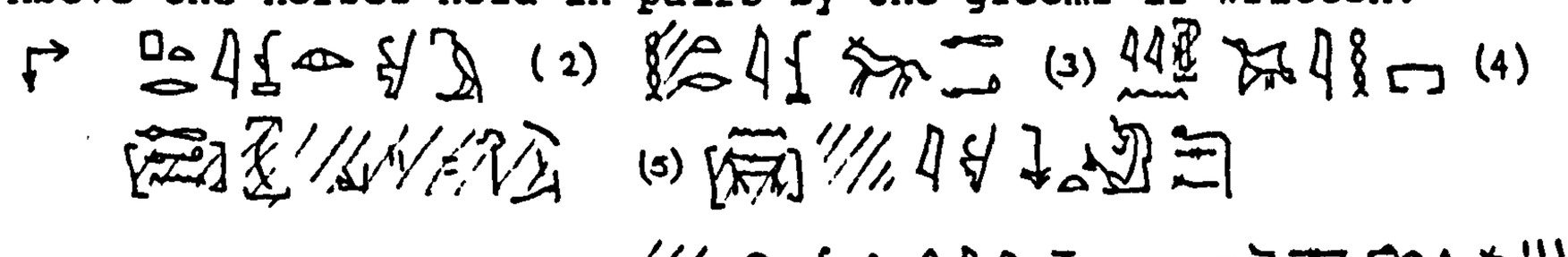
24. Med Habu 75: (37) ...

25. Edgerton & Wilson, <u>Hist Rec Ram III</u>, p.66, n.e: 'The <u>ḥtr</u> are counted as individual horses, even though considered as pairs'. Cf the opinion of E. Drioton, <u>ASAE</u> 45 (1947) 99-106: Post scriptum à mes 'notes diverses (1-15)', regarding the names given to <u>ḥtr tpy n ḥm.f</u>. In certain cases two names are mentioned (eg Wreszinski, <u>Atlas</u> II, 56a; KRI II, 82, 3) which led him to believe that the horses were named separately and when only one name was mentioned, only one horse was being considered: 'Il faut donc admettre que, dans les représentations du roi sur son char, la légende qui surmonte les chevaux ne donne que le nom du principal d'entre eux, l'autre restant anonyme'.

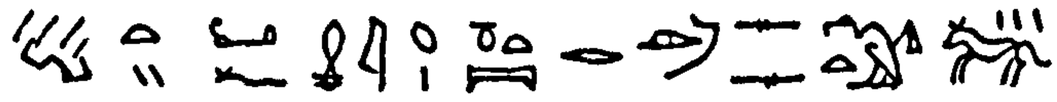
Contrast the opinion of Grdseloff, ASAE 45 (1947) that the names applied to the chariot only ( det.  from the leather used in its construction). See above, however, on chariots called wrrt, mrkbt, not ḫtrỉ.

26. Med Habu 109.

Above the horses held in pairs by the grooms is written:



and by the king:



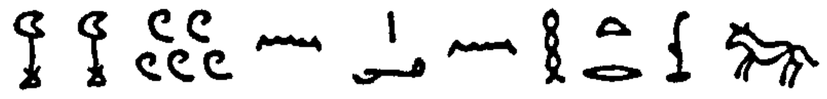
Cf

KRI II, 120, 5 : var.

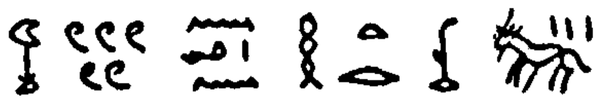
Compare the text of An I, 24, 5 (text above) - 25, 8; tr. Gardiner, P.Anastasi I, p.26*-27*: 'On thou goest jolting(?), thy chariot on its side. Thou fearest to crush(?) thy horse'; 'Thou unfastenest the horse so as to repair the collar - piece(?) at the top of the defile'; 'Thy reins have been cut in the darkness. Thy horse is gone'. The first reference to 'horse' here is to ssmt; the later references give ḫtr . Although the second text could imply a horse and chariot, the first ssmt and the second ḫtr clearly indicate the animal only.

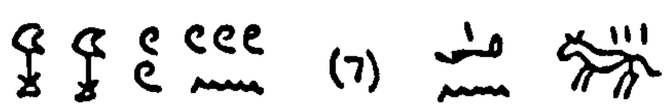
27. Koller 1, 1:

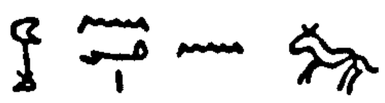
Lesko, Dictionary LE, p.73, translated 'steeds'.

28. Kadesh 39: 

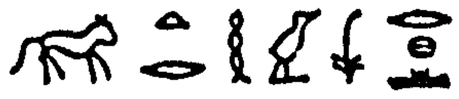
KRI II, 31, 7: (= Kadesh 39)

KRI II, 45, 9: 

KRI II, 135, 6: 

KRI II, 51, 15: 

KRI II, 66, 10:

29. Sphinxstele 12: 

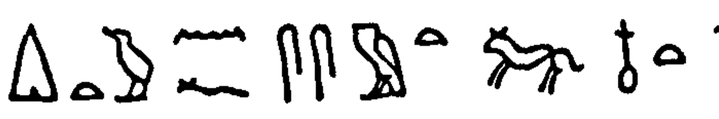
Other references (1.21, 22, 23) to horses in this stela give ssmt, except for one (1.24) not written in full and possibly also to be read ḥtr (see below in the notes).

30. Meeks, AL 77.2911: 'équitation'.

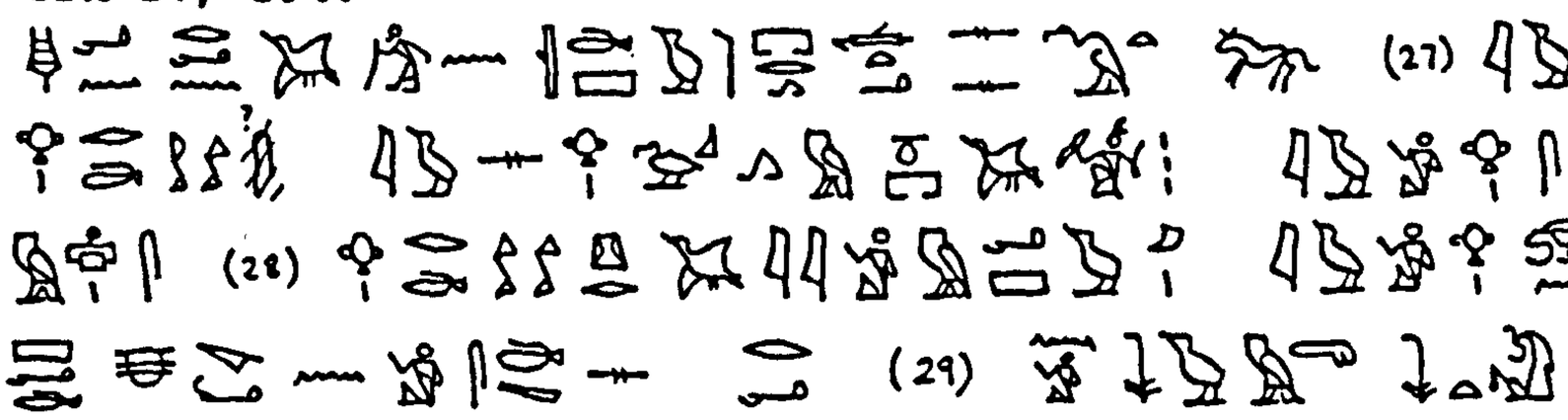
31. Rosett 1.12.

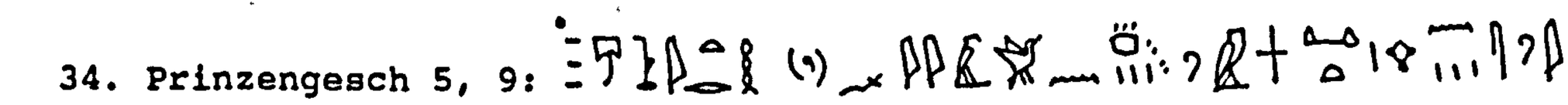
32. Große Sphinxstele 1.24:

'And he trained ḥtr without their match'

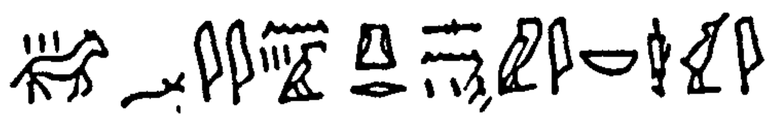
Cf 1.21: 

33. Urk IV, 894:



34. Prinzengesch 5, 9: 

If ḥtr does now mean 'horse' n3y.f ḥtr would be expected, as there are (presumably) two horses pulling his chariot.

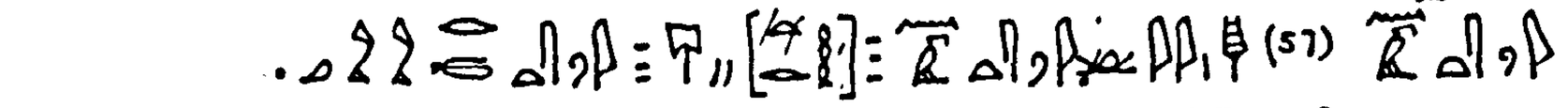
Cf KRI II, 49, 15: 

KRI II, 120, 5: see n. 26.

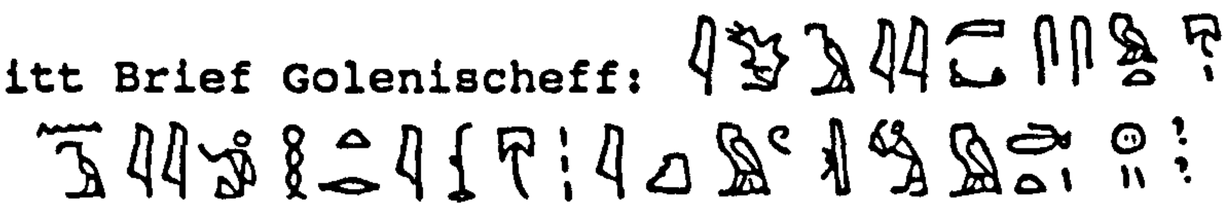
35. R.A. Caminos, A Tale of Woe (Oxford 1977) p.36: 'Ḥtrỉ, strictly "span or team" of horses, serves sometimes as a collective for "chariotry", and is to be translated "chariot" in certain contexts... The writer has just mentioned his horses (ssmwt) and the chariot (wrryt) separately and to stress the magnitude of his loss, he now adds "my entire ḥtrỉ" - strictly a rhetorical amplification in which ḥtrỉ is best rendered "equipage" in the sense of carriage and horses plus all the appurtenances of chariot-driving .[Understanding ḥtrỉ thus he translated t3.k n3 ḥtrỉ ' you mount the chariot']... ḥtrỉ obviously denotes horses and chariot as a whole, "the equipage", for it would be physically impossible to mount two horses at once'. It should be remembered, however, that

Egyptian chariots were pulled by two horses, which would explain the plural article. It is true, though, that ḥtr was used elliptically for horses and chariot in such phrases as ḥr ḥrt (perhaps best rendered by English 'to horse'). There is also one text which mentions three people as being ḥr ḥtr (KRI II, 25,2 & 32,8) - here it is presumably meant that they are on the chariot 'to horse' rather than on the horse itself.

On the use of ḥtr 'to horse' in contrast with 'by ship' or 'on foot' see Edwards, HPBM 4th ser, Ch.57:

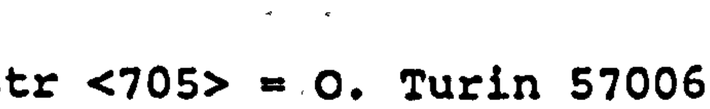


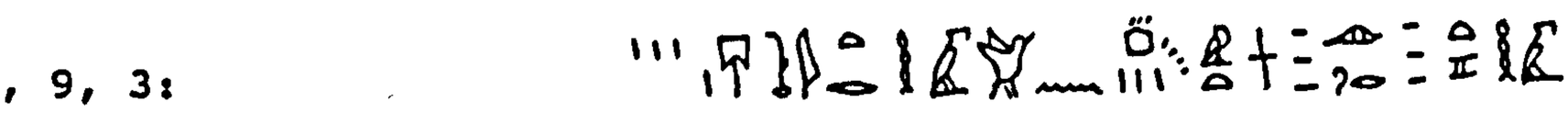
tr. p.108-109: 'I shall keep her safe (55) from anything unpleasant (?) and any abomination of every kind of journey which she will make (by) ship, chariot or (on) foot'. Compare T3 rto 40 (tr. p.74); L2 rto 59 (tr. p.16); L7, 69 (tr. p.49); P2 vso 8 (tr. p.83); NY rto 53 (tr. p.105); Ch.57 (tr. p.108); B rto 15 (tr. p.114).

36. Litt Brief Golenischeff: 

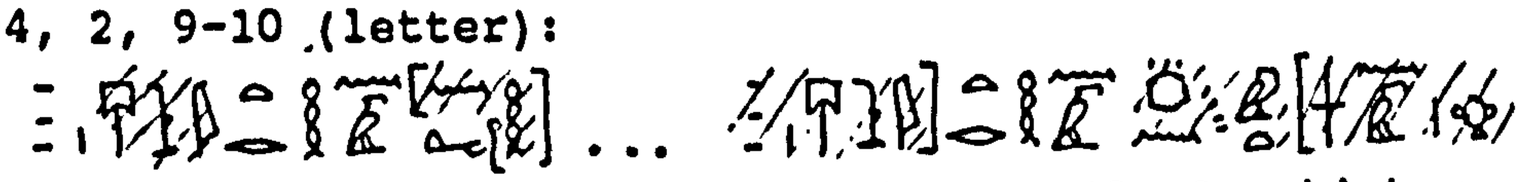
tr. Wb. Zettel, 'die Pferde wurden gestohlen, der Wagen geraubt. Meine Pferde, die in meiner Hand....., deren Geschirr wurde genommen'.

37. Prinzengesch 5, 9: (text above)

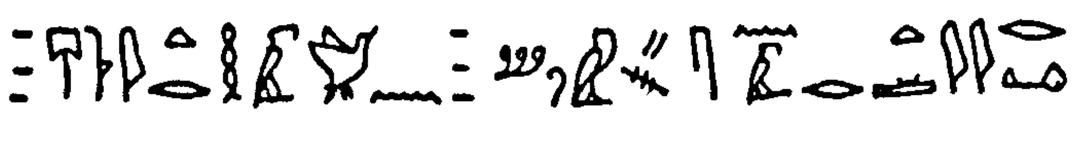
Tur Ostr <705> = O. Turin 57006, rto 3: 

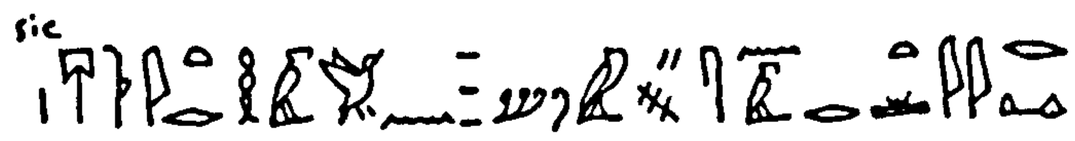
Sall I, 9, 3: 

P. Bologna 1094, 2, 9-10 (letter):

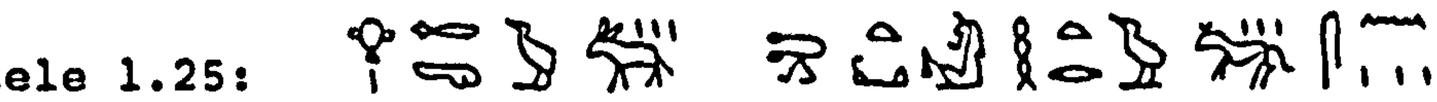


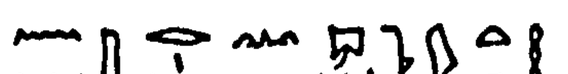
tr. Caminos, LEM, p.11: 'I have received the letter (2, 9) which my lord (l.p.h.) sent me concerning the food for the horses of the Great Stable of (2, 10) Ra'messe-miamun [belonging to the residence] and for the horses of the Great Stable of Binerē'-miamun (3, 1) belonging to the Residence'.

KRI II, 808, 8: 

808, 10: 

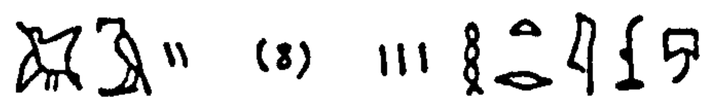
809, 3:

38. Barkalstele 1.25: 

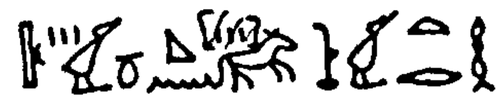
KRI II, 247, 4: 

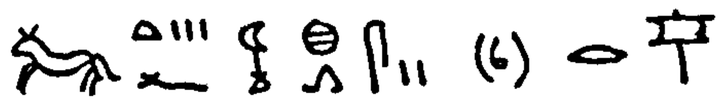
cf KRI II, 257, 11 & 283, 5.

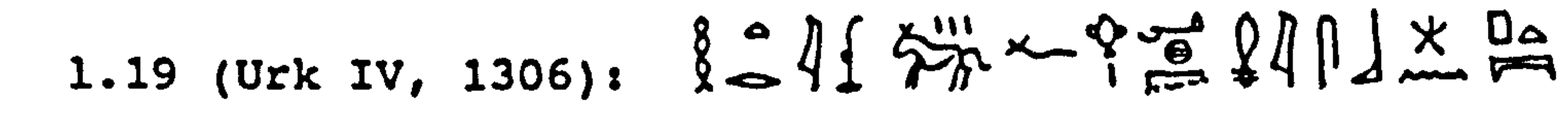
Compare also a reference to 'three horses':

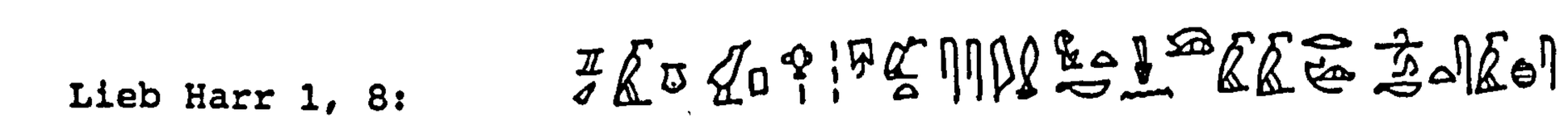
Spiegelberg, Correspondances, p.41 (P.Leid I, 370, vso 7-8): 

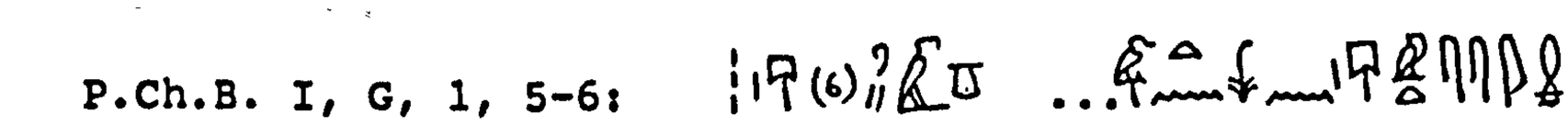
tr. p.44: 'Garde les trois chevaux qui sont chez Pe-hor, regarde ces trois chevaux!'.

39. KRI II, 25, 2: 

40. Sphinxstele 1.6: 

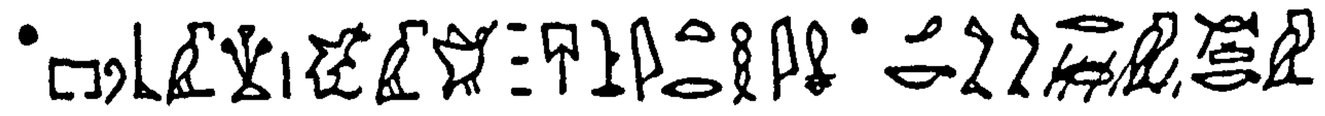
1.19 (Urk IV, 1306): 

Lieb Harr 1, 8: 

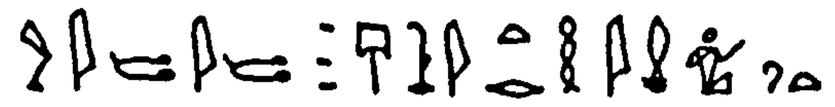
P.Ch.B. I, G, 1, 5-6: 

tr. Gardiner, p.35: 'O that thou mayst come <to the sister quickly> like a horse belonging to the king, Picked from a thousand steeds of every kind, Chief of the stables'.

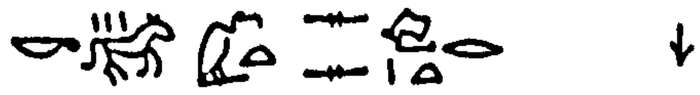
An I, 18, 5: (text above)

An IV, 2, 5 : 

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.131: 'You have abandoned (2,5) writing and taken to your heels like a team of horses of the...'

41. An IV, 8, 8: 

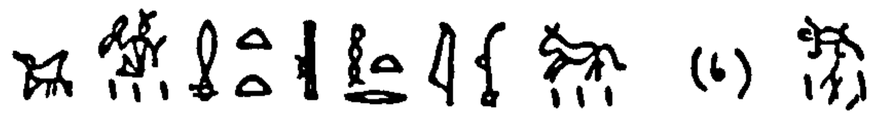
Koller 2, 3:

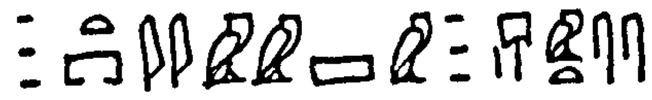
42. Med Habu 98, 10: 

Große Sphinxstele 1.22:

See also above, n.17.

43. Med Habu 31, 12:

44. KRI I, 130: 

45. Lansing 12, 4: 

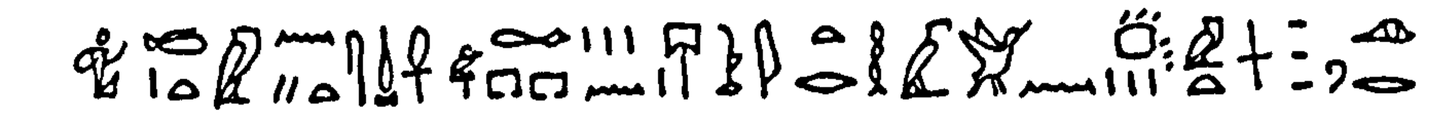
Große Sphinxstele 1.22: (text above)

46. An I, 20, 2:

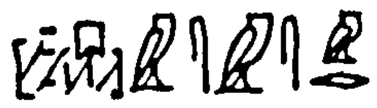
tr. Gardiner, P.Anastasi I, p.22: 'The horse has been let loose'.

Cf An I, 4, 6 (mentioning an unharnessed horse?):

tr. ibid, p.8: 'Thy messenger found me as I sat beside the horse which is in my charge'.

47. Sall I, 9, 1: 

'Thirty arouas of fields were given to me to make into food for the htrỉ of Pharaoh lph which are in my charge'.

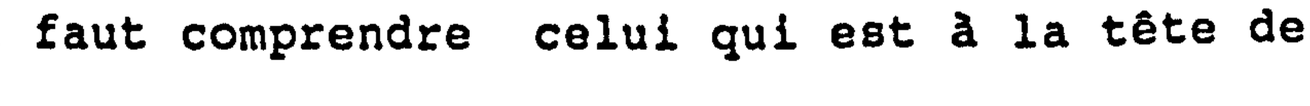
48. Glos Gol 2, 1 = AEO I, pl.8, 1: 

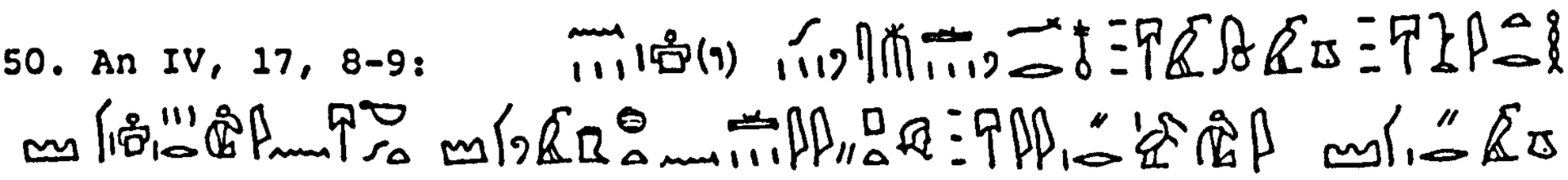
Malkata IV, 22 no.122:

BIFAO 78, 201:

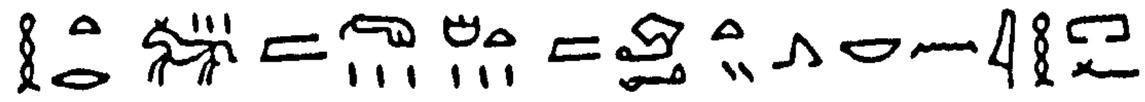
Zivie, Giza, p.98 N4 (Sphinxstele):

tr. p.101, n.j: 'il faut comprendre celui qui est à la tête des chefs des chevaux'.

49. O.DelM 1076: 

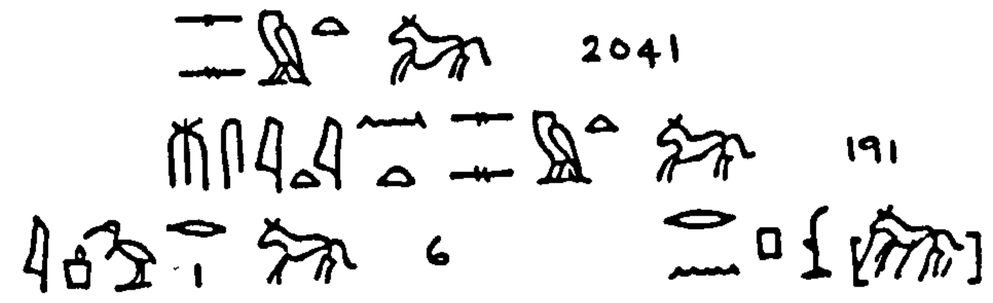
50. An IV, 17, 8-9: 

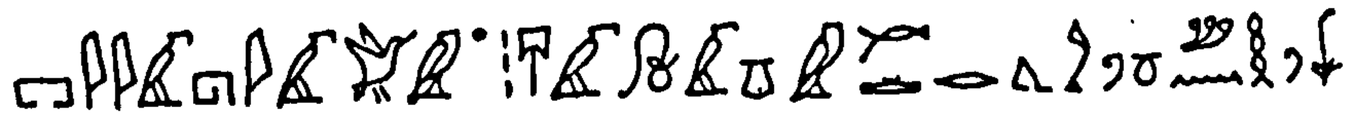
tr. Caminos, LEM, p.201: 'Horse-teams and fine young steeds of (17, 9) Sangar, top stallions of Khatti and cows of Alasia'.

51. Pianchi 110: 

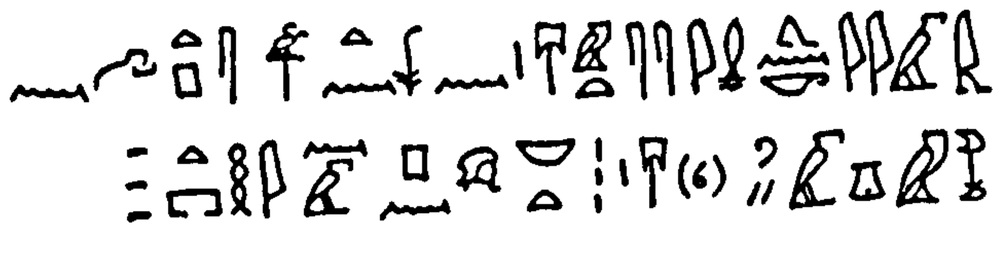
52. For this use of 'courageous' cf the Egyptian term ḳnw 'valiant' (Wb V, 47, 16) which was a term applied to horses in late texts; see too ḫrp-ḳnw (Wb III, 329, 3-6). The word appears in parallel with ssmt in Urk II, 77 and 78. For ḥtr described as 'valiant' see above, n.39.

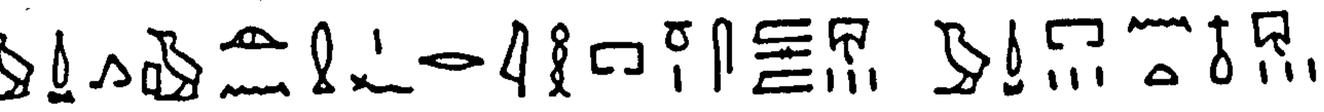
Gesenius, p.7. Cf Jéquier, Matériaux, p.22 on ỉbr: 'Mot dérivé d'une racine sémitique et pouvant s'appliquer comme son correspondant hébreu אֲבִיר (litt.: "être fort"), soit à l'étalon, soit au taureau'. On An IV, 17, 9 he noted further that it 'pourrait désigner des taureaux et des vaches aussi bien que des étalons et des juments, mais cette seconde alternative est plus probable, vu que la Syrie est toujours un pays producteur de chevaux'.

53. Urk IV, 663: 


54. An III, 6, 5: 

P. Cairo CG 58054 = KRI I, 323: 

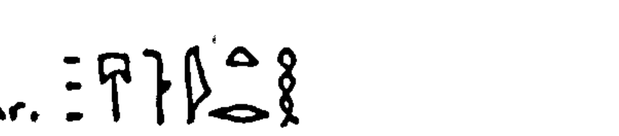
55. P.Ch.B. vso G, 1, 5-6: 

56. Pianchi 64: 

57. Statue im Handel <var 31> (Saite):

58. An I, 1, 8: var.  

tr. Gardiner, P.Anastasi I, p.6*: 'trainer of the steeds of the king'; Fischer-Elfert, P.Anastasi I, p.17: 'Der die nfrw-Gespanne des Herrschers aufzieht'.

59. Urk IV, 676: 

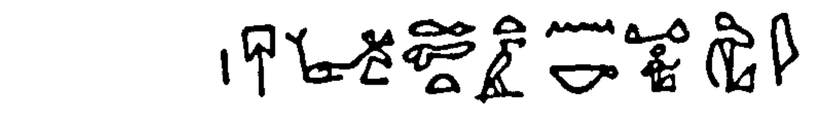
60. In the Medinet Habu cattle list ng follows k3, and is apparently the next in maturity. Störk, op.cit., gave only 'Unbekanntes Fremdwort'.

61. 'Ass' and 'donkey' are synonymous, though ass is usually used to designate wild animals of this species, Equus asinus L. Zeuner, Domesticated Animals, p.374, gave the name E.a.asinus L to the modern domesticated form, noting that it was 'probably derived from North African wild race, now extinct, to which this name would apply'. See too p.377. The stripes along the back and across the shoulder of the domesticated donkey are derived from this extinct form. Other wild asses still in existence are the Nubian Ass of the Sudan (E.a.africanus Fitzinger) and the Somali Ass of Somalia (E.a.somaliensis Noack).

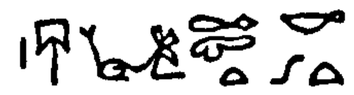
62. Hayes, Scepter I, p.100-101 (a scene of donkeys transporting sheaves):

The terms beginning ỉ- were discussed by E. Edel, ZÄS 81 (1956) 6-18: Beiträge zum ägyptischen Lexikon II, p.9-11, para.10: Die Vollschreibung des Wortes für 'Esel'.

A form ʿ3ỉ is also known but is uncommon; see Allam & Černý, Ostraka und Papyri, p.44-45 (O. Gardiner 165) (cf the fem form ʿ3t in the same ostracon): (4)

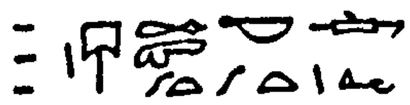
(7) 

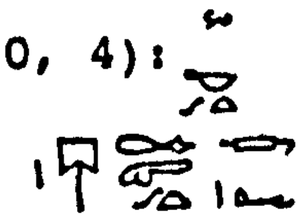
63. In New Kingdom texts the term was often written ʿ3t whether the male or female was intended. The only means of distinguishing their sex is by the article, or the use of the term ḥmt 'female' in conjunction with the name.

O.DelM 454, vso 6 (in list of goods) : 

cf Meir IV, pl.32:

'male donkey' & 'female donkey'

Allam & Černý, Ostraka und Papyri, p.109 (text of P. Turin 1881, rto col.9; P.Tur PuR 9, 7): 

p.110 (text of P. Turin 1881, rto col.8, 4; P.Tur PuR 10, 4): 

For this confusion of ʿ3 and ʿ3t see the comments of Janssen, Commodity Prices, p.167, who noted an example of ʿ3t ḥmt from P. Vienna 34, 6.

The feminine ỉʿ3t occurs in the Pyramid Texts (523) in the phrase ỉʿ3t ḥỉwt, translated 'braying jenny' by Ward (see below).

64. CD 75b: 'ass'; Černý, CED, p.45: 'ass'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.48: 'Esel, Eselin' & p.503; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.60b: 'âne', 'ânesse'.

65. Cf Osing, Nominalbildung II, p.354-55, para.16.

See also L.Bell, Interpreters and Egyptianized Nubians in ancient Egyptian Foreign Policy : aspects of the history of Egypt and Nubia (Thesis 1976) p.39-50.

66. J.Vandier, ASAE 36 (1936) 33-44: Une tombe inédite de la VI$^{e}$ dynastie à Akhmîm, p.35:

tr. p.34: 'J'ai acquis un troupeau d'ânesses pleines(?) et elles ont allaités(?) 200 ânes'.

See also Ch.4: Cattle for ḥmt denoting female animals.

67. A. Ember, ZÄS 50 (1912) 86-90. Notes on the relation of Egyptian and Semitic, para.6. A comparison of ʿ3 and semitic ʿair was also put forward by W.Vycichl, WZKM 40 (1933) 175-176: Aigyptiaka. He proposed reading the Egyptian word ʿj3 = *ʿ‿já̆3‿w > ϵιω. This was not the view of Edel op.cit., who, from the Coptic plural forms ϵοογϵ , ϵϫγϵ, ϵιωγϵ, deduced an Egyptian pronunciation j‿ʿă̆3w‿t.

68. E. Littmann, ZÄS 67 (1931) 63-68: Bemerkungen zur ägyptisch-semitischen Sprachvergleichung, p.66. '‘3 konnte ebenso gut der ‘i3ā (vgl. Kopt. ϵ|ω) sein und braucht mit dem semit. Worte nichts zu tun haben. Das wäre ähnlich wie im Amharischen. Das alte Wort ʾadq für "Esel" ist im Tigre und im Tigriña erhalten, aber im Amharischien heißt das Grautier ahĭ̂iā; diese Bezeichnung braucht nicht etymologisiert zu werden'.

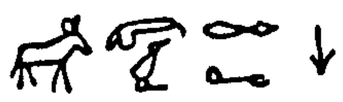
Edel's reconstruction of the ancient pronunciation also weakens the case for a direct relationship between the Egyptian and semitic terms.

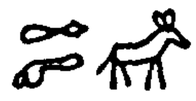
69. Urk I, 280:

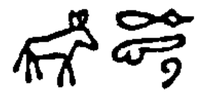
Kairo 20530, 14-15:

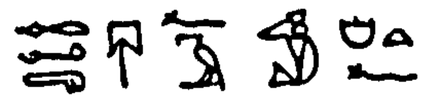
Kairo 20499:

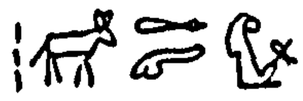
Urk IV, 705:

Totb Nav 40, 15 (nach Ani 1, 14): 

Amduat IV, 30: 

Kuban 1.10 (KRI II, 355, 6): 

70. Urk IV, 325 (donkey of the queen of Punt): 

Beni Hasan I, 30: 

Meir IV, pl.32: see n. 63.

71. Junker, Giza VI, fig.45, p.143:

group of six donkeys, one at least visibly laden, driven by man wielding stick, tr. p.144: 'Das Herabsteigen zu den Garben (seitens) der Eselherde'.

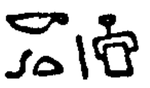
Cf Mar Mast D, 23; D, 55; Ptahh II, pl.8; LD II, 56; LD II, 106b; LD Erg, 22; Sheikh Said pl.16.

Compare the word sḥ.t (Wb III, 464, 2: die Schafherde, welche die Saat eintritt), also written as ḫst (Wb III, 154: die Schafherde).

72. An Old Kingdom form, sk3, ( ) appears over a donkey foal in a harvesting scene from the tomb of Sekhemankhptah (Wreszinski, Atlas III, pl.51 = Petrie Deshasheh 18 = Mar Mast D41) and was commented upon by Roquet, op.cit.

Other Egyptian forms are s3k3 (noted by Sauneron from an unpublished Brooklyn hieratic papyrus) and sq(t) from Griffith, Rylands III, 37, 2 with p.163; 271; 389.

73 CD 388a: 'foal of an ass, horse'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.207a: 'poulain et ânon'; Černý, CED, p.175; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.215: 'Füllen (von Esel und Pferd)'.

74. O. Gardiner 53 (HO I, pl.49, No.1, rto 4 & 6):  , 

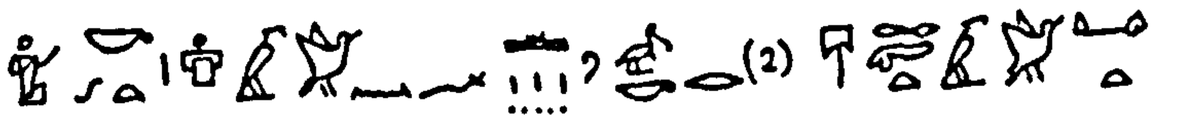
P. Tur PuR 10, 4: (text above)

tr. Roquet, op.cit., (n.20): 'une ânesse adulte avec son ânon'.

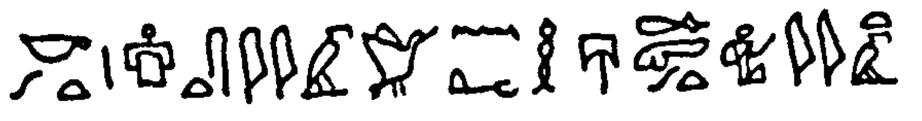
cf P. Tur PuR 9, 7 (text above).

HO I, pl.49, no.3 (O. Gardiner 54) rto 3 & vso 8:

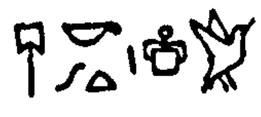
O.DelM 64, 1-2:



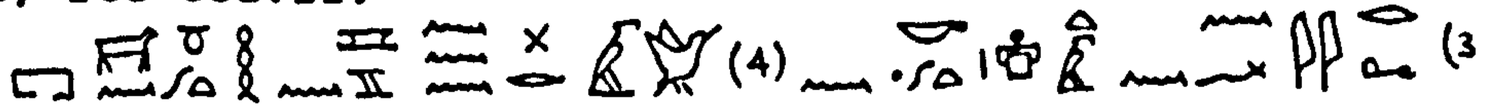
HO I, pl.49, no.1:



75. P. BM 10326, vso 15-16 (Late Ramesside Letters p.20):



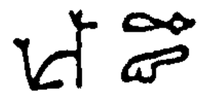
O. Cairo 25624, rto col.II:

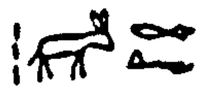


Allam & Černý, Ostraca und Papyri, p.43 (O. Gardiner 152):

tr. text vol. p.182: 'Er sprach zu mir: Siehe, das Eselsfüllen (ist) zur Vergültung deines Rindes'.

76. Nauri 55-6:

Nauri 35: 

Petrie Dend 11 (top right): 

Petrie Dend 11 (bottom left):

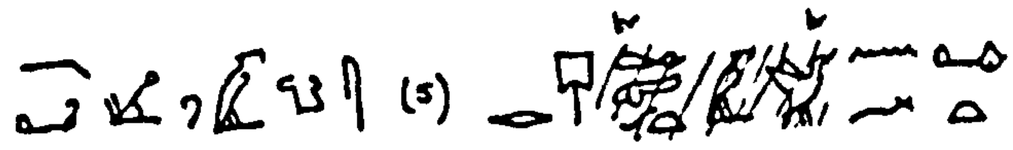
Petrie Dend 10a:

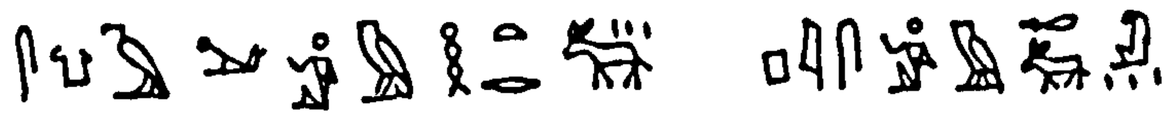
Petrie Dend 13:

Petrie Dend 13:

77. Representations of donkeys in other contexts are rare. Note the comments of Vandier, Manuel V, p.2 n.n: 'Les ânes... en égyptien âa... ne sont que très rarement attestés, et, en dehors des scènes agricoles, nous n'avons relevé que six exemples, dont un seul (56 [= Junker, Giza V, p.79, fig.19, tomb of Seneb. The donkeys, both male and female, are only marked 'male' and 'female']) provient de la région memphite. Cette rareté prouve que l'âne était considéré presque exclusivement comme une bête de somme et qu'il n'avait à peu près aucun rôle à jouer dans les scènes d'élevage'.
The four other examples quoted by Vandier are from the tomb of Djau (Deir el Gebr II, pl.7) and the tomb of Pepiankh called Heny the Black (Meir V, pl.32; Athribis pl.9 and pl.12); the final example (LD Erg 39) he described as 'douteux'.

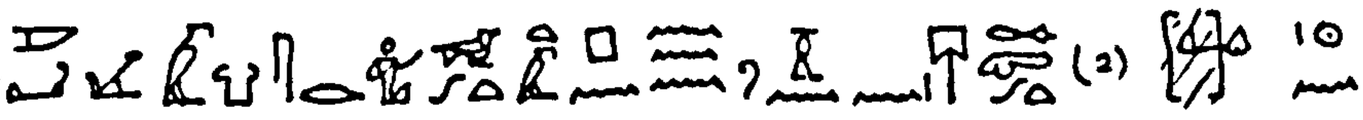
78. Representation in Vandier, Mo'alla, pl.32, 3.

O.DelM 624, vso 4-5: 

Kairo 20499, 8-9: 

HO I, pl.29, no.1 :

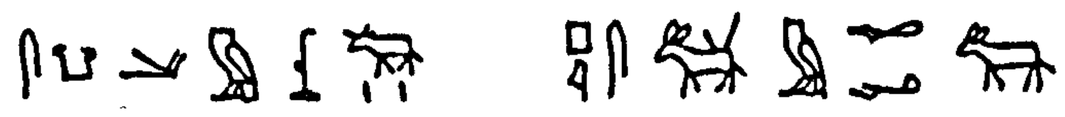
tr. Helck, Materialien III, p.494: '[Geben] des Esels [dem X] zum Pflügen'.

HO I, pl.71, no.1: 

tr. Helck, Materialien III, p.498: 'Tag des Gebens des Edels dem Wasserträger Pn-tȝ-wr.t zum Pflügen'.

79. Mentioned by E.Brunner-Traut, LÄ II, 27-30: Esel, col.27, but no reference given.

80. Kairo 20499, 8-9: (see above).

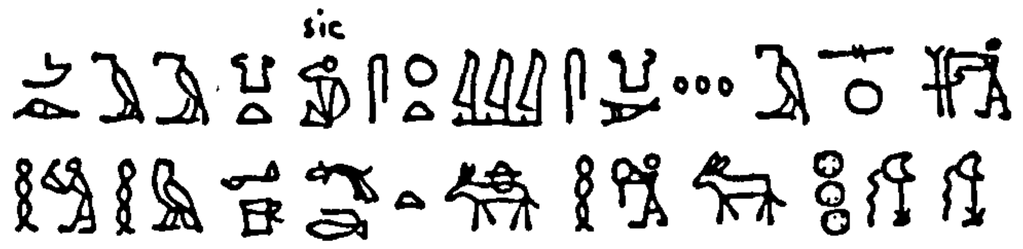
Kairo 20506, 3, 4: 

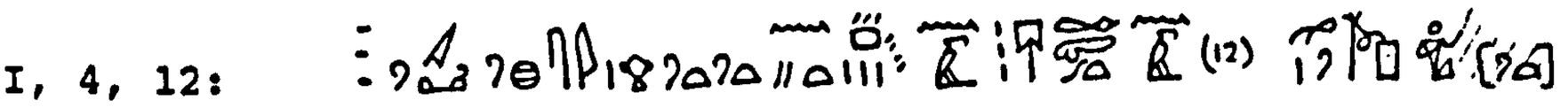
A.H.Gardiner, JEA 3 (1916) p.100; Helck, Hist-Biog Texte, p.78).

Kairo 20530, 14-15:

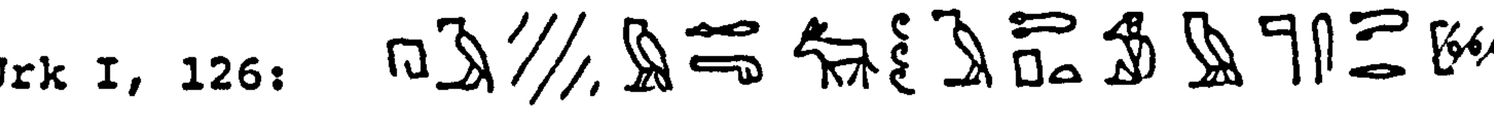
. . .

tr. 'einer der mit (s)einem Gespann pflügt und mit (seiner) Eseln Korn einbringt'.

Mar Mast D41: 


Sall I, 4, 12: 

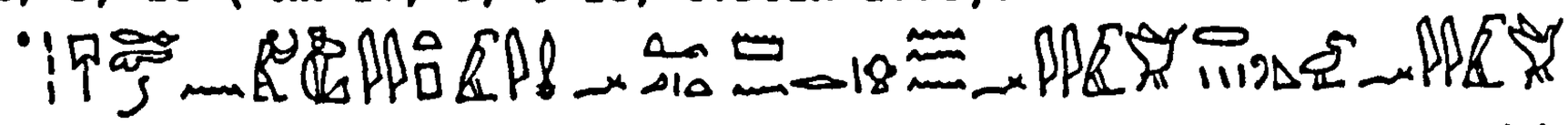
tr. Caminos, LEM, p.307: 'I am writing down (4, 12) the ass-loads of corn which is being reaped daily'.

Urk I, 126: 

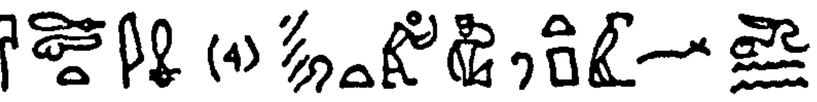
Kuban 10 (KRI II, 355, 6):

Harr 77, 12:

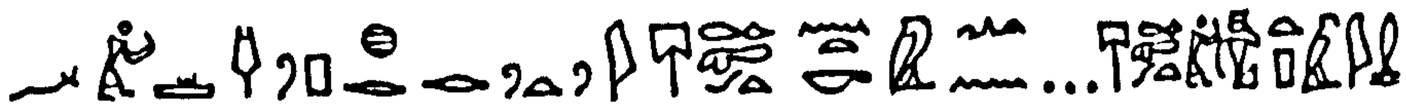
An III, 5, 10 (=An IV, 9, 9-10; O.DelM 1030):



tr. Caminos, LEM, p.92: 'His bread and his water are upon his shoulder like the load of an ass, his neck having formed a ridge (5, 11) like that of an ass'.

cf Flor Ostr 2617 rto (HO I, pl.39, no.2; A.Erman, ZÄS 18 (1880) 96-97): 

Text says be a scribe because of the soldier's lot: 'he is laden like a donkey'.

P.Ch.B. V, rto 7: 

tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.48: 'His [the soldier's] bread and water are upon his shoulders like the load of an ass. He drinks of stinking water and halts (only for) the (night -) watch. Art thou an ass which one shall drive?'

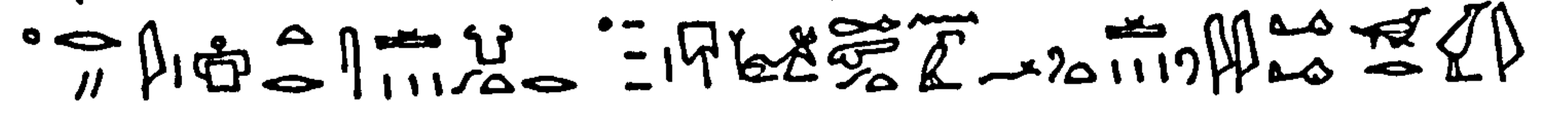
Cf rto 5:

tr. p.47: 'For it is painful to serve as a soldier. He is driven like a donkey'.

P. Leiden I, 370, rto 6:

tr. Spiegelberg, Correspondances, p.43: 'Quant à l'affaire des ânesses dont tu as parlé, je les ai données au prêtre Nif-mah pour charger les blés' (text p.39).

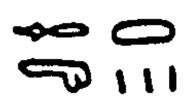
Sall II, 7, 5 (= O.DelM 1179 + O.Turin 66):

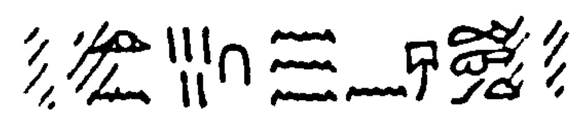


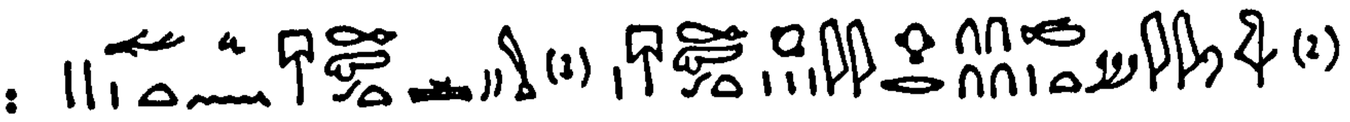
Brunner, Lehre des Cheti, p.23 tr.: 'Der Pfeilmacher - es geht ihm überaus schlecht - geht in die (7,5) Wüste. Mehr ist das, was seiner Eselin gibt, als ihre Bürde (, die sie) auf dem Rücken (nehmen kann)'.

For ʿ3t describing a 'donkey-load' see HO I, pl.32, No.1, rto = (O.Petrie 20):

described as 'Account of donkey-loads of straw'.

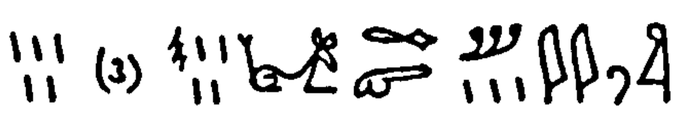
cf Meeks, AL 79.0421: chargé d'âne, ânée: 

O. Cairo 25687, 1.2: 

O. DelM 624, vso 2-3: 

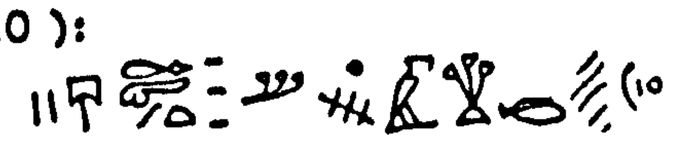
Sall I, 5, 1:

tr. Caminos, loc.cit., 'I shall cause a platform to be laid down for (5,1) 400 ass-loads of corn'.

O. DelM 131, rto 2-3: 

O. DelM 69, 4 & 6:

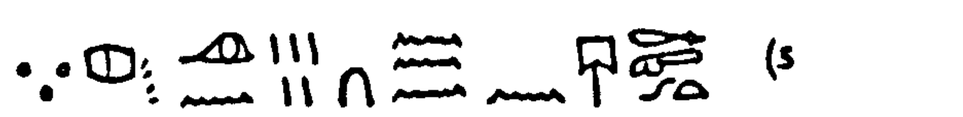
Allam & Černý Ostraka und Papyri, p.71 (O. Turin 9611 = Lopez, Ostraca III, pl.119, No.57381, vso 10 ):

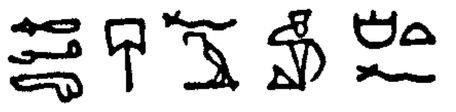


O. DelM 589, 5:

O. DelM 557, 9:

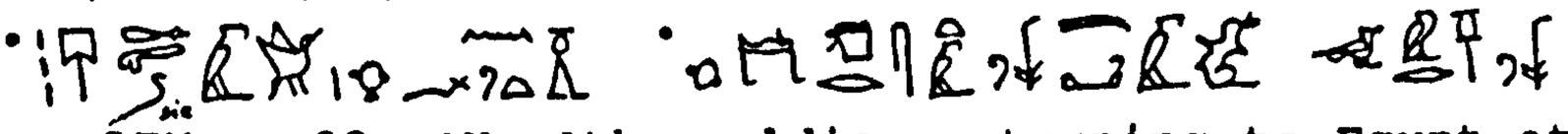
HO I, pl.63, No.1, rto col.I (O. Colin Campbell 5; Glasgow D1925.70):



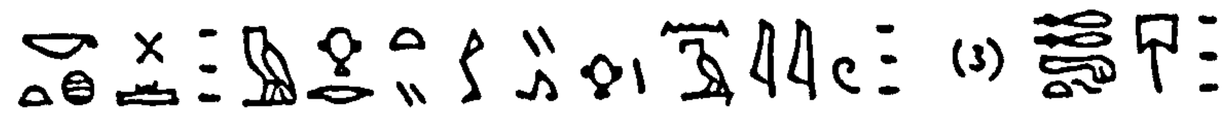
81. Urk IV, 325 (Queen of Punt's donkey): 

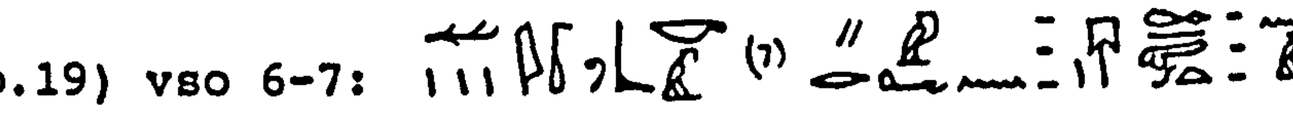
Barkalstele 1.25:

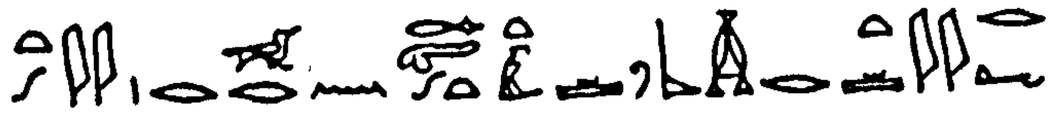
An III, 6, 1 (= An IV, 9,12 - 10,1:



tr. Caminos, LEM, p.92: 'He [the soldier returning to Egypt at death's door] is ill, prostration takes hold of him: he is brought back upon the ass, his clothes removed (6,12) through theft, his attendant run away'.

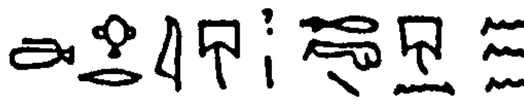
Harr 78, 8: 

82. P BM 10326 (= LRL p.19) vso 6-7: 

83. O. Cairo 25532, rto 4: 

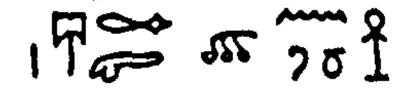
On horses (ḥtr & ssmt) with chariots (mrkbt & wrrt) see above.

84. Hassan, Giza V, p.245, fig.104.

85. Gardiner, Theban Ostraca, p.12 (O. B14) (Badly damaged) 1.11 & 1.13: 
'one donkey-skin for water'.

86. Janssen, Commodity Prices, p.444, noted šnw ʿ3 from HO I, pl.63, No.1, col.2, 4 (translated 'donkeys' hair') and further (n.47) that a sieve made partly of horse or donkey hair was described by Carnarvon & Carter.

HO 63, No.1, rto col.2, 4 (O. Colin Campbell 5; Glasgow D1925.70):



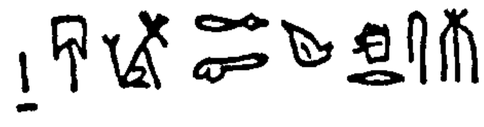
87. Eb 25, 19:

Wb. Drog. V, p.419; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.244: 'Ein anderes Salbmittel (gs.w). Lotusblatt der Erde ; "Eselsbein" (ỉns.t nt ʿ3) ; šfšf.t (Schlamm?) des Teiches; frische Dickmilch; reines Öl; werde damit gesalbt (gs) an vier Tagen'. Note IV$^2$, p.189: 'Eine volkstümliche, bildliche Bezeichnung'.

Eb 58, 18:

Wb.Drog. V, p.88; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.52: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) Knochenmark (tbn) vom Kauknocken eines Esels; werde zerschlagen im kühlen Wasser; werde dem Manne an seine Schläfe gegeben, so daß er sofort gesund wird'.

Eb 92, 6:



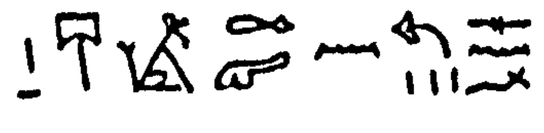
Wb. Drog. V, p.107; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.62: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Trockenmachen des Ohres, wenn es Wasser gibt. roter Ocker (mnš.t) 1; Kümmel 1; "Esels-Ohr" 1; Salböl bester Art (ḥ3t.t) 1; Behen-Öl 1; ebenso'. Note IV$^2$, p.67: 'Wohl bildliche Bezeichnung hier als Sympathie-Mittel?'.

Eb 65, 21:

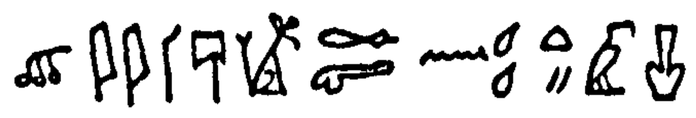
Wb. Drog. V, p.510; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.296: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Beseitigung des Ergrauens. Huf eines Esels, zerkocht; Vulva (k3.t) einer Windhündin; šspt-Teil der ḥm3i.t-Pflanze; Gummi; Verbandstoff'.

Eb 66, 17:

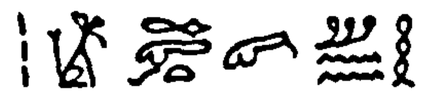
Wb.Drog. V, p.497; tr. IV$^1$, p.289: 'Ein anderes Heilmittel für das Wachsenlassen des Haares, gemacht für Schesch, die Mutter der Majestät des Königs von Ober- und Unterägypten Teti des Seligen. Bein (ỉns.t) einer Windhündin 1; Kerne (ỉnj.t) von Datteln 1; Huf eines Esels 1; werde gekocht im einem dȝdȝ-Topf tüchtig im Öl/Fett; werde damit gesalbt (wrḥ)'.

Eb 63, 15: 

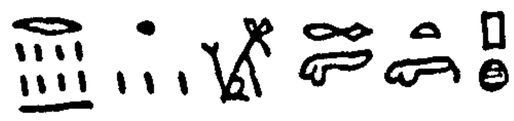
Wb. Drog. V, p.98; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.57-58: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Nichtzulassen, daß ein Haar wächst im Auge, nachdem es ausgerissen ist', includes (p.58) 'Blut des Esels 1'.

Eb 90, 4: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.270; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.154: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel). die beiden Hoden (sm3.tj) eines falben Esels; werde fein zerrieben, werde in Wein gegeben, werde getrunken vom Manne. Dann verschwindet sie (die nsj.t-Krankheit) sofort'.

P med Berl 3038, 10, 12: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.141; tr. Wb. Drog. IV, p.82: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) "Eselsphallus" ; werde mit Öl/Fett gemischt, werde damit verbunden'. IV$^2$, p.80 noted the term may have been derived from the similarity of a plant, for example, to this organ (cf sd-pnw).

Eb 55, 17: 

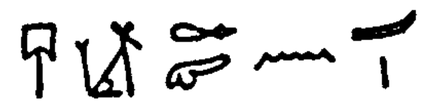
Wb. Drog. V, 294; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.168: 'ph.t des Esels ( ) $^1/_8$'.

Ebers 47, 14 = Hearst 6, 5: H:

Wb. Drog. V, p.62; tr, Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.35: 'Fett (ꜥḏ) des Esels 1'.

Eb 85, 10-11 = Hearst 8, 18: H:

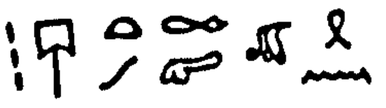
Wb. Drog. V, p.35; tr. IV$^1$, p.20: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Kühlen der Gefäße' includes 'Fett (ꜥḏ) des Esels 1'.

Eb 66, 20: 

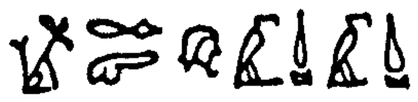
Wb. Drog. V, p.515; tr IV$^1$, p.299: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Behandeln des Haars in Wirklichkeit. Zahn eines Esels; werde zerschlagen in Honig; werde [damit] gesalbt (wrḥ)'.

Eb 58, 22:

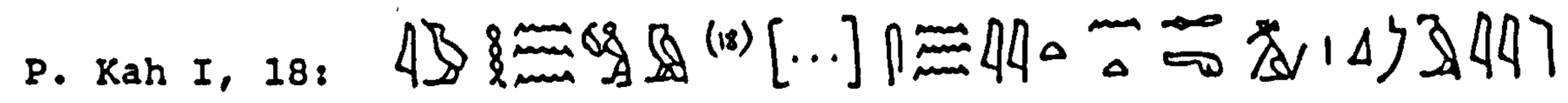
Wb. Drog. V, p.89; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.52: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) [for the temples]. Zahn (ndḥ.t) eines Esels; werde zerschlagen im Wasser; werde dem Manne an seine Schläfe gegeben, so daß er sofort gesund wird'.

P.med Berl 3038, 6, 9: 

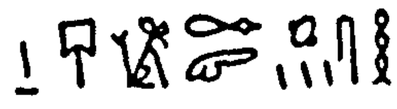
Wb. Drog. V, p.447; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.261: 'Räuchermittel für das Beseitigen des wȝj- Dämons im Körper des Mannes. Hinterteil der Wachtel (pḤr.t); Haar des Esels; Kot der Gans; [Kot der] Schwalbe; Horn des Damhirsches; werde der Mann damit beräuchert'.

Eb 25, 15: 

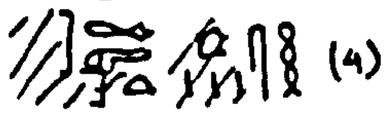
Wb. Drog. V, p.418; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.244: 'Eselskopf'.

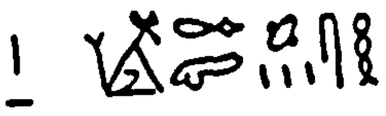
P. Kah I, 18: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.459; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.268: 'Heilkunde einer Frau, die leidet an ihren ỉbḥ- Zähnen, ihren nḥḏ.t- Zähnen'. 'Es werde gegossen (ỉwḥ) in ihre [Vulva] der Harn eines falben Esels, an seinem zweiten Tage , da er ihn ausgeschieden hat (wsš)'.

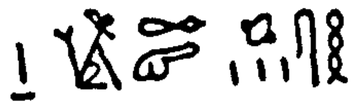
Eb 80, 11: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.51; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.29: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel)' for the easing of various complaints, includes 'Kot des Esels 1'.

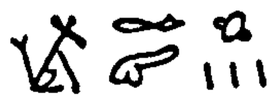
Cf Lopez, Ostraca III, pl.102, No.57336. If the reading is correct, a medical preparation may be indicated: 

Eb 83, 17: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.45; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.25: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) [für] das Erweichen von Steifheit in irgendwelchen Körperstellen' includes 'Kot der Esel 1'.

Eb 85, 9: 

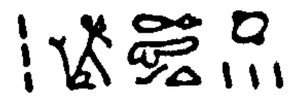
Wb. Drog. V, p.52; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.30: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel)' for relief of various complaints: 'Honig 1; unterägyptisches Salz 1; Kot des Esels 1; werde gekocht, werde damit verbunden'.

Eb 88, 6: 

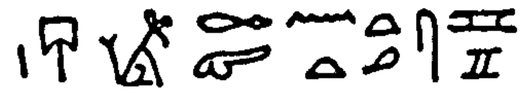
Wb. Drog. V, p.369; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.213: 'Kot eines Esels; werde gemischt mit Pfanzenschleim (ḥsȝ); werde an seine (des Stachels) Öffnung gegeben'.

Hearst 13, 15:

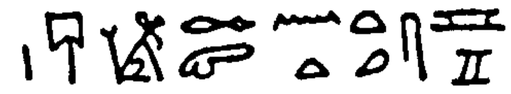
Wb. Drog. V, p.270; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.154: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel). Kot eines Esels; werde fein zerrieben in Wein 5 ro; werde getrunken an einem Tage'.

P. med Berl 3038, 6, 4: 

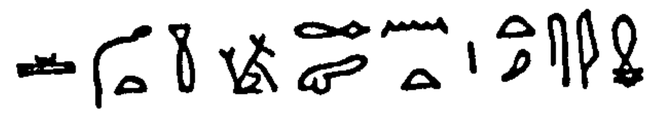
Wb. Drog. V, p.226; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.152: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel)' includes 'Kot vom Esel; Kot vom Kater; Kot vom Schwein'.

Eb 66, 5: 

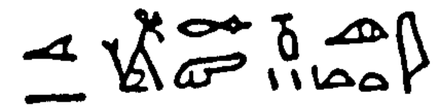
Wb. Drog. V, p.513; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.298: 'Ein anderes gutes Heilmittel' includes 'Leber des Esels' in an ointment (wrḥ).

Hearst 10, 9: 

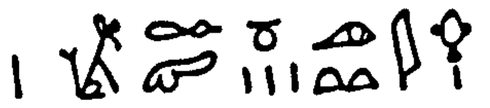
Wb. Drog. V, p.513; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.298: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel)' includes 'Leber des Esels; gegeben in einem ḏsḏs-Topf, so daß sie verfault; zerkocht, gegeben in Öl/Fett; werde damit gesalbt (wrḥ)'.

P. Kah 1, 5: 

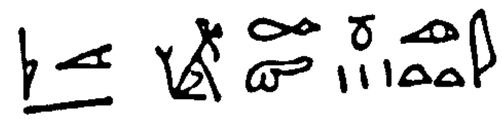
Wb. Drog. V, p.458; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.267: 'Heilkunde einer Frau, ihre beiden Augen sind krank, so daß sie nicht sehen kann, <und> die leidet an ihrem Nacken'. After treatment 'Dann sollst du veranlassen, daß sie ißt frische Leber eines Esels'.

Eb 24, 13: 

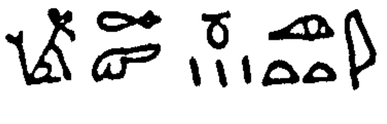
Wb. Drog. V, p.19; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.11: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Töten der Schmerzstoffe' includes 'Milch vom Esel 20 ro'; the mixture to be drunk on 4 days.

Eb 74, 5: 

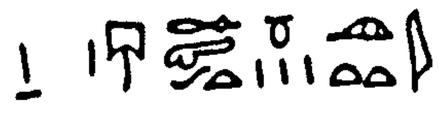
Wb. Drog. V, p.409; tr. Wb. Drog. IV, p.237: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel). psḏ von Gummi 1; und (ḫr) Milch vom Esel 1; werde gegeben an die Öffnung der ḫsḏ-Geschwulst, so daß sie von selbst einfällt'.

Eb 87, 1 = Hearst 10, 13: H: 

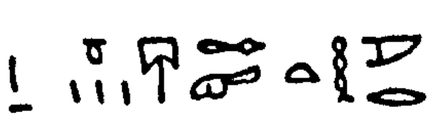
Wb. Drog. V, p.525; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.304: 'Heilmittel für das Öffnen des Körpers. Milch vom Esel 25 ro;' &c. The mixture is to be drunk on four days.

Eb 96, 5: 

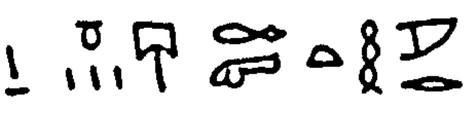
Wb. drog. V, p.485; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.282: includes 'Milch vom Esel ' (n.1 in IV$^2$, p.215, notes the absence of any measure of quantity).

P.Ch.B. XV, 8: 

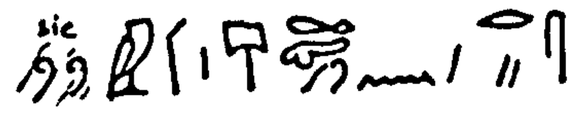
Wb. Drog. V, p.297; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.170: 'Heilmittel für das Beseitigen von Durst(?) ⌜...⌝ im Munde ⌜....⌝ als Obliegenheit des Cherheb-Priesters' includes 'Milch der Eselin 1'.

P. Ram V, U, 18: 

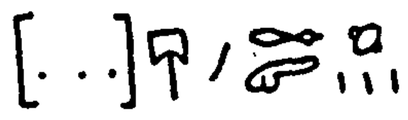
Wb. Drog. V, p.50 (Nr.III); tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.28: Recipe for prescription for 'Erweichen von Steifheit, Ausstrecken von Verkrümmungen' includes 'Fett (mrḥ.t) des Esels 1'.

P. Ram V, 1, 30: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.47-8 (Nr. XVI); tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.27: Prescription for 'Erweichen von Steifheit' includes 'Fett (mrḥ.t) des Esels 1'.

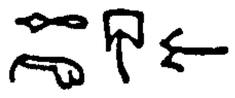
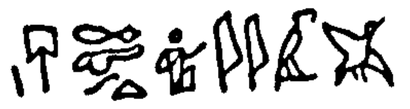
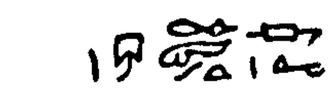
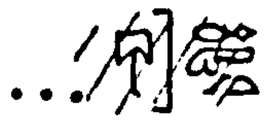
P.med Lond 13, 11-12: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.482; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.280: 'Dieser Spruch werde gesagt über einem feinen Faden, Gefieder (šnṯj) einer schwarzen Taube, Haar (srj) eines falben Esels': 'Das ist ein Abwehren jeder Art von Blut, jeder Einwirkung, <und> ein Festmachen des Eis , <und> ein Nicht-Sehen eines Traumes '.

P.med Lond 15, 12: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.380; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.219: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel). Kot eines Esels ⌜...⌝ Wasser ⌜....⌝ ; werde die weiße Stelle (shḏ.w) damit dꜣr-behandelt , so daß er sofort gesund wird'.

88. The cost of a donkey, in the texts studied by Janssen, Commodity Prices, p.525, and especially table 14 on p.168, lay between 25 and 40 dbn of copper:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| P. Vienna 34, 6: |  | 25 dbn (2½ kite of silver) |
| O. Varille 25, 9: | – | 7 snỉw of silver (unpublished) |
| O. Turin 6672, 2-3: | | 26 dbn |
| O. Berlin 1121, vso 1-3: | | 40 dbn  |
| HO I, pl.45, No.1, 6: | | 27 dbn  |
| O. DelM 62, 3: |  | 30(?) dbn |

O. Edgerton 1, 2: — 20 dbn (unpublished)

O. Gardiner 181, 3-5: — 30 dbn (unpublished)

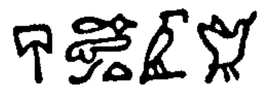
O. Gardiner frag. 3, 4: — 30 dbn (unpublished)

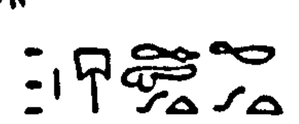
P. Turin 1881 = P. Tur P u R 10, 6 : 30 dbn

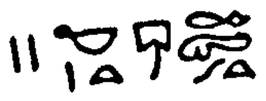
P. DelM 7, vso 1: — 30 dbn (unpublished)

O. Berlin 12405, 3: — 40 dbn (unpublished)

Note also:

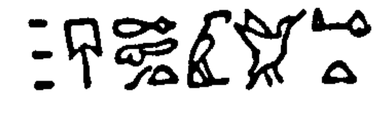
O. DelM 73: 25½ dbn 

P. Tur P u R 9, 10 (donkey & foal): 80 dbn 

HO I, pl.47, 1 (O. Nash 2): 'another 28 dbn' in exchange for two female donkeys. 

89. Rdi could mean both 'sale' and 'loan' in Egyptian, its precise significance being determined by the duration of the 'giving' - a gift in perpetuity in return for payment was a sale, a gift for a specified length of time a loan. In the ostraca these can be distinguished by the amount paid for the donkey if no other evidence is available; for example, the precise duration of the loan may be stated. Some ostraca also record the date of the animal's return to its owner, proving the transaction to have been a loan. See further in Helck, Materialien III, p.494-497.

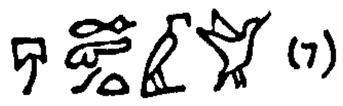
O. DelM 69 (records a rent for 15 days = 7 oipe for 15 days at c. ½ oipe/day):

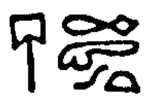
HO I, pl.72, No.3: 23 dbn for 80 days: 

O. DelM 619: 6 oipe for 26 days:

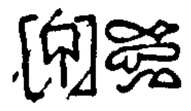
O. DelM 245: ½ sack bdt for 10 days:

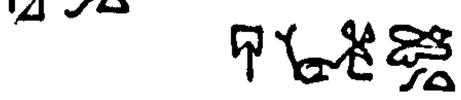
O. DelM 1068: 5 dbn for 1 month (= 30 days):

O. DelM 557: 6 oipe for 19 days: 

O. DelM 569: 1 tb-jar of fish for 19 days: 

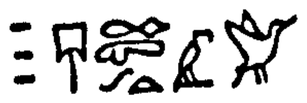
There are numerous other references to loan payments but they are insufficiently preserved to contribute to calculations of cost:

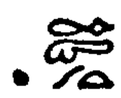
O. DelM 292: (loan for 45 days) 

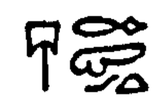
O. DelM 242: (loan for 'two months of days') 

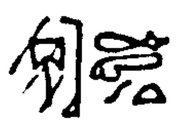
O. DelM 244:

O. DelM 424:

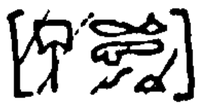
<u>O. Mich</u> pl.54: 

O. DelM 66: (immediate return) 

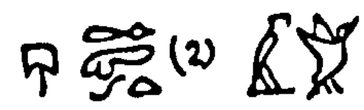
O. DelM 297: 

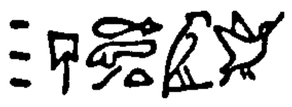
O. DelM 62 (loan to pay off a debt of 2<u>dbn</u>): 

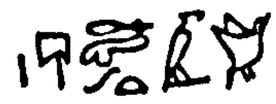
Sometimes the donkey was returned unused and no money would be required despite a lapse of time between the loan and return. This indicates that payment was made after the loan had run its course, as do the litigations concerning default of payment.

O. DelM 67:  ....(1)

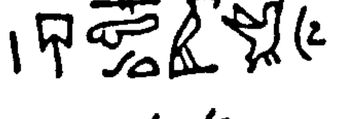
Loans are recorded without any statement of the price required in the following ostraca; they presumably acted as receipts of the transactions:

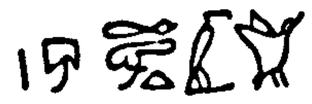
O. DelM 70 (loan for 28 days): 

O. DelM 53 ( " [8] 8 days): 

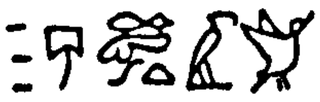
O. DelM 407 ( " 5 days): 

<u>HO</u> I, pl.72, no.1:

<u>HO</u> I, pl.59, no.2: 

<u>HO</u> I, pl.35, no.4: 

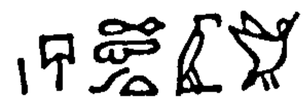
<u>HO</u> I, pl.32, no.3:

<u>HO</u> I, pl.57, no.5: 

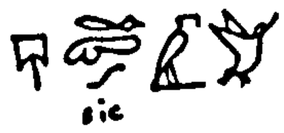
<u>O. Mich</u>, pl.58 (No.84):

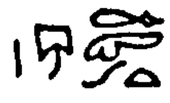
<u>O. Mich</u>, pl.52 (No.3):

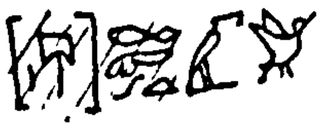
O. Cairo 25557:

O. DelM 400: 

O. DelM 451:

O. DelM 65: 

O. DelM 68: 

O. DelM 71: 

O. DelM 72:

O. DelM 624:

O. DelM 632:

O. DelM 648:

O. DelM 702:

O. DelM 424:

O. Cairo 25604:

O. Gardiner, 140 vso:

O. DelM 364:

A man swears to undergo a beating if he does not pay for the borrowed donkey by the stated date:

HO I, pl.61, no.1 :

tr. Helck, op.cit., p.496: 'Was der Wasserträger P3-šd sagte: Bei Amun und dem Herrscher! Wenn ich das Monatsanfangsfest eintreten lasse und ich habe den Esel des Pn-t3-wr.t nicht bezahlt, dann soll ich hundert Hiebe bekommen und er soll mir das Doppelte kosten'.

Beatings are also mentioned in O. DelM 133 (here 100 strokes and doubled payment are the verdicts in a case decided by oracle):

and HO pl.42, no.3:

90. ỉn = bring back; nhm = receive back (see Helck, op.cit., p.297)

O. DelM 425:

O. Gardiner 196, vso 5 (Allam & Černý, Ostraka und Papyri, p.50):

O. Mich pl.52:

Lopez, Ostraca II, pl.67, No.57151:

Lopez, op.cit., pl.71, No.57159:

O. DelM 53:

O. Mich, pl.54:

O.Petrie 14 (HO I, pl.45, no.1):

O.Gardiner 112 (HO I, pl.44, no.6):

O. Mich, pl.55:

O. DelM 557:

O. DelM 63:

P. Tur 1881, rto 8 (Allam & Černý, Ostraka und Papyri, p.100):

O. Gardiner 152 (Allam & Černý, op.cit., p.43) l.4:

91. O. DelM 292:

O. Petrie 9 (HO I, pl.42, No.3 rto & vso):

HO I, pl.49, no.3, vso (O. Gardiner 54): (above n.74)

HO I, pl.49, No.3, rto (O. Gardiner 54): (above n.74)

O. Gardiner 165, vso:

P. Turin 1976 (Allam & Černý, op.cit., p.111):

O. Gardiner 182, rto:

O. Gardiner 132 (HO I, pl.63, No.2):

O. Ashmolean Museum 1933.810 (HO I, pl.71, No.1) vso:

O. Gardiner 104 (HO I, pl.47, No.3):

O. Gardiner 165 (Allam & Černý, op.cit., p.44-5):

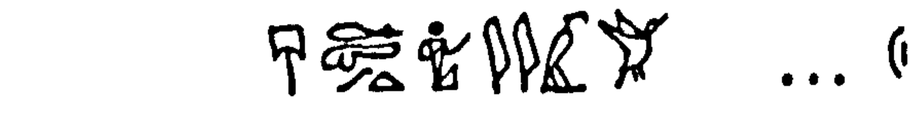
P. Cairo 58057 (Allam & Černý, op.cit., p.86; KRI I, 238):

O. Gardiner 90 (Allam & Černý, op.cit., p.53):

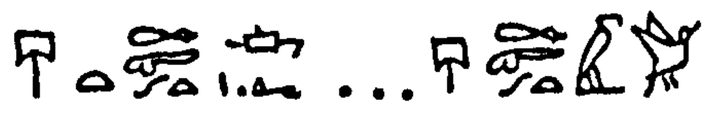
O. Gardiner 196 (Allam & Černý, op.cit., p.50):

O. DelM 133 rto & vso:

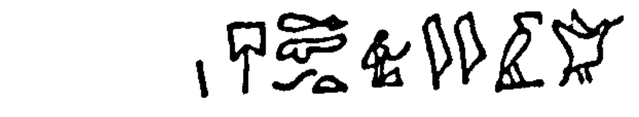
O. DelM 582:



O. DelM 73:

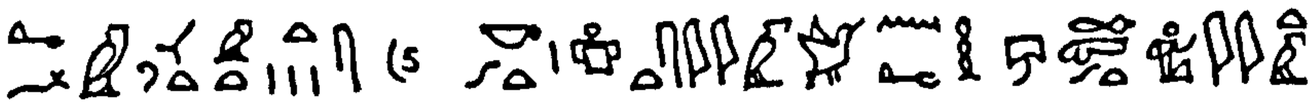


O. DelM 645:



92. HO I, pl.42, no.3 (O. Petrie 9 (+ DelM Inv. 424)) vso 4:

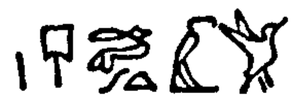




HO I, pl.49, no.1:

tr. Helck, Materialien III, p.498: 'Es erstattete ihnen [the knbt-members] der Arbeiter Ḥ$^{c}$-m-nw Anzeige: "Der Wasserträger Pn-nwt hat meine Eselin und ihr Füllen weggenommen, und sie sind bei ihm gestorben".'

HO I, pl.71, no.1 (O. Ashmolean Museum 1933.810):



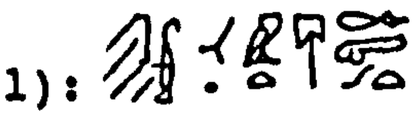
tr. Helck, op.cit., p.498: 'Jahr 28, 4 šḥ.t, 25.Tag. Tag des Gebens des Esels dem Wasserträger Pn-tȝ-wr.t zum Pflügen. Er ist bei ihm am 1. pr.t, [Tag x] gestorben. Man verurteilte ihn zu seiner Arbeit, macht 5 dbn. [Er] schwur, den Esel zu bezahlen im 2.pr.t. Er schwur (außerdem), daß er ihn bis zum 30. des 2. pr.t bezahle'.

O. DelM 432:

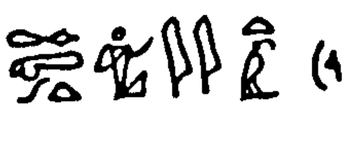
tr. Helck, op.cit., p.494: '[Jahr x], 1. šḫ.t, 19. Tag: Es lahmte der Esel, den Knr hatte, und er brachte ihn nach oben [ie to the workmens' village]. 3. šḫt, 4. Tag: er fieberte und starb'. Though no explanation is given for the recording of these facts Helck (p.498) assumed that: 'Die Verantwortung des Mietenden könne also sogar noch über zwei Monate nach Beendigung des Mietverhältnisses bestanden haben'.

O. DelM 305:

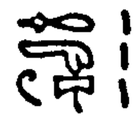
O.Gardiner 1 (Allam & Černý, Ostraka und Papyri, p.51):



93. Allam & Černý, Ostraka und Papyri, p.42 (O. Gardiner 140, rto):



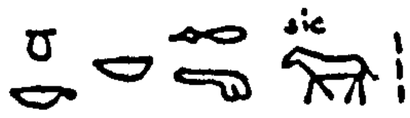
94. Gardiner, Wilbour Papyri II (para.196, 197), noted 'Northern Oasis asses'; certain of the paragraphs dealing with these animals mention them as belonging to the Treasury of Pharaoh.

95. Ramesses III gave 464 donkeys to Amun from his booty from Libya Med Habu pl.75, 37: 

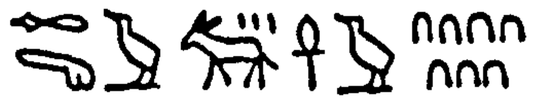
Cf P. Wilbour mentioning 'Northern Oasis asses' in the possession of the temples of Karnak and Medinet Habu, para.209 & 222 (see previous note).

96. See Janssen, Commodity Prices, p.525, comparing the prices of various animals mentioned in the ostraca. In one case, a donkey is hired for three times as much as a female slave - see Helck, Materialien III, p.534.

97. See in the notes above; and Fischer, Diminishing Progression, p.8.

98. Stele im Handel Nr. 40 <155> : 

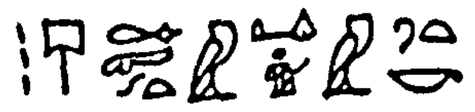
99. Urk IV, 705:

Urk IV, 891: 

Urk IV, 706 (tribute from Rṯnw):

Urk IV, 718 (tribute from Rṯnw):

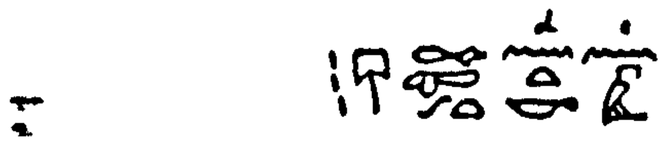
Med Habu pl.75, 37 (see n.95)

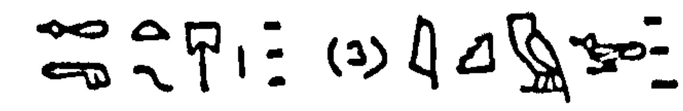
100. Sall I, 7, 11: 

tr. Grapow, Bildl. Ausdrücke, p.81-82: despite a hundred beatings 'du bist gegen mich wie ein geprügelter Esel, der störrisch ist'.

Koller 2, 4 :

tr. Grapow, op.cit., p.82: 'du bist wie ein Esel, der Prügel bekommt'.

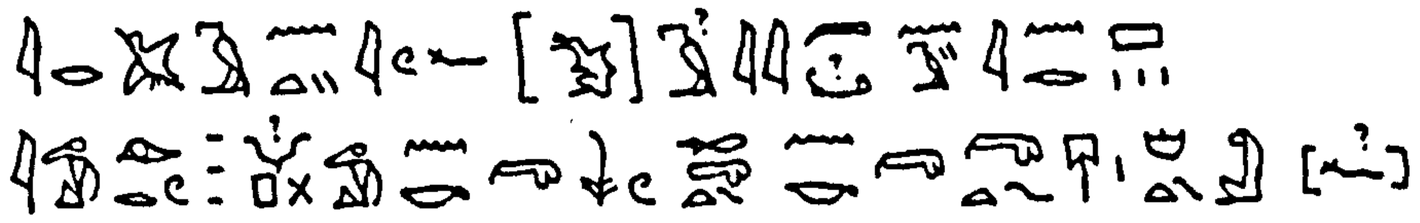
An V, 10, 7: 

Anii 10, 2 (P. Boulaq IV): 

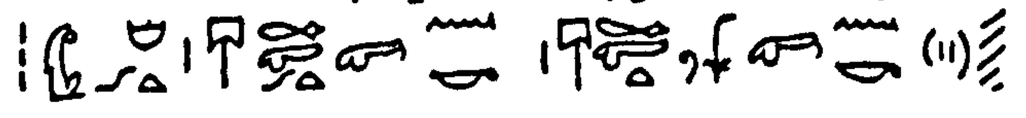
tr. Suys p.102: 'Le lion sauvage quitte sa fureur, il surpasse l'âne (3) stupide (sc. en sa passivité)'.

101. See L.Störk, LÄ V, 634-637: Schimpfwörter, n.23.

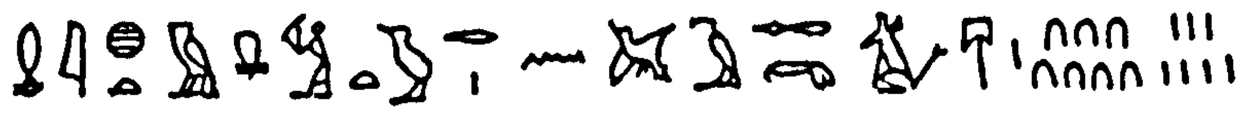
102. W. Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti.... aus der Thebanischen Nekropolis (Heidelberg 1921) p.10, No.79:



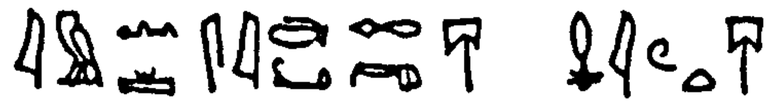
tr.: 'Wer diese Steine wegnehmen wird, (über den?) möge (folgendes) Urteil fällen (?): Ihn soll ein Esel beschlafen, ein Esel soll seine Frau beschlafen!'

M. Marciniak, Deir el-Bahari I. Les inscriptions hiératiques du temple de Thoutmosis III (Varsovie 1974) pl.11 (graffito) 7th column, face D, p.70-71: 

See also A.H.Gardiner, JEA 26 (1940) 23-29: Adoption Extraordinary (vso 6; tr. p.24); W. Spiegelberg, Rec. Trav. 25 (1903) 190-198: Die Tefnachtosstele des Museum von Athen p.192 l.9; A.el M. Bakir, ASAE 93 (1943) 75-81: A Donation Stela of the Twenty-Second Dynasty (Stela Cairo JdE 85647, l.x+1); J.J. Janssen, JEA 54 (1968) 165-172: The Smaller Dâkhla stela (Stela Ashmolean Museum 1894.107.b. l.15); Spiegelberg, Ostraka, pl.13, no.115.

103. MuK vso 6, 4: 

Cf

Urk VI, 129, 9-10: 

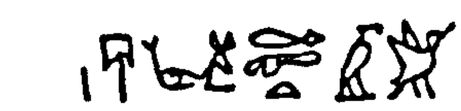
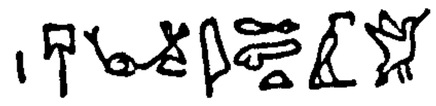
'damit nicht der Esel die Katze quäle' seems to refer to such an encounter of Seth and Rēʿ.

104. Brunner-Traut, op.cit., col.284, noted that representations of Seth with a donkey's head only became common in the Late Period and were particularly popular in the Greco-Roman era. This identification may have come about once the origins of the Seth-animal's figure had been forgotten; even in the Middle Kingdom it was presented as a fabulous creature, though unlike any other mythical beast it was smoothly drawn rather than crudely assembled from the parts of other animals.

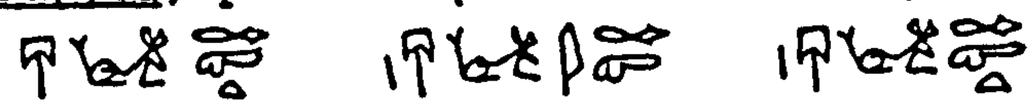
On the association of Seth and the donkey see also H.te Velde, Seth, God of Confusion (Leiden 1967) p.14; Borghouts, P.Leiden I, 348; B. Stricker, OMRO 46 (1965) 52-75: Asinarii; id., OMRO 48 (1967) 23-43: Asinarii.

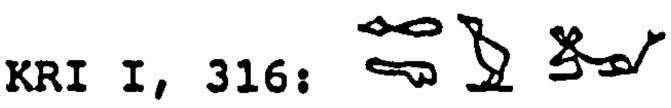
Note writings of  with Seth-animal determinative: O.DelM 454, vso 6:

O.DelM 63:

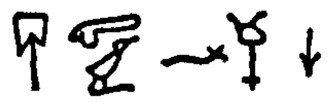
O.DelM 303, 3:  

O.DelM 242:

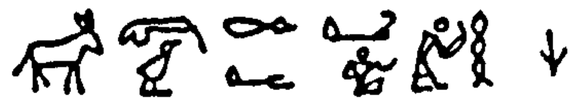
Allam & Černý, Ostraka und Papyri, p.44-45 (O. Gardiner 165): 

KRI I, 316: 

105. BOD 40:



(vignette of snake felling donkey) tr. Allen, BOD, p.47: 'Spell for repulsing the swallower of the ass'. In the variant appears (later in text) 'swallower [of sinner]s'.

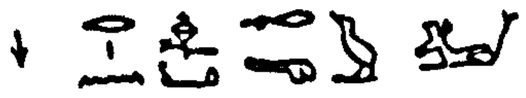
BOD 15 (after Ani): 

BOD 125:

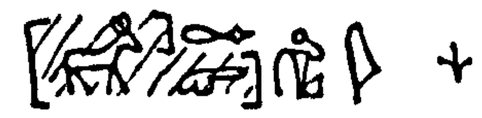
tr. Allen, BOD, p.99 (text addressed to the gods): '(Ye) shall not complain (against) me before <the great god>, (for) I am one clean of mouth and clean of hands to whom is said "Welcome in peace" by them that see him, because I heard this conversation

that the ass held with the caf in the house of the open-<mouthed> one.'

KRI I, 316 (= Mar Mon Div pl.60). Deceased beats a trussed donkey:

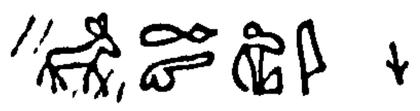


CT VI, 276 :



tr. FECT II, p.227: 'O swallower of [myriads], O [Ass], may you oppose yourselves to yonder foes of Osiris'.

Cf CT VI, 277 (same spell):

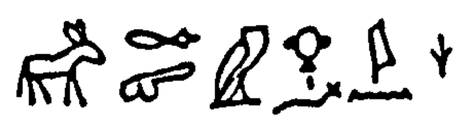


tr. FECT II, p.228: 'Swallower of myriads, O Ass, [...] N's foes [who shall come] to meet you in order to oppose [the Swallower(?)]'.

cf Urk VI, 129, 9/10 & Urk VI, 69, 4. For further references see Borghouts, P.Leiden I, 348.

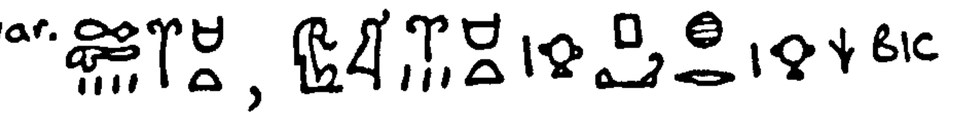
106. A demon 'whose face is an ass' helps the deceased.

CT VI, 172



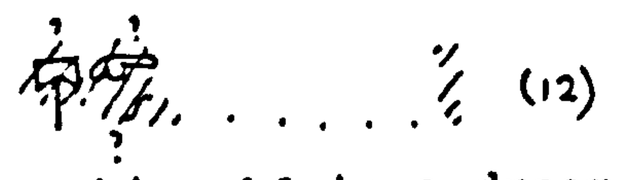
FECT II, p.173: 'It is the Nile-god who brings it barley, it is the fen-goddess who brings it fowl, it is the crocodile gods who catch fish for it, it is Sakhmet who is in her year who brings it herds for this mansion of mine, it is Donkey-face who is upon the polar sky who brings ships to this mansion of mine'.

Demons of ass-like appearance occur in Pyr 523; see further in E.Edel, ZÄS 81 (1956) 6-18: Beiträge zum ägyptischen Lexikon II, esp. p.10-11.

CT III, 52c (she-asses of Shu): 

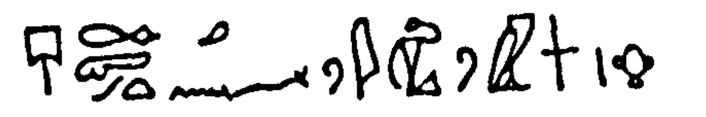
tr. FECT I, p.148: 'I have gone forth from Sehel exercising authority over the two she-asses of Shu'.

107. P.Ch.B. III, rto 5, 12:

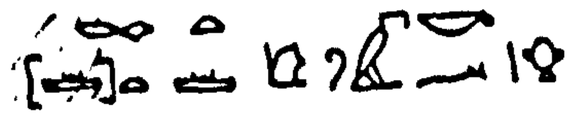


tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.14: If a man see himself in a dream '...donkey, good; eating a meal [from] the royal palace'.

P.Ch.B. III, rto 2, 21:

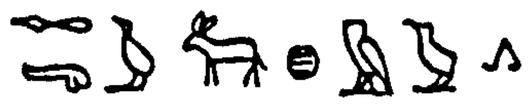


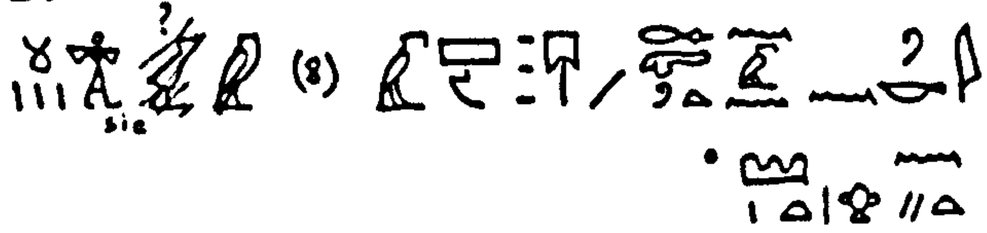
tr. ibid., p.12: 'eating donkey-flesh (ỉwf n ʿȝ), good; it means his promotion (sʿȝ.f) '.

P.Ch.B. III, rto 3, 13: 

tr. ibid., p.13: 'binding fast a donkey, [good]...'

108. Notably Med Habu pl.116.

109. V. Vikentiev, BIE 30 (1948) 251-307: La chasse et la veillée de la nuit du Pharaon Aménophis II, d'après la grande stèle de Mit-Rahineh:  (see m3st)

Cf the asses of the desert mentioned in P. Leiden I, 343 + I, 345 rto 3, 7 = vso 6, 2: 

tr. Massart, Leiden Magical Papyrus, p.59: 'wandering ass'; cf p.61 n.11.

The phrase ʿ3 ḥmw was commented on by L.Keimer, BIE 30 (1948) 117-148: Les ânes sauvages abattus par Aménophis II, près de Qadesh, p.121: 'Ḥm veut dire sec, être et devenir sec, la poussière qui se lève lorsqu'on marche et lorsq'on court... Les ânes ḥmw de la stèle d'Aménophis II de Mitrahina sont par conséquent des ânes qui, en courant ou en galopant, soulèvent de la poussière'. He presumed that ʿ3 in this context (ie designating an Asiatic rather than African animal) referred to 'les différents Onagres (demi-Ânes) d'Asie'. He later revised his opinion in BIE 37 (1956) 259-261: Note complémentaire... à propos des "ânes sauvages" abattus par Aménophis II près de Qadesh: 'šm3 signifie donc le Wildesel, c'est-à-dire l'âne errant... [from]... marcher, errer, faire des pérégrinations dans le désert, comme le font les nomades'. He also suggested that šm3 and ḥmw might be from the same root (p.260 & 261) 'qui signifient tous les deux des "ânes errants" = "ânes (ou demi-ânes) sauvages"'. (His article is concluded by an extensive bibliography on African and Asian Wild Asses).

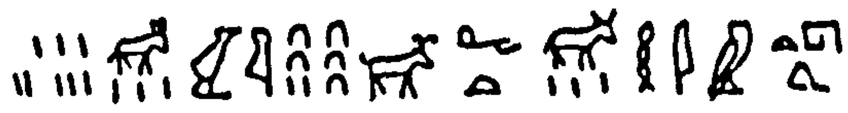
ʿ3 ḥmw was differently interpreted by Vikentiev op.cit., who saw in the phrase the same word-play as in 'porc-épic', 'lion de mer', 'hippo-campes'. He thus considered the ʿ3 ḥmw to have been a small animal with ears like those of an ass, ie 'un lapin' (p.274) or 'un genre de lièvre' (despite the appearance in the list of animals caught by the king of the word šhʿt 'hare').

There are six geographic varieties (subspecies) of the Onager or Asiatic wild ass (Equus hemionus Pallas) which, at the beginning of this century, ranged from the Gobi Desert west into Khazakhstan, and south through Iran into northern India and the deserts of Palestine and the northern Arabian Peninsula. The Greeks referred to this animal as ἡμίονος as against the African wild ass ὄναγρος.

C.P. Groves, Horses, Asses and Zebras in the Wild (London 1974) p.101, noted the presence in Palestine, northern Arabia, perhaps southern Turkey east to the Zagros Mountains in Iran, of a small, and today extinct, Onager, the Syrian Wild Ass or Achdari (E.h.hemippus Geoffroy). This being the most westerly of the onagers it may have been the species hunted by Amenophis II. Its coat was described as 'bright tawny-olive' in summer and light reddish in winter. This is of significance in the identification of the horse-like animals shown on BM 37982 (fragment of tomb painting, reproduced in colour in T.G.H. James, An Introduction to Ancient Egypt (London 1979) pl.3.) Zeuner, Domesticated Animals, p.371, noted of these animals: 'They are not meant to be horses, for these are shown in the row above; their tails are tasselled and their ears too small for asses'. Maybe this scene depicts one of the many experiments in domestication that the Egyptians made, or else the idea was imported from Mesopotamia. Onagers were available to the Egyptians in nearby Palestine'. Although onagers lack the shoulder stripe shown in the BM representation (see Walker, Mammals, photo on p.1345) the general appearance of the animal accords well with that of the onager. G.G. Simpson, Horses (New York 1951) p.18, described onagers as follows: 'They stand about 4 feet (12 hands) high at the shoulders, and have moderately large ears, a short dark mane, a dark stripe down the back, and a dark tuft at the end of the donkey-like tail'.

The wild ass which would have been encountered in ancient Egypt is the (now probably extinct - see Groves, p.112) Nubian Wild Ass (Equus asinus africanus Fitzinger). This animal is grey, with a strong reddish tinge in summer, and bears a black shoulder-stripe. It is likely to have ranged from the Red Sea Coast across the Nile to the Saharan massifs of Tibesti and Hoggar and from northern Eritraea into Upper Egypt (Modern central Saharan asses may be feral). Zeuner, op.cit., p.375 & 377, believed that domestic donkeys are derived from the Nubian Wild ass. Groves considered

this opinion valid (p.161; see also p.112), though he also suggested a Palestinian wild ass E.africanus palestinae as the ancestor of the modern domesticate.

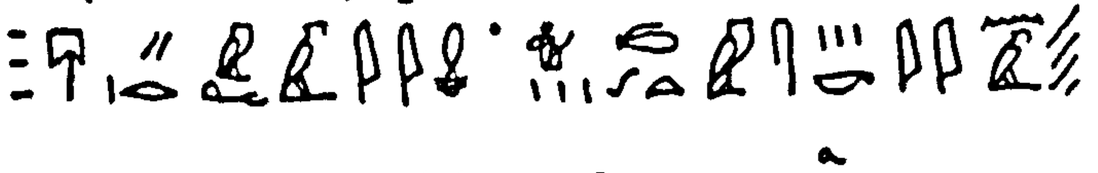
110. Thes VI, 1527, 8: 

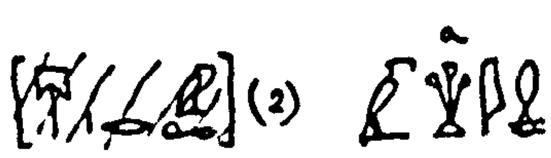
A.Nibbi, JEA 64 (1978) 56-64: The Stt-sign, compared Old Kingdom writings of Stt, as reproduced in G.Daressy, ASAE 16 (1916) 193-212: La nécropole des grands prêtres d'Héliopolis sous l'Ancien Empire I. Inscriptions, with two šw-feathers. This she seemed to regard as evidence that šw 'donkey' also went back to the Old Kingdom. She believed that other words of stem šw had a connection with šw 'donkey' (p.63): 'Hence šwi, "humble person", should probably be "donkey-driver" and šwi-ti (Wb. IV, 434) "merchant" should be more accurately rendered "itinerant or nomadic trader"'.

111. Junker, Giza V, p.48.

Junker, Giza XI, p.200.

Cf B.Grdseloff, ASAE 44 (1944) 279-310: Notes d'épigraphie archaïque, para.VI. La valeur phonétique de la tête d'âne. From an example on a Nagʿ el-Deir seal Grdseloff assumed that the ass' head read smn. On the other hand, as Junker, Giza V, p.47, pointed out, the appearance of this hieroglyph in swšw indicates very strongly that it stood for šw, the more so since there is no supporting evidence for the reading smn, but šw with donkey determinative is also attested from El-Kab.

112. HO I, pl.3, No.3, 1 (O. Lacau; parallel text in O. IFAO No.2204 (unpublished)): 

Cf O.DelM 1254: 

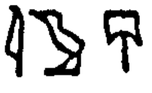
113. W.A. Ward, JNES 32 (1963) 413: Notes on some Semitic loan-words and personal names.

114. P. Ch.B. V, rto 5, 12: (text above, n.80)

115. Philae Phot <3041>:

116. CT VII, 101; 376a; 421a.

CT III, 396c.

117. CT IV, 325c: tr. FECT I, p.269 + n.95: 'As for fayence, it is the eye which conquered Hiw'; tr. p.266: 'the monster': 

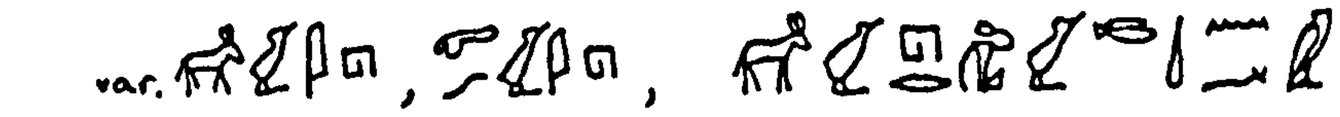
Note writings of hiw with a Seth-animal determinative:

J.Monnet, Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb (Paris 1970) n.20:

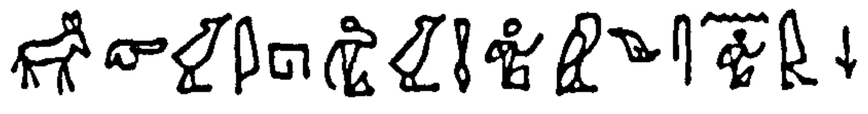
P.Bremner-Rhind 13, 23:

118. W.A.Ward, JNES 37 (1978) 23-34: The hiw-ass, the hiw-serpent, and the god Seth. Cf id., JNES 28 (1969) 265-267: The Semitic Root hwy in Ugaritic and derived stems in Egyptian, proposing 'he who brays' for hiw.

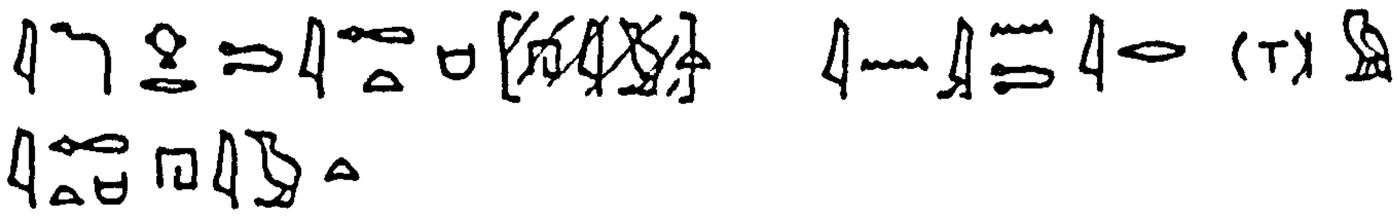
119. Zagreb Stela (ref. above) tr. Ward, JNES 37, p.24: 'Greetings Horus the elder who avenges the father; Welcome he who stands on the bonds of braying-ass. He who seizes the strength of Noise-maker'.

120. CT VII, 376: 
var.

tr. FECT III, p.152: 'I have swamped the fire, I have lightened the darkness among those who come with offerings when Ma'et is brought to him who crosses the waterway . When he has heard the noise of the monster on the great plain north of Stretching-the-bows'.

CT VII, 101: 

tr. FECT III, p.53: 'I have seen the holy things of Anubis, and I have come so that I may hear the voice of the monster'.

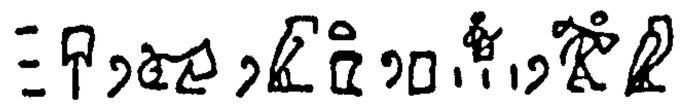
121. Pyr 523b: 

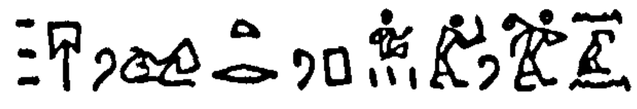
tr. Sethe, UuK II, p.395-6: 'Gegrüßt seist du, o Eselin - Unholdin. Bist du feindlich gekommen zu T als Eselin-Unholdin, so hat er dich geschlagen mit dem [....]-Schwanz, der gewachsen ist (?) in dem See des Osiris'. Cf Ward, op. cit., p.267.

122. G.Jéquier, La pyramide d'Aba (Le Caire 1935); cf E.Edel, ZÄS 81 (1956) 6-18: Beiträge zum ägyptischen Lexikon II, p.10.

123. H.Goedicke, JEA 51 (1965) 202: The Phonetic value of the sign  (sšm); Kaplony, Kleine Beiträge, p.72ff: Die Hieroglyphe des Eselkopfes und die damit zusammenhängenden Schriftzeichen.

124. Ward, JNES 37, p.31-34, esp. p.33.

125. HO I, pl.81, 8: 

Cf HO I, pl.82 (O.Gardiner 86) vso 7: 

126. K.A. Kitchen, GM 13 (1974) 17-20 Prd>Ptr = 'Mule' in New Kingdom Egypt?

127. Gesenius, Lexicon, p.825.

128. Kitchen, op.cit.

129. Osing, JEA 64 (1978) 186-189: [Review of Černý, CED] p.188.

## Chapter 9 : Notes

1. Flower, Mammals, p.387-392.

2. Previously included in the genus Felis.

3. Hoogstraal, Mammals of Egypt, p.225, distinguished two relevant subspecies: F.c.schmitzi Matschie, 'exceedingly rare in Egypt... The subspecies schmitzti... ranges from Central India to Palestine and Arabia', and F.c.nubicus Fischer, 'The Sudanese Caracal Lynx... widely distributed in the Sudan... but has not yet been reported from Egypt'. Keimer identified the animal ỉnb as the former subspecies (see below). The species was allocated formerly to the genus Caracal and has recently been placed in the genus Lynx - see Honacki, et al., Mammal Species of the World, p.282.

4. Hoogstraal, op.cit., p.226-7, gave two subspecies: Panthera pardus jarvisi Pocock, the 'Sinai Leopard' & P.p.pardus L, the 'Egyptian Leopard'.

5. See Hoogstraal, op.cit., p.225-227; p.221.

6. F.sylvestris is usually the designation given to the European Wild Cat. Kingdon, East African Mammals IIIA, p.313, separated an 'African Wild Cat' F.s.lybica from the European subspecies F.s.sylvestris. The same species has appeared in the past as F.ochreata, F.ornata and F.maniculata, with the vernacular names Yellow Cat, Desert Cat, Caffer Cat and Bush Cat.

7. T.C.S. Morrison-Scott, Proc. Lond. Zool. Soc. 121 (1951-52) 861-867: The Mummified Cats of Ancient Egypt, identified this cat from mummified examples. It was not common among the mummified cats he studied which led him to believe that they may not have been domesticated (p.863).

8. Hoogstraal, op.cit., p.222.

9. Hoogstraal, op.cit., p.224: 'We have not yet encountered this animal in Egypt' commenting that the subspecies F.m.margarita 'may survive in remote desert wastes but no evidence is available to prove it' (p.221-2).

10. The F.domestica of some authors. See also Zeuner, Domesticated Animals, p.398-399.

11. Kingdon, op.cit., p.313; Hoogstraal, op.cit., p.221 & 223; Zeuner, op.cit., p.392.

12. Morrison-Scott, op.cit., p.866.

13. T.C.S.Morrison-Scott, Proc. London Zool.Soc. 121 (1951-1952) 861-7: The Mummified cats of Ancient Egypt, p.863: 'Apart from F.chaus, which occurs relatively infrequently as a mummy and may therefore not have been domesticated at all, there seems to be no good evidence for there having been more than one species of cat domesticated and held sacred by the ancient Egyptians; this form of cat has not survived to the present day.../p.866/... apart from the large chaus, the cats mummified by the ancient Egyptians appear to represent one form only, the skulls of which agree closely with those of the wild Felis libyca Forster, from which it is probably derived. If this view is correct this form should be known as Felis libyca bubastis Ehrenberg, 1833'.

14. Kingdon, op.cit., p.369 and Darlington, Zoogeography, p.397.

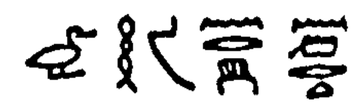
15. Kingdon, op.cit., p.319 (Serval; earlier recorded as Leptailurus serval ) and p.342 (Golden Cat).

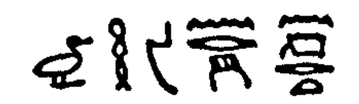
16. Compare the distribution maps in Kingdon, op.cit., fig. on p.319 (Serval) & p.71 (Zorilla). This latter animal was still recorded by Flower, op.cit., p.403, from Egypt.

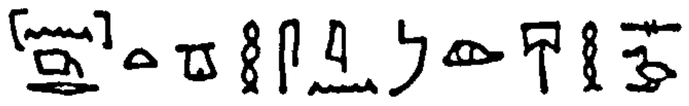
L.Störk, LÄ II, 367-370: Katze, also believed that there may be a reference to the import of the Serval in a text from the end of Dyn 19 - see R. Drenkhahn, Darstellungen von Negern in Ägypten (Hamburg 1967) p.118.

17. Note that there are a few examples of the lion hieroglyph with upraised tail (see in the notes below).

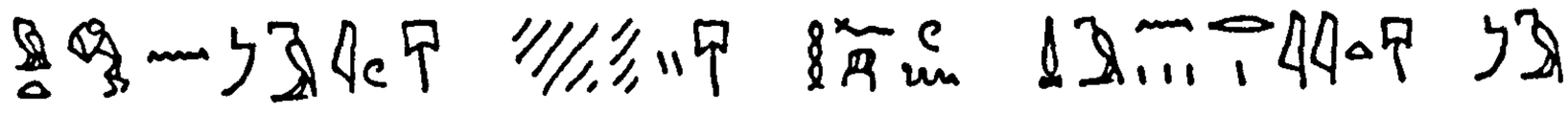
18. Vandier d'Abbadie, Ostraca figurés, No.2815 (O. Louvre E25299) showing a dog hunting a lion:

cf Beni Hasan II, 4: 

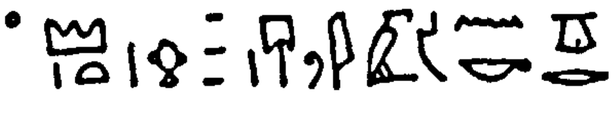
Beni Hasan II, 13: 

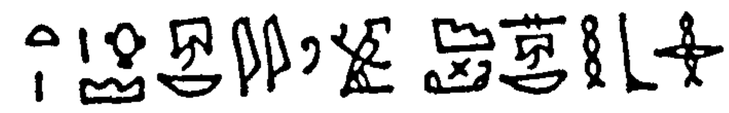
Deir el Gebr I, 11: 

19. V. Loret, Le nom égyptien de l'oryx, in Lortet & Gaillard, Faune momifiée A, p.175-178. Cf Wb II, 11, 15: NK auch allg. für grosses Raubtier. W.Westendorf, ZÄS 92 (1966) 128-154: Beiträge aus den medizinischen Texten, p.137, n.3, suggested that by the New Kingdom *mꜣi* meant 'die Gattung der großen Tiere'. This was also the opinion of de Wit, op.cit., p.6: 'Le mot *mꜣi* s'emploie aussi, en général, pour "bête féroce, fauve"'.

20. P. Tur PuR 120, 10: 

tr. de Wit, Lion, p.6: 'La mort par le fait d'un lion, par un..., par un serpent, par un scorpion, par n'importe quel fauve'.

O.Mich, pl.30, 8: 

Barguet, Famine, pl.7: 

tr. p.29-30: 'tous preneurs de poissons , tous chasseurs , tous piégeurs d'oiseaux et de jeunes animaux , tous piégeurs de lions dans le désert'.

21. On *mꜣi-ḥsꜣ* note especially de Wit, Lion, p.16, quoting Pyr 573:

tr. p.16: 'Ta face est celle d'un chacal; ta queue est celle d'un lion'. He commented further, p.17: 'le mot *mꜣi ḥsꜣ* ne semble avoir ici que la valeur de "lion"... Plus tard, Mahès, qui n'était vraisemblablement qu'une epithète du dieu Nefertem, en tant que protecteur de l'Égypte, deviendra un véritable dieu. Selon Maspero, *mꜣi ḥsꜣ* signifie: "lion fascinateur".' Comparing the term *ḥs ḥr* applied to men with the meaning '"terrible de visage", "farouche" ou quelque chose d'analogue', and noting the determinative of *ḥsꜣ*, he proposed the translation 'lion au regard terrible'.

M3ỉ ḥs3 ḥr is also attested, ęg A.M.Badawi, ASAE 42 (1943) 1-23: Die neue historische Stele Amenophis II, p.5, (1.4) :

tr. p.6: 'Er war wie ein grimmiger Löwe, wenn er durch die Wüsten treibt'.

though the only certain example is at Dendera :

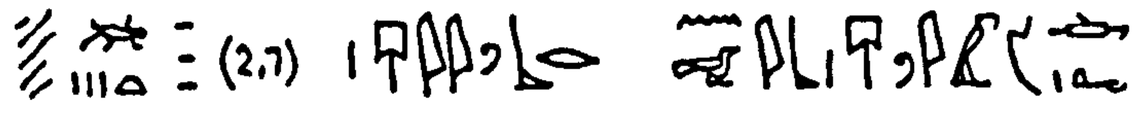
tr. de Wit, p.242: 'lion féroce de visage, qui repousse ses ennemis'.

On the meaning of ḥs3 see too Blok, Volksverhalen, p.26, on ḥs3 mw 'het water bezweren'.

22. Tur 93 (cf Meeks, AL.78.1602).
Text Relig No.11.
Tur 102 (also for m3ỉt ḥs3t).

23. Osing, Nominalbuildung, p.447, 482-3.

24. CD 160b: 'lion'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.88: 'Löwe, Löwin' & p.517; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.109b: 'lion' & 'lionne'; Černý, CED, p.79: 'lion'.

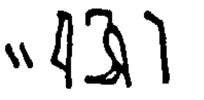
25. P.Ch.B. II, 2, 6-7: 

tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.3: 'And after many days had passed over these things, Falsehood raised his eyes to look, and he saw (2,5) the virtue of Truth, his elder brother. Thereupon Falsehood said to the two slaves of Truth: Take [ye] your Lord, and [throw] him to an evil lion with many lionesses [as] his [mates?], and let them (?) [devour him?]'. (Noted by Wb under rw-3bw.)

cf perhaps An I, 19, 3 on the animals of the forests of Syria-Palestine (nb the variant O. D el M 1005 which omits  ):

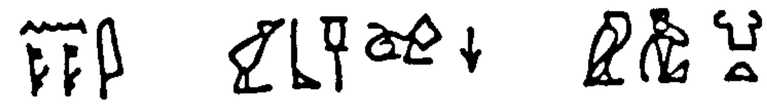
de Wit, Lion, tr. p.7: 'des lions, des ours (?) [he read d3by]... et des hyènes (?)'. See ḥtmt for a full discussion of this text; the word can also be read 3by 'leopard'; see below.

26. Gardiner, loc.cit., n.4: 'Rby, Coptic λαβοϊ . M. Müller, Rec. Trav. 9 (1887) 157-176: Über einigen Hieroglyphenzeichen, p.161, quoted Maspero's opinion that the term was associated with Assyrian labu rather than Hebrew lebbiya.

W.A. Ward, JNES 20 (1961) 31-40: Comparative Studies in Egyptian and Ugaritic, p.35-36, believed that the New Kingdom word, and the Dynasty 18 personal name, Rbi  (Ranke, PN I, p.221, No.29), were either loans from Semitic or came from a common Egypto-Semitic root. He considered rw-3bw a separate term.

G.Posener, Orientalia 13 (1944) 193-204: Le mésaventure d'un Syrien et le nom égyptien de l'ours, p.198, n.5, also considered the Deir el-Gebrâwi example 'sujet à caution'. Blok, op.cit., p.26 accepted rbw as 'lion' but noted (incorrectly) that the name was transferred 'in de volkstaal' to another wild animal, the bear.

For Arabic labwah see M.b. Ya'qub al-Fīrūzābādī, Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ IV (Cairo 1952) p.387.

27. Deir el Gebr I, 14: 

The representation is of a sculptor chiselling at the already complete figure of a recumbent lion. Cf I, 24, and Davies' comments p.39 with n.3.

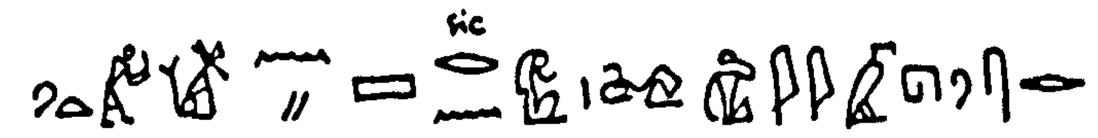
Gesenius, Lexicon, p.522; Chicago Assyrian Dictionary, p.24-25, esp. p.25: 'Labbu is a poetic word for lion, contrasted with the more common nešu'; B. Landsberger, Fauna des alten Mesopotamien (Leipzig 1934) p.76: 'nēšu ist im allgemeinen die prosaische, labu die poetische Ausdrucksweise... Das Nebeinander von nēšu und labu ist schon ursemitisch: nēšu ist ursprünglich der männliche, labu der weibliche Löwe'.

28. Note the note in Wb to rw: 'Wo ideographisch geschrieben, wohl meist m3i zu lesen'. De Wit also read several examples of the recumbent lion as m3i.

Musée Guimet Wb Nr. 6: confirms the reading m3i for the recumbent lion in the name Mahes (son of Bastet).

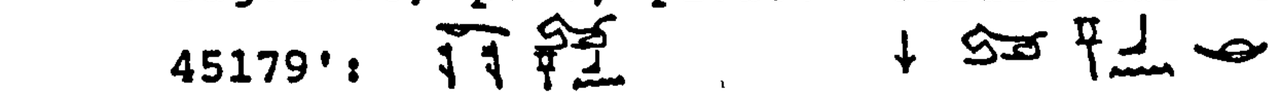
Cf O. Gardiner 300 (HO I, pl.91, No.1, rto 6):

Cf. An I, 15, 2:

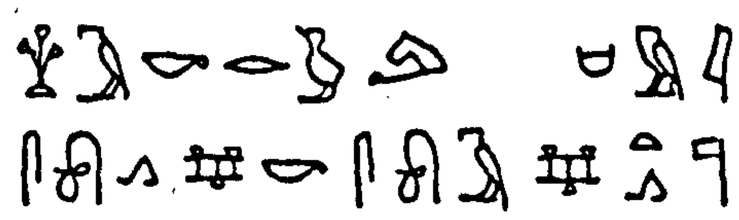


tr. Gardiner, P.Anastasi I, p.17*: 'A despatch has come from the crown-prince at R$^{c}$-kȝ to rejoice the heart of the Horus of Gold, to extol(?) the raging lion(?) , telling us that an obelisk has been newly made, graven with the name of his Majesty' with n.9: 'Probably we should read r swḥ mȝỉ nšn'.

29. Meeks, AL.77.2335, after Kaplony, Frühzeit, Suppl., p.34, and fig.1076, p.77, pl.29: 'Gefäss aus "calcaire marblé" Caire Jd'E 45179':



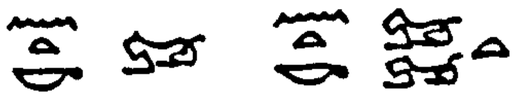
30. Pyr 1357:



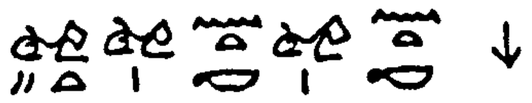
tr. Sethe, UuK V, p.279: 'Zurück, Löwe, mit fehlendem Hinterleib, du sollst passieren lassen ein Passierenlassen einen Gott'.

BOD 28 (after MMAF 1, 157):

Petrie Illahun pl.12, 14:



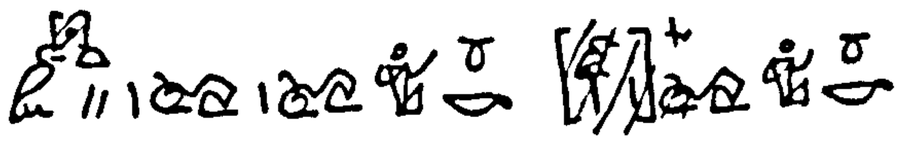
cf MMAF 5, pl.3:



31. P.Ch.B. IX, rto 6, 8:

tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.89: (in a list of deities) 'to the Lion, to the double Lion'.

P.Ch.B. VII , rto 5, 4:



tr. ibid., p.59: 'I am the Lion, I am the Lion-pair'.

32. See AL 78.2375.

33. An I, 23, 5:

Note the comments of Gardiner, P.Anastasi I, p.25*, n.10.

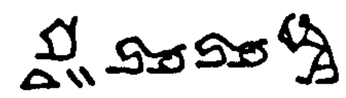
34. Tr. Fischer-Elfert, P.Anastasi I, p.197: 'Du irrst umher wie ein Schaf, lieber Maher!' (On the activities of a Maher, a scout or messenger, see esp. p.244-246.)

Gardiner, P.Anastasi I, p.25: 'Thou slayest like a lion, O pleasant Maher'.

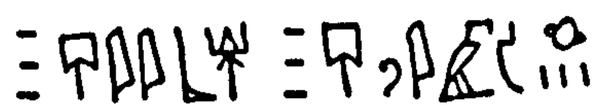
A.R. Schulman, ZÄS 93 (1966) 123-132: Mhr and Mskb, two Egyptian Military titles of Semitic Origin, p.128: 'Like a lion you kill, O sweet mhr'.

Albright, VESO, p.33, A2: 'I perish like a lamb, O good Mahar!'

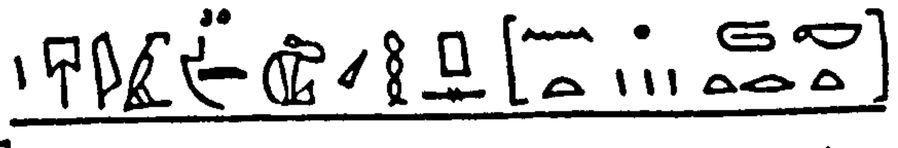
A.Shisha-Halevy, Orientalia NS 47 (1978) 145-162: An early north-west semitic text in the Egyptian hieratic script, p.160: 'Thou destroyest as a lion, speedy Mahir-warrior!'

35. It should be noted that phty may be written with recumbent lions and that in certain decorative hieroglyphs the mane of the lion is clear, so that Gardiner's interpretation of (F9) as 'head of leopard' is probably incorrect. See K. el-Mallakh, Treasures of the Nile (New York 1980), fig. p.60-61, and Wb I, 539, 5-540, 9: Körperliche Kraft uä, giving the Dynasty 21 writing: 

36. Wb. Drog. VI, p.212-213: 'der Löwe'; VI, p.346: 'Löwe'.

P. med Berl 3038, 6, 8: 

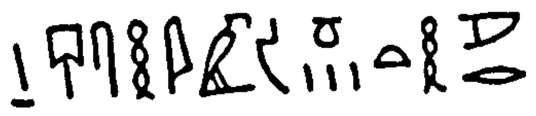
Wb. Drog. V, p.446; tr. Wb. Drog. IV, p.261: 'Anfang (tp) von dem, was man macht [als] Räuchermittel, die gesammelt sind. s3-wr-Harz; ỉnr-spdw-Mineral; Kot vom Löwen; [Kot vom] Panther; Kot vom Steinbock; Kot von der Gazelle; Kot vom Strauß; werde der Mann damit beräuchert'.

Hearst 16, 8: 

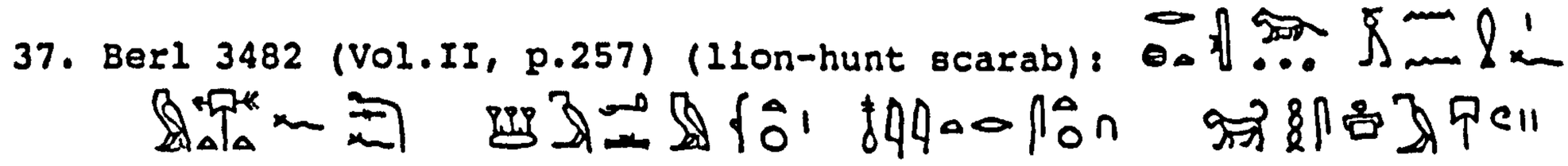
Wb.Drog. V, p.368; tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1], p.211 (a list of prescriptions for the bites of various animals (man, pig, crocodile, hippo; followed by scorpion, fly, midge(?))): 'Ein anderes Heilmittel für einen Biß eines Löwen. Früchte von [....]; [....]; [werde ....zu] einer Masse, werde damit verbunden an vier Tagen'.

P.Ram V, U, 17:

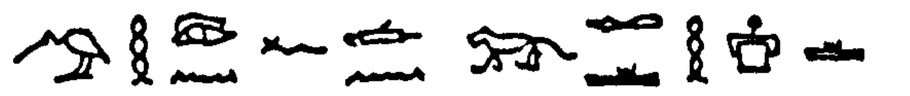
Wb. Drog. V, p.50, No.III); tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.28: 'Fett (mrḥ.t) des Löwen'.

Eb 66, 9: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.514; tr Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.298: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Wachsenlassen des Haars eines Kahlköpfigen. Fett (mrḥ.t) des Löwen 1;' etc.

37. Berl 3482 (Vol.II, p.257) (lion-hunt scarab): 

For other 'lion-hunt' scarabs of Amenophis III see C.Blankenberg-Van Delden, The Large Commemorative Scarabs of Amenhotep III (Leiden 1969) p.62-128.

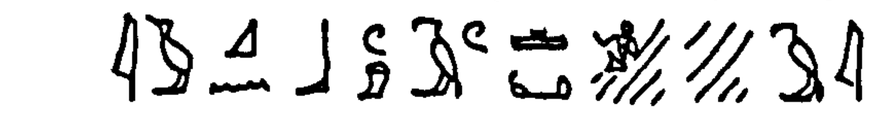
KRI I, 76-77: 

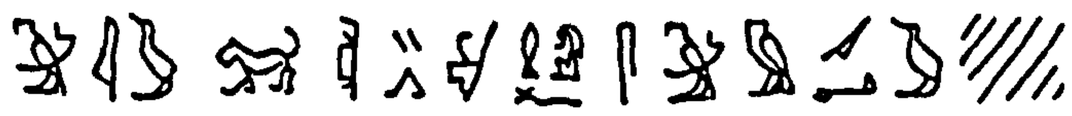
tr. Zivie, Giza, p.186: 'sa Majesté sortit pour se promener...
comme Rê lorsq'il se lève dans [l'horizon du ciel (?)] ...
Il aperçut un grand lion terrible comme le faucon divin
aperçoit [un petit oiseau (?)]'.

For earlier evidence of lion hunting see Lehre Amemhet (quoted below). For a comprehensive survey of representations of lion-hunting see Schweitzer, Löwe, p.52-58, and, more generally, W.Wreszinski, Morgenland 23 (1932) 3-27: Löwenjagd im alten Ägypten, p.6.

38. P. Bologna 1094, 3, 9:

tr. de Wit, Lion, p.10: 'On dresse les lions'; and by Caminos, LEM, p.13: 'Lions are trained and horses tamed'. (See also kîry, ssmt).

Lehre Amenemhet (Sall II, 11, 9):

tr. de Wit, Lion, p.10: 'J'ai dressé des lions et capturé des crocodiles'.

39. LD III, 183b, 184a: (KRI II, 204, 13; 205, 7):


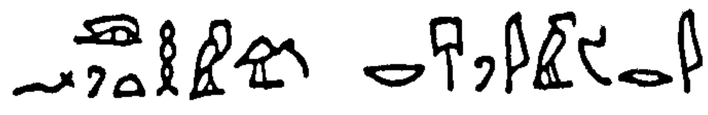
tr. de Wit, Lion, p.12: 'Le lion accompagnant sa Majesté et abattant les (ennemis)'. Cf KRI II, 129, 6.

cf Louvre A18:

For the representations of such animals see Schweitzer, Löwe, p.51-52.

40. Bakir, Cairo Calendar, vso 4, 2:

tr. p.44: 'DAY 18: A.A.A. Do not eat the meat of any lion'.

41. Bakir, Cairo Calendar, vso 4, 4: 

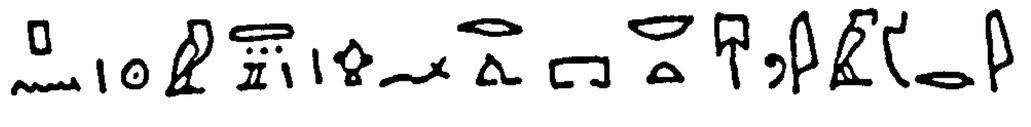
'DAY 19: A.A.A. .... If any lion is seen, he will pass away at once' (my omission).

vso 4, 10:

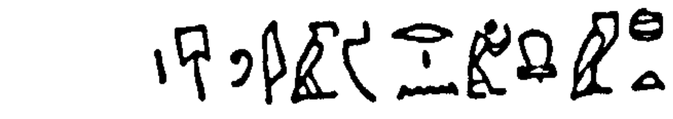
tr. p.44: 'DAY 26: A.A.A. The going forth of Neith. She treads on this day in the flood 10 (in order to) look for things of Sobek. If any lion sees them, he will pass away immediately'.

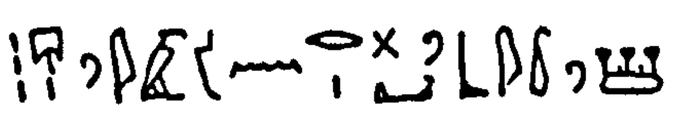
rto 7, 2-4:

tr. p.17: 'DAY 25: f.f.A. Do not go out of your house on any road at the time of (night). 3. It is the day of the going out of Sakhmet to the eastern district, and of the repelling of the confederates of Seth. As for any lion whom they approach 4. he will pass away at once'.

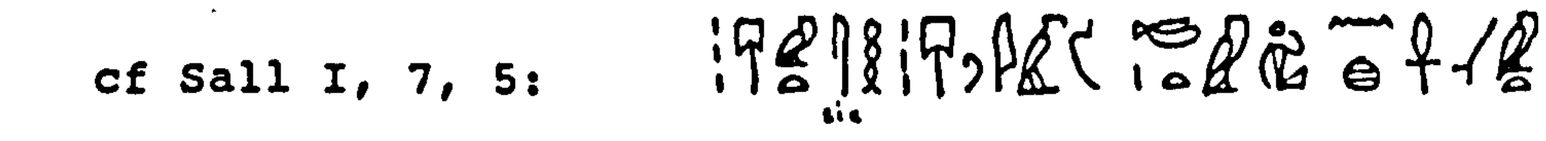
vso 8, 10: 

tr. p.48: 'DAY 18: 10. A.A.f. Do not go out at the time of morning because of the crew who leads (or, is leading) the rebels. If any lion goes out on earth on this day 11. he will be blind and they will say: he will not live'.

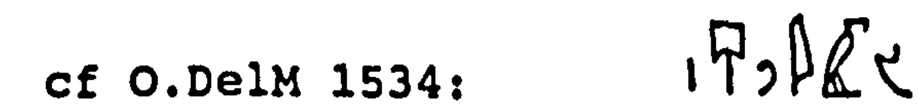
42. P. mag Harr 10, 3: 

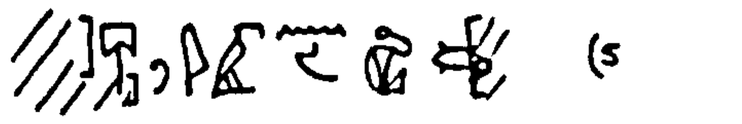
P. mag Harr 11, 4: 

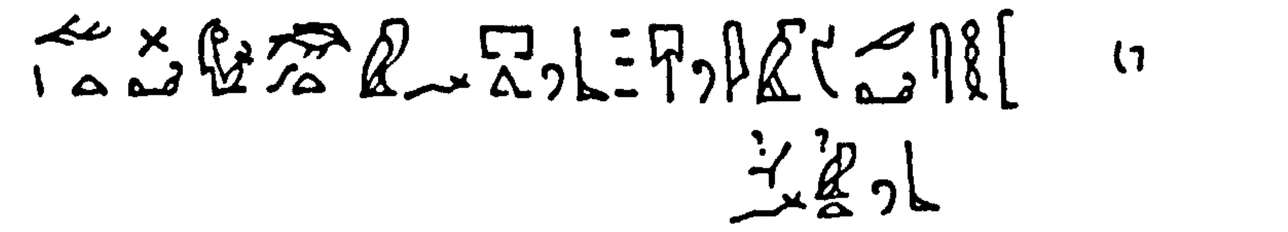
An I, 19, 3-4: (text above).

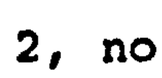
cf Sall I, 7, 5: 

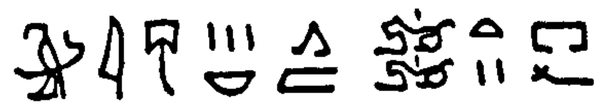
Sall II (O.DelM 1179 + O. Turin 6622):

cf O.DelM 1534: 

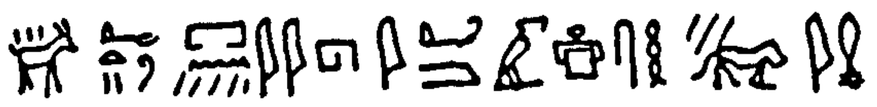
O.Gardiner 361 (HO I, pl.105, no.3) 5: 

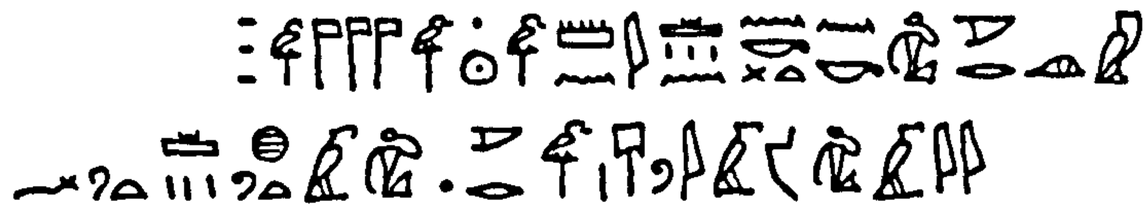
O.Torino 57001, vso 7: 

Note especially texts which mention lions together with crocodiles as representatives of all dreaded beasts, eg Wien (Wresz) Statue base Rm 2, no.16, frag.1 (p.146):  . This combination was commented on by M. Malinine, BIFAO 34 (1934) 63-74: Un fragment de l'enseignement d'Amenemhat 1er, p.68: 'Les lions y symbolisent les fauves du désert; les crocodiles , les monstres aquatiques; les bouches qui mordent , les reptiles habitant dans la terre'. See further in Ch.19: Reptiles and Amphibians.

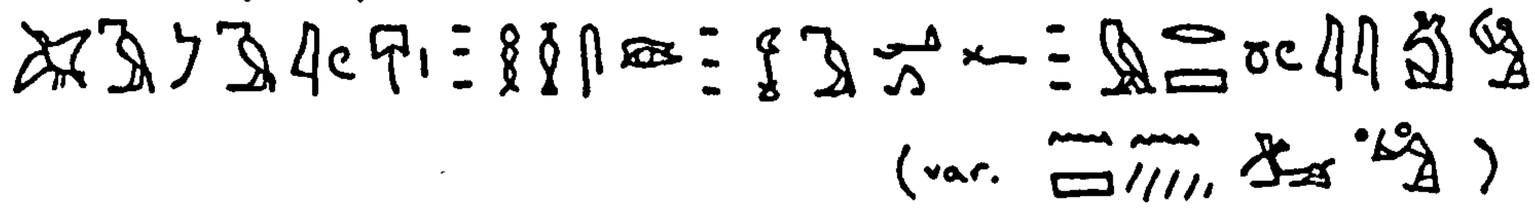
43. Amarna VI, 27, 4, p.94: 

tr. de Wit, Lion, p.7: 'Le fauve est craint la nuit lorsque... "tout lion sort de sa tanière"'.

KRI II, 151, 11: 

44. Wenamun 2, 34: 

tr. de Wit, Lion, p.8 (n.38): 'Ne convoite pas ce qui appartient à Amon-Re , roi des dieux; en vérité, un lion aime son bien'.

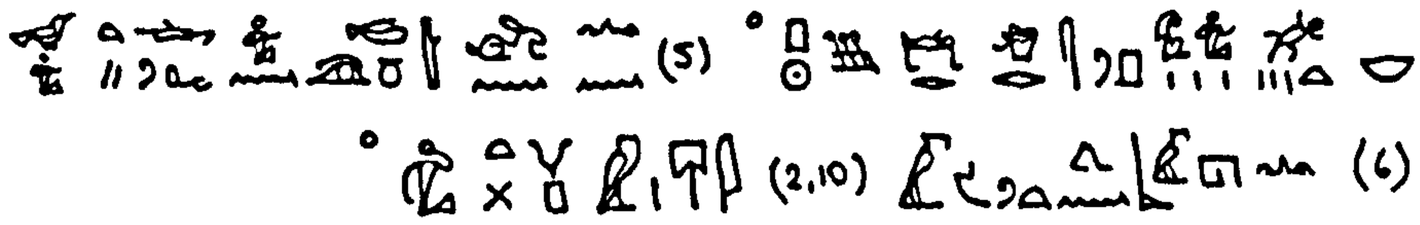
45. Max d'Anii, 10, 2:


tr. Suys, Ani, p.102: 'Le lion sauvage quitte sa fureur'.

46. P. Tur PuR 102, 2, 11:

tr. de Wit, Lion, p.170: 'un bassin avec l'image d'une grenouille et d'un lion'.

De Wit discussed this symbolism at length - see p.158-172: 'Le lion, symbole de résurrection'.

47. Cf Posener, L'enseignement loyaliste, § 10, 6 var Pl. (text p.118):


tr. p.38: 'C'est le possesseur d'une multitude qui dort jusqu'au jour, (5) Mais point de sommeil pour celui qui est seul. (6) Le lion n'est pas envoyé en mission', with the comment, p.39: 'Ce vers, sans doute un proverbe, est en relation avec le précédent; solitude et insomnie dont il est question évoquaient pour les

anciens l'image du lion... Manéthon raconte dans sa Critique d'Hérodote que le lion ne dort jamais...; de même Aelien...; selon Horapollon... et d'autres auteurs il dort les yeux ouverts... A ce propos, Gunn... observe qu'en égyptien m3j "lion" et m33 "voir" sont fort semblables et qu'à l'Ancien Empire et au Moyen Empire m3j s'écrit avec le signe de l'oeil comme s'il venait du verbe m33'.

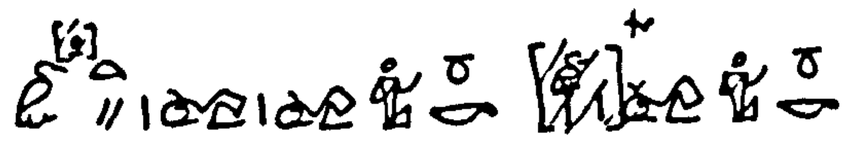
48. Theb Grab 106 (Paser) <1254>:

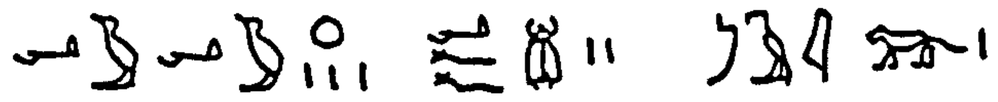
Totb Nav 132, 1:

tr. Allen, BOD, p.108: 'I am the lion who has just gone forth with the bow'.

Totb Nav 169, 1:

tr. Allen, BOD, p.175: 'Osiris N., thou art a lion, thou art Ruty, thou art Horus who saved his father'.

cf P.Ch.B. VII, 5, 4: 

49. Urk IV, 893: 

For flies and lions as decorations for bravery see Schweitzer, op.cit., pl.11, no.8 and K.Sethe, ZÄS 48 (1910) 143-145: Altägyptische Ordensauszeichnungen.

Urk I, 185:

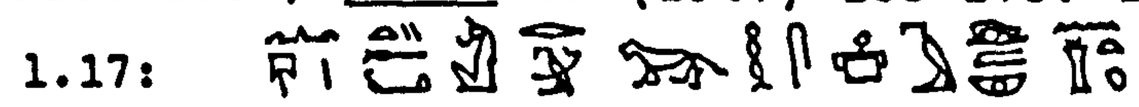
cf Meeks, AL 77.1581, quoting Schott who comments on this text & tr. 'Sphinx'.

50. Grapow, Bildliche Ausdrücke, p.72-73; Ranke, PN I, p.144, No.1-14; Neferirtenef, pl.1, p.69.

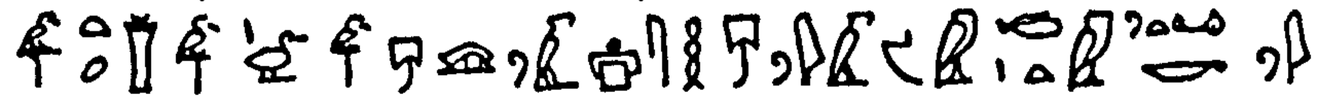
51. For numerous deities, both male and female, associated with lions or represented as lions see de Wit, Lion, p.189-281 (gods): p.285-368 (goddesses) and U.Köhler, LÄ III, 1080-1090: Löwe, col.1081-1086 (in religion).

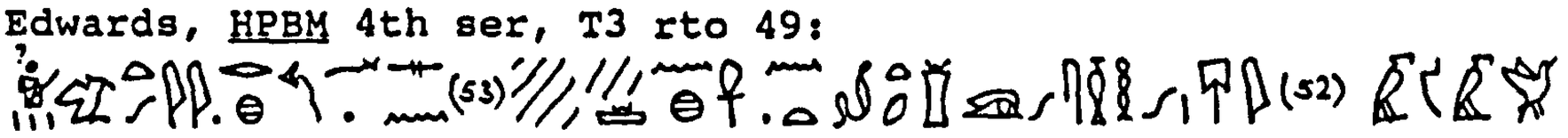
Hor u Seth (the titulary of Rēʿ is recorded):

tr. Gardiner, P.Ch.B. I, p.24: 'lion-that-hunteth-for-himself'.

M. Korostovtsev, BIFAO 45 (1947) 155-173: Stèle de Ramsès IV, p.162, l.17: 

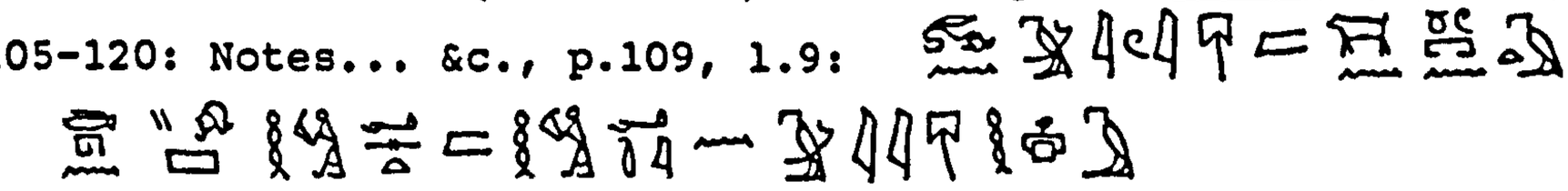
tr. 'je n'ai pas tiré  sur un lion pendant la fête de Bastet'.

HO I, pl.91, No.1, rto 6 (O. Gardiner 300):


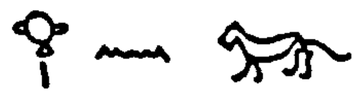
Edwards, HPBM 4th ser, T3 rto 49:


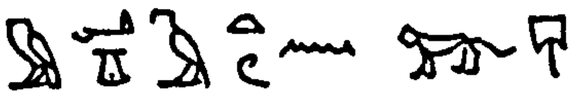
tr. p.74-75: 'We shall keep him safe from the fierce lion of Bastet  who lives [on] the blood of people'.

Although the m3ỉ-ḥs3 of this text is a deity in its own right it is of interest in indicating the original lion-form taken by Bastet, later considered a cat goddess (see below, mỉw).

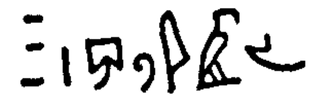
Stela of Neferabu (Turin 102) = G. Maspero, Rec. Trav. 2 (1880) 105-120: Notes... &c., p.109, l.9: 

tr. p.110: 'Aussi, je dirai à tout misérable pêcheur qui est parmi les ouvriers:  faites attention à la Cîme, car il y a un lion dans la Cîme, et elle frappe comme frappe un lion sauvage, et elle poursuit qui transgresse contre elle!' Also tr. Grapow, op.cit., p.72.

Urk IV, 718 (Nut): 

Totb Leps 164 (Mut): 

tr. Allen, BOD, p.161: 'with a lion's claws'.

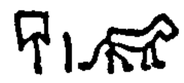
O.Gardiner 304 (HO I, pl.38, no.2) rto 9 (Amun): 

Taharqa by the lake pl.44 (Amun): 

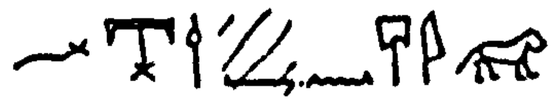
tr. p.75: 'His physical strength is more apparent  than that of every living lion'.

Pyr 20 :

Sun-god is called 'der Löwe des unteren Himmels' (tr. Grapow, op.cit., p.71).

P. Berlin 3049, 17, 4: 

'der Löwe, der den Himmel befahrt' (tr. Grapow p.72)

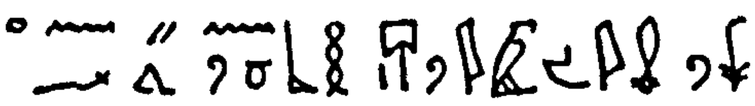
P. Berlin 3048, 8, 8: 

tr. Grapow, op.cit., p.72: 'der Strahlende des Tages, der Löwe seiner Nacht'.

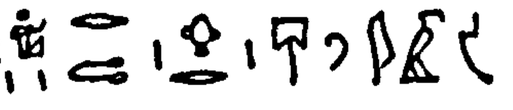
Amonshymn Leid 5, 7:

tr. Grapow, op.cit., p.72: 'der wild blickende Löwe mit grimmigen Krallen'.

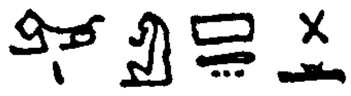
Naos o. Saft et Henne (Goshen 1 rechts 6):

Sall II (O. DelM 1675): 

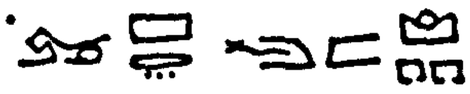
Mɜỉ (or rw?) šṯɜ 'Mysterious lion' seems to have been an epithet of the sun-god.

Amonshymn Leid 3, 4: 

tr. Grapow, op.cit., p.72: 'der geheimnisvolle Löwe mit lautem Gebrüll, der den zerfleischt, der unter seine Krallen gerät; der Stier für seine Stadt; ein Löwe für seine Leute'.

Amonsrit Berl. 25, 2: 

tr. Grapow, Bildliche Ausdrücke, p.71: 'der geheimnisvolle Löwe des Ostberges'.

Mus Guimet Wb Nr.6 <Sait>: 

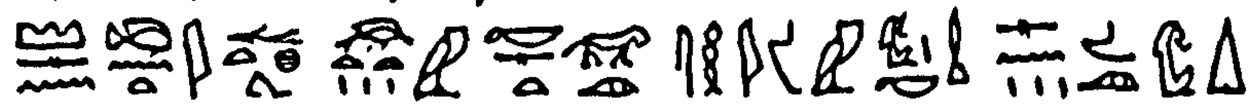
Cf R.A. Caminos, JEA 58 (1972) 205-224: Another hieratic manuscript from the library of Pwerem son of Kiki (Pap. BM 10288) esp. p.215 n.15.

52. On African kings associated with lions see de Wit, Lion, p.16.

Pyr 573: var.

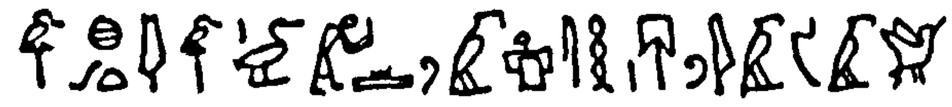
tr. de Wit, Lion, p.16: 'Ta face est celle d'un chacal; ta queue est celle d'un lion'.

Urk IV, 617 (= LD III, 126; KRI I, 8):



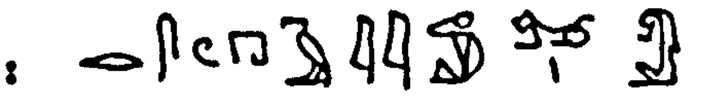
tr. de Wit, Lion, p.20: 'J'ai fait qu'ils voient ta Majesté comme un lion (au regard terrible), qui transforme ses ennemis en cadavres, dans leurs valées'.

LES p.83 (Joppa I, 12):



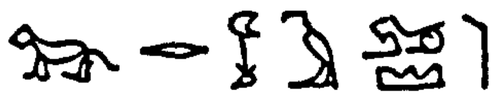
tr. de Wit, Lion, p.21: 'lion au regard terrible (ou mieux = Mahès), fils de Sekhmet'.

An I, 15, 1 (a letter is sent to court):



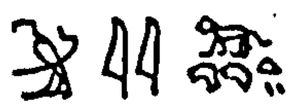
tr. de Wit, Lion, p.23: 'pour apaiser (= réjoir) le lion (= le roi)'.

Naville Goshen 9 G 2 (king):



tr. de Wit, Lion, p.23: 'lion contre la Syrie'.

KRI I, 16:



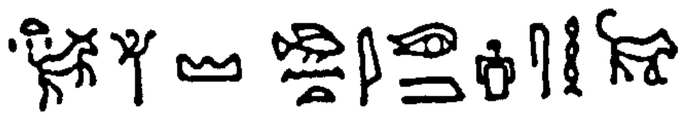
LD 130a, b (KRI I, 17):

tr. de Wit, Lion, p.24: 'un lion au regard terrible qui parcourt les chemins inaccessibles de tout pays'.

JEA 33, pl.7, l.5:

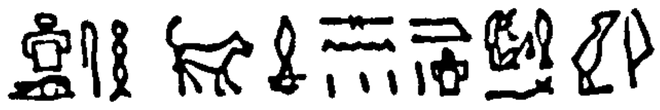
tr. de Wit, Lion, p.24: 'le lion qui prend'.

KRI II, 9, 5:



tr. de Wit, Lion, p.24: 'un lion au regard terrible dans la Vallée des Gazelles [sic]'.

KRI II, 135, 15 (= LD III, 165):

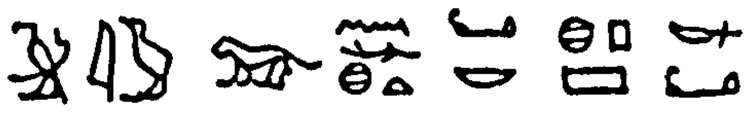


tr. de Wit, Lion, p.24: 'Sa Majesté était derrière eux comme un lion au regard terrible'.

LD III, 175g:

tr. de Wit, Lion, p.25: 'lion puissant de coeur'.

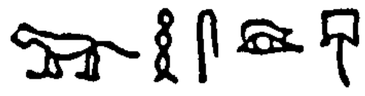
Champ Mon I, pl.63:



tr. de Wit, Lion, p.25: 'Lion victorieux, maître du glaive'.

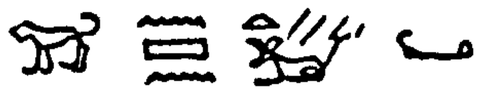
Montet, Tanis, p.66 (no hieroglyphic text)
tr. de Wit, Lion, p.25 (n.71): 'lion au regard terrible, le tempétueux, qui domine la terre des Shasou, qui a conquis la montagne de Séir par son bras vaillant'.

KRI II, 337, 8 (BM Stela 440, 1.4):



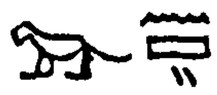
tr. de Wit, Lion, p.25 (n.72): 'lion (au regard terrible) contre les Asiatiques, aigu de dents et muni de griffes acérées'.

Ramesseum <R147>:



tr. de Wit, Lion, p.25, n.73; 'lion en fureur'.

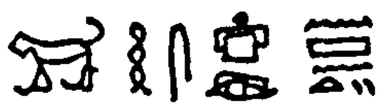
A. Badawy, ASAE 42 (1943) 1-23: Die neue historische Stele Amenophis' II, p.23:



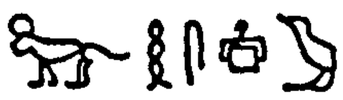
tr. de Wit, Lion, p.21: 'Prince des princes (= roi des rois), lion en fureur'.

Luksor <644>:

KRI II, 408, 16:

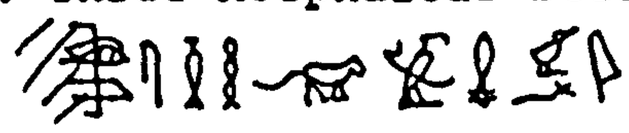


Lond 138, 8:



Urk II, 77:

G.A.Gaballa, JEA 63 (1974) 122-126: Three Acephalous Stelae, pl.23:



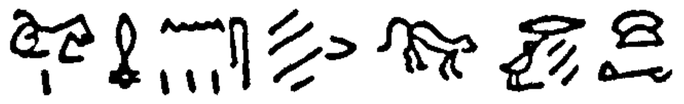
tr. p.124 with notes p.125: 'Identification of the subject as a king would also be supported by such epithets as the terrifying lion'.

KRI II, 173, 7:

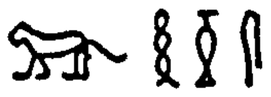
Urk IV, 184, 17 (king besieges a town like):

tr. de Wit, Lion, p.20: 'un lion aux aguets'; Grapow, Bildliche Ausdrücke, tr. p.71: 'wie ein Löwe, der auf der Lauer liegt'.

DHI I, pl.2 (Karn Mar 52, 15):



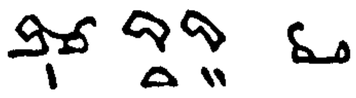
tr. de Wit, Lion, p.26 (n.78): 'Sa Majesté était enragée contre eux(?) comme un lion'.

Amada 187: 

tr. de Wit, Lion, p.26: 'lion au regard terrible'.

Medinet Habu <R177> = Champ Mon 217:

tr. de Wit, Lion, p.26: 'un lion en fureur, lorsqu'il a vu son antagoniste' (n.81).

Med Habu <R147>: 

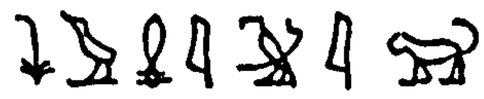
tr. de Wit, Lion, p.26 (n.82): 'lion de vaillance'.

Med Habu <147> and <24> = Med Habu 182:

tr. de Wit, Lion, p.26 (n.83): 'un lion terrible, qui saisit de sa griffe'; tr. Grapow, p.70.

Med Habu 23, 1.41-42: 

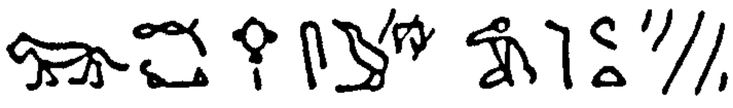
tr. de Wit, Lion, p.26 (n.84): 'Je sortis contre eux comme un lion'.

cf pl.28, 1.60-61: 

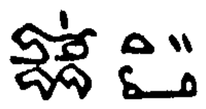
tr. de Wit p.27 (n.85): 'Il est comme un lion, au lourd rugissement, sur le sommet des montagnes, il est craint au lion à cause de la terreur qu'il inspire'.

Med Habu 182 = Med Habu <24>:

tr. Grapow, Bildliche Ausdrücke, p.70: 'wütende Löwe, dessen Krallen auf den neun Bogenvölkern sind'.

Rougé, Inscriptions, pl.126: 

tr. Grapow, op.cit., p.71: 'wie ein Löwe, der dabei ist, das Wild mit seinen Zähnen zu fassen'.

Med Habu pl.46: 

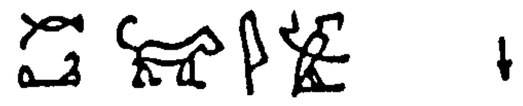
tr. de Wit, Lion, p.27: 'L'an 8, sous la Majesté de l'Horus-Re', taureau puissant, lion vaillant, fort de bras, maître du glaive, captivant les Asiatiques' (n.86).

Med Habu 37, 38:

tr. de Wit, Lion, p.27 (n.87): 'Sa Majesté est comme un lion enragé, déchirant celui qui s'oppose à elle, au moyen de ses mains'.

Med Habu pl.70:

tr. de Wit, Lion, p.27 (n.88): 'un jeune lion, courageux, qui repousse les neuf Arcs'.

Med Habu pl.79: 

tr. de Wit, Lion, p.28 (n.91): 'lion maraudeur'.

Med Habu pl.79:

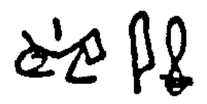
tr. de Wit, Lion, p.28 (n.92): 'lion vaillant'.

Med Habu pl.88:

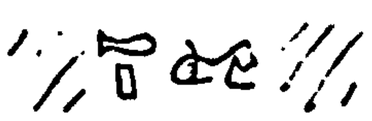
tr. de Wit, Lion, p.26 (n.93): 'il était comme un lion maraudant, rugissant(?) [déchirant] le bétail de ses dents'.

Med Habu pl.19:

tr. de Wit, Lion, p.28 (n.94): 'fort de bras, derrière eux (les Libyens), comme un jeune lion'.

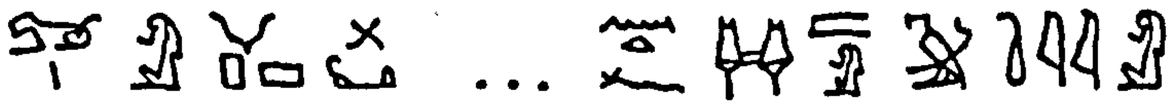
Med Habu pl.27: 

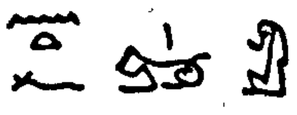
tr. de Wit, Lion, p.29 (n.95): 'rugissant comme un lion, terrible(?) de fureur'.

Med Habu pl.27: 

tr. de Wit, Lion, p.29 (n.96): 'Voyez, le coeur de Sa Majesté était terrible et puissant [comme un] lion caché et s'apprêtant (à tomber sur) le petit bétail'.

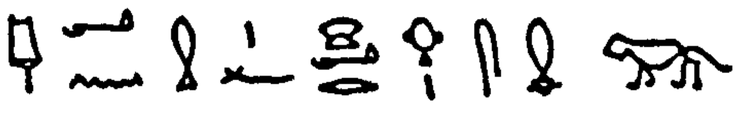
E.Drioton, ASAE 39 (1939) 57-89: Une statue prophylactique de Ramsès III:

(13) 

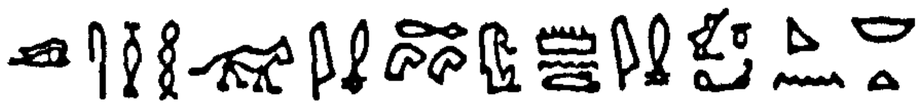
(15) 

(16) ...

tr. de Wit, Lion, p.29 (n.97): 'le roi de Haute et de Basse-Egypte, Ramsès III, lion déchirant. Que sa force est étonnante! Il est Shesemou, le lionceau(?)'; 'Il est le lion qui se protège lui-même. Il est le dieu.... Celui qui le mordra ne vivra pas. Celui qui se fâchera contre lui, sa tête ne se lèvera pas. Car il est le lion qui repousse les dieux et les esprits'.

Urk III, 14: 

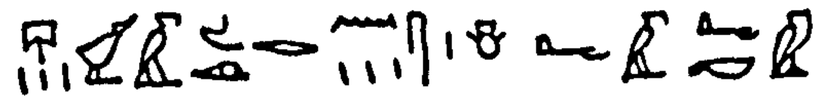
tr. de Wit, Lion, p.30: 'furieux comme un lion' (n.100).

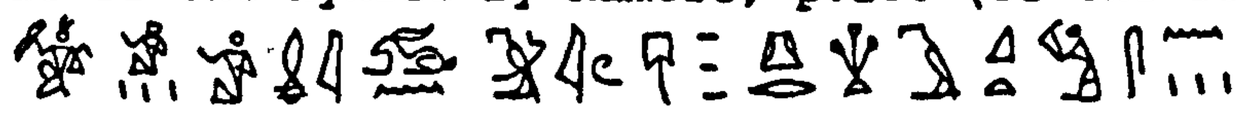
Urk III, 60: 

tr. de Wit, Lion, p.30 (n.102): 'maître de la vaillance, comme Monthou, grand de puissance, comme un lion (au regard terrible), ou mieux = comme Mahès'.

Med Habu 17:

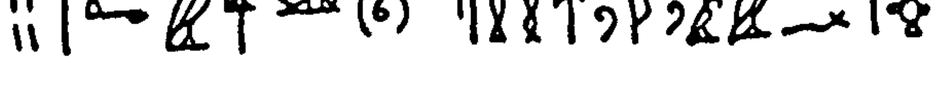
Med Habu 46, 1:

53. Shiffbr 30: 

Carnarvon Tablet No.1 (A.H.Gardiner, JEA 3 (1917) 95-110: The defeat of the Hyksos by Kamose, p.106 (of the soldiers of Kamose)): 

Greene, Fouilles II, p.21 (of the soldiers of Ramesses III):

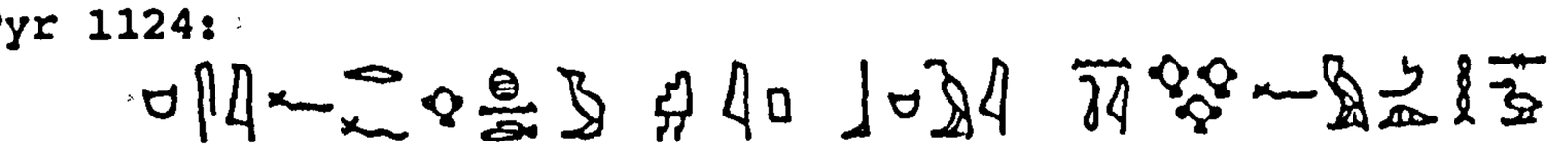
'comme un lion sur leurs montagnes'

Botti, Sobk, 8, 5: 

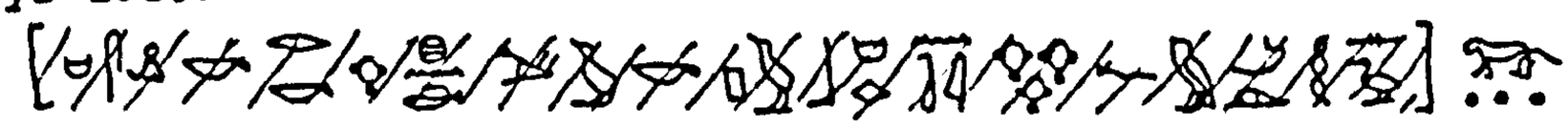
tr. Botti p.67: 'il cui aspetto è quello di un leone (6) di quattro cubiti'.

54. See de Wit, Lion, p.22-23.

55. See de Wit, Lion, p.18-23 and 30-31 respectively.

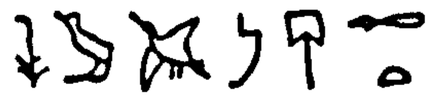
56. Pyr 1124: 

tr. Schweitzer, Löwe, p.27; de Wit, Lion, p.159; Sethe, UuK V, p.20: 'Ich setze mich auf jenen meinen ehernen Thron, dessen Gesichter (die) von Löwen sind, dessen füße Hufe des großen Wildstieres sind'.

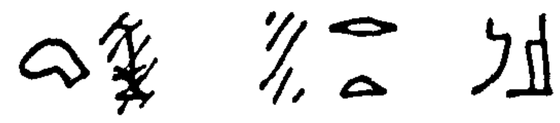
Pyr 1939: 

tr. de Wit, p.159;

De Wit commented extensively on the use of lions' parts to decorate furniture, p.159-164; cf Schweitzer, Löwe, p.27-28 (on thrones).

