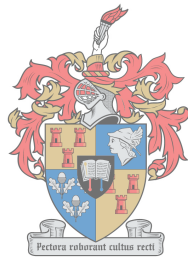


**BABOONS IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ART:  
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BABOON MOTIF  
IN THE FUNERARY ART OF THE NEW KINGDOM**

**Helena Pio**



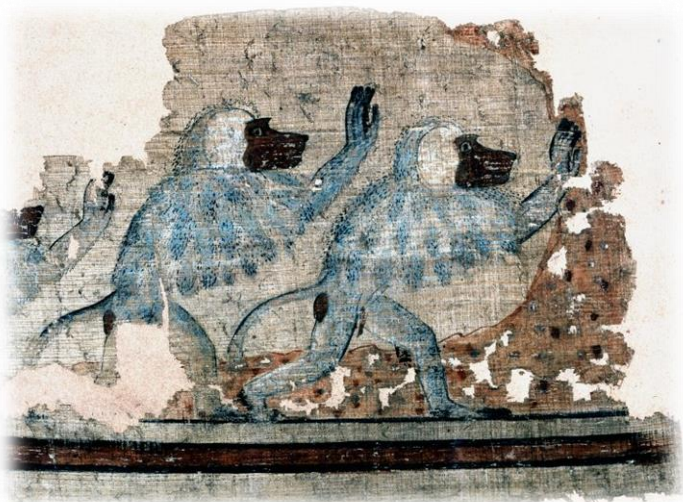
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Master of Philosophy in Ancient Cultures at the University of Stellenbosch

Department of Ancient Studies  
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

Supervisor: Professor I. Cornelius  
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## **DECLARATION**

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## ABSTRACT

The New Kingdom of Egypt represented a period of imperial successes when Egypt became a world power. The country enjoyed political stability under Dynasty XVIII – XX and actively participated in international affairs. They undertook trade expeditions to Kush and Punt to obtain resources and exotic ware, amongst which counted foreign animals, including baboons (*Papio hamadryas*), which by this time, were not indigenous anymore.

Egyptians were known to live in harmony with nature, deeply aware of their dependence on cyclical regeneration as perceived in the daily return of the sun and the life-sustaining annual inundation of the Nile. These events ensured that earthly life could continue in a relatively harsh environment. Egyptians were naturally inclined to view opposites as complementary; just as their country was made up of the fertile Nile valley and the barren sand deserts, the terrestrial and celestial were parts of the same continuum. The natural world could provide clues to the supernatural; by closely observing the behaviour of animals, identifying characteristics similar to, and differing from those of humans, they developed a mythical construct to explain the nature of the cosmos.

Baboons intrigued the Egyptians; they were uncannily similar to humans, yet also difficult to fathom; jubilant, pensive, fierce and with a noticeable sexuality, the behaviour of these animals offered a wide scope for portraying attributes of the divine as well as aspirations harboured by humans. They symbolised true veneration by chattering in a secret language while welcoming the sun at dawn, their contemplative staring showed an ancient wisdom and justness, they viciously protected their domain and their virility signified the creative force of life.

These concepts were all important in the Egyptian quest for both earthly and eternal life; praising the deities could induce them to be just and wise in dealing with humanity and ensure protection and procreation. Egyptians lived in preparation for life hereafter and viewed the tomb as a very important station that had to be adequately equipped to sustain and protect the body and ‘soul’ of the deceased in the underworld. This was achieved by developing a complex symbolically laden decoration program for the

burial chamber, the coffin, the canopic jars and other funerary goods. It is in this private sphere of the Egyptian tomb that the baboon motif persistently features to promote the well-being of the deceased by symbolising piety, justice, protection and regeneration.

Key words: Egypt, New Kingdom, baboon, *Papio hamadryas*, tomb, burial chamber, underworld, funerary goods, coffin, canopic jars, eternal life, regeneration

## OPSOMMING

Egipte het in die Nuwe Ryk 'n wêreldmag geword en hierdie periode is gekenmerk deur politieke stabiliteit en ekonomiese vooruitgang. Onder die sentrale regering van Dinastieë XVIII – XX, kon Egipte nou sy regmatige rol in die internasionale gemeenskap inneem. Hulle het uitgebreide handelsekspedisies ter see na Kus en Punt onderneem waarvandaan hulle ondermeer eksotiese dierespesies soos bobbejane (*Papio hamadryas*), ingevoer het. Bobbejane was heel moontlik vroeër inheems aan Egipte, maar ten tye van die Nuwe Ryk het hulle reeds uitgesterf.

Die Egiptenare het in simbiose met die natuur geleef, deeglik bewus van hulle afhanklikheid van sikliese herlewing, want sonder die voorspelbaarheid van die son se gang en die jaarlikse Nylvloed was oorlewing in dié ongenaakbare biosisteem nie gewaarborg nie. Die teenstrydighede wat die land se geografie kenmerk, soos die vrugbare Nylvallei teenoor die sandwoestyne, was vir die Egiptenare verskillende punte op dieselfde skaal. So het hulle ook die aardse en die bo-natuurlike as komplementêrend beleef; die sigbare kon lig werp op die onsigbare. In hulle poging om sin te maak van die lewe, het hulle het die diereryk fyn bestudeer en op grond van eienskappe wat ooreenkom en wat verskil van dié van mense, 'n mitologiese uitleg van die heelal geskep.

Bobbejane het veral aandag getrek omdat hulle baie in gemeen het met mense en tog ook steeds in misterie gehul is. Hulle optrede, wat wissel van ekstasies tot peinsend, vertoon ook veglustig en viriel; al hierdie aspekte kon die Egiptenare simbolies in verband met karaktertrekke van mense en gode bring. As die bobbejane met sonsopkoms brabbel, was hulle eintlik besig om die songod in 'n geheime taal te loof.

As hulle sit en staar, is dit omdat hulle wys en regverdig is. Hulle veg omdat hulle belange beskerm en hulle viriliteit verseker hulle voortbestaan.

Hierdie begrippe was fundamenteel vir die Egiptiese soeke na ewige lewe: deur die gode te prys, verbeter die kans dat hulle wys en regverdig teenoor die mensdom sal optree en beskerming en viriliteit verseker veiligheid en voortbestaan. Juis omdat die ewige lewe die Egiptenare se hoofdoel was, het hulle die graf as 'n baie belangrike struktuur beskou wat so ingerig moet word dat dit die voortbestaan van die liggaam en 'siel' van die oorledene in die hiernamaals sal waarborg. Daarom is die graftombe, die kis, die kanopiese houers en ander grafgoedere met 'n ingewikkelde simboliek-gelaaide dekoratiewe program versier. Dit is in hierdie privaat area van die Egiptiese graf waar die bobbejaanmotief deurlopend 'n rol speel om deur middel van die simboliese voorstelling van godsdienstigheid, wysheid, regverdigheid, beskerming en viriliteit, die welstand van die oorledene te bevorder.

Trefwoorde: Egipte, Nuwe Ryk, bobbejaan, *Papio hamadryas*, graf, graftombe, hiernamaals, grafgoedere, kis, kanopiese houers, ewige lewe

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# **PART I: ACADEMIC AND HISTORICAL FRAMES OF REFERENCE**

## CHAPTER 1: Research Problem and Process

### 1.1 Research aim and problem

#### 1.1.1 Research aim

The aim of this thesis is to contribute towards the current corpus of academic work being done on the significance of various species of phylum Chordata in ancient Egyptian thought and culture by exploring the role and importance of the baboon in ancient Egyptian art; the focus of this project will be the significance of the baboon motif in funerary art found in the private domain of New Kingdom tombs.

#### 1.1.2 Research problem

Egyptians viewed baboons as even superior to humans because of their supposed hidden knowledge and ability to converse with the deities; baboons were regarded as the ideal and true performers of religion (Te Velde 1988:129); an exalted status that can *inter alia* be construed from the deceased's appeal in Spell 100 of the *Book of Going Forth by Day* (Allen 1974:82):

*I have sung and praised the Sun-disc  
I have joined the baboons  
And I am one of them.*

The belief system that was central to Egyptian religion was not based on specific theological principles or canonical writings, but entailed ritual interaction with divinities through royal, private, divine and animal cults. By the New Kingdom, divine worship had become democratized and individuals no longer needed royal intermediaries. Because all deceased, not only royals, were ritually changed into a *ntr* (deity), the funerary cult was all-important to guarantee life in the hereafter (Lesko 2002a:78, Thompson 2002:61-69).

The baboon motif in ancient Egypt has thus far received limited dedicated academic study. Some valuable works on primates (apes, including baboons) have been published such as Azad Hamoto's *Der Affe in der altorientalischen Kunst* (1995) but the latter concentrates on Mesopotamia (including Syria, Palestine and Jordan) and only fleetingly refers to Egypt by way of comparison. Kessler's contribution on monkeys and baboons in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (2001) provides an overview of the roles played by these primates but does not provide in-depth analysis. Ikram is doing excellent research on animal mummies (vide *Non-Human Mummies* (2002), *Divine Creatures Animal Mummies in Ancient Egypt* (2005) and "Tiermumien" in *Ägyptische Mumien: Unsterblichkeit im Land der Pharaonen* (Landesmuseum Württemberg 2007)), yet baboon representation in ancient Egyptian visual art genres still needs further research.

Greenlaw's work *The Representation of Monkeys in the Art and Thought of Mediterranean Cultures* (2011) is a valuable work on Old World monkeys (Family Cercopithecidae) in which the two baboon species found in ancient Egypt, *Papio hamadryas* and *Papio anubis*, also feature. The research done on the broader category of Old World monkeys indicates that the role of baboons is clearly distinguishable and prominent to such an extent that it merits focused research. Baboons feature regularly in New Kingdom art in both the public sphere and in textual and visual material of the private mortuary sphere. Therefore, a study of the latter can further the understanding of how ancient Egyptians approached earthly and eternal life.

In order to explore the significance of the baboon motif in New Kingdom private funerary domain, this thesis will focus on the following four research questions:

- Does archaeo-zoological evidence support the physical presence of baboons in New Kingdom Egypt?
- How is the baboon represented in New Kingdom funerary literature?
- How does the baboon motif in New Kingdom tomb wall décor reflect the afterlife beliefs of the time?

- How does the baboon motif in New Kingdom tomb furnishing reflect the approach to the hereafter?

## 1.2 Research process

### 1.2.1 Formulating a research design

This step requires the selection of two important approach determinants aimed at guiding the 'what' and 'how' of the research process to optimally address the formulated research questions: the design approach and the methodological approach.

### 1.2.2 Selecting a design approach: Historical design

Exploring the baboon motif in New Kingdom Egypt, involves the sourcing of archetypal artefacts and then facing the daunting task of fleshing out fragments of the ancient past in order to, as scientifically as possible, build an understanding of the remote life and times which these identified artefacts represent. The research questions presuppose that ancient Egyptian artefacts, related to the baboon motif, constitute the units of analysis; which lend itself to the **historical design approach** (descriptive – interpretive).

The historical research design concentrates on the collection and collation of artefacts from a specific period in the past (<http://lynn-library.libguides.com/c.php?g=549455&p=3771806> [12 October 2017], Yin 2013). For this study, a combination of primary sources (ancient visual material and texts) and secondary sources (academic studies on the primary sources) is used but the main focus is on primary sources (funerary artefacts from the private sphere of New Kingdom (1570 – 1070 BCE) tombs, complemented by translations of ancient texts). Secondary sources are the main basis of the literary reviews that enhance the research project.

Data sources: Author collected the corpus of visual images used in this study by exhausting the online Egyptian collections of the British Museum in London

(BM) (<http://www.britishmuseum.org/>), the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (RMO) (<http://www.rmo.nl/>) in Leiden in the Netherlands, the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA) (<https://www.metmuseum.org/>) and the Brooklyn Museum (<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org>) in New York (vignettes and funerary furnishings) as well as the electronic databases of the Theban Mapping Project (<http://www.thebanmappingproject.com>) and the Leiden Excavations at Saqqara (<http://www.saqqara.nl/>), a joint project of the RMO, the University of Leiden (UL) and the Museo Egizio of Turin in Italy (tombs).

The selection was supplemented with available images from academic publications on New Kingdom Egypt. The aim was to collect imagery that represented the New Kingdom in terms of funerary genres (literature illustrations, tomb décor and decorations on tomb furniture) across the social and regional spectrum. Sources were excluded when the state of preservation limited the usability. The list of secondary sources on the topic started with a core selection found in the preliminary library search in reference works, books, journals and e-data bases but grew through the snowball technique of exploring the reference lists quoted in the academic works.

### 1.2.3 Selecting a methodological approach: Iconographic analysis

As the research questions focus on the baboon motif in New Kingdom funerary art, visual images are central to the research and textual material will only be used as additional sources to understand the context of iconographic material; therefore, an appropriate methodological approach will be **iconographic analysis**.

Iconography is a methodological approach in art history which identifies the themes in visual art and interprets the layers of meaning that these themes represent. Iconography focusses on an image as an entity on its own, as well as an entirety of constituting elements (Müller 2015:78, Van Straten 1994:3).

Several schools of thought exist in iconography. The process to decide on an appropriate iconological methodology and model included a literature review of works on iconographic approaches, including Van Straten's four-phased approach (1994), Weissenrieder and Wendt's comparative discussion of Panofsky's model, Form Analysis, the 'Fribourg School', Hölischer's Semiotic Theory based on Peirce, and Constructivism (2005) as well as papers by Hartwig (Style), Josephson (Connoisseurship), Müller (Iconography and Symbolism) and Angenot (Semiotics and Hermeneutics) in the 2015 *Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art* (edited by Hartwig). The author also considered online iconographic research projects by universities, finding the University of Zürich's *Iconography of Deities and Demons in the Ancient Near East (IDD)* (<http://www.religionswissenschaft.uzh.ch/idd/>) worth accessing. From the review, the author concluded that the application of a single method to the exclusion of others would not provide optimal results to the research questions.

Panofsky's method will form the framework of this thesis. He relies on three aspects to interpret visual art; describing everything observed in the image [topic] (*pre-iconographic phase*), linking the identified motifs with themes / concepts [theme] (*iconographic analysis*) and finally posing the probable meaning (*iconological interpretation*):

<b><u>Pre-iconographic description</u></b>	Determining the nature of the artefact <i>Identify main elements and actions by main figures</i>	<i>What is it?</i>	<b>Style</b>
<b><u>Iconographic analysis</u></b>	Identifying possible meanings by using literary sources or comparative studies <i>Identify possible ritualistic, mythological or profane themes (form, size, location, material, colour, numbers, actions and gestures)</i>	<i>What can it mean?</i>	<b>Type</b>
<b><u>Iconological interpretation</u></b>	Synthesis of the above two steps: Finding the most probable meaning <i>Zeitgeist and Sitz im Leben</i>	<i>What does it mean?</i>	<b>Meaning</b>

Figure 1.1 Panofsky's model as adapted by Cornelius (1988:5) with IDD (2016) *foci* added in blue

Although Weissenrieder and Wendt (2005:11-12) raise valid points of concern regarding aspects of Panofsky's theory (objectivity of the interpreter, sequential / simultaneous progress of model, presentation of *Geistesgeschichte*, and the question about the nature of art's relationship to culture: reflection versus injection?), the model is an important instrument for iconographical and iconological research and lends itself to the incorporation of elements from other approaches. Panofsky's conviction that art history requires a 'combination of rational archaeological analysis with an intuitive aesthetic re-creation' and his three tier approach to interpreting visual art remains fundamental to the discipline (David 2014:235, Panofsky 1955:33-39).

Because the application of Panofsky's model is influenced by the interpreter's practical experience, culturally acquired knowledge and intuition, he specifically emphasises the importance of weighing the proposed interpretation against the *Geistesgeschichte*; how does it resonate with the possible world view prevalent at that specific time? This is one of the concerns raised in terms of Panofsky's model in the critical review of iconographic approaches referred to above. The author will counteract by augmenting the iconographic analysis with a concurrent literature review on the evolution of the New Kingdom mind-set to attempt to provide a balanced background for the artefacts under discussion.

The author will incorporate specific aspects of other methodological approaches mentioned by Weissenrieder and Wendt (2005:13-49) to complement Panofsky. The comparative and descriptive methods used in Form Analysis (form, representation, style, type and structure) can positively enhance especially level one of Panofsky's model. The "Fribourg School" placed emphasis on "constellations" consisting of some basic "patterns of relationship" resulting in identifiable themes which could again be researched through the motifs by which they are represented. Keel suggested three aspects of interpretation can add value to Panofsky, especially Level 2 (Iconographic analysis - Motif, Scene / Theme) and Level 3 (Iconological interpretation – Decorations denoting the *Sitz im Leben*).

Whereas the approaches mentioned have bearing primarily on the interaction between the interpreter and the object (image), the Semiotic theory as well as Constructivism relates more to the cognitive processes within the interpreter's mind in relation to the object. Semiotics, the study of signs as producers of meaning, is gradually gaining its place in Egyptology: what originally started as the study of meaning-thought-language transferral (developed by Ferdinand de Saussure in 1968), evolved to incorporate meaning production in non-linguistic systems (influenced by Charles S Peirce in the 1970's) (Angenot 2015:98). Weissenrieder and Wendt (2005: 3) stress that images should not be approached as reality copied in artistic medium; images are part of the symbol system which facilitate communication in culture.

Semiotics opens new possibilities for the challenge of interpreting ancient symbol systems, because, as Eco (2004:31) rightfully states 'the idea is a sign of things, and the image is a sign of the idea, the sign of a sign', emphasising Foucault's remark (1989:37) quoted by Weissenrieder and Wendt (2005:3) that images are "both objects of interpretation and indeed acts of interpretation". Given the generally accepted view that Egyptian script and visual art share commonalities in terms of symbolic content and communication value, semiotics is set to contribute meaningfully to the study of Egyptian art.

### 1.3 Structuring the thesis

#### 1.3.1 The three main parts:

- **Part I** consists of Chapters 1 and 2 and describes the academic and historic frames of reference in which the baboon motif manifested in the New Kingdom funerary art.
- **Part II** includes Chapters 3 through 6 which investigate evidence for the physical presence of baboons in New Kingdom Egypt (Chapter 3) and explores the baboon motif in the funerary art of the private spheres of New Kingdom tombs (Chapter 4 – Illustrations in funerary literature, Chapter 5 - Tomb décor and Chapter 6 – Tomb furnishing decoration).



- **Part III** contains the results of the project in Chapter 7 with a description of the conclusions reached, the limitations experienced and the suggestions for further research.

### 1.3.2 Part I: Academic and historical frames of reference

- Chapter 1 (Research Problem and Process) firstly defines the research aim, discusses the research problem and formulates the research question. Secondly, it provides an overview of the research process: the research design that concerns the design approach (historic) and the methodological approach (iconographic), clarifying the 'what' and 'how' of the process. The historical design approach describes the unit of analysis, the sources of artefacts (primary and secondary) and the criteria for inclusion and exclusion. In the methodological approach it is argued why an adapted version of Panofsky's iconographical model is deemed best to address the research question and what counter measures are necessary to address possible identified shortcomings.
- Chapter 2 (Evolution of the New Kingdom Egypt) provides the historic-geographical frame of reference for the research. It will describe the development and character of the interrelated cultural canvas of the New Kingdom, highlighting the formative influence of nature and pointing out characteristics of the Egyptian psyche that resonated with baboon attributes.

### 1.3.3 Part II: The baboon in New Kingdom Egypt

- Chapter 3 (Attested Baboon Presence in New Kingdom Egypt) is a review of substantiated physical presence of baboons in Ancient Egypt. The chapter first considers Egypt as potential habitat for baboons, motivating why the only species that the area could possibly sustain were the *Papio hamadryas* and the *Papio anubis*, suggesting that New Kingdom baboons were not indigenous but imported. The chapter then examines evidence of

the physical presence of baboons; baboon remains found during archaeological research indicate that these animals, though not indigenous, featured distinctly during the New Kingdom.

- Chapter 4 (Vignettes in the *Books of the Dead*) explores the baboon motif in Egyptian funerary literature, concentrating on the New Kingdom *Book of Going Forth by Day* (Book of the Dead); compilations of spells aimed at guiding the deceased safely into the afterlife. The illustrations of these spells, called vignettes, contain numerous depictions of the baboon motif and textual references provide more clarity on their significance in the scenes. Because several of these *Books of the Dead* are available in museum collections, although in varying states of preservation, they are an important source for this study and the themes identified in vignettes form the thematic thread further dealt with in chapters 5 and 6.
- Chapter 5 (Tomb décor: Wall paintings and reliefs) discusses the baboon motif as subject in the wall décor in eleven New Kingdom tombs (static funerary artefacts) and refers to methods of decoration and to what the role of scribes (associated with baboons / Thoth) *versus* artists were in this process. Secondary aspects that are mentioned include the importance of choice of colour, monochrome *versus* polychrome décor schemes, usurpation of tombs and notes on the defensive funerary strategy.
- Chapter 6 (Tomb Furnishing Decoration: Coffins, Canopic Jars and Chests and *Shabti* Cases) investigates the baboon motif on movable funerary artefacts. It explores how the form, colour and iconography of coffins formed a complex integrated defensive funerary system to serve as an alternative body for the deceased in the hereafter. It further describes the significance of the faunal (including baboon) stoppers on New Kingdom canopic jars as an iconographic shift towards representing the deity instead of the departed and investigates the apotropaic nature of the baboon motif on *shabti* cases.

### 1.3.4 Part III: Conclusion

- Finally, in Chapter 7 (Conclusion, Limitations and Recommendations) the meaning of the baboon motif in ancient Egyptian thought and culture as demonstrated in funerary art in the private domain of New Kingdom tombs, will be summarised. It will also include suggestions for further research.

### 1.4 Schematic representation of the structure of the thesis:

#### PART I: ACADEMIC AND HISTORICAL FRAMES OF REFERENCE

1. Research problem and process



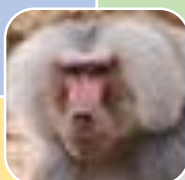
2. Evolution of New Kingdom Egypt



#### PART II: THE BABOON IN NEW KINGDOM EGYPT

3. Attested presence in New Kingdom Egypt

4. Vignettes in the *Books of the Dead*



5. Tomb wall decór

6. Tomb furnishing decoration



#### PART III: CONCLUSION

## Chapter 2: Evolution of New Kingdom Egypt

### 2.1 Introduction

2.1.1 The legacy of Ancient Egypt has universal appeal transcending time and nationality: the development of the ancient Egyptian culture captures a three millennium case study in the progress of human ecology; human's relationship to humanity and human's relationship to nature, both seen and unseen. Humanity's alteration of, adaptation to and application of nature produce culture. The culture of ancient Egypt is, according to Brewer and Teeter (2007:17), an excellent example of the mentioned interaction because it was defined by the Nile and the ecosystem of the Nile Valley. This chapter describes why and how certain defining concepts developed in the mind-set of New Kingdom Egyptians and formed, what is referred to as the *Geistesgeschichte*, in terms of which the artefacts in this study can be interpreted.