57. Urk III, 143: 

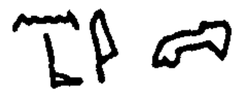
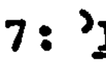
tr. Grapow, Bildliche Ausdrücke, p.72: 'das ist der große Löwe, der Garten, aus dem der König entsprossen ist'.

58. CAA Pelizaeus 7, 5: 

Simpson, Giza Mastabas III, fig.30:

Pyr 223:

59. L. Keimer, BiOr 14 (1957) 210-214: [review], esp. p.212.

60. Text  over copulating animals, publ. by L.Keimer, ASAE 48 (1948) 373-407: *Inb*  , le caracal (Caracal caracal schmitzi Matsch). Other representations of caracals, though unnamed, are listed by Keimer.

61. Edel & Wenig, Jahreszeitenreliefs, pl.13:

Edel, Inscriften Niuserre (1963) fig.12, opp. p.174.

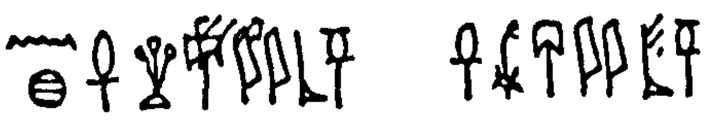
The texts appear over animals giving birth to young. No spots remain on the animals on the block now in the Berlin Museum though there are traces of yellow paint (personal observations 1986). The former word originally read *ph* by Schäfer (Wreszinski , Atlas III, p.228,k); compare Sign List F9, and G.Jéquier, Rec. Trav. 37, 113-127: Notes et Remarques, para.23, p.113-114. 'La tête de lion , symbole de courage, et sa valeur phonétique peh'.

62. Beni Hasan II, 4:

The latter was read and equated with by Brugsch, Wb I, 418 & Suppl. p.447. See too W. v Bissing, ZÄS 40 (1902) 97-98: [Miscellen]. The animals shown are virtually identical. Note the presence of a later in the register which has the bowed head shown by the *b3* from the temple of Niuserrē‘ and the *3by šm‘* from Deir el-Baḥri, in contrast to the others' upright stance (also given to the *ntrt* of Nuiserrē‘ and *3by mḥ* at Deir el-Baḥri).

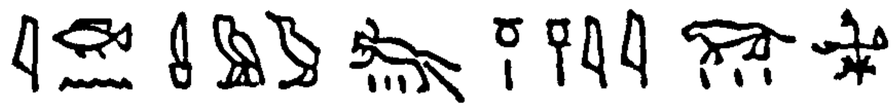
63. Sign List E 24.

64. James, BM texts pt 1, pl.18, No.1166:

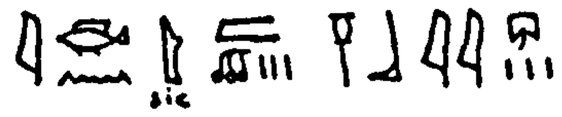
65. Deir el-Bahri pl.80; Urk IV, 336 & 337: 

66. N.M.Davies, JEA 28 (1942) 50-52: Nubians in the tomb of Amunedjeh, pl.5.

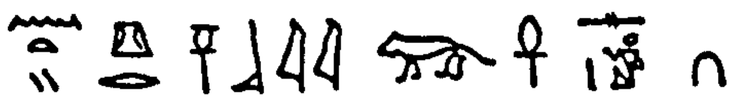
67. See n.65.

68. Urk IV, 329: 

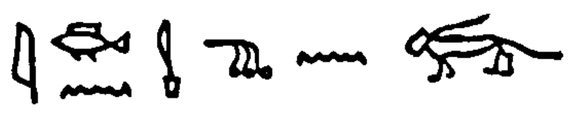
P. Ch. B. IV, vso 10, 11-13: (text n.78)

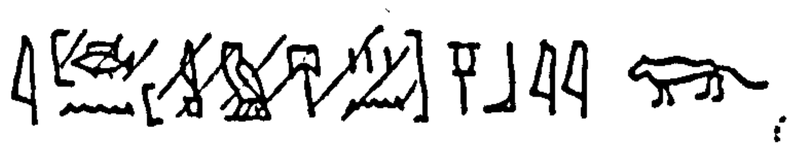
G.A. Gaballa, JEA 63 (1977) 122-126, pl.22 = Cairo Jd'E 28596: 

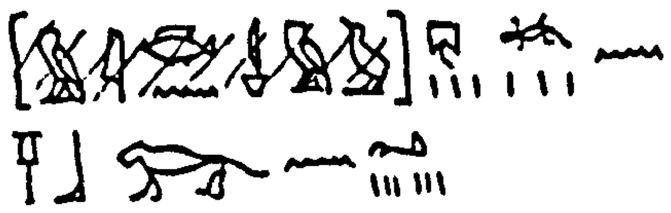
tr. p.122: 'He causes to come to him the tribesmen of Nubia, their tribute being gold in its ore, ebony, ivory, red jasper, (X + 4) green felspar and leopard skins'.

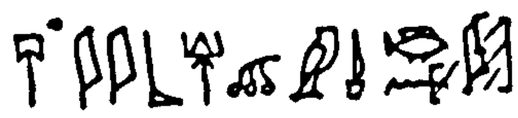
Caminos, Ibrim, pl.32, 1.6 (1.2-3 'tribute of the southern foreign lands': 

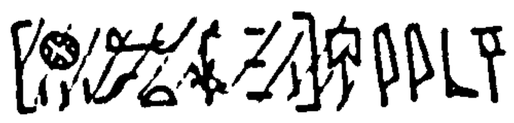
tr. p.67: 'Those who are carrying live panthers, 10 men'.

Urk IV, 702 (tribute from Kush): 

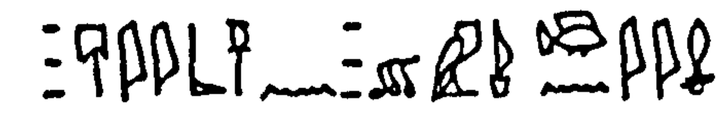
Gardiner et al. Inscriptions of Sinai, pl.61, No.200 and pl.56 No.182: 

Urk IV, 373, 7-10 (tribute): 

J. Lopez, Ostraca III, pl.122, No.57385, 1.6: 

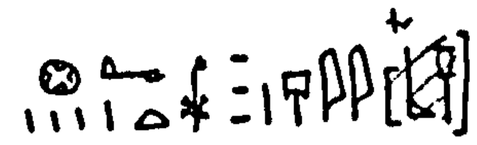
Koller 2, 5 : 

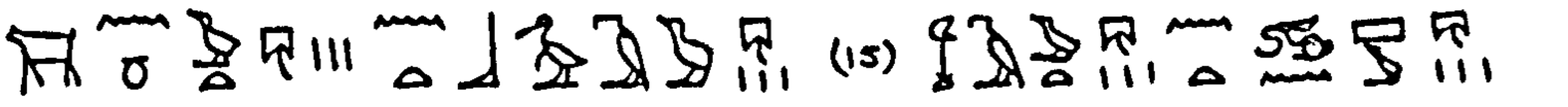
tr. Caminos, LEM, p.478: 'leopard [skins]', with the comment, p.479: '3by šm'w, literally 'Upper Egyptian panther', ie. 'leopard' (felis pardus)'.

Turin C, 4, 2: 

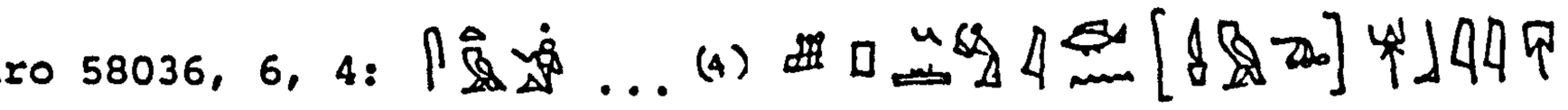
tr. Caminos, LEM, p.438: 'panther skins'.

G.Legrain, Rec. Trav. 23 (1901) 195-196: Sur un fragment d'obélisque trouvé à Karnak, p.196, 1.7:

Spiegelberg, Ostraka, pl.5, no.39a, 6 (from Kush): 

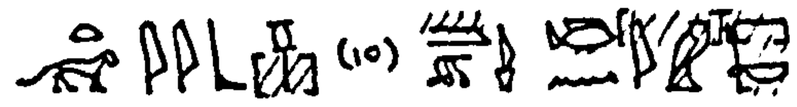
69. Bauer R14: 

70. Eg Otto, Mundöffnungsritual, p.72-3 (and Scene 19-21):

P.Cairo 58036, 6, 4: 

For representations see Borchardt, Sahure II, fig.47; Deirelb I, pl.6, 7; IV, pl.110; V, pl.135.

71. Vandier, P.Jumilhac II, 15. According to the legend a stm-priest of Osiris told Anubis the whereabouts of Seth (st ỉm) who was disguised as an ꜣby and because of this the stm-priest wears a leopard-skin to this day. Possibly its spots were acquired by the burning of the disguised Seth by Anubis (XI t[exte] b[as], II, 1-4).

72. KRI III, 8, 9: 

P.Cairo 58036, 1, 3:

See also Otto, loc.cit.

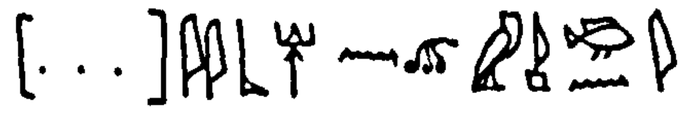
73. Sahure II, fig.1; Deirelb II, pl.55; Calverley, Abydos II, pl.30.

74. Deirelb VI, pl.158.

75. Theb Grab 106 <1241> = KRI III, 8, 9 (above)

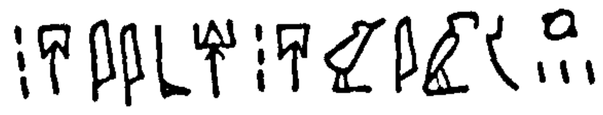
76. Wb. Drog. VI, p.3: 'der Panther'.

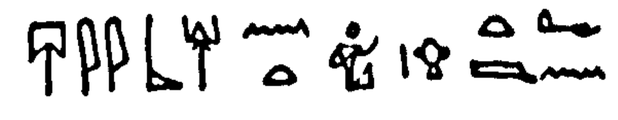
P.Ch.B. XV, 6:



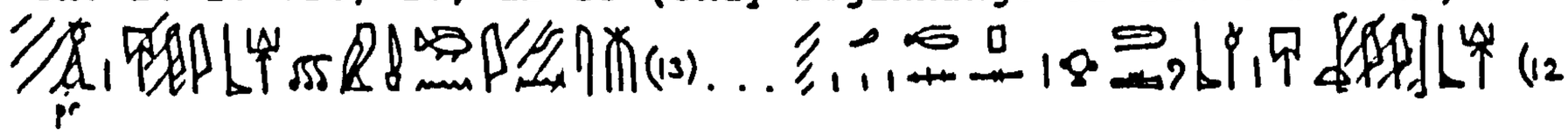
Wb. Drog. V, p.297; tr. IV$^{1}$, p.170: 'Fell (ỉnm) des Panthers ⌜1⌝'.

P.med Berl 3038, 6, 8; Wb.Drog. V, p.447; tr. IV$^{1}$, p.261: 'Kot vom Löwen; [Kot vom] Panther':

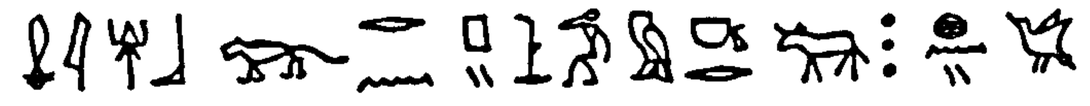


77. BOD 145: 

tr. Allen, BOD, p.130: 'I am anointed with ỉbr-ointment of the god's possessions, and <the claws> upon me are leopards'; the sceptre in my hand is the smiter of the evil-intended ones'.

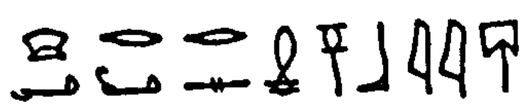
78. P. Ch. B. IV vso, 10, 12-13 (only beginnings of lines remain): 

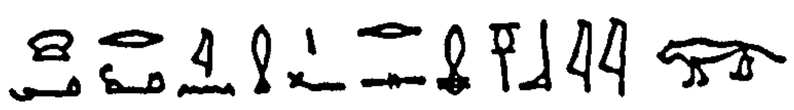
79. An I, 19, 3: (text in n.25)

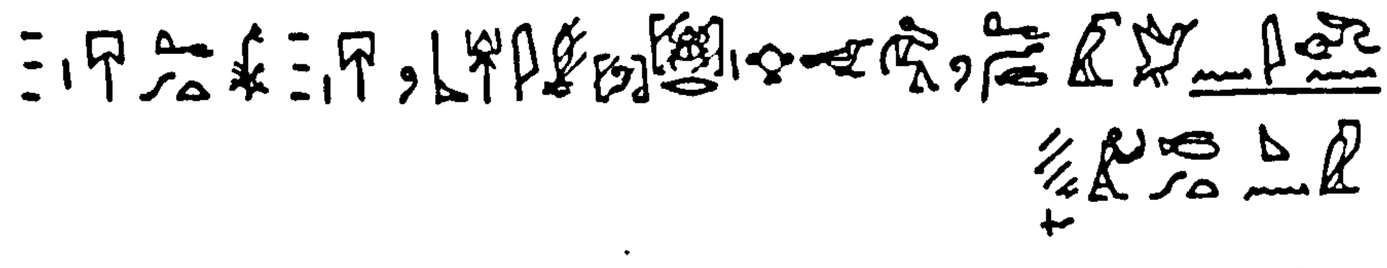
80. Urk IV, 85: 

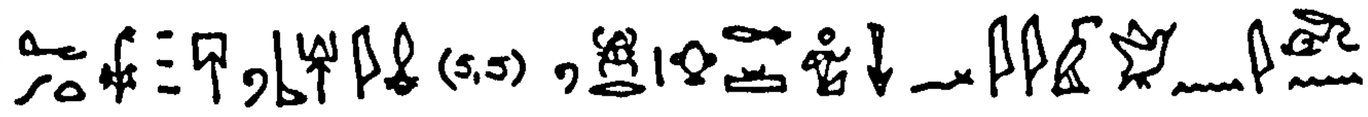
Amada 3:

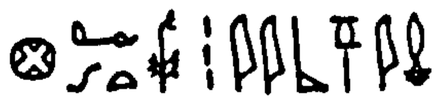
(parallel in Wien (Wresz) p.42, no.141).

Urk III, 17 (Pianchi): 

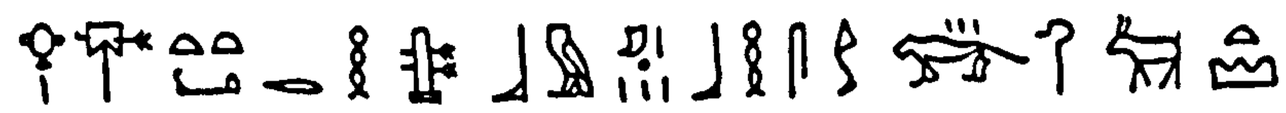
Urk IV, 8: 

81. Orb 3, 7: 

Orb 5, 5: 

Sall IV, 3, 4 (Horus angry at Isis): 

cf Hor u Seth 9, 7.

82. Urk IV, 1541: 

83. P.Ch.B. III, rto 4, 2:

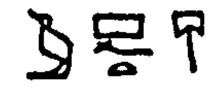
tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.13: If a man see himself in a dream 'seeing his face as (that of) a leopard, good; acting as a chief'.

84. M. Müller, Rec. Trav. 9 (1887) 157-76: Über einigen Hieroglyphenzeichen, p.159-60; cf Ward, Bɜ,p.127-128.

85. Edel, op.cit. (1961) p.244.

86. W. Westendorf, SÄK 6 (1978) 201-255: Uraeus und Sonnenscheibe, p.218-9: 'Das Tier mit der allgemeinen Bezeichnung "Göttin" (ntr.t) scheint ursprünglich eine Raubkatze gewesen zu sein; das in der Schrift weiterlebende Tier für das allgemeine Determinativ "Göttin" ist jedoch die Schlange'.

87. Edel & Wenig, Jahreszeitenreliefs, pl.14, No.38.

88. CT VII, 332b: var. B1L 

FECT III, p.143 tr.: 'He is the keeper of this bend, overbearing (?) of form whose mother speaks like a.... '.

CT VII, 516g:  var B5C B4L

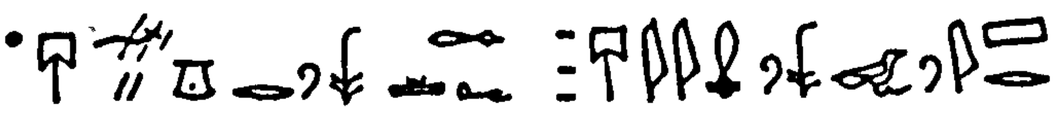
FECT III, p.187 tr.: 'An overbearing one(?) whose mother speaks like a .... '.

89. CD 55b: 'cat'; Černý, CED, p.35: 'cat'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.35: 'Katze' and p.498; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.42 (cf p.43a on the word's onomatopoeic origins).

90. E. Littmann, ZÄS 67 (1931) 63-68: Bemerkungen zur ägyptisch-semitischen Sprachvergleichung, p.66:
'Bei mjw, "Kater" wird niemand nach einer Etymologie suchen und darauf Sprachverwandtschaft begründen; denn die Kater schreien überall miau'.

The mewing of a cat, which the Egyptians appear to have termed rmw n my lit. 'weepings/wailings', are referred to in P.Ch.B. IV, vso 5, 5-6. Cf Amduat IV, 47:

91. Störk, Op.cit., col.367: Hinter dem Wort mjw, fem. mjjt werden wir daher nicht nur eine Bezeichnung der eigentlichen K[atze], sondern auch des Servals u. der Rohrk[atze] sehen dürfen'.

92. An I, 10, 1: 

tr. Gardiner, P.Anastasi I, p.13* : 'Let me tell thee of P-harpide who lives in Heliopolis; [he is an old] man of the Palace. He is smaller <than> a cat, and bigger than an ape; he prospers in his house'.

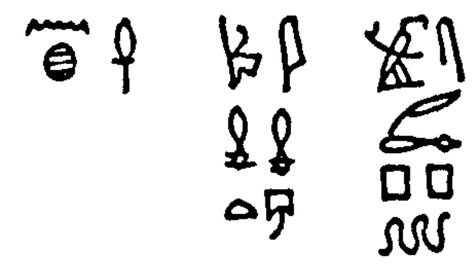
93. Kingdon, East African Mammals III A, p.312, recorded a head and body measurement of 47-66cm for F.sylvestris. Haltenorth & Diller, Mammals of Africa, p.293, gave this measurement as 45-83cm for male C.aethiops, 40-61cm for females. A large cat might, therefore, be bigger than a small guenon.

94. Math Hdb 79: 

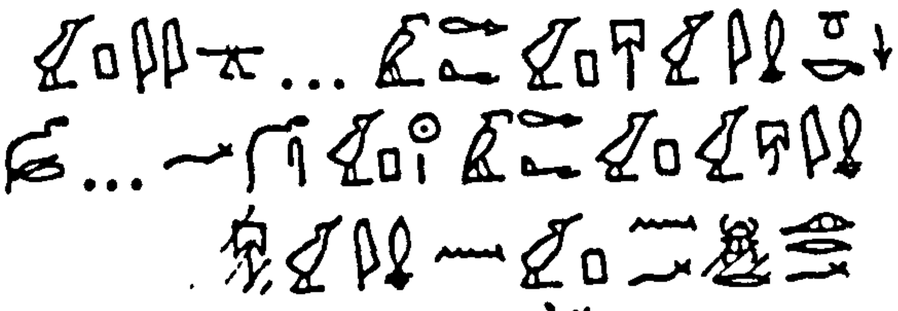
Beni Hasan II, pl.6:

Totb Nav 33, 2: 

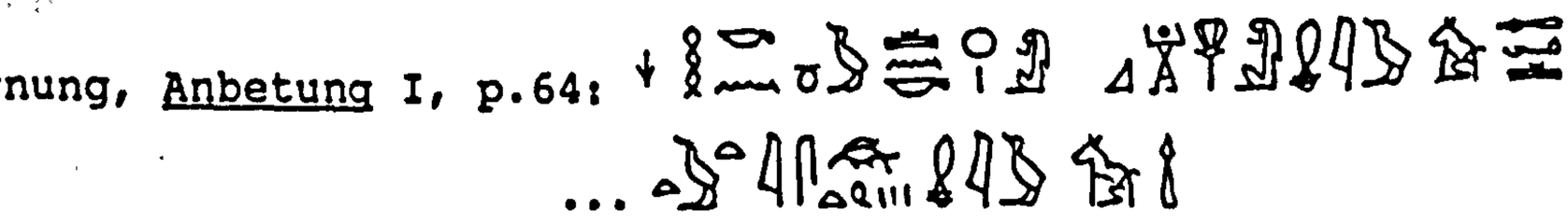
See Ch.13: Miscellaneous Mammals (pnw) for texts and translations.

95. For a representation of a cat killing a serpent see Piankoff, Religious Texts, papyrus of T3-wd3t-r‹: 

Hornung, Pforten II, p.286, Scene 100 (text vol.I, p.402) noted a cat-headed deity which holds a w3s-sceptre in one hand and grasps a snake in the other. It is called mỉwty 'Der Katergestaltige' which is a term applied to Rē‹ elsewhere.

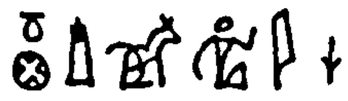
96. BOD 17, 54-56 = CT IV, 283-288: 

tr. FECT I, p.264: 'I am that great Cat who split the išd-tree on its side in On on that night of making war and of warding off the rebels, and on that day on which were destroyed the foes of the Lord of All. [Glossed:] What is that great Cat? He is Re himself; he was called "Cat" when Sia spoke about him. He was cat-like in what he did, and that is how his name of "Cat" came into being '.

Cf Hornung, Anbetung I, p.64: 

with comments, Vol.II, p.115, n.152: 'Der Anruf verbindet die Katergestalt deutlich mit dem Aspekt des strafenden und schützenden Sonnengottes'. Tr. p.69: 'der Körper des großen Katers'.

ibid. I, p.269, no.56:

CT VI, 303: 

tr. FECT II, p.243: 'O Cat of On'.

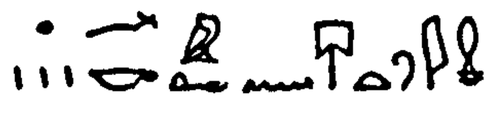
CT IV, 47c:

tr. FECT I, p.219: 'I have travelled around the sky with the Cat'.

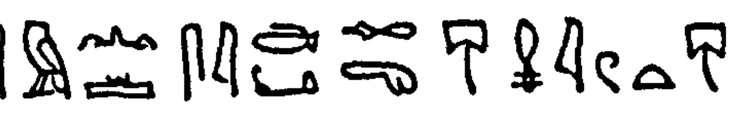
Abyd Mar II, 17:

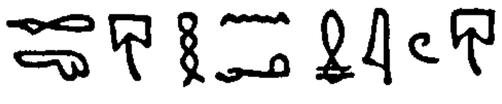
Urk V, Abschn 22:

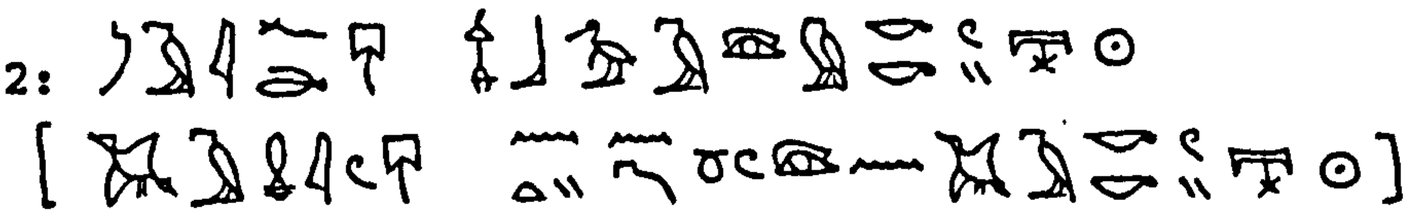
This association of the cat with Rēʿ, especially as the enemy of chaos, is presumably the reason for providing the king with a cat-shaped amulet; see

P.Brooklyn 47.218.50: 

tr. Goyon, Confirmation, p.78: 'le chat de turquoise'.

97. Urk VI, 129, 9-10: 

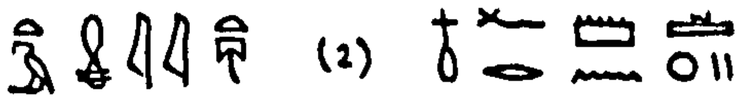
cf Urk VI, 69, 41: 

98. Urk VI, 87, 11-12: 

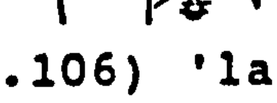
tr. p.86: 'M3fd, der die Finsternis öffnet [n.b. durch den Blick seiner im Dunklen leuchtenden Augen' & '[der Kater, der in der Finsternis sieht]'.

This text is of interest in providing an identification of the animal of M3fdt, usually given as the cheetah - see eg Wb II, 29, 5-6: ein katzenartiges Tier mit scharfen Krallen (Art Gepard?); the inclusion of m3fdt under the names given to cheetahs in L. Störk, LÄ II, 530-531: Gepard; E. Grafe, LÄ III, 1132-1133: Mafdet. W.Westendorf, ZDMG 118 (1968) 248-56: Die Pantherkatze Mafdet, noted, p.298: 'Die Mafdet-Darstellung aus den Royal Tombs entspricht der hier ntr.t genannten Gepardenkatze. Others have suggested the mongoose: A.H.Gardiner, JEA 24 (1938) 83-91: The Mansion of Life and the master of the king's largess, esp. p.89-90; FECT III, p.49, n.2: 'perhaps a mongoose' (CT VII, 94p). M. Alliot, BSFE 6 (1951) 17-24: Les auxilaires de chasse de tueur d'oiseaux au baton de jet, p.21, gave: 'la genette'.

99. Meeks, AL 77.1648; Störk, op.cit.

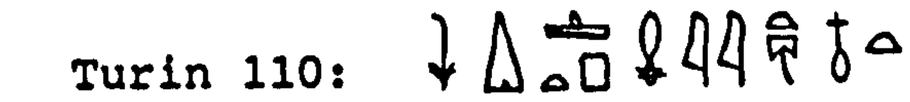
100. Tur 134: 

published G. Maspero, Rec. Trav. 2 (1880) 105-120: Notes sur quelques points de grammaire et d'histoire, p.108.

T. Andrzejewski, Le papyrus mythologique de Te-Hem-en-Mout (Paris 1959) pl.4; 5; text pl.6: 

The inscription accompanying the cat reads (p.47, n.106) 'la chatte en lapis-lazuli, grande de formes.... dame de la Belle Maison'.

Mett 78:

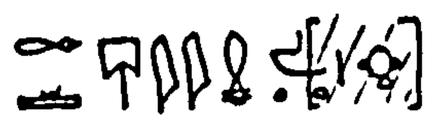
Turin 110: 

For Ptolemaic references see Wb Belegstellen.

101. Störk, LÄ III: Katze, col.368: 'Vornehmlich gilt die K[atze] aber als Tier der Bastet, einer ursprünglichen Löwengöttin [for which see above, m3ỉ], die sich zu K[atze] gewandelt hat und damit den Gegenpol zur wütenden Löwin Sachmet bildet. Zahllose Bronzen und K[atzen]friedhöfe von Bubastis bis Theben belegen den Ruf dieser Göttin in der SpZt'.

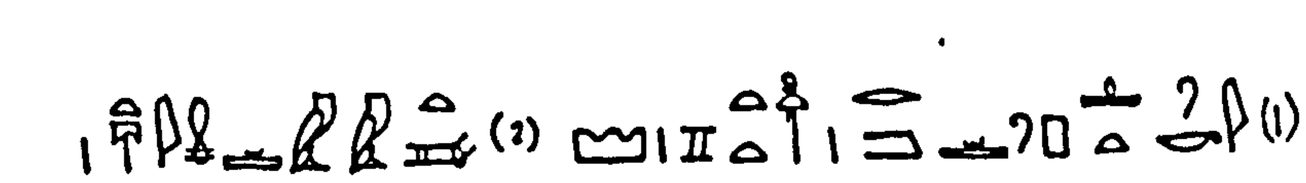
For a cat listed among sacred animals in the Saite period see Wien (Wresz) p.87 (no.150):

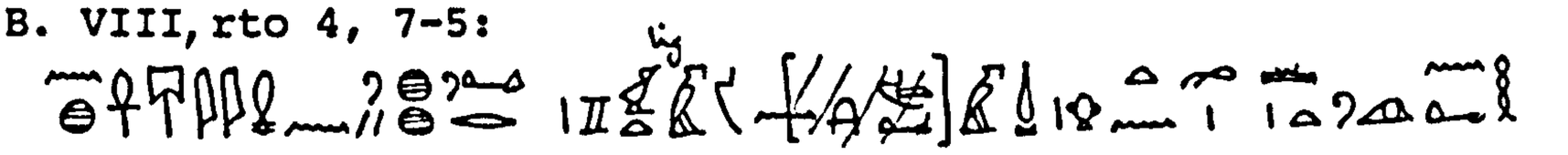
102. P.Ch.B III, 4, 3:



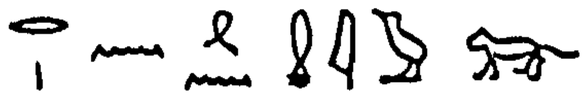
tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.13: If a man sees himself in a dream: 'seeing a large (my ʿ3) cat, good; it means a large (šmw ʿ3) harvest will come to [him]'.

Cf A. Volten, Demotische Traumdeutung (Kopenhagen 1941) p.94.

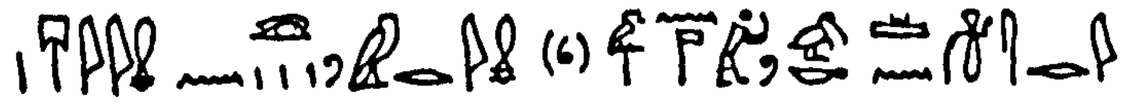
103. O.DelM 1408: 

104 P.Ch.B. VIII, rto 4, 7-5: 

tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.68: 'And make this writing upon a new papyrus, to be put upon the neck of a live cat'.

105. Mett 9: 

Cf also AL 78.1662.

106. P.Ch.B. IV, vso 5: 

tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.42: 'To make flourish him who serveth God is like the wailing of a cat. ' with n.5: 'The sense is very obscure. Can it be meant that to cultivate the welfare of God's servants is, or should be, as natural to man as is mewing to a cat?'

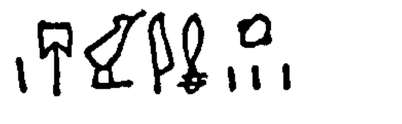
107. Störk, op.cit., col.367.

108. Ranke, PN, p.184; id., Tiernamen, p.79. See also Störk, op.cit., n.10, for other opinions on the earliest attestation of the name.

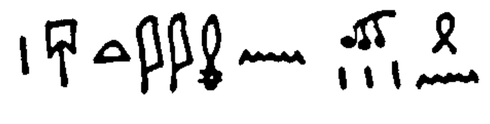
109. Wb. Drog. VI, p.218-9: 'der Kater'; 219: 'die Katze'.

Eb 74, 17-18: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.402; tr. IV$^1$, p.231; 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel). ḫ‘‘.w von dbḥ.t.t (𓅱𓅱) 1; Kot eines Katers 1; Kot eines Windhundes 1; werde die Schwellung damit verbunden'.

Eb 74, 20: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.402; tr. IV$^1$, p.232: 'Kot eines Katers'.

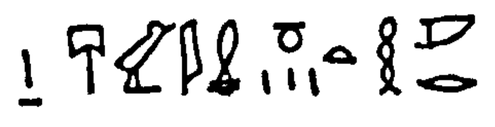
P.med Lond 14, 14 (= Eb 69, 5): 

Wb. Drog. V, p.373; tr. IV$^1$, p.215.

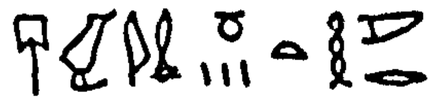
P.med Lond 13, 7:

Wb. Drog. V, p.269; tr. IV$^1$, p.153:

'Werde gesprochen über einem Phallus, ..... Werde damit mit dem Namen [jenes] Feindes, [dem Namen] seines Vaters, dem Namen seiner Mutter; werde gegeben in das Innere von Fettem von Fleisch; werde einer Katze gegeben'.

Eb 66, 9: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.514; tr IV$^1$, p.298.

Eb 98, 2: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.527; tr IV$^1$, p.306: 'Fett (mrḥt) eines Katers'.

P.med Berl 3038, 6, 4:

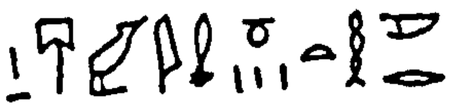
Wb. Drog. V, p.266; tr. IV$^1$, p.152: 'Kot vom Kater'.

P.med Berl 3038, 6, 10-11:

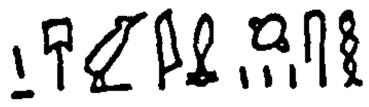
Wb. Drog. V, p.107; tr IV$^1$, p.63: 'Kot des Katers'.

Eb 79, 6 = Hearst 8, 1:

Wb. Drog. V, p.31; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.18: 'Heilmittel für das Lindern der Gefäße. Fett (mrḥ.t) vom Kater 1; ḫt-ʿw3 ( ) 1; Harz vom ỉḳrw-Baum 1; werde zerrieben , werde zu einer Masse gemacht, werde damit gesalbt (gs)'.

Eb 82, 15: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.49; tr. IV$^1$, p.28.

Eb 43, 20: 

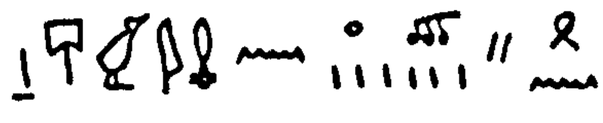
Wb. Drog. V, p.166; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.95: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Beseitigen einer Verstopfung im Magen. Brot vom Christdorn 1; Kot des Katers 1; roter Ocker (mnš.t) 1; bddw-k3-Pflanze 1; süßes Bier 1; Wein 1; werde zu einer Masse gemacht, werde damit verbunden'.

Eb 68, 7 = Eb 69, 2:

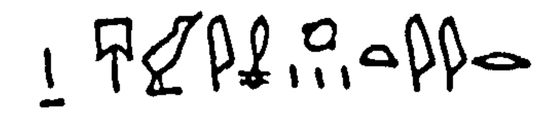
Wb. Drog. V, p.378 & 379; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.218: 'pr.t-šnj-Frucht 1; wʿḥ-Hülsenfrucht 1; Kot eines Katers 1; werde gemischt zu einer Masse mit Gummiwasser; werde daran gegeben'.

Eb 75, 5 = Hearst 3, 10-11:

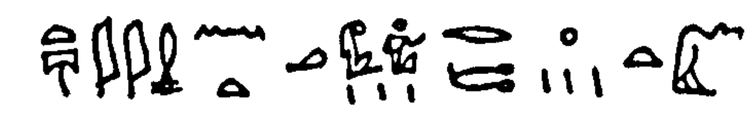
Wb. Drog. V, p.21; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.12: 'Heilmittel für das Beseitigen der Schmerzstoffe, die sich bewegen (nhp) in allen Körperteilen des Mannes. ḥcc.w ( ) von šȝny -Flüssigkeit; Kot vom Kater; Kot des Windhundes; Fruchte (ỉšd.t) des ḫt-dg-Baumes; werde damit verbunden. Das ist ein Beseitigen von Schwellung'.

Eb 68, 5: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.371; tr. IV[1], p.214: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel). Gummi 1; Haar eines Katers 1; werde zerrieben zu einer Masse, werde daran gegeben'.

Eb 43, 3: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.160; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.95: 'Ein anderes Heilmittel für das Beseitigen einer Verstopfung im Magen. Brot von Christdorn 1; bddw-k3-Pflanze 1; Ausscheidung (ri.t) des Katers 1; süßes Bier 1; Wein 1; werde zu einer Masse gemacht, werde damit verbunden'.

Eb 65, 11: 

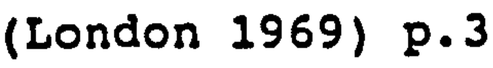
Wb. Drog. V, p.511; tr. IV[1], p.296: 'Plazenta der Katze'.

110. Cf BM 37977, colour plate in T.G.H. James, An Introduction to Ancient Egypt (London 1979) pl.4.

See too W. Westendorf, Das alte Ägypten (Baden-Baden 1967) p.123; Alliot, op.cit.

H.S. Smith in P.J. Ucko & G.W. Dimbleby ed, The domestication and exploitation of plants and animals (London 1969) p.313, n.i: 'The early African cat may have been used for retrieving'.

111. Störk, op.cit., col.367: 'Vereinzelte K[atzen]funde unter den vorgesch[ichtlichen] Tierbestattungen deuten auf gelegentliche Haltung gezähmter Exemplare, doch stehen sie in keiner Relation zur Häufigkeit, mit der andere Haustiere wie etwa der Hund belegt sind... Wesentliches Domestikationsmotiv dürfte das Geschick der K[atze] bei der Bekämpfung von Nagetieren u[nd] Schlangen gewesen sein'.

112. Koller 4, 3 : 

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.438: 'cats of Miw'.

## Chapter 10 : Notes

1. See all zoological works quoted below, and L.Störk, LÄ IV, 915-920: Pavian, esp. col. 916: 'Ausgehend von Ökologie und heutiger Verbreitung wird man annehmen können, daß Ägypten ehdem von folgenden Affenspezies bewohnt war: Cercopithecus aethiops (Grüne Meerkatze), Erythrocebus patas (Husarenaffe), Papio anubis (Grüner P[avian]) und Papio hamadryas (Mantelp[avian])'.

2. 'Vervet monkey' is used here as the vernacular equivalent of C.aethiops L, which is also known by the name 'green monkey'. 'Vervet monkey' sometimes appears as the vernacular name for C.a.pygerythrus Cuvier, a southern sub-species, and other southern races have been considered part of the 'vervet group'. 'Grivet monkey' can be applied to the north-eastern C.a.aethiops L, and northern races may be described as belonging to the 'grivet group'. 'Green monkey' is also used of C.a.sabaeus Scopoli.

   C.aethiops is very widely distributed throughout sub-Saharan Africa. The north-eastern types, the races most likely to have been known to the ancient Egyptians, are the closely related C.a.tantalus Ogilby (more westerly) and C.a.aethiops (more easterly). C.aethiops includes the previously distinguished genus Lasiopyga noted in Davies, Paintings, p.68 with pl.33 (Ḳenamūn).

   See concerning the above: Kingdon, East African Mammals I, p.209 & 213; Walker, Mammals of the World, p.458; Dorst & Dandelot, Mammals of Africa, p.72-73; A.B. Chiarelli, Taxonomic Atlas of Living Primates (London & New York 1972) p.240.

3. After Kingdon, op.cit., p.176-177, who divided P.cynocephalus into the four races P.c.cynocephalus (Yellow Baboon, Angola to Somalia), P.c.anubis (Nigeria to Kenya), P.c.papioi (Guinea or Western Baboon of Western Africa) and P.c.ursinus (Chacma baboon of southern Africa). Some authors continue to give these specific status.

4. Previously known as Comopithecus - still used by E. Brunner-Traut, LÄ I, 93-95: Affe, esp. col. 93.

5. See, for example, the notes in W.C.O. Hill, Primates. Comparative anatomy and taxonomy. VIII Cynopithecinae. Papio, Mandrillus, Theropithecus (Edinburgh 1970) p.7-11.

This baboon may be identified in particular from the heavy mane of the adult males, sometimes drawn by the Egyptians as if a cape of feathers; the term mḥwt 'feathering' (cf Wb II, 123, 6-10: Vogelfeder... Federschmuck, Wb II, 123, 11: von der Mähne des Pavians) was applied to it (An III, 4, 12, tr. Caminos, LEM, p.88). Keimer, MDAIK 8 (1938) 42-45: Pavian und Dum-Palme, gave 'Pavian' only for this monkey. Vandier d'Abbadie, Singes...NE, esp. p.190, fig 49, tr. p.189: 'la guenon'.

6. Note the longer muzzle of the kyky and the different manner of holding the tail - that of the kyky is held in an arc, that of the gf flows in a smooth curve from the body. The determinatives of gwf and kyw in Schiffbr do not make this distinction; they differ only in size, the det. of kyw being smaller, though this is probably because the writing is cramped by the larger signs in the line above and should not be used as evidence for identification of the species.

7. Vandier d'Abbadie, Ostraca figurés, pl.41, No. 2276: the monkey depicted is called ỉgỉȝfy nfr; K. el-Mallakh, Treasures of the Nile (New York 1980) colour plate on p. 106 (from the tomb of Rekhmirē'). Cf Hornung, Pforten II, p.277: 'Meerkatzen... bei RVI grün bemalt (Gesicht, Extremitäten und Hinterteil rot)'.

8. Kingdon, op.cit., p.214: 'Vervets often show off to other vervets by strutting around the other animal with the tail held aloft, looking over their shoulder and presenting their bright blue scrotum to view'.

9. Kingdon, op.cit., p.213, described C.aethiops as 'greenish-grey savanna monkeys with white-fringed dark faces'. Dorst & Dandelot, op.cit., p.72-73 described C.a.aethiops as 'ashy grey tinged with green above'.

10. Vandier d'Abbadie, Ostraca figurés, pl.7, No.2042, shows only the red extremities coloured, not the fur. Ibid., pl.4, No.2035 (O.Cairo 3011) does not show any pale fur on the underside of the monkey.

11. C.A.Bramblett, Patterns of Primate Behaviour (Palo Alto, California 1976) p.139: 'Hamadryas baboons differ [from other baboons] in that their facial skin is pink'; T. Rowell, The Social Behaviour of Monkeys (Harmondsworth, Middlesex 1972) p.46: 'At present only the pink-skinned hamadryas baboon of Ethiopia is generally recognised as a species separate from other baboons'.

H. Kummer, Social Organization of Hamadryas Baboons : A Field Study (Chicago 1968), further noted two major variations in the colouring of the baboons he studied: 'The western variant may be roughly characterized as dark skinned and brown haired; the eastern as red skinned and yellow haired' (p.18). Males of the eastern type are described by Kummer (p.18 Table 3) as having faces of 'Bright vermillion' and an anal region 'Pale light red'. This recalls the description in the Pyramid Texts of the baboon deity B3b3y:

Pyr 1349:

tr. Sethe, UuK V, p.278: (dd mdw not tr.) 'Zurück, B3bwj, mit rotem Ohr, mit rotem After'.

Harris, Lex. Stud., p.226-7, drew a greater distinction between these 'reds' : 'tms, often a mere synonym of dšr, has in fact a quite distinct range, as is shown by a passage in the Pyramid Texts where a baboon has ears which are dšr, and a behind which is tms. This suggests a colour in which red is tinged with blue'. The passage was also commented on by Keimer, BIFAO 55 (1955) 7-20: Notes de lecture, esp. p.7-8, when considering Egyptian representations of baboons' ears protruding from their fur. Note esp. his fig.2, p.9, and also Davies, Paintings, pl.7 with p.18 and 19.

Cf too An III, 5, 1-2, tr. Caminos, LEM, p.88: (hymn to Thoth) 'That which is upon his head of red jasper, and his phallus of (5,2) cornelian'.

It may be deduced from the evidence of Pyr 1349 and An III that it was the eastern form of P.hamadryas which was known in ancient Egypt.

12. For baboons with white bellies see Vandier d'Abbadie, Ostraca figurés, pl.40, No 2274 & 2275 (with dom nuts).

13. In any event the kyky is unlikely to have been a female hamadryas since they retain the juveniles' brown colouring. Although entirely separate terms for male and female animals in Egyptian (ie not merely ḥmt (n) + male term, or male term + feminine ending .t) have been mooted, some may be discounted. For apparent anomalies see ḥp (Ch.15) and rby (Ch.9).

A sub-adult male hamadryas, with the colouring but not the heavy mane of the fully adult male, would remain a possibility. For age differentiation of cattle, see Ch.4.

14. Lortet & Gaillard, Faune Momifiée, p.207ff.

15. Excellent distribution maps are given in Kingdon, op.cit. p.213 (C.aethiops) and p.263 (E.patas).

16. Note, perhaps, the comment in P.C. Jay, ed., Primates : Studies in Adaption and Variability (New York etc. 1968) of K.R.L. Hall (Ch.2: Behaviour and Ecology of the Wild Patas Monkey, Erythrocebus patas, in Uganda) p.35 : 'patas never venture into the riverine vegetation belts on which baboons and vervets are based'.

17. Vandier d'Abbadie, Singes...AE, p.150.

18. Chiarelli, op.cit., p.240 noted Cercopithecus griseoviridis Desmarest as a synonym of C.aethiops.

19. Lortet & Gaillard, op.cit., p.213.

20. Kingdon, op.cit., p.263, noted on E.patas: 'Young animals and females are coloured rather like dry grass with shades of fawn, russet and grey. By contrast the adult males are very much larger than the females and have brilliant reds with strong tonal contrasts on the hindquarters and face'. Cf Dorst & Dandelot, op.cit., p.73: 'Upperparts brick-red, brighter on top of head, sometimes with a grey tinge on shoulders (adult males). Underparts white'. Note too the vernacular name 'red guenon' recorded by Hill, op.cit., VI: Catarrhini. Cercopithecoidea. Cercopithecinae. (Edinburgh 1966) p.654.

21. Hill, loc.cit.

22. L. Störk, GM 8 (1973) 43-44: Kannten die Ägypter den Dschelada (Theropithecus gelada)?

23. Agatharchides, De Mare Erythraeo 50,73, tr. in C.J. Ucko and P.J. Jolly, The Riddle of the Sphinx-Monkey, in M. Douglas and P.M. Kaberry, Man in Africa (London 1969) p.319-335: 'Sphinges and baboons [Papio] and "garden-monkeys" [Cepi, unidentified] are sent to Alexandria from the country of the Troglodites and from Aethiopia' p.320.

24. Pliny, Nat. Hist. VI, 184. Cf Aelian, De natura animalium XVI, 15, ed. A.F.Schofield, Aelian. On the characteristics of animals (London & Cambridge, Mass. 1959), who mentioned the sphinx-monkey in India.

25. This was questioned by Jolly and Ucko, op.cit., p.331, who noted the possibility that the animals in question were tamed examples (ie not in their natural habitat).

26. A map showing the recent distribution of T.gelada (ie solely around Lake Tana) is shown in Ucko and Jolly, op.cit., p.330. Note the comment of Kingdon, op.cit., p.151, on T.gelada: 'a grassland baboon, one species of which has survived in high altitude grasslands after the virtual extermination of the species'.

27. Peet & Woolley, COA I, pl.27, No.2; Vandier d'Abbadie, Singes...NE, p.150, fig.9.

28. Störk, op.cit., col.916: 'Wie lange diese Arten in Ägypten heimisch waren, kann zur Zeit noch nicht mit Sicherheit festgestellt werden'. Keimer, op.cit., p.19, was more categorical: 'Tout ce que la religion et les mythes égyptiennes contiennent sur les divinités Thot, Bébon, etc., et sur leurs pays d'origine ne peut en aucun cas infirmer le fait qu'aux époques historiques l'Égypte n'a pas abrité de singes sauvages, mais que ces derniers furent, depuis très longtemps, importés du Sud et du Sud-Est dans la vallée égyptienne du Nil'.

This may be qualified by the remark of Kees, Götterglaube, p.20: 'Doch muß einst in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit der Kult des großen Mantelpavians, eines typischen Gebirgsbewohners, in Oberägypten heimisch gewesen sein'. According to Brunner-Traut, op.cit.,

col.83, however, there were monkeys indigenous to Egypt surviving 'zumindest bis ins MR'. Compare Keimer, MDAIK 8(1938) 42-45: Pavian und Dum-palme, p.45 n.2.

Vandier d'Abbadie, Singes...ME, p.177, believed that monkeys were a luxury item confined to the upper classes and that the fall in the number of representations of these animals between the Old and Middle Kingdoms can partly be explained by the decline of this class in the politically troubled First Intermediate Period. 'Les singes, animaux de luxe et de distraction, ornements des riches demeures des époques précédentes, avaient, probablement, perdu de leur attrait dans une société plus démocratique et bouleversée par les luttes intérieures'.

29. P. Červiček, Felsbilder des Nord-Etbai, Oberägyptens und Unternubiens (Wiesbaden 1974) fig.477.

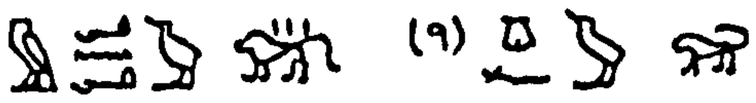
30. Cf A.F. Richard, Primates in Nature (New York 1985) p.312: 'Desert baboons [P.hamadryas]... are found predominantly in Ethiopia, where much of their range is empty of tall trees, and they congregate for safety on cliff-faces'.

31. Vandier d'Abbadie, Singes...AE; Klebs, Reliefs AR, p.32, 33, 55. Cf also Nianchchnum, pl.27 (market scene - for a similar scene from the causeway to the Unas pyramid at Saqqara see Top.Bibl. III, 2, p.417), and id., The tomb of Nefer and Ka-Hay (Mainz 1971) pl.23 (in boat) pl.12 (wine pressing - on the connections of Ḥd-wr, a baboon deity, with wine see P. Kaplony, LÄ II, 1078-1080: Hedjwer, esp. col.1079, n.12-13.)

32. Vandier d'Abbadie, Singes...ME; Klebs, Reliefs MR, p.48-49; 29; 32; 44; 53; 78; 89.

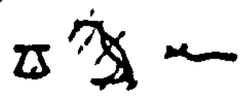
Monkeys in the wild are represented at Beni Hasan (Beni Hasan II pl.6), Deir el-Bersha (Berscheh II pl.11) and Meir (Meir II, pl.7 - guenon only).

33. Urk IV, 949 (Nubian tribute. The baboon shown is unnamed):

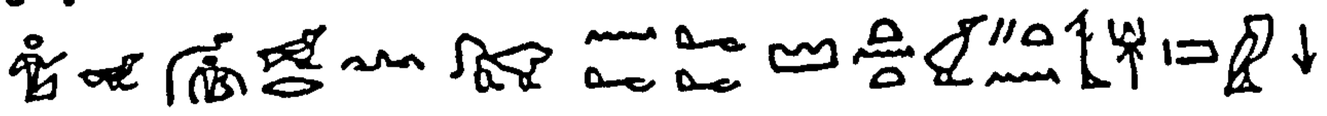
Urk IV, 329 (booty from Punt): 

Koller 4,3 (Nubian tribute):

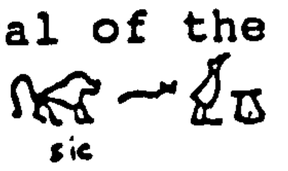
tr. Caminos, LEM, p.438: 'a long tailed monkey, baboons'.

Urk IV, 949 (gifts from Punt include 'Grauer Affe, mit rotem Gesicht'): 

Baboons are also mentioned in connection with the region Wtnt: (Wb. Drog. VII[1], p.136). J.W.B. Barns, Five Ramesseum Papyri (Oxford 1956), III A 33 (pl.12), tr. p.20: 'Mine are the products of foreign lands, namely.... on the eastern side of Wtnt. O baboon I have not become faint':



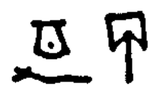
Wtnt was not recorded by Wb but Assmann, Liturgische Lieder, p.209, n.96, noted the word in several texts and described it as 'Ein Land im Süden, das wie Punt auch als Ostland dem Sonnenaufgang zugeordnet wird'. Cf Sonnenlit 69 below).

Note the indication of earlier imports of monkeys given by the tale of the 'Shipwrecked Sailor' who is given presents typical of the produce of Punt, including (Schiffbr. 165): 

See below for gif as native to Kush.

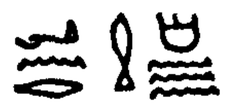
For New Kingdom representations of monkeys see Vandier d'Abbadie, Singes...NE and Klebs, Reliefs NR, p.36; 37; 80; 87; 210.

Note, however, Urk IV, 1120, (Davies, Rekhmire, pl.29, p.33) where gif appear among tribute from southern towns (Elephantine - Qift):



34. Vandier d'Abbadie, op.cit., p.201.

35. Berscheh II, pl.11:

Kairo 1556: 

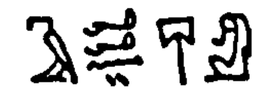
36. On these variations see A. Erman, ZÄS 46 (1909) 96-104: Assimilation des 'Ajin an andre schwache Konsonanten, p.99: ỉꜥr, ỉꜥnn3, sꜥꜥny, ꜥꜥn3 and Ptolemaic ꜥꜥnwy, ꜥꜥn are discussed under the heading 'In vielen Worten, die im ältesten Ägypten mit ع beginnen, wird später das ع dem ص assimiliert'.

37. Wb I, 41, 10-12: Kummer oä; klagender Ausruf. Cf AL 78.0193: 'imploration; supplique; plainte'; AL 79.0110: 'imploration; supplique'.

38. Černý, CED, p.42; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.53 a-b: 'guenon'; 'singe'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.46 and p.503.

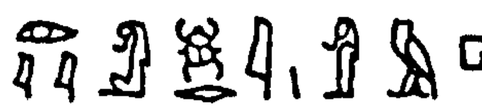
39. A.Erman, ZÄS 21 (1883) 89-109: Die ägyptische Beschwörungen des großen Pariser Zauberpapyrus [P.Anastasi 574] p.101:

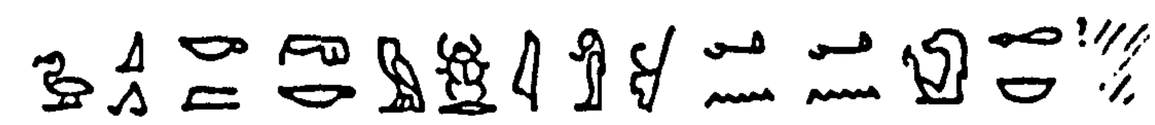
ⲡⲁⲛⲁ ⲑⲟⲟⲩⲧ

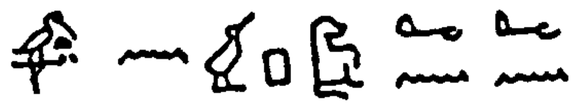
40. An III, 4, 12 (Hymn to Thoth) The deity is addressed as: 

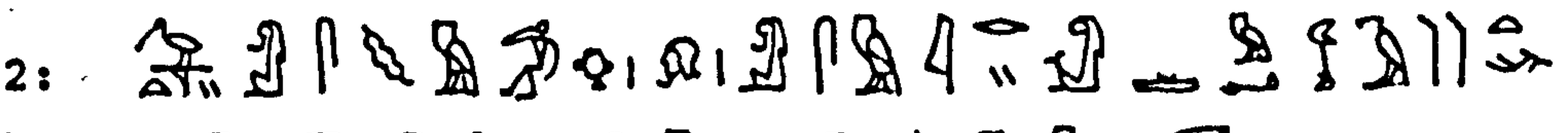
Cf Piankoff , Religious Texts, papyrus of T3-wḏ3t-Rꜥ, showing a baboon holding a scribal palette, named as Thoth in the accompanying inscription.

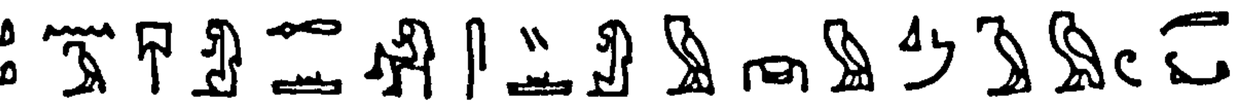
M.E. Châban, ASAE 8 (1907) 211-223: Fouilles à Achmounéin, p.216-7,

line 7 : 

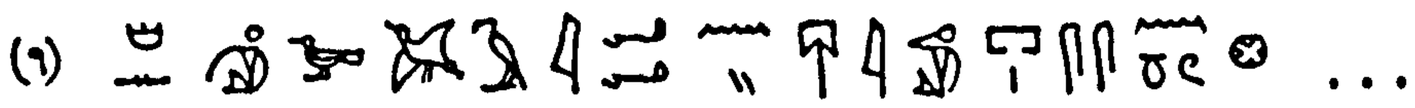
line 10 : 

Destr 73: 

Harr 26, 12: 

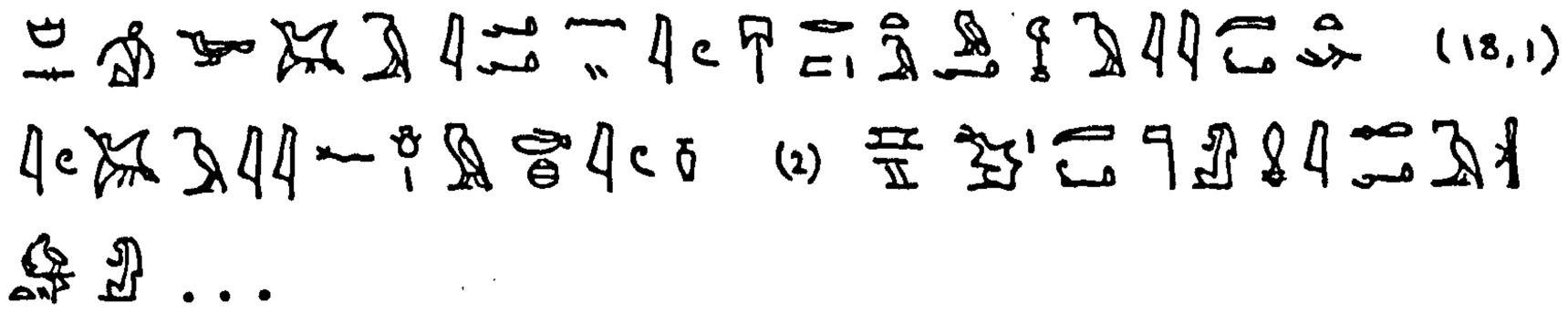
(12) 

Amenemope 17,9:

(9) 

tr. Lange, p.85-86: 'Der Schnabel des Ibis ist der Finger des Schreibers; hüte dich ihn zu kränzen. Der Affe sitzt in Hermopolis, aber sein Auge durchkreist die beiden Länder'.

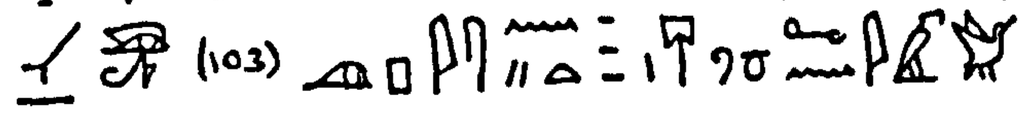
Amenemope 17, 22:



tr. Lange, p.88-89: 'Der Affe sitzt (ja) neben der Standwage, XVIII, 1 und sein Herz ist ihr Lot. Welcher Gott ist wie der grosse, Thoth, der diese Dinge machen erfunden hat'.

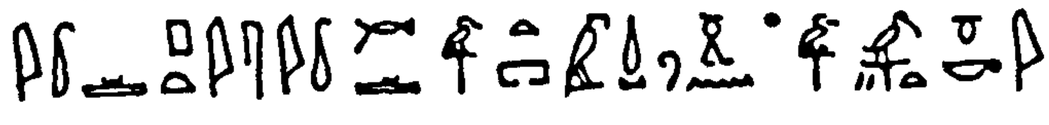
Compare also S. Sauneron & J. Yoyotte, RdE 7 (1950) 9-13: Le cynocéphale comme graphie du nom de Thot.

Edwards, HPBM, 4th ser., p.54, with pl.19, noted that the 'baboon who assigns the Udjat-eye', of P. Turin Mus 1983 (his T I) rto 102-103, is Thoth:



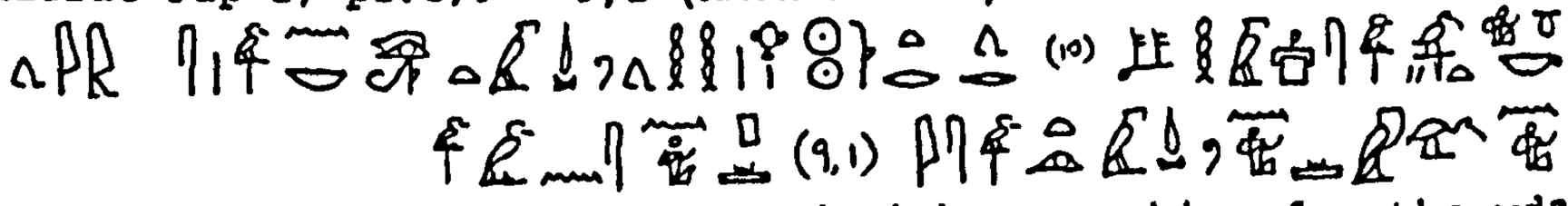
The same phrase is also found in Ch.81-82; C I, 37; P3 rto, 30; T3 rto 55-56; T2 rto 41; L6 rto 58.

Edwards compared P.Ch.B. VIII, rto 9,1:



tr. Gardiner, HPBM, 3rd ser., p.70 (pl.42).

and Hierat Pap I, pl.8,9 - 9,1 (Amun ritual):



'I am Thoth who roamed about day and night searching for the wd3t eye for its Lord. When I arrived I found the wd3t and assigned it to Horus'.

A baboon presenting a wd3t is reproduced in P. Derchain, ZÄS 83 (1958) 75-76: L'Oeil, gardien de la justice, p.76, fig. 2.

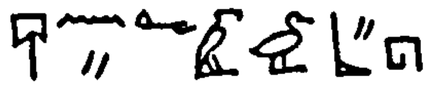
On the association of scarabs bearing representations of baboons and Thoth see Hornung & Staehelin, Skarabäen, p.107, n.7 and p.144, n.7.

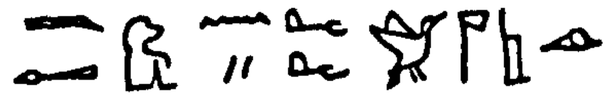
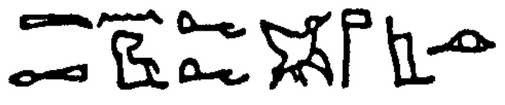
A scribal statue with baboon is published in J.D.S.Pendlebury, JEA 19 (1923) 113-118: Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Tell el-'Amarnah, 1932-1933, p.117 and pl.17 and 18.

Judgement scene representations may be found in C. Seeber, Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im alten Ägypten (Berlin 1936): MÄS 35, p.147-154 (on Thoth); R. Greishammer, Das

Jenseitsgericht in den Sargtexten (Wiesbaden 1970) p.73, p.79 and pl.29 (DelM 360); P. Derchain, op.cit., p.76, fig.1 (DelM 356).

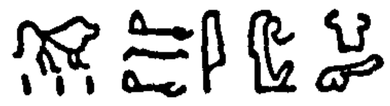
On the association of baboons, dom-palms and Thoth see L. Keimer, MDAIK 8 (full reference above), and id., BIE 29 (1948) 275-291: Interprétation d'un passage du Papyrus Sallier I$^{er}$: Une prière au dieu Thot, esp. p.288-290; also I.Wallert, Die Palmen im alten Ägypten (Berlin 1962): MÄS 1, p.97-98.

Note also the list of effigies of deities in P.Brooklyn 47.218.50, col.16, l.10 which includes two of the forms of Thoth, ibis and baboon: 
tr. Goyon, Confirmation, p.72.

Cf the inscriptions on wooden tablets from baboon sarcophagi published by L.B. Fanfoni, Oriens Antiquus 17 (1978) 197-198: Due elementi lignei di sarcofagi di babbuini, figs. p.197 and 198:
(tablet of unknown provenance) : 
(part of sarcophagus from animal cemeteries, Tûna el-Gebel) : 

41. Wb III, 212,13: als Name eines Gottes in Affengestalt ; P. Kaplony, LÄ II, col. 1078-1080: Hedjwer; Kees, Götterglaube p.20; H.W. Fairman, ASAE 43 (1943) 193-310: Notes on the alphabetic signs... p.260 ff.

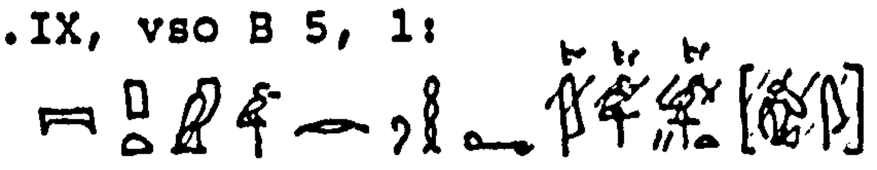
42. Wb I, 419, 10-13.
Pyr 516:
tr. Sethe, UuK II, p.383: '(denn) W. ist der B3-bij der Herr der Nächte der Stier, ohne den das Leben annulliert wird', but interpreted differently by Störk, op.cit., col. 920, n.25: 'Stier (Oberhaupt) der P[aviane]', and by Faulkner, AEPT, p.102: 'the King is Babi, Lord of the night sky, bull of the baboons who lives on those who do not know him'.

CT VI, 297: 
tr. FECT II, p.240: 'The lords are afraid of him, men tremble at him, because N is Babi, Bull of the baboons and he who shall see him shall not live'.

On the colouring of Babay, see n.11 above.

43. A deity associated with Thoth and Anubis who also occurs among the names given to baboons at Edfu. For the association of Thoth and Anubis see, among others, Bonnet, Reallexikon, p.614; Kees, Götterglaube, p.152, n.6.

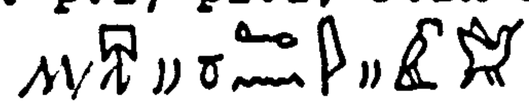
44. Both Thoth and Khons were associated with the moon (for Thoth in this context see esp. P.Ch.B.IX, vso B 5, 1:



tr. Gardiner HPBM, 3rd ser., pl.59, p.107: '[O] Thoth, moon in the sky'.)

The connection of baboons with these deities may have been the origin of Pliny's idea that monkeys with tails would leap for joy at the new moon (see V.Reynolds, The Apes : The Gorilla, Chimpanzee, Orangutan, and Gibbon - their history and their world (London 1968) p.27).

Khonsunekhen and Khonspaireskheru were recorded in baboon form in the texts studied by Edwards, HPBM, 4th ser., eg P. Turin Museum 1983 (his TI) rto 54, tr. p.53: 'We shall keep her safe from Khons-unnekhen and Khons-pair[sekheru], the two baboons whose (55) seat is Pinufe, who rest on the right and left of Khons and who issue books for putting to death and for causing to live' (cf the judgement rôle of Thoth). Compare P. Louvre E25354 (his P3) rto 91 (tr. p.87) pl.34; P.Turin MUS 1984 (his T2) vso 87 (tr.p.71) pl.26; P.BM 10083 (his L1) rto 2 (tr. p.1) pl.1; P.BM 10587 (his L6) rto 63 (tr.p.38) pl.13:



He commented, p.1, n.1: 'it may be supposed that, within or near the temple of Khons at Karnak there was a sanctuary in which the cult-statue of the god was flanked by two images of baboons representing Khons-unnekhen and Khons-pairsekher', and, p.53, n.25, that Pinufe was the name of this sanctuary. He also compared here the granite figure of a baboon from Tanis bearing the name of Psusennes with the epithet 'beloved of Khons-pairsekheru' published by P.Montet, BSFE 10 (1952) 45-48: Sur une statue de babouin et quelques blocs récemment trouvées à Tanis. Note too P. Kaplony, RdE 22 (1970) 98-109: Denkmäler der Prinzessin Neferure und der Königin Ti-Mienese in der Sammlung A. Ghetsos, esp. p.100-106, on the association of baboons with these and other deities.

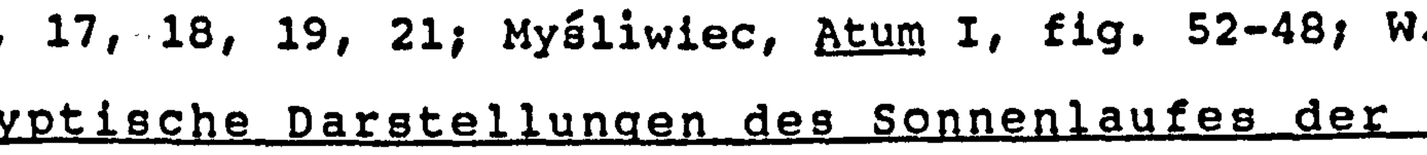
45. On the association of Atum and the baboon see E. Brunner-Traut, MDAIK 14 (1956) 20-28: Atum als Bogenschütze; cf Spiegelberg, Mythus, p.30, Text 9, 6 & 9, 13 and Mysliwiec, Atum I, p.86-91.

46. A.F. Richard, op.cit., p.312-3: 'At night, a rocky outcrop may harbor a troop of as many as 150 individuals [of P.hamadryas]. When morning comes, the troop breaks up into bands that fan out over the landscape. Each band contains between 30 and 90 individuals. Sometimes the bands themselves split up into smaller, so-called, one-male groups'. Compare H. Kummer, Two variations in the social organisation of baboons, Ch.11 in P.C. Jay, ed., Primates : Studies in Adaptation and Variability (New York etc 1968) p.312 on this 'fusion and fission' activity in response to scarcity of food supplies and sleeping lairs.

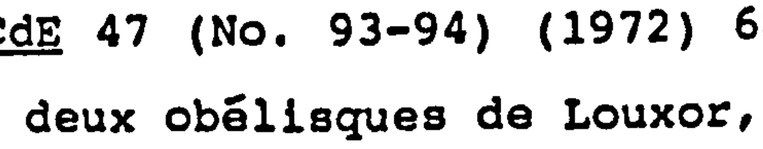
K.R.L. Hall & I. De Vore, Baboon Social behaviour, Ch.3 in I. De Vore, ed., Primate Behaviour : Field Studies of Monkeys and Apes (New York etc 1975), p.77, also noted: 'One peak of sexual activity takes place in the early morning'.

47. K. Sethe, SPAW (1928) 259-277: Altägyptische Vorstellungen vom Lauf der Sonne, figs. on p.268-276; H. Schäfer, ZÄS 71 (1935) 15-38 : Ägyptische Bilder der auf- und untergehenden Sonne, fig. 4, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 21; Myśliwiec, Atum I, fig. 52-48; W. Westendorf, Ägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn, (Berlin 1966): MÄS 10 , p.51; L. Keimer, MDAIK 2 (1932) 135-136; Eine merkwürdige Darstellung der die Sonne preisenden Paviane; M. Dewachter, CdE 47 (No. 93-94) (1972) 68-75: Les cynocéphales ornant la base des deux obélisques de Louxor, esp. p.71, n.6; P. Derchain, BSFE 46 (1966) 17-24: Reflexions sur la décoration des pylônes; G.Maspero, ZÄS 48 (1911) 91-96: La chapelle nouvelle d'Isamboul; H. Keyser, Die altägyptische Altertümer im Romer Pelizaeus-Museum in Hildesheim (Hildesheim 1973) fig 57.

48. Leiden K9 = KRI I, 362 (Userhat); * omitted in KRI:



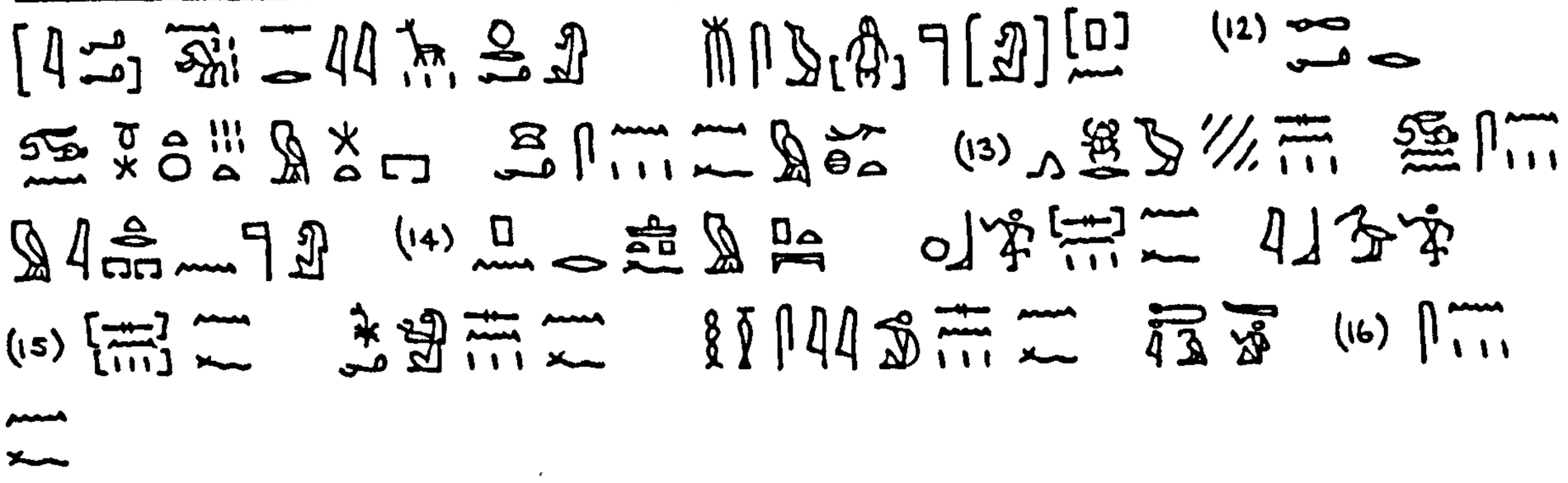

tr. Assmann, Liturgische Lieder, p.209: 'Die Paviane im Lichtland verkünden dich, die Sonnenaffen (jmw-htt) preisen dich'.

Berlin 12748 (Vol.II, p.214-5): 

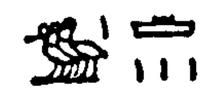
tr. Thausing & Kerszt-Kratschmann, Totenbuch, p.30: 'Ich lobpreise singend den Aton, mich vereinend mit den jubelnden Pavianen, ich

bin einer von ihnen'.

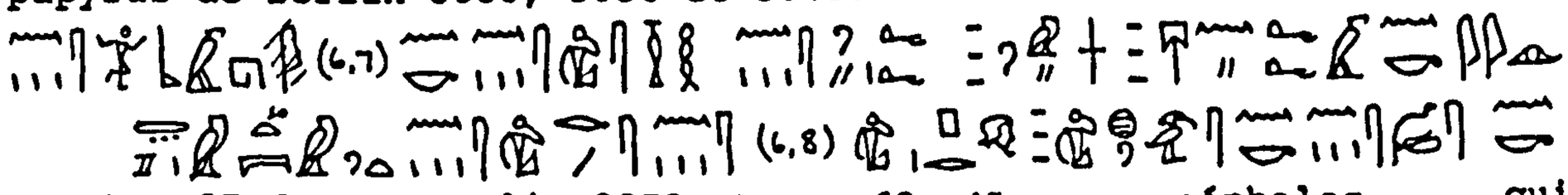
Taharqa by the Lake, pl.38 (text as Med Habu VI, 420):



tr. p.46-47: '[The baboons] that announce Re when this great god is to be born again, about the sixth hour in the Duat. They appear for him after they have come into existence, and they are at both sides of this god until he arrives at the sky. They dance for him, they jump gaily for him, they sing for him, they sing praises for him, they shout for him'.

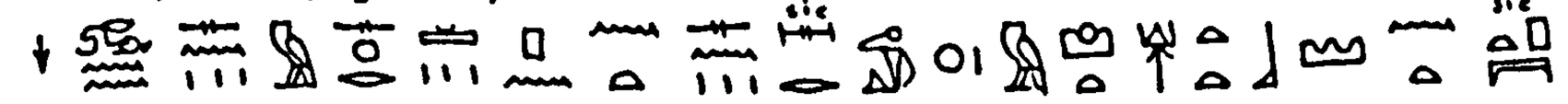
P.mag Harr 5, 8 (addressed to Amon): 
* in Budge, not Lange.
tr. Lange: 'Deine Affen (und) die Geister des Ostens [preisen dich], sie jauchzen zu den Strahlen deiner Scheibe'.

S. Sauneron, BIFAO 53 (1953) 65-90: L'hymne au soleil levant des papyrus de Berlin 3050, 3056 et 3048:



(text p.87 from P.Berlin 3050) tr. p.69: 'Les cynocéphales qui sont dans [...] lèvent vers toi leurs mains, ils chantent pour toi, ils dansent pour toi, ils récitent pour toi formules et sentences, ils t'annoncent dans le ciel et sur la terre'.

Hornung, Pforten. Four monkeys called are accompanied by the text (Vol.I, p.393):



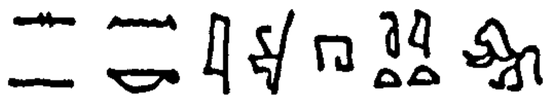
tr. Vol.II, p.277: 'Sie sind es, die Re verkünden im Osthorizont des Himmels. Sie künden Gott an, der sie geschaffen hat, durch ihre Hand , zwei zur linken, zwei zur rechten , zu beiden Seiten dieses Gottes'.

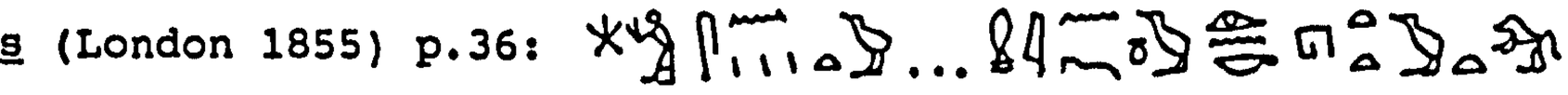
Genf D47 (A.Wiedemann, Rec.Trav. 18 (1896) 121-132: Remarques et Notes, p.123):

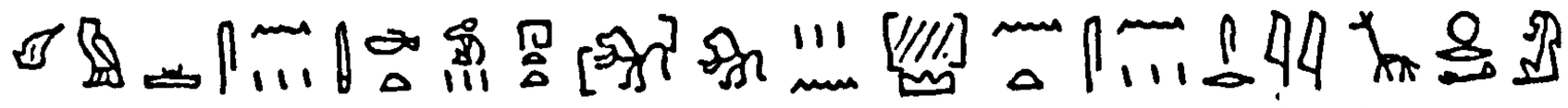
49. Berlin 17272 (Vol.II, 73):

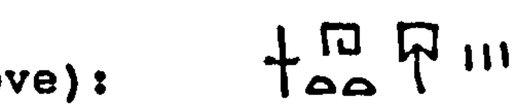
Theb Grab 106 (Paser) <1264>:

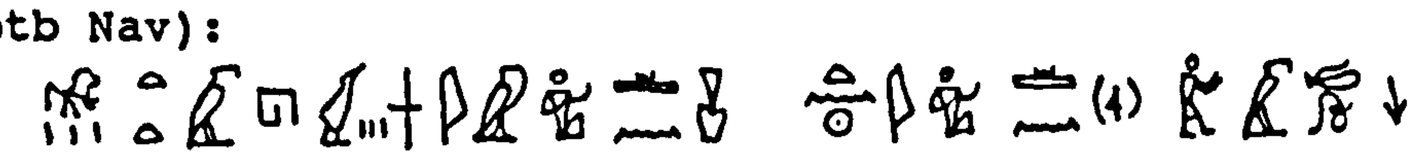
<1189>:

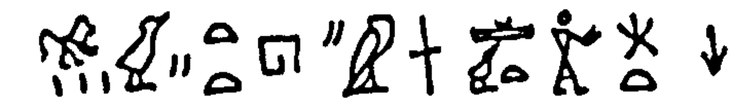
Lond 322: 

S.Sharpe, <u>Egyptian Inscriptions from the British Museum and other sources</u> (London 1855) p.36: 

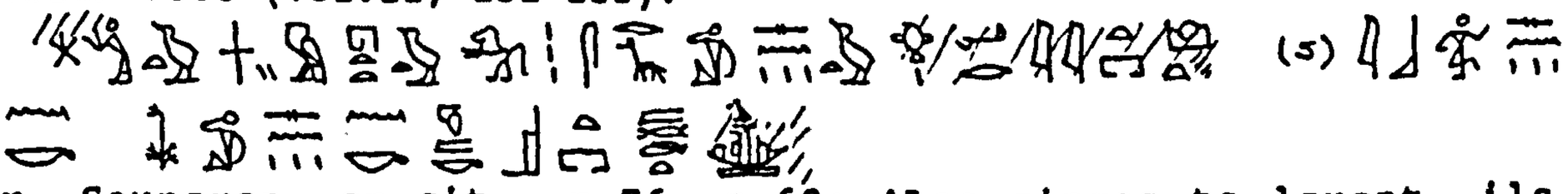
<u>Tarharqa by the Lake</u>, pl.38 (follows passage quoted above):

tr.: 'and these [=<u>rhyt</u> & <u>ḥmmt</u>] hear the shouts of jubilation of the <u>httw</u>-apes (18) of the desert for they are those who announce Re'.

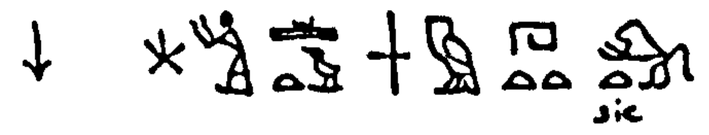
50. Leiden K 9 (see above): 

BOD 100 (after Totb Nav):

tr. Thausing & Kerszt-Kratschmann, <u>Totenbuch</u>, p.30: 'Ich lobpreise singend den Aton, mich vereinend mitden jubelnden Pavianen, ich bin einer von ihnen'.

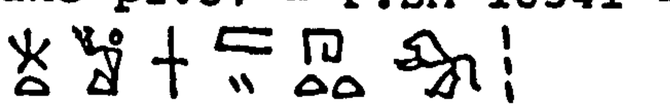
BOD 15 A IV, 10: 

tr. Allen, <u>BOD</u>, p.19: 'The screeching baboons adore thee'.

Berlin 7306 (Vol.II, 131-133):

tr. Sauneron, <u>op.cit.</u>, p.76, n.60: 'Les singes te louent, ils t'annoncent à la porte de l'horizon, ils dansent pour toi, ils chantent pour toi, quands tu prends ta place dans la barque Andjet'; also tr. Assmann, <u>Liturgische Lieder</u>, p.209.

Totb Nav 16: 
(legend to a vignette, not tr. by Allen, <u>BOD</u>)

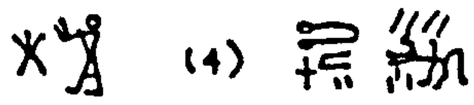
Amonshymn Kairo 9, 6:

Taharqa by the lake pl.37 = P.BM 10541 = Shorter, <u>Pr(t)m-hrw</u>, p.77 (tr. p.65): 

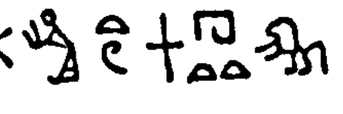
tr. p.45: 'For thee [=Rē'] sit down those who stand up on their tails, for thee stand up those who are sitting; those who are in jubilation [welcome thee]'.

H.Ranke, ZÄS 67 (1931) 78-82: Das Grab eines Chefs der Zentralverwaltung Ägyptens unter Haremheb, p.78, pl.8a (= Cairo Jd'E 27/6/24/10, Cat No.14, Doorlintel):

Theb Grab 106 (Paser) = KRI I, 286:

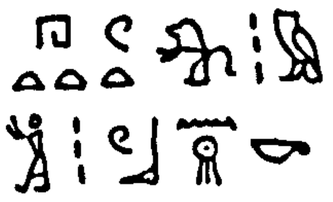


Theb Grab 107 (Nefersekher ) = Piehl Inscr. I, p.97:

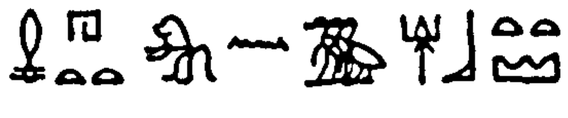


51. Wb II, 504, 7-12: Eigtl. kreischen, wie die htt - Paviane; jauchzen; Jubel uä.

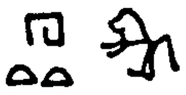
LD III, 72, 8 (colossi of 'Memnon') = Urk IV, 1673, 13:



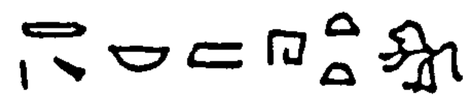
Berlin 17272, 4:



Gr Oase 25, 10:



Lond 826, 14:



52. The relevant tombs are listed in Hornung, Amduat I, p.XIII-XIV. The representations appear in the 'first hour' scenes.

53. There are two groups of nine baboons, accompanied by the texts translated by Hornung, Amduat II, p.10: 'Namen der Götter, welche der Großen Seele öffnen' and p.28: 'Namen der Götter, die für Re musizieren, wenn er in die Dat eintritt'.

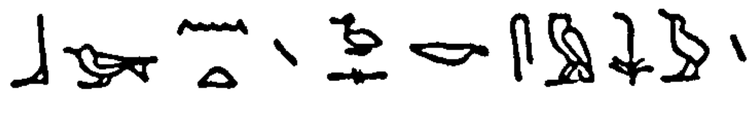
54. Not in Wb. Tr. Hornung, op.cit., p.11: 'Herz der Erde' without comment.

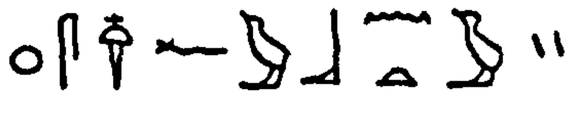
55. Not in Wb. Tr. Hornung, op.cit., p.11: 'Liebling der Erde' after Wb I, 63, 1: 'Liebling oä'; Wb I, 63, 2: Art Kultstatue, also noted by Hornung.

56. Not in Wb. Appears in the tomb of Tuthmosis III as ḥknw; Hornung, op.cit., p.11, tr. 'Preisender'.

57. The term is presumably derived from bn - see J.Baines, Orientalia 39 (1970) 389-404: Bnbn : Mythological and linguistic notes, p.392 and 399 with n.1: 'meaning either "swell" or "pour out" (in sexual terms "become erect" or "ejaculate")'. Cf L.Störk, LÄ IV, 915-920: Pavian, esp. col.917: 'Besonders gerne stellte man das bemähnte, mit erigiertem Penis auf Wache sitzende Hamadryasmännchen dar' (with n.22) and his comments on the sexual potency of Babay. The translation 'Der mit dem Phallos' was suggested by Hornung, op.cit. II, p.89, No.320 (after a suggestion of Brunner's). On the rôle of monkeys in erotica see Störk, op.cit., p.918, n.31.

Bnty commonly appears in contexts other than this; Hornung commented that it 'beginnt aber schon an Stelle des älteren jꜥn zur allgemeinsten Bezeichnung des Pavians zu werden'. Bnty is the name given in the Pyramid Texts to the two sons of the sun-god:

Pyr 608c: 

Pyr 1437c: 

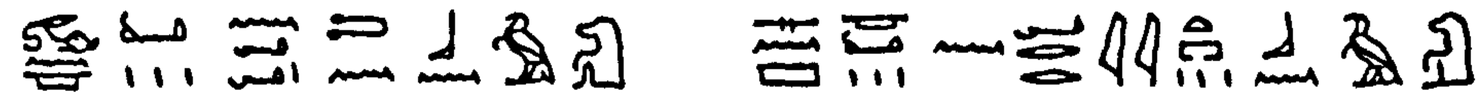
Sethe, UuK III, p.127, commented on these bnty: 'Nach 1437c hat der Sonnengott zwei bn.tj, die "seine geliebte Söhne" heißen und von ihm fern gehalten werden sollen, wenn der Tote behindert werden sollte, zu dem großen Gotte zu gelangen... s3-k śmś.w wird in Hinblick auf 1437c vielleicht besser "dein älterer Sohn" zu übersetzen sein, wenn nicht unser Text eine andere Vorstellung hätte und den bn.tj anderen Söhnen des Re gegenüberstellen wollte'. Cf idem, UuK V, p.360: 'Ferngehalten werden sollen die beiden bntj-Affen von Re, seine beiden Söhne'; he commented (p.369-370) on the bnty mentioned in BOD 17 with two baboons depicted in the accompanying vignette (greeting the solar bark); see Totb Nav I, pl.30, for this representation.

BOD 17, 95 = Urk, V Abschnitt 32 = Shorter, Pr(t)-m-hrw, p.123:

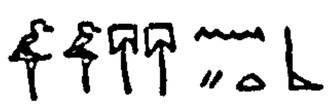
tr. Allen, BOD, (17b, S5) p.31: '"THESE EXAMINERS" are the baboons [bnty], Isis and Nephthys'.

The bnty also appear as guards at a gate in the underworld addressed by Rē‘ - Gr. Amduat I, IV, 28 = Hornung, Das Amduat I,

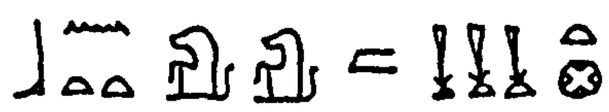
p.19, 1.2 (1st hour):



tr. Hornung, op.cit. II, p.33: 'Öffnet mir eure Arme, Paviane! Tut mir auf eure Portale, Paviane!' (see, too, n.15 & 16 on p.35). They are depicted at Deir el-Baḥri (Deirelb, pl.104) called . One has the heavy mane of the adult male hamadryas and is represented with an animal's body; the other has the torso of a seated deity, and thus is not to be explained as a younger or female animal (as Sethe, UuK V, p.369) nor a different species of baboon. A further representation may have existed on a Turin Museum piece but is now lost, leaving only the name - see H.Ricke, ZÄS 71 (1935) 111-133: Ein Inventartafel aus Heliopolis im Turiner Museum, p.112, fig.1.



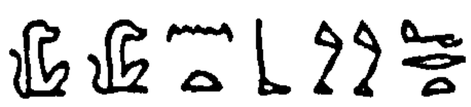
'two Benet-Apes' (tr. Gardiner, HPBM, 3rd series - (P.Ch.B. IX vso 2, 6-8) are among a number of deities including Thoth, Khnum and Khons-Neferhotep-in-Thebes before whom the libation waters issuing from Atum are declared pure (translation on p.100) and the bnty also appear in a cult in Akhmîm - see Junker, Onurislegende, pl.49, n.2, mentioning LD IV, 46:



tr. Junker: 'die bntj- Affen in śnwt, die beiden Brüder befriedigen'.

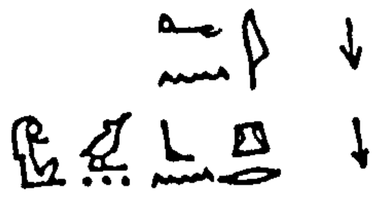
They are identified with parts of the body in the magico-medical text of P. Leiden I, 348 (rto 5,8) edited in Borghouts, P.Leiden I, 348:

tr. p.20: 'His buttocks are the Two Apes. His phallus is Baba'.

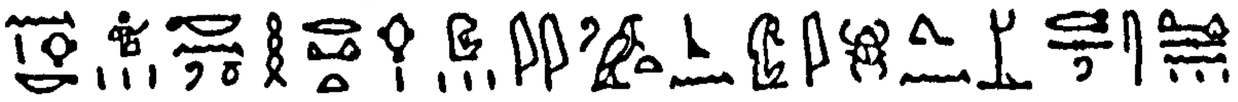
Cf CT VII, 160t where bnty are again associated with a dual part of the anatomy (wʿrty):  (P.Gard III) In this text (161a) Isis and Nephthys are associated with the buttocks (ḫpdwy).

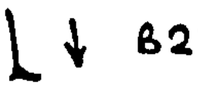
ʾIʿn and bnty occur in parallel a number of times in the underworld texts - eg:

LD III, 234:

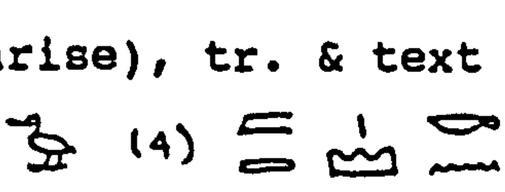
Cf Lesko, Book of Two Ways, p.93 = CT VII, 366: 

The bnty are only rarely mentioned praising the sun-god. Note LD III, 72, 9 (Urk IV, 1673, 17) especially the determinative:



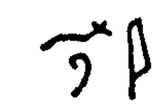
Elsewhere in the Coffin Texts (CT V, 71c) bnty designates baboon-headed steering oars: 

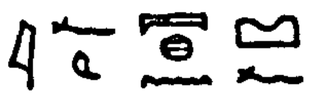
tr. FECT II, 20, with n.18: 'The dual bnty "two baboons" shows that the two baboon-topped steering oars are envisaged; pairs of such oars are common on ceremonial boats, cf, eg, the frontispiece to Cat.Egn.Antiq.Brit.Mus. II : Wooden Model Boats, where the steering oars are falcon-headed; see also Pl.XII, no.30, where a pair of such oars have jackal heads'.

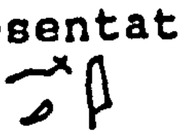
The bnty are said to come from Punt - see A.Piankoff , Le Livre du Jour et de la Nuit (Le Caire 1942): BdE 13, pl.1 (4 baboons at sunrise), tr. & text p.9: 

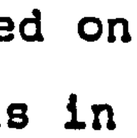
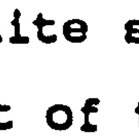
tr: 'Les (cynocéphales) bntw est leur nom, leur ville est Pount. Ils sont dans la contrée de k[sic]nmtjiw près du pays... ' (For knmt, see Ch.14.) For knmmty as the name of a baboon in parallel with ỉstnw (=ỉsdn) and wpt see Wb V, 133, 10.

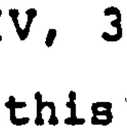
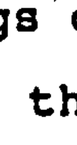
58. Not in Wb. Cf here O.BM 49670 (Brunner-Traut, Bildostraka, p.4, n.4 and p.82, n.10) presumably a wall fragment showing the Amduat scene on which a baboon is named:

and a baboon-headed deity represented in LD III, 234: 

cf Hornung, Amduat I, p.29, No.145: 

This (or a similar?) term was discussed at length by E.Brunner-Traut, MDAIK 14 (1956) 20-28: Atum als Bogenschütze. The monkeys associated with Atum the archer and another monkey are named ỉf(w); they are represented occasionally with a pair of baboons which are usually designated shd, though the Deir el-Baḥri representation (Naville, op.cit., pl.104) shows two bnty near the ỉwf: 

The ỉf(w) and shd are represented on a Saite sarcophagus published in LD III, 276h. The  stands in front of the  which sit together on a shrine. They are found again in the tomb of Mutirdis (J.Assmann, Grab des Mutirdis (Mayence 1978) p.94, n.93).

The same group is represented in three dimensions in a Dyn.26 stone statue published by W. von Bissing, ZÄS 68 (1932) 110-111: Eine Affengruppe des Mantimehe aus Theben (Berlin Inv.23729) = Leclant, Montuemhat, pl.35-36. The monkey is called  (poss. ) and the baboons  . Although the head of the *ỉf* is missing it is clearly a different species from the *shd* (baboons) as is confirmed by the representations in LD III, 276 and Naville, *loc.cit*. The two terms appear again on Cairo 29304 published in G. Maspero, Sarcophages des époques persanes et ptolémaïque (Le Caire 1914) p.138, 6 and 7 (cf Cairo 29303, p.100, giving *ỉwf* only).

Ptolemaic texts at Edfu (see J.Yoyotte, BIFAO 54 (1954) 83-115: Prêtres et sanctuaires du nome héliopolite à la Basse Époque, esp. p.107-108 = Edfu IV, 39 and V, 27) speak of a *ỉwf* with bow and arrow. Drawings of this and representations of the *ỉf* with baboons indicate that the animal closely resembled the *gỉf* (*C.aethiops*), though their names are probably not linked (see Brunner-Traut, *op.cit*., p.27).

Brunner-Traut believed (*op.cit*., p.24) that the *ỉfw* had two functions - to welcome (together with other baboons) Rē‘ into the underworld, and alone to represent Atum. She proposed, 'Doch dürfte Affe-Bogenschütze kein Kulttier des Atum, vielmehr eine Erscheinungsform des Sonnengottes (Atum) selbst sein'. The connection may have arisen, she suggested, because the monkey originated from the sunny countries to the south of Egypt.

It is true that, in certain mythological contexts, baboon and vervet monkey are sometimes confused, at least in name. However, until further evidence for the rôle of the *ỉwf/ỉf/ỉfy* is forthcoming, it seems wiser to separate the differently depicted *ỉfi/ỉfw* baboons of the underworld and the *ỉf(w)* guenon of other scenes.

Hornung, *Amduat*, p.11, No.2, tr. the term: '"Der zujubelt"(?)'; 'Die Variante *jfjf* bei RVI läßt an die Ableitung vom Verbum *ȝfȝf* "jem. zujubeln" denken' (see his p.11, n.1 for fem. form *ỉft*).

59. Also recorded in *Wb* from Philae <2016> Phot 953: *dḥdḥ ḥr ḥtt*. See too Hornung, *Amduat* II, p.11, No.3: 'Die Bedeutung des Names ist unklar'.

On the bisyllabic form of this word (cf here htt, ptt, sksk (Wb IV, 319,7: als name eines Pavians, der die Sonne anbetet) it is interesting to note the comments of zoologists.

T. Rowell, The Social Behaviour of Monkeys (Harmondsworth, Middx. 1972) p.43: 'The big males policed the group...if one situation merely required "active watching" the male would periodically make the well-known two-syllable baboon-bark, often described as an alarm, but in fact mainly an advertisement of position' and p.105: 'Each species has a highly distinctive noise which is used for inter-group communication. It is usually made by the adult male... Because they are to be readily identified, these noises are highly structured... like... the two-syllable bark of the baboon'. This two-syllable bark is further discussed by Devore & Hall, Baboon Social Behaviour (Ch.3) in I. Devore (ed.,) op.cit., p.89.

60. Cf Wb I, 460,4: als Name eines Pavians (from Amduat IV, 25).

Hornung, Amduat, p.28, tr.: 'Der mit seiner Flamme preist'.

61. Tr. Hornung, Amduat, p.29, No.87: 'Tanzer' (cf ỉb3, Wb I, 62, 8-13: tanzen). ỉb3-dancing is found as an activity of the ỉ'n and the ỉmy-htt (see in the notes above). See also Brunner-Traut, Der Tanz im alten Ägypten, p14-21; 25; 76-78.

62. In some cases the name seems to have been obliterated; in the Tomb of Tutankhamun some traces of writing seem to remain. See esp. the colour plate in K. El Mallakh & A.C.Brackman, The Gold of Tutankhamen (New York 1978) colour pl.4.

Hornung, Amduat, p.29, No.88, noted that in the tombs of Petamenophis and Petosiris (Petosiris, 46 & pl.42) this baboon is called dwɜy 'Anbetender'; on the problem of these lacunae see his p.18ff.

63. Not in Wb.

Hornung, op.cit., p.11, No.7, tr. '" Der die Erde öffnet". Hier ist die Function dieser personifiziert, wobei tɜ "Erde" wie sonst im Amduat das unterweltliche Totenreich meint.'

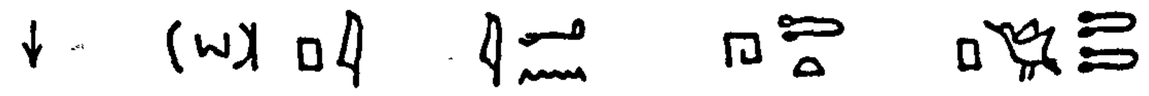
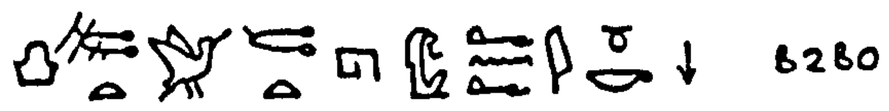
64. Not in Wb.,
Hornung, op.cit., p.11, No.8, read (w)b3-t3, translating : 'Der die Erde auftut' since neither b3 'Seele' nor b3 'hacken' suit the orthography or context.

65. Not in Wb.
Hornung, loc.cit., No.9, tr.: 'Den Re gesehen hat'. On the association of baboons and the sun god see above.

66. Cf Wb I, 75,16: Götterbeiname: der in seinem Schrein ist; according to Hornung, op.cit., p.29, No.89, 'bezeichnet sonst den Sonnengott oder seine Begleiter' (Wb V, 108, 10: der in der K[apelle], der in seiner Kapelle u.ä. Bez. vom Sonnengott und seinen Begleitern).

67. Not in Wb.
Hornung, op.cit., p.29, No.90, tr.: 'Der seinem Land vorsteht' (later versions substitute  'lake' for  ).

68. Cf Wb I, 115, 1-2: das männliche Glied.
Hornung, op.cit., p.29, No.91, 'Der (mit dem) Phallus'. On the significance of this compare bnty above.

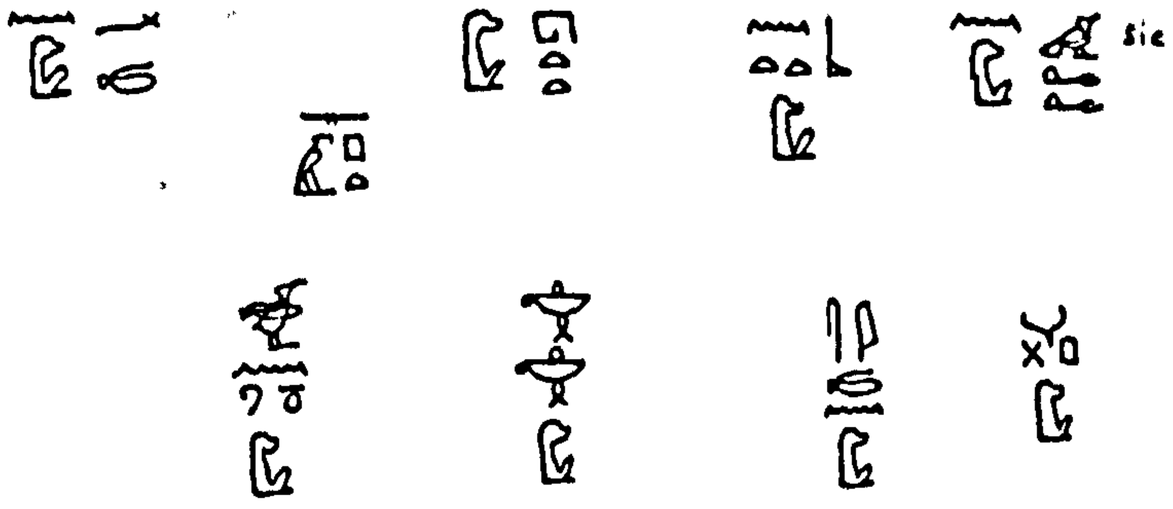
69. Mentioned together with the ỉʿn and htt in Pyr 505:

tr. Sethe, UuK II, p.349: 'W. ist es, o ỉʿn-Pavian, o htt-Pavian, o pꜣtt-Pavian', commenting, p.349: 'drei verschiedene Bezeichnungen für Pavian'.
and CT V, 258c:

tr. FECT II, p.68: 'I am these three baboons'.

On the identification of the deceased with the praising baboons see BOD 100 (in the notes above).

Hornung, op.cit., p.28, No.84, commented: 'Die Bedeutung des Names ist unklar, vielleicht nur Lautmalerei für das Kreischen der Tiere.' On these noises see above. See also Osing, Nominalbildung, p.298, p.849.

70. Cf ḫkn-m-bs.f (above). Otherwise not in Wb.
Hornung, op.cit., p.28, No.85, tr.: 'Flammender'.

71. Eg M.E.A. Ibrahim, <u>The Chapel of the Throne of Re of Edfu</u> (Bruxelles 1975) pl.9 = Edfu II, pl.319 (cf Edfu I,286).

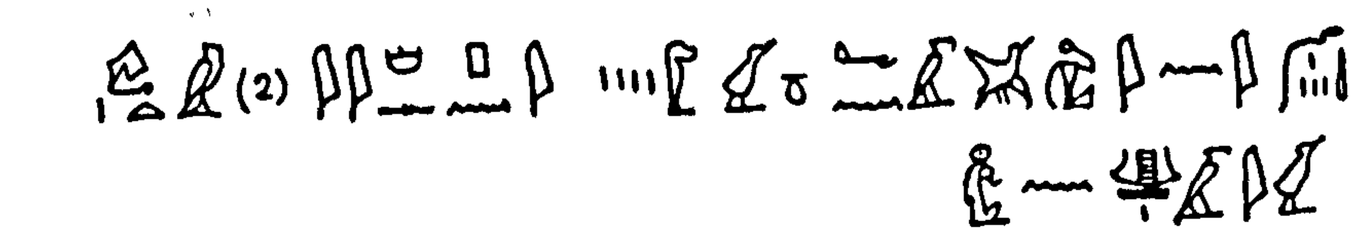



Cf Störk's comment,<u>op.cit</u>., col.917: 'Das Ägyptische kennt eine Reihe von Wörtern für P[aviane] die aber nicht immer artspezifisch zu sein scheinen.'

72. More specifically, the appearance and behaviour of the fully adult males. The striding, confident walk of the male baboon (the form of the det., Gardiner, <u>Sign List</u> E32) and the posture of the male when seated (cf baboon statues and the hieroglyph of Ptolemaic texts) are well illustrated in Rowell, <u>op.cit</u>., fig.b and d (after p.87). Note too her comments, p.86: 'Baboons commonly sit with wrists resting on knees, hands dangling free'. Cf notes on the calls of male baboons above.

73. <u>CT</u> V, 210:

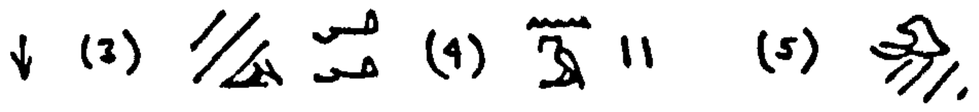
tr. <u>FECT</u> II p.56: 'I am the baboon with the strong name; I am the... which fights stubbornly (?) and fells the confederacy of Seth'.

74. BOD 126: 

(The vignette, Totb Nav, pl.140, shows 4 baboons.)

tr. Allen, <u>BOD</u>, p.102: 'O ye (4) baboons who sit at the prow of the bark of Re, who cause truth to ascend to the Lords of the Universe, who judge both the needy and the rich'.

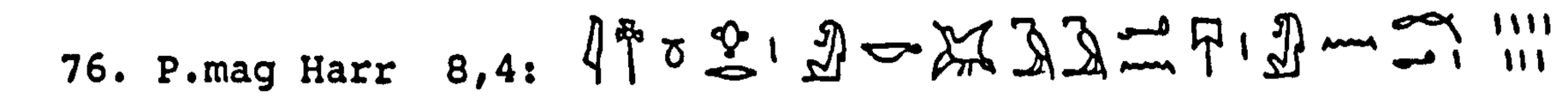
Med Habu VI, 430 (2 baboons on either side of solar bark):



Compare the representation in the tomb of Sennedjem (<u>MIFAO</u> 88, p.27) where a baboon sits at either end of the bark, one adoring the rising sun, the other the setting sun. (Vignette in Totb Nav, pl.30, shows 2 baboons in front of the bark).

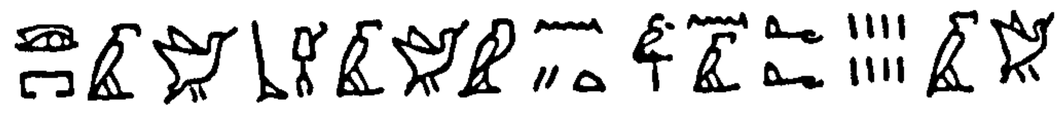
75. Sonnenlit 69 = Hornung, Anbetung, p.78:

tr. Vol. II, p.71: 'Lobpreis sei dir, Re, du mit hoher Macht, jauchzender Pavian, Du von Utjenet Chepri, Du mit rechten Gestalten - du bist ja der Unterweltlicher Pavian'.

76. P.mag Harr 8,4: 

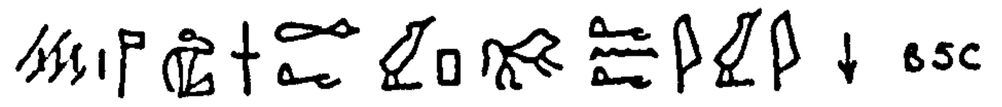
tr. Lange, p.69 (text p.68): 'Heil dir, Du Affe von sieben Ellen, dessen Auge aus Gold und dessen Lippe aus Feuer ist, und dessen Worte alle wie Flammen sind'.

77. P.Bologna 1094, 11, 2 (letter mentioning the various gods of Thebes):



tr. Caminos, LEM, p.28: 'the Eight Baboons which are in the Open Court'.

78. CT VII, 495:

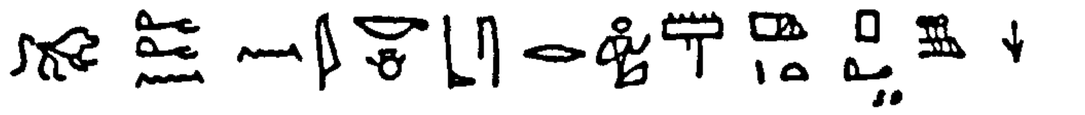


tr. FECT III, p.179 (with n.17): 'It is the great baboon who eats the Gods'; cf the baboon in VII, 497.

79. BOD 5:

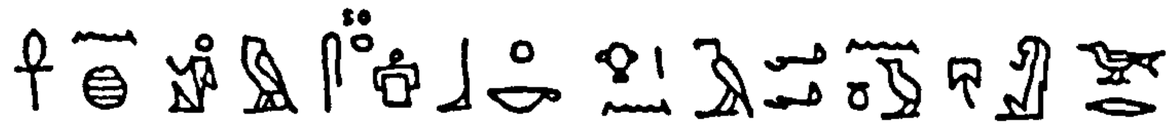
tr. Allen, BOD, p.8: 'Spell for not making a man work in the God's domain,' - 'I am the glutton of the Torpid Ones, who came forth from Hermopolis. (Mine is every soul, and I) live on the baboon's entrails', and Wreszinski, Wien, p.175: 'ich bin der, der den Müden sucht, der aus Hermopolis kommt, und von den Eingeweiden der Affen lebt'. (No number given : 'Saal IV, Vitrine VIII No.3').

and BOD 75:



tr. Allen, BOD, p.66: 'Spell for going to Hermopolis and taking a seat there' - 'I have ascended (from the nether world; I have come) from the realm of the earth. Take my wrappings to be a baboon's entrails'.

Note also A. Wiedemann, Rec.Trav.17(1895)1-17: Varia (4 Shabtis of ʿImn-m-ỉpt in the Ashmolean Museum) p.13:



tr.: 'ich bin der ruhende Sturmwind, der hervorgeht aus Hermopolis' and hesitatingly (p.14): 'ich lebe indem ich salbe [sbḳ] das Gesicht des grossen Hundskopfaffen'.

80. Pyr 415:

tr. Sethe, UuK II, p.176: 'sein mʿrḳ-Schmuck ist an seinen Hintern, aus dem Fell (?) eines Pavians'. He commented, p.177: 'n bśk wird den Stoff dieses Kleidungsstückes angeben... [bśk] sonst "Eigeweide", "Herz" kann hier nur "Fell" oder "Schwanz" sein', but noted BOD 5: ʿnḫ m bskw ỉʿnʿ(w), 'was ohne Zweifel Unsinn ist'.

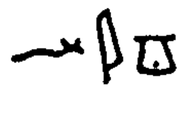
81. Pyr 1462. On the knmt see Ch.14 (and above).

82. After Wb I, 41, 8 (Hood 5)

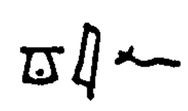
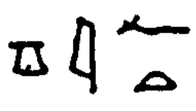
Cf Parker & Neugebauer, Astronomical Texts I, p.47-48; perhaps ỉʿn & knmt are not to be taken as animals but as groups of stars, one of which appears as the other fades.

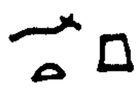
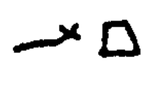
83. On the identification of the gỉf see Paton, Animals, p.15, No.55, among others.

84. LD II, 36:

Hassan, Giza IV, Fig.116, p.165: 

Reisner, Giza Necropolis I, fig.263:


Berscheh II, 11:  

Beni Hasan II, 6:  

Sheikh Said 15:

JEA 18, p.52, pl.5:

Davies, Rekhmire II, pl.29: (to be read with the monkeys?)

85. Wb V, 158.

86. J. Klein, Journal of Cuneiform Studies 31 (1979) 149-160: The Reading and Pronunciation of the Sumerian Word for 'Monkey', pp.158-159. Cf too p.159, n.53.

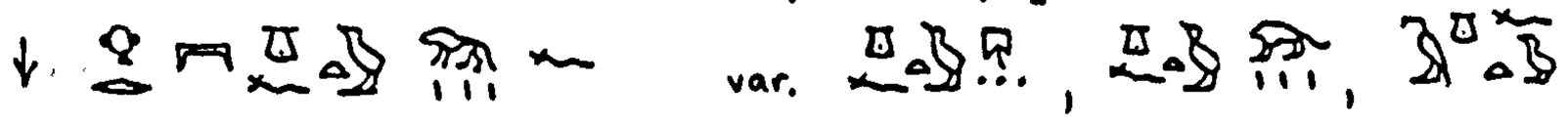
87. Cf Vycichl, MDAIK 16 (1958) 367-405: Grundlagen der ägyptisch-semitische Wortvergleichung, p.374 (Egyptian g = semitic g). He compared gf/gỉf with Hebrew gōf, Akkadian ugūpu, and Indic kapi: 'Die Inder mussen dieses Wort bei ihrem Durchzug durch Vorderasien in ihre Sprache aufgenommen haben. Griechisch Κῆβος, Κῆπος wurde wohl als *kāb-os, *kāp-os entlehnt. Davon spanisch cebo und berberisch abaġus (Rif)'. Note too W.F. Albright, The Vocalization of the Egyptian syllabic orthography (New Haven, Connecticut 1934) p.61, para.18, No.8 (g3fy): 'ga-fi, monkey for Mid.Eg. g'f = gă'fi > *gâfi > *gôfe, from which were borrowed Heb. qôf, Aram. qûfâ, Assyr. uqûpu'.

88. On the question of these monkeys amongst booty from Thebes taken by Assurbanipal see Pritchard, ANET, p.297 and p.276, n.16: 'bazu-, paqu- and uqûpu-monkeys'. On monkeys, possibly from Egypt, on the 'Black Obelisk' of Shalmanazzar III see Ch.6: Elephant, Rhino & Hippo.

89. Klein, op.cit., p.158 (cf above) and p.148: 'serious consideration should be given to the possibility that this noun is a borrowing from Egyptian gỉf, perhaps through the mediation of an Aramaic dialect which was in the process of replacing Akkadian as a spoken language. The hypothesis that both Akkadian ugûpu and Hebrew gôp are indeed first millennium Egyptian loan words has been plausibly argued by several Semiticists'.

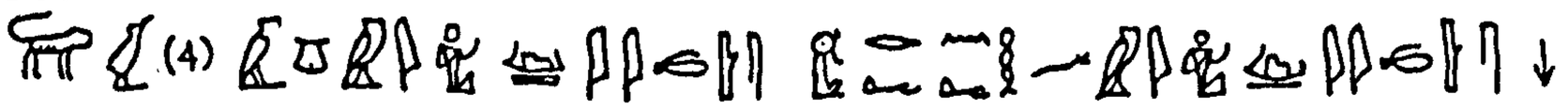
90. Klein, op.cit., p.160, n.58 (cf above).

91. Hornung, Anbetung II, p.71 tr.: 'Einzigartiger und Großter, der über seinen Meerkatzen ist'. Text, Vol I, p.73:

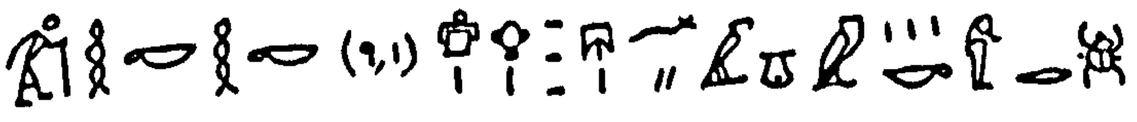


He noted, Vol.II, n.177: 'Er [=Re] gebietet über die strafenden Affen, die bereits Pyr 286b genannt. In den Unterweltsbüchern spielen die gfwt-Meerkatzen keine Rolle'. For Pyr 286 see below.

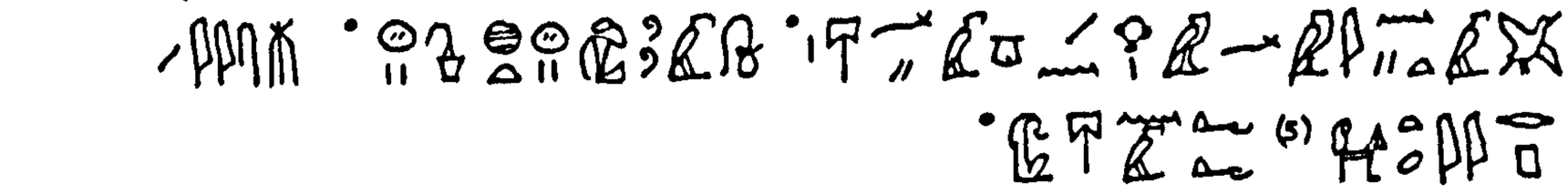
Cf BOD 136:



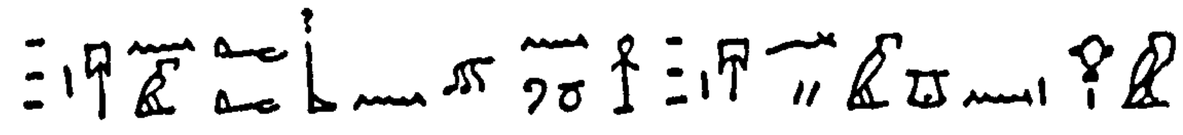
(Totb Nav, pl.148, after Aa). Tr. Allen, BOD, p.101: 'Another spell for sailing in the great bark of Re' - 'May he sail in it with Re; may he sail in it as the monkey who wards off the surf that (breaks) over this district of Nut to this stairway of Sebeg'.

92. P.mag Harr 8,12: 

tr. Lange, p.74 (text p.73): 'Deine Gestalt ist wie die eines Affen, nachdem er alt geworden ist'; Borghouts, AEMT, tr. p.90: 'Your appearance is that of a monkey after reaching old age'.

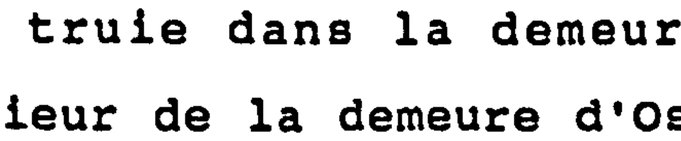
P.mag Harr 9, 4-5:


Lange, p.74; tr. p.74-75; Borghouts, loc.cit. tr.: The one who is in it [=the shrine] has the face of a monkey (gỉf). Woe, fire! The child of a Lady of Distinction (rpyt) is a baboon'.

P.mag Harr 9,10: 

Lange, p.80, tr. p.81; Borghouts, op.cit., tr. p.90-91: 'Maga, the son of Seth came and he opened it and he saw the one who is in it having the face of a monkey with the hairs of a baboon'. Compare Coptic ϕo NGAΠΠEI - CD, 114a and Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.344-345.

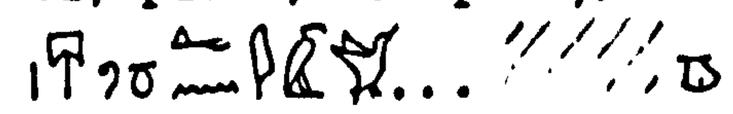
Note the description of the different (including animal) forms of Rēʿ, in J.C.Goyon, Rituels Funéraires de l'Ancienne Égypte (Paris 1972) p.266-267, (esp. p.267, n.4, where gỉf is identified as 'Cercopithèque'), tr. Koenig, Papyrus Boulaq VI, p.120-121: 'La grande truie dans la demeure de Rê, le bélier vénérable à l'intérieur de la demeure d'Osiris,... Celle dont le viscère du coeur a la forme d'un vautour dans Nekhen, l'Uraeus des papyrus dans Khemnis, le Babouin à Bâhou, le singe-gif au pays de Kouch'. (P. Louvre N3148 rto 7, 7-25, unpublished).

93. Hornung, Pforten II, p.277, Scene 90: 4 monkeys called ỉʿnw are depicted, 'bei TS als Mantelpaviane dargestellt, in den übrigen Versionen als Meerkatzen und bei RVI grün bemalt'; p.143, Scene 33: Thoth is depicted as a baboon (the inscription reads ʿḥwty but Hornung op.cit., p.196, tr.: 'Thot') beating a pig. Over the pig runs: 
Hornung (p149) suggested should be read gỉ(f).

J.F.Borghouts, JEA 59 (1973) 114-149: The Evil Eye of Apopis, esp. p.145, n.13, noted his 'assumption that gvf is another form of Thoth...'.

In Edwards, HPBM 4th ser., pl.28 & p.75 (his text (T3, rto 54-56)) the 'Ape (55) who assigns the Udjat and the baboon who assigns the

Udjat' (ie Thoth; see Edwards, op.cit., p.54, n.49) may be an error for 'the ape who assigns the sacred mounds and the baboon who assigns the House of the Udjat' (his text C1, pl.37, tr. p.95):



See similarly his P3 rto 29-30, p.32 tr.p.85-86;

Ch rto 81-82, pl.43, tr.p.110;

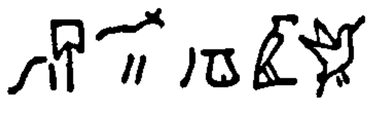
T2 rto 41-41, pl.22, tr.p.60;

T1 rto 102, pl.19, tr.p.54;

L6 rto 58-59, pl.13, tr.p.38: 'I shall keep [him] safe from the baboon of the place of the House... and from the ape of the place of the House of the Udjat':

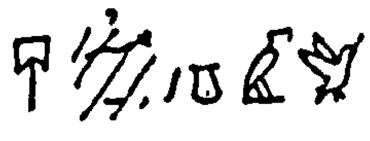
Edwards (op.cit., p.54, n.49) was unable to identify the deity meant by gf. For a gwf-dwɜty which 'beschützt das Auge' see Hornung, op.cit. I, p.148 & 195.

94. For gỉf as an independent deity note Edwards, op.cit., his text PhD rto 3, pl.44, tr. p.111:



'I shall keep her safe from the ape of the place of the One of the Mound (?)'; and his

P2 rto 17, pl.30; tr. p.82:



'I shall keep her safe from the ape who assigns a sanctuary'.

The gỉf (written gɜfy), again with deity det. , is invoked by Nut in P. Salt IX, 4-5,

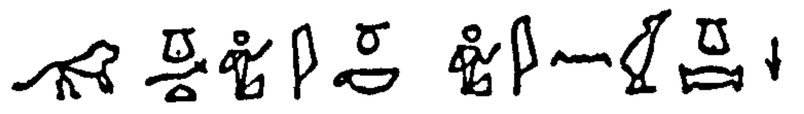
published by E.Drioton, ASAE 41 (1941) 99-134: La cryptographie du Papyrus Salt 825, tr. p.124: 'Sang de l'oeil sacré. Coeur de singe. Tête de l'Uréus'.

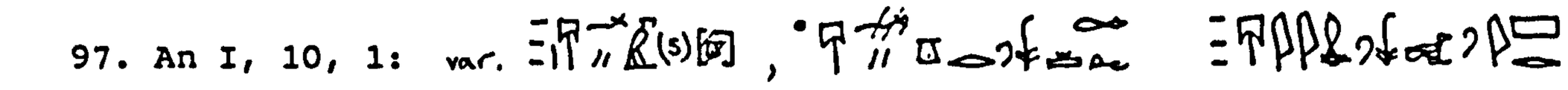
Cf O. Cairo 25716, rto 2:

95. Pyr 286:

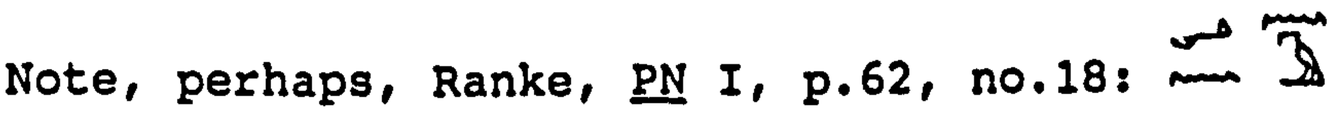
tr. Sethe, UuK I, p.299-300: 'O ihr seine Meerkatzenweibchen, die die Köpfe abschneiden, NN gehe an euch vorbei in Frieden (d.h. ungehindert), er hat seinen Kopf (selbst) auf seinem Hals geknüpft'.

96. CT VI, 195: ↓ BH3C In a spell beginning (tr. FECT II, p.183 with n.5, p.184): 'Not to walk head downwards' - 'It is this she-monkey who will take to me what is in the house of the she-tortoise(?)'.'

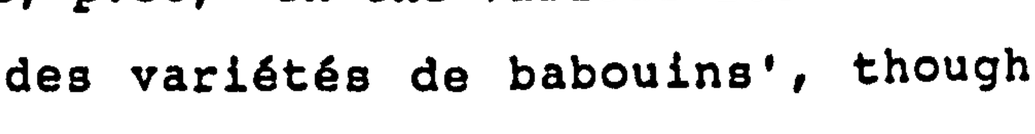
CT VII, 166 (P. Gard III): 
tr. FECT III, p.86: 'I have possessions (?), I am a monkey'.

97. An I, 10, 1: var.  tr. Fischer-Elfert, P.Anastasi I, p.81: 'Ich nenne dir den Paheripedjet, der (jetzt) in Heliopolis ist. Er ist ein Alt(gedient)er der Staatsverwaltung (l.h.g.). Kleiner ist er als ein Kater, großer ist er als eine Meerkatze'.
On the respective sizes of these animals see Haltenorth and Diller, Mammals of Africa, p.293 (C.aethiops, head and body of male 45-83cm and female 40-61cm) and Kingdon, East African Mammals III, p.312 (F.sylvestris, head and body 47-66cm). It would therefore be possible to read the text without emendation.

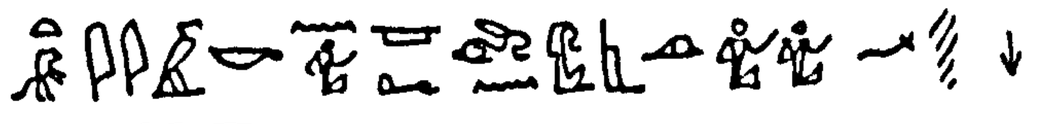
98. Ranke, PN I, p.350,7 *gỉf*; I, p.350,8 *gỉft*; I, p.350,12 *gwf*; I, p.350,23 *gf*; I, p.350,24 *gfỉ*; I, p.350,25 *gft*; I, p.371,19 *t3 gft*; cf Tiernamen, p.80-81 *g(w)f* 'die (männliche) Meerkatze' and *g(w)ft* 'Die (weibliche) Meerkatze'.

99. Note, perhaps, Ranke, PN I, p.62, no.18:  . (Not noted in Tiernamen.) For *ỉ'n* written with double *n* see above P.mag Harr 5,8 (*ỉ'nn3.k*).

100. Note the comment of H. Wild, Kush 7 (1959) 76-90: Une danse nubienne d'époque pharaonique, p.86, on the various forms: 'Ces termes désignent peut-être des variétés de babouins', though Vandier d'Abbadie, Singes...AE, p.151, considered all the forms to apply to the same species of baboon.

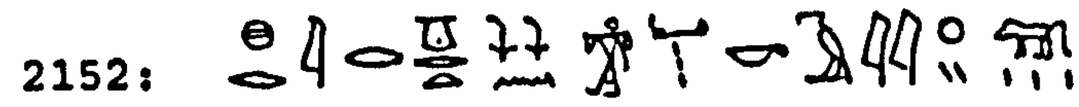
101. Schiffbr 165: 


102. Note the snake's boast 'I am a ruler of Punt' (l.151) and in l.162-165 the listing of other produce which is typical of Punt.

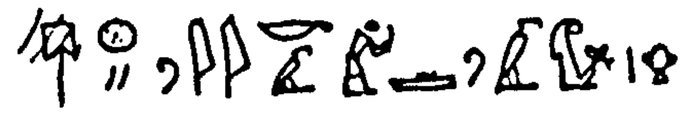
103. Totb Nav 64,18 (Ie): 

Aa has: &

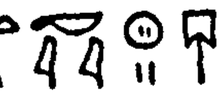
Allen, BOD, p.64, tr.: 'shrine'. The monkey det. thus appears in error because of the phonetic similarity of the words.

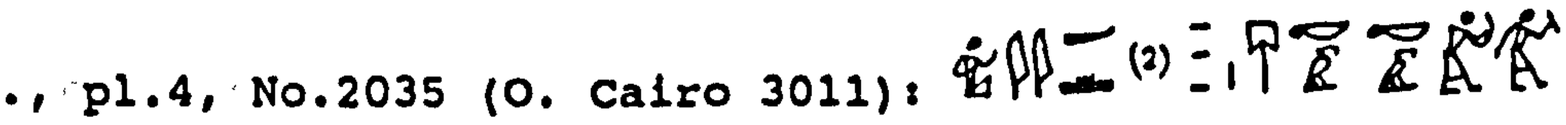
104. Urk IV, 2152: 

J.M. Kruchten, Le decret d'Horemheb (Bruxelles [1981]) tr. p.198: 'Quant à ces guardiens de singes "kyky" qui procèdent à la taxation [.....], dans le district Sud ou le district Nord... [my omission].. Ma Majesté a ordonné qu'on les supprime complètement'.

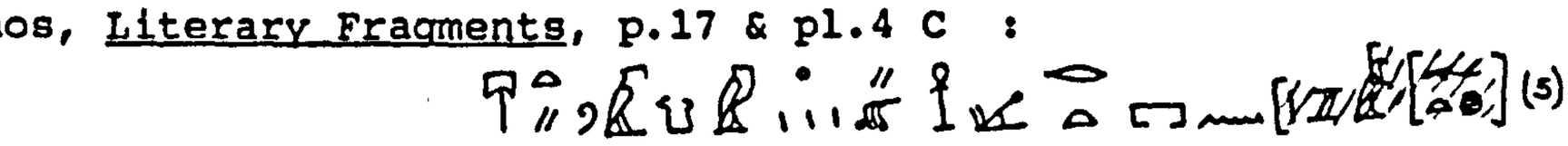
105. P.Ch. B. III, rto 9,27: 

tr.Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.18: If a man see himself in a dream 'looking after monkeys, BAD; a change awaits him' (text pl.7).

106. Vandier d'Abbadie, Ostraca figurés, pl.7, No. 2042: 

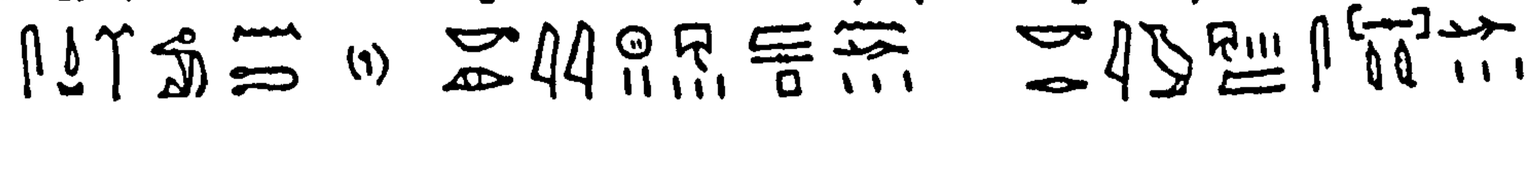
ibid., pl.4, No.2035 (O. Cairo 3011): 

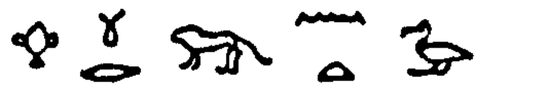
For this vowel change in a plant name (k3k3 - kyky) see J.Zandee, An Egyptian Crossword Puzzle (Leiden 1966) p.33.

107. Caminos, Literary Fragments, p.17 & pl.4 C : 

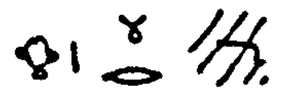
Caminos listed k3wty as 'an unknown word' with the comment that Gardiner had suggested a comparison with kꜣw, k3yk3y and kꜣry.

108. In an inscription from Madâmûd· which mentions several unusual animal names, including sfrr, w3st and rrt published by E.Drioton, Les Inscriptions, in Bisson de la Roque, Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1926) (Le Caire 1927). It occurs in parallel with the kꜣry (here in reduplicated form) (Text p.27):

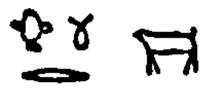


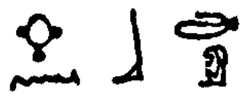
109. CT I, 239: B12C ↓ 

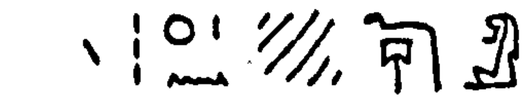
varr:

B13C: ↓ 

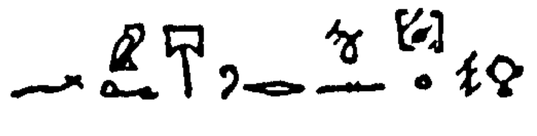
(Lacau read ? )

B16C: ↓ 

B10C:4 ↓ 

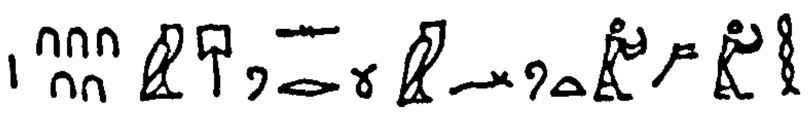
B10C:5 ↓ 

tr. FECT I, p.57: 'Shall I place my arms which are on me over this god, the Lord of the gods, and put groaning and outcries in the Great Hall because of this Destroyer who has come in?', with n.7: 'determined perhaps with a monkey'.

110. P.Ch B III, 3, 12: 

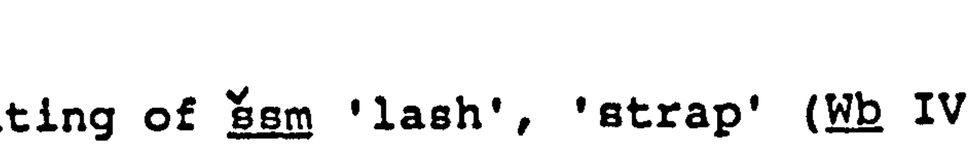
tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd, ser. p.13: If a man see himself in a dream 'seeing a..... with him, good; establishing ... in his heart' (text pl.5).

111. Ibid., p.13, n.3. Cf the tr. of Andreu & Cauville, Vocabulaire, p.12: 'quadrupède, singe?'.

112. Brunner, Lehre des Cheti, p.38 (Text from O.DelM 1037): 

tr. p.23: 'Wenn er ... gemacht hat am Tage ohne zu weben, dann wird er geschlagen mit fünfzig Peitschenhieben'.

Šsr here is apparently a miswriting of šsm 'lash', 'strap' (Wb IV, 545,10: von den (ledernen) Gesetzbüchern, die vor dem Wesir ausgebreitet liegen.) Wb's interpretation is probably to be emended. See, for example, G. Posener, GM 25 (1977) 63-66: Les quarante rouleaux de lois, and G. Burkard, Textkritische Untersuchungen zu Ägyptischen Weisheitslehren des alten und mittleren Reiches (Wiesbaden 1977) p.56-57.

113. Eb 105, 11 (Wb.Drog.V, p.387): 

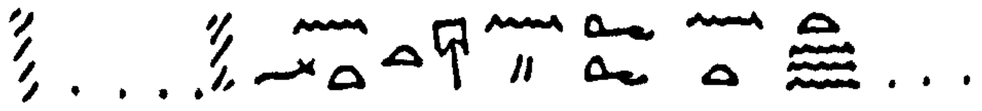
114. Wb.Drog. IV[1], 223-224, with n.5, tr: 'Srw - Tieres'.

Wb.Drog. VII[2], p.772: 'Widder(?)'; 'Inhalt einer hnhn.t Geschwulst wird verglichen mit: ỉɜr.t nt wḥʿ.w srw wr'.

Ebell, P. Ebers, p.122, read srw here as 'male'.

115. Gardiner, AEO I, pl.2, l.170:

Note ibid. II, p.9: 'it is regrettable that a lacuna has deprived us of the full name (bf?) here given to the cynocephalus ape'.

116. Reference discussed above - baboon of Wtnt. Note, however, the comments of Sauneron, Papyrus magique illustré, p.22, n.u to the text on pl.2:  tr. '[...su]eur(?) de cynocéphale'.

117. Vycichl, Dictionnaire., p.342.

cf W.F.Albright, AJSLL 34 (1917-18) 215-255: Notes on Egypto-Semitic Etymology II, p.250 and W.Vycichl, Rivista degli studi Orientali 41 (1966) 185-187: Die Hieroglyphe des zornigen Affen.

118. K.R.L.Hall and I.DeVore in I.DeVore, op.cit., p.53-110: Baboon Social Behaviour, esp. p.99: 'the dominant male, who may start the attack by leaping to his feet, raising his muzzle, and immediately launching himself after his objective without any preliminary threat gestures. He barks loudly and repeatedly and his mane fur tends to stand up around him, enlarging his appearance... Such attacks... sound and appear extremely vicious'.

## Chapter 11 : Notes

1. Plutarch, De Iside Ch.5, tr. Gwyn Griffiths, Plutarch, p.125 (my omissions): 'The priests... reject... the flesh of sheep and swine because they produce much surplus fat'; Ch.8. tr. p.129: 'they also consider pigs to be an unclean animal; for it seems to prefer to copulate when the moon is on the wane, and the bodies of those who drink its milk come out with rash and scabrous sores'. Cf Herodotus II, 47, and others mentioned by v.d.Horst, Chaeremon, p.19.

   For other references see Hopfner, Tierkult, p.60-63. See also on this subject the recent article of H.M.Hecker, JARCE 19 (1982) 59-71: A zooarchaeological inquiry into pork consumption in Egypt from prehistoric to New Kingdom times, and the same author in D.G.Jeffreys, J.Málek & H.S.Smith, JEA 72 (1986) 1-14: Memphis 1984, p.8, and in B.J.Kemp, Amarna Reports I (London 1984) p.154-164, esp. p.160. See also W.R.Dawson, JRAS (1928) 597-608: The Pig in Ancient Egypt: A commentary on two passages of Herodotus.

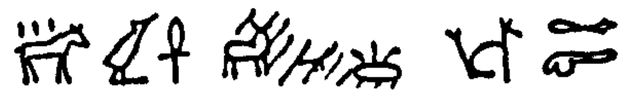
2. Herodotus loc.cit., & II, 164.

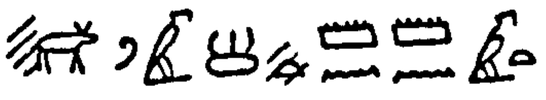
3. Hopfner, op.cit. - this despite his knowledge of the representation of pigs in tomb scenes and the occurrence of pigs in the medical texts. Cf too classical records of the sacrifice of pigs, though only to commemorate the death of Seth (p.62). On the latter see also J.Gwyn Griffiths, The Conflict of Horus and Seth (Liverpool 1960) p.31-32 (see below).

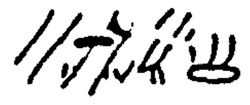
4. Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, p.16: 'Als Haustier treffen wir... ferner Schweine, die jedoch ebenfalls als das Haustier der unterworfenen Schicht tabusiert wurden'. Cf Helck, Materialien III, p.509. From the greater number of pigs than goats mentioned in the tomb of Rnnj he concluded pigs were generally the more numerous of the two and that 'Es dürfte mit der Verfemung des Schweines als Tier des Seth zusammenhängen, daß wir so selten etwas über Schweine hören, obwohl diese in der Wirtschaft des Landes eine große Rolle gespielt haben müssen'. Of the ỉph (see below) in a sacrificial setting he noted: 'Hier dürfte wohl die Identifizierung mit dem zu vernichtenden Seth nahegelegen haben', and similarly (p.491), that the absence of donkeys and pigs from the P.Harris I livestock lists was because of their 'Sethian' connections. See, however, the livestock lists from the Nauri stela.

5. L. Keimer, BIE 19 (1937) 147-156: Remarques sur le porc et le sanglier dans l'Égypte ancienne, noted two species from ancient Egypt: the wild boar, S.scrofa scrofa L, the native Egyptian pig from which domesticates were derived (this designation is taken from Zeuner, Domesticated Animals, p.256; Keimer recorded it as S.s.ferus) and S.vittatus Müller & Schlegel, sometimes called the Sunda pig (Zeuner, loc.cit.), a far-eastern species which Keimer believed to have been imported into Egypt by the Greeks and Romans since it was depicted in Greco-Roman terracottas.

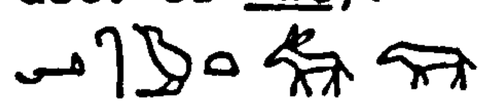
On the wild boar in Egypt see further L.Keimer, Cd'E 10, No.19/20 (1934-35) 26-33: Le sanglier égyptien.

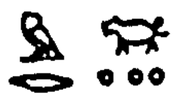
6. Nauri 35: 

" 56: 

" 58: 

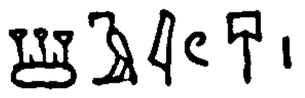
" 59:

cf Urk I, 3, 2 = LD II, 5 (pig and donkey as det. of ʿwt): 

Sethe, Lesestücke 79, 9: 

Also published by C.L. Ransom, The Stela of Mentuwoser (New York, 1913).

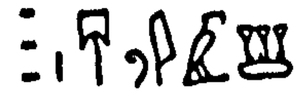
J.T. Taylor & S. Clarke, The Tomb of Renni (London 1900) pl.3 = Urk IV, 75:

HO I, pl.18, No.1 = O.Gardiner 5: 

HO I, pl.81, l.7 = O.Gardiner 86 rto
(the pig appears between the sheep and the donkey):

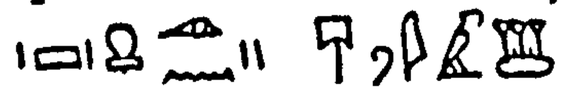
Urk IV, 1797, 2 (owned by temples):
tr. Helck, LÄ 5, 762-764: Schwein: '1000 Schwein und 1000 Ferkel'.

P.Ch.B. V rto 8,8 (from a letter - list of livestock for a temple):



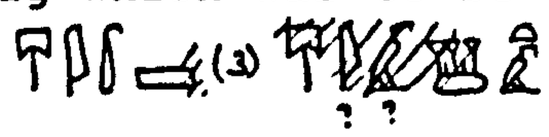
The last two texts are of especial interest in that the animals they mention are connected with temple property. Hopfner, Tierkult, p.61, noted 'Auch von den Tempelanlagen mußte das unreine Tier ferngehalten werden', after a decree of Aurelius Besarion in the temple of Kalâbsha (c.248 AD) recording an order to swineherds to keep their charges off temple estates.

7. O.Cairo 25572,vso 3 (list of property; the only animal mentioned):

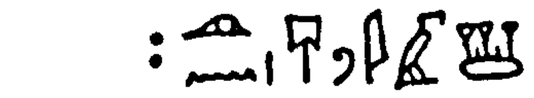


O.DelM 73 (given in exchange for a coffin (wt)) the list includes:

cf P.Cairo Cat 58054,vso 3 = KRI I, 324 (pig which was to be given by a to b):



O.Mich, pl.49, No.14,vso 4 (among payments):



O.Mich, pl.48, rto 9-10 (2 parts of pig cost 3 oipe):

O.Černý 5 vso 2 (2 pigs for 2 snîw): unpublished. See Janssen, Commodity Prices.

O.Berlin 12405, 6 (1 pig for 7 dbn): (as previous reference).

8. J.J.Tylor (& F.Ll.Griffith), Wall drawings and monuments of El Kab: The Tomb of Paheri (London 1895) pl.3 & 4.

Beni Hasan II, 2 = BMMA II (1931-32) (1933) p.27, fig.6.

Marquis of Northampton, W.Spiegelberg, P.E. Newberry, Report on some excavations in the Theban necropolis (London 1908) pl.13 & p.13; Top.Bibl. I[1], p.258 (Theban Tomb 146 - Nebamun). Shows pigs treading seed. This practice was mentioned by Herodotus (II, 14) and Pliny (Hist.Anim. X, 16). See too M.E. Rushdy, ASAE 11 (1911) 162-163: The treading of sown seed by swine.

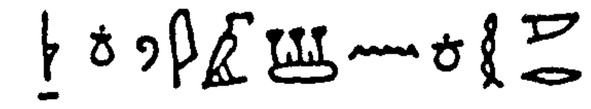
Wreszinski, Atlas I, pl.97b (badly damaged); Top. Bibl. I[1], p.41-42 = Northampton et.al., op.cit., p.14, fig.15 = Newberry, JEA 14 pl.19(2), p.219 (Theban Tomb).

Wilkinson, Manners and Customs II, p.100, fig.360 (tomb of Inenay; now lost).

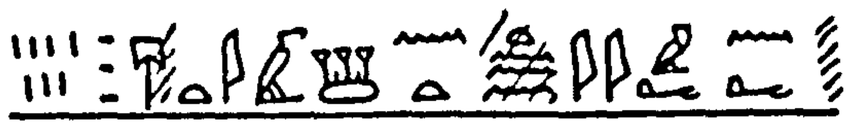
Firth & Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries, pl.52.

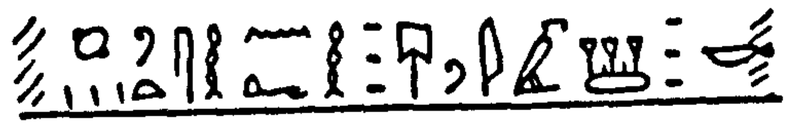
9. P.med Berl 3038, 2, 5:

Wb.Drog. V, p.434; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.254: 'Herausholen des fnt-Wurmes aus irgendeiner ⌜...⌝ Gekröse (3s) eines Schweins; werde damit verbunden'. See too VI, 471-2: 'das Schwein'.

P.med Berl 3038, 4, 3: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.290; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.166: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) [for coughing]. Fett (mrḥt) des Schweines 5 ro; Weizen 5 ro; Fett (mrḥt) des Gans 5 ro; werde gekocht, werde dem Tau ausgesetzt.... an vier Tagen. Es wird gemacht für den Mann oder die Frau, die an Hitze ihres... leiden'.

P.Leid I, 343, rto 1, 3: 

P. Leid I, 343, vso 2, 9: 

Eb 83, 4 (various ingredients including):

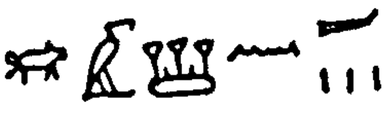
Wb. Drog. V, p.52; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.30: 'Kot des Schweines 1'.

Eb 82, 14:

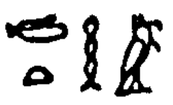
Wb.Drog. V, p.49; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.28: 'Fett (ḏd) des Schweines 1'.

Eb 81, 19 (parallel text in Hearst omits this):

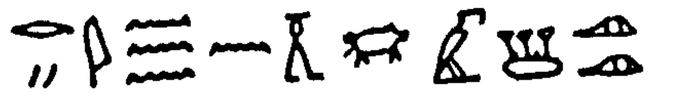
Wb.Drog. V, p.29; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.16: 'Fett (ḏd) des Schweines 1'.

Eb 74, 20: 

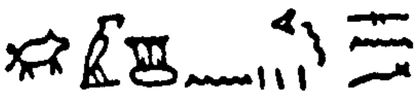
Wb.Drog. V, p.402-3; tr. Wb.Drog. IV, p.232: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel). [ḫl ˁˁ .w von šȝmw-Flüssigkeit 1; Zähne (ỉbḥ) eines Schweines ; Kot eines Katers 1; Kot eines Windhundes 1; Früchte (ỉšdt) des ḫt-ds-Baumes 1; werde zerkleinert, werde damit verbunden'.

Eb 54, 3: 

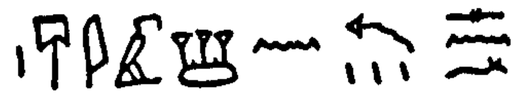
Wb.Drog. V, p.287; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.164: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel). Zahn (nḥdt) eines Schweines; werde fein zerrieben; werde gegeben in das Innere von vier Kuchen, werde gegessen an vier Tagen'.

Eb 57, 17: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.86-87; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.50: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für die Blindheit (šp.t). Beide Augen eines Schweines; werde das Wasser davon genommen; echte schwarze Angenschminke 1;' etc.

Eb 63, 16 (to prevent regrowth of hair in the eye): 

Wb.Drog. V, p.98; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.58: 'Blut des Schweines 1'.

Hearst 2, 6: 

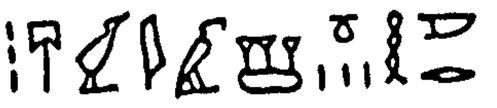
Wb.Drog. V, p.296; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.169: 'Heilmittel für die sḏr.t-ḥ3j.t Krankheitserscheinung. Blut eines Schweines; werde gegeben in Wein; werde getrunken, sofort '.

P.med Berl 3038, 6, 4:

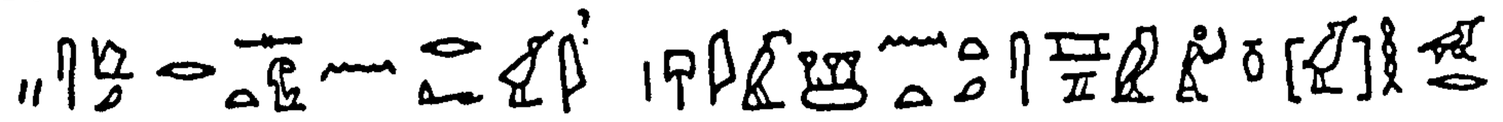
Wb.Drog. V, p.266; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.152: 'Kot vom Schwein'.

P.med Berl 3038, 8, 9:

Wb.Drog. V, p.450; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.263: 'Ein anderes Salbmittel (gs.w), ein Verband... Fett (mrḥ.t) des Schweines; werde der Mann damit gesalbt (gs) von einem trefflichen Cherhebpriester, der dieses Salbmittel (gs.w) kennt'.

P.med Berl 3038, 9, 6: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.272; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.155: 'Salbmittel (gsw) für das Beseitigen der nsj.t-Krankheit. ḥ3sit (Bryonia); werde gekocht in Fett (mrḥt) eines Schweines; Harn einer Jungfrau (ʿmʿ.t); werde der Mann damit gesalbt'.

P.med Lond 13, 13: Spell to be recited over various things which then should be: 

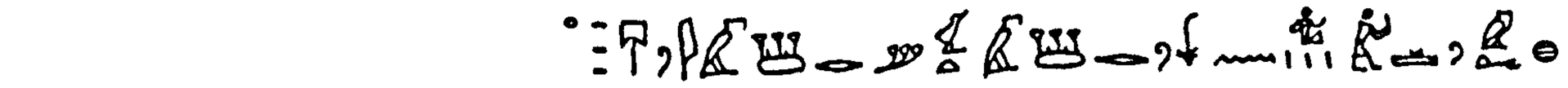
Wb.Drog. V, p.482-3; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.280: 'werde gesalbt (wrḥ) mit der Leber eines Schweines (šȝj ); werde gegeben der Frau an ihren After'.

P.med Berl 3038, 2, 10:

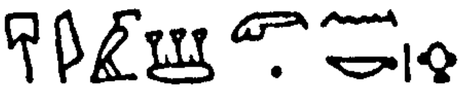
Wb.Drog. V, p.538; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.312: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel). .... .... ; Gerste 7; Schwein'.

P.med Berl 3038, 3, 2 (full text - ḥntȝsw):

Wb.Drog. V, p.538-9; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.312: 'Werde danach gekocht in Fett (mrḥt) eines weiblichen Schweins; werde damit verbunden'.

10. Sall II, 5, 7 = O.Petrie 40,1 (HO I, pl.13, No.1): 

tr. Brunner, Lehre des Cheti, p.22: 'Der Topfer stecht in seinem Lehm; sein Leben ist das eines Lebenden [=eines Viehs]. Die Erde (? o.ä., šȝi) beschmiert ihn mehr als ein Schwein (šȝi)'.

11. P.Ch.B. III, 9, 16: 

tr. Gardiner, HPBM, 3rd ser, p.18, pl.7 & 7A: If a man see himself in a dream 'copulating with a pig, BAD; being deprived of his possessions'.

12. P. Jumilhac XII, 17:

tr. Vandier, P. Jumilhac, p.123: 'Son horreur est aussi la femme en période de menstruation. L'acte de faire un mensonge. Le grognement du porc'.

Hornung, Pforten II, p.143, Scene 33 - Hall of Judgement of Osiris - shows a boat before Osiris containing a pig being beaten by a monkey (baboon? note the length of its muzzle). The monkey, by which is written gi(f?), is called 'Thoth' in the inscription (see p.149). The pig may be a substitute for the 'Fresserin' which does not appear by the scales (p.152).

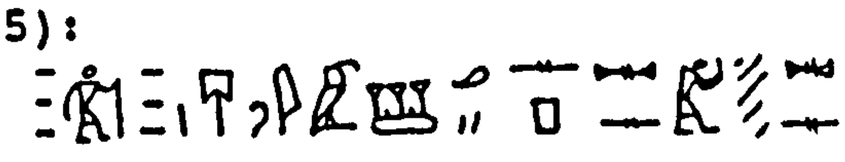
Cf Koenig, P.Boulaq VI, p.27, on this scene elsewhere, and A.Piankoff , ASAE 55 (1958) 157-165: Le tableau d'Osiris et les divisions V, VI et VII du Livre des Portes, pl.1 & 3 (after p.165) and p.285-300: [same title] pl.1 & 2 (after p.300).

J.Vandier d'Abbadie, ASAE 40 (1940) 467-488: Deux nouveaux ostraca figurés, esp. p.481-488 (pig fed by attendant).

Sauneron, Papyrus magique illustré, p.8, n.32, mentioned P. Brooklyn 47.218.2, 5, 4 recording ḫryt nb n t3 šȝyt ['all apprehensions caused by a pig'].

For amulets in the form of pigs see Petrie, Amulets, pl.40, No.234a-c.

13. Koenig, P.Boulaq VI, p.25 (rto 2, 5):



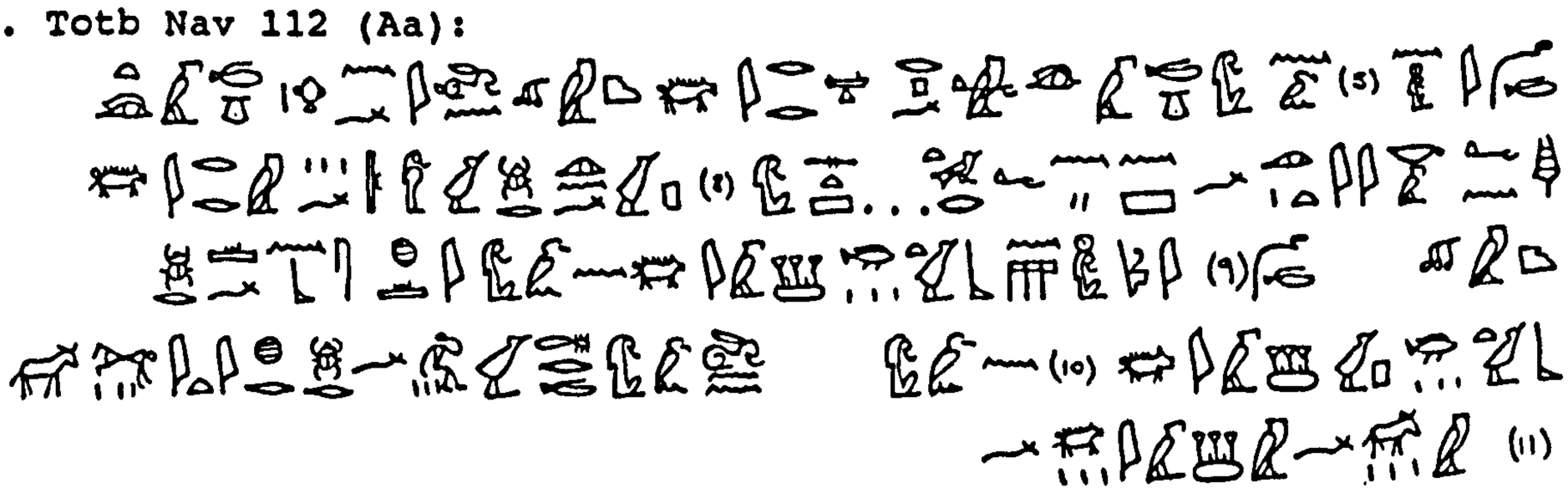
tr. p.26: 'Lie, lie la lēvre des cochons wrw'.

14. CD 63a: 'sow'; boar: ⲕⲁⲡⲣ(ⲟ)ⲥ - see ϵⳡⳳ entry; Černý, CED, p.40: 'sow'; also noted a form ⳡϵ 'pig (male)'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.49b: 'truie'; ⳡϵ 'porc'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.43: 'Sau'; ⳡϵ 'Schwein', cf p.301 and p.501.

15. CD 299a: 'swine, pig'; Černý, CED, p.138: 'swine, pig'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.166: 'Schwein', 'Ferkel'; cf p.534; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.177a: 'porc', cf p.254a.

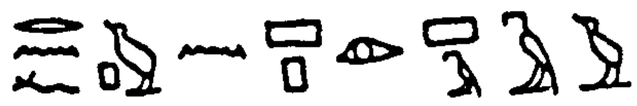
16. The term is likely to have been onomatopoeic in origin; see E.Littmann, ZÄS 67 (1931) 63-68: Bemerkungen zur ägyptisch-semitischen Sprachvergleichung. However, L.Störk, GM 42 (1981) 67-68: ⲣⲏⲗ 'Schwein/Pflug/Pflugschar', suggested a connection between ⲣⲓⲣ and ⲣⲏⲗ 'plough(share)', perhaps a common origin in a term for 'earth-grubbers'.

17. Totb Nav 112 (Aa):



tr. Allen, BOD, p.91: '(It came about) thus. Re had said to Horus: "Let me see this that has happened to thy eye today". When he had examined (it), then Re said to Horus: "Pray look at that black boar". So he looked. Then the sensation in his eye was very violent. So Horus said to Re: "Behold, my eye (feels) as (it did at) that blow which Seth struck at my eye". Then he lost consciousness. So Re said to the gods: "Put him on his bed, that he may recover". It was Seth, who had assumed his form of black boar. Then he had struck him in the eye. So Re said to the gods: "Abominate the pig for Horus' sake, so that he may recover". Thus came about the pig-abomination for Horus' sake by the gods , his Train. (But) when Horus was (in) his childhood his sacrifices used to consist of his beef cattle and his pigs. (Now) his Train abominates (them)'.

This text is also preserved in CT II, 338-345 (tr. FECT I, p.135). The variants were studied by K.Sethe, ZÄS 58 (1923) 1-24: Sprüche für das Kennen der Seele, No.27, p.12-13. Here he commented on the differences between the MK and NK versions known to him; in the NK version 'pig' occurs written and šȝỉ. In certain of the NK versions (early NK: Dyn.18 - Aa, Jb) these are replaced by rrỉ and šȝỉ respectively. Sethe explained this by assuming rrỉ to be a newer word (cf Coptic ριρ) chosen by the scribe to write out the pig-sign (without phonetic complements) which he was copying from an original in front of him, whereas he copied šȝỉ from the phonetically spelled out šȝỉ of the original text available to him. In other late NK versions (Ea, Tb, &c) rrỉ is written only once, perhaps overlooked when the other pig words were written consistently šȝỉ. From this Sethe concluded that rrỉ was a synonym of šȝỉ 'das seltenere Wort fur "Schwein"' (p.12-13)

cf Pyr 1268 (of Horus): 

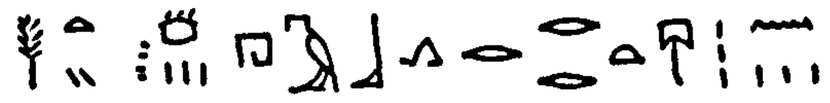
tr. Sethe, UuK V, p.166: 'jener sein Name "blind von Bestimmung(?)"' (with comments p.181).

18. Eb 95, 18 (for a womb complaint):

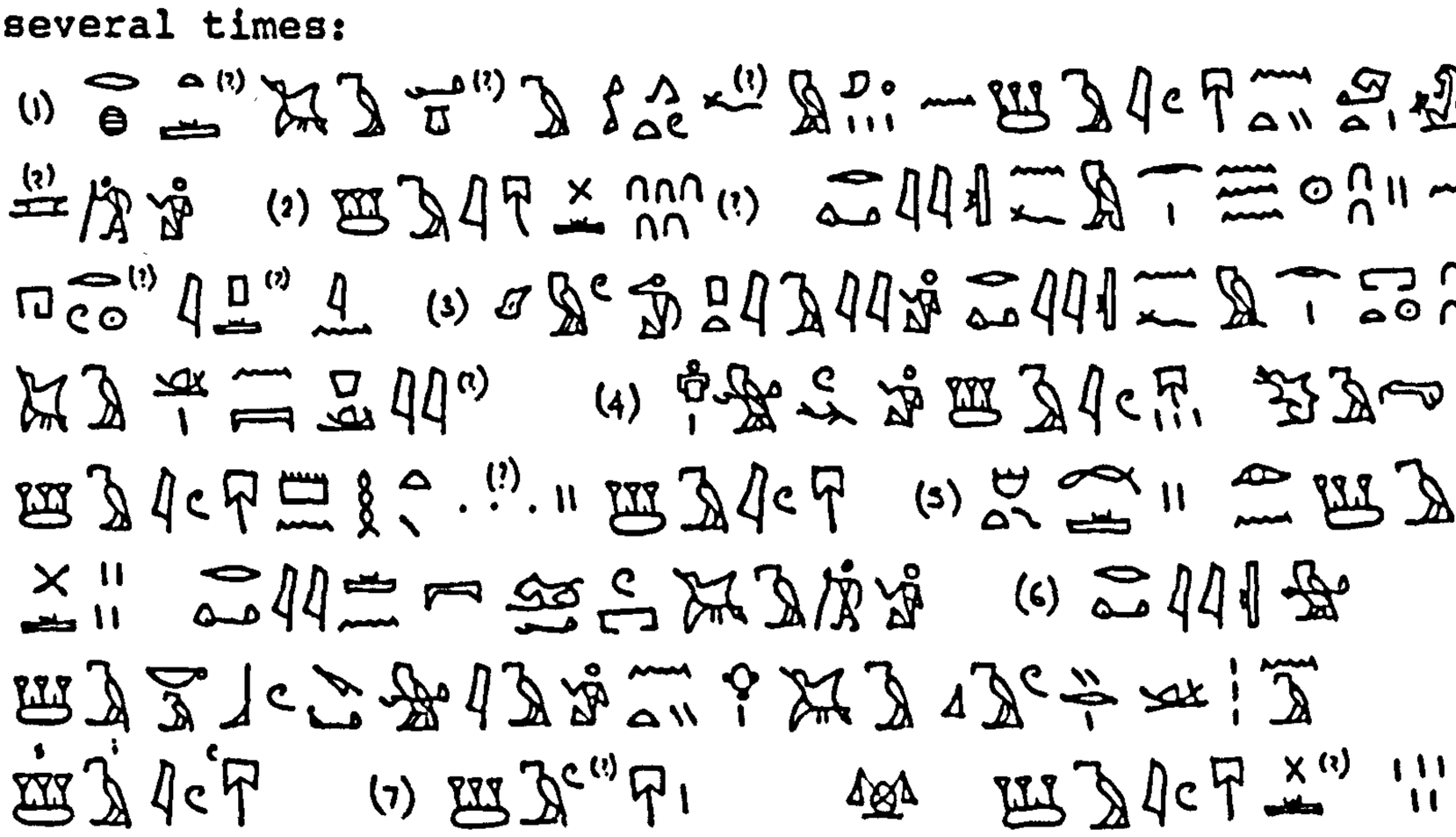
Wb.Drog. V, p.485; tr. Wb.Drog. I[1], p.282: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel). Frische Datteln 1; Gekröse (3s) vom rr-Schwein; ksnti () 1; Wasser; werde nachts dem Tau ausgesetzt, werde in ihr Genital (ỉwf) gegossen'.

Compare 3s n šȝỉ used to expel fnt-worms, above.

19. A.H. Gardiner, JEA 3 (1917) 95-110: The defeat of the Hyksos by Kamose: The Carnarvon Tablet No.1, tr. p.103: 'We are secure in the possession of our Black Land. Elephantine is strong, and the middle part(??) is with us as far as Cusae. The finest(?) of their fields are ploughed for us. Our cattle are in the papyrus marshes. The spelt is sent(?) to our swine'; H.S.Smith & A.Smith, ZÄS 103 (1976) 48-76: A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts, p.59, tr: 'emmer is sent for our swine':



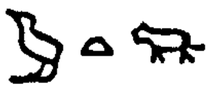
Wb also transcribed rr[///] from P. Cairo 58071, rto 12, 6, which records the hire of pigs for treading corn, a practice noted above. The text, as published by Spiegelberg, Rec. Trav. 15 (1893) 141-145: Varia, does not give any examples of rrỉ, though šȝỉ appears several times:



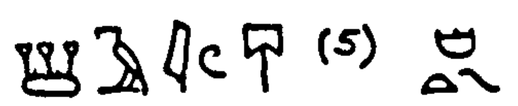
(rrỉ was read by Wb at the beginning of line 7).

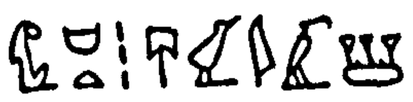
tr. Helck, Materialien III, p.509: 'Liste der Leihschweine, die beim Hirten Ḥ3py-wr sind: Schweine verschiedener Art 50, ihm

übergeben am 1. šmw, 22.Tag für das Jahr 3 am Tag der Zählung durch den Stellvertreter Ptjȝj. Ihm übergeben am 1. pr.t, 28. Tag aus dem Schiff des Kapitäns Sȝmw: Jungeber 2 Sauen 2 zusammen 4 verschiedene Schweine, (weiter) gegeben dem Magazinverwalter Pȝ-sr. Gegeben dem Aufsteher (mskb) Mjȝ, der auf dem Schweinelastkahn ist: 1 Schwein macht verschiedene Schweine 5'.

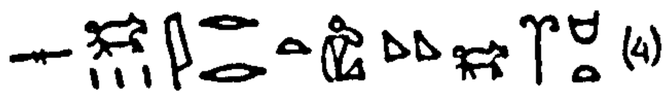
20. Maspero, Mission en Italie, p.64 = Turin No.10 : 

Various names in Ranke, PN I, p.224-225, are formed with rr but none have the pig det. Rrỉ occurs OK-MK as does šȝỉ. Note the forms šȝt (p.324, No.13), šȝyt (No.15) (both MK) & šȝỉw (No.16) (LP).

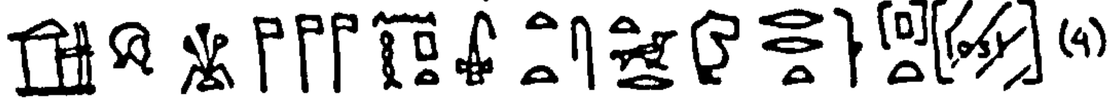
21. As šȝỉw ḥmt: P.Boulaq XII, rto 12, 4-5: 

Berl 3038, 3, 2: 

As ḥmt šȝỉw: P. Leiden I, 343, vso 2, 9:

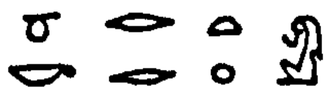
As ḥmt: Dram Texte 3-5 (pl.52, text S): 

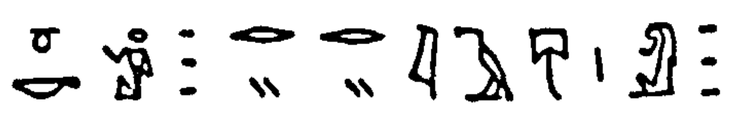
A form šȝỉt is also known from Mett 86:

22. KRI II, 893, 16 (Brooklyn Statue 36.615 1.4): 

For the association of Rrt and the torch see esp. A.Gutbub, Mélanges Maspero I$^4$, p.31-70: Un emprunt aux textes des Pyramides, p.44, para.2: Les porteurs de torches dans les représentations des temples.