2.1.2 **State formation** (human-human relationship) and **cultural foundation** (human-nature relationship) both took place within the confines of Egypt's bionetwork; nature not only provided the canvas suitable for settling, but also contained the clues to understanding the supernatural. The map of Ancient Egypt indicates how vital the Nile was to the establishment of human settlements:

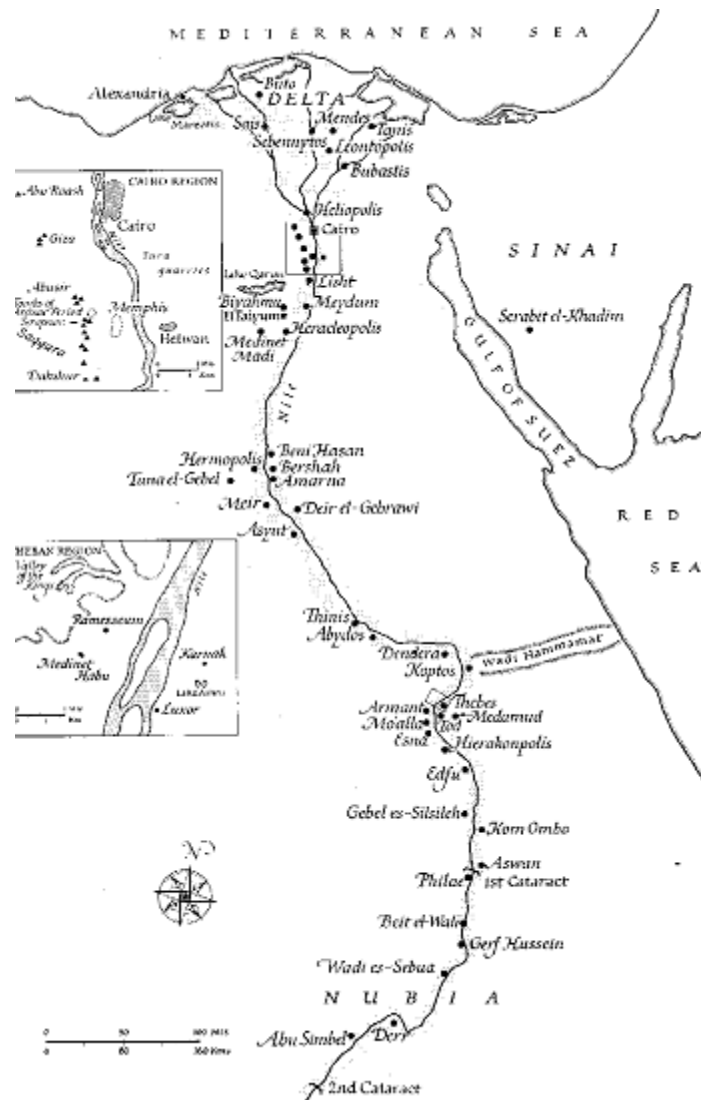


Figure 2.1: Map of Ancient Egypt showing human habitation centred along the Nile (Aldred, 1980:10)

2.1.3 The Greek historian Herodotus already observed that Egypt owes its existence to the Nile: the fertile Nile valley, a linear oasis in the Sahara, made permanent habitation possible (Brewer and Teeter 1999:16, Wilkinson 2010:27-37). The unique natural environment defined the character of the Egyptian civilisation to a great extent; physical attributes in nature translated into principles underlying the ancient Egyptian psyche. As a result of the predictable annual inundation of the Nile which replenished the fertile valley and the protection offered by the natural borders (the valley flanked by sandy deserts and the sea in the north), the cyclic regeneration inherent to life and conservatism stemming from seclusion, became fundamental concepts in the Egyptian world view.

## 2.2 State formation: Human – human relationship

- 2.2.1 The principles mentioned above played in on inter-human relationship (state formation) and remained present throughout the history of Pharaonic Egypt; from the unification of the Two Lands, Upper and Lower Egypt, by Menes around 3000 BCE (Brewer and Teeter 1999:32) through the reigns of thirty dynasties until the advent of Graeco-Roman rule after 300 BCE.
- 2.2.2 Political organisation depends on obtaining power and establishing order. Order was considered fundamental to a secure life in Egypt and the concept of order was directly linked to the geography with its distinctive polarities. These opposites; the barren red desert and the bountiful black valley; the chaos of the annual floods and the calculated cultivation of crops, were accepted as a cosmic given but had to be in balance to avoid chaos. As political head, the pharaoh's role was to keep opposing forces in balance and ensure cosmic order or *maat* (Wilkinson 2010:37).
- 2.2.3 Any disruption of *maat*, of cyclic regeneration and the seeming seclusion, either through climate change, political hostilities or as a result of weak leadership, brought the stability of the Egyptian state under pressure. Wilkinson (2010:56) points out that Egypt's location on the African perimeter adjacent to Asia and the Mediterranean Sea stands in stark contrast to the Egyptians' perceived isolation. Its strategic position made it a preferred destination for economic migrants and entrepreneurs who brought trade, new technology, ideas and provided a workforce, but such interaction naturally had political and social implications.
- 2.2.4 As a result of the political dynamics referred to above, the Pharaonic age can be divided into distinctive periods as the pendulum veered between central control and chaos. Wilkinson (1994: 13 and 117) identifies the three key eras as the Old Kingdom (2649 - 2150 BCE), Middle Kingdom (2040-1640 BCE) and New Kingdom (1550 – 1070 BCE). Due to factors such as succession problems, climate change, uncontrolled immigration and negative effects of

foreign interaction, these periods of stability, central control and cultural glory, each deteriorated into times of political turmoil (the First, Second, and Third Intermediate Periods respectively). Yet each period saw meaningful contributions to the cultural accomplishments of ancient Egypt.

- 2.2.5 Since each period was significantly influenced by the cultural achievements and ideological themes which evolved during the preceding eras, it is important to highlight aspects that are relevant to the focus of this study. The establishment of political power resulted in important cultural developments: the character of kingship and the need for the dissemination of royal ideology through visual means. In the Early Dynastic Period (3050 - 2613 BCE) (time line: Janssen and Janssen 1989: 6), pharaohs successfully consolidated power and ensured stability by creating extensive personal power bases.
- 2.2.6 By the Old Kingdom, pharaohs portrayed themselves as earthly agents of the deities and the concept of divine kingship became entrenched. Pharaohs personally assumed responsibility for maintaining order and incorporated this role into state ideology (Baines 1991:124-126, Wilkinson 2010:29). Garthoff (1988:23) states that royal ideology relied heavily on the merging of political and religious domains. Iconographic records portray the pharaoh as the defender of order on behalf of and assisted by the deities. Enemies of the pharaohs were equated to enemies of the gods; exponents of chaos bent on destroying political and cosmic order (*maat*). Therefore, the pharaoh had the divine responsibility to destroy the chaotic forces that threatened the very essence of the Egyptian world view. This approach affected all domains. Despite the positive spin-offs of interaction with non-Egyptians mentioned earlier, Egyptian rulers chose to portray the latter as “the other” (Cornelius 2010), contrasting them to the local population for ideological expediency; foreigners were enemies (personifying chaos) upon which only the pharaohs could and should impose order.
- 2.2.7 The lack of political stability in the First Intermediate Period had positive effects on other domains. According to Wilkinson (2010:100 – 188) the decentralisation of control promoted the innovation associated with the subsequent Middle

Kingdom (2040 - 1782 BCE) (Janssen and Janssen 1989: 6). The latter period is known for its artistic legacy – literature and creative arts flourished – while the economic and military domains benefited from active international affairs. But instability in the royal lineage and changing weather patterns undermined the *status quo* and resulted in the Second Intermediate Period (1782 - 1570 BCE) during which Egypt was further weakened by increased pressure from the Nubians in the south and finally had to succumb to foreign rule by the Hyksos.

2.2.8 The coming to power of Dynasty XVIII heralded the beginning of the **New Kingdom** (1570 - 1070 BCE). Dynasties XVIII through XX, can be described as a period of imperial splendour in all domains of Pharaonic Egypt. In the aftermath of the Hyksos rule, Egypt finally emerged from its perceived seclusion to take its place amongst the powers of the Middle East and became a formidable military power. With the advanced technological legacy of the Hyksos, foreign policy became decisive and dynamic to protect borders and facilitate diplomatic and economic relations. The Dynasty XVIII approach to Kush and Punt was not only to eliminate potential political enemies, but also to ensure Egypt had access to valuable natural resources and exotic items including animals. The combination of wealth, leisure time and the spoils of military operations resulted in an artistic renaissance. Dynasties XVIII through XX represented strong, if sometimes controversial, leadership that strengthened central control and fostered cultural achievements (Brewer and Teeter 2007:46-47, Goldstein 1990:4).

2.2.9 State formation depended on the establishment of pharaonic authority; a process that relied greatly on the effective communication of ideology. Wilkinson (2010:15-16) points out that the continuous need to promote the royal ideology of divine power resulted in the developing of a complex **visual communication system** which included architecture, art and writing. Art became the vehicle for propagating thought and belief systems. Likewise, the importance of writing cannot be overemphasised; throughout the Ancient Egyptian civilisation scribes and their ability to use writing for recording,



informing and bookkeeping was highly prized by Egyptian rulers for use in ideology, economy and propaganda (Leprohon 2015:309, Wilkinson 2010:55).

## **2.3 Cultural foundation: Human - nature relationship**

- 2.3.1 The civilisation of Egypt developed in direct response to the country's distinctive natural habitat; nature provided the framework for their world view and resonated in their theological themes. Because the terrestrial and celestial worlds were in synergy, New Kingdom cultural domains became extensively interrelated; a religious awareness permeated their culture and the key to the supernatural was nature. Their religious consciousness had developed from the primitive stage of merely reacting to natural phenomena in the universe in order to survive, to an advanced stage of interpreting these cosmic powers as an ordered construct in which the roles of the individual, the earthly authority and the divine beings were explainable through myths (Griffiths 2002:256, Silverman 2002:97).
- 2.3.2 Egyptian mythology came into being due to the need to understand the cosmos, the quest for what Te Velde (1988:133) calls 'sacred knowledge' and relied on observing the dynamics of the universe and studying animal behaviour, because, as Thomas Mann aptly remarks 'how else can you see the divine, if not in animals?' (1936, quoted in Hornung 2005:165). Egyptians lived in symbiosis with animals; not as commander, but as colleague (Kees 1956:48-50, Hornung 1967:72, Te Velde 1980:77); their attitude could well be described by a comment of the naturalist Henry Beston, (1928:25) who said of animals: 'They are not brethren, they are not underlings; they are other nations, caught with ourselves in the net of life and time'. This is especially true of primates. When Greenlaw (2011:1) explains humans' interest in baboons, she quotes Sperling (1991:222) that 'primates are icons for man – living at the boundary of nature and culture', and adds that because of the close resemblance between humans and these animals, 'any interpretation of their behaviour and appearance reveals much more about man's own cultural norms than of primates'.