Mett 79:

P.Leid 346, 3, 9: 

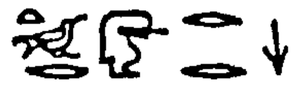
Max d'Anii vso <6> : 

On this deity and other names applied to her in Ptolemaic texts see Opet, esp. p. VII (Introduction).

23. E.Drioton, Les Inscriptions, in B. de la Roque, Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1926) (Le Caire 1927) (Ptolemaic; for full text see W3st). The text concerns various animals adoring Rē', including Kìry, Krìw, Sfrr, W3st, and Rrt:

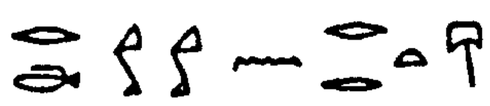
tr. p.28: 'Les hippopotames te vénèrent: leur gueule s'ouvre et leurs pattes font la geste d'adoration devant ton visage'.

24. P.Jumilhac XVII, 12 (Rrt and the Great Bear hold Seth captive in the sky for Horus):

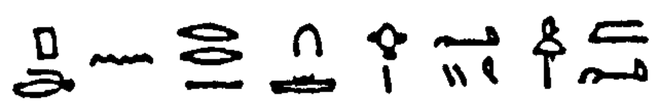


Glos Gol 1, 5:

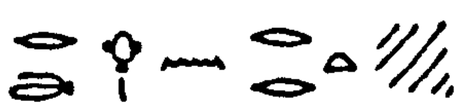
Stundentaf 10, 8:



Stundentaf 10, 12:



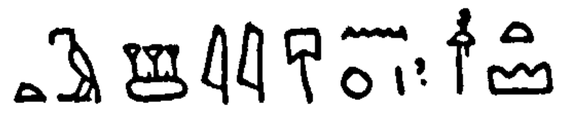
Stundentaf 11, 10:



LD III, 170-171: unnamed.

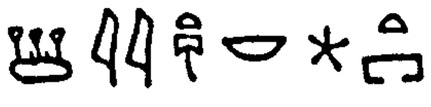
25. See C.Seeber, Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Ägypten (München 1970): MÄS 35, p.170, who noted:

Brussels E 5884:

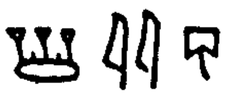


Cairo CG 6008:

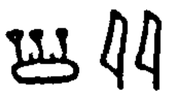
BM 24789:



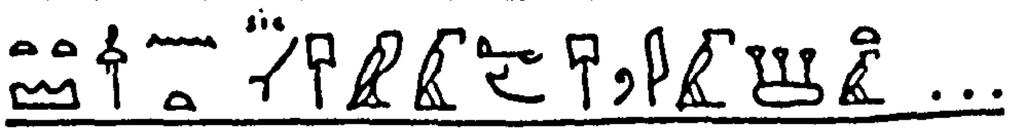
Turin 2238:



D el M 1407:



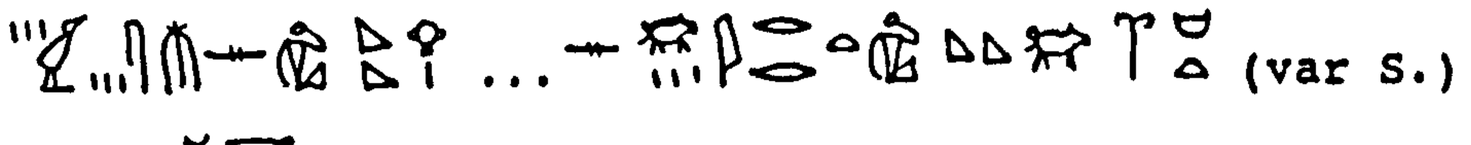
See too Sauneron, Papyrus Magique illustré, p.7-8, col.4, 1:



In the accompanying text the monster is called Šȝʿȝrtì (4,2; 4, 5; 4, 7; 5, 3; 5, 8).

Sauneron assumed that the šȝi and ʿmȝm were not identified with one another 'à moins qu'on n'ait associé la faculté qu'a la truie de dévorer ses petits au rôle de dévoreuse dévolu habituellement au monstre ʿAmanet du jugement des morts'.

26. Dram Texte, p.3-5 = H.Grapow, ZÄS 71 (1935) 45-47: Die Himmelsgöttin Nut als Mutterschwein = Parker & Neugebauer, Egyptian Astronomical Texts I, pl.52:

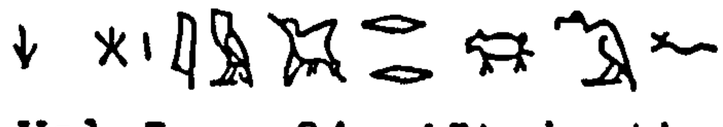

(var S.)

var.

On sms as a term for young birds see ȝpd (Ch.1: Classification).

27. Dram Texte 3-5 (see previous note).

H.Frankfort et al., The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos II (London 1933): EES Memoir 39, pl.84., l.13:



tr. Vol.I, p.84: 'It is that a star there, the pig(let) of its mother , has shown itself in the sky'.

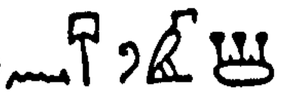
(For calves with their 'mothers' see - bḥs).

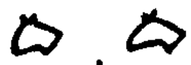
Cf Coptic ⲡⲁⲓⲡ etc. 'sucking pig' (CD 299a, entry ⲡⲓⲡ ); this Černý CED, p.138, assumed to come from rrt.

28. Mett 86:

tr. Borghouts, AEMT, p.71: 'It is at the voice of my daughter Isis that I have come... [my omission]... For it is not an (ordinary) sufferer you [= a snake] have bitten - Min, the Lord of Coptos, the son of the White Sow (tȝ šȝi.t ḥdt) who is in Heliopolis, is the one who has been bitten'. Also tr. C.E. Sander-Hansen, Die Texte der Metternichstele (København 1956): An.Aeg. 7, p.48.

On the association of Isis & pigs see: M.Munster, Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis vom alten Reich bis zum Ende des neuen Reiches : MÄS 11 (München 1968) 154; 203; J.Bergman, Boreas 6 (1974) 81-109: Isis auf der Sau.

30. Borghouts, P.Leiden I, 348, rto 4, 9 (pl.4): 
tr. p.19: 'Another conjuration of the head. A front similar to a jackal, a behind similar to a swine of Re.' (part of a spell to be recited four times over specified objects, now lost; cf too n.129, p.82).

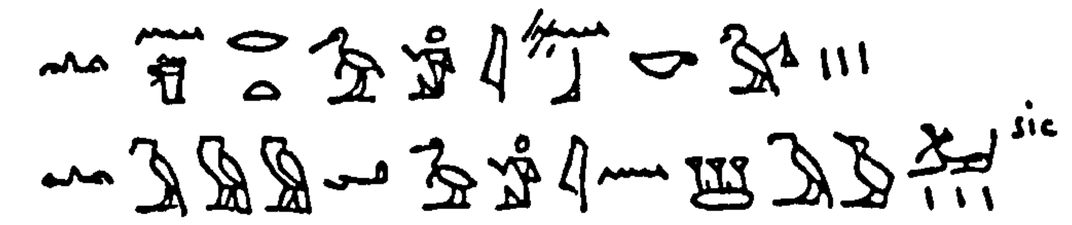
cf Sonnenlit 37: var.
var. 

tr. Hornung, Anbetung II, p.66: 'Lobpreis sei dir, Re, du mit hoher Macht, mit geheimnisvollem Gesicht und entzündetem Gottesauge : - du bist ja der Körper des Schai'. (Text Vol.I, p.42-43).

29. H. Grapow, ZÄS 71 (1935) 45-47: Die Himmelsgöttin Nut als Mutterschwein.

31. Esp. BOD 112 where Seth assumes the form of a black rrỉ (see above).

G.Daressy, BIFAO 13 (1917) 77-92: Seth et son animal, also noted an instance of for  designating the king on the Palermo Stone (p.89); compare too id., BIFAO 12 (1916) 161-214: La Pierre de Palerme et la Chronologie de l'Ancien Empire).

CT I, 397: sic ↓ 
sic

tr. FECT I, p.74: 'My soul shall not be gripped by the Falcons, my soul shall not be seized by the Pigs, my soul shall not be grasped by the Earth-gods, my soul shall not be seized by magic.'

32. Beni Hasan II, 4:

Beni Hasan II, 13:

33. See, for example:

G.Bénédite, Carnarvon Ivory II, esp. 227, n.1.

F.v.Bissing, Rec. Trav. 33 (1911) 17-26: Lesefrüchte, esp. p.18, No.31: Zum Sethtier.

L.Borchardt, ZÄS 46 (1909-10) 90-91: Das Sethtier mit dem Pfeil.

P.H.Boussac, RHR 82 (1920) 189-208: L'animal sacré de Set-Typhon et ses divers modes d'interprétation.

J.Capart, CdE 21, No.41 (1946) 29-31: Contribution à l'iconographie du dieu Seth.

idem, Mélanges Maspero I, 227-231: Le cheval et le dieu Seth.

G.Daressy, ASAE 20 (1920) 165-166: L'animal séthien à tête d'âne.

S.Frechkop, CdE 21, No.41 (1946) 91: L'oryctérope ne serait-il pas le prototype de l'incarnation de Seth-Typhon?

G.Gaillard, Bull. Soc. d'Anth. de Lyon 22 (1903) 1-11: L'Okapi et Set-Typhon.

J.Gwyn Griffiths, JEA 25 (1939) 101: [Brief communication]

L.Keimer, Acta Tropica 7 (1950) 110-112: Die fälschlich als Okapi gedeuteten altägyptischen Darstellungen des Gottes Seth.

E.Lefébure, Sphinx 2 (1898) 63-74: L'animal typhonien.

E.Meyer, Set-Typhon. Eine Religiös-geschichtliche Studie (Leipzig 1875).

G.Michailides, Aegyptus 32 (1952) 45-53: Papyrus contenant un dessin du dieu Seth à tête d'âne.

W.Pleyte, La religion des Pré-Israélites. Recherches sur le dieu Seth (Utrecht, 1862) p.187.

id., Quelques monuments relatifs au dieu Set (Leyde 1863).

G.Roeder, ZÄS 50 (1912) p.84-86: Der Name und das Tier des Gottes Set.

G.Schweinfurth, ASAE 13 (1914) 272-276: Das Tier des Seth.

G.Thilenius, Rec. Trav. 22 (1900) 214-218: Das heilige Tier. des Gottes Seth.

H. te Velde, Seth God of Confusion (Leiden 1967, 1977).

id., LÄ V, 908-911: Seth.

A.Wiedemann, OLZ 5 (1902) col.220-223: Das aegyptische Set-Tier.

id., Umschau 7974 (1902) 1002-1005: Das Okapi im alten Ägypten.

34. P.E.Newberry, Klio 12 (1912) 397-401: The Cult animal of Set, esp. p.401 (possibly a wart-hog - at least of pig family).

id., JEA 14 (1928) 211-225: The pig and the cult-animal of Seth.

35. Eg G. Daressy, BIFAO 13 (1917) 77-92: Seth et son animal, esp. p.89-92. He believed the wild boar (Sus scrofa L) to have been 'le véritable animal reprouvé' but that the Seth animal was so drawn as to be its exact opposite, and thus harmless in a magical sense (p.90). (For more on his arguments see ỉš.)

Cf:

A.S. Jensen, The Sacred Animal of the God Seth (Copenhagen 1934): Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Biologiske Meddelelser 9, 5.

36. CT II, 42:

'Falcons live on birds, jackals live on what runs about, pigs on the desert (-scrub?), hippos on the marsh (-plants?), men on corn, crocodiles on fish and fish on the waters of the inundation'.

Faulkner (FECT I, p.85) tr. 'm' as 'in' but it must mean 'from', 'on' - cf the Doomed Prince, who lived on (m) animals of the desert (ʿwt ḫ3st) - since the text mentions the command of Atum to give all these creatures nourishment.

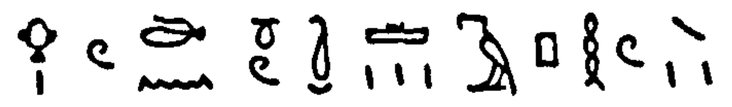
Cf Morentz, Naturlehre, who also tr. thus; see esp. p.120, n.9: 'Es dürfte sich also um Wildschweine handeln'.

37. Hopfner, Tierkult, p.61.

38. Gwyn Griffiths, Horus and Seth, p.31-32 and p.36.

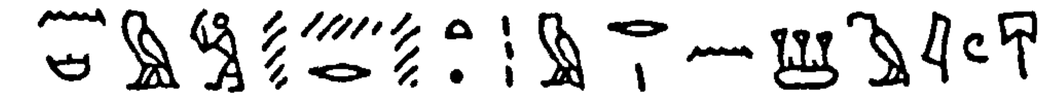
39. Med Habu 158, 1002:

(see ʿr for further discussion).

Admon 8, 13: 

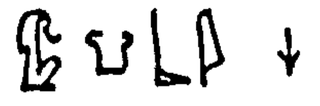
tr. p.65: 'Behold, female slaves.... offer geese (?)'.

Cf šȝỉ also attested in this text:

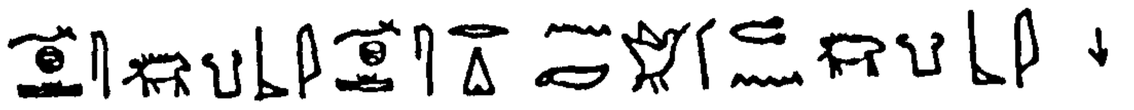
Admon 6, 2: 

tr. p.45: '... is taken away from the mouth of the swine'.

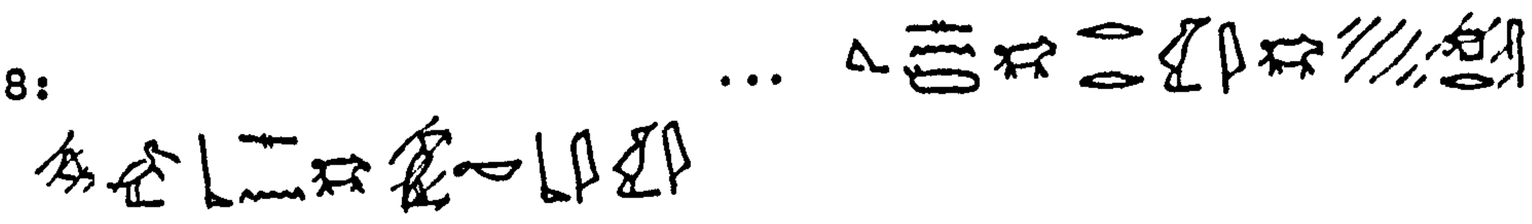
40. Compare the few times pigs might be sacrificed, as noted in Herodotus II, 47-48; and others noted by v.d.Horst, Chaeremon, p.18.

41. BOD 65: 

tr. Allen, BOD, p. 60: 'I have <seen> Ibka <put> in bonds, untruth <put> under {his} guard. <Loose> Ibka, release untruth; (for) lo I am descended in the form (of) a living blessed one whom the common folk on earth adore'.

42. CT II, 116a: 

tr. FECT I, p.103: 'O boar (?), raise yourself; I cause the boar (?) to be loosed and the boar (?) is loosed'.

CT II, 118: ... 

tr. FECT I, p.103: 'Recitation for going out into the day. The crocodile and the pig have slept, the pig has passed by. Do they perish? Then I perish. The boar(?) has slipped. Does he slip? Then I have slipped'.

Cf bḫ3, a cattle term.

43. Jacquet-Gordon, Noms des domaines funéraires, p.46: 'un animal qui ressemble à un porc'.

Mastaba of Nefermaet var. in Mastaba of Duarē':

Medum pl.XXI (Mastaba of Nefermaet):

Jacquet-Gordon, op.cit., p.446, tr. 'L'animal ḥdrr'.)

The word ḥdrr was compared by Sauneron, Papyrus magique illustré, p.9 (where the word is written in the syllabic orthography) with Semitic ḥaziyr & Arabic khinzyr, meaning 'pig'.

44. Dawson, op.cit., p.598: 'Both these words have reference to repelling the pig ie. the wild-boar, and date from a time when this predatory animal was a menace to the farmers'.

## Chapter 12 : Notes

1. In Egyptological literature these have been given the Latin names Ovis longipes Fitzinger (more specifically O.l.palaeoaegyptus), of Africa, and O.platyura Wagner (O.p.aegyptiaca), of Asia. See, for example, the terms and illustrations in L. Störk, LÄ V, 522-524: Schaf, col.522-523. Neither of these scientific names is recognized in modern works (see further below).

G. Thilenius, Rec. Trav. 22 (1900) 199-212: Das ägyptische Hausschaf, defined the first as a hair-coated 'Mähnenrasse' related to the Barbary sheep, an animal still found in Egypt (see Ch.2: Antelopes and Similar Animals) and the second as a wool-bearing 'Fettschwanzrasse' descended from Ovis arkal (presumably O.aries arkal) of Western Asia. These types were allocated to the species given above by J.U.Dürst and C.Gaillard, Rec. Trav. 24 (1902) 44-76: Studien über die Geschichte des ägyptischen Hausschafes. These species also appear in Lortet & Gaillard, Faune Momifiée, p.87-100, though the authors reported no mummified remains of the first type (remains of this sheep have been discussed more recently by Pendlebury, COA III, p.251).

Zeuner, Domesticated Animals, however, recognised only one species of domesticated sheep, Ovis aries L (cf the use of Canis familiaris L for all types (breeds) of domesticated dog), though he noted a subspecies O.a.platyura, which he described as popular in North Africa and the Levant. He mentioned that the sheep described by Dürst and Gaillard as 'O.l.palaeoaegyptica' was, along with many other domesticated breeds, a descendant of the group of Asiatic Urial sheep (O.orientalis Gmelin, now considered synonymous with O.aries). The Urials are one of three Asian wild sheep groups, the others being the Argalis (O.ammon L) and Mouflons (O.musimon Pallas, also considered synonymous with O.aries). (See Geist, Mountain Monarchs, p.7 & 314, and Honacki et al, Mammal Species of the World, p.339-340.) Ancient Egyptian sheep should apparently, therefore, be regarded simply as O.aries L.

On Egyptian sheep see also M. Hilzheimer, Antiquity 10 (1936) 196-206: Sheep (tr. R.G. Austin), with the note by M.C.Burkitt in the same volume, p.358.

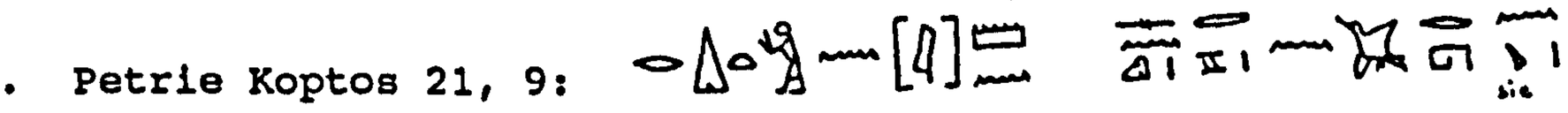
2. Eg Junker, Giza VI, fig.42; V fig 19, p.79; Meir V, 32; LD II, 9; LD II, 51; LD II, 106b; Sheikh Said pl.9, pl.8; Berscheh I, pl.25; Deir el Gebr II pl.8; Wreszinski, Atlas I, pl.97a; Sahure II, pl.1.

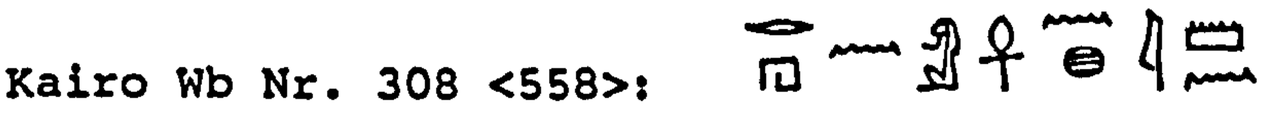
3. R. Lepsius, ZÄS 5 (1877) 8-22: Über die widderköpfigen Götter Ammon und Chnumis in Beziehung auf die Ammons-Oase und die gehörnten Köpfe der griechischen Münzen; see also the works of Keimer quoted by L.Störk, LÄ V, 522-524: Schaf, esp. n.2.

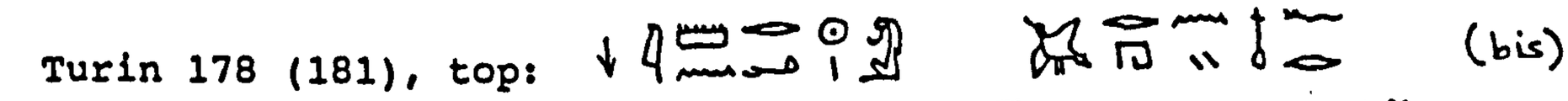
4. Eg Urk III, 128; Mar Mon Div pl.12b, 87.

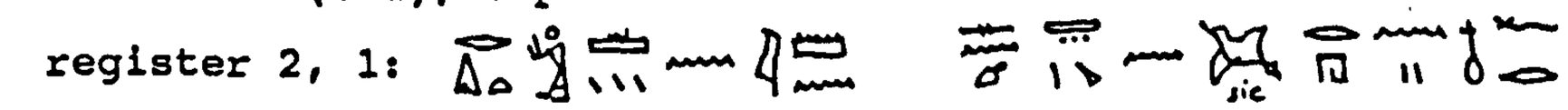
5. On Khnum represented as a ram see E.Otto, LÄ I, 950-954: Chnum, esp. col.951, n.2-3. Cf Khnum as nb ddt: Totb Nav 42, 6-7.

6. On Amun represented as a ram see E.Otto, LÄ I, 237-248: Amun, esp. col.239, n.11-12; W.Spiegelberg, ZÄS 62 (1927) 23-27: Der heilige Widderkopf des Amon.

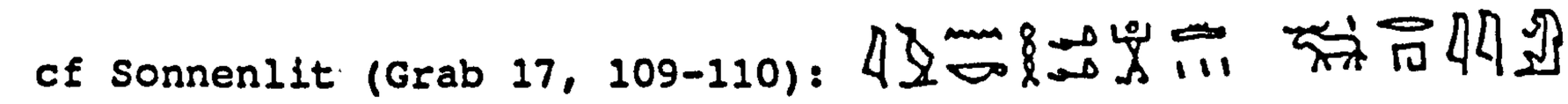
7. Petrie Koptos 21, 9: 

Kairo Wb Nr. 308 <558>: 

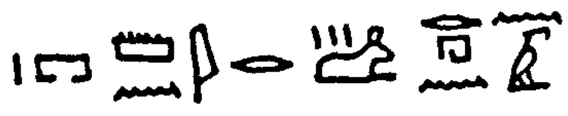
Turin 178 (181), top:  (bis)

register 2, 1: 

tr. G.Maspero, Rec. Trav. 2 (1880) 105-120: Notes sur quelques points de grammaire et d'histoire, p.114.

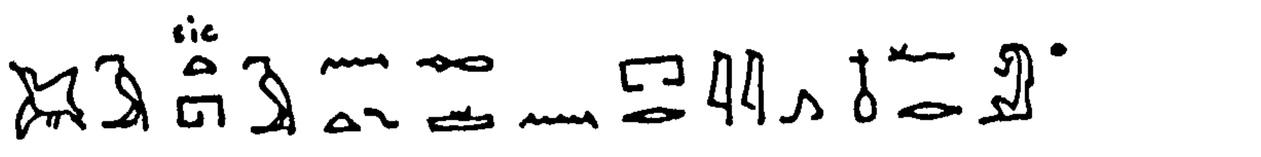
cf Sonnenlit (Grab 17, 109-110): 

tr. Hornung, Anbetung II, p.77: 'Jubel sei dir, Ba des Angreifers (?)' (other var. have b3 written as bird).

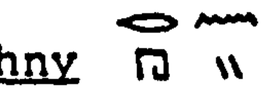
LD III, 249f ('criosphinxes' at Karnak): 

P. Bologna I, 10, 11:

tr. Caminos, LEM,p.28: 'beloved of Thebes upon the Ram Alley', with comments, p.29.

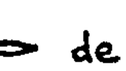
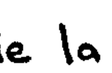
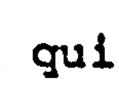
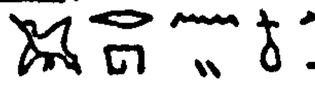
Sall IV, vso I, 5-6: 

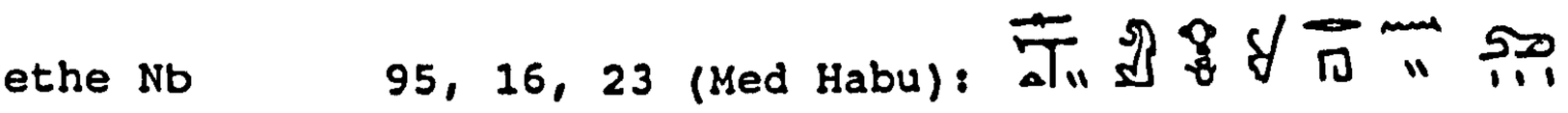
tr. Caminos, LEM, p.333: 'Amen-Rēʿ, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, the great ram of Prynufe'.

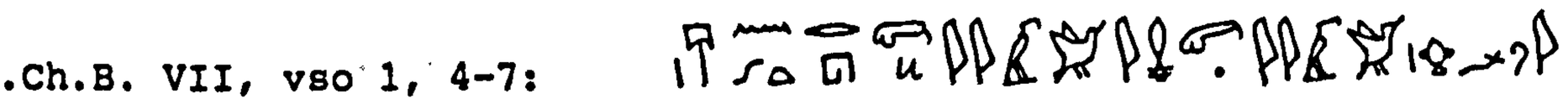
Rhny  apparently on a Brighton Museum stela showing a ram standing in front of a papyrus thicket was noted by Spiegelberg, Rec.Trav. 22 (1900) 212-214: Die ägyptische Worte für 'Schaf', p.212, n.3.

P. Tur P u R 136, 9-12:

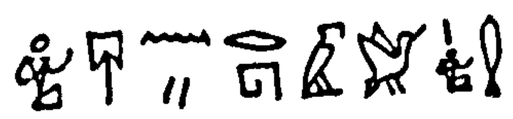
tr. Borghouts, AEMT, p.92: 'Oh cobra , the enemy of the ram... Great and mysterious gods, come, that you may hear what the ram has said' (my omission) (for comments on variant texts see his n.320).

Maspero (loc.cit.) explained the name rhn as the 'forme factive en  de la racine  ...elle signifie incliner la tête d'arrière et en avant, courber le front, annuere... Le pourrait donc être celui qui fait l'action de  , celui qui courbe la tête c'est-à-dire, le buteur, le bélier qui courbe la tête pour donner de la corne. Ammon  était donc Ammon, le bon bélier, le bon buteur de corne'. Cf too Spiegelberg, op.cit., p.212: 'wohl abgeleitet von rhn (oder rhnj) "sich stützen"'.

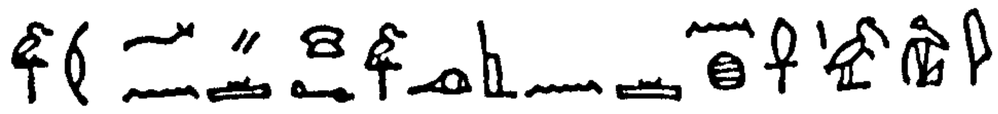
8. Sethe Nb 95, 16, 23 (Med Habu): 

P.Ch.B. VII, vso 1, 4-7: 

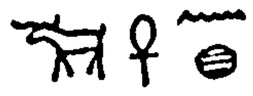
tr. p.62: 'Now the great god had gone forth to walk, and he [beheld Seth as he mounted?] upon her back, leaping (her) even as a ram leaps'. Cf A.Roccati, RdE 24 (1972) 152-159: Une légende égyptienne d'Anat, text p.155, l.4, tr. p.156; O.DelM 1591, l.6.

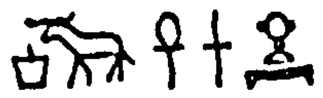
9. HO I, pl.51, No.2, rto 5 (O. Gardiner 90): 

Ranke, PN I, p.225, no.14.

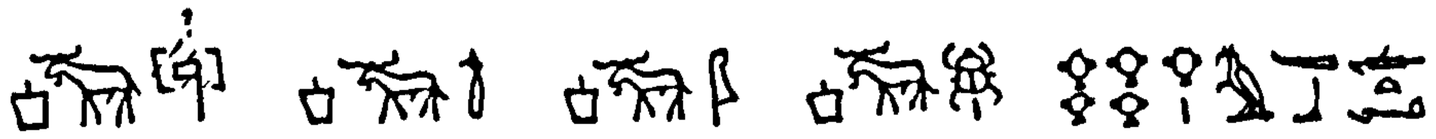
10. Bibl Aeg III, 37: 

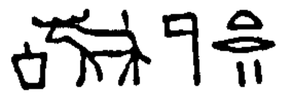
Urk II, 52 (king called):

Legrain, Statues, p.40 (CGC 42174): 

Lapis Skulptura p.80, pl.11: 

See also Thilenius, op.cit.

Stockholm 77: 

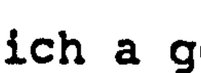
KRI III, 175, 13: 

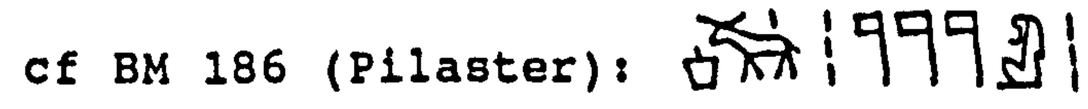
KRI III, 176, 7 & 9:

11. Mendesstele, passim.

Depicted as a ram with side-curled horns in Goshen 5, 2 entitled:

Elsewhere Banebded is shown as an animal with the body of a sheep but certain of the attributes of a goat - a shaggy mane and a beard. (See, eg, N. de G. Davies, Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes (New York 1927) pl.34.) Dürst & Gaillard (op.cit., p.76) noted of this animal: 'Der Widder von Mendes war ursprünglich das Palaeoaegypticus, erst nach dessen Aussterben wurde er durch eine Ziege Hircus mambricus ersetzt, der ähnlichen Horngestalt wegen'. This was also the opinion of L.Keimer, ASAE 38 (1938) 297-331: Remarques sur quelques représentations de divinités-béliers et sur un groupe d'objets de culte conservés au Musée du Caire (additional notes p.690-697). The beard he explained (p.323): 'il s'agit tout simplement d'une barbe divine et non pas d'une barbe de chèvre'. The same suggestion was made by Hilzheimer, op.cit. Cf Darby and Ghalioungui, Food I, p.213: 'The ornament, mistaken for a natural beard, led to the erroneous identification of this animal with a goat'.

Note the confusion elsewhere between sheep and goats in mythological contexts. In T.Andrziewski, Le Papyrus Mythologique de Te-Hem-en-Mout (Paris 1959) pl.4 and p.52ff, a goat on a shrine is called sr ʿȝ; similarly on a Ptolemaic stela CGC 22181, publ. A.B.Kamal, Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines (Le Caire 1904) pl.54, No.22181, texts p.159-168. See also A.M.Blackman, JEA 5 (1919) 24-35: The funerary papyrus of Nespeherʿan (esp. p.29, n.5 & pl.IV) in which a goat is addressed  'great sheep'.

cf BM 186 (Pilaster):  in front of a goat (with horns, both backward sweeping, and beard).

G.Michailides, BIFAO 53 (1965) 139-160: Moule illustrant un texte d'Hérodote relatif au bouc de Mendès, did not regard this change of form as a problem, noting (p.144-5) that Seth was known to have several forms, including an unidentified animal (see Ch.5: Dogs and Similar Animals) and an ass (see Ch.8: Horse and Donkey).

The use of terms constructed around b3 for 'goat' in Coptic (ⲃⲁⲗⲙⲓⲧⲉ, ⲃⲁⲣⲏⲓⲧ) would indicate that the animal associated with the b3 in late times was indeed the goat and not the sheep.

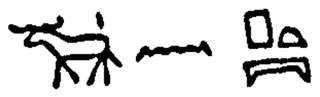
On representations of Banebded with 4 horns (not an example of one of the naturally occurring breeds with several horns but a combination of the horns of both sheep types known to the Egyptians) see Keimer op.cit., p.313 and 695-696.

This confusion between sheep and goat when representing the b3 would support the hypothesis that b3 was not a species designation but a purely mythological animal which developed its own form without reference to the species on which it was based (cf the very emaciated Anubis jackals in mythological scenes). Therefore b3 should not generally be taken as meaning the 'ram' of any zoological race of sheep as Störk suggested, op.cit., col.522: 'Ovis longipes palaeoaegyptiaca... ihre Widder (b3) [trug] starke Halsmähnen'.

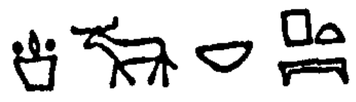
On the b3 of Mendes as a living animal and as b3 (soul) of Rē‘ see J. Zandee, An ancient Egyptian crossword puzzle (Leiden 1966) p.25-28.

12. Sonnenlit 21-22:

tr. Hornung, loc.cit.: 'Jubel sei dir, Roter Roter Ba, der den Westen aufschließt'.

Theb Grab 157 <1179>: 

Theb Grab 45 <1013>:

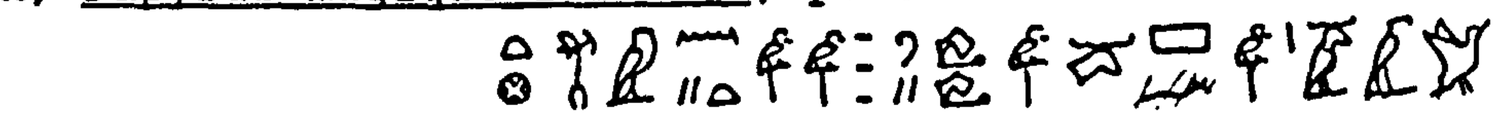
Theb Grab 160 <111>: 

James, BM Texts, part 9, pl.10A, No.687B, l.1:

A.H.Gardiner, JEA 41 (1955) 30: A Pharaonic Encomium, pl.7-9, l.3:

tr. A.H.Gardiner, JEA 42 (1956) 8-20: A Pharaonic Encomium II, p.9: 'Then said the Ennead of Thebes, the conclave of Elect-of-Places, the Ram-headed one of On, the great god of (4)... all the gods and goddesses of this House', commenting p.9: 'from the position in the enumeration this must be the ram of Amun thought of as distinct from the god himself'.

cf Sauneron, Papyrus magique illustré, p.23:



tr. p.23: 'le bélier au poitrail prestigieux qui est dans Thèbes'.

Sethe Notebook 8, 75 (adoration of sun-god):

BOD 15A, 5-6 (var. Ba):

tr. Allen, BOD, p.19: 'Hail to (thee)... [my omission]... living ram lodging in his bark'.

Davies & Gardiner, Seven Private Tombs, pl.8 & p.9:

Legrain, Statues II, p.40 (CGC 42174):

Urk VI, 99:

tr. p.98: 'Du Bist der Bock, der erglänzt mit seinen beiden "Heilen"'.

Note that the later redaction of this text gives 'the god' (p3 ntr) instead of 'b3', which would indicate that b3 was considered a term

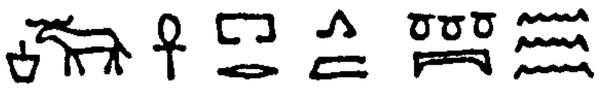
for a sheep-shaped deity rather than a sheep <u>per se</u>.

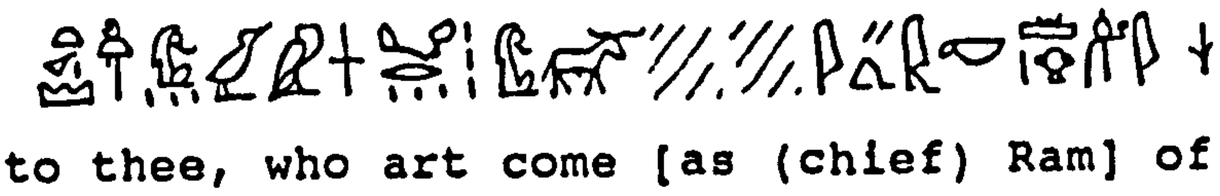
Cf the designation for a deity with sheep's head in P. Tur P u R 144 (vso of 3 fragments of the map of gold mines): ....

and the ram-headed deity called <u>b3</u> recorded by Hornung, <u>Pforten</u> II, p.270 (Scene 85) with others called <u>hnmw</u>, <u>pndr</u> and <u>dnd</u> (cf <u>Wb</u> I, 511, 6 for <u>pndn</u> as an epithet of the sun-god; <u>Wb</u> V, 470, 14 for <u>dnd(n)</u>, likewise).

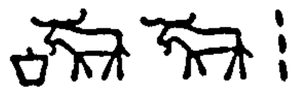
KRI III, 322, 7:

KRI III, 346, 11:

KRI III, 270, 3: 

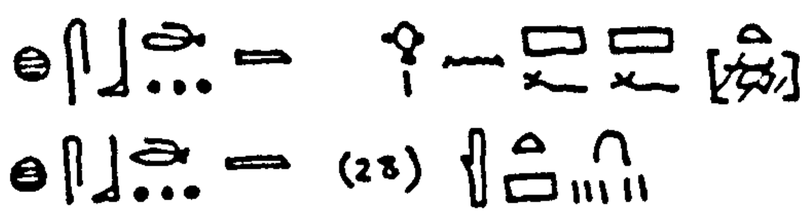
13. BOD 15B: 

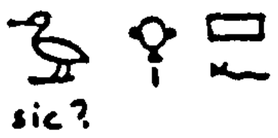
tr. Allen, p.23: 'Hail to thee, who art come [as (chief) Ram] of the sacred Rams that are in the west'.

Gr Oase 15, 6-8: 

tr. Assmann, <u>Liturgische Lieder</u>: 'Sei gegrüßt, der du gekommen bist als Widder der Widder (2), heilige Seele , die im Westen ist'.

Two variants of the text do not write <u>b3</u> <u>b3w</u> with rams. For similar references of Ptolemaic date see his p.80. Note also the similar phrases 'bull of bulls' and 'falcon of falcons' commented upon by him.

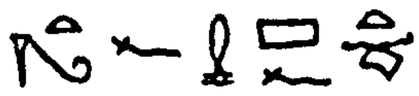
14. Urk IV, 701: 

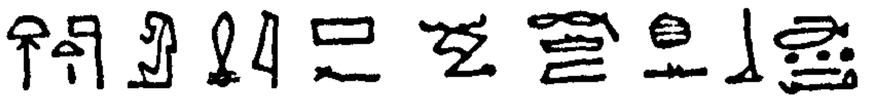
cf J.Capart, <u>ZÄS</u> 45 (1908) 14-21: Une liste d'amulettes, p.20, No.63: 

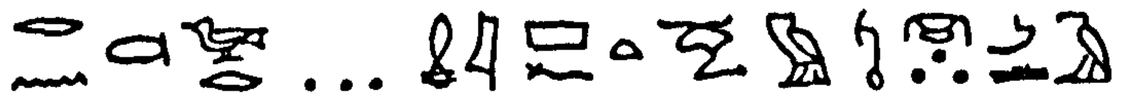

described as 'faucon avec belière'.

Cf Urk IV, 616 (<u>šfšft</u> probably wrongly restored):

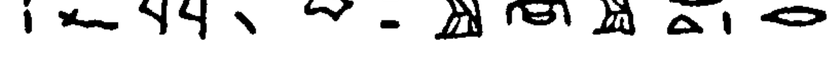
15. Urk IV, 183, 10 (on pylon at Karnak):

Urk IV, 623: 

Petrie Six Temples 12, 21: 

Luxor <405>: 

16. Harr 7, 6 (on the wi3...špsy of the deities at Karnak):

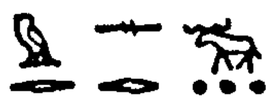


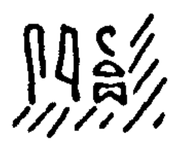
Gardiner recorded the sign (Sign List F7) as 'ram's head'. Certainly only the head of the animal appears as the determinative of šft but phrases such as ḥr (n) šft do seem to indicate that šft covered more than just the head (unless ḥr is to be considered here as part of the head only). Signs with the foreleg included (F8) appear in the Middle Kingdom and later (see Gardiner's note). Note this determinative (F8) of sr 'sheep' in Pyr 1726.

17. Theb Grab 65 <592a> (= KRI VI, 544, 13):

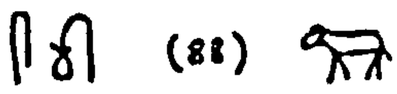
18. Not the opinion of Spiegelberg, Rec. Trav. 22 (full ref. above): 'Das Wort [sr] bezeichnet nach dem Determinativ das Schaf mit Horizontalgehörn, das Hauschaf der Mähnenrasse' (after Thilenius).

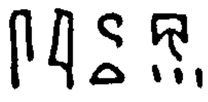
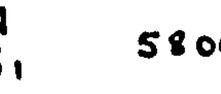
19. Note the variant writings sw3 and s3w (P. Koller 13, 5). NK examples do not necessarily show the r of the original word (cf Coptic ϵcooγ ); Spiegelberg seems to have regarded them as entirely separate terms, the latter possibly even a semitic loan word (op.cit.). On the change r>ỉ see Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.47a, and also p.195a; 'Il faut exclure de tout rapprochement hébreu... śeh <brebis>'.

20. Sethe, Lesestücke, 79, 9: 

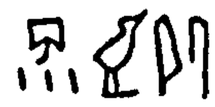
Med Habu 75, 38: 

Urk IV, 75 (A):

Urk III, 128: 

Med Habu 75, 37:  5800 ,  23128

KRI II, 247:

KRI II, 257: 

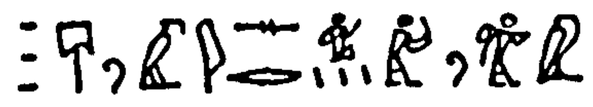
21. For example, LD II, 9 and Sahure II, pl.1.

22. Janssen, Commodity Prices, p.165, n.2.

23. Junker, Giza V, p.79, fig.19.

24. See Ch.7: Goats.

25. See Ch.7: Goats.

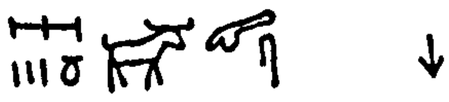
26. HO I, pl.81, l.7: 

27. See Vandier d'Abbadie, Ostraca figurés. Note the goats on No.2797; 2801; 2803; 2798; 2804; 2807; 2808; 2805; 2802; 2256-2722; 2192.

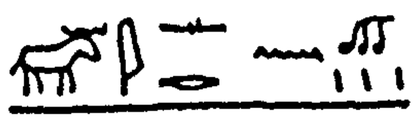
28. See above, n. 11.

29. Eb 85, 11:

Wb.Drog. V, p.35; tr. Wb.Drog. IV, p.20: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Kühlen der Gefäße. Fett (ʿḏ) des Rindes 1; Fett (ʿḏ) des Esels; Fett (ʿḏ) des Widders 1; psd ( ) 1; Erbsen (ṯḫwi) 1; ḫɜsi.t (Bryonia) 1; unterägyptisches Salz 1; werde damit verbunden '.

P. Ram V, 1.16: 

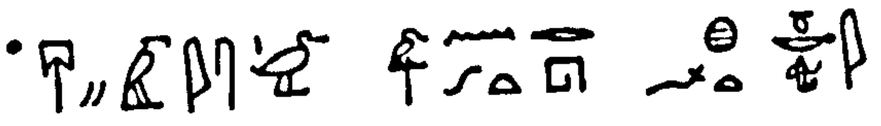
Wb.Drog. V, p.58; tr. IV$^{1}$, p.32: 'Erweichen von šw.t der Gefäße'; 'Fett (ʿḏ) des (männlichen) Rindes 1; Fett (ʿḏ) des Ziegenbocks 1; Fett (ʿḏ) des Widders 1;' etc.

Eb 69, 5: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.373: tr. IV$^{1}$, p.215: 'Eine andere Beschwörung einer Verbrennung am ersten Tage '. 'Werde gesprochen über Milch einer, die einen Knaben geboren hat; Gummi; Haar eines Widders ; werde gegeben auf die Verbrennung'.

30. See above. On the absence of certain other species from the medical texts see too Ch.10 : Monkeys.

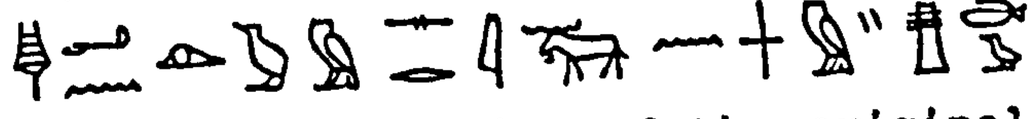
31. P. Tur P u R 136, 9,11 (= HO I, pl.15, No.3 (O. Gardiner 30); pl.41, 2 (O.Nash 14)):



tr. Borghouts, AEMT, p.92: 'O cobra, the enemy of the ram (rḥn), (he) the son of the sheep (srt), the lad (nḥn) of Seth, the master of mysteries (ḥry-sšt3), the child of Min, the child of Geb!'

32. Urk VI, 75:

cf Urk V, 130 = BOD 18:



(a considerable distortion of the original phrase; this tr. Allen, BOD, p.33)

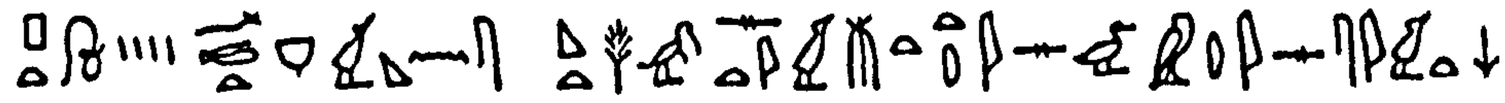
33. Černý, CED p.38: 'sheep'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.47a: 'brebis', 'bélier'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.40: 'Schaf'.

34. Černý, CED, p.23: 'goat'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.24: 'Ziegenbock', 'Ziege' and p.494; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.28b: 'bouc', 'chèvre'; 'Un glissement de sens ("bélier" : "bouc") s'explique apparemment par le sens de b3 se référant à plusieurs dieux vénérés sous forme de boucs et de béliers'.

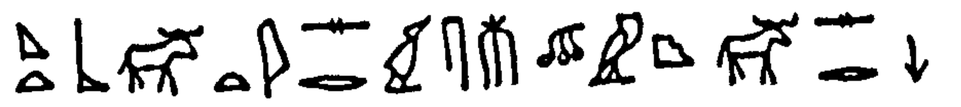
35. See in the notes for examples.

36. Černý, CED, p.26: 'he-goat'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.26: 'Ziegenbock....' and p.495: 'Ob der zweite Bestandteil Ableitung von rwḏ (Wb II, 410-412) im Sinne von "stramm, tüchtig" ist....?'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.30b: 'bouc , comp. b3 bouc sacré (heiliger Bock).... comp. βαΑΜΠΕ '.

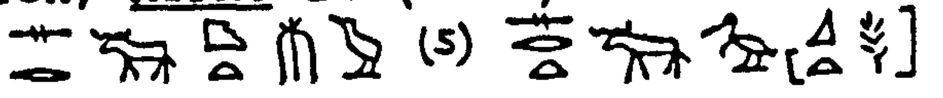
37. Černý, CED, p.161: 'ram'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.193: 'Schaf, Widder'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.195a: 'mouton'.

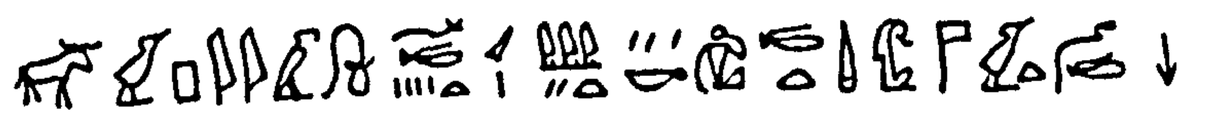
38. Pyr 252: 

tr. Sethe, U u K I, p.240: 'du bist ja der schwarze Widder, der Sohn eines schwarzen Schafes, geboren von einem lichten Schafe, gesäugt von der vier Mutterschafen'.

cf BOD 177, 6 (Aa): 

tr. Allen, BOD, p.186: '[<]thou art> a black ram, born of a light-coloured ewe and suckled by four sheep'.

E. Chassinat, H. Gauthier, H. Pieron, MIFAO 14 (1906): Fouilles de Qattah, South wall, left, 1.4-5: 

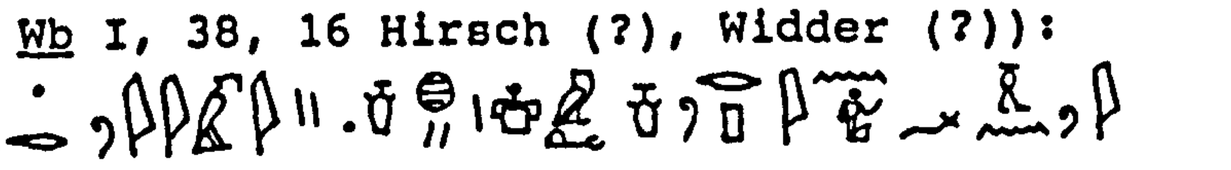
39. Totb Nav 177,7: 

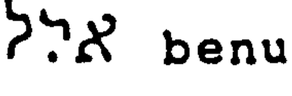
40. CD 254b; Černý, CED, p.121; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.140; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.155a.

41. An IV, 14, 5 (Wb's ỉri : Wb I, 106, 5: Widder ?):

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.199: 'Plucked geese, 10 (14,5) Baked trp-geese, 40. Rams(?), 70'.

Unamun 2, 68 (Wb's ỉir: Wb I, 38, 16 Hirsch (?), Widder (?)):



Helck, Beziehungen, p.552, noted: 'Man vergleiche auch das in dem Wenamun-Bericht für אילה benutzte  mit dem koptischen ελεογλ'; though Goedicke, Wenamon, p.121, commented in opposition: 'In view of the context, the equally feasible rendering 'stag' ( אַיָּל ) can be disregarded. For Egyptians, and a priest in particular, venison would not be an appreciated gift'.

42. M.E. Chabân, ASAE 8 (1907) 211-223: Fouilles à Achmounéîn, p.216 (recorded by Wb under ỉrj I, 106, 5: Widder?):

From the position of the word in the list (after nr(3)w and mỉ-ḥḏ, both desert, not domesticated, animals) it probably denoted a deer rather than a sheep, which appears earlier in the list, following the cattle terms.

43. Mar Mast D.60 (p.346):

LD II, 46:

Berl 14446 (Vol. I, 24):

44. Sheikh Said pl.8, 16:

45. BOD 69, 13:

46. Allen, BOD, p.63.

47. Barguet, LdM, p.109.

## Chapter 13 : Notes

1. Two land mammals recorded by zoologists from modern Egypt have no readily attributable ancient names. These names are perhaps to be found among the untranslateable terms listed in this chapter. The mammals in question are:

   Procavia sp  Hyrax

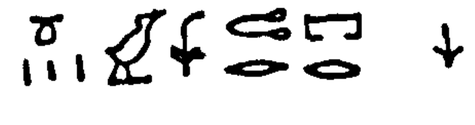
   Genetta genetta L  Genet.

   (After Kingdon, East African Mammals I, p.334-339; Flower, Mammals; Hoogstraal, Mammals of Egypt III; Wassif & Hoogstraal, Mammals of South Sinai). See also L.Störk, LÄ II, 597-599: Ginsterkatze.

2. Eb 82, 15:

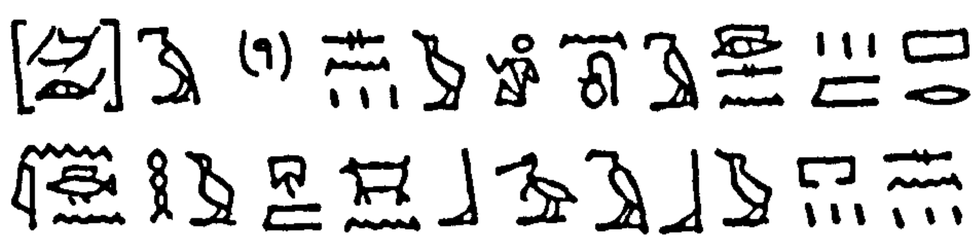
   Wb. Drog. V, p.; tr. Wb. Drog IV$^1$, p.28 : 'Fett (mrḥ.t) vom ỉbtrsw-Tier 1;' with IV$^2$, p.44, n.2: 'Vgl. das ỉbtrsw-Tier in Eb 658'.

   P. Ram V, U, 22 (with mrḥt of hippo, lion, donkey, crocodile, mouse, lizard and snake):



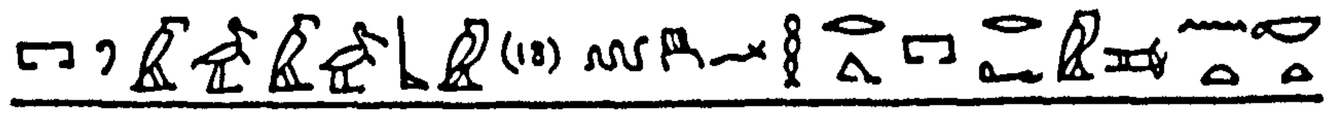
   Barns, Five Ramesseum Papyri, p.31 (text p.21 and Gardiner, The Ramesseum Papyri, pl.15). Barns did not translate but commented that the papyrus deals with the treatment of 'muscular complaints, rheumatic troubles, and stiffness generally.' Wb. Drog. V, 50; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.28: 'Erweichen von Steifheit, Ausstrecken von Verkrümmungen'. See too Wb. Drog. VI, p.204.

3. Helck, Hist-biog Texte, p.92; H.S. & A. Smith, ZÄS 103 (1976) 48-76: A reconsideration of the Kamose texts, esp. p.60:

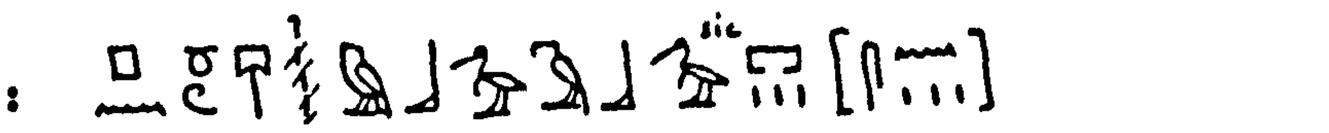


   tr. Smith & Smith: 'I caught sight of his women on the top of his palace looking out of their embrasures at the river bank, their bodies not stirring when they saw me - as they peeped out of their loopholes on their walls like the young of lizards(?) from within their holes'. For t3w see Ch.17 : Miscellaneous Birds. For other publications of the text, see below.

4. Wb I, 419, 1-5: Loch, Höhlung.

5. Eb 97, 18: 

An IV, 16, 12:

6. Amonshymn Kairo 6, 6: 

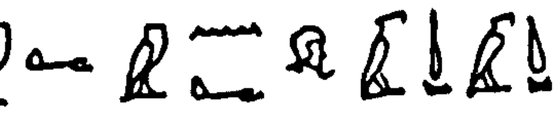
Berl 6910 (Vol.II, p.71, l.8):

7. Smith & Smith, op.cit., p.64.

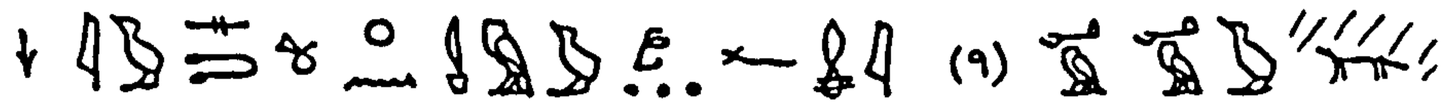
8. L. Habachi, The Second Stela of Kamose and his struggle against the Hyksos ruler and his capital (Glückstadt 1972) : Abhandlungen des DAIK : Äg. Reihe 8, p.34: 'Their bodies do not move, for they see (9) me as they look with their noses on their walls like the young of mice(?) in their burrows, saying : "it is an attack".', with n.f, p.35: 'The difficulty in this passage lies in the meaning of ỉnḥw, which is the name of an unknown wild animal living in bꜣbꜣw burrows, that is holes like those of snakes and mice... It is quite probable that mice are meant here, as these animals can be paralysed by fear, having their eyes on the same level as their nose. In such case they may be compared to the women of Avaris who would be lying flat on their stomachs looking through openings just above the surface of the roof. This is a humiliation which can be compared with the expression "hack with your noses in the work" (JAMES, Hekanakhte Papers... [1962], p.40(30)).'

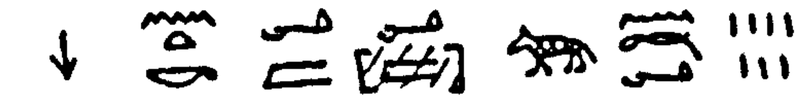
9. Smith & Smith, op.cit., p.63-64, n.3.

10. J.R. Harris, personal communication. Cf ỉnḥ 'contour', AL 77.0349, (Coptic ANϩ) though the primary sense seems to be 'enclose', 'surround'. Cf Wb I, 99, 3-14: umgeben.

11. Eb 91, 10: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.104; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.61: 'Kopf der ʿmʿm.w-Ratte/Maus'. (in 'Ein anderes Heilmittel für das Behandeln des Ohres'.)

12. F.L.Griffith, Papyri from Kahun and Gurob (London 1898) pl.7 (Plate vol), tr: 'the odour of its breath is like (9) the amamu': 

13. C. de Wit, ZÄS 88 (1963) 74: Eine Bezeichnung des Ichneumons: 'Ich möchte annehmen, daß eine reduplizierter und damit potenzierter Ausdrück für "Fresser" (ḥm) vorliegt, der auf die segensreiche Bedeutung des Tieres als Feind von Schlangen u.s.w. hinweist'.
Text in Opet, p.238: 

14. Griffith & Thompson, Demotic Magical Papyrus, 11, 15 with n. to l.15 on p.84; tr. p.85: 'I am the divine shrew-mouse which [resteth with-] in Skhym'.

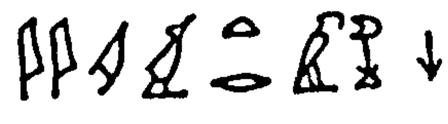
15. CD 55b; Černý, CED, p.35: 'shrew mouse'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.35: 'Spitzmaus'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.43a: 'musaraigne'. Cf CD 6a: 'field mouse'. See also Osing, Nominalbildung, p.193 & 722, n.847.

16. On feeding habits of shrews see, eg, Walker, Mammals of the World, p.142.

17. Vycichl, loc.cit.: 'il ne s'agit nullement de l'ichneumon, mais de la musaraigne, insectivore de la famille des soricidés.... Son nom est expliqué comme "glouton" par E. BRUNNER-TRAUT, de ḥmy "avaler", aussi ... ḥmḥm "dévorer"'.

18. E.Brunner-Traut, NAWG, Vorträge (1965) 123-163: Spitzmaus und Ichneumon als Tiere des Sonnengottes; id., LÄ V, 1160-61: Spitzmaus.

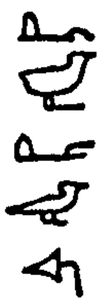
19. Berl 1195 (Vol.I, p.152; LD II, 1401):



20. E.Brunner-Traut, LÄ I, 926-930: Chenti-irti. The god was invoked to heal eye-diseases and was associated with blind harpers and singers (see n.12-14).

21. Pyr 2078 mentions the four children of Horus of Ausîm and Pyr 2086 the deity Ḫnty-ỉrty in Ausîm.

22. On the shrew associated with blind Horus at Letopolis see P. Le P. Renouf, PSBA 8(1886) 155-157: The name of , the blind Horus. In the tomb of Ramesses VI the god of this name is depicted as animal called ḥ3trw, according to Renouf a shrew (p.156). See also on this god H. Junker, Der Sehende und Blinde Gott (Mḫnty-ỉrty und Mḫnty-n-ỉrty) (München 1942): SBAW 1942 Heft 7, esp. p.45-48, and Brunner-Traut, op.cit.

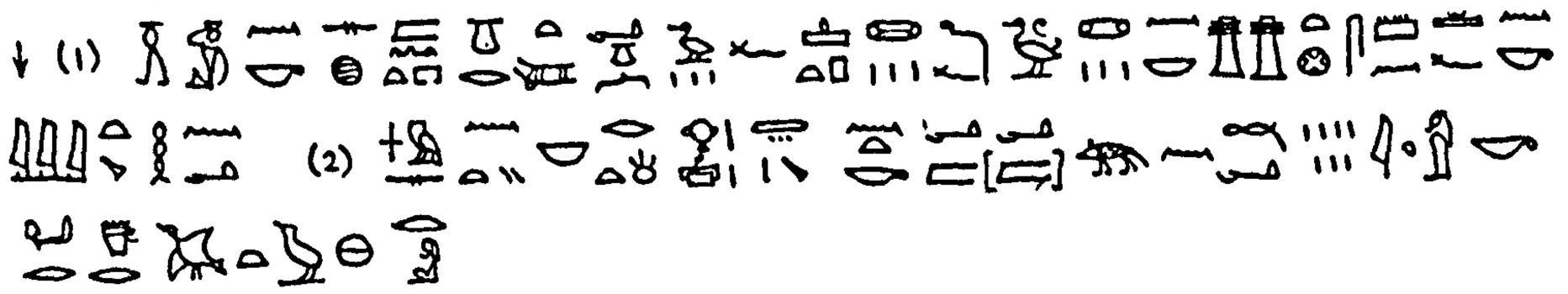
23. A.Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI I. Texts (New York 1954) pl.114: 

24. P. Heidelberg 785, 5-9; for text and translation see W.Spiegelberg, SBAW (1925) 3-49: Demotica I, p.10-11.

P. Insinger 24, 7; for a translation see M.Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature: a book of readings III: The Late Period (Berkeley 1980) p.204.

25. Griffith & Thompson, op.cit., 24, 34; tr. p.153: 'shrew-mouse(?)'; vso 32, 2: ʿmʿm is glossed ϵMIM; tr. p.203: 'a live shrew-mouse(?)'.

26. Opet, p.238, 5$^{e}$ tabl.:

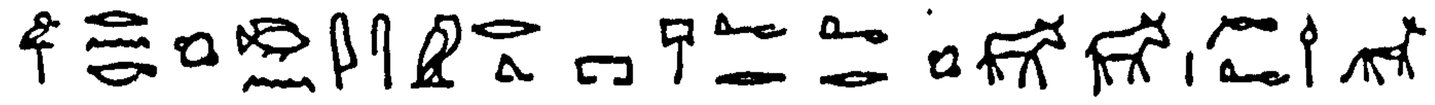


This was translated in part by Brunner-Traut, NAWG (1965), p.145, though she combined it with part of the inscription from the preceding text (4$^{e}$ tabl.) to prove 'der Name des in Letopolis verehten Spitzmausgottes, des Horus-Mḫntj-(n)-ỉrty, begegnet uns im Ipettempel von Karnak'.

27. Edfu I, 334. Cf Meeks, RdE 25(1973) 209-216: Le nom du dauphin et le poisson de Mendes. Meeks (p.210) read ʿr rather than ʿrʿr : he gave four copies of the text and translated with certain reservations (because of the lacunae): 'Son interdit: porter la main(?) sur le bouc et le poisson, ỉtn', following his restoration of d3 ʿ r 'raise a hand against' (p.211). For the ỉtn see Ch.18: Fish.

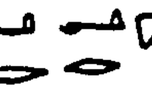
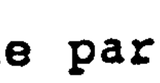
28. W.J. Tait, Papyri from Tebtunis in Egyptian and in Greek (London 1977) pl.4 (Wisdom text) 1.14, tr. p.53-54, with n.r.(p.55): 'p3 3r3r This might be the animal ʿrʿr, Wb I, 210, 7 : the determinative is lost.'

29. Sauneron, Papyrus magique illustré, pl.5, 7:



tr. Meeks, op.cit., p.24, and Sauneron, p.24: '[Je] connais ton nom, et je connais aussi tes mystérieuses formules de prière qui sont cachées, dis-(5)simulées aux dieux comme aux hommes. ".....(?), chien blanc d'une coudée, abcès(?) animal.... sorti de la boue" - voilà ton nom!'.

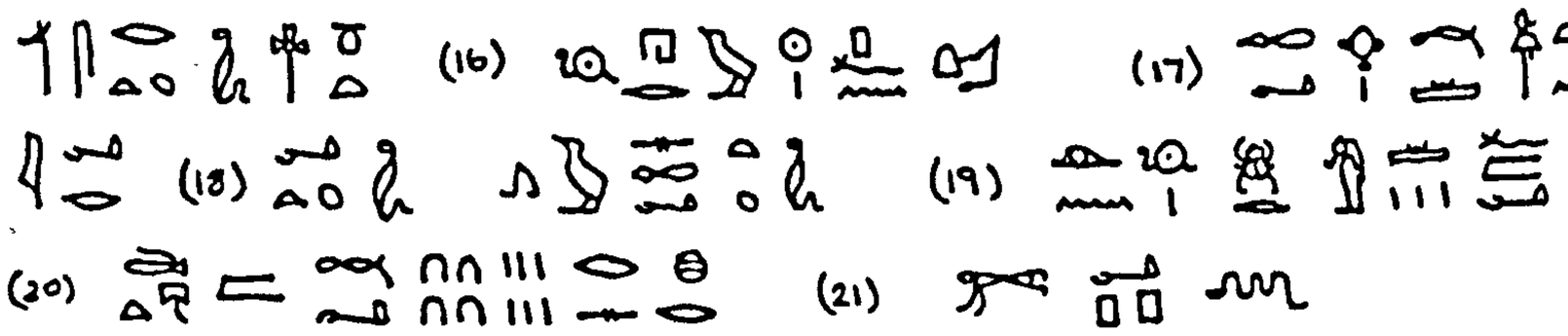
30. Montet, Fruit défendu, p.94 on ʿrʿr : 'La forme simple ʿr désigne la chèvre dans les textes médicaux. Le Ba de Mendes n'appartiendrait-il pas à l'espèce ʿrʿr?'. For b3, see Ch.13: Sheep. For the animal at Mendes see eg H. de Meulenaere, LÄ IV, 43-45: Mendes; H. de Meulenaere and P.MacKay, Mendes II (Warminster 1976) p.178-180, and P.Vernus, RdE 19 (1967) 166-169: Une localité à la région d'Héracléopolis, p.168: 'ʿrʿr est, nous dit le Wb I, 210, 7 ein eßbares Tier ... à distinguer naturellement du mot ʿr chèvre.' For ʿr see Ch.7: Goats.

31. Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.8b: 'on peut comparer gr  ʿrʿr "animal comestible" ...aussi LM  ʿrʿr "une partie du corps" (WB I, 210, 6), peut-être comp. "muscle" du lat. musculus "petite souris". Nous ne retenons que la rapprochement avec ʿrʿr comme "animal comestible". L'expression a pu désigner une qualité propre à la musaraigne et à un autre animal.'

32. Meeks, op.cit.

33. Pliny, Nat. Hist. IX, 84.

34. G.Daressy, ASAE 18 (1918-19) 113-158: Statue de Zedher le Sauveur, p.116:



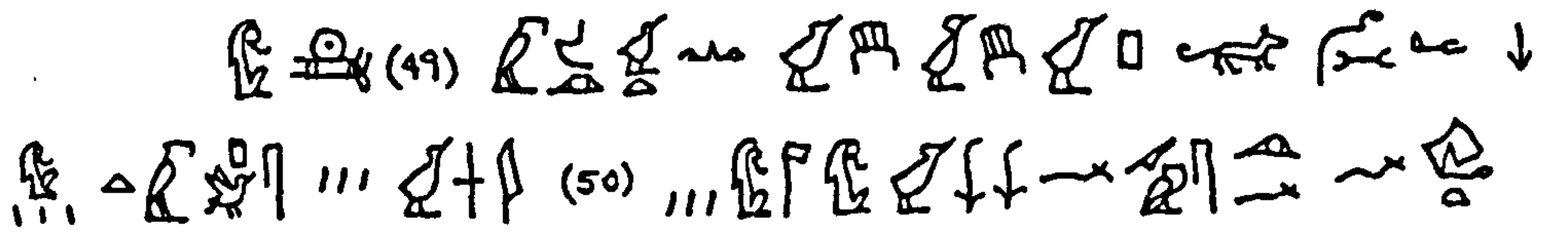
tr. Jelínková-Reymond, Djed-Her, p.10-11: 'La Puissante qui a protégé (16) Rēʿ ce jour-là du grand combat (17) au Nord-Ouest de la "Maison de ʾIaret-(18)-ʾIous-ʿAas" <lorsque> (19) Rēʿ s'est transformé en (animal)-ʿḏ (20) (long) de 46 coudées pour abattre (21), Apophis dans sa fureur.' (Text p.7). With n.2, p.11: 'Ichneumon, animal sacré d'Atoum, cf. Sethe, ZÄS, 63 (1928), p.51-53; P.Brenner-Rhind ne signale pas cette métamorphose de Rēʿ'. Also tr. Borghouts, AEMT, p.95 ('ichneumon' with n.333: 'A small-weasel-like animal, allied to the mongoose. A ferocious snake-fighter by nature.'); Daressy, op.cit., p.116f, and id., ASAE 11 (1911) 186-192: Quelques inscriptions provenant de Bubastis, esp. p.188; W.Golenischeff, ZÄS 14 (1876) 77-80: Miscellanea II. Cf K.Sethe, ZÄS 63(1928) 50-35: Atum als Ichneumon.

35. See, eg, Walker, Mammals of the World, p.1202 (Poecilictis libyca), p.1205 (Mellivora capensis), p.1201 (Ictonyx striatus). For these see, however, gsfnw and šṯ.

36. Piankoff , Quererets, pl.1 and 27; texts, pl.7 and 33 respectively, give ʿḏy a fish determinative, however.

37. Wb I, 225, 4: als Bez[eichnung] eines Ichneumons, after Daressy, op.cit., p.132: 'Un ichneumon marchant'. (For ʿḥm, see also Ch.16: Birds of Prey).

38. CT VII, 150:



tr. FECT III, p.79: 'O you jackal(?), doubly long, who cannot see the brow of Rēʿ-Atum when he guides the inert one of the gods who are among those who are made to fly'. The text was differently translated by Brunner-Traut, NAWG (1965), p.158: 'Dies ist das ʿḏ-Tier, das lang, lang ist, so daß Rê-Atum dessen Vorderteil nicht sehen kann, wenn es seinen Zug der Müden, der Götter (und derer?), die in der Sepat sind, macht'.

For ʿḏ elsewhere in these Texts see CT VII, 97c.

39. Goshen 7, 1 and 6, 6; Roeder, Naos, pl.32 and 27.

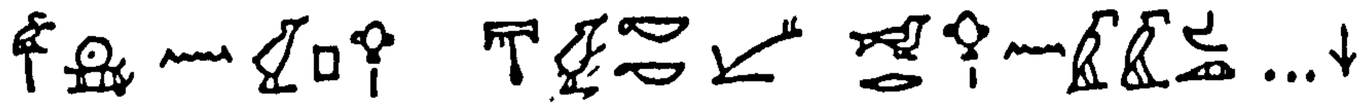
40. Naville, op.cit. pl.7, 1. Corrected in K.Sethe, op.cit., p.52.

41. Sethe, op.cit., p.52.

42. Sethe, op.cit., p.51.

43. Eg Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.259b; E.Brunner-Traut, Fs. Schott, p.13-44: Ägyptische Mythen im Physiologus, p.16.

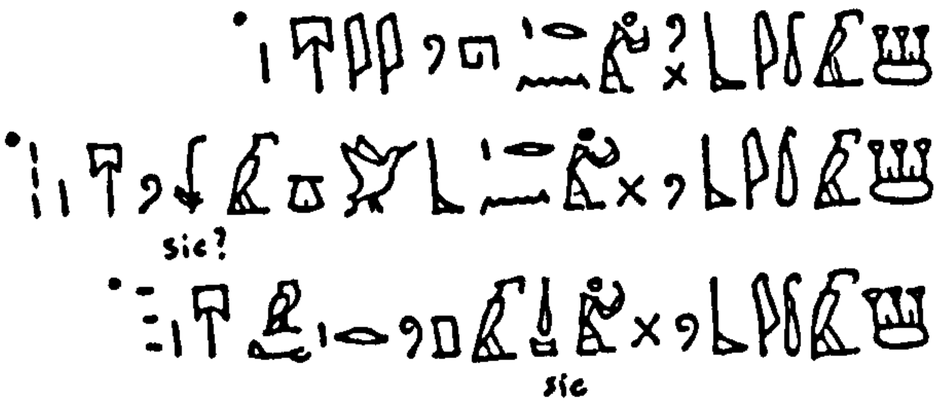
44. CT VI, 301a:



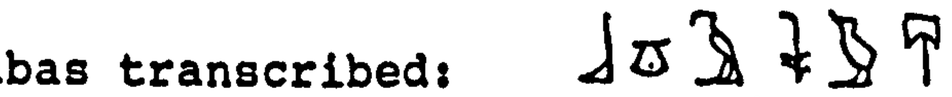
tr. FECT II, p.242: 'Hail to you , attendant who allots what is just, who guides every god and every goddess , look on the face of the Great One... darkness. It is the face of Rē$^{c}$-Atum'.

45. CT V, 175f; tr. FECT II, p.46 (with n.3). Cf Totb 24 (nach Nu u.Ani).

46. P. mag Harr 11, 5 (= vso 2, 5):

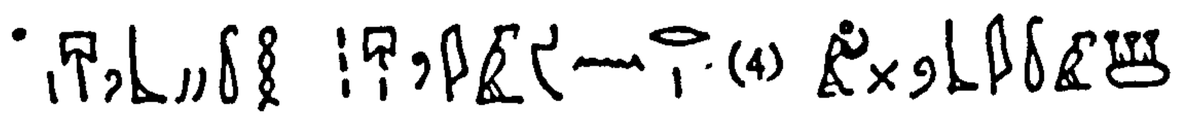



Chabas transcribed:



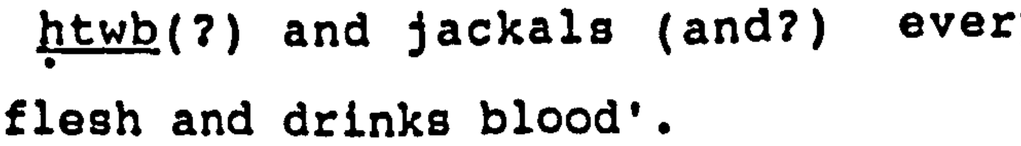
Wb transcribed:

47. P. mag Harr 11, 4:



'Sealing the mouth of lions, htwb(?) and jackals (and?) every long-tailed animal which eats flesh and drinks blood'.

cf P.mag Harr 10, 3:



48. Chabas, Papyrus magique Harris, p.134.

49. Presumably the <u>bꜣ šmʿ</u> at Beni Hasan. The <u>šmʿ</u> is not very clear and was read by Wilkinson, <u>Manners and Customs</u> II, p.90. Cf Champ Mon II, pl.60: and Brugsch, <u>Wörterbuch</u> I, p.418 and Suppl., p.447. This word was read correctly by W.v.Bissing, <u>ZÄS</u> 40 (1902) 97-98: [Miscellen].

50. See Ch.8: Horse and Donkey, for discussion.

51. Hoogstraal, <u>Mammals of Egypt</u> II, noted the following species:

<u>Gerbillus (G.) gerbillus gerbillus</u> (Oliver), Egyptian Lesser Gerbil

<u>G.(G.) g. andersoni</u> De Winton, Anderson's Egyptian Lesser Gerbil

<u>G.(G.) g. asyutensis</u> Setzer, Middle Egyptian Lesser Gerbil

<u>G.(G.) g. bonhotei</u> Thomas, Sinai Lesser Gerbil

<u>G.(G.) g. sudanensis</u> Setzer, Sudanese Lesser Gerbil

<u>G.(G.) pyramidum pyramidum</u> (E.Geoffroy), Egyptian Greater Gerbil

<u>G.(G.) p.elbaensis</u> Setzer, Elba Greater Gerbil

<u>G.(G.) p. floweri</u> Thomas, Eastern Egyptian Greater Gerbil

<u>G.(G.) perpallidus</u> Setzer, Pallid Gerbil

<u>G.(Dipodillus) dasyurus dasyurus</u> (Wagner), Wagner's Dipodil

<u>G.(D.) campestris wassifi</u> Setzer, Wassif's North African Dipodil

<u>G.(D.) c.haymani</u> Setzer, Hayman's North African Dipodil

<u>G.(D.) amoenus</u> (De Winton), Charming Dipodil

<u>G.(D.) mackillingini</u> (Thomas), Mackillingin's Dipodil

<u>G.(D.) henleyi henleyi</u> (De Winton), Henley's Pygmy Dipodil

<u>G.(D.) henleyi mariae</u> (Bonhote), Mrs. Bonhote's Pygmy Dipodil

<u>G.(D.) henleyi makrami</u> Setzer, Makram Kaiser's Pygmy Dipodil

<u>G.(D.) kaiseri</u> Setzer, Kaiser's Dipodil

<u>Pachyuromys duprasi natronensis</u> De Winton, Egyptian Fat-tailed Gerbil

<u>Meriones crassus crassus</u> Sundevall, Sundevall's Jird

<u>M.c.pallidus</u> Bonhote, Pale Jird

<u>M.c.asyutensis</u> Setzer, Asyut Jird

<u>M.c.perpallidus</u> Setzer, Pallid Jird

<u>M.tristrami</u> Thomas, Tristram's Jird

<u>M.libycus libycus</u> Lichtenstein, Libyan Jird

<u>Sekeetamys calurus</u> (Thomas), Palestine Bushy-tailed Jird

<u>S.makrami</u> Setzer, Egyptian Bushy-tailed Jird

<u>Psammomys obesus terraesanctae</u> Thomas, Holyland Fat Sandrat

<u>P.o.nicolli</u> Thomas, Damietta Fat Sandrat

<u>P.o.obesus</u> Cretzschmar, Alexandria Fat Sandrat

<u>Spalax ehrenbergi aegyptiacus</u> Nehring, Egyptian Mole Rat

Arvicanthis niloticus niloticus (Desmarest), Nile Grass Rat/Nile Kusu.

Rattus rattus (L), House Rat/Black Rat

R.norvegicus (Berkenhout), Norway Rat/Brown Rat

Mus musculus praetextus Brants, House Mouse

Acomys cahirinus (E.Geoffrey), Egyptian Spiny Mouse

A.dimidiatus dimidiatus (Cretschmar), Arabian Bicolored Spiny Mouse

A.d.megalodus Setzer, Gebel Galala Spiny Mouse

A.d.hunteri De Winton, Red Sea Hills Spiny Mouse

A.russatus russatus Wagner, Golden Spiny Mouse

A.r.aegyptiacus Bonhote, Eastern Desert Golden Spiny Mouse

Nesokia indica siulla Thomas, Egyptian Pest or Bandicoot Rat

Eliomys melanurus Wagner, Near Eastern Garden Doormouse

E. quercinus cyrenaicus Festa, Libyan Doormouse

Allactaga tetradactyla (Lichtenstein), Egyptian Four-toed Jerboa

Jaculus jaculus schluteri (Nehring), Palestinian Lesser Jerboa

J.j.elbaensis Setzer, Elba Lesser Jerboa

J.j.jaculus (L), Egyptian Lesser Jerboa

J.j.favillus Setzer, Salum Lesser Jerboa

J.orientalis orientalis (Erxleben), Greater Egyptian Jerboa

On these species see also

H.W. Setzer, Journal of the Egyptian Public Health Association 32 (1957) 265-271: The Jerboas of Egypt; idem, Journal of the Egyptian Public Health Association 33 (1958) 205-227: The Gerbils of Egypt; idem, Journal of the Egyptian Public Health Association 36 (1961) 81-92: The Jirds (Mammalia: Rodentia) of Egypt; idem, Journal of the Egyptian Public Health Association 34 (1959) 93-101: The Spiny Mice (Acomys) of Egypt; and idem, Egyptian Rodents; here he distinguished R.r.rattus, R.r.alexandrinus and R.r.frugivorus.

52. Eg Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, Index: 'mouse'; Faulkner, Concise Dictionary, p.89: 'mouse'; AL 77.1394: 'souris'.

53. Brugsch, Wörterbuch II, p.469: 'Ratte, Maus'; Wilkinson, Manners & Customs III, p.294: 'The rat is figured in the paintings among the animals of Egypt; and at Beni-Hassan it is very consistently placed near its natural enemy, the cat' with n.3: 'The name of the rat was pennu'.

54. Meir II, p.19(6), with n.4 (translation after Legrain).

55. CD 263a: 'mouse'; 'rat(?)'; Černý, CED, p.125: 'mouse'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.147: 'Maus'; 'Ratte?'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire p.160a: 'souris'.

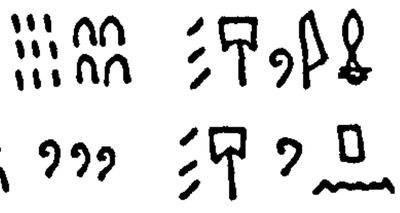
56. This was the opinion of Keimer as recorded by Pendlebury, COA III, p.174-175: 'Dr. Keimer [in.litt.] further remarks that the Egyptian word pnw appears to embrace all the smaller rodents, and not merely the mouse, in much the same way as Arabic, فأر far means mouse, rat, shrew-mouse, &c'.

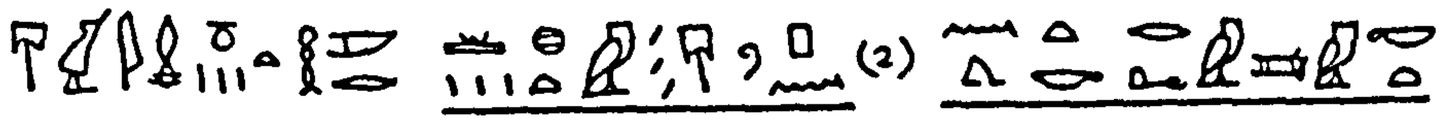
57. Note that Kingdon, East African Mammals II B, p.604, described Mus musculus as a 'relatively new arrival' in East Africa and seems to mean within the last century. P.W. Hanney, Rodents, Their lives and habits (Newton Abbot, London, Vancouver 1975) p.111-115, noted mousetraps from 4000BC in Afghanistan, relating that the mouse spread from its native central Asia to the Middle East and Mediterranean and thence to Europe: 'Where climatic conditions are mild, the house mouse may live out of doors but elsewhere is generally an indoor animal; in some regions there are both wild and domestic populations. It has been less successful in the colonization of Africa, possibly due to the absence of permanent sources of grain in some areas, and to competition from the multimammate rat which is a well established domestic species'. The brown rat R.rattus originated in India, its history being charted by outbreaks of plague; Hanney suggested that it had reached the eastern Mediterranean by 300BC. It usually lives in the roofs of buildings. He noted of the black rat, R.norvegicus, that it originated from temperate Asia near the Caspian Sea and 'was unknown in the western world before the eighteenth century'. Burton, Systematic Dictionary, p.128, noted that the house mouse was known to the Greeks and that Rattus spp. spread in the Middle Ages. It is stated by A.P. Meehan, Rats and Mice: their biology and control (East Grinstead 1984) p.17, that R.norvegicus did not arrive in Europe till the beginning of the 18th century but that R.rattus remains had been found in European pleistocene rubbish dumps. The presence of these species in ancient Egypt can, therefore, only be deduced from archaeological records.

J.Boessneck, Tell el-Dab'a III: Die Tierknochenfunde 1966-1969 (Wien 1976) p.34, mentioned rat bones in a broken pot dated to the late Hyksos period. The animal was identified as R.rattus alexandrinus, which had also been identified by Lortet and Gaillard, Faune

momifiée p.39f, from the intestines of mummified birds of prey. Brunner-Traut, LÄ 3, 1250-1252: Maus, noted that 'Die äg. M[aus] gehört, so weit untersucht, zur Mus musculus... var. orientalis, und (seltener) zur Acomys cahirinus' quoting F.Netolitzky, MDAIK 1 Erg. Heft (1943) 5-33: Nachweise von Nahrungs- und Heilmittel in den Trockenleichen von Naga ed-Der, p.10f; compare the account of D.Brothwell, The pleistocene and holocene archaeology of the house mouse and related species, in R.J.Berry ed., Biology of the House Mouse (London 1981): Zoological Society of London Symposium 47, p.1-13.

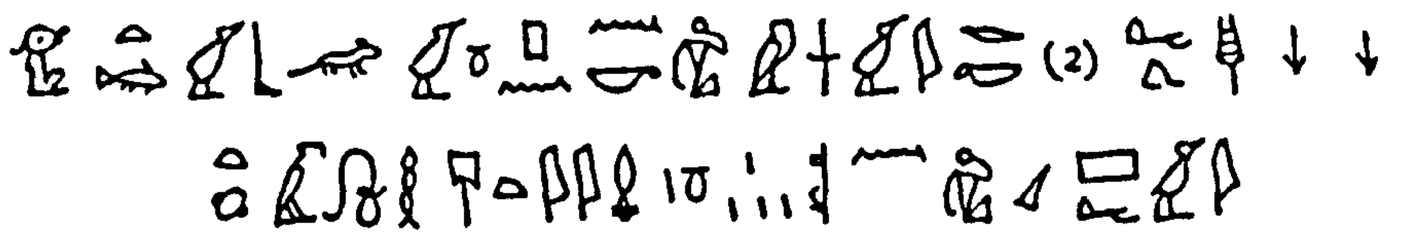
58. Beni Hasan II, 6: next to hardly larger 

59. Math Hdb 79: 

60. Eb 98,2: 

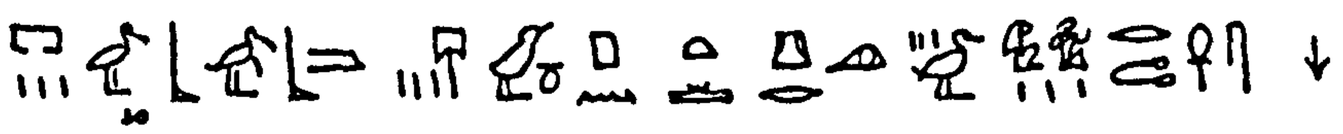
Wb.Drog. V, p.527; tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1], p.306: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Nichtzulassen, daß Mäuse an Dinge herankommen. Fett (mrht) eines Katers ; werde an irgendwelche Dinge gegeben'. See too Wb.Drog. VI, p.198.

61. Totb Nav 33, 1-2 (rr-snake is addressed):



tr. Allen, BOD, p.44: 'Spell for warding off a snake. To be said by N.: O Rerek, move not; behold, Geb and Shu are risen against thee. Thou hast eaten a mouse, the abomination of Re; thou has crunched the bones of a putrified cat'. This text with some variation is found in the Coffin Texts (CT V, 31), tr. FECT II, p.8: 'Go forth, O snake, at the movements of Shu(?). You have eaten a mouse, which Rēʿ abominates; you have chewed the bones of a putrid she-cat'.

62. Berl . 6910 (Vol.II, p.71):



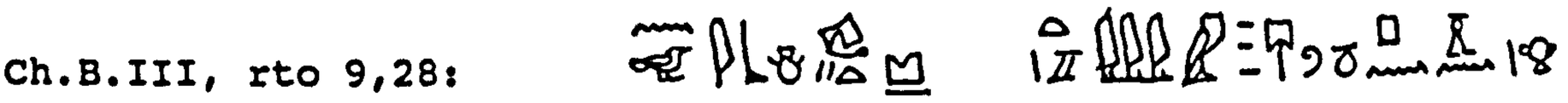
63. Hoogstraal, op.cit., p.27: 'Farmers complain that the Pest Rat damages their corn, barley, and vegetables, and flood their burrows with irrigation water whenever possible'. and p.29: 'Four-toed jerboas feed far and wide in valleys and on slopes, and especially commonly in and near Bedouins' barley fields. During rains their burrows are frequently flooded'.

An V, 7,8:

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.230: 'The sun rises not in his presence, the (7,8) inundation flows not for him. He is like a mouse of the high inundation that finds no place of refuge'. Also tr. Grapow, Bildliche Ausdrücke, p.83, n.5.

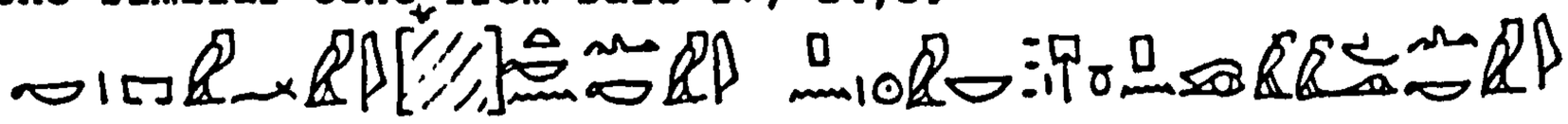
Cf P.Ch.B.V, rto 6,11:

tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.47: 'He is like a mouse of the High Nile that finds no place of retreat'.

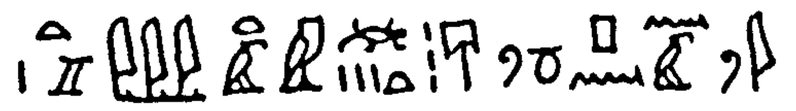
64. P.Ch.B.III, rto 9,28: 

tr. Gardiner, HPBM, 3rd ser, p.19 (with n.1) (plate vol. pl.7) : If a man sees himself in a dream 'Fetching mice from the field, BAD; a sore heart'.

Compare the similar text from Sall IV, 14,3:

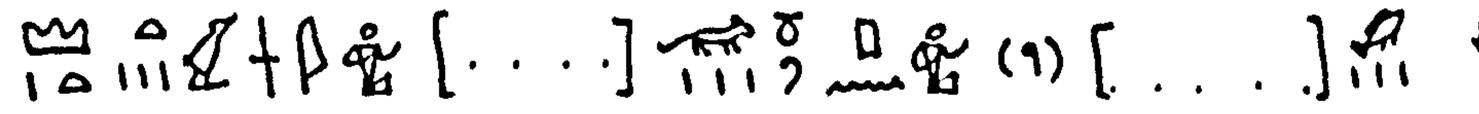


tr. W.R.Dawson, Folklore 36(1925) 227-248: The Mouse in Fable and Folklore, p.227: (12th Tybi) 'Bad. Bad. Bad. Look not upon any mouse on this day; do not go near one in thy house'.
See also Dawson's further work on this subject: The American Druggist (Feb.1926): Studies in Ancient Materia Medica III: The Mouse.

65. Sall I, 6,3 (= An V,16,1) recalls the condition of the farmer at tax-time when his fields have already been ravaged by pests, tr. Caminos, LEM, p.315: 'The mice abound in the field, the locust descends, the cattle devour': 

66. Hoogstraal, op.cit., passim.

67. Hatnub 53,9:



tr. p.69 '[ich? fing?] Fische, (9) ich [erlegte?] Mäuse, ich [jagte?] das, was in der Wüste steckt'. Compare, however his note on p.70: 'Die Erwähnung der Jagd - so etwas muß gemeint sein - auf Fische, Mäuse und Wüstengetier kann den oben begründeten Verdacht stützen, daß unser Graffito nicht recht ernst genommen werden soll'.

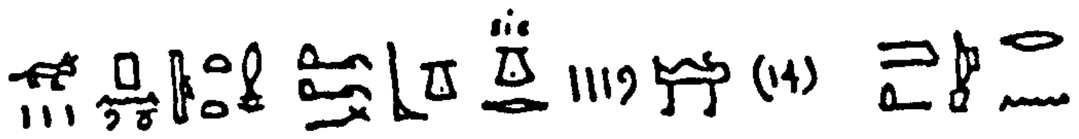
68. Recorded by Top. Bibl. III/2, p.419, referring to Černý's Notebook 120 (No.53), and noted by Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1963) p.185:

tr. by him as 'das Gebären einer Maus', 'das Gebären eines Mausesohnes durch die Maus'. The scene is published in Stevenson Smith, Interconnections, fig.179.

69. Amonshymn Kairo 6,6:

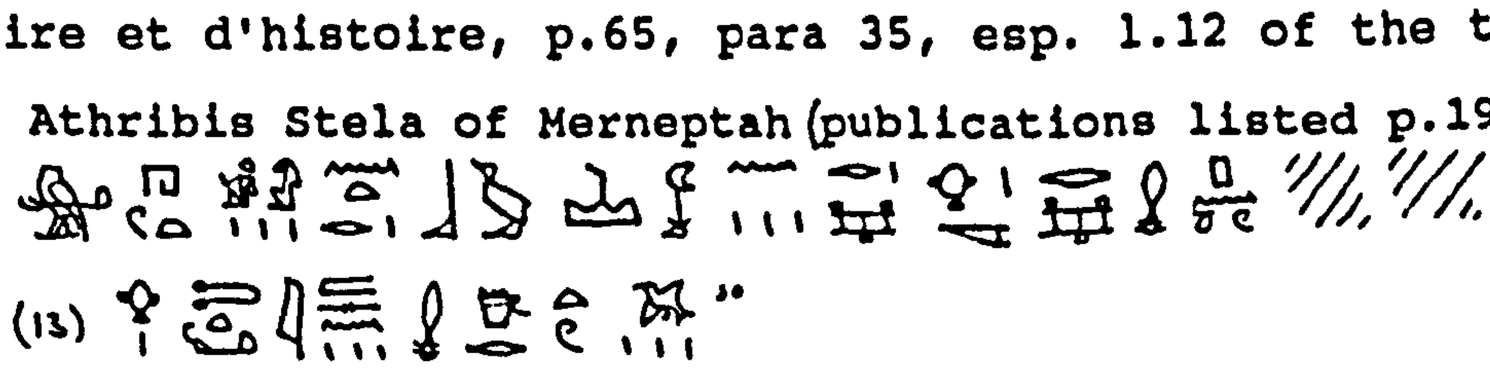
cf Berl 6910: see p.40, n. 171.

70. Med Habu 82,14:



tr. Edgerton & Wilson, Hist Rec Ram III, p.76. 'They move away and they come, trembling in their bodies, to lay themselves under his arms like mice'.

G.Maspero, ZÄS 21 (1883) 62-79: Notes sur quelques points de grammaire et d'histoire, p.65, para 35, esp. 1.12 of the text; KRI IV, 21 Athribis Stela of Merneptah (publications listed p.19):



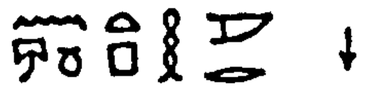
tr. G. Lefèbvre, ASAE 27 (1927) 19-30: Stèle de l'an V de Meneptah, p.25: 'Meri-ni-ptah-Hotep-hi-maat, doué de vie. Les tribus des Libyens sont répandus sur les digues, comme des souris [....], se saisissant d'eux comme des oiseaux de proie'.

O.DelM 1266 + O.Cairo 25218, l.12:

A man vaunts his fearlessness when spurred on by thoughts of his beloved: 'I found the crocodiles to be like mice..the water like (dry) land to my feet'. Cf W.Spiegelberg, Fs Ebers, 117-121: Eine neue Sammlung von Liebesliedern, tr. p.118.

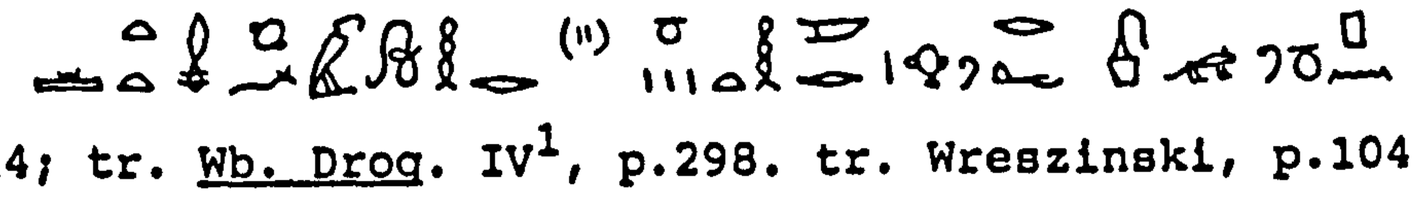
71. Eb 82,15:

Wb.Drog. V, p.49; tr. Wb.Drog IV$^{1}$, p.28: 'Ein anderes Salbmittel (wrḥ.t) für das Erweichen von Versteifungen'.

Cf P.Ram V U,20: 

tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.28: 'Erweichen von Steifheit, Ausstrecken von Verkrümmungen...[my omission]... Öl/Fett einer Maus 1'.

Wb.Drog. VI, p.198, wondered whether mrḥt pnw is a mouse cooked in fat rather than fat of mouse, owing to the cooking of a mouse in fat in Hearst 10,10 in a prescription to eradicate grey hair. However, the mouse in the Hearst text seems to be cooked before being placed in mrḥt:

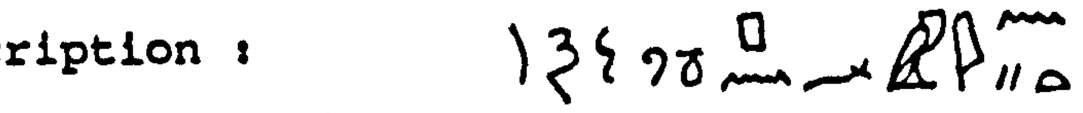
Hearst 10,10: 

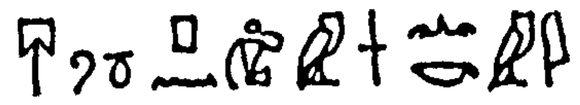
Wb.Drog. V, p.514; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.298. tr. Wreszinski, p.104: 'Eine Maus kochen, im Schmalz thun, bis sie faul ist. Wie vorher'.

W.R. Dawson, JEA 10 (1924) 88-86: The mouse in Egyptian and later medicine, noted that the mouse may have gained its medicinal reputation from an idea (current in Pliny's time) that it was a spontaneous product of Nile mud after each inundation (Pliny, Nat. Hist. IX, 84).

72. MuK 8,2:

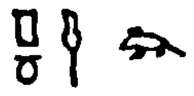
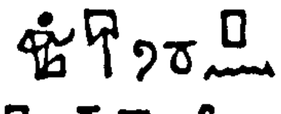
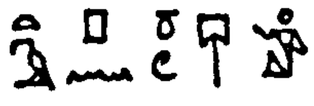
tr.p.30: 'Man läßt das Kind oder deine (sic) Mutter eine gekochte Maus essen; ihre Knochen werden in einem Beutel von feinem Leinen an seinen Hals gehängt und man macht sieben Knoten'. Note here the association between children's teeth and mice given by Dawson, Folklore 36, p.245-246.

73. H.W.Fairman, The Inscriptions, in Pendlebury, COA II, p.143-223, esp. p.174 and pl.94, noted a docket (No.237a - cf No.414) with the inscription : 
'what is in it is mouse'.

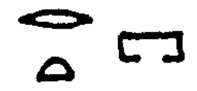
Cairo Calendar, rto 2, 2: 
tr. Bakir, p.12: 'DAY 13 : f.f. FEAST of Nut; FEAST Of Khentekhtay, Lord of Km-wr; FEAST of Horus, Lord of Mendes; FEAST of Nun. Do not eat mice' (see pl.2 & 2A).

Darby & Ghalioungui, Food I, p.261, noted all the medical texts in which mice are cited but nevertheless asserted 'there is no evidence that mice were eaten in Ancient Egypt'.

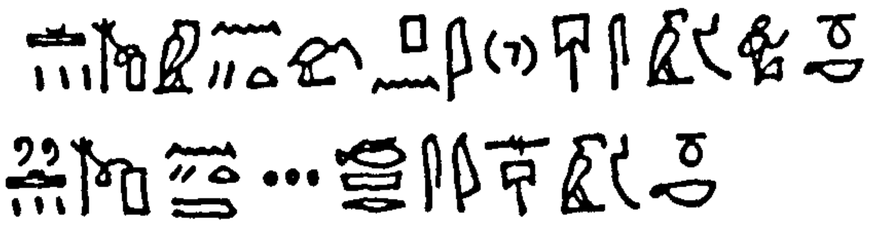
74. Brunner-Traut, op.cit., esp. col.1250-1251, n.14-30.

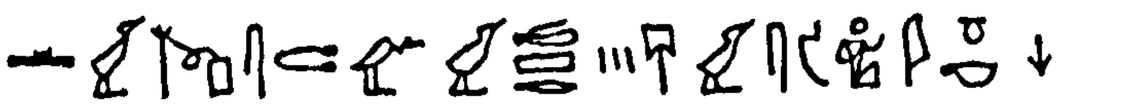
75. Junker, Giza II, 166 & 167 with fig.18: 
id., Giza V, 20:
KRI III, 159 (P.Berlin, Inv.3040A): 
P.Leiden I, 370 vso 12 (=p.42): 
Ranke, PN I, p.133, No.6: 'die (männliche) Maus'.

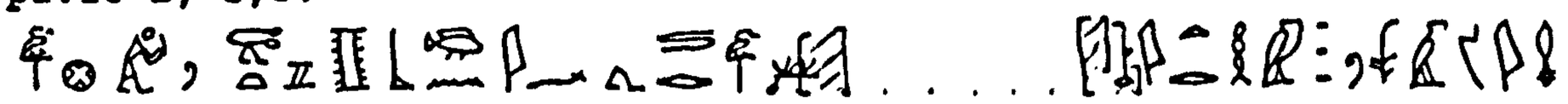
76. ʾIšt-pnw (Wb I, 508, 9). Cf W.Westendorf, GM 29 (1978) 153-156: Beiträge zum Wörterbuch, p.154-6 (mštpn).
Sd-pnw (Wb I, 508, 10: Mauseschwanz).

77. Stevenson Smith, Interconnections, fig.179: 

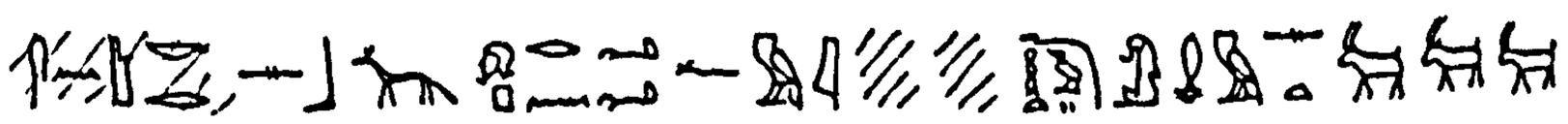
78. Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1963) p.176; Edel & Wenig, Jahreszeitenreliefs, pl.17, No.847.

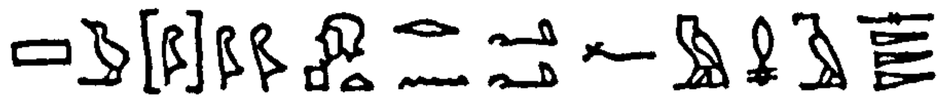
79. Totb Nav 84, 6-7 (Vol. II, pl.89): 
s: 
var. Sb:
tr. Allen, BOD, p.72: 'Mine are these red deer that are (mentioned) in the writings'. Barguet, LdM, p.122 , tr.: 'taureau sauvage' (with n.11).

80. CT VI, 241a: 
tr. FECT II, p.207: 'I am a mȝsw, red and smeared, which is under [....] under the fingers of the great god who departs red and smeared, tousled and dishevelled.'

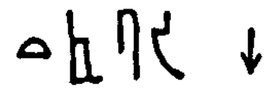
81. Caminos, Literary Fragments, tr. p.32: 'Like the mȝs-animals in the team.....the divine bark when it goes round the wall of Yetu'.
pl.10 B, 3,3:


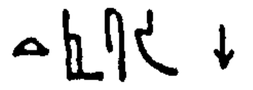
82. Nagʿ el-Deir, Tomb No. 82 - unpublished. See Caminos, loc.cit., n.3.

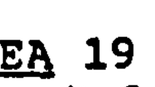
83. CT I, 289c:

tr. FECT I, p.63: 'Your shape is like to a jackal upon his shoulders, the spines of Thoth, his gazelles(?) which overleap the housetop', with n.34 (p.64): 'B1OC and possibly T9C determine myst with the gazelle-sign'.

Pyr1560 (N flies to heaven):

Sethe, UuK V, p.510 tr.: 'indem die Federn, die auf seinen Oberarmen sind, Stacheln sind'.

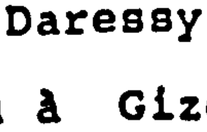
84. (a) Murray Saqqara Mast I, 1; Mar Mast A2; Kaplony, Frühzeit. II, n.1678
(Cairo 1385):

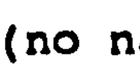
(b) Murrary Saqqara Mast I, 2; E.Edel, ZÄS 102 (1975) 13-30: Beiträge zum ägyptischen Lexikon, esp. para. 34: Die Fellbezeichnungen in den Kleiderlisten des Alten Reichs, example (a): 

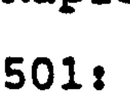
(c) Edel, ZÄS 102, example (b); Reisner, Giza Necropolis I, 57b; Kaplony, loc.cit. (Giza tomb G4240): 

(d) W.Stevenson Smith, JEA 19 (1933) 150-159: The Coffin of Prince Min-Khaf, pl.24: 

(e) Simpson, Giza Mastabas III, fig.30; G. Daressy, ASAE 16 (1916) 257-267: Le mastaba de Khâ-f-khoufou à Gizeh, esp. p.262; Stevenson Smith, op.cit., p.155, fig.1: 

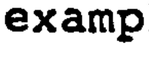
(f) Simpson, Giza Mastabas IV, fig.47 (tablet Boston MFA No.13.4341 from Giza tomb G2352B): 

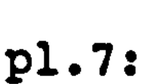
(g) Junker, Giza I, pl.296, p.258, fig.43, p.230 (Giza tomb G.4260 (no name)); Kaplony, Inschr. II, Sp II, 17: 

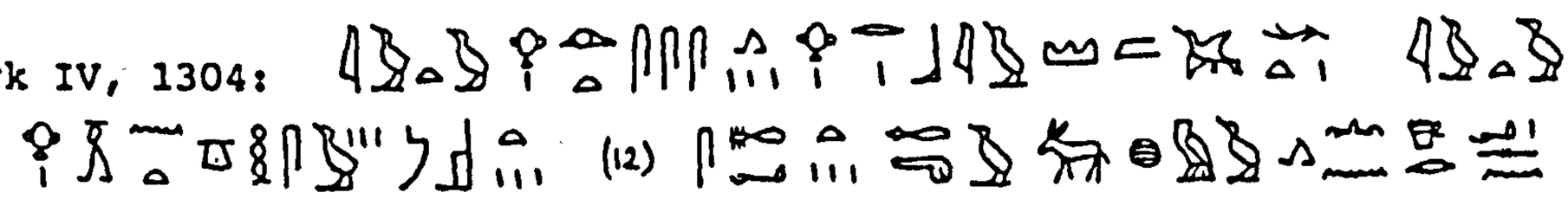
(h) Kaplony, loc.cit., Sp II, 29; A.M.Badawy, ASAE 40 (1940) p.495-501: Denkmäler aus Sakkara, esp. p.500: 

(i) Junker, Giza I, p.186, pl.29a; Top. Bibl. III, $1^2$, p.125 (Hildesheim 2381, not attributable to any named mastaba):

(j) Kaplony, Inschr., Sp[eisetischszene] II 38) pl.139, fig.838 and pl.142, fig.843 bottom (Brooklyn 37.1348E, formerly in the Abbott Collection), with n.1678: 

(k) Mogensen Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg pl.93 (slab); Edel, ZÄS 102, example (c): 

(l) Kaplony, Inschr. II, n.1678 (Sp[eisetischszene ] II, 12); Reisner, Giza Necropolis I, pl.39a; Budge Lady Meaux Coll, pl.7: 

85. Urk IV, 1304: 
See also V.Vikentiev, BIE 30 (1948) 251-307: La traversée de l'Oronte. La chasse et la veillée de la nuit du Pharaon Aménophis II, d'après la grande stèle de Mit-Rahineh. This stela is paralleled by the stela of Amenophis II at Karnak; see E.Edel, ZDPV 69(1953) 98-176: Die Stelen Amenophis' II. aus Karnak und Memphis mit dem Bericht über die asiatischen Feldzüge des Königs), but the Karnak copy is damaged at this point (p.119).

Cf Med Habu pl.116, where Ramesses III is shown hunting desert game, consisting of a fox-like animal, 4 hares, 12 gazelles (with 1 young gazelle?), 1 other animal (lost - only legs & end of tail remain), 9 oryx, 8 hartebeest (?) and 14 asses.

86. A. Badawi, ASAE 42(1943) 1-23: Die neue historische Stele Amenophis' II, p.12.

87. L. Keimer, BIE 30 (1948) 117-148: Les "ânes sauvages" abattus par Aménophis, près de Qadesh.

88. Fischer, Diminishing Progression.

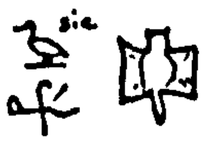
89. Vikentiev also compared Hebrew šûʿālim and Arabic šʿln.

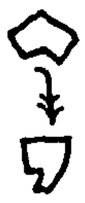
90. For b3 alone, see (g) and (j) above. For b3 naming the animal's skin see also Pyr 219, Pyr 223, Pyr 338, Urk I, 127, Bauer R14 (texts in Ch.9 : Lions and Other Cats).

91. For other examples of b3 šmʿ in such contexts see Edel, ZÄS 102, and Kaplony, op. cit., n.1678; also

Medum 13:

Cairo 1391:

Leid K 15: 

Berl 1105 (LD II,3): 

92. Determinative as Gardiner, Sign List F9. This hieroglyph also occurs as the name of an item of clothing in James, BM Texts pt.1 (London 1961) pl.18, no.1116: 

Compare Libr dei fun, pl.70:

called in the text: ỉnm m 3by.

93. Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1961) pl.13, opp. p.248, with p.244: 'Gepard'; Edel & Wenig, Jahreszeitenreliefs, pl.13; Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1963), fig.12, opp. p.174.

94. For a more detailed discussion of these terms see Ch.5 : Dogs and Similar Animals. Edel, ZÄS 102, p.30, 2. Nachtrag noted Westendorf's opinion that the ḥsdd of the clothing list and ḥsdd of P.Jumilhac were the same.

95. Edel, ZÄS 102, p.30. He compared spellings such as rm for rmṯ, ḥḳt for ḥnḳt. See too E. Meltzer, JNES 36 (1977) 149-151: 'Heart' ỉb or ỉnb in Egyptian?

96. L.Keimer, ASAE 48 (1948) 373-390: 'Inb , le caracal (Caracal caracal Schmitzi MATSCH), esp. pl.1 to the article & fig.1, p.376. The name is found only on a poorly preserved block from the tomb of 'Issi-mry-ntr (Giza tomb 92097).

97. G. Roquet, BIFAO 77 (1977) 113-117: Le nom du 'lynx', 'inb, comme anthroponyme (3e dynastie).
The example is from P.Lacau and J.P.Lauer, La Pyramide à Degrès V: Inscriptions à l'encre sur les vases (Le Caire 1959): Fouilles à Saqqara 1965, fig.134, No.185, and p.72-3.

98. Edel, ZÄS 102, p.29: 'Nachdem somit die Hälfte der acht Namen als Tierbezeichnungen erkannt sind, erhebt sich die Frage, ob nicht noch weitere Tierbezeichnungen in der Liste zu entdecken sind.' Cf E.Staehelin, Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im alten Reich (München & Berlin 1966): MÄS 8, p.35: 'Man muß also damit rechnen, daß außer Kleidungsstücken aus Pantherfell auch andere Tierfellgewänder oder Umhänge getragen wurden.'

99. Keimer, BIE 30, p.136.

100. Allen, BOD, p.72.

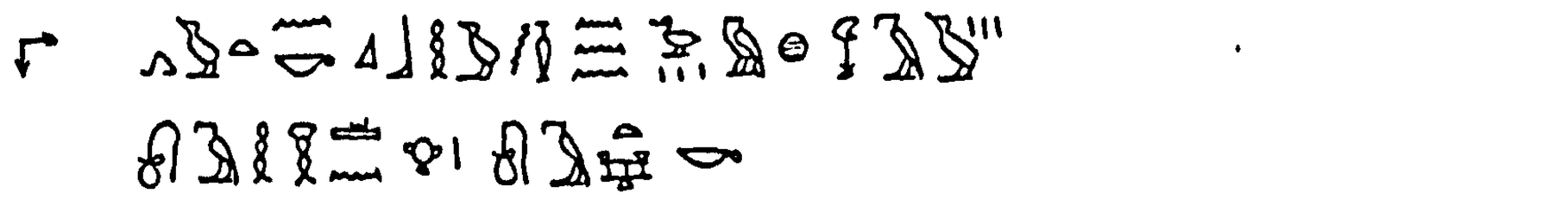
101. K.A. Kitchen, GM 13 (1974) 17-20: Prd>Ptr = 'Mule' in New Kingdom Egypt? esp. p.13: 'no Egyptian name for the mule has hitherto been isolated' and p.19, m.3: 'The word m3s, m3st, of the Middle Kingdom (cf Caminos, Literary Fragments..., 1956, p.32 & refs.) is not yet satisfactorily identified. But as the m3s has horns, it cannot be a mule'.

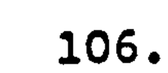
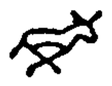
102 AL 78.1639; 79.1140; see n.80 for the text.

103. CT VII, 22x:
tr. FECT III, p.13: 'I am the tooth of Sopd, I am the throat of Nehebkau, I am the hair of the Great One, Lord of [....., I am] the phallus of Babi, I am the knee of the Bull in Khem'.

104. Urk IV, 671 (LD III,32):

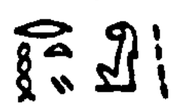
Cf CT I, 265-271 (Text Relig 22):



One of the variants of this text is damaged but still shows  at the end of [mh3w]. Faulkner did not comment on this (FECT I, p.58) translating merely: 'waterfowl in thousands', which is clearly correct. De Buck noted (n1*, p.269) of the damaged variant: 'Restore hrwt which is often determined with this sign (i.e.  )'? This would result in a translation of: 'waterfowl for the slaughter'; m hrwt would not completely fill the gap left, however.

105. See Wb Belegstellen (of snake, hippo, cattle, goat). Msḳ3 is also used of leather made into belts, shoes and as a writing surface.

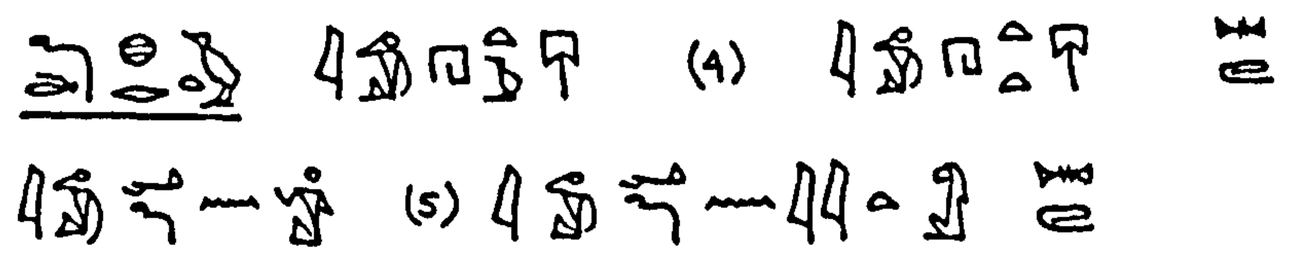
106. CT V, 292a: (B2B0)

var. B4C 

107. CT V, 292a, n.1.

108. FECT II, p.76, with n.1, p.77.

109. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.124 gave: 'Heilmittel für das Aufhörenlassen von Ausscheidungen'.

Eb 16, 3-4: 

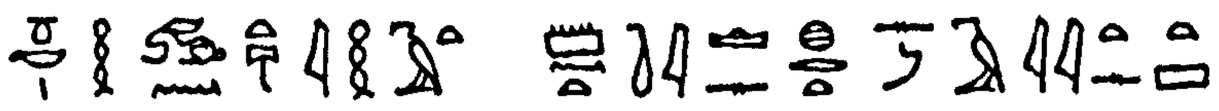
Wb.Drog. V, p.217; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.124: 'Dann soll man sagen: o männliches htw-Tier, o weibliches htt-Tier! und umgekehrt - o ḏn-Mann, o ḏnt-Frau! und umgekehrt. Während man <die obigen Drogen> mit 5 ro Wasser vervollständigt (sḫp); werde nachts dem Tau angesetzt, werden getrunken an vier Tagen.'

110. Wb. Drog. VII$^2$, p.574.

111. H.Schäfer, ZÄS 31 (1893)117-119: Beiträge zur Erklärung des Papyrus Ebers. VI: Die Dämonen und  , esp. p.117: 'Die ḏn-Dämonen kenne ich weiter nicht. Aber in den thiergestaltigen htw- und htt-Dämonen stecken jene Geister in Paviangestalt, die

wir so oft in Texten und Darstellungen als Anbeter der Sonne antreffen.'

112. CT V, 210k:



tr. FECT II, p.56: 'I am the Baboon with the strong name; I am the ... which fights subbornly(?) and fells the confederacy of Seth.' with n.33: 'Hwnt, meaning unknown, apparently a fighting animal'.

CT VII, 163 shows a specific determinative:

tr. FECT III, p.85: 'I am Edjo; I am [....] pre-eminent in the pr-wr, The fiery serpent pre-eminent in the pr-nst' with n.2: 'The hwnt-animal, species unknown'.

113. Ranke PN I, p.240, no.10:

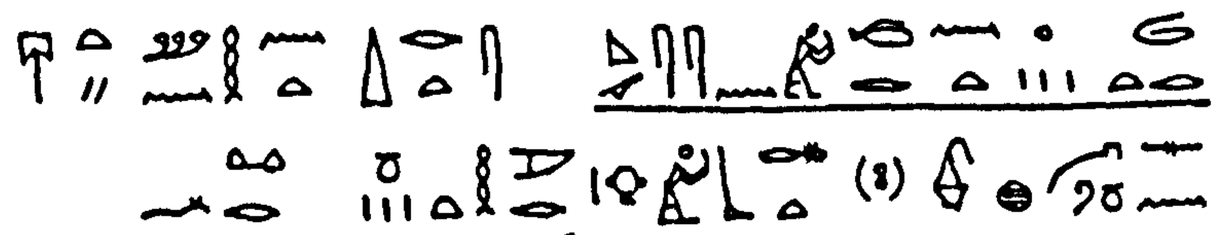
tr. 'das (weibliche) hmt-Tier'.

114. Junker, Giza III, p.79 (Berl Vol. I, p.93):

tr: 'Insel des ḥmt-Tieres'. Cf id., Giza I, p.225 (only ḥ and end of animal's tail remaining).

115. Ranke, Tiernamen, p.80, for ḥdr & ḥmt.

116. Eb 92,7:



Wb.Drog. V, p.66; tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1], p.38: 'Heilmittel für das Beseitigen der nsṱk-Krankheit. Stachel des Stachelschweins, werde zerkocht, werde in Öl-Fett getaucht (ḥtb), werde daran gegeben.'

On the role of hedgehogs in modern Egyptian medicine see also A.Fahry, The Egyptian Deserts. Bahari Oasis I (Cairo 1942) p.78-79.

117. Zu Hülshoff, Igel, p.13. She also noted (p.15) references to the hedgehog in classical medicine: Dioscurides, De materia medica II, 2; Pliny, Nat. Hist. XXIX, 107-108.

118. A porcupine appears in a relief from the Saqqara mastaba of Pehenuka now in Berlin, published in LD II, 46 and Wreszinski, Atlas III, pl.106; Fechheimer, Plastik, pl.128. The animal was identified by L.Keimer, ASAE 49 (1949) 393-415: Le porc-épic dans l'Égypte ancienne, as Hystrix cristata L, the Crested Porcupine. This species occurs in east and central and north-west coastal Africa, and Kingdon, East African Mammals IIB, p.690, also recorded that examples have been found in Pleistocene deposits in the Sudan.

Hystrix cristata L was recorded in modern Egypt by Hoogstraal, Mammals of Egypt II, p.4, No.88, and p.33: 'H.cristata is distributed throughout northern Africa, from Morocco eastward, and also in southern Italy. Ellerman and Morrison-Scott (1951) also include northern Sudan'.

The presence of porcupines in archaic (see Keimer, op.cit., p.404, fig.8 & 9) and Old Kingdom Egypt would indicate, therefore, that their retreat southwards is comparatively recent. Kingdon noted, p.692: 'that they tend to be commonest in hilly, rocky country but they are adaptable and extremely widespread in East Africa, occurring in almost all habitats, although they may be absent in the more extensive moist forests and in the most barren desert areas...Porcupines use or modify natural shelters, caves, crevices amongst the root systems of trees, or holes dug by Orycteropus [Aardvark]. Where none of these are available they dig their own burrows, which generally have several entrances or exits, some of them well hidden.'

The Old Kingdom representation shows the porcupine eyeing a big cat, identified by Keimer as a 'lynx' (sic) (Caracal caracal) or Jungle cat (Felis chaus). (The caracal is sometimes called the 'desert lynx'; the Lynx proper is a European animal.) Keimer explained the scene as a 'guerre de nerfs' between the two animals: 'car nous savons que les Léopards, Lynxes, etc livrent une chasse acharnée aux Porcs-épics, aux Hérissons, Lièvres, etc., dont ils sont très friands.' (p.406). Kingdon noted that porcupines may themselves do damage to big cats (p.694): 'Lions are not infrequent casualties and also hyaenas....Leopards are also occasionally wounded but are sometimes successful in killing the porcupine.'

119. H. Hoogstraal, Journal of the Egyptian Public Health Association 32 (1957)1-17: The Hedgehogs and Shrews (Insectivora) of Egypt, noted four species (seven subspecies):

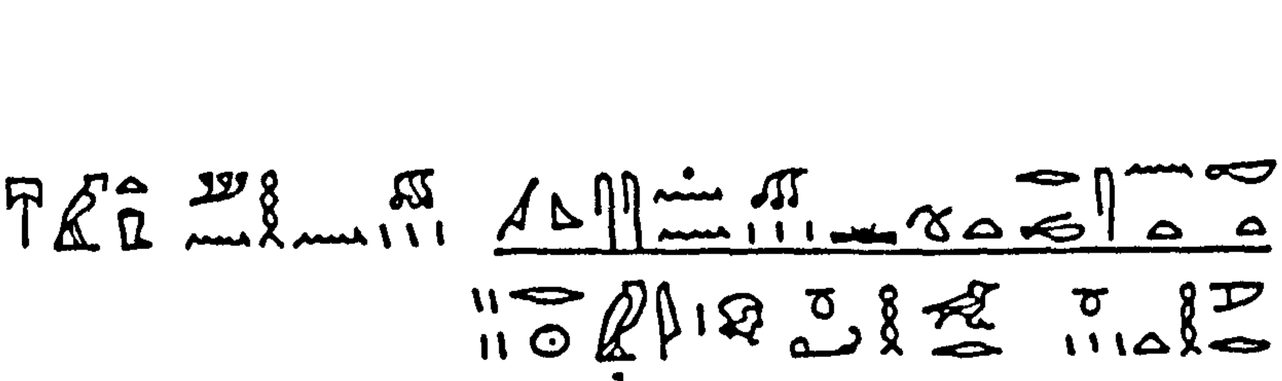
Hemiechinus auritus aegyptius E.Geoffroy (from the north of the country; colour variations occur between eastern and western examples).
H. a.libycus Ehrenberg (from N-W Egypt).
H.a.metwallyi Hoogstraal (from more humid Delta regions).
Paraechinus aethiopicus aethiopicus Ehrenberg (widely spread but in small colonies which may prove to be separate species).
P.deserti deserti Loche (Western desert).
P.d.wassifi Hoogstraal (Western edge of Delta).
P.dorsalis dorsalis Anderson and de Winton (Sinai).

Of these, zu Hülshoff, Igel, mentioned the long-eared H.a.aegypticus (p.7) and P.aethiopicus (p.8), as being represented in Egyptian art.

120. Hülshoff, op.cit., passim.

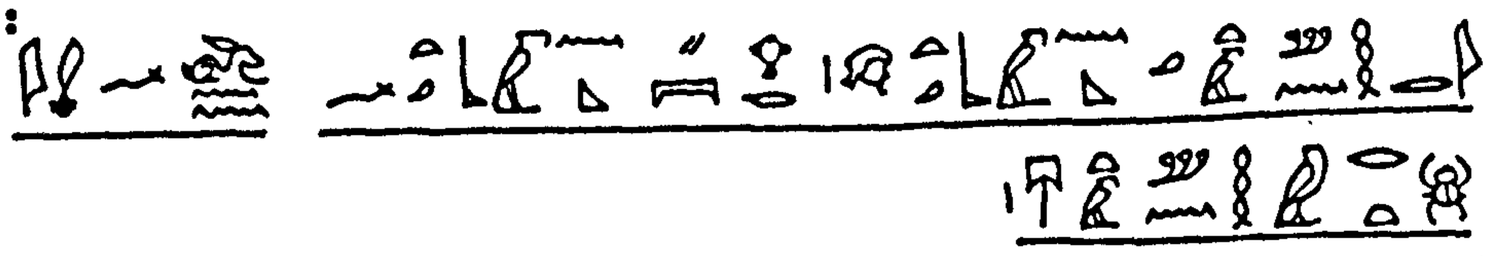
121. Keimer, op.cit., p.411, with n.1-3. Cf also p.393, with note 1.

122. Eb 66,12:



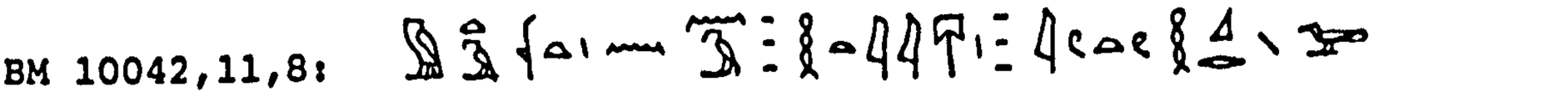
Wb. Drog. V, p.514; tr.Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.298: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Wachsenlassen des Haars bei nsṱk-Krankheit. Haar des Stachelschweins; werde zerkocht in Öl/Fett; werde der Kopf damit gesalbt (wrḥ) an vier Tagen.'

123. Smith 13,17:



Wb.Drog. V, p.338-9; tr. Breasted, p.459: 'As for "The manubrium of sternum", (it means) the upper head of his sternum; it is like as it were a porcupine'; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.194: 'was anbetrifft: der ḥnt3-Knochen seiner Brust. [Das ist:] die obere Spitze seiner Brust. Sie ist etwas, das gestaltet ist wie das ḥnt3-Tier.' On this bone see Wb.Drog. IV$^2$, p.151-2.

124. Smith, p.459.

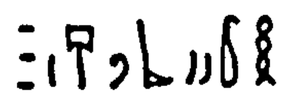
125. BM 10042,11,8: 

T.E.Peet, JEA 12 (1926) 254-259: The supposed revolution of the high-priest Amenhotpe under Ramesses IX, tr.p.258: 'in the year of the hyaenas when men hungered.'

126. Vandier, Famine, p.87: 'Je l'ai eu (l'argent), en échange de blé, l'année des hyènes, quand on avait faim.'

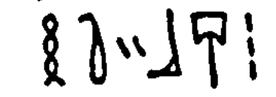
127. W. Spiegelberg, Studien und Materialien zum Rechtswesen des Pharaonenreiches der Dynastien 18-21.... (Hannover 1892) p.87 and id., ZÄS 53 (1917) 91-115: Varia, p.107: 'Es ist klar, hier ist nicht von offiziellen Datierungen die Rede, sondern es liegt eine volksmäßige Verwendung lokaler Ereignisse für Datierungszwecke vor , wie sie zu allen Zeiten und bei allen Völkern nachweisbar ist'.

128. Vandier, op.cit., p.88: 'L'année des hyènes....est donc une année où les hyènes étaient particulièrement nombreuses et audacieuses aux environs de Thèbes'.

129. P.mag Harr 11,4: 

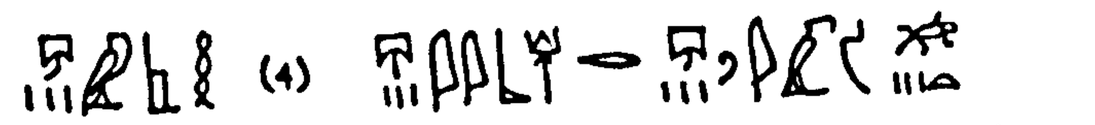
Transcribed  by Budge p.40 (pl.29).

130. P.mag Harr 10,3:

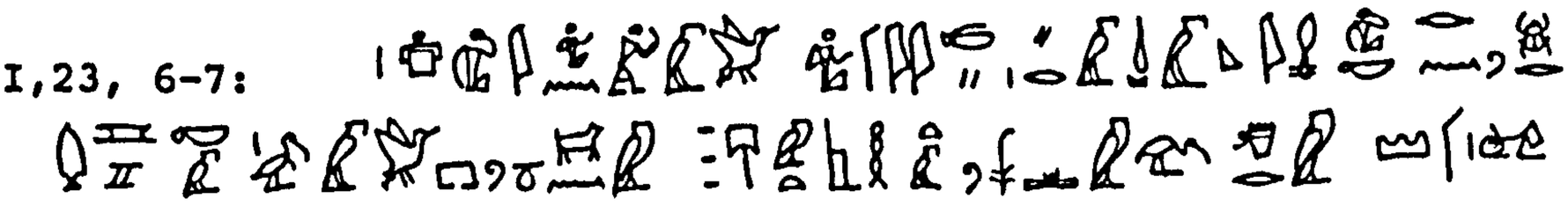
Transcribed  by Budge p.39 (pl.29).

131. H.O. Lange, Der magische Papyrus Harris (København 1927) p.84 (10,3) & 92 (11,4).

132. De Wit, Lion, p.415.

133. An I,19, 3-4: 

tr. Fischer-Elfert, P. Anastasi I, p.160: '(Es[=Magar]ist) zahlreich (bevölkert) mit Löwen, Panthern und (19,4) Bären'.

134. An I,23, 6-7: 

tr. Fischer-Elfert, op.cit., p.197: 'Dein Name ist wie der des Qasra-jadi, des Fürsten von Aser, als ihn (23,7) der Bär in der Balsamstande fand'.

Cf the Turin variant (Fragment only)  publ.G. Farina, Rivista delgi Studi Orientali 13 (1931-32) 313-322: Varianti del Papiro Anastasi No.1, esp.320, frag.II,3.

135. Eg Chabas, Voyage d'un égyptien, p.124; Lange, op.cit., p.89; Gardiner, P. Anastasi I, p.21, n.12.

136. Noted in the comments of, eg, Kingdon, East African Mammals IIIA, p.281, on the striped hyaena: 'They prefer dry country where their dens tend to be in stony or rocky areas' and Walker, Mammals, p.1268: 'Felids shelter in trees, hollow logs, caves, crevices, the abandoned burrows of other animals, and ground vegetation'; p.1169: 'bears are active mainly on the ground or in trees', though also, p.1173: 'Large animals (adult Ursus) do not climb trees because of their weight'. Although hyaenas were noted in wooded areas by D.R.Rosevear, The Carnivores of West Africa (London 1974) p.345-346, no climbing habits were remarked.

137. L. Burchardt, ZÄS 51(1913) 106-109: Die Einnahme von Satuna, pl.6-7, reproduced by G.Posener, Orientalia 13 (1944) 193-204: Le mésaventure d'un syrien et le nom égyptien de l'ours, p.194, fig.1.

138. See the previous note.

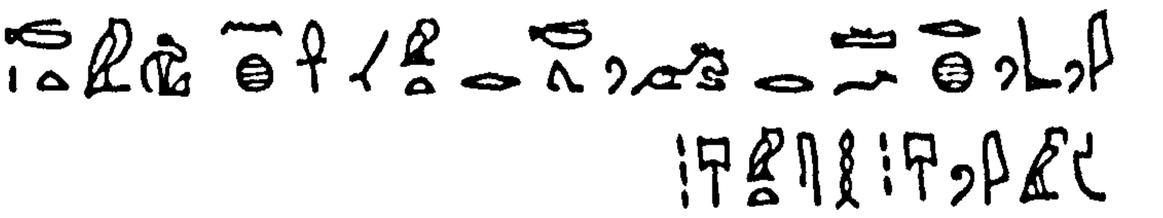
139. See the extensive commentary in Fischer-Elfert, op.cit., p.199, n.k, esp. his rejection of Assur. Cf Gardiner, AEO I, p.191*ff.

140. Noted in Posener, op.cit., p.196.

141. Posener, loc.cit.: 'C'est là la seule mention de cette localité dont la situation géographique est inconnue; tout ce qu'on peut dire est qu'elle se trouve sur une hauteur...dans une région boisée de Syrie ou de Palestine.' Cf H.Cazelles, CRGLECS 9 (1960-1963) 1-3: Trois asiatismes possibles dans Anastasi I, who located it in a 'région de population arabe' between Egypt and Palestine, and Fischer-Elfert, op.cit., p.165, n.q.

142. Kingdon, East African Mammals III A, p.353 (leopard) and p.397 (cheetah).

143. Eg Hosiah 13,8; Amos 5,19; Proverbs 28,15; Lamentations 3,10.

144. Sall I,7,5: 

tr. Posener, op.cit., p.200: 'Il ne distingue plus entre la mort et la vie à cause des lions et des ḥtmt'. Caminos, LEM, p.319, followed Posener: 'Ḥtmt, "bear", perhaps literally "the destroyer".' Gardiner, AEO I, p.180-187, No.567, esp. p.186-187, noted on the place where these animals were found: 'Khor, first perhaps applied only to southern Palestine, previously called Djahy; later, however, Khor was given a wider meaning so as to include Syria as far as the Amorite border'.

145. Kingdon, op.cit., p.281.

146. (a) Sahure II, pl.3 (Posener's fig.2, p.198).
(b) E.A.W. Budge, General Introductory Guide to the Egyptian Collection (London 1930) p.119: BM 29416 (archaic).
(c) Davies, Rekhmire I, p.29; II, pl.23; Wreszinski, Atlas I, pl.337 (Posener's fig.3, p.198).
(d) W.M. Müller, Egyptological Researches II (Washington DC 1906-20) pl.28; Wreszinski, Atlas I, pl.269 (Posener's fig.4 p.199).
(e) Müller, op.cit., I, pl.8; Wreszinski, Atlas I, pl.265 (Posener's fig.5, pl.199).

147. Burton, Systematic Dictionary, p.150.

On the bluish colour of the representation in the tomb of Ineni see Müller, op.cit., I, p.20, n.1: 'The strange colour of the painting can be explained as an attempt to reproduce grey. Black and blue were for the Egyptians shades of the same colour....We may, therefore, suppose that the bear was described to our artist as grey, ie, light black. Hence the blue analogous to the usual colour for iron.'

148. Cf the ḥtmwt of Pyr 485; Sethe, UuK II, p.317, tr. p.308: 'Vernichterin'.

149. Eg Dend Mar III, 73b & Edfu VII, 149.

150. Posener, op.cit., p.202.

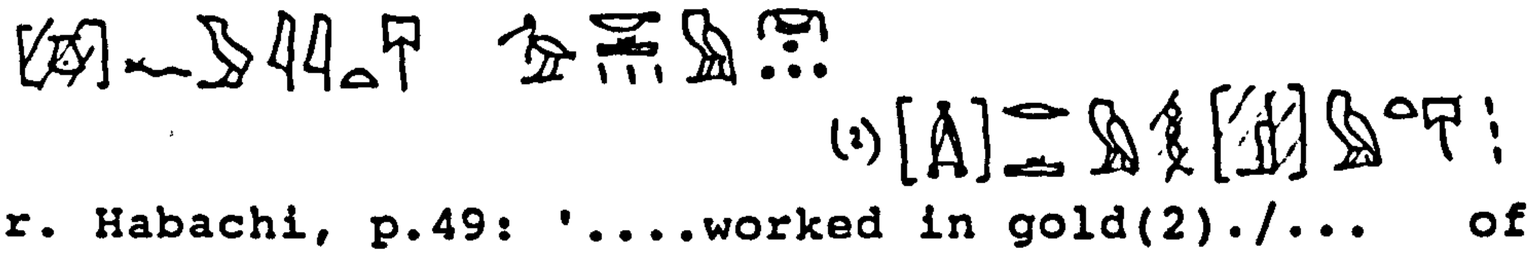
For rby/rw-3bw see Ch.9: Lions and Other Cats.

151. Brugsch Rec II, pl.71,4: ḥtmt is one of the forms taken by a goddess, the other forms being those of ỉpt (hippo det.), tsmt (similar det. to ḥtmt), bst (ie a female Bes; no det.), mɜt (lion det.), wɜst ( 𓌀 det.).

152. LD IV, 65 a & b: the demon has a head like that of the rpyt in Champ Not I, 294 where the word has a lion det.; both differ from the lion in Posener, op.cit., fig.6, p.202.

153. Düm Geogr Inschr IV, pl.101.

154. Deirelb 11. Dyn, pl.9C; L. Habachi, Kush 7 (1959) 45-62: The first two viceroys of Kush and their family (less accurate copy):



tr. Habachi, p.49: '....worked in gold(2)./... of the other time, causing (3) the strengthening of his name', with n.20: 'In the previous line there was a mention of a statue of an animal made in gold. Perhaps here there was mention of similar objects, all given as rewards to the viceroy.' Since the statue's owner was viceroy of Kush and these gifts would probably have come from Kush ḥtmt may not be an appropriate restoration; bears are not now found in Africa and Herodotus (II, 67) stated that they did not occur in Egypt. Although the representation of a bear in the temple of Sahure may show a native Egyptian animal, Keimer (Ms notes in the DAI, Cairo) suggested that this, too, was an import; even this early evidence for bears in any part of Africa is, therefore, equivocal.

155. AEO I, pl.2, l.162: (det. lost)

156. Ranke, PN I, p.261, no.6 (Mar Mast A2; Murray Saqqara Mast I, pl.1; Kairo 1385).

157. 'Die Springmaus' also appears on the original Zettel in Berlin.

158. Cf the jerboa in Sahure II, pl.17. For a three dimensional representation see G.Maspero, ASAE 5 (1904) 201-202: Une figure de gerboise en bronze du Musée du Caire.

159. Kairo 1385.

160. L.Keimer, MDAIK 8 (1939) 38-41: Uber zwei Fleischfresser aus der Familie der Mustelidae im alten und neuen Ägypten.

161. Keimer, op.cit., p.40: 'Der Gesamteindruck des Tieres ist allerdings infolge seiner langen borstenartig ercheinenden (wenn auch dünnen) Haare bei weitem nicht so rattenähnlich, wie es bei den verschiedenen, voneinander ziemlich stark abweichenden Determinativen des Wortes ḥtś in der Mastaba des Ḥ$^{c}$j -bꜣw-skr der Fall ist; auch scheint die Schwanzhaltung von Ictonyx libyca von derjenigen der ḥtś-Tiere...verschieden zu sein'.

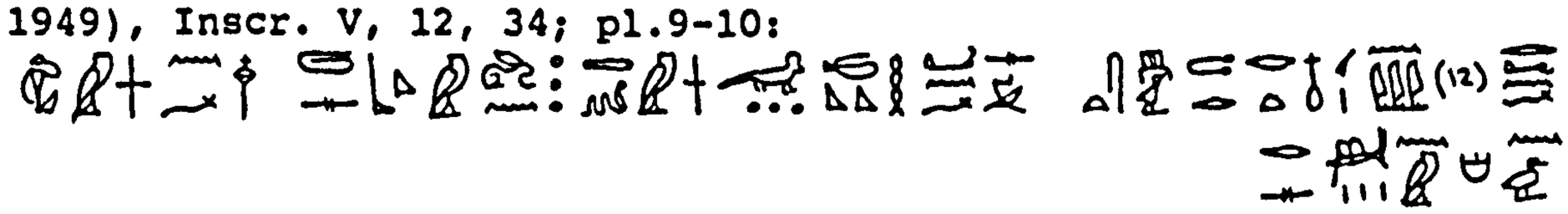
162. G.Roquet, BIFAO 77 (1977) 113-117: Le nom du Lynx , ỉ(n)b comme anthroponyme (3$^{e}$ dynastie) p.114 & n.7-9.

163. Lacau & Lauer, op. cit. (n. 97), p.41, No.109: (printed determinative like a mouse).

164. Not in CD or Černý, CED; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.316b.

165. Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.400.

166. M.F.L. Macadam, The Temples of Kawa I : The Inscriptions (London 1949), Inscr. V, 12, 34; pl.9-10:

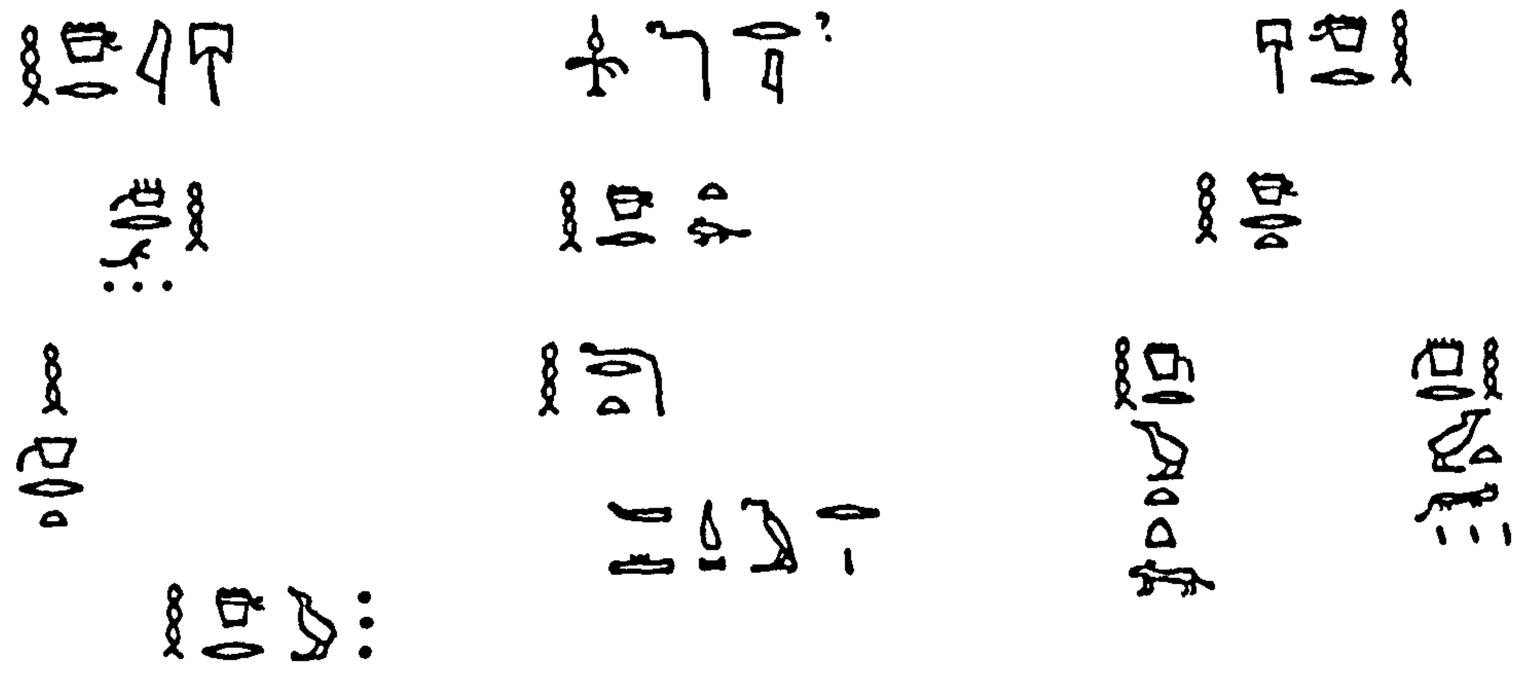


tr. p.27: 'It [the inundation] caused the cultivation (12) to be good throughout for my sake; it slew the rats and snakes that were in the midst of it; it kept away from it the devouring of the locusts.'

167. As Macadam, loc.cit.; W. Vycichl, ZDMG 36 (1936) 243-253: Diminutiv und Augmentativ im Berberischen, p.250: 'Ratte'; Osing, Nominalbildung, p.299: 'Ratte'.

168. Macadam, loc.cit., n.34.
On the form of the word see also Vycichl, loc.cit.; E. Edel, Altägyptische Grammatik I, para 222; P.Lacau, JNES 10 (1941) 13-19: Sur le mot [ḥ3bw]and Gardiner, Grammar, p.211, n.4.

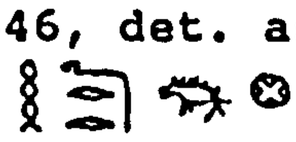
169. Ranke, Tiernamen, p.83, suggested of ḥḏrỉ: 'vielleicht mit Hilfe der bekannten Koseendung 𓂝 von 𓃀 gebildet ist', with n.2: 'Oder soll hier etwa ein zu 𓂝 gewordenes 𓂋 angedeutet werden? Auch daß das Wort ursprünglich ein 𓄿 als 4.Radikal gehabt hat, wäre möglich.' Cf Osing, Nominalbildung, p.299 (& p.878). The writings recorded by Ranke, op.cit. and PN I, p.261, no.18-25 are as follows:



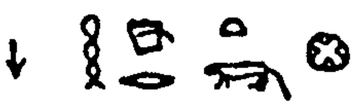
See also:

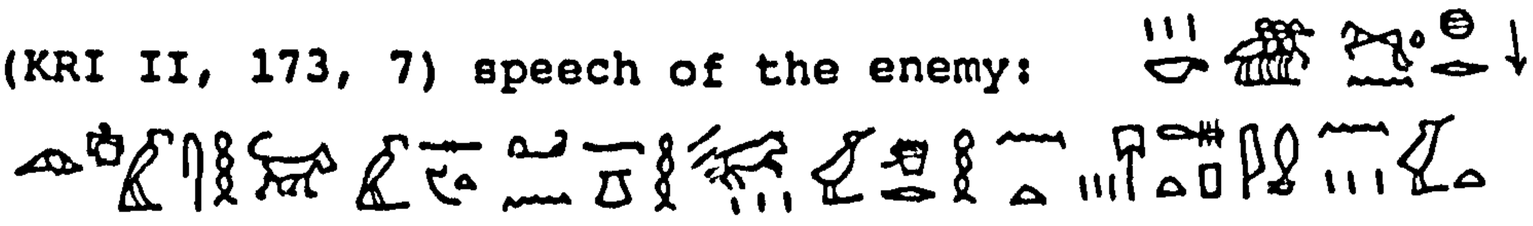
P.Ch.B III, 7, 3:

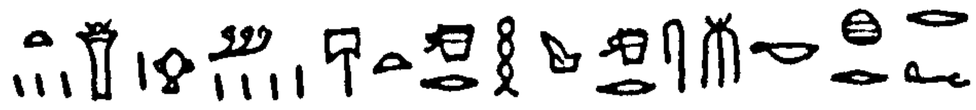
tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.16: If a man sees himself in a dream 'copulating with a female jerboa, BAD; the passing of a judgement against him'.

H.K.Jacquet-Gordon, Les noms des domaines funéraires sous l'Ancien Empire (Le Caire 1962) p.446, det. as ḫwt 'pig' (Medum pl.21): tr.: 'L'animal ḥḏrr': 

Giza Mast <26>:

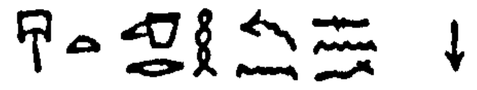
LD II, 28: 

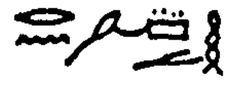
LD III, 166, 3 (KRI II, 173, 7) speech of the enemy: 

Smith 20, 18: 

'Then you shall place ear of ḥḏrt 1 and (plants) in ointment'.

Jacquet-Gordon, op.cit., p.240, 8:
tr.: 'L'animal ḥḏr.t'.

P. Ramesseum III, A, 16: 
Wb. Drog. V, p.100 ; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.59;
Barns, Five Ramesseum Papyri pl.10, tr. p.18: 'Blood of bat and blood of ḥḏrt put with stibium; the affected eye is to be filled [with it].'

Cairo 20066: det. 

Mus Guimet E 2503 (no det.) 

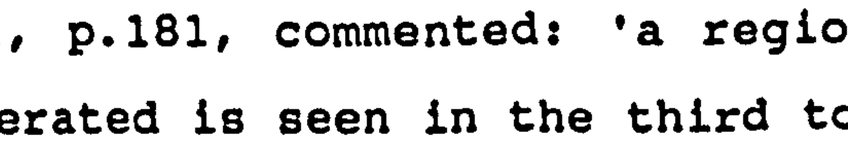
170. R.Eisler, OLZ 29 (1926) 2-4: 1. Ägyptisch... ḏ3hj = syrisch... ṣehija 2. Ägyptisch ḥḏr.t und kanaanäisch [ḥaziyr] = 'Wildschwein', p.4.

For the text see LD III, 166, 3 quoted above; Eisler tr.: 'Wir sind wie Herden von Wildsauen, die der grimmblickende Löwe zerfleischt'.

171. Darby & Ghalioungui, Food I, p.181, commented: 'a region where evidence that swine were tolerated is seen in the third to fourth dynasty tomb of Nefermaat at Meidum, in which swine figure as hieroglyphic determinatives'.

172. Ranke, Tiernamen, p.80.

173. Gardiner, op.cit., p.16 n.3: 'from the determinative and context in Wreszinski Atlas... II, 108, ḥḏrỉ seems extremely likely to be the jerboa, not the "wild pig" recently suggested by Eisler'.

P.Ch.B. V, rto 6, 11: 
Gardiner, op.cit., p.47: The description of a soldier's lot: 'He is like a mouse of the High Nile that finds no place of retreat; prostration(?) comes to take hold of him, and the crocodile is on the alert to scent him', with 'weasel' given in n.15.

See pnw and ḥḏkḳ for the vulnerability of other animals during the inundation.

174. Quoted by Barns, op.cit., p.18.

175. Barns, op.cit., p.18, with n.2.

## Chapter 14 : Notes

1. R.A.Parker, JEA 26(1940) 84-113: A late Demotic Gardening Agreement, tr. p.89: 'An ichneumon has given birth under the....'. He mentioned another writing in O.Strassburg D768.

2. CD 555a: 'ichneumon'. Cf Černý, CED, p.238; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.258b: 'En hébreu... ḫātūl désigne le "chat". Il faut penser que les deux termes, hébreu et égyptien, proviennent d'une forme d'origine canaanéenne' and Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.331: 'Ichneumon'. Cf Osing, Nominalbildung, p.365.

3. Berl 1195 (Vol.I, p.152 and 269) = LD II, 1401: see ꜥmꜥm.

4. Text recorded under ꜥmꜥm.

5. E.Brunner-Traut, NAWG, Vorträge (1965) 123-163: Spitzmaus und Ichneumon als Tiere des Sonnengottes, p.159: 'ꜥḏ ist im Unterschied zur zoologischen Bezeichnung ḥꜣtry eine Charakterbezeichnung, vielleicht ein rein religiöser Name.' She compared Coptic ϣλϑογλ, translated by Arabic nims. She noted that nims could name other animals 'wie Wiesel, Frettchen, Marder oder Iltis'. The nims is a snake-killing animal (see her p.155 & n.5) like the ϣλϑογλ , which indicates that both denoted the mongoose.

Cf G. Roeder, Egyptian Religion 4 (1936) 1-48: Das Ichneumon in der ägyptischen Religion und Kunst, esp. p.4: 'Dann bleibt für den Ichneumon zunächst sicher das Wort...ꜥnḏ übrig...Das Tier, das in der XII. Dynastie mit ḥꜣtrw bezeichnet wird, kann nach der Darstellung ein Ichneumon sein, und für diese Deutung spricht das koptische ϣλϑογλ "Ichneumon".'

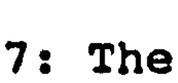
6. Hornung, Amduat II, p.145: 'Ichneumon' (ḥꜣtry).

Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI : I. Texts (New York 1954) p.285: 'The first god in the fifth compartment has the head of a ichneumon' (ḥꜣtry).

MIFAO 60, pl.35 (ḥꜣtry).

7. Roeder, op.cit., noted two texts from the tomb of Ramesses VI: tr.: 'Horus Mechentiarti, Ichneumon (h3trw), Herr der Gestalten in der Unterwelt (dw3.t)' and 'du Ichneumon (h3trw), Erster seines westlichen Sees'.

8. According to Roeder, op.cit., p.23-27 and 38, 'Horus, Lord of Letopolis' appears on five of the 'Type C' figures; these show shrews, however, not mongooses. On the writing of hm see Gauthier, Dictionnaire IV, p.175-176.

On the shrew and this deity see also P. le Page Renouf, PSBA 8 (1886) 155-157: The name of  , the blind Horus, esp. p.156, where the h3trw in the tomb of Ramesses VI is identified by him as a shrew.

9. See Roeder, op.cit., p.36 and E.Brunner-Traut, Fs. Schott, p.13-44: Ägyptische Mythen im Physiologus, esp. p.15-16. She compared these figures with the posture of otters (p.18-28, cf also p.40-44). On the otter in ancient Egypt see also L. Keimer, BIE 36 (1955) 458-476: Interprétation de plusieurs passages contenus dans les "histoires" d'Hérodote, esp. p.458-463. H.-W.Fischer-Elfert, LÄ VI, 906-911: Uto, quoted these mongoose statues as the only evidence for the association of this goddess with Letopolis, as he supposed that it was the mongoose which was connected with this town.

10. Flower, Mammals, p.373, noted:

Crocidura olivieri Lesson

Oliver's Shrew

C.religiosus I. Geoffroy

Sacred Shrew

C.floweri Dolman

Flower's Shrew

Suncus crassicaudus Lichtenstein

Suez Shrew

He also recorded that the Arabs generally did not distinguish shrews from rodents, using simply the word 'mouse', though some from Giza gave it the same name as the weasel.

Honacki et al, Mammal Species of the World, recorded, p.74ff:

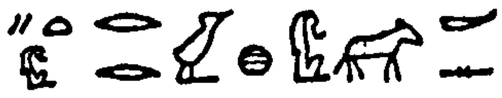
C.flavescens (I. Geoffroy)
C.floweri Dollman
C.nana Dobson
C.religiosa I. Geoffroy

Setzer, Journal of the Egyptian Public Health Association 32 (1957) 1-17: The Hedgehogs and Shrews (Insectivora) of Egypt, p.13-16, recorded:

C.floweri Dollman
C.olivieri Lesson
C.religiosa I. Geoffroy
C.sauveolens portali Thomas

and id., Journal of the Egyptian Public Health Association 33 (1960) 1-5: Two new mammals from Egypt, p.2-3 added:

C.sauveolens matruhensis Setzer

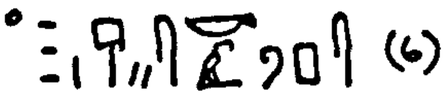
11. Totb Nav 109, 10-11: 

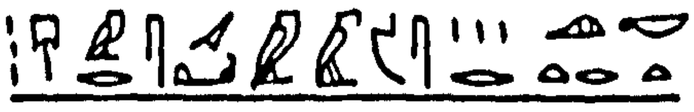
tr.Allen, BOD, p.86: 'I know (the eastern souls); the are Re-Harakhte, the Hwrr(ty) calf, and the (Morning) Star'.

12. CT II, 372a:

tr. FECT I, p.138: 'It is the horizon-dwellers who reap it, 9 cubits long in the presence of the Souls of the Easteners, who are Harakhti, the... calf and the Morning Star'.

13. P.Lacau, JNES 10 (1941) 13-19: Sur le mot (Pyr para. 225b, W., Col 302) esp. p.17. The word was also discussed in idem, Rec. Trav.35 (1913) 216-231: Notes de grammaire. À propos de la grammaire égyptienne de M. Erman, p.228, No.10.

14. O. DelM 1575: 

15. Eb 98,9-11: 

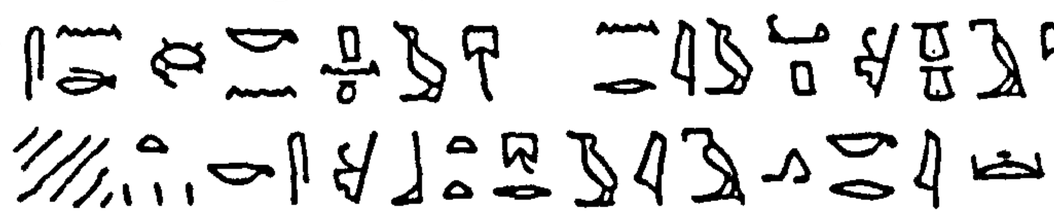
Wb. Drog. V, p.528; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.306: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel), was man macht, um die smr -Tiere zu töten. eine Eidechse; werde auf Feuer gegeben, so daß sie sterben.'; 'Was man macht, um eine Eidechse zu töten. smr-Tiere; werden auf Feuer gegeben, so daß sie stirbt.'

16. L.Keimer, ASAE Suppl. Cahier No.5 (Le Caire 1947): Interprétation de quelques passages de Horapollon, esp. p.47-49, on Horapollo II, 35, concerning the drawing of crocodiles and snakes together to signify two enemies. This enmity was also mentioned by Pliny, Nat.Hist. XXIX,90, and by Arab authors such as Jabir Ibn Hayyan . Keimer (see esp.p.48) noted several scaraboids and tablets decorated with lizards and scorpions and wondered whether Horapollo's description was based on similar objects. For lizards used to cure scorpion stings see Pliny, Nat. Hist. XXIX,28, and H.I.Bell, A.D.Nock and H.Thompson, Proceedings of the British Academy 17 (1917): Magical Texts from a Bilingual papyrus in the British Museum [= BM 10588].

17. Stern, P.Ebers II, p.39 (semet).

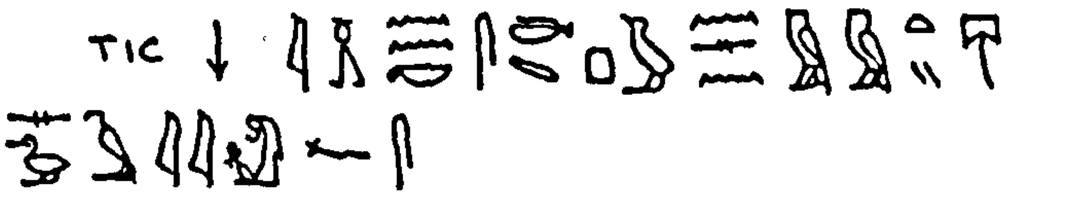
P.Ghalioungui, BIFAO 68 (1969) 39-40: The 'smr' animal of the Ebers Papyrus.

18. G.Daressy, ASAE 18 (1918) 113-158: Statue de Zedhor le sauveur, p.137 (tr. p.139):

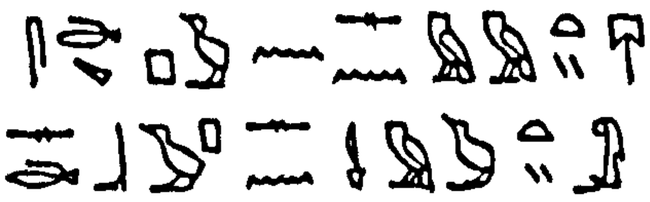


Also tr. Jelínková-Reymond, Djed-her (Le Caire 1956): BdE 23, p.76-7: 'Tu auras peur des souris et craindra l'animal-gg. Tu t'enfuiras devant les oiseaux des eaux'. In n.1 she compared the term with the pgqt of Hearst 13,6 (see Ch.19: Reptiles and Amphibians).

19. CT V,89e:



tr. FECT II, p.25: 'Fetch the tail of the snmmty-animal and put it in her stern. It will guard her'. Snmmty has the variant writing smsmty in one of the texts.

20. Urk V, 154, 9-11 & 155, 1-3: 

cf Totb Nav 99 Einl: 

tr. Allen, BOD, p.79: 'This tail (of) a Znmty-<animal>, when thou puttest (it) at its stern , (will) guard it.'

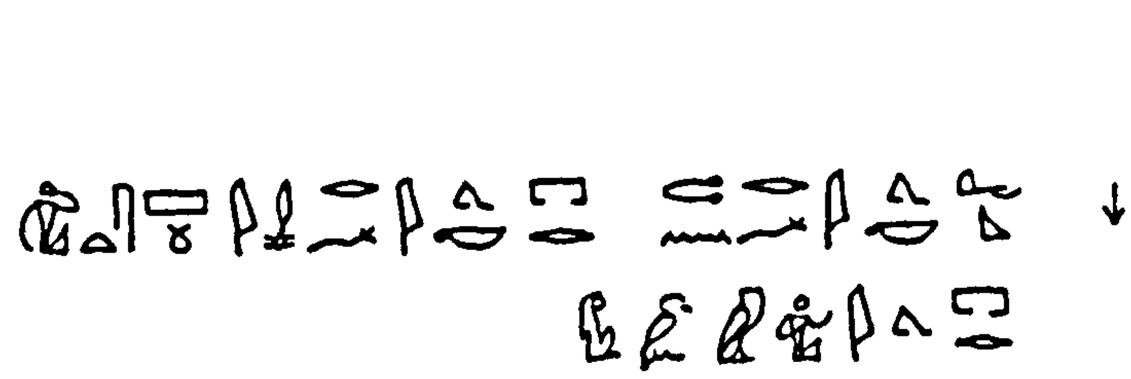
21. Sd (Wb IV, 363,4 - 364,2: der Schwanz). Used of the tails of cattle, donkey, horse, lion, giraffe, scorpion, crocodile, falcon, snake and Seth-animal.

22. Eg Zu Hülshoff, Igel, and Nianchchnum fig.14 (pl.41) showing the head of hedgehog, hare, short- and long-horned cattle on boat prows. Neither W.Helck, LÄ VI, 591-592: Tierschwanz, nor E.Martin-Pardey, LÄ V, 601-610: Schiff, mention animal tails on boats. A Coffin Text does, however, note the tail of a wild bull (sm3) in connection with a ship. (See Ch.4: Cattle).

23. CT V, 57c:

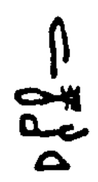
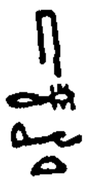
tr. FECT II, p.17: 'Not taking a man's heart from him. O Lion, I am the Hare; the shambles of the god is what I abhor'.

CT VI, 250m:



tr. FECT II, p.212: 'Where will you go in and in what shape will you go out? I will go in as a hare and I will come out as a falcon'.

24. Wb also recorded the spelling sh῾t, but this is not attested.

25. Beni Hasan II, 4:  Beni Hasan II, 13: 

26. Urk IV, 1304:

tr. V.Vikentiev, BIE 30 (1948) 251-307: La traversée de l'Oronte. La chasse et la veillée du nuit du pharaon Aménophis II d'après la grande stèle de Mit-Rahineh, comments p.265f. For other publications see m3st (Ch.13).

27. Klebs, Reliefs AR, pp. 61, 68, 69, 120, 142; id., Reliefs MR, p.54, 95, 183; id., Reliefs NR, pp.10, 76.

28. CD 358a: 'hare'; also CD 812a (no tr. given); Černý, CED, p.163; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.196: 'Hase'.

29. H.W. Setzer, Journal of the Egyptian Public Health Association 33 (1958) 145-151: The Hares of Egypt; cf too Flower, Mammals, p.428-430:

Lepus capensis aegyptius E. Geoffroy

L.c.isabellinus Cretschmar

L.c.rothschildi de Winton

L.c.sinaiticus Hemprich & Ehrenberg

L.c. subsp (see Setzer p.150-151)

NB L.europaeus is a synonym of L.capensis.

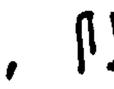
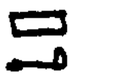
30. See Kingdon, East African Mammals II B, p.346 (distribution maps).

31. Darby & Ghalioungui, Food I, 260-261, esp. p.261.

32. See H.V.Thompson & A.N.Worden, The Rabbit (London 1956) esp. p.16 and distribution map, p.17, and R.M.Lockley, The Private Life of the Rabbit. An account of the life history and social behaviour of the wild rabbit (Woodbridge, Suffolk 1964, 1985) esp. pp.145-146 .

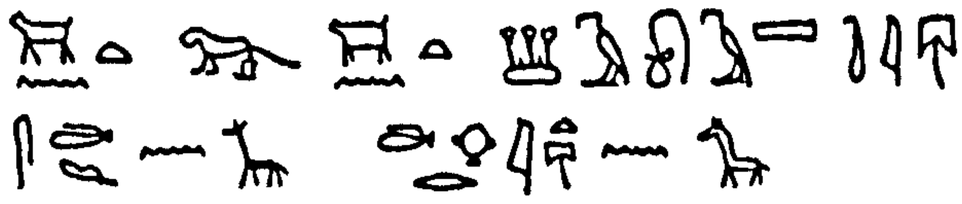
33. See Brunner-Traut, LÄ II, 1023-1024: Hase, esp. n.5-11.

34. Pyr 1269:

tr. Sethe, UuK V, p.166: 'du sollst deine Arme nicht öffnen für ihn [=Seth], (sondern) sei bedacht, daß zu ihm gesagt werde jener sein Name Hase'. He commented, p.181-182: 'Der Name, der dem Seth gegeben wird,  wird gewiß zu  "Häsin" zustellen sein und "Hase" bedeuten; dieses Tier gilt den Semiten bekanntlich als Unrein. Von den Ägyptern ist das zwar nicht überliefert, aber die Ersetzung der Hieroglyphe in gewissen religiösen Texten mit  könnte darauf gedeutet werden'. Cf Leviticus 11, 6. See also R.Fuchs, LÄ V, 634-638: Schimpfwörter, esp. col.636: "Aus Tiernamen gebildete Sch[impfwörter] sind ʿȝ "Esel" sowie sḫʿ "Hase".'

35. See, eg, Horapollo I, 26.

36. Nauri 91:



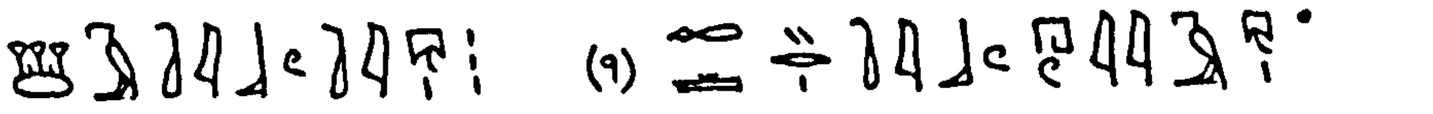
tr. Griffith: 'skins of leopards, skins of shawashti, giraffes' tails, giraffes' hide'. The note did not offer a translation but indicated that the word may begin rather than (see pl.42).

37. P.Leid I, 343+345, vso 2, 10: ...

38. P.med Lond 17,9:

Wreszinski tr. p.214: 'Du bist wie ein Löwe, ein Verwüster der Landschaft; kein Schiff fährt nordwärts, keins segelt südwärts, nicht herrscht in ihm Verkehr..... .....wie ein šsp.t...' (Not in Wb. Drog.).

39. P.mag Harr 11,8 (= vso 2,8):

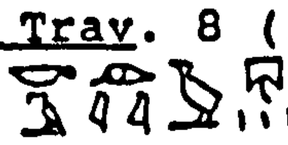


40. Chabas, Papyrus magique Harris, p.136.

41. E.Brovarski, ASAE 71 (1987) 27-52: Two Old Kingdom writing boards from Giza, p.34-35. On the ratel, Mellivora capensis (Schreber), in ancient Egypt see L.Keimer, Études d'Egyptologie IV (Le Caire 1942), p. 11-14 with fig.7-9. For the modern distribution of this animal (not in Egypt) see Kingdon, East African Mammals IIIA, p.86-103.

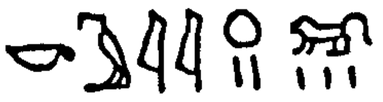
42. F.Chabas, Le chameau chez les Égptiens. Études sur l'antiquité historique d'après les sources égyptiennes et les monuments réputés historiques (Paris 1873). The same idea was repeated in Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.457. Cf W.Houghton, PSBA 12 (1889) 81-84: Was the camel known to the early Egyptians?