## 2.4 Aspects of the Egyptian belief system that resonated with baboon behaviour

2.4.1 Exploring the Egyptians' approach to baboons therefore provides modern-day insight into the ancient society's cosmic conception and religious beliefs. Because the Egyptians considered the universe as a fluid reality, the divine, the human and the animal worlds were all part of an interconnected cosmos; divinities could manifest in various simple or composite forms; in these manifestations, animals, amongst them the baboon, could embody various divine characteristics (Bunson 2002:151, Ray 2002:86-87, Strudwick 2007:154).

2.4.2 What were the fundamental aspects of Egyptian religion and how does the baboon fit into this picture? Te Velde (1988:130) defines their religion as follows:

'Religion in a broader sense is **morality**: Detesting falsehood and creating justice by judging poor and rich alike. Religion in a narrower sense is: Not to neglect, but to **maintain the relationship with gods and ancestors**. In short: To raise up truth to the Lord-of-All'.

2.4.3 The essential aspects of Egyptian religion thus concern **fairness** (truth, justice and wisdom) and **fellowship** with deities, ancestors and those around (praise, protection and procreation). Because the determinative principle underlying their religion was symbolic and not rational (Brewer and Teeter 1999:93), **baboon behaviour** provided a rich scope for symbolically portraying these notions:

- **Fairness**

Egyptians, observing the intelligence of baboons and their habit of contemplative staring, associated them with **Thoth**, the god of truth and wisdom and patron of writing, auditing and measuring (Arnold 1995:60, Duff 2011:7, Te Velde 1988:133). The New Kingdom Spell 182 of the *Book of Going Forth by*

*Day* (vide Allen 1974:196-197), gives a detailed exposition of Thoth's divine being and role, elaborating on his association with language, order (*maat*), justice, science, medicine, cosmology and astronomy; describing him as adept at foretelling the future and protecting through magical spells. Thoth manifested in two iconological forms, an ibis and a baboon, but it is the latter image that visually symbolised his association with concepts related to fairness. Variations in presentation often identified his intended persona: wearing a sun disk or with Maat in the bark of Ra (solar theology), with a crescent moon and disk (lunar god), squatting atop scales (justice) or seated near scribes (patron of language) (Doxey 2002b:353).

There are also textual references linking baboons to fairness as encompassing truth and wisdom, for example: Spell 126 in the *Book of Going Forth by Day*, a deceased's appeal to the baboons, highlights their connection with **truth**:

'O ye (4) baboons who sit at the prow of the bark of Re, who cause truth to ascend to the Lord of the Universe, who judge both the needy and the rich, who gladden the gods with the scorching breath of their mouths, who give divine offerings to the gods and mortuary offerings to the blessed, who live on truth and sip of truth, who lie not and whose abomination is sin...' (Allen 1974:102).

- **Fellowship**

The early morning antics of baboons as they barked and gesticulated at the rising sun (a natural way of activating their metabolism), were interpreted as a special form of **communicating** with each other and especially with the deities. For the Egyptians the chattering of baboons constituted a **secret sacred language**, only used and understood by the deities, the pharaoh and some mythical beings like the *rekhyt* and *henmemet* (Pinch 2002:114, Te Velde 1988:133):

'The pharaoh N. knows

This secret language that is spoken by the Souls of the East...'

This language of the *bain-a'abtiu*, those souls manifesting as baboons who rejoice at dawn in *Bakhau*, the mythical 'Land of the Sunrise' (Bunson 2002:439), was not only spoken. Teeter (2002a:254) comments on the baboons' alleged ability to communicate in the Egyptian language; quoting a translation by Caminos (1954:13) that describes how a dumb learner is scolded that "an ape understands words, and it is brought from Kush". During the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE, Horapollo Niliacus, already published a ground-breaking work on his deciphering of Egyptian hieroglyphs in which he made, amongst others, the following observation regarding baboons:

'In Egypt a race of baboons exists who know their (i.e. of the Egyptians) letters in accordance with which, when a baboon was first cared for in a temple, the priest handed him a tablet and pen and ink. This was done in an attempt to find out whether he was of the race which knew its letters and whether he could write. Moreover, the animal is sacred to Hermes, the god of letters' (Boas 1993:52).

Hermes was the Greek form of Thoth, the Egyptian deity of wisdom portrayed as ibis or baboon (Bunson 2002:167). Horapollo's remark links baboons to the sacred and to scribal activities, providing a glimpse of the role which these animals played.

Their perceived praising of the sun god Ra at dawn, led to the belief that they were the '**true performers of religion**' (Te Velde 1988:130). The association is easily understood, since Egyptian religion greatly acknowledged the positive provided by the deities and rituals primarily centred on the acclamation of the divine (Baines 1991:125). A Dynasty XVIII hymn in which the relationship between baboons and the sun god Ra is described, evokes Pyramid Text Utterances where deified baboons are called the 'sons of Ra' whom a resurrected pharaoh could join in jubilation (Greenlaw 2011:27, Te Velde 1988:133):

'The baboons that announce Ra when this great god is to be born again about the sixth hour in the netherworld. They appear for him after they have come into existence. They are at both sides of this god until he rises in the eastern horizon of the sky. They dance for him, they jump gaily for him, they sing for him, they sing praises for him, they shout for him. When this great god appears before the eyes of [all humankind] then these hear the speech of jubilation of the *Wetenet*-country [=baboons?]. They are those who announce Ra on heaven and earth' (translated by Houlihan 1996:96).

Ra was the personification of life: his importance is directly linked to the sun's undeniable dominance in nature and his heavenly majesty is comparable to the exalted position of the pharaoh. The individual's earthly life depended on the divine authority of the pharaoh, just as nature was completely dependent on the creative energy of the sun for **regeneration and rejuvenation** (Van Dijk 2002:161).

The association between baboons and the **sun god Ra** is significant. By Dynasty XVIII, the solar theology, with Ra being the most important god in the Egyptian pantheon, reached its apogee. Ra was acknowledged as the Great Creator since he, as self-created god, created not only the Nile which gave life to Egypt, but also the primal water of Nun which gave life to the earth. This 'king of divinities' embodied life; lauded as 'Khepri in the morning, Ra in the afternoon and Atum in the evening' (Griffiths 2002:256 quoting the Turin Papyrus 133,10), traversed the sky by day and at night he was revitalised when he merged with Osiris, god of the underworld, to be reborn afresh each morning. Where Ra dominated earthly life, eternal life was now thought of in terms of the cult of **Osiris**, which was also vested in nature by its association with the regenerative power of water and vegetation. As Egyptian court and cult tended to overlap, new religious cults and festivals were used to enhance royal ideology and emphasise the close association of the pharaoh with the sun god, the solar cycle and the Osirian cult (Griffiths 2002:256, Müller 2002:325).

Baboons fulfilled a unique role in relation to both the distantly departed and the living. **Ancestors** personified innate powers and potential as well as the coveted hope for resurrection and divine revelation (Hornung 2005:169). One such ancestor held in high esteem by the Egyptians from as early as the beginning of the Pharaonic period, was a baboon referred to as Hedjwer, the 'Great White One' (Arnold 1995:60, Bunson 2002:419, Greenlaw 2011:1).



Figure 2.2(a): Ivory label of Semerkhet with the baboon figure and reference to Hedjwer visible in the bottom right corner



Figure 2.2(b): Drawing of Semerkhet's label

The earliest reference to this baboon deity was found on a Dynasty I artefact found in the tomb of Semerkhet at Abydos (Figure 2.2). The ivory oil-jar label (BM EA 32668) bears red and black incised references to the festivals of Hedjwer and Shemsu-Hor (Greenlaw 2011:1). In reliefs and paintings, Hedjwer is often portrayed as welcoming the *uben*, the agents of light who brings the dawn (Bunson 2002:419).

It remained the desire of the living to join the **deified baboons in afterlife**, because these were the true adorers of the sun god, as described in Spell 100 (*Book of Going Forth by Day*) (Te Velde 1988:129):

'I have sung and praised the Sun-disk  
I have joined the baboons  
And I am one of them'.

Fellowship also addressed the aspect of **protection**. Although religion primarily aimed to induce divine benefaction by celebrating the deities, adversity remained a fact of life. Egyptians saw misfortune as a threat to the well-being of not only the individual, but to the group and even by extrapolation a potential threat to humanity and thus to *maat*; this had to be countered by the apotropaic aspect of religion (Baines 1991:130, Teeter 2015:328). Egyptians keenly observed animal qualities similar to and differing from that of humans and accommodated these opposites in their religion. The **baboon's apparent piousness and fierceness** became part of their accepted reality of opposites in balance (*maat*); the baboon symbolised not only virtue but was also able to magically ward off evil because of its viciousness (Ray 2002:86-90).

Religion and magic were not mutually exclusive in ancient Egypt; humans could access the divine realm to realise an intended effect through the 'magical mechanics of cultic worship' as Ritner (1993:247) puts it. Though difficult to define, *heka* was considered a natural generative power; a religious skill by which symbolic depictions of the warding off of the bad, or furthering of the better, could limit the negative or advance the positive (Depauw 1997:109, Kákosy 1994:223 quoting Brandon 1970:417, Ritner 1993:69, Wilkinson 1994:7). It is the author's opinion that Egyptian magic served to protect and promote and should not be equated to necromancy where the spirits of the dead are enlisted to predict the future (divination).

The baboon males' evident **virility**, prominent genitalia and the sexual receptivity of the females did not go unnoticed; Egyptians associated baboons with potency, power and **procreation** (Cheney and Seyfarth 2007:16). Already mentioned in the Old Kingdom *Pyramid Texts*, the vicious virile baboon god Babi, 'red of ear and purple of hindquarters' (*Pyramid Text 1349*) was a deity with the power of protection and procreation (Wilkinson 2003:196), embodying a life-preserving and life-giving force. The concept of eternal regeneration and the firm conviction about an afterlife were fundamental to the development of art in all its manifestations throughout the Pharaonic period (Teeter 2015:329).

## 2.5 Egyptian art as ideological exponent

2.5.1 Art is a natural end result of the creativity born out of political and religious fervour, as such serving as a lens for viewing a specific era. A fundamental question in the study of visual art in ancient Egypt, is the inherent character of Egyptian art; was it purely for pleasure or with a purpose? Or both? Bénédite (1922:23-42) believed that Egyptian writing (hieroglyphs) and art together constituted an intricate cryptic system that conveyed meaning through a combination of 'signe graphique et image plastique'. Robins (1997:12) and Wilkinson (1994:11-12) are of opinion that Egyptian art, though aesthetically pleasing, should primarily be studied as functional vehicles of symbolism citing, amongst others, the lack of a dedicated ancient term for 'art'. Baines (2015:1-5) states that the lack of explicit terminology would then imply that mathematics and religion were non-existent in ancient Egypt. Egyptians shared the universal human aesthetic orientation and that informed their material culture. He disagrees with the nineteenth and twentieth-century narrow definition limiting art to 'function-free' aesthetics, arguing that Egyptians visual art aimed to be pleasing as well as practical.

2.5.2 Wilkinson (1994:11-12) concurs with Robins, adding a *caveat*; the fluidity inherent to Egyptian theology and thought processes calls for flexibility in the approach to a study in this field. Symbols, by their very nature, are ambiguous: one symbol can denote more than one concept at the same time (the feather could amongst others, represent "air" [Shu] or "truth" [Maat]). Yet a single concept could also be represented by multiple symbols (Thoth is depicted as either ibis or baboon). Therefore, in this endeavour to gain insight into ancient Egyptian life by unlocking Egyptian visual art, intellectual flexibility is the key. Wilkinson (1994:186) rightly advises that only through consideration of as many possible connotations and contexts of symbols can we hope to comprehend the meaning of the messages that the ancients intended to communicate.