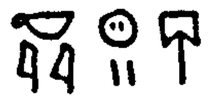
43. E.Lefébure, Actes du XIV$^{e}$ Congrès International des Orientalistes, Alger 1905, Part 2/7 (Paris 1907) esp. p.24-62: Le chameau en Égypte, esp. p.27-28: 'Le Kari, qu'on amenait d'Éthiopie, est peut-être le mulet ou la mule, ...Ce pourrait être aussi l'âne sauvage, l'onagre...qu'on prend encore aujourd'hui dans le steppe nubien... La danse de l'âne, en Egypte, est bien connue. ' Cf A.Volten, Studien zum Weisheitsbuch des Anii (København 1937), who accepted this translation but noted, p.157: 'man möchte eher annehmen, daß

in diesem Wort der Nasal unbezeichnet war'. Both translations were rejected by G.Maspero, Rec. Trav. 8 (1886) 84-86: Les Ilim, p.85: 's'il n'est pas prouvé que  signifie mulet, il est encore moins prouvé qu'il signifie chameau'.

44. V.Loret, BIFAO 3 (1903)1-24: Horus-le-faucon, p.22.

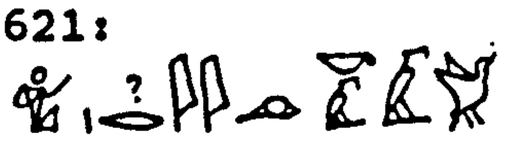
45. Schiffbr 165:

46. Wb V, 116, 12: ob Affenwärter? (Urk IV, 2152): 

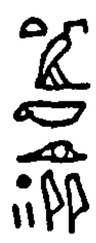
Vandier d'Abbadie, Ostraca figurés, pl.7, no.2042: 

Ibid, pl.4, No.2035 (O.Cairo 3011):

47. Ranke, Tiernamen, p.81, n.7-8, mentioned O.Cairo 25636:

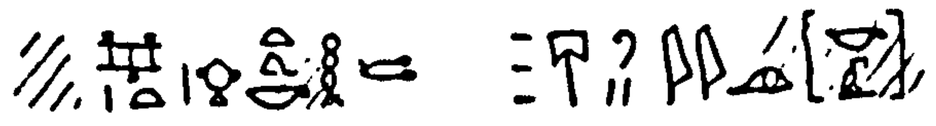
O.Cairo 25621: 

Ranke, PN I, p.371, 7, with n.3 noted P.Harris A,2,19 (P.E. Newberry, The Amherst Papyri (London 1899) p.9):

BM 166: 

Lansing 2,3:

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.377: 'Young fellow, (2,4) how conceited you are!', with note, p.378, on krỉ šrỉ.

48. An V, 6, 7: 

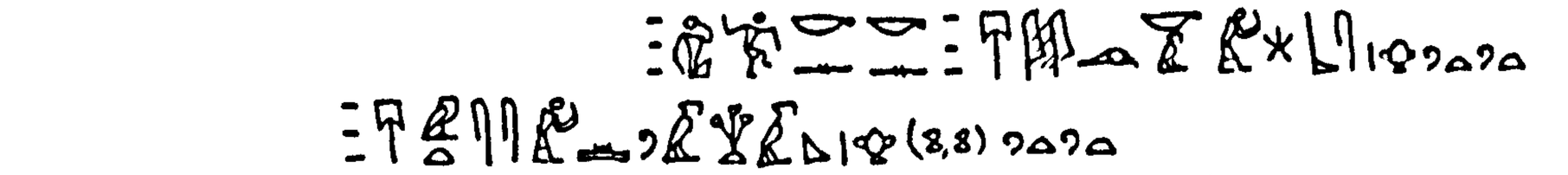
tr. Caminos, LEM, p.227: '.....apes come into contact with (?) you upon the road....'

49. P.Bologna 1094, 3, 9:

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.13: 'The ape understands words, and it is brought from Kush'.

For the idiom sḏm mdt cf Wenamun 2,77: 'Is there not one among you who understands the speech (sḏm mdt) of Egypt?', and Max Anii (P. Boulaq IV, 9, 4, below) for a dog (ṯsm) which is said to sḏm mdt.

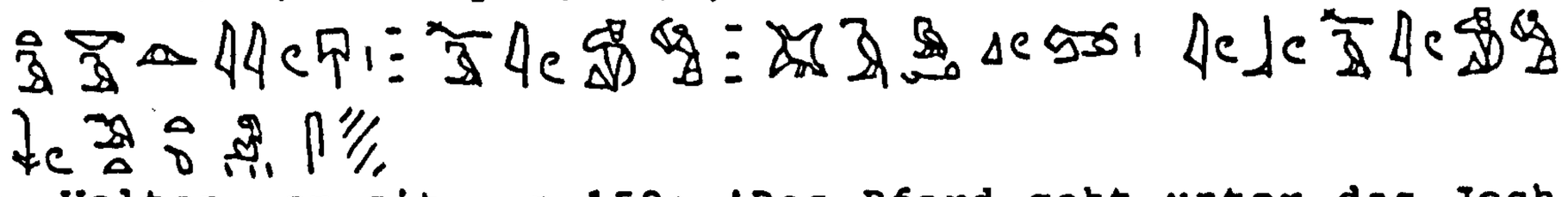
50. An V, 8,7 - 9,1 (parallel text in An III, 4, 1-2):



tr. Caminos, LEM, p.232: 'Apes are taught <to> dance (8,8) and horses are tamed; a kite can be placed in a nest and a (9,1) falcon be caught by the wings'.

Parallel text tr. Caminos, LEM, p.83: ' Apes are taught to dance (4,2) and horses are tamed; a kite can be placed in a nest and a falcon can be caught by the wings. (4,3). Persevere in taking advice. Do not slacken'.

51. Max Anii 9,4 (P.Boulaq IV, 10,4):



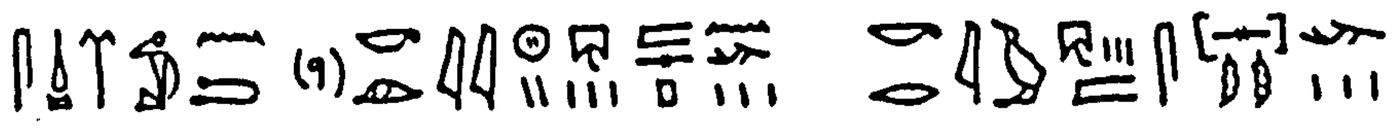
tr. Volten, op.cit., p.150: 'Das Pferd geht unter das Joch, gehorsam anzugehen. Der Hund wendet um(?), wenn er den Befehl hört, und geht hinter seinen Herrn. Das weibliche Kamel trägt den Tragsessel(?), während seine Mutter ihn nicht trug'. Cf E.Suys, La Sagesse d'Ani. Texte, traduction et commentaire (Roma 1935) tr.p.102: 'Le kar porte le mkr que ne portait pas sa mère'

52. Caminos, LEM, p.85.

53. K.R.L. Hall, Behaviour and Ecology of the wild Patas Monkey, Erythrocebus patas in Uganda, in P.C. Jay, ed., Primates : Studies in Adaption and Variability (New York &c 1968).

54. Walker, Mammals of the World, p.462.

55. F.Bisson de la Roque, Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1926) (Le Caire, 1927) p.27:



56. J.Osing, JEA 64 (1978) 186-189: [review of Crum CD].

57. C.Cannuyer, RdE 35 (1984) 189-191: Singe savant ou caméléon?

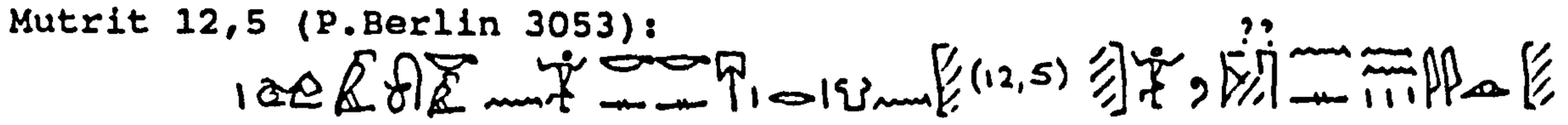
58. Griffith & Thompson, Demotic magical papyrus, vso 30, 3-4, tr. p.201: 'Another : you anoint your phallus with dung of (4) a kel, and you lie with (the) woman, then she feels thy love (i.e. for thee).'

59. S.R.K. Glanville, Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum II, part 1 (London ) p.52-53 & n.275.

60. Cannuyer, op.cit., p.190.

61. Quoted by M.Lichtheim, GM 41(1980) 67-74: Some corrections to my Ancient Egyptian Literature I-III, p.73 (note to Vol.III, p.171, col.15/11): 'Smith suggested that kl is not a "cat", but rather the word kîry, kyw, "monkey", of Wb V,116.'

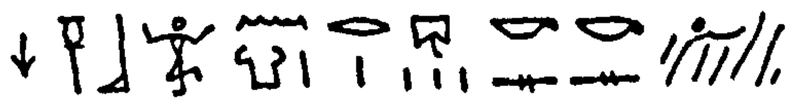
62. Mutrit 12,5 (P.Berlin 3053):



'We shall do for her the dance of the k3r3, the dance of k3w3r' or 'the dance of the dancing k3r3 of k3w3r'.

For the reading together of pages 11 & 12 of this papyrus see the introduction in Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichien Museen zu Berlin I: Rituale für den Kultus des Amon und für den Kultus der Mut (Leipzig 1901), under 'Erhaltung'. For K3w3r as a toponym see Gardiner, AEO I, p.209, No.284 & 285.

The text is paralleled at El-Kab where it is Nekhbet who is venerated. Much of this text is also lost, but:



remains. For the text see Fondation égyptologique reine Elizabeth. Fouilles de El Kab (Bruxelles 1940).

63. E. Brunner-Traut, Der Tanz im alten Ägypten (Glückstadt, &c 1938): ÄF 6,p.79, n.13: 'Der Zusammenhang in Pap. Berlin 3014 + 3053, 12,5 ist nicht mehr zu erkennen'.

64. S.Sauneron, RdE 24 (1972) 160-164: Une description égyptienne du caméléon.

65. See J. Leclant & J. Yoyotte, Kêmi 14 (1957) 43-80: Les obelisques de Tanis, p.72. In contrast to Naharin, kry/k3r3y appears to have designated an area to the south of Egypt, which would accord with its(?) use as a monkey name. The name itself may have been of African origin.

66. Pyr 1462:

The word ỉḫnỉw is not determined with an animal or animal skin, merely plural strokes, but the writing is not inconsistent with other spellings of ỉ'n, 'baboon' : see Ch.10: Monkeys.

67. Sethe, UuK V, p.404-405.

68. Kingdon, East African Mammals III A, p.363 and p.184. Cf p.184; p.187: 'Man, leopard and lion are known predators'.

69. Walker, Mammals of the World I, p.455 and p.454 respectively.

70. A.H.Schultz, The Life of Primates (London 1969) p.214.

71. T.Rowell, The Social Behaviour of Monkeys (Harmondsworth, Middlesex 1972) p.32.

72. H.Kummer, Social Organisation of Hamadryas Baboons: A Field Study (Chicago 1968).

73. I.DeVore, ed., Primate Behavior : Field Studies of Monkeys and Apes (New York &c 1965) Ch.2, p.49.

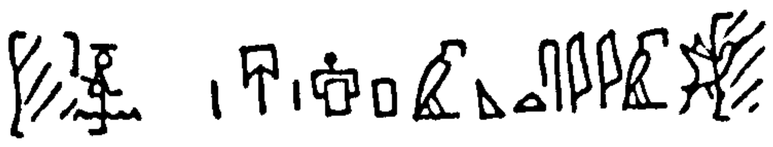
74. E.Ember, ZÄS 51(1913) 110-121: Kindred Semito-Egyptian words, No.4.

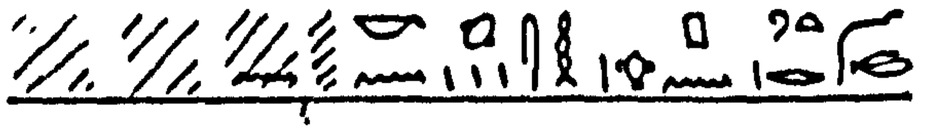
75. Brehm, Tierleben I, p.166.

76. Sethe, loc.cit..

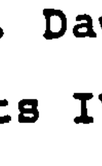
77. Cape hunting dog (Lycaon pictus). Despite its vernacular name this animal occurs throughout sub-Saharan Africa and might be a good translation for the knmt if Sethe's objection is ignored.

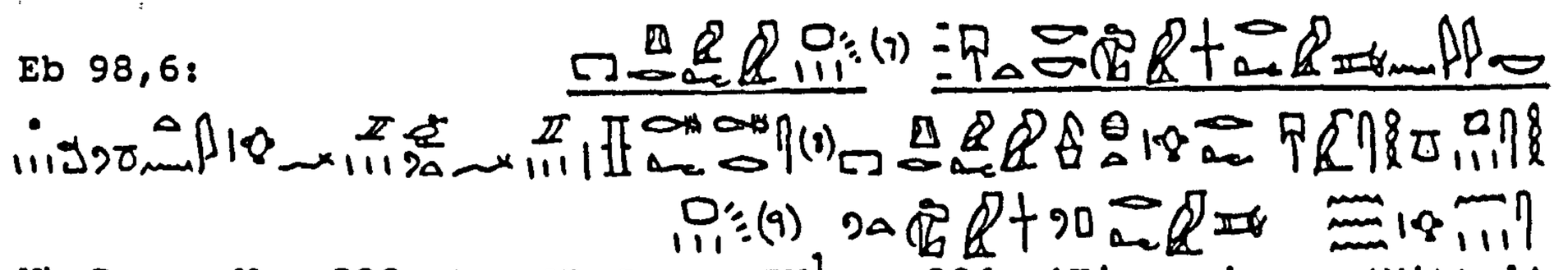
78. Eg L. Störk, LÄ IV, 915-920: Pavian, col.917: 'man wußte, daß der Leopard ein Feind des P[avians] war', (with n.18).

79. O. DelM 1650, col.I, 3: 

80. P.Leiden 343, rto 8,8: 

tr. Massart, P.Leid I 343 + 345, p.72: 'This spell is to be said over the faeces of a kn.....' (pl.2).

81. W.R. Dawson, JEA 20 (1934) 185-188: Studies in the Egyptian Medical Texts IV, p.187: 

82. Eb 98,6: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.528; tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1], p.306: 'Ein anderes (Mittel) für das Nichtzulassen, daß die kk.t-Tiere Gerste im Speicher fressen (wnm). Kot der Gazelle; werde auf Feuer gegeben im Speicher, werde bestrichen seine Wände, sein Fußboden an ihren Löchern (ỉtn.w) mit Wasser. Das ist ein Nichtzulassen, das Gerste gefressen wird (wnm).' Cf Wb.Drog. VII[2], p.909: 'als Schädlinge, die im Speicher Korn fressen.'

83. Harris, Lex.Stud., p.217, with n.8.

84. V.Loret, Rec.Trav. 16 (1894) 92-102: Recherches sur plusieurs plantes connues des anciens égyptiens, p.93-94. Loret compared Ar. syrq, 'fiente de chauve-souris', Coptic ϣⲓⲣⲁⲥⲓⲁ.

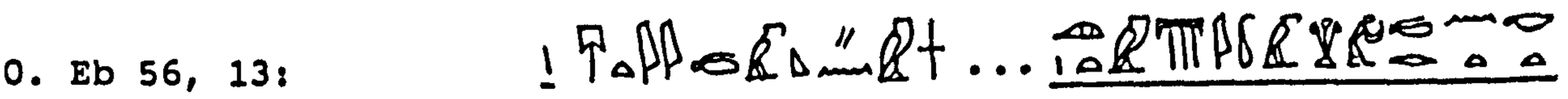
85. See T.R.Halliday & K.Adler, ed., The Encyclopaedia of Reptiles and Amphibians (London 1986) p.99: 'Most [gecko species] are insectivorous, although a few will eat small mammals and birds; others eat nectar and sweet exudate from tree bark. Many regularly eat their shed skin as well'.

86. Stern, P.Ebers II, Index p.19.

87. Dawson, op.cit., para. 19: 'As the remedy is a fumigation with gazelle's dung, it would seem...more likely that kkt is not a "rat" as usually translated, but "weevil", a much more serious pest for which fumigation is appropriate'.

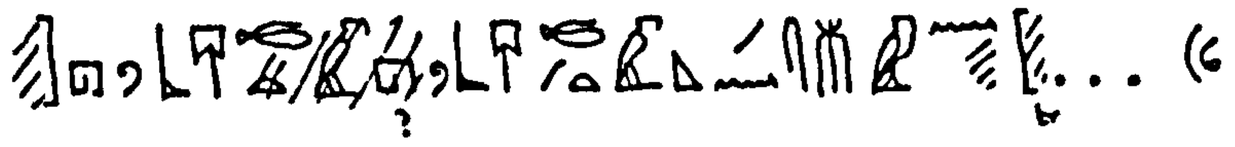
88. CD 102a: 'louse'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.60 & 508: 'Laus'.

89. Dawson, loc.cit.: 'On the other hand, kkt would seem to have been a mammal, or at least some animal larger than a weevil, as its brain is mentioned in a spell in Pap. Leiden I, 345, G.1,8,....One can hardly imagine the magician reciting his spell over the brain of a weevil - an impossibility!'

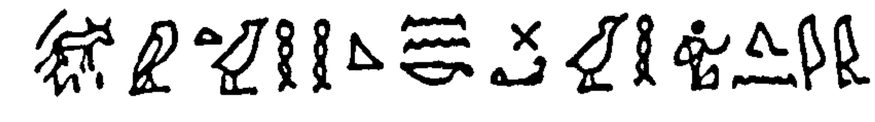
90. Eb 56, 13: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.80; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.46: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Beseitigen von Verschleierungen (ḥ3tj) im Auge...(my omission)...Inneres vom k3dj.t-Tier 1;'

91. O. DelM 1066:



92. Totb Nav 173,26 (Aa):



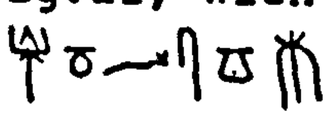
tr. Allen, BOD, p.181-182: 'I have come; (I) have smitten for thee domesticated animals , namely cattle...(my omission) I have come; (I) have wrung for thee the necks of sr-geese of fowl'.

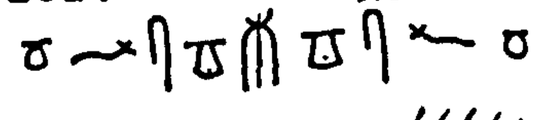
93. L.Keimer, Études d'égyptologie IV (Le Caire 1942) p.15-25: Quelques représentations rarissimes de mustélidés conservées sur des Bas-reliefs de l'Ancien Empire, with fig. 10-14, p.16-17.

94. The Latin binomial used by Keimer was I.Libyca Ehrenberg, which has since been superceded. S.Aufrere, BIFAO 85 (1985) 23-32: Études de lexicologie et d'histoire naturelle VII. De nouvelles représentations de Zorilles de Libye Poecilictis Libyca Lataste:  (PEB No.7. IIc 084), suggested that the ancient Egyptians gave both species the name gsfnw which, in view of the similarities between the two, seems plausible. Compare his earlier remarks in BIFAO 84 (1984) 1-21: Études de lexicologie et d'histoire naturelle IV-VI, esp. V, p.4-18, and those of Störk, Fauna, col.137, n.13.

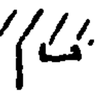
95. Kingdon, East African Mammals III A, p.71 (distribution map of Ictonyx).

96. Wreszinski, Atlas III, pl.84 (Berlin 20037) = Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1963) fig.11, with comments p.181-182:





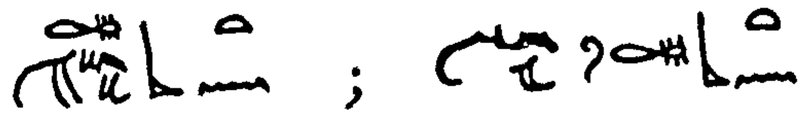
Cf Edel & Wenig, Jahreszeitenreliefs, pl.20, No.709:



97. Walker, Mammals of the World, p.1189 and p.1201.

98. Keimer, op.cit., p.20: 'C'est un mot quadrilitère qui par conséquent n'appartient pas au fond sémitique de la langue, et, de plus, que la terminaison w est celle des formes masculines archaïques.'

99. A.H.Gardiner, The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage, Additions (Leipzig 1909) p.113 (Text p.67, 1.4, 11): 'Möller thinks that the determinative of tnbḥ in the Eloquent Peasant may be a hedgehog. This seems quite a likely suggestion, and if tnbḥ were the name of that animal, the sense of the word derived from it would not be difficult to account for'.

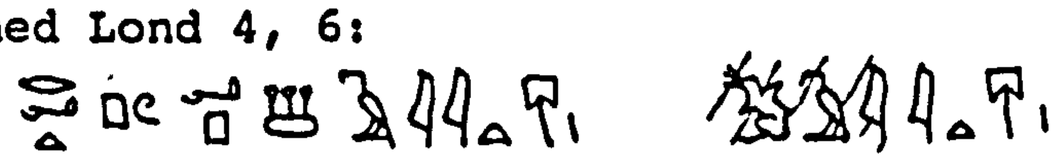
100. Bauer 161 & 97:  ;

tr. Vogelsang, p.92: 'falsch' cf p.137 (no comment on the det. which he did not transcribe).

101. Zu Hülshoff, Igel, p.13: 'Die Identifizierung dieses Tieres als Igel erscheint aufgrund der hohen Extremitäten und des deutlich sichtbaren, langen Schwanzes - ein dem Igel atypisches Merkmal - als sehr zweifelhaft'.

102. See Möller, Paläographie I, p.13, no.145.

103. P. med Lond 4, 6:



Wreszinski, p.180, commented: 'Ob t3jt Attribut zu ʿpš ist oder der Name eines zweiten Tieres, ist zweifelhaft'.

104. Chabas, Papyrus Magique Harris, p.134.

105. A.Shisha-Halevy, Orientalia 47 (1978) 145-162: An early North-West Semitic text in the Egyptian hieratic script [O.Cairo 25759], p.151, n.9.

1. Houlihan & Goodman, Birds. A lexicographical study of bird names by Meeks was announced in this work but has not yet appeared. See also P.Behrens, LÄ II, 503-505: Geflügel and H.Buchberger, LÄ VI, 1046-1051: Vogel.

2. Houlihan & Goodman, Birds:

| | |
|---|---|
| Cory's Shearwater | Calonectris diomedea (Scopoli) |
| Manx Shearwater | Puffinus puffinus (Brünnich) |
| Red-throated Diver | Gavia stellata (Pontoppidan) |
| Black-throated Diver | G.arctica (L) |
| Little Grebe | Tachybaptus ruficollis (Pallas) |
| Red-necked Grebe | Podiceps grisegena (Boddaert) |
| Great-crested Grebe | P.cristatus (L) |
| Black-necked Grebe | P.nigricollis (Brehm) |
| Red-billed Tropicbird | Phaethon aethereus (L) |
| Gannet | Sula bassana (L) |
| Brown Booby | S.leucogaster (Boddaert) |
| European Spoonbill | Platalea leucorodia L |
| Smew | Mergus albellus L |
| Red-breasted Merganser | M.serrator L |
| Water Rail | Rallus aquaticus L |
| Little Crake | Porzana parva (Scopoli) |
| Spotted Crake | Porzana porzana (L) |
| Baillon's Crake | P.pusilla (Pallas) |
| Corncrake | Crex crex (L) |
| European Oystercatcher | Haematapus ostralegus L |
| Turnstone | Arenaria interpres (L) |
| Little Stint | Calidris minuta (Leisler) |
| Temminck's Stint | C.temminckii (Leisler) |
| Dunlin | C.alpina (L) |
| Curlew Sandpiper | C.ferruginea (Pontoppidan) |
| Knot | C.canutus (L) |
| Sanderling | C.alba (Pallas) |
| Buff-breasted Sandpiper | Trynyites subruficollis (Vieillot) |
| Ruff | Philomachus pugnax (L) |
| Broad-billed Sandpiper | Limicola falcinellus (Pontoppidan) |
| Spotted Redshank | Tringa erythropus (Pallas) |
| Redshank | T.totanus (L) |

| | |
|---|---|
| Marsh Sandpiper | Tringa stagnatilis (Bechstein) |
| Greenshank | Tringa nebularia (Gunnerus) |
| Green Sandpiper | T.ochropus L |
| Wood Sandpiper | T.glareola L |
| Common Sandpiper | T.hypoleucos L |
| Terek Sandpiper | Xenus cinereus (Güldenstadt) |
| Black-Tailed Godwit | Limosa limosa (L) |
| Bar-Tailed Godwit | L.lapponica (L) |
| Common Curlew | Numenius arquata (L) |
| Slender-billed Curlew | N.tenuirostris Vieillot |
| Whimbrel | N.phaeopus (L) |
| Black-winged Stilt | Himantopus himantopus (L) |
| Red-necked Phalarope | Phalaropus lobatus (L) |
| Egyptian Plover | Pluvianus aegyptius (L) |
| Collared Pratincole | Glareola pratincola (L) |
| Black-winged Pratincole | G.nordmanni Fischer |
| Great Skua | Stercorarius skua (Brünnich) |
| Pomarine Skua | S.pomarinus (Temminck) |
| Arctic Skua | S.parasiticus (L) |
| Long-tailed Skua | S.longicaudus Vieillot |
| African Skimmer | Rhynchops flavirostris Vieillot |
| Razorbill | Alca torda L |

See also in the notes below for other species of waterbird found in modern Egypt.

3. On geese generally see L.Störk, LÄ II, 373-375: Gans.

Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.150-152 (see also p.54-74, Nos.28-38), recorded the following species from Egypt:

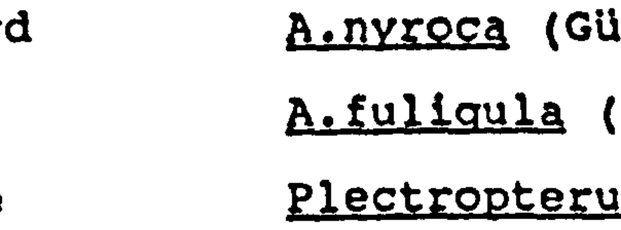
| | |
|---|---|
| Greylag Goose | Anser anser (L) |
| White-fronted Goose | A.albifrons (Scopoli) |
| Lesser White-fronted Goose | A.erythropus (L) |
| Bean Goose | A.fabalis (Latham) |
| Barnacle Goose | Branta leucopsis (Bechstein) |
| Red-breasted Goose | B.ruficollis (Pallas) |
| Brent Goose | B.bernicla (L) |
| Egyptian Goose | Alopochen aegyptiaca (L) |

4. On ducks generally see L.Störk LÄ I, 1228-1229: Ente.

Houlihan & Goodman, loc.cit., recorded the following species:

| | |
|---|---|
| Ruddy Shelduck | Tadorna ferruginea (Pallas) |
| Common Shelduck | T.tadorna (L) |
| Mallard | Anas platyrhynchos L |
| Green-winged Teal | A.crecca L |
| Gadwall | A.strepera L |
| European Wigeon | A.penelope L |
| Pintail | A.acuta L |
| Marbled Duck | A.angustirostris Ménétries |
| Garganey | A.querquedula L |
| Shoveler | A.clypeata L |
| Red-crested Pochard | Netta rufina (Pallas) |
| Common Pochard | Aythya ferina (L) |
| White-eyed Pochard | A.nyroca (Güldenstadt) |
| Tufted Duck | A.fuligula (L) |
| Spur-winged Goose | Plectropterus gambensis (L) |
| White-headed Duck | Oxyura leucocepala (Scopoli) |
| Velvet Scoter | Melanitta fusca (L) |

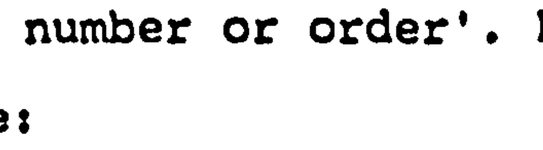
5. Hassan, Giza VI/2, p.365, noted of this set: 'a group of poultry, which in the cannonical lists follows the fixed order of r (or sr) trp, st, s and mnw.t... But in the earlier lists, this group was not fixed either as to the number or order'. He gave the following examples of the latter case:

Giza V, 92-93: 

Giza V, 103:

LD III, 3: (unnamed)

Compare, too, CAA Pelizaeus III, 72 (No.2146, described pp.69-71):



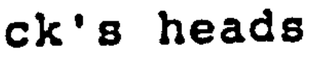
6. The best are those in the tomb of Kaemʿankh, reproduced in black and white in Junker, Giza IV, pl.7, a coloured copy of which hangs in the Griffith Institute, Oxford (note that the first bird is a sr not a r) and in the tomb of Nefer in idem, Giza VI, pl.2. See also idem., Giza VI, p.127, fig.40, pl.11 (tomb of Kahif) showing

r, trp, st, s; R.Macramallah, Le Mastaba d'Idout (Le Caire 1935) pl.22, and the scene from the tomb of Methethi published in Vandier, Manuel V, plate vol., pl.19, fig.153. The s ducks are unfortunately not well preserved.

7. Murray, Saqq Mastabas I, p.39, suggested that this bird might be a Teal (Anas crecca L). This was also the identification given by Hilzheimer in Wreszinski, Atlas III, pl.83B (tomb of M33-nfr), which was adopted by Edel, Inschriften Niuserre, p.104 and Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, p.15. (Cf Vandier, Manuel V, p.403 and Montet, Scènes, p.143.) In Nianchchnum both the sr and s are translated 'Krickente' though it is noted (p.161, n.1011): 'In der Darstellung unterscheidet sie [=s] sich deutlich von der sr-Gans'. The male Teal is, however, strikingly coloured, and the female, though brown and with a suitable eye-stripe, has a green speculum. The bird s most closely resembles the female Gadwall (A.strepera L); both sexes have a white speculum but the male is greyish with chestnut wing coverts and a white belly. As it is apparently the males which are depicted in these scenes (note esp. the pintails) it seems impossible to identify the s with the Gadwall without reservation.

From the eye-stripe visible on good drawings of the s it may be suggested that this bird was the prototype of the duck's heads which decorate 'ointment spoons', stool legs and jewellery, and which shows a prominent eye-stripe.

8. Discussed further below in the text. See J.Černý, Hieratic Inscriptions from the tomb of Tutankhamun (Oxford 1965) p.17, No.84, for this type of abbreviation using the first letter for the whole.

9. Mar Mast C15 : srw trp mst s mnwt 

Sheikh Said pl.20 : srw tpr [//] sr mnt

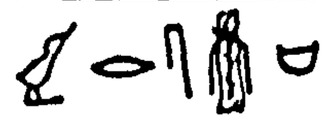
airo 1380 : srw trp mst s mnwt 

Mar Mast C22 : srw trp st s mnt 

LD II, 92e : srw trp st s mnt 

Berl 1159 : srw tpr [//] sr mnt 

cf G.Steindorff, Grabfunde des mittleren Reiches in den königlichen Museen zu Berlin (Berlin 1901), p.15/17, pl.6: 'die Geflügelarten zt, trp und srw' (after Barta, Opferliste, p.97).

For srw in a different context see Borchardt, Sahure II, pl.56: 

tr. text vol. p.123: 'Weibchen und Junge der sr-Gänse'.

10. Simpson, Giza Mastabas III, fig.50:

fig.32:

pl.29:

Neferirtenef, p.41:

pl.7:

Hassan, Giza VI, p.3:

Nianchchnum 165, no.61, pl.86-87:

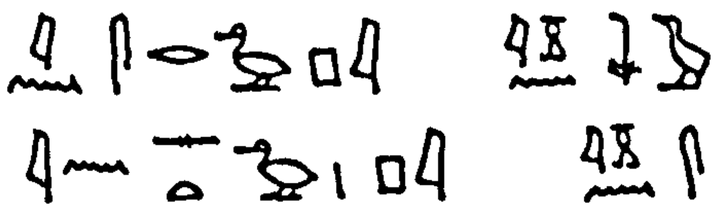
161

pl.82:

pl.83:

James, BM Texts pt.1, pl.26, No.1429B:

G.Maspero, Rec.Trav. 3 (1882) 103-128: Rapport sur une mission en Italie, p.115-117 (Tur 107):

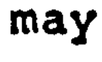

Pyr 1224 (P): 

This text has been used to suggest that sr & st were the m. and f. of the same species. However, for the apparent male equivalent of st see ḥp and for female birds see ḥmt, Ch.17.

LD II, 74b:

Murray Saqq Mastabas I, pl.2:

11. Eg Pyr 86, Mar Mast C4.

12. Note the evidence quoted in Hassan, Giza VI/2, p.366. Among Dynasty 4 examples published by him there are two instances of srw, eight of sr and 5 of r in first position in the lists. In Dyn.5 examples srw occurs 3 times, sr 21 times and r 19 times. In Dyn.6 srw occurs twice, sr 13 times and r 39 times. (See his index for the texts quoted.) He further commented on the writing srw: 'the first of the group may be written either or  , or  ... The Berlin Dictionary ...defines the latter writing as the name of a kind of goose, so written during the Old and Middle Kingdoms, but which was later written . So far as the evidence of our material goes, the contrary is the case, and the earlier lists give the writing  while  (which never becomes common during the Old Kingdom) does not appear until the very end of the fourth Dynasty'. He compared here the early form  for trp. Montet, Scènes, p.38 , also regarded r as originally an abbreviation, later used in its own right.

13. Sinai 115:

Kairo 20762:

Sheikh Said pl.20:

Theb Grab 57 (MMAF 1, 118):

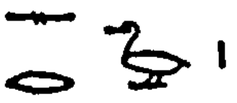
A.Bey Kamal, ASAE 15 (1915) 209-258: Le tombeau nouveau de Méîr,

p.233, 241:

p.254:

Kairo 20390:

Luxor (Sethe Nb.I, 117):

Abyd Mar I, 33, l.12: 

Simpson, Giza Mastabas II, pl.31 and fig.41 (Idu):

fig.30 (Ḳar):

DHI II, 6:

P.Ch.B.I, 17, 9-11:

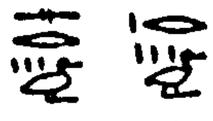
tr. Gardiner, P.Ch.B I, p.38: 'That an ox may be slaughtered to the bolt, /A short-horn to the threshold,/ A stout goose to the jambs'.

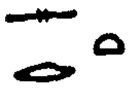
James, BM Texts pt.1, pl.34, No.1480:

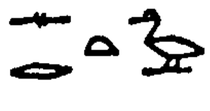
Hassan, op.cit., p.372-3, noted from his Dyn.4 examples s 8 times and sr 2 or 3 times, from Dyn.5 s 42 times and sr 4 times, and from Dyn.6 s 34 times and sr 21 times. The writing sr was apparently becoming more common relative to s.

Davies et al, Saqqara Tombs I, pl.12 = pl.13:

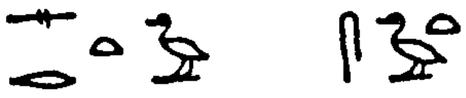
Clère & Vandier, Textes de la première période intermédiaire, p.36, para.27:

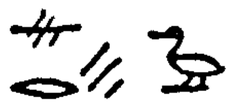
Cf KRI II, 534, 16 (Abyd Mar II, 9, 10): 

14. Theb Grab 36 (MMAF 5/4 pl.1, opp.p.656): 

Luxor <215>: 

Luxor <319>:

Med Habu 150 (1.504-5): 

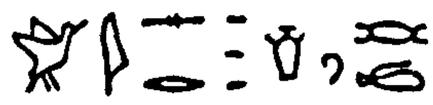
Med Habu 152: 

Luxor (Rm.62, Baedecker) (Sethe Nb.I, 24):

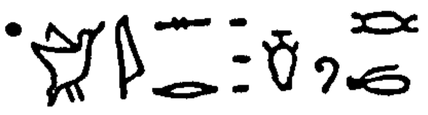
Lansing, 12, 4:

An IV, 2, 2:

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.127: 'the goose cuts the rope and flies up'.

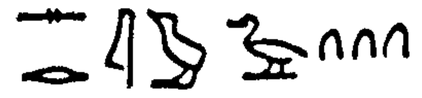
An IV, 15, 10: 

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.200: 'goose fat'.

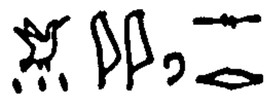
HO I, pl.38 & 38A (O.Gardiner 25, col.I, 6): 

(Note that ꜥd srỉ is not recorded in Wb.Droq., only ꜥd (presumably for ȝpd)).

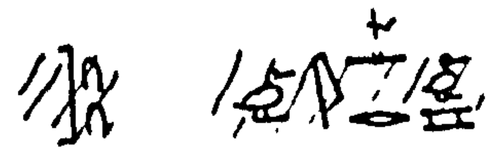
Meeks, Hommages Sauneron I, p.227, 1.20, para.XI (Cairo 36861):



P.Tur PuR pl.88, 3 (tr. p.124):

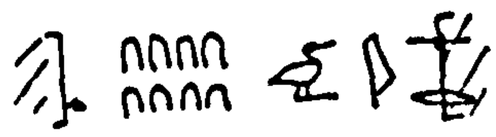


Koenig, Jarres hiératiques I, pl.19, No.6175:

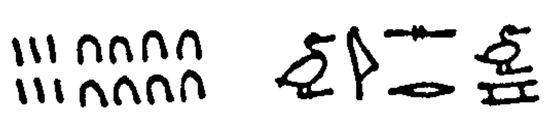


No.6176:

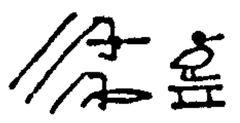
No.6177:



No.6171:

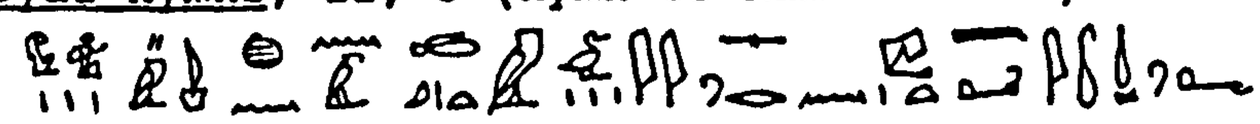


No.6167:



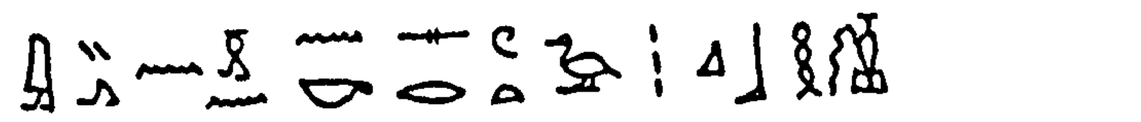
No.6166:

Condon, Seven Royal Hymns, 12, 3 (hymn to Ramesses VI):

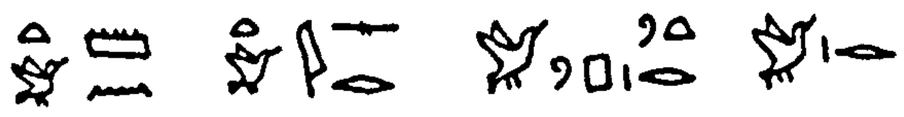


tr. p.20: 'those who caused to be consumed the best portion of the geese are in the land of harlots'.

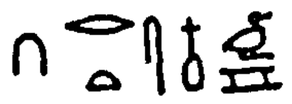
Med Habu 827 <Raum 7>:



P.Ch.B IX, rto 11, 2-5:



Note the writing srt in the same context from W.C.Hayes, JNES 10 (1924) 82-104: Inscriptions from the palace of Amenhotep III, No.179:



tr.p.93: 'Good pondfowl-meat of srt-geese'.

Cf Pendlebury, COA III, p.173, No.183 (fragment of a list of meats): 'good preserved meat : srt-geese, 2'. He recorded that srt are also mentioned on two unpublished dockets from Griffith's excavations: No.24/114; the other number lost.

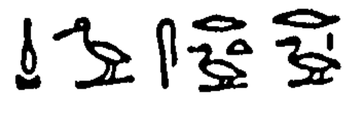
15. Srwt appears together with sr in a text from the Hekanakhte papers:

James, Hekanakhte, p.82, commented: 'srwt seems to be an early form of śrỉt common in late Egyptian, but its occurrence here in a text which also contains sr throws doubt on the view that śrỉt is truly a late form of sr cf Caminos, Miscellanies, p.131. In any case śrwt is some form of goose or other domesticated bird, perhaps not a particular species but a name given to any bird used for some specific purpose such as an offering. Then the phrase would mean "2 trp-geese, being offering birds"'.

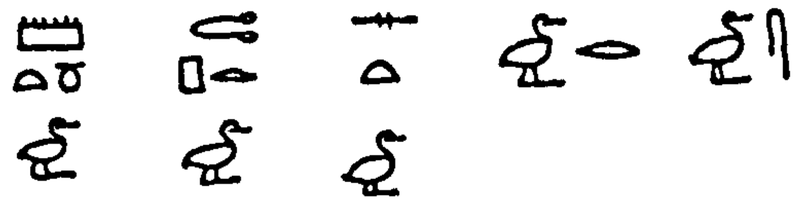
16. J.Černý, JEA 15 (1929) 243-258: Papyrus Salt 124 (BM10055), p.250, n.46: 'Srỉ.t is very probably a late Egyptian spelling of the old srw (Dr. Keimer kindly informs me there is at least nothing to contradict this identification)'.

17. Caminos, LEM, p.212, and cf p.131.

18. Dorsal pillar of a Dyn.5 statue in Frankfurt:

19. Habachi, Tavole, p.78: 

Cf the position of the birds in Berl 14383 (Vol.I, p.123-4):



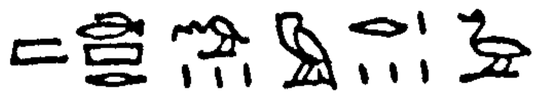
20. In Text Relig 22: sr(w) varies with r(w):

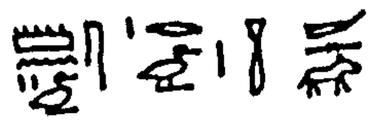
var:

21. Gardiner, HPBM, 3rd ser, p.94, n.4, was prompted to 'doubt the existence of the ś-goose [sic] assumed Wörterb. IV, 1; the play on words Pyr.86a and the reading here alike suggest that  is to be read sr'. (The text referred to is P.Ch.B.IX, rto 11, 2-5, given above).

Barta, Opferliste, p.75, likewise believed that s was merely an abbreviation for sr, and that sr, when it occurred at the beginning of a list, was a miswriting of srw.

22. R3 is attested in lists of offerings other than in the group of five, eg:

Totb Leps 31, 8-9: 

KRI I, 91: 

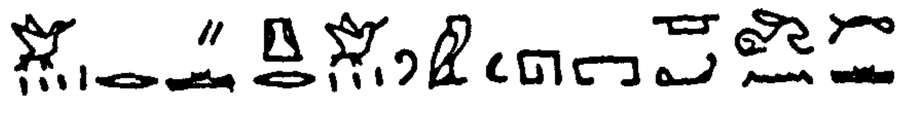
Botti, Sobk, 7, 5:

23. Urk IV, 745:

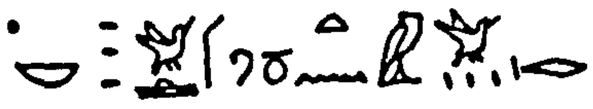
LD II, 61b:

Abyd Mar II, 9, 10:

Kagemni No.26:

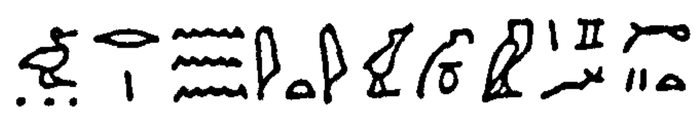
Lansing 12, 4: 

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.412: 'A fowl-yard and an aviary with ro-geese'.

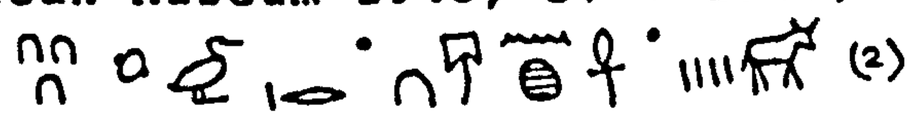
Lansing 12, 7: 

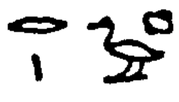
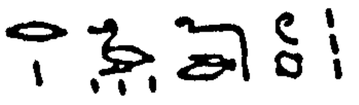
The r is also associated with a stretch of water in the underworld:

Totb Nav 149, 10:

cf 109, 2: 

tr. K.Sethe, ZÄS 59 (1924) 1-20: 'Die Sprüche für das Kennen der Seele der heiligen Orte', p.4: 'ro-Gänse'.

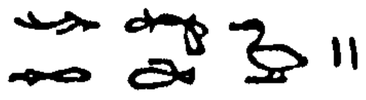
24. KRI II, 380, 14-15 (O.Ashmolean Museum 1945, 37 + 1945, 33 + O.Michaelides 90): 

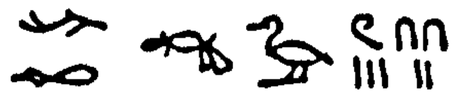
Med Habu 15 :  <1187>: 

Harr 65c, 3:

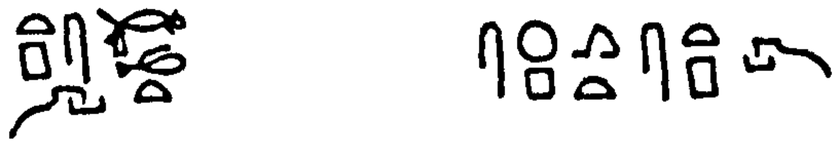
25. Vandier, Manuel V, plate vol., pt.2, pl.7, fig.63: (follow cranes)

Note the use of šd with other bird names also: see gb, t(r)p, ht3, stp, ʿš3.

26. Urk IV, 754, 13: 

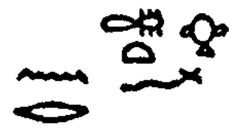
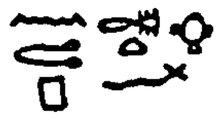
Urk IV, 755, 17: 

Urk IV, 756, 2:

LD II, 54: 

LD II, 61b:

and see H.Pitsch, LÄ III, 1128-1132: Mästen.

27. LD II, 61b:  ; cf  on the same register.

28. Med Habu 150, 448 & 502; 163, 1302; Inscr dédic 97.

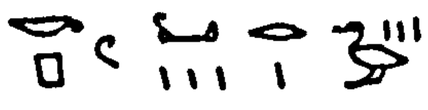
29. Badawy, Iteti, fig.20 and pl.21:

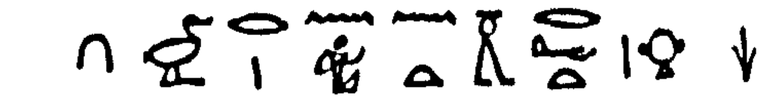
Mar Mast D3 (p.181):

Ptahshepses Var <45>:

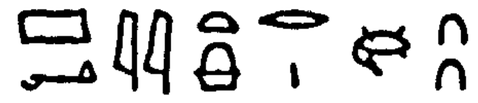
30. Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.179, n.299 on Boessneck, Haustiere, p.33: 'He further speculates that a few geese which are shown white (or left uncoloured) are the domestic descendants of the Greylag Goose, because the modern domestic forms of this species are white. This slender evidence cannot be used to identify the bird, as the derived domestic stock of other Anser geese could also be white. This view has been uncritically accepted in the literature'. This comment ignores the naming of this type of goose as r; note, however, that the hd appears separately from the r in a subsidiary position - see below - and so may name white examples of various types of bird. On white as a natural mutation common in domesticated species see also Zeuner, Domesticated Animals, p.66 and (on geese) p.469.

31. Text Relig 22: (text quoted above, n.20)

Karn Temp R III pl.23a, 24: 

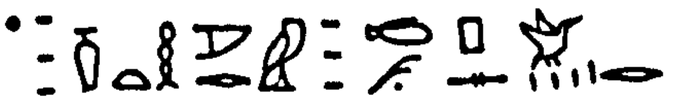
32. P.Kah 27, 2: 

33. Math Hdb 83, 5-6:

34. Urk IV, 761: 

35. Eb 32, 3-4:

Wb. Drog. V, p.219; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.125: 'sḫt-Teil der r3-Gans'.

36.O.DelM 1675, vso 8: 

37. BOD 15:

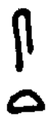
tr. Allen, BOD, p.26 (15B5, para.S2): 'My soul has become divine beside Sokar like the r3-goose beside Thoth'.

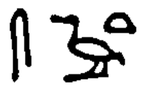
38. CD 290a: 'goose'; Černý, CED, p.135: 'goose'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.171b: 'oie'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.161: 'Gans'.

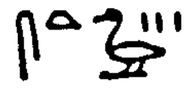
39. See E.Edel, MDAIK 13 (1945): Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie..., p.87: 'Hals packen wie einer s-Gans'.

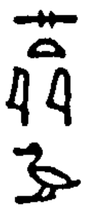
40. Note the few writings with  instead of  :

DHI II, 6:

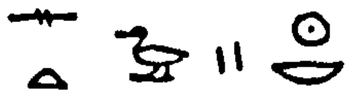
Luxor (Sethe Nb I, 117): 

Med Habu 150: srt followed by 

KRI II, 509, 16: ḥfnw m (6)  , ḥḥ m wȝḏ-ḥȝt 

41. Luxor (Sethe Nb.I, 24): 

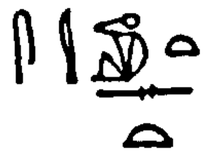
42. St appears regularly in offering lists and is also mentioned in connection with provisions for festivals:

Urk I, 241: 

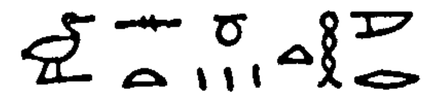
Urk I, 240:

cf Med Habu 152:

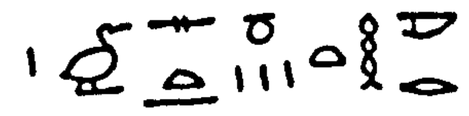
Kept and fed:

Ti pl.25: 

In medical texts:

Eb 59, 8: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.77; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.45: 'Fett (mrḥ.t) der s.t-Gans'.

Eb 43, 4-8: 

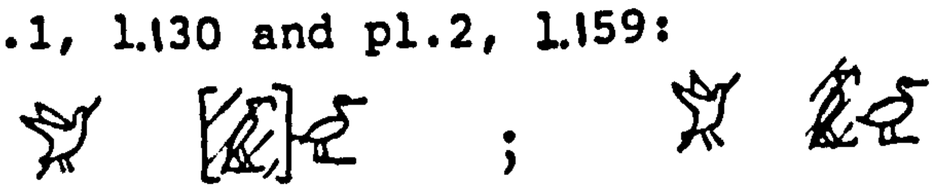
Wb. Drog. V, p.176; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.101: 'Fett (mrḥ.t) der s.t-Gans'.

Eb 84, 18-20:

Wb. Drog. V, p.41; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.23: 'sḫt einer Gans '.

The term may have been derived from a semitic root; see, for example, A. Ember, ZÄS 51 (1913) 110-121: Kindred Semito - Egyptian Words, No.13, comparing Hebrew ʾawǎz, Arabic wazz, waza.

43. Note the s3 attested in AEO I, pl.1, l.130 and pl.2, l.159:

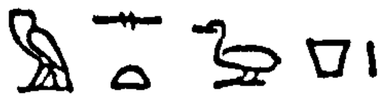


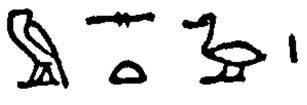
This appears to be different from the st - note the earlier list: r, trp, dndn, ////, , ////, (lost), mnt (pl.1 & 1A); the second attestation occurs after a gap in the text - s3 precedes bik.

44. Neferirtenef pl.7:

Simpson, Giza Mastabas II, fig.41 (Idu) = Reisner, Giza, fig.41:

(note the writing  in the mastaba of Ḳar, Simpson, op.cit., fig.30)

Marseille 81: 

Kairo 1381 (Mar Mast p.141): 

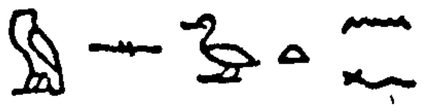
Mar Mast C15:

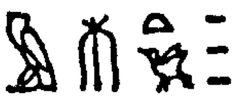
Wb Nr. <1> Louvre (unnumbered):

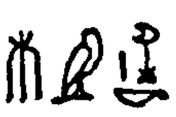
Kairo 20762:

Tur 107: (text above)

Theb Grab 57 = MMAF I, 118: (text above, n.10)

cf Pyr 1: 

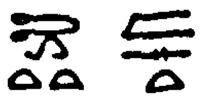
P.Ch.B. V, rto 8, 9-10 (provisions for temple of Amun): 

P.Ch.B. IX, rto 4, 11: 

tr. Gardiner, p.86: 'thy thousand of waterfowl, [thy thousand of] pigeons'.

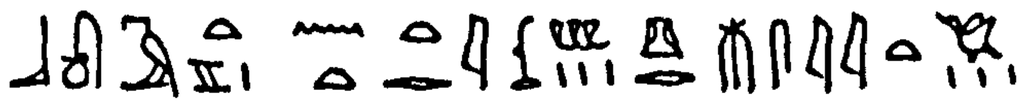
Rec trav 22 (1900) 133-134:

J.Capart, CdE 13 (No.25) (1938) 191-209: Les fouilles d'El Kab, p.197, mentioned a fragment of a door-post(?) showing the king running while holding birds in his hand. The text runs:



(also referred to by idem, ASAE 38 (1938) 623-640: Deuxième rapport sommaire sur les fouilles de la fondation égyptologique Reine Elizabeth à El-Kab, (Janvier à Mars 1938), p.628, and F.J.Schmitz, Amenophis I (Hildesheim 1978): HÄB 6, p.121).

Hassan, Giza VI, 2, believed mst to be the 'full writing' of st, appearing first in Dyn.4. However, mst is consistently less common than st throughout the Old Kingdom texts studied by Hassan: st is attested 11 times in Dyn.4 (mst once), 38 times in Dyn.5 (mst 4 times) and 49 times in Dyn.6 (mst 6 times).

45. Lebensm 93: 

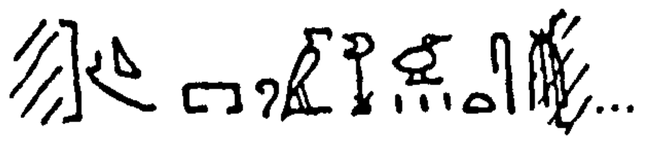
Msyt was understood as 'a collective term for aquatic birds' by Goedicke, Dispute, p.149, tr. p.148: 'Behold, flooded is my name through you more than (by) the stench [92] of the ꜣpsw (or) more than (by) a covert of reeds [93] with waterfowl'.

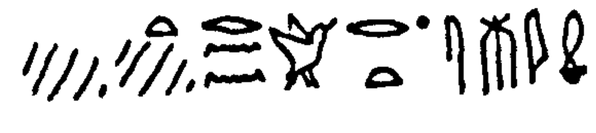
Sall IV, vso 4, 7:

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.335: 'mst-geese of the inundated land'.

cf Harr 36a, 2: 2300

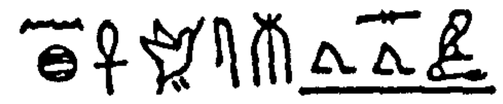
where a msi is included in a list of waterbirds.

Caminos, Literary Fragments, pl.6, 3, 2: 

46. Sall IV, vso 2, 4: 

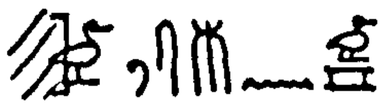
tr. Caminos, LEM, p.334: 'the white girl is like the msrt-bird bred in a pond', noting, p.343: 'Msrt-bird only here; it may be a defective writing of ms(y)t... Another possibility would be to read ms srt, "young (or "offspring",  ) of the srt-goose".'

47. P.Brooklyn 47.218.50,

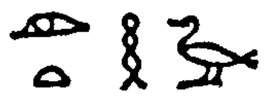
20, 14: 

48. Koenig, Cat. jarres hiératiques, pl.19:

No.6172:

No.6173: 

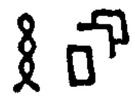
49. Hayes, op.cit., p.93, compared the example (No.178) with another label indicating a content of 30 st birds, and from the relative quantities given deduced that msyt was 'probably a small duck'. Given that msyt and the term in place of which it stands in the offering lists, st, occur here in similar contexts from the same source it seems impossible that they designate the same species. As no evidence on the sizes of the jars in which the birds were stored is given it would be unwise to make assumptions about their sizes.

50. Eg Berscheh I, 22: 

On the bird see P.H. Boussac, Rec.Trav. 33 (1911) 59-63: Le canard à longue queue ou pilet Dafila acuta, LINNÉ.

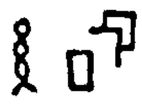
51. Ti pl.129 (Epron & Wild, Ti, pl.169):

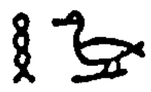
52. Martin, Hetepka, pl.17(19):

Mar Mast D2 (p.177) tr: 'une oie...': 

=

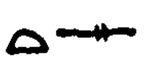
Mogensen, Ny Carlsberg, fig.17 (Vandier, Manuel V, p.410).

Mar Mast D3 (p.181) tr.: 'un canard au bec plus allongé': 

53. Berscheh I, pl.25 (bottom of plate): 

(det. a male pintail)

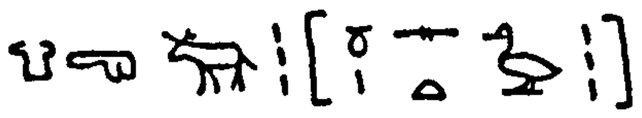
Grenoble Musée des Beaux-Arts: Collection égyptienne, Coffin 1996, p.106: ḥp is determined by two pintail drakes.

54. Eg Berscheh I, 22: 

Junker, Giza VI, fig.16: 

55. Mar Mast D15: 'trois canards'

M3ʿ is discussed by G.Godron, BIFAO 56 (1957) 19-20: Les oiseaux Mϵ et m3š. He differentiated between the bird  which is the determinative of m3ʿ, noting the confusion in Mar Mast of  and , proposing to read  as m3š and describing it as 'un canard domestique de race indéterminé'. Compare the writing in Mar Mast D3 (p.181) read šst by Wb and sš, which follows st in Hassan, Giza V, pp.184-185, fig.57, and it is itself followed by tp.

56. CT I, 270b: 

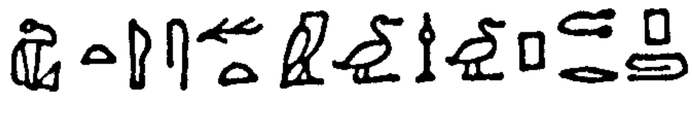
(See also Ch.4 : Cattle).

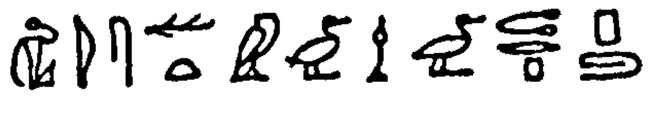
Cf H.Brunner, Die Texte aus den Gräbern der Herakleopolitanzeit von Siut (Glückstadt etc 1937): ÄF 5, p.23, tr.: 'Erpel', with n.51.

57. Stevenson Smith, Art and Architecture, pl.13 (Dyn.2):

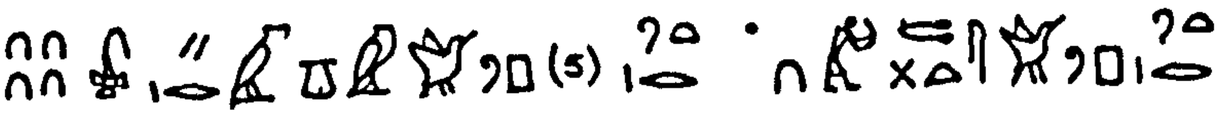
58. Hassan, Giza VI$^2$, p.368-370, noted from Dyn.4 texts trp 5 times, tp 4 times, t 4 times, from Dyn.5 trp 26 times, t 12 times, tr 4 times, from Dyn.6 trp 41 times, tp 5 times, t 8 times, tr 3 times.

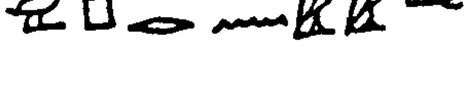
59. A.H.Gardiner, PSBA 38 (1916) 181-185: Various writings. I. Some Coptic Etymologies. Cf Černý, CED, p. 319.

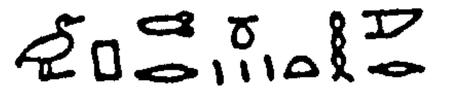
60. Ti pl.5 (Epron & Wild, Ti, pl.7): 

Kagemmi 25: 

See also šd tp and ḥr-ḥt.f-n-tp above.

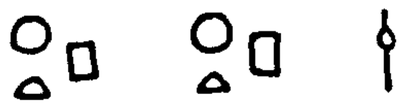
61. An IV, 14, 4-5: 

62. Eb 32, 3-4 (see r above): 

Eb 61, 6-8: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.95; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.56: 'Fett (mrḥ.t) der trp-Gans'.

63. Martin, Hetepka, 17(19):

Sahure II, pl.56 (CAA Pelizaeus 3,59 (No.1952)): 

tr. text vol. p.123: 'die Weiße'.

Mar Mast D3:

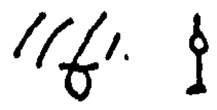
Ti pl.129:

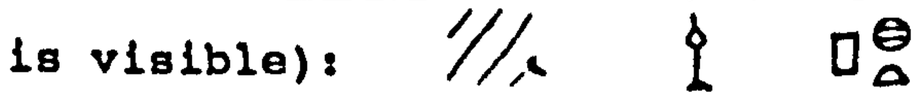
Montet, Scènes, pl.11, 1 (note the traces of white paint remaining on this bird):

LD II, 74b :

Hassan, Giza VI/3, p.103 :

64. Ti pl.5:

65. Mar Mast D15: 

Berl 14642 (Wreszinski, Atlas III, 83c) (only the tip of the tail of the d of dnw is visible): 

66. Mar Mast C16:

it seems to appear after a set of cranes, ducks and unnamed birds, preceding the smn, but cf Hassan, Giza VI/3, pl.46, fig.82, p.103 (see also smn below).

67. Mar Mast D15: See above for the text.

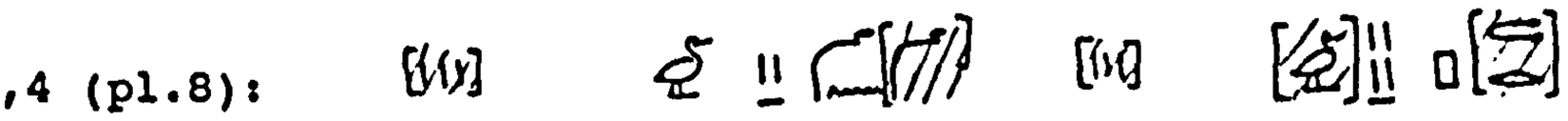
Berl . 14642: See above for the text.

Mar Mast D2 (Vandier, Manuel V, p.407, fig.177,3):

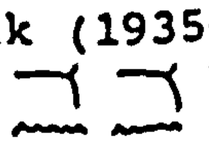
Mar Mast D3:

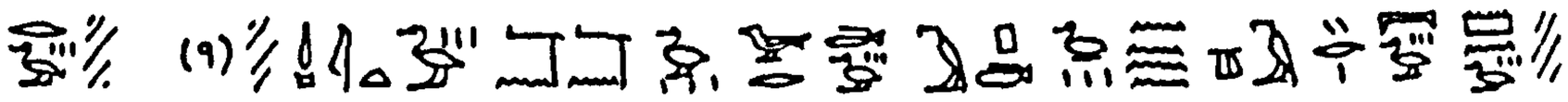
68. P. Boulaq 18,32:

F.L.Griffith, ZÄS 29 (1981) 102-116: The account papyrus No.18 of Boulaq, esp. p.143, tr.: 'cranes?'. Cf A.Scharff, ZÄS 57 (1922) 51-68: Ein Rechnungsbuch des Königlichen Hofes aus der 13. Dynastie (Papyrus Boulaq Nr.18).

P.Kah 15,4 (pl.8): 

Each bird appears to have half the value of the previous one. Here, too, the bird is taken to be 'some sort of crane' (p.18), perhaps the then unread gs often found with dꜣt on the monuments since its position in the listing is occupied in the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus by the dꜣt, a crane (see dꜣt, below).

On a Karnak stela (publ. Ricke, Geflügelhof; H. Chevrier, ASAE 36 (1936) 131-157: Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1935-36), pl.2) dated to the reign of Sethos II, appears a bird  read dndn by Ricke:



69. Helck, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, p.15, n.46, commented:
'Der Schwan (?) ist im Grab des Ptahhotep in Saqqara unter den anderen Gänsen und Enten dargestellt...und dürfte nach den Listen des Mittleren Reiches...dndn genannt gewesen sein'. (All the birds depicted in this scene are unnamed).

70. L.Störk, GM 19 (1976) 57-58: Dndn 'der Schwan'? Cf AL 77.5234: 'jouer du cymbale, faire un bruit métallique' and CD 824b: 6N6N 'make music'.

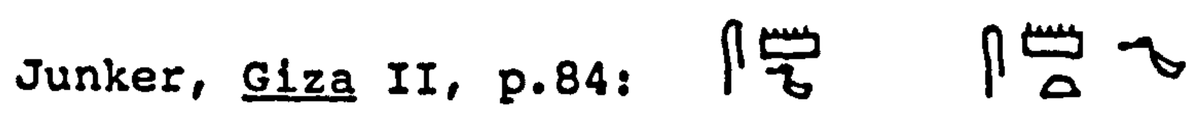
71. CD 6b.

72. Helck, op.cit., p.15.

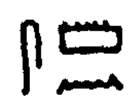
73. Nauri (Griffith, p.198, n.8 : 'Apparently a new bird name').

74. J.Vandier d'Abbadie, RdE 25 (1973) 35-49: Le cygne dans l'Égypte ancienne; see also B.v.d.Walle, LÄ V, 755-757: Schwan.

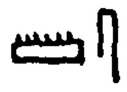
75. Two species, the Whooper Swan (Cygnus cygnus) and the Mute Swan (C.olor (Gmelin)) occur in modern Egypt. Ancient representations do not have the swollen cere of the Mute Swan and must, therefore, show one of the other two species. Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.150, noted of Bewick's Swan (C.bewickii): 'This species does not occur in modern Egypt, but either it and/or C.cygnus occurred in ancient Egypt.'

76. Junker, Giza II, p.84: 

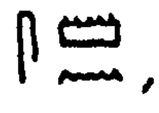
77. CD 339a: 'Nile goose'; cf Černý, CED, p.153; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.189a; Westendorf , Handwörterbuch, p.187.

78. Martin, Hetepka, p.14, n.1; pl.17(19): 

LD II, 69-70 (Berl 1108):

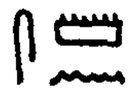
Hassan, Giza VI/3, p.103, fig.82, pl.46: 

Mar Mast C16:

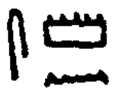
Berl 14642 (Wreszinksi, Atlas III, 83c):  ,

Mar Mast D2:

Mar Mast D3:

Kairo 1392: 

LD II,25:

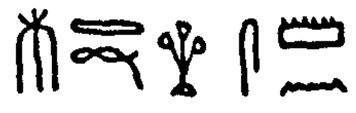
Mar Mast D15: 

79. Note that the patch on the breast is wrongly positioned in Egyptian representations; see BWP I, pl.57 and 61.

80. C.M.Kuentz, Archives du Musée d'histoire naturelle de Lyon 14 (1926): L'oie du Nil (Chenalopex Aegyptiaca) dans l'antique Égypte. See, too, L.Störk, LÄ IV, 484: Nilgans.

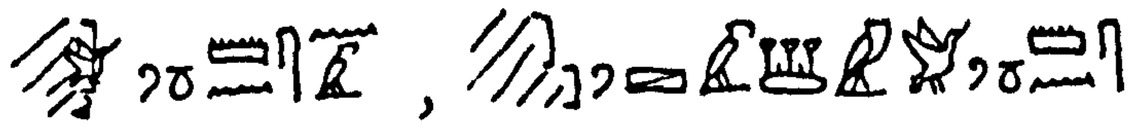
Weeks, Egyptology and the Social Sciences, esp. p.59-87: Art, Word, and the Egyptian World View, p.64, re-examined the evidence set out by Kuentz and suggested that 'the smn did not always indicate a particular species of goose, but referred rather to a goose that had been selected for certain magical and religious ceremonies. The goose might usually have been what we would call Chenalopex Aegyptiaca [sic] but the significant attributes were the functions the smn was to serve and the context in which it was used'.

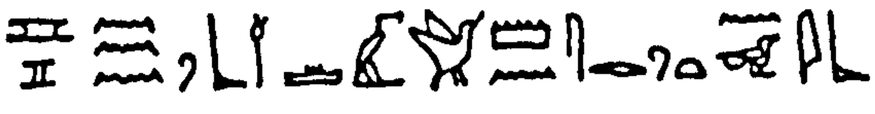
81. Stevenson Smith, Interconnections, fig.179:

Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1961) p.234, quoting a text from the Unas causeway: 

tr. : 'das Eierlegen der smn-Gans in Unterägypten'

82. Nauri 26:

O.DelM 1649, I, 3 & 6: 

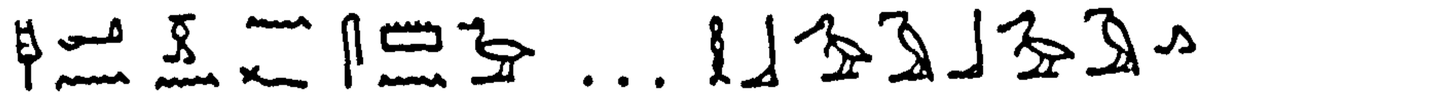
83. Lansing 3,5: 

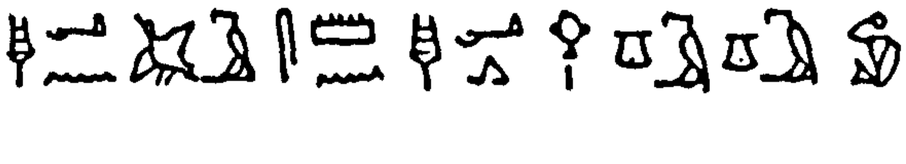
tr. Caminos, LEM, p.382: 'You are worse than the Nile-goose of the river-bank, that abounds in mischief. It spends (3,6) the summer in destroying the dates, and the winter in destroying the emmer. It spends its free time of the year pursuing the cultivators, (3,7) and allows not the seed to be thrown to the ground before it has got wind of it. It cannot be caught by snaring, nor is it offered up (3,8) at the temple, that evil bird of piercing sight which does no work.' (Also tr. L.Keimer, OLZ 30 (1927) col.353-354: [review of Kuentz, op.cit.]).

On this description of the smn see Brown et al, Birds of Africa I, p.239, regarding the Nile Goose: 'Food Grasses, other plant leaves, seeds, maize stubble and young growing crops... Major crop pest in Cape Province and Orange Free State some years'. Cf BWP I, p.448.

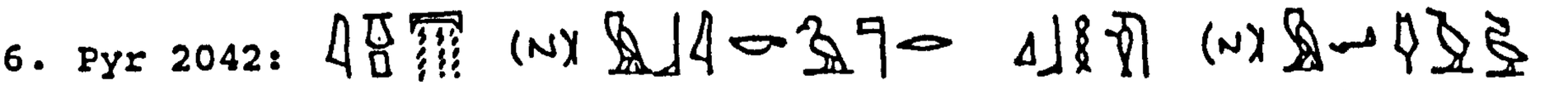
84. Eb 88,22:

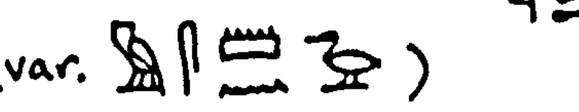
Wb. Drog.V, p.414; tr. Wb. Drog.IV[1], p.240: 'Blut einer smn-Gans'.

85. Westcar 8,18: 

8,21: 

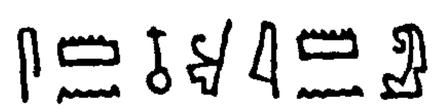
The ḥt-ʿ3 and smn were presumably readily available - if not domesticated, then caught wild and kept for fattening. Störk, loc.cit., asserted that Nile geese were not domesticated; note, however, their presence on the prow of boats in fishing and fowling scenes and under chairs in other tomb scenes, which might indicate that they were.

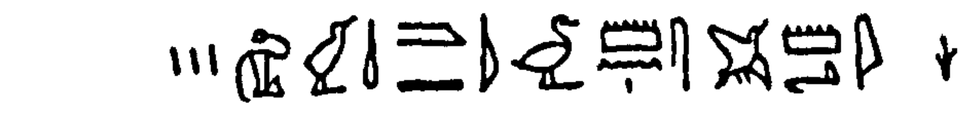
86. Pyr 2042: 

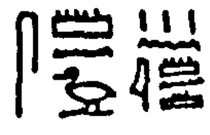
Pyr 1484: (var.  )

tr. Sethe, UuK V, p.427: 'er macht (sich die/seine) Arme frei weg von euch als (Falke/smn-Gans)'.

On birds in this context see also bik, mnt, šnty, etc, and L.Klebs, ZÄS 61 (1926) 104-108: Der ägyptische Seelenvogel.

87. Kairo Wb Nr 280 <524>: 

Leiden D19: 

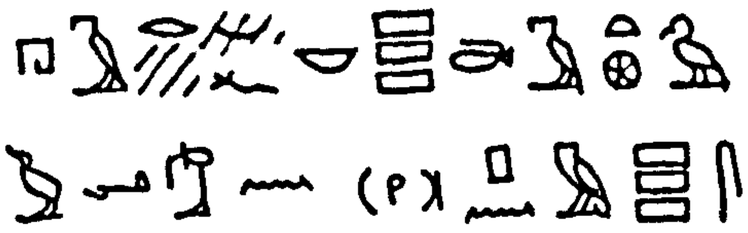
H. Kayser, MDAIK 16 (1958) 193: Die Gänse des Amon. A limestone block from the Pelizaueus museum surmounted by nine Nile geese is inscribed: 

cf smn named as a sacred animal on Geogr Pap, pl.10, frag.19:

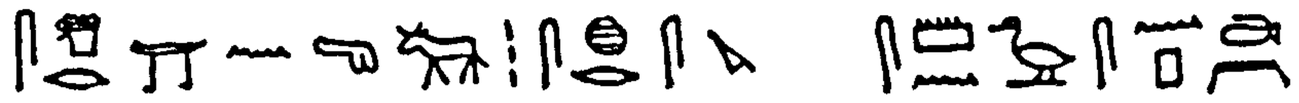
See too G.Wainwright, JEA 20 (1934) 139-153: Some aspects of Amun, esp.p.149, and Thausing & Kerszt-Kratschmann, Totenbuch, p.25, n.2-3. On geese embodying the male solar principle see E.A.Armstrong, The Folklore of Birds: an enquiry into the origin and distribution of some magico-religious traditions (Birkenhead 1958) p.45-47.

88. Pyr 746:

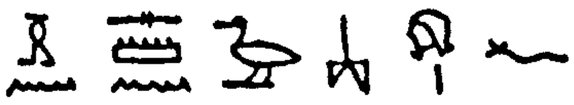
tr. Barta, Aufbau, p.28: 'die smn-Gans wird dir geköpft werden, die trp-Gans wird dir geschlachtet werden'.

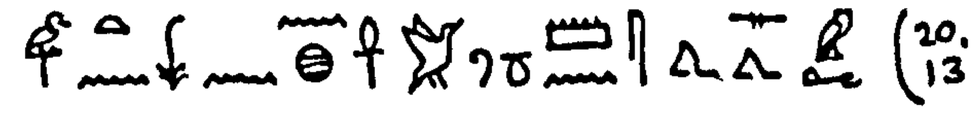
Pyr 1530: 

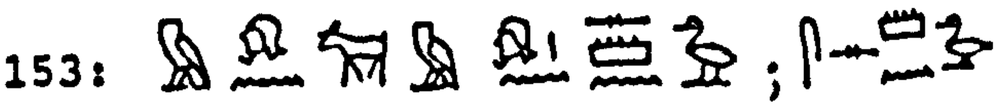
Urk V, 161, 4(MK) = 163, 6-7 (NK) = BOD 99:



tr. Allen, BOD, p.162: '<Its> bulls have gone to sleep; <its slaughtered> smn geese <have been> dismembered'. ('It' is the ferryboat, subject of this spell).

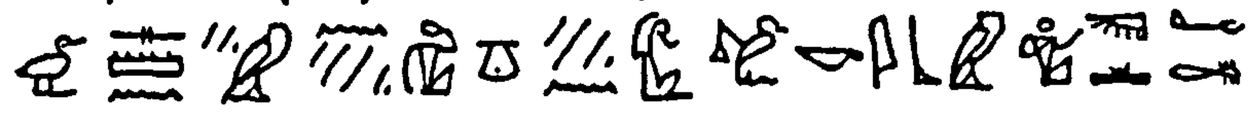
Theb Grab 78 <469>: 

P.Brooklyn 47.218.50: 

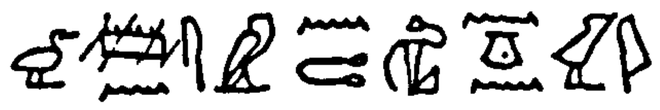
Dram Texte (Ram 45-46), p.147 and 153: 

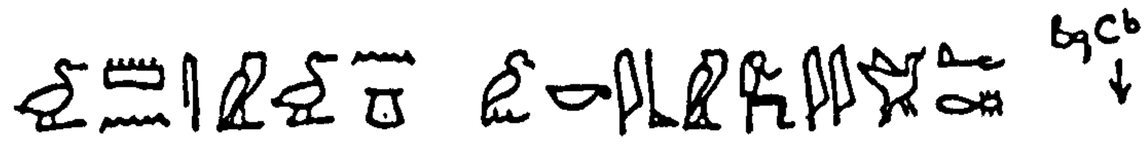
Cf Griffith, Origins of Osiris and his Cult (Leiden 1980) p.211, identifying Seth with the ỉb and smn sacrificed by Thoth; see too Barta, op.cit., p.89.

89. BWP I, p.449: 'Voice. Normally silent when loafing and feeding, but calls loudly and persistently in social situations'; the call of the male is described as : 'All variants of husky, asthmatic, breathing sound, strong and gusty' and of the female: 'Harsh quacking or trumpeting...rendered as guttural, cackling "kek kek"... and "honk-haah-haah-haah"'.

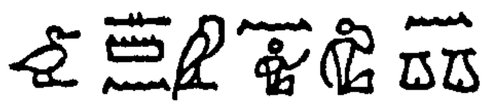
Urk V, 63;12 (MK) = 64, 4-5 (NK) = BOD 17,74-75:

tr.Allen, BOD, p.30 (para.52): 'I fly as the Falcon, [I] have honked as the smn—goose'.

Totb Nav 169,14:
tr.Allen, BOD, p.176: 'The falcon rejoices for thee; the smn-goose honks for thee'.

CT I, 74b: 
tr. FECT I, p.15: 'The falcon has screamed for you, the Goose has cackled for you'.

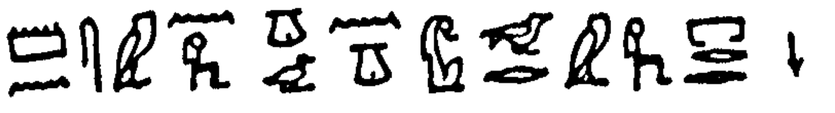
CT IV, 310-311 : 
tr. FECT I, p.265: 'I fly up as a falcon, I cackle as a goose'.

BOD 98,1-2:
tr. Allen, BOD, p.78, (para. S1): 'I have honked as a smn-goose; I hover yonder as this falcon over the pate and fragrance of Horus'.

BOD 82: 
tr. Allen, BOD, p.71.

BOD 149:
tr.Allen, BOD, p.245 (paras. S1 and S4).

Note that this term is used also of the noise of a falcon (Pyr 412, Gr Amduat, IV, 48-9) and a sistrum (AL 77.2239), and compare the term nḳꜣnḳꜣ, also of the cry of a falcon (Wb, II, 343, 4).

CT III, 98j: 

tr. FECT I, p.158: 'I have gone up as a swallow, I cackled as a goose'.

CT III, 130f: var.

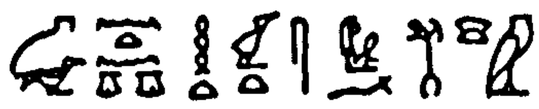
tr. FECT I, p.164: 'I have flown up as a swallow, I have cackled as a goose'.

CT IV, 23a:

tr. FECT I, p.209: 'I have flown up as a swallow, I have cackled as a goose'.

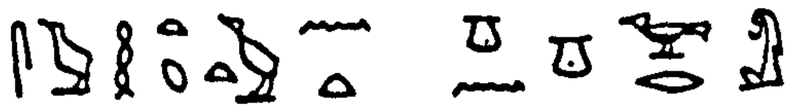
CT III, 144:

tr. FECT I, p.167: 'I have flown up to them as a swallow, like Thoth; I cackle to them as a goose, like the Wine-press God'.

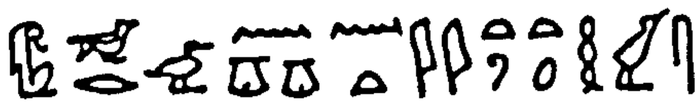
90. KRI II, 889, 9-10 (BM 947): 

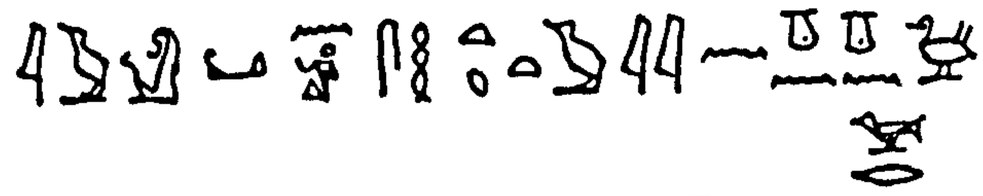
Cf Klasens, Statue Base, p.77, text a.2 (Mett 62):

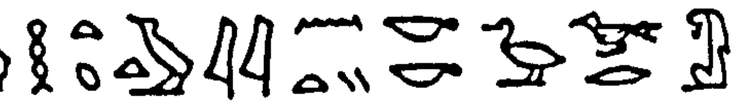
tr.: 'The egg of the smn-bird who has come from the sycamore' as an epithet of Rēʿ.

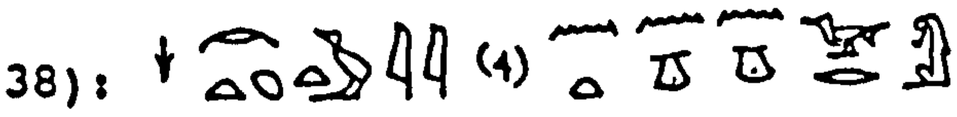
Kairo Wb <107> (Sethe 25,89): 

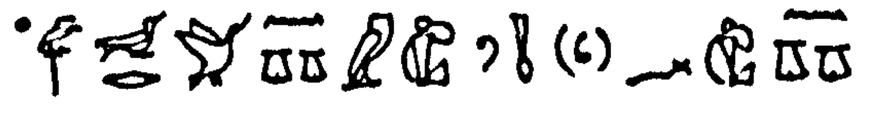
Deirelb pl.115:

Totb Nav 59, 2-4 (Ba): 

Tomb of Hui <1597> (Sethe 13,74): 

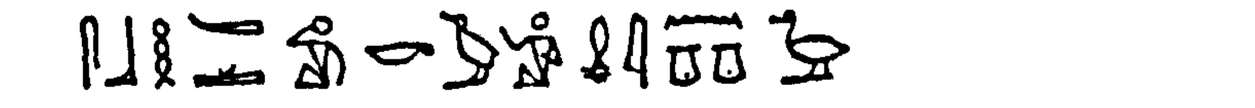
Paris Mus Guimet 5: 

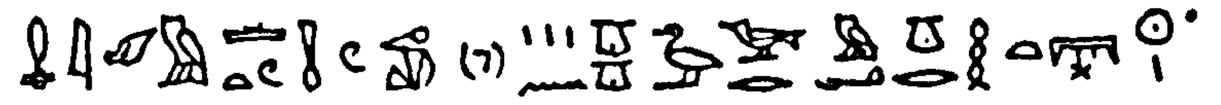
Berl 2296 (Vol.II, p.35-38, esp. p.38): 

P. Leid I, 350, rto 4, 5-6: 

tr. Zandee, Hymnen, p.66: 'Hij schreeuwde met zijn stem als Nag-wr'. See too p.69.

On the 'egg' see: P. Le Page Renouf, PSBA 7 (1885) 152-154: Seb [sic], the Great Cackler; E.Lefébure. ASAE 23 (1923) 65-67: L'Oeuf divin d'Hermopolis, p.67.

Theb Grab 159 <1407>: 

P.mag Harr 7, 7: 

Totb Nav 54, 2:

tr. Allen, BOD, p.53: 'Great Honker'.

Totb Nav 56, 5:

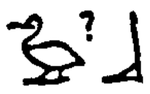
tr. Allen, loc.cit.

91. Theb Grab 159 <1404>:

92. L.Kákosy, LÄ II, 660-664: Götter, Tier-, esp. col.662: 'Die Gans des Amun...war zuerst vermutlich der Große Gackerer, mit dem Amun im Leidener Hymnus identifiziert wurde'.

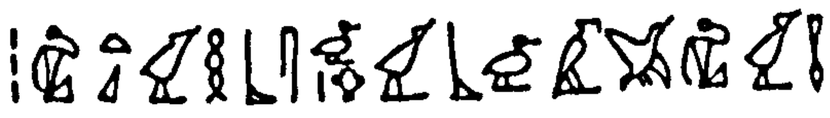
93. Eg James, BM Texts, pt.9, pl.50, No.354.

94. LD II, 61b: šd gb (see above for similar texts).

Cf gbw in a Ptolemaic amulet list published by J. Capart, ZÄS 45 (1908) 14-21: Une list d'amulettes, p.18, no.38:
 'Collier en forme d'oiseau, aux ailes ouvertes'.

95. Lieb Harr 21,1:

tr. p.16: 'Ich bin eine Wildgans, eine Jagdbare'.

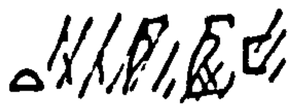
Lieb Harr 4, 7: 

tr. p.22: 'Die Stimme der Wildgans klagt (da) sie erfasst hat ihren Köder'. If the translation 'bait' (snake det.) is correct it would seem that gbw should not be understood as a type of goose; geese are grazers.

96. P.Berlin 10523 vso (Hierat Pap III, 9):

97. In E.L.B. Terrace, Egyptian Paintings of the Middle Kingdom (London 1968) p.26, a gb is drawn white with black markings, but so is a pintail (pl.22). I.Gamer-Wallert, LÄ I, 1228-1229: Ente, gave the bird of G38 as 'Weißkopfente'.

98. See n.3.

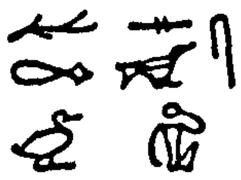
99. Beni Hasan I, 4: 
On the form of the word (root g3b) see Osing, Nominalbildung, p.302, p.851, n.1265.

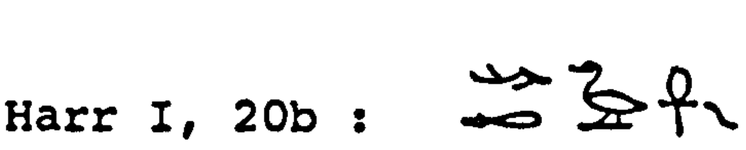
100. Montet, BIFAO 9 (1911) 1-36: Notes sur les tombeaux de Béni-Hassan, p.7.

101. Own observations, November 1985.

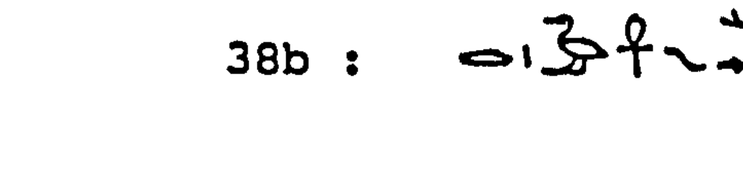
102. See n.3.

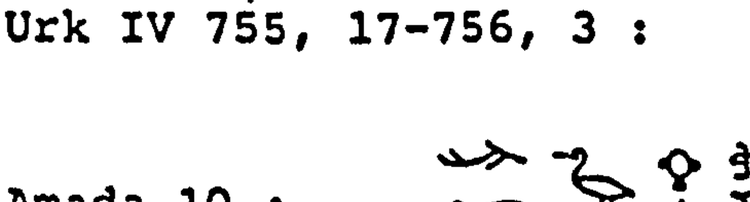
103. Davies, Birds and Bats, p.15, No.4. See here for references to previous descriptions of these scenes.

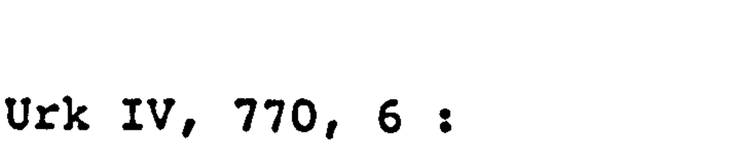
104. Ti pl.5: 

105. Harr I, 20b : 
1410

54b :
84

38b : 
3938

Urk IV 755, 17-756, 3 : 

Amada 10 : 

Urk IV, 770, 6 :

106. Westcar 8, 24 : 

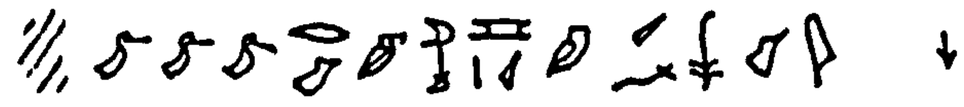
107. See n.3.

108. LD II, 54 : 

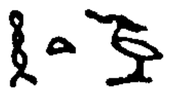
109. Totb Nav 109, 2; 169, 26 (texts above, r).

cf Traumb 11, 9 ·

tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.20: 'He will not descend into the West, but is placed [on the desert as a prey to?] rapacious birds(?)'.

MIFAO 6, pl.17 : 

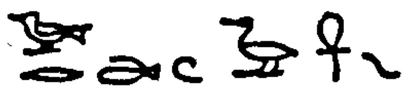
The word read ḥtm by Posener-Kriéger, Arch Abousir I, p.248 (D4) from Beni Hasan should probably be read ḥp (see above for this).

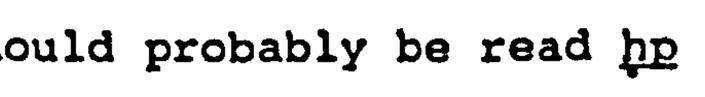
110. Fest Hall pl.22 : 

111. Beni Hasan II, 4:

See Davies, Birds and Bats, p.16-17, no.10.

112. Ricke, Geflügelhof, p.171: (see dndn for ref).

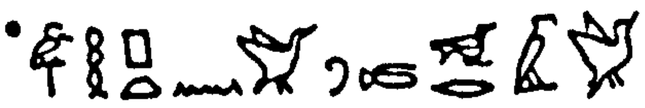
Harr 53b, 7: 

113. Harr I, 53b, 8 : 

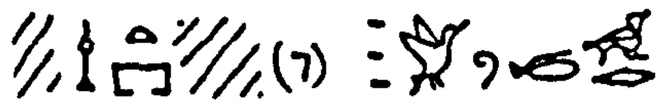
For fnd used of the bill of a falcon see bỉk. Compare also n.290 and 295 below for fnd of the ibis.

114. Compare similar lists where two different types of animal or bird are numbered together apparently as one category: eg Harr 38a, 2-3: r ʿnḫ, ḥtʿ3 3938) and Urk IV, 699 (ỉw3, wndw, tpỉ).

115. P.Tur P u R 88, 6-7:



tr. Condon, Royal Hymns, p.30, with comment, n.7.

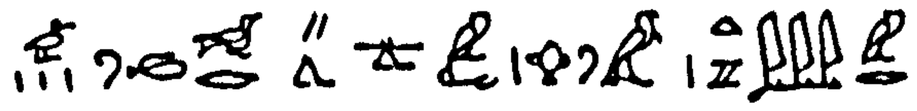
116. Sall IV, vso 4, 6 : 

117. An V, 7, 5 :

var. P.Ch.B. V, 6, 7-12:

tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.47: 'He is like a bird which is caught by the wing in a man's hand and cannot fly' (n.16) and 'Lotuses unfold, and wrd-birds are caught by the wing' respectively.

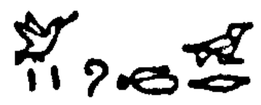
118. An IV, 3, 9-10 (= O.DelM 1086, rto 8):



while wḥ-rmw brings rmw.

cf O. Gardiner 28, vso 8 (HO I, pl.113, No.1)

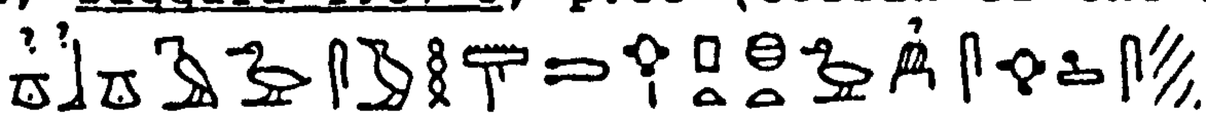
and O. Mich 43, 5 (ibid., pl.22):



119. P.Ram III, B, 15:

Wb.Drog. V, p.502; comment in IV$^2$, p.223 and Barns, Five Ramesseum Papyri, p.21; tr. Borghouts, AEMT, p.44: 'Oh ph-bird'.

Lacau in Quibell, Saqqara 1907-8, p.58 (Coffin of the Middle Kingdom), 1.50 :



120. Berl 14642 :

Ti 129 :

Mar Mast D 15 :

Berl 1108 (LD II 69-70) :

Quibell Ramess 37 :

LD Erg 23c :

Martin, Hetepka 17 (19) :

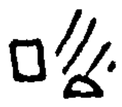
Junker, Giza VI, p.64, fig. 16 :

Mar Mast C16 :

Mar Mast D2 :

Badawy, Iteti, fig.20 :

Mar Mast D3 :



Borchardt, Sahure II, pl.56 :

Davies et al., Saqqara Tombs I, pl. 6 :

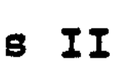
CAA Pelizaeus III, 59 :

121. This led Montet, Scènes, p.21, to compare it with the cormorant (ḏḫ).

122. See bd3/bdw. Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1961) fig.5.

123. The following birds are possible candidates: Widgeon (see wš3, however), Gadwall, Garganey, Pochard, Teal and Marbled Teal.

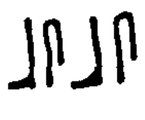
124. Festiv Hall, pl.22:

125. Ombos II, 61, 607:  for (bdw)

126. James, Hekanakhte, p.83, commented : 'There was evidently some confusion concerning the writing of the name of this bird...We do not know what sort of bird the pḫt was...in the Medinet Habu texts they always occur as being successfully hunted by the falcon (ie. King). In the mastabas and the present context the word occurs along with the names of domesticated birds. Possibly the bird was of a kind once domesticated but which in later times reverted to the wild state and as such was hunted'.

For references to ḥpw see bỉk (Ch.16: Birds of Prey).

127. Berl 1108 (LD II, 69-70) :

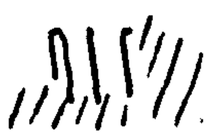
128. Martin, Hetepka 17(19): 

129. Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1963) p.97, fig.3:

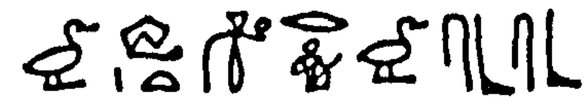
130. Wreszinski, Atlas III, pl.83b : Erismatura leucocephala (superceded).

131. Boessneck reported in litt. in Martin, Hetepka p.14, n.1.

132. Gardiner, AEO, pl.21, frag.C:

cf Sahure II, pl.56: 

133. Černý, CED, p.27; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.32a: 'Peut-être désigne l'oiseau <rapide> ou l'oiseau qui <sifle>'. Cf Osing, Nominalbildung, p.853.

134. Smith 19, 12: 

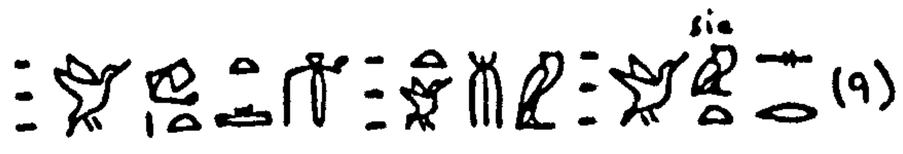
tr. p.482: 'the besbes-goose to me, and the green-breasted goose'.

tr. Borghouts, AEMT, p.16: 'or a green breast jump up (? bsbs) to me'.

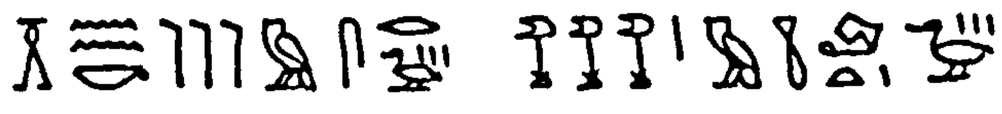
135. Beni Hasan II, 7 :

136. CT I, 270 (Text relig 22, Cairo Sarcophagus 28092):

tr. FECT I, p.58: 'r-geese, green-fronts, trp-geese, and the males of st-geese' ; Lacau tr. p.148 : 'gorge verte'.

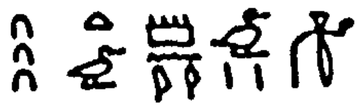
137. P.Ch. B. V, rto 8, 9 : 

138. Abyd Mar I, 49e (KRI II, 509, 16 ) :

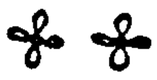
cf Champ Not II, 44 : 

139. H. Grapow, ZÄS 47 (1910) 132-134 : Die Vogeljagd mit dem Wurfholz, p.133 : 'Die [wꜣḏ-ḥꜣt] werden Vögel mit grünen Brustfedern sein, etwa nach Art unserer Wildenten'.

140. See BWP I, p.505-506, pl.68, for a description of this bird.

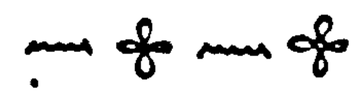
141. Sinai Nr.114: 

Compare also wꜣḏwy from Caminos, Literary Fragments, frag.11.

142. Mar Mast D.3 : 

described as : 'Une petite oie sans ailes'.

LD Erg 23c : 

Berl 1106 (LD II, 69-70) : 

Badawy, Iteti, fig.20 :

143. Wn could be read in LD II, 69-70 where wn is written twice over three birds; wnwn would be equally suitable as a reading and has the advantage of being attested elsewhere.

144. Martin, Hetepka 17(19) :

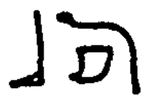
145. Meeks, AL 79,0666.

146. In Wreszinski, Atlas III, p.172-174: Schaefer called it Fulica (Teichhuhn) ; Fulica is the genus of the coot, while Teichhuhn, 'Moorhen', is Gallinula. The tree-duck, genus Dendrocygna, is found in East Africa today represented by two species, D.viduata (L), the White-faced Tree Duck and D.bicolor (Vieillot), the Fulvous Tree Duck.

147. Boessneck, Haustiere, p.33-35.

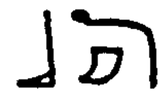
148. On the distribution of tree ducks (Dendrocygna sp) see Birds of Africa I, p.221-224.

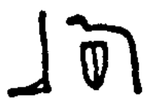
149. Mar Mast C16 :

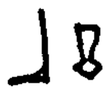
Mar Mast D2 : 

Mar Mast D3 :

LD Erg 23c :

Berl 14642 : 

Martin Hetepka 17 (19) : 

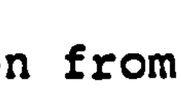
Badawy, Iteti, pl.21 : 

150. Beni Hasan II, 4 :

151. Davies, Birds and Bats, p.20, No.29: 'Unidentified species'; see here also for Wilkinson's comments.

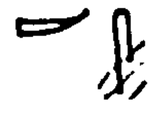
152. Houlihan and Goodman, Birds, p.100, preferred P.alchata despite the lack of the pin-tail on the Egyptian representation since the colouring most clearly resembles this species. See also Birds of Africa II, p.422-6, on these species; bdw is discussed further in Ch.17: Miscellaneous Birds.

153. Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1961) p.223 :

tr.: 'Das Kommen <zum> Delta <um> Fische zu fangen <im> kühlen Wasser von seiten des bdw-, ḥ3t- und des g-Vogels'. In order to interpret like this he had to assume that the g was an error (as ducks do not eat fish) and later also that bdw followed immediately on from  as he wanted to translate bdw as 'dove' (and doves do not eat fish either).

154. Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1961) p.223.

155. Birds of Africa II, loc.cit.

156. Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1961) opp.p.216, fig.3: 
(1963) p.92-6 + fig.1 on p.92.

157. Edel, op.cit., p.104.
cf Hilzheimer in Wreszinski, Atlas III, p.173, who identified it as P.caeruleus.

158. Wreszinski, Atlas III, pl.83c :

Berl 1108 (LD II, 69-70);

Badawy, Iteti, fig.20 :

Martin, Hetepka 29(55) (he read smn) :

Borchardt, Sahure, pl.56 : (Text vol. p.123)

159. See BWP II, p.588 (Allen's gallinule), p.578 & 584-5 (Moorhen) and p.600 & 607-8 (Coot).

160. Mar Mast D3 :

Badawy, Iteti, pl.20 :

161. Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1963) p.83.

162. Edel, loc.cit.

163. Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1961), p.227 :

164. On wḥꜥt as a toponym see Junker, Giza III, p.85, n.1.

165. Festiv Hall pl.18 :

166. Gardiner, AEO I, pl.1, 1.131 :

167. Sall IV, vso 4, 7:

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.335 : 'ḫrỉ-birds of the lord'.

168. L.Keimer, BiOr 14 (1957) 210-214: [review] p.213.

169. Beni Hasan II, 4 :

170. Davies, Birds and Bats, p.15, No.5.

171. Sahure II, pl.55-56 :

Three birds are shown; the head of the first is marked 's[chwarz]', the body of the second 'b[raun]' and the wing top of the last 'r[ot] b[raun]'.

For the reading wḥꜥt rather than wỉ3t (see below in the text for this bird) compare the fish-name wḥꜥt written :

(See Ch.18: Fish) and on other names shared by birds and fish, see 3bnn and rš3w (Ch.17: Miscellaneous Birds).

172. Wreszinski, Atlas III, pl.74.

173. Edel, op.cit., p.201.

174. Beni Hasan III, pl.2.

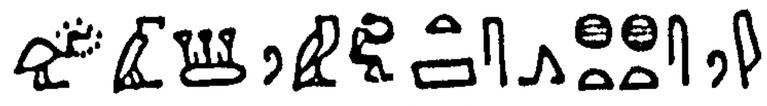
Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.70, fig. 96.

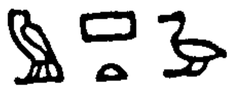
175. Berl 14642 :

Mar Mast D15 :

Sahure II, pl.56 : (Text vol. p.123)

176. Gardiner, AEO I, pl.1, 1.133 :

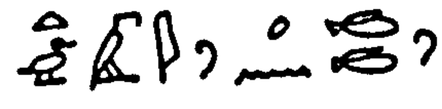
177. J.C.Goyon, BIFAO 65 (1967) 89-156:
p.142 (110, 14): 
tr. p.96: '(Alors) Seth fut chassé comme l'oiseau-wš3', with n.32, p.112: 'L'oiseau-wš3 n'est pas identifié, mais il faut peut-être le rapprocher de son homonyme <l'obscurité>. L'oiseau-wš3 serait alors une personnification des puissances mauvaises de la nuit, une émanation de Seth'.

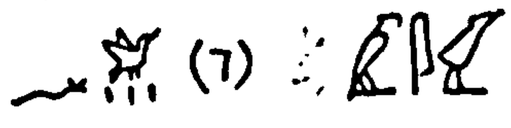
178. Martin, Hetepka, pl.17(19): 

179. See Wb I, 369, 2-5: mästen, variant writings.

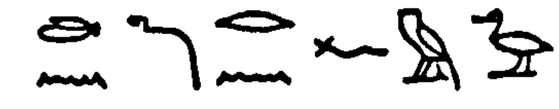
180. Martin, Hetepka, p.14, n.1.

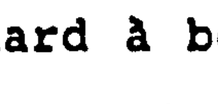
181. See BWP I, p.473: '[male has]... reddish-chestnut head and neck'.

182. Eb 63, 21 : 
Wb.Drog V, p.98; tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1], p.58: 'Galle des wiɜt-Vogels'.

183. Budge, Greenfield Papyrus, pl.59, left, 6-7 : 

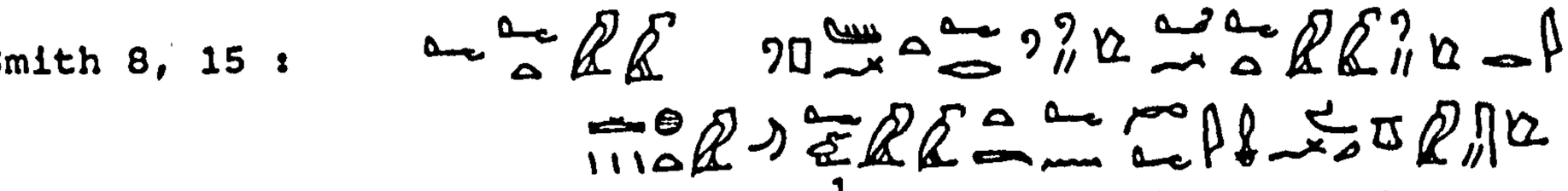
184. Caminos, Literary Fragments, pl.2B, 5 :
tr. p.10 : 'that I may watch the children of Ḥe-ēḥyt hurl throwsticks at the wiat-birds', with the comment : 'Wiɜyt is the plural or collective of wiɜt'.

185. Beni Hasan II, 4 :  (Wb's transcription after Newberry)
Davies, Birds and Bats, p.16, No.9.

186. Mar Mast D3 (p.181) : 
described as : 'Un canard à bec très long, presque en forme de spatule', possibly the Shoveler - Anas clypeata L.

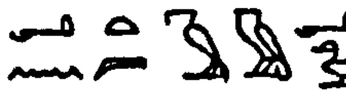
187. Beni Hasan II, pl.4 :
Coloured copies record a blue or black bill, blue wing covert (with black outlines to the feathers), blue legs and feet (possibly green-own observation 1985), white breast and thighs, white tail with blue streaking. Faint reddish-brown colouring on the head may indicate a cap of a different colour (own observation 1985).

188. See comments on sdḥ below.

189. Smith 8, 15 : 

Wb.Drog. V, p.324; tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1], p.186: 'Heilkunde eines sd-Bruches in seinem Jochschläfenbein' - to investigate the wound, first 'sollst du deinen Finger auf sein Kinn legen <und> deinen Finger auf das Ende seines Krallenknochens'. The gloss to the latter runs: ' das Ende seines Krallenknochens. Das ist: das Ende seines Unterkiefers . Der Krallknochen endet in seinem Joch-Schläfenbein, wie die Kralle des ꜣmꜥ-Vogels etwas packt'.
tr. '[Vogel]' Wb.Drog. VII[1], p.6; see too IV[2], p.147.

190. On ꜥnt see also Wb.Drog. VII[1], p.141-142.

191. Breasted, Smith, p.294: 'note that the phrase  "claw of the ꜣamꜥe" is treated as a single word, to which is appended the determinative . This is obviously the claw of some two-toed bird, inserted here more or less as a drawing or sketch of the birds claw'. His ornithological sources were unable to identify the ꜣmꜥ at Beni Hasan but also noted the Ostrich as the only two-toed bird.

192. W.R.Dawson, JEA 18 (1932) 150-154 : Studies in the Egyptian medical texts II , p.157.

193. Davies, Birds and Bats, p.18, No.20 : 'Unidentifiable'.

194. C. Gaillard, BIFAO 33 (1933) 169-184: L'identification de l'oiseau amâ figuré dans une tombe de Béni-Hassan.

195. In Ros Mon Civ II, pl.9, fig.12, Text vol 1. p.190.

196. On the gulls found in Egypt today see Houlihan & Goodman, Birds p.157:

| | |
|---|---|
| Hemprich's Gull | Larus hemprichii (Bruch) |
| White-eyed Gull | L. leucophthalmus Temminck |
| Great Black-headed Gull | L. ichthyaetus Pallas |
| Mediterranean Black-headed Gull | L.melanocephalus Temminck |
| Little Gull | L. minutus Pallas |
| Black-headed Gull | L. ridibundus L |
| Slender-billed Gull | L.genei Brême |

| | |
|---|---|
| Lesser Black-headed Gull | L.fuscus L |
| Herring Gull | L.argentatus Pontoppidan |
| Common Gull | L. canus L |
| Audouin's Gull | L. audouinii Payraudeau |
| Black-legged Kittiwake | Rissa tridactyla (L) |

They did not identify any of these from ancient representations.

197. P.H.Boussac, La Naturaliste (1909): Identification de quelques oiseaux représentés sur les monuments phraoniques, p.62, fig.2.

198. Found in modern Egypt - see Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.156.

199. The representation more closely resembles a gull than any other water bird.

200. Jéquier, Matériaux, p.110.

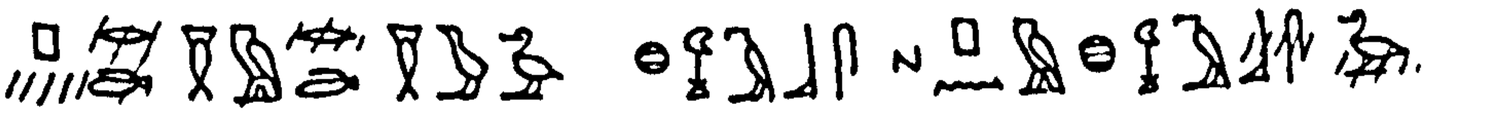
201. H.W.Fairman, The Triumph of Horus (London 1974) p.96; Grapow, Bildliche Ausdrücke, p.92 : 'Tauchervogel'.

202. Alliott, Culte d'Horus 'cormoran'; 'c'est un autre nom du cormoran (ḳ): "le piocheur"'.
Cf Roeder, Religion, p.123. Noted, but questioned, by L. Störk, LÄ III, 741-742 : Kormoran, col.741.

203. P. Ram III, B, 16 :

Wb.Drog. V, p.502; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.292 (a spell to quench a child's thirst) : 'ihre Brust in deinen Mund. Es ist dein Mund, es ist der Mund des ḫ3bs-Vogels über dem Ausfluß (rwj.t) des Osiris'. Wb.Drog. VII$^{2}$, p.649, tr. only '[Vögel]'. See also Barns, Five Ram.Pap., p.21.

204. CT IV, 26d:



tr. FECT I, p.210: 'You grow as a growing-bird, you glitter as a glitter-bird;' with n.5.
cf ḫ3bs with bird det. in CT VI, 285b (cormorant).

205. See BWP II, p.200-207.

206. CT VI, 33h:

207. L.Störk, LÄ III, 741-742: Kormoran, col.742.

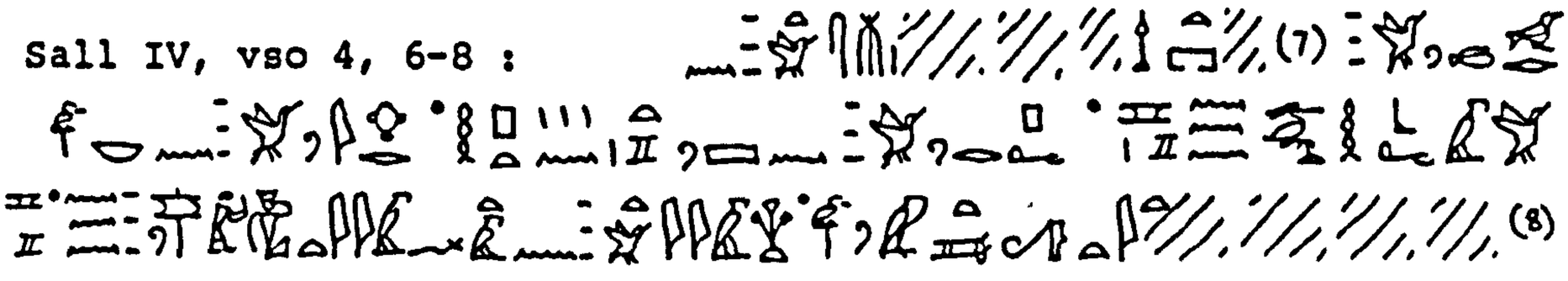
208. P.H.Boussac, Rec. Trav. 31 (1909) 180-181: L'héliorne d'Afrique.

209. See Birds of Africa II, p.146-148.

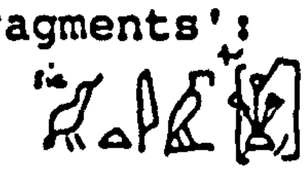
210. An IV, 1b, 6 :

tr. Caminos, LEM p.126-127: 'The.....rushes for the ỉrtdr-bird'.

211. Cf Caminos, op.cit., p.129, who referred to Burchardt, Fremdworte II, No.357.

212. Sall IV, vso 4, 6-8 : 

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.335: 'wrd-birds (vs. 4,7)....mst-geese of the inundated land, quails of Shi-n-Ptah, ḥrỉ-birds of the lord (vs. 4,8).... image of Atum; ḥ3yt-birds of To-faytjau' (comments p.349).

213. Gardiner, AEO I, pl.21, 'Unplaced fragments':
C4 (1.1): 
cf II, p.257.

214. P.Ch.B. III, rto 8, 9:

tr. p.17: If a man sees himself in a dream 'folding wings around himself(?), BAD; he will not be found innocent with his god'.
with n.11: 'H3yt, probably the same verb as , Wb III, 13. However, for "around" the text has mꜥ "with".'
In AEO II, p.258 (C4, 1.1), he suggested: 'but is not "having the head of a ḥ3yt-bird" a much more plausible rendering'.

215. P.Ch.B. III, rto 8, 10:

tr. p.17: 'copulating with a kite, BAD; it means robbing him of something'.

216. White Wagtail Motacilla alba alba L.

The wagtails recorded by Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.164-165 are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Pied Wagtail | M.alba vidua Sundevall |
| White Wagtail | M.alba alba L |
| Grey Wagtail | M.cinerea Tunstall |
| Yellow Wagtail | M.flava flavissima (Blyth) |
| Blue-headed Wagtail | M.f.flava L |
| Ashy-headed Wagtail | M.f.cinereocapilla Savi |
| Egyptian Wagtail | M.f.pygmaea (Brehm) |
| Grey-headed Wagtail | M.f.thunbergi Billberg |
| Black-headed Wagtail | M.f.feldeggi Michahelles |

217. Gardiner, Sign List G.31: 'heron (Ardea cinerea or Ardea purpurea)'; cf G.32.

The bnw-bird occurs as the determinative of bnw; it is a large wading bird generally shown with a crest composed of two long drooping plumes. From various representations in the funerary papyri Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, No.7, p.13-16, identified the bnw as a heron, Ardea sp., three species of which have been reported in modern Egypt: A.cinerea L (Grey Heron), A.goliath Cretzschmar (Goliath Heron), and A.purpurea L (Purple Heron). For further representations see those mentioned by Kákosy, LÄ, 1030-1039: Phönix; note that he mentions one case (Med Habu VII, pl.553) where bnw as a deity is depicted with the head of a falcon.

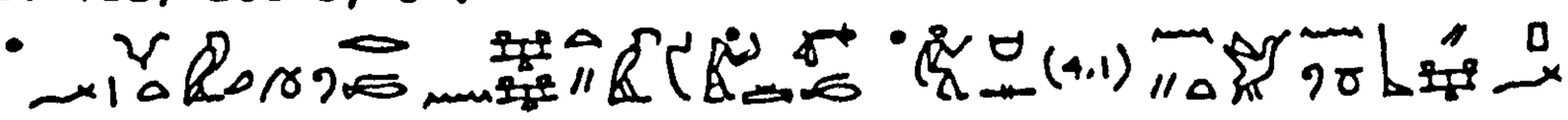
The colouring preserved in the representations - pale blue or greyish (these colours were probably not distinguished by the Egyptians; there are a number of examples where a bird's grey

colouring is rendered blue/green and vice versa) suggests the Grey Heron as prototype.

This was also the opinion of Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.16: 'there are enough depictions in which the plumage characteristics follow those of the Grey Heron for us to be reasonably certain that it was the principal model for the phoenix'. On the identification of the bnw see also P.-H.Boussac, La Naturaliste 27 (1905) 41-44: Le héron cendrée et la légende du phénix. Note also the comments of A.Wiedemann, ZÄS 16 (1878) 89-106: Die Phönix-Säge im alten Ägypten, p.105: 'Der Vogel selbst ist... die ardea cinerea oder wohl besser purpurea, ein Wandervogel, der den Sommer im Norden, den Winter im Süden zuzubringen pflegt'.

218. Clear examples occur in wbn in Pyr 207, 209, 210, 376, 1652, bnbn in Pyr 1652 and ḥwt-bn in Pyr 1652, Kairo Wb Nr. 163 <391>, Obeliscus Flaminius <6> a2, and possibly also in a text published by K.Piehl, ZÄS 21 (1883) 127-135: Varia, p.129, though read by him . Note too the coloured example of the hieroglyph from the Niuserrē‘ Sun-temple now in Berlin (line drawing published by Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1961), fig.4).

219. P.Ch. B. VII, rto 3, 8 :



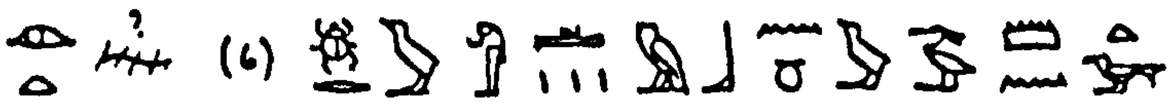
tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.58: ' That phoenix which (4,1) sat, two ends(?) of a sinew were drawn from its brow and made into seven knots' - for these 'sinews' see P.Tur PuR 118, 6 (quoted below).

On the amuletic use of the figure of the bnw see Malaise, Scarabées, p.56-59.

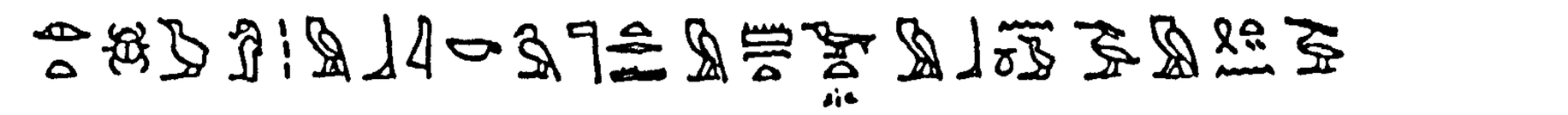
A term bnbn is found in a somewhat garbled list of bird names from Luxor (Mém Miss 15, pl.70, fig.209); if this is merely another writing of bnw it would add weight to the argument that bnw denoted a real species.

This is also indicated by certain texts in which bnw appears in parallel with the nwr, another form of heron family, depicted as nesting in Egypt. See CT VI, 286u; 2991; Pyr 1652.

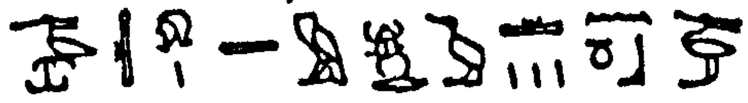
220. Urk IV, 113:

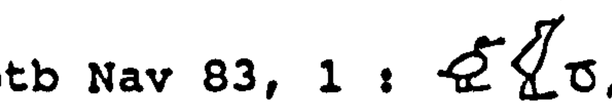


Theb Grab 96a <1861>:

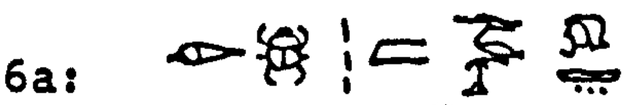


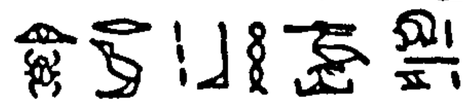
Theb Grab 96a <1865> (A wish for the deceased to be) :

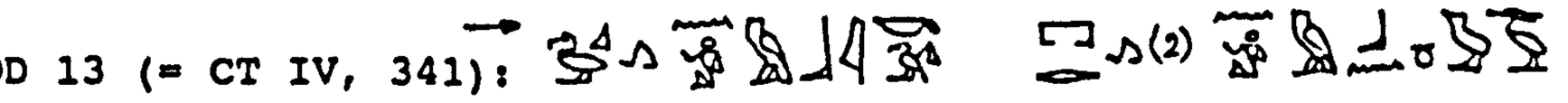


Totb Nav 83, 1 : 

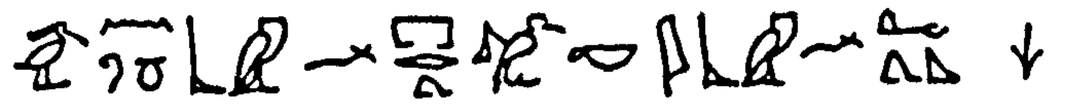
tr. Allen, BOD, p.71 : 'Assuming the form of a phoenix'.

cf Mar Mon div. pl.56a: 

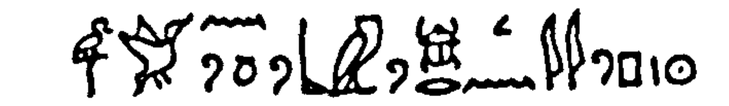
Louvre C64 : 

BOD 13 (= CT IV, 341): 

tr. Allen, BOD, p.11 : 'I have entered as a falcon; I have gone forth as a phoenix'.

BOD 122 var. 

tr. Allen, BOD, p.95 : 'I have entered as a falcon; I have gone forth as a phoenix'.

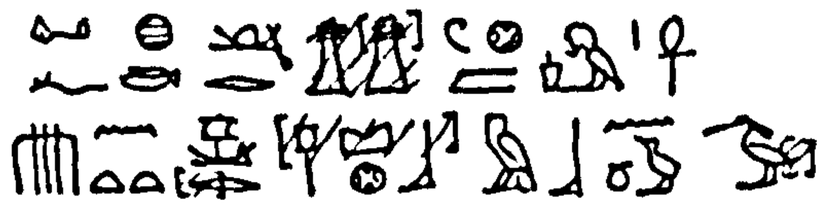
Cairo Calendar rto 18,2 (= pl.18 & 18A): 

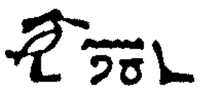
tr. p.28: 'DAY 12: A.A.A. Do not go out on it (i.e. this day) on any road 2. in the wind. It is the day of the transformation into Benu. Offer to the Benu in your house on this day'.

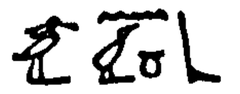
P. Louvre III, 1, col.52 (as quoted by Wiedemann; no text given).
tr. Wiedemann, op.cit., p.99: 'Ich bin der geheimnisvolle bennu, iche gehe ein, wenn er sich vereint der Tiefe; ich gehe heraus, wenn er sich vereint dem Himmelgewölbe'.

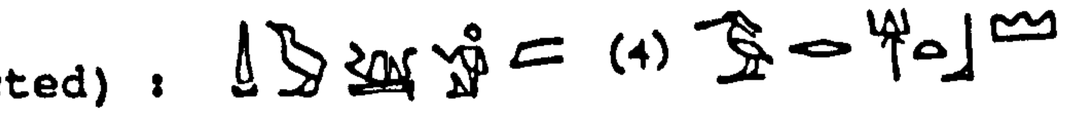
cf P. Burton:

tr. Wiedemann, loc.cit. : 'Ich gehe zur Ruhe in den Gefilden des geheimnisvollen Bennu, ich [gehe zur Ruhe], wenn er sich der Tiefe vereint, ich gehe hervor, wenn er sich vereinigt vor dem großen Gotte'.

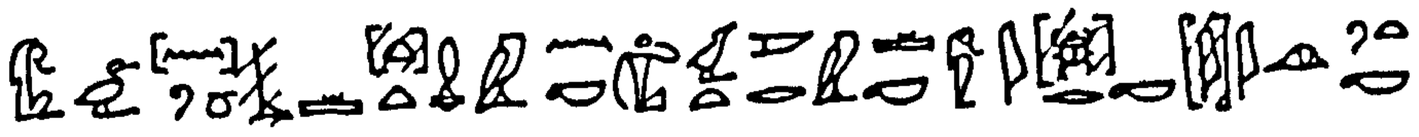
KRI III, 1, 14 (Th. Gr.106) : 

KRI III, 312, 16-313, 1 (Th. Gr. 41) same text: 

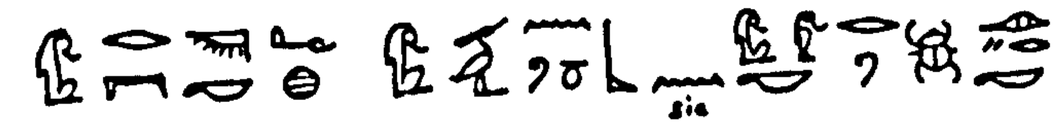
KRI III, 326, 7 (Th.Gr. 178) same text : 

cf KRI I, 316 (bnw depicted) : 

An I, 4, 5 :

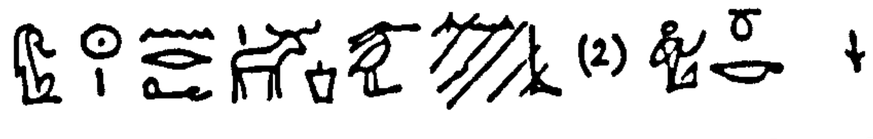


tr. Gardiner, P.Anastasi I, p.8 : 'mayst thou make thy transformations as thou listeth like the Phoenix'; tr. Fischer-Elfert, P.Anastasi I, p.37 (text p.54).

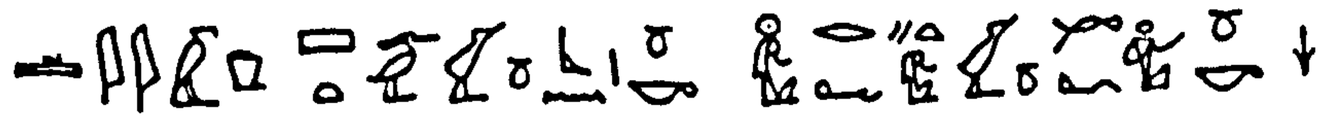
OLZ 17, col.152, 5,2 : 

tr. col.151 : 'Du nimmst deine Phönixgestalt an und fliegst zum Himmel empor'.

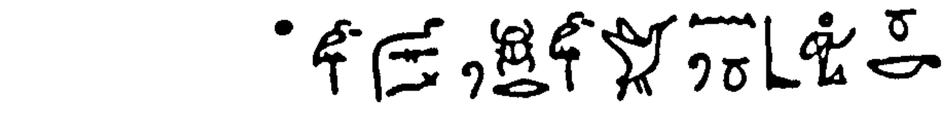
221. See Kákosy, op.cit., esp. col.1037-1038. The bnw was associated with the Sed-festival, the rising and setting of the planet Venus (called bnw, bꜥḥ or wsỉr) the recurring inundation (cf the hieroglyph for bꜥḥ written with this bird) and nḥḥ/dt ; on the latter see also below. Classical ideas concerning the phoenix are mentioned in ibid., col.1033-1034. Cf the opinion of Wiedemann, op.cit., p.105: 'Die Wurzel bedeutet: sich wenden, umwenden, sich winden, kreisförming Gewundenes; demnach bezeichnet  dasjenige, was sich umwendet, zurückkehrt, einen Kreislauf aufkehrt...Dieser Sinn des Wortes bennu erklärt uns auch den Ursprung der ganzen Säge vom Vogel Phönix'.

222. Totb Nav 29B2: 

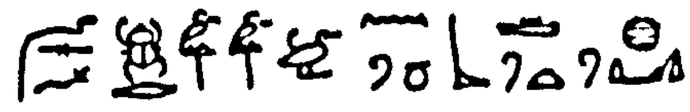
tr. Allen, BOD, p.32: 'I am the phoenix, soul of Re, who leads <the Blessed> to the nether world'.

Totb Nav 180, 31 : 

tr. Allen, BOD, p.192: 'I am the Son and Heir of Re; I am the mysterious phoenix'.

P.Ch. B. VII rto 5, 4 : 

tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.59: 'I [Rē'] am the phoenix which came into being of itself'.

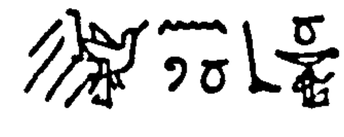
Cf P.Ch.B. IX, vso B, 17, 1 : 

tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.113 : 'The (god) Great-of-Magic purifies thee, the Phoenix, which came into being of itself, protects thee'.

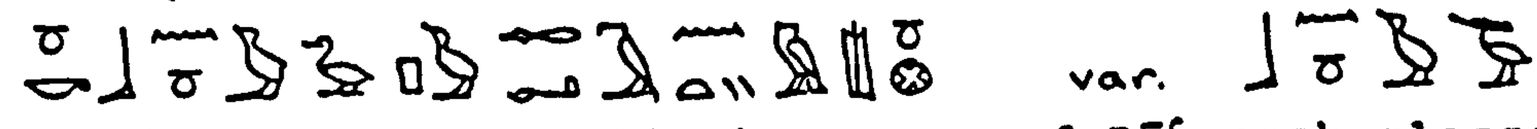
Cf bnw (as deity) depicted as a falcon-headed man in Med Habu VII, pl.553.

P. Tur PuR 118, 6 :

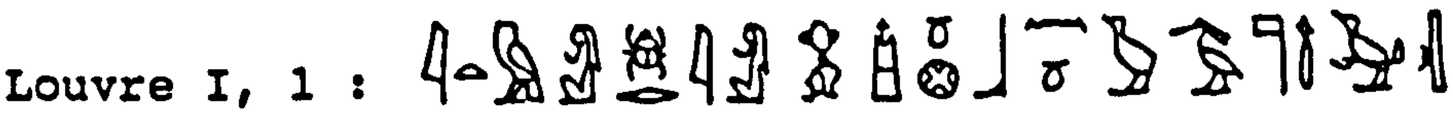
tr. Gardiner, op.cit., p.58, n.5 : 'N.Born of M, is like the sinew of the phoenix (or heron) that came into being of itself, which these gods gave me as an amulet of his [limbs] in the House of Rēʿ.

Cf O. DelM 1212 : 

& O. DelM 1436 (same text) :

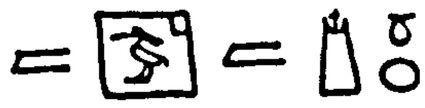
BOD 17 (= Urk V, Abschn.8) : 

tr. Allen, BOD, p.5: (listing names of Rēʿ, each glossed): 'I am this (great) phoenix that is in Heliopolis, the examiner of what exists'. In one variant 'what exists' is explained as nḥḥ and dt, day and night.

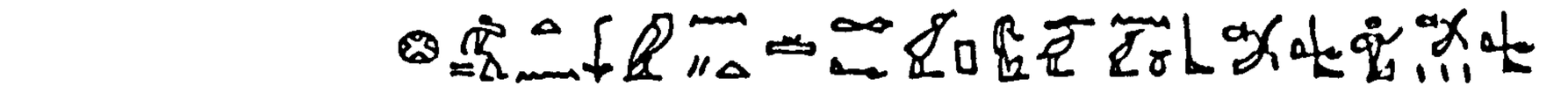
P. Louvre I, 1 : 

tr. Wiedemann, op.cit., p.103 : 'Preis sei dir Ra; gepriesener Gott...in deiner Schlange. Atum, der du entstehst über Heliopolis, bennu, großer Gott'.

223. See also Kákosy, op.cit., col. 1031, n.18-19 ; Wiedemann, op.cit., p.90-92 ; eg

Mus Guimet 5 <35> : 

224. Totb Nav 125, Einl. 21 :

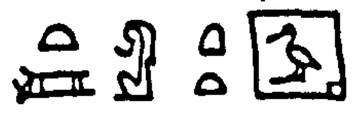


tr. Allen, BOD, p.97: 'My purity is the purity of this great Phoenix that is in Heracleopolis'. Text continues to mention Heliopolis.

225. See Kákosy, op.cit., col. 1031, n.21-25, 27-30; also Wiedemann, op.cit., p.91.

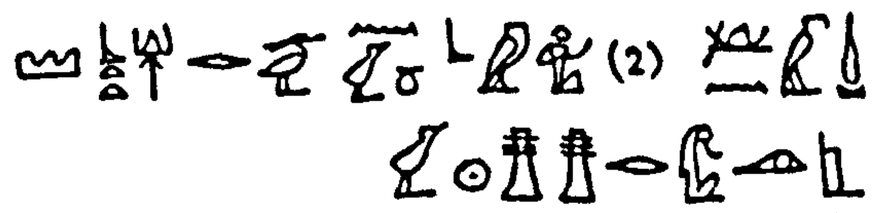
226. CT IV, 198-9:

tr. FECT I, p.260 (Atum's words): 'I am that great phoenix which is in On, the supervisor of what exists'.

H.Kees, ZÄS 83 (1958) 129-138 : Der Vezir Hori, Sohn des Jutjek, (inscribed on base of statue, l.4): 

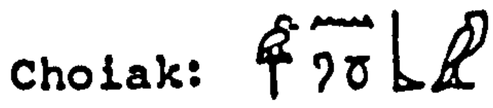
See too Myśliwiec, Atum I, p.78-79.

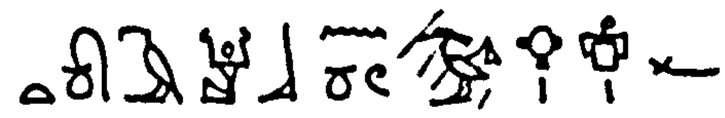
227. Totb Nav 100, 1-2 :



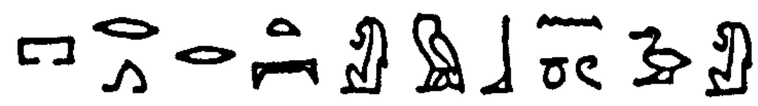
tr. Allen, BOD, p.82: 'I have ferried the Phoenix to the east, Osiris to Busiris'.

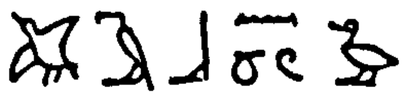
CT IV, 199 : (text above)
tr. FECT I, p.260: 'I am that great phoenix which is in On, the supervisor of what exists'.

Sall IV, 11, 2 : Osiris changes into a bnw on 12 Choiak: 

228. Urk VIII, 11: 

229. Urk VI, 113 : Hathor is called, among other things:

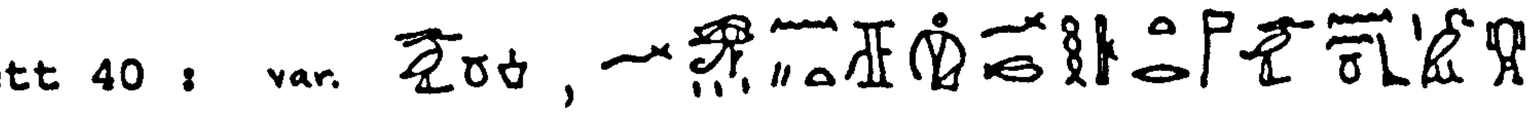


The parallel text reads differently, and seems to associate the bnw with Rēʿ : 

230. Note the parallelism of the bnw & bik in certain texts (see bik); also P.Ch.B. VIII, vso 10, 11-11,12 where the bnw ntry appears among the names of Horus (text quoted below). This text also says of Horus :'Atūm is thy name'.

Mett 77 :

tr. Klasens, Magical Statue Base, p.95, n. to f.15 : 'you are the great bnw-bird, born on the willow in the big House of the Prince at Heliopolis'.

cf Mett 40 : var. 

tr. Klasens, op.cit., p.56 : 'The protection of Horus is the divine Phoenix who sits in his eyes'.

231. CT V, 393, a-b :

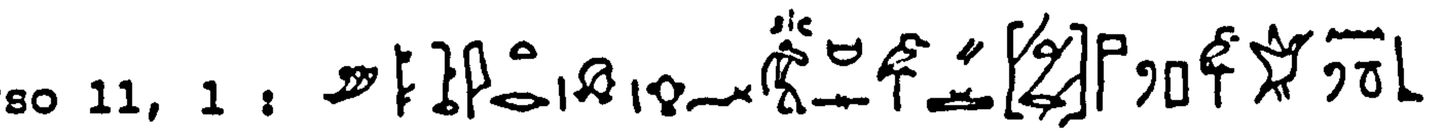
tr. FECT II, p.102: 'Anubis brings to me and his phoenix ushers in to me'.

232. Gr Amduat IV, 25 :

Cf the b3 dstyw in the form of this bird in Piankoff , Quererets pl.18 & pl.44.

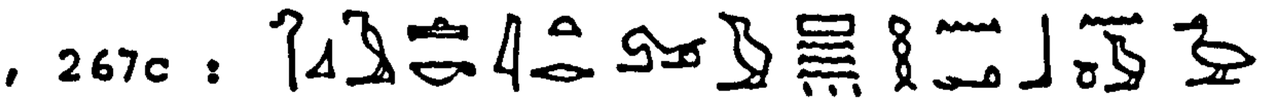
233. Urk IV, 591:

Mett 77; Mett 40 (texts above)

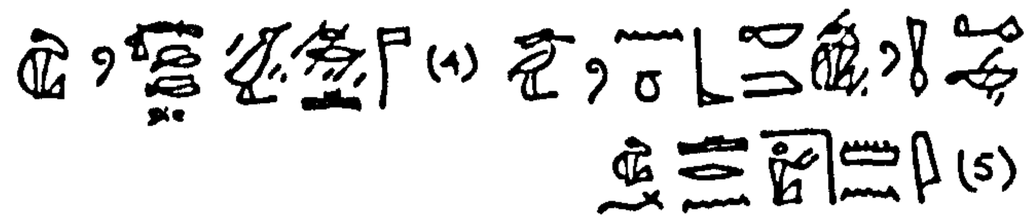
P.Ch.B. VIII, vso 11, 1 : 

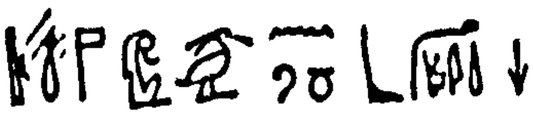
tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.75 : 'who are a divine phoenix that sits upon the top of a willow'.

See too L. Keimer, BIFAO 31 (1931) 177-237: L'arbre tr.t est-il réellement le saule égyptien (Salix safsaf Forsk)?

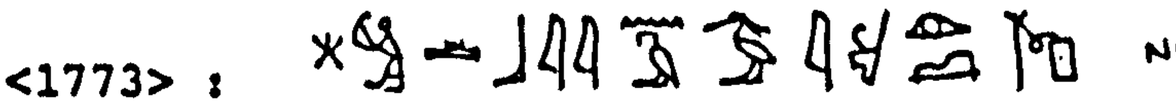
234. CT I, 267c : 

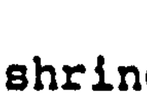
tr. Bidoli, Fangnetze, p.81 : 'Du beherrscht die Flüsse (des Jenseits) mit dem Phönix, nicht wirst du vom Ufer zurückgestoßen'.

235. KRI III, 323, 12 : 

236. Med Habu VII, 553 : 

237. See also Otto, Biographische Inschriften, p.135 (Bekenchons).

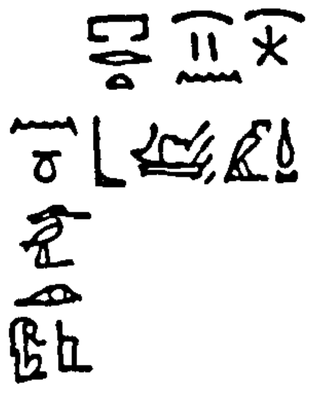
Theb Grab No.7 <1773> : 

Goshen 5,5 : on shrines :  and 

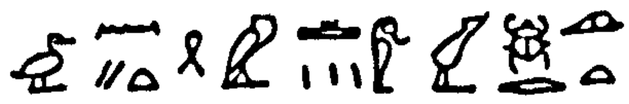
238. See Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.51 (pl.28-29).

239. See Kákosy, op.cit., n.102, for these references.

240. See Kákosy, op.cit., n.103.

241. LD III, 171 : 

242. Ranke, PN I, 97.

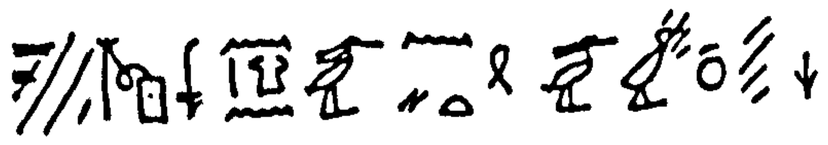
243. Totb Nav 84, 1: 

tr. Allen, BOD, p.72: 'Assuming the form of a heron.'

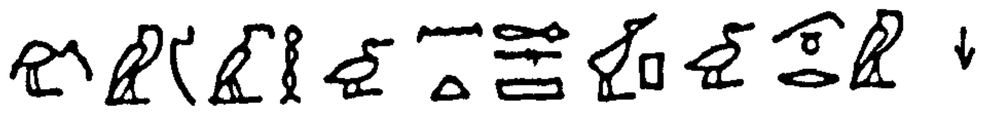
cf Theb Grab 96a <1861>: (text above, n.220)

& Urk IV, 113: (text above, n. 220)

Flor 1616:

Martin, Hetepka, pl.39, No.136: 

CT VI, 42:



tr. FECT II, p.121: 'I have escaped from its clutch as the great heron, the lotus-bird which catches fish; it eats on the banks of the Winding Waterway.' Also tr. Bidoli, Fangnetze, p.102 (421): 'als jener große nwr-Reiher, der seine Nahrung fischt auf den beiden Ufern des "gewundenen Kanals"'.

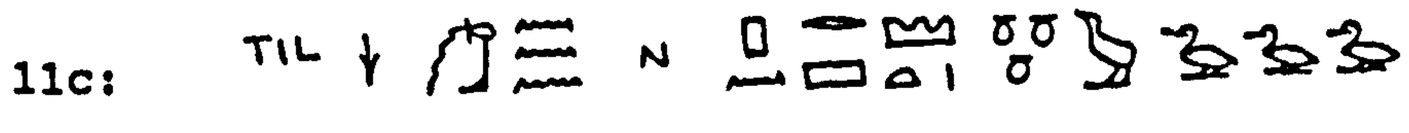
244. Depicted at Giza - see W. Stevenson Smith, AJA 46 (1942): The Origin of some unidentified Old Kingdom Reliefs, fig.11 (G 7120) and Simpson, Giza Mastabas III, fig.11(G) and p.3: 'The label nw over the heron may describe him as "the hunter"':

and, laying eggs, at Memphis - see Stevenson Smith, Interconnections, fig.179:

tr. Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1963) p.233: 'das Eierlegen im kühlen Wasser(gebiet) von seiten des nw-Vogels.'

Totb Pl 167.

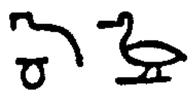
tr. Allen, BOD, p.216-7: 'Be gracious, bull [of Tanith]; how very wide awake [(art thou)]. Lion who is with [the Nw-Bird] when the form of the Eldest shines, Amon [the Paramour] is thy Name.'

CT VII, 11c: 

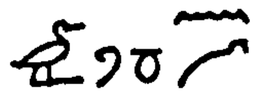
tr. FECT III, p.5: 'You bathe in the Lake of nw-birds '

Martin, Hetepka, pl.39: (text above; see šnty)

Meeks, AL 79.0891: "le phénix" restored bnw.

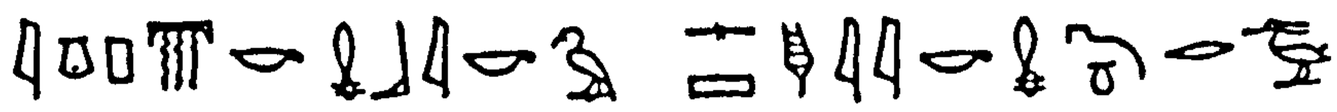
Festiv Hall, pl.22: 

in a list of animals in whose shape figures of gods should be made

P. Brooklyn 47.218.50, col.16, 10: 

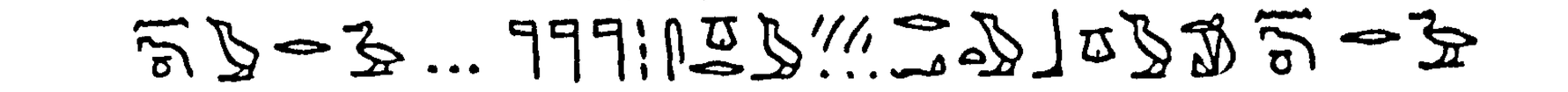
(nw discussed by Goyon, Confirmation, p.114 n.273).

Meeks, AL 78.2014, stated of the spelling nw: 'Ce serait une graphie défective de nwr 78.2028', apparently after Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1963) p.209, who mentioned there that he intended in a forthcoming publication 'die Lesung und Deutung des nw-Vogels... als nwr "Reiher" [zu beweisen]'.

245. Pyr 2179: 

tr. Faulkner, AEPT, p.305: 'May you soar like a falcon, may you fly aloft like a heron.'

Totb Nav 24, 9 (nach Nu 5, 9):

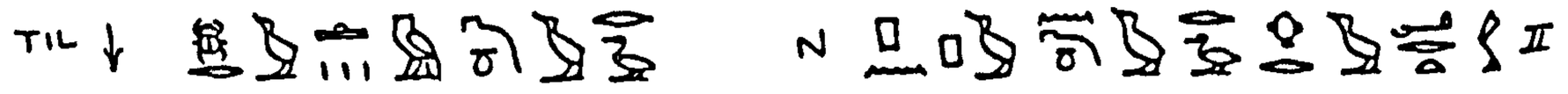


tr. Allen, BOD, p.37: 'When the nwr-bird is....., the gods keep silence; (but when) the nwr-bird's cry is given, <its news> is for the gods.'

Totb Nav 149, 49:

tr. Allen, BOD, p.144: 'I am this nwr-bird that is over the district (called) Limitless . I have brought the products of the earth (to) Atum.'

CT IV, 10:



tr. FECT I, p.206: 'Becoming a heron (?). I am a heron (?) on the limitless desert plateau, and there is brought to me what appertains to the land of Atum'. Cf Kees, Totenglauben, p.188: 'Noch stärker wirkt die magische Note in der " Verwandlung in der Nur" eine Reiherart, die vielleicht ein Sternbild bezeichnen soll.'

CT VI, 42:

'the great nwr'

CT VII, 233:

tr. FECT III, p.115: 'I am a heron which went up in distress (?) '

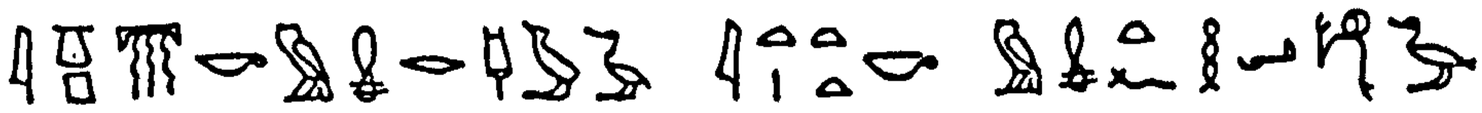
P. Ram III A17:

Wb. Drog. V, p.99; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.58: 'Ein anderes Heilmittel. hn.t (Balg?) des Reihers [....]'. See too VI, p.298: 'ein Reiher'. Barns, Five Ramesseum Papyri, p.18 compared the opinion of W.R.Dawson, JEA 22 (1936) 106-108: (open letter to Professor Gunn) p.106-107, on mcty, tr. 'two ends (?) of a sinew' by Gardiner. (See also bnw).

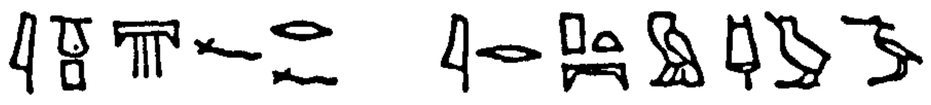
246. Pyr 891:

tr. Sethe, UuK IV, p.152: 'NN ist in Wolkenart zum Himmel geflogen als Mastbaumvogel. NN hat den Himmel geküßt als Falke, NN hat den Himmel erreicht als Heuschrecke.'

Pyr 1225:

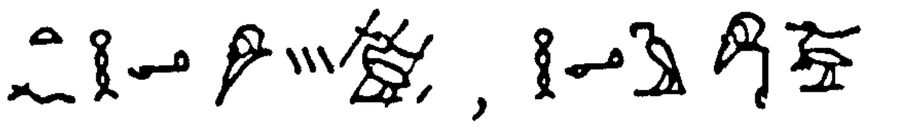


tr. Sethe, UuK V, p.124: 'N fliegt (Du fliegst) wolkengleich empor wie ein Mastbaum - Reiher, deine Schilfblätter (-Federn) sind wie des "Kindervaters" (eines Reihers).' In his commentary, p.125-6, he identified *ỉt-ḥ3* as a heron because of the parallelism with *ꜥḥꜥw*.

Pyr 1560: 

tr. Sethe, UuK V, p.510: 'Er fliegt in Wolkenart zum Himmel als Mastbaumreiher'.

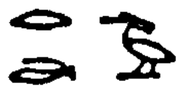
Jéquier, Matériaux, noted of this term, p.70-71: 'Nom d'un échassier, sorte de grue ou de héron.' 'Le verbe *âḥâ* "être debout", dont ce mot est sans doute aussi dérivé, s'applique particulièrement bien à un échassier.'

247. Pyr 1225: var. 

CT VI, 378 h:

tr. FECT II, p.285: 'within (?) ] the egg with the father-of-children-bird which is in the thickets of rushes', and suggested (n.10) 'a heron or bittern.'

248. Festiv Hall, pl.22:

Geogr Pap frag. 18 (pl.10) (note the crest): 

cf *nmỉ* roar, low, cry (Wb II, 265, 16-17).

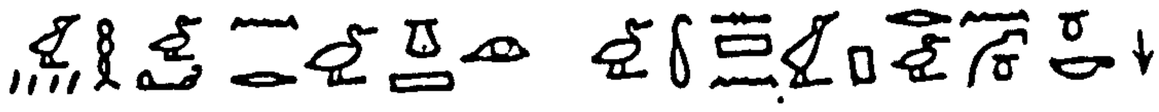
Festiv Hall, pl.18:

Although apparently not a heron det. here, and compared by Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1963) p.93, with his supposed pigeon name *šm*, note the heron-head sign reading *wšm* (Gardiner, Sign List H2). Gardiner also recorded the use of this sign as determinative in

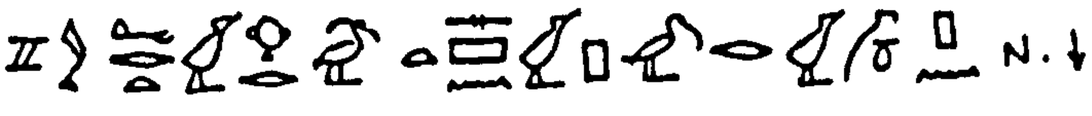
m3ᶜ 'temple' (of the head), varying with a duck-head det. in Mar Mast C1. Thus m3ᶜ is probably not a bird (heron) name. The use of part of an animal body even in words applying to the human body is found in many other cases, eg Sign List F21; F10-11-12; F20; F22; F23; F32; F45 etc.

249. Amduat IV, 43:

Edfu Mammisi 168:

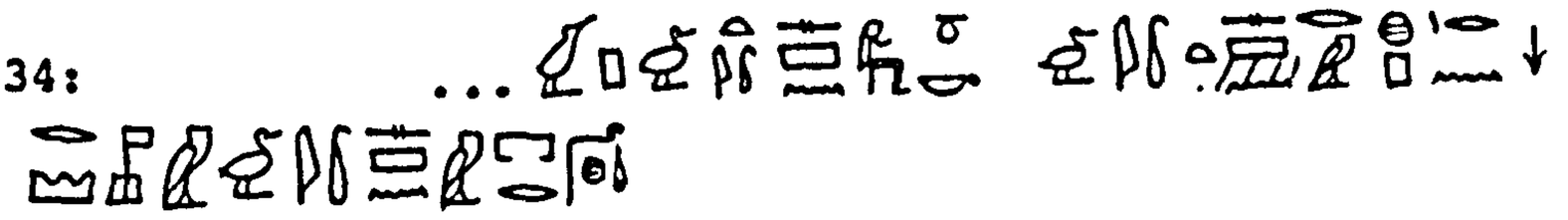
250. CT III, 79f: 

tr. FECT I, p.154: 'I am this lotus-hunting heron(?) who acts the gs-bird , who overawes myriads. '

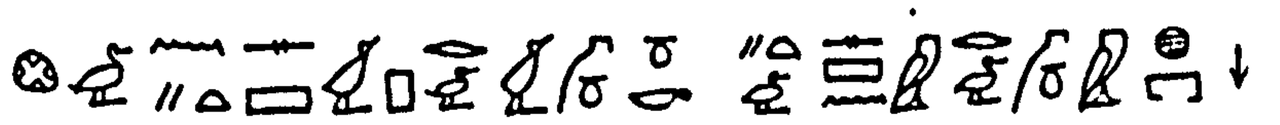
CT V, 45g: 

tr. FECT II, p.14: 'I am the heron(?), the lotus-bird which is on the limitless plain'.

251. FECT I, p.154; cf FECT II, p.14 (both above).

252. CT VI, p.334: 

tr. FECT II, p.265: 'SPELL FOR BECOMING A LOTUS-TANK BIRD . I am indeed a lotus-tank bird which fishes in the plains'. Spell ends: 'BECOMING A LOTUS-TANK BIRD IN THE REALM OF THE DEAD'.

CT IV, 43, a-b: 

tr. FECT I, p.218: 'BECOMING A HERON(?) OF THE LOTUS-TANK. I am a heron(?) of the lotus-tank, secluded and hidden. '

253. Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.146, noted the following herons from modern Egypt:

| | |
|---|---|
| Grey Heron | ) |
| Goliath Heron | ) see bnw above |
| Purple Heron | ) |
| Great (White) Egret | Egretta alba (L) |

| | |
|---|---|
| Cattle Egret or Buff-backed Egret Heron | E.ibis (L); now Bubulcus ibis (L) |
| Little Egret | E.garzetta (L) |
| Western Reef Heron | E.gularis (Bosc) |
| Squacco Heron | Ardeola ralloides (Scopoli) |
| Striated Heron | A.striata (L) |
| Night Heron | Nycticorax nycticorax (L) |
| Little Bittern | Ixobrychus minutus (L) |
| Bittern | Botaurus stellaris (L) |

254. On these birds and their ancient names see also L.Störk, LÄ VI, 9-10: Stelzvögel.

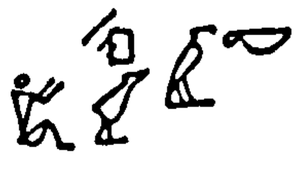
255. C.M.Firth, ASAE 29 (1929) 64-70: Excavations of the Department of Antiquities at Saqqara, pl.2 (and p.66).

(cf Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1963) p.138, n.28)

256. Beni Hasan II, pl.4:

See Davies, Birds & Bats, p.17, No.12, where she recorded this identification.

257. See Meeks, AL 78.2364: 'un oiseau. Ce mot doit être supprimé. Lire simplement šȝw'. Note, however, the fish name rš3t. For another bird and fish sharing the same name see ȝbnn and for the practice of transferring the names of birds to aquatic animals see E.de Saint-Denis, Le vocabulaire des animaux marins en latin classique (Paris 1947).

258. Beni Hasan II, pl.4: 

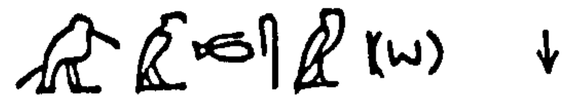
259. Davies, Birds & Bats, p18, no.15. The bird has greenish-yellow head, legs and bill, while the body is reddish (own observation 1985). Assuming that the red colouring may be interpreted as brown, the colours are broadly those of either the Bittern or the Squacco Heron; the plumage of the Bittern is darker.

The bird's name means 'hider' (cf Wb V, 104, 14-17: sich verstecken, sich verbergen) and for this reason the identification of Bittern was adopted by Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1963) p.198-

199. Note the description of this bird in Field Guide, p.26: 'skulking, solitary and usually crepuscular, hiding in reeds by day.' Since this is also a characteristic of the Squacco Heron (Field Guide, p.24 : 'More crepuscular and skulking than Little Egret. Usually solitary') it is the bird's posture which should be considered diagnostic (Field Guide, p.10 - of bittern - 'Bill often pointed upwards.')

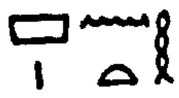
260. See previous note.

261. CD 114a:'partridge'; Černý, CED, p.60: '(Egyptian) partridge'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.67: 'Rebhuhn, Flughuhn'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.84.

262. Pyr 272: 

tr. 'Zittern' by Sethe, UuK I, p.283.

263. Faulkner, AEPT p.39 (Pyr 126): 'the Great Egret who went up from the cultivation'; p.303 (Pyr 2152): 'for he [= king] is the Egret which went up from the cultivation'; but cf p.62 (Pyr 272): 'trembling'.

264. Beni Hasan II, pl.4: 

For the spelling compare Wb III 105,6 : Gewässer am Himmel.

265. Störk, Fauna, col.132, after Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1963) p.196: Alcedo atthis, Common Kingfisher.
For comparison see both spp of kingfisher (common & pied) in Junker, Giza IV, fig.8. This identification was recorded by Davies, Birds & Bats, p.18, No.18: 'Perhaps a kingfisher (so named by Wilkinson), but identification doubtful'.

In order to support this identification Edel compared ḥnt (Wb III, 105, 1: Gewässer, Kanal) and the opinion of Meinertzhagen: 'Fishing habits much the same as Ceryle rudis [Pied Kingfisher], but more often found in irrigation ditches and smaller waters than the larger species'.

However, the length of the legs of this bird as depicted at Beni Hasan indicate that it was not a kingfisher.

266. Note too the upward-pointing position of its bill.
Davies, loc cit., recorded from the notes she studied that the bird had a 'white' or 'streaky blue on white' body, with green patches 'on back of head', 'on breast, wing covert, and tail', 'red patch below', though little of this now remains (own observation 1985). Field Guide, p.25, described the Little Bittern as having a 'dark crown and upper parts, very conspicuous buffish-white wing-coverts and under-parts. Male's crown and back are greenish-black'.

267. Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.147.

268. Gmt has been considered as the ancestor of demotic kimy (DG 560), Coptic ϬΑΙΜΕ (CD 818a: 'hen, domestic fowl'). For more on this see below (skm).

269. Ibis comata appears à number of times in Egyptological literature as the identity of the 3ḫ bird: eg Gardiner, Sign List G.25; Montet, Notes de lexicographie, p.7; Griffith, Hieroglyphs, p.21, fig.118; still noted, and used in preference to G.eremita, by A.-P.Zivie, LÄ III, 115-121: Ibis, col.116. This bird is also known as the Bald Ibis or Waldrapp.

270. Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, No.16, p.31-32; L.Keimer, CdE 29, No.58 (1954) 237-240: Interprétation de plusieurs représentations anciennes d'ibis; id., ASAE 30 (1930) 1-26: Quelques hiéroglyphes...p.24-25; id., ASAE 38 (1938) 253-263: Sur l'identification de l'hiéroglyphe nḫ, p.263, with fig.31, referring to his earlier article.

271. Cf Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, No.14, p.26-27, and Keimer, ASAE 30 (full reference in previous note) p.20-21.

272. Keimer, Pendeloques, p.[92], translated the name of this ibis as: 'celui qui trouve', with p.[185]: 'En donnant à cet oiseau le nom de "celui qui trouve", les anciens Égyptiens ont sans doute pensé non seulement à ce que l'ibis trouve, mais aussi à ce qu'il anéantit en le mangeant : insects nuisibles, etc.' Osing, Nominalbildung, p.616, n.615.

Cf An IV, 2,1:

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.127: 'The black ibis breaks up the cucumber-beds ....' (comment p.130-131).

Note the pun between gm and gmt in CT VI, 97:

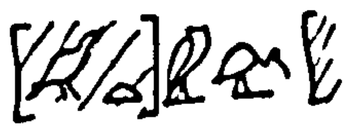
tr. FECT II, p.145: 'See, the eye has gone forth over the waters which I have found as an ibis; see, the Eye has forth over the waters in the presence of the Great One.'

273. Montet, loc.cit.: ' a deux sens = "brillant" et "utile". Or, l'ibis Comata, que représente le signe , a un plumage excessivement brillant. Son nom veut donc dire "le brillant"'.

274. Goshen 6,5:

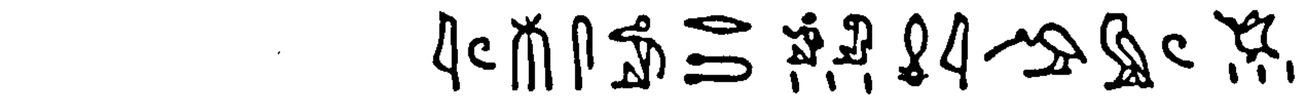
275. Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1961) pl.3, opp. p.216:

276. BWP I, p.340: 'EGYPT : no longer breeding, but possibly did so fairly recently (Meinertzhagen 1930); now passage visitor, mostly late April to June.'

277. AEO I, pl.21 (Unplaced fragments) C4, x+3: 

278. Field Guide, p.28.

279. Admon 2, 8:



tr. p.26: 'Forsooth, men are like gm-birds. Squalor (?) is throughout the land. There is none whose clothes are white in these times'. Gardiner noted of the comparison: 'The allusion may be either to its sombre colouring, or to its habit of wallowing in the mud'. Cf W.K.Simpson ed., The Literature of ancient Egypt (New Haven & London 1973) p.212, n.2: 'In what way men resemble ibises is not clear, but the context suggests that the quality they share is dirt' and R.O.Faulkner, JEA 50 (1964) 24-36: Notes on 'The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage', p.25: 'Gmw here is almost certainly a writing of the plural of gmt "black ibis"...In what way men resemble ibises rather than other birds is not explained, but the context suggests the quality shared between men and ibises was uncleanness.'

280. Restored by Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1961) p.223 & (1963) p.102; the representation in (1961) pl.5 opp. p.216. Only the wing of the bird and part of its back remains:

281. Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1961) p.237: 'Da für Ibis religiosa [sic] und den Schopfibis (Comatibis eremita [sic]) bereits die Namen hb bez. ꜥḥ bekannt sind, scheint der thn-Ibis nur noch mit Ibis ibis [sic] gleichgesetzt werden zu können'. He doubted modern records of the presence of this latter bird in Egypt and concluded that: 'Es wird hier wieder ganz deutlich, daß sich die alten Verhältnisse heute verändert haben'. Note that Ibis ibis (now Mycteria ibis) denotes not an ibis but the Yellow-billed Stork widespread in Africa south of the Sahara.

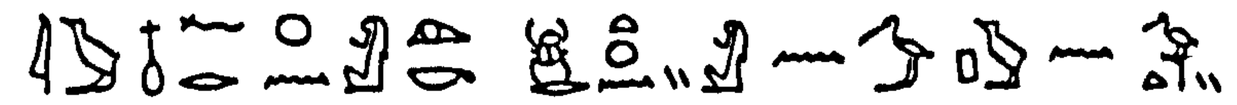
Edel also noted Keimer's assumption (ASAE 30, p.26) that the Hadada, I.hagedasch (now Hagedashia or Bostrychia hagedash (Latham) and the Wattled Ibis I.carunculata (now Bostrychia carunculata (Rüppell)) were native to ancient Egypt although he knew no depictions of these birds. The former species occurs in sub-Saharan Africa, the latter in the Ethiopian highlands.

282. Eg Zivie, op.cit., col.116: 'Le mot thn , attesté dès les Pyr. , devient très courant dans les temples tardifs. Employés dans des epithètes de Thot, il semble ainsi désigner l'ibis religiosa [sic], animal par excellence de ce dieu. À partir du NE, ce même ibis reçoit aussi le nom de hb(i).'

283. See Wb Belegstellen. Note also the writing of Thoth with in the cryptic texts of the period, believed to be derived (on the acrophonic principle) from thn (cf Pyr .
See C.J. Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth (Leiden 1973) p.106 and K.Martin, Ein Garantsymbol des Lebens (Hildesheim 1977): HÄB 3, p.33, n.2.

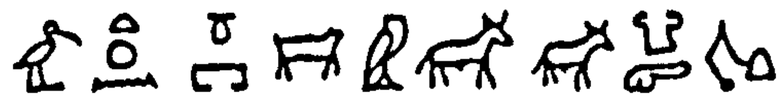
284. See Zivie, loc. cit.

285. Himmelskuh 72:



Martin, op.cit., p.34, read: 'Schön is das hn, das du machst: so entstand der thnj (Vogel) des Thoth' (assuming the 'n' between and to be erroneous).

Cf Destr 71:

286. Pyr 425: 

tr. Sethe, UuK II, p.191: 'Es kämpfen die beiden Stiere im Innern des Ibis'; he suggested that the 'bulls' were in fact scorpions, as ibises eat these (p.193). Neither BWP I, p.349, nor Birds of Africa I, p.200, record scorpions in the diet of the Sacred Ibis, though grasshopper, spiders, crustaceans, reptiles and amphibians are included. The Bald Ibis does take scorpions (BWP I, p.345; Birds of Africa I, p.203), however.

Cf Pyr 690; tr. ibid III, p.263: 'Die beiden Stiere sind (jetzt) in dem Ibis'.

See also Zivie, op.cit., col.119, n.15.

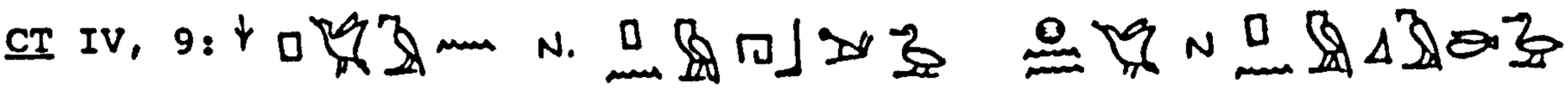
287. Osing, Nominalbildung, p.616, n.615.

288. CD 655b; Černý, CED, p.274; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.354; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.289.

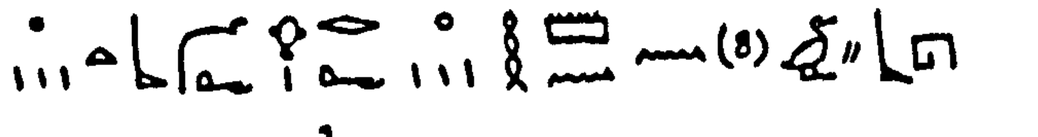
289. Amenemope 17,7:

tr. I.Grunach, Untersuchungen zur Lebenslehre des Amenemope (München & Berlin 1972): MÄS 23, p.112: 'Der Schnabel des Ibis ist der Finger des Schreibers'.

Note also the reference from the Coffin Texts:

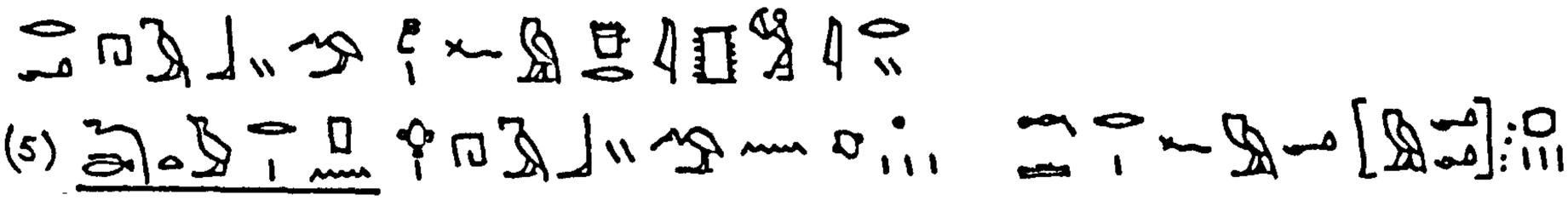
CT IV, 9: 

tr. FECT I, p.205: 'Becoming an ʿwʿ-bird. I have flown up as an ibis, I have alighted as a ḳ3d-bird', which is perhaps the best evidence for the existence of the term prior to the New Kingdom.

290. Eb 94,7: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.486; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.282: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Veranlassen, daß die Gebärmutter an ihre Stelle zurückgeht (h3i) . ein Ibis aus Wachs, werde auf Holzkohlen gegeben; werde veranlaßt, daß der Rauch davon zu ihrem Genital (ỉwf) eintritt.'

P.med Lond 14,5:



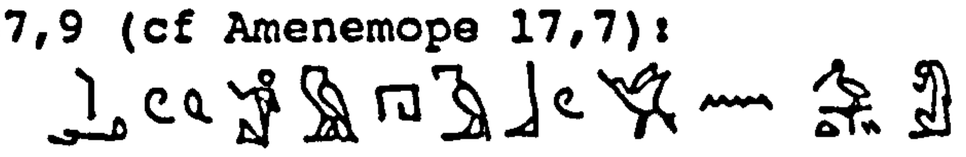
Wb. Drog. V, p.361; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.207: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel). Es sondert sich ab (wḏʿ) die Flut (ʒbb.t) vorn am Grabe im Jahre des [....] ...aufstiegen zum Himmel, sagt Geb dazu. Es gibt der Ibis seinein Schnabel (fnd) in das dazugehörige ḏrj. Gesagt wird dieser Spruch über einem Ibis aus Ton, dessen Schnabel (r3) mit ʿmʿʿ - Teil der Gerste gefüllt ist, werde sein Schnabel (r3) gegeben in [die Öffnung (r3)] der Wunde. Es (das Heilmittel) ist gut gewesen <schon> in der Zeit Amenophis' des Dritten.'

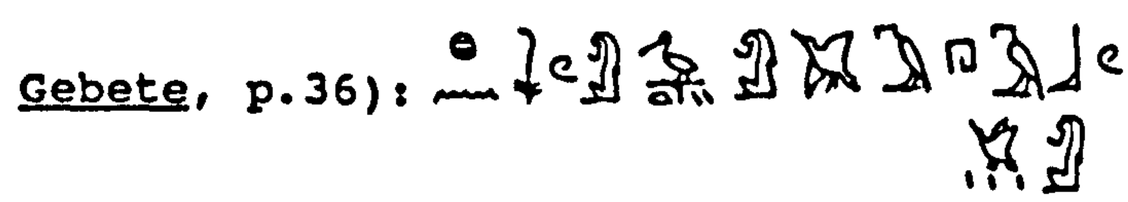
291. An V, 9,2:

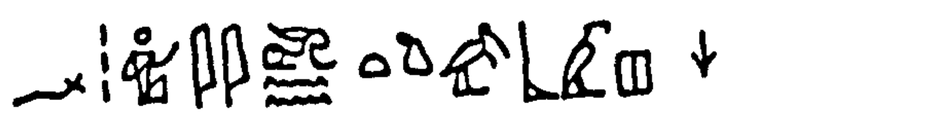
tr. Caminos, LEM, p.232: 'Come to me, Thoth, o august ibis'.

Theb Grab 157 (Nebwenenef) <1151> (Thoth called):

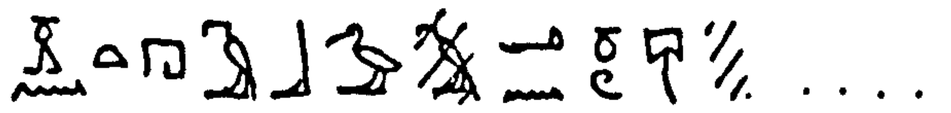
P. Tur P u R 137,9 (cf Amenemope 17,7):

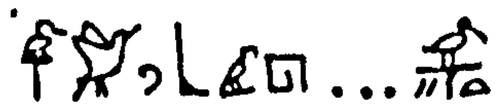


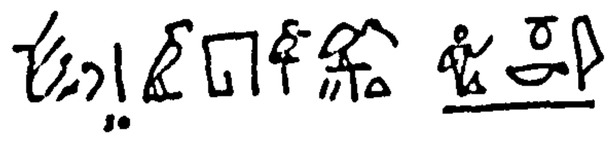
O.Cairo 25231 (publ. Erman, Gebete, p.36): 

BOD 109: 

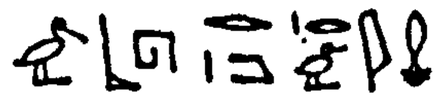
tr. Allen, BOD, p.86: (Thoth addressed) '(O) ibis presiding over (living) beings'.

Sall IV, 8, 3-4: 

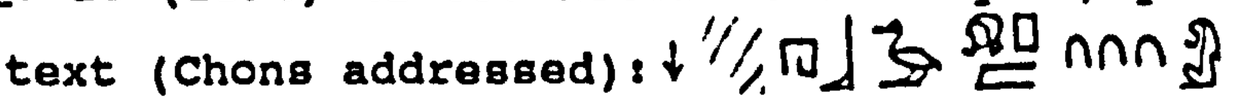
P. Tur P u R 125,14: 

P. Tur P u R 23, 5: 

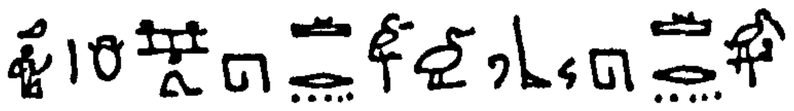
Quibell Ramess pl.22 (left hand side):



tr. p.18: 'the soul is beside Sokar as the goose beside the ibis'.

G. Daressy, Rec. Trav. 16 (1894) 42-60: Notes et remarques, p.55, 5th vertical line of text (Chons addressed): 

P.Carlsberg VII, 4:

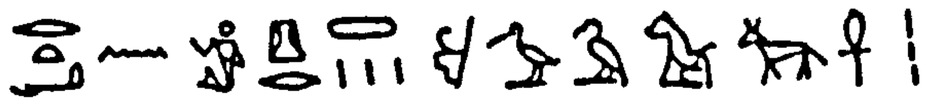


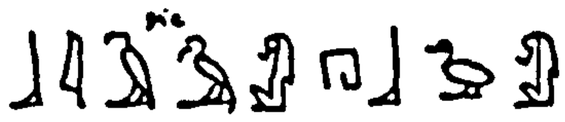
tr. Iversen, Hieroglyphic Dictionary, p.17: 'I.e. An ibis. I.e. "A heart descends", in accordance with what Re said about it : It descended from the body. I.e. A Ba descends. I.e..... )'. See also his p.6).

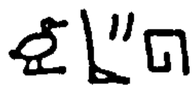
292. Note the description of Thoth (albeit late) in P. BM 10109, published by S.Birch, PSBA 7 (1885) 204-213: Roman Papyri, p.206:

tr.: 'I am the ibis, the black-headed, the white-bosomed, the blue backed'.

For earlier representations of Thoth as an ibis-headed deity and in the form of the bird see the references and bibliography in D.Kurth, LÄ VI, p.497-523: Thot, esp. section H.

293. Cf Wien (Wresz) 25,10: 

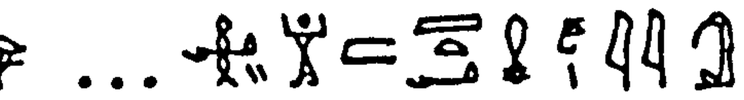
P. Rhind I, 2,7: 

P. Brooklyn 47.218.50, 16,10: 

294. Amenemope 17,7: (text above)

P.Tur P u R 137,9: (text above)

295. Horemheb (Krön) 8 (Urk IV, 2115):



'All his proceedings were as the steps of an ibis, his behaviour (in) the image of the lord of Hesret, rejoicing at Maat like him with the nose.'

296. Osing, Nominalbildung, p.614-616, n.615. Wb II, 485, 10-486, 16: betreten.

297. Also the opinion of A.-P.Zivie, LÄ III, 115-121: Ibis. See also here on the keeping and mummifying of ibises and three-dimensional representations of these birds.

298. Field Guide, p.101, described cranes as: 'Large, stately terrestrial birds, superficially resembling herons and storks', which may be distinguished from these by their 'Inner secondaries much elongated, drooping over the tail.'

299. Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.152; No.42-43, p.83-88, and L. Störk, LÄ III, 756-7: Kranich, col.756.

300. LD II, 132: (unnamed)

Berscheh I, 22:

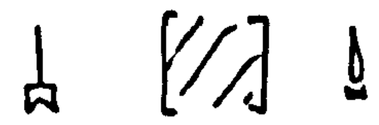
301. Eg in Cairo 60072 (Wreszinski, Atlas I, pl.400); Badawy, Iteti, fig.20 and 29.

302. Ti, pl.129:

Mar Mast D 15:

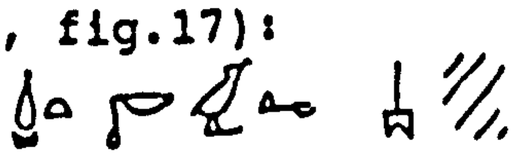
LD II, 69 (= Berl 1108):

LD II, 17b:

LD II, 91c: 

LD Erg 25 (= Junker, Giza III, 233, fig.48):

Mar Mast D.2 (p.177) (= Mogensen, Ny Carlsberg, fig.17):



LD II, 50b:

LD II, 61b:

CAA Pelizaeus 3, 72:

Kairo 1392:

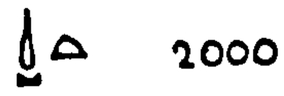
Sahure II, fig.55:

Junker, Giza VI, fig.16 and pl.2 (p.64-5):

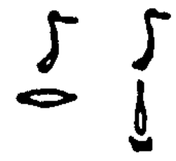
Mastaba des Ptahschepses <var 45> (Montet, Scènes, pl.11, 1):

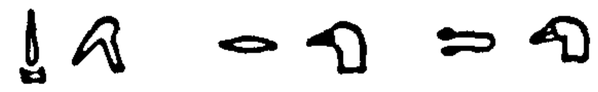
Vandier, Manuel V/2, pl.7, fig.63 (Wreszinski, Atlas I, pl.400; Cairo 60072):

Mar Mast D3:

Mar Mast D39: 

Murray Saqqara Mast I, 2:

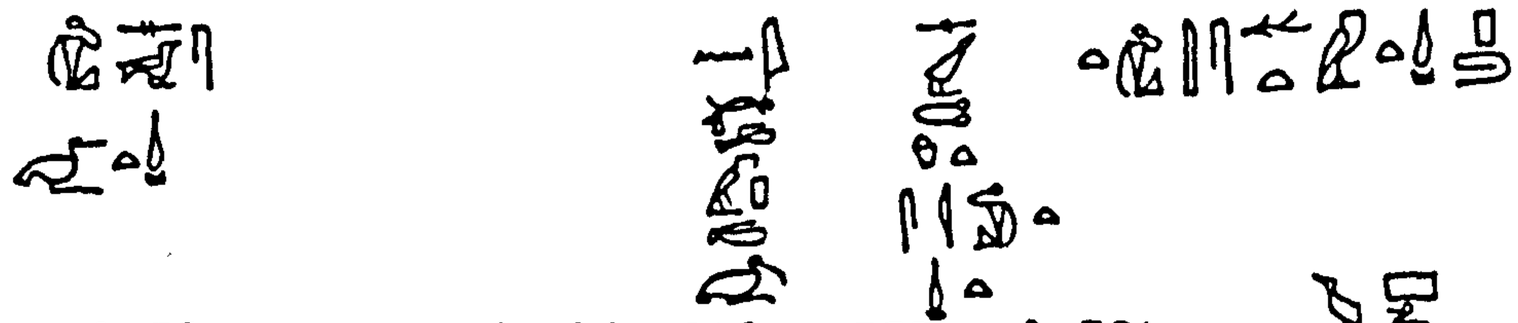
Berl 13466 (Vol.I, p.34): 

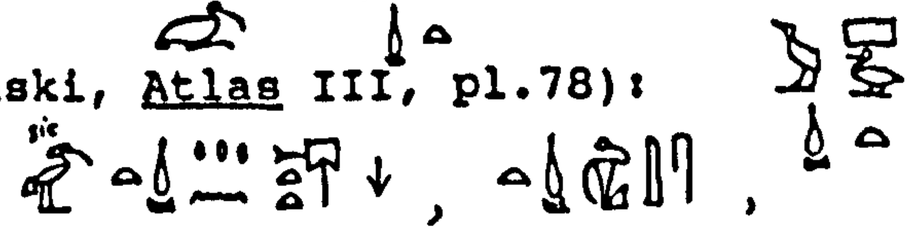
Ptahh Quibell Ramess 39: 

LD II, 25:

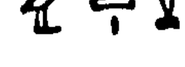
Medum 16:

Ti pl.25:

Ti pl.6: 

Mereruka A6 (pl.52) (= Wreszinski, Atlas III, pl.78): 

Mereruka C1: (unpublished)

Lange, Hermonthis, pl.4, l.6: 

Lacau, Sarcophages antérieurs II, p.125, No.21 (Cairo 28118): 

Lilyquist, Ancient Egyptian Mirrors: MÄS 27, (München & Berlin 1979) fig.123, p.16 (Cairo, JdE 55618):

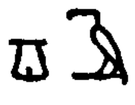
303. Mastaba des Ptahschepses <var 17>:

All other references are in the previous note.

304. For their distribution see Mackworth-Praed & Grant, Birds of Eastern and North-Eastern Africa I, p.307 and p.310.

305. Note the comment of Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.181, no.470: 'Boessneck 1981, pp.18-19 and pl.13(a), wishes to see a third species of crane in Egyptian art, namely the Siberian Crane (Grus leucogeranus), from a much damaged figure of a long-legged bird in the Dynasty XII tomb of Antefoker (No.60) at Thebes. The bird cannot be accurately identified, but our guess is that it is a European Spoonbill, as is the bird standing next to it.... Nor can we accept the proposed identification of the Crowned Crane (Balearica pavonina) on the Dynasty 1 Libya Palette. See Keimer 1954b, pp.135-6.'

306. All references recorded under d3t (above).

307. In addition to the references noted under d3t (above) see Martin, Hetepka, pl.16 [18]: 

308. Ptahschepses <var 45> (see above).

309. Montet, Scènes, p.142.

310. Comment of Montet, loc.cit.

311. Junker, loc.cit..

312. Cf BWP II, p.618: 'Body plumage dull blue-grey, with pale vinaceous tinge on chest and over back and scapulars.'

313. Junker, Giza VI, p.63-64.

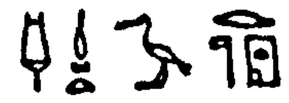
314. Note that Störk, op.cit., col.756, gave both d3t and ḏw (though not mentioning g3) as designating the common crane.

G3 was identified as 'le nom d'un échassier' by Montet, Syria 59 (1923) 181-193: Le pays de Negaou et son dieu.

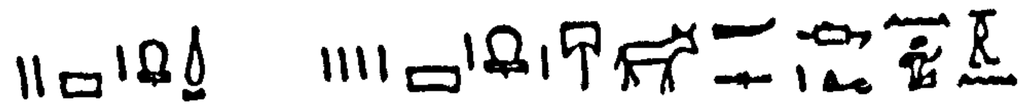
It was recognised as the name of a crane by Junker, op.cit. (p.1, n.13), who commented, however, that it 'muß ganz unbestimmt bleiben, ohne Farben ist sie schwer von d3t zu unterscheiden' (p.63).

315. On 'overdifferentiation' see B.Berlin, D.E.Breedlove, P.H.Raven, Science 154 (1966) 273-5: Folk taxonomies and biological classification.

316. Kairo Sargbeig 28118:

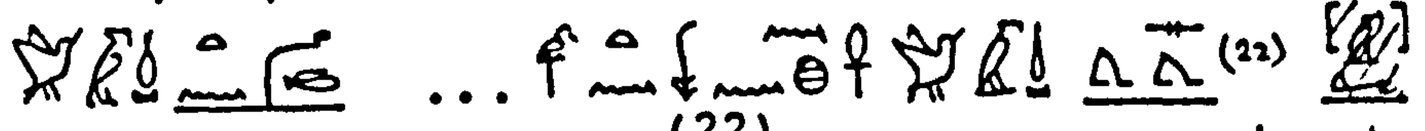
Abyd Mar II, 7 (KRI II, 536, 8): 

Habachi, Tavole, p.78:

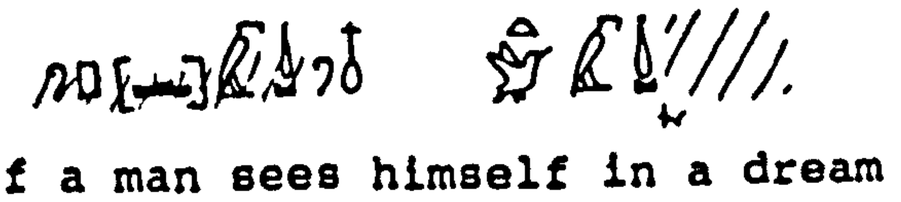
O.Cairo 25725, 1.6: 

Math Hdb 83:

317. P. Brooklyn 47.218.50, 20, 22-3.

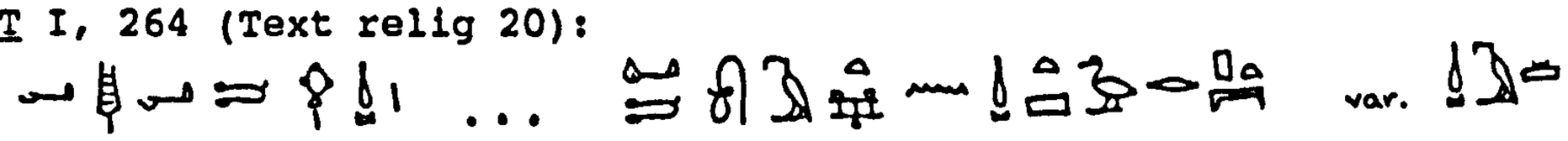


tr. Goyon, Confirmation, p.81: 'Amener[22] une grue vivante au Roi. Oindre sa tête avec de l'onguent-md. Lui placer la tête en arrière. Ce qu'a dit la grue :' etc.

318. P.Ch.B. III, rto 2, 3: 

tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.11: If a man sees himself in a dream '... a crane (d3t), good; it means prosperity (wd3). '

319. CT I, 264 (Text relig 20):



tr. FECT I, p.57: 'Stand upon a d3-cloth, a six-weave cloth upon your shoulder, grant the crane's way to the sky. '

320. CD 453b: 'crane'; CD 61b: 'crane'; Černý, CED, p.39: 'crane'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.42: 'Flamingo , Kranich ', cf p.257: 'Kranich, Flamingo(?)'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.48a: 'flamant.... grue'.

321. Gardiner, Sign List G29: 'jabiru (Ephippiorhynchus senegalensis)'.

322. Gardiner, Sign List G27: 'flamingo (Phoenicopterus roseus)'.

323. P.ruber (L) supercedes P.roseus Pallas.
Störk, Fauna, col.131, gave P.antiquorum; P.ruber antiquorum Temminck is now regarded as a synonym of P.ruber roseus Pallas.

324. Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.147, cf No.18, p.35-36.

325. Eg Medum frontispiece (colour).

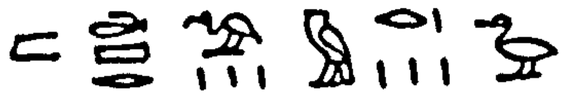
326. Keimer, Pendeloques, p.[92]: 'Le mot dšr "rouge" est employé pour désigner l'oiseau rouge  , "le flamant", appelé tout simplement "le rouge" (scil. oiseau).' Osing, Nominalbildung, p.201; p.731, n.882, gave further references.

The bird name is of interest in determining the meaning of dšr, since the bird has plumage varying from white to deep pink depending on its diet, colouring which does not fall within the modern English understanding of 'red'.

327. AEO I, pl.2, l.155:

tr. p.9: 'flamingo'.

328. Leps Totb 31, 8-9:

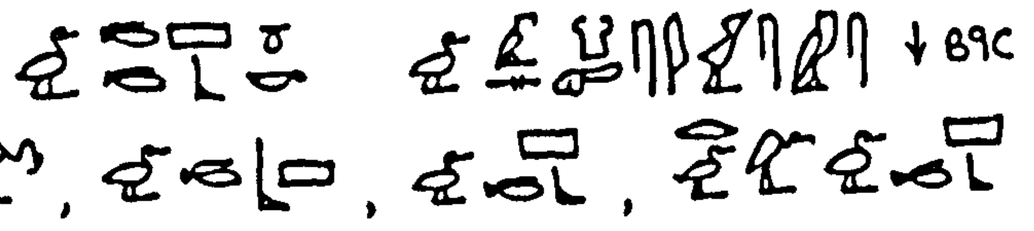


A corruption of an earlier text?

cf. tr. Allen, BOD, p.41: '1000 of bread and 1000 of beer from the offering table of (my) Father Osiris and of (my) spotted cows and longhorns, of my red cows, of rȝ-geese, and of trp-geese.'

Keimer, loc.cit., tr.: 'chiens sauvages, hippopotames, taureaux, flamants, oies.'

329. CT V, 374:

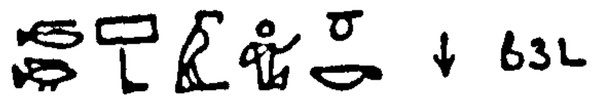



var.

tr. FECT II, p.96: 'Osiris.... the oldest one, Bull of vultures; I am a flamingo, who has eaten the like.'

330. CT V, 374: (see previous note).

CT V, 385p;




tr. FECT II, p.99: 'šbd-fish'.

For the name see also Osing, Nominalbildung, p.299; n.1221, p.849.

331. L. Keimer, ASAE 30 (1930) 1-26: Quelques hiéroglyphes représentant des oiseaux, p.1-20, esp. p.18-19.

332. 'Jabiru' often appears in Egyptological literature.

333. Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.147.

Mackworth - Praed & Grant, Birds of Eastern & North Eastern Africa, p.68-69; Birds of Africa I, p.185.

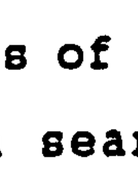
334. See eg Schäfer, Principles, p.184, fig.181; Murray Saqqara Mast II, pl.6, & pl.37 fig.21; Bénédite, Carnarvon Ivory, pl.2; Keimer, ASAE 30 (full reference above) p.3, fig.3, with n.1 & p.10 fig.10 & fig.12; Beni Hasan III, pl.1, fig.3 & pl.2, fig.10; Sahure II, pl.31, 35 & 36; Junker, Giza I, pl.23; Ptahh I, pl.8, No.114, pl.17 No.284.

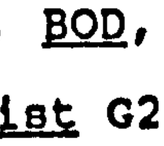
335. See the description in Griffith, Hieroglyphs, p.21, Fig.74: 'A bird of the type of the Grallatores, with tuft on breast. In O.K. generally without the tuft.... This type may have been suggested in a general way by plover, ibis, crane, or snipe, but does not agree with any particular species. It reminds one also of the bustards.'; 'We may best connect its value with the habit of the plover tribe (as well as of the crane) of digging their bills into the ground or ooze in search of food in the newly-sown corn-fields.' Note also the bꜣ hieroglyphs in, eg, BOD, with 'wattles' at the breast, as adopted by Gardiner, Sign List G29.

336. Colour plate of this black, white and red bird in Birds of Africa I, pl.12 (opp. p.163).

337. CD 61b; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.21; Černý, CED, p.20.

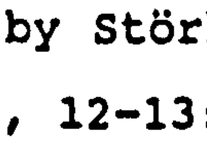
338. See above, n. 320.

339. Beni Hasan II, pl.4: 

340. Beni Hasan II, 4: 

Davies, Birds & Bats, p.17, could not identify the species. In shape it somewhat resembles a Cattle Egret or Squacco Heron, but for these birds see above.

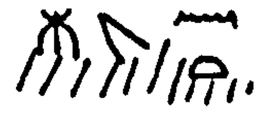
A form bnq3 is preserved at Edfu (IV, 121) and survived into Coptic as БАNK (CD 40a: 'bird').

341. Beni Hasan II pl.4: 

The bird it designates has been identified as the Black Stork (Ciconia nigra (L)), eg by Davies, Birds & Bats, p.16, No.7, supported by Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, No.11, p.22. The latter explained the white shoulder patch which now appears on the bird either as having been left unfinished or having suffered from paint loss (the red lines of the preliminary drawing are still visible). They noted also the incorrect colouring of the bird's legs (grey not red) and underparts (black not white).

342. Ḥnt tr. by Störk, LÄ IV, 923-924: Pelikan, as 'die Gierige' cf Wb III, 121, 12-13: gierig sein u.ä.

The bird itself is depicted, named, at Abusîr; see Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1961) fig.10 (p.240):

fig.9 (p.232): 

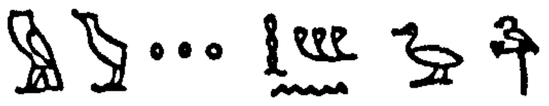
See also ibid. (1963), p.182-183.

Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.146 noted three types in Egypt, though none now breeds there:

| | |
|---|---|
| Pelecanus onocrotalus L | White Pelican/Rosy Pelican |
| P.rufescens Gmelin | Pink-/Rose-backed Pelican |
| P.crispus Bruch | Dalmatian Pelican |

They identified the Niuserrēʿ examples as the White or Pink-backed Pelican, and those drawn in the tomb of Ḥaremḥab as Dalmatian Pelicans (No.5, p.10-12, and No.6, p.12-13, respectively). These are to be distinguished from other pelicans rather by their lack of pink or reddish plumage tones (BWP I, p.233).

The term survived into Coptic - CD 676b: 'pelican'; 703a: 'pelican'; Černý, CED 283: 'pelican'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.386: 'Pelikan'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.299a: 'pelican'; 309: 'pelican'. On the phonetic change see Lacau, Études égyptologiques I, para 3: Le groupe n + w aboutissant à m, p.50.

343. Pyr 1970: 

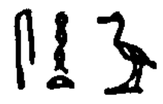
tr. Faulkner, AEPT, p.284: '"Wherewith can the King be made to fly up?" "There shall be brought to you [....] the Ḥnw-bark and the .... of the ḥn-bird (?). You shall fly up therewith.'

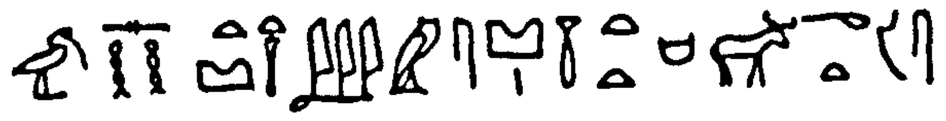
344. AEO I, pl.1, l.131:

Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1961) fig. 5:

345. Beni Hasan II, pl.4:

346. Beni Hasan II, pl.4:

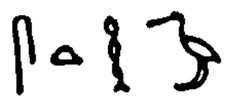
347. Festiv Hall, pl.18: 

348. Pyr 389: 

Sethe, UuK II, p.125-6, seemed to compare sḫsḫ and a bird of prey (the vulture goddess of El Kab especially);

tr. p.121: 'Mutter des W., du Wildkuh und Frau, die (als Wildkuh) auf dem krautbewachsenen Berge ist, die (als Frau oder Geierweibchen) auf dem Berge des shsḫ-Vogels ist.'

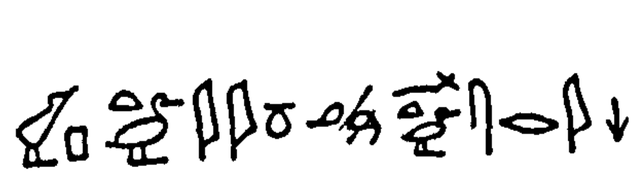
349. Beni Hasan II, pl.4:

350. Festiv Hall, pl.22: 

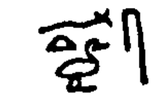
351. Deirelb 11.Dyn III, pl.80:

Naville gave 'Stelzvogel' (p.17).

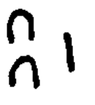
352. Beni Hasan II, pl.4:

353. DGI II, pl.87, col.18-19: 

'As for the sft, it is a tfnyt'

'Like the wing of a sft' also appears in col.18: 

and col.21:

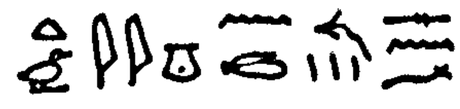
Cf Urk IV, 1994: (1) (2) 

This bird, from its appearance with ḫtʿ3, is presumably a goose or duck. (See ḫtʿ3 above).

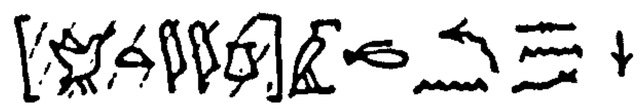
354. Beni Hasan II, pl.4:

Eb 63, 13:

tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1], p.57: 'Fledermaus'.

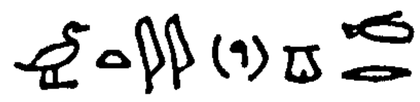
Eb 63, 18: 

tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1], p.58: 'Fledermaus'.

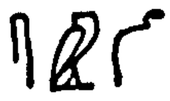
P.Ram III, A, 15: 

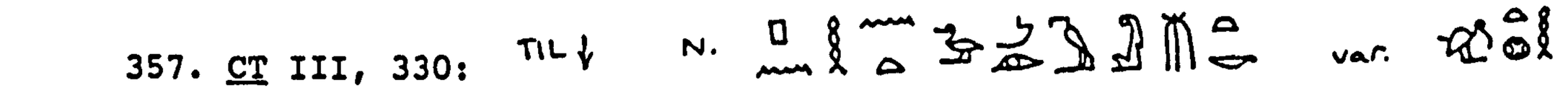
tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1], p.59: 'Fledermaus'.

See also in Ch.3: Bats.

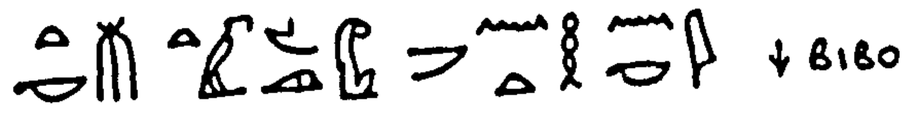
355. Eb 76, 8-9: 

tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1], p.243: 'Fledermaus'. See Ch.3: Bats.

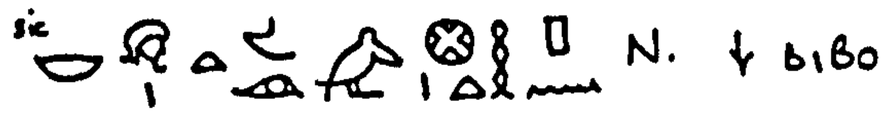
356. Beni Hasan II, pl.4: 

357. CT III, 330: 


tr. FECT I, 190: 'I am the Pelican who saw your (sic) birth, I have come that I may inspect my nest.'

CT III, 392: 


tr. FECT I, p.201: 'I am the Pelican who saw your birth, who saw your birth when you were born. I have come here seeking my fledgelings.'

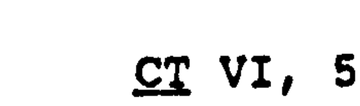
CT III, 393: 


tr. FECT I, p.201: 'N is the pelican who sees your head. He has come here that he may seek his fledgelings, and the heron (?) is content, for N is his father.'

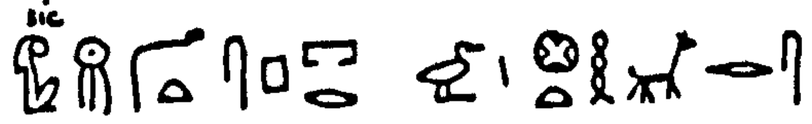
CT V, 37:


tr. FECT II, p.10: 'My mother is the Pelican, and I am her son.'

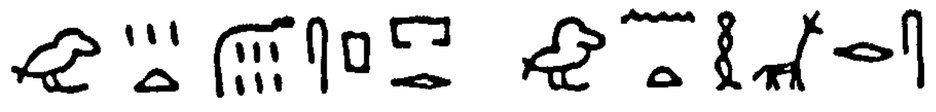
It is credited with the ability to foretell the future:

CT VI, 53e: var.  sic

tr. FECT II, p.128: 'The Pelican prophesies, the Shining One goes forth.'

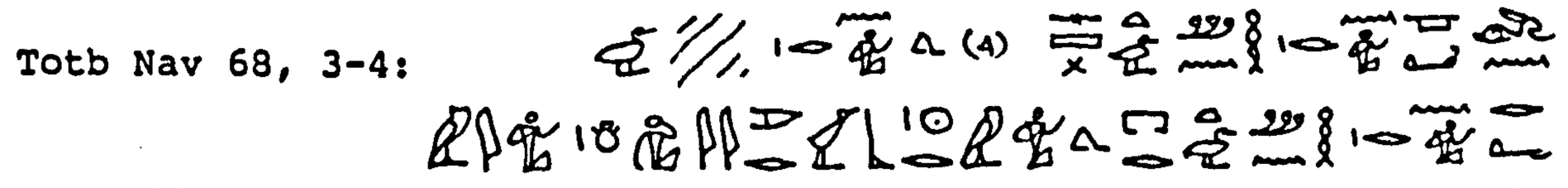
CT VI, 236:  sic B3Bo

tr. FECT II, p.204: 'The pelican will prophesy, the shining one will go forth.'

Pyr 278: 

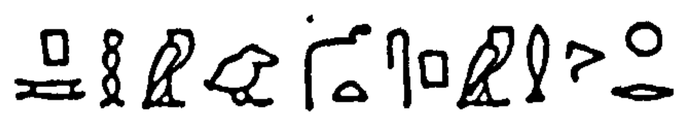
tr. Sethe, UuK I, p.298: 'Es verkündet der ḫnt-Pelikan, und (nachdem hervorgekommen ist ?) hervorkommt der psd.t(j)-Pelikan, aufsteht der Große, (und) es sprechen die Götterneunheiten...' On p.312 he interpreted psdty as 'der zur Neunheit gehörige'.

See also Hornung, Anbetung I, p.85 and II, p.139, n.425.

Totb Nav 68, 3-4: 

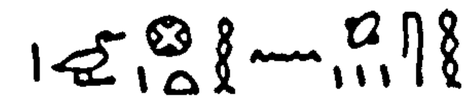
tr. Allen, BOD, p.62: 'Opened for me is the pelican's mouth; exposed for me is [the pelican's] mouth. The pelican{'s mouth} has let me go forth by day to the place where my heart desires to be.'

As seen above, the pelican could appear as det. of psdt; it also occurs as det. of ḥm-psdt, varying with (Pyr 226; 680):

Pyr 435: 

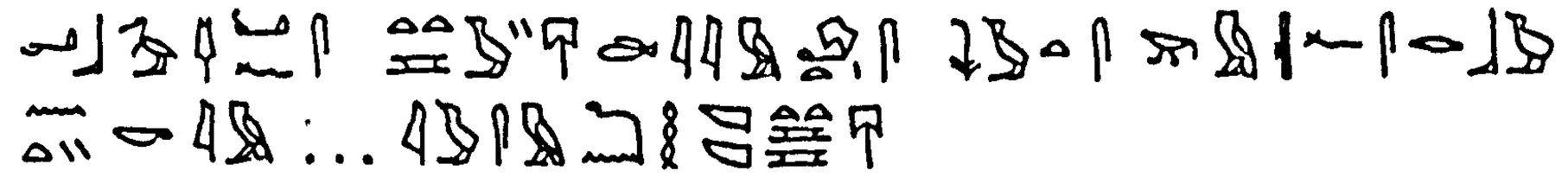
tr. Sethe, UuK II, p.209: 'Gefallen ist (einst) in den Nil eine heilige Person als der zur Neunheit gehörende Pelikan.'

358. Eb 59, 1:

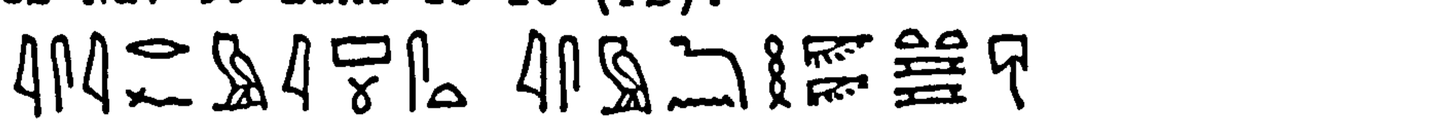


Wb. Drog. V, p.71; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.41: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Beseitigen der ȝdt- Krankheit im Auge. Kot des Pelikans 1; unterägyptisches Salz 1; Terebinthenharz (snṯr) 1; werde zu einer Masse gemacht, werde in das Innere des Auges gegeben.' See too VI, p.350-351: 'der Pelikan'.

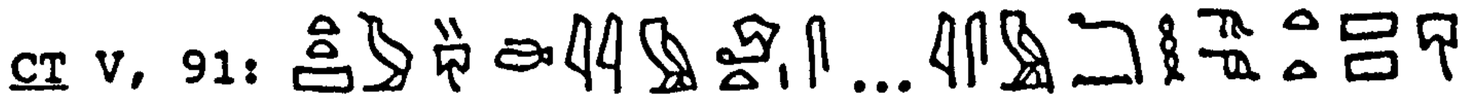
359. Urk V, 155-158:



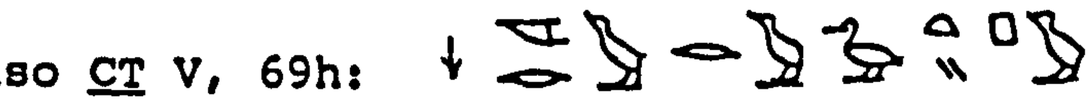
Totb Nav 99 Einl 15-16 (Pb):

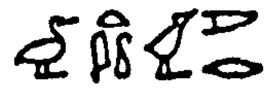


tr. Allen, BOD, p.77: 'Beloved, a <tt-mrwy> put at its prow will guide it to the place where thou art. "What, pray, is (it made) of?" It is (made) of <tt-mrwy> wings'.

Cf CT V, 91: 

tr. FECT II, p.25: 'the ttwy being placed in her bow, and he shall steer her to the place where you are". "What is she?" "She is the wings of the ttwy".'

but also CT V, 69h: 

and CT V, 319: 

tr. FECT II, p.20-21: 'black storks'.

360. It was identified as a tern by P.-H.Boussac, Le Naturaliste (1909): Identification de quelques oiseaux representés sur les monuments pharaoniques, p.92, fig.2 (S.bergii Lichtenstein, the Swift Tern, found all along the Red Sea).

The bird is, however, a Pied Kingfisher (Ceryle rudis (L)). This identification was first suggested by Jéquier, Matériaux, p.132: 'Tous ces caractères paraissent devoir faire rentre cet oiseau dans l'ordre des passereaux; c'est même de l'alcyon ou martin-chasseur qu'il se rapprocherait le plus'. Cf C. Gaillard, BIFAO 30 (1931) 249-271: Quelques représentations du Martin-pêcheur pie (Ceryle rudis) sur les monuments de l'Égypte ancienne. This was also the identification of Davies, Birds & Bats, p.15, No.3: 'Pied kingfisher, Ceryle rudis'; Störk, Fauna, col.132; and Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, No.60, p.114-116.

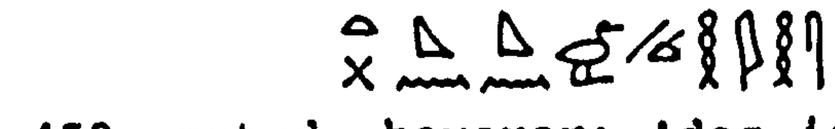
Although the kingfisher (Alcedo atthis (L)) was frequently represented by the Egyptians, no name can be attached to it with certainty. On hnt, which has (incorrectly) been proposed as the name of this bird, see above.
Both these species, together with the White-breasted Kingfisher, Halcyon smyrnensis (L), have been recorded from modern Egypt (Houlihan & Goodman, p.161-162).

361. From the black and white plumage and the upcurved bill it is obviously an avocet (Recurvirostra avosetta L) - see Davies, Birds & Bats, p.18, No.16, and Houlihan, Birds, No.51, p.98-100). Still found in modern Egypt (Houlihan, op.cit., p.156).

362. Davies, Birds & Bats, p.16, No.8: 'Species of water-bird'. The bird is possibly to be identified as the Sociable Plover (Chettusia gregaria L) from the white eye-stripe, though the 'pink (faded red) wing covert' (Davies) is not appropriate. Also possible would be the Cream-coloured Courser (Cursorius cursor (Latham)) though this has pale, not 'grey or black' legs and feet and is a desert species, found in Egypt today (see Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.156).

363. Davies, Birds & Bats, p.15, No.1, gave: 'Gallinule (?)'. That it is a gallinule is obvious from the blue and green plumage. It may be the smaller Allen's Gallinule which has a blue-green 'shield' at the base of the bill rather than the red shield of the Gallinule. No shield is indicated in the picture; it would have been more easily overlooked, perhaps, if of similar colouring to the plumage. Nevertheless Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, No.44, p.88-90, gave it as a Gallinule.

Houlihan & Goodman recorded both the (Purple) Gallinule (Porphyrio porphyrio (L)) and Allen's Gallinule (P.alleni Thomson) from modern Egypt.
Störk, Fauna, recorded P.alleni as a bird of ancient Egypt, but with the name sbḥ. For this bird, depicted at Abusîr, see below.

A writing sḥîḥt - perhaps of this bird's name? - appears in P.Ram III, B, 2: 
Wb.Drog. VI, p.459, noted, however: 'das ist sehr unwahrscheinlich, da in beiden Rezepten das ganze Tier verarbeitet wird. Es konnte nur ein kleiner Vogel sein.' The sḥîḥt may rather be an insect - see Ch.20: Insects.

364. Gaillard, Mélanges Maspero II, p.465-478: Sur une figuration coloriée du Pluvier Armé relevée dans une tombe de Béni-Hassan. This identification was followed by Davies, Birds & Bats, p.16, No.6: 'Spur-winged plover' and Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, No.49, p.96-97.

365. Davies, Birds & Bats, p.18, No.19 gave: 'Ringed or Little ringed plover' and Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, No.47, p.92-3: 'Ringed Plover or Little Ringed Plover (Charadrius hiaticula and C.dubius)'. Because of the slight differences between the two birds they believed it impossible to determine which species was recorded at Beni Ḥasan. However, a white line separating the bird's cap and black forehead stripe can be discerned on this representation (own observations 1985) and it is therefore to be identified as the Little Ringed Plover (C.dubius). This bird is typically found near inland waters while the Ringed Plover generally frequents coastal areas, visiting inland waters on migration. Both are found in Egypt today, together with various other species of plover:

| | |
|---|---|
| Ringed Plover | C.hiaticula L. |
| Little Ringed Plover | C.dubius Scopoli |
| Kittlitz's Plover | C.pecuarius Temminck |
| Kentish Plover | C.alexandrinus L |
| Geoffroy's Plover | C.leschenaulti Lesson |
| Caspian Plover | C.asiaticus Pallas |
| Dotterel | Eudromias morinellus (L) |
| Grey Plover | Pluvialis squatarola (L) |
| Golden Plover | P.apricaria (L) |
| White-tailed Plover | Vanellus leucurus (Lichtenstein) |
| Sociable Plover | V.gregarius (Pallas) |
| Spur-winged Plover | V.spinosus (L) |

(after Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.153-154).

366. Identified as the Painted Snipe (Rostratula benghalensis (L)) by Houlihan, Birds, p.153 and No.46, p.91-92; Davies, Birds & Bats, p.17, no.14, recorded it as 'Unidentified'.

The name dgyt, presumably derived from the verb dg (Wb V, 496, 8-14: sich verstecken, verborgen sein), must mean 'the hider'. The inscription at Beni Ḥasan records that it 'cries at night' (mdw m grḥ). These two characteristics are recorded of the Painted Snipe in BWP III, p.13: 'Behaviour difficult to study because species usually unobtrusive and skulking during day' and p.14: 'Call carries well over 1km... first daylight calls heard late April, continuing until October, though calling more frequent 2-3 hrs after sunset and an hour before dawn'.

## Chapter 16 : Notes

1. Pandion heliaetus (L) — Osprey
   Pernis apivoris (L) — Honey Buzzard
   Elanus caeruleus (Desfontaines) — Black winged Kite
   Milvus milvus (L); M.m.aegyptius in Africa — Red Kite
   M.migrans (Boddaert) — Black Kite
   Haliaetus vocifer (Daudin) — African Fish Eagle
   H.albicilla (L) — White-tailed Eagle
   Gypaetus barbatus (L) — Lammergeyer or Bearded Vulture

   Neophron percnopterus (L) — Egyptian Vulture
   Gyps rueppellii (Brehm) — Ruppell's Vulture
   G.fulvus (Hablizl) — Griffon Vulture
   Aegypius monachus (L) — Black Vulture
   A.tracheliotus (Forster) — Lappet-faced Vulture
   Circaetus gallicus (Gmelin) — Short-toed Eagle
   Circus cyaneus (L) — Hen Harrier
   C.macrourus (Gmelin) — Pallid Harrier
   C.pygargus (L) — Montagu's Harrier
   C.aeruginosus (L) — Marsh Harrier
   Accipiter brevipes (Severtzov) — Levant Sparrowhawk
   A.nisus (L) — Sparrowhawk
   A.gentilis (L) — Goshawk
   Buteo buteo (L) — Buzzard
   B.rufinus (Cretzschmar) — Long-legged Buzzard
   Aquila pomarina Brehm — Lesser Spotted Eagle
   A.clanga Pallas — (Greater) Spotted Eagle
   A.rapax (Temminck) — Tawny Steppe Eagle
   A.heliaca Savigny — Imperial Eagle
   A.chrysaetos (L) — Golden Eagle
   Hieraaetus fasciatus (Vieillot) — Bonelli's Eagle
   H.pennatus (Gmelin) — Booted Eagle
   Falco naumanni Fleischer — Lesser Kestrel
   F.tinnunculus L — Kestrel
   F.vespertinus L — Red-footed Falcon
   F.eleonorae Gené — Eleonora's Falcon
   F.concolor Temminck — Sooty Falcon
   F.columbarius L — Merlin
   F.subbuteo L — Hobby
   F.biarmicus Temminck — Lanner Falcon
   F.cherrug Gray — Saker Falcon

| | |
|---|---|
| F.peregrinus Tunstall | Peregrine Falcon |
| F.p.peregrinoides Temminck | Barbary Falcon |
| (sometimes as F.peregrinoides Temminck) | |
| Tyto alba (Scopoli) | Barn Owl |
| Bubo bubo (L) | Eagle Owl |
| Asio otus (L) | Long-eared Owl |
| A.flammeus (Pontoppidan) | Short-eared Owl |
| Otus scops (L) | Scops Owl |
| Athene noctua (Scopoli) | Little Owl |
| Strix butleri (Hume) | Hume's Tawny Owl |

2. See L. Keimer, Archiv für Geschichte der Mathematik, der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik 10 (1927) 87-102: Von der Bedeutung der Naturwissenschaften für die Ägyptologie und umgekehrt, and id., AJSLL 43 (1927) 226-231: A note on the hieroglyphs and .

   Cf Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, No.20, p.39-40.

3. P.E. Newberry, JEA (1951) 72-74: The Owls in Ancient Egypt, noted on this hieroglyph 'the type invariably employed in the Protodynastic period is the Eagle Owl and this bird occurs sporadically from Dyn. III throughout dynastic times' and that from Dyn. 3 the common type of the hieroglyph was the Barn Owl, with the Little Owl appearing from Dyn. 26 onwards.

   Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, No.56-57 (p.108-111), identified two types of owl hieroglyph; the more common they believed to be the Barn Owl, despite the 'ears' which are depicted on elaborate hieroglyphs, since these do not project above the top of the head as they do on truly 'eared' species (see p.109-110). Like Newberry they recognised an earlier type which they identified as either an Eagle Owl or a Long-eared Owl. Eagle Owl was also the identification suggested by Keimer, Annals of the Faculty of Arts, Ibrahim Pasha University 1 (1951) 73-83: Les hiboux constituant les prototypes de la lettre M de l'alphabet égyptien, p.81.

   Houlihan & Goodman, p.111, thus concluded: 'the owl hieroglyph was originally fashioned after some species of 'eared' owl, surely either the Eagle Owl or the Long-eared Owl, or both. The 'ears' which were spuriously added to the Barn Owl were a carrying over of this earlier tradition'. They noted certain examples of  painted

to represent the plumage of these owls rather than a Barn Owl, eg Davies, Paintings, pl.6 - compare pl.91.

Note the white band around the neck of the owl (clearly a Barn Owl) depicted in a papyrus swamp in the tomb of Neferḥōtep (now in the Louvre, published by Houlihan & Goodman, p.109, fig.157, and L. Keimer, RdE 4 (1940) 45-65: Sur un monument égyptien du Musée du Louvre, p.46, fig.1) which also appears on coloured examples of the hieroglyph but which is not a characteristic of any of the owls of modern Egypt. (Keimer did not comment upon this owl).

Later hieroglyphs - see eg G.Kuény & J.Yoyotte, Grenoble, Musée des Beaux-Arts : Collection égyptienne (Paris 1979), p.106, No. 125 (anthropoid coffin of Psammethek , son of Sebarekhyt) - do clearly show Barn Owls; earlier examples, though having the colouring (sandy brown head and body, whitish face and underside) of Barn Owls, certainly seem to have been influenced by other species, perhaps the Short-eared Owl or Hume's Tawny Owl. The latter has the amber eyes often depicted in Egyptian coloured hieroglyphs, also a feature of the Long-eared Owl. For a picture of Hume's Tawny Owl showing ear-like points at the top of the head and lines running down from the bill, as in the hieroglyphs, see BWP IV, pl.49 & 53.

4. Keimer, Archiv...10.

   Cf Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, No.21, p.40-41, with reservations p.41: 'In some cases the plumage pattern and other features of the bird are suggestive of a large thick-billed vulture other than the Griffon Vulture, such as Rüppell's Vulture (Gyps rueppellii) and the giant Lappet-faced Vulture (Aegypius tracheliotus)'.

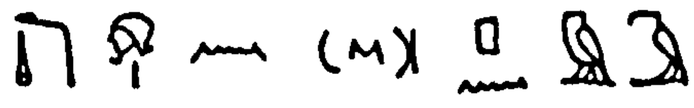
5. Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, No.23, p.44.

   Cf Griffith, Hieroglyphs, pl.1, fig.1, and p.19: 'brown raptorial bird... it must be an eagle'.

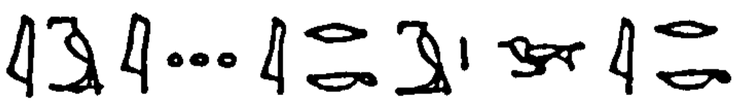
6. V. Loret, BIFAO 3 (1903) 1-24: Horus-le-faucon, suggested this identification. It has been criticized by various scholars, eg Bénédite, Mon. Piot 17 (1909) 5-28: Faucon ou épervier? and most recently Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, No.25, p.46-49, who gave no more than Falco sp. as an identification of bỉk because of the spurious markings found on the feathers above each leg in painted

hieroglyphs and representations of Horus as a falcon. In these the tip of the tail is often red, which again is not a feature of the Peregrine. Nevertheless the overall colouring and marking accords well with this falcon, and certainly more so than with any other falcon found in Egypt today.

7. Wb's tr. was corrected in the Belegstellen: 'Nicht der weißköpfige Geier, sondern der Aas- oder Schmutzgeier'. For further comments see P.Montet, Kêmi 1 (1928) 3-18: Notes de lexicographie, p.15.

8. Pyr 1303: 

Sethe, UuK V, p.232, tr.: 'Der Kopf des N. ist der *3* Geier', with p.236: 'Das göttliche Wesen geschrieben wie der Geier *3*, gemeint aber vielleicht doch Horus?'.

Pyr 1729: 

tr. Faulkner, AEPT, p.247: 'Worship is on you, the Great Vulture is on you, for you are (bent) over the savour of *ỉht-wtt*.'

Louvre C14:

A.H.Gardiner, JEA 34 (1948) 12-18: The first two pages of the Wb, tr. p.12: 'I know the going of a male figure (*bwt*), the coming of a female figure (*rpt*) and the positions of the 11 birds'. (For publications of this stela see Ch.6 : Elephant, Rhino & Hippo).

E. Littmann, ZÄS 67 (1931) 63-68: Bemerkungen zur ägyptisch-semitischen Sprachvergleichung, p.66, discussed the word among other Egyptian terms for animals which are onomatopoeic in origin (*ʿ3*, *ỉw*, *ḳrr*, *rr*). Ember, Egypto-Semitic Studies, p.6, compared *3* with Hebrew *ʾajjā*, Arabic *juʾju*, Bilin *ʿaia*, Tigre *ʿājā*, all names for birds of prey, but as Littmann noted, such forms 'können unabhängig voneinander nach dem Rufe des Tieres entstanden sein'. S. Yeivin, Archiv Orientální 4 (1932) 71-78: The sign and the true nature of the early alphabets, believed that *3* was merely an acrophonic remnant of the original name of the bird: 'more probably it not only began with  , but actually consisted of  + vowel + some weak consonant, which softened so much in the course of time that it finally became a mere vowel sound'. He, too, compared the Hebrew and Arabic terms but believed they shared a common root with the Egyptian.

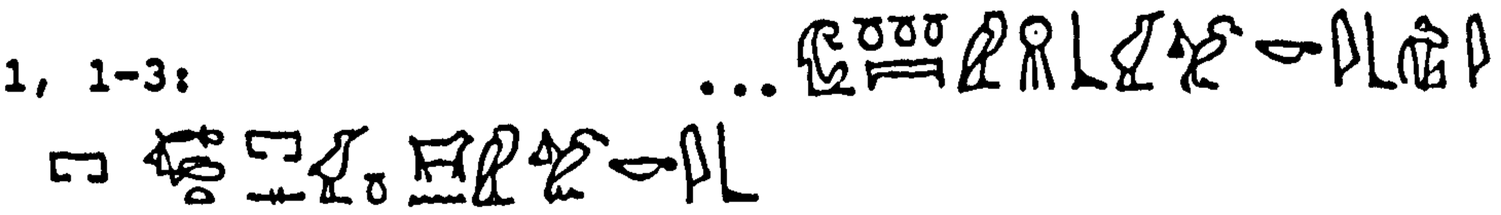
For *nrt* in the texts see below.

9. Attention has been drawn by various scholars to the demotic term ȝmwlḏ 'owl' (DG p.5: die Nachteule) and Coptic ⲙⲟⲩⲗⲁⲕ 'owl' (CD 166 b: 'night raven') respectively. Griffith, op.cit., p.20, suggested that ancient Egyptian m was the first element of this bird name. Sethe, Ursprung des Alphabets, p.153, postulated a Coptic term ⲙⲟⲩ (not in CD), derived from Egyptian m; for the latter part of ⲙⲟⲩⲗⲁⲕ he suggested a connection with ⲗⲁⲅ 'lone' (not in CD), but this is precluded by the presence of the ḏ in demotic. P.Lacau, BIFAO 69 (1971) 239-247: Le signe m, rejected acrophony as an explanation for the value of m (p.242): 'Il ne peut s'agir d'une acrophonie d'un mot ⲙⲟⲩⲗⲁⲕ qui est certainement tardif; la valeur de au contraire appartient à la période de formation du système hieroglyphique. Le sens de ⲗⲁⲕ nous échappe'. Yeivin, op.cit., p.72, no.4, took the demotic form ȝmwlḏ as 'suggesting an original ȝm, perhaps, of which the initial ȝ was gradually dropped?'.

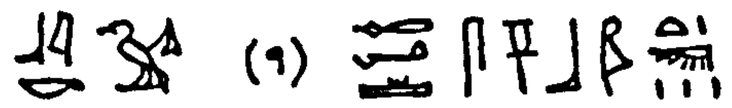
Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1963), p.92, fig.1, noted a bird name from the temple of Niuserrēʿ at Abû Ghurâb, not over an owl but over one of a number of ducks . He translated this as 'der Klagende' (p.99) comparing ỉm (Wb I, 77, 12: wehklagen, jammern) and citing ḥ3t 'Klagevogel' (see elsewhere in this chapter) and sbḥ 'Schreivogel' (see Ch.15) as bird names with similar etymologies. He postulated a reading im-w and wondered whether a similar word might not have been behind Coptic (e)mu (ie the ⲙⲟⲩ of ⲙⲟⲩⲗⲁⲕ) since 'shreiker' would be an appropriate name for the hooting owl: 'Das gerade ihr Bild und nicht das der gleichnamigen Entenart zum Schriftzeichen für m hergenommen wurde, kann mancherlei Gründen haben, sei es, daß der Name imw erst später auch auf eine Wildentenart übertragen wurde, oder sei es, daß die charakteristische Form der Eule als Schriftzeichen nicht so leicht mit anderen Vogeln verwechselt werden könnte' (p.101).

Coptic ϩⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗⲁϩⲕ (possibly a variation of ⲙⲟⲩⲗⲁⲕ via var. ⲙⲟⲩⲗⲁϩⲕ) has also been compared with a term ḥmȝr from P.BM 10618-39 (self-dedication texts) which once has bird det. (BM 10622; feminine form ḥmrt with this det. in BM 10631). H.S. Smith, JEA 61 (1975) 197-200: Some Coptic Etymologies, thus deduced that the Coptic originated from a form ḥȝmr ḥḏ 'destroying owl'. As ḥȝmr is not attested in other texts it is not possible to confirm this translation.

10. See in n.8 & 9 for comments.

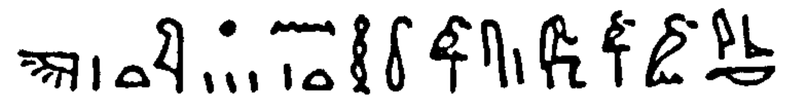
11. Totb Nav 71, 1-3: 

tr. Allen, BOD, p.59: 'N. says: O falcon who rises from the deep... "(I am) the falcon within the shrine... says Horus the Son of Isis... (I am) <the falcon> in the southern sky".' (My omissions throughout). Also tr. Grapow, Bildliche Ausdrücke, p.88.

BM 826: 

tr. Grapow op.cit., p.88: 'großen Falken bunten Gefieders' (of Amun as Rē'-Ḥarakhti).

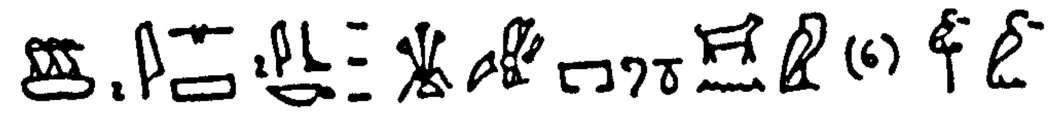
P. Berl 3050, 8, 4:



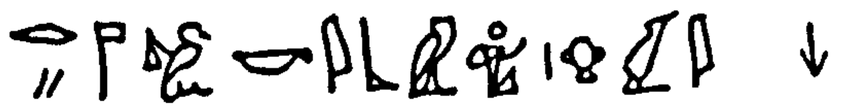
tr. Grapow, loc.cit., 'herrlichen Falken mit funkelndem Gefieder'.

Petrie, Koptos, pl.18, No.2 (see below, bỉk nṯry): the king is described as: bỉk mỉ ꜣSt (ie Horus).

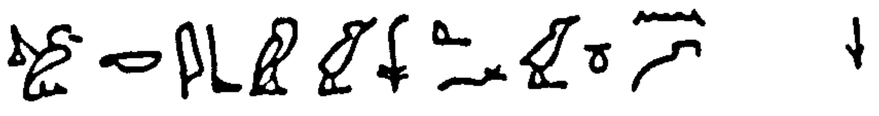
Koenig, P. Boulaq VI, rto 4, 6 (in a spell to repel danger):



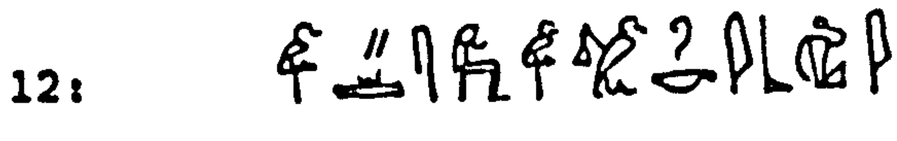
tr. p.48: 'Horus à l'intérieur de Chemnis, le faucon dans son nid'.

Totb Nav I, 78: 

tr. Allen, BOD, p.68: (the deceased is identified with Horus): 'My face is (that of) a divine falcon'.

BOD 110: 

tr. Allen, BOD , p.87: 'This is Horus. He appears as a falcon 1000 cubits long'.

P.Ch.B. VIII, vso 10, 11 - vso 11, 12: 

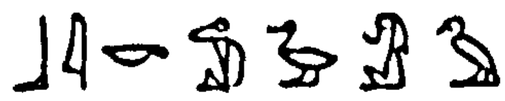
tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.75 (12 names of Horus): 'O thou noble falcon'.

Horus identified with Dwn-ʿwy is described as a bỉk in P. Jumilhac VII, 23-24:

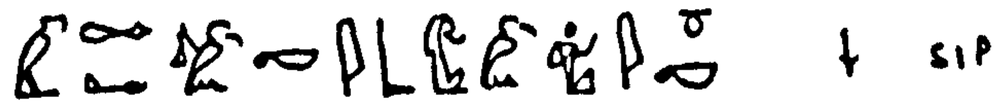
tr. Vandier, p.119: 'Quant à Dounâouy, le faucon aux ailes éployées, c'est Shou.... c'est Horus....' (my omissions). Cf P. Jumilhac XIX, 6 (tr. p.131) where Horus is described as 'avec une

tête de faucon'.

Text Relig 18 (Cairo 28118; CT II, 221):



tr. FECT I, p.126: 'O Falcon, my son Horus'.

CT II, 222: 

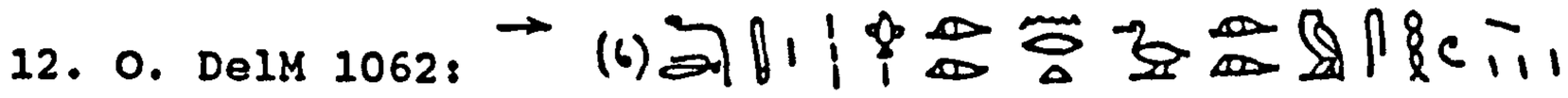
(other texts with bỉk omit ꜣ)

tr. FECT I, p.126: 'I am Horus, the Falcon'.

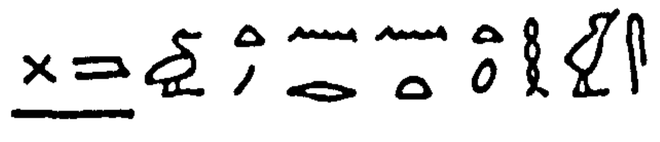
NB Coptic ϐHϬ (CD 48b) (cf ϐHϪ (CD 48a)) 'falcon' noted, inter alia, as the sacred bird at Philae. For the Coptic words see too Černý, CED, p.30: 'falcon'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.34b: 'faucon'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.30: 'Falke', comparing Bedouin wēke.

Pyr 1207:

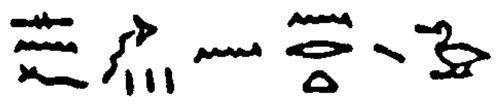
tr. Sethe, UuK V, p.94: 'Morgenstern, Horus von der Dꜣ.t, göttliche Falke, Grünlingvogel, gegrußt seiest du in diesen deinen viergrädigen Gesichtern.'

12. O. DelM 1062: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.102; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.60: 'Anfang vom Buch für das Beseitigen des Schlages eines Toten, einer Toten ⌜....⌝, die eingetreten sind in die beiden Augen, die betreten haben diese beiden Augen (folgt der Zauberspruch). Werde gesprochen über den beiden Augen eines Geiers, den Beiden Augen eines Krokodils ⌜....⌝; sꜣ-wr-Harz; grüne Augenschminke; werde gekocht, werde an die beiden Augen gegeben; wirklich vorzüglich.'

Eb 62, 11: 

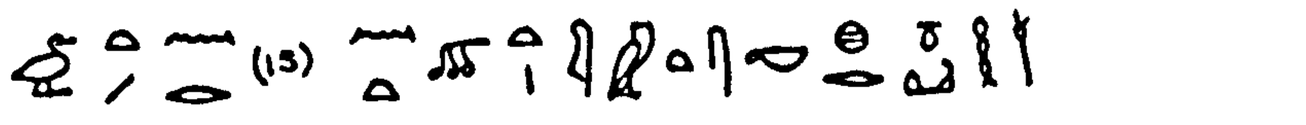
Wb.Drog. V, p.73; tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1], p.42: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Beseitigen der ꜣdj.t- Krankheit im Auge. schwarze Augenschminke 1/2; Ei vom Geier 3/4; werde fein zerrieben, werde an die Außenseite der beiden Augen gegeben'.

Eb 88, 22: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.414; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.240: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) Blut einer Taube; Blut einer gmn-Gans; Blut einer Schwalbe ; Blut eines Geiers; werde damit gesalbt (gs)'.

Smith 18, 10: (10) 

Wb. Drog. V, p.455; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.266, and by Breasted, p.476: 'Speak the words over two vulture feathers, with which a man has covered himself, placed as his protection in every place where he goes. It is a protection against the year, expelling sickness in a year of pest'. (See also p.472).

Eb 56, 15: 

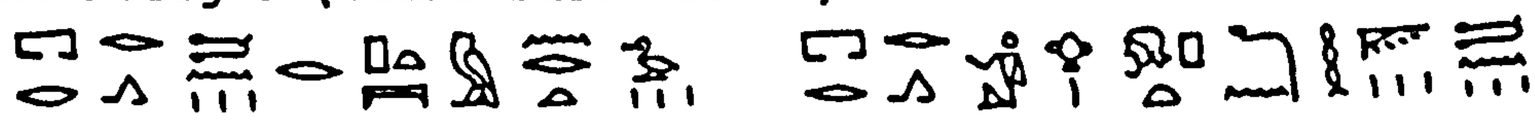
Wb. Drog. V, p.80 ; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.46: 'Andere Aussage: du sollst es eingießen mit der Feder eines Geiers ' (for an eye complaint).

13. Koller 4, 1 (in a list of tribute from Kush):

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.438: 'ostrich feathers'.

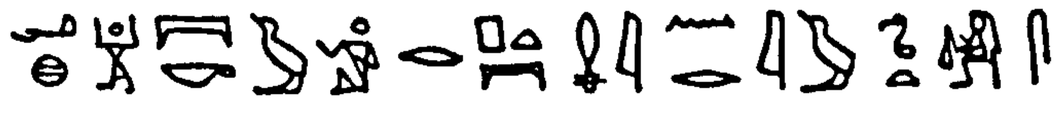
but for ostrich-feathers see Ch.17 : Miscellaneous Birds. For vulture feathers see Eb 56, 15 above.

14. Text Relig 5 (Cairo Sarc. 28083):



'You shall proceed to heaven as a vulture; I shall proceed upon your wings'.

Cf, for the bird's powers of flight, Theb Grab 159 <1407>:



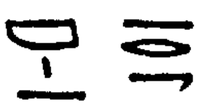
'I am gone up to heaven like the noble vulture'.

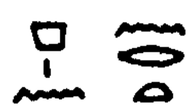
The second reference is rather obscure; the phrase comes in a passage calling to Amun for help in a year of confusion:

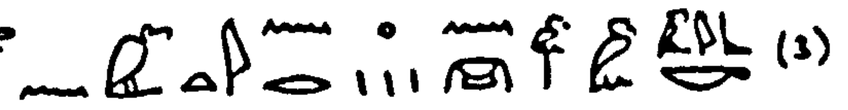
An IV, 10, 4:

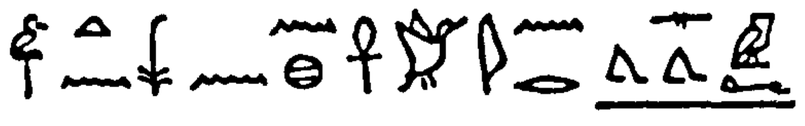
tr. Caminos, LEM, p.171: 'May he cause me to become a vulture's wing like a (fully) manned mstỉ-boat : so say the herdsmen (10, 5) in the fields, the fullers on the river-bank, the Medjay that are come out from the district, and the gazelles upon the desert'; S.R.K.Glanville, ZÄS 68 (1932) 7-41: Records of a Royal Dockyard in the time of Tuthmosis III: Papyrus British Museum 10056, p.16, suggested that this comparison should lead to the conclusion that

the mstỉ was a many-oared boat, the oars resembling the feathers on a bird's wing.

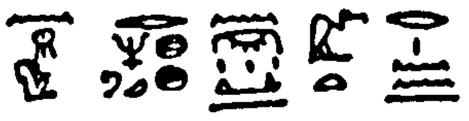
15. A collar with ends in the form of the heads of vultures is described as:
Totb Leps pl.40: 
cf (same reference)

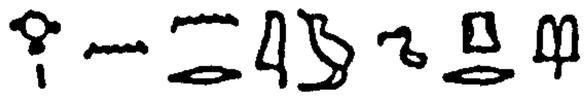
Berl 45 (Vol. I, p.237-243) p.240, No.5: 

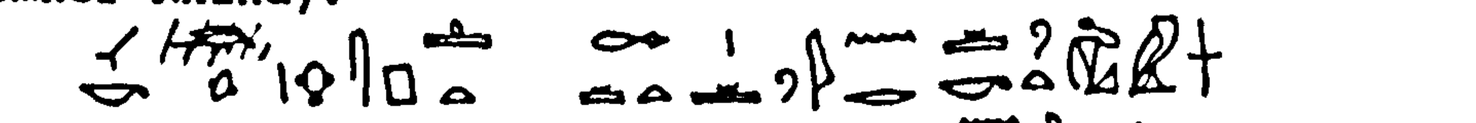
16. An amulet in the form of a vulture is mentioned in P. Brooklyn 47.218.50, 20, 3: 
tr. Goyon, Confirmation, p.78: 'Apporter les amulettes du (rite) d'amener les oiseaux. Placer au cou [de Pharaon, V.P.S. (?)] le faucon d'or, le vautour de faience (?), le chat de turquoise'.

This papyrus also records the use of the bird in the new year ritual performed by the king which included the releasing of various birds (20, 8): 

17. Totb Leps 157, 3:


tr. Allen, BOD, p.155-156: 'Spell for the vulture of gold put at the throat of the blessed one. To be said over a vulture made of gold, on which this spell is inscribed, given as magical protection (to) this blessed one on the day of joining the earth'. (The accompanying vignette shows a vulture with outstretched wings).

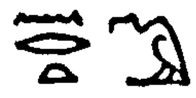
18. Totb Leps 164, 12: 
(One of three faces of Mut; over this image of the goddess the spell recorded in the previous note is to be said); tr. Allen, BOD, p.161: 'another like a vulture's face wearing twin plumes'.

Apoph 30, 12 (P. Bremner-Rhind):

with n.(i): 'Apparently so; not '. (Wb's record: ).

In the Pyramid Texts the deceased king is said to have two mothers in the form of vultures:
Pyr 1118:
tr. Sethe, UuK V, p.8: 'ich bin gekommen zu diesen meinen Muttern,

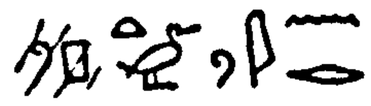
den beiden Geier-weibchen'.

According to Sethe the reference is to the 'two ladies' of Egypt, Nekhbet and Edjo.

cf Pyr 568: 

tr. Sethe, UuK III, p.66: 'Schwanger geworden ist ein Geier mit NN.' Here again possibly a reference to the goddess of El-Kâb in contrast to Pyr 567 mentioning Edjo.

Botti, Sobk, 6, 16 (nrîw appears in parallel with Nekhbet, Edjo and Sekhmet and probably denotes Mut):

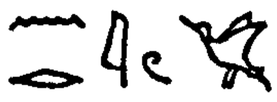


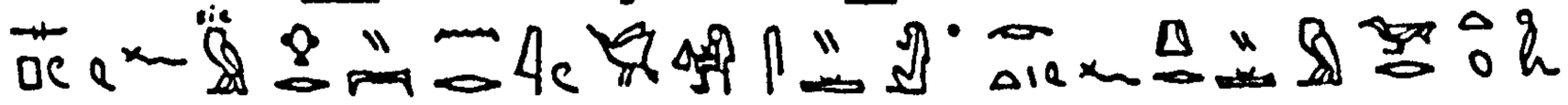
tr. p.58: 'l'Avvoltoio'.

Houlihan identified the Lappet-faced vulture from certain representations. This is a very powerful bird so the choice of this bird to represent various goddesses would seem appropriate; see Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, no.22, p.41-43, esp. p.42.

19. Hornung, Anbetung I, p.209:

tr. Vol.II, p.87: 'ich bin erschienen als Geier. Mein Gesicht ist ein Falke, mein Scheitel ist Re'.

20. One of the references quoted by Wb for nîw 'ostrich' (Wb II, 202, 8-11) should rather be placed under nrt and the writing  deleted from the former entry. The text in question is P. Tur P u R 125, 6 (NK magical text); it was originally recorded under nrt according to the Wb archive in Berlin:



'His head is Re, his ear (sic?) is Banebded, his right ear is Nekhbet (6), his left ear is Edjo, his upper lip is the noble vulture, his lower lip is Wrt'. The 'noble vulture' is probably to be understood as Mut.

21. CD 228b: 'vulture'; Černý, CED, p. 110: 'vulture'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.144a: 'vautour'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.125: 'Geier'; (B) 'Greif'.

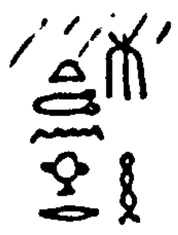
22. Westendorf, loc.cit. Cf Hopfner, Tierkult, p.104ff; E. Brunner-Traut, LÄ II, 513-515: Geier, esp. col.514.

23. Keimer, AJSLL 43, p.229, n.1 (full reference above).
V.Loret, PSBA 26 (1904) 227-234: Une hypothèse au sujet de la vocalisation égyptienne, p.230, claimed that nrt was not a feminine word until the Coptic period; this was rejected by Keimer, loc.cit.: 'no masculine nrw with that meaning, as cited by Loret, is known to me'. Cf nrw in Demotic quoted by Černý, CED, p.110, however. Loret's view was also repudiated by K.Sethe, ZDMG 77 (1923) 145-207: Die Vokalization des Ägyptischen, p.153, n.1.

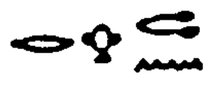
24. Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1961) tr. p.233: 'das Eierlegen <in> der Osthälfte des Deltas von seiten des Falken'.

Stevenson
Smith, Interconnections, fig.179 (Unas causeway):

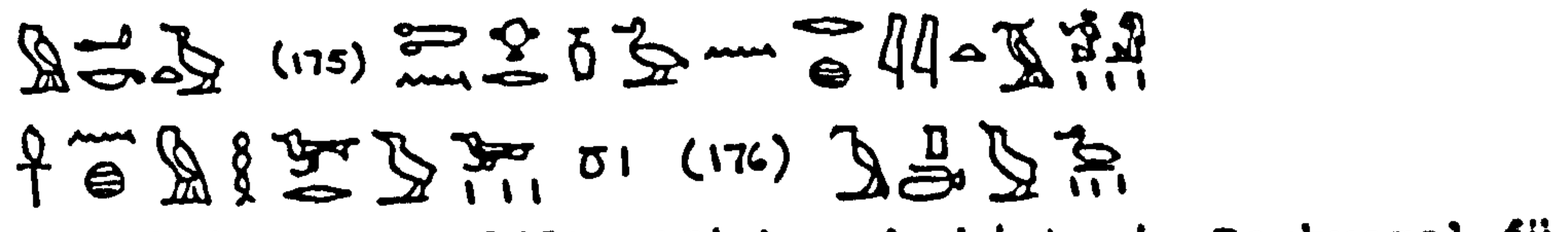
25. Edel, op.cit., p.240, fig.10:



Smith, loc.cit:

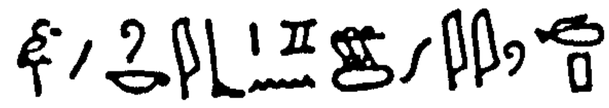


27. Bauer 175:



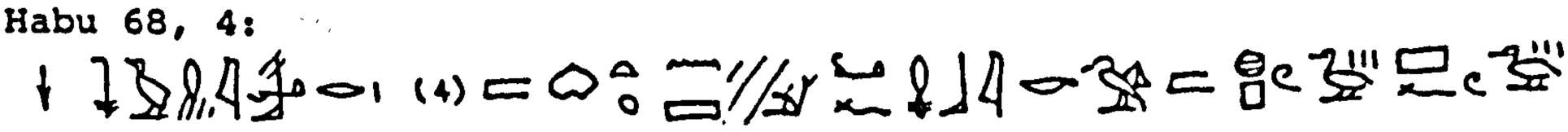
tr. Vogelsang p.144 (text p.143): 'Siehe, du bist ein Raubvogel für die Menschen, der von den Schwachen unter den Vögeln lebt'. Also tr. by Grapow, Bildliche Ausdrücke, p.90 and E.Suys, Fellah Plaideur, p.114: 'Oiseau de proie', with comments p.115.

26. Zandee, Hymmen, p.13 (P.Leid 350, 1, 20):



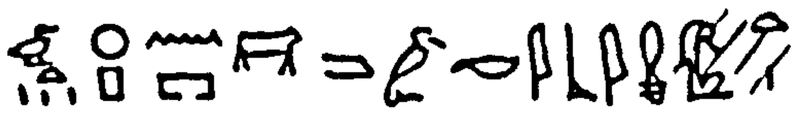
tr. p.10: 'nest van de valk'.

28. Note that šf(n) and ḫpt are attested only in these contexts. Med Habu 68, 4:



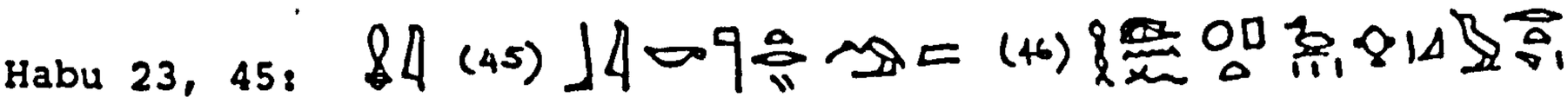
tr. Edgerton & Wilson, Hist Rec Ram III, p.60: 'There is none who can stand before him, for he is like Baal at the time of his raging, like a falcon among little birds and small fowl'.

Med Habu 42,9:



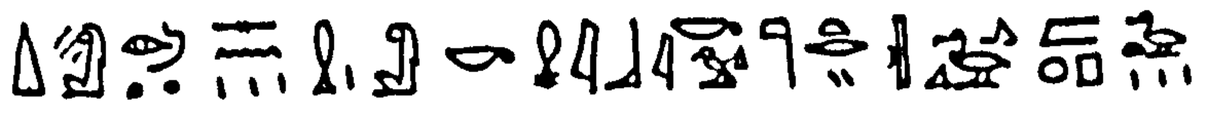
tr. Edgerton & Wilson, p.43: 'I was like a falcon in the midst of small fowl'.

Med Habu 23, 45:

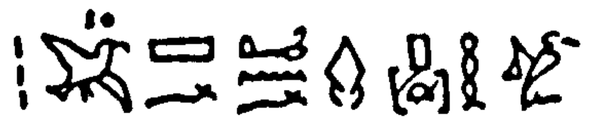


tr. Edgerton & Wilson, p.16: 'I was after them like a divine falcon when he has sighted small birds at a hole' , noting 'the human detail in both recensions of the Ramses II text is a

more or less conscious admission of the fact that the "birds" referred to are actually humans.'

Med Habu 101, 21: 

tr. Edgerton & Wilson, p.107: 'I cause them to see thy majesty like a divine falcon entering among small birds'.

KRI II, 180, 14 (from Luxor): 

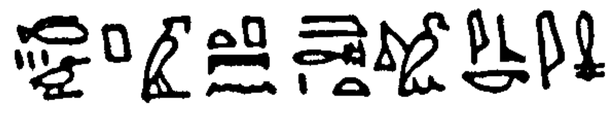
tr. Kitchen, JEA 50 (1964) 47-70: Asiatic Wars of Ramesses II, p.52-53: '"Sparrows" is a free rendering; strictly, small birds of an intermediate species'.

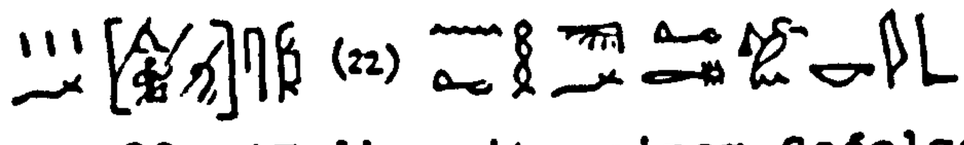
KRI II, 153, 11 (Karn <386>):

tr. Grapow, Bildliche Ausdrücke, p.89: 'Wie ein Falke, wenn er die kleinen Vögel packt'.

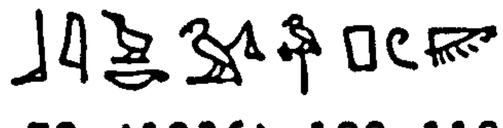
Med Habu 31, 12:

tr. Grapow, op.cit., p.90: 'Pferde sind wie Falken unter den kleinen Vögeln'.

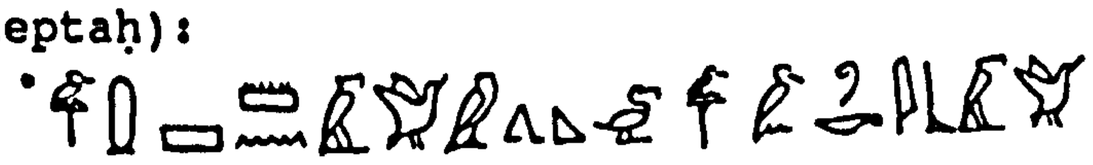
cf KRI II, 151, 11: 

29. Sinuhe R21 (the king's eldest son is described as a bỉk following the king's death): 

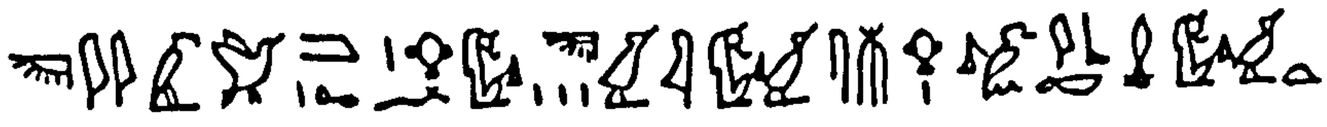
tr. Grapow, Bildliche Ausdrücke, p.29: 'Falke mit seinem Gefolge fliegt'.

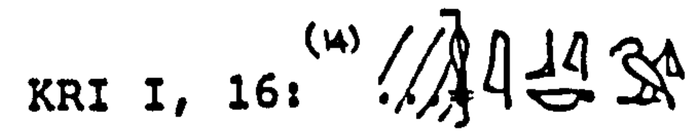
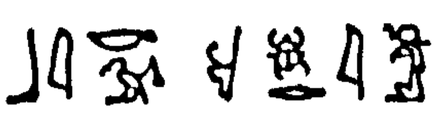
Turin 1949 + 1946 (deceased king called bỉk): 

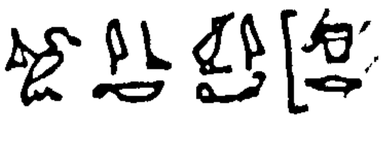
tr. J.Černý, ZÄS 72 (1936) 109-118: Datum des Todes Ramses' III und der Thronbesteigung Ramses' IV, p.111: 'Der Falke ist emporgestiegen'.

An II, 4, 5 (concerning Merneptaḥ): 

tr. Grapow, op.cit., p.89: 'der Falke, der in den Königsnamenring eintritt'.

KRI I, 114: 

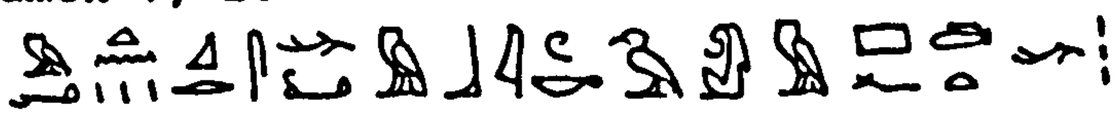
KRI I, 16: (4)  (5) 

KRI I, 111: 

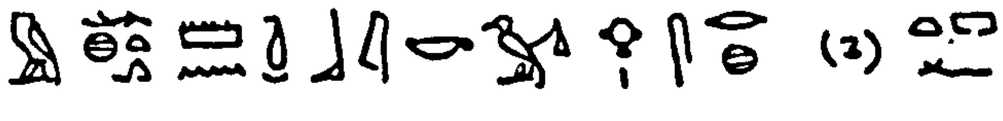
Pyr 162: 

tr. Sethe, UuK I, p.62: 'Falke, nachdem er (seine Beute) genommen hat'.

Kadesh 107:

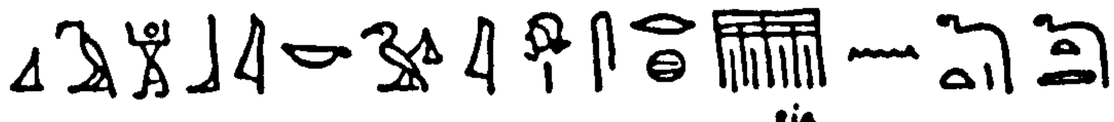
Admon 7, 2:


tr. Gardiner, p.54: 'Behold, he who was buried as a hawk is.... What the pyramid concealed is become empty.' Gardiner wondered whether this was the earliest surviving allusion to tomb robbing.

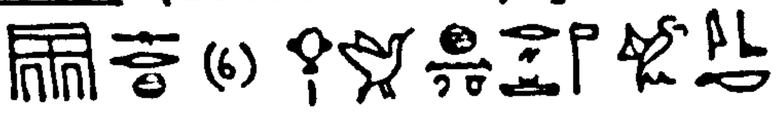
Urk III, 86 (army has gathered at the king's death):


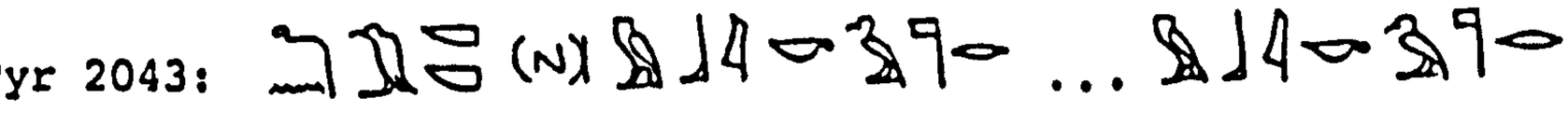
Urk IV, 160: 

'I fixed the titulary myself after he established my bik on the srh'.

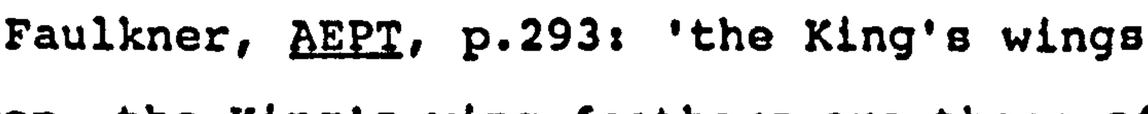
Urk IV, 391:


tr. Grapow, op.cit., p.89: 'seine sic Titulatur bleibt wie die Berge und sein sic Falke hoch sei auf dem Namensschild ewiglich'.

Zandee, An Egyptian Crossword Puzzle (Leiden 1966) p.35-36:


30. Pyr 2043: 

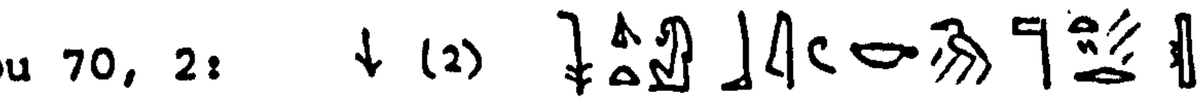
tr. Faulkner, AEPT, p.293: 'the King's wings are those of a divine falcon, the King's wing-feathers are those of a divine falcon'.

Pyr 2034: 

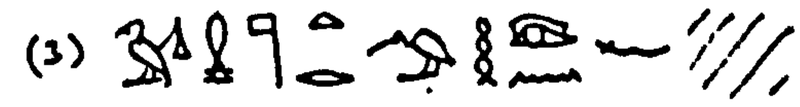
tr. Faulkner, AEPT, p.292: 'O Great Nut, give your hand to the King, for the King is this divine falcon of yours.'

Med Habu 28, 68:

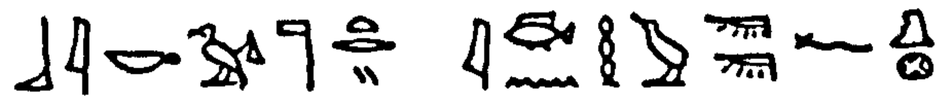
tr. Edgerton & Wilson, op.cit., p.33: 'They know his two arms, that the divine falcon strikes and seizes.'

Med Habu 70, 2: 

Petrie Koptos pl.18 No.2:

Zivie, Giza, p.184, l.3 (= KRI I, 76-77):


tr. p.186: 'Il aperçut un grand lion terrible (C) (3) comme le faucon divin aperçoit [un petit oiseau (?)]'.

Karn <1083>: 

tr. Grapow, p.89: 'der göttliche Falke, dessen Flügel Ägypten umfangen.'

Kairo <436>: (unpublished)

tr. Grapow, loc. cit.: 'göttliche Falke, der am Himmel schwebt und die beiden Länder mit seinen Flügeln verhüllt.'

31. Urk IV, 161:

Kuban 2:

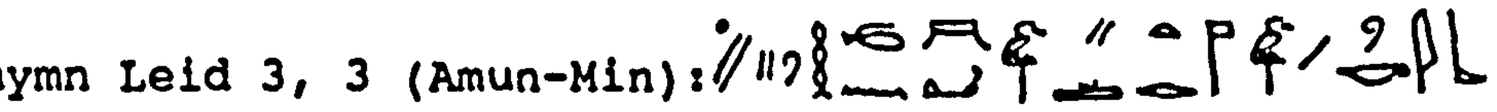
tr. Grapow, loc.cit., p.89: 'schöne Goldfalke, der Ägypten mit seinen Flügeln schützt.'

32. Amonshymn Kairo 11, 1 (Amun):

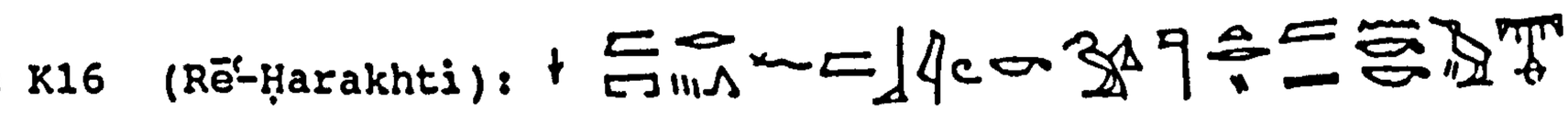
tr. Grapow, op.cit., p.88: 'der große Falke'.

LD III, 130a, 10 (Amun):

tr. Grapow, p.89: 'göttlichen Falken mit buntem Gefieder'.

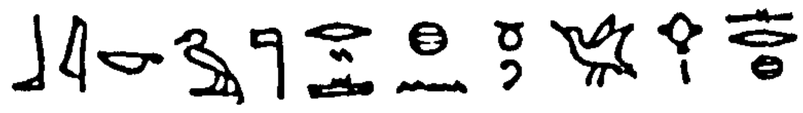
Amonshymn Leid 3, 3 (Amun-Min): 

tr. Grapow, op.cit., p.88: 'der göttliche Falke, der die Flügel ausbreitet'. Also tr. Zandee, Hymnen, p.40.

Leiden K16 (Rē'-Ḥarakhti): 

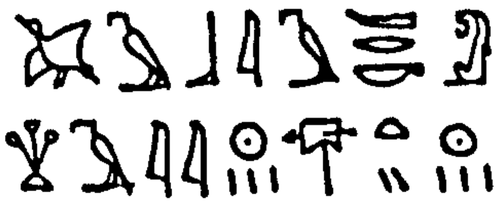
Leiden K11 = KRI III, 173-4 (Osiris):

tr. Grapow, loc.cit.: 'großer Gott, der aus dem Urwasser aufgeht, der göttliche Falke.'

Theb Grab 157 <1165> (Osiris): 

Piankoff, Religious Texts III (Papyrus of T3-wd3t-R<sup>c</sup>):

Urk VI, 75 (Banebded):



tr. Grapow, p.74: '(O Du,) der Falke, glänzend an Strahlen.'

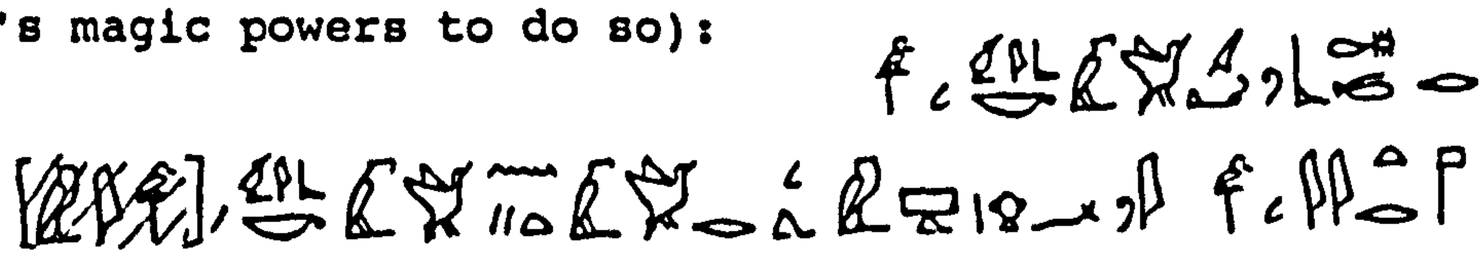
Edwards, HPBM 4th ser., T3, rto 49 (P. Turin Museum 1985) (falcon god of Nekhen):

tr. p.74: 'We shall keep him safe from the falcon of Nekhen and (50) the Negress of Nekheb.' Cf P.3 rto 34 (P. Louvre E25354):
tr. p.86: 'We shall keep her safe from the falcon... and [the] Negress of (35) Nekheb.'

Hornung, Anbetung I, p.209 (SI):

tr. Vol. II, p.87: 'Ich bin einer von euch, ich bin erschienen als Geier. Mein Gesicht ist ein Falke, mein Scheitel ist Re'. He commented: 'Es handelt sich um ein falkenköpfiges, solares Wesen mit der Sonnenscheibe auf dem Haupt' (note 469).

S. Sauneron & Y. Koenig, MIFAO 104 (1980) 135-141: Deux pages d'un texte littéraire inédit. Papyrus Deir el-Médineh 39, pl.10 & 10A, (Harsaphes engages in a fight with the bik-ntry, calling on the help of Meryrē<sup>c</sup>s magic powers to do so):

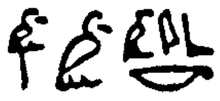


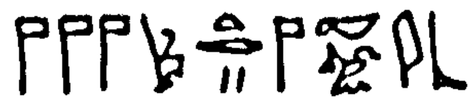
tr. p.137: 'Il lui dit... (6)... général Méryrê pour tuer le faucon divin'... 'Il alla à l'endroit où se trouvait le faucon.'

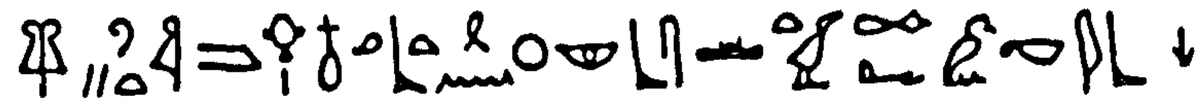
Pyr 415:

tr. Sethe, UuK II, p.175: 'W. kommt zu euch, ihr Falken', with a comment p.176: 'Die Falken offenbar göttliche Wesen am Himmel, der das Ziel der Wanderung des Toten ist'.

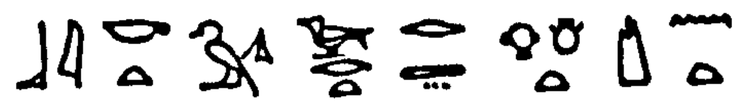
P. Brooklyn 47.218.50, 15, 9 (sacred animals):

and 16, 10: 

KRI III, 366 (Rē‘-Khepri-Atum-Horus): 

cf Totb Nav I, 15: 

tr. Allen, BOD, p.17: 'Hail to thee, Re-Harakhte-Atum-Horus-Khepri, great falcon with festively adorned breast, beautiful of face, with twin plumes'.

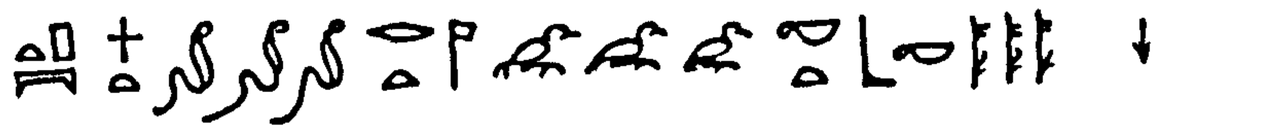
33. CT V, 21: 

tr. FECT II, p.4: 'the great female falcon on earth, who dwells in On'.

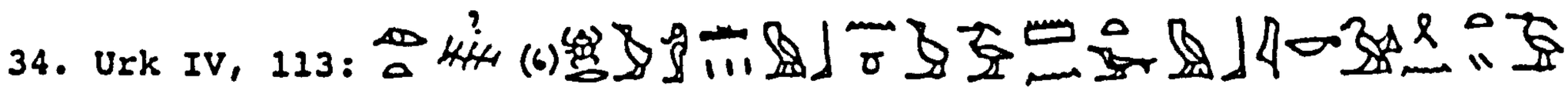
CT VII, 242:

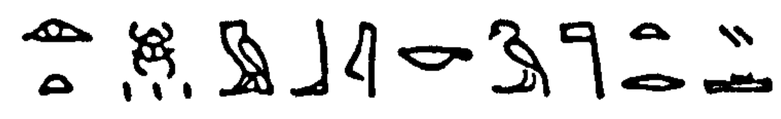
tr. FECT III, p.121: 'the female falcon who dwells in Onet'.

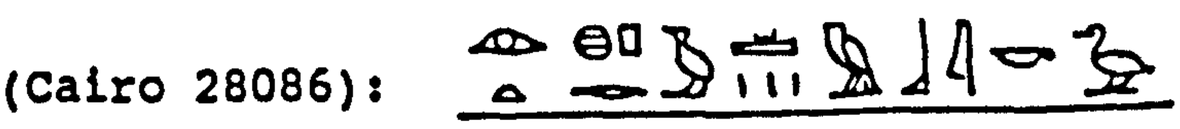
See also Arch Abousir I, p.102 and II, p.554ff.

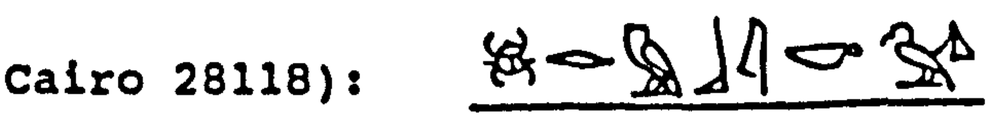
Pyr 137: 

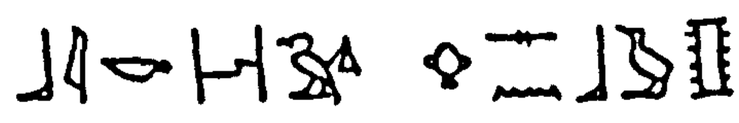
tr. Sethe, UuK I, p.4: 'Du sollst dich reinigen (scil. im Himmel), (da) deine Knochen die (der) Falkenweibchen (sind), die Göttinnen, die im Himmel sind.'

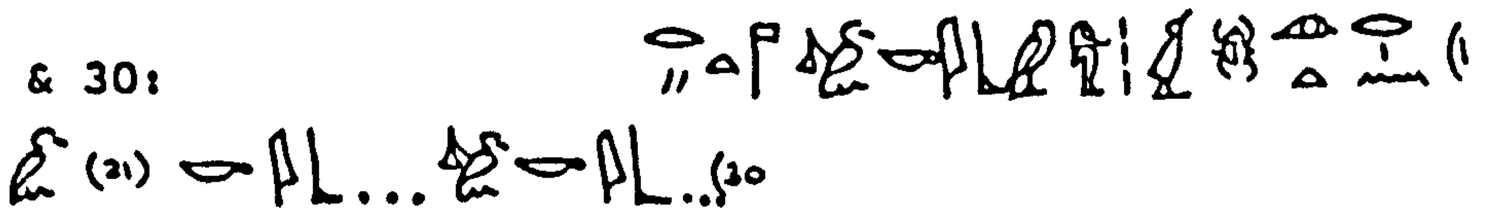
34. Urk IV, 113: 

Urk IV, 481: 

Text Relig 17 (Cairo 28086): 

Text Relig 16 (Cairo 28118): 

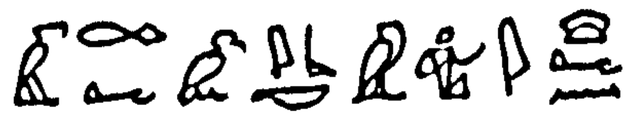
Text Relig 18 (Cairo 28118): 

Totb Nav 78, 1 & 30: 

tr. Allen, BOD, p.67: 'Spell for assuming the form of a divine falcon'... 'I have dawned as a divine falcon'.

Totb Nav 88,1:

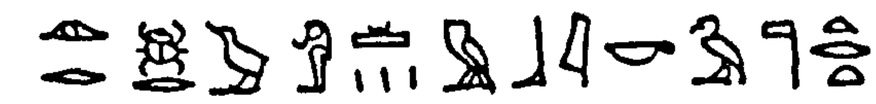
tr. Allen, BOD, p.76: 'Spell for assuming the form of a falcon of gold'.

CT II, 236b: 

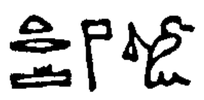
tr. FECT I, p.127: 'I have appeared as a great falcon, I have grasped him with my talons'.

Pyr 913:

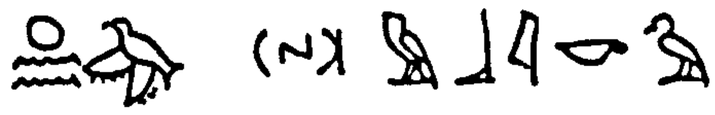
tr. Sethe, UuK IV, p.186: 'Du sollst aufsteigen zum Himmel wie die Falken, deine Federn sollen sein wie die der Gänse'.

H.Grapow, ZÄS 77 (1942) 57-78: Ägyptische Jenseitswünsche... p.63: 

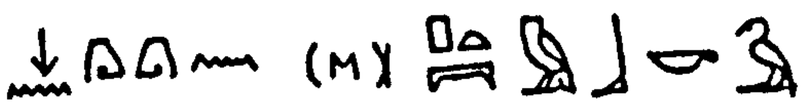
tr. p.66: 'Es ist so, daß die Verklärten... die Gestalt eines gottlichen Falken annehmen ' (my omission).

E.Brovarski, JEA 62 (1976) 57-73: Senenu, High Priest of Amun at Deir el-Bahri, pl.11A (Statue Or. Inst. Chicago 8798): 

tr. p.59: my soul 'will assume the form of a divine falcon'.

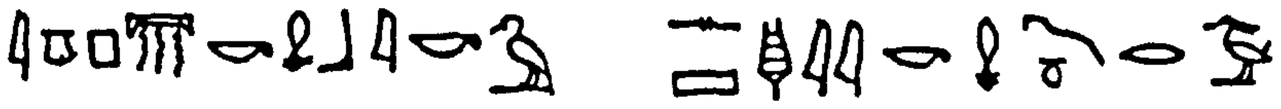
Pyr 1770: 

tr. Faulkner, AEPT, p.259: The king has gone up as a swallow, the king has alighted as a falcon'.

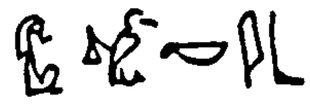
Pyr 891:  var. P.

tr. Sethe, UuK IV, p.152: 'NN. hat den Himmel geküßt als Falke'.

Pyr 2043:

Pyr 2179: 

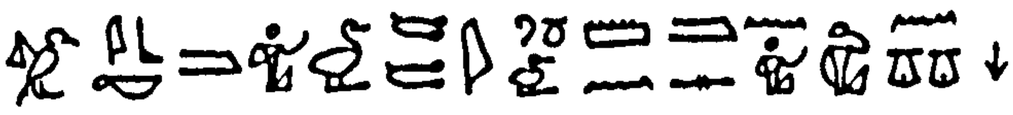
tr. Faulkner, AEPT, p.305: 'May you soar like a falcon, may you fly aloft like a heron'.

35. Totb Nav I, 17 = Urk V, 63, 12: (see smn for text) 

tr. Allen, BOD, p.30: 'I fly as the falcon, [1] have honked as the smn-goose'.

Totb Nav I, 169: (see smn for text)

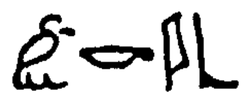
tr. Allen, BOD, p.176: 'The falcon rejoices for thee; the smn-goose honks for thee'.

Totb Leps 98, 1-2: 

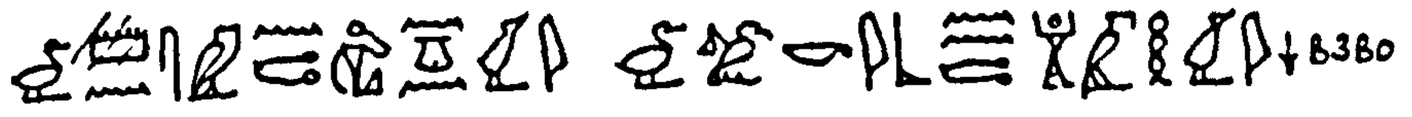
tr. Allen, BOD, p.78: 'I have honked as a smn-goose; I hover yonder as this falcon over the pate and fragrance of Horus'.

CT IV, 310-311: (see smn for text)

tr. FECT I, p.265: 'I fly up as a falcon,



I cackle as a goose'.

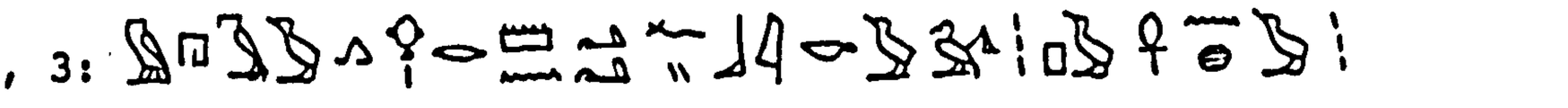
CT I, 74 : 

tr. FECT I, p.15: 'The Falcon has screamed for you, the Goose has cackled for you'.

36. CT VI, 41:

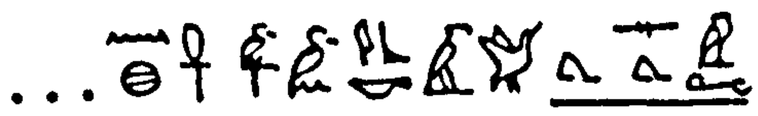
tr. FECT II, p.122: 'I have escaped from its clutch as a falcon of seven cubits along its back'.

(Cf CT VI, 31 & 35).

37. MuK 4, 3: 

tr. Erman, p.17: 'Falle nicht auf seine Schultern, es sind lebende Sperber'. Also tr. Grapow, Bildliche Ausdrücke, p.90.

38. P.Brooklyn 47.218.50, col. 20, 3-5:



tr. Goyon, Confirmation, p.78: 'Apporter les amulettes du (rite) d'amener les oiseaux. Placer au cou [de Pharaon, V.P.S.(?)] (3) le faucon d'or, le vautour de faience (?), le chat de turquoise.

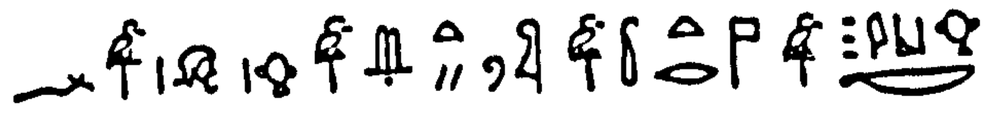
Amener le faucon vivant, celui qui sera honoré par le Roi en chacune des occasions (prévues) de cette année. Faire (cela) dans la selle [....]'

'Ensuite, tu oindras le faucon d'or avec l'eau de l'oeil gauche du Faucon vivant. Placer la tête (5) du Faucon vivant en arrière.'

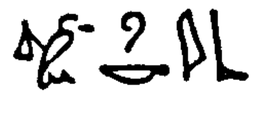
39. Totb Nav 134, 16-19:

tr. Allen, BOD, p.110: Spell 'To be said over a falcon on whose head stands the white crown, Atum, Shu and Tefnut, Geb and Nut, Osiris and Isis, and Suty and Nephthys having been sketched with Nubian pigment on a new bowl put into this bark together with an image of this blessed one whose initiation thou desirest, anointed

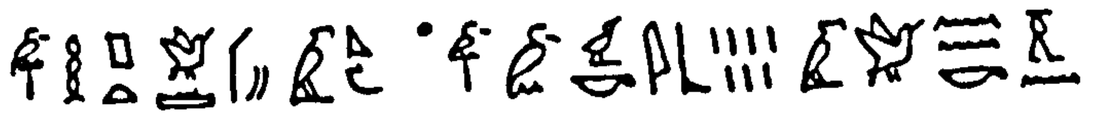
with HKNW-oil.'

P. Tur P u R 131, 1.7: 

tr. Borghouts, AEMT, p.76 (No.104; spell against snake poison): 'Words to be said over a divine falcon with a pair of feather-plumes on its head, made of tamarisk-wood, painted in outline, with its beak (fnd) opened'. This is to be placed before the bitten person.

O. DelM 1075 (possibly a magical text): 

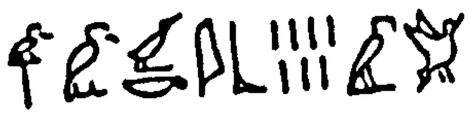
A. Massart, MDAIK 15 (1957) 172-185: The Egyptian Geneva Papyrus MAH 15274:



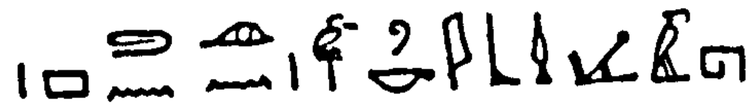
Isis' words tr. p.180: 'I have brought you the seven falcons which Ptah has created (8) in the primaeval times of the two lands, they who call back to life a man after his death with potent words which come forth from their mouth and which they say potently (?)'.

Seven falcons are also referred to in

P.Ch.B. XI, D, vso x + 5 (pl.68):

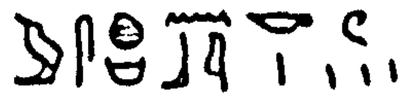
and P. Jumilhac IX, 6, tr. Vandier, p.97: 'C'est <en> tout lieu qu'il désire qu'il les fait pénétrer en ce jour, alors que les sept faucons de Thot sont assis sur son épaule et Amon-Rê le roi des (7) dieux est assis sur sa tête ': 

40. J.Capart, ZÄS 45 (1908) 14-21: Une liste d'amulettes, p.19 (pl. II, col.7):

O.DelM 195, vso 3: 

tr. Janssen, Commodity Prices, p.310: 'one bik of ebony, makes 1 deben'. From the low price he deduced that 'the bik in question may therefore have been an amulet or the like'. See too his n.73-74.

See also above, n.38 (P.Brooklyn 47.218.50).

41. Kairo 28038 (Lacau, Sarcophages I, p.120, No.66): 

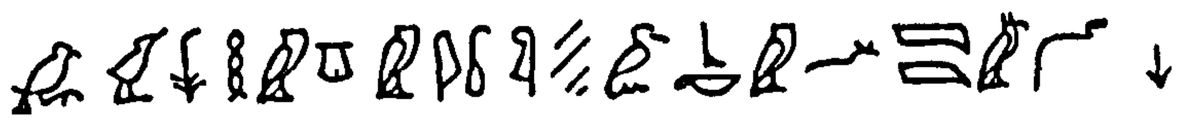
tr.: 'Un collier....avec une tête d'épervier au centre'.

J. Capart, op.cit., p.18, No.33: 

Berl 45 (Vol.I, p.237-243, no.3): 

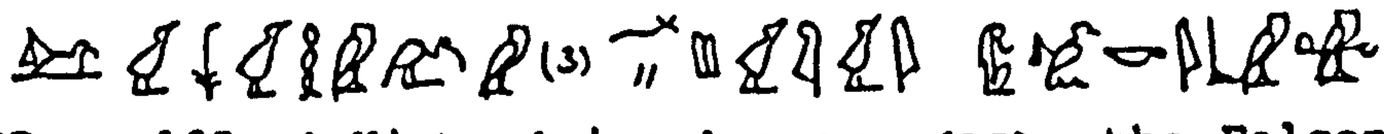
Leps Totb pl.40 (cf nrt above): 

For this type of collar see Jéquier, Frises, p.71-72.

42. Pyr 250: 

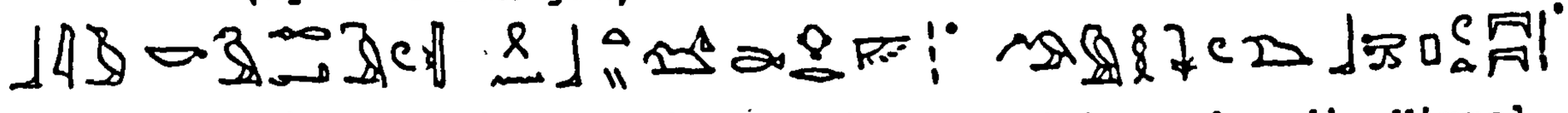
tr. Sethe, UuK I, p.234: 'seine beiden Flügel sind gewachsen als (die) ein(es) Falk(en), seine beiden Federn sind (die) ein(es) heilige(n) Falke(n).' The form of the determinative is like that of the bỉk - see Piankoff , Pyramid of Unas, pl.37.

Totb Nav 177,3 (nach Aa):



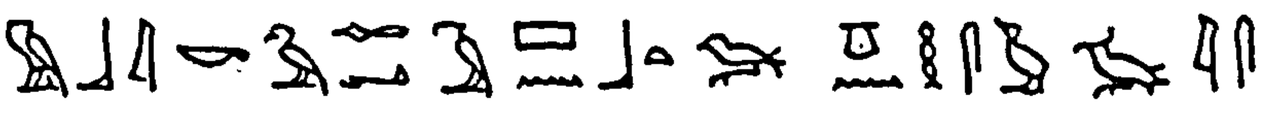
tr. Allen, BOD, p.185: '<His> [wings] grow <as> the Falcon('s), his twin plumes as the gmḥsw-hawk('s).'

Kairo 25208 (hymn to sun-god):



tr. Erman, Gebete, p.28: 'großer Sperber,....Gmḥsw, der die Himmel durchläuft' with n.2, p.27: 'Der Sperber hat im Original die weiße Krone.'

Pyr 1048:

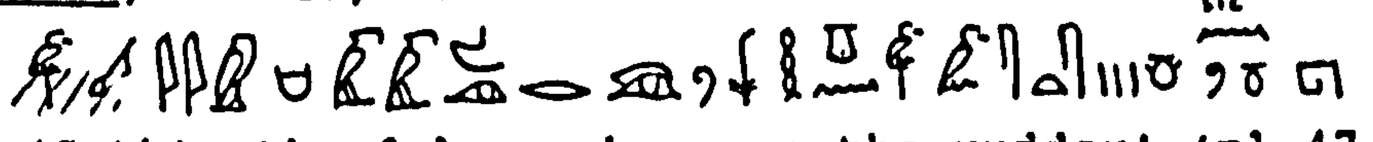


tr. Sethe, UuK IV, p.325: '(Deine Flügel sind/Dir sind Flügel) gewachsen als der große Falke, der brustst arke, wie der gmḥsw-Falke, dessen Untergang gesehen worden ist, der den Himmel durchfahren hat.' In his commentary, p.326, he also noted the use of šnbt for the sun-god. No explanation was offered for gmḥsw.

43. See Wb Belegstellen.

44. Junker, Giza II, p.51: 'Es ist ferner zu bemerken, daß nur dieser Gott, Falke und Himmelsgott zugleich, Horus heißt, und nicht etwa Ḥrw der Name eines Falken ist. Das Kultbild bzw. das heilige Tier heißt niemals so. Es wird als gmḥsw, šnbtj, ʿḥm bezeichnet.'

45. Bakir, Cairo Calendar, vso 17, 3:



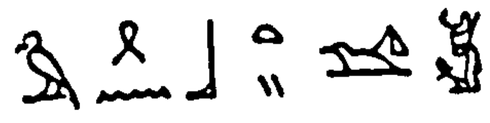
tr. p.80: 'Day 3 (Seth), the falcon who sees the rudder' (pl.47 & 47A).

46. Theb Grab 30 <1710>:

47. O. Cairo 25211, 8:

48. Kairo 25208, P.Berl 3050 and
Pyr 1048 - see above for the texts.

49. Abyd Sethostempel Raum D <347>:



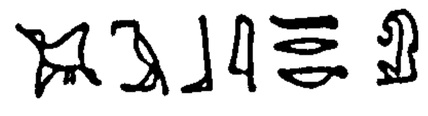
50. See Jéquier, Frises, p.91-92: tr.: 'falcon couché', literally '"le corps, le tronc"' , mot qui se rapporte non au sens même de l'objet, mais à sa position sur la momie'.

51. See Wb Belegstellen.

52. Gardiner, Sign-List, G 11-12. A.Eggebrecht, Das alte Ägypten: 3000 Jahre Geschichte und Kultur des Pharaonenreiches (München 1984) p.328 (gloss to illustration, top), noted: 'Gemehesu - "der selbst auskundschaftete" - ist der alte Titel des hockenden Falken mit Wedel auf der Standarte....Zusammen mit seinen Pendant, dem Falken Sopdu, symbolisiert er das Königtum.'

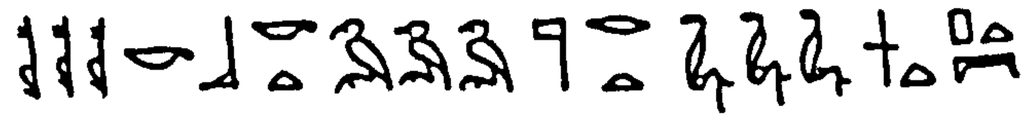
53. Urk VI, 99,11-12:

tr.



54. L.Störk & H.Altenmüller, LÄ II (Wiesbaden 1977) 93-97: Falke, col. 94.

55. Pyr 137 (bikt):



56. Cf Wb V, 596, 9-597, 4: das Klageweib.

For representations of these, with bird of prey determinative, see esp: B. Grdseloff, Das ägyptische Reinigungszelt (Le Caire 1941) fig.8, p.37 (Tomb of K3r, Giza). Cf too fig.9.

For other writings of drt see J.S.F. Garnot, RdE 8 (1951) 71-78: Notes philologiques sur les textes des pyramides, p.71-5.

57. For representations of Isis and Nephthys as birds of prey, see, for example:

E.A.W.Budge, The Book of the Dead : The Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum (London 1895) pl.7: Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, fig.51.

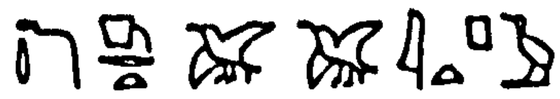
E.A.W.Budge, Facsimiles of the papyri of Hunefer, Anhai, Kerasher and Netchemet (Seti I) (London 1899) pl.9: birds brown; trousers white. No moustachial streak: Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, fig.52.

G. Thausing & H. Goedicke, Nofretari (Graz 1971) pl.22: both birds brown, paler on face and underside. Moustachial streak on both (detail pl.133). Cf pl.19.

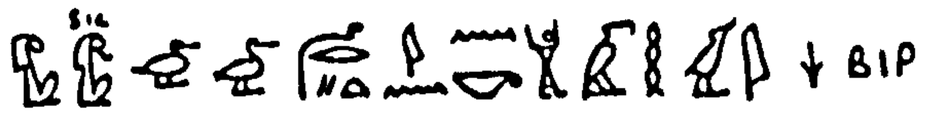
Black and white reproductions of scenes including these birds can be found in J. Vandier, Paintings from Tombs and Temples (Greenwich, Conn. 1954): Unesco World Art Series 2, pl.3 = M. Saleh, Das Totenbuch in den Thebanischen Beamtengräbern des neuen Reiches (Mainz-am-Rhein 1984): Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 46, fig.4; Saleh, op.cit., fig.11 & 12; J. Vandier, MIFAO 69 (1935): Le Tombe de Nefer-abou, pl.20 (drawn p.21); B. Bruyère, MIFAO 88 (1959): La tombe No.1 de Sennedjem, pl.19; E. Hornung, Der Tal der Könige (Zürich & München 1982, 1983) p.115, fig.85; K. el Mallakh, Treasures of the Nile (Tokyo 1980) p.68.

Cf also all vignettes accompanying BOD 17 published in Totb Nav, Vol.I, pl.28.

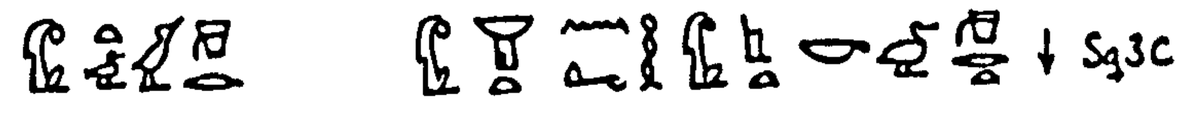
All these depictions show birds with short bills and straight-edged tails.

58. Pyr 1254 (of Isis and Nephthys): 

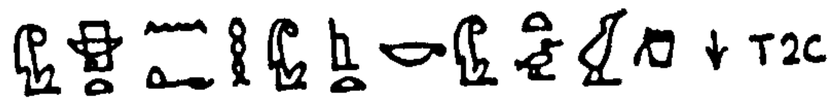
Sethe, UuK V, p.155, tr.: 'Ihr jene beiden Weihen'.

CT I, 74: 

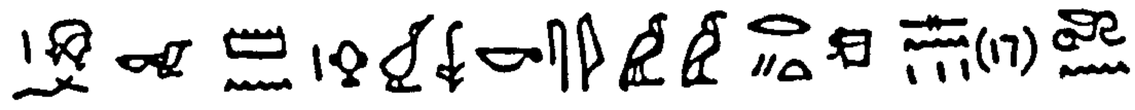
tr. FECT I, p.15: 'the Two Kites, who are Isis and Nephthys scream for you'.

CT I, 282: var. T2C 

tr. FECT I, p.62: 'Your kite(s) are Isis and Nephthys'.

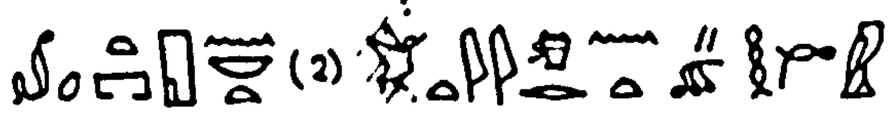
CT I, 299: 

tr. FECT 1, p.67: 'your kites Isis and Nephthys'

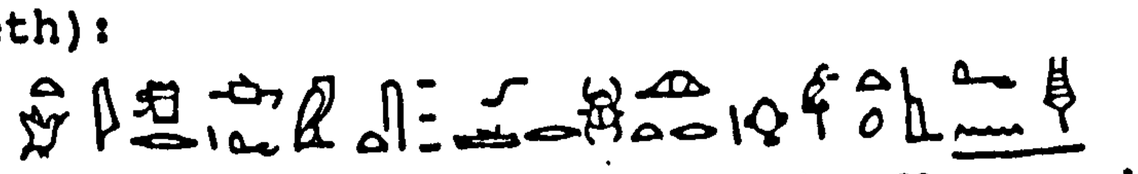
BOD 17, 16 (gloss): 

tr. Allen, BOD, p.28: 'As for "his twin plumes on his head," Isis and Nephthys went and put themselves on his head, being present as hawks while his head was paining him.'

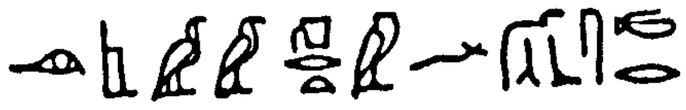
These identifications are confirmed by a number of other texts:

P. Leiden 343, vso 22, 1: 

tr. p.112: 'I [have] exorcised [thee, I have exorcised thee (?)]... [with (?)] the horn of a white bull and with a feather of a kite of Nephthys'.

P.Ch. B. I, 6, 13 (Hor u Seth): 

tr. p.18: 'And Isis changed herself into a kite, and she flew, and she perched on the top of an acacia.'

Cf Pyr 308: 

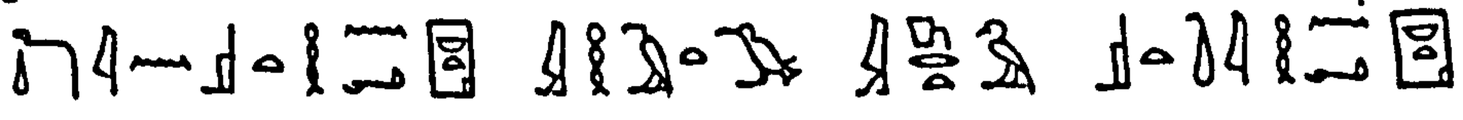
tr. Sethe, UuK I, p.373: 'er hat sich gereinigt mit dem Horusauge. Sein Schaden ist getilgt durch die beiden Weihen des Osiris' with comments p.380.

The determinatives here can be clearly seen in Piankoff , Pyramid Texts, pl.18 & 19, where they have bills of the 'kite' type but not forked tails, and are much more slender than the Horus falcon.

59. According to J.Settgast, Untersuchungen zu altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen (Glückstadt etc 1963): Abhandlungen des DAIK (Ägyptologische Reihe, Vol.3) p.26 with n.1, the division drt wrt/ndst occurs only from early NK (his 'Frühe Gruppe') examples, though the drt are depicted in pairs from early Dyn. 5 (tomb of Kȝ-nfr). Two priestesses who sang the 'festival songs of Isis and Nephthys' (see Festges 1, 1-2) were called drt wrt and drt ndst: Budge, op.cit, p.x, commented: 'In the funerary papyri of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties the birds of Isis and Nephthys... are undoubtedly hawks, but in the texts the birds which follow the word as determinatives closely resemble geese or even brood hens... The tradition of the Ptolemaic Period... makes the bird to have been a hawk.' Women and mourners are shown with these appellations in N.Davies and A.H.Gardiner, The Tomb of Amenemhet No 82 (London 1915): Theban Tomb Series No.1, pl.12 (cf p.49, n.2: 'The bird dryt is apparently τρε milvus; in form it closely resembles the falcon, but in certain Theban Tombs, eg. no.1, it lacks the characteristic plumage and markings of the falcon's head, and is painted a reddish-brown colour.'

On drt wrt alone see Otto, Mundöffnungsritual I, p.44-45 (Text); II p.75-76; and O. Mich, pl.26, No 67 (copy of this text). For drt ndst see Otto, op.cit. I, p.97 and II, p.102-3.

60. Pyr 1280:

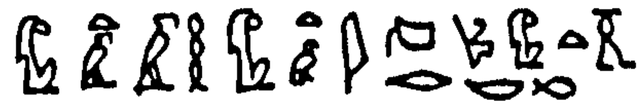


tr. Sethe, UuK V, p.192: 'Worte sprechen durch Isis und Nephthys: Es kommt der ḥȝt-Vogel, es kommt der drt-Vogel (Weihe), Isis ist das und Nephthys.'

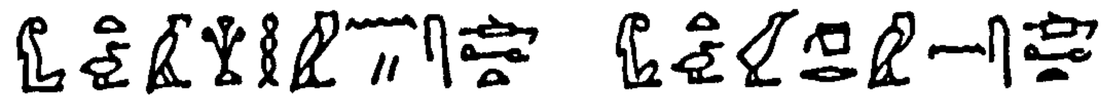
Pyr 1255:

tr. Sethe, UuK V, p.157-158: 'Es kommt Isis, es kommt Nephthys, die eine von ihnen auf der rechten, die eine von ihnen auf der linken (Seite), die eine von ihnen als ḥȝt-Trauervogel (Schwalbe), die eine von ihnen als drt-Trauervogel (Weihe).' In his commentry on p.160 he noted the classical connection of Isis and the swallow (whence his translation).

J. Assmann, MDAIK 28 (1972) 47-73: Die Inschrift auf dem äußeren Sarkophagdeckel des Merenptah, fig. 1, l.15:



tr.: 'Ich bringe dir die beiden Weihen (dṯrt und ḥ3t) mit ihren Sistren und Halsketten.'

CT I, 303g: 

tr. FECT I, p.68: 'Isis comes and Nephthys comes... one of them as a kite and one of them as a screecher' (my omission), with n.1, noting ḥ3 as the noise made by a bỉk and dṯrt in CT I, 73-74.

61. Although the colouring of the Black Kite is well represented, the notched tail of this bird is absent from all but one of the drawings of Isis and Nephthys as birds of prey (see above). Note, however that a photograph of Pyr 463 in Piankoff , Pyramid Texts, does reveal that the det. of dṯrt has a forked tail.

Similarly, the bird in the papyrus of Nodjmet (for reference see above, n.57) may, because of its notched tail, be a Black Kite.

Representations of the Isis and Nephthys birds often show the wing projecting beyond the front of the body (as it does in depictions of the Horus falcon) except that in the tomb of Nefertari. The absence of a 'moustachial streak', such as appears on the female Peregrine, is, however, indicative of some other species.

The birds with the moustachial streak (Nefertari) appear to be obviously falcons; from the colouring, female falcons. Species to be considered are the Kestrel, the Eleonora's Falcon (pale form), the Hobby (its rufous 'trousers' may rule it out) and the Lanner Falcon (possibly to be discounted because of its paler crown). The Merneptah examples likewise suggest, from their colour, the chestnut plumage of the female Kestrel, though they lack the moustachial streak.

The examples from the Ani papyrus resemble the Saker Falcon (note especially the pale head). The long bill suggests rather an eagle - the Booted Eagle (light phase) or Bonelli's Eagle may be suitable candidates.

L. Störk, LÄ VI, 1167: Weihe, noted of the drt: 'Wegen des "sifflement plaintif" der Weibchen käme hier am ehesten die Rohrweihe [Marsh Harrier] in Frage'. Note also of the Marsh Harrier that: 'females sometimes are all-dark, suggesting Black Kite' (Field Guide, p.87). The pale crown of female Marsh Harriers does not correspond to the known representations of Isis and Nephthys, nor do Marsh Harriers have the pale underside which often appears in the ancient depictions.

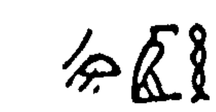
All the falcons (except male Red-footed Falcon) mentioned by Houlihan have paler faces and undersides than wings which is frequently the case with the Isis and Nephthys birds. This is also true of the pale phase of the Buzzard and the Booted and Bonelli's Eagles.

The Ḥunefer examples suggest the pale phase of buzzard.

The task of identifying the drt on the basis of coloured representations of Isis and Nephthys as birds of prey is thus very difficult.

62. Borchardt, Abusir, pl.V; Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1961) pl.5 (opp. p.216): (see gmt for text)

Edel, op.cit., p.223: (see bdw for text)
tr.: 'Das Kommen zum Delta <um> Fische zu fangen <im> kühlen Wasser von seiten des bdw-, ḥɜt- und des s-Vogels' with the comment: 'Von Fischen nährt sich allerdings von diesen drei Vögeln nur der ḥɜt-Vogel, die Seeschwalbe... so daß die Überschrift nur für diese gelten kann.'

63. Stevenson Smith, Interconnections, fig.179: 

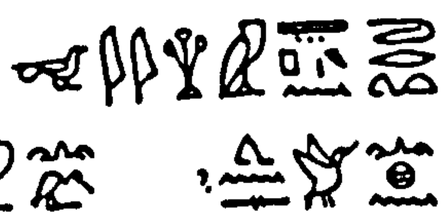
Note the nwr and bỉk (waterbird and bird of prey) on the register above.

64. Edel's tr. was accepted by L.Störk, LÄ II, 132: Fauna ('Sterna sp'). This reference was apparently unknown to Houlihan & Goodman, Birds; however, they noted various species of tern as occurring in modern Egypt (p.157-158):

| | |
|---|---|
| Black tern | Chlidonias niger (L) |
| White-winged Black tern | C.leucopterus (Temminck) |
| Whiskered Tern | C.hybridus (Pallas) |
| Gull-billed Tern | Gelochelidon nilotica (Gmelin) |
| Caspian Tern | Hydroprogne caspia (Pallas) |
| Swift Tern | Sterna bergii Lichtenstein |
| Lesser Crested Tern | S.bengalensis Lesson |
| Sandwich Tern | S.sandvicensis Latham |
| Common Tern | S.hirundo L |
| Roseate Tern | S.dougallii Montagu |
| White-heeled Tern | S.repressa Hartert |
| Bridled Tern | S.anaethetus Scopoli |
| Little Tern | S.albifrons Pallas |
| Saunder's Little Tern | S.saundersi Hume |

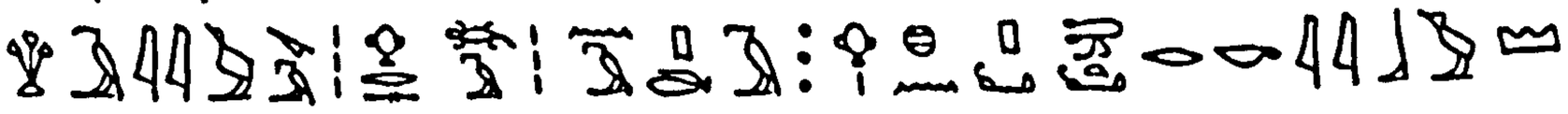
65. E.L.B. Terrace, Egyptian paintings of the Middle Kingdom (London 1968) pl.6 and caption opposite: 'a further label : ḥ3ty "two ḥ3t-birds". Normally the ḥ3t-bird (perhaps a small bird of prey) is associated with Isis... Here the words obviously refer to ducks, through some curious equivalence of ḥ3t with birds in general, unless the word is actually ḥ3t, food (offering)': 

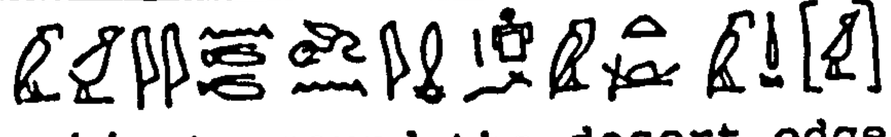
66. Bibl Nat 20, 15 (BOD 85):



tr. Allen, BOD, p.74: 'blessed Isis, who saved her brother, who sought him unwearyingly, who went about this land as a ḥ3yt-bird, not alighting before she found him.'

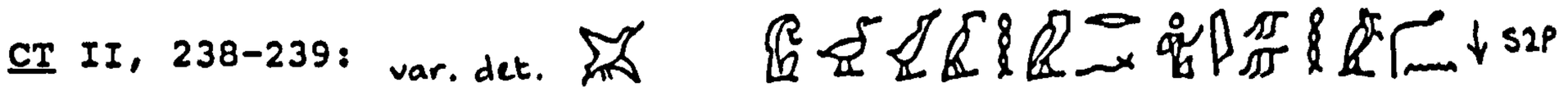
67. Urk IV, 84, 10:

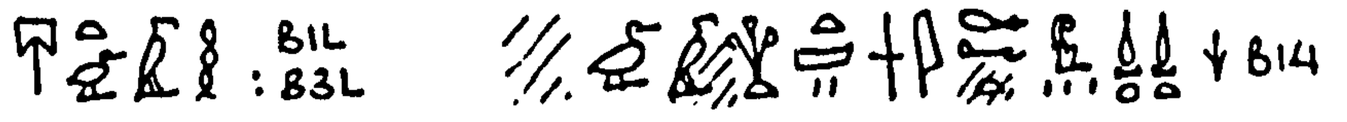


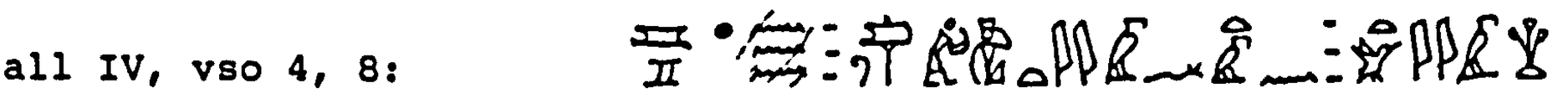
For as det. of ḏrt see L. Habachi, The Second Stela of Kamose and his struggle against the Hyksos ruler and his capital (Glückstadt 1972): 

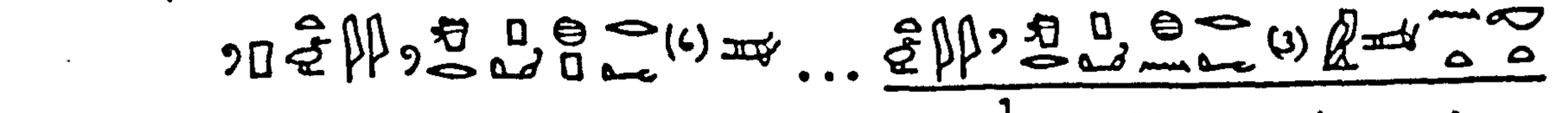
tr. p.34: 'I caused the mighty mk-ship to sound the desert edge, the fleet after it as it were a kite ' with n.b, p.35: 'Ḏrtyw

rather, "bird of prey" or "kite" (Wb V, 596:4) than drty, "falcon"....'. Note the very similar form of Isis and Nephthys depicted as birds of prey by the bier of the deceased in P. Ani (see in the notes above).

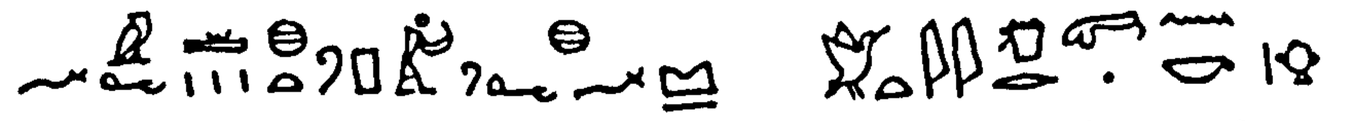
68. CT II, 238-239: var. det.  
tr. FECT I, p.127: 'My wings are on him as a h3w-bird'.

69. CT IV, 331g: var.  
tr. FECT I, p.272: 'The great tribunal which is in the Two Banks of the Kite (?) on that night of the drowning of the great god of ʿAndjet.' with n.1, p.273: 'A screeching bird (falcon, kite or crow?)'. Isis is referred to.

70. Sall IV, vso 4, 8: 
tr. Caminos, LEM, p.335: 'h3yt-birds of To-faytjau'.

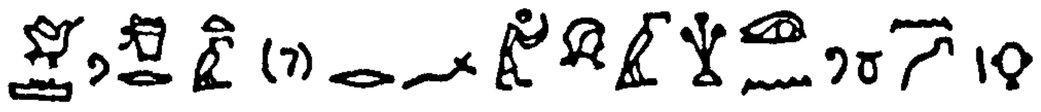
71. Cf Eb 98, 6:

Wb. Drog. V, p.527-528; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.306: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Nichtzulassen, daß die Weihe raubt (hnp). ein Zweig der Dornakazie; werde aufgestellt. Dann soll der Mann sagen: Horus, er hat geraubt (t3j) in der Stadt, auf der Flur. Sein Durst ist gerichtet auf die Flur der Vögel. Er möge <sich etwas> backen, er möge essen. Werde gesprochen über einem Zweig der Dornakazie, werde ein fk3.w-Kuchen auf ihn gegeben. Das ist ein Nichtzulassen, daß die Weihe raubt (hnp) .'

It is noteworthy that it is Horus to whom the appeal is made rather than Isis/Nephthys with whom the bird is more closely associated. Wb. Drog. IV[2], p.230, commented: 'Der Falkengott als Verkörperung der Gattung Raubvogel?'

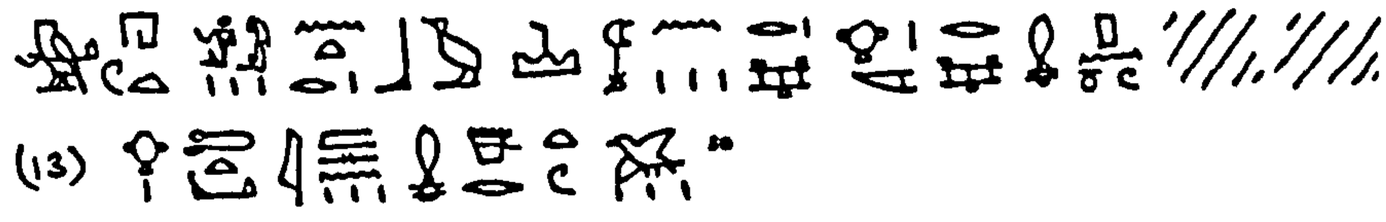
On the scavenging ('robbing', 'seizing') habits of the drt see too P.Ch.B. III, rto 8, 10:

tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser. p.17: 'If a man see himself in a dream 'copulating with a kite, BAD; it means robbing him of something'.

Kites used to be common scavengers in European towns - cf Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.38. (Note that the two representations of a bird on a boat where fish are being prepared, identified as

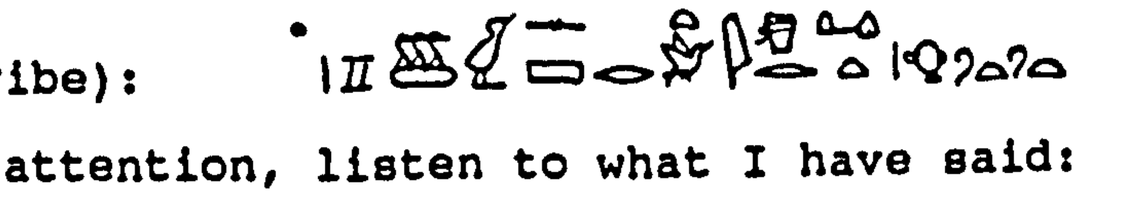
kites, have no notched/forked tails). Compare, for example, E. & D. Hoskings, Birds of Prey of the World (London 1987) p.50 (caption to illustration): 'The Black Kite... is amongst the most dexterous of the raptors in flight, and has been known to snatch a sausage from a picnicker's plate' and p.48: 'the Black Kite is usually a scavenger.'

72. Lansing 4, 7: 

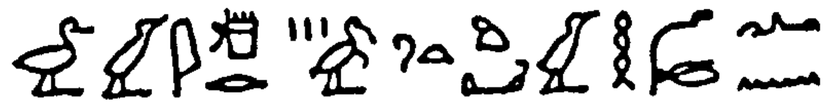
tr. Caminos, LEM, p.384: 'The sandal-maker mixes tan; his odour (4, 6) is conspicuous; his hands are red with madder like one who is smeared with his (own) blood and looks behind him for (4, 7) the kite, even as a wounded man whose live flesh is exposed.'

73. KRI IV, 21: 

tr. G.Lefèbvre, ASAE 27 (1927) 19-30: Stèle de l'an V de Méneptah, p.25: 'Les tribus des Libyens sont répandus sur les digues, comme des souris[...] se saisissant d'eux comme des oiseaux de proie'.

74. An III, 4, 2 (Advice to a scribe): 

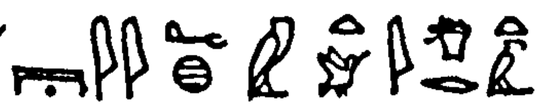
tr. Caminos, LEM, p.83: 'Pay attention, listen to what I have said: it will rebound to your advantage. Apes are taught to dance (4,2) and horses are tamed; a kite can be placed in a nest and a falcon can be caught by the wings.' (For full text see ssmt).

Cf on this subject BOD 164: 

tr.Allen, op.cit., p.161: '(His twin) souls shall not be imprisoned (like) a hawk.'

75. L.Keimer, Isis 41 (1950) 52ff: Falconry in Ancient Egypt.

76. An IV, 16,7 ('An obscure text concerned with fowling and the like'):

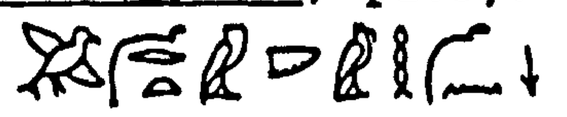


tr. Caminos, LEM, p.126: 'The kite is in mid-air'.

Urk I,77 (Deir el Gebr II, 4):

77. Pyr 741:

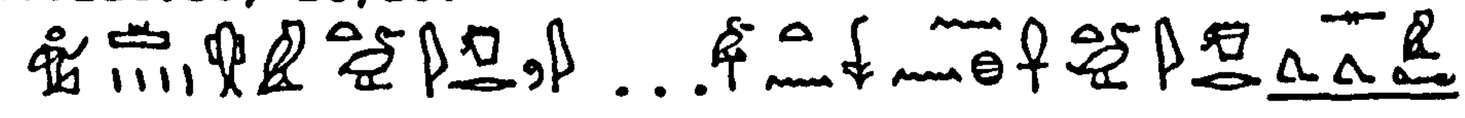
tr. Sethe, UuK III, p.375: 'sie trägt dich empor zum Himmel in jenem ihrem Namen Weihe (dr.t)'.

Pyr 463 (for forked tail see Piankoff , Pyramid Texts, pl.3): (see smn for full text): 

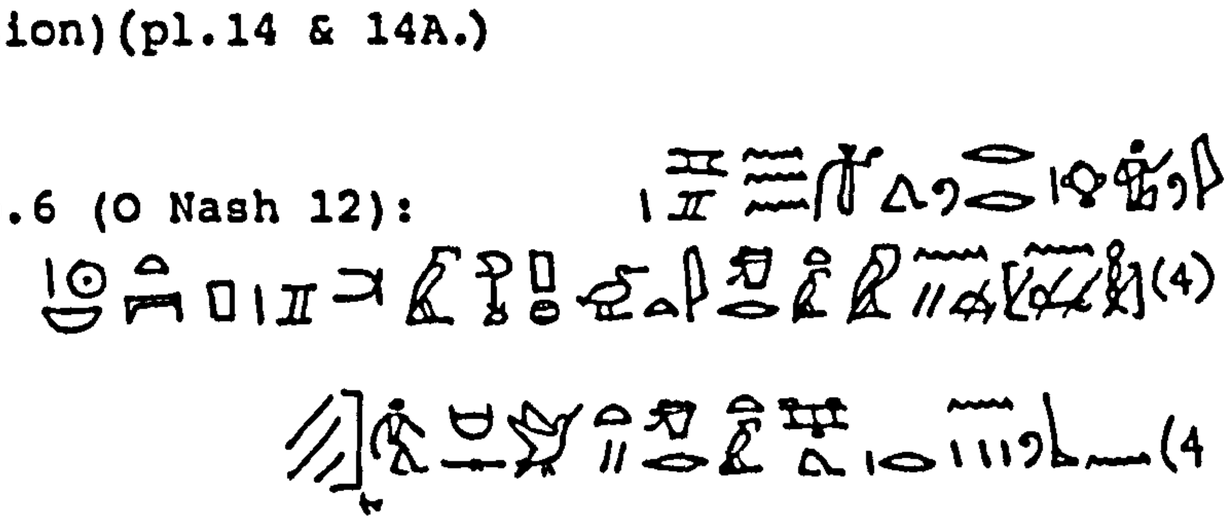
tr. Sethe, UuK II, p.253: 'NN hat die Arme bewegt wie eine smn-Gans, er hat den Flügel geschlagen wie eine Weihe'.

78. Pyr 1484: (var. )

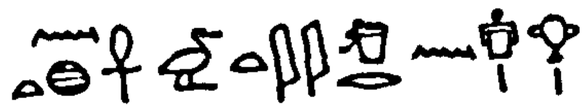
tr. Sethe, UuK V, p.427: 'Er fliegt davon, er fliegt davon weg von euch, ihr Menschen, unter den Gänsen, er macht (sich die/seine) Arme frei weg von euch, als (Falke/smn-Gans) er hat sich weggebracht von euch als Weihe', with comments on drt p.437.

P. Brooklyn 47.218.50, 20,10: 

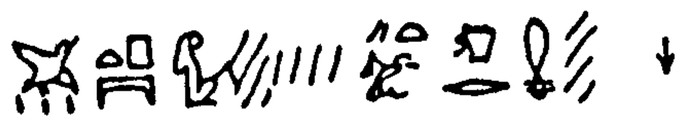
tr. Goyon, Confirmation, p.79: 'Amener un milan vivant au roi'. King says: 'Quand l'oiseau vole vers le ciel, il efface tout menance néfaste ayant trait à la mort....le milan est ma protection' (my omission)(pl.14 & 14A.)

79. HO I, pl.40 & 40A, No.6 (O Nash 12): 

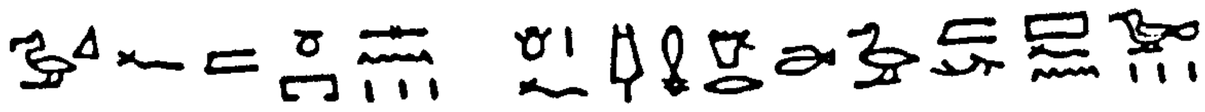
O. DelM 1649: 

80. Eb 65, 17: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.512; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.297: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel). Blut vom Rückenwirbel des g3bgw - Vogel; werde gegeben in echtes Ladanum; werde gesalbt (wrḥ). Er (der Kranke) muß seine Hand (ḏr) strecken auf den Rücken einer lebenden Weihe; er möge seinen Kopf geben an eine lebende Taube.'

81. LD III, 256a, 2 (Osorkon): 

Drt does not, therefore, mean 'Geier', as tr. by Grapow, Bildliche Ausdrücke, p.89.

Urk II, 15, 7 (Ptol): 

82. Totb Nav 172, 17 (nach Aa):
tr. Allen, BOD, p.179: 'Thy utterance is more piercing than (that of) the swamp hawk'.

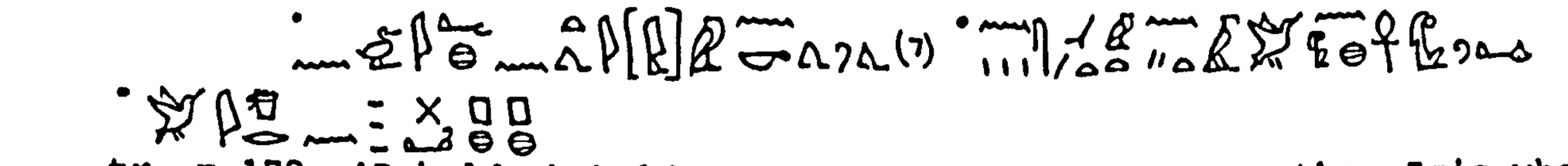
83. Loret, Faune pharaonique, No.10, p.29, suggested that in drt lay the origin of Coptic Τρϵ (CD 429b: 'kite'; Černý, CED, p.194: '"kite" = ... drt, a bird of prey'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.241: 'Weihe', with n.3: 'Milan (Milvus ater), nach Loret, ZÄS 30, 29'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.220a: 'milan'.). Τρϵ was used to translate Greek ἰκτῖνος, a term which was rendered 'kite' by Thompson, Glossary, p.119, noting: 'The Black Kite is still called ἰκτῖνος in the Cyclades... where it is the commoner species'.

See also Osing, Nominalbildung, p.413 (n.90).

84. BWP II, p.29, noted on the Black Kite (M.migrans): 'Highly aerial, hunting extensively over surface of fresh waters and along margins at heights of up to 100m. Among most sociable of predators where favourable habitat attracts dense population, especially where carrion plentiful. Less averse than Red Kite M.milvus to cultivated and other areas of more or less intensive human settlement, and evidently less affected by persecution'; p.34: 'Calls loud and far-carrying; basically a highly distinctive, often shrill and high-pitched, whinnying or trilling'; p.28: 'Ubiquitous scavenger, particularly exploiting damp or wet land for natural prey but invading even dense urban habitat after carrion and food scraps; habitually searches water surfaces for latter'; p.31: 'Bold and daring; will snatch food from market stalls and even from baskets on peoples' heads.'

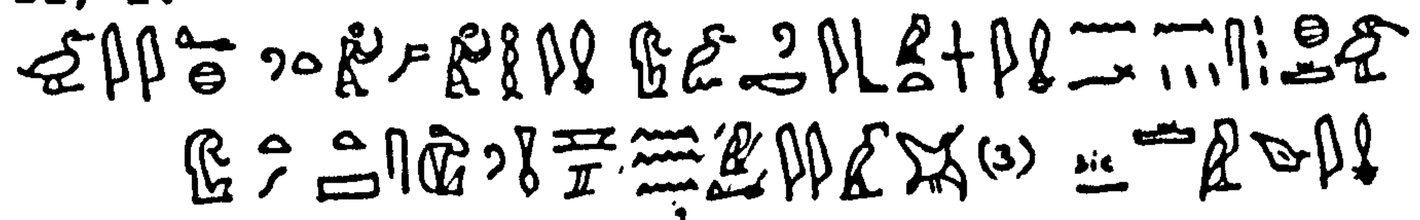
85. BWP II, p.29-34; see also the previous note.

86. A.W.Shorter, JEA 22 (1936) 165-168: A Magical Ostracon:
tr. p.167: 'Come that thou (=Month) mayst put N. born of N. into my hand like an ititi-insect (?) l.5 in the mouth of the ḫy-birds!'
For ỉtỉt as an insect and for the full text see Ch.20 : Insects.

87. A. Massart, MDAIK 15 (1957) 172-185: The Egyptian Geneva Papyrus MAH 15274, pl.33 (rto 6, 7):

tr. p.179: 'Behold, behold, my son Horus, I am your mother Isis who

knows her mouth. I call back to life him who is dead (7). I have come to you with the coming of an ʿḥy-bird and with the going about of a kite'.

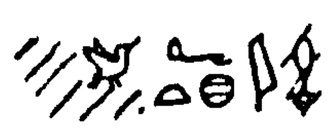
88. P. med Berl 3038, 21, 2:



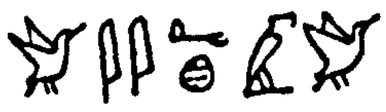
Wb. Drog. V, p.267-268; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.153: 'Spruch für das Trinken eines Heilmittels.' - 'Werde gesprochen von Nephthys. Nützlich ist es für ihn (dem Kranken), wie wenn der Falke frißt , wie wenn der Zahmvogel geschlagen wird, wie wenn das Meer auf die Stimme des Seth hört.'
Also tr. Borghouts, P. Leiden I, 348, p.166, n.396 and id., AEMT, p.46, (No.73).

Although Wb.Drog. translated ʿḥy 'Zahmvogel' the bird was referred to in the comments (IV[2], p.128) as 'Raubvogel'. Wb. Drog. VII[1], p.151, gave only '[Vogel]'.

For the phrase mi ḫwt X 'as (in the same way that) X strikes' compare Kadesh 107 and Urk IV, 1666 (see bik for the texts).

89. O.DelM 1610, vso 6 (Autobiography of 'un roi divin'): 

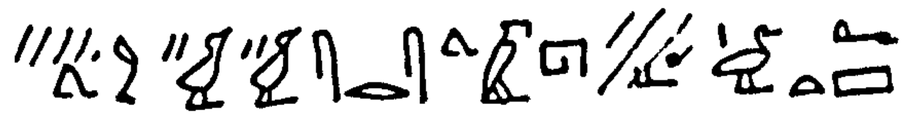
90. See above.

91. An IV 1b, 1: 

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.126: '..... (1b, 1) pool, the ʿḥy-bird, the ỉnỉwšn-plant.'

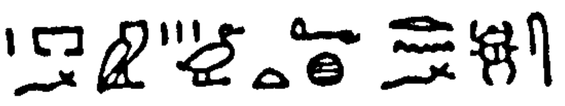
cf Lansing 12, 8:

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.413 (description of the house of Raia): 'Its west is a pond for snaring ro-geese of all sorts, a resort of hunter(s) from the very beginning. One of its ponds (12, 8) abounds in fish (more than) a lake; its ʿḥ-bird is like a bird of the marshes.' Also tr. A.M. Blackman and T.E. Peet, JEA 11 (1925) 284-298: Papyrus Lansing: A translation with notes, p.295: 'Its ʿḥ-birds are like marsh-birds.'

Nauri 11 (KRI I, 49): 

tr. Griffith, p.198: 'The lake in front of it is like the Great Green (sea) whose cir[cuit] is not known, when one gazes upon it

bright like the colour of lapis-lazuli, its middle part of papyrus and reeds, and lilies abounding daily, and lo a swan(?) enters to move about; surrounded by trees reaching to the sky, that are set like the pine on its (native) land.'

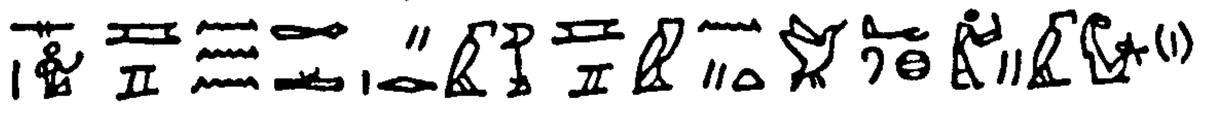
Nauri 19: 

tr. Griffith, p.198-199: 'He hath offered to him a bird-farm in his marshes, their number like the sands of the shore ; one sees his house like the marshes of Chemmis clamouring with fattening(?) and breeding fowl, every bird of the bird-farm; and roasting-birds (?) are produced for him in his house. '

92. An IV, 2, 5:

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.131: 'I am told that you have abandoned writing, that you go off and flee. You have abandoned (2, 5) writing and taken to your heels like a team of horses of the.... Your heart is perturbed, you are like an ʿḥy-bird.'

Koller 2, 3 records the same text:

93. KRI II, 818, 9 (Turin tax lists, rto 3): 

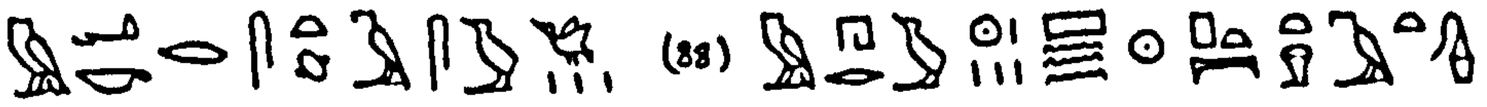
94. This opinion was given by Wreszinski, P.med Berl 3038, p.103, note to No.189: 'ein Wort für "Vogel" im allg.' Cf Med Habu <831> (Room 7; Princess brings young birds and eggs to king):
I have come bringing for you the young of birds, every ʿḥt in their colours/forms (lit 'skins').

P.Ch.B. IV, rto 10, 7:

tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.34: 'Goats and cattle turn to thee. Flying things spring aloft unto thee'. Compare the use of ʒpd in the similar text in rto 12, 5.

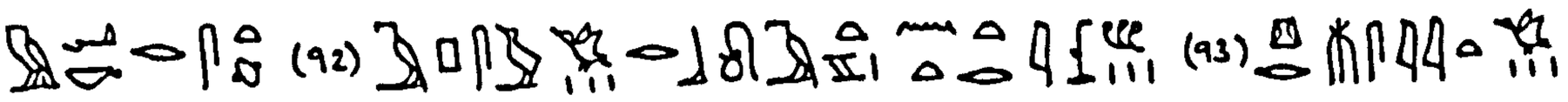
95. S. Sauneron, Kêmi 10 (1949) 83-85: Les verbes ḥrî et sḥrî 's'envoler', p.85: 'ʿḥy "oiseau".... ⩤ʿḥî "voler"'. Cf Jéquier, Matériaux, p.290. Note the similar word ʿḥt, 'réserve d'oiseau, volière' in Meeks, AL 78.0794 from CT IV, 35; FECT II, p.213 tr. 'roamings'.

96. Lebensm 1.87:

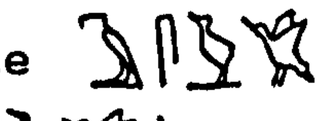


tr.p.51: 'Sieh, mein Name wird verwünscht, - sieh, mehr als der Geruch von Vögeln an Sommertagen, wenn der Himmel heiß ist.'

Lebensm 1.92:

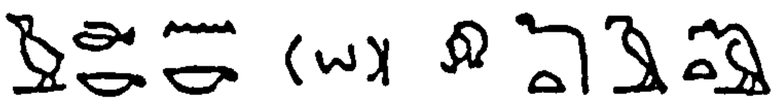


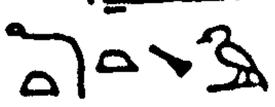
tr.p.53: 'Sieh, mein Name wird verwünscht, sieh, mehr als der Geruch von Vögeln, mehr als die Anhöhe der Weiden mit den Gänsen.'

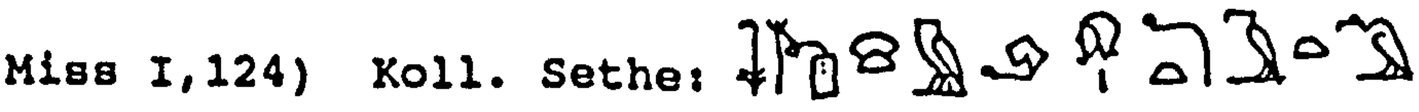
His view was supported by R.O.Faulkner, JEA 42 (1956) 21-40: The man who was tired of life, p.37 n.77: ' is otherwise unknown, and Erman rightly regards it as a confusion of 3sw "vultures" (1.87) and 3pdw "ducks"....from the context the latter are obviously meant.' The word was understood differently by R.Weill, BIFAO 45 (1947) 89-154: Le livre du 'désespéré'. Le sens, l'intention et la composition littéraire de l'ouvrage, p.126: 'Cette  de la 1.87 est bien probablement le même mot que de la 1.92, dont on voit la ressemblance avec l'ordinaire . L'autre vocable, cependant, sous ses deux formes, doit désigner plus particulièrement quelque genre de volatiles sauvages, aux colonies malodorantes.' See also Welch, Lebensmüde, p.126; Scharff, Streitgespräch, p.44, n.3; A.M.Blackman, Orientalia 7 (1938) 67-68: A note on Lebensmüder, 86-88, esp. p.67, tr.: '"bald birds", i.e. "bald-headed vultures"' (comparing ỉs 'bald'); Goedicke, Dispute, p.147: 'bird-droppings'.

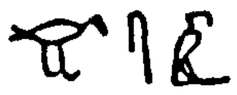
CT V, 374:

tr. FECT II, p.97: 'I have come to you, I have immersed the waterways as Osiris, Lord of Corruption, Lord of vegetation, as the Oldest One, Bull of Vultures; I am a flamingo, who has eaten the like.'

97. Pyr 500: 

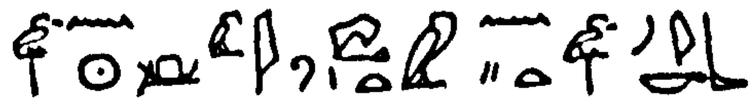
tr. Sethe, UuK II, p.335: 'NN. wird dir Huldigung (auf) Huldigung machen, NN wird dir Lobpreis (auf) Lobpreis bringen. Mögest du dir den NN. setzen über die Geiergöttin (dt3.t).' In the commentary, p.342, he compared Hymn Diad 9,5: 

Chaemhet (Mém Miss I,124) Koll. Sethe: 

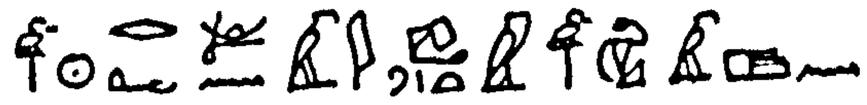
98. P.Brooklyn 47.218.50, 16,10: 

99. Vernus, Athribis, p.252 (on Edfu V, 93-94): 'désigne le faucon'.

Cf Wb IV, 29, 8-10: I: Zeugstoff oder Kleidungsstück... II: goldenes Amulett in Gestalt eines Vogels', and Lacau, Sarcophages II, p.140, no.30 (fig.95, pl.35).

100. P. Tur P u R 136, 3: 

101. See Ch.17: Miscellaneous Birds.

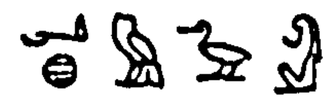
102. P.Ch.B. IX, rto 6, 9: 
tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.89: 'Sia at the front of the bark of Rēʿ'.

103. See E. Brunner-Traut, LÄ 1, 64-65: Adler.

104. K.Sethe, ZÄS 58 (1923) 149-150: [Miszellen], p.150.

105. CD 24a: 'eagle'; Černý, CED, p.18: 'eagle, vulture'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.17: 'Adler, ursprünglich Falke' with n.5; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.22a: 'aigle', 'vautour', noting: 'En égyptien...ḫmw est une "idole" et $^{t.gr}$ un "faucon" (comme véritable animal); le mot désigne des dieux'.

106. For ḫm designating a 'mummifizierter F[alke]' note the opinion of Altenmüller in Störk & Altenmüller, op.cit., col.94.

107. P. Salt VIII,1: 
tr. Grapow, Bildliche Ausdrücke, p.90: 'Adler'; he noted references only from Ptolemaic texts (Edfu & Dendera ).

108. See A.Ember, ZÄS 53 (1917) 83-90: Kindred Semito-Egyptian words, p.86, No.121.

## Chapter 17 : Notes

1. Urk IV, 1124 (cage of Turtle Doves; representation in Davies, Rekhmire II, pl.34):

Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.104, fig.150 (Coffin of Ḏḥutnakht from Deir el-Bersha):

This representation shows clearly the characteristic black lines on the back of the bird's neck.

Houlihan is correct in noting that the mnwt depicted in the tomb of Kaemʿankh (Junker, Giza, pl.7) do not have these neck markings.

Nianchchnum pl.83:

2. So Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, No.54, p.103-107. Mnwt was identified by Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1961) p.237-8 as Streptopelia turtur isabellina and by Davies, Ptahh I, p.20, as Columba livia Gmelin.

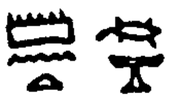
Houlihan & Goodman also believed a representation from El-Amarna (see No.53, p.101-103) to show a Rock Dove (Columba livia Gmelin) (cf too the representations on p.102), and those from Giza (Kaemʿankh) and Ṣaqqâra (Mereruka) to show 'perhaps the Laughing Dove' (Streptopelia senegalensis (L)) since neither of these have the neck markings of the Turtle Dove. They commented, p.105: 'It is our contention then that the Egyptians were familiar with and domesticated two species of dove, the Turtle Dove and another variety without any neck markings, maybe the Laughing Dove, and commonly used one name (mnwt) for both.'

3. For references see above, Ch.15. Mnwt is usually written:

4. LD II, 44:

Luxor <215>:

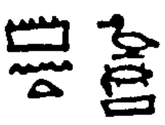
Beni Hasan II, 15:

Mar Mast C22: 

Sinai 115:

Kairo 20762:

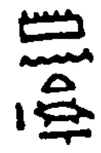
Kairo 20390:

Sheikh Said pl.20: 

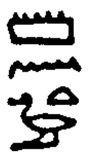
Beni Hasan - tomb of Khety: 

Berl 1159 Vol.I, p.57:

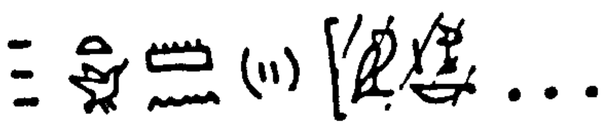
Beni Hasan - tomb of Amenemḥet:

LD II, 92e: 

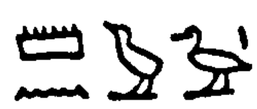
Kairo 20390:

A. bey Kamal, ASAE 15 (1915) 209-258: Le tombeau nouveau de Méîr, p.241: 

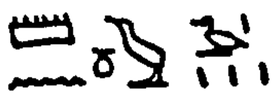
(cf p.233: mnwt)

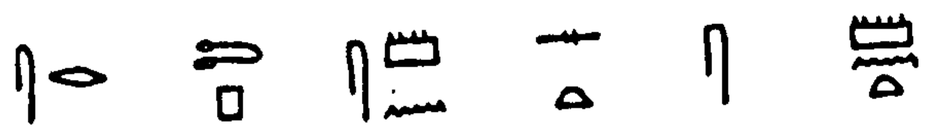
P.Ch.B. IX, rto 4, 11: 

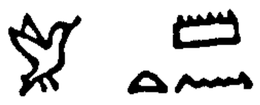
tr. p.86: '[thy thousand of] pigeons'.