2.5.3 Egyptian art was intimately connected to other cultural domains. Cornell (1983:16) explains that Egyptians, like early societies, experienced a mystic relationship between natural objects and images thereof, associating the image with the supernatural world. Portrayals were functional proxies; '(mere) representation' equalled '(true) self' (Assmann 2005:110, Teeter 2015:328). Consequently, art as the complex visual communication system referred to in paragraph 2.2, was the potent medium which disseminated meaning through **symbols**, because symbols allowed the reduction of essential aspects of reality into reproducible concepts (Wilkinson 1994:8). Visual art was especially important because literacy was limited to less than an estimated 1% of the population during most of the Pharaonic period (Brewer and Teeter 1999:121-122).

2.5.4 Symbolism in creative arts echoed the primary form of Ancient Egyptian thought; it could facilitate the understanding of the spiritual world and accommodate their approach of treating opposites and contrary traits as part of the same continuum (for example: the living – the dead, mortals – deities). Being open to interpretation, symbols lent themselves well to represent the inherent dichotomy of life. They could also simultaneously “reveal and conceal” by conveying a specific message yet targeting a selected audience who would be able to contextualise the intended meaning. This **flexibility**, which encourages free associations, ensured that the symbolic message formed the distinct unifying theme in all forms of Egyptian art (Ray 2002:86-90, Wilkinson 1994:7-13).

## 2.6 Tomb art and the Egyptian Afterlife

2.6.1 Tomb art provides a valuable “window” on the ancient Egyptians’ belief that earthly life, though finite, was not final. Central to their religion was the aspiration to attain infinite afterlife in a realm that was the perfect counterpart of their life on earth. Brewer and Teeter (2007:168) explain that the need to successfully transcend death and navigate the transition between the world of the living and the hereafter, informed ancient Egyptian mortuary practices: preserving the physical remains in a recognisable form (mummification),

empowering the deceased to pass the perils of the netherworld and the final judgement by the gods (funerary literature and ritual), and providing sustenance and suitable surroundings for the soul (mortuary architecture). Ritner (2002:210) aptly states that the configuration and decoration of the ancient Egyptian tomb; the textual references, imagery and offerings, represented a sophisticated scheme of magical symbolism aimed at ensuring a sanctified eternal life.

2.6.2 The purpose of the ancient Egyptian tomb, as bridge between the earthly and the ever-after, was to create the environment for the rebirth and replenishment of the soul in the hereafter (Houlihan 2002:104). The **structure** of both royal and private tombs consisted of two definite spheres: the sub-structure was developed specifically for the benefit of the deceased and the super structure was intended for cult rituals. The body with funerary furnishings was housed in the private substructure while visitors could place offerings in the public superstructure (Olson 2002:37, Dodson 2002c:372). The **decoration** of each component complemented its specific objective. The decorative programmes in the substructures were compiled as mortuary manuals for the deceased; a visual *vade mecum* founded on underworld literature. These in time expanded from elaborately illustrated walls in royal tombs to include decorations on funerary papyri and furnishings of non-royal persons (Ritner 2002:210, van Dijk 2002:161).

## 2.7 Conclusion

In Egypt, baboons were considered exotic and elicited both respect and affinity. Their behaviour and characteristics evoked concepts like power, prudence, piety, protection and procreation; aspects that saw these remarkable animals absorbed into religious and literary traditions and made them a regular motif in visual art. Understanding their role and presence in New Kingdom Egypt and focussing on the baboon motif in the mortuary art in the New Kingdom tombs, provide yet another angle to unlock the ancient past.

## **PART II: THE BABOON IN NEW KINGDOM EGYPT**

## Chapter 3: Attested Baboon Presence in New Kingdom Egypt

### 3.1 Introduction: Baboons Species in Ancient Egypt

- 3.1.1 Egypt's natural environment sustained a variety of fauna and flora, but was the baboon native to this biosphere? Houlihan (1996:96) believes it is probable because they were known to exist in areas surrounding Egypt (including Nubia and Punt) and feature regularly in ancient Egyptian art. Greenlaw (2011:1-2) maintains that the only baboons likely to have been indigenous were the *Hamadryas* and *Anubis* baboons (*Papio hamadryas* and *Papio anubis*); semi-terrestrial baboons belonging to the sub-family *Cercopithecinae*, which together with the sub-family *Colobinae*, forms the family *Cercopithecidae*. This is because of the difference in the diets of the two sub-families: The *Cercopithecinae* as generalists are well adapted to survive on a varied diet as found in the harsh Egyptian environment (Kavanagh describes them as "the hustlers of the primate order" (1983:141)), but the nearest to Egypt that the leaf-eating *Colobinae*, in contrast, can be found, is in Ethiopia.
- 3.1.2 According to Goudsmit and Brandon-Jones (2000:111-112) (quoting Kingdon (1997:32-36)) the habitat of *Anubis* baboons is in the area between Sierra Leone in the west, Sudan in the east and southward as far as Zaire and Tanzania. The *Hamadryas* baboons inhabit the area surrounding the southern part of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden; Eastern Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Djibouti and Somalia as well as the Red Sea Hills in Yemen.

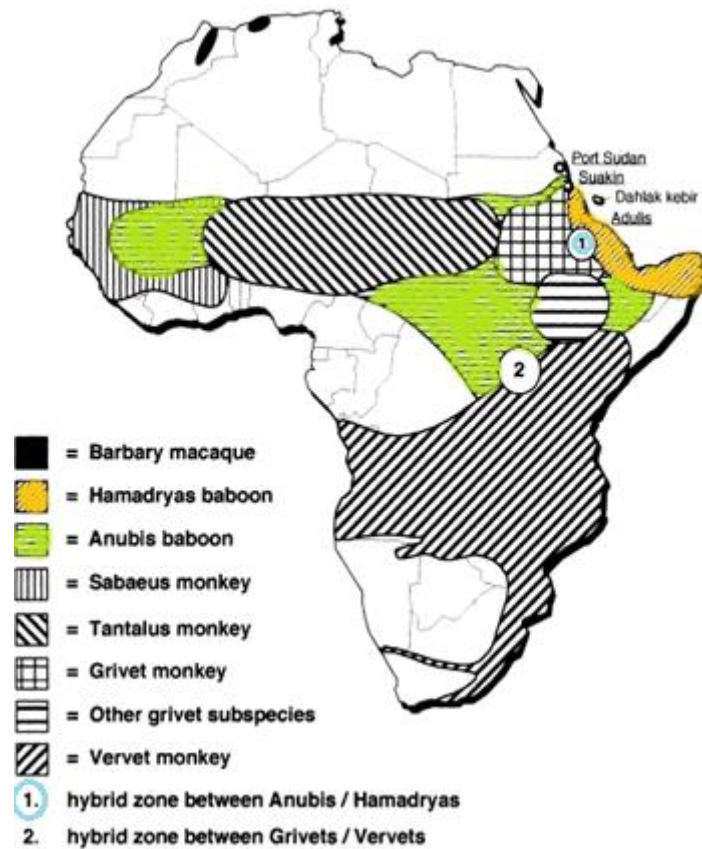


Figure 3.1: Current habitat of monkeys and baboons in Africa

3.1.3 The *Hamadryas* with its characteristic pink face and crimson behind, is a terrestrial specie. The fully-grown males are silver-coloured and distinguished by their cape which the smaller brown females do not have. Greenlaw (2011:2-3) points out that although there are references to specific characteristics of female baboons, males are the ones regularly depicted in Egyptian iconography.



Figure 3.2: *Papio Hamadryas*.

3.1.4 The larger *Anubis* baboons have black faces and behinds, a dense olive pelt and though they have a cape, it is markedly less impressive than that of the *Hamadryas*. Their females have the same dark olive colouring.



Figure 3.3: Papio Anubis

3.1.5 Archaeozoology does not support the indigenous status of baboons in Egypt. Arnold (1995:60) states that although the *Hamadryas* and *Anubis* baboons were compatible to the Egyptian habitat, only the *Hamadryas* had ever been native to Egypt and then only up to the Middle Kingdom latest. Therefore, baboons reflected in New Kingdom culture, were imported. Glenister (2008:103) puts the import of baboons into Egypt back as far as the Old Kingdom; by the New Kingdom baboons were considered a valuable commodity. Ancient references to trade voyages from Egypt to Punt (also known as *Ta-netjer* (God's Land)), mention the import of exotic goods, including baboons. Based on oxygen isotope analysis of mummified baboons and modern-day specimens along the coast of Africa and the Red Sea, the research results of Dominy, Ikram, Moritz, Christensen, Wheatley and Chipman (2015), propose that the Eastern Somalia / Eritrea-Ethiopia area was the probable site of Punt and that that had been the source of the *Hamadryas* that were imported

to Egypt. These findings support the earlier hypothesis of Sleswijk, based on *Hamadryas* mummies found in Gabanet el-Giboud near Thebes, that Punt was situated in the greater Eritrea region (Goudsmit 2000:112).

3.1.6 Although it cannot be argued that baboons had been indigenous to ancient Egypt, their physical presence is not only attested by simian representations in art, but also substantiated by archaeological finds of remains of baboons and baboon mummies. Von den Driesch (1993:25) highlights the fact that archaeological finds of this period are not limited to mummified baboons; the Theban necropolis yielded scattered cranial matter as well while skeletal remains were retrieved from a Saqqara site. These finds that indicate the physical presence of baboons in New Kingdom Egypt, provide useful material for researching the baboon in ancient Egyptian faunal life (Boessneck 1988:134).

## **3.2 Baboon burial places and practices**

### **3.2.1 Baboon burial locations**

Baboon remains have been found at four sites in ancient Egypt: Avaris in the northern Delta, Saqqara near Memphis, Tuna el-Gebel near Hermopolis Magna in Middle Egypt and in the vast necropolis of Thebes in the south. No New Kingdom baboon remains have been found at Tuna el-Gebel, the burial site for Hermopolis Magna. This is interesting since Hermopolis Magna was the cult centre for Thoth (associated with the ibis and the baboon) and the 9<sup>th</sup> king of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Amenhotep III, had colossal baboon statues erected there (Kemp 2006:377, Kessler and Nur el-Din 2005:130).

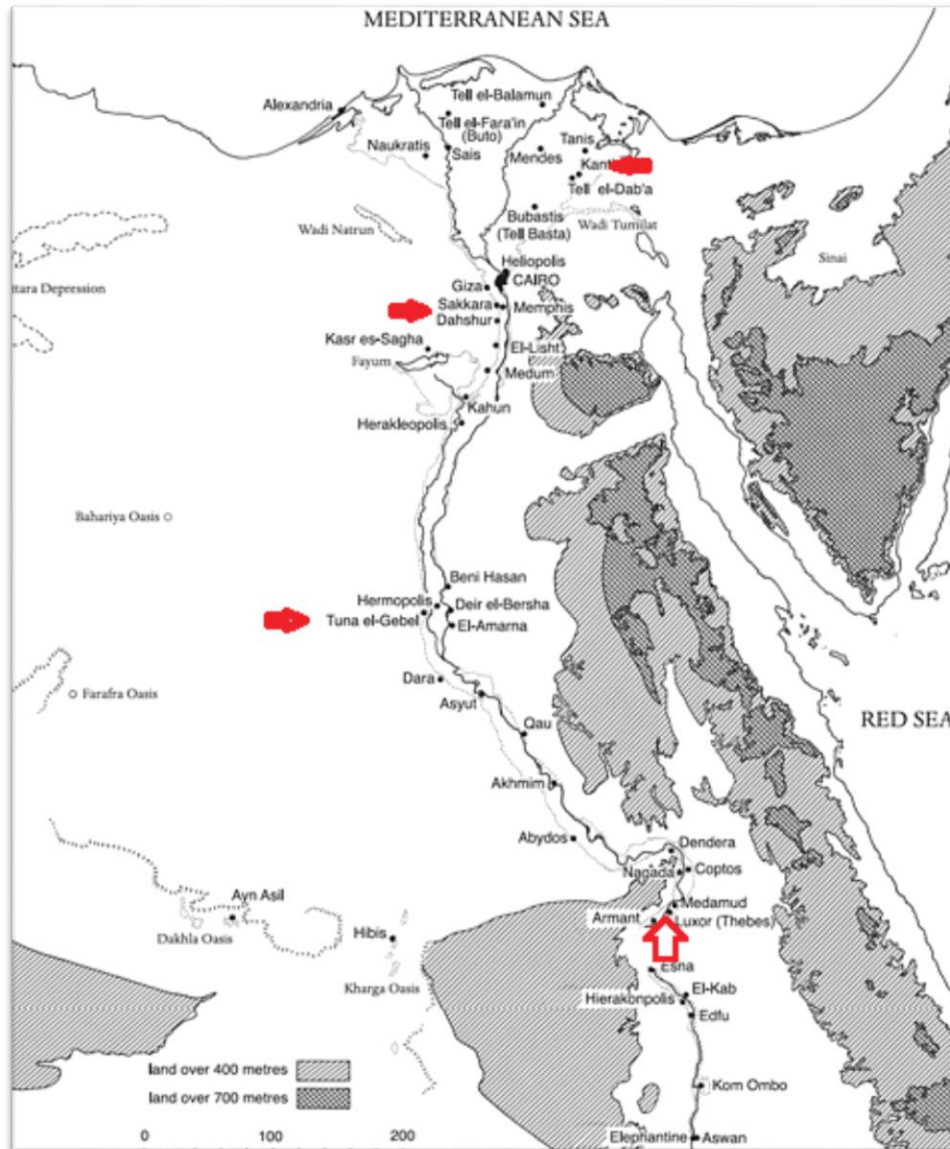


Figure 3.4: Map of the Nile valley showing ancient Egyptian sites where baboon remains were found. Remains found at Thebes in the south and in Saqqara can be dated to the New Kingdom

### 3.2.2 Baboon remains in Thebes

Baboon mummies and remains were found in several tombs in the Theban necropolis, which consists of the Western Valley (Fig. 3.5), Valley of the Queens and the Valley of the Kings (Fig. 3.6).



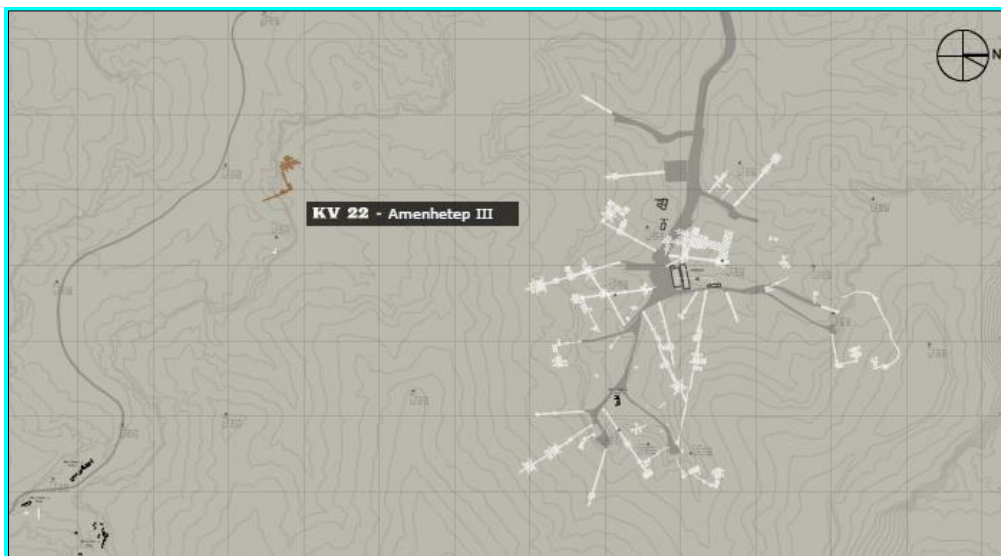


Figure 3.5: The Theban necropolis showing the Western Valley, also known as the Valley of the Baboons with the location of the Tomb of Amenhotep III next to the main Eastern Valley

- Tomb KV22 (Possible location)

The Theban Mapping Project of the American University in Cairo states that Amenhotep III was buried in KV22 in the Western Valley of the Kings (also known as the Valley of the Baboons / Valley of the Monkeys). Excavations indicate that mammal remains were found in the tomb, but little more information is given about the latter ([http://www.thebanmappingproject.com/sites/browse\\_tomb\\_836.html](http://www.thebanmappingproject.com/sites/browse_tomb_836.html) [15 Sept 2016]). Scanty information gleaned from Kessler (2001:321) points to baboons having been buried in or near tomb KV22. Kessler refers to KV22 when discussing cultic practices in ancient Egypt, arguing that the tradition of ritual burials for simians which had been kept as cultic animals at temples, could well have started with the burial of baboons in a tomb in the Valley of the Kings during Amenhotep's reign because these animals had probably been involved in the king's *sed*-festival (the royal rejuvenation festival celebrated after thirty years of reign [Bunson, 2002:358]). It is, however, known that Amenhotep III took a keen interest in animals, especially foreign fauna as he kept free-ranging wild animals in a small fenced game reserve (Janssen and Janssen 1989:34ff).

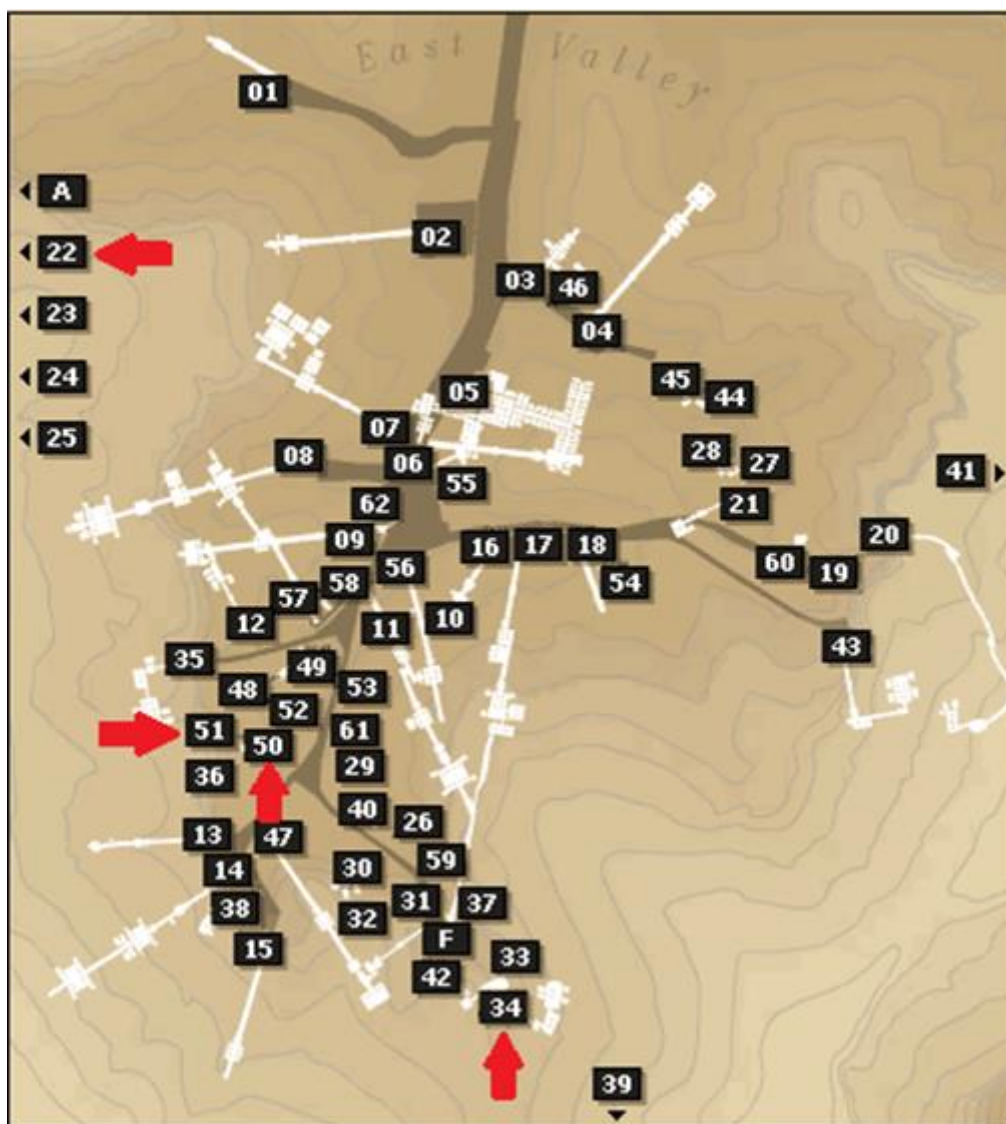


Figure 3.6: The Valley of the Kings: Eastern Valley indicating the location of the tombs where baboon remains were found

Baboon remains were not limited to cultic animals and animals kept in captivity, but also included domesticated animals probably kept as pets. According to Arnold (1995:58-59) Egyptians were keen pet owners that cared for and grieved the loss of such animals.

- Tomb KV34

The mummified pet baboon of the 6<sup>th</sup> King of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Thutmose III, was buried with his royal owner in tomb KV34 in the Eastern Valley of the Kings (Houlihan 2001:108).

- Tomb KV50

Tomb KV50 is the home of intriguing yet well-prepared animal mummies. Greenlaw (2011:24) describes how in 1906, Theodore Davis found unexpected companions inside this tomb: the unwrapped mummies of a hunting dog and a young squatting Hamadryas baboon facing each other; possibly styled in that way by ancient tomb robbers. Greenlaw speculates that these could either have been royal pets or those of the original tomb-owner. As possible owners, Ikram (2005:213) mentions two royals who were buried nearby; Amenhotep II (c. 1427-1401 BCE) buried in KV35, or Horemheb (1319-1307 BCE) buried in KV57. She agrees that the dog was a pet, but raises the possibility that the baboon might have had cultic value through association with either Ra, another solar deity or Thoth.



Figure 3.7: Dog and baboon mummies found in KV50. Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 29836/JE 38640 and CG 29837/JE 38747)



Figure 3.7a: Detail of mummy of young pet baboon found in KV50. Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 29837, JE 38747)

- Tomb KV51

Similar to the animal mummies found in tomb KV50, those found in KV51 also displayed thorough mummification. Ikram (2005:213-214) believes that the four KV51 baboons which were found with the mummies of a duck and an ibis, all dated to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, were kept as pets. Two of these baboons are in the Egyptian Museum (CG 29838 / JE 38746 and CG 29839 / JE 38744). Both CG 29838 (between three and six years) and CG 29839 (five years plus), had their canine teeth removed, probably to limit possible injury to humans. Great care had been taken during the mummification process to retain the original form of the animals after evisceration.