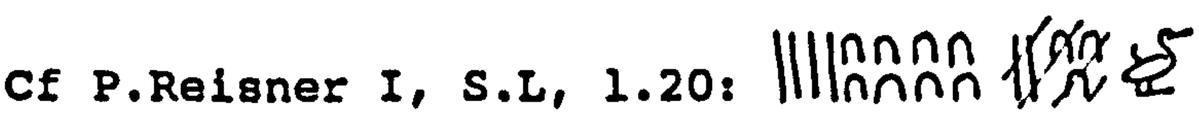
5. Gr Oase (Darius): 

Mar Mast E12: 

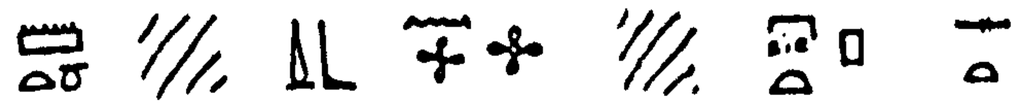
Gr Oase C67: 

6. Reisner, Giza I,pl.57b: 

cf AEO, pl.1, 1.127: 

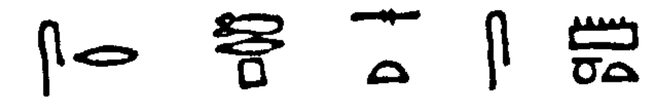
Cf P.Reisner I, S.L, 1.20: 

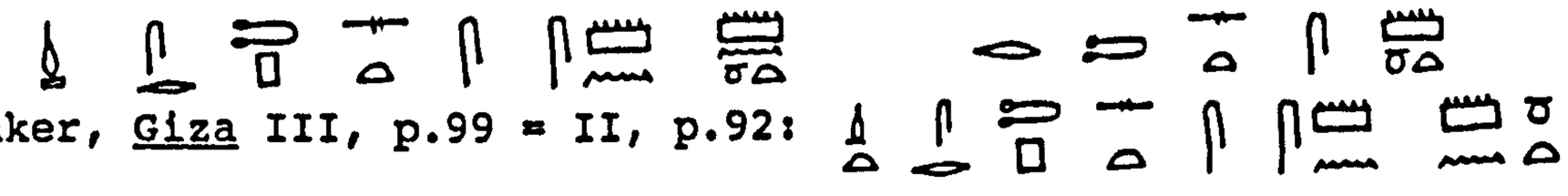
Note that the 'white mnt' here must denote domesticated pigeons or doves and not swallows. On white as a colour found among domesticates see Ch.15: Waterbirds.

7. LD Erg 23c : 

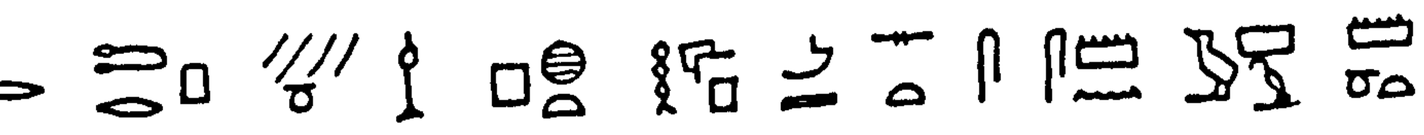
Wild, Ti pl.5 & 6: (birds being fed with grain; s & mnwt together):

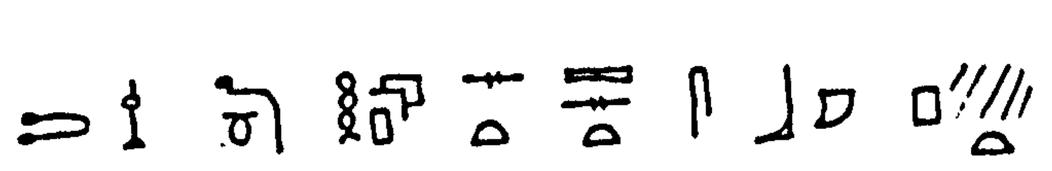
Junker, Giza II, p.171:

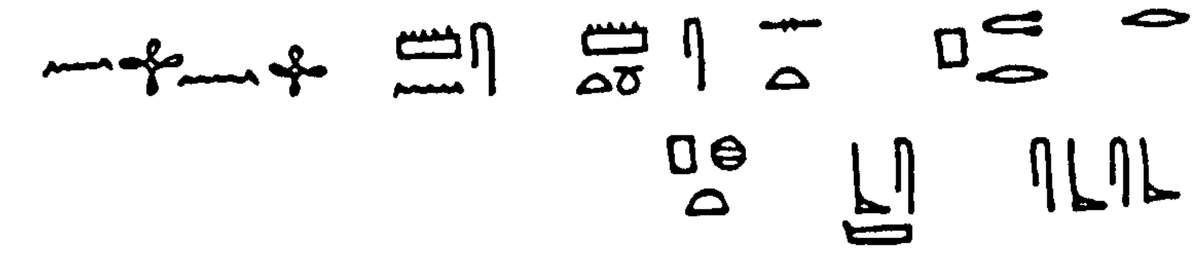
Junker, Giza II, p.91-2 = II, p.187: 

Junker, Giza III, p.99 = II, p.92: 

Mar Mast C16:

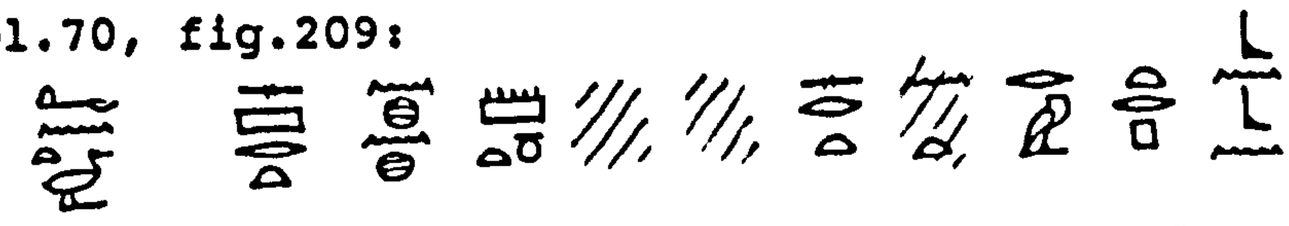
Mar Mast D15: 

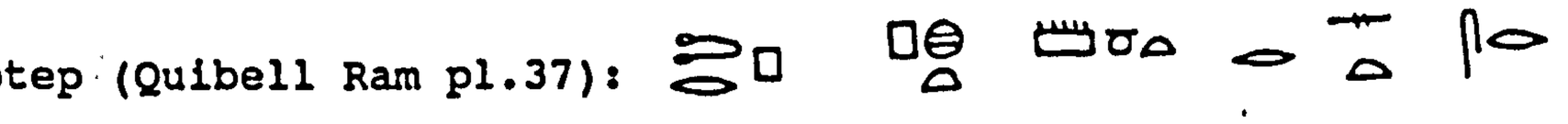
Mar Mast D3: 

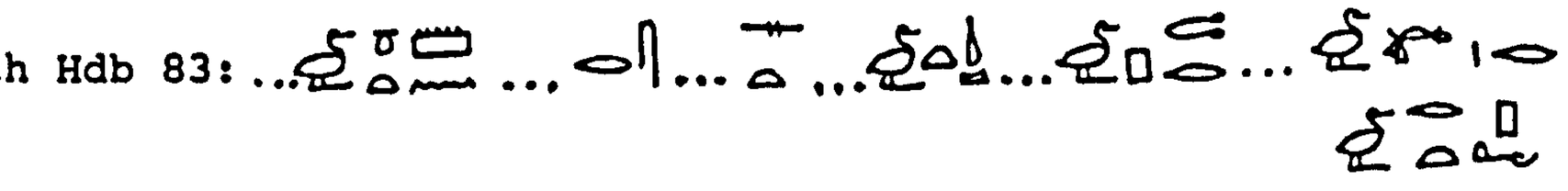
LD II, 69-70: 

Berl 14642:

LD II, 25:

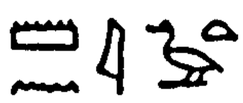
Luxor Mém Miss 15, pl.70, fig.209: 

Ptahhotep (Quibell Ram pl.37): 

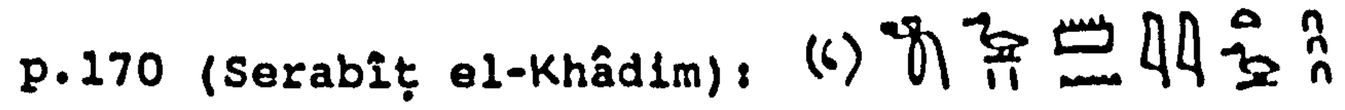
cf Math Hdb 83: 

and P.Brooklyn 47.218.50, 18 (see in the notes below for the text).

8. Harr 38a, 8:

9. Harr 20b, 7: 

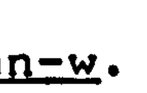
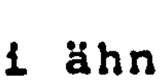
10. See Ricke, Geflügelhof, under dndn, Ch.15 : Waterbirds.

11. Weill Sinai 60 p.170 (Serabîṭ el-Khâdim): (c) 

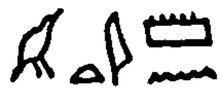
cf too Eb 88, 21 (quoted below).

Clère & Vandier, Textes..., p.36, 27:

12. Bauer R27 (brought from Wadi Natrun to Egypt):

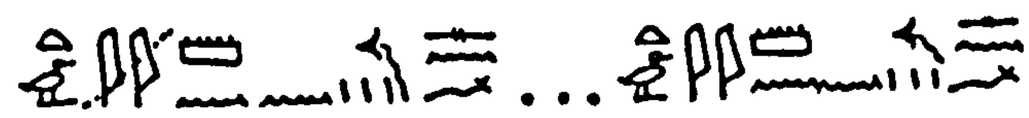
(27) (28)  (29) 

tr. Vogelsang, p.30: 'Tauben (?), nʿrw-Vögeln, wgś-Vögeln', with the comment. p.32: 'mn-w. Es gibt zwei ähnliche Wörter mnw-t "Taube" und mn-t "Schwalbe", aber beide sind Feminina. Die Bedeutung "Tauben" hier ist nur geraten. Ebensogut kann eine andere Vogelart gemeint sein', and on the other names: 'Beide Vogelarten sind sonst nicht bekannt.'

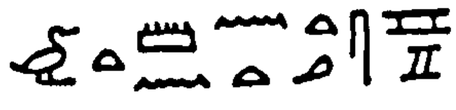
13. Spiegelberg, Ostraka, pl.43 and 43A (transcribed by Gardiner, AEO, pl.21, C3, 1.3): 

See too A.H.Gardiner, The Royal Canon of Turin (Oxford 1959) pl.7, col.7, frag.20, 1.21: 7300

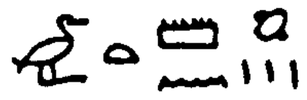
14. Gardiner, AEO II, p.257.

15. Eb 88, 21: 

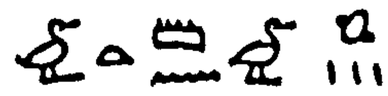
Wb. Drog. V, p.414; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.240.

16. Eb 95, 3: 

tr. Wb. Drog. V, p.491; Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.285: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Nichtzulassen, daß [entsteht] gs.w gegen die..... -Frau . Leber einer Schwalbe; getrocknet, werde zerschlagen auf gegorenem Pfanzenschleim (ḫsꜣ n ʿwꜣi.t); werde gegeben der Frau an ihre Brüste (mnd), an ihren Bauch, an alle ihre Korperteile <nämlich einer Frau>, gegen die gs.w entstanden ist.'

P.med Berl 3038, 6, 10: 

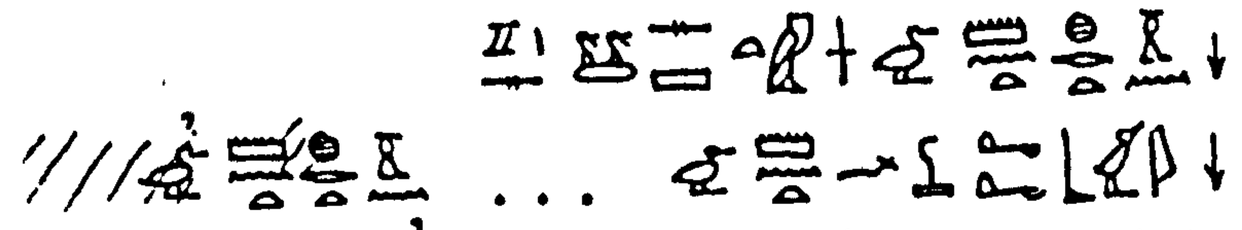
tr. Wb. Drog. V, p.107; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.63: 'Räuchermittel [für] das Beseitigen einer Gehörstörung (hhi.t), die von außen eingetreten ist. Kot des Katers; Kot des Krokodils; Kot der Schwalbe; Horn des Damhirsches; werde der Mann damit beräuchert.'

P.med Berl 3038, 6, 9: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.447; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.261.

Eb 65,18:

Wb.Drog. V, p.512; tr. Wb.Drog. IV, p.297: for the translation see drt, Ch.16.

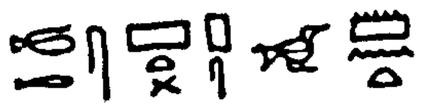
P. Ram III, B,32-34: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.504; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.293-4: 'Sein Schutzmittel: man soll versiegeln mit sieben Flachs(fäden) gedreht und gesponnen mit Spinnen (hsf) [durch] die soeben Niedergekommene; man soll eine Schwalbe holen, die <noch> in ihrem Nest ist. Man schminke mit [....] Augenschminke [....] dieses Kind und seine Mutter. <Dann ist es der Fall> : seine b''-Krankheit <gehört> der Schwalbe. Man sagt diesen Spruch über sieben Flachs(fäden), gedreht <und> gesponnen mit Spinnen (hsf) durch die soeben Niedergekommene; werde sieben Knoten daraus gemacht, werde gegeben dem Kinde an seine Kehle (hh); dann soll man holen eine Schwalbe [....] ihrem Schnabel [....].'

For other examples of swallows as scapegoats see Frazer, The Golden Bough, Ch.9, p.35; for this rôle compare also drt, Ch.15.

17. Wb.Drog.VI, p.239 and 238.

18. Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, No.64, p.122-124. They identified the birds called mnit from papyrus of Panebenkemtnakht as the swallow , Hirundo rustica, but noted (p.123): 'it is the exception which can be identified to the species level' and the sometimes 'imaginative colouring' of representations. Cf R. Wassermann, LÄ V, 754-755: Schwalbe, col.754: 'Mischformen in den Darstellungen erschweren genauere ornithologische Bestimmungen.'

For a description of the swallow (mnt) see
CT VI, 305a: 
tr. Bidoli, Fangnetze, p.52, n.h: 'Dieser N. ist eine Schwalbe mit gegabeltem Schwanz, die in der Nacht wandert!'

19. Note the presence of the small bird (id. by Houlihan as a swallow, though it does not have a forked tail) on the prow of the solar bark, depicted in the Papyrus of Ḥr-wbn B; see Piankoff, Mythological Papyri, Plate vol., pl.2.

Cf H. te Velde, Ex Orbe Religionem I (Leiden 1972) p.26-31: The Swallow as Herald of the Dawn in Ancient Egypt.

See too B.Bruyère, FIFAO 20,3 (1952): Fouilles à Deir el-Médineh 1935, p.105-113: Un ex-voto du scribe Ramose (aux hirondelles de Sokar), p.106, noting (n.3) another example from the east wall of the tomb of Sennedjem (note the forked tail here), also in id., MIFAO 88 (Le Caire 1959): La tombe No.1 de Sen-nedjem à Deir el-Médineh, pl.27.

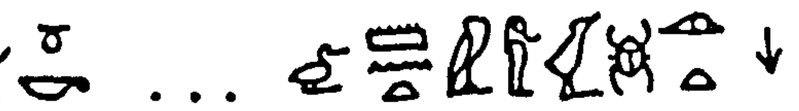
Note here a Dyn. 18 Stela (Turin 134) dedicated to a swallow and a cat (also an animal with solar associations):

tr. G.Maspero, Rec. Trav. 2 (1880) 105-120: Notes sur quelques points de grammaire et d'histoire.

For another object associating the swallow and the sun see the gold bangle in H.Carter, The Tomb of Tut·Ankh·Amen II (London 1928, 1972) pl.82a, No.4, decorated with a swallow, on the back of which is a sun disk.

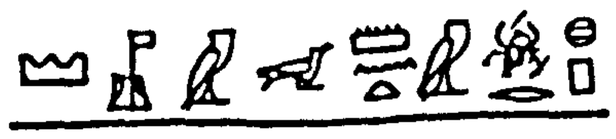
20. See the references in Wassermann, op.cit., col.754, esp. n.14; te Velde, op.cit., p.31; Bruyère, loc.cit.

21. Totb Nav 86,1 (nach Ca) (note the vignettes of Aa, La):



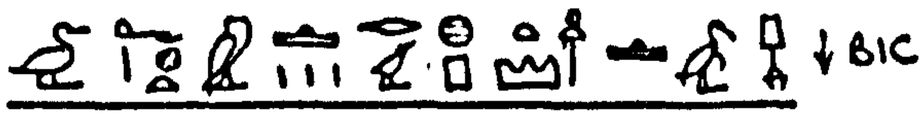
tr. Allen, BOD, p.73-74: 'Assuming the form of a swallow. (To be said) by N.: I am a swallow, I am a swallow; I am yon scorpion, daughter of Re.' Text ends: 'As for one who knows this spell, he can go forth by day unrestrained through any gate in the god's domain and assume his form as a swallow.' (not in Naville).

CT VI, 305 o:



tr. FECT II, p.245:

spell ends: 'To become a swallow in the realm of the dead'.

CT IV, 45b: 

46f:

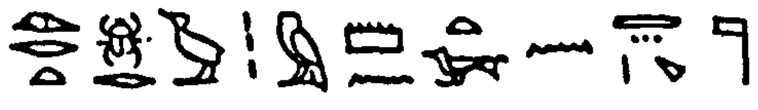
tr. FECT I, p.218: 'Opening up the west and becoming a swallow'; p.219: 'The shape of a swallow is given to me by the Flaming One'.

Sander-Hansen, Anchnesneferibre, p.129, l.426:

tr. p.129-130: 'Wütet nicht gegen sie, ihr Bewohner der Ḥsw-nb.wt, wütet nicht gegen sie, ihr Bewohner des ganzen Landes. Sie ist vorbeigegangen an euch als Schwalbe'.

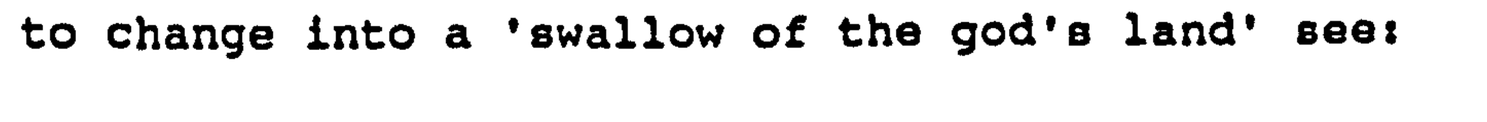
For the wish to change into a 'swallow of the god's land' see:

H.Grapow, ZÄS 77 (1942) 57-78: Ägyptische Jenseitswünsche in Sprüchen ungewöhnlicher Fassung aus dem neuen Reich, p.63 (Cairo CG 34057):

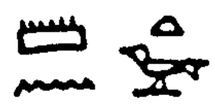


tr.p.66: 'dann wird meine Seele der Hathor folgen, die Gestalt einer Schwalbe des Gotteslandes annehmen , um zu sitzen unter den Myrrhenbaumen'. He compared Lieb Harr 500, 4,3 (see ʒpd).

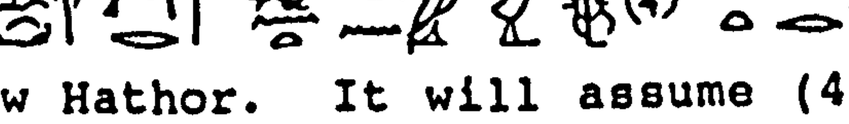
E.Brovarski, JEA 62 (1976) 57-73: Senenu, High Priest of Amun at Deir el-Bahri, pl.11A (Statue Or. Inst. Chicago 8798):



tr. p.59: 'my soul shall follow Hathor. It will assume (4) the form of a swallow of God's Land in order to [....] on the [incense] trees'. For comments on this passage see his n.f, p.61-62. J.Málek, JEA 66 (1980) 168: Chicago, Or. Inst. 8798,3-4 and Cairo CG34057,12-13, restored ḳdf 'to gather', 'to pick' in the lacuna in l.(4) of Or.Inst.8798 (cf CG34057 ḳfd).

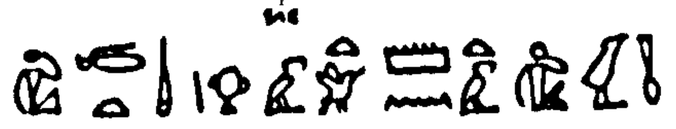
22. Urk IV, 113: (see bnw for full text) 

Theb Grab No.96 a (Sennefer) <1861>: (see bnw for full text) 

CT VI, 305:  (B1Bo)

tr. FECT II, p.245: 'N is a swallow with a divided tail which sleeps throughout the land'. Wassermann, op.cit., col.755, n.3, understood from this passage that the mnt was a migratory bird.

23. Lieb Harr 5,6 (the sound of a swallow tells a woman of the dawn when she must leave her beloved):

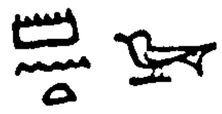


tr. Müller, p.24: 'Die Stimme der Taube ruft, sie sagt: "die Erde ist hell." Was hab' ich (draussen) zu thun? Nicht doch du Vögel[ein]! Du schiltst mich!'

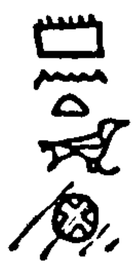
24. Stela Turin 50056 (M.Tosi & A.Roccati, Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medineh (Torino, 1972): Catalogo del Museo egizio di Torino, Ser.2 Vol.I, p.92): (see n.19: Tur 134)

tr. 'Lu buona rondine fermissima per l'eternita.'

Also mentioned by A.Erman, SPAW (1911) 1085-1110: Denksteine aus der thebanischen Gräberstadt, p.1096.

Cf Bruyère, op.cit., fig.141: 'Fragments d'un alignement d'hirondelles en ronde basse, calcaire (no.210)', p.107: 

25. Lortet & Gaillard, Faune Momifiée A, p.179.

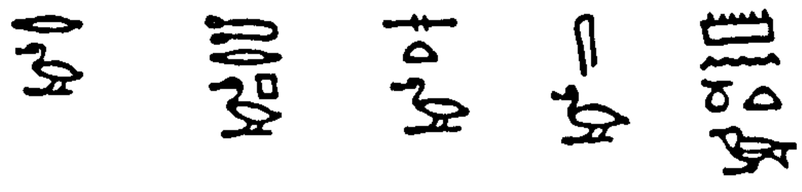
26. Ptahh II, 10: 

27. Ranke, PN II, p.184: 'die Schwalbe'; I, p.150, No.28; id., Tiernamen, p.79.

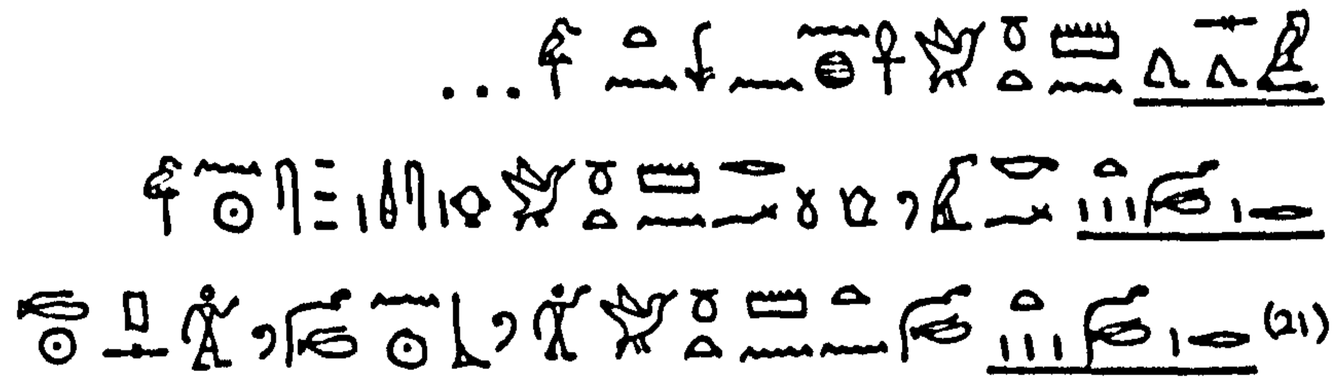
28. Piankoff , Mythological Papyri, pl.25:

The birds are also reproduced in Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.122, fig.173.

29. Note, however, the offering list in Düm Res pl.13, where mnwt appears to be determined by :



30. See, for example, P.Brooklyn 47.218.50, col.20, 18-20:



tr. Goyon, Confirmation, p.80-81: 'Amener une hirondelle vivante au Roi. Oindre sa tête avec de l'onguent-md. Lui placer la tête en arrière. Formule prononcée : Or donc, l'hirondelle dévoila sa face lorsqu'elle parla à Rê...(my omission)...Formule prononcée : - Ce qu'a dit l'hirondelle : "O celui qui point (au ciel), O Celui qui brille".'

From the writing of the word as mnwt it is surely the dove which is intended here, not the swallow, although an edible bird is by no means dictated by the context - in parallel passages appear the birds of prey bỉk and dr̂ỉt, among others.

31. CD 40a: 'swallow'; Černý, CED, p.24; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.28a; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.24, cf p.494-6. See also Osing, Nominalbildung, p.308; 455; 550.

32. Note, on these terms, Field Guide, p.82: 'The terms "pigeon" and "dove" are loosely used and often interchangeable, but for the most part "pigeon" refers to the larger species, "dove" to the smaller.'

Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.159, recorded the following species from modern Egypt :

| | |
|---|---|
| Columba oenas (L) | Stock Pigeon |
| C.livia Gmelin | Rock Pigeon/Dove |
| Streptopelia roseogrisea (Sundevall) | Pink-headed Turtle Dove |
| S.decaocto (Frivaldszky) | Collared Turtle Dove |
| S.turtur (L) | Turtle Dove |
| S.senegalensis (L) | Laughing Dove |
| Oena capensis (L) | Namaqua Dove |

33. Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.162-163, recorded the following species found in Egypt today:

| | |
|---|---|
| Riparia riparia (L) | Sand Martin |
| Hirundo rupestris Scopoli | Crag Martin |
| H.obsoleta (Cabanis) | Pale Crag Martin |
| H.rustica L | Swallow |
| H.daurica L | Red-rumped Swallow |
| Delichon urbica (L) | House Martin |

Note also the swifts recorded by them:

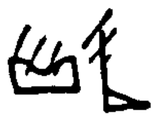
| | |
|---|---|
| Apus affinis (Gray) | House Swift |
| A.pallidus (Shelley) | Pallid Swift |
| A. apus (L) | Swift |
| A.melba (L) | Alpine Swift |

From ancient representations Houlihan believed he could identify three of these: the (Pale) Crag Martin (No.63, p.121), the Swallow (No.64, p.122-124) and the House Martin (No.65, p.124-125). The first he identified from the vignette accompanying BOD 86 (concerning transformation into a mnt - see above), though the bird depicted has a forked tail and two longer central tail feathers.

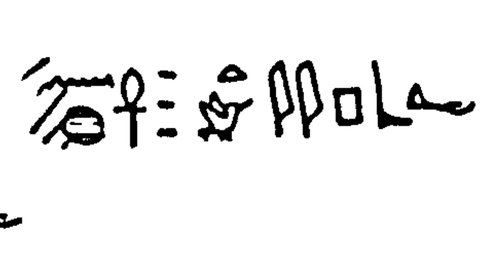
The red-faced mnit of P.Panebenkemtnakht are evidently swallows but the other examples quoted by Houlihan could easily be martins - the designation mnt may, therefore, comprise a number of species.

34. Borchardt, Abusir, pl.5; Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1961) fig.5 (opp. p.216):

Beni Hasan II, pl.4:



35. P. Ch. B. VII, rto 4, 6-8:



Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.68, tr. merely: 'ʿby-bird' without comment.

36. Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1961) p.223: 'bdw (Taube)' without comment. Cf also p.237-8 and ibid. (1963) p.177. Elsewhere (1963, p.98) he identified šsmty as Columba oenas oenas (L) (Stock dove), thus leaving Streptopelia turtur turtur (L) and S.t.arenicola (Hartert) for bdw and ʿb3.

In the Wilkinson Mss. the bird was identified as the 'Gutta', the Arabic name for the sandgrouse (see Davies, Birds & Bats, p.20, No.29), an identification rejected by Davies with the reservation 'except that the bird has an indication of a collar like a sandgrouse.' The Beni Hasan bdw most closely resembles the Pin-tailed Sandgrouse (Pterocles alchata (L)), though it lacks the long central tail feathers and the bill is too long. Note that the Black-bellied Sandgrouse (P.orientalis (L)) has a pinkish-grey breast which might suit the 'red' of the representation and does not have a pin-tail. (For further discussion of the sandgrouse in Egypt see bd3, Ch.15.) The former was the identification also suggested in Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, No.52, p.100. They recorded from modern Egypt (p.158-159) the following species :

| | |
|---|---|
| Pterocles lichtensteini Temminck | Lichtenstein's Sandgrouse |
| P.orientalis (L) | Black-bellied Sandgrouse |
| [P.alchata (L) | Pin-tailed Sandgrouse |
| possibly an accidental visitor only] | |
| P.senegallus (L) | Spotted Sandgrouse |
| P.coronatus Lichtenstein | Coronetted Sandgrouse |
| P.exustus Temminck | Chestnut-bellied Sandgrouse |

37. Edel, op.cit., p.116: 'weil die Pteroclesarten nicht als Zugvogel nach Ägypten kommen, sondern zumeist in der Libyschen Wüste und im Sinai an den Rändern Ägyptens heimisch sind' (after Meinerzhagen).

38. Edel, op.cit., p.98. Text (1961) fig.5, opp. p.216; tr. p.222: 'Kommen zum Delta von seiten des ʿb3- und des šzmt(j?)-Vogels':

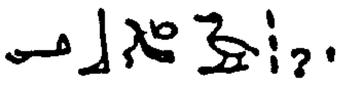
39. Stevenson Smith, Art & Architecture, pl.49 A & B. The bird drawn resembles the Stock Dove.

Cf idem, Interconnections, fig.179 (Harvest season, Unas causeway):

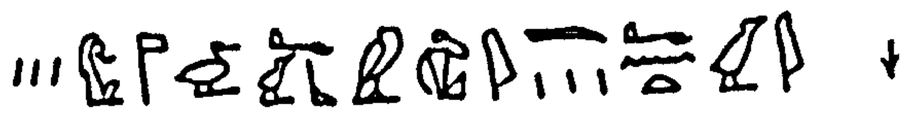
40. Sall II, 6, 8 = An VII, 1, 9 = O.DelM 1536, 1:

(translation below).

41. M. Müller, Rec. Trav. 9 (1887) 157-176: Über einigen Hieroglyphenzeichen, p.169: 'Er ist wohl nämlich der Vogel, der Champollion Mon 350 mit blau und weissen Gefieder und der Ueberschrift abgebildet ist.' (His reference is incorrect.)

42. Budge, tr. p.29: 'The husbandmen, , whose clothes last for ever, has a voice pitched high like that of a crow (?),  ?' Also tr. Brunner, Lehre des Cheti, p.23: 'Der Bauer schreit ewig, lauter ist seine Stimme als die des....' W.A.Ward, ZÄS 102 (1975) 60-7: The biconsonantal root *bꜣ, wondered (p.65) if it meant 'horn' (musical instrument), and tr. rather: 'The peasant cries out eternally and his voice is louder than the ꜥbw-bird'; 'this would appear to be a variant of the late Egyptian verb ꜥpy, "to fly".'

43. Helck, Kleine Texte I, p.76; tr. p.83: 'Der Landman klagt mehr als ein Perlhuhn, seine Stimme ist lauter als die eines Raben'. On the translation 'Perlhuhn' see Burkard, Textkrit Unt, p.55.

44. Compare Faulkner's translation of
CT VII, 168j:

tr. FECT III, p.87: 'My face is Sakhmet, my [...] is Nekhbet, my nails are the pigeon of the gods'.

Note also the ꜥbꜥb bird in Klasens, Magical Statue Base, p.108 (h.33-39) and Edfu VI, 77; XIII, 505.

See BWP IV on the voices of various pigeons and doves - C.livia (p.294); C.oenas (p.306-307); Streptopelia decaocto (p.349); S.turtur (p.360); S.senegalensis (p.371); Oena capensis (p.376).

45. In Davies, Birds & Bats, p.18, No.17: 'Pigeon?' noting 'Blue on back of head [now pale grey - own observations 1985], wing covert, and tail; streaks of blue on breast; rest white.'

46. Edel, op.cit.(1961), p.229; id., (1963) p.98 as Columba oenas, Stock Dove. For this bird see BWP IV, p.298: 'Sides of hindneck glossy green (with amethyst sheen)' and pl.28 & 29.

47. Edel, op.cit., (1961) p.238, identified them as Columba livia, Rock Dove, and Streptopelia senegalensis aegyptiaca, Laughing Dove, respectively.

48. Beni Hasan II, 4:
see also P.Montet, BIFAO 9 (1911) 1-36: Notes sur les tombeaux de Beni-Hassan, p.7 and Davies, Birds & Bats, No.26: 'Unidentified species'.

49. The name does not appear in their photograph, fig.181. Cf the identification 'Lanirius' in the miscellaneous notes referred to by Davies, op.cit. The Masked Shrike has the Latin binomen Lanius nubicus Lichtenstein.

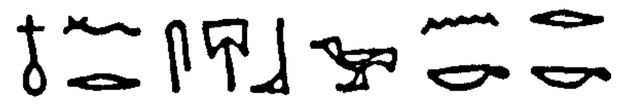
Note, however, that the representation of the s3bw does not show the white sides to the tail which are so carefully rendered in the painting of a Masked Shrike in Tomb 3 (Houlihan's fig.180).

50. See, eg, Field Guide, pl.60.

51. These birds seem to be drawn on the correct scale relative to each other.
The roller is biggest (in life 12"), the oriole second largest (in life 9.5"); next largest is the s3bw (the Masked Shrike is 6.75" in life). The ỉrt/ꜥnt is the largest of the remaining birds, approximately the same size as s3bw, followed by the ꜥnnbw (very slightly smaller) and ꜥhỉw; the unnamed bird is smallest. See these bird names for possible identifications.

52. After Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1963), p.96, fig.2: over a flying bird, noting Keimer's identification (see next note) and also v. Bissing, ASAE 53 (1956) 320-338: La chambre des trois saisons... à Abousir, p.337, who first read s3bw here.

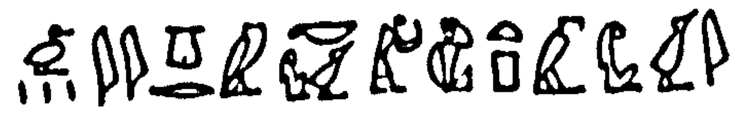
53. L.Keimer, BiOr 14 (1957) 210-214: [review] col.214: 'pigeons(?)'

54. Mereruka A 13 (pl.162): 

55. CD 828b: 'dove'; Černý, CED, p.335; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.346b; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.465.

56. This form is attested once prior to Ptolemaic Texts:

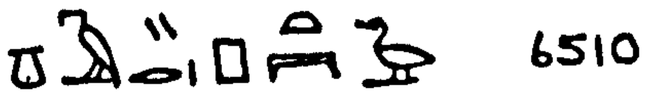
Lieb Harr 4, 9:



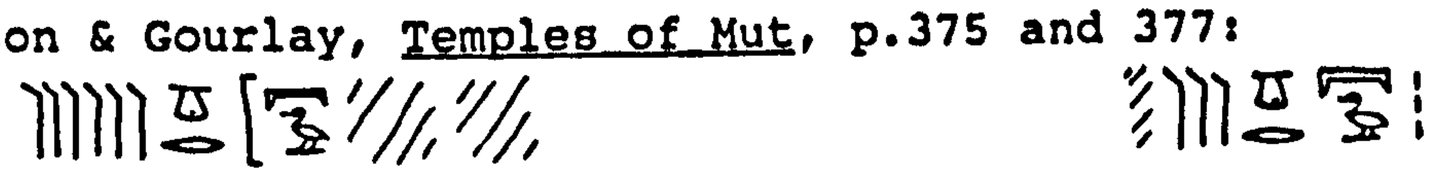
tr. Müller, p.22: 'beladen mit Geflügel'.

57. Ricke, Geflügelhof, p.127: (see dndn for full text)

Harr 20b, 10:

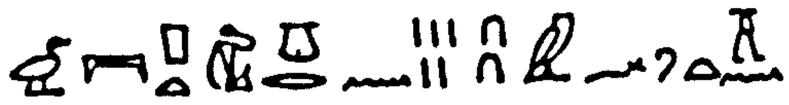



Benson & Gourlay, Temples of Mut, p.375 and 377:



Nectanebo Stela 10 (=Quibell Excav. Saqq. 1907/08 p.89 ff):

O.DelM 118, rto 3:



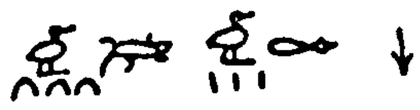
O. Petrie 32, rto 6 (HO I, pl.29, no.2):



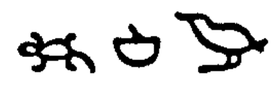
P.Ch.B. IV, vso 8, 15: ...

58. <u>ḫȝ</u> is in each case attested in a list of food offerings.

Petrie Memphis 1, 5:

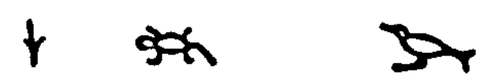


Urk IV, 756:




Urk IV, 755:

Urk IV, 825:

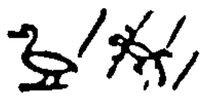


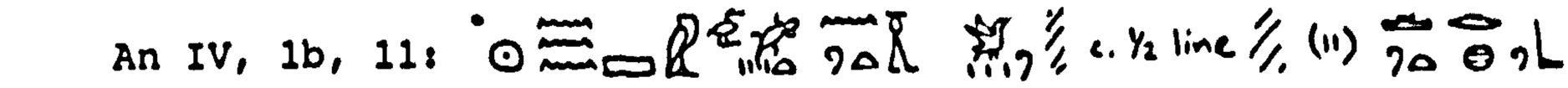
Urk IV, 770:

Urk IV, 827:

Sinai 91:

Med Habu 146, 1.261:



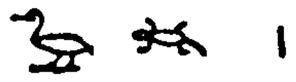
An IV, 1b, 11:  c. ½ line (11) 

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.127: 'The trp-goose does not look. One knows not (1b, 11) .....-birds; ordinary birds are brought in the summer.' (cf mnw n šmw in An IV, 15, 9, quoted above).

Amada 10:

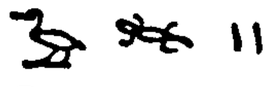
cf Med Habu 150, 1.448-449:

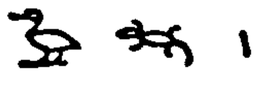
1.460-461:

1.536: 

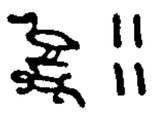
Med Habu 148, 1.302-303:

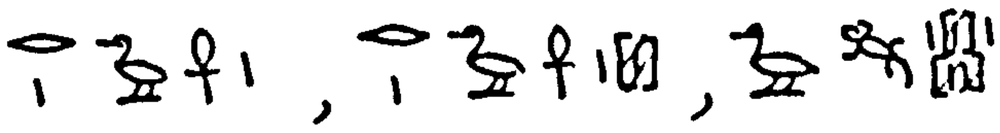
Helck, Hist-Biog. Texte,

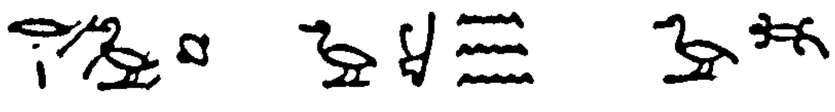
p.140 (1.6):  (only bird mentioned)

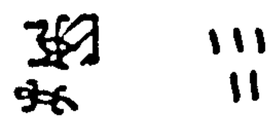
p.141 (1.8): 

tr. Helck, JEA 59 (1973) 95-99: Zur Opferliste Amenophis' IV, p.98-99): 'gewöhnliche Vögel'. Cf R. Saad & L. Manniche, JEA 57 (1971) 70-72: A unique offering list of Amenophis IV recently found at Karnak.

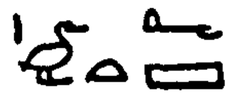
Med Habu 163, 1.1284: 

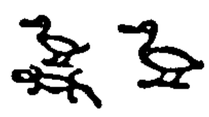
1.1302: 

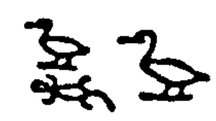
Med Habu 140, 1.105-107: 

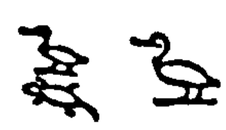
KRI II, 525, 8: 

526, 11:

59. Nauri 11: 

60. Harr 20b, 9: 

Harr 38a, 9: 

Harr 54b, 6: 



RIJKSMUSEUM VOOR OUDHEDEN LEIDEN

61. Ricke, Geflügelhof, p.127: (text under dndn):

62. Brugsch Festkal 5,1 = Edfu V, 359,7:

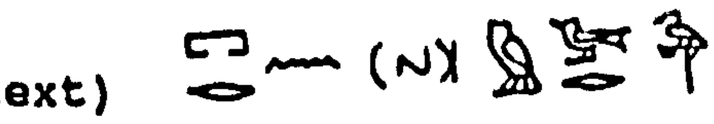
63. Caminos, LEM, p.130, in his commentary on An IV, 1b, 11 carefully distinguished between 3pd ꜥš3, ꜥš3, and the sꜥš3t-birds from the stela of Meḥi : '3pd ꜥš3, "ordinary bird(s)", also mentioned in P. Harris 1, 20b, 9; 38a, 9; 54b, 6; there again the initial bird-sign is consistently written right over the lizard-sign, just like in our text. The same noun phrase (which, judging by the passages in which it occurs, denotes perhaps rather small fowl which would appear to have been thought particularly suitable for temple offerings) is met with quite frequently in the lists of Ramesses III's calendar at Medinet Habu; cf. Nelson, Med. Habu, III, 140 (107), 148 (303, 358), 163 (1284, 1302), et passim. It should be carefully distinguished from the substantive ꜥš3, which denotes an unidentified bird; on this see Wb.I, 229, 11, adding to the Dictionary references Urk IV, 755, 1; P. Boulaq 18, XV, 4, 22; Amada Stela, 10 = Elephantine Stela, 12; and possibly Nauri, 11. The sꜥš3t-birds known from Ricke ZAS 73, 125 line 10, and Chassinat, Edfou, V, 359, 7, are, of course, obviously different. On ꜥš3, 'ordinary', cf. Hayes, Ostraka and Name Stones, 32.'

P.Berlin 10023 B, 4-5 (Kah):

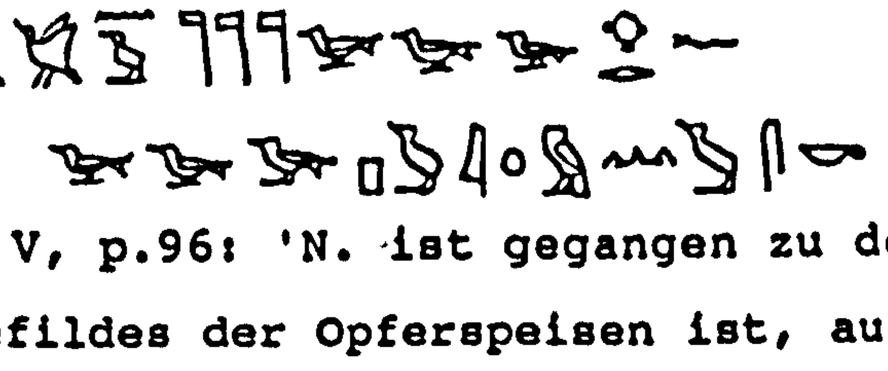
A.Scharff, ZÄS 59 (1924) 20-51: Briefe aus Illahun, tr. p.29: 'Siehe, du hast (nur) zwei ꜥš3-Ganse gebracht', with the comment: 'ꜥš3 ist eine gerade im MR vorkommende besondere Gänseart und bedeutet sicher nicht "gewöhnliche Gänse."'

64. Posener-Kriéger, Arch Abousir I, p.249 D.6: 'Oiseau mal identifié, sans doute un pigeon.'

Cf W.Helck, LÄ IV, 594-596: Opfertier, esp. col. 594: 'Gänse verschiedener Art (ḥtꜥ3, rɜ, zt, zr, sft), gemästet (šdw) oder in Herden frei laufend (jdr), neben Tauben (mnt) und "Krammetsvogeln" (ꜥš3) gehören wenigstens NR zum "täglichen Opfer". '

65. Pyr 1770: (see bỉk for text) 

Faulkner, AEPT, tr. p.259: 'The king has gone up as a swallow, the king has alighted as a falcon', noting p.259, n.1: 'Wr is written with a determinative as though it meant "great one", but the association with bỉk 'falcon' makes it certain that "swallow" is meant.'

Pyr 1216: 

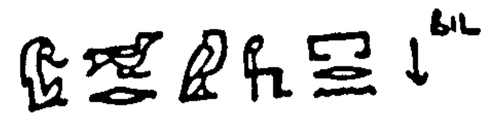
tr. Sethe, UuK V, p.96: 'N. ist gegangen zu der großen Insel, die inmitten des Gefildes der Opferspeisen ist, auf der die Götter die Schwalben niederfliegen lassen, (denn) Schwalben sind die Unvergänglichen Sterne'. (Swallows here represent the souls of the dead.)

Pyr 1130:

tr. Sethe, UuK V, p.27: 'Horus ist es, der bedarf, daß er dich sieht in dieser deiner Art, die dir geworden ist, durch das, was du gesagt hast: "Versammelt auch mir zu diesen Einheiten, die sind wie die Jungen der Schwalben, welche unter der Uferwand sind', with p.33, noting that Wr must have bred in Egypt. Cf Grapow, Bildliche Ausdrücke, p.92 (n.6): 'wie die Nestlinge der Schwalben unter den Ufern sind.'

Pyr 1020:

Sethe, UuK IV, tr. p.301: 'NN. ist der Große(?), der zum Himmel emporgestiegen ist, [.....]', with p.302: 'Große oder "Schwalbe"?'

CT III, 98j: (see smn for text) 

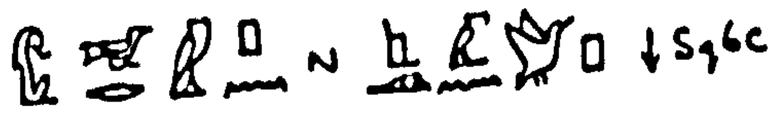
tr. FECT I, p.158: 'I have gone up as a swallow, I have cackled as a goose.'

CT III, 130f: (see smn for text)

tr. FECT I, p.164: 'I have flown up as a swallow, I have cackled as a goose.'

CT IV, 23a: (see smn for text)

tr. FECT I, p.209: 'I have flown up as a swallow, I have cackled as a goose.'

CT VI, 199: 

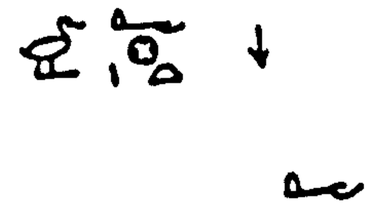
tr. FECT II, p.186: 'N has gone up as a swallow, N has walked as a goose.'

66. Gardiner, Sign List G36: 'swallow or martin' with n.1: 'So CARTER, confirmed by KEIMER, who insists that it is impossible to define the species more closely'. Note Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.125: 'The House Martin routinely appears as a standard Egyptian hieroglyph.'

67. P. Brooklyn 47.218.50, col.16, 15:

Goyon, Confirmation, p.116, n.287 - influenced by his reading mnwt as 'swallow'?

68. Compared with a bird from Beni Hasan named , which was read ỉr.t by Andreu and Cauville, Vocabulaire I, p.6 : 'cet oiseau de faible taille à bec rouge selon CHAMPOLLION N.D. I, 366 est impossible à identifier. Sa petite taille, son aile longue sur les dessins de Beni-Hassan, sa ressemblance avec une hirondelle, font penser à un passereau de la famille des hirundinidés'. For further descriptions see Davies, Birds & Bats, p.19, No.21; the colours of the various descriptions differ considerably. It is also possible that the bird originally had a black cap extending over the eye (own observations 1985).

69. CT IV, 46f (var. B2L): 

70. Luxor Mem Miss 15 pl.70 fig.209:

71. Note naturalistic depictions of this bird in N.M. Davies, Picture Writing in Ancient Egypt (London 1958) p.XIV, 1, among birds in a papyrus thicket (she restored it in a nest) and Stevenson Smith, Interconnections, fig. 179. Cf here H. Boussac, La Naturaliste (1908) 33-35: La caille en Égypte et dans la Bible, and Gardiner, Sign List G.43: 'quail chick' and G.44-46, after Griffith, Hieroglyphs, p.21: 'Chick of a gallinaceous bird....The chick.... apparently for the typical quail of the farmyard'. Cf Beni Hasan

III, p.8: 'This sign clearly represents the young of a partridge or quail; the domestic fowl was of course unknown in ancient Egypt' and L.Keimer, ASAE 30 (1930) 1-26: Quelques hiéroglyphes représentant des oiseaux, p.6-7: 'Quant à moi, je pense... que le signe représente une jeune caille.'

The identification was supported by Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, No.39, p.74-78. v. Bissing, Rec. Trav. 27 (1905) 169: Le signe w, also believed the bird represented was the quail though his translation was derived from his identification of the w hieroglph and the bird wn depicted in various OK tomb reliefs. These identifications were also adopted by W. Guglielmi , LÄ VI, 1094-1095: Wachtel, especially col.1095: 'Das Wachtel-Kuken bildet das Vorbild für die Hieroglyphe w'.

72. Gardiner, Sign List G21: 'Sennar guinea-fowl (Numida m.meleagris)'.

BOD 153 (Nu, 1.13):

Sall II, 6, 8 (see above, n.40-43).

On the identification of this bird see L. Keimer, ASAE 38 (1938) 253-263: Sur l'identification de l'hiéroglyphe Nḥ . He suggested Numida ptilorhyncha Lichtenstein (which seems to be an outdated synonym of N.meleagris). See also ibid., 689-697: Notes additionelles I. Sur l'identification de l'hiéroglyphe Nḥ; N. Davies, JEA 26 (1940) 79-81: Some notes on the nḥ-bird; L. Keimer, ASAE 41 (1942) 325-332: Quelques nouvelles remarques au sujet de l'hiéroglyphe Nḥ.

This bird was noted in Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.152, as N.meleagris (L), the Helmeted, Tufted or Crowned Guineafowl not wild in Egypt at present. However, from ancient representations (No.41 p.82-83) Houlihan deduced (p.83): 'At one time the bird had a large distribution across North Africa. As recently as two hundred years ago, they were apparently still plentiful in some areas, but are nowadays extremely rare, and are confined to a small population in Morocco. The reasons for its disappearance from most of North Africa, including Egypt, have yet to be elucidated.'

73. Gardiner, Sign List G23: 'lapwing (Vanellus cristatus)'. This binomen has been superceded; Houlihan, Birds, p.154, recorded it as V.vanellus (L). (See too their No.48, p.93-96).

It was suggested by Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1963) p.111-115, esp. p.115, that the bird gave its name to the people of the Delta because it was common in that area of Egypt. Kaplony, LÄ III, 417-422: Kiebitze, col.417, was of the opinion that: 'K[iebitze] bezeichnen die u.äg. Untertanen wegen ihres hochstehenden Haarschopfs'. Whatever the original connection, the lapwing was used from early on to represent 'the people'. See also Gardiner, AEO I, 98*-112*.

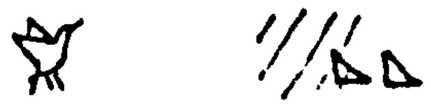
Gardiner, Sign List G50: 'two plovers (?) as monogram' appearing in the word rḫty (Wb II, 448, 8-9: der Wäscher, waschen). Gardiner commented (n.1 to G50): 'In spite of the identity of the consonants rḫt, this bird seems to be distinct from the lapwing G.23'.

Kaplony, op. cit., seemed to believe that both words originated from a masculine root rḫt, with the division between rḫyt and rḫty underlined by the writing of the former with a crested bird and the latter with an uncrested bird (which he called 'Regenpfeifer', ie, simply 'Plover').

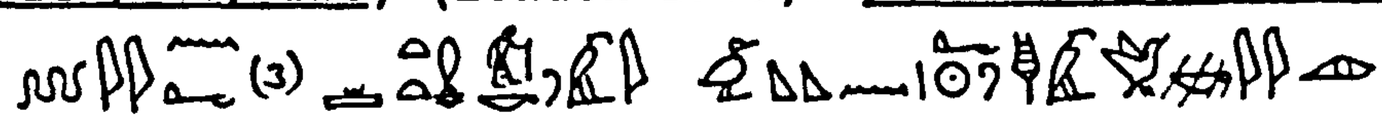
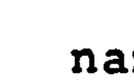
74. Gardiner, Sign List G22: 'hoopoe (Upupa epops)'. Still common in Egypt today (see Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.162), the bird was featured very frequently in ancient representations of the papyrus thickets, in scenes depicting the trapping of birds, and clutched in the hands of children. Scenes of the latter type were studied by L.Keimer, BIFAO 30 (1930) 305-331: Quelques remarques sur la huppe (Upupa epops) dans l'Égypte ancienne, whence the classical belief, perhaps, that the birds symbolised parental love (Keimer's p.311-31). In addition Keimer noted their presence on sacred sycamores on Dyn 21-22 coffins.

Db was compared by V.Loret, Sphinx 5 (1902) 226-233: Les publications coloriées, p.230 (re pl.6) with Coptic ϫHß in ϫHßϩBOYI appearing in a list of unclean birds in Deuteronomy 14, 17 and Leviticus 11,19. This comparison was rejected by Keimer: 'car les noms d'animaux cités par le Lévitique 11 et le Deutéronome 14 sont très mal conservés, et les noms spéciaux désignant des animaux différents ne correspondent pas toujours dans les textes hébreu, grec et latin'. ϫHß he rejected as being incomprehensible.

75. It has been suggested, on the grounds of comparison with the Coptic term translated 'hoopoe' (CD 102a: 'hoopoe', Černý, CED, p.54: 'hoopoe'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.60: 'Wiedehopf'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.75: 'huppe') that the ancient name for the bird was ḳḳ.

AEO I, pl.1, l.132: 

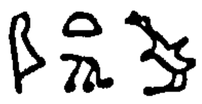
Gardiner, AEO I, p.9, noted: 'ḳḳ (No.132) is presumably the "hoopoe", in Pharaonic times known only from one other instance, but the name being apparently contained in the Coptic compound ⲕⲁⲕⲟⲩⲡⲁⲧ'. L.Störk, LÄ VI, 1245-1246: Wiedehopf, followed this.

N. & N. de G. Davies, The Tombs of Menkheperrasonb, Amenmose, and another (Nos. 86, 112, 42, 226) (London 1933): Theban Tomb Series 5, p.26: 
tr.p.25: 'Mayest thou have the lifetime of a (hoopoe?), and mayest thou grow old like the Naʿy-serpent', with the note: 'One is tempted to see in it the first element of the Demotic and Coptic name of the hoopoe,  ⲕⲁⲕⲟⲩⲡⲁⲧ...the second element being "goose", "bird"; but there are difficulties of vocalisation, and analogies for such a compound are lacking.'

For another attestation of the word see Junker, Giza V, p.66:

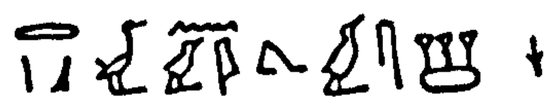
76. Urk IV, 19 (Lacau, Stèles NE, p.3 & pl.1, l.18; G.Legrain, ASAE 4 (1903) 1-40: Second rapport sur les travaux éxécutés à Karnak du 31 Octobre 1901 au 15 Mai 1902 Le Temple de Mit Rahineh, p.28; C.M. Kuentz, BIFAO 23 (1924) 84-88: La danse des autruches).
(Amosis is compared with the sun) :

tr. Kuentz, p.8 n.1: 'comme le lever de Khepri, aux yeux (des hommes), lorsque ses rayons frappent les visages; comme Atoum à l'est du ciel [sic - Atum is usually associated with the setting sun, which is in the west, and this seems to be the meaning indicated here since both the early and mid-day sun are mentioned in parallel. Hence ỉꜣbt to be read 'ỉmntt'], lorsque les autruches dansent dans les vallées; comme l'éclat du soleil au milieu du jour, lorque les reptiles sont enfiévrés.'

Berl 2070, 4-5: 

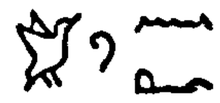
Pyr 469:

tr. Sethe, UuK, p.271: 'Gegrüßt seist du, o Strauß, der am Ufer des gewundenen Wasserlaufes steht. Öffne den Weg dem NN.'

Hausweihe (Luksor) 1.5: 

77. BWP I, p.38.

78. Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, No.1, p.1-5, esp. p.1; cf p.144.

79. Koller 3,6: 

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.438: 'When my letter reaches you you shall cause the tribute to be made ready in all its details, namely, oxen, younglings of (3,6) long-horned cattle, short-horned cattle, gazelles, oryxes, ibexes and ostriches'.

On writings of the name with the hieroglyph  (Sign List D41) see L.Keimer, BIFAO 56 (1957) 97-120: Notes du lecture (suite), esp. p.97-99: II: Le sens de l'hiéroglyphe . Keimer believed the sign showed the two-toed leg of this bird. Compare also his comments, p.99-102.

80. After Houlihan & Goodman, Birds.

81. Amarna II, pl.40.

82. Eg Carter, Tomb of Tut·Ankh·Amen II, p.46.
P.Behrens, LÄ VI, 72-75: Strauß, col.72, called into question such scenes, noting that Kxoe bushmen of today are unable to hunt ostriches with bow and arrow because of the bird's excellent sight and great fleetness (see his note 11).

83. Koller 4,1: 

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.438: 'ostrich feathers'.

84. Eb 86,11: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.423; see too Wb. Drog. VI, p.295: 'der Strauss'; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.303: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) Ei vom Strauß;

Schale einer Schildkröte; ʿ3qit (Harz) des ỉm3-Laubbaumes; werde zerkocht, werde damit gesalbt (gs). Du sollst nicht lässig dabei sein.'

Eb 71,15:

Wb. Drog. V, p.361; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.208: 'Ei des Straußes 1 '

Eb 59,19:

Wb. Drog. V, p.73; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.42: 'Ei vom Strauß'.

Eb 64,22:

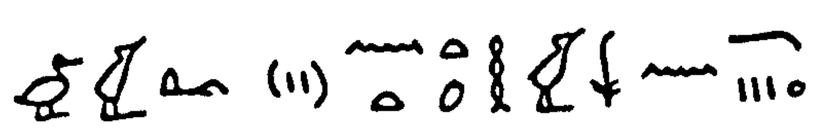
Wb. Drog. V, p.65; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.37: 'Ei vom Strauß'.

Hearst 18,2-3:

Wb. Drog. V, p.354; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.203: 'Ei vom Strauß '

Smith 4,20-21:

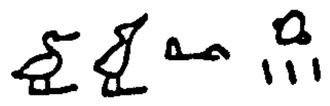
Wb. Drog. V, p.313-4; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.180: 'Dann sollst du sie am dritten Tage entblößen, und du findest, daß es (das Pulver) die Schale geknüpft hat, indem das Beschaffenheit wie ein Ei des Straußes ist'.

Eb 87, 11: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.518; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.301: 'Mehl von Straußenei'.

Eb 65,6:

Wb. Drog. V, p.65; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.38: 'Fett (mrḥt) von Strauß'.

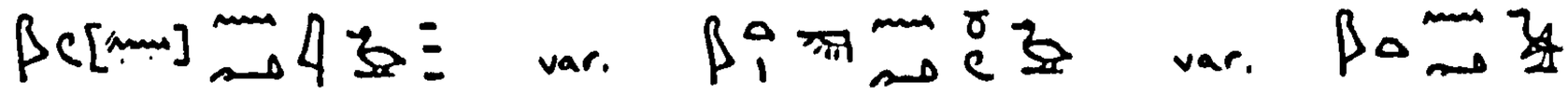
P.med Berl 3038, 6,8: 

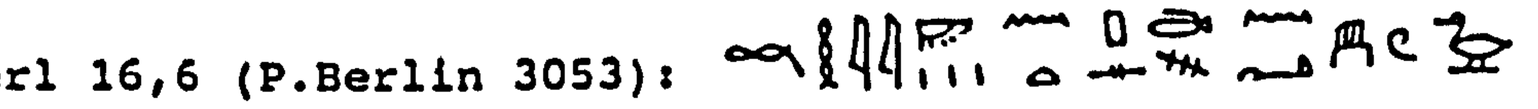
Wb. Drog. V, p.447; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.261: 'Anfang (tp) von dem, was man macht [als] Räuchermittel, die gesammelt sind . s3-wr-Harz; ỉnr-spdw-Mineral; Kot vom Löwen; [Kot vom] Panther; Kot vom Steinbock; Kot von der Gazelle; Kot vom Strauß; werde der Mann damit beräuchert.'

Cf MuK 4, 10:

tr. p.21: (the illness is addressed) 'Falle nicht auf seine Hinterbacken, es sind Straußeneier'.

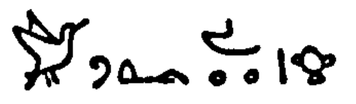
85. Leid K15:

Otto, Mundöffnungsritual II, p.23; I p.92-93:


Mutrit Berl 16,6 (P.Berlin 3053): 

HO I, pl.86, No.1, rto.11 (O. BM 5633):

Koller 3, 6 and 4, 1 (see above).

86. P.Ch B III, rto 8,11: 
tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.17: If a man see himself in a dream 'seeing an ostrich, BAD; harm befalling him.'

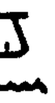
87. See L.Dautheville, BIFAO 20 (1922) 225-229: Danse d'autruche en l'honneur du Pharaon (text in n. 76).

88. U.Bouriant, G.Legrain, G. Lequier, MIFAO 8 (1903): Monuments pour servir à l'étude du culte d'Atonou, pl.1.
Med Habu VI, 430. The birds are not named.

89. Brehm, Tierleben II, p.59 & p.56; L. Hardy, Bulletin de la Société d'Acclimatation de France 5 (1898): Note sur l'incubation des autruches; BWP I, p.39: 'at danger, ♂ herds mates as well as others of flock in own fleeing direction by elaborate flash-displays, zigzagging towards, away, from, and from behind them while running at full speed, throwing wings high, and often calling.' Cf p.40: 'in all-♂, pre-nesting flock.... ♂♂ perform ritualized hostile behaviour as a group in front of ♀♀ during pair-formation. They chase and circle one another. Hiss, Snort, and Boo-call, Wing-flap by raising one or both wings high above back, and Tail-raise'.

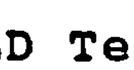
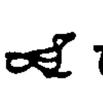
90. E. Zyhlarz, ZÄS 70 (1934) 107-122: Konkordanz ägyptischer und libyscher Verbalstammtypen, p.109 n.2: Egyptian w to Berber h:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| eg | wnš | Wolf | aḥenši | Wolf |
| | nîw | Strauß | a.nhîl | Strauß |
| | nw | sehen | ẹnhí | sehen |
| | mrw | lieben | m.ẹrhí | wollen, lieben |

91. Beni Hasan II, p.4: 

92. See Gardiner, Sign List T19 (cf T20). Note the writings (Mereruka) and  (Ti).
Montet, Scènes, p.262-3, noted that  usually had the value 'qs' or 'qrs' but that this occurred nowhere as a bird name: 'notre oiseau  , (fig 36) paraît identique à un oiseau représenté à Beni Hassan', where the writing was gnw (see above for this).

93. This determinative was taken by Wb to be the sign (Gardiner, Sign List G37: 'sparrow (Passer domesticus aegyptiacus.....)') for which no name is known with certainty, though tt has been translated 'sparrow' - see below. A det. of this sort (rather than the general ) is found a few times (for examples see below) where it is probably intended to represent the bird shown, an oriole.

LD Text I, 141: 'gelbe Vögel  wie Sperlinge mit schwarzem Schwanz und Flügelspitzen gesteckt werden. Ihr Name daneben scheint  zu sein.'

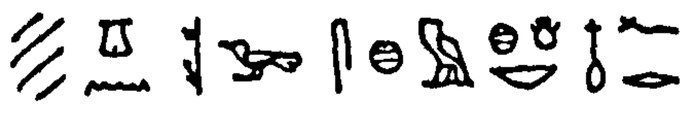
94. C.Gaillard, Kêmi 2 (1929) 19-40: Sur deux oiseaux figurés dans les tombeaux de Beni-Hassan, p.35;37; supported by Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1963) p.116; Montet, Scènes, p.263, after a personal comment of V.Loret; Störk, Fauna, col.132 (O.galbula, after Gaillard); W.Helck, LÄ IV, 1054: Pirol.

The bird was noted by Davies, Birds & Bats, p.19, No.22, but recorded as 'Unidentifiable'.See also Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, No.69, p.129-131; note, however, that their identification of 'two Golden Orioles in a sycamore fig tree' (p.130, fig.184) from the tomb of Userkaf, is probably wrong. The markings of this bird, which are not those of an oriole, are cut in the stone of the relief; they include most noticeably a cap and eye stripe, joining towards the back of the head, with a second stripe above the eye clearly indicated.

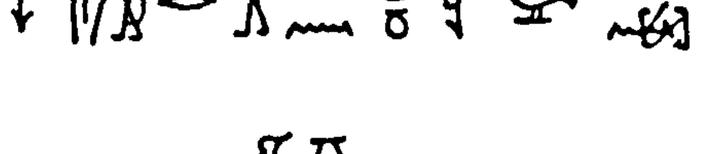
95. Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.166.

96. Ti pl.131 (bis):

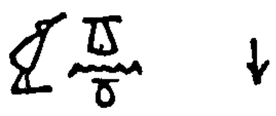
Montet, Scènes, p.262, also noted from Ti the phrase:

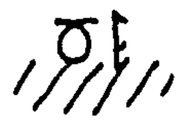
Mereruka A,13: 

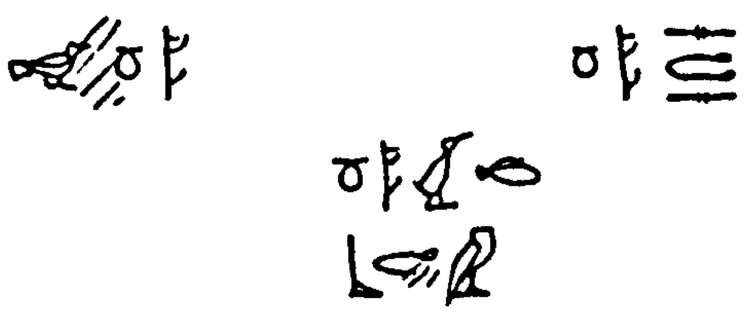
Meir III, pl.6:

Meir V, pl.28: 

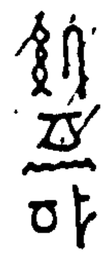
Beni Hasan II, pl.6:

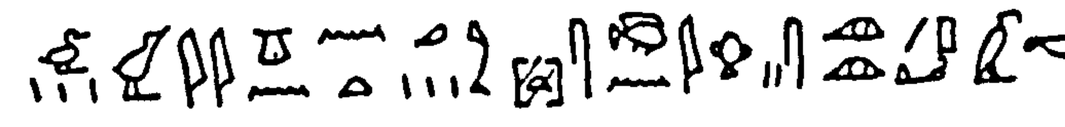
Beni Hasan II, pl.16: 

Stevenson Smith, Interconnections, p.179: 

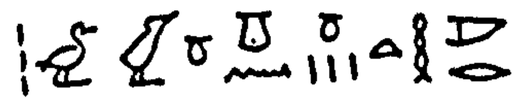
Nianchchnum fig.9: 

(translation on p.78: 'Goldamsel').

Van de Walle, Neferirtenef, pl.9: 
tr. p.46: 'loriots'.

97. P.Kah (med) 1,4: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.457-458; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.267: 'Heilkunde einer Frau, ihre beiden Augen sind krank, so daß sie nicht sehen kann, <und> die leidet an ihrem Nacken. Dann sollst du dazu sagen : das sind ... <infolge> der Gebärmutter in ihren beiden Augen. Dann sollst du dagegen machen: sie werde beräuchert mit Terebinthenharz (sntr), mit neuem Öl; beräuchert werde ihre Vulva damit; beräuchert werden ihre beiden Augen mit Beinen (ỉns.t) von gn.w-Volgeln. Dann sollst du veralassen, daß sie ißt frische Leber eines Esels.' Griffith tr.: 'bee-eater', p.7 & p.100.

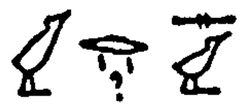
Eb 97, 21: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.527; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.305: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Nichtzulassen, daß eine Fliege beißt (psḥ). Fett (mrḥt) vom gnw-Vogel; werde damit gesalbt (wrḥ) '.

Gnw tr. Wb. Drog. VI, p.538: 'ein Vogel' though noting Gaillard's identification in Kêmi 2.

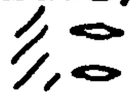
98. See the descriptions in LD Text I (above) and in Gaillard op.cit., of yellow birds with black wing feathers. Cf Field Guide, p.196: 'Male unmistakeable brilliant yellow, with black wings and tail, latter boldly marked with yellow'.

99. See H.S.Smith & W.J.Tait, Saqqâra Demotic Papyri (London 1983): Texts from Excavations EES 7th memoir, Text 27, p.198-213, esp. p.203, n.ab.

100. Beni Hasan II, pl.4: 

For the writing with  (rw) cf J.J.Clère, Archiv Orientální 20 (1952) 629-641: La lecture de la fracture 'Deux tiers' en Égyptien; also Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1963) p.117.

Beni Hasan II, pl.16:

101. Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1961) p.231; for the bird name (fig.3)  he proposed a restoration swrwt.

Later, op.cit., (1963) p.117 (with n.9), he assumed it to be, like the other birds depicted, a migrant to the Delta.

102. Cf Störk, Fauna, col.132.

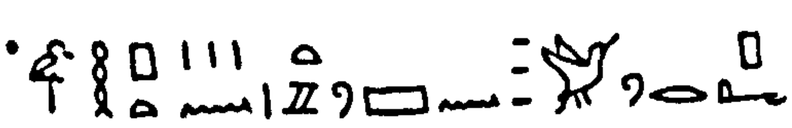
Davies, Birds & Bats, p.20, No.28, recorded as 'Unidentified species' despite the bird's accurate and distinctive colouring in this representation.

103. Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.161, cf No.58, p.111-113.

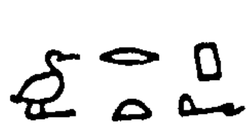
104. Harr 20 ,8:

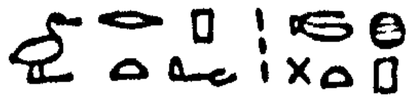
An IV, 15, 9:

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.200: 'fat quail(s), summer pigeons'; see too p.212.

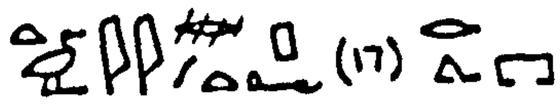
Sall IV, vso 4, 8 : 

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.335: 'quails of Shi-n-Ptah'.

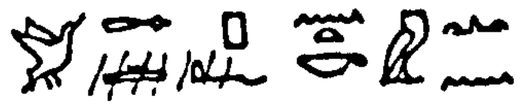
105. Math Hdb 83,10: 

106. P.med Berlin 3038, 6, 9: 

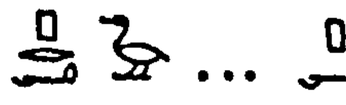
Wb. Drog. V, p.447; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.261 (see mnt above); Wb. Drog. VI p.196-197: 'die Wachtel'.

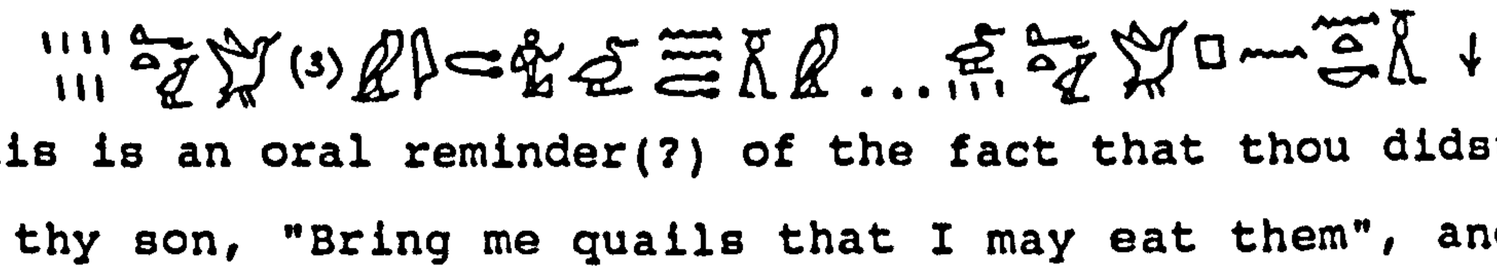
107. Botti, Sobk, pl.7, 17: 

tr. p.64: 'l'uccello-pʿrj.t (= colomba)'.

108. P.Turin A, vso 1, 8: 

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.451: 'You are neither a quail(?) nor a youngling of bubalis, because (vso 1, 9) you were born in the month of winter together with the gazelles'. He commented, p.452: 'pꜣ is perhaps a defective writing of pʿr 'quail'.

109. A.H.Gardiner & K.Sethe, Egyptian Letters to the Dead mainly from the Old and Middle Kingdoms (London 1928) p.19: 'The word pꜣʿt ... is unknown to the Berlin Dictionary in this form, and the question arises as to whether it is not identical with the word written  .'

pl.III, 2-3: 

tr. p.4: 'This is an oral reminder(?) of the fact that thou didst say to this thy son, "Bring me quails that I may eat them", and this thy son brought to thee seven quails, and thou didst eat them.'

110. Loret, Faune pharaonique, para.2, p.25-26 (quotation from p.26).

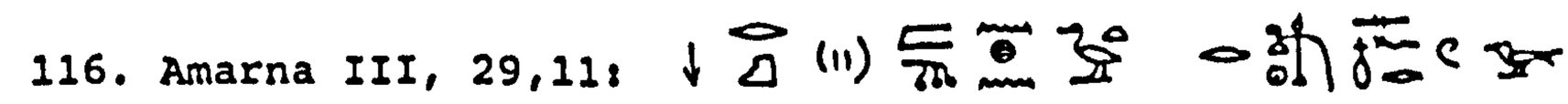
111. CD 267a: 'quail'.

112. Gardiner & Sethe, loc.cit.

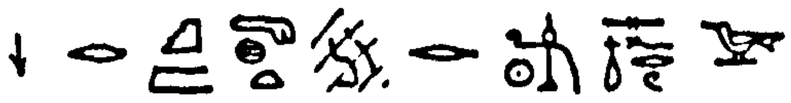
113. Černý, CED, p.127: 'quail'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.150; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.162b: 'caille'.

114. Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.152.

115. Meir IV pl.14 (p.38) (during harvest); Vandier, Manuel VI, p.110; Mereruka II pl.168;169 (during harvest); Stevenson Smith, Sculpture, fig.73 (G.1029) p.198; Vandier, Manuel V, 318 and W.Guglielmi, LÄ VI, 1094-1095: Wachtel.

116. Amarna III, 29,11: 

cf Amarna II, 3,6:



tr. p.32: 'Set him here till the swan (?) grows black and the crow(?) grows white' (n.9 does not offer any explanation).

117. Medum pl.34, No.VI:

118. Luxor Mém Miss 15, pl.70, fig.209:

119. Cf Grapow, Bildliche Ausdrücke , p.93, who tr.: 'bis der Schwan schwarz und der Rabe weiß wird' with the proviso: 'oder ein anderer weißer bzw. schwarzer Vogel'.

120. B.v.d. Walle, LÄ V, 755-757: Schwan, col.756.

121. L. Störk, GM 19 (1976) 57-58: Dndn 'der Schwan'?

122. Davies, Ptahhetep & Akhethetep, pl.21 & 27, with p.11.

123. DG 4: 'der Rabe'; 59:'der Rabe'.

124. L. Störk, LÄ V, 74-75: Rabe, esp.col.74.
Černý, CED, p.2: 'crow, raven'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.2: 'Rabe, Krähe'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.4: 'corbeau...corneille'.

125. Houlihan, Birds, p.166:

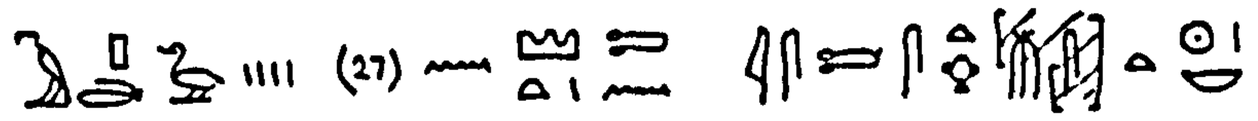
| | |
|---|---|
| House Crow | Corvus splendens Vieillot |
| Rook | C.frugilegus L |
| Hooded Crow | C.corone L |
| Brown-necked Raven | C.ruficollis Lesson |
| Raven | C.corax L |
| Fan-tailed Raven | C.rhipidurus Hartert. |

126. An IV, 2,3:

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.127: 'The (2,2).... of the West. It causes the bird to be hot; the goose cuts the rope and flies up (2,3).... the skm bird shrieks to the sky; the ostrich is (too) scared to rise up.' The word is not known from elsewhere by him (see his note on p.131).

127. M.Görg, GM 43 (1981) 27-28: Der Hahn in ägyptischer Literatur? Note his discussion of the phonetic changes. Cf E.Edel, ZÄS 83 (1958) 3-18: Inschriften des Alten Reichs, esp. n.g. and Osing, Nominalbildung, p.472.

128. H. Carter, JEA 9 (1923) 1-4: An ostracon depicting a red jungle fowl (the earliest known drawing of the domestic cock), with pl.20,1. An earlier example was published by R.Cottevieille-Giraudet, FIFAO $8^2$ (1931): Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1930). La Verrerie-Les Graffiti, p.41-43, pl.8, No.42. See too Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.79, fig.111.

129. Urk IV, 700: 

130. After Görg, op.cit., who cited E.Brunner-Traut, LÄ III, 70-72: Huhn, col.70 (without references).

131. DG 560.

132. CD 818a: 'hen, domestic fowl'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.448; 'Henne, Haushuhn'; Černý, CED, p.331: 'domestic fowl'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.337a: 'poule', 'oiseau'.

133. Bubastis Silver Bowl.

Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.80 fig.112.

Relief from Dyn 30 (Berlin No. 23001).

Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.80, fig.113;

A.Scharff, ZÄS 74 (1938) 41-49: Ein Spätzeitrelief des Berliner Museums p.47 & pl.3a

Petosiris tomb:

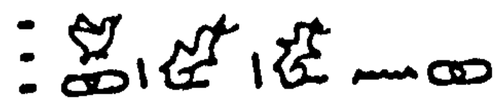
Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.80, fig.114;

Petosiris pl.35, 46 (colour), 47 (colour), 49.

Ptolemaic Papyrus (drawing on grid):

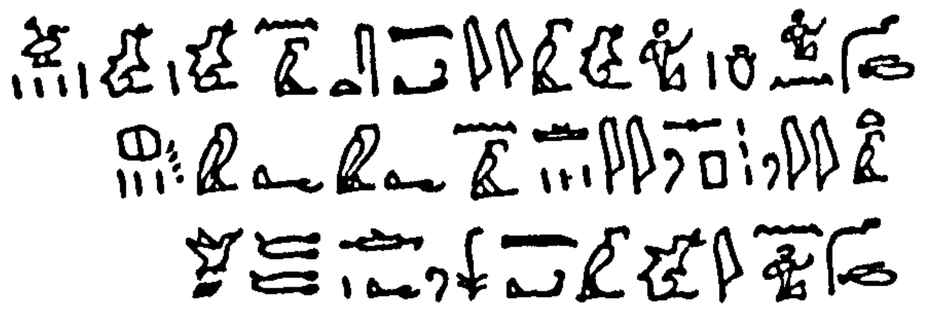
Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, p.81, fig.115.

134. Carter, op.cit. Cf Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, No.40, p.79-83; this bird is still found in Egypt (p.152).

135. Glos Gol 6, 15: 

136. An V, 16, 2 = Sall I, 6, 4:

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.247 (text recalls the terrible state of the farmer at taxation time when the animals have devastated the harvest - see also ḥfȝw, db, pnw, snḥm): 'The sparrows bring want (16,3) upon the cultivator.' Cf p.315.

Petersb Lit Brief 5, 1: 

var. O.DelM 287, 7: 

tr. Caminos, A Tale of Woe (Oxford 1977) (Papyrus Pushkin 127) p.45: 'I said to myself "Let the sparrows do away with the remnant of the amam-grain, (5, 2) and let me be rid of the tax and the staff, which inflicts suffering to excess".'

137. B.Campbell & E.Lack, A Dictionary of Birds (Carlton, 1985) p.556: 'Within their ranges some of the sparrows are among the more common birds, so that they reach pest proportions in those species that inhabit cultivated land... The sparrows are largely seed-eaters, with the Passer sparrows showing a marked preference for cereals'.

138. CD 798b: 'sparrow'; Černý, CED, p.323: 'sparrow'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.441: 'Sperling'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.333b: 'moineau'. See the latter for a possible Semitic origin of the word.

139. Campbell & Lack, loc.cit.: 'somewhat noisy birds using a variety of rather harsh chirping calls. There is no true song, though the chirping notes are strung together to serve this function'.

140. Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, noted the following additional species from Egypt today.

| | |
|---|---|
| Barbary Partridge | Alectoris barbara (Bonaterre) |
| Sand Partridge | Ammoperdix heyi (Temminck) |
| Little Bustard | Otis tetrax L |
| Houbara Bustard | Chlamydotis undulata (Jacquin) |
| Eurasian Woodcock | Scolopax rusticola L |

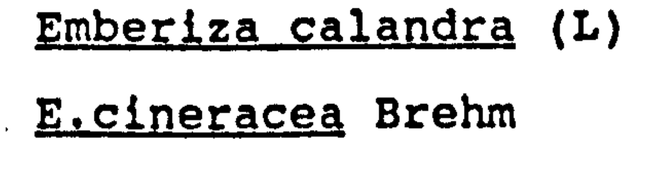
| | |
|---|---|
| Common Snipe | Gallinago gallinago (L) |
| Great Snipe | G.media (Latham) |
| Jack Snipe | Lymnocryptes minimus (Brünnich) |
| Common Thick-knee | Burhinus oedicnemus (L) |
| Senegal Thick-knee | B.senegalensis (Swainson) |
| Rose-ringed Parakeet | Psittacula krameri (Scopoli) |
| Cuckoo | Cuculus canorus L |
| Great-Spotted Cuckoo | Clamator glandarius (L) |
| Senegal Coucal | Centropus senegalensis (L) |
| European Nightjar | Caprimulgus europaeus L |
| Egyptian Nightjar | C.aegyptius Lichtenstein |
| Wryneck | Jynx torquilla L |
| Black-crowned Finch Lark | Eremopterix nigriceps (Gould) |
| Desert Lark | Ammomanes deserti (Lichtenstein) |
| Bar-tailed Desert Lark | A.cincturus (Gould) |
| Hoopoe Lark | Alaemon alaudipes (Desfontaines) |
| Dupont's Lark | Chersophilus duponti (Vieillot) |
| Short-toed Lark | Calandrella cinerea (Gmelin) |
| Lesser Short-toed Lark | C.rufescens (Vieillot) |
| Calandra Lark | Melanocorypha calandra (L) |
| Eastern Calandra Lark | M.bimaculata (Ménétries) |
| Thick-billed Lark | Rhamphocorys clotbey (Bonaparte) |
| Temminck's Horned Lark | Eremophila bilopha (Temminck) |
| Crested Lark | Galerida cristata (L) |
| Thekla Lark | G.theklae Brehm |
| Wood Lark | Lullula arborea (L) |
| Skylark | Alauda arventhis L |
| Richard's Pipit | Anthus novaeseelandiae (Gmelin) |
| Tawny Pipit | A.campestris (L) |
| Tree Pipit | Anthius trivialis (L) |
| Meadow Pipit | A.pratensis (L) |
| Red-throated Pipit | A.cervinus (Pallas) |
| Water Pipit | A.spinoletta (L) |
| Woodchat Shrike | Lanius senator L |
| Lesser Grey Shrike | L.minor Gmelin |
| Great Grey Shrike | L.excubitor L |
| Rosy-patched Shrike | Tchagra cruenta (Hemprich & Ehrenberg) |
| Rose-coloured Starling | Sturnus roseus (L) |
| Starling | S.vulgaris L |
| Chough | Pyrrhocorax pyrrhocorax (L) |
| Grey Hypocolius | Hypocolius ampelinus Bonaparte |

| | |
|---|---|
| Common Bulbul | Pycnonotus barbatus (Desfontaines) |
| Dunnock | Prunella modularis (L) |
| Cetti's Warbler | Cettia cetti (Temminck) |
| Savi's Warbler | Locustella luscinioides (Savi) |
| River Warbler | Locustella fluviatilis (Wolf) |
| Grasshopper Warbler | L.naevia (Boddaert) |
| Moustached Warbler | Lusciniola melanopogon (Temminck) |
| Sedge Warbler | Acrocephalus schoenobaenus (L) |
| Marsh Warbler | A.palustris (Bechstein) |
| Reed Warbler | A.scirpaceus (Hermann) |
| Clamorous Reed Warbler | A.stentoreus (Hemprich & Ehrenberg) |
| Great Reed Warbler | A.arundinaceus (L) |
| Icterine Warbler | Hippolais icterina (Vieillot) |
| Olivaceus Warbler | H.pallida (Hemprich & Ehrenberg) |
| Olive Tree Warbler | H.olivetorum (Strickland) |
| Barred Warbler | Sylvia nisoria (Bechstein) |
| Orphean Warbler | S.hortensis Gmelin |
| Garden Warbler | S.borin (Boddaert) |
| Blackcap | S.atricapilla (L) |
| Whitethroat | S.communis Latham |
| Lesser Whitethroat | S.curruca (L) |
| Desert Warbler | S.nana (Hemprich & Ehrenberg) |
| Rüppell's Warbler | S.rueppelli Temminck |
| Sardinian Warbler | S.melanocephala (Gmelin) |
| Ménétries' Warbler | S.mystacea Ménétries |
| Subalpine Warbler | S.cantillans (Pallas) |
| Spectacled Warbler | S.conspicillata Temminck |
| Marmora's Warbler | S.sarda Temminck |
| Willow Warbler | Phylloscopus trochilus (L) |
| Chiffchaff | P.collybita (Vieillot) |
| Bonelli's Warbler | P.bonelli (Vieillot) |
| Wood Warbler | P.sibilatrix (Bechstein) |
| Yellow-browed Warbler | P.inornatus (Blyth) |
| Goldcrest | Regulus regulus (L) |
| Firecrest | R.ignicapillus (Temminck) |
| Graceful Prinia | Prinia gracilis (Lichtenstein) |
| Streaked Scrub Warbler | Scotocerca inquieta (Cretzschmar) |
| Fan-tailed Warbler | Cisticola juncidis (Rafinesque) |
| Pied Flycatcher | Ficedula hypoleuca (Pallas) |
| Collared Flycatcher | F.albicollis (Temminck) |
| Red-breasted Flycatcher | F.parva (Bechstein) |
| Spotted Flycatcher | Muscicapa striata (Pallas) |

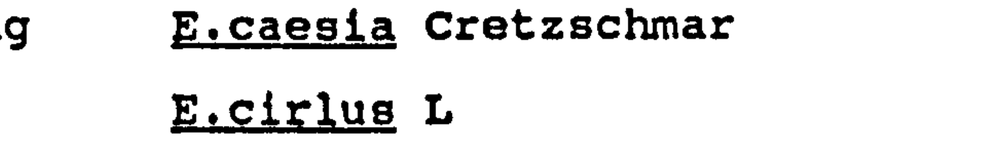
| | |
|---|---|
| Whinchat | Saxicola rubetra (L) |
| Stonechat | S.torquata (L) |
| Wheatear | Oenanthe oenanthe (L) |
| Pied Wheatear | O.pleschanka (Lepechin) |
| Black-eared Wheatear | O.hispanica (L) |
| Mourning Wheatear | O.lugens (Lichtenstein) |
| Desert Wheatear | O.deserti (Temminck) |
| Finsch's Wheatear | Oenanthe finschii (Heuglin) |
| Red-rumped Wheatear | O.moesta (Lichtenstein) |
| Red-tailed Wheatear | O.xanthoprymna (Hemprich & Ehrenberg) |
| Isabelline Wheatear | O.isabellina (Temminck) |
| Hooded Wheatear | O.monacha (Temminck) |
| Black Wheatear | O.leucura (Gmelin) |
| White-crowned Black Wheatear | O.leucopyga (Brehm) |
| Blackstart | Cercomela melanura (Temminck) |
| Rufous Bush Robin | Cercotrichas galactotes (Temminck) |
| Rock Thrush | Monticola saxatilis (L) |
| Blue Rock Thrush | M.solitarius (L) |
| Black Redstart | Phoenicurus ochruros (Gmelin) |
| Redstart | P.phoenicurus (L) |
| European Robin | Erithacus rubecula (L) |
| Nightingale | Luscinia megarhynchos Brehm |
| Thrush Nightingale | L.luscinia (L) |
| Bluethroat | L.svecica (L) |
| Fieldfare | Turdus pilaris L |
| Ring Ouzel | T.torquatus L |
| Blackbird | T.merula L |
| Redwing | T.iliacus L |
| Song Thrush | T.philomelos Brehm |
| Mistle Thrush | T.viscivorus L |
| Fulvous Babbler | Turdoides fulvus (Desfontaines) |
| Penduline Tit | Remiz pendulinus (L) |
| Pygmy Sunbird | Anthreptes platurus (Vieillot) |
| Shining Sunbird | Nectarinia habessinica (Hemprich & Ehrenberg) |
| Avadavat | Amandava amandava (L) |
| African Silverbill | Lonchura malabarica (L) |
| Golden Sparrow | Passer luteus (Lichtenstein) |
| House Sparrow | P.domesticus (L) |
| Spanish Sparrow | P.hispaniolensis (Temminck) |
| Tree Sparrow | P.montanus (L) |
| Dest Sparrow | P.simplex (Lichtenstein) |

| | |
|---|---|
| Streaked Weaver | Ploceus manyar (Horsfield) |
| Chaffinch | Fringilla coelebs L |
| Brambling | F.montifringilla L |
| Gold-fronted Serin | Serinus pusillus (Pallas) |
| Serin | Serinus serinus (L) |
| Syrian Serin | S.syriacus Bonaparte |
| Greenfinch | Carduelis chloris (L) |
| Siskin | C.spinus (L) |
| Goldfinch | C.carduelis (L) |
| Linnet | Acanthis cannabina (L) |
| Trumpeter Finch | Rhodopechys githaginea (Lichtenstein) |
| Common Rose Finch | Carpodacus erythrinus (Pallas) |
| Hawfinch | Coccothraustes coccothraustes (L) |
| Corn Bunting | Emberiza calandra (L) |
| Ashy-headed Bunting | E.cineracea Brehm |
| Ortolan Bunting | E.hortulana L |
| Cretzschmar's Bunting | E.caesia Cretzschmar |
| Cirl Bunting | E.cirlus L |
| Striped Bunting | E.striolata Lichtenstein |
| Rustic Bunting | E.rustica Pallas |
| Black-headed Bunting | E.melanocephala Scopoli |
| Reed Bunting | E.schoeniclus (L) |

141. Spiegelberg, Ostraka, pl.42 = Gardiner, AEO I, pl.21 'Unplaced fragments' C 1 l.1:



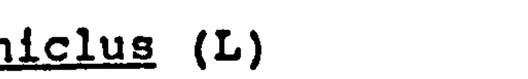
P.Tur P u R 138, l.7 (in a spell to be recited seven times):



tr. p.191: 'Je fais manger Hers'af l'oiseau Abnini'.

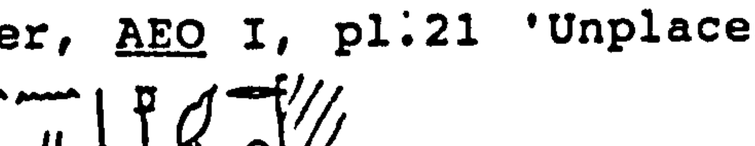
Vandier, P.Jumilhac IV t [exte] b[as], 6:

142. CT III, 36c:



tr. FECT I, p.146: 'O ỉ33w'.

cf CT VII, 111h:

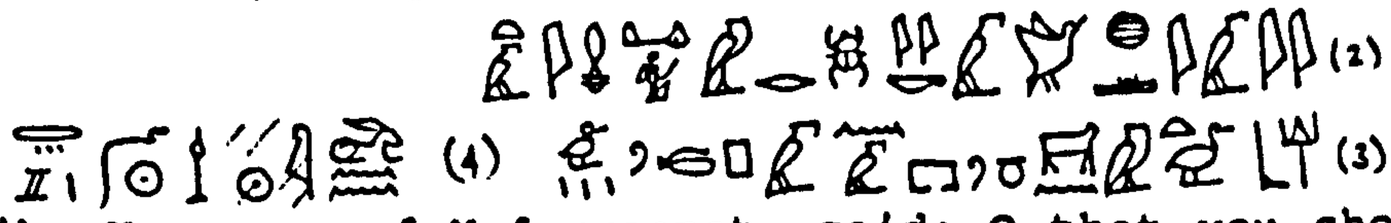


tr. FECT III, p.58: 'the ...-bird has sucked'.

143. P.Brooklyn 47.218.50, 16,24 (pl.XVA):

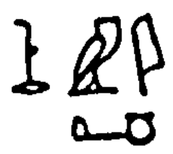
tr. Goyon, Confirmation, p.81: 'Amener un oiseau-ỉ̈bỉ̈by vivant au roi. Oindre sa tête avec l'onguent-md. Lui placer la tête en arrière. Formule prononcée après cela: Salut à vous, Oiseaux de Rê'.

144. HO I, pl.28, no.3 rto (O.Leipzig 12):



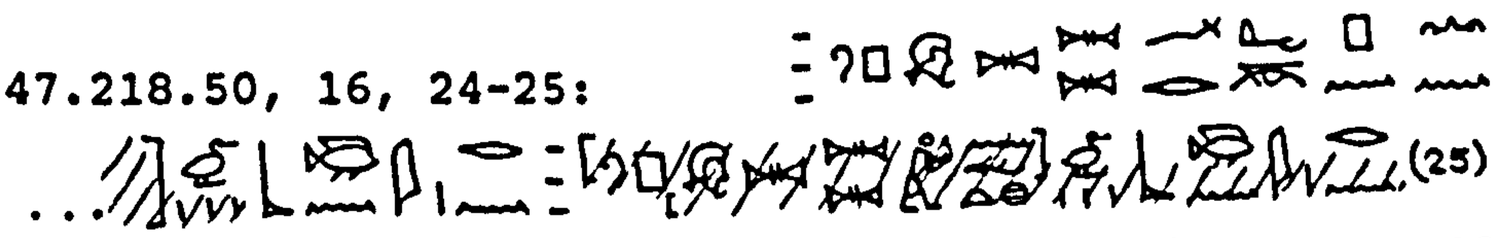
'What the scribe Huy, son of Neferronpet, said: O that you should appear with me like an 3bt among the birds at day-break'.

145. Beni Hasan II, 4:



To be read ỉms3 (?) - compare writings of šs3w 'hartebeest' also at Beni Ḥasan. Jéquier, Matériaux, p.118 with n.1, read the name as ỉm-tr; tr he understood as 'season', thus indicating that the bird was migratory. He identified it as Charadrius hiaticula, the Ringed Plover. The sdḥ has been identified as the Little Ringed Plover, but though these plovers are very similar the sdḥ and ỉmtr are not. The latter was recorded as 'unidentifiable' by Davies, Birds & Bats, p.19, No.21. She noted its black tail and red bill; others noted a brownish or black wing covert. It may possibly have had spurs. From its position in the scene and from its general appearance it is not a water bird. It was compared with ỉmw by P.Posener-Krieger, Arch Abousir I, p.248 (D.5). For ỉmw see also Ch.15 & 16.

146. P. Brooklyn 47.218.50, 16, 24-25:

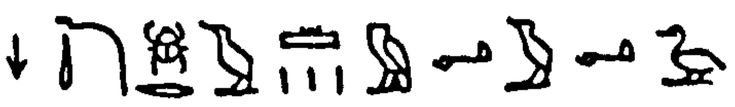
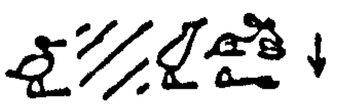


tr. p.75: 'Quant à mon pouvoir magique, il ne se tournera pas contre les propos qui sont dans la bouche des oiseaux (?) - ỉnbw. [....] [les propos qui sont dans] la bouche des oiseaux(?) - ỉnbw'.

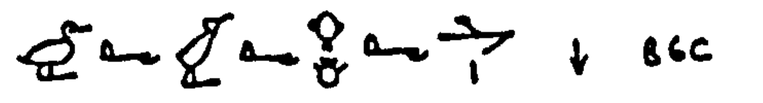
147. Eb 55,3:

Wb.Drog. V, p.292; tr. Wb.Drog VI, p.76: 'ein unbekannter Vogel oder ein unbekanntes Insekt'. See too Wb.Drog. IV$^{2}$, p.138; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.167: 'Kot vom ỉdw-Vogel'.

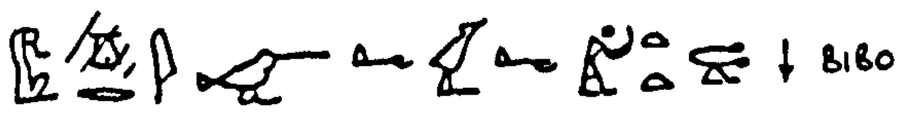
148. Meeks, AL 78.0663: 'un oiseau':

CT IV, 9:  var. S1C: 

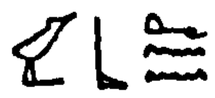
tr. FECT I, p.205: 'Becoming an ꜥwꜥ - bird. I have flown up as an ibis, I have alighted as a ḫ3d - bird.'

CT V, 296: 

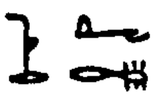
tr. FECT II, p.78: 'The knife of Mut has been placed in my hand against you, my eyes are opening (?) [...], my heart itself protects, alone in the middle of ꜥwꜥ - bird(s) '.

CT VI, 293: 

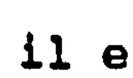
tr. FECT II, p.238: 'as for N, Osiris is abandoning the .... of the Silent One'. Cf W.Guglielmi, ICE Acts I, 255-264: Die mr.ti, ägyptische Vorläufer der Sirenen?'

149. Beni Hasan II, 4: 

Davies, Birds & Bats, p.19, No.25: 'Unidentified species'. She recorded a light red wing covert; from this colouring, and its apparent size relative to the other birds depicted it may be a Red-backed Shrike, Lanius collurio L; for this bird see Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, no.67, p.126-127.

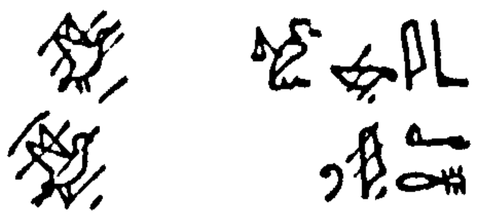
150. Beni Hasan II, 4: 

(cf ỉmtr above on the reading of the tr sign as sꜣ).

Jéquier, op.cit., p.90-91, noted: 'Il n'est pas possible de savoir si ce mot désigne un oiseau spécial, ou si c'est un nom général, dérivé de la racine ꜣkh "voler" et s'appliquant à toute volatile ; il est sans doute apparenté au mot ꜣkh-ter  qui désigne un petit oiseau blanc à longue queue, aux jambes fines et assez longues, dans une peinture de Beni-Hasan ... D'après l'adjonction ter <saison>, il faudrait considérer comme un oiseau de passage l'ꜣkh-ter qui, à en juger par ses formes générales, appartiendrait à l'ordre des passereaux '.

Posener-Kriéger, loc.cit., gave: 'une sorte de pigeon ou de palombe, à coup sûr un migrateur... Au Nouvel Empire on connaît le même mot sous la forme ꜥḥj'. (On ꜥḥy see Ch.16: Birds of Prey).

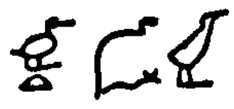
From its apparent size and general shape it may be a Redstart (Phoenicurus phoenicurus (L)); for this bird see also Houlihan & Goodman, Birds, no.71, p.134-135.

151. Gardiner, AEO II, pl.2 & 2A, 1.161: 

Gardiner commented, AEO I, p.9: '*ḥiw* (No. 161) may be a small bird depicted at Beni Hasan (II,4), where, however, the hieroglyphic legend gives .'

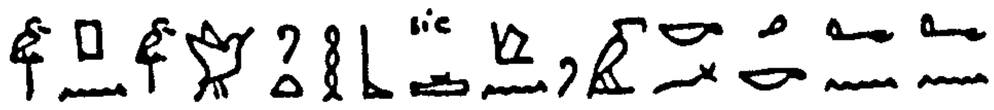
152. Pyr 1207: (see *bik*) var. (M)

tr. Sethe, UuK V, p.94: 'Morgenstern, Horus von der *dȝ.t*, göttlicher Falke, Grünling-vogel', with, p.105: 'wohl redupl. Form von *wȝḏ* "grün", als Bez. eines Vogels in der Form des Ideogrammes (hinter dem Namen), der wie der *bnw* dem Sonnengotte gleichgesetzt wurde also eine Art Schwalbe : "der Grünliche".'

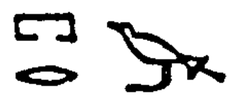
153. After Brugsch, Wörterbuch, Suppl, p.374: 'Name eines Vogels, [Beni-Hassan]'. 

This word not recorded elsewhere from the original source; could it be a misreading of *dfȝ* (Wb V, 569, 9 - 571, 5: Nahrung, Speise)?

154. Borghouts, P.Leiden I, 348, rto 2, 4:



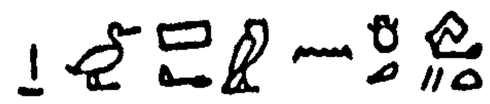
tr. p.16: 'your chin is the hinder part of the *bḫwt*(?)-bird (of?) That One, which (who) guards the door for (?) the gods of your shrines', with n.33 (p.48), comparing M u K, rto 4,1: 'don't fall on his chin. For that is the back-part of a pintail-duck (*s.t*)'.

155. Pyr 1107: 

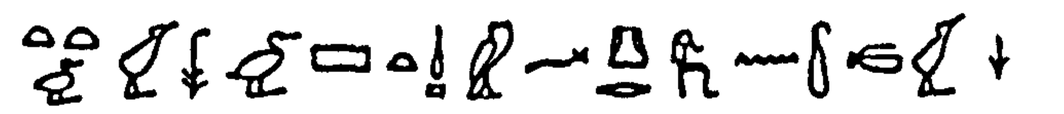
For long central tail feathers on a bird, see *mnt* (above) and the bee-eater depicted at Deir el-Baḥri (Houlihan, Birds, No.61 p.117-118, fig.166).

The Bee-eaters found in Egypt are:

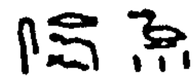
| | |
|---|---|
| Merops apiaster L | Bee-eater |
| M.orientalis Latham | Little Green Bee-eater |
| M.superciliosus L | Blue-cheeked Bee-eater |

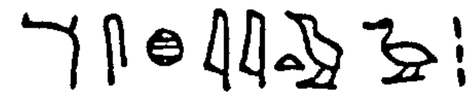
156. Eb 22,14: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.202-203; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.116: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel). šni-t -Frucht 1; Herz (ḥ3ti) des mš(-Vogels 1; Honig 1, Wein 1, innk-pflanze 1: süßes Bier 1; werde zu Kuchen gemacht, werde gegessen an einem Tage.' See too Wb. Drog. VI, p.291: 'ein unbekannter Vogel"'.

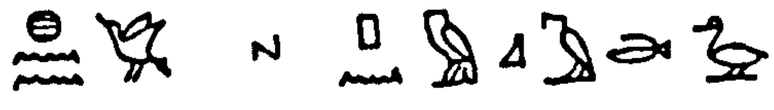
157. CT VII, 495e: 

tr. FECT III, p.178: 'it is the great baboon who eats the gods who thrusts at me beneath him with a crane and a danger-bird(?).'

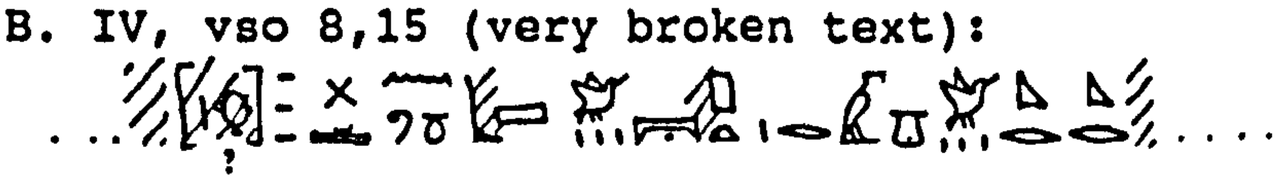
158. Ricke, Geflügelhof, tr. p.126: 'um mit Speise zu versehen die Gottesopfer für seinen Vater Amon.' 

159. Avignon 1,77: 

cf wḥ(w 'Fisherman', 'fowler' with bird det.; see Wb I, 350, 1-6: Allgemeines Wort für Fischer und Vogelfänger.

160. See above under (w(: 

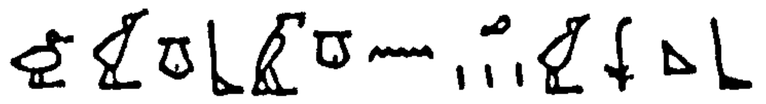
161. P. Jumilhac IV, t[exte] b[as], 1 & 4 & 9, tr. Vandier, p.136: When the head of Osiris was found : 'un oiseau ḳbḳ et un loup veillaient sur elle'. With the gloss: 'Quant à l'oiseau ḳbḳ, c'est Horus, maître de Letopolis; quand au loup, c'est Anubis'. See too p.229, n.872.

162. P.Ch.B. IV, vso 8,15 (very broken text): 

163. Pyr 1226:


tr. Sethe, UuK, p.124: 'N ißt jenes sein/(Du ißt dir dein) einziges Brot allein, nicht giebt er/(giebst du) es einem, der nach ihm/(dir) kommt nachdem er/(du) es dem Knm.wt-Vogel wieder entrissen hat/hast', with p.127: 'Es wird also ein rauberischer aber kein fleischfressender Vogel sein; bei P. sieht er fast wie eine Möwe aus.'

AEO I, pl.21, frag C2:

164. Eb 65,10: 

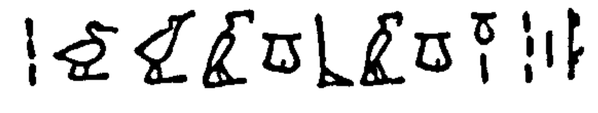
Wb. Drog. V, p.510; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.296: 'Schale einer Schildkröte; Rückenwirbel des g3bgw-Vogels, werde gekocht in Öl/Fett; werde damit gesalbt (wrḥ), oft, oft.' See too Wb. Drog. VI, p.532.

Eb 65,11:

Wb. Drog. V, p.511; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.296-7: 'Plazenta der Katze; Ei des g3bgw-Vogels; Öl/Fett; Ladanum; werde zerkocht, werde gegeben an den Kopf des Mannes, nachdem er betroffen ist'.

Eb 65, 16:

Wb. Drog. V, p.512; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.297: 'Blut vom Rückenwirbel des g3bgw-Vogels, werde gegeben in echtes Ladanum, werde gesalbt (wrḥ).'

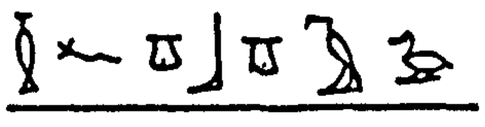
Hearst 10,17: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.517; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.300: 'Knochen des g3bgw-Vogels, zerkocht; Kot der Fliege; Öl/Fett; Milchsaft der Sycomore; Gummi; šspt (Gurke?); werde erhitzt (sšmm), werde daran gegeben.'

Ebbell, P.Ebers, p.78, tr. 'raven' without comment.

As there is no overlap of context in which these words occur (g3bgw only in medical texts; gbg3 not attested in medical papyri) they are perhaps to be taken as different birds.

Vandier's objection to seeing ḳbḳ and gbg3 as variants of the same word was based on the fact that the gbg3 is always portrayed as inimical and to be repelled, whereas the ḳbḳ had a positive role and was identified with Horus of Letopolis.

Text Relig 9: 

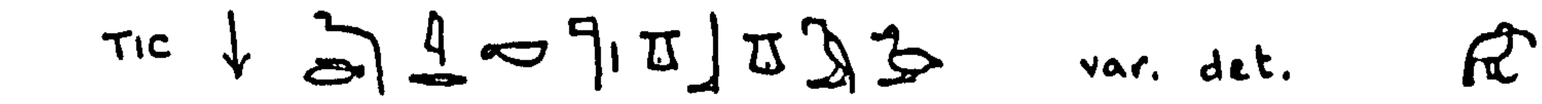
cf CT V, 269 (Text Relig 10):

tr. FECT II, p.70: 'Spell for driving away a vulture.'; 'Hail to you, Bull-of-bulls and Searcher-out-of-truth, you two vultures'.

CT V, 277: var.

tr. FECT II, p.72: 'To drive away a vulture'.

CT V, 106 (Urk V, 170,8):

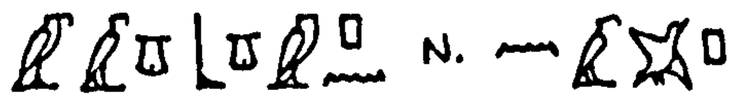



tr. FECT II, p.32: 'Say to him [the ferryman in the underworld] : "O vulture-god...".'

CT VI, 318:

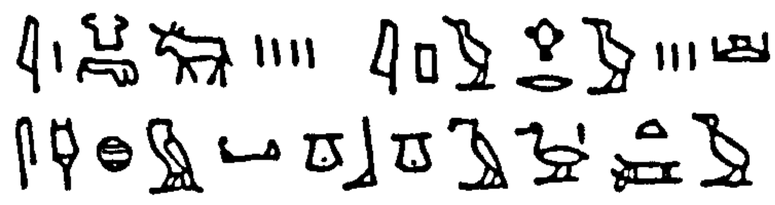
tr. FECT II, p.253: 'To drive off a vulture and to avoid (?) a scribe of the House of Thirty who is in charge of standards and sceptres.'

In CT III, 144, the qbq3 is one of the birds in the shape of which the deceased may fly to heaven:



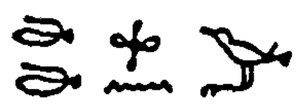

tr. FECT I, p.167: 'I have flown up to them as a swallow, like Thoth; I cackle to them as a goose, like the Wine-press God; I fly up as a vulture'. Because of the det. here, tr. 'vulture' by Faulkner throughout.

Text Relig 7:



165. Only attested in the writing of ddwn (Wb V, 502, 4-5: ein nubischer Gott (als Herr des Weihrauchs uä))

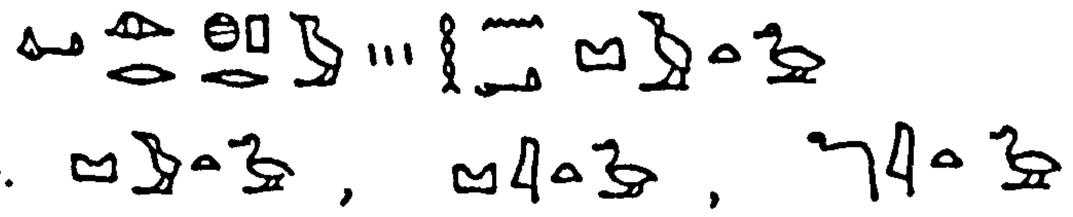
eg Pyr 803:



Pyr 994:

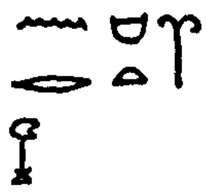
Pyr 1017:

166. Text Relig 22:

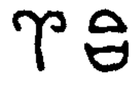



167. Sahure II, pl.56:

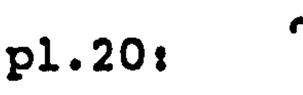
LD II, 61b:

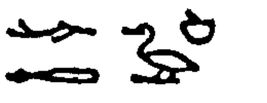


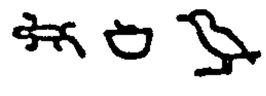
Ptahshepses Var <45>:

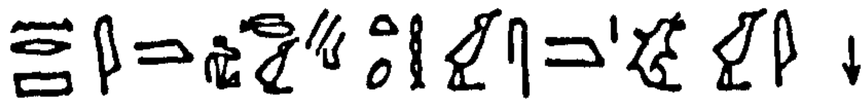


Montet, Scènes, pl.II, 1:

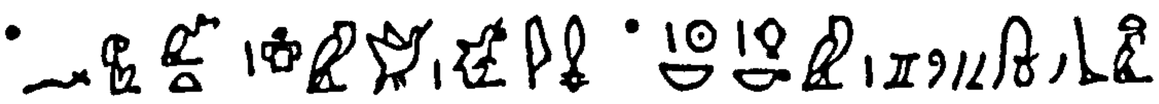
Badawy, Sekhemankhptah, pl.20: 

Urk IV, 756, 1:  1,100

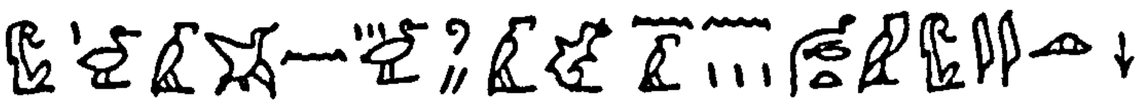
Urk IV, 756, 3:  6237

168. Amarna VI, 27, 7: 

tr. p.30: 'A young bird in the egg chirps within the shell, (for) thou givest to him air inside it to impart life to him'.

Lansing 8,4: 

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.396 : 'The covert is before you every day like a nestling after its mother'.

Totb Leps 164, 11: 

tr. Allen, BOD, p.152: 'I have come in person that I may trap the fledgling(s), that I may trap him and put him in his place.'

Pyr 1130:

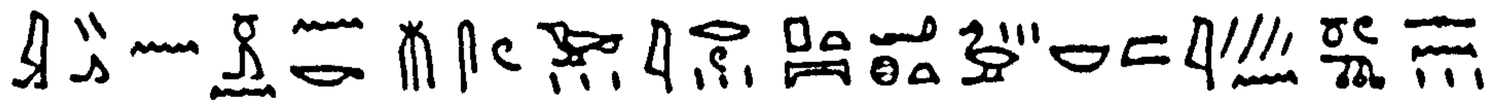
169. See šs3; ḏḥs; wnš; ỉnḥ; msḥ; also applied to the offspring of Apophis.

170. N.M. Davies, JEA 27 (1941) 133-134: The Hieroglyph for the Fledgeling. The colouring of the hieroglyph was generally yellow with blue or black markings, 'the yellow being perhaps meant to represent the down' (p.134) but occasionally pink, when against a yellow background. Note that the usually yellow -w hieroglyph is often coloured blue or green when against a yellow background.

171. Lansing 12,4: 

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.412: 'byres full of oxen; a breeding bird-pool with geese, horses in the stable.' He commented, p.416: 'Sš sms, literally "bird-pool of nestlings", cf. the compound wnmt sms "breeding-food", ...; and sms in Inscr. dédic, 87.'

Inscr dédic 87:

172. Med. Habu <831> Rm 7: Princess brings eggs and young birds to king: 

173. HO I, pl.37, No.1, vso 3 (O. Gardiner 25):
tr. G.Posener, RdE 16(1964) 37-43: L'expression bjs.t ʿ3.t 'mauvais caractère', p.40: 'Ton coeur est comme un monument de trente coudées, (mais) tes membres sont comme (ceux d') un oisillon.'

174. Černý, CED, p.98; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.129b; CD 477a; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.522.

## Chapter 18 - Notes

1. Morenz , Naturlehre, p.119 (CT II, 42b-c):

tr. p.120: 'Fische vom Wasser, das im Nile ist'.

2. On these fish see E. Danelius & H. Steinitz, JEA 53 (1967) 15-24: The Fishes and other aquatic animals on the Punt-reliefs at Deir el-Baḥri; Gamer-Wallert, Fische, esp. p.56-58.

3. P. Ch. B. IV, vso 9; for the individual fishes mentioned see the text.

4. On fishing and fowling scenes, see Ch.1: Classification, especially ꜣpd and rmw.

5. See Gamer-Wallert, Fische, esp. Ch.6; id., LÄ II, 228-234: Fische, religiös.

6. Synodontis schall, Lates niloticus and Clarias lazera were identified from mummified remains at Ghûrâb - see B.Brier & M.V.L. Bennett, JEA 65 (1979) 128-133: Autopsies on fish mummies: Possible identification of the classical Phagrus. 'Bagrus bayad' is also recorded here; this species name appears to have been superceded. Other species were identified from mummies by E. Strouhal & L. Vyhnánek, Egyptian Mummies in Czechoslovak Collections (Praze 1980) p.130 & 181. Eutropius niloticus was identified from mummified remains by F.F. Leek, JEA 62 (1976) 131-133: An Ancient Egyptian Mummified fish; cf id., JEA 64 (1978) 121-122: Eutropius niloticus. L.niloticus was also found by L.Lortet & H.Hugonenq, ASAE 3 (1902) 15-21: Recherches sur les momies d'animaux de l'ancienne Égypte.

7. Gamer-Wallert, Fische ; reviewed by P.Derchain, BiOr 28 (1971) 320-323.

8. C. Gaillard (with V.Loret & C.M. Kuentz), MIFAO 15 (1923): Recherches sur les poissons représentés dans quelques tombeaux égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire. Gaillard used as his main reference work Boulenger, Fishes of Africa I-IV.

9. In the encyclopaedic work of G. Sterba, Freshwater Fishes of the World (London 1962, orig. publ. as Süsswasserfische aus aller Welt (Leipzig/Jena 1959)), the following are given as Nile fish ('Nile' here is understood as the Lower Nile and Nile Valley):

Tilapia galilea(L) - Galilee Cichlid/Mouth-brooder

T.nilotica(L) - Nile Mouth-brooder

These two have recently been included in the genus Sarotherodon by J.D. Baldarin with J.P. Hatton, Tilapia : A Guide to their biology and culture in Africa (Stirling 1979); the genera are divided according to whether the fish are mouth-brooders or substrate spawners.

T.zilii (Gervais) - Zilli's Cichlid

Haplochromis multicolor (Hilgendorf) - Small or Egyptian Mouth-brooder

Haplochromis desfontanesi (Lacépède)

Hemichromis bimaculatus Gill - Red Cichlid, Jewelfish Brooder

Synodontis batensoda (Rüppell)

S.membranaceus Geoffroy

S.schall (Bloch & Schneider)

S.clarias (L)

Clarias lazera (Cuvier & Valenciennes)

C.anguillaris (L)

Heterobranchus longifilis (Cuvier & Valenciennes)

Eutropius niloticus (Rüppell)

Schilbe mystus (L)

Labeo forskalii (Rüppell)

Citharinus latus Müller & Troschel

Distichodus rostratus (Günther)

Malapterurus electricus (Gmelin) - Electric Catfish

Mormyrus kannume Forskål - Elephant Snout Fish

Petrocephalus bovei (Cuvier & Valenciennes)

Marcusenius isidori (Cuvier & Valenciennes)

Alestes nurse (Rüppell)

Anguilla anguilla (L) - Common or European Eel

Polypterus bichir Geoffroy - Nile Bichir

Lates niloticus (L) - Nile Perch

Tetraodon (= Tetrodon) linneatus (L) - Arab/Nile Puffer Fish (supercedes T.fahaka)

Auchenoglanis occidentalis (Cuvier & Valenciennes)

Bagrus docmac (Forskål)

Cobitis taenia (L) - Spined Loach or Spotted Weatherfish
Barbus werneri Boulenger
Micralestes acutidens (Peters)
Micropanchax loati (Boulenger)

Of the species listed above only two, Micropanchax loati and Haplochromis multicolor, were not noted by Boulenger, op.cit..

A further species noted by Baldarin & Hatton, op.cit., is:
Sarotherodon aureus Steindachner (apparently separated from S.niloticus)

These are all fresh water fish, but certain sea fish of the family Mugilidae are also found in Egypt; adults of the genus Mugil may be found considerable distances inland. Two species of grey mullet are mentioned by J.L.B. Smith, Sea Fishes (Cape Town 1977) as occurring in Egypt: Mugil cephalus L, the Striped or Flathead Mullet or Haarder, and Liza ramada (supercedes M.capito). Of the other species of Mugilidae mentioned by Gamer-Wallert, M.auratus and M.saliens, only the latter is recognised by Smith as a now invalid name for Heteromugil tricuspidens and Trachystoma euronotus (p.320 & 323).

Grzimek, Animal Life Encyclopaedia V, p.147, also noted M.cephalus; M.capito, the Thin-lipped Grey Mullet, was described as follows: 'inhabits the waters from the Cape of Good Hope to the southern coast of Norway, as well as the Mediterranean and the lower courses of large rivers'. The Thick-lipped Grey Mullet, M.chelo, and the Golden Grey Mullet, M.auratus, which 'extend only as far south as the Canary Islands' may also have been known in ancient Egypt. (See map, p.146, for M.capito & M.auratus).

Polypterus bichir and Distichodus rostratus, together with 'A.dentex' and 'Hydrocyon forskalii' (neither of the latter recognised by Sterba), were assumed by Gaillard, op.cit., to have been unknown to the Egyptians as they were not depicted on tomb walls (p.118) : 'Ils se sont vraisemblablement propagés dans les régions inférieurs du Nil, postérieurement à la civilisation des premières dynasties pharaoniques, mais bien avant la période arabe'. This, he assumed, was also the case with Bagrus bayad (not recorded by Sterba) and B.docmac (p.111). Fish are naturally restricted to the waterway they inhabit and a new species will only

be added to a region if it is imported or if the level of a body of water rises sufficiently to allow their passage to another area of water. The latter happened in the Holocene times when various Nile fish were carried across the Sahara where they now survive in oases. (See Darlington, Zoogeography, p.60-61 and 79). Given Egypt's climatic history of progressive desiccation it seems unlikely that new fish would have been introduced in this way, so it is difficult to see how Gaillard's opinion could be correct.

Eutropius niloticus, Synodontis membranaceus, S.clarias and Bagrus docmac, together with Schilbe uranoscopus, Siluranodon auritus, Chrisichthis auratus (none of these but the first recorded by Sterba) were considered by Gaillard (who could not identify them among the fishes depicted by the ancient Egyptians but expected them in the Nile) to have been 'confondus avec certains poissons representés dans les tombeaux' (p.111).

Species mentioned by Gaillard which are recognized by Boulenger but not by Sterba are as follows:

Petrocephalus bovei Lacépède

Mormyrus cashive Hasselquist

M.niloticus Bloch & Schneider

Gnathonemus cyprinoides L

Barbus bynni Forskål

Hyperopisus bebe Lacépède (This species is also mentioned in Grzimek, Animal Life Encyclopaedia IV, pl.opp.p.209).

Barbus neglectus Boulenger

B.anema Boulenger

Clarotes laticeps Rüppell

Auchenoglanis biscutatus I.Geoffroy

Syndontis serratus Rüppell

Morone labrax L

Chelaethiops bibie Joannis

Barilius niloticus Joannis

Mochocus niloticus Joannis

Labeo coubie

Labeo hourie

Alestes barremose

Mormyrus hasselquisti

Bagrus bayad

Hydrocyon forskalii

Schilbe uranoscopus

Siluranodon auritus

Mormyrops anguilloides

Hydrocyon brevis

Clupea finta

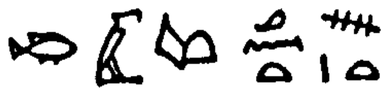
Chrysichthis auratus

Nannocharax niloticus

See also the species list given in D.J.Brewer & R.F.Friedman, Fish and Fishing in Ancient Egypt (Warminster 1989): The Natural History of Egypt 2, p.108-109.

10. Medum pl.12, over men carrying a Nile Perch Lates niloticus:

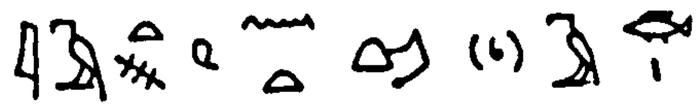
This fish is also found in the medical texts:

Eb 97, 10: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.490; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.285: 'Das Hohlen der Milch einer Amme , die ein Kind nährt (šdj). Rückgrat des Nilbarsches; werde zerkocht in Öl/Fett; werde ihr Rückgrat damit gesalbt (gs)'.

Hearst 6, 3 (Eb 47, 11):

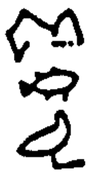
Wb.Drog. V, p.61; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.35: 'Knochen vom Nilbarsch gekocht 1'.

MuK 2, 5: 

(not in Wb.Drog.)

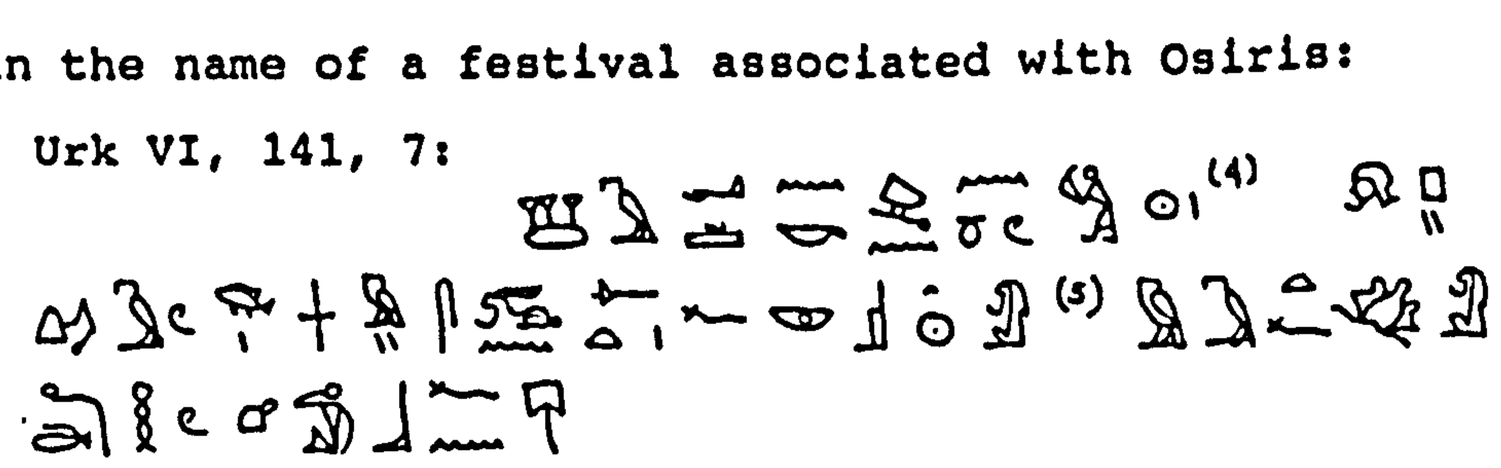
in lists of fish:

Geogr Pap pl.11, frag.28:

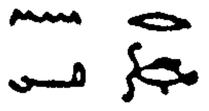
pl.13, frag.40: 

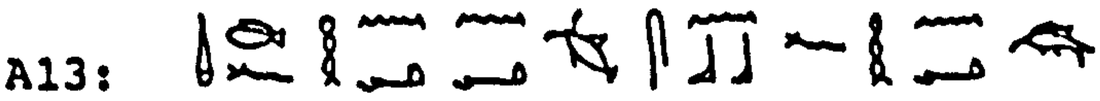
Festiv Hall, frag.9:

and in the name of a festival associated with Osiris:

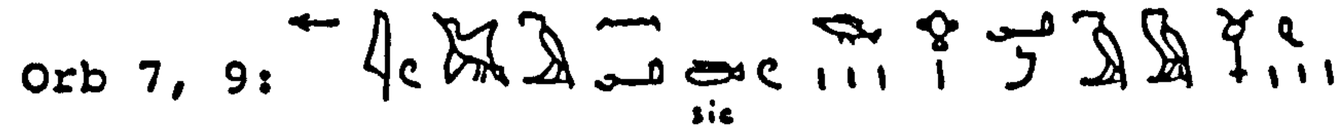
Urk VI, 141, 7: 

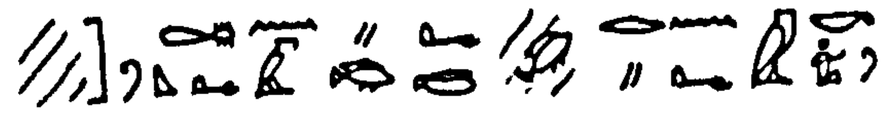
11. Ti pl.111:



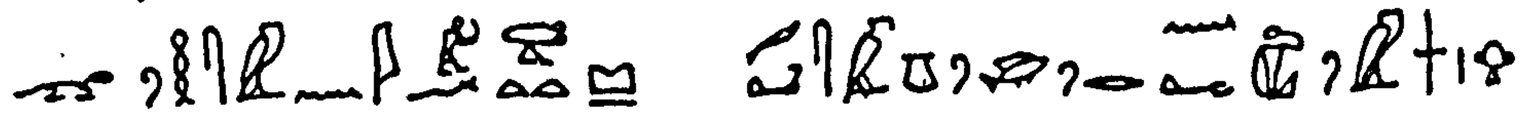
cf Mereruka A13: 

Berscheh II, 20:

Orb 7, 9: 

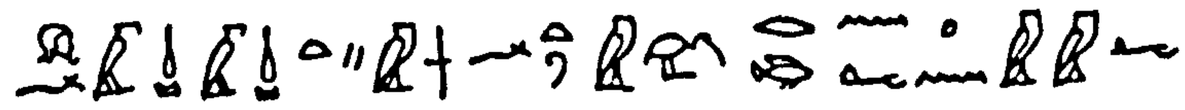

O.DelM 1365, vso x+1: 

P.Ch.B III, rto 7, 8:



tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.16: If a man see himself in a dream 'eating a na$^{c}$r-fish that has been split open, BAD; his being caught by a crocodile'.

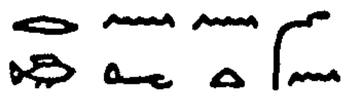
The term appears commonly in the medical texts:

Eb 30, 1: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.141; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.82: 'Ein anderes Heilmittel für das Schienbein (?). ʿmm-Teil des Welses; man findet ihn inmitten seines Kopfes '. For ʿmm see also trp and pqqt.

Hearst 13, 10: = Eb 30, 1

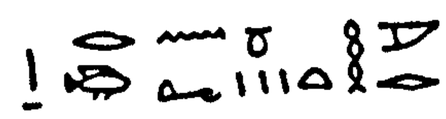
Wb.Drog. V, p.126; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.73: 'Ein anderes Heilmittel. ʿmm-Teil des Welses in Honig ; werde die Zehe damit verbunden'.

Eb 88, 8: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.369; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.213: 'Schädel des Welses, zerkocht in Öl/Fett'.

Eb 80, 8:

Wb.Drog. V, p.51; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.29: 'Fleisch des Welses 1'.

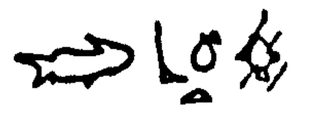
Eb 82, 9 (P.Ram V, U, 8): 

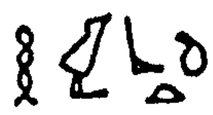
Wb.Drog. V, p.45; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.25: 'Fett (mrḥ.t) des Welses 1'.

V.Vikentiev, JEA 17 (1931) 67-80: Nar-ba-thai, considered (after Gaillard) that the n$^{c}$r was Clarias anguillaris, with the term

originally comprising both the Clarias and Heterobranchus genera. Daumas, op.cit., gave nʿr as Clarias anguillaris or C.lazera.

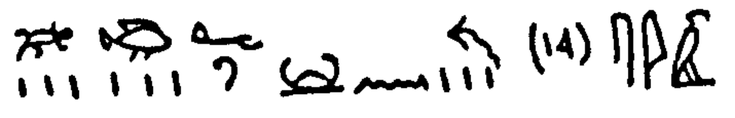
12. Mar Mast D.60:

Ti, pl.117: 

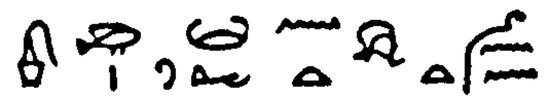
Boeser-Holwerda, Mastaba de Leide pl.74 (in colour): 

On the translation of this phrase see F.Daumas, BIFAO 62 (1964) 67-85: Quelques remarques sur les représentations de peche à la ligne sous l'Ancien Empire, and Montet, Scènes, p.37, who first suggested that gbt was a verb and not a fish name, as thought by Wb (V, 162, 15: Art Fisch). The spine of the fish may have been called ḥnw - see Borghouts, P.Leiden I, 348, n.236, where it is used to write a name in wax; cf CT I, 157c. From the representations wḥʿ may be translated Synodontis sp. (Gamer-Wallert, Fische gave S.schall, as did Vandier, Manuel V, p.586.) The relative size of the fish and the man in Ti would perhaps suggest one of the larger Nile species S.schall or S.membranaceous, but since the size of the fish is greatly exaggerated this is not a reliable guide.

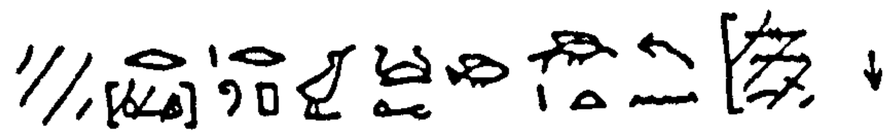
The word is also found in the medical texts:

Eb 65, 14: 

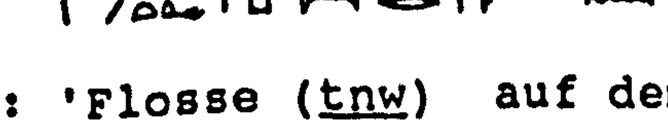
Wb.Drog. V, p.512; tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1], p.297: 'Gehirn (ȝis) von vielen Synodontis-Schall-Fischen'.

Hearst 6, 4: 

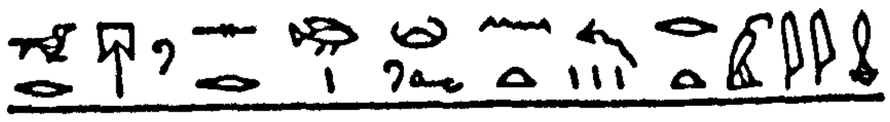
Wb.Drog. V, p.61; tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1], p.35: 'Schädel des Synodontis-Fisches, gekocht 1'.

P.Ram III, A, 16: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.99; tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1], p.58: 'Blut vom Oxyrhynchus-Fisch oder vom Synodontis-Schall-Fisch'.

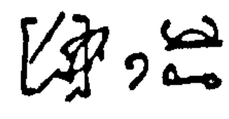
P.med Berl 3038, 6, 11: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.107; tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1], p.63: 'Flosse (tnw) auf dem Rücken des Synodontis-Schall-Fisches'.

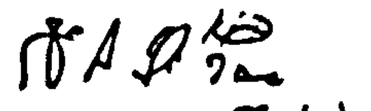
Eb 105, 11: 

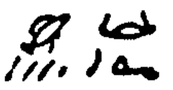
Wb.Drog. V, p.387; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.223-4: 'Heilkunde für ein Eitergeschwür ...die Beschaffenheit (ỉrtỉw) dessen, was aus ihm gekommen ist , ist wie die Ausscheidung (?) (ỉꜣr.t) eines Synodontis-Fisches <oder> eines großen srw-Tieres ' (my omission).

in lists of fish and on weights:

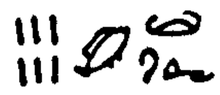
Lopez, Ostraca III, pl.130, No.57402 rto 1: 

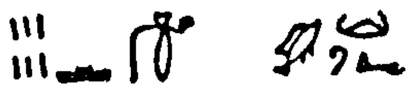
Valbelle, Cat Poids:

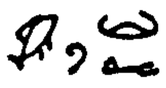
Poids IFAO 571 (pl.25, No.5190): 

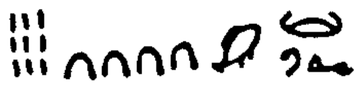
" " SA 8019 (pl.26, No.5196): 

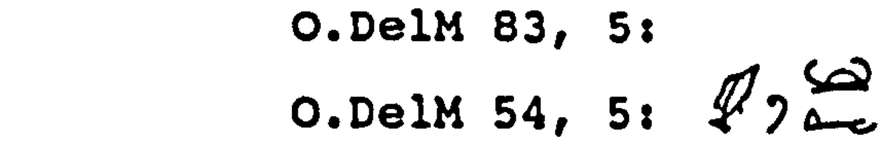
" " unnumbered (pl.47, No.5407):

O.DelM 218, 2: 

HO I, pl.34, No.2 (O.Petrie 85, 6): 

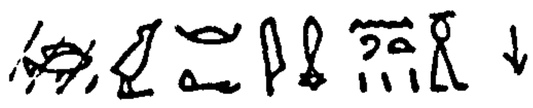
O.DelM 79, 3: 

O.DelM 83, 5: 

O.DelM 54, 5: 

and elsewhere:

A.H.Gardiner, JEA 41 (1955) 9-17: A unique funerary liturgy, in the phrase wḥꜥt-snb 30:

Karn Mar 53, 23: 

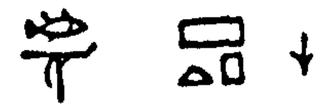
On the writing wḥꜥ.t with different determinative see Goedicke, WZKM 54 (1957) 46-50: Eine Variante des 'Hirtenliedes'. Gamer-Wallert read it as an entirely new word for (a species of) the Mormyrus genus. She read wḥꜥt in other variants of the 'Hirtenlied' where the fish is used as an ideogram, with phonetic complement eg in Mereruka, pl.170 and Ti pl.111, though Goedicke read ḥꜣ.t. On other readings of the word see Bidoli, Sprüche der Fangnetze, p.64-66 & 77.

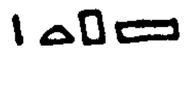
13. Lopez, Ostraca I, pl.31, No.57048, vso 3:

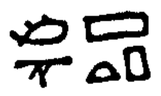
Meeks, AL 78.2621: 'un poisson... Peut-être une graphie de wḥꜥ "synodonte".' Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.33, n.199 (after Ranke, PN I, p.93, 29 & II, p.183) also assumed it to be a variant writing of wḥꜥ.

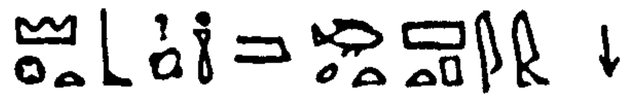
14. Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.42-43.

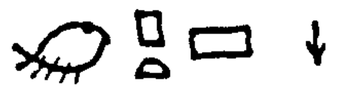
This fish is only rarely attested:

Fest Hall, pl.18: 

pl.22: 

Geogr Pap, pl.12 frag.32 : 

Fayumpap I, 37 (P.Boulaq 2): 

Posener-Kriéger & de Cenival, HPBM 5th ser, pl.62, frag.A2,1:


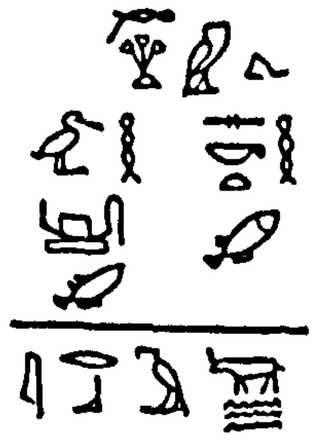
A lively discussion on the existence of a cult centering around this fish was carried on between Edel and Helck: E.Edel, MDAIK 32 (1976) 35-43: Der Tetrodon Fahaka als Bringer der Überschwemmung und sein Kult im Elephantengau; W.Helck, GM 29 (1978) 27-31: Der angebliche Kugelfischkult in Elephantine; E.Edel, GM 30 (1978) 35-37: Noch einmal...; Helck, GM 36 (1979) 31-36: Doch noch einmal der angebliche Kult des Kugelfisches... ; E.Edel, GM 41 (1980) 33-41: Noch einmal zu den 'Kapellen des Fahaka' im Gau von Elephantine.

15. Wb III, 62, 13: Art Fisch.

16. Ḥbȝ and ḥsk(m)t were commented upon at length by Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1961), who translated the text in which they occur (p.214): 'Das Herauskommen des ḥzkmt-Fisches und des ḥbȝ-Fisches aus den Gauen Oberägyptens und aus den Gauen Unterägyptens, indem sie nordwärts ziehen, damit sie šȝ-Kräuter im Delta fressen':

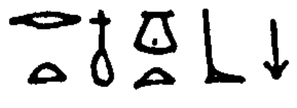
This he understood to be a description of the biannual up-river migrations from the sea made by mullet, the species Mugil cephalus and M.capito (Liza ramada). Note esp. his comments in op.cit., (1963) p.155-6, correcting his original remarks, and on this migration see also his p.160-163.

The two names are also found together twice more in this temple; one (pl.13, opp.p.174) translated by Edel (p.119): 'Das Kommen und Eintreten des ḥzkmt-Mugils und des ḥbȝ-Mugils in (die Gegend von) Elephantine':

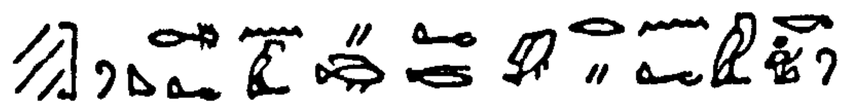


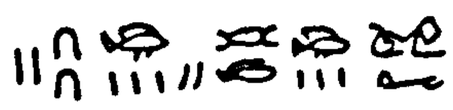
The other (opp.p.126) he tr.(p.128): '[Das Kommen] des ḫzkmt-Mugils und des ḫbȝ-Mugils [aus der] Welthälfte [des Deltas] nach Elephantine'. The phrase is paralleled by ḥḳ ʿȝdw m tȝ-sty - to Edel ʿȝdw and tȝ-sty were more general designations for ḫbȝ/ḫskmt and ȝbw respectively.

For ḫbȝ see too Caminos, Literary Fragments, pl.16, frag.1.4, p.38 & Ranke, PN I, p.236,17; II, p.184.

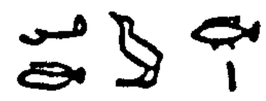
17. S.Hassan, ASAE 38 (1938) 503-521: Excavations at Saqqara (1937-1938), p.520, pl.96. If this is indeed the name of the fish on sale Edel's analysis of the terms used for the grey mullet must be modified. Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.42, compared the word with N K bȝq (see below) which she identified as M.capito (L.ramada), having already allocated M.cephalus to the fish bry (p.41). On bq see also Jéquier, Matériaux, p.131-132. 

18. Eg in the title ʿḏ-mr; Gardiner, Sign List, K3.

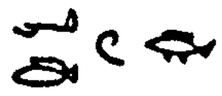
19. ʿḏ : O.DelM 1365, vso x+1: 

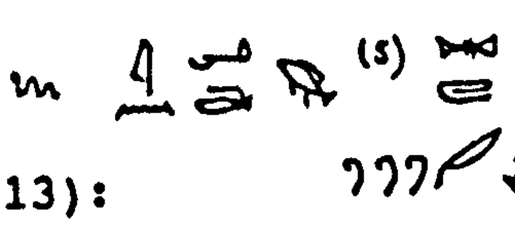
O.Cairo 25677, vso 24: 

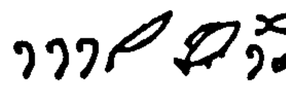
ʿḏw: (Wb I,237, 6: Art Fisch)

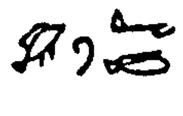
M u K 8,6-8: 

9,3:

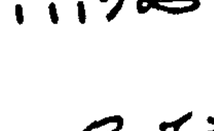
Urk VI,21, 1.19: 

67, 1, 7: 

Gardiner, RAD, p.15 (P.Gurob, rto 2, 13): 

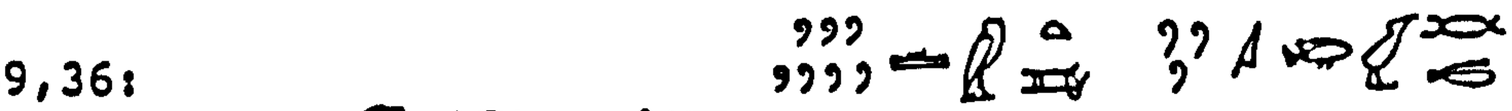
Valbelle, Cat Poids (Poids IFAO 573) (pl.25 No.5186A): 

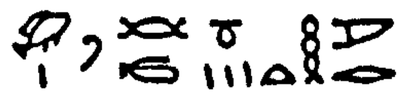
ʿḏw: (Wb I,240,5 : ein essbarer Fisch)

An III, 3,1 (eaten): 

An IV, 15,7 (as a delta fish): 

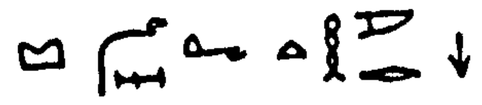
Totb Nav 123, 3: 

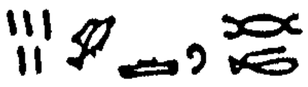
P.Kah 39,36: 

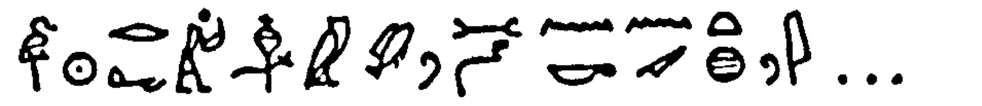
Eb 82,9: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.44; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.25; VI, p.121.

AEO I, pl.1, l.146:

P.Ram V, U,9: 

J.J.Janssen, JEA 52 (1966) 81-94: A Twentieth Dynasty Account Papyrus (Pap.Turin No. Cat 190718): 

For the writing ʿdw note Gardiner, The Ramesseum Papyri, pl.32A,11: 

tr. p.11: 'O you enemy, dead man or dead woman, this is a very great thing thou hast done against Osiris; thou hast cut up the adj-fish in front of Rēʿ, and hast caused Apopis to rise up in front of Rēʿ and hast caused him to go to heaven in place of Rēʿ..'

A similar word with different determinative is recorded in Wb under ʿd (Wb I, 240,6: Name des Fisches )

Totb Nav 149, 38:

149, 40:

(Fish drawn in vignettes)

Allen, BOD, tr. p.95-6: 'I seized the ʿdw-fish when he retreated; I did what thou didst command against him.'

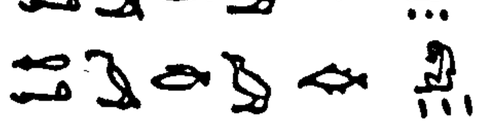
This was taken by L.Keimer, BIE 29 (1948) 263-274: Quelques représentations rares de poissons remontant a l'époque pharaonique, p.273-274, as a possible name for Polypterus bichir. Myśliwiec, Atum I, p.137, on the other hand, suggested that it was an eel. On these examples Jéquier, Matériaux, p.55, noted: 'Cette citation... a pu faire croire qu'il s'agissait non d'un poisson, mais d'un animal aquatique avançant à reculons , un crustace, un homard', but he rejected this interpretation because of the appearance of a fish in the phrase ʿd-mr.

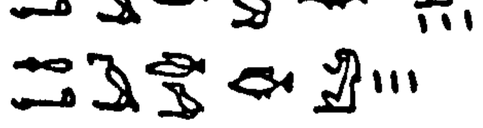
A similar looking creature is called šhr rmw 'who overthrows fish' in Totb Nav I, pl.172 (cf an unnamed example in Totb Nav I, pl.169); the creature is named mḥt in the accompanying text (Wb recorded this under ỉmḥt, Wb I, 88, 1-2: 'Name der Unterwelt, auch Name einer ỉst-Stätte des Totenreiches').

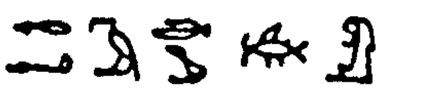
A similar word ʿ3dw (Wb I,168,14: Art Fisch, als Name des Sonnengottes) appears with a fish determinative as an epithet of Rēʿ. This text and its variants were published by Hornung, Anbetung, I, p.28:

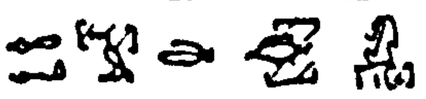
var U :

T3 :

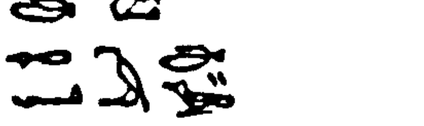
SI : 

RII : 

SII: 

Si: 

RIV:

RIX: 

tr. Vol.II, p.64: 'Lobpreis sei dir, Re, du mit hoher Macht, der ein- und ausgeht (und umgekehrt der zu seiner geheimnisvollen und verborgenen Gruft gehört - du bist ja der Leichnam des Adju-Fisches

Cf Taharqa by the Lake p.34 with n.40 & Piankoff , Litany, p.24, no.23, who compared BOD 125 'ʿ3dy who comes out of Heliopolis' indicating a close association between the ʿ3dy and Rēʿ. See too Borghouts, P.Leiden I, 348, p.215.

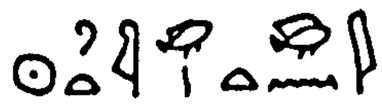
Meeks, AL 77.0582, noted that the name was 'dérivé de ʿḏ3 "mugil" mais pas identique à celui-là'. Hornung, Anbetung II, p.106, n.67, assumed it to have the root *ʿ1ḏ 'hell sein, glänzen' and understood the word as 'Leuchtende'. Jéquier, Matériaux, p.56, was of a different opinion: 'Aux époques les plus anciennes, la lecture de ce mot était probablement ânz , valeur phonétique originale du signe  ... La signification de ce mot doit être "poisson gras" plutôt que "poisson perceur" .' (The latter was the opinion of Griffith, Ptahhetep I, p.23).

20. Gardiner, Sign List K1.

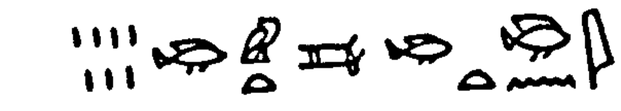
Note that a fish hieroglyph is explained ỉn... (presumably for ỉnt) in the sign-list from Tanis, (Two papyri, p.9 V, 2). From the shape of the hieroglyph, in particular the large and characteristic dorsal fin, this fish may be identified as a member of the Sarotherodon or Tilapia genera, though T.nilotica (= S.niloticus) is usually given (Wb I,92,12-15; Helck, Materialien, p.835, No.8; Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.24: T.nilotica or T.zillii.) The very angular dorsal fin with which these fish are sometimes portrayed favours S.galilea. This fish, however, has a slightly indented tail fin whereas the usual tail fin shape depicted in the reliefs favours S.niloticus.

From representations in art (see esp. M.Dambach & I.Wallert, Cd'E 41 (No.81 & 82) (1966) 273-294: Das Tilapia Motiv in der altägyptischen Kunst) the Egyptians seem to have been aware of the mouth-brooding habits of these fish (the Sarotherodon & Haplochromis genera). On the symbolic significance of this fish and its habits see also A.Wiedemann, Sphinx 14 (1914) 231-244: Der Fisch Ånt und seine Bedeutung.

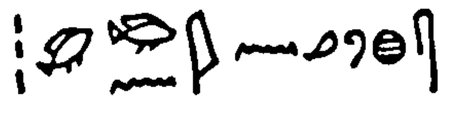
It occurs in the medical texts:

Eb 97,18: 

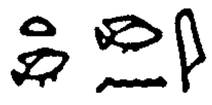
Wb.Drog. V, p.526; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.305: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Nichtzulassen, daß eine Schlange aus dem Loch hervorkommt. Bulti-Fisch (Tilapia nilotica), getrocknet, gegeben an die Öffnung ihres Loches. Sie kann nicht daraus hervorkommen'.

Eb 71,20: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.359; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.206: 'Bulti-Fisch (tilapia nilotica) ; tm.t-Fisch 7'.

P.med Berl 3038,10,12: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.140; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.82: 'Galle (shw) vom Bulti-Fisch'.

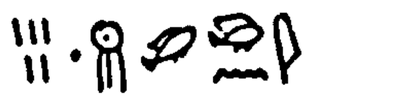
P.Ram III, B, 2: 

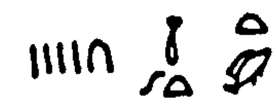
Wb.Drog. V, p.139; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.81: 'Eingeweide des Bulti-Fisches'.

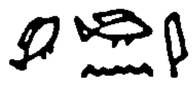
in lists of fish:

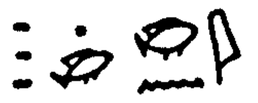
An III, 2, 6:

IV, 15, 7:

O.DelM 140,6: 

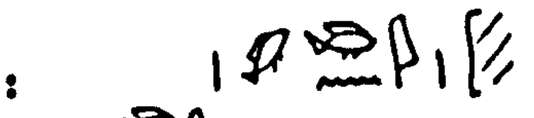
O.DelM 139, 3: 

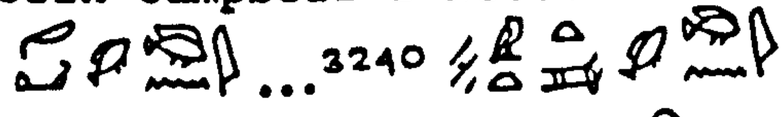
O.DelM 192, 4: 

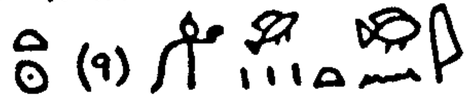
Lansing 12,10: 

Festiv Hall pl.18:

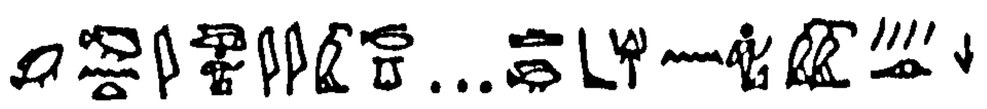
HO pl.66 No.1 = O.Glasgow D1925,66

= O.Colin Campbell 1 No.7: 

RAD 26,18f: 

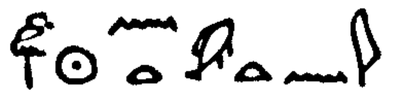
Caminos, Literary Fragments, pl.2,2.8: 

and in mythology:

Totb Nav 15A, I,14: 

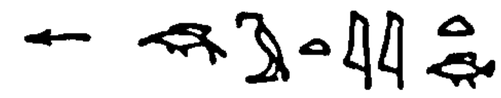
Y.Koenig, BIFAO 79 (1979) 103-119: Un revenant inconvenant?
(Papyrus Deir el-Medina 37):

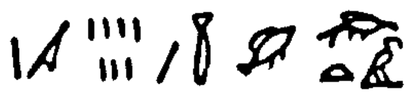
J.C. Goyon, BIFAO 77 (1977) 45-54: Un phylactère tardif.

Le papyrus 3233 A et B du Musée du Louvre (P.Louvre 3233B):


21. Sign-List K4; taken to read h3 from writings with phonetic complements; these do not appear until the New Kingdom in the name of the fish itself. It is undoubtedly the fish Mormyrus kannume (assuming M.cashive & M.niloticus of Boulenger & Gaillard to be synonymous with this). The writing in Mereruka A13 (pl.169) (without phonetic complements in Ti, pl.111) and Goedicke's discovery of the word wḥ't with this fish as determinative led Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1961), p.228-229, to wonder whether the reading h3 for this sign was uncommon in the OK. See further in B.Vachala, ZÄS 115 (1988) 160-163: Zur Lesung des Fisches Mormyrus im Hirtenlied.

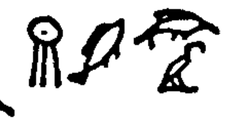
Examples of the name, written h3t or h3y, are common in New Kingdom ostraca and elsewhere:

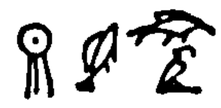
O.DelM 79,2: 

O.DelM 75,2: 

O.DelM 140,5:

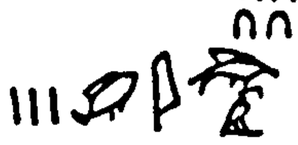
Valbelle, Cat Poids:

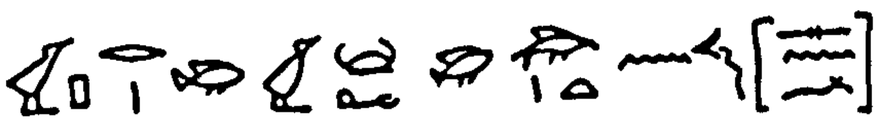
IFAO Weight 47 (pl.28 No.5210): 

" " 577 (pl.31 No.5231): 

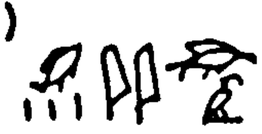
" " 505 (pl.31 No.5232):

O.DelM 190, 5:

O.DelM 443,2: 

P.Ram III,A,16: 

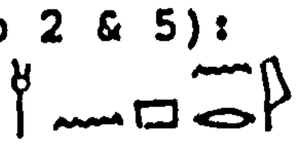
Wb.Drog. V, p.99; tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1], p.58: (see above)

P.Ch. B. IV, vso 10, 3: 

O.DelM 268:

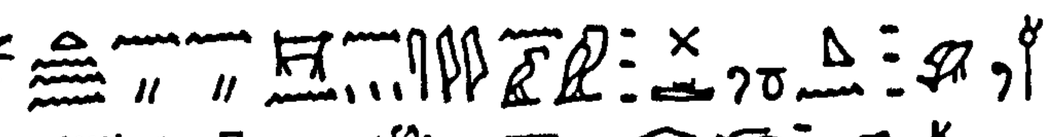
22. For w3d 'fresh' also written wd see:

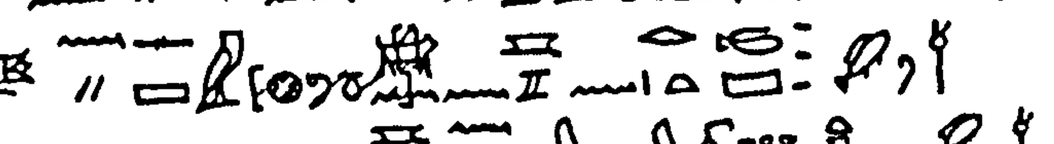
HO I, pl.45 & 45A (O.Gardiner 58, 1.3):

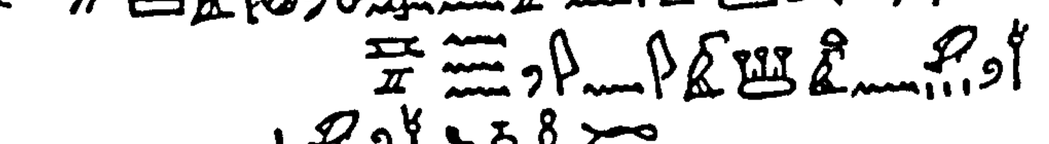

HO I, pl.67 & 67A No.2 (O.Vienna Kunsthist Mus.5988, rto 2 & 5):


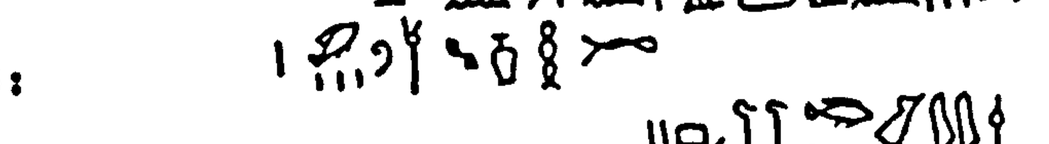
Gardiner, AEO I, p.9 noted the spelling 'w3d for later wd' and (AEO II, p.64*) discussed Pr-w3dj, also written Pr-wd.

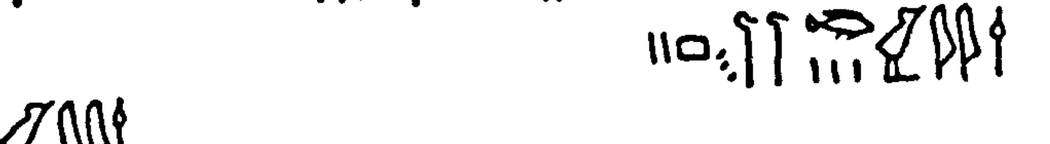
The spelling wd is attested several times:

Lansing 12, 10: 

An III, 2, 6: 

An IV, 15, 6: 

Inscr hier char 28,5639a, 13: 

P.Kah 20, 9: 

P.Kah 19, 7:

Valbelle, Cat.Poids, pl.26, No.5193A (IFAO Weight 604):

pl.27, No.5197 (530):

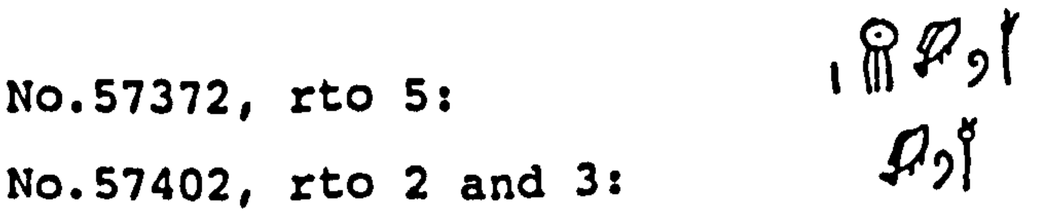
No.5198 (SA 8013):

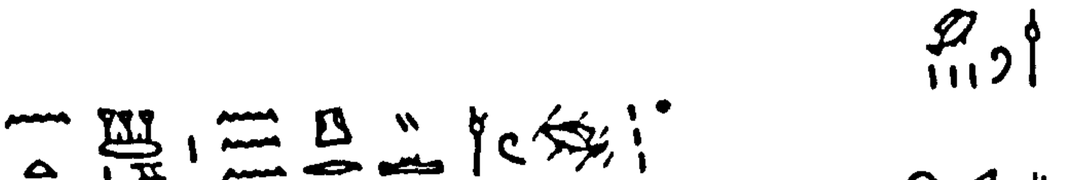
No.5201 (SA 12451):

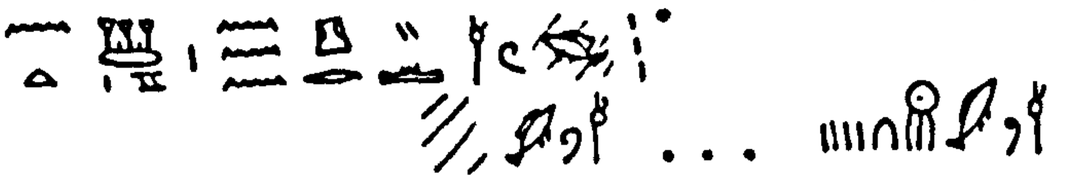
pl.30, No.5224 (unnumbered):

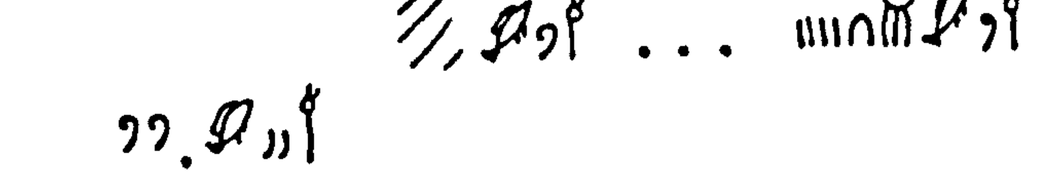
pl.47, No.5412 (unnumbered):

Lopez, Ostraca III, pl.116, No.57372, rto 5:

pl.130, No.57402, rto 2 and 3: 

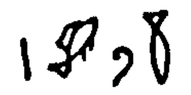
Sall IV, 15, 9: 

P.Tur PuR 88, 1: 

O.DelM 190, 6 & 7: 

O.Cairo 25678, 22:

23. HO I, pl.35, No.1 (O.Petrie 31) I, 4:

and II, 7: 

HO I, pl.85, No. 1 (O.BM 29560) vso 6:

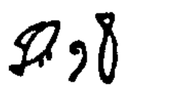
vso 13:

Lopez, Ostraca II, pl.55 (No.57110 1.3):

Valbelle, Cat.Poids,

pl.25, No.5188 (IFAO Weight 585): ...(1)

No.5189 (IFAO Weight SA 8015): ...(1)

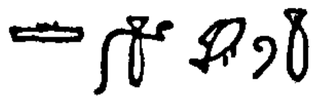
No.5191 (IFAO Weight 581):  ...(1)

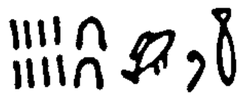
pl.26, No.5195 (IFAO Weight 688 = SA 6633):  (3)

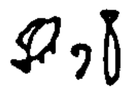
pl.27, No.5199 (IFAO Weight SA 11703):  ...(1)

pl.28, No.5204 (SA 12457):  ...(1)

No.5209 (120): ...(1)

pl.30, No.5225 (141): 

O.DelM 218, 1: 

O.DelM 630, vso 5: 

24. Eb 47, 11 (= Hearst 6, 2-4):

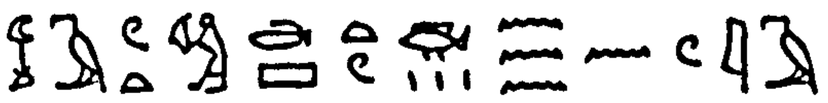
Wb. Drog. V, p.61; tr. Wb. Drog.IV[1], p.35: (see ʿḥ3 above)

25. An IV, 15, 8: 

On this name see also E.Dévaud, Kêmi 2 (1929) 2-18: Études de lexicographie égyptienne et copte, No.2, p.6-7.

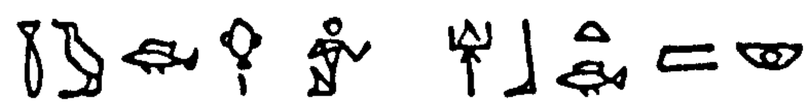
ʾImsḳ with fish det. can be a miswriting for msḳ3 'pelt' - eg O.DelM 1087, O.DelM 1548. P3-msḳ3, with fish det., appears as a personal name in Gardiner, Wilbour Papyri I, pl.33, col.70, l.14.

26. P.mag Harris 5, 7:



tr. Lange p.42: 'Die dšr-Fische bewachen das Wasser deines Schiffes, nachdem der ꜣbd-Fisch dir die wntj-Schlange [ie Apophis] gemeldet hat'.

P.BM 10451, 48-49:

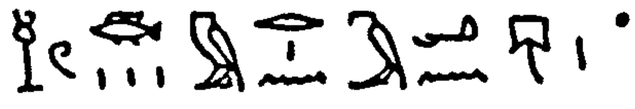


tr. Borghouts, P.Leiden I, 348, p.211: 'the wꜣd-fish is rejoicing and the abdu-fish is in festivity'

27. Condon, Royal Hymns, 12, 1:

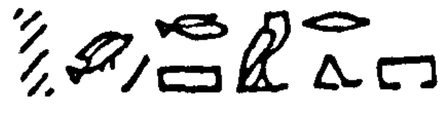
tr. p.19: 'wadj-fish'.