Figure 3.8: An X-ray of one of the KV51 baboons with canine teeth extracted. Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 29839 / JE 38744)

- Tomb TT 71

Not only royals afforded their pets the honour of a special funeral. The most influential courtier of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty female pharaoh Hatshepsut, Senenmut, received, amongst unprecedented favours, the privilege to develop his funerary complex in the vicinity of Hatshepsut's Deir el-Bahri temple structure. Senenmut, who achieved political prominence despite his humble background, never married, left no heirs (Wilkinson 2010:235), but bestowed much affection on his pet baboon and buried it near his own Theban tomb-chapel, TT71 (Houlihan 1996:108). The pet was interred together with a bowl of grapes or raisins in a stately wooden coffin. Teeter (2002b:359) agrees that the baboon and horse that had been buried in close proximity to Senenmut's tomb were beloved pets and not cultic animals, since they were not mummified in the normal fashion but only wrapped in linen and the horse was draped in a saddle cloth. Te Velde (1980:81) further points out that horses have never been associated with any deity or cult in ancient Egypt.

### 3.2.3 Baboon remains in Saqqara

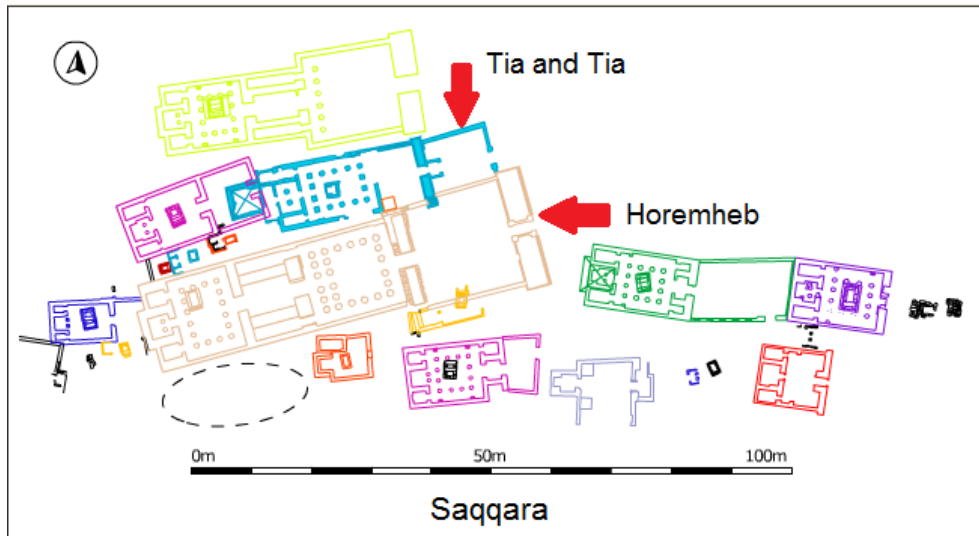


Figure 3.9: Excavated tombs in Saqqara: Tia and Tia buried next to Horemheb

- Tomb of Tia and Tia, Saqqara

In 1982, the Leiden excavation team on the Saqqara Project, discovered the tomb of Tia and Tia alongside the monumental private tomb of Horemheb, the last king of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty who was eventually buried in KV57 near Thebes. Tia, as Overseer of the Treasury under Ramesses II, was married to the latter's sister Tia. Robbers of the Tia and Tia tomb had left an interesting dump in the courtyard of Horemheb's tomb; the excavation team found a carved wooden lid for a baboon coffin (Fig. 3.10) as well as skeletal remains of two baboons and some immature simians which could not be classified. The bones reflected mineral deficiencies (<http://www.saqqara.nl/excavations/tombs/tia--tia/ finds> [22 Sept 2016]).



Figure 3.10: Wooden coffin lid for a pet baboon

### 3.3 Discussion of archaeological finds

3.3.1 The simian remains that were found in the six mentioned tombs serve as evidence that baboons were physically present in Egypt in the New Kingdom. Four sites yielded mummified animals, while the baboon remains from KV22 and the Saqqara tomb of Tia and Tia do not provide conclusive evidence of the funerary process followed.

3.3.2 The baboons from Tombs KV 34, KV50, and KV51 were all meticulously mummified while the mammal remains in TT71, even if not mummified according to the standard of the other three tombs, were given elaborate individual burials. These specific animals seem to have been treasured pets that were interred near their owners in order to spend the life hereafter with them. In view of the mummification of these pets, Ikram (2010:3) made the interesting observation that Egyptians must have credited their pets with a soul – like humans, they had a *ka* (life energy) and might have had a *ba* (the ability

of the soul to move back and forth between the spheres of the living and the dead) and an *akh* (the ever-living spirit) (Brewer and Teeter 2007:147-148). Preserving the body through mummification ensured that it remained intact for the *ka* and styled in a recognisable form for the *ba*.

3.3.3 Baboon mummification closely resembled the process followed to mummify humans. The animal was eviscerated, washed and desiccated with natron (a natural salty substance found in Wadi Natrun and elsewhere in Egypt). Once dry, the body was massaged with oils to return flexibility, swathed in linen and buried (Ikram 2004:16).

3.3.4 Apart from extensive knowledge of the use of scientific substances to perform mummifications, New Kingdom Egyptians were able to perform intricate procedures on unusual patients; to extract the canine teeth of a baboon successfully presupposes knowledge of forms of anaesthetics (possibly alcohol and cloves), painkillers and infection control over and above technical expertise (Ikram 2005:214).

3.3.5 The baboon remains from Tomb KV22 and the Tia and Tia Tomb do not conform to the funerary tradition of the other four tombs.

- Tomb KV22 of Amenhotep III

Amenhotep III kept a royal menagerie of wild animals and exotic birds. Brewer (2002:454) explains that these avi- and faunal collections were kept in large fenced areas as a source of visual pleasure and political pride. Baboons formed part of Amenhotep III's menagerie but despite the animals' proximity to humans, they were not domesticated but retained their genetic make-up. He dismisses interpretations that baboons were trained as assistant fruit harvesters maintaining their involvement in fruit picking constituted instinctive food gathering activities.



Apart from royal menageries, some kings and courtiers had cultic sites on their premises where they kept baboons as cultic animals sacred to the cult of Thoth (Ray 2002:87-90). Teeter (2002b:355-357) clarifies that animals such as these baboons might have been part of cultic practices where animals were bred in captivity in order to be used as votive offerings. Breeding animals for sacrificial killings was customary from the mid New Kingdom and peaked in the Ptolemaic period. This form of cultic practice differs substantially from the worshipping of a specific living animal as the sole earthly manifestation of a deity.

Kessler (2001:321) is of the opinion that the baboons of KV22 were cultic animals in the *sed*-festival of Amenhotep III and their burial might well have been the beginning of a new cultic tradition. This is highly probable as baboons are closely associated with virility and vitality and Brewer and Teeter (2007:45) makes the point that representations of the first *sed*-festival of Amenhotep III displayed a manifest change in royal cult with much emphasis on rejuvenation. Iconography now depicted a youthful king imbued with renewed vigour by the sun disk personified as Horus or Re (Amenhotep III's increased prominence on regeneration and the solar theology was the precursor for the dramatic changes instituted by his son Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten).

- Tomb of Tia and Tia, Saqqara

The lack of verified exploration detail and the fact that the baboon remains were found in disarray in a robbers' dump severely hamper any attempt to contextualise the baboons found in Tia and Tia's tomb. According to the Leiden excavation team, Tia was very fond of pets; among the painstakingly buried animals they also found a wooden coffin holding the remains of a cat. Yet, judging by the skeletal abnormalities of the baboons, which can be ascribed to malnutrition and lack of normal development in natural habitat, they were probably bred in captivity. The remains of simians too young to be correctly categorised may also be an indication of captive breeding for cultic purposes as Von den Driesch (1993:25) concluded in a study of mummified remains of Tuna el-Gebel baboons.

### 3.4 Conclusion

- 3.4.1 Archaeological evidence attests the physical presence of baboons from the distant Kush and Punt in New Kingdom Egypt. The baboon remains found at Gabanet el-Giboud (Valley of the Baboons) and in KV34 (Thutmose III's tomb) enabled archaeologists to locate the ancient Punt within the natural habitat of these animals in the eastern region of Africa along the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden (Glenister 2008:103). Access to these lucrative trade routes further stimulated the vibrant economy of New Kingdom Egypt.
- 3.4.2 The remains reflect that baboons were domesticated and kept as pets for personal pleasure or in elite menageries as status symbols. Arnold (1995:60) makes an interesting observation that economic progress and concomitant changes in habitation (urbanisation) often manifest in a more sentimental relationship of humans towards pets. By sporting a royal menagerie, stocked by the spoils of political tribute or expeditions of conquest, Egyptian kings symbolically displayed their personal, political, and militaristic mastery over remote foreign counties through the domination of their endemic faunas. These animals in exile were living evidence of a monarch's might and influence (Houlihan 1996:197-198) during this period of political hegemony.
- 3.4.3 The majority of the baboon remains were found in the Theban necropolis with a single find in a Saqqara tomb. This corresponds with the comment by Goudsmit (2000:111) that the tradition of animal mummification, which spanned several eras of Dynastic Egypt, increased exponentially only after the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and culminated in the Ptolemaic animal necropolises of Thebes, Tuna el-Gebel and North Saqqara. There are also instances, like the Saqqara find, where baboons might have been kept as cultic animals in connection with the cult of Thoth, to whom they were sacred. But these cultic activities were still markedly low-key and localised. As Goudsmit (2000:116) points out, the construction of the Baboon Catacomb at North Saqqara was only initiated between 404 and 343 BCE probably coinciding with a national revival of the cult worshipping of Thoth and his baboon representation.

- 3.4.4 The New Kingdom baboon mummies fall mainly into category one of Ikram's (2004:14) four types of animal mummies namely pets, victual, sacred and votive. Pets and food mummification formed part of the funerary tradition of the New Kingdom while the other two mummy genres, sacred (a living animal worshipped as the incarnation of a god), and votive (animals mummified and dedicated to a deity) are associated with periods of spiritual insecurity.
- 3.4.5 The attested presence of baboons in New Kingdom Egypt is a small yet significant indicator of the prevailing cultural context. These non-indigenous potentially dangerous animals were primarily kept as pets, for prestige and for cultic purposes. This corresponds with an era of renewed political stability, economic progress and spiritual equilibrium – *maat* was restored after the turbulence of the Second Intermediate Period.

## Chapter 4: Vignettes in the *Books of the Dead*

### 4.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 focuses on baboon imagery found in funerary literature in the substructures of New Kingdom tombs where decoration was intended to ensure the safe passage of the deceased to eternity. In this private space, the funerary embellishment aimed to facilitate the deceased's transfiguration into, as Redford (2002:xvi) describes, an *akh* (glorious spirit), worthy of an afterlife in the *Field of Reeds*.

The visual art in the substructures of all New Kingdom tombs was rooted in **funerary literature**, a genre of underworld works which includes the *Book of Going Forth by Day (Book of the Dead)*, the *Book of That Which is in the Underworld (Amduat)*, the *Book of Gates* and the *Book of Caverns* (Lesko 2002b:139). These writings, especially the *Book of the Dead*, a compendium of *circa* 200 spells, contained instructions and incantations to protect the deceased in the netherworld and prepare him / her to pass the final judgment and proceed into a beatified afterlife (Lesko 2002b:139, Ritner 2002:210, Hornung 1999:xviii).