P.mag Harr 7, 11:



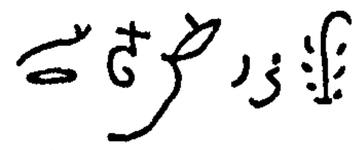
tr. Borghouts, AEMT, p.88, No.129: 'a red fish'.

28. P.Ch.B. VIII, vso 12, 6:



tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.76: (name of Horus) 'who wentest forth as a red fish'. Cf Edfu III, 10, 15 and Borghouts, P.Leiden I, 348, p.210 & 214.

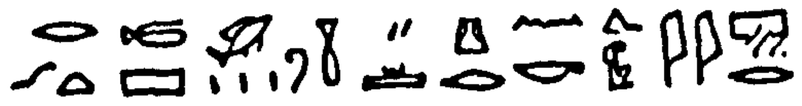
29. O.DelM 3656:



Also in Vandier d'Abbadie, Ostraca figurés I, pl.35 (No.2248) p.51 and II, p.66.

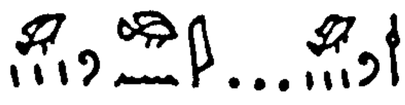
30. Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.28.

31. O.DelM 1266 + O.Cairo 25218:



32. L. Keimer, BIFAO 56 (1957) 97-120: Notes de lecture (suite), esp. p.119-120.

33. An IV, 15, 6-8:



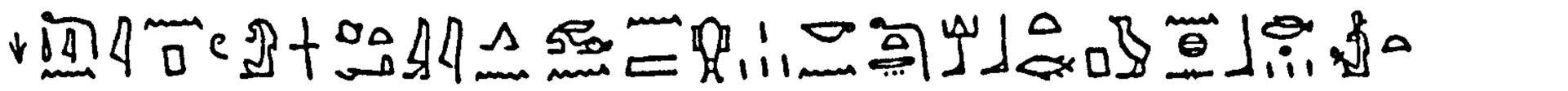
O.Cairo 25678, vso 22-23:

34. Note the writing on the Palermo Stone in H:Schäfer, Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen (Berlin 1902) p.14, No.7, pl.1; the determinative here is clearly different from the ỉnt-fish, and more closely resembles S.schall. Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.26, commented:

'Daß andererseits die Gleichsetzung der Fischbezeichnung wꜣḏ mit Tilapia durch das genannte Ostrakon gesichert ist, bleibt als Möglichkeit nur diese, daß wꜣḏ außer Tilapia zuweilen auch Barbus bynni als Name zugeteilt worden ist'.

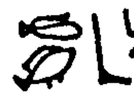
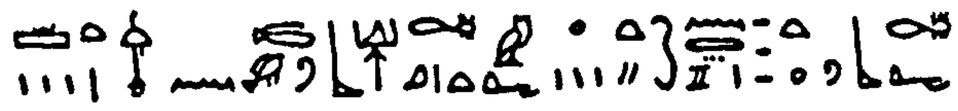
35. Cf n.66 below.

36. B.Bruyère, MIFAO 86 (1952) 22-56: Tombes thébaines de Deir el Medineh à décoration monochrome, esp. pl.11 & 12; Top. Bibl. I[1], p.6-9, esp. p.8 (20):



Note too the very cursive representation in P.Turin 1781 (funerary papyrus of Ḏḥwty-ms) published by A.Piankoff, Mythological Papyri (New York 1957) pl.21.

37. See Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.27, n.29, to p.28, n.141. Cf G.Foucart, BIE 11 (1918) 261-324: Sur quelques représentations de tombes thébaines découvertes cette année par l'IF d'AO, esp. p.276 (on Khabekhnet tomb) and p.312. No identification was offered by Jéquier, Matériaux, though he discussed the word.

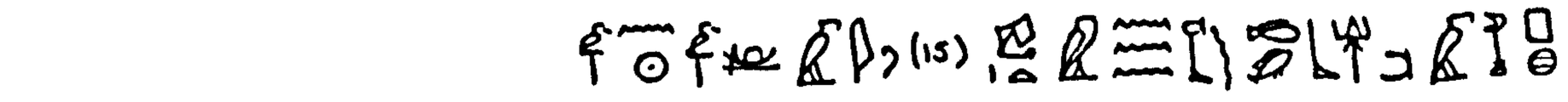
38. Borghouts, P.Leiden I, 348, rto 13 (= O.IFAO 1216):
P.Bremner-Rhind 19, 14:  32, 9:
cf P.Ch.B. IV, vso 7,9: 

39. Loret, Faune pharaonique, p.25, No.1, identified this as Testudo triunguis Forskal, now Trionyx triunguis Forskål, the Nile Soft-Shelled Turtle. This identification was followed by A.Wiedemann, Sphinx 14 (1914) 231-244: Der Fisch Ant und seine Bedeutung, esp. p.240. This was corrected by W.R.Dawson, JEA 19 (1933) 133-137: Studies in the Egyptian Medical Texts II, p.137, No.8; note also that the turtle (šṯw) is once mentioned in the same text as the ꜣbḏw.

40. P.Bremner-Rhind 32, 9 (BM 10188):

tr. R.O.Faulkner, JEA 24 (1938) 41-53: The Bremner-Rhind Papyrus-IV, p.46: 'he shall be in your sight as the abed-fish....of (?) gold which is under the bark of Re'.

P.Bremner-Rhind 19, 13-15 (= P.Louvre I.3079, 115, 45):

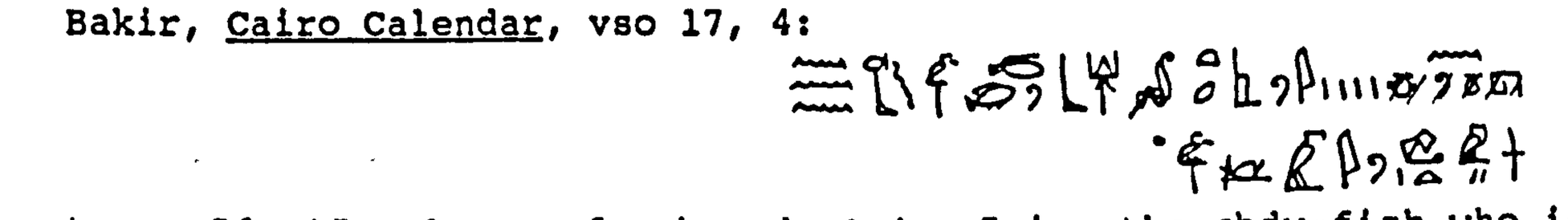


tr. R.O.Faulkner, JEA 23 (1937) 10-16: The Bremner-Rhind Papyrus II, p.13: 'Isis the divine speaks to thee with joyful (?) voice from the river (19, 14) which the pure abed-fish cleaves in front of (19, 15) the bark of Re'. Cf Borghouts, P. Leiden I, 348, p.211, and J.C. Goyon, RdE 20 (1968) 63-96: Le cérémonial pour faire sortir Sokaris. P.Louvre I.3079, col.112-114, p.67.

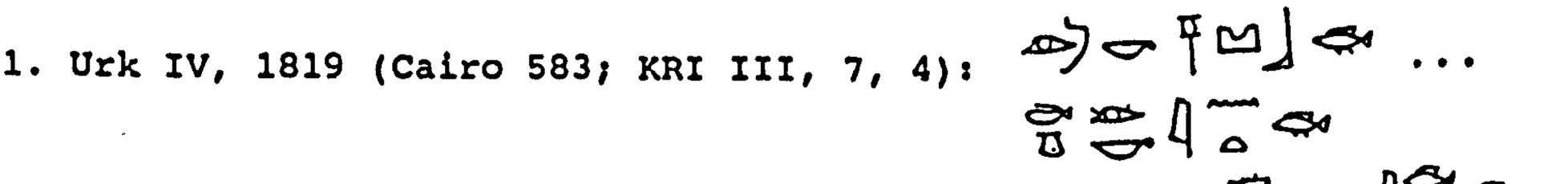
P.Tur PuR 124, 13-14:

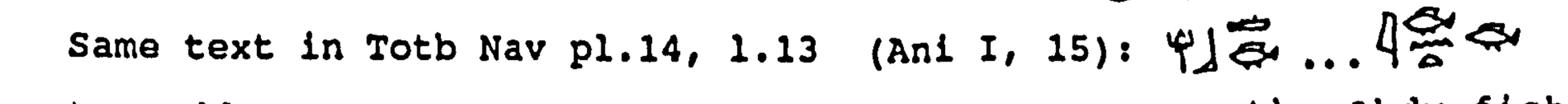
tr. Borghouts, loc.cit.: 'look, NN son of NN is that abdu-fish which is before (*imy h3.t*) the bark of Re'.

Bakir, Cairo Calendar, vso 17, 4:

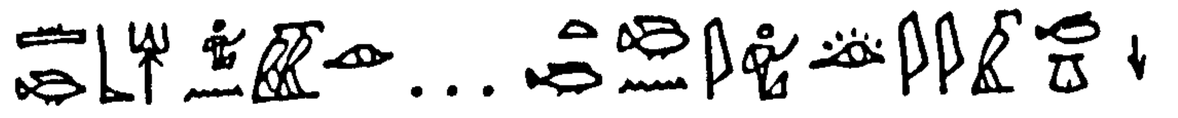


tr. p.56: 'Jar [error for hrw day] 4 : Isis, the 3bdw-fish who is pure at the front of the wi3-boat'.

41. Urk IV, 1819 (Cairo 583; KRI III, 7, 4): 

Same text in Totb Nav pl.14, l.13 (Ani I, 15): 

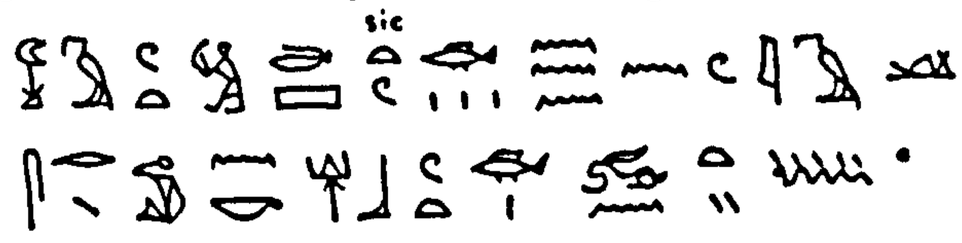
tr. Allen, BOD, (15 A 1b S4) p.17: 'I look upon the 3bdw-fish, (its) fate having come to pass; I behold the bulti in its (true) nature guiding the speedy boat in its waters'.

BOD 15: 

tr. Allen, BOD, p.13 (15f S2): 'Thou [= the deceased] seest the bulti in its (true) form at the turquoise pool; thou seest the ꜣbḏw-fish, its fate having come to pass'. Also tr. by Borghouts, op.cit., p.211.

with dšr:

P.mag Harr 5, 7 (= Gr Oase pl.25, 11):




tr. Borghouts, op.cit., p.210: 'the red fishes guard the water for your bark, the abdu-fish announces you to Wnty, the Ombite (Seth) stabs his arrows into him'.

Note the different writing in N.de G. Davies, The Temple of Hibis II (New York 1953) pl.33, 1.11:

with wꜣḏ:

P.BM 10451 48-49 = Shorter, Pr(t)-m-hrw, p.75, 6-8:

tr. Borghouts, op.cit., p.211: 'the son of Nut with his lance (?) has killed the tortoise, he has chased away the antelope, he has trodden on the Beast-of-Wrongdoing while the wꜣḏ-fish is rejoicing and the abdu-fish is in festivity'.

42. Boeser, Beschrijving, pl.6b.

Daressy, Cercueils, pl.46 & 48 (CG 61030); pl.51 & 52 (CG 61031); pl.58 (CG 61034).

Six temples pl.8, 3 (Maspero, Rec. Trav. 4 (1883) 138; = Mar Mon div, pl.61, p.20; = Lanzone, Dizionario, pl.255).

A. Piankoff , Mythological Papyri (New York 1957) plate volume, pl.21.

Note that the representations of the second fish (not the *ỉnt*) show a forked tail and one or two dorsal fins, as in the Deir el-Medineh tomb painting of the *ȝbdw*.

43. These fish are represented (unnamed) in many fishing and fowling scenes. They are shown together with the *ỉnt* as the fish which the deceased has speared, and must therefore share some of the magical qualities of the *ỉnt*. See, for example, Junker, *Giza* IV, fig.8, opposite p.28, with p.29, n.1; Davies, *Nakht*, pl.22; Klebs, *Reliefs AR*, p.37; *id.*, *ZÄS* 52 (1914) 19-34: Die Tiefendimension in der Zeichnung des alten Reiches, p.23, fig.3 (Berlin 1119); Borchardt, *Sahure* II, pl.16 (fragment only); Deir el Gebr II, 3 (twice); Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers*, pl.28; Deir el Gebr I, 5; v.d.Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl.1; Petrie, *Deshasheh*, pl.24; Mereruka pl.4; Meir I, pl.2; Meir III, pl.6; Junker, *Vorberichte*, p.101 and fig.3.

44. Gamer-Wallert, *Fische*, p.27-29.

45. Ebers, *P.Ebers*, p.286, with n.138.

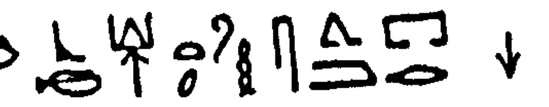
Stern, *P.Ebers*, p.2 tr.: 'piscis loricatus'.

46. Because of the position of the dorsal fins and the shape of the tail Gamer-Wallert, *Fische*, p.29, noted: 'Die Mugiliden kommen allein ihres schlankeren Rumpfes wegen nicht in Betracht'. Many fish names have already been suggested as denoting mullets (see below *bq*, *br*, *hbȝ*, *ḫskmt*, *ḏd*) and it does not seem likely that another should be added to this list.

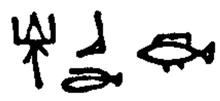
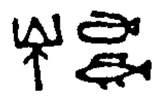
47. See Gamer-Wallert, *loc. cit*.

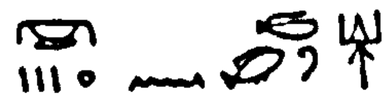
48. References to this fish at the boat of the sun god are detailed in the notes above.

See in addition : Anchnesneferibrē‘ 1.123. Rē‘ is the called 'great abdu-fish who governs the two lands' (tr. Borghouts *op.cit.*, p.212). Cf also Assman, *Liturgische Lieder* p.161 with n.5.

Med Habu VI, pl.422A, 1.49: 

tr. Borghouts, loc.cit.: 'may you protect the son of Re, Rameses, Ruler of Heliopolis, oh Re, like you protected you (sic?) ḫprw which came forth from the egg of the abdu-fish'. (Note also that in Edfu III,10,16 the sun god is described as rising with(in) 'the pupil of the abdu-fish').

cf Taharqa by the Lake, p.45: 'Turn toward (32) [Taharqa, (O) Re, as thou turnest] after thy manifestations, [come out of the e]gg of the 3bdw-fish' (pl.37):  var. 

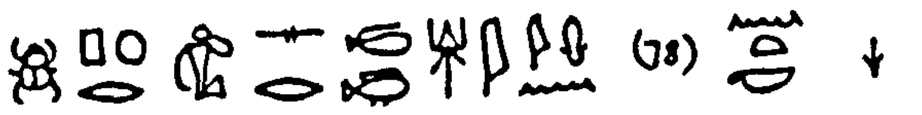
Borghouts, P.Leiden I,348, rto 13, 1: 

tr. Borghouts, op.cit., p.26: 'a golden abdu-fish on the border of a pool, the one holy to Re'; cf.12,11 (same phrase, less complete).

49. Totb Pleyte 167a:

tr. Allen, BOD, p.217: Amun is addressed as the 'Sound Eye of the 3bdw-fish'.

50. This was the suggestion of Myśliwiec, Atum I, p.134-135: 'Die besonderen Beziehungen dieses Fisches zum Sonnengott... veranlassen uns zur Hypothese, daß der Name "3bdw", besonders in der Spätzeit, auch den Aal bezeichnen konnte, den einzigen Fisch, dessen Identifizierung mit Atum durch die Bronzefiguren bestätigt ist'. However, this conclusion is invalidated by the representations of the 3bdw-fish.

51. Mett 78: 

tr.Borghouts, op.cit., p.210: Isis says to Horus: 'you are the brother of the abdu-fish which announces that which is going to happen'.

For Isis described as an 3bdw, see above (Cairo Calendar, vso 17,4).

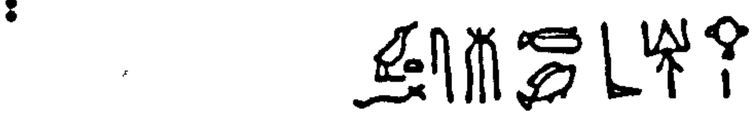
52. Sobek & Chnum : Bakir, Cairo Calendar, rto 1,10: (text below)

Seth: One of the misdeeds of Seth was to have eaten the 3bdw (cf the eating of the golden 3bdw which caused Horus to have stomach pains): Urk VI, 23,7-8:

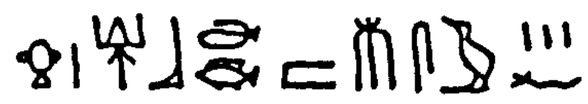
tr. Borghouts, op.cit., p.213: 'he has tasted from the abdu-fish, he has eaten from the buri-fish in the hall of the palace in On'. cf Urk VI,23,13-14.

53. Borghouts, P.Leiden I, 348, rto 8, 5-6:

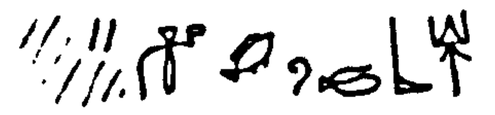
a spell to be said over a figure of Rēʿ drawn with the blood of an ꜣbḏw-fish in order to repel enemies - obviously the mythological function of the fish is invoked. (tr. Borghouts, AEMT, p.29, No.40)

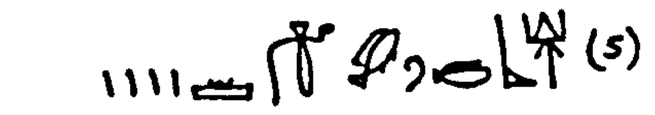
Mett 45 (Text B): 

tr. Borghouts, op.cit., p.212: 'the gods and goddesses <say> : " look, look (or: what is it, what is it?) " - because of the abdu-fish when it is born'.

Djed-hor 1.109: 

tr. Borghouts, op.cit., p.213: 'because of the abdu-fish with its children'.

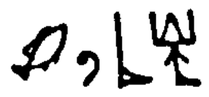
54. O.DelM 82, 5: 

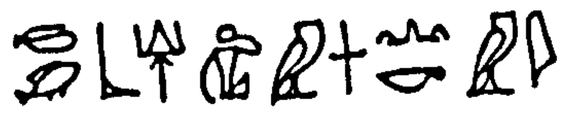
HO I, pl.34, No.2 (=O.Petrie 85): 

55. Valbelle, Cat Poids:

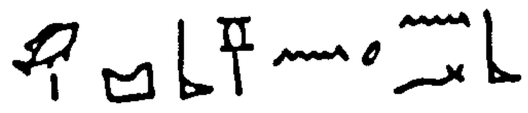
IFAO Weight 600 (pl.26, No.5192):

O.Varille 33 (pl.31, No.5226):

IFAO Weight SA 6631 (pl.31, No.5227): 

56. Bakir, Cairo Calendar, rto 1,10: 

tr. p.11: 'Day 9. f.f. FEAST of Khnum, Lord of Senmet, FEAST of Sobek. Do not eat abdu-fish; do not walk by darkness'.

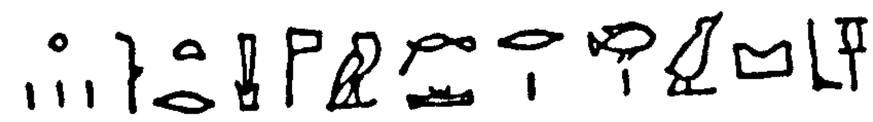
57. Eb 62,6-7: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.83; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.48.

See also Wb. Drog. 48; VI, p.4.

Eb 65,5-7:

Wb.Drog. V, p.65; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.38.

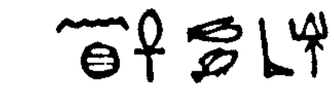
Hearst 7,4-6: 

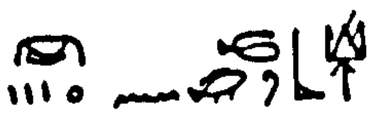
Wb. Drog. V, p.267; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{I}$, p.152.

58. M u K C2, 5 (p.12):

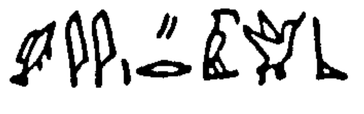
tr. Borghouts, AEMT, p.42, No.54.

P.Ch.B.VIII, rto 4,6:

a spell to be spoken over loaves, bread men, cups of wine etc. includes: 'two 3bd-fish just born(?) lit: "as come-forth-from-the-body".' Also l.8: 'live 3bd-fish of the river".' : 

Borghouts, P.Leiden I, 348, rto 12,11-13,3: 

A spell to cure a person suffering from bellyache recalls how Horus ate 'a golden abdu-fish on the border of the pure pool of Re' and suffered stomach pains which were cured by a spell spoken by Isis; tr. Borghouts, p.26 (pl.12-13) and id., AEMT, p.33, No.49.

59. P.Leid 350, vso 3, 4 (KRI II, 809, 10): 

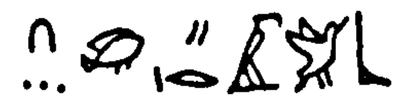
O.Nash 6, 6 (HO I, pl.56, No.1):

Lopez, Ostraca II, pl.79, No.57191:

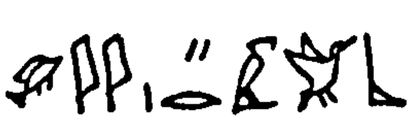
O.DelM 93, 6: 

O.DelM 95, 5:

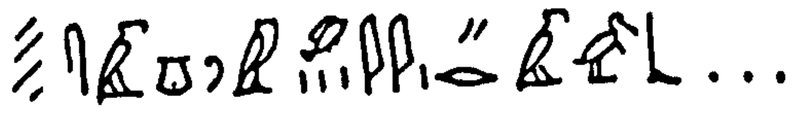
O.DelM 1086, vso 24:

O.Cairo 25607, vso 2: 

O.Cairo 25678, 29:

HO I, pl.35, No.1: 

60. CD 42a: 'a fish, mugil cephalus'; Černý, CED, p.25; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.30a: 'mulet, muge'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.46. Cf D'A.W. Thompson, A glossary of Greek fish names (London 1947) p.37.

61. P.Ch.B. IV, vso 9, 9: 

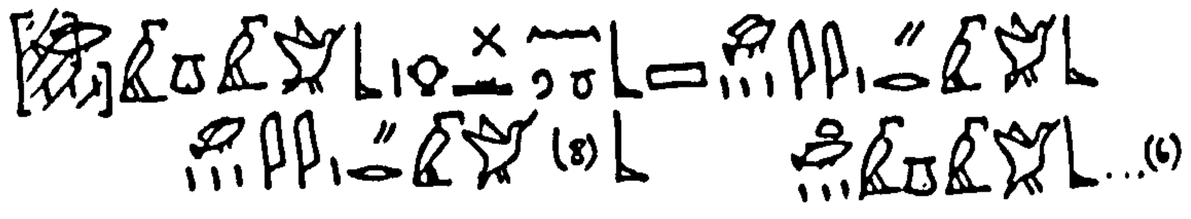
62. Edel, Inschriften Niuserre, p.158, compared the appearance of a new word s3r (presumably Arabic šal, denoting Synodontis schall), the term wḥ$^{c}$ being its 'alter Name'. Cf J.Černý, BIFAO 37 (1937-1938) 35-40: Deux noms de poisson du Nouvel Empire, who deduced that the new term was a Semitic loan word. However, s3r cannot have been a name for the same species as original Arabic šal as the genus Synodontis is found only in sub-Saharan Africa and the Nile.

63. Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1963) p.157: 'ḏw bezeichnet lediglich die Spezies [sic] "Mugil", nicht aber eine der Subspezies [sic], die sprachlich durch die Zusätze auratus, capito und cephalus auseinandergehalten werden'.

64. Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.41; she began by allotting bry to 'die Gattung Mugil oder zumindest einer ihrer Vertreter'.

65. An III, 2, 7:

An IV, 15, 6-8:



66. Cf Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.40-41: ḏw 'ist es seit langem aufgrund seinen Determinativs als Bezeichnung der Meerasche erkannt, in der Regel aber speziell mit Mugil cephalus dem häufigsten Vertreter der Familie schon im Alten Ägypten, verbunden worden'. See B.Berlin, Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics 4 (1973) 259-271: Folk systematics in relation to biological classification and nomenclature, esp. p.264; B.Berlin, D.E.Breedlove, P.H.Raven, Amercian Anthropologist 75(1973) 214-242: General principles of Classification and Nomenclature in Folk Biology, esp. p.224; ibid., Science 154 (1966) 273-5: Folk taxonomies and biological classification; the phenomenon is most frequent with the most 'culturally significant' biological type (p.273).

67. See especially Berlin, Breedlove & Raven, Science 154.

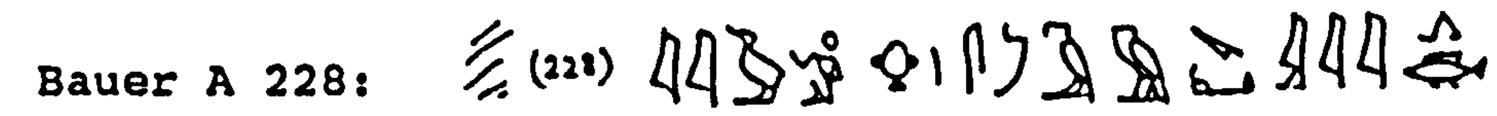
68. L.Keimer, BIE 21 (1939) 215-243: La boutargue dans l'Égypte ancienne, p.235-6.

69. ꜣbnn: Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.46, n.355.

Geog Pap pl.12, frag.31:

70. ỉy: Gamer-Wallert, Fische, n.350.

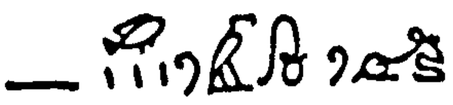
Bauer A 228:



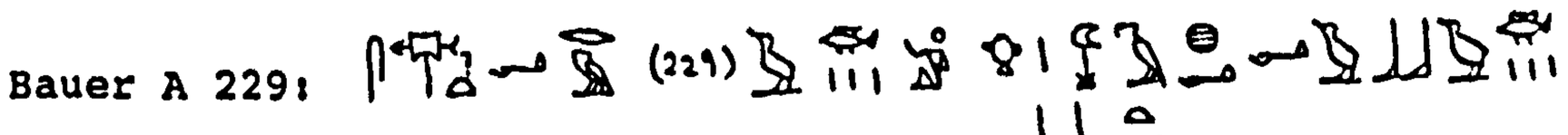
tr. A.H. Gardiner, JEA 9 (1923) 5-25: The Eloquent Peasant, p.16: 'fish that chances(?)', with n.9: Lit. the comer-fish'

O.Mich, pl.86, 4:

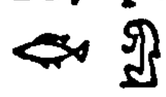
71. <u>ỉwꜣ</u>: Gamer-Wallert, <u>Fische</u>, p.45, n.342.

An IV,15,6: 

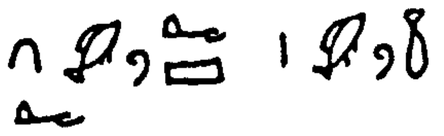
72. <u>ʿwbbw</u>: Gamer-Wallert, <u>Fische</u>, p.46, n.351.

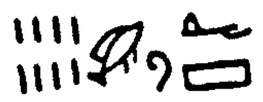
Bauer A 229: 

cf Ranke, <u>PN</u> I, p.96, 11; II, p.183:

and <u>CT</u> VI 245m: 

73. <u>ʿšʿ</u> etc: Gamer-Wallert, <u>Fische</u>, p.44 & n.327.

O.DelM 134, I, 10: 

Cairo Cat. Gen. 25607, 2: 

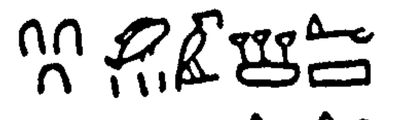
O.IFAO 1294, 2, 3: unpublished

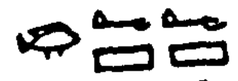
O.IFAO 1308, 4, 6: unpublished

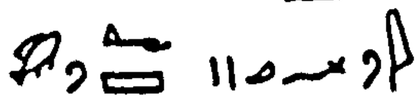
O.IFAO 1309, 5: unpublished

O.IFAO 1329, VI, 10: unpublished

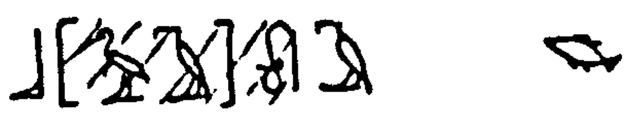
O.Turin 9769, 2: unpublished

<u>HO</u> I, pl.32, No.5, II, 5 (O.Petrie 43): 

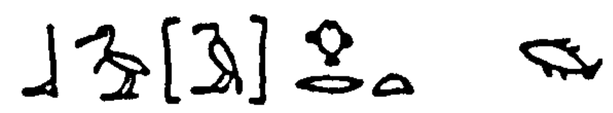
O.IFAO 1023, vso 4: 

O.DelM 666, 3: 

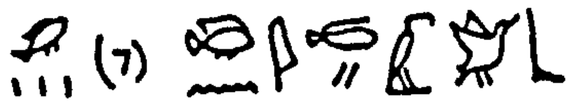
74. <u>bꜣwꜣ</u>: Gamer-Wallert, <u>Fische</u>, p.46, n.34.

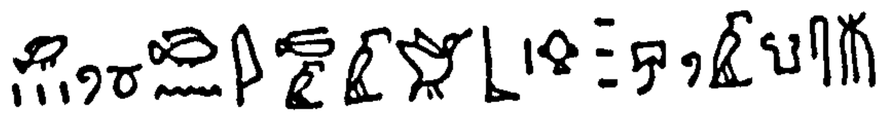
Gardiner, <u>AEO</u> I, pl.1, l.140: 

75. <u>bꜣḥrt</u>: Gamer-Wallert, <u>Fische</u>, p.46, n.348.

Gardiner, <u>AEO</u> I, pl.1, l.141: 

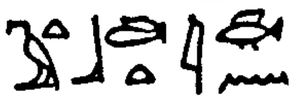
76. <u>btỉn</u>: Gamer-Wallert, <u>Fische</u>, p.45, n.333 & 335.

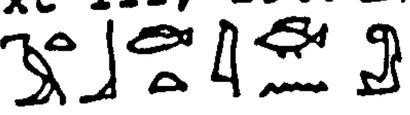
An III,2,6-7: 

O.DelM 97 vso 3: 

Valbelle, <u>op.cit</u>.,

Poids IFAO unnumbered (pl.7,No.5411):

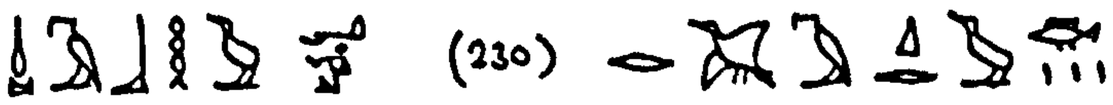
cf Ranke, <u>PN</u> I, p.356, no.18 = LD Text III, 294: 

Bruyère, <u>Rapport DelM 1930</u>, p.44: 

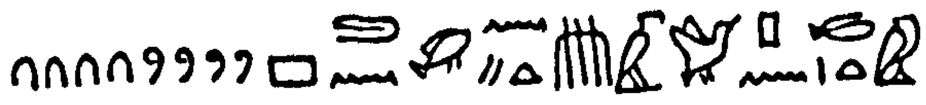
77. p3w: Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.46, n.349.

Gardiner, AEO I, pl.1, l.150:

78. p3kr: Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.46, n.352.

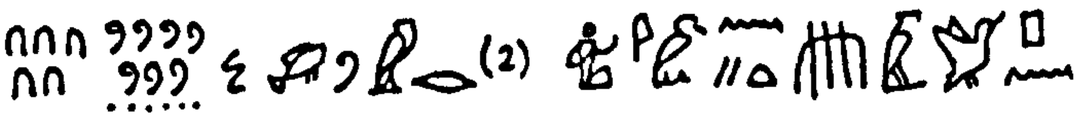
Bauer A 230: 

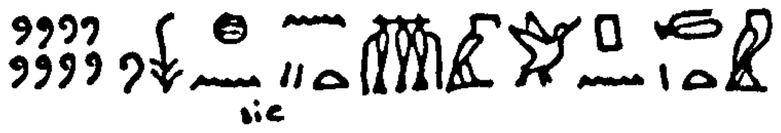
79. pnḫ...ỉ: Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.45, n.332.

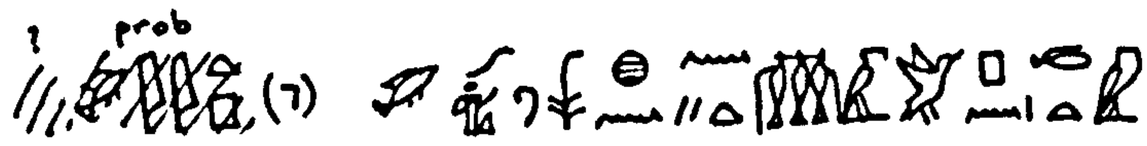
80. p3ḫnt: O.DelM 38,15: 

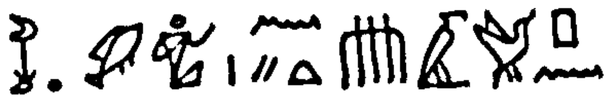
cf O.DelM 394:

& O.DelM 40, 3.

O.DelM 42, 1: 

O.DelM 42, vso 16: 

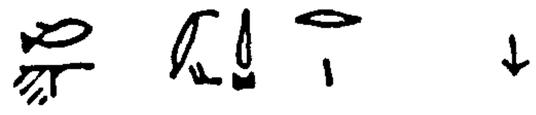
O.DelM 36, vso 6: 

O.DelM 81,2: 

81. rš3t: Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.45 ,n.338.

O.DelM 139,2:

82. r-d3: Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.46, n.354.

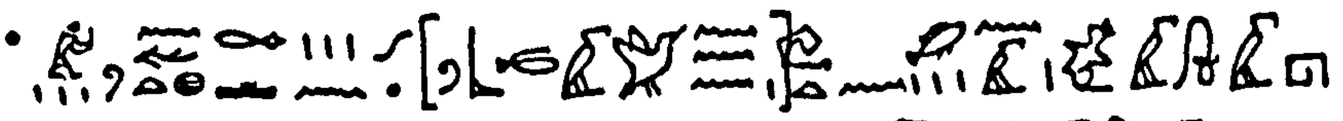
Geogr Pap frag.31: 

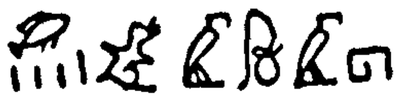
Osing, JEA 64 (1978) 186-9: [review of Crum, Coptic Dictionary] compared Wb II,469: Art Fisch (rd3). On (B) ⲁⲗⲁⲇⲁⲓ he noted 'Eine Gleichsetzung mit dem raʿʿād, Malopterurus [sic] eletricus, erscheint uns mangels weiterer Anhaltspunkte zu gewagt.'

83. hwn: Gamer-Wallert, Fische ,p.45, n.344.

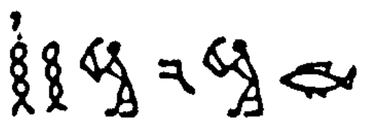
An IV,15,8:

84. hwtn: Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.45, n.345.

An III,2,8: 

HO I, pl.2 (O.Queen's College, Oxford 1): 

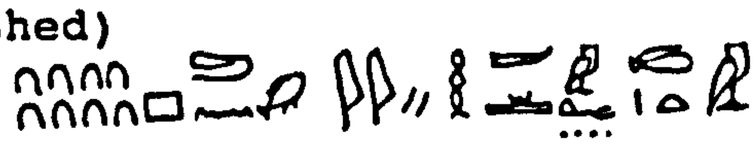
85. hwy: Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.45, n.339.

O.Wien Mus 5988.1 = HO I, pl.67,2 : 

O.Prag 18,1: (unpublished)

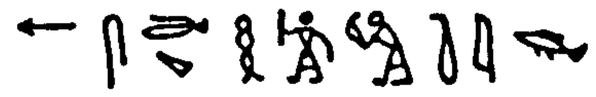
O.München o.Nr.,1: (unpublished)

O.IFAO 1031,4: (unpublished)

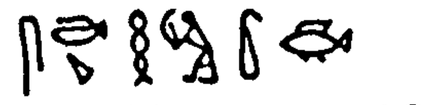
O.DelM 38 (pl.18) II:  (1)

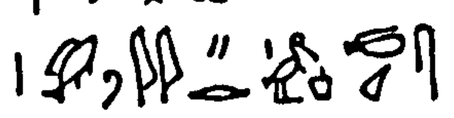
For hwy as a personal name cf O.DelM 39,14; O.DelM 42 vso 7; O.DelM 43 vso 2.

86. hwtj: Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.45, n.339, as opposed to Helck, Materialien V, p.228, No.12, who read sd-hwty together as the fish name. Cf Valbelle, Cat Poids, p.25, on O.Vienna 4988,1: 'le premier signe de l'ostracon transcrit pourrait bien être un si l'on compare l'ensemble du mot à la graphie du poids No.5218 [=Poids IFAO 487; SA 12793]: celle-ci.... démontre assez bien que la soudure des deux mots était déjà ancienne'.

O.DelM 83, 2: 

Poids IFAO 522(pl.30, No.5219):

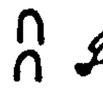
O.Louvre A.F.1779(pl.2,n.7=p.25,n.3): 

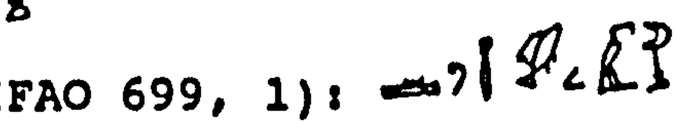
cf O.DelM 54,2, sd br: 

87. hmt: Gamer-Wallert, Fische ,p.46, n.353.

Geogr Pap pl.12, frag.32:

88. h3v: Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.45 n.340.

O.DelM 83, 3: 

Valbelle, Cat. Poids No.5220, pl.30 (IFAO 699, 1): 

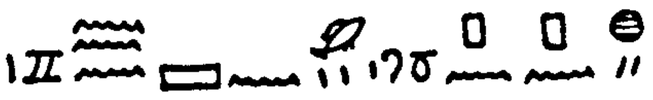
O.Prag 18,5. (unpublished)

O.Munich unnumbered, 4. (unpublished)

O.Černý 11,3. (unpublished)

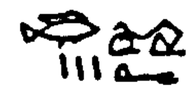
See too Helck, Materialien V, p.228, No.13.

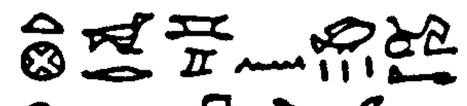
89. hpnpn: Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.45, n.343.

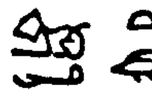
An IV,15,9: 

90. s: O.DelM 443, 4:

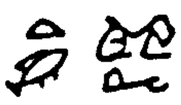
91. šnᶜ: Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.44, n.316.

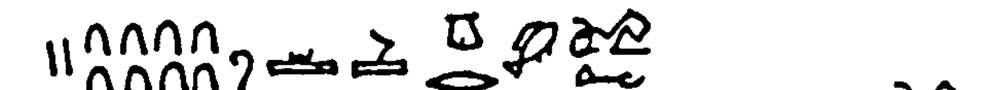
Inscr hier char 28, 5639a, vso 3: 

An IV, 15, 7 (cf HO I, pl.85, No.1): 

P.Gurob frag J <4>: 

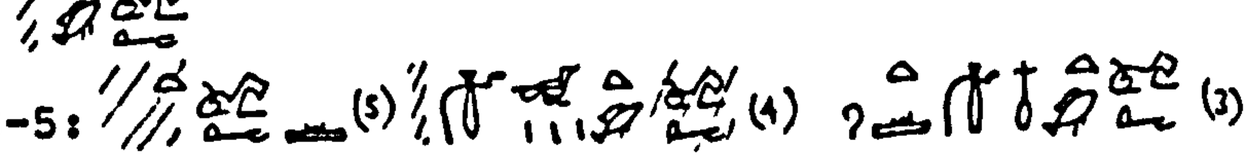
Harr 20b, 14:

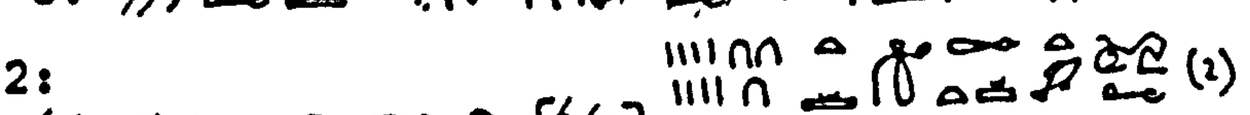
O.Petrie 85, (HO I, pl.34, No.2): 

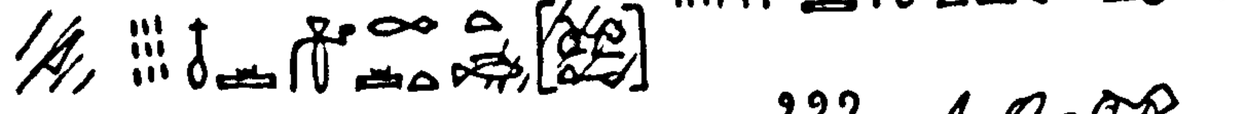
O.DelM 54, 4: 

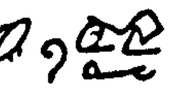
O.DelM 77, 2: 

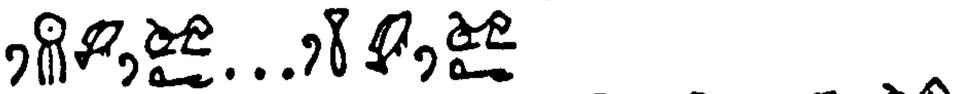
O.DelM 79, 4:

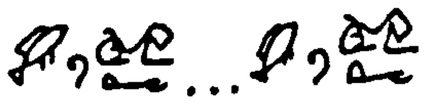
O.DelM 82, I, 3-5: 

O.DelM 82, II, 2: 

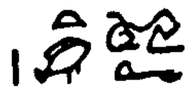
O.DelM 84, 3: 

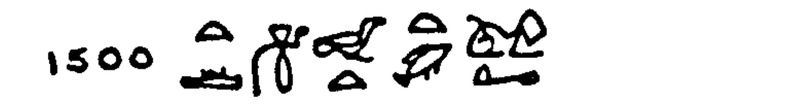
O.DelM 95, 4: 

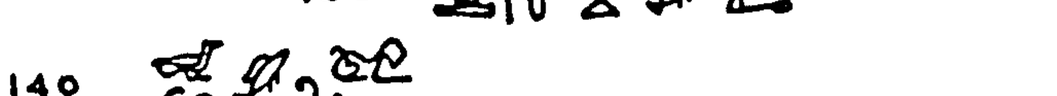
O.DelM 190, 3-4: 

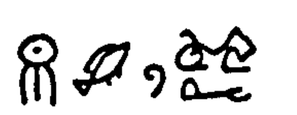
O.DelM 191, 1-2: 

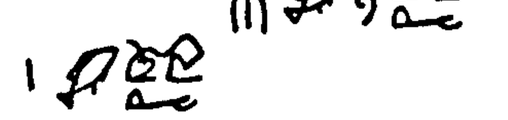
O.DelM 192, 2:

O.DelM 201, 3: 

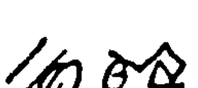
O.DelM 205, 2: 

O.DelM 218, 2: 

O.DelM 405, 2: 

O.DelM 443, 3: 

O.DelM 450, 1-3:

O.Nims, rto 10 (HO I, pl.62, No.1): 

Lansing 12, 10: 

O.Cairo 25677, vso 24:

O.Cairo 25681, rto 2: (bis)

O.Cairo 25693, 5:

O.Cairo 25678, vso 21:

O.Petrie 31 (HO I, pl.35, No.1):

On šnʿ used to write whʿ 'fisherman' see D.Valbelle, BIFAO 77 (1977) 129-136: Remarques sur les textes néo-égyptiens non littéraires (para 6-10), p.135.

Kairo 21367 (frags to P.Boulaq 11) in list:

Lopez, Ostraca III, pl.130, No.57402 rto, 4:

pl.103, No.57345, 2:

Valbelle, Cat.Poids,

Poids Berlin P12403 (her p.34, No.14):

Poids IFAO SA6623 (pl.27, No.5200):

Poids IFAO 597 (pl.27, No.5202A):

" " 524 (pl.30, No.5222):

" " SA8006 (pl.30, No.5223):

" " 587 (pl.31, No.5228):

O.Petrie 31 (from Wb Nachverzettelung)=HO I pl.35, No.1 (four times):

92. špnt: Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.43, n.308.

Ranke, PN I, p.325, 8; II, p.185:

id., Tiernamen, p.80.

Probably not a variant of špt.

93. gst: Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.45, n.341.

Gardiner, RAD 27,1:

94. ds Gamer-Wallert, Fische p.44, n.328-329.

O.DelM 190, 2:

O.Gardiner 58, 4 (HO I, pl.45, No.5):

O.DelM 78,3:

O.DelM 192, 3:

O.Varille 7,2:

O.Univ.Munchen:

O.DelM 103,3:

O.DelM 97, vso.9:

Weight Gardiner unnumbered:

O.Kunsthist Mus Vienna No.5988,5 (HO I, pl.67, No.2):

O.DelM 75, 2:

O.Cairo 25678,vso 24:

Weight DelM 567:

O.DelM 653,2:

O.Univ.Chicago.prov.No.102,17:

O.DelM 222, III, 20:

O.DelM 140, rto 2-3:

O.Gardiner 241,2:

Weight DelM Inv 526:

O.DelM 443, 1:

Lansing 12,10:

(originally read bss by Wb I,477,9; corrected A.M.Blackman & T.E.Peet, JEA 11 (1925) 284-298: Papyrus Lansing: A translation with notes, p.295, n.12.)

See also Osing, Nominalbuildung, p.298 & p.849, n.1208.

tssw: Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.44-45. O.DelM 54,3:

O.Černý 1,3:

O.DelM 83,4:

O.DelM 201, 3 (tsw):

Gardiner, AEO I pl.1, 1.139:

O.DelM 54, 3:

Valbelle, op.cit., Poids IFAO (unnumbered) pl.47, No.5410:

O.Berlin 10637,5:

Valbelle, op.cit., Poids IFAO 597 (pl.27, No.5202B):

" " " 48 (pl.28, No.5206):

" SA11950 (pl.28, No.5208):

O.Ash.Mus H.O.1048 (pl.29, N9.5211):

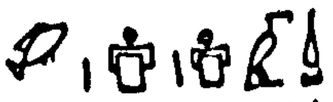
Poids IFAO SA11564 (pl.29, No.5212):

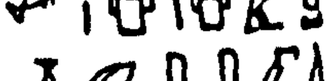
P.37. inv. SA11503 (pl.29, No.5213):

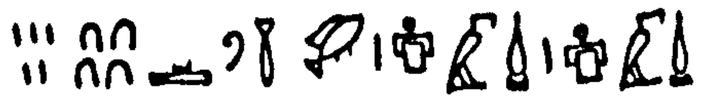
Poids IFAO SA11970 (pl.29, No.5214):

" " 660) pl.29, No.5215):

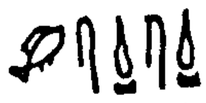
" " unnumbered (pl.47, No.5408):

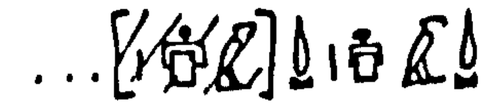
Lopez, op.cit., pl.116, No.57372, vso 2: 

" " pl,130, No.57402, vso 1-3: 

O. Berlin 10839, 1: 

Valbelle, op.cit.,

Poids IFAO 526(pl.29, No.5216): 

Lopez, op.cit., pl.103, No.57345, 1: ... 

95. ddb: Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.44.

Eb 52, 22:

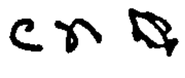
Ebbell, P.Ebers, p.67, considered this to be the Miller's Thumb or Bull-head, Cottus gobio L. However, this fish is not found in the Nile, though widely distributed in Europe, Siberia and Asia Minor. It may designate another 'spiny' fish (like wḥꜥ) - compare ddb 'prick' (Wb V, 632, 7-10: stechen). (See too Ch.20: Insects, for ddb as the action of a scorpion).

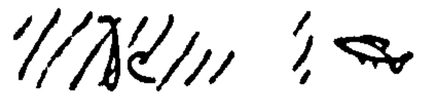
96. Also to be included here are various fragments of fish names:

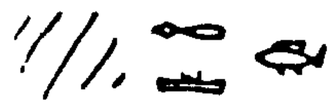
AEO I, pl.2, 1.143:

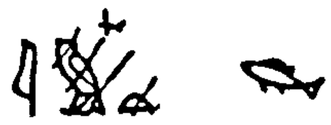
1.145:

1.149:

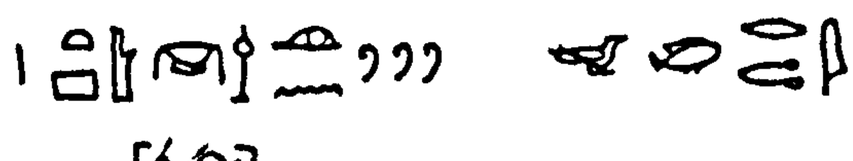
1.151: 

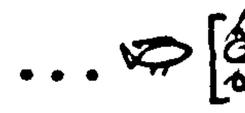
1.152: 

Botti & Peet, Giornale, pl.1, 1.2: 

97. Gardiner, AEO I, pl.1, 1.147: 

98. P.Tur PuR 151, 1, 1 (= Botti & Peet, Giornale, p.1):



...  (3) ... (2)

(read , ,  by Spiegelberg, Rechnungen.)

ʾIrt is followed by two more fish-names; 1 kite of silver is paid for 300 irt, which is one-third of the price of the šnꜥ fish (in 1.3) 'which must mean that it was smaller'. Janssen, Commodity Prices, also mentioned this fish noting on p.349, n.42: 'Any connection with rdi (Wb II, 399, 6) is highly uncertain'. See too

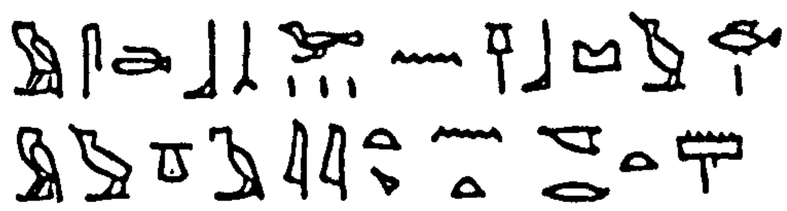
P.Frandsen, Acta Or. 40(1979) 279-302: [review], esp.p.288.

99. Lopez, Ostraca III, pl.125, No.57391, rto 4 (writing badly worn & much of text lost):

cf HO I, pl.35, No.1 (O.Petrie 31) col.2, 1.10:

ibid., pl.62, No.1 (O.Nims) vso 12:

100. M u K C2, 5:



Borghouts, AEMT, p.42, No.65, tr.: 'jawbone of a black cow(?)' (cf Wb II, 106, 10); with n.157, p.106: 'Meaning not certain... written "chewed mass of cloth".'

cf LD II, 28:

Compare the demotic fish-name mlt in W.J. Tait, Papyri from Tebtunis in Egyptian and in Greek (London 1977) p.67, n.g & pl.5 and M. Smith, JEA 69 (1983) 199-203: [review of the last publication], p.202, Text 19, note to 1.10.

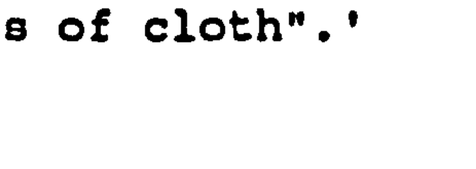
101. P.Kah 33,17:

also 18,7:

19,9:

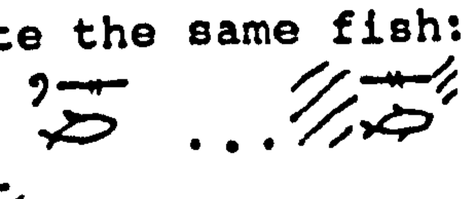


20,8:



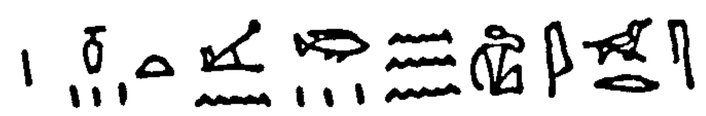
(for šʿdt 'gutted' see Simpson, P. Reisner I, p.49.)

102. Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.45, n.336, discussing the fish s (Wb III,406,12), noted: 'gl. WB III,426,11 Art Fisch.' The two spellings s and sw occur on the same fragment of text (Fest Hall, pl.18, frag.9) and, therefore, may not denote the same fish:



Compare also frag.8:

103. P.Kah 20,10:

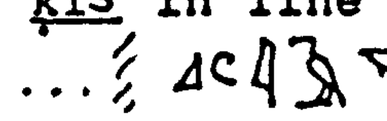


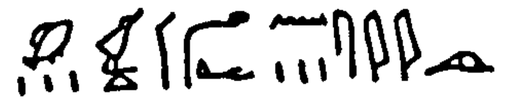
104. Simpson, P.Reisner I, p.49 noted: 'perhaps a hitherto unattested designation for a variety of fish (sand-fish?) or else merely a variant of šʿd, "to cut".'

105. Noted by E.Edel, Orientalia 49 (1980) 204-7 :  stpw 'Springer' als Bezeichnung der Mugiliden. Der älteste Beleg für die Anlage von Mugilidenteichen zur Vorratshaltung, from the tomb of Pepiʿankhḥerib (Meir IV,14):

tr. p.106: 'Das Betrachten der Feldbestellung in seinen Dörfern Unter-und Oberägyptens und (das Betrachten) der Wartung der Mugiliden ("Springer") der Herde des "Alten" teichs, des "Buto"(?)teichs und des "Meeres" teichs.' He identified the fish of the determinative from here and Junker, Giza V, fig.29, as a grey mullet. For stp as a toponym, see Zibelius, Aeg.Siedl, p.222, n.1261, and for the etymology of the word, Wb IV, 357,11-14: aufspringen, hinaufspringen.

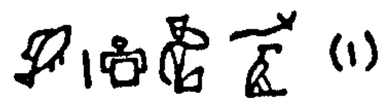
106. Meir I, 3 (over netting scene):

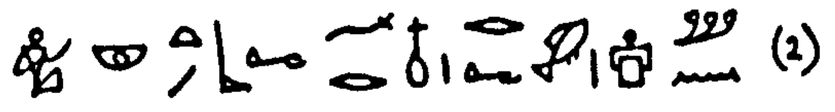
107. A.H.Gardiner, ed., Theban Ostraca, pt.1 (Oxford and London 1913) p.10 (B7) l.4 (Ramesside hand): 'Perhaps the fragment of a letter. The name of a fish ḳiꜣ in line 4 seems legible enough, but the word is unknown': ...  ...

108. An IV, 1b, 2: 

Caminos, LEM, tr. p.126: 'boys spear fish(?) lacking (1b.3) sesame oil <to> rub themselves with', with on page 128: 'rendering uncertain, but it seems inevitable to connect dʿwt with dʿ, "to spear" (fish), in P.Kahun III, 4, rt.16.'

109. Valbelle, Cat. Poids,

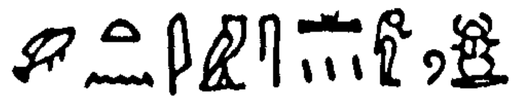
IFAO 578 (No.5187 on pl.25): 

IFAO 529 (No.4207 on pl.28): 

Valbelle assumed (p.24) that this is the same fish as those called s and sꜣr. Both s (without det.) and sꜣr appear on a weight published by Černý, BIFAO 37 (1937) 35-40: Deux noms de poisson du Nouvel Empire, apparently both referring to the fish sketched there. This fish was identified by Černý as Synodontis schall; it is certainly of this genus, but the species of the genus Synodontis occurring in Egypt are very similar. Černý assumed sꜣr to be a Semitic loan word, and Edel, Inschriften Niuserre (1963),

p.158, compared modern Arabic šal). Meeks, AL77.3326, however, disagreeing with Valbelle, noted further attestations of s3 in the Coffin Texts (CT VI, 245n) and the Cairo Calendar (II, 3). He also asserted that her second example of s (Poids IFAO SA 14389, No.5217 on pl.29) is determined not by S.sp. but by Mormyrus sp.

110. Gardiner, AEO I, pl.1, 1.136:

111. Bakir, Cairo Calendar, rto 19, 10: 

tr. p.29: 'DAY 28: A.A.A. Do not eat any mehyet-fish on this day. 10. Do not offer (?) on it (namely, on this day). It is the day of the going forth of the hat-mehyet-fish which is in Busiris, its form being an iten-fish', cf p.99. However, a variant of this text in Budge, Facsimiles II, pl.99, 6-7, is written ỉnt.

112. P.Montet, Kêmi 11 (1950) 85-116: Le fruit défendu, p.97. Gamer-Wallert, op.cit., p.101, also understood the Cairo Calendar and Edfu references as ỉnt and translated 'Tilapia'.

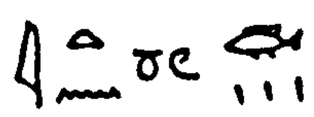
Edfu I, 334; I, 339; V, 348; with the variant ỉnw at Dendera (Dend Mar II, 20, 6). Cf Geogr Pap, pl.12, frag. 31 & 32.

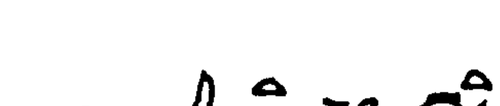
113. See n.111 above.

114. Sallier IV, 12, 6-7:

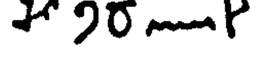
tr. Borghouts, P. Leiden I, 384, p.214-215: 'don't eat fish - the one who resides in Mendes, her form is that of a bulti' (ie an ỉnt). Borghouts followed Montet's opinion that ỉtn is a corrupt form of ỉnt.

115. Urk VI,22,13: Seth violated both air and water:



var. 

translated by D. Meeks, RdE 25 (1973) 209-216: Le nom du dauphin et le poisson de Mendes, p.213: ' [Seth] a attrapé le faucon, il a pêché les poissons-ỉtn en présence de Chou et de Tefnou'.

116. P.Ch.B. IV, vso 9,15: 

117. Note esp. the earliest of these signs, from the tomb of Metjen. See K.Sethe, Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter (Leipzig 1930) p.53 § 64 and L.Keimer, Bulletin de la société archéologique d'Alexandrie 41 (1956) 95-101: Le dauphin dans la religion de l'Égypte antique, esp. p.98-99 with n.1 on p.99. Further corroborative evidence is cited by Meeks, op.cit., especially the listing of ỉtn as a sea fish. Cf H.de Meulenaere, LÄ IV, 43-45: Mendes, esp.col.44: 'Quant au nom mendésien, c'est un poisson ressemblant au dauphin (ỉtn), auquel Hatmehit...est regulièrement associée, qui lui sert d'enseigne'.

118. See n.116 above.

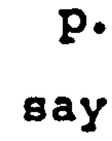
119. R. Engelbach, ASAE 24 (1924) 161-168: Notes on the fish of Mendes (see esp. pl.1 & 2).

120. Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.37, n.235, also noted a personal name bwt, for which she preferred the meaning '(type of) fish' rather than 'taboo' (Ranke, PN I, p.95, 1). The det. of bwt was identified by Montet, Poissons, p.42-3, as Schilbe mystus or Barbus bynni (sic?); Gamer-Wallert (p.36) favoured the first for older examples, the latter in later texts.

121. As determinative in temple of SethosI at Abydos, noted by Montet, Poissons p.46, fig.13, though Gamer-Wallert could not find it in the publications of Gardiner & Calverley (p.35, n.217). The det. appears to show Clarias sp. (C.anguillaris, according to Montet) though the name, otherwise used of the scorpion goddess Selkis, would seem to indicate a fish with prominent spine or sharp fin (cf wḥʿw above).

ⲡⲓⲕⲉⲣⲥ (metathesis of srk?) is translated by Crum, CD, 117b: 'a fish, synodontis schal' (cf Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.118a; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.183.) Although he noted 'the Schilbe has the same sharp spines, only somewhat shorter and less dangerous, than its close cousin the Schall' his only evidence for the identification of the srk as S.schall is his own observation that ancient Egyptian srk and modern Arabic 'šarruk' are very similar. In Gaillard, Poissons, p.17, Loret's attempt to identify srk via Coptic ⲥⲁⲗⲟⲩⲕⲓ (CD 330b: 'fish, petrocephalus') and Arabic raʾs al-ḥağar as Petrocephalus bane, did not even have the advantage of lighting upon a 'scorpion'-like fish.

A fish-headed deity srḳy was noted from the tomb of Petosiris (Lefèbvre II, p.68, No.8; III, pl.54, 1) but the incompleteness of the representations does not allow identification of the fish; Gamer-Wallert concluded from what remains: 'es käme am ehesten die Gattung Schilbe als Vorbild in Betracht, aber auch Barbus bynni'. Cf srḳ noted by Goyon, Les dieux gardiens, esp. p.270-2, Meeks, AL77.3727 & 78.3685, & srḳyw by Maspero, ASAE 8 (1907) 279 (5).

122. Lebensm 89: 

Wb also gave sbn as a verb (Wb III, 433, 7 ff : gleiten, straucheln, fallen, umstürzen &c.). On the word as an animal name Erman, Gespräch, n. on p.52, commented: 'Der Fischname sbnw ist neu; daß nicht eine falsche Lesung vorliegt, zeigt die Schreibung des Verbums  ...bei der die Konsonanten sbn mit dem Fisch determiniert sind'. Gaillard, Poissons, p.74, believed sbnw to name the species Synodontis batensoda.

123. AEO I, pl.1, 1.142:

Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.30, n.166, noted with justification that it is not possible to say whether this is an abnormal writing of bs or sbn or is an otherwise unattested fish name.

124. Cf bs (Wb I, 473,1 - 475,4) with various meanings.

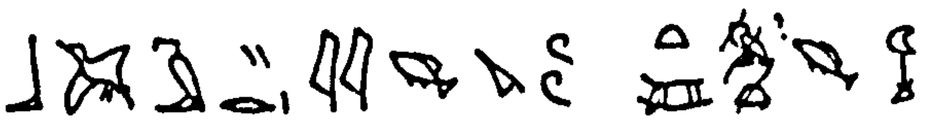
A number of species seem to have been used as the determinative of bs. Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.29, assumed that bs as a fish name must have fallen out of use at an early date. Montet, Poissons, p.41, and Loret in Gaillard, Poissons, p.33, considered bs to refer to one or more of the Mormyridae.

125. O.Vienna Kunsthist Museum 5988: 

Published by B.Bruyère, FIFAO 16 (1934-35) (1939) p.221. The word was read ph rmw 'partie postérieure de poisson' by Valbelle, Cat Poids, p.23.

126. Eb 71,20:

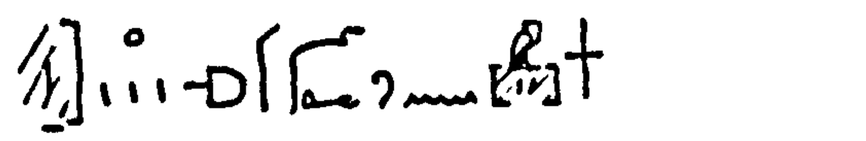
Wb. Drog. V, p.359; tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1], p.206: (see ỉnt above). Wreszinski assumed that a number had been omitted after the preceding ỉnt, but, as shown by the example below, tmt should probably be understood as 'whole':

P. Leid 340, vso 3, 4: 

'200 cut (gutted) b3r-fish, 10000 whole'.
See also J.J.Janssen, JEA 52 (1966) 81-94: A Twentieth-Dynasty Account Papyrus (Pap. Turin no.Cat. 1907/8), p.85, n.k. For another term meaning 'cut' or 'gutted' see Simpson, P.Reisner I, p.49: 'šʿt-fish, perhaps a hitherto unattested designation for a variety of fish (sand-fish?), or else merely a variant of šʿd, "to cut", with the sense of a fish already gutted'.

127. See n.80 above.

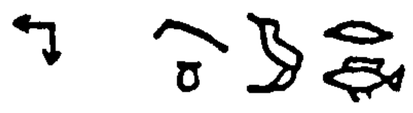
128. Note especially the comments of Osing, Nominalbildung, p.816, on meaning and etymology.

P.Ch.B. XV, rto 7: 
tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.125 with n.10: prescription includes 'contents of a mollusc(?), [1]'.

129. Medum 13 and Beni Hasan I, 17. Griffith, Beni Hasan III, p.14, commented: 'This sign is certainly intended to represent some kind of bivalve shell, of which the fan shape is exaggerated; in Petrie, Medum pl.xiii ...it has the form of a cockle shell. It may be noted that a small cockle was eaten largely by the early Greek population of Naukratis: I have not, however, seen it in connexion with Egyptian remains'.

130. Meeks, AL 78.2029.

CT VI, 309k: var.
tr. FECT II, p.249: 'heron' with the comment, n.6: 'Nwrw, determined as usual with a crested bird in 309g, is determined here with an insect of some kind'.

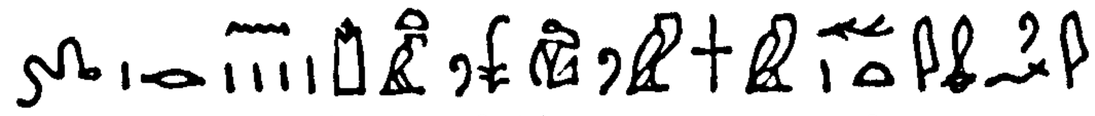
CT VII, 495j: 
tr. FECT III, p.179: 'I pass the nwr-fish(?) when Re shines in peace'.

CT VII, 197e:
tr. FECT III, p.98: 'her great and mighty nwr-fish(?) which is in the sky'.

Cf the fish determinatives of nwr (Wb II, 222, 8-13: beben) and snwr (Wb IV, 157, 9: entfernen, vertreiben oä).

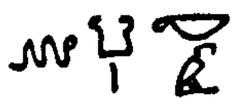
## Chapter 19 : Notes

1. An IV, 9, 11 (on the hardships of a soldier's life):



tr. Caminos, LEM, p.169. 'He [the soldier] proceeds to return to Egypt: he is like a stick which the ỉnr-worm has eaten'.

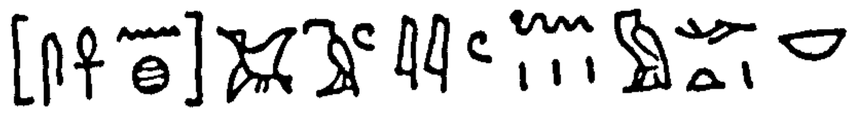
2. An III, 6, 1:



tr. Caminos, LEM, p.92: 'He proceeds to return to Egypt: he is like a stick (6,1) which the kk(t)-worm has eaten'.
The original Wb Zettel in Berlin has: 'Holzwurm? Ameise?'.
Caminos, p.94, noted: 'kk(t), "worm", or the like. Note feminine article. Perhaps only here, unless it should be identified with the corn-eating kkt of P. Ebers, 98, 6, despite the different determinative. Duplicate An. IV, 9, 11, reads ỉnr, a word unknown to me elsewhere'.

3. Note N.E. Hickin, rev. ed. R. Edwards, The Insect Factor in Wood Decay : An account of wood-boring insects with particular reference to timber indoors (London 1963, 1975) p.29: 'By far the most important animal group causing destruction of wood is the class INSECTA, which is divided into twenty-nine orders, of which five have members which are known to bore wood'. These are:
   (a) Mayflies (Ephemeroptera)
   (b) Termites (Isoptera) - 1700 species in tropics and warm temperate countries.
   (c) Goat and Carpenter Moths (Lepidoptera - Cossidae) - in trees.
   (d) Wood-wasps or horntails (Hymenoptera - Siricidae).
   (e) Beetles (Coleoptera) - 11 families, many in Africa, have wood-boring larvae.

4. O. Kees zu Amonshymn Kairo 6, 6:



The hymn itself has ḳwy here - this term is discussed in Ch.20 : Insects.

5. Sign Pap, p.9, Text col.V, No.1. The hieroglyph of a tadpole ( ) is explained 'frog'.

6. S. Sauneron, The Brooklyn Museum Annual 8 (1966-67) 98-192: Some Newly Unrolled Hieratic Papyri in the Wilbour Collection of the Brooklyn Museum & ibid., 10 (1968-69) 109-113: The Wilbour Papyri in Brooklyn: A Progress Report. Note: This papyrus has now been published: S.Sauneron, Un traité égyptien d'ophiologie. Papyrus du Brooklyn Museum No 47.218.48 et .85 (Le Caire 1989): Publications de l'IFAO Bibliothèque générale 11. Compare the text translated by Landsberger, Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia, p.52-54.

7. Vandier, P.Jumilhac, p.81-82 on P.Jumilhac XV, 9: 'Cette même expression se trouve... dans un papyrus inédit du Brooklyn Museum: on y décrit les serpents, et chaque section débute par ỉr, qui introduit le nom du serpent. À la fin de chaque paragraphe, ou trouve, en conclusion : ʿḥʿ.f + nom de divinité (Rēʿ, Horus, etc)'.

8. Goyon, Dieux gardiens, noted various snakes named in the Brooklyn Papyrus: ʿpp, hmhmty, sbtt, sfṯ and sdbw. Sbtt appears in an earlier text published G.Daressy, ASAE 17 (1917) 194-196: Stèle de Karnak avec textes magiques, p.195. Of the names only hmhmty appears in Wb and then only in a mythological context. All are recorded as poisonous snakes (see Goyon, p.22, n.7). The sfṯ which occurs in col.I, 1.21-23 of the manual, may be compared with the spṯ from A. Roccati, Papiro ieratico n.54003. Estratti magici e rituali del primo Medio Regno (Torino 1970): (Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino, Serie 1, vol.2) rto 9; tr. Borghouts, AEMP p.91: 'Backwards, snake (ḥfȝw) who is on his hillock, shuffler (spṯhw) who is in his thicket'. Spṯ is preserved in the same context in Hymn Diad, 10, 4.

The writings are and respectively.

Roccati noted of the term (p.25, n.c): 'spthw, è termine nuovo, benché di facile derivazione da pth <quello che è fatto strisciare>'.

The sfṯ of the Brooklyn papyrus ( ) is apparently described as red, of the family of msw bdš, associated with Seth, and resembling the sbdw (cf perhaps the spd of Wb IV, 108, 1: als Var. für [sp] als Krankheitserreger (ob richtig?) from P. Hearst 12, 3 discussed below). The sbdw was identified as the snake Zamenis florulentus; Goyon does not state by whom, but presumably the herpetologists of the Marine V.S. and Pasteur Institute in France who worked with Sauneron and Goyon on the Brooklyn text. This is

presumably the species given in Flower, Reptiles, p.211, as the Flowered Snake Coluber florulentus Schlegel. Goyon also mentioned the ſpp (p.122, n.6) - cf Wb I, 180, 2: Art Wurm? from Totb Nav 32, 9, tr. Allen, BOD, p.42: 'Back, crocodile of the north, living on Ap(ophis)'.

9. S. Sauneron, RdE 24 (1972) 160-164: Une déscription égyptienne du caméléon.

10. Störk, Schlange, col.645, made the comment: 'Angesichts der im Laufe der Jahrtausende zu beobachtenden Verarmung der äg. *Fauna, besonders im Bereich ihrer äthiopischen Elemente, wird man für Altägypten mehr Schlangen-Species annehmen können. Dabei dürfte die 44 Arten umfassende rezente Schlangenfauna des Sudan einen realistischen Anhaltspunkt liefern'.

Flower, Reptiles, noted the following species, p.802-835:

| | |
|---|---|
| Greek Blind-Snake | Typhlops vermicularis Merrem |
| Cairo Earth-Snake | Leptotyphlops cairi (Duméril & Bibron) |
| Theban Sand-Boa | Eryx colubrina (L) |
| Javelin Sand-Boa | E.jaculus (L) |
| Diced Water-Snake | Natrix tessellata (Laurenti) |
| Cape Wolf-Snake | Lycophidion capensis (A.Smith) |
| Syrian Black-Snake | Coluber jugularis L |
| Dahl's Whip-Snake | C.najadum (Eichwald) |
| Jan's Desert-Racer | C.rhodorachis (Jan) |
| Gray's Desert-Racer | C.ventromaculatus Gray |
| Roger's Snake | C.rogersi (Anderson) |
| Most Beautiful Snake | C.elegantissimus (Günther) |
| Flowered Snake | C.florulentus Schlegel |
| Ravergier's Whip-Snake or Coin-Marked Snake | C.ravergieri Ménétries |
| Clifford's Snake | Spalerosophis diadema (Schlegel) |
| Diademed Sand-Snake | Lytorhynchus diadema (Duméril & Bibron) |
| Palestine Black-Headed Snake | Oligodon melanocephalum (Jan) |
| Banded Peace-Snake | Contia fasciatus (Jan) |
| Crowned Peace-Snake | C.coronella (Schlegel) |

| | |
|---|---|
| Rough-keeled or Egg-eating Snake | Dasypeltis scaber (now scabra) (L) |
| Günther's Cat-Snake | Tarbophis quentheri Anderson |
| Egyptian Cat-Snake | T.obtusus (Reuss) |
| Montpellier's Snake | Malpolon monspessulanus (Hermann) |
| Moila Snake | M.moilensis (Reuss) |
| Schokari Sand-Snake | Psammophis schokari (Forskål) |
| African Beauty Snake | P.sibilans (L) |
| Mediterranean Hooded Snake | Macroprotodon cucullatus (I.Geoffroy) |

| | |
|---|---|
| Egyptian Cobra | Naja haje (L) |
| Black-necked Cobra | N.nigricollis Reinhardt |
| Walter Innes's Snake | Walterinnesia aegyptia Lataste |
| Field's Horned Viper | Pseudocerastes fieldi Schmidt |
| Greater Cerastes Viper | Cerastes cerastes (L) |
| Lesser Cerastes Viper | C.vipera (L) |
| Carpet Viper | Echis carinata (now carinatus)(Schneider) |
| Burton's Carpet Viper | E.colorata (now coloratus) Günther |

Störk, Schlange, col.645, also included:

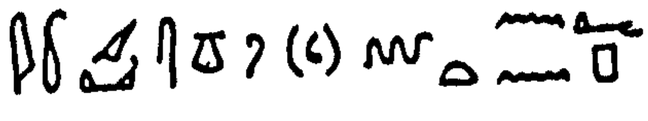
| | |
|---|---|
| Leptotyphlops macrorhynchus | |
| Coluber sinai | |
| Eirenis coronella | |
| Eirenis coronelloidea | |
| Telescopus dhara | (Ägyptische Katzennatter) |
| T.hoogstraali | (Hoogstraals Katzennatter) |
| Attractaspis engaddensis | |
| Pseudocerastes persicus | (Persische Trughornviper) |

but omitted:

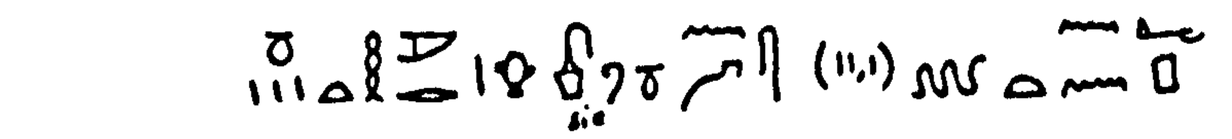
Pseudocerastes fieldi

Tarbophis quentheri

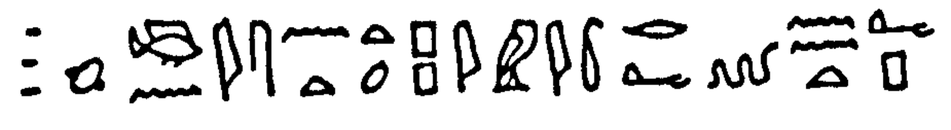
T.obtusus

11. Hearst 13, 5: 

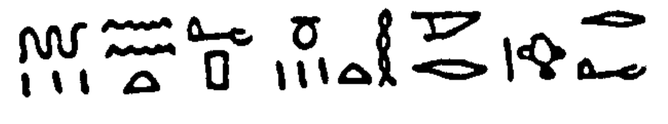
Wb. Drog. V, p.121; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.72:
'Heilmittel für die Zehe. ʿpnn.t (Wassermolch?), aufgeschnitten; werde sein Bauch mit Salz bestreut, werde [damit] verbunden'.

Hearst 10, 18: 

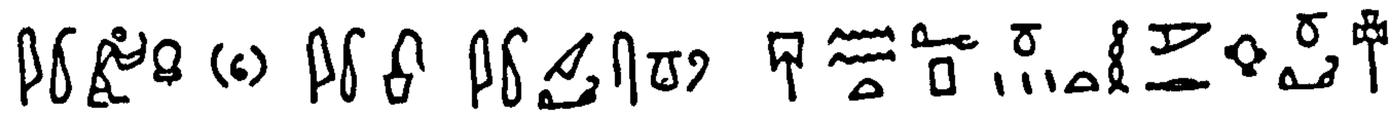
Wb. Drog. V, p.498; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.289:
'Heilmittel für das Ausgehen des Haares. ʿpnn.t (Wassermolch?); werde zerkocht in Öl/Fett; werde gegeben an den Kopf der Verhaßten'.

Hearst 10, 4-5: 

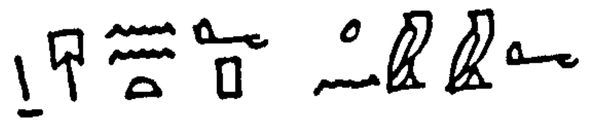
Wb. Drog. V, p.516; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.299: 'Heilmittel für das Wachsenlassen des Haars. ʿpnn.t (Wassermolch?), gegeben in eine Kugel (ỉppt) von Ton, gegeben in Feuer; nachdem er zerkocht ist (nwḥ), soll man ihn in Öl/Fett geben; werde damit gesalbt (wrḥ), oft, oft'.

Hearst 11, 1-3 (= Eb 88, 13-16): 

Wb. Drog. V, p.456; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.266: 'Heilmittel für das Beseitigen von ḥmw.t-s3 (Behexung?).
a) Ein großer Skarabäuskäfer , dessen Kopf und dessen beide Flügel abgeschnitten sind, werde erhitzt, werde gegeben in Öl/Fett , werde daran gegeben.
b) Wenn du sie danach beseitigen willst, dann sollst du seine beiden Flügel zerkochen, werde in Fett von ʿpnn.t (Wassermolch?) gegeben, werde erhitzt , werde veranlaßt, daß der Mann es trinkt'.

Eb 88, 5: 

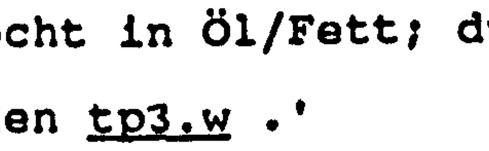
Wb. Drog. V, p.369; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.213: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel). [to remove a thorn (srt)] abgeworfene Haut (ḫʿḳ.w) einer Schlange, gekocht, zerrieben in Öl/Fett; ʿpnn.t (Wassermolch?), aufgeschnitten, gekocht, eingeschlossen in Öl/Fett ; werde an seine (des Stachels) Öffnung gegeben'.

Eb 63, 20: 

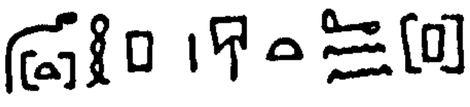
Wb. Drog. V, p.98; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.58: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel). [to prevent hair growing in the eye]. Fett (mrḥ.t) des Rindes 1; Behen-Öl 1; ʿmm-Teil von ʿpnn.t (Wassermolch?) 1; werde zerrieben zu einer Masse, werde aufs Feuer gegeben, werde an die Stelle des Haares gegeben'.

Eb 74, 14:

Wb. Drog. V, p.409; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.237: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel). [to reduce a ḥsd-swelling]. ʿpnn.t (Wassermolch?) 7; Fliege 7; ỉkw-Käfer der Erde 7; Mehl von Blutstein (didi) von Elephantine; werde gekocht in Öl/Fett; werde die ḥsd-Geschwulst der Schwellung damit verbunden'.

P. Ram III B, 2: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.139; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.81: 'Beseitigen des Hungers der beiden Kniestücke. Eingeweide des Bulti-Fisches (tilapia nilotica); werde daran gegeben. ʿpnn.t (Wassermolch?), gespalten in zwei Hälften <und> daran gegeben; werde damit verbunden ', with n.1 (Vol.IV$^2$, p.79): 'Ein bildlicher Ausdruck unbekannter Bedeutung'.

P. Ram III, B, 8: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.69; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.39: 'Beseitigen von tp3.w ⌜....⌝ ʿpnn.t (Wassermolch?), aufgespalten, zerkocht in Öl/Fett; du sollst ein wenig davon geben an <nur> einen von den tp3.w .'

12. Wb. Drog. VI, p.85: 'ʿpnn.t muss ein kleines Tier sein, weil es aufgespalten als ganzes verwendet wird und weil es in der Anzahl von 7 neben zwei anderen kleinen Tieren, ebenfalls zu je 7 an der Zahle, als Droge genannt wird'.

Cf its position between birds, fish and other creatures such as reptiles, mice and insects in the series of animals mentioned in Amonshymn Kairo (6,5) - rmw, 3pdw, ʿpnnt, ḥnms, ddft, py, pnw, ỉḳlγ, var. p3γw. The text demonstrates Amun's care of all creatures, however small. For the full text see Ch.1 : Classification.

13. Eb 67, 3:

Wb.Drog. V, p.497; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.289: 'Ein anderes (Mittel) für das Veranlassen, daß das Haar ausgeht. ʿnʿrt-Wurm, gekocht; zerkocht in Öl/Fett; Behen-Öl; werde gegeben an den Kopf der Verhaßten'. See also Wb. Drog. VI, p.96-97: 'ein Wurm'.

The term ʿnʿrt is also attested in the phrase ʿnʿrt nbt nt snf (Wb I, 191, 17: ...Blutgerinnsel oä; Wb. Drog. VII$^1$, p.143: 'bildlicher Ausdruck zur Beschreibung eines Blut-Gerinnsels, bei Verletzungen der Nase'.

Note the example in Smith 5,18 - 6,3: Wb. Drog. V, p.316-317; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.181-182; and cf 6, 10 (tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.183).

Ghalioungui, The House of Life, p.54, commented: 'In addition [to real 'worms' causing disease], there are a large number of appearances that may be metaphorically described as worms, or wrongly taken from them: shreds of mucus, sloughs or threads of clotted blood'.

14. E. Chassinat, Papyrus médicale copte. In this papyrus is mentioned 'une cervelle de loutre' ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲛⲅⲉⲣⲁⲫⲟⲥ[=ἐγκέφαλος] ⲡⲗⲥⲗⲟ ⲓⲗⲗⲭ (to be read ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲗ for ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲣ-ⲙⲙⲟⲩ) lit. 'chien d'eau' (see note p.213). Chassinat compared the phrase ʿmm n ʿpnnt from Eb 63, 20 with this.

On the different determinatives he noted: 'La conclusion la plus logique est que nous sommes en présence de noms d'animaux différents: serait un serpent, peut-être le naja, en raison de variante ( • ), et la loutre'.

Cf G. Lefèbvre, Fs Grapow, p.205-211: Sur quelques mots égyptiens, esp. p.204, agreeing with Chassinat. On ʿmm see Wb. Drog. VI, p.95-96.

15. Wb. Drog. VI, p.85.

16. See below for frogs and turtles and also Ch.20: Insects. One term for the frog, ʿbnḥ var. ʿbḥn (Wb I, 178, 15-17: der Frosch) has the det. as well as (Wb also recorded ḳrr (Wb V, 61, 5-6: der Frosch) with both determinatives, but only  occurs in the Belegstellen. In the Ptolemaic texts at Esna the name of the frog-deity Ḥeḳet may show  as determinative (see S. Sauneron, L'écriture figurative dans les textes d'Esna (Le Caire 1982) p.58).

17. Barns, Five Ramesseum Papyri, p.20, refered also to Dawson's 'slug' (n.2). Cf Osing, Nominalbildung, p.298: 'Wassermolch?'.

Flower, Reptiles, p.836, recorded the Branded Newt, Triturus vitturus (Jenyns) and, p.837, the Spotted Salamander, Salamandra salamandra (L), found in Syria and Palestine not Egypt.

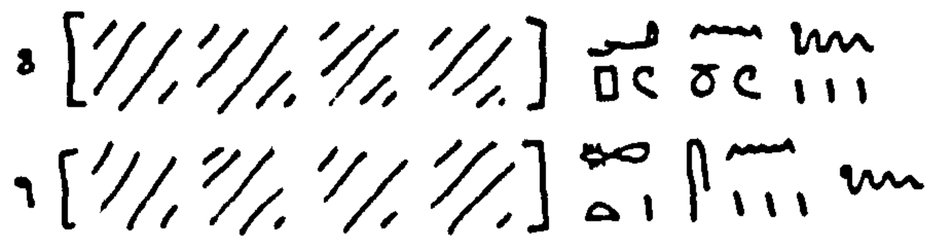
18. Stern, P.Ebers II, Glossary, p.9, compared with Coptic ⲟⲃⲓⲟⲛ but Chassinat, op.cit., noted that this word was derived from the Greek ὄφις.

19. H.Brugsch, ZÄS 20 (1882) 55-86: Sendschreiben an Professor Ebers, p.68. He compared it with Coptic: ⲁⲩⲗⲉⲗⲓ. See CD 741a: 'lizard'; Černý, CED, p.306: 'lizard', comparing DG 303, 4 and Egyptian ḥfrr, with the comment: 'Ultimately perhaps the same as ḥfn... "tadpole"'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.406 & 571; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.319b.

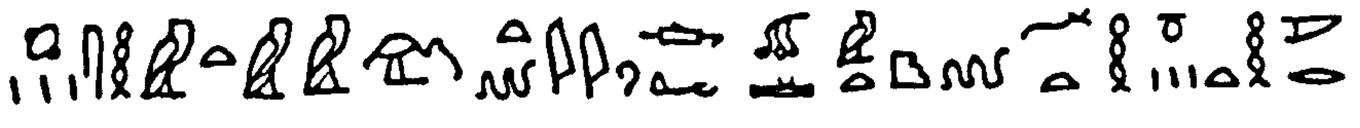
20. Ebers, P.Ebers, p.169, n.180: since it was an animal which 'wie ein Wurm in der Erde lebt und diese durchwühlt'.

21. W.R. Dawson, JEA 18 (1932) 150-154: Studies in the Egyptian Medical Texts, p.151.

S. Schott, ZÄS 65 (1930) 35-42: Drei Sprüche gegen Feinde, p.40, 3rd spell:

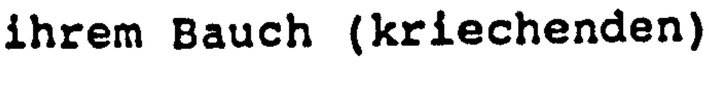


tr. p.41 '[Es essen sie] die Würmer.
[Es verzehren sie] die auf ihrem Bauch (kriechenden)'.

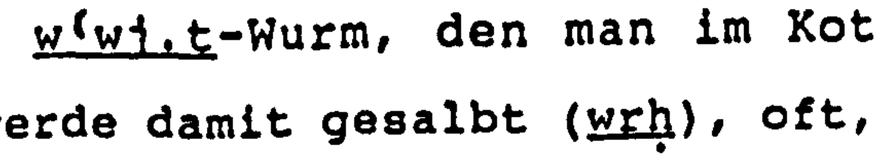
22. Eb 66, 1: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.511; tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1], p.296 '[ ] [ ] ; Fett (mrḥ.t) einer schwarzen Schlange; wʿwi.t-Wurm, den man im Kot findet; werde gekocht in Öl/Fett; werde damit gesalbt (wrḥ), oft, oft.' See too Wb.Drog. VI, p.126.

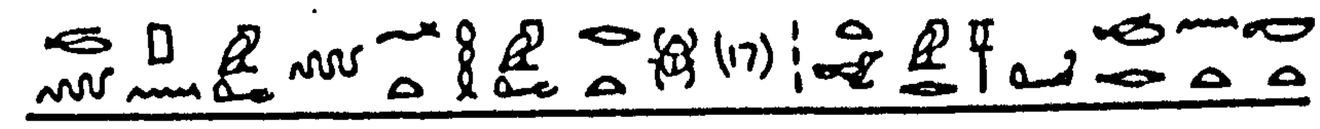
23. Ebbell, P.Ebers, p.78: 'grub which is found in dung'; Wb.Drog. VI, p.126: 'Art Wurm'.

24. Lieb Harr 4,7: 

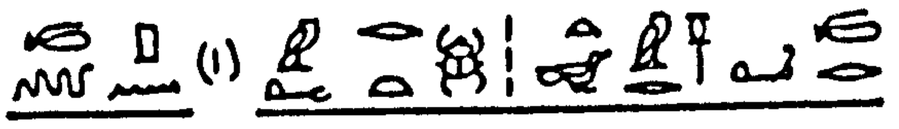
tr. Müller, p.22: 'Die Stimme der Wildgans klagt (da) sie erfasst hat ihren Köder'.

Lieb Harr 4,4: 

tr. Müller, p.20-21: 'Was da kommt [=birds of Arabia] als Bester, es hat schon genommen meinen Köder, bringend seinen Duft von Arabien...'

25. Eb 20, 17: 

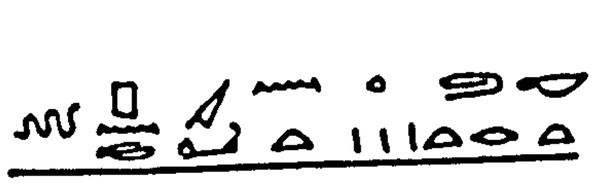
Wb.Drog. V, p.200; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.114 : 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Beseitigen einer Krankheit, die enstanden ist durch hf3.t-Wurm oder durch einen pnd-Wurm. Mehl von psd (𓌃) 1; h3.t-Teil der ʿm3.w-Pflanze 1; Fett (mrḥ.t) der Gans 1; Werde zu einer Masse gemacht, werde durchgepreßt, werde getrunken an vier Tagen.

Eb 21, 1: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.204 ; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.116 : 'Beseitigen einer Krankheit, die entstanden ist durch einen pnd-Wurm. Blatt der Dornakazie 1; ʿḥm.w (Blätterzweige) der nj3j3-Pflanze 1; Melilotus(ʿf3) 1; d3s-Pflanze 1; werde zerstoßen (ḥbk) zu einer Masse, werde damit verbunden der Bauch der Frau oder des Mannes (t3j).'

Eb 21, 15:

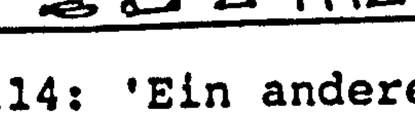
Wb.Drog. V, p.204; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.116: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) [für] das Beseitigen einer Krankheit, die entstanden ist durch einen pnd-Wurm. ỉnnk-Pflanze 1; ỉnb-Pflanze 1; ts.t-Teil der Binse 1; Honig 1; werde eingenommen an vier Tagen.'

Eb 22, 2: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.201; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.114: 'Ein anderes Heilmittel für das Töten des pnd-Wurmes. ḥr - Teil des ksb.t-Baumes 5 ro; dsr.t-Bier 20 ro; werde gekocht, werde durchgepreßt, werde getrunken, sofort .'

Eb 22,16:

Wb.Drog. V, p.203 ; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.116: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) [für] das Behandeln des pnd - Wurmes. nj3j3-Pflanze 1; kmw (𓆎); nw3 - Pflanze 1 ; ʿm3w - Pflanze 1 ; werde gekocht, werde durchgepreßt, werde getrunken an einem Tage.'

Eb 23, 1: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.203; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$ , p.116: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel). Koloquinthe (d3r.t) 1/8; roter Ocker (mnš.t) 1/64; gegorener Pflanzenschleim (ḥs3 n ʿw3j.t) 2½ ro; weißes Öl 1/8; süßes Bier 25 ro; werde gekocht, werde davon getrunken. Das ist ein Töten des pnd-Wurmes'.

26. Eb 22, 2 & 22, 16.

27. Eb 20,17 - above.
    Eb 21, 1 - above.
    Eb 21,15 - above.

28. Eb 20,17 - see above.

29. See Wb.Drog. VII[1], p.268, para.3.

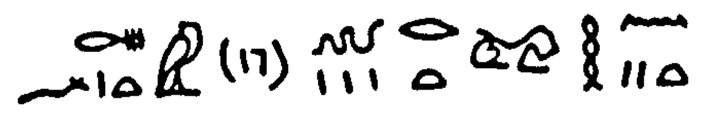
30. Eb 21,1 - see above.

31. Eb 22, 13-14:
    Wb.Drog. V, 202 ; tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1], 115 : 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) [follows the heading given in Eb 22, 2-3: kt nt sm3 pnd - see above]. Früchte des ndm - Baumes; Milch 1; Honig 1; šnj-tj-Frucht 1; Wein; werde gekocht, werde durchgepreßt, werde getrunken an vier Tagen. Das ist ein Entleeren des Bauches'.

32. Ebbell, Altägyptische Krankheiten, p.34 and id., P.Ebers, p.130: 'tape-worm (taenia)'.

33. A.P. Leca, La médecine égyptienne (Paris 1971) p.213.

34. Cf Wb.Drog. VII[2], p.630 : 'Bei ḥrr.t handelt es sich nicht um eine bestimmte Wurmart, sondern wie bei ddf.t in Eb.64 [20,1-8]..um eine allgemeine Bezeichnung für Gewürm'.

35. Eb 19,16: 
    Wb. Drog. V, p.195; tr.Wb.Drog. IV[1], p.111: 'Ein anderes nützliches Heilmittel, als etwas, was für den Bauch gemacht wird. Schilfrohr (ỉsw) 1; s3ms-Pflanze 1; werde fein zerrieben, werde gekocht in Honig, werde gegessen vom Manne, in dessen Bauch sich ḥrr.t - Gewürm befindet. Der f3f- Giftstoff ist es, der es (das Gewürm) geschaffen hat'.

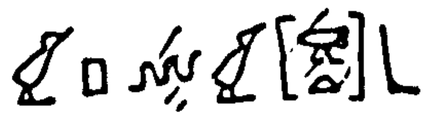
36. This translation arose from the identification of ʿȝʿ -disease as haematuria caused by the schistosoma (bilharzia) worm (a type of blood-fluke) (see Ghalioungui, op.cit., p.122). Ebbell, P.Ebers, p.130, tr. ḥrrw as 'Bilharzia haematobia' (sic); compare B.Ebbell, ZÄS 62 (1927) 13-20: Die ägyptische Krankheitsnamen p.17, tr. 'ḥrt-Würmer', with n.2, comparing Coptic ' ϩⲟⲗⲓ = tinea', and p.18: 'Wenn ḥrt die Bezeichnung für die Plattwürmer bei Hämaturie sein sollte, so würde der Ägypter allerdings geirrt und Ursache und Wirkung verwechselt haben; denn die Würmer sind es ja, die die Hämaturie verursachen und nicht umgekehrt. Aber immerhin ist est auffällig, daß Würmer hier mit ʿȝʿ in Verbindung gesetzt werden; das könnte wohl dafür sprechen, daß schon die Ägypter des Altertums diese Schistosomen beobachtet haben'. Two species of this parasite found in Egypt today are Schistosoma heamotobium and S.mansoni; see W.A.N.Dorland, Dorland's Illustrated Medical Dictionary (Philadelphia 1900, 1981) p.1176.

37. Ghalioungui, op.cit., p.122 : 'As no extracorporeal worms can be seen in schistosomiasis, and owing to the improbability of early and detailed dissections, the attempt to identify the ḥrrw worm with schistosoma seems too far-fetched, and it is more likely that in this instance urinary blood-clots were likened to worms'.

38. Eb 41,15:

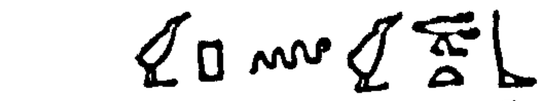
Wb.Drog. V, p.162-163; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.93: 'Wenn du untersuchst einen Mann, der an seinen Magen leidet, wenn du sie (die Verstopfung) findest, indem sie sich quergelegt hat , er leidet an seinen beiden Seiten (šw.tj), sein Bauch ist eng gegen Brot, sein Herz (ỉb), es ist belastet . [ ] tritt nicht gegen sie (die Krankheit) auf, es ist eine btw-Schlange. Du mögest mit ihr (der btw-Schlange) kämpfen mit stark wirkenden (šsm.w) Mitteln, nachdem sie umschlossen ist mit Gerstenschleim. '

cf P. Kah 1,20:



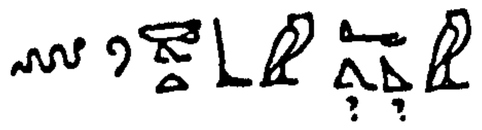
Wb.Drog. V, p.459; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.268: 'Heilkunde einer Frau, die leidet an ihren ỉbḥ-Zähnen, ihren nḥd.t-Zähnen'; 'Wenn sie leidet an ihrer Schamgegend (kns) bis zu ihren Sichelbeinen (ḥ3b.w) , bis zu ihren Hinterbacken : das ist eine btw-Schlange. '

& P. Kah 2,18:



Wb.Drog. V, p.462; tr. Wb.Drog IV$^1$, p.270: 'Heilkunde ⌜einer Frau....⌝1 ihre beiden Beine (w'r.tj), ihre eine Seite (wꜣ.t) ⌜...⌝ .' ,⌜...⌝ ihr ⌜... ⌝ist geschwollen, dann sollst du deinen Finger darauf geben, und findest du est hart ⌜...⌝ auf der Gebärmutter: das ist eine btw-Schlange'.

39. Wb.Drog. VII$^1$ , p.254:



40. Smith 4,4:

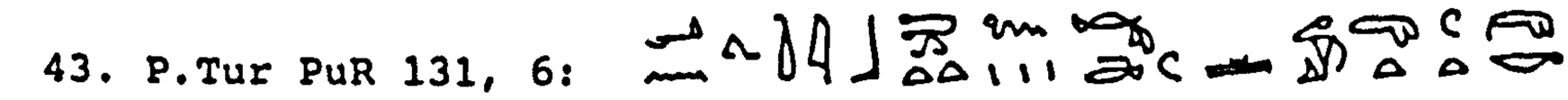
Breasted interpreted (p.199) 'Undertake [him], do not desert [him]' as the name of the illness.

Wb.Drog. V, p.159; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$ , p.91 : 'Wenn du untersuchst einen Mann, der an seinem Magen leidet... Dann sollst du dazu sagen: es sind Schmerzstoffe, die abgelenkt sind auf seinen Rücken ; eine Krankheit, die ich behandle mit "kombinierten Mitteln". Tritt gegen sie auf, gehe ihr nicht aus dem Wege.' (my own omission). Cf further in the spell for similar phrases.

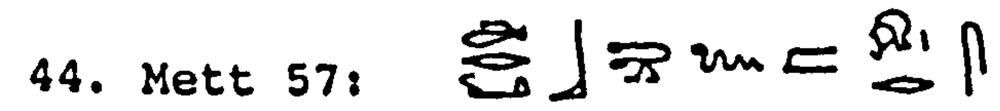
41. Ebbell, Krankheiten, p.19 and id.,

P.Ebers, p.130: 'or Egyptian chlorosis'; this was also adopted by Leca, op.cit, p. 211-212.

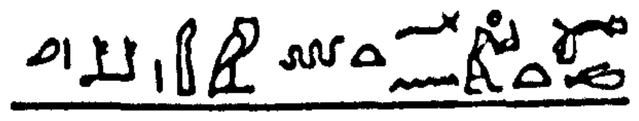
42. Ghalioungui, The House of Life, p.124: 'betw worm, has been questionably translated "ancyclostomiasis" by Ebbell'.

43. P.Tur PuR 131, 6: 

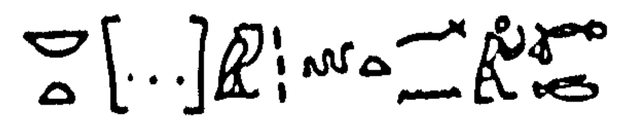
tr. Borghouts, AEMT p.76 : 'Turn yourself, venomous snake (btw), draw out (šdi) your poison which is in all the limbs of NN born of NN'. Spell to be said over the image of a falcon to be placed before anyone suffering from the bite of any snake.

44. Mett 57: 

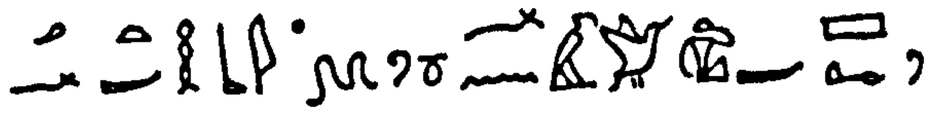
tr. Borghouts, AEMT, p.61: 'I am a daughter known in her town, who dispels a poisonous disease (btw) with her oral powers (tp.t-r)!' Cf O.Strasburg H111 1.4 in W.Spiegelberg, ZÄS 57 (1922) 7-71 : Horus als Arzt: 'The words of Horus extinguish the fire; his oral powers (tp.t-r) heal a poisonous disease (btw)'.

45. Hearst 13, 5: 

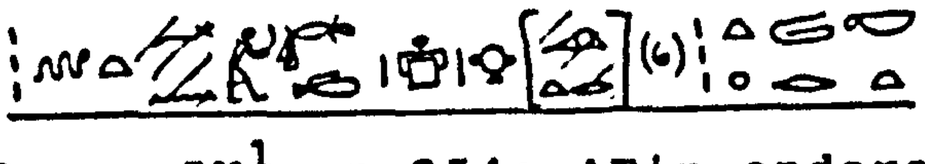
Wb.Drog. V, p.125; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$ , p.73: 'Herausholen eines fnt-Wurmes in Finger [oder] Zehe. roter Ocker (mnšt) ; Koloquinthe (dȝr.t) ; ḥnȝj.t ; werde der Finger oder die Zehe damit verbunden'. Cf sȝ/sp/spd below, also found in the toes and fingers.

46. P. med Berl 3038, 2, 5: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.434; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$ , p.254: 'Herausholen des fnt-Wurmes aus irgendeiner ... . Gekröse (ȝg) eines Schweines ; werde damit verbunden'.

47. An IV, 13, 7 (An officer overseas bewails his condition): 

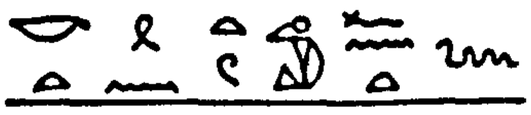
tr. Caminos, LEM, p.189: 'A mnȝ-scribe is here with me, every muscle of whose face twitches ; the wstt-disease (13,7) has developed in his eye, and the worm gnaws into his tooth'. See also below for fnw (n.53).

48. See notes above and also:
P. med Berl 3038, 2, 6: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.434; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.254: 'Ein anderes Heilmittel, was man macht nach dem Herausholen des fnt-Wurmes'.

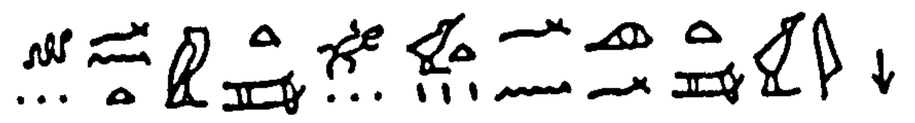
49. P. Ram III, B, 3:

Wb. Drog. V, p.434; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.254: 'Töten des fnt-Wurmes durch ein Heilmittel'.

50. P.med Lond 11, 2: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.43; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.254: 'Eine andere Beschwörung des fnt-Wurmes'.

Cf 11, 3-4: 'Eine andere (Beschwörung)'.

51. BOD 154, 5: 

tr. Allen, BOD, p.154: 'He who shall pass away, his soul ascends after he dies; (but) he descends after he passes away. That is, he becomes bloated, (his) bones all decay, cut off and [snatched away] are the limbs, softened are the bones, and the flesh becomes an evil liquid. He smells, he decays, he becomes altogether a mass of maggots, all maggoty'. Cf 154, 8 (see below) and also:

CT VI, 386:

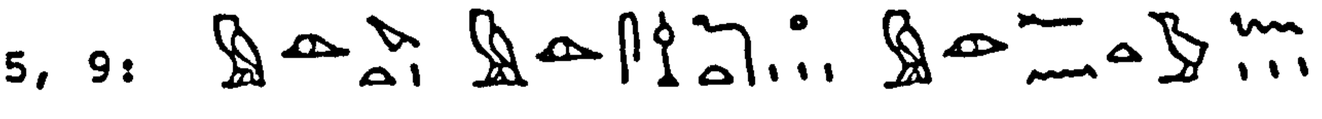
tr. FECT II, p.289: 'Do not putrefy in this your name of Ha; do not be maggoty in this your name of "Maggot"'.

P.Leid I 348, vso 3, 2:

tr. Borghouts p.34: 'Another spell of a burn... Don't make foul liquids, don't make clear liquids, don't make worms!' (my omission).

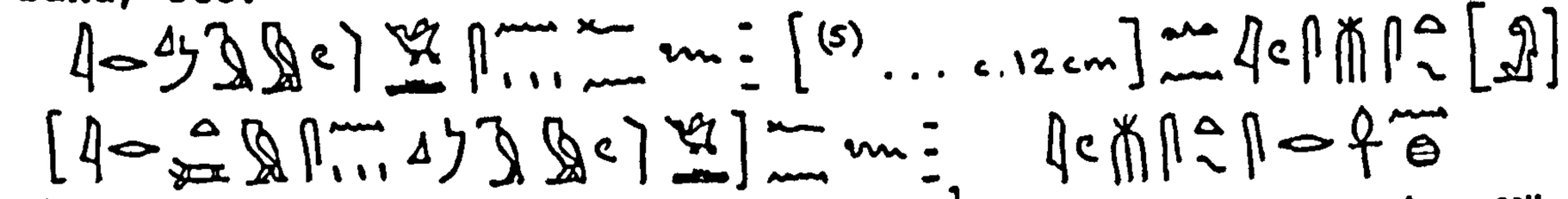
P.med Lond 5, 5 :

Wb. Drog. V, 174 ; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.100 in a text for 'Erweichen des Herzen (ḥ3.ti)' : 'Es zittern die beiden Beine....Krankheit, die entsteht...., werde nicht gegen mich zu k3w.t, zu srf.t-Würmern, zu fnt-Würmern, zu spj.w-Würmern, die mit Wasser kommen...in diesem meinen Körper (ḥ'w), in diesen [meinen Gliedern]'.

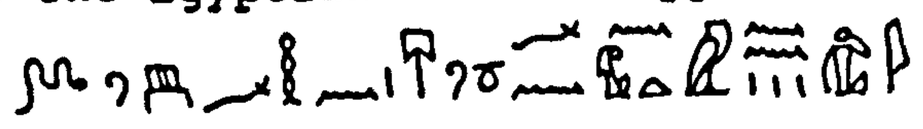
P.med Lond 15, 9: 

Wb. Drog. V. p.381; tr.Wb. Drog. IV, p.219: 'Angekohlt ist der Leib (ḥ.t) mit Kohle zusammen mit (ḥr) Wasser von rotem Wasser; ... mache nicht Stiche (dm.t), mache nicht weiße Stellen (shd.w) , mache nicht fnt-Gewürm'. The whole to be spoken over Nile mud and various other ingredients, finely ground, to be used in a bandage.

52. P.Carlsberg VIII, 1, 4 & 5. A woman is to urinate upon bags of sand, etc.



Wb. Drog. V, p.475 ; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.276 : 'Wenn sie Würmer entwickeln (ḳm3) ..... wird sie nicht gebären. Wenn sie nicht entwickeln (ḳm3) Würmer, so wird, was sie gebiert, leben'. Cf E. Iversen, P.Carlsberg No. VIII (København 1939) p.10-11.

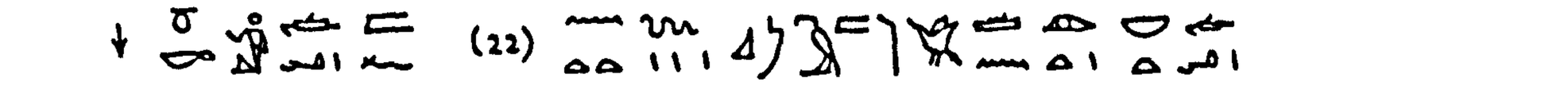
53. A.Massart, MDAIK 15 (1957) 172-185: The Egyptian Geneva Papyrus MAH 15274, rto 3, 9: 

tr. p.177: 'Halt, O poison... If you are a fnw of the serpent...' (my omissions). Compare the spelling of fnt in the previous note.

54. Wb.Drog. VII[1], p.304.

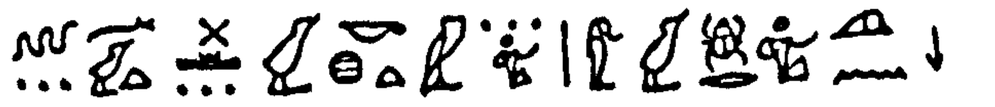
55. Note that the fn'rt is itself a real, water-dwelling, creature.

56. BOD 78 = CT IV, 68-86:



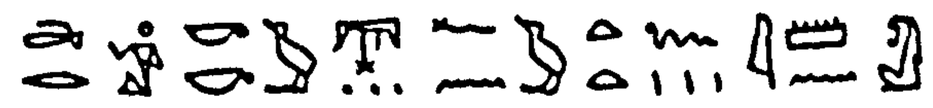
tr. Allen, BOD, p.67 : 'I am one of these worms which the eye of the Sole Lord created before Isis' child Horus was born'.

57. BOD 75 (after Ani 29,19):



tr. Allen, BOD, p.184: Atum answering the deceased's questions: 'And I will destroy all that I have made. This land shall return into the deep, into the flood, as it was aforetime (only) I shall survive together with Osiris, after I have assumed my forms of other <snakes> which men know not and gods see not.

BOD 85, 10:



tr. Allen, BOD, p.73 : 'When I wish to reach their realm, I walk on my feet, I rule, (I) cross the flooding (watery) firmament. I take away the darkness and the <hidden> worms'.

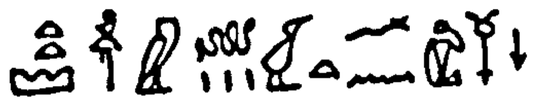
BOD 154, 8:

tr. Allen, BOD, p.154 : 'Hail to thee, my father Osiris. Thy members shall continue to exist. Thou hast not decayed, thou hast not rotted, thou hast not turned to dust, thou hast not smelled, thou hast not decomposed. Thou shalt not become rotten'.

58. Abyd Mar II, 15 (cf BOD 144):

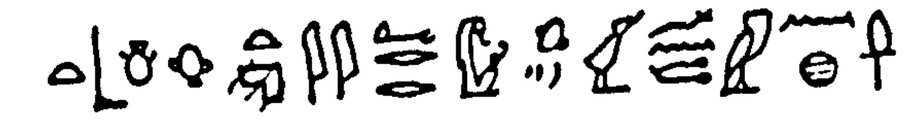
tr. Allen, BOD, p.121 : 'He who is at the 5th gate is He Who Lives on Rotten Meat'.

BOD 1 B (omitted from Naville's version (Ba)):



tr. Allen, BOD, p.7 : 'He Who Lives on Maggots is the name of another'. Cf later in the text '[Osiris]' - 'Lord of darkness who has descended and to whom maggots are given in the west'. Also tr. Shorter, Pr(t)-m-hrw, p.35.

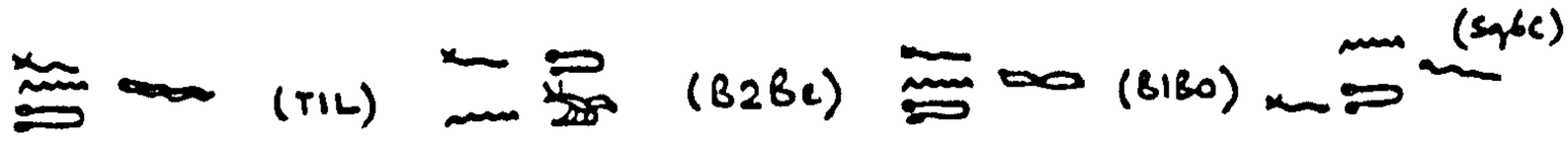
cf CT VII , 437 :



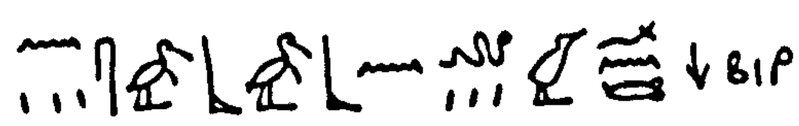
tr. FECT III, p.160: 'He who lives on maggots is the keeper of the middle gate. He lives on him who does not know how to go to the sky of Horus the first-born, the third one who approaches his Lord that he may live. As for him who comes into being among maggots, he shall eat them since he does not know that this is the spell for passing by him'.

59. Pyr 432:

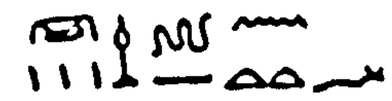
tr. Sethe, UuK III, p.205-206 : 'Deine Ehre ist geraubt, o weißes Loch, durch den, der dem fnt-Wurm entronnen ist'.

CT IV, 1: 

tr. FECT I, p.266 : 'Becoming Sobk, Lord of the Winding Waterway. N is the fnt-snake which issued from the shank and ate the chaos-god, whom Seth exhaled for him from within the secrets of Geb'.

CT VII,480: 

tr. FECT III, p.172 : 'I have come here from Abydos, and I have found his waters descending, the worms.... in a canoe'.

60. Vandier, Papyrus Jumilhac, IV t.b, 19 : 

tr. p.137: 'elle avait créé un serpent en argent qui fut fixé à la tête d'un taureau, et on l'appela Anti'.

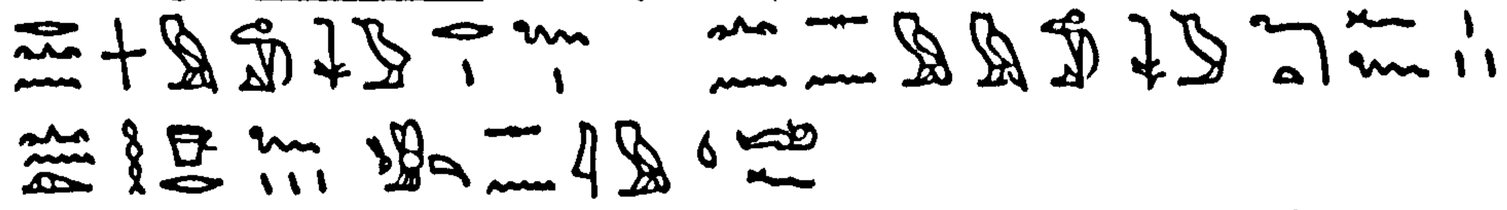
61. Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.345: 'Wurm, Made' compared fntw, as did Černý, CED, p.266: 'worm'.

62. Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.280b: ' ver et serpent ... aussi "devenir véreux" ... Étymologie incertaine'.

63. Eb 52, 5 = 25, 6: var.

Wb. Drog. V, p.188; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.108: 'er leidet an seinem Magen ; es sind seine Schleimstoffe in seinem Bauch, nicht können sie einen Weg finden für das Herausgehen; es ist aber auch kein Weg vorhanden, daß sie aus ihm herausgehen könnten. Dann verfaulen sie in seinem Bauch, sie können nicht herauskommen und werden zu Gewürm. Dann werden sie schließlich vollständig zu Gewürm, so daß sie zu Abgestorbenem werden. Dann scheidet er sie aus (wšš), dann geht es ihm sofort besser. Wenn er sie nicht als Gewürm ausscheidet (wšš) , dann sollst du ihm Mittel für das Ausscheiden (wšš) machen, so daß es ihm sofort besser geht'.

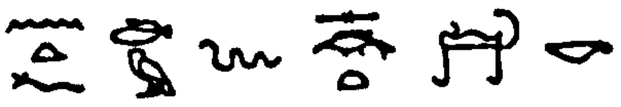
64. G. Daressy, Rec.Trav. 36 (1914) 73-82 : Une stèle de Hawara, p.81:



tr. 'indemne de blessure du corps, pour que ne le mangent pas les insectes, pour que ne le dévorent pas les vers, pour que les nécrophores ne travaillent pas en lui'.

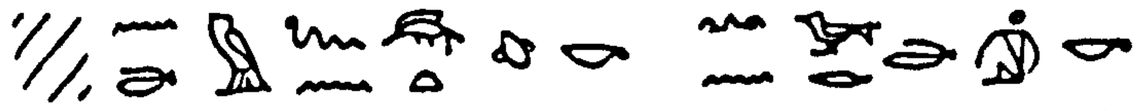
65. A.M.Blackman, JEA 5 (1918) 24-35 : The funerary papyrus of Nespeheran (Pap. Skrine No.2):

tr. p.29: 'The worm(?) of his corpse shall not come into being', with n.13 : 'So far as I can ascertain, the word occurs nowhere else'.

66. BM 137, 1.5 (KRI III, 214, 3): 

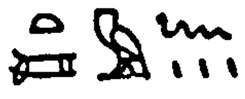
tr. L. Habachi, Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes (Chicago 1977) 83-103: The Royal Scribe Amenmose, son of Penzerti and Mutemonet : his monuments in Egypt and abroad, p.90: 'He is the worm(?) of your body'.

He commented:'For "worm" see Wb V, 451, 6; in this inscription, however, the meaning is rather vague'. Cf J.Assmann, Das Grab der Mutirdis (Mainz am Rhein 1977) p.100, col. 43:



'[k]ein Wurm ist (an) deinem Leichnam, du hast keine Ermüdung'.

67. S.Schott, MDAIK 14 (1956) 181-189 : Totenbuchspruch 174 in einem Ritual zur Vernichtung von Feinden (Malcolm Papyrus, BM 10081 37,17):



tr. p.187: 'Die Leichname dort sind Asche. Nicht (geraten) ihre Würmer auf (m ḥt) die Erde'.

This text is also quoted by Mysliwiec, Atum I, p.115-116, with n.96: 'In spätzeitlichen Papyri werden die mit einer Schlange determinierten Würmer (wahrscheinlich auch Repilien, vielleicht auch Aale gemeint) tmw genannt', though it is difficult to see why eels should be associated with corpses. Tmw also occur at Edfu associated with the 7th lower Egyptian nome. (Cf L. Pantalacci, GM 52 (1981) 57-66 : Une conception originale de la survie osirienne d'après les textes de basse époque, p.61, para.7.)

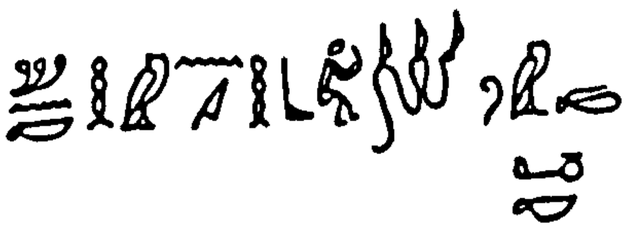
On the tmm of a snake (its skin(?)) see Borghouts, P.Leiden I. 348, p.63-64, n.88: 'I can think of nothing better than some special term for the "hide" of a snake. Can there be any connection with the tmm-snake (not in the Wörterbuch; but cf V 306, 7 [tm]; 451, 6-7 [dm] which is sometimes found in ptolemaic texts )? In that case, there might be the same correlation between tmm "hide" and tmm "snake" as between ḥnw "stickle" and ḥnw "fish".'

68. Totb Leps 163, Überschrift 2:

tr. Allen, BOD, p.159. Spell for : 'keeping his flesh and his bones sound against worms and any God who may transgress in the god's domain', etc.

69. Dram Texte p.20 :

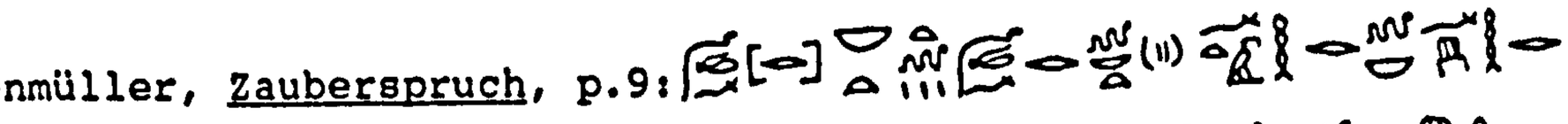
'Seine Majestät schrieb dieses Buch von neuem ab im Hause seines Vaters Ptah, der südlich von seiner Mauer wohnt. Seine Majestät hatte (es) gefunden als ein Werk der Vorfahren, indem es von Würmern zerfressen war'.

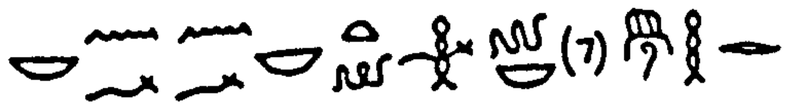
dm is also attested in P. Tur P u R 148, 5 : 

recorded by Meeks, AL 78.4790: ' ver (qui s'attaque au cadavre)'.

70. BM Stela 190, 3:

Kairo Wb Nr 384 <671>:

Altenmüller, Zauberspruch, p.9: 

var. Cairo JdE 37508: 

Altenmüller did not comment on nfnf.

71. Quoted by J.F.Champollion, Grammaire égyptienne, ou principes généraux de l'écriture sacrée égyptienne appliquée à la représentation de la langue parlée (Paris 1836) p.87.

72. CD 148b: 'mortify, become rotten, perish'.

See Černý, CED, p.75; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p. 515 and Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.101a.

73. Altenmüller, Zauberspruch, p.9 (var. 4; Cairo JdE 37508):

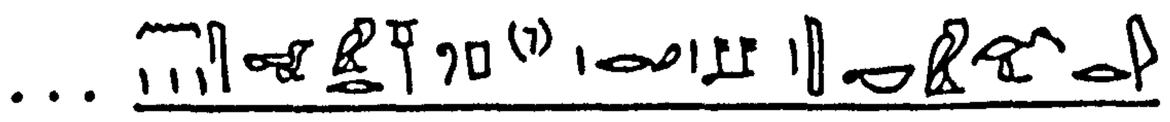
see n. 70.

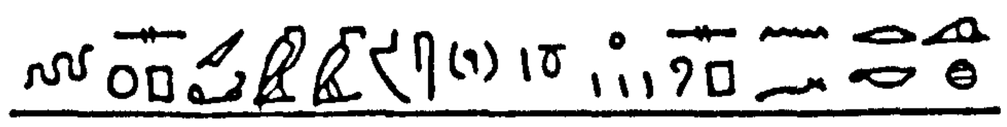
(var. 3 gives ddft in place of nfnf).

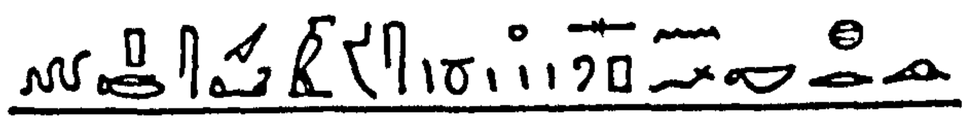
74. P. med Lond 5, 5:

tr. Wb.Drog. V, p.174; tr. Wb.Drog IV, p.100: (see above n.51)

75. Hearst 12, 3 = Eb 78, 9 :





var Hearst: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.124; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.73 : 'Wenn du einen Finger oder eine Zehe findest, indem sie schmerzen , Wasser kreist hinter ihnen, schlecht ist ihr Geruch, sie haben einen s3-Wurm erzeugt. Dann sollst du sagen : [ ] ; eine Krankheit, die ich behandle. Dann sollst du ihm machen Mittel zum Töten des sp-Wurmes : oberägyptisches sj3-Mineral 1/32; unterägyptisches sj3-Mineral 1/32; Föhrenöl (sft) 1/8; werde zerrieben, werde damit verbunden'. See too Wb. Drog. IV[2] , p.74 n.7 : 'Keinesfalls handelt es sich um Tiere, sondern nur um bildliche Bezeichnungen für die Krankheitserscheinung wie bei dem fnt-Wurm'.

Cf too the of P.Ram IV, E 1,2 (Wb.Drog. V, p.545; tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1], p.316).

76. Wb.Drog. VII[2], 705 : 'Ebbell Altägyptische Krankheitsbezeichnungen, S.41, übersetzt "Würmern" und denkt dabei an Fliegenlarven o.ä. - Dagegen: scheint s3 kein lebendes Tier zu bezeichnen, sondern wie fnt ein bildlicher Ausdruck für ein Gerinnsel von Eiter oder anderen Krankheitsstoffen zu sein; vielleicht liegt auch ein allgemeinerer Ausdruck für wurmartig gedachten Krankheitserreger vor'.

77. Recorded in Flower, Reptiles, p.830, as Cerastes cerastes (L), the Greater Cerastes Viper, also known as the Horned Asp or Horned or Sand Viper - see G.S.Cansdale, West African Snakes (London 1961) p.65.

78. Flower, Reptiles, p.826 : Egyptian Cobra, Naja haje (L).

79. A.C.T.E. Prisse d'Avennes, Histoire de l'art égyptien II (Paris 1879), plate entitled 'Peinture. Plantes et fleurs'. Cf F.v.Bissing, ZÄS 35 (1897) 103-107 : Beiträge zu Griffith Benihasan III, p.105, n.69 : 'Wohl eine Nacktschnecke. Die Hornviper...kann gar nicht damit verglichen werden'. This representation was discussed at length by L. Keimer, Études d'Égyptologie VII: Zoologica III (Le Caire 1945) 30-36: Notes au sujet de l'hiéroglyphe 𓆑 et des vipères dans l'Égypte ancienne. Although the picture cannot be of a snake, since snakes do not exhibit such plant-climbing behaviour, Keimer also rejected the idea of a slug : 'Aujourd'hui . une Limace ne peut pas vivre, paraît-il, dans le climat d'Égypte' (p.34), noting in conclusion : 'il se pourrait également que le petit animal de la figure 14 soit pris par l'ancien peintre pour un 𓆑 , mais dans ce cas-là on devrait admettre que cet artiste...était dans l'ignorance complète de la signification ordinaire de l'hiéroglyphe'.

It is difficult to comment properly upon the presence or absence of slugs in ancient Egypt given the current state of slug taxonomy. Dawson's identification of ꜥpnnt as slug or snail is by no means certain - see above. Note here the comments of N.W.Runham & P.J.Hunter, Terrestrial Slugs (London 1970) p.7 and p.21 : 'It can be assumed that some species do not occur in places where they have been recorded and, more likely that they do occur in many areas where they have not yet been found'. The only species they mention in connection with Africa is Testacella haliotidea Draparnaud 'ranging from the North African coast to Scotland '.

80. M.Murray, Ancient Egypt (1929) 18-21 : The Cerastes in Royal Names, commented p.19: 'Whether the creature was the horned viper (cerastes cornutus) or the slug, or some other animal not yet identified, I am not prepared to say. It is entirely unlike the viper or the slug...The form of the 'horns', even in the earliest example, is unlike any living creature...The only example of the creature in a natural position is the painting of Drah Abu'l Neggah, where it is climbing a lotus stem and is certainly a slug. As the XVIIIth Dynasty is too late to be of any value in determining the real meaning of any object represented, this can only be accepted as showing what the artists of the New Kingdom believed the creature to be...The ancient Egyptian knew the

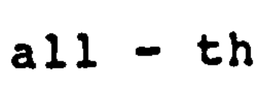
[horned] viper perfectly, for its characteristic attitude in repose is reproduced in the hieroglyph which determines any word for snake '.

On the horns of the animal note Keimer's comment (op.cit., p.4): 'Si nous admettons que les proportions des cornes sont exagérées, nous ne devons pas oublier que dans beaucoup de cas l'artiste, le sculpteur ou le peintre, désirant figurer une Vipère cornue ne pouvait effectivement indiquer les cornes autrement qu'il ne l'a fait'.

If the does indeed represent C.cerastes, a snake of a maximum of some 70 cm in length (see Flower, loc.cit.), it may be assumed that the  hieroglyph shows the snake in a somewhat shortened form - this at least was the opinion of M. Baud, Le caractère du dessin en Égypte ancienne (Paris 1978) p.28: 'Vus de profil, leur [ie of the signs  and  ] longeur aurait largement dépassé le cadrat et rompu l'harmonie de la ligne. C'est sans doute à cause de ce parti pris qu'on a longtemps pris le céraste pour une limace arion. En tout cas, ce dessin réduit passe, inchangé, dans le dessin des motifs'.

81. Keimer, op.cit., p.5. The snake might also possibly be a hornless form of C.cerastes.

82. Keimer, op.cit., p.20-21. Compare Cansdale, op.cit., p.66-67 : '[C.cerastes is] a snake of the driest zone of all - the semi-desert and the desert edge - where it lives in rocky or sandy surroundings. It spends the day hidden beneath a layer of sand, with the eyes almost the only part exposed...The desert viper has evolved exactly the same type of movement for traversing loose sand as have the desert rattlesnakes. This is known as "side-winding", in which the snake throws a series of loops sideways and forwards and has only part of its body in contact with the ground at any time, so that it appears to be moving obliquely across the sand'.

83. Keimer, op.cit., p.16-17. Note esp. the determinative of ḥfȝt on the magical stela, quoted on p.17, fig 4: 

84. Flower, Reptiles, p.832-833 : Cerastes vipera (L), the Lesser Cerastes Viper.

85. Flower, Reptiles, p.826-827; Black-necked Cobra, Naja nigricollis Reinhardt.

86. M.Murray, JEA 34 (1948) 117-118 : The Serpent hieroglyph. She compared early representations of the snake as dark yellow with three black lines under the neck and noted that the poison of N.nigricollis, when spat into the eyes, can cause blindness : 'It seems, then, that it is Naja nigricollis and not N.haje, that is the royal uraeus, the basilisk, which killed the enemies of pharaoh, not by a glance of its eyes as the Greeks believed, but by spitting venom'. Cf Griffith, Hieroglyphs, p.24 (fig. 16, 173): 'stands for the Echis or viper, in contradistinction to the uraeus'.

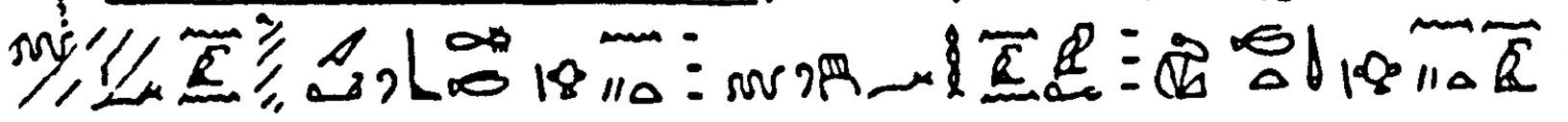
87. L.Störk, LÄ V, 644-652 : Schlange, col.646 (quoted below as 'Schlange').

88. Störk, loc.cit.: '[Die] Haupteigenschaft [of the uraeus], wie Darstellungen und die Bezeichnung nsrt "Feurige"...belegen, die Fähigkeit, ihr Gift, das zur Blindheit führen kann, zu speien'.

89. Grdseloff, ASAE 43 (1943) 311-318 : [Appendix] Le signe et le mot <père>.

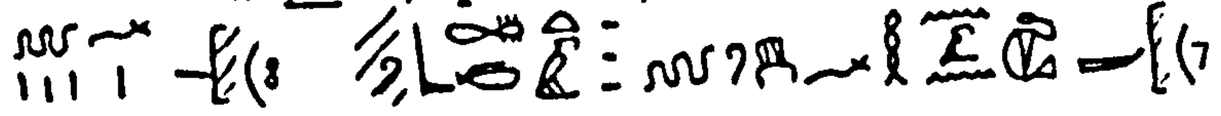
90. Cf Störk, loc.cit. See also W. Spiegelberg & K.Sethe, ZÄS 55 (1918) 89-92 : Das Grundwort zum Lautzeichen d.

91. Massart, P.Leiden I, 343 + I, 345, rto 6, 7 - 6, 9 (p.18):

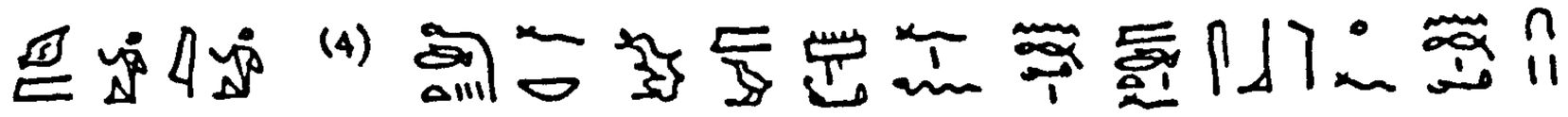


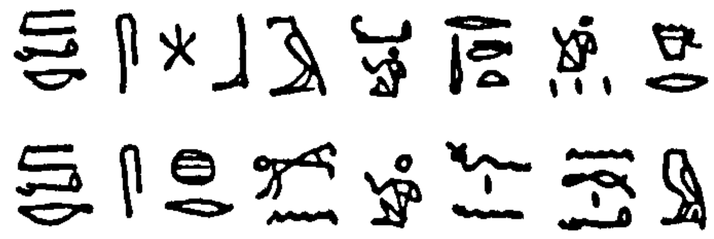
tr. p.71: 'Behold, it is (VI,8) Mrỉ who knoweth me, (namely) that I belong to the people of Irtkn , (VI, 9) those who converse with the snakes, those who kill the [snakes].'

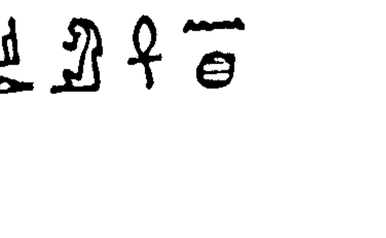
The word is better preserved in HO I, pl.114, No.3 Vso (O.Leipzig 17):



E.Drioton, ASAE 39 (1930) 57-89 : Une statue prophylactique de Ramsès III [=Cairo JdE 69771] : p.70-71. Right hand side of seat of statue: (1) . . .



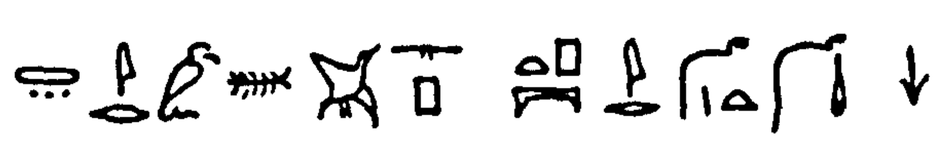
(5) 

(6) 

tr.p.71: 'FORMULES POUR CONJURER LA VIPÈRE À CORNES . Thot, sorti d'Hermopolis, rassemblait les dieux. Je rinçai ma bouche, j'avalai le natron, je me mêlai à l'Ennéade des dieux. Je me couchai dans le sein d'Horus le soir et j'entendis tout ce qu'il disait en serrant dans sa main une vipère à cornes d'une coudée, de la méchanceté d'une vipère de douze coudées. Ainsi je fus instruit de paroles (en usage) depuis toujours, du temps où Osiris était encore en vie. Voici qui j'abats une vipère à cornes d'une coudée, en qualité d'Horus instruit des paroles'.

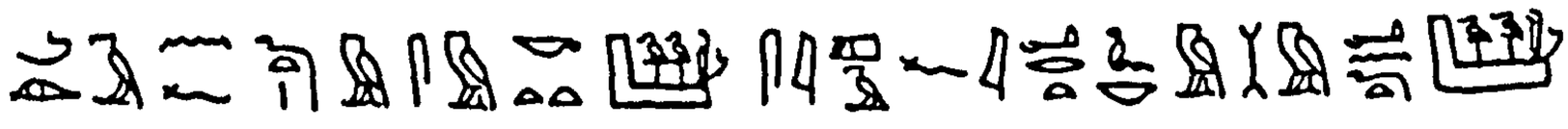
This text was discussed by Keimer, op.cit., p.15, n.1. He noted that the average length of the specimens of the Horned Viper studied by Anderson was c. 45 cm which would accord with the 'one cubit'-long f of the text.

Pyr 237:

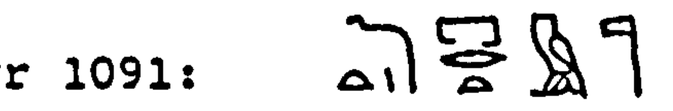
Pyr 244: 

Pyr 697:

tr. Sethe, UuK III, 274: 'Hw hat seine Schläfe gesenkt (geneigt) dem NN, wenn er über seinen Wasserlauf fährt (d.h. sein Reich durchfährt), indem seine Uräusschlange in seinem Gefolge (d.h. bei ihm) ist.'

Pyr 336: 

Pyr 976:

Pyr 1091: 

Amduat I, 28 mittlere Reihe:

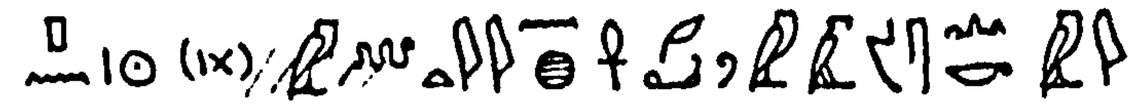
Pyr 335:

Pyr 2047:

92. Sign Pap p.9, col 5,6: cf fnt.

93. The snake name ỉkn hy (Wb I, 140, 6) of Pyr 443 is possibly to be read ỉkn, with  as determinative. The name of the snake would thus be translateable as 'hole-inhabitant', according to Borghouts, P.Leiden I 348, n.184.

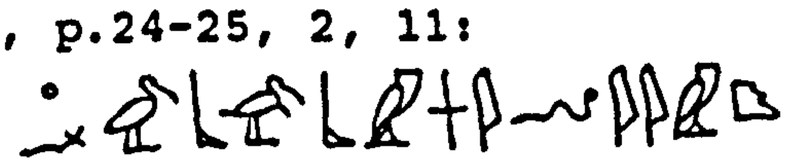
94. Bakir, Cairo Calendar, vso 8, 12:



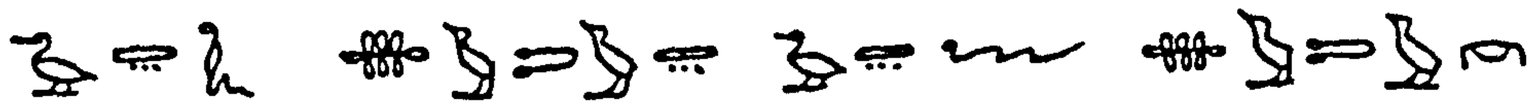
tr. p.48: 'DAY 20 : A.A.A. Do not kill an ʿnhyt-reptile on [IX]1. this day. It is the day of the cleaning and revision of the noble ones. There is silence because of it on earth in order to propitiate the Wedjat-eye on this day.' Note, however, that the parallel texts in Sall IV, 1, 9; 2, 1; 3, 6 have ʿnht 'goat' here.

95. P.Ram V, L, 62. See Barns, Five Ramesseum Papyri (pl.23) n.p.33: 'Corrupt? D.[awson] suggested amending  to  (sỉ-tỉ), but we should have to suppose that the writer had also omitted '.

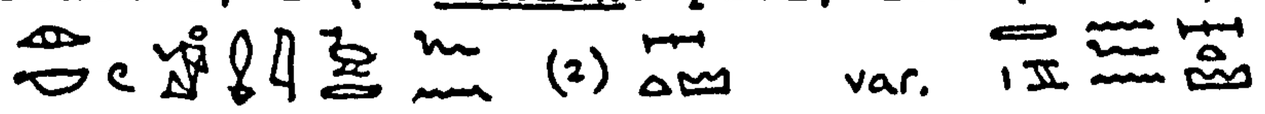
96. Roccati, Papyrus ieratico 54003, p.24-25, 2, 11:



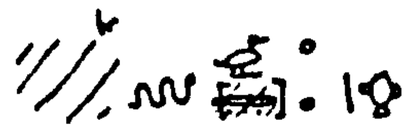
tr. p.25: 'serpente che esce dalla terra, naia che sta nel suo buco'.

97. Pyr 689 : 

cf Pyr 691 :

Lehre Amenemhet 2, 1 (= O.Mich. pl.1, 1.8 (no.40); pl.4, 1.4 (no.23)):  var. 

Maspero, Amenemhêt, p.114, tr. 'céraste'.

P.Ch.B. III, rto 2, 15: 

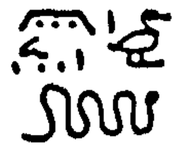
tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.12: If a man sees himself in a dream 'seeing a serpent..., good; it means food'.

BOD 87, 1 (after Naville):

To give the deceased mastery over earth (as birds over the air and crocodiles over water)

tr. Allen, BOD, p.74: 'Spell for assuming the form of a son of earth (i.e., a snake). To be said by N : I am a son of earth, long of years, who sleeps and is (re)born every day. I am a son of earth dwelling in the realm of the earth. I sleep and am (re)born, renewed, rejuvenated every day'.

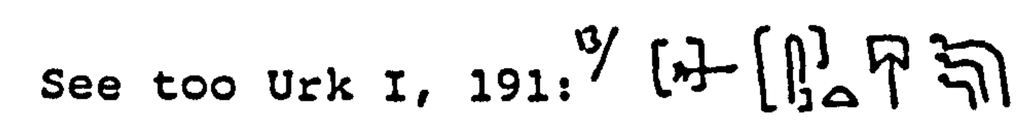
LD III, 301:

also in Geogr Pap 10 frag.12 : 

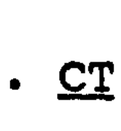
98. Černý, CED, p.164: 'basilisk'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.198: 'Basilisk'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.198a: 'basilic'.

99. Vandier, P.Jumilhac, VII vign. By a cobra with its hood extended runs:
tr. p.139: 'c'est le serpent de Dounâouy ; il est une hypostase de Thot. Quand il sort de son attitude repliée, c'est Shou'.

100. Cf Borghouts, op.cit. In his extensive Excursus II: The s3b.t-snakes, he commented, p.200: 'Could this mean that the s3b.wt were real, existing snakes - or is it rather a ritual title?' For all mythological references see his p.199-209.

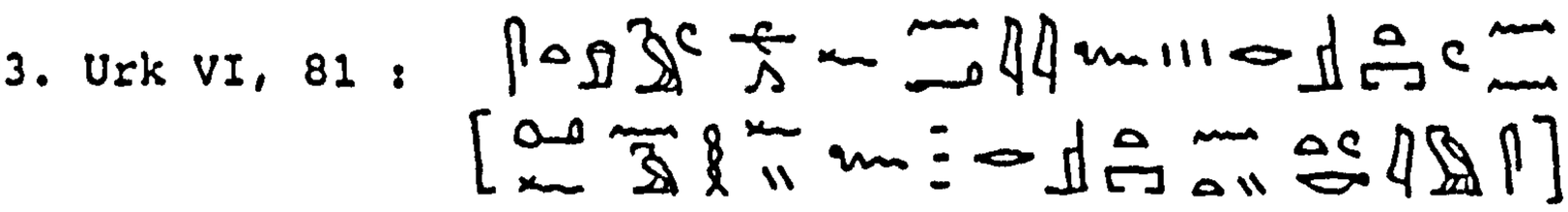
See too Urk I, 191: 

& J.Goyon, Kêmi 15 (1959) 10-22: Le Tombeau d'Ankhou à Saqqarah, pl.5, fig.8, l.1:
tr. p.19: 'Le Lingotier du Pharaon, Hacheur de serpents(?), Ankhou'. Cf l.3.

101. CT III, 37c: 
tr. FECT I, p.146 with n.3: 'In two texts "bulls" has a snake-determinative implying that the word refers here to powerful serpents, cf the "bull-snake" of Pyr. § 2554. The context is a spell "To drive off a snake" [sdḥ]'.

Cf CT IV, 117: (no snake determinative). For snakes on mounds (i3t) see Borghouts, op.cit., p.54, n.90 (imyw-i3yt with snakes determinative; ḥf3w ; rrk).

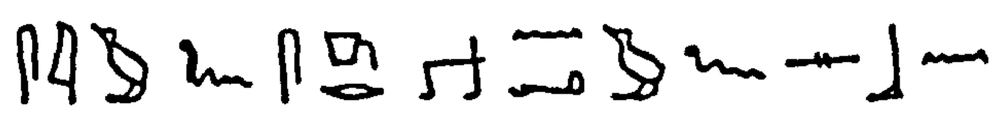
102. See S.Sauneron, RdE 24 (1972) 160-164: Une description égyptienne du caméléon, p.164, n.2.

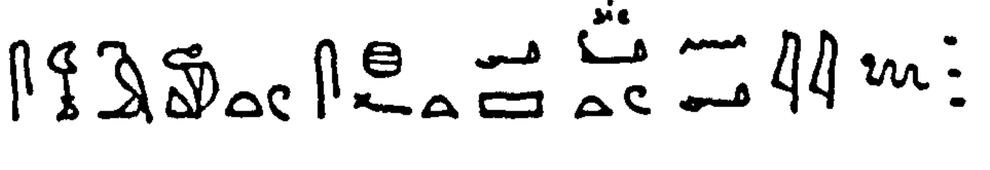
103. Urk VI, 81 : 

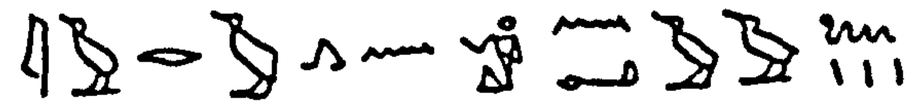
Urk VI, 66-67 :

104. O. Petrie 36 (HO I, pl.23, no.1) rto 12:

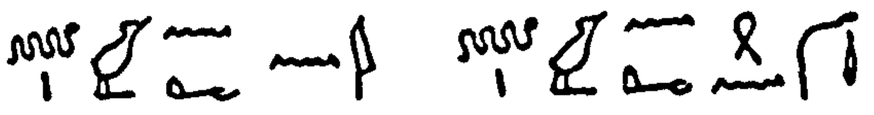
105. N. & N. de G.Davies, The Tombs of Menkheperrasonb, Amenmose and another (Nos.86, 112, 42, 226) (London 1933): Theban Tomb Series 5, p.26: (see kk for text)
tr. p.25: 'Mayest thou have the lifetime of a (hoopoe?), and mayest thou grow old like the Naʿy-serpent'.

106. Pyr 686 : 

P. Tur PuR 31 + 77, 14: 

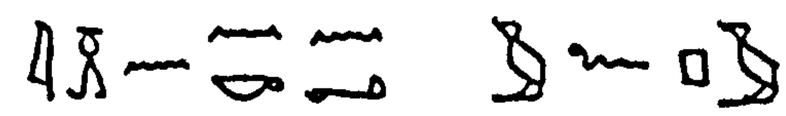
Text relig 19: 

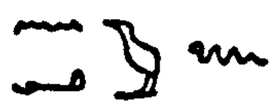
Pyr 230:

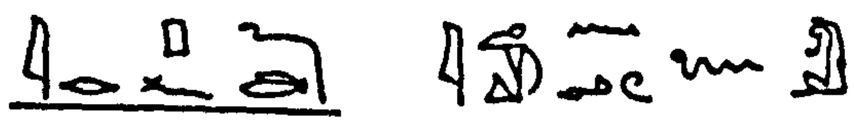
Pyr 225: 

Pyr 223:

Pyr 422 :

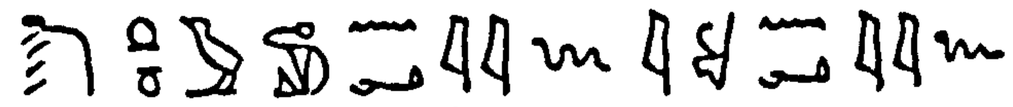
Urk V, 175: 

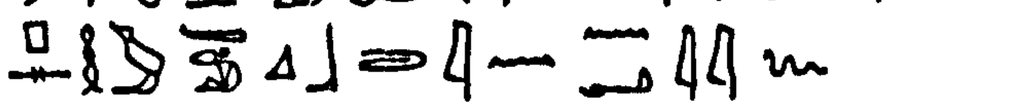
cf 156: 

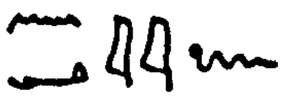
Urk VI, 111: 

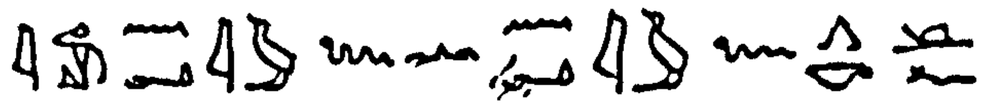
Mett 85:

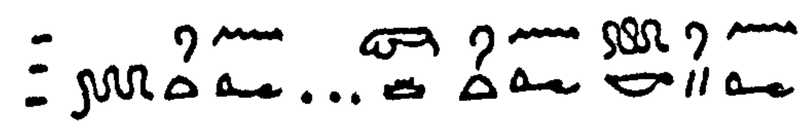
107. BM 190

1.1: 

1.5: 

1.9: 

1.27: 

P.Ch.B. XIII, frag., 1.5-6: 

tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.123: 'serpents'.

108. Störk, Schlange, col.651-2, n.39: 'Pyr. § 225 scheint ein junges Nilpferd von einer Python, hier als n‘w-Sch[lange] bezeichnet erbeutet zu werden: Lacau in JNES 10, 1951, 13ff. Der Felsenpython ist wasserliebend und dank seiner Größe (ca. 6m) durchaus in der Lage, ein Flußpferdkalb zu strangulieren '. Cf Sethe, UuK I, p.173, on Pyr 225. Against this identification note the number of references to the biting (psḥ) of the n‘w (see Sethe) and its poison (Pyr 230; 223; Mett 85 ; 230 cf 511, 686 resp). Pythons are not venomous and kill their prey by constriction.

109. Flower, Reptiles, p.804: 'The African Python, Python sebae, is common on the Blue and White Niles and their tributaries. The Royal Python, Python regia, was found to occur in the Bahr el Ghazal Province of the Sudan...in 1907, and in the Nuba Mountains Province (southern Kordofan)...in 1914'.

Evidence for the existence of the python in ancient Egypt may be found in P.L.Shinnie, Illustrated London News 22.10.1949: An Egyptian outpost with a unique snake cult: The brief history of 3000-year-old Amara West. During excavations at the site snake skeletons were found in a small pit - see fig.4 & 6 and the note to fig.6: 'The snakes in this and Fig.4 are tentatively identified as pythons'; also: 'It is clear from these discoveries that the little shrine in the garden must have been the centre of a snake cult and, if the provisional identification of these snakes as pythons is correct, we have evidence of a hitherto unknown religious cult of the Egyptians. Perhaps it was a local Nubian cult adopted by the Egyptian inhabitants of the town'.

110. J.F.Borghouts, JEA 59 (1973) 114-150: The Evil Eye of Apophis, p.141 n.12 (CT IV, 117).

111. After Flower, Reptiles, p.760-801:

| | |
|---|---|
| Elegant Gecko | Stenodactylus sthenodactylus (Lichtenstein) |
| Petrie's Gecko | S.petrii Anderson |
| Tripoli Gecko | Tropiocolotes tripolitanus Peters |
| Stendner's Gecko | T.stendneri (Peters) |
| Natterer's Gecko | T.nattereri Steindachner |
| Rough-skinned Gecko | Gymnodactylus scaber (Heyden) |
| Fan-footed Gecko | Ptyodactylus hasselquisti (Donndorff) |
| Turkish Gecko | Hemidactylus turcica (L) |
| Cocteau's Gecko | H.flaviviridis Rüppell |
| Moorish Gecko | Tarentola mauritanica (L) |
| Egyptian Gecko | T.annularis (I.Geoffroy) |
| | |
| Changeable Agama | Agama mutabilis Merrem |
| Pale Agama | A.pallida Reuss |
| Savigny's Agama | A.savignii Duméril & Bibron |
| Sinai Agama | A.sinaita von Heyden |
| Gray's Agama | A.spinosa Gray |
| Hartmann's Agama | A.hartmanni Peters |
| Sennar Agama | A.sennariensis Werner |
| Linnean Agama or Margouillat | A.agama (L) |
| Starred Agama | A.stellio (L) |
| | |
| Eyed Dabb-Lizard | Uromastyx ocellatus Lichtenstein |
| Ornate Dabb-Lizard | U.ornatus von Heyden |
| Egyptian Dabb-lizard | U.aegyptia (Forskål) |
| Bell's Dabb-lizard | U.acanthinurus Bell |
| | |
| Chamaeleon | Chamaeleon (now Chamaeleo) chamaeleon (L) |
| Basilisk Chamaeleon | C.africanus Laurenti |
| | |
| Brindled Skink | Mabuya vittatus (Olivier) |
| Bean Skink | M.quinquetaeniatus (Lichtenstein) |
| Hungarian Skink | Ablepharus kitaibelii Bibron & Bory |
| Gold Skink | Eumeces schneiderii (Dandin) |
| Skink | Scincus stincus (L) |
| Eyed Skink | Chalcides ocellata (Forskål) |
| Audouin's Sand-Skink | C.sepsoides (Audouin) |

| | |
|---|---|
| Long-tailed Lizard | Latastia longicaudata (Reuss) |
| Bosc's Lizard | Acanthodactylus boskiana (Daudin) |
| Egyptian Leopard-Lizard | A.pardalis (Lichtenstein) |
| Nidua Lizard | A.scutellata (Audouin) |
| Ménétriés' Lizard | Ophisops elegans Ménétriés |
| Small-spotted Lizard | Eremias mucronatus Blanford |
| Red-spotted Lizard | E.guttulata (Lichtenstein) |
| | |
| Grey or Desert Monitor | Varanus griseus (Daudin) |
| Nile Monitor | V.niloticus (L) |

Flower gave H.turcica, the Turkish Gecko, as 'the commonest and most widely distributed house-gecko in Egypt' (p.765); of A.savignii: 'numerous, conspicuous and easily caught' (p.770); and of Chalcides ocellata: 'very widely distributed in Egypt wherever there is water' (p.789). These may also have been the species most noticed by the ancient Egyptians.

112. Spiegelberg, Mythus, Glossar, p.256 No.726.
tr. 'Nileidechse, Waran', in the context of an animal which eats a lizard but is itself eaten by a snake.

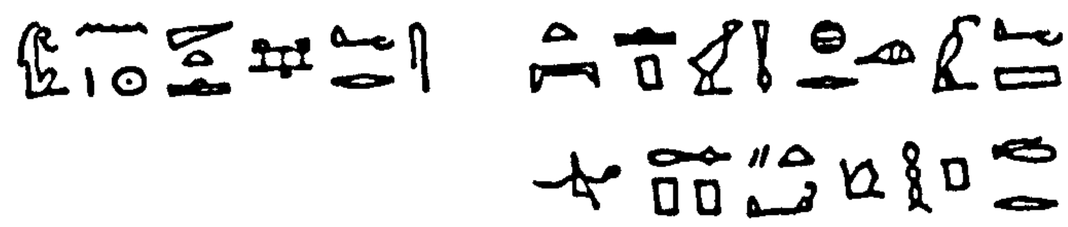
113. After E. Brunner-Traut, LÄ I, col.1204-1205: Eidechse, n.1.

114. Wb.Drog. VII$^2$, p.922-923, tr.: '[innere Krankheit]'.
Eb 55, 2:
Wb.Drog V, p.292-293; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.167: 'Anfang von den Heilmitteln für das Töten der ḫw-Krankheit .... [my omission] ...werde zu einer Masse gemacht, werde gekocht, werde durchgepreßt, werde getrunken au vier Tagen', with comments, IV$^2$, p.138, n.1: 'Ebbell (Krankheitsnamen ZÄS 59, 1924, 147) hält die ḫw-Krankheit für Asthma. Jedenfalls folgen die ḫw-Rezepte im Papyrus Ebers auf die Mittel gegen Husten, was uns veranlaßt hat, sie ebenfalls hierher zu stellen'.
After the above prescription follow another eight, all of which prescribe remedies to be taken internally, 6 to be drunk on four days, one to be drunk on one day and the last to be eaten on one day. The form of the prescriptions is similar to those which claim to destroy pnd and ḫft (see above). The title of the remedy, to kill (sm3) the ḫw also occurs in the pnd and ḫft prescriptions. Though it is difficult to see what type of internal parasite would be indicated by the lizard determinative it does seem that some

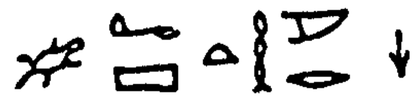
sort of animal is intended, rather than a complaint such as cough, as considered by Wb.Drog. VII$^2$ , p.923:'Möglicherweise handelt es sich bei gḥ um ein lautmales Wort (vgl. kḥ Eb.196 [39, 2-7] und kḥkḥ.t Äg. W.B. V, 138,15), vgl. deutsch: "keuchen".'

115. On the use of this lizard for phonetic ʿšȝ 'many' see P. Kaplony, CdE 41 No.81 (1966) 60-99: Strukturprobleme der Hieroglyphenschrift, and Brunner-Traut, op.cit., col.1204: 'Die Eidechse bezeichnet als Hieroglyphe und mit ihren Namen ʿš sinngemäß die Vielheit, denn in dem sonnenheißen Lande wimmelt es davon'.

116. CT VII, 332:

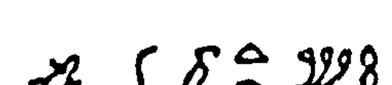


tr. FECT III, p.143: 'I am the lizard which created thunder, who lifts up Maʿet to Rēʿ and repels the strength of ʿApep, who splits up the sky and drives away the storm, and who nourishes the crews of Rēʿ'.

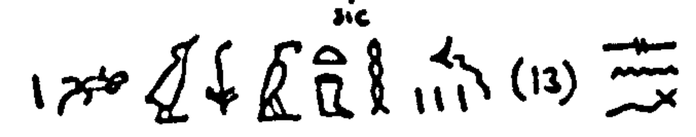
117. Barns, Five Ramesseum Papyri, V, U, 21: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.50; tr. IV$^1$, p.28: tr. 'Erweichen von Steifheit, Ausstrecken von Verkrümmungen'.

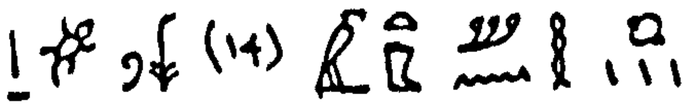
Among the ingredients are : mrḥt ʿšȝ, mrḥt prtrsw, mrḥt ḥfȝw . Wb.Drog. VI, p.111-112, commented: 'Es besteht die Vermutung, dass in der Verbindung mrḥ.t ʿšȝ , wie bei der ḥntȝsw-Eidechse, nicht das Fett des Tieres gemeint ist, sondern eine in Öl/Fett verbeitete ʿšȝ-Eidechse. Diese Vermutung scheint sich bei der mrḥt-Verbindung mit anderen kleinen Tieren ebenfalls zu bestätigen'. Cf Wb.Drog. VI, p.356, on ḥntȝsw.

Eb 98, 9-10: for discussion see Ch.14 (smr) 

Wb.Drog. V, p.528 tr.IV$^1$ , p.306.

Eb 63, 13: 

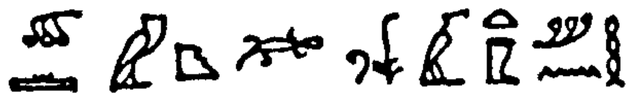

Wb.Drog. V, p.97-98; tr. IV$^1$ , p.57: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Beseitigen einer Einbiegung eines Haares im Auge . ʿntiw-Harz 1; Blut der Eidechse 1; Blut der Fledermaus ; werde das Haar ausgezogen, werden <die Drogen> daran gegeben, so daß es (das Auge) gesund wird'.

Eb 59, 13-14: 

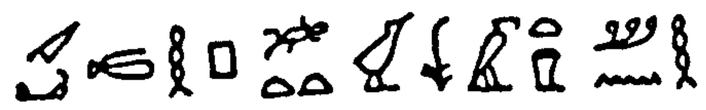
Wb.Drog. V, p.72; tr. IV$^1$, p.41: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel). Kot der Eidechse 1; oberägyptisches sj3-Mineral 1; schwarze Augenschminke 1; Gärungsprodukt des Honigs (ḫpr n bj.t) 1; werde zu einer Masse zerrieben, werde an die beiden Augen gegeben'.

Eb 63, 15:

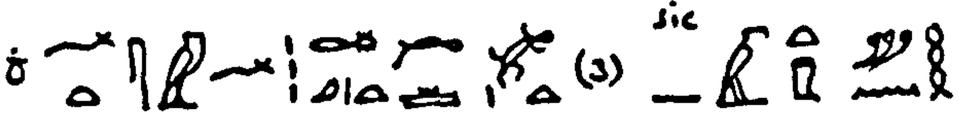
Wb.Drog. V, p.93; tr. IV$^1$ , p.57: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Nichtzulassen, daß ein Haar wächst im Auge, nachdem es ausgerissen ist', p.58: 'Terebinthenharz (sntr), zerrieben auf k3j.t (Mist?) der Eidechse 1'.

Eb 66, 18: 

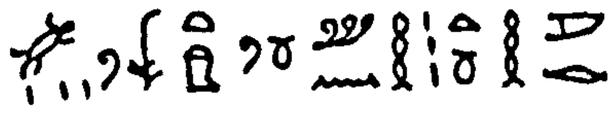
Wb.Drog. V, p.515; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.299: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Wachsenlassen des Haars . schwarze eidechse; werde zerschlagen wie ein k3.t-mtrḥ.t-Gefäß aus Metall , werde gekocht in Öl/Fett; werde damit gesalbt (wrḥ)'.

P. med Berl 3038, 3, 2: 

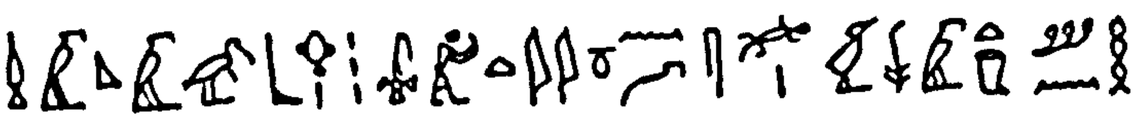
Wb.Drog. V, p.538; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$ , p.312-313: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel). Eidechse, werde gespalten, werde jede Einwirkung(-Stelle), jede schmerzende Stelle damit verbunden. Werde danach gekocht in Fett (mrḥt) eines weiblichen Schweins, werde damit verbunden'.

P. med Berl 3038, 3, 2-3: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.539; tr. IV$^1$, p.313: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel). Eidechse, deren Bauch gefüllt ist mit Föhrenöl (sft); werde bestreut mit unterägyptischem Salz; werde der Kopf damit verbunden, ebenso jede schlimme Einwirking(-Stelle) an irgendeinen Körperteil'.

P. med Berl 3038, 7,8 : 

Wb.Drog. V, p.427; tr. IV$^1$, p.249: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel). Fett (mrḥt) einer Eidechse ; ebenso '.

P. med Berl 3038, 7,10: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.427; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.249: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel). eine Eidechse, zerkocht in Öl/Fett; werde der Mann damit gesalbt (gs)'.

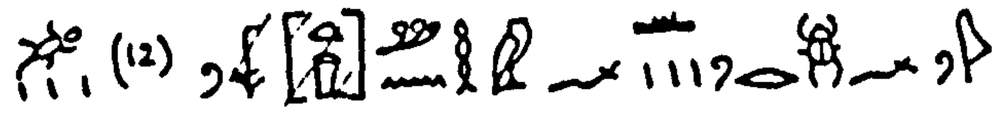
118. Eb 66, 18: (text above).

119. Cf P.M. Taylor, Tobelorese Ethnobiology : The Folk Classification of 'Biotic Forms' (Thesis: 1980), p.105: 'if the marked one of the two subclasses is referred to as "the jungle X", the unmarked subclass "$X_2$" with which it contrasts may reliably be disambiguated from the higher level "$X_1$" using an attributive which is the local "opposite" of "jungle" (such as "shore")', and B. Berlin, D.E. Breedlove, P.H. Raven, American Anthropologist 75 (1973) 214-242: General Principles of Classification and Nomenclature in Folk Biology, p.223, noting Tzeltal makum 'composite berry', divided into (bac'il) makum 'real composite berry ie blackberry, the native plant' and kašlan makum 'Castilian composite berry ie strawberry, the plant introduced by the Spanish'.

120. HO I, pl.114, No.2, vso (O.Petrie 13):

for šm3 (in ʿ3 šm3 'wilder Esel') see Ch.8: Horses and Donkeys.

121. Bakir, Cairo Calendar, rto 10, 11-12:

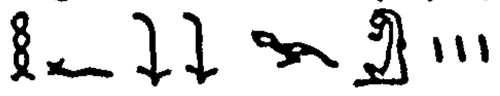



tr. p.20-21: 'DAY 18: A.A.A. Do not do any (thing) on this day. It is the day of inspecting the wʿbt, while he was (making) transformations into lizards 12. in the sight of (all men)'. In n.7, p.69, he suggested a connection between the lizard and Anubis and/or Seth. Note that both these gods are mentioned by Brunner-Traut, op.cit., col.1204, as being associated with lizards. (See also her n.7 and n.11.)

122. CD 11b: 'a species of lizard'; Černý, CED, p.8: '(species of) lizard'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.9; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.12b. Cf Osing, Nominalbildung, p.368.

For the demotic see Erichsen, DG 315.

123. Meeks, AL 77.2674: 'serpent lézard(?)', compared from CT VII, 200:



tr. FECT III, p.99: '[....] the storm will be high (?) among the innumerable(?)'.

See also hfrr, above, and Osing, op.cit., p.441, p.297.

124. Černý, loc.cit., noted of ḥfrr: 'Perhaps ultimately the same as ḥfn (Wb III, 74, 1) tadpole'.

125. Pyr 674:

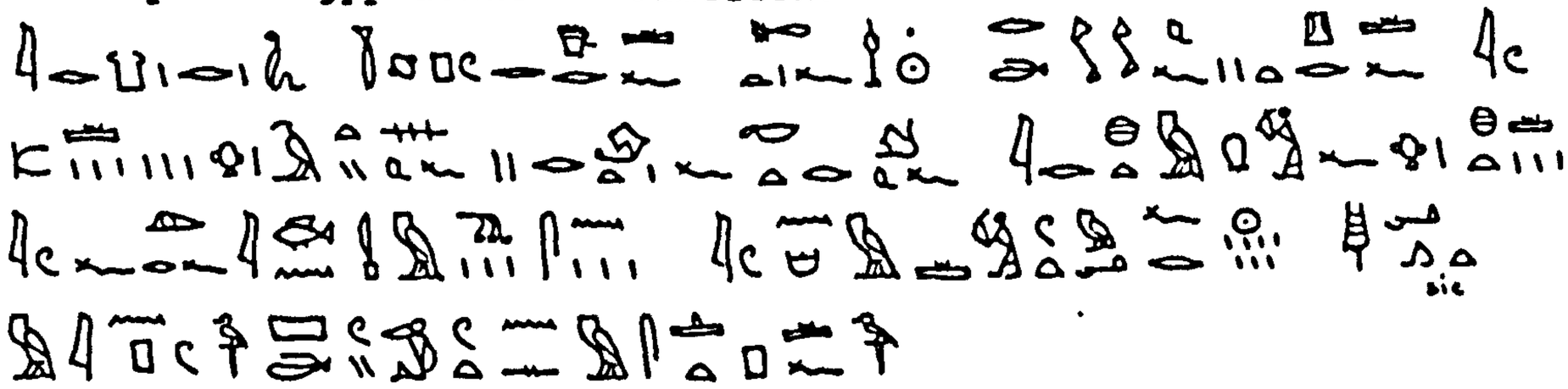
tr. Sethe, UuK III, p.234: 'Ḥfn.w-Schlange oder ḥfnn.t (Weibchen dazu), höre auf ihn (den Toten), höre auf die Erde, höre auf deinen Vater Geb', commenting, p.237: 'Beide erinnern an die Benennung der Kaulquappe und der damit zusammenhängenden Zahl 100000 ḥfl, andererseits an ḥfȝ.w "Schlange".'

126. The Green Lizard, Lacerta viridis, is a European, not an African, lizard. See A.d'A.Bellairs, Reptiles (London 1957, 1968) p.134 and W.Hellmich, Reptiles and Amphibians of Europe (Heidelberg 1956, London 1962) p.108.

127. Ranke, PN I, p.407, no.2: 'das (männliche) dnf-Tier' from the east wall of the mastaba of Whm-kȝ, now in Hildesheim. He noted (n.1): 'Das Determinativ ist nach einer Durchzeichnung Roeders angefertigt. Ob. Chamaeleon?'

Note, however, L.Keimer, MDAIK 8 (1939) 38-41: Über zwei Fleischfresser aus der Familie der Mustelidae im alten und neuen Ägypten, p.39, n.2: '... das Determinativ [of dnf], von dem ich eine genaue Zeichnung Roeders Freundlichkeit verdanke, deutlich eine große Wüsteneidechse darstellt'.

128. In the as yet unpublished P. Brooklyn 47.218.48+85. This section was published by S.Sauneron, RdE 24 (1972) 160-164: Une déscription égyptienne du caméléon:



tr. p.162: 'Quant au ka-ro, il est tout entier de teinte verte, mais son ventre est blanc; il a deux (sic) pattes sur lui; il y a sur le sommet de sa tête trois divisions [or 'marques' - see his n.1], deux vers l'avant une autre vers l'arrière. Si on le fixe sur un objet, il en prend la couleur. - On peut sauver de lui jusqu'au septième jour. C'est une manifestation d'Anubis; on peut exorciser contre lui des paroles d'apaisement'.

From this description Sauneron identified the animal concerned as C.vulgaris (Flower, Reptiles, p.781-2, recorded this species as C.chamaeleon (L).)

A word of this writing but with cow-skin determinative is found in P.Berlin 3014 + 3053 and in a text at El-Kâb (see Ch.14: Miscellaneous Mammals : kỉry) where it occurs in the context of dancing for the goddesses. Since the similarly written kỉry (a monkey) is also described as dancing it may be that k3r3 is merely an error for kỉry; it is difficult to see how a chamaeleon could be described as dancing. It is also possible that k3r3 designates an animal distinct from both kỉry and k3r3 with snake determinative. Cf too Coptic κελ, esp. C.Cannuyer, RdE 35 (1984) 189-191: Singe savant ou caméléon?

129. Störk, Fauna, col.132: 'Chamaeleonidae (Chamäleons), dnf, k3r3. '

130. Černý, CED, p.16: '"chameleon", perhaps also "lizard" and connected with , ḫs3, "lizard" (not in Wb but see BARNS, Five Ramesseum Papyri, 31, n.21)... One is tempted to derive from ḫs3 ỉrw, 'manifold of forms' (ⲁⲩ -from ⲁⲩⲁⲓ, for ỉrw see Wb I, 113, 13-15) referring to the chameleon's well-known change of colour'. Cf L. Keimer, BIFAO 36 (1936) 85-95: Sur quelques représentations de caméléons de l'ancienne Égypte. On ḫs3-ỉrw and ⲁⲩⲓⲣⲁ see too Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.490 and Osing, Nominalbildung, p.82; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.20b, offered a different derivation: ⲁⲩ + ⲉⲓⲣⲉ 'faire' ie 'qui fait, réalise beaucoup de choses'.

131. On colour changing in chamaeleons see, eg, A.Bellairs, The Life of Reptiles II (London 1969) p.299-304; 512-514.

132. Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.230: 'Eidechse, Chamäleon' apparently after Ranke, PN I, p.407, no.2; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.214a, translated 'gecko'. See also J.Osing, JEA 64 (1978) 187-189: [review] p.189.

133. Kákosy's comment, op.cit., col.335: 'Die verschiedenen F[rosch]arten hat man oft nicht klar von einander unterschieden', seems rather unnecessary in view of this.

Flower, Reptiles, p.836-845, noted the following species in Egypt:

| | |
|---|---|
| Savigny's Tree Frog | Hyla arborea savignyi Audouin |
| Mascarene Frog | Rana mascariensis Duméril & Bibron |
| Green Toad | B.viridis Laurenti |
| Reuss' Toad | B.regularis Reuss |
| Degen's Toad | B.vittatus Boulenger |

134. V. von Droste, LÄ III, 790: Kröte, recorded both the frog and toad represented together in the tomb of Djau: Deir el Gebr II, 4.

135. Meeks, AL 77.0615: 'grenouille' noted the personal name 'qui fait remonter le mot à l'AE, et donne la prééminence à cette lecture (plutôt que ʿbḥn)'. Note too the comment of Gardiner (Sign-List I7, n.1): 'Ḳrr is apparently not known before Dyn. XX', indicating that this may have been a new term which replaced the original word.

136. Eb 52, 21:

Wb. Drog. V, p.428; VI, p.83: 'Frosch'; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.250: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Abwehren von Entzündung (šmm.t). ein Frosch; werde zerkocht in Öl/Fett; werde damit gesalbt (gs)'.

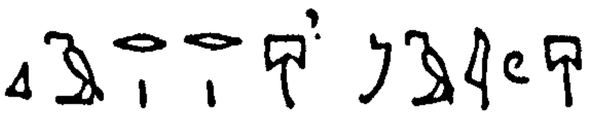
137. See Wb Belegstellen.

138. O. Louvre:

Wb. Drog. V, p.107; tr. Wb. Drog. IV, p.63: 'Ein anderes Räuchermittel ebenso wie es (das vorhergehende): Kot des Krokodils 1; [....] šni ; Frosch 1; werde das Ohr [damit] beräuchert. Schale der Schildkröte 1; werde das Ohr [damit] beräuchert'. See also for this W.Spiegelberg, Rec.Trav. 15 (1893) 67-69: Varia III: Ein medicinischer Text auf einem hieratischen Ostracon.

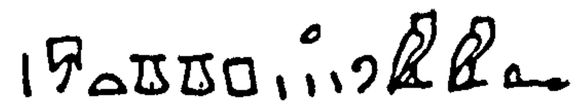
139. E. Littmann, ZÄS 67 (1931) 63-68: Bemerkungen zur ägyptisch-semitischen Sprachvergleichung, p.66: 'S.97 wird von EMBER grr, "Frosch" = arab. gurrat gesetzt; BEHNK (S.140) zieht noch Šilḥā a-gru, "Frosch" und Hausa kwado, "Frosch" heran. Im Arab. wird auch garrat und girrat überliefert; die schwankende Vokalisation deutet schon auf die Schallnachahmung hin. Vgl. ferner äthiop. gʷarnanaʿāt (mit Varianten), "Frösche", Tigre gōreʿ, Tigriña gʷarʿō. Schon DILLMANN erkannte (Lex. s.v.) in dem äth. Wort ein

Ononomatopoietikon. Auch ḥq.t, "Fröschgottin" und die von EMBER (S.81) dazu verglichenen semit. Wörter werden onomatopoietischen Ursprungs sein'. Cf G. Colin, CRGLECS 9 (1960-63) 26-32: 'Grenouille' et termes connexes en arabe.

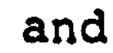
140. P. Tur P u R 102, 2, 11: 
tr. de Wit, Lion, p.170: 'd'une grenouille et d'un lion', noting: 'Il faut sans doute y voir des symboles de renaissance'.

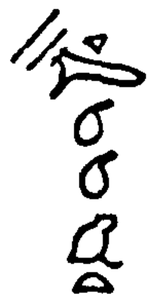
On krr as a personal name see Ranke, Tiernamen, p.81 (cf p.80).

141. Černý, CED, p.62: 'frog'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.68: 'Frosch'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.86b: 'grenouille'.

142. Hearst 13, 6: 
Wb.Drog. V, p.122; tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1], p.72: 'ḥmm-Teil eines pqqt-Frosches'. See too VI, p.209: 'der Frosch'.

143. See n.21.

144. E.Iversen, JEA 33 (1947) 47-51: Some remarks on the terms and  .

145. Medum pl.17: 

146. Osing, Nominalbildung, p.298 (after Barns).

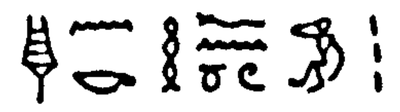
147. Ḥfrn - Wb III, 75, 1: Wohl identisch mit ḥfn Kaulquappe. Ḥfrn nw šdyt are mentioned in two prescriptions from the medical texts; in P. Ebers 77, 14 the word has a fish determinative (  ) but in P. Ebers 65, 15 it is determined by  . If these words do correspond to ḥfn (Wb III, 74, 1st entry: die Kaulquappe) with the variant ḥfnr (Wb III, 74, 19: ....Kaulquappe) it would indicate that the Egyptians found difficulties in classifying this creature. (Note also that tadpoles are drawn with the hind legs developed - between their most fish-like and most frog-like stages - which may help to explain this confusion). On ḥfnn see P. Lacau, Rec. Trav. 35 (1913) 216-231: Notes de grammaire. A propos de la

grammaire égyptienne de M.Erman, p.228, para.I, 10: 'le têtard doit se lire ḥfnn. C'est un nom d'animal formé par la réduplication de la troisième radicale. Le cas est fréquent:

Ces mots sont des diminutifs. Cf, en sémitique, les mots de même formation avec sens diminutif'.

148. Inscr dédic, p.96 (index): 'Substantif masculin pluriel: centaines de mille. Orthographie complète ḥfn. Le sens étymologique du mot est têtard; le sens dérivé résulte d'une évaluation sous-entendue: nombreux comme les têtards'.

149. KRI II, 242, 4:

Taharqa by the Lake pl.37: 

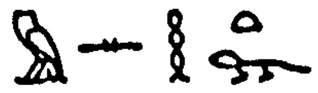
tr. p.45 (+n.62): 'for thee [=Rē'] stand up those who are sitting'.

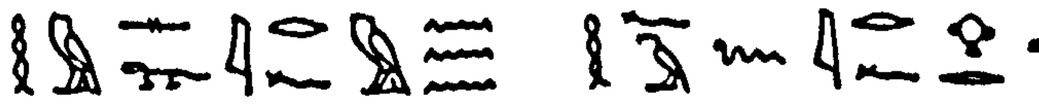
150. Gardiner, Sign List I7, n.2, referring to A. Iacoby & W.Spiegelberg, Sphinx 7 (1903) 215-228: Der Frosch als Symbol der Auferstehung bei den Ägyptern, and id., Sphinx 8 (1904) 78-79: Nachschrift. Also mentioned by I. Gamer-Wallert, LÄ I, 225: Amphibien; L. Kákosy, LÄ II, 334-336: Frosch.

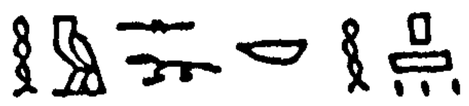
151. See Iacoby & Spiegelberg, op.cit., who cited Aelian, Hist. Anim. II, 56 and Horapollo I, 25. Compare also Pliny, Nat. Hist., IX, 84.

152. Eg K.Sethe, ZÄS 58 (1923) 43-44: Zu den Sachmet-Statuen Amenophis' III, p.44, No.89:

tr. 'S[akhmet] die Herrin der Krokodilin(nen)'.

LD Erg 11: 

153. Urk I,23: 

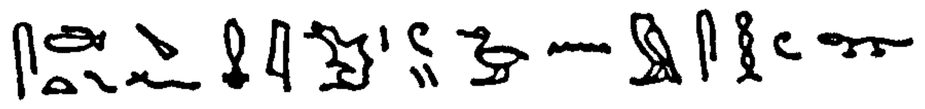
<u>CT</u> IV, 4: 

Louvre A106:

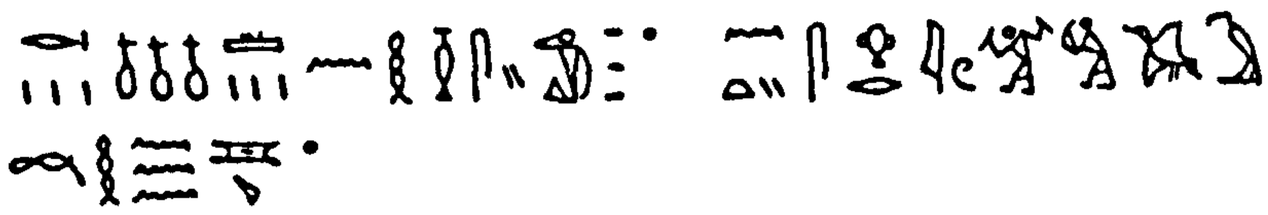
Ranke, <u>PN</u> I, p.164, no.16: das (weibliche) Krokodil.

On <u>ḥmst</u> (or ϩєN-MCϩϩ) as the origin of Greek χάμψα given by Herodotus II, 69 as the Egyptian for 'crocodile' see J.Černý, <u>ASAE</u> 42 (1943) 341-350: Philological and Etymological notes, para.4 and Lloyd, <u>Herodotus</u>, p.309-10.

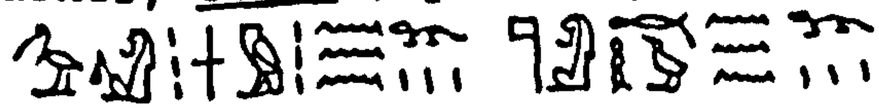
On the Coptic term see <u>CD</u> 187b : 'crocodile'; Černý, <u>CED</u>, p.92: 'crocodile'; Westendorf, <u>Handwörterbuch</u>, p.103 (comparing Akkadian <u>nimšaḫu</u>/<u>namsuḫa</u>) and p.520; Vycichl, <u>Dictionnaire</u>, p.123a: 'crocodile' (discussing at length the Akkadian word).

154. Amenemope 13, 4: 

155. Cf <u>Wb</u> II, 121-122: im Wasser sein uä, and P.Derchain, <u>BiOr</u> 28 (1971) 320-323: [Review of Gamer-Wallert, <u>Fische</u>] p.321 on <u>mḥyt</u> : 'ne signifie-t-il pas réellement "la gent nageuse"'.

156. P.mag Harr 1, 1: 

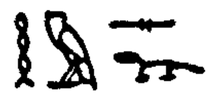
tr. Lange, p.12: 'Die schönen Sprüche zum Singen, die den Schwimmender abwehren', with the note, p.13: ' der Schwimmende , eine euphamistische Bezeichnung des Krokodils.' Compare p.69 on 5,5: 'Halte den Schwimmenden fest, damit ich heil herausgehen kann.'

157. Gr.Oase 15,10 (= Taharqa by the Lake, pl.41, var A (Hibis text)): Amun is described as: 'the god of small cattle and large cattle...the god of the recumbent ones...Ba of those who are in the water [the god of crocodiles]...the god of those who are in their mounds' (my omissions) (tr. Parker, <u>et al</u>., p.72-73): 

Cf Edfu (Piehl Inscr II, 102-3).

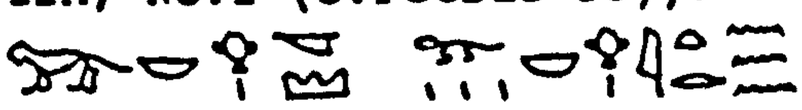
158. Flower, Reptiles, p.755. Cf Darlington, Zoogeography, p.229: 'In Africa the wide-ranging species is C.niloticus, which occurs in suitable localities south to the Cape of Good Hope, north into parts of the Sahara...down the Nile, sporadically to the coast of Palestine...and now, or formerly to Syria'.

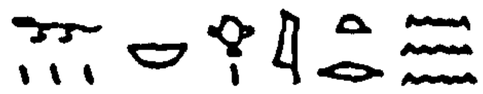
159. Urk I, 23:

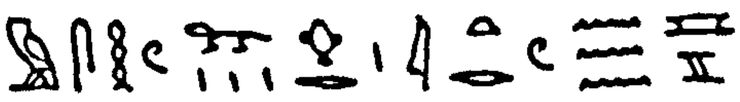
 ( above)

'A crocodile be against him in the water and a snake against him on land... who shall harm this (tomb)'.

P. Tur P u R 31 +77, 7 (= HO I, pl.12 & 12A, No.2 (O.Petrie 35)):

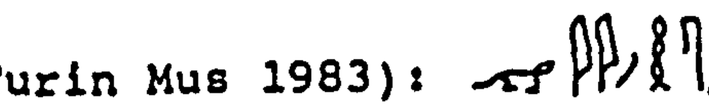
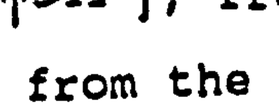
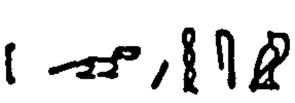
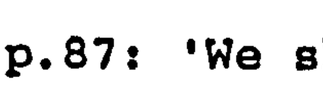
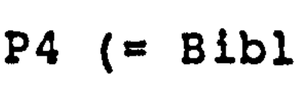


Mett 117: 

P. mag Harr 6 (ed. Lange p.50): 

P.Ch.B. XI = P.Turin 1993, 8:

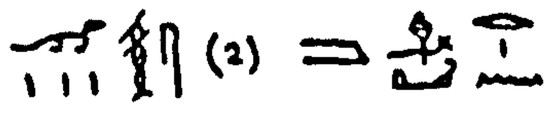
tr. Klasens, Magical Statue Base, p.58: 'I will seal the mouth of every snake, (I will) chase away every powerful lion, the lions in the desert, the crocodile(s) in the river, all the snakes which bite in their holes'. (Cf his text B).

Edwards, HPBM 4th ser., T1 rto 73 (= Turin Mus 1983): 
tr. p.53: 'We shall keep her safe from the bite of a crocodile, from the bite of a serpent, from a scorpion, from the bite of every snake, every reptile, and every ophidian which bites, so as not to allow them to come anywhere near her'.
cf T3 rto (= Turin Mus 1985) tr. p.75: 'We shall keep him safe from the bite of a crocodile [  ], from the bite of a serpent, [from] the bite of a scorpion, from the bite of a snake, every reptile and every ophidian which bites'; P2 rto (= Louvre E.8083) tr. p.81-82: 'I shall keep her safe from a crocodile [  ], from a serpent, and from scorpions. I shall keep her safe from every mouth which bites'; P3 rto (= Louvre E.25354) tr. p.87: 'We shall keep her safe <from> a crocodile [  ], from a serpent, from scorpions, and from every mouth which bites'; P4 (= Bibl Nat 182) tr. p.90: 'We shall keep [him] safe [from] a crocodile, [  ] from a serpent, from a scorpion, from a reptile, and from a mouth(?) which bites'; PhD (University of Pennsylvania Museum E.16724) tr. p.111-112: 'I shall keep her safe from a serpent, from a scorpion, from a crocodile

[ ], and from every mouth which bites'; L6 vso (= BM 10587) tr. p.41: 'I shall keep him safe from a crocodile [ ], from every serpent, from a scorpion and from the mouth(s) of all snakes'.

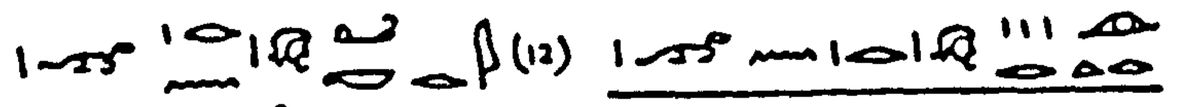
Wien (Wresz) p.146-15, Late Period statue base (Room 2, No.16) p.146, frag.1:

KRI I, 316 (= Mar Mon div, pl.60):



160. Hearst 16, 4-5: Wb.Drog. V, p.367; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.211: 'Ein anderes Heilmittel für einen Biß eines Krokodils, an [irgendeinem] Körperteil des Mannes':

cf Eb 64, 11-13 :

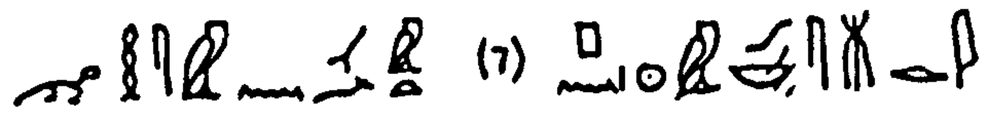


Wb.Drog, V, p.367; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.211: 'Was man macht gegen eine Bißwunde (tp-r3) eines Krokodils. Wenn du untersuchst eine Bißwunde (tp-r3) eines Krokodils und du findest sie, indem ihr Fleisch aufgeworfen, ihre beiden Seiten getrennt sind . Dann sollst du sie verbinden mit frischem Fleisch am ersten Tage, ebenso wie irgend welche Wunde des Mannes.' Wb noted (Wb V, 287, 3) of tp-r3 'als eine Art Verwundung : Biss vom Krokodil?'. Cf tpyw-r (Wb V, 288, 1: Bez der Zähne einer Schlange). Note too the bite of crocodiles mentioned above. Note also Grapow's interpretation of tp-r n msḥ, Bildliche Ausdrücke, p.96, n.3: 'eine andere Krankheit heißt wohl wegen ihrer Gefährlichkeit Krokodilsmaul'.

161. Prinzengesch 4, 4:

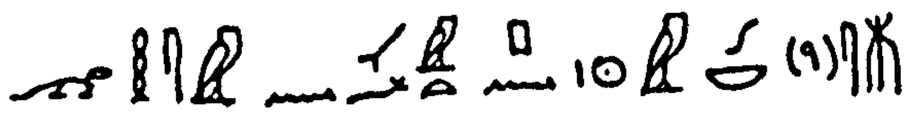
7, 6:

162. Bakir, Cairo Calendar, rto 5,7 (pl.5 & 5a):

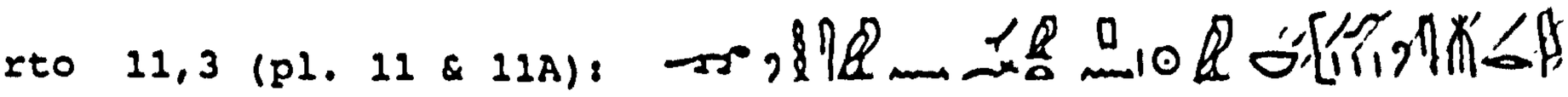


tr. p.15: 'DAY 16 : A.A.A. As to anyone born on this day 7. he will die by a crocodile'.

rto 3,9 (pl.3 & 3A):

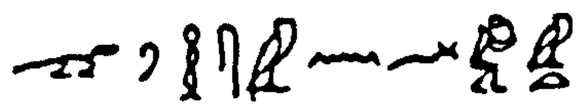


tr. p.13: 'DAY 3 : F.F.A. Anyone born 9 on this day will die by a crocodile'.

rto 11,3 (pl. 11 & 11A): 
tr.p.21: 'DAY 23 : F.A. (A. Anyone born) on this day will die of a crocodile'.

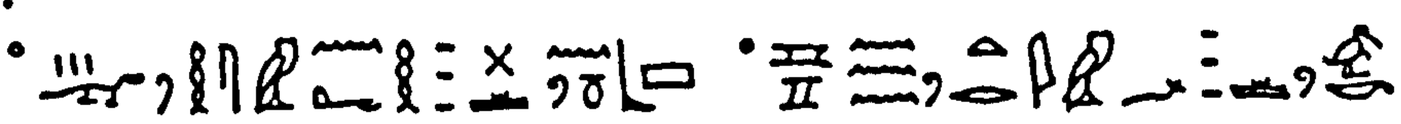
Bakir also noted (p.65) that Manetho recorded the death of the Dynasty 9 King Ochthosois by means of a crocodile.

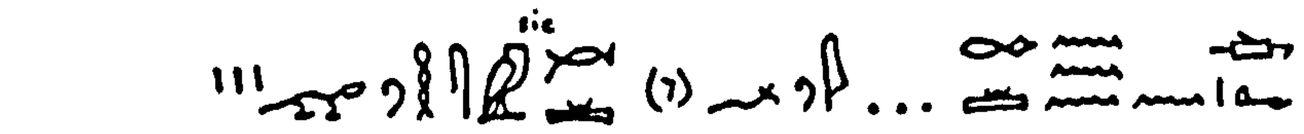
P.Ch.B. III, 7, 8b:
tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.16: If a person dreams of: 'eating a naʿr - fish that has been split open: BAD; his being caught by a crocodile'.

163. P.Sall IV, 6, 6 : 

Westcar 12, 19:

12, 26:

164. Sall II, 8, 9:

tr. Brunner, Lehre des Cheti, p.23: 'Ich spreche dir auch noch von dem Fischer. Er ist elender dran als (die Männer) aller anderen Berufe. Seine Arbeit(s-stätte) ist auf dem Fluß, (8,9) mitten unter den Krokodilen. Wenn man..., dann klagt er, sagt aber nicht: "Das Krokodil (9,1) lauert!" Seine Furcht hat ihn (selbst) blind gemacht'. Cf Sall II, 4, 8.

165. Orb 6,7: 

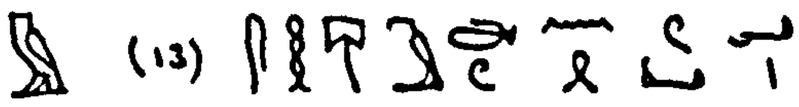
cf 8, 1:

166. Badawy, Ny-hetep-Ptah, fig 28 (= Capart Rue de Tomb pl.30; LD II Erg pl.11-12): man in boat herding cattle through water shouts:

167. Eg, Klebs, Reliefs MR, p.95; Macramallah, Le Mastaba d'Idout,pl.7; F. Daumas, Ägyptische Kultur im Zeitalter der Pharaonen (München-Zürich 1969) fig. 237; Kagemni I, pl.4, pl.66, pl.76; Petosiris II, pl.57.

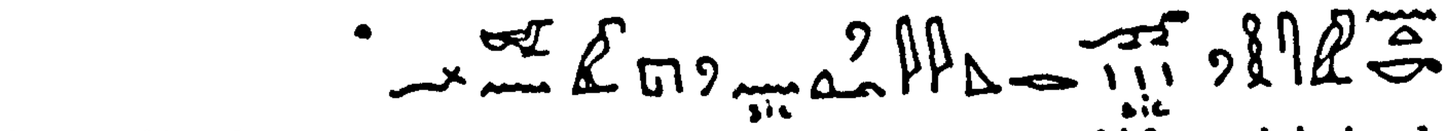
Vandier, Mo'alla, p.185-186, Inscr. II,ß, 2:

tr. p.187: 'En effet, si, d'une part, je suis satisfait de cette troupe de Héfat (=Mo'alla), ce pays est également satisfait, mais d'autre part, si on marche sur ma queue comme sur celle d'un crocodile, le sud et le Nord, ce pays tout entier est dans la terreur '.

Urk IV, 945: 

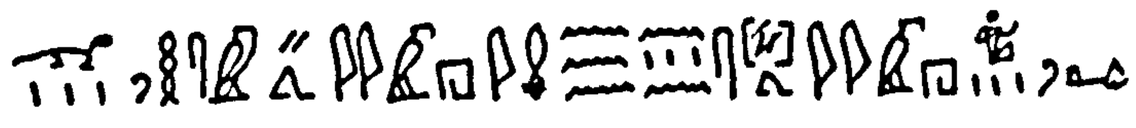
tr. Grapow, Bildliche Ausdrücke, p.95: 'Der Mann, der wahrhaftig ist und den Frevler straft, ist ein wütendes Krokodil gegen den, der Böses tut'.

168. KRI I, 240 (P. Northumberland III, rto 4 (Text A)); J.W.B.Barns, JEA 34 (1948) 35-46 : Three hieratic papyri in the Duke of Northumberland's collection:



The king is described 'thou art a savage (?) crocodile which does not miss, a lion which takes hold and from which (the prey) cannot be taken'.

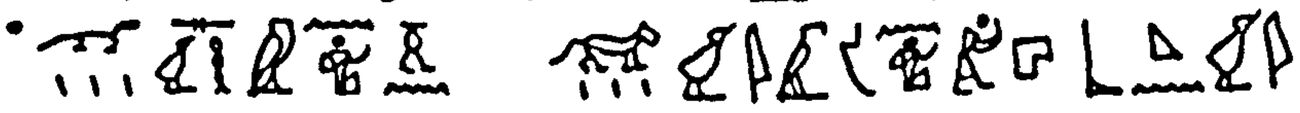
KRI II, 47, 4:



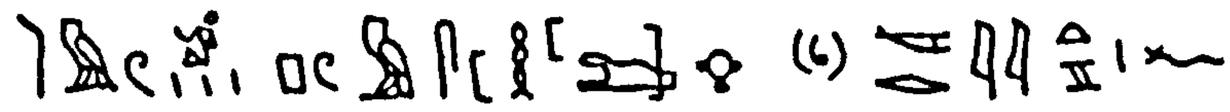
Med Habu <122>: (unpublished)

tr. Grapow, op.cit., p.95 : King 'wie ein wütendes Krokodil, dessen Tatzen die Leiche schlagen, wie es will'.

Sall II, 11, 10 (= Millingen 3, 1-2; HO I, pl.6, No.3 (O.Petrie 77)):



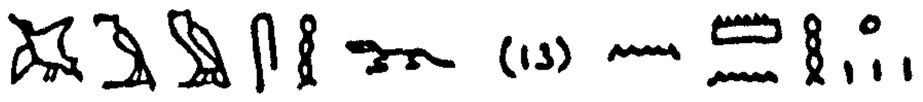
169. Helck, Merikare, p.59 (var C & P):



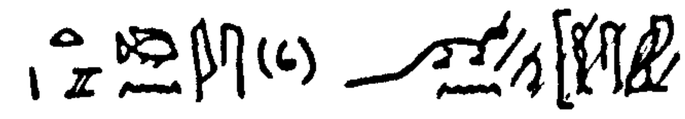
tr. p.60: 'Kümmere dich nicht um ihn, denn der Asiat ist ein Krokodil auf seinen Uferdamm: Er packt wohl auf einsamen Weg, doch ergreift er nicht in der Nähe einer volkreichen Stadt'. (For Asiatics compared with crocodiles see too KRI II, 47, 4 and 123, 2).

170. C.Eyre, SÄK 4 (1976) 103-114: Fate, Crocodiles and the Judgement of the Dead. Some Mythological Allusions in Egyptian Literature.

171. Westcar 3, 12 :(Cf Spiegelberg, Graffiti, p.65 (No.800).)



172. P.Ch.B. V, vso 4,5:



tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.51: 'TO BE RECITED over a crocodile of clay with grain in its mouth, and its eye of faience set [in] its head. One shall tie(?)(it) and inscribe a drawing of the gods upon a strip of fine linen to be placed upon his head'. There follows a list of the deities to be drawn.

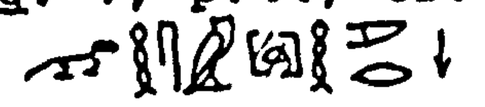
173. P.mag Harr 6,9:

tr. Lange, p.52 (text p.51): 'Zu rezitieren über ein Bild von Amon mit vier Köpfen auf einem Nacken, gemalt auf dem Boden, mit einem Krokodil unter seinen Füssen, indem die acht Paviane zu seiner Rechten und seiner Linken ihn anbeten'.

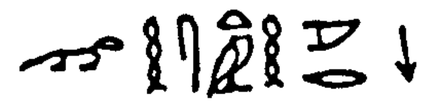
174. See esp. E. Brunner-Traut, LÄ III, 791-801: Krokodile, esp. para VI: In der Magie, with notes 102-106.

175. Brunner, Geburt, pl.9.

176. Barns, Five Ramesseum Papyri V, U, 7: Wb.Drog. V, p.44; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.25: 'Fett (mrḥt) des Krokodils':

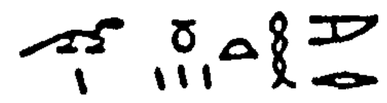


Ibid V, U, 19 :



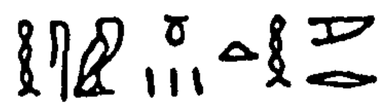
Wb.Drog. V, p.50: tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.28: 'Fett (mrḥt) des Krokodils'.

Eb 66, 10:



Wb.Drog. V, p.514; tr. IV$^{1}$, p.298: 'Fett (mrḥt) des Krokodils'.

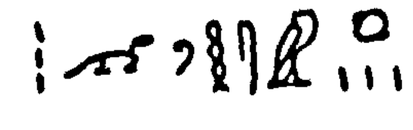
Hearst 10,7:



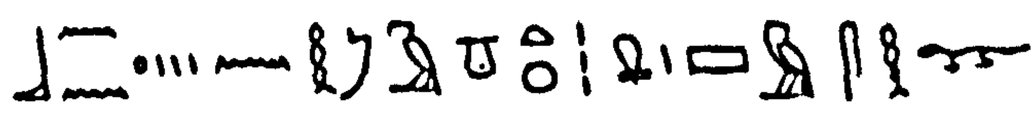
Wb.Drog. V, p.517; tr. IV$^{1}$, p.300: 'Fett (mrḥt) des Krokodils'.

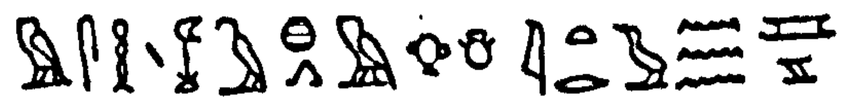
P.Kah Med 3,6 :

Wb.Drog. V, p.477; tr. IV$^{1}$, p.277: 'Kot des Krokodils'.

P. med Berlin 3038, 6,10 : 

Wb.Drog. V, p.107; tr. IV$^{1}$, p.63: 'Kot des Krokodils'.

M u K, vso 2, 4 : 

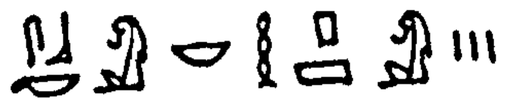
177. M u K 3, 2: 

tr. Grapow, Bildliche Ausdrücke, p.96: 'Eine Krankheit ist ein Krokodil, schnell inmitten des Stromes'.

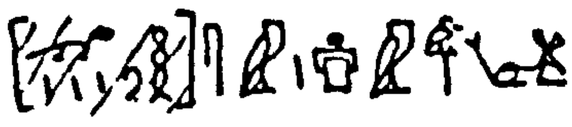
178. Destr 86:

cf P.Jumilhac XXIII, 5, where Sobek assumes the form of a crocodile to eat the allies of Seth.

179. In the Coffin Texts sbk seems almost to have been used as a common noun meaning 'crocodile'. See, for example, CT IV, 2-4; tr. FECT I, p.203-204 (my omissions throughout): 'N is a great crocodile...N has come from the green fens, he has turned the reeds of the fens and the crocodiles of the fens...N is a crocodile, lord of the fens'. The last of these is of particular interest since sbk is replaced in one of the variants by ḥms:

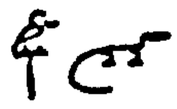
(T1L) (S1C) 

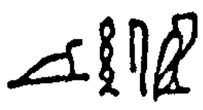
180. Wb II, 306, 12 recorded only Ptolemaic references. Compare P.Vandier XIII,13, tr. Vandier, P.Jumilhac, p.125, where Seth assumes the shape of a crocodile; and XXII, 20-22, tr. Vandier, p.133.

Note, however, P.Ch.B. XI, vso A4: 

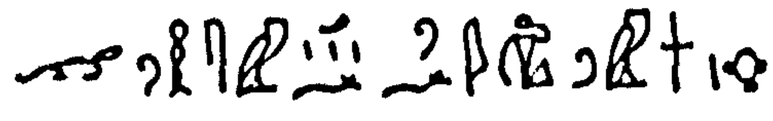
tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.121: 'Seth after the crocodiles'.

181. See above, n. 152.

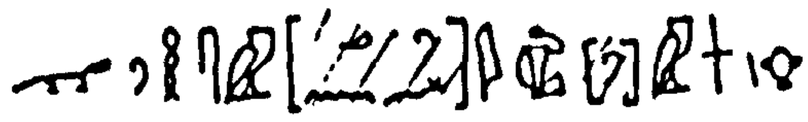
182. P.Brooklyn 47.218.50, 16, 10: 

Geogr Pap 10, 14: 

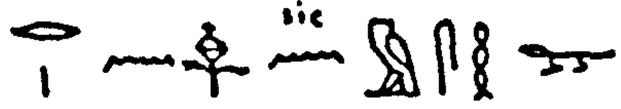
11, 27:

183. P.Ch.B. III, rto 2, 22: 

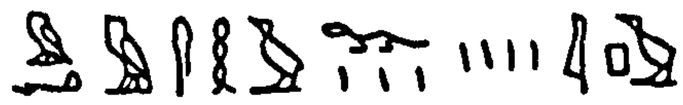
tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.12: If a man sees himself in a dream 'eating crocodile-flesh, good; [it means] eating the possessions of an official '.

P.Ch.B. III, rto 5, 17: 

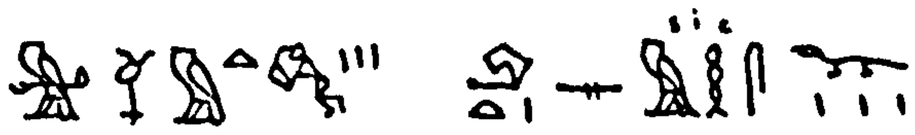
tr. ibid., p.14: 'eating crocodile [flesh], good; [acting as] an official among his people '. Cf 5, 11.

184. BOD 31, 1: 

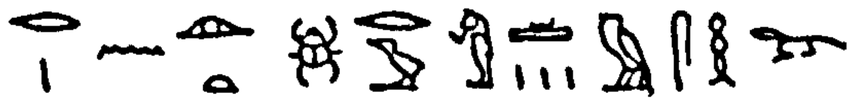
tr. Allen, BOD, p.91: 'spell for driving off a crocodile that comes to take N.'s magic away from him in the god's domain'.

BOD 32, 2-4: 

tr. Allen, BOD, p.42: '[Spell for driving off the 4 crocodiles] that come to take a man's magic away from him in the god's domain'. These 4 crocodiles belong to the four compass points.

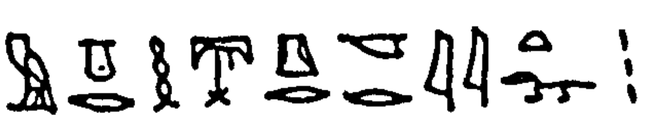
185. BOD 125: 

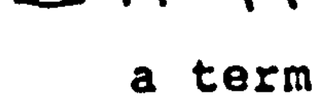
186. BOD 88,1:



tr. Allen, BOD, p.74: 'SPELL FOR ASSUMING THE FORM OF a crocodile. TO BE SAID BY N. : I am Sobk'.

187. Lebensm 96:

The term also appears in Lebensm 75: 

R.O.Faulkner, JEA 42 (1956) 21-40 : The man who was tired of life, p.37, n.81, noted of the phrase : 'The collective  , here exceptionally spelt , a term for "crocodiles", seems to be derived from mryt "river-bank" and to signify "bank-lurkers"'. Cf Barta, Gespräch, p.34, n.59: 'Nisbenbildung von mrjt "Ufderdamm" "die am Uferdamm Befindlichen"'.

For mshw on the banks (hr mryt) cf Merikare 5-6 (see above). For dpy on banks (hr mrw) see below. For hnty near the washerman on the banks (hr mryt) see below.

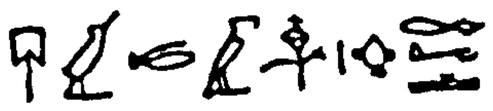
188. A.H.Gardiner, ZÄS 42 (1905) 12-42: Hymns to Amun from a Leiden papyrus, p.29, n.4, interpreted ḫnty as 'crocodile swimming upstream'. D.Meeks, RdE 28 (1976) 87-96: Notes de lexicographie, p.90, suggested for ḫnty 'celui de la face (=celui qui est (couché) sur la face)'. Lesko, Dictionary LE, p.186, translated: 'forementioned (crocodile)'.

Max d'Anii, vso:

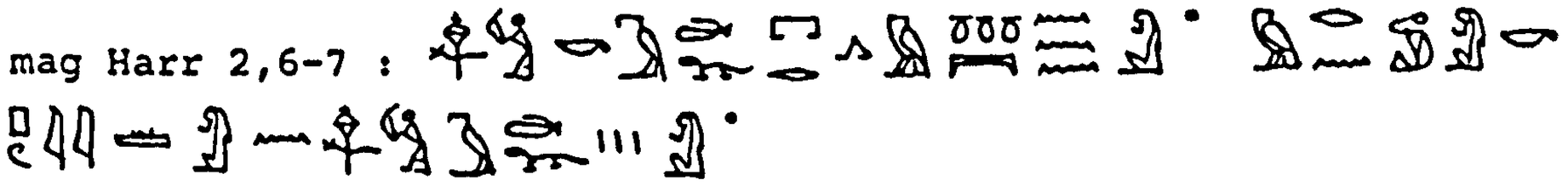
The close proximity here of msḥ and ḫnty would seem to indicate that they were not synonymous. It is noteworthy however that in a hymn to Sobek-Rē‘ the god (usually associated with msḥ) is described as:

'his head being a falcon and a crocodile'.(P.Strasburg 2, 3, 17).

189. For a crocodile (msḥ) described as ȝd 'raging' see Urk IV, 945 (text above). ȝd as a verb (Wb I, 24, 12-17: wütend sein) has a crocodile determinative and it may be that the noun was derived from this and that the particular quality of rage denoted by ȝd was considered an attribute of crocodiles (cf the baboon determinative of ḳnd).

190. BOD 144 (fourth gate): 

tr. Allen, BOD, p.106: 'Osiris N. has not gone on the crocodile (-infested) road'.

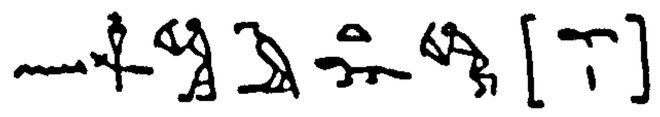
P. mag Harr 2,6-7 : 

tr. Lange, p.23: 'Du wehrst den Wütenden, der aus Nun emporsteigt, ab in diesem deinem Namen von: der, welcher die Wütenden abwehrt'. He noted, p.25: 'ȝd "der Wütende", Bezeichnung des Krokodils oder des Apophis'.

Urk VI, p.122 :

tr. p.121:'O weiche zurück als Krokodil [Mögest Du Dich abwenden, indem du weichst (?)]'.

cf Urk VI, 61 :



tr. p.60: 'Übersetzung der Geheimnisse des] Rituals, den Wütenden abzuwehren'.

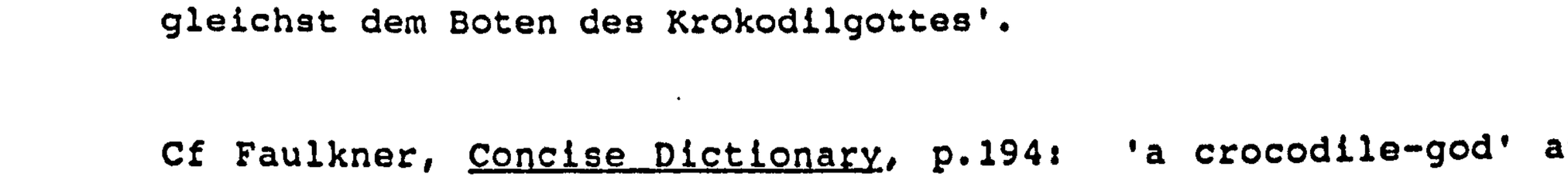
KRI III, 299, 15 :

191. Bauer 119:

tr. p.106: 'Wie klagt der Arme, den du zugrunde gerichtet hast! Du gleichst dem Boten des Krokodilgottes'.

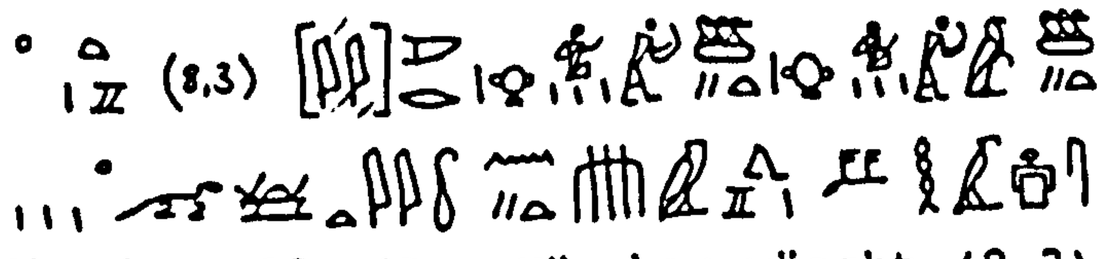
Cf Faulkner, Concise Dictionary, p.194: 'a crocodile-god' and Brunner, Lehre des Cheti, p.42: 'Jedenfalls steht außer Zweifel, daß ḥnti einem Totengott meint...Es mag sein, daß das Deutzeichen des Krokodils nur mißbräuchlich von ḥnti "Krokodil" übernommen ist, mag aber ebenso gut sein, daß die Ägypter diese Gleichsetzung der beiden gleichklingenden Wörter halb spielerisch vornahmen'.

192. Ombos I, 59,61, 34 ; I, 81,94,31-2; I, 58,59,2-4; Dend Mar III, 50; II, 75b.

193. Lebensm 79-80: 

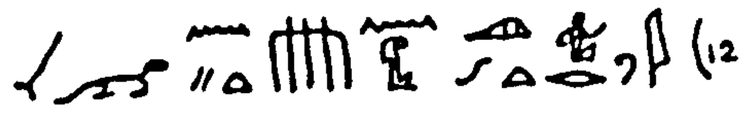
tr. Barta, Gespräch (text on p.15) p.24: 'ich-gräme-mich um-ihre-Kinder-die-zerbrochen worden-sind im-Ei die-gesehen - haben - das-Gesicht des - Krokodils bevor-sie-lebten'.

Sall II, 8, 3:

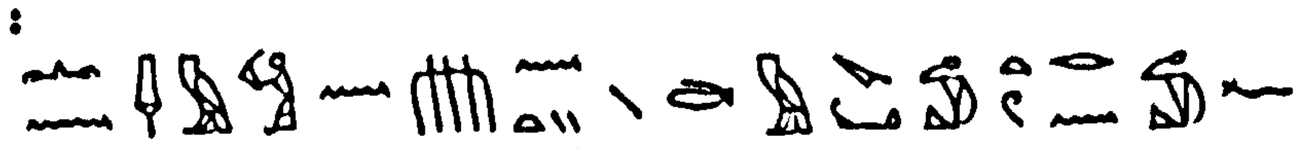


tr. Brunner, Lehre des Cheti, p.23: 'Der Wäscher wäscht (8,3) auf dem Uferdamm, sein Nachbar ist das Krokodil'. He commented: '[es] scheint mir erwiesen, daß an unserer Stelle unter dem klarem Obersinn "sein Nachbar ist das Krokodil" der dumpfe Untersinn liegt "der Totendämon lauert schon auf ihm".' Cf p.57: 'Als Untersinn steckt also in dem Satze, daß der Tod auf den Wäscher lauert'. This would also be a plausible explanation of the text from Lebensm.

O. DelM 1067 A:



Amonshymn Leid 3,19:



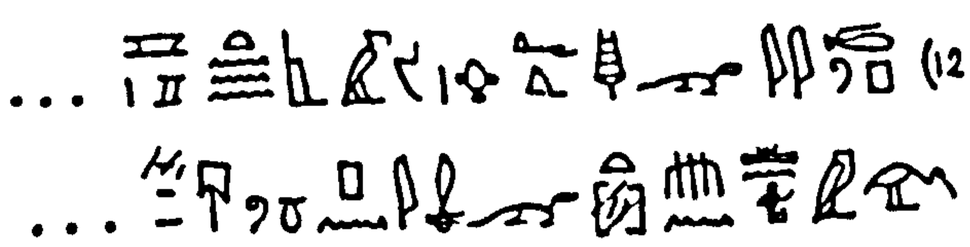
tr. A.H.Gardiner, ZÄS 42 (1905) 12-42: Hymns to Amun from a Leiden papyrus, p.29: 'A water-charm is Amon (?), when his name is on the flood : the crocodile hath no power, when his name is pronounced'.

HO I, pl.109, No.3, rto (O.Gardiner 368) :

P.Ch.B. IV, rto 8, 3-4:

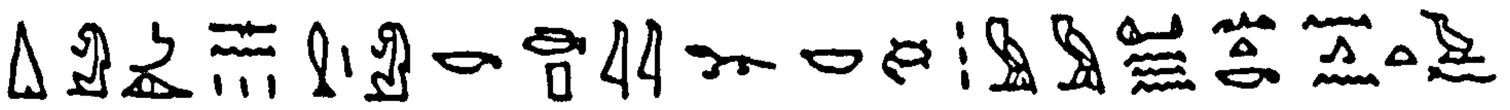
tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.32: 'Thy name [Amun-Rē'-Atum-Ḥarakhti] will be protection for every lonely one; safety and health for him that (sails) upon the waters, rescuing from the crocodiles'.

194. O. DelM 1266 + O. CGC 25218 :



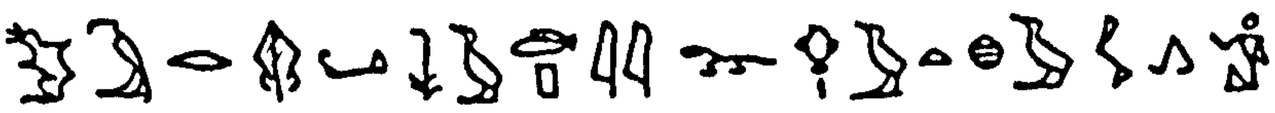
This is a slightly more complex version than published by Müller, Liebespoesie, tr. p.42 : 'Die Liebe meiner Schwester ist auf jene Seite (drüben) , ein Flussarm ist zwischen [mir und meine Schwester] (7) Krokodilriese (n?) steh(en?) auf der Sandbank. (Aber) ich steige hinein ins Wasser (und) springe kopfüber (in) die Flut. Mein Mut ist hoch auf dem Gewässer, (8) (und) die Wellen sind wie Land für meine Füsse' (his omission). Cf W.Spiegelberg, Fs.Ebers, 117-121 : Eine neue Sammlung von Liebesliedern, tr. p.118.

195. Urk IV, 616:



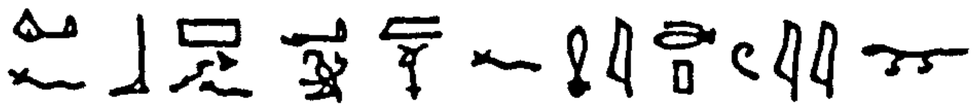
tr. Grapow, Bildliche Ausdrücke, p.95 : 'als das furchtbare Krokodil im Wasser, dem man nicht nahen kann'.

Urk IV, 84:

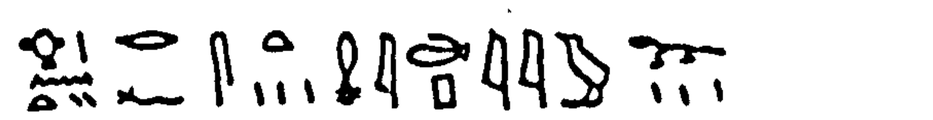


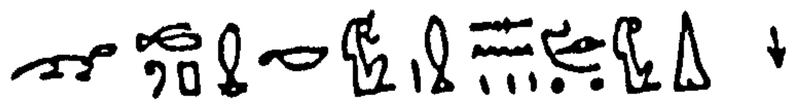
tr. Grapow, op.cit., p.95-96: 'das Krokodil, sich auf den Flüchtling stürzt'.

Israel inscr. (Cairo Stela 34025) :



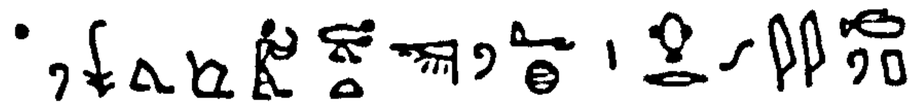
tr. Spiegelberg, Siegeshymnus : 'Er [=prince of Libya] soll in die Hand des Merneptah gegeben werden, daß er ihn ausspeien lasse, was (?) er verschlungen hat, wie ein Krokodil'. Cf Grapow, op.cit., p.96.

LD III, 140c, 1.4: 

Med Habu 102,22: 

KRI II, 164, 8:

196. Amonshymn Leid 5,10:

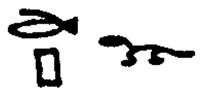
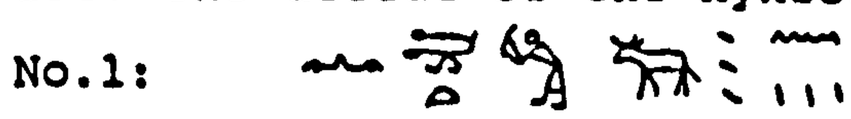


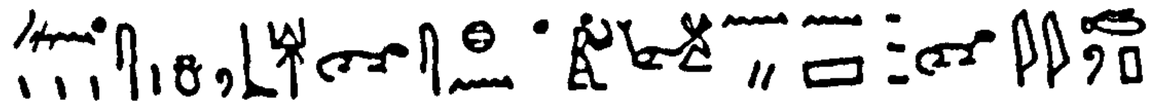
tr. Zandee, Hymnen, p.94: 'Stier, sterk van rug, zwaar van hoeven op de nek van zijn vijand V,10, zijn borst vermielend, Krokodil, die zich verheft, die zijn aanvaller grijpt'.

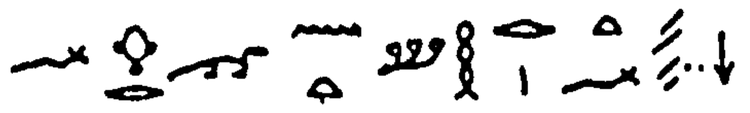
197. Müller, op.cit., p.42 n.4: 'eigentl. "Schwimmer", vom schlimmsten Krokodil, wohl am ausgewachsenen'.

198. Brugsch, Wb, p.1635, recording: 'Wörtlich "der Verschlinger, der Fresser" (cf. tep "essen") bezeichnet die ungeschlachteten, im Wasser lebenden "Nilpferde"'.

199. Ombos II, 86, 636. Note that dp appears as a taboo animal in Geogr Pap, pl.11, frag.28.

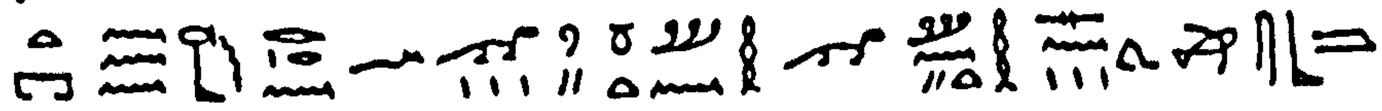
200.  , possibly this same word, appears in the Carnarvon Tablet but was left untranslated by A.H.Gardiner, JEA 3(1916) 95-110: The defeat of the Hyksos by Kamose : The Carnarvon Tablet, No.1: 

Cf O.DelM 1675, vso 4: 

201. Siut III, 30 : 

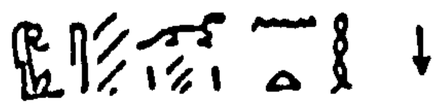
tr. of Meeks, AL 77, 2734.

202. Totb Leps 145, 27:



tr. Allen, BOD, p.130 : 'I am pure with those waters where with Isis and Nephthys purified themselves when they conducted the greedy crocodile to the vicinity of the pure place'.

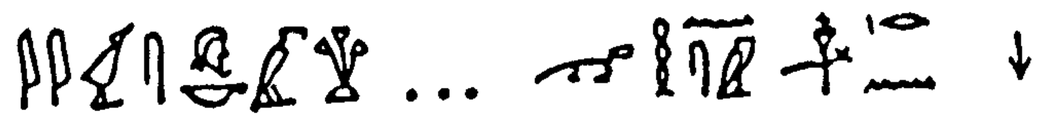
cf CT VII, 164 (P.Gard.IV):



tr. FECT III, p.85: 'her greedy ones'.

cf too KRI II, 827, 1 (fragmentary text, in which only t3 ḥn is preserved), quoted by Meeks, AL 79. 1990.

203. BOD 31, 2:



tr. Allen, BOD, p.41: 'Spell for driving off a crocodile... Back! Give way! Back, crocodile!'

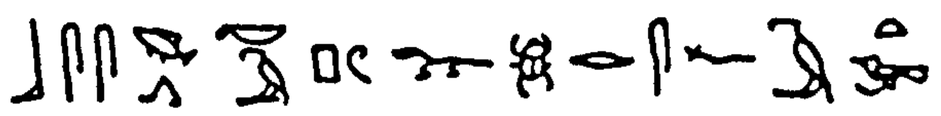
CT IV, 346b:

tr. FECT I, p.277: 'Driving off a crocodile... Get back! Go away! Get back, you dangerous one!' (my omissions), with n.1: 'Swty has been taken as a nisbe of swt "danger"'.

204. Mett 53:

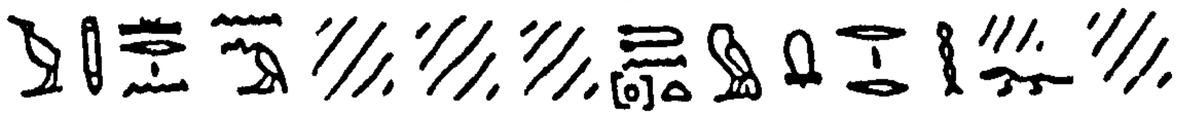
205. Vandier, Mo'alla, p.26-27 with n.2.

206. Prisse 9,3 :



tr. Lichtheim, Literature I, p.68 : 'No strife will occur in the midst of honors. But where the crocodile enters hatred arises'. Lexa, Maximes, noted, p.136: 'On peut aussi traduire k3pw très bien par "la malice cachée". De l'autre côté, il est...possible de voir...le sens "Comme un crocodile émerge, ainsi le défaveur se produit"'.

207. Guglielmi, Reden, Rufe und Lieder, p.135:



tr. p.136: '(Geöffnet?) ist der Mund des...Geschlossen ist der Rachen des Krokodils'. He noted (p.101) that in the recitations used by herdsmen for protection against crocodiles, that the actual name 'crocodile' was seldom used : 'Darin wird das Krokodil nicht mit seinem richtigen Namen angeredet, sondern es heißt euphamistisch "der Schwimmende", "der, welcher im Wasser ist", "der, welcher untertaucht und emporkommt" oder "Maga, Sohn des

Seth". Ähnliche Decknamen sind aus der Spätzeit von den sog. "Horusstelen" überliefert'.

208. Meeks, RdE 28 (1976) 87-96: Notes de lexicographie, p.90, No.30: 'Le crocodile...était naturellement couché sur le ventre. On le dépeint allongé sur un banc de sable et certains des noms qu'on lui donne rappelent cette attitude : "celui de la face (= celui qui est (couché) sur la face)" ou "celui (aux pattes) repliées (?)" '.

209. Meeks, AL 77 .4213-4214, AL 77.4251. Meeks (AL 77.4213) compared Wb IV, 497, 5-6 être infesté de crocodiles - on the crocodile determinative in this word see also R.Weill, BIFAO 45 (1947) 89-154: Le livre du 'désespéré'. Le sens, l'intention et la composition littéraire de l'ouvrage, especially p.124.

210. Flower noted the tortoise Testudo leithii Günther, now superceded by T.kleinmanni Lortet; see P.C.H. Pritchard, Encyclopaedia of Turtles (Hong Kong 1979) p.414. He noted, apparently after Flower, that the Egyptian Tortoise occurs only 'from the northwestern deserts of the Nile delta and the region of the Suez Canal' and outside Egypt in Western Cyrenaica, Libya and northern Sinai (p.415). He regarded it as closely related to the Spur-thighed (Mediterranean) Tortoise T.graeca L. Pritchard (p.398) noted the subsp. T.g.terrestris Forskål 'in Syria, Israel, Sinai, northern Egypt, and northeastern Libya' which 'has yellow on the sides and top of the head, and the carapace is strongly elevated'. Flower, however, denied the presence of this genus in Egypt (p.745).

In addition to the fresh-water turtle T.triunguis (Forskål) Flower listed the marine species Chelonia mydas (L) (Green Turtle) on the Mediterranean and Red Sea coasts of Egypt; Eretmochelys imbricata (L) (Hawksbill Turtle) on the Red Sea coast (possibly to be regarded as the distinct sub-species E.i.bissa, according to Pritchard op.cit., p.715), and Caretta caretta (L) (Loggerhead Turtle). Two other species, Dermochelys coriacea (L) (Leathery or Leatherback Turtle) and Pelomedusa galeata (J.D.Schoepff) (in Pritchard as P.subrufa) (Helmeted Terrapin or Turtle), may, according to Flower, have been erroneously attributed to Egypt.

211. Pritchard, op.cit., p.640.

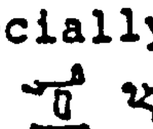
212. Lortet, ZÄS 30 (1892) 24-30: Notes sur la faune pharaonique, p.25, No.1.

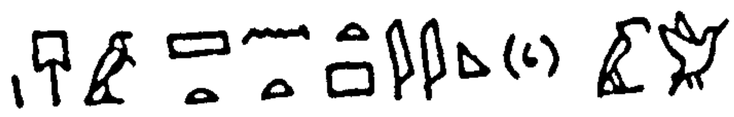
213. W.R.Dawson, JEA 19 (1933) 133-137: Studies in the Egyptian Medical Texts II, esp. p.137, para.8. See, too, Gamer-Wallert, Fische, p.27, with n.130 to 138, and p.28, n.139, quoting various opinions to the contrary.

214. There is also a Ptolemaic designation for the turtle, t3-ḥnḳt, (lit. 'bread-and-beer') which will not be discussed here. For this designation see especially B.v.d.Walle, La Nouvelle Clio 5 (1970) 173-139: La tortue dans le religion et la magie égyptiennes, esp. p.185, and also A. Gutbub, Hommages Sauneron, p.392, n.3.

K3-mnḥ 'bull of the marshes' is another Ptolemaic designation for the turtle (Wb V, 96,9 : als Bez. für die Schildkröte als Symbol des Bösen). S.Sauneron, BIFAO 64 (1966) 1-10: Remarques de philologie et d'étymologie, esp. para.36: La lecture du signe de la tortue, on the other hand, preferred to understand k3 as 'male', and took mnḥ to be a term for turtles: 'Cela postulerait l'existence d'un terme mnḥ, désignant l'espèce en général et parmi laquelle le mâle serait particulièrement visé dans les rites d'envoûtement des temples' (p.1).

215. CD 598b: 'land tortoise'; Černý, CED, p.256: 'land tortoise'; Vicychl, Dictionnaire, p.273a: 'tortue'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.333: 'Schildkröte'. Cf Osing, Nominalbildung, p.818.

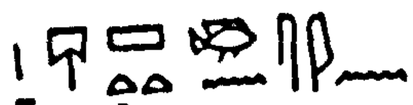
216. D'A.W.Thompson, JEA 14(1928) 22-23 : On Egyptian fish-names used by Greek writers, p.33 : 'I prefer to believe that ϵϕωT is a well-authenticated word for a reptile, especially the Snapping Turtle, Chelydra triunquis, and is the O.Eg.  apeš, as Brugsch stated it to be'.

Cf Eb 67,6: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.517; tr. IV[1], p.300: 'Sie (die Haare) beseitigen auf folgende Weise. Schale der Schildkröte; werde zerkocht, werde zerrieben' etc.

217. Eb 57,6:

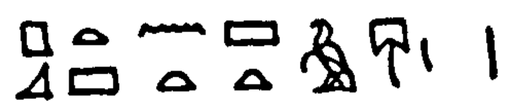
Wb.Drog. V, p.84; tr. Wb.Drog., IV$^1$, p.49 : 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Beseitigen von Albuginea (shdw) der beiden Augen. Galle der Schildkröte 1; Honig 1; werde an die Außenseite der beiden Augen gegeben'.

Eb 94, 21: 

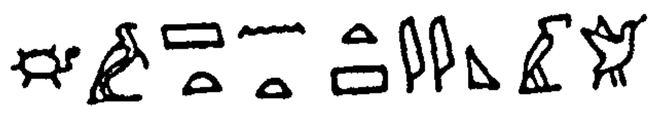
Wb.Drog. V, p.479; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.279 (in medicament to speed birth): 'njs-Teil der Schildkröte 1' etc.

P.med Lond 13,11:
var.

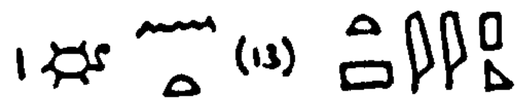
Wb.Drog. V, p.482-483; tr. Wb.Drog. IV, p.280 (after spell): 'werde gesalbt (wrḥ) mit der Leber eines Schweins (šȝj) '

O.Louvre: 

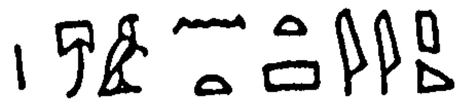
Wb.Drog. V, p.107; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.63: 'Schale der Schildkröte 1, werde das Ohr ⌜damit⌝ beräuchert'.

Eb 71, 15: 

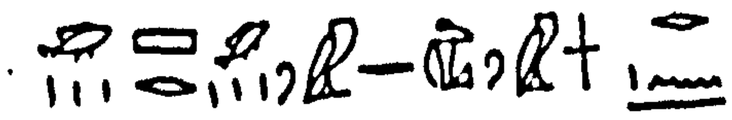
Wb.Drog. V, p.361; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.208: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Beseitigen der ʿȝgjt - Absonderung , die sich befindet an der Öffnung einer Wunde. Ei des Straußes 1; Schale einer Schildkröte, zerkocht 1; ʿȝgj.t (Harz) des ỉmȝ-Laubbaumes 1; werde damit gesalbt (gs)'.

Eb 86, 12: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.523; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.303: 'Ei vom Strauß; Schale einer Schildkröte; ʿȝgjt (Harz) des ỉmȝ-Laubbaumes; werde zerkocht, werde damit gesalbt (gs)'.

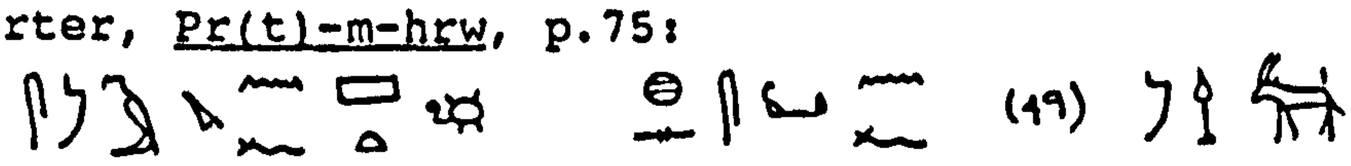
Eb 91, 11: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.104; tr.Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.61: 'Kopf der ʿmʿm.w - Ratte/Maus; mndr -<inneres> Organ der Ziege; Schale der Schildkröte; ỉnnk - Pflanze; werde damit gepudert oft, oft'.

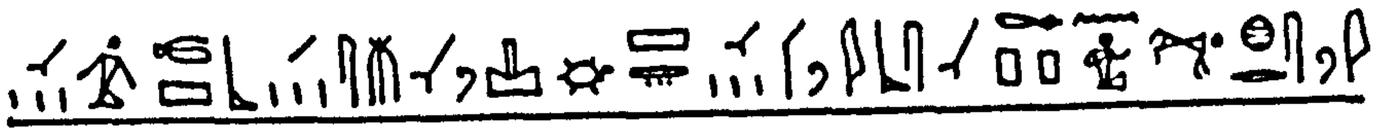
P.Ch.B. XI, F, vso A3: 

tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.121: 'A SPELL for eating fish or turtles'.

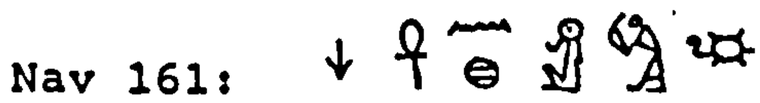
218. Zauberstab <im Handel>:

219. Shorter, Pr(t)-m-hrw, p.75:


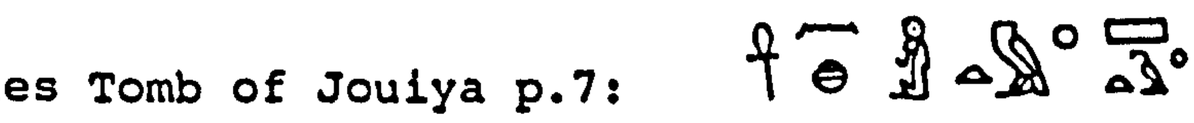
tr. p.63-4: 'The son of Nut has his weapons; he has slain the tortoise, he has destroyed the oryx, he has driven back the criminal-serpent'.

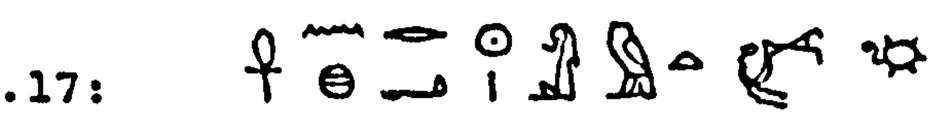
220. Apoph 25, 19: 

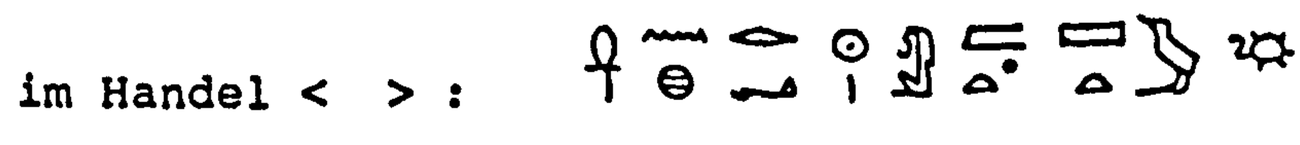
Apoph 32, 26:

221. Totb Nav 161: 

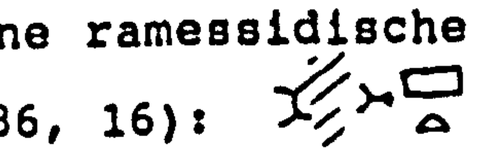
(4 times) tr. Allen, BOD, p.157: 'Re lives, the turtle dies'.

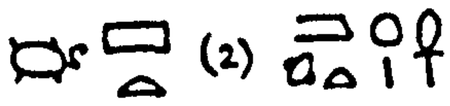
Davies Tomb of Jouiya p.7: 

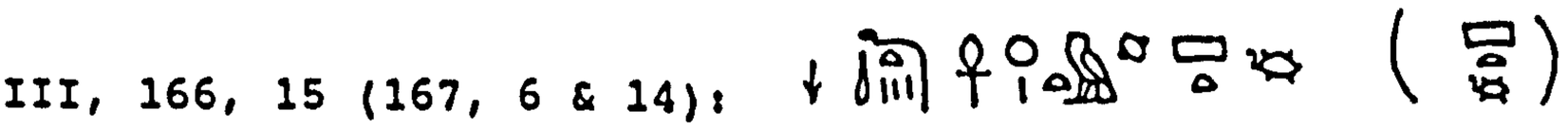
cf p.17: 

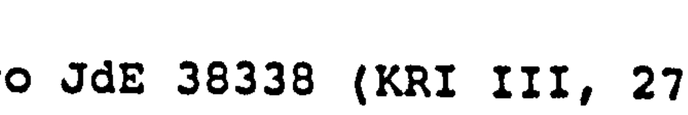
Sarg im Handel < > : 

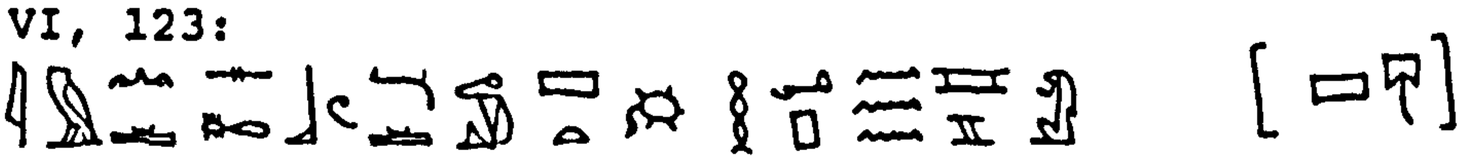
Kairo Wb 399 <727>:

T. Säve-Söderbergh, MDAIK 14 (1956) 175-180: Eine ramessidische Darstellung vom Töten der Schildkröte (KRI III, 286, 16): 

Cf KRI III, 58, 5 (9 & 15): 

KRI III, 166, 15 (167, 6 & 14): 

Cairo JdE 38338 (KRI III, 277, 1): 

222. Urk VI, 123:


tr. p.122: 'O weiche zurück als Krokodil... damit die Schildkröte nicht den Nil schlürfe' (or: 'damit die Schildkröte nicht das Wasser trinke').

This appears to be referred to in P. Jumilhac XVIII, 1 when Osiris is deprived of offerings: 'l'inondation est petite dans son trou, la bouche de la tortue est fermée, et il y a une année de famine dans le pays tout entier' (tr. Vandier, P.Jumilhac, p.130).

P. Bremner-Rhind 25, 19 = Apoph 25,19 : (text above, n.220)

223. See Säve-Söderbergh, op.cit., tr. p.177: 'Töten der Schildkröte des (oder für) Rê von Osiris, dem Hohenpriester des Amun, Nebunenef. Er sagt: Es lebe Rê, es sterbe die Schildkröte; unversehrt ist derjenige im Sarge'.

224. Säve-Söderbergh, op.cit.

225. Junker, Giza VII, p.117 & ibid. XI, p.124, p.117.

226. Thes I, 112, B2: 'Sternbilder hinter der Sothis und dem Orion':

and C1:

227. Lacau, Sarcophages I, p.187 (No.28083):

228. Hearst 11, 15:

Borghouts, AEMT, tr. p.37 (a spell against the disease ʿ3m.w) : 'This spell is to be said four times over fresh moringa-oil and residue of (? ḥnf.t) of a cooking vessel. Conjure (šnỉ) her with that and close her up with seals of tortoise (shell) [? -šttwt])'.

Wb.Drog. V, p.440 ; tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1], p.258: 'Sie (die Krankheit) werde damit beschworen <und> versiegelt mit Siegelsteinen von šttw.t'.

229. Meeks, AL 78.4217: CT VI, 195g:

tr. FECT II, p.184, n.6: 'DO NOT WALK HEAD DOWNWARDS... It is this she-monkey who will take to me what is in the house of the she-tortoise(?) ' (my omission).

## Chapter 20 : Notes

1. See L. Störk, LÄ II, 164 : Insekten, for a brief review of the zoological classification of these animals.

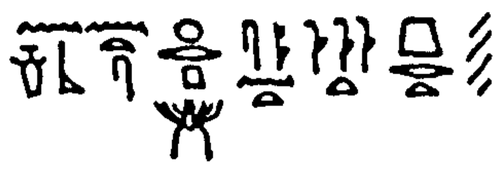
2. Note the comment of E.S.Hunn, Tzeltal Folk Zoology : The classification of discontinuities in nature (New York 1977) p.74: 'Other things being equal, the larger the mean size of organisms of a particular group the more likely that group will be recognised and named'.

3. Keimer, Pendeloques, p.[174].

4. A. Alfieri, Bulletin de la Société Entomologique d'Égypte 40 (1956) 451-452 : La véritable identité du scarabée sacré de l'Égypte pharaonique [Coleoptera : Scarabeidae - Coprinae] W.M.F. Petrie, Scarabs and Cylinder Seals with names (London 1917) p.4ff noted Scarabeus, Catharsius, Gymnopleurus and Hypselogenia 'all included in the sacred class' though Wilkinson, Manners and Customs III, p.347, was of a different opinion.

5. For ϣ/ϭⲁⲗⲟⲩⲕⲥ see CD 810b : 'scarabeus beetle'. Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.338a, compared Berber iqĕlqiz 'scarabée'; Osing, Nominalbildung, p.296, with n.1187 on p.845, compared Greek χψυρις.

6. Polotsky, Inschriften der 11.Dynastie, p.52 (Petrie, Dendereh, p.110):



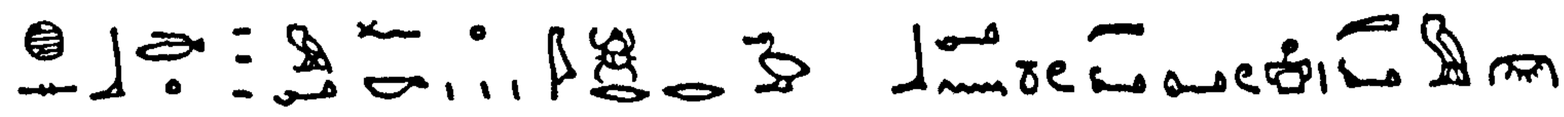
tr. Polotsky, p.52: 'Es kamen (ḫpr) aber schwere Jahre der Not'.

7. The ostracon (O. Cairo 44892, rto) was published by Keimer, Pendeloques, p.[102], after a sketch of Černý's; the text is from the Book of the Opening of the Mouth, published by Otto, Mundöffnungsritual I, p.27 :

In the ostracon, however, the half of the determinative which survives clearly shows four legs:

Otto, op.cit., II, p.56, n.5,noted: 'Nach dem Det in Text 2 und 5 scheint es sich um den Namen eines Käfers (allgemeines vielleicht eines Insektes) zu handeln. Vielleicht ein Insekt, das einen Faden spinnt und darin fängt : Spinne??', an opinion which the Cairo ostracon confirms. (Otto's copy of the text from this ostracon wrongly shows a scarab as determining sign).
On the etymology compare Coptic ⲥⲧⲁϫⲟⲩⲗ , CD 367a: 'spider'; Černý, CED, p.166: '"spider"...lit. "thread-spinner"'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.198b: 'araignée'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.202: 'Spinne', with n.8.

8. Harr I, 52b (gifts for pharaoh):

(6) 

(7)

(8)

See too W. A. Ward, Studies on Scarab Seals I : Pre 12th Dynasty Scarab Amulets (Warminster 1978) p.44; R. Giveon, LÄ V, 967-981: Skarabäus.

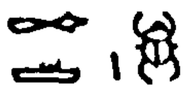
9. Described in, for example, Grzimek, Animal Life Encyclopaedia II, p.285-286.

10. Plutarch, De Iside, Ch. 10; Ch.74; Horapollo I, 10; Tzetses I,97; Psellus; see for the latter v. d. Horst, Chaeremon, pp.39, 25, 11 respectively.

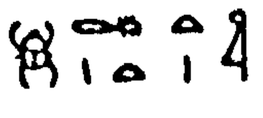
11. Pyr 366:

12. P. Ch.B. VIII, vso 11, 8 :

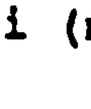
tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.76: (name of Horus) 'thou scarabeus that hast become a falcon'.

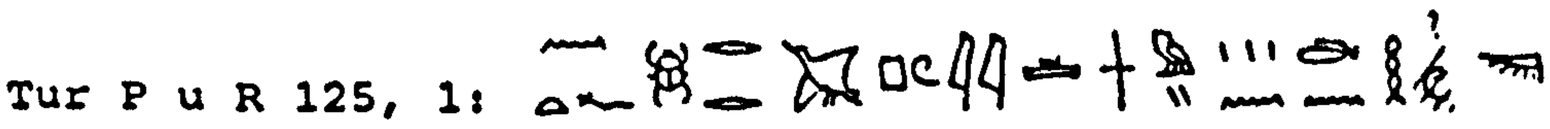
13. Eb 88, 13 (= Hearst 11, 1-3): 

Wb.Drog. V, p.456; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.266: 'Ein großer Skarabäuskäfer , dessen Kopf und dessen beide Flügel abgeschnitten sind, werde erhitzt, werde gegeben in Öl/Fett , werde daran gegeben.'

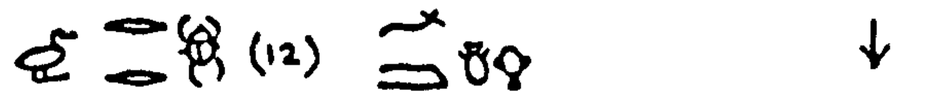
Hearst 8,15 : 

Wb.Drog. V, p.58; tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1], p.32: 'Flügel <und> Leib eines Mistkäfers'.

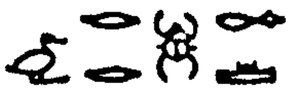
The phrase is regarded with some doubt in Wb.Drog. VI, p.395-396: 'Die in H115 genannte Droge šwt ḥ.t ḥprr "Flügel und Bauch eines Skarabäus" erscheint recht fragewürdig: Einmal fehlt der determinierende Strich bei  und ausserdem ist die sprachliche Fassung der Verbindung ganz ungewöhnlich'.

14. P.Tur P u R 125, 1: 

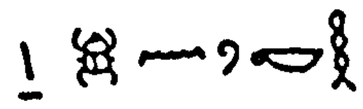
15. BOD 165, 12:



tr. Barguet, LdM, p.238:'Paroles à dire sur une image du dieu qui lève le bras, ayant deux plumes sur sa tête, ses jambes étant écartées , son torse étant un scarabée, dessiné avec du lapis-lazuli (mélangé) à de l'eau de gomme'.

16. Iversen, Hieroglyphic Dictionary, col.2 (see too p.31): 
(one of only two readable words in the commentary to the sign drawn at the side of the text).

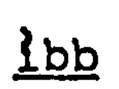
17. Eb 94, 21 (Wb.Drog. V, p.479; tr. Wb.Drog. IV, p.279; comments VI, p.383) (in a prescription for separating child from mother after birth):



18. Wb.Drog. VI, p.383, noted Lefèbvre's translating (after Dawson, JEA 20 (1934) 185-188: Studies in the Egyptian medical texts, IV, p.187) ḫkw as wing cases; Lefèbvre then read the scarab sign as ḫprr and Dawson as ʿpšȝy (see below). F.da Salvia, Hommages Vermaseren, p.1003-1061 : Un ruolo appotropaica dello scarabeo egizio nel contesto culturale greco-arcaico di Pithekoussi (Ischia), followed Lefèbvre, noting the protective role of the creator scarab in this text.

19. Hornung, Amduat II, p.118, No. 845.

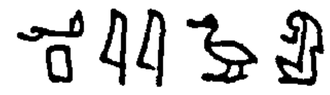
20. <u>ḫbb</u> <u>Wb</u> I, 178, 10-12: Name der geflügelten Sonne im Käfergestalt, auch als Bez[eichung] eines Amulettes am Halse des Sonnengottes und als Beiname des Osiris; cf H.W. Fairman, <u>BIFAO</u> 43 (1945) 51-138: An introduction to the study of Ptolemaic signs and their values, p.98: 'winged beetle.'

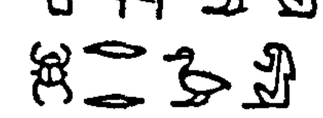
<u>ḥbb</u>  <u>Wb</u> I, 63, 3 : Käfer

<u>ḫpy</u> <u>Wb</u> I, 179, 22 : Bez[eichnung] der geflügelten Sonne im Käfergestalt.

See also Osing, <u>Nominalbildung</u>, p.298 and p.849, n.1206.

21. Urk VI, 97, 17-18:

 (P. Louvre 3129) - MK text

 (P.BM 10252) - NK text

22. <u>ḫpy</u> describes the movement of a falcon on the wing at Edfu - see Alliott, <u>Culte d'Horus</u>, p.711. Cf M.-T. & P. Derchain, <u>ZÄS</u> 101 (1974) 5-12: Zur ägyptischer Wortforschung, who identified the root <u>ḫpi</u> 'go', with determinatives chosen according to context - for earthly wanderings  ;  for heavenly.

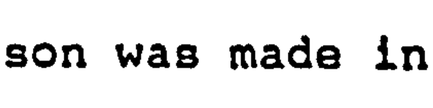
23. <u>CD</u> 660b: 'wasp'

This comparison was made in Westendorf, <u>Handwörterbuch</u>, p.354.

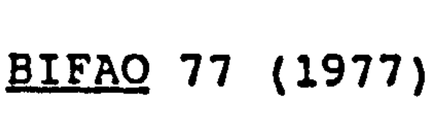
24. Edfu Mamm 146; Philae Phot <297>.

25. J.-C.Goyon, <u>BIFAO</u> 77 (1977) 45-54: Un phylactère tardif. Le Papyrus 3233 A et B du Musée du Louvre, pl.15, p.48 (3233a), also p.47, fig.1.

26. Ward, <u>op.cit</u>., p.44.

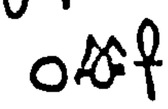
27. Pyr 1633: 

Pyr 2107:

Pyr 1301: 

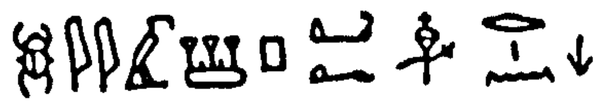
28. Keimer, Pendeloques, p.[28]-[38], esp. fig.25-28:

Louvre A 39: on right knee.

Leiden D 93:  on right shoulder.

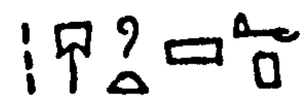
Cf J.Garstang, Mahâsna and Bêt Khallâf (London 1903) pl.26, 7 (K.5.7) and p.26 (Garstang read ndm-ʿnḫ):

29.Keimer, op.cit., p.[33].

30. Totb Nav 36, 1: 

31. The vignette from Ba does show a scarab being speared; that from Le shows a man armed with a knife by another insect. W.R. Dawson, JRAS (1928) 604-609: The pig in ancient Egypt: A Commentary on two passages of Herodotus, described it as 'a monstrous insect of some kind'.

32. P.med Lond 4, 6:
(not read by Wb.Drog.).

P.med Berlin 3038, 5, 11-12: 
Wb. Drog. V, p.265; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.151: 'ʿpšj.t-Insekt'.

33. Dawson; see n. 18.

34.Dawson; see n. 31.

35. Griffith & Thompson, Demotic Magical Papyrus III, p.109, n.6; in a recipe for poisoning an enemy.

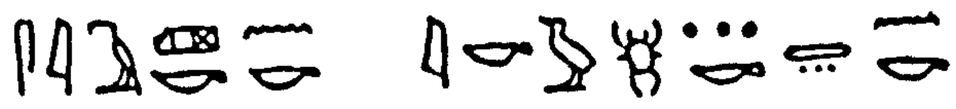
36. See Ch.19 : Reptiles and Amphibians.

37. Ward, op.cit., p.43, n.128: 'It is now generally felt that the ʿpš3y represents a cockroach or a grasshopper'.

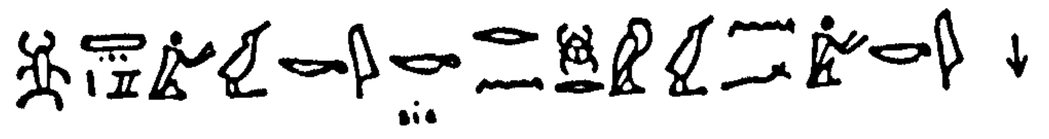
38. Keimer, Pendeloques, p.[83]-[85]: 'Il s'agit donc d'insectes qui doivent être chassés du cadavre parce qu'ils mordent. Or, ces insectes ne peuvent guère être autre chose que les coléoptères qui dévorent les morts et qui ont été trouvés très souvent dans les momies '. The determinatives are 'très compréhensible, car les tout petits coléoptères nécrophages sont difficiles à représenter'.

39. Eb 74, 14:

Wb. Drog. V, p.409; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.237: 'ḫpnn.t (Wassermolch?) 7; Fliege 7; ỉkw-Käfer der Erde 7'.

40. Pyr 806: 

(var. det.: ).

CT VII, 31m: 

tr. FECT III, p.24: '"It was he who attacked me" when there came into being his name of "Earth-attacker(?)".'

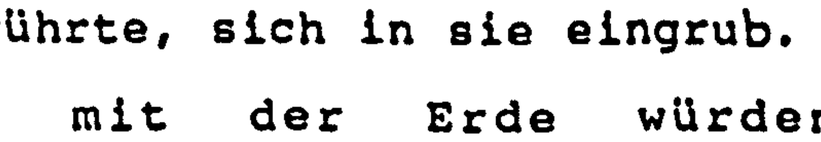
41. Note the variant determinative in Pyr 806 (above).

42. Sethe, UuK IV, p.249 (on Pyr 959): '"Erdangreifer" eine Bezeichnung des Skarabäus wegen seiner Erdaufwühlenden Thätigkeit... die hier auf Osiris übertragen sein könnt in Bezug auf seinen Tod, in dem er die Erde berührte, sich in sie eingrub. Zu dieser Verbindung des Wortes ỉk mit der Erde würden die Wörter [ỉk] "Steinbrucharbeiter", [ỉkw] "Steinbruch" (Wb I, 139) zu vergleichen sein'.

43. W.R. Dawson, JEA 18 (1932) 150-154: Studies in the Egyptian Medical Texts, p.151.

44. Ebbell, P. Ebers, p.89.

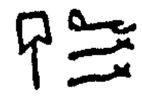
45. CT VI, 302f:

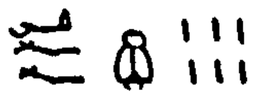


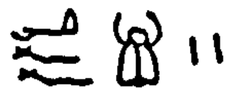
FECT II, p.244, n.1, commented: 'quite unintelligible to me'.

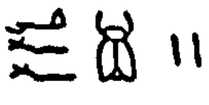
Meeks, AL 78.1803, compared from CT VI, 337b.

46. CD 23b: 'fly, or ? insect, since flying sometimes added' - cf here n.49; Černý, CED, p.16: 'fly'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.21a: 'mouche'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.16: 'Fliege, Insekt'.

47. CT II, 94 (var B2L): 

48. Urk IV, 39: 

Urk IV, 892: 

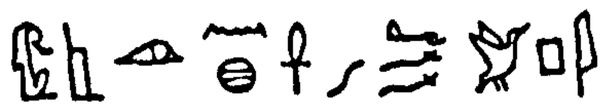
Urk IV, 893: 

Cf the golden lion (m3i) in Urk IV, 892 and 893.

See, eg, A. Wilkinson, Ancient Egyptian Jewellery (London 1971) p.98-99; K. Sethe, ZÄS 48 (1910) 143-145: Altägyptische Ordensauszeichnungen, and, on, the amuletic use of flies, Ward, op.cit., p.64. On flies as symbols see W.v.Bissing, Prähistorische Zeitschrift 34-35 (1949-50) 217-219: Die tapfere Fliege.

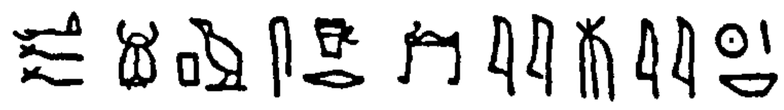
49. Text Relig 51 (CT III, 350b):

tr. FECT I, p.194-195: 'A fly has flown, a fnt-snake has crept'.

cf CT VII, 472: 

tr. Lesko, Book of Two Ways, p.23: '(As) the fly flies, Osiris lives'.

50. Quibell , Excavations at Saqqara 1906/7, p.27:



51. Note the very similar phrase used in the Book of the Dead of the snake s3-t3, tr. Allen, BOD, p.74: 'I slept and am (re)born, renewed, rejuvenated every day'.

Note the comment of M.Chinery, A Field Guide to the Insects of Britain and Northern Europe (London 1972, 1976) p.213: 'The life cycle may be extremely short, less than a week under favourable conditions'.

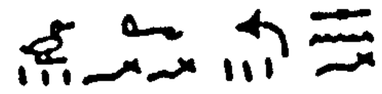
52. CT II, 94a: .

tr. FECT I, p.97: 'A man shall say this spell over a louse from his head; he shall place it on his knee, spitting(?) until a fly comes to catch it'.

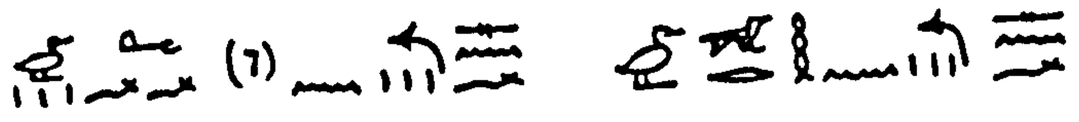
53. Eb 104, 11:

Wb. Drog. V, p.385; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.222: '[Blut? von] Fliegen'.

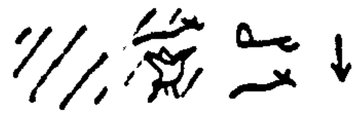
Eb 74, 14: (see <u>ỉkw-n-t3</u> above)

Eb 104, 5: 

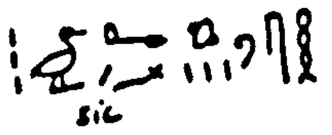
Wb. Drog. V, p.384; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.222: 'Blut von Fliegen'.

Eb 105,7: 

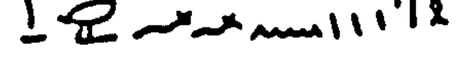
Wb. Drog. V, p.386; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.223: 'Blut von ḫwr-Insekt(?); Blut von Fliegen'.

P. Ram. III, A, 13: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.99; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^1$, p.58: 'Fliege'.

54. Eb 95, 6 (= P.med Berl 3038, 2, 3-4): 

Wb. Drog. V, p.488; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.284: 'Kot von Fliegen 1'.

Eb 94, 17: 

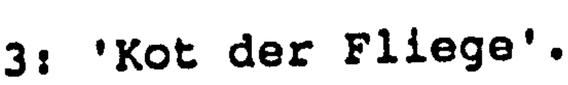
Wb. Drog. V, p.479; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.278: 'Kot von Fliegen 1'.

Eb 70, 10:

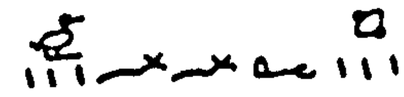
Wb. Drog. V, p.536; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.205: 'Kot der Fliege 1'.

Eb 88, 9: 

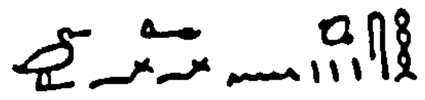
Wb. Drog. V, p.370; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.213: 'Kot der Fliege'.

Eb 64, 2: 

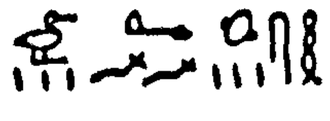
Wb. Drog. V, p.99; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.58: 'Kot der Fliege 1'.

Hearst 10, 17: 

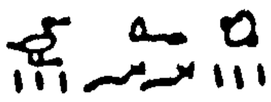
Wb. Drog. V, p.517; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.300. 'Kot der Fliege'.

Eb 92, 12: 

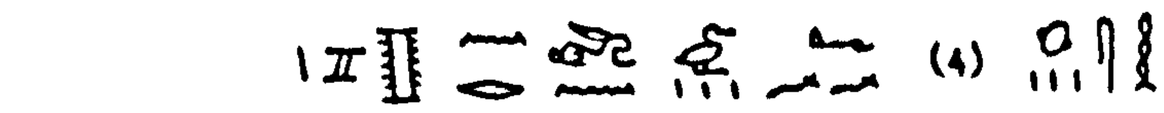
Wb. Drog. V, p.66; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.38: 'Kot der Fliege'.

Eb 74, 3: 

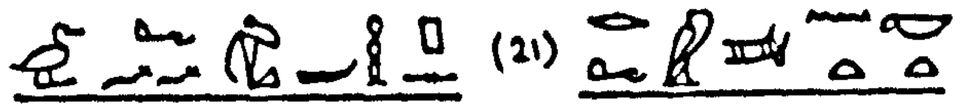
Wb. Drog. V, p.408; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.236. 'Kot von Fliegen'.

Hearst 9, 14: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.400; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.230: 'Kot von Fliegen 1'.

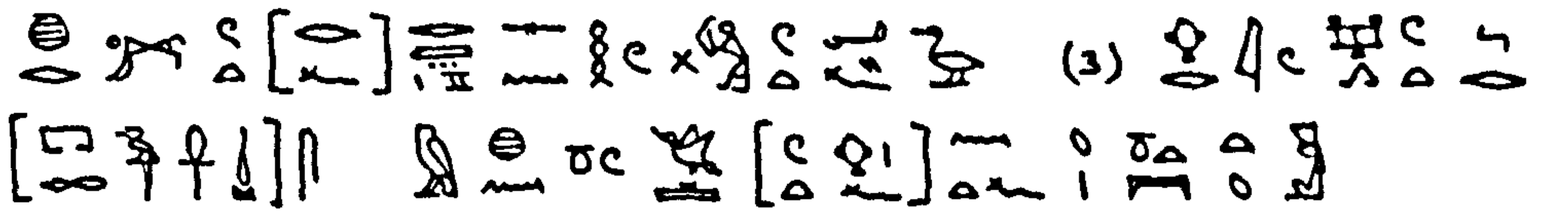
55. Eb 93, 4: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.501; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.292: 'Kot von Fliegen'.

56. Eb 97, 21: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.527; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.305: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Nichtzulassen, daß eine Fliege beißt (psḥ). Fett (mrḥt) vom gnw-Vogel; werde damit gesalbt (wrḥ)'.

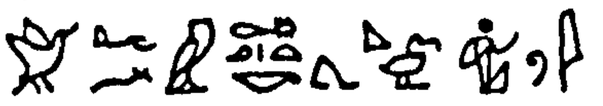
57. Germond, Sekhmet, p.91 (P. Wien Aeg. Sammlung 8426, x+1, 2; cf Edfu VI, 265, 1-2):



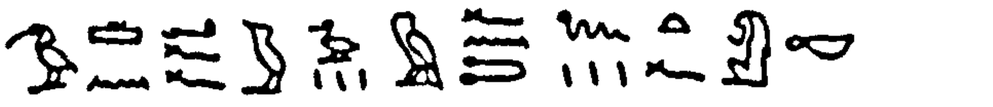
'Tombe donc à terre, sois réduite à l'impuissance (toi) la mouche, éloigne-toi de Pharaon, V.P.S., ne te pose pas sur lui, car il est le fils de Nout'.

58. Smith, vso 19, 14 and 19, 15-18:

Wb. Drog. V, p.455; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.266: 'Spruch für das Reinigen einer Fliege'.

59. A.W. Shorter, JEA 22 (1936) 165-168: A Magical Ostracon: (O. Armytage [1]): 

tr. p.165: 'I will enter thy belly as a fly and (8) behold thy belly in its interior. I will make thy face become the back of thy head, and the front of thy foot become thy heel'.

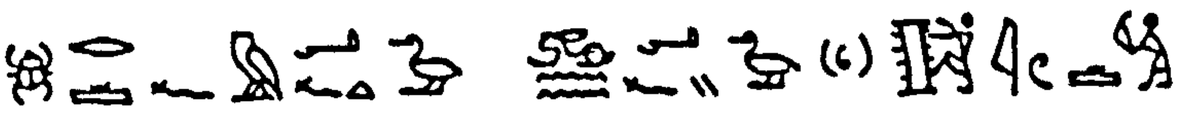
60. Text Relig (CT IV, 166a) 58: 

tr. FECT I, p.254: 'It is good for the flies and (?) your father's snakes' (with n.4, p.255: 'Quite unintelligible').

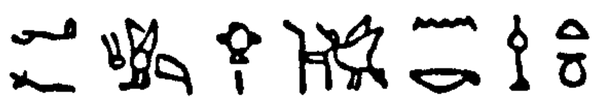
61. See Hornung, Amduat I, p.136 with n.t-w.

62. According to E.Rotter, L.Gough, H.v.Buttel-Reepen and L.Armbruster, Die Biene in Ägypten jetzt und vor 5000 Jahren (Leipzig & Berlin 1921), esp. L.Armbruster, Bienenzucht vor 5000 Jahren, p.79, coloured representations of the hieroglyph show it to be the honeybee Apis mellifica fasciata (sic: A.mellifera, domesticated honeybee); though the hornet is similar in colour it is of less economic importance and therefore unlikely to have figured as a hieroglyph.

63. W. Pleyte, ZÄS 4 (1866) 14-15: La guêpe

64. P.Salt VIII, 1, 5-6: 

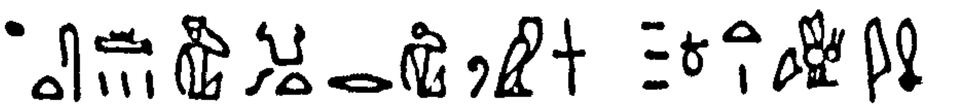
P. Derchain, Le Papyrus Salt 825 (BM 10051) rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Égypte (Bruxelles 1965) tr. p.137: 'Râ a pleuré de nouveau. L'eau de son oeuil est tombée à terre. Elle s'est changée en abeille. Quand l'abeille eut été créée, dans les fleurs et tous les arbres commença son activité. C'est ainsi qu'est produite la cire, tandis que le miel provient de son eau'.

65. Edfu Mamm 164, 2: 

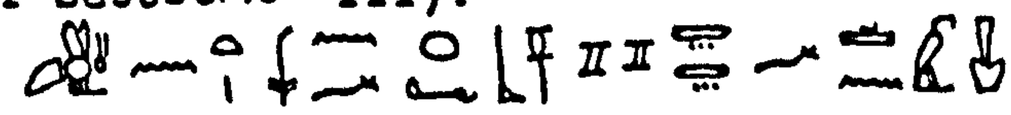
See G.Kuený, JNES 9 (1950) 84-93: Scènes apicoles dans l'ancienne Égypte.

66. See K. Sethe, ZÄS 30 (1892) 113-119: Über einen vermeintlichen Lautwerth des Zeichens der Biene (in the name of priests of Min). On the transcription of this sign as both bỉty and ʿfty see P. Montet, JNES 9 (1950) 18-27: Quelques prêtres et fonctionnaires du dieu Min and C. Gauthier, Les fêtes du dieu Min (Le Caire 1931), esp. p.244-247. A depiction of bee-keeping in ancient Egypt can be seen in M.Bietak & E.Reiser-Haslauer, Das Grab des Anch-hor I (Wien 1978) fig.49; for bees(?) in a fish-gutting scene see Nianchchnum, pl.12.

67. CD 52b: 'honey'; CED p.32; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.38a; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.32.

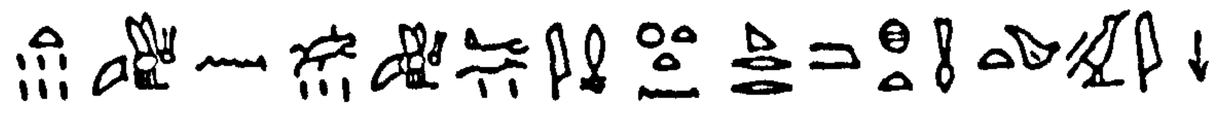
68. Sall II, 5, 5: 

tr. Grapow, Bildliche Ausdrücke, p.98: 'Der Barbier hat viel zu tun; er muß beständig tätig sein, um seinen Bauch zu füllen wie eine Biene, die zu ihren Werke frißt.' (Also tr. Brunner, Lehre des Cheti, p.22 and Helck, Lehre des Dwꜣ-ḫty, p.48.)

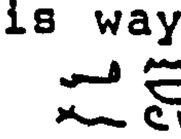
P. Kah 15, 1, 2 (titles of Sesostris III): 

'he has united the two lands, he has joined the sedge to the bee'.

Wb also quoted 'Med Habu (Düm Hist. Inscr. II, 36e) (?)' but this appears to be an incorrect reference, as Wb suspected. Cf also Pyr 781 with Sethe, U u K III, p.433.

69. Amduat IV, 47: 

Osing, Nominalbildung, p.683, n.772, (cf p.176) rejected the reading ꜥfy n bit, and understood the sentence: 'es wird gehört ein Geräusch wie das Summen einer Menge von Bienen'. The word-order of the phrase is unusual - cf ꜥšꜣ n mnmnt.f nb in An VII, 11, 3 (Wb I, 288, 24: ꜥšꜣ m/n 'multitude of'). Hornung, Amduat II, p.143, further commented: 'ꜥff als Geräusch ist nur hier belegt; als lautmales "Summen" ist es vielleicht erst sekundär zur Bezeichnung für Fliege (Wb I, 182, 14-16) und Biene (ibid. 10-11) geworden'.

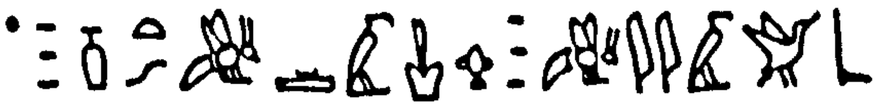
70. Keimer, Pendeloques, p.[181], supposed rather that the term ꜥf(y) had 'la signification générale d' "insecte ailé" ', as Crum, CD 23b, suggested. In this way Keimer (op.cit., p.[79]) hoped to explain an inscription  on a box above a grasshopper depicted on a coffin (Brussels 7344), though a reading as ꜥf(t) 'box', 'coffin' (Wb I, 183, 15-18: Kasten) might better explain the determinative.

71. CD 23b: 'honey fly, bee'. See above (ꜣꜥ) for other dictionary references.

72. Eg Vycichl, op.cit., p.21: 'Le verbe ꜥfy "voler" est une variante de ꜥpy "voler" ... En sémitique correspond ꜥwp: hébreu... ꜥāf, yāꜥūf "voler" ... ꜥōf "oiseau" ... aussi... ꜥōf, pl. ꜣaꜥwāf "oiseau" en éthiopien'.

73. See above n.69.

74. O.DelM 1675:



'the b3y gathering (lit. 'uniting') honey'.

Posener (Index) tr.: 'l'abeille'.

75. CT VII, 224m:

tr. FECT III, p.110: 'The Little One will be against you as a hornet(?) if you cross me', commenting, n.5: 'Masc. byw, therefore not "bee" but probably an aggressive insect of the same general type'.

76. CT VI, 396e:

tr. FECT II, p.295-296: 'N has made Osiris grow, he has seen his seats which are in the upper sky, he has purged his efflux, he has knocked(?) his blow-fly to the ground'.

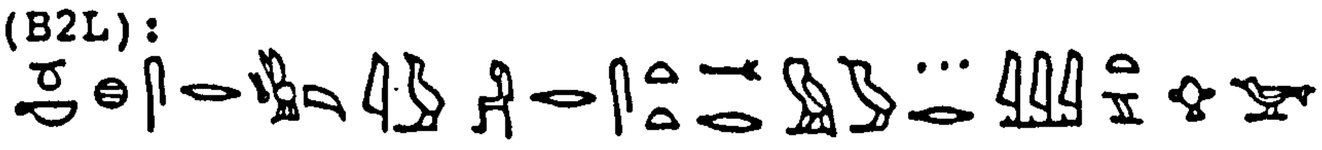
77. FECT II, 296, n.5.

78. CD 669a: 'beetle(?)'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.297b: 'scarabée'; Černý, CED,p.279: 'beetle' or 'worm'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.366: 'Käfer... Wurm'.

79. CT VI, 302e:

Not translated by Faulkner.

CT IV, 44e (B2L):



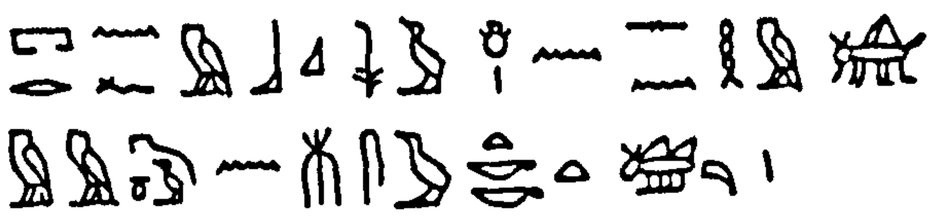
var SqlC:

tr. FECT I, p.218: 'It is I who will drive away the hornet, I will spear fish at the field of Ḥr-wr'.

80. FECT I, p.217, n.14: 'Hardly "bee" (B2L), which surely would not be driven away [ie ḫsr]; an unpleasant insect is indicated'. The word ḫspr is confirmed by CT VI, 302e, so a reading ḫsr seems unjustified.

81. Note the comment of Keimer, Pendeloques, p.[180]: 'En ce qui concerne le déterminatif du mot tkk.t... K. Sethe m'a écrit que j'avais tort de prétendre que ce déterminatif avait à peu près la forme de l'abeille bi.t...; la différence était, au contraire, assez grande'. Cf also p.[79].

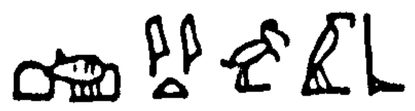
82. Not to be read kkt as E. Lefébure, PSBA 15 (1893) 135-151: Études sur Abydos, p.137: 'Le déterminatif du mot imitatif keket ressemble beaucoup moins à une courtilière ou à un charancon qu'à une forme de sauterelle donnée par M. Birch [S. Birch, ZÄS 4 (1866) 85-88: Adversaria Hieroglyphica, p.86, has this insect(?) as the determinative of snḥm].'

83. Pyr 1772: 

84. Keimer, Pendeloques, p.[78].

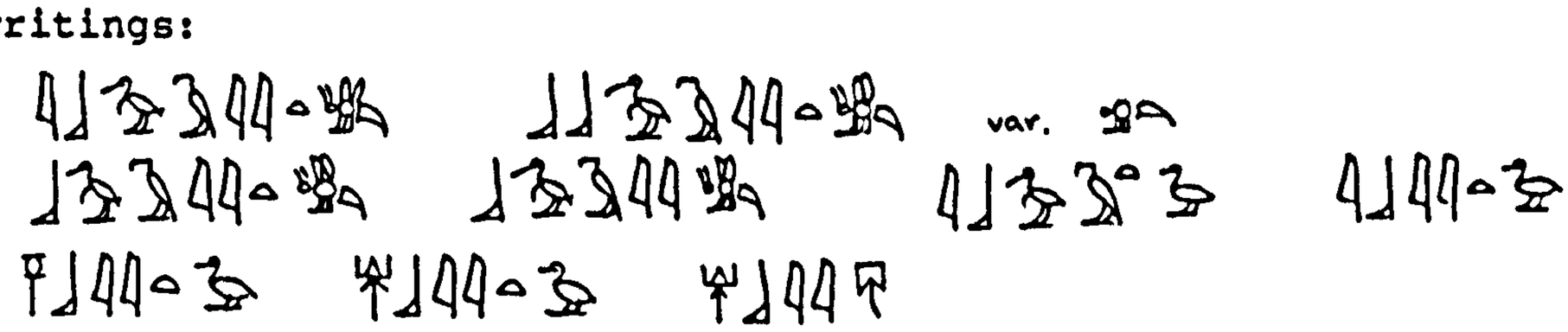
85. Faulkner, AEPT, p.260, with n.3 and esp. n.4: 'Or "wasp", but of the two the hornet is the more vicious; tkkt probably means "attacker".'

86. E.A.T.W.Budge, The Book of the Dead III, A Vocabulary (London 1898) p.164, 1 & 216, 16; id., A Hieroglyphic Vocabulary to the Theban Recensions of the Book of the Dead (London 1911) p.23: 'the praying mantis'.

BOD 76 (Totb Nav II, p.159 (Aa)): 

BOD 104 (Totb Nav II, p.240 (Aa)):

Budge, Dictionary I, p.4b and 19b, recorded the following variant writings:



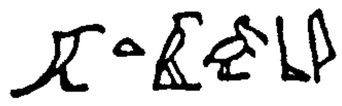

On this insect see also H.C.Jelgersma, Ex Orienta Lux 23 (1973-74) 365-367: The Ancient Egyptians and the Bushmen.

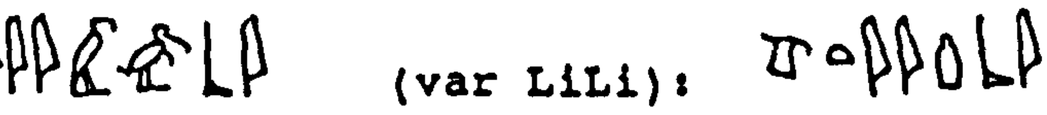
87. Keimer, Pendeloques, p.[102]-[103], fig.89a (tomb of Seti I):

O. Cairo 44892, rto:

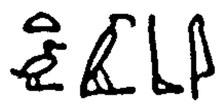
88. The phrase in these texts runs ḳd(t)m (or ḳdm) with the insect determinative. This has been interpreted 'the form/shape of a mantis' by Otto, Mundöffnungsritual II, p.56, n.7: 'Gestalt als... (Gottesanbeterin)'. Others have read ḳdt or ḳdm as the name of the insect itself, eg Barguet, LdM, p.113, n.2: 'Selon certains, il s'agirait d'une mante; pourtant, celle-ci est nommée qedem dans le Rituel de l'ouverture de la bouche. La mention de "la chanteuse" orienterait peut-être vers la cigale'. W.Helck, MDAIK 22 (1967) 27-41: Einige Bemerkungen zum Mundöffnungsritual, p.30, n.c, transliterated ḳdt, noting 'nach dem Determinativ die "Raubheuschrecke".'

89. In Otto, Mundöffnungsritual I, p.28-29, these are given as:

90. Totb Nav II, p.159 (Ae): 

CT IV, 52f: (var LiLi):  var BIL:

Keimer, Pendeloques, p.[101], n.5: 'représente clairment un vautour percnoptère'.

Cf CT IV, 65e: 

91. On ỉb3y in a text mentioning various other species of bird used in a temple ritual see Ch.17 : Miscellaneous Birds.

92. FECT I, p.227, n.3.

93.Keimer, Pendeloques, p.[101].

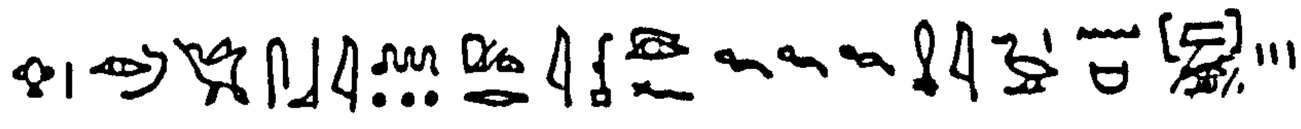
94. A. Alfieri, personal communication to Keimer (see Pendeloques, p.[100]).

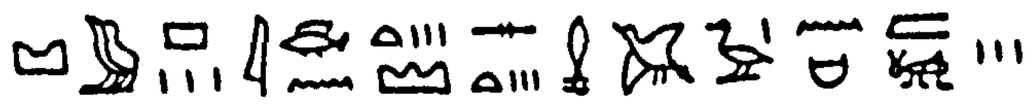
95. L. Störk, LÄ III, 1184-1185: Mantis, esp. col.1184.

96. See E. Brunner-Traut, LÄ II, 1179-1181: Heuschrecke.

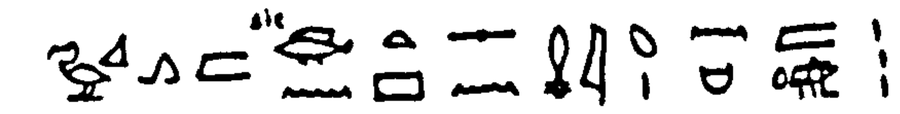
97. There may also have been overtones of contempt in the phrases; Grapow, Bildliche Ausdrücke, p.98, commented: 'Ihre Unzahl macht die Heuschrecke auch zu etwas Gemeinem, Nichtigen'. Cf Wb III, 461, 8: 'als Bild der Menge und der Verächtlichkeit'.

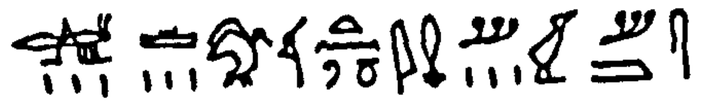
98. Med Habu VI, 392: king

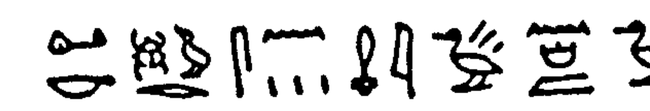
Med Habu 82, 36: 

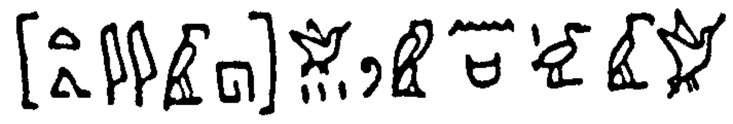
Kadesch 19: 

Kadesch 24A:

Abu Simbel <17> Rm F: 

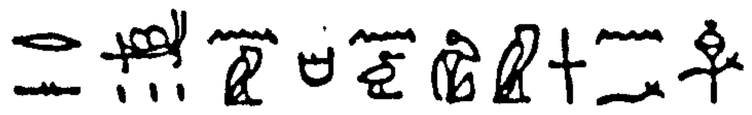
KRI I, 43 (Speos Artemidos): 

Karn Mar 55, 74 (DHI, pl.6, l.74): 

99. An V, 16, 2 = Sall I, 6, 1: 

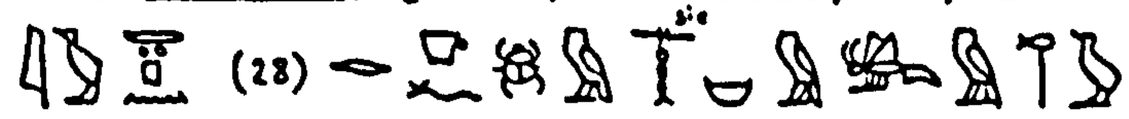
tr. Caminos, LEM, p.247: 'The mice abound (16,2) in the field, the locust descends, the cattle devour'. With n. on p.248.

Kawa I, V, 12 (full text under ḥdḳḳ; a good inundation destroys pests throughout Egypt):



tr. Macadam, p.27: 'it kept away from it the devouring of the locusts'.

Vandier, Mo'alla, p.221, Inscr.10, IV, 28:



tr. p.222: 'Ankhtifi dit: "Le pays tout entier était devenu comme une sauterelle affamée(?)..."'. Vandier read the penultimate sign šw, comparing Wb IV, 428, 4 (rnpwt šwyt): Jahre des Mangels? oder wenige Jahre?, and commenting: 'Il est naturel de passer de l'idée d'aridité à celle de famine, et c'est ce dernier sens qui a été proposé, plus haut, dans la traduction de ce passage'. Cf Vandier, Famine, p.67 and p.118-119.

On a later text (dating to the reign of Taharqa) to protect a field from grasshoppers see Griffith, Transcription of the Inscriptions

in 'Tanis' Parts 1 and 2, in Petrie, Tanis II.

100. Keimer, Pendeloques, p.[90].

101. Ranke, PN I, p.428, no.19.

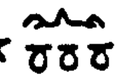
102. For these representations see Keimer, Pendeloques, p.[43] - [83]; [86] - [98]; [170] - [180] with fig. 31; 32; 35-37; 73-75.

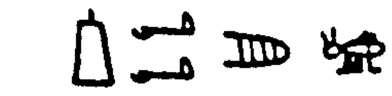
103. Wilkinson, Manners & Customs II, p.107 with fig. 365. On dragonflies in Egypt see J.d'Aguillar et al., A Field Guide to the Dragonflies of Britain, Europe and North Africa (Paris 1953).

104. Keimer, loc.cit.

105. Totb Nav 125 Schlußrede 19 (vol II, p.332, var. Ab):

tr. Allen, BOD, p.99: 'I (have) purified myself in the southern site, I have gone to rest in the northern settlement, (in) the field of grasshoppers wherein I purify myself at this hour of night or day'.

106. See H. Junker, ASAE 49 (1949) 207-215: Zu den Titeln des  = Davies et al., Saqqara Tombs I, pl.27-29.

The inscription :  was translated by Junker (p.213-214): ' Stütze der Arme dessen, der die snḥm mit dem Netze fängt' or 'Stütze der beiden "Arme" des Netzes (für den Fang) der snḥm'.

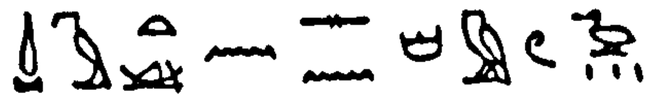
107. Pyr 891[N]: tr. Sethe, UuK IV, p.152: 'NN hat den Himmel erreicht als Heuschrecke (var. als Horus vom Horizonte), die die Sonne unsichtbar macht'. This translation also in Keimer, Pendeloques, p. [190].

108. Sethe, op.cit., p.161, commented that he found the image surprising, 'da die Heuschrecke nicht allzu hoch von der Erde wegfliegen kann und es ihrer Nahrung wegen auch nicht thut'.

109. Keimer, Pendeloques, p. [75].

110. Keimer, Pendeloques, p. [78]; Dynasty 18 stela from BM:

tr.: 'tu remontes le fleuve en tant que b3 - sauterelle (vers) Abydos, large et pour lui la place dans la barque nšmt'.

111. Hearst 14,7: 

Wb.Drog. V, p.535; tr. Wb.Drog. IV[1], p.310: 'Spruch für den Honig. Es kommt der Honig, <er> kommt zum Überfahren für die Heuschrecken'.

112. E.Lefébure, PSBA 15 (1893) 135-151: Étude sur Abydos, esp. p.136-137.

113. L. Keimer, ZÄS 68 (1932) 119-121: Die 'Papyrus-farbene' Heuschrecke, and id., Pendeloques, p. [91]: 'il reste bien possible que deux mots [snḥm and wȝḏt] aient pu désigner un seul insecte ou plusieurs espèces voisines d'une même famille'. The inscription discussed read :

For colour variations in the Desert Locust (Schistocerca gregaria Forskål), including green, see the frontispiece in B. Uvarov, Grasshoppers and Locusts : A Handbook of General Acridology I (Cambridge 1966).

114. CD 345a: 'grasshopper'; Černý, CED, p.155: 'grasshopper'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.191a: 'sauterelle'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.189: 'Heuschrecke'.

115. CD 615a: 'locust'; Černý, CED, p.263: 'locust'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p. 227b: 'sauterelle'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.341: 'Heuschrecke'. For the demotic word see Erichsen, DG, p.482, 3.

116. Allee & Schmidt, Ecological Animal Geography, p.549-550.

117. V.M. Dirsch, The African Genera of Acridoidea (Cambridge 1965).

118. Keimer, Pendeloques p.[94] - [95]. Cf id., BIE 20 (1939) 255-258: Une analogie curieuse entre certaines représentations égyptiennes de sauterelles et la description de ces insectes donnée par Joel et par Jean de l'Apocalypse.

119. Gardiner, Sign List L4, identified the hieroglyph determining snḥm as Acrydium peregrinum. This name was not recorded by Uvarov. The genus Acridium has been superseded by Anacridium and Uvarov referred from A.peregrinum to Schistocerca and from S.peregrina to S.gregaria.

120. B.Uvarov, Locusts and Grasshoppers : A handbook for their study and control (London 1928), p.252 (distribution map fig.89) and p.62 respectively.

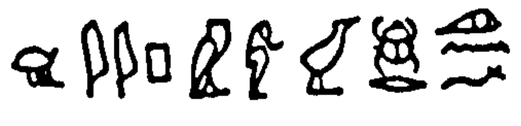
121. See Uvarov, op.cit., fig 86 - distribution map.

122. See W.Helck, LÄ II, 267 : Floh.

123. CD 260b: 'leap'; 'leaper flea'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.158b; Černý, CED, p.124; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.145.

124. Amonsyhymn Kairo 6, 6 (P.Boulaq 17): - see ddft.
Berl 6910: - see ddft.

125. Eb 97, 15-16: 
Wb. Drog. V, p.526; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.305: 'Anfang von den Heilmitteln, die man macht, um Flöhe im Hause zu beseitigen'.

126. CT I, 215 (B17C):

tr. FECT I, p.45: 'he transformed himself into a louse and crept under his flank'.

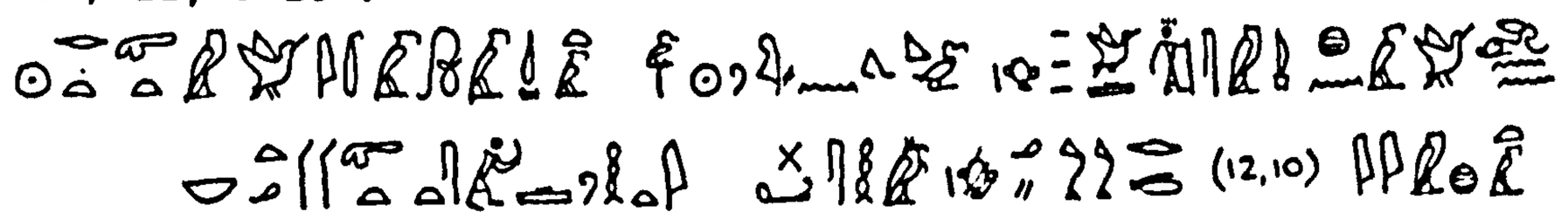
127. E. Littman, ZÄS 67 (1931) 63-38: Bemerkungen zur ägyptisch-semitischen Sprachverglichung, p.64-65: 'Das Wort für "Floh" pii möchte ich nicht mit Albright [AJSLL 34 (1919) 215-255: Notes on Egypto-Semitic Etymology II, p.229, para.45] von arab. falā "to remove lice (also used of hunting for fleas)" ableiten, trotzdem in Somali der Floh als "Springlaus" bezeichnet wird...Vielmehr ist das Springen die Hauptsache, und die semitischen Wörter für "Floh"

hängen alle mit den Wörtern fur "springen" zusammen...Ich glaube daher, daß pii zu arab. farra "fliehen" gehört...Urform pārir...zu ΠΗΙ ...'. Cf Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.158b.

128. Spiegelberg, Ostraka, pl.43:

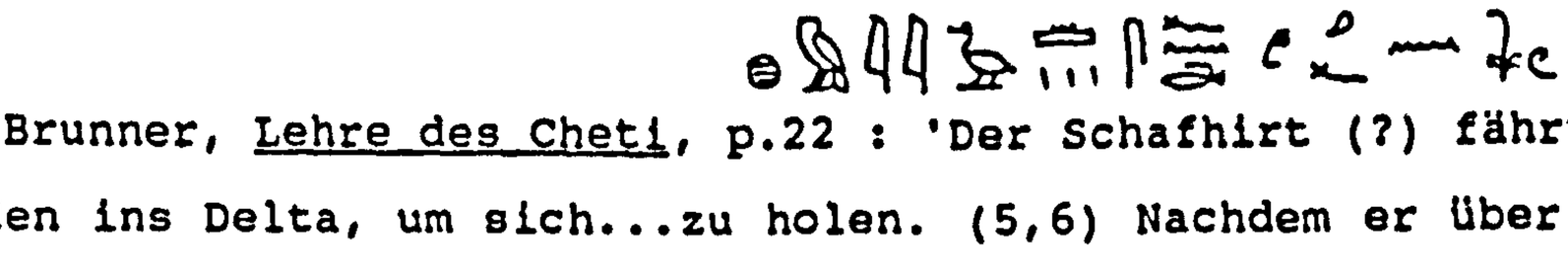
129. M.Weber, LÄ II, 264-265 : Fliege, esp. col.264.

130. An IV, 12, 9-10 :



tr. Caminos, LEM, p.188-189 : 'There is the gnat at sunset and the midge at noon; the sand-fly (12,10) stings and sucks at every vein'.

131. Sall II, 5, 6:



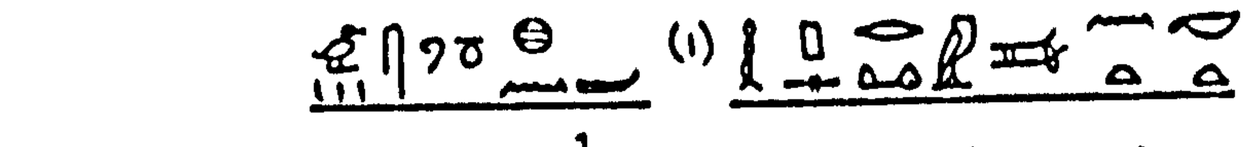
tr. Brunner, Lehre des Cheti, p.22 : 'Der Schafhirt (?) fährt nach Norden ins Delta, um sich...zu holen. (5,6) Nachdem er über seine Kräfte viel geleistet hat bei der Arbeit und ihn schon die Mücken umgebracht haben, plagen ihn noch die Sandfliegen'. Text p.121; also in Spiegelberg, Ostraca, pl.9; O.DelM 1203 and 1513 (written ḫnms and ḫmyt).

132. Lacau, Études Égyptologiques I, Ch.3: Le groupe n + w aboutissant à m, esp. p.51, para 41. He described ḫnms 'comme étant un état plus récent du [ḫnws]'; he would have expected a form *ḫnnws to lead to Coptic ϣολμϲ (CD 560a: 'gnat'; Černý, CED, p.241: 'gnat'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.260: 'moustique'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch p.311 : 'Mücke', & p.558.)

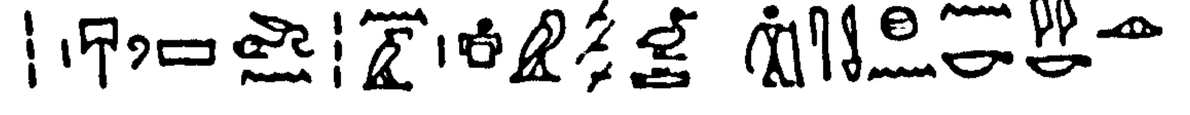
133. Eb 101, 21.

Wb.Drog. V, p.5; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.3.

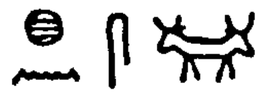
134. A.Ember, ZÄS 51 (1913) 110-121 : Kindred Semito-Egyptian Words, para 6. Cf the translation of Loret, op.cit., p.118-119: 'flaireur' - 'un euphémisme pittoresque'.

135. Eb 98, 1: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.527; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.305: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) für das Nichtzulassen, daß Mücken stechen (psḥ)'.

136. P. Tur P u R 74, 9 (Turin A vso 9): 

tr. Caminos, LEM, p.451 : 'you act yourself as a gnat after the jackals'. For the phrase m-sȝ see A.N.Dakin, JEA 26 (1940) 159: M-sȝ 'pestering'.

137. Otto, Mundöffnungsritual I, p.29, his text 10i. Var.83 has the gloss: 

See too, W. Helck, MDAIK 22 (1967) 27-41 : Einige Bemerkungen zum Mundöffnungsritual, who described the hieroglyphs as 'Bienenartige Insekten, die in Var 83 ḥnś geschrieben werden; also liegen "Mücken" (ḥnws), vor'.

138.Vandier, Famine, p.123 :

An unusually high Nile in the reign of Osorkon III causes devastation throughout Egypt: 'Les hommes (étaient) comme des mouches de sable, sur leur ville'.

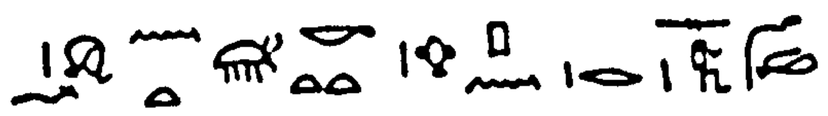
139. Caminos, LEM, p.193 (after Gardiner, AEO II, p.217*).

140. AL 78.3017; cf FECT I, p.154, n.6: 'For n ḫmy ỉm.f ...apparently a figurative use of ḫm "demolish". JEA 22, 178. In English we can speak of a hungry person "demolishing" a meal'.

141. G. Maspero, PSBA 13 (1891) 407-437: Notes au jour le jour, esp. p.417.

142. See Ch.15 : Waterbirds.

143. Caminos, LEM, p.193. V.Loret, Rec.Trav. 14 (1893) 106-120: La racine , p.118, n.1, compared Coptic ϭⲁϫ , 'sparrow', ϭϫⲉ (for ϣϫⲉ ) 'locust', as well as 'la mouche zizi' (?).

144. CT II, 941 a: 

tr. FECT I, p.97 with n.8 : 'A man shall say this spell over a louse from his head; he shall place it on his knee, spitting (?) until a fly comes to snatch it'; 'the translation rests on the

determinative'. Cf Herodotus II, 37 noting that Egyptian priests had shaven heads so that no lice or other impure things should adhere to them while they were in the service of the gods.

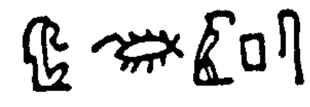
145. CD 102a: 'louse'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.508: 'Laus'.

146. CT V, 281c:

tr. FECT II, p.73 : 'Not to rot and not to do work in the realm of the dead. The louse comes, the louse comes dead, the louse is chewed'.

147. Osing, Nominalbildung, p.612-613, n.611.

148. The wrong shape for a millipede (Tausendfuß). See, eg, the illustrations in O'Toole, Encyclopaedia of Insects, p.9 and p.10.

149. Lesko, Book of Two Ways, p.125 (= CT VII, 453): 

150. Eg Pyr 425; Pyr 444; Pyr 244; Pyr 663, though none of these have the seated deity as determinative.

151. P.Ram V, 3, 15. See Barns' comments, Five Ramesseum Papyri, p.31, refuted by H.Brunner, LÄ VI, 244: Tausendfuß, n.3. Wb.Drog. V, p.50; tr. Wb.Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.28: 'Fett (ḏd) des ....Tieres '.

152. Griffith, Hieroglyphs, p.25, noting spȝ from Eb 41,11; Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.93; V, p.161; VII, p.743, and comparing Pyr 327 where spȝ 'is the dead body, perhaps in connection with the articulated skeleton'.

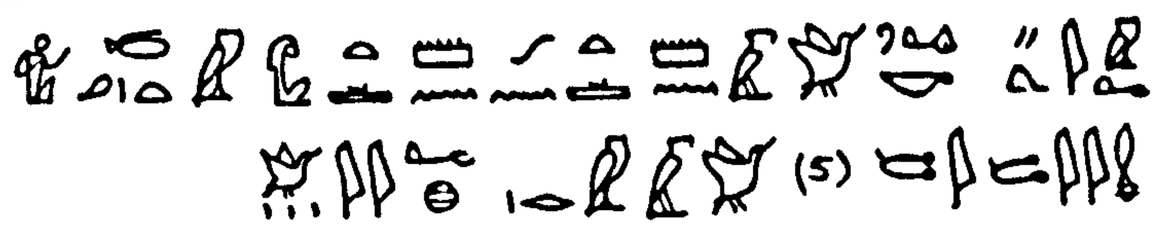
153. Brunner, op.cit., recorded this species as the most common in Egypt. Note the comments of Boessneck, Tierwelt, p.153: 'Bei der als Schriftzeichen oder Determinativ abgebildeten Art nimmt man an, daß Scolopendra adhaerens gemeint sei, die in Ägypten häufigste Skolopenderart, was die Darstellungen infolge der subtilen Unterscheidung der Skolopendra-Arten beim besten Willen nicht zu erkennen geben'.

154. V.Loret, RdE 6 (1951) 5-20: Le mille-pattes et la chaise à porteurs de pharaon. He noted that Scolopendra sp have 42 legs and that Egyptian carrying chairs can be supported by 21 men; he translated the name of the chair, therefore, (p.10) as 'Chaise

véhiculée par quarante-deux jambes' or 'chaise scolopendre'. He commented further: 'Si je ne me trompe...c'est le nombre des nomes de l'Égypte qui a inspiré avant tout ce choix de 42 jambes, et la comparaison métaphorique avec la Scolopendre n'est venue qu'ensuite' (p.14-15).

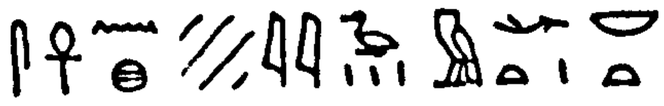
155. Griffith, Hieroglyphs, p.25, suggested that 'the centipede shared its name with any worm or grub'.

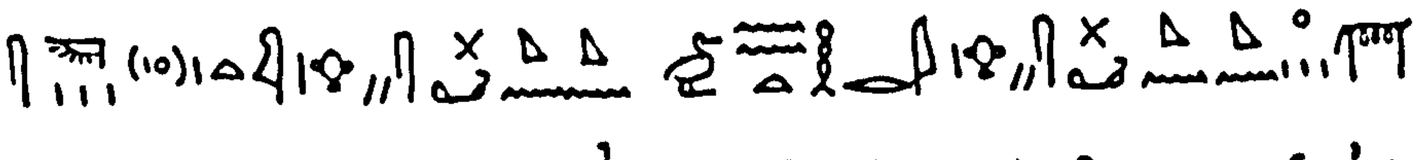
156. A.W. Shorter, JEA 22 (1936) 165-168: A magical ostracon:



157. Shorter, op.cit., commented, p.167, n.12: 'the ỉtỉt must be an insect which is gobbled up by the ḫy-birds. In the same way in which the insect is snapped up by their beaks, the magician wishes his enemy to be placed in his hand'.

158. The reading is 'ganz klar' according to the Zettel in Berlin.

159. Amonshymn Kairo 6, 7: 

160. Eb 84, 9: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.47; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.26: 'zerstoßen auf ỉr-ḥnn.t-Vogel/Insekt'.

161. Wreszinski, Eb, p.170.

162. Eb 88, 4:

Wb. Drog. V, p.369; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.212: 'Nest (pr) des bỉbỉ-Insekts'.

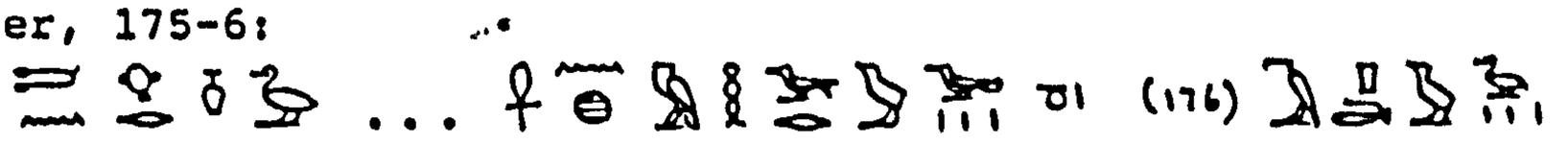
163. Wb. Drog. VI, p.169; Ebbell, P. Ebers, p.102.

164. Wb. Drog. VI, p.169.

165. Eb 105, 6:

Wb. Drog. V, p.386; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^1$, p.223: 'Blut vom (ḫwr-Insekt(?)'.

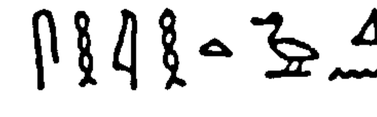
166. Wb. Drog. VI, p.444-448 (snf).

167. Bauer, 175-6: 

hwrt is recorded by Wb from Pyr 2204 and various Ptolemaic texts.

168. Eb 77, 3:

Wb. Drog. V, p.137; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.80: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel). shiht- Vogel/Insekt, zerstampft in einem Mörser, indem alles zu ihm gehörige dabei ist, werde damit verbunden'.

P. Ramesseum III, B, 2: 

Wb. Drog. V, p.139; tr. Wb. Drog. IV$^{1}$, p.81: 'shiht - Vogel/Insekt'.

Wb. Drog. VI, p.459, reasoned 'Es könnte nur ein kleiner Vogel sein'.

169. On this practice in Latin, with many examples, see E.de Saint-Denis, Le vocabulaire des animaux marins en latin classique (Paris 1947).

170.

171. See, for example, the photograph of the kiosk of Sesostris I at Karnak in Baines and Málek, Atlas, p.40.

172. See Meeks, AL 78.4236: 'un insecte', referring to CT IV, 8e; FECT I, p.205, tr. 'powerful ones'.

173. Pyr 712:

174. Keimer, Pendeloques, compared (p.[134]) Coptic ⲇⲥⲟⲩⲗⲓ , CD 18a: 'butterflies'; Vycichl, Dictionnaire, p.17a; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.13: 'Schmetterlinge'.

175. U. Verhoeven, LÄ V, 663-664: Schmetterling (after Keimer, Pendeloques); Keller, Antike Tierwelt II, p.435.

176. See also P. Behrens, LÄ V, 987-989: Skorpion. On scorpions in classical texts see also P.H.Boussac, Revue Scientifique 20 (1903) 466-469: La tortue, le scorpion et le lézard dans l'Égypte ancienne.

177. O. Cairo 25521, vso 2 and 3; O. Cairo 25517, vso 13; O. Cairo 25519, vso (t3 wḥʿw); Max d'Anil, Rs:

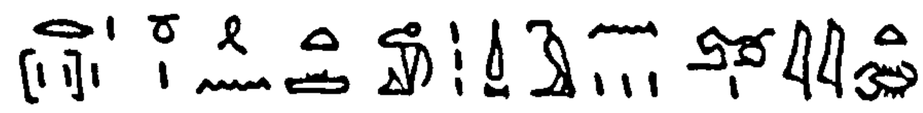
178. Translated 'colocynth' by Dawson, JEA 20 (1934) 141-148: Studies in the Egyptian Medical Texts III, p.141.

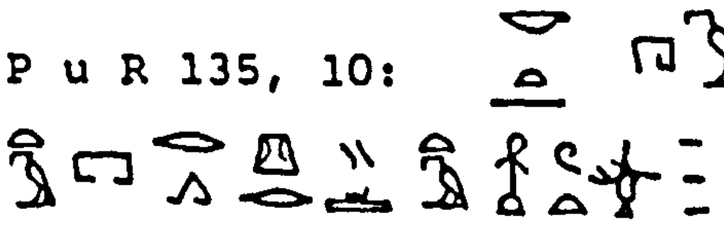
179. See in the texts quoted below.

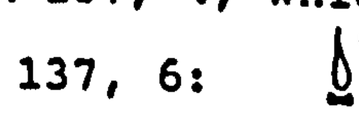
180. CD 810a; Černý, CED, p.327: 'scorpion'; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.449: 'Skorpion'.

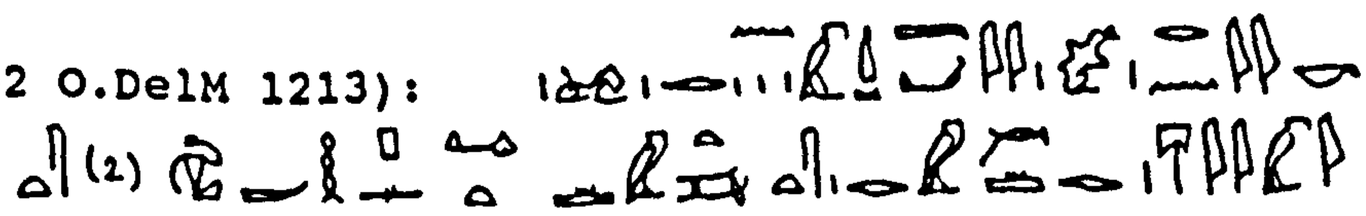
181. Ranke, PN I, p.405, no.13 (cf I, p.405, no.12); id., Tiernamen, p.81.

182. P. med Berl 3038, 7, 7:
Wb. Drog. V, p.368; tr. Wb. Drog. IV[1], p.212: 'Ein anderes (Heilmittel) [für] einen mit einem <Skorpions->Stich. unterägyptisches Salz; Bodensatz (tsḥ.t) von süßem Bier; werde der Mann damit beräuchert'.

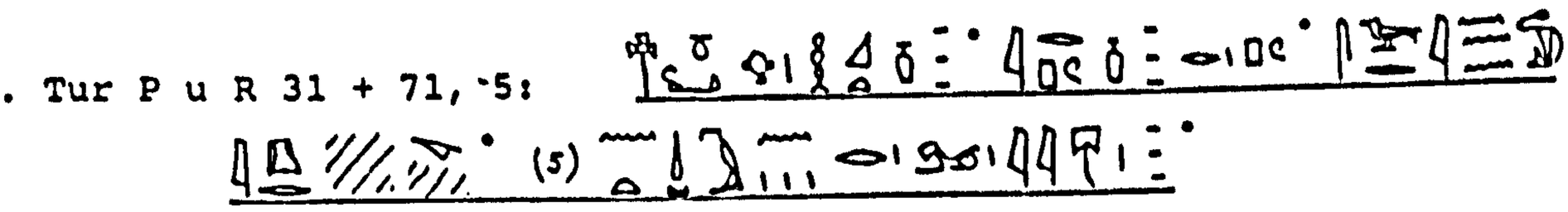
183. E. Drioton, ASAE 39 (1939)57-89 : Une statue prophylactique de Ramsès III, esp.67 :

tr.p.68: 'Formule pour conjurer le scorpion'.

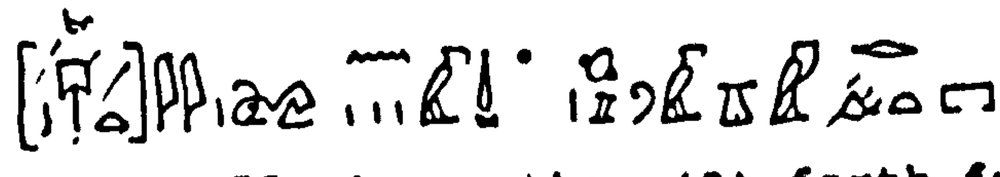
P. Tur P u R 135, 10: 

cf P. Tur P u R 137, 4, which must refer to the same legend & P. Tur P u R 137, 6: 

P.Ch.B.V, vso 3, 1-2 O.DelM 1213): 
tr. Gardiner, HPBM, 3rd ser, p.50 : 'Another spell for catching a scorpion so as to grip its mouth and prevent it from biting. Halt thou scorpion....'.

P. Tur P u R 138,10:

P. Tur P u R 31 + 71, 5: 

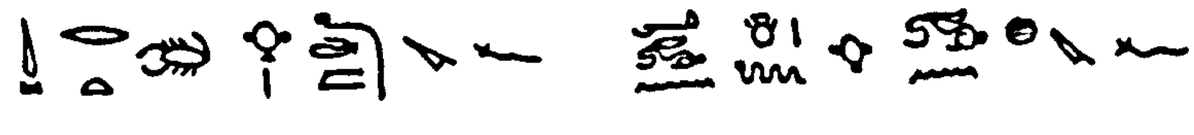
P.Ch.B VII, rto 1, 1: 

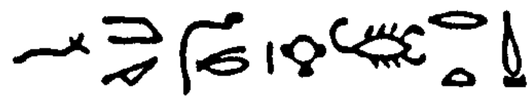
tr. Gardiner, HPBM, 3rd ser, p.55, 'come thou (?) forth from the narrow place (?), thou scorpion'. Compare M.N.Tod, JEA 25 (1939) 55-61 : The Scorpion in Greco-Roman Egypt, esp. p.58, for scorpions in magic and literature at a later date.

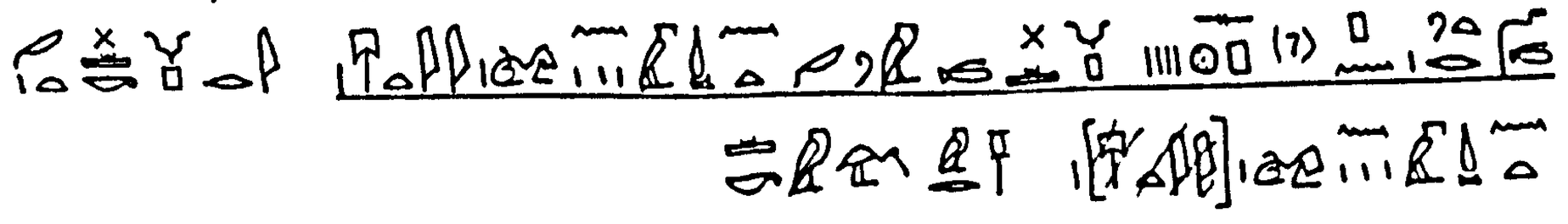
184. On the absence of scorpions from the medical texts see Wb. Prog. II, 12, n.1.

185. See Wb V, 632, 7-10: stechen, esp.8.

For the tail of the scorpion see Mett 54 (tfn) below.

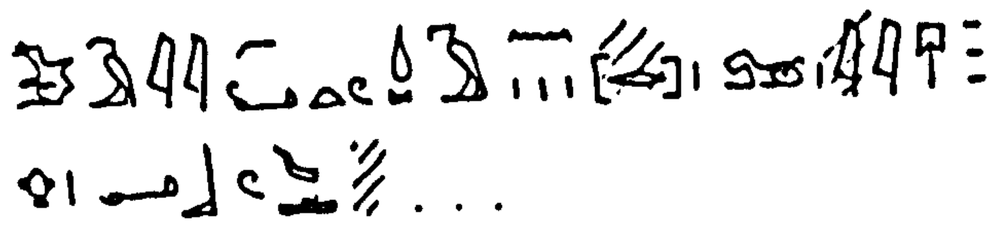
186. Mett 73 : 

Mett 189 : 

187. P.Ch.B.VII, vso 6, 7 :


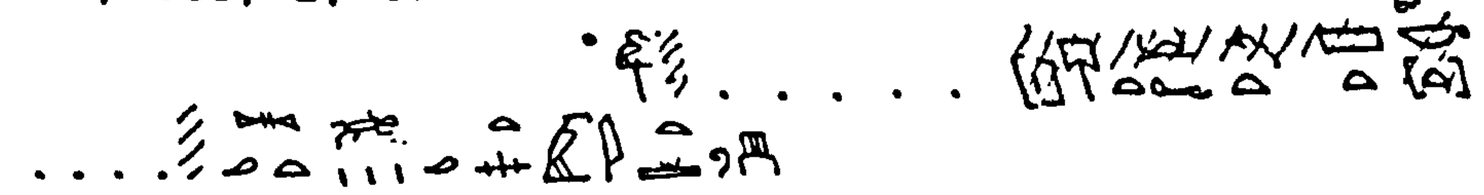
tr. Gardiner, HPBM, 3rd ser, p.65 : 'This spell to be spoken four times. Examine the wound made by a scorpion. If thou examine the wound made by a scorpion, and painful is thy finding'.

188. P. Tur P u R 135,10 : 

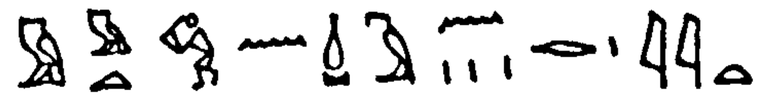
cf P.Tur P u R 31 + 77, 14: 

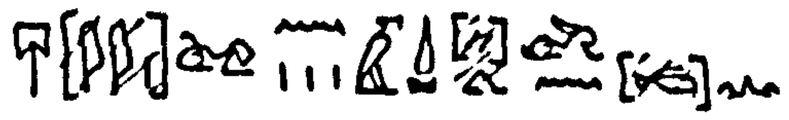
189. Landsberger, Fauna des alten Mesopotamien, p.137.

190. P. Ch.B. VII, rto, 1, 4:

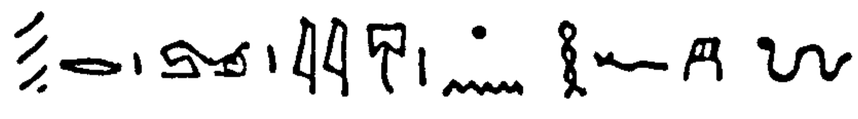


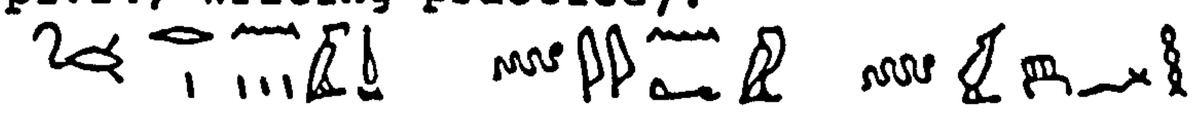
tr. Gardiner, HPBM, 3rd ser, p.46: 'Another (spell). Flow forth, thou scorpion... thou of the long back and the many joints'.

191. P. Tur P u R 120,10: 

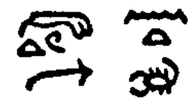
P.Ch.B. VII, vso 14, 8: 

tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.49: 'No [snake] shall go abroad, nor scorpion rise up'.

P. Tur P u R 138, 2 : 

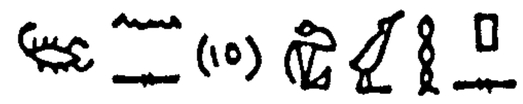
O. Petrie 36 (HO I, pl.24; writing practice): 

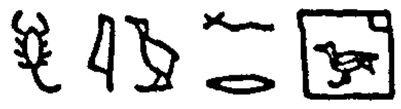
192. See under r (Ch.1 : Classification) for these texts.

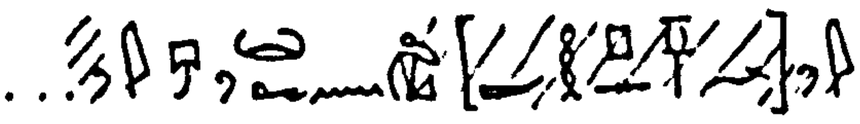
193. Eg Mett 139 : 

Mett 152:

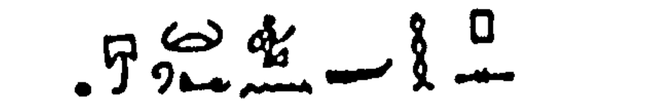
Mett 33 :

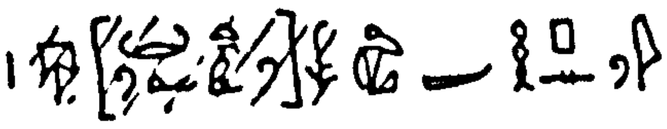
Mett 10: 

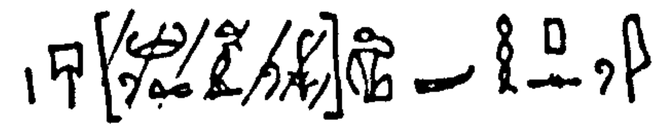
Mett 130: 

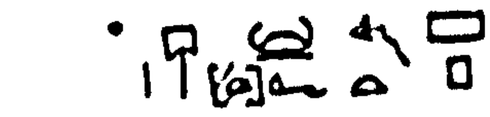
194. O. Cairo 25521, vso 2: 

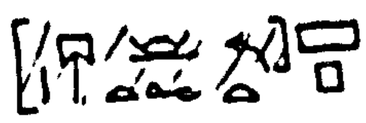
over l. 3 :

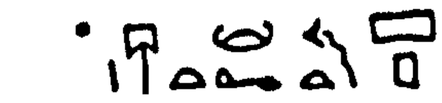
O. Cairo 25517, vso 13: 

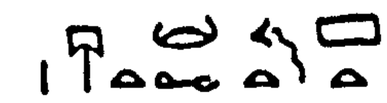
O. Cairo 25519, vso 6 : 

vso 7 : 

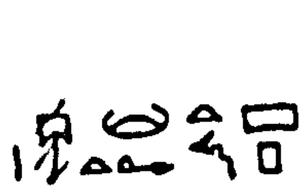
195. P. Ch.B VII, rto 5, 5 : 

rto 6, 6 : 

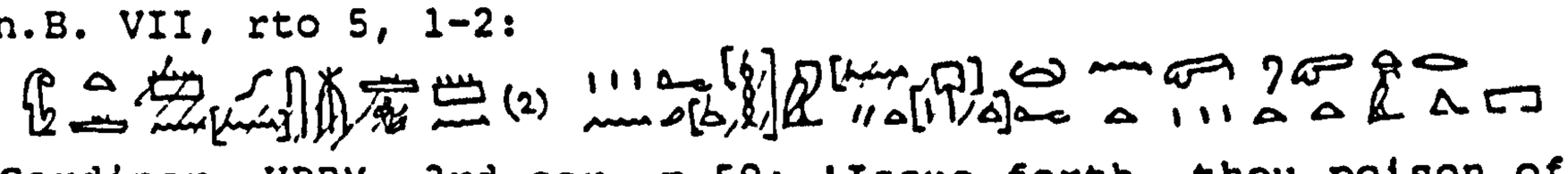
rto 7, 6 : 

rto 3, 1 : 

rto 3, 4 :

O. DelM 1060, 2 : 

196. P. Ch.B. VII, rto 5, 1-2:

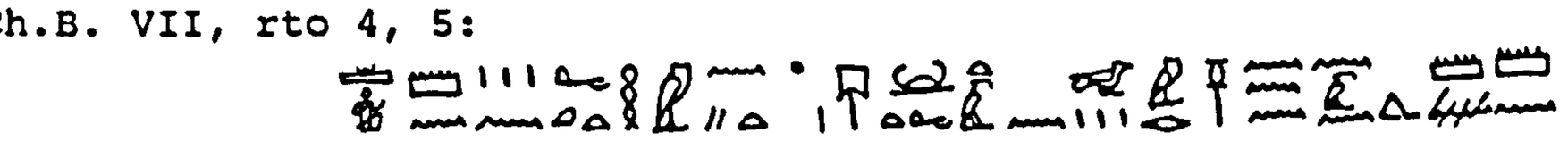


tr. Gardiner, HPBM, 3rd ser, p.59: 'Issue forth, thou poison of the scorpion which is in the limbs of N, born of M'.

P. Ch.B. VII, rto 7, 6:

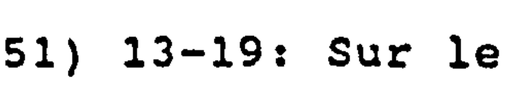
tr. Gardiner, HPBM, 3rd ser, p.60: 'Rē', beware of the poison of the scorpion I have made of clay'.

197. P. Ch.B. VII, rto 4, 5:



tr. Gardiner, HPBM, 3rd ser, p.58: 'The malignant humours of the scorpion which are in the limbs of N, born of M, are moved, even as (they have been) moved for Horus (ever) since he saw his enemy fallen at his feet'.

198. Eg Pyr 234, where the reading of the sign appears to be nn:

See P. Lacau, ZÄS 51 (1914) 1-64 : Suppressions et modifications des signes dans les textes funéraires, p.48 & 57; id., JNES 10 (1951) 13-19: Sur le mot  (Pyr 225b, W., Col 302), p.17, n.22; (tr. 'la nèpe'); P.Lacau, BIFAO 69 (1971) 239-243: Le signe m, p.243; Gardiner, Sign List L7.

199.Gardiner & Černý, Sinai II, 67, with n.c.

200. CD 509a: 'scorpion'; Černý, CED, p.22B: 'scorpion', Vycichl, Dictionnaire p.242; Westendorf, Handwörterbuch, p.284. See also Osing, Nominalbildung, p.120 and p.591, n.525.

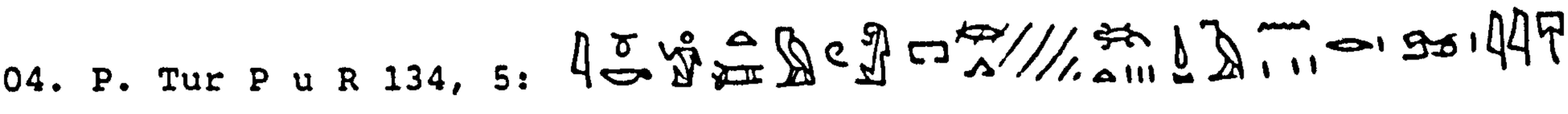
201. See text quoted below n.208.

202. See eg, B.v. d.Walle, CdE 42 No.83 (1967) 13-29: L'ostracon E3209 des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire mentionnant la déesse scorpion Ta-Bithet.

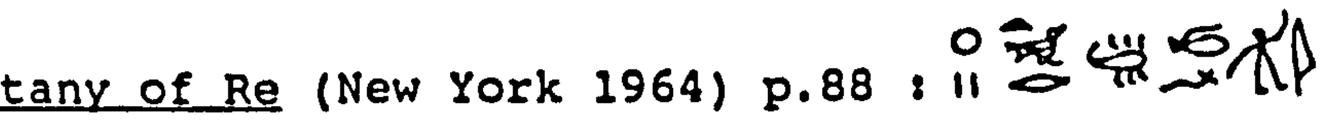
203. G.Daressy, Rec.Trav. 24 (1902) 160-167: Notes et remarques, p.160, n.190 :

See also J.-C.Goyon, BIFAO 78 (1978) 439-457 : Hededyt : Isis - scorpion et Isis au scorpion.

204. P. Tur P u R 134, 5:



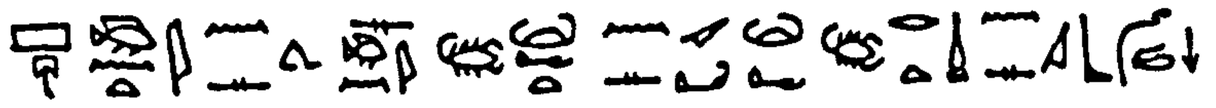
205. A. Piankoff , The Litany of Re (New York 1964) p.88 :



206. See Goyon, op.cit.; Behrens, op.cit.; F.v.Känel, LÄ V, 830-833 : Selquet.

207. Behrens, op.cit., n.17.

208. Mett 73:

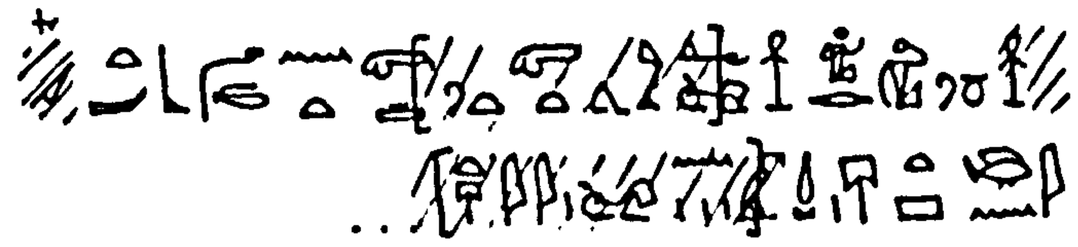


tr. Sander-Hansen, Metternich, p.45: 'die weil ein Skorpion ihn [Horus] gestochen hat, damit ihretwegen der Skorpion abläßt, damit ihretwegen der Inteschet sich schnell davonmacht'.

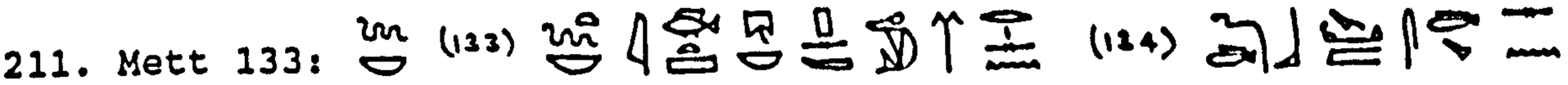
209. P. mag Weill, Vs 8 (Recueil Champ) :

The presence of 'scorpions' in an offering list seems bizarre.

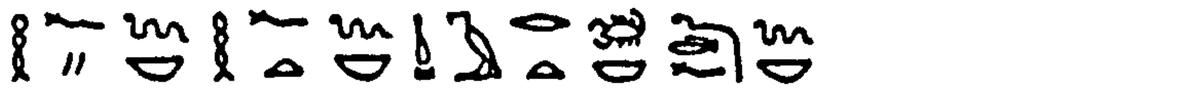
210. P.Ch.B. frag.E, rto 1:



Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.119, n.1: 'possibly a tarantula or centipede'.

211. Mett 133:  tr. Sander-Hansen, Metternich, p.56:'O jede männliche Schlange, o jede (weibliche) Schlange, o jede ʾIntš, die mit ihrem Maul beißen (oder) mit ihrem Schwanz stechen'.

212. Mett 33:

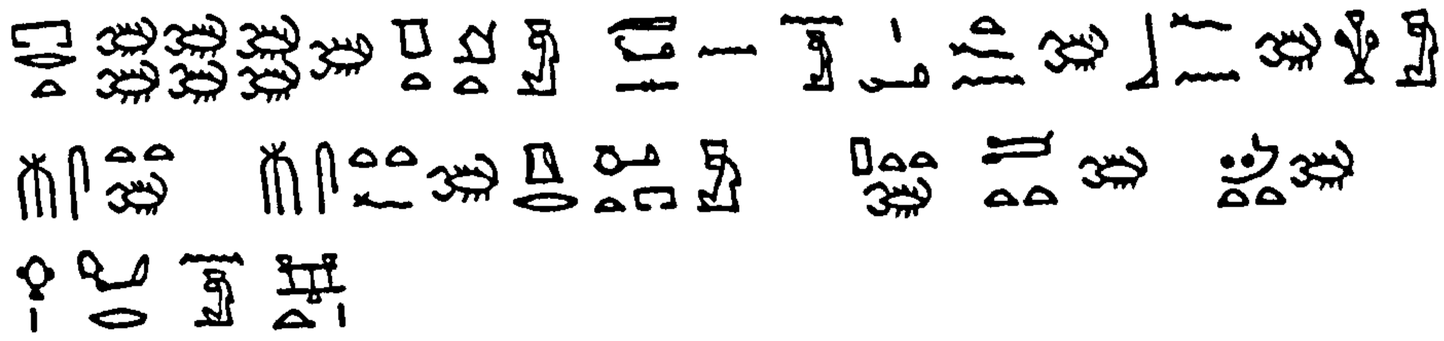
Kop mag St 9 <8>: 
P.Tur P u R 120, 10:

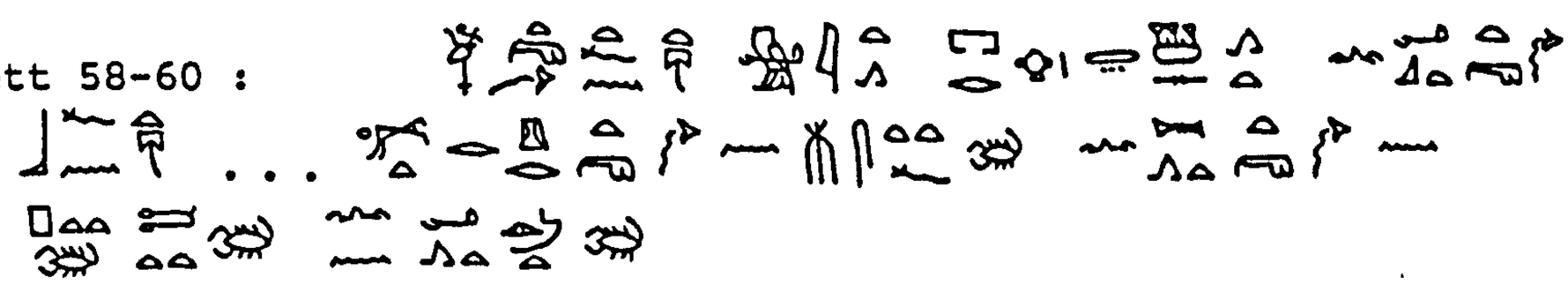
213. See n.210 above.

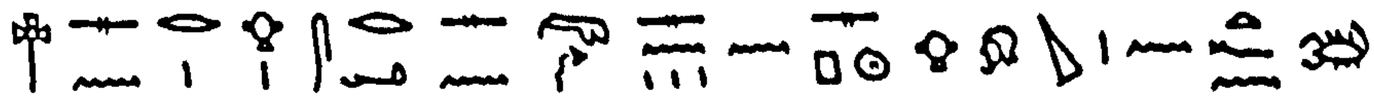
214. Borghouts, AEMT, p.69, tr. (Mett 73): 'since a scorpion (dȝ) had stabbed him, since a stinger (wḥʿt) had stung him (wḥʿ) since a spider (? ỉntš) had lain in waiting (sỉn) for him'.

215. Drioton, Théâtre égyptien: 'un insecte vénimeux - bien que le mot soit déterminé par '.

216. P.Ch.B. VII, vso 6, 3-6 : (see above).
tr. Gardiner, HPBM 3rd ser, p.60.

217. Mett 51: 
tr. Klasens, Magical Statue Base, p.52 : 'They led me : Tefen(et) and Befen(et) close behind me; Mestet and Mestetef under my stretcher; Petet, Tetet, and Matet prepared the way for me'. See also his note on p.70.

Mett 58-60 : 
tr. Klasens, op.cit., p.52-53 : 'Poison of Tefenet, come, go out to the earth, do not go about and do not penetrate; poison of Befenet, come, go out to the earth, I am Isis divine, mistress of magic, exercising magic, magical in speaking, effective of words. Every biting snake obeys me. Fall down, poison of Mestet; do not run, poison of Mestetef; do not rise, poison of Petet and Tetet; do not approach, Matet. Fall down mouth of the biting one, at the words of Isis divine'.

218. Mett 54 : 

Mett 55:

219. Klasens, Magical Statue Base, p.70, quoting Vycichl.

220. Griffith & Thompson, Demotic Magical Papyrus, 2,13.

221. See C.E.Sander-Hansen, Acta Orientalia 20 (1946) 2-22: Die Phonetischen Wortspiele des ältesten Ägyptischen, p. 3 (on Pyr 995a - m3ḳt p3ḳt) : 'Die sprachliche Bedeutung dieser Art Wortspiele ist natürlich gering'.



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