### 4.2 Vignettes in the *Book of the Dead*: Figures 4.1 – 4.24

What happened once life on earth ended? Extant papyrus vignettes give iconographical insight into the way the ancient Egyptians perceived their afterlife, which in turn, also reflects how they viewed earthly life. By the New Kingdom, individualised selections from the approximately two hundred spells of the *Book of Going Forth by Day*, featured consistently in burial practices. These spells formed part of the decoration of royal and non-royal tomb architecture and furnishings, but as Olson (2002:40) points out, the bulk of these spell combinations was found in elite and private tombs on rolls of papyrus buried with the deceased. These documents, normally referred to as *Books of the Dead*, consisted of spells and illustrations rich in animal imagery

which empowered the deceased on the perilous journey through the netherworld where one had to face gates, gods, aggressive beings and the ultimate judgement before being reborn into the coveted eternal life. Although the textual and visual aspects in this genre of funerary literature varied substantially in content and quality (several were exquisitely executed by expert scribes and draftsmen as single dedicated works, while others, including some anonymous copies with spaces left blank for the names of potential beneficiaries, were done more crudely), animal imagery invariably formed an intrinsic part of each composition (Allen 1974:3, Lesko 2002b:140, Teeter 2002b:344).

According to the digital *Altägyptische Totenbuch*, baboons are mentioned specifically in four spells, namely Spells 15, 17, 125 and 126 (<http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/register/motive-alphabetisch> accessed on 12 July 2016). However, apart from these, there are clear literary references to baboons in the explanatory notes accompanying some spells, for instance Spell 17b:5 mentions 'These Examiners', which are described as 'The Baboon, Isis and Nephthys' in the elucidation (Allen 1974:31). Indirect references to baboons can further be found in spells with allusions to groups like the 'Attendants of Horus', 'Council around Horus', 'Seven Blessed Ones' and 'Sun-folk of Kheraha' (Allen 1974:29 and 111) (*vide* sub-section 4.2.3).

Iconographic analysis of the vignettes accompanying the spells, indicates that the baboon motif figures in four broad thematic categories: baboons as adorers, assessors, guards and genii. In the following four sub-sections, each of these themes will be explored in vignettes from a corpus of New Kingdom *Book of the Dead* manuscripts.

### 4.2.1 Adoring the Sun: Figures 4.1 – 4.9

The baboon motif forms an intricate part of the vignettes associated with sun worship. Quirke (2002:174) explains that Spells 15 to 17 are sun hymns addressed to Ra upon rising in the east or setting in the west. Baboons, known for living in tandem with the sun, feature prominently in accompanying vignettes:

Firstly, in **praising Ra** (Spell 15 and 16):

- Spell 15a2.3: “Adore him” say the baboons, “praise be to thee” (say) all the animals together...’
- Spell 15a4.2: ‘The screeching baboons adore thee; they who are in the seats of the Horizon-Dwellers cheer thee...’
- Spell 16 is a textless spell comprising vignettes accompanying Spell 15, and

Secondly, in **praising Khepri in the solar bark** (Spell 17):

- Spell 17: Allen (1974:26) clarifies that this spell relates to the celebration of the deceased’s transit into the realm of the gods on his way to become a blessed one in the ‘Beautiful West’. The spell is decorated with vignettes portraying the journey of the solar bark.

#### **Praising Ra (Spell 15 and 16)**

Vignettes depicting baboons praising Ra consistently portray the animals in an upright pose with arms lifted and palms facing forward **as per artistic convention of hierarchy of size, the use of a register system and choice of formal or active pose to convey meaning: the main figure is portrayed in formal pose, while those lauding him/her, are depicted in active or unrestricted pose (Peck 2015:363). This can be** seen in the finely painted vignette from an unidentified New Kingdom *Book of the Dead* (BM EA 9927):

- ***Book of the Dead: Anonymous: Dynasty 18***

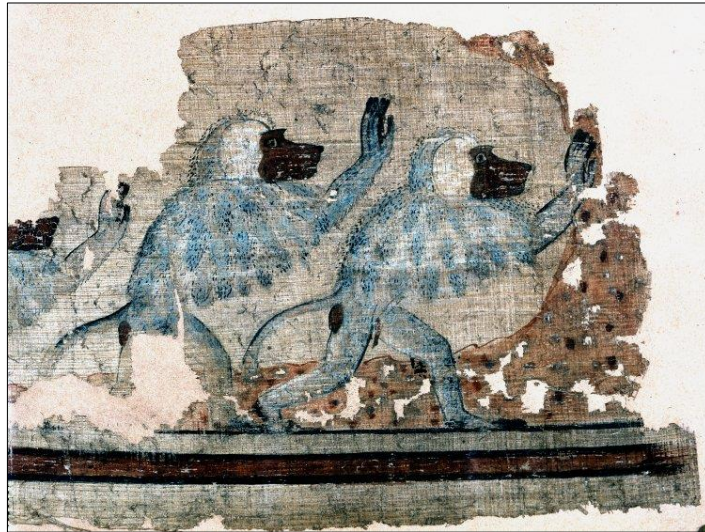


Figure 4.1: Papyrus fragment *Book of the Dead* (Name unknown) showing silver-blue baboons in adoration

This basic 'praising baboon' image remains virtually constant in comparable vignettes from other New Kingdom Books of the Dead found in private tombs of prominent officials. The following six visually comparable vignettes are included to firstly highlight the similarity of design and secondly portray variances in colour and the number of baboon figures.

- ***Book of the Dead of Userhat: Dynasty 18***

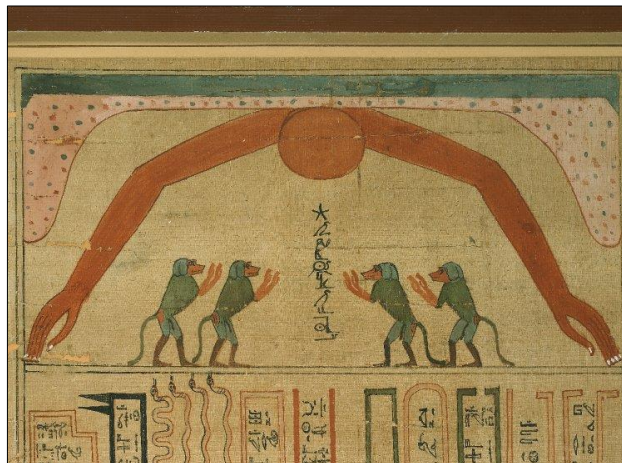


Figure 4.2: Detail from Sheet 1 of Papyrus of Userhat. Four green-grey baboons adoring the sun

In this full-colour vignette from the *Book of the Dead* of Userhat (BM EA10009.1), the top register consists of four greenish-blue baboons on their hind legs that are adoring the sun (Spell 15). Userhat, trusted confidante at court, overseer of the granaries and royal scribe during the reign of Amenhotep II and possibly also under the latter's father, Thutmose III, was buried in TT56 near Thebes (Hodel-Hoernes 2000:65).

- ***Book of the Dead* of Qenna: Late Dynasty 18**



Figure 4.3: Sheet 1 of Papyrus of Qenna. Six baboons adoring the rising sun

The polychrome (black, white, red, yellow, green, brown) vignette of Sheet 1 of the *Book of the Dead* of the merchant Qenna (RMO P. Leiden T 2 (SR)), carries the same adoration theme as the previous vignette (Userhat), but shows six grey-green baboons with their arms held up in adoration, climbing a mountain towards the rising sun which is held by a personified *ankh* (the hieroglyph which signifies life) positioned upon a *djed* pillar flanked by Isis and Nephthys (Wilkinson 1992:29-179). The style of the vignette of Qenna, the late Dynasty



18 merchant (van Dijk 1995:1-4), recurs in the Dynasty 19 *Book of the Dead* of Ani, albeit with variation.

- ***Book of the Dead* of Ani: Dynasty 19**



Figure 4.4: Detail of Sheet 2 of Papyrus of Ani. Six greenish baboons adoring the sun

As 'True Scribe of the King; His Beloved Scribe Reckoning Divine Offerings of All the Gods; Overseer of the Double Granary of the Lord of Tawer', Ani enjoyed high status. Sheet 2 of his well-preserved *Book of the Dead* (BM EA 10470.2) contains a full-colour vignette illustrating the hymn to the sunrise (Allen 1974:26). On both the left and right hand borders of the vignette, three silver-greenish baboons walk upright in adoration of the sun, facing away from the central *djed-ankh*-sun disk construct which is flanked by Isis and Nephthys.

- **Book of the Dead of Hunefer: Dynasty 19**

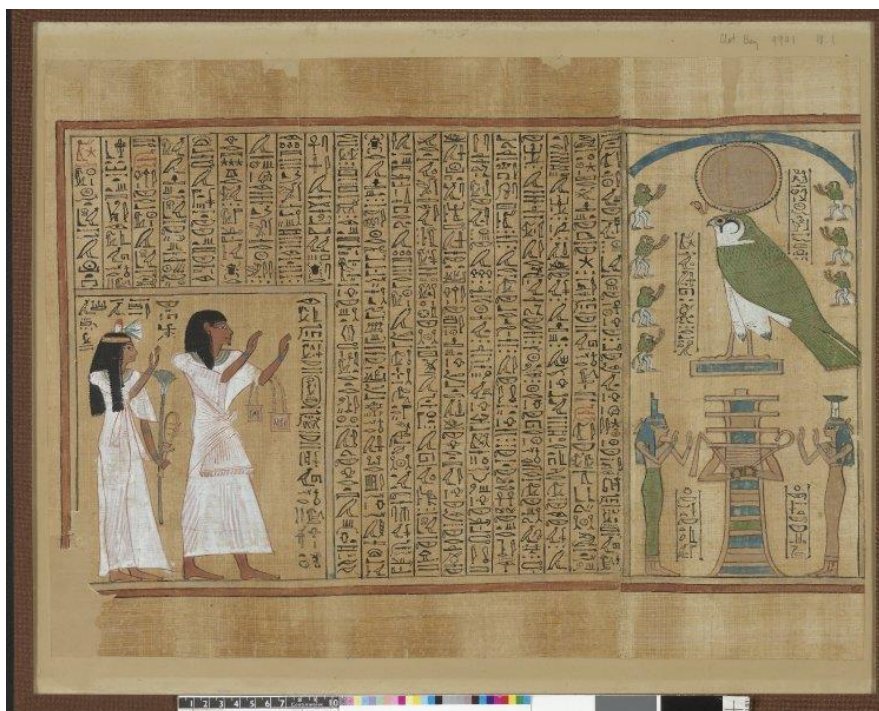


Figure 4.5: Sheet 1 of Papyrus of Hunefer. Seven baboons in adoration scene: Hymn to the rising sun

As in the previous examples, the hymn to the rising sun (Spells 15 and 16) is the subject of Sheet 1 of the *Book of the Dead* of Hunefer (*Hw-nfr*) (BM EA 9901.1). The exquisitely done vignette in full colour; blue, green, white, black, red, pink and traces of faded yellow, shows that Hunefer, as 'Estate Overseer of Menmaatra' (throne name of Seti I (Shaw 2003:267)); 'Overseer of the Cattle of the Lord of the Two Lands' and 'King's Scribe', had access to quality craftsmanship. The vignette depicts a green and blue personified *djed* pillar holding the crook and flail in the centre, flanked by Isis and Nephthys. Seven greenish-silver baboons, in the pose of adoration, are positioned to the left (four) and right (three) of a prominent green *bik* (falcon) with a sun disk and uraeus on his head.

- ***Book of the Dead of Pashed: Dynasty 19***



Figure 4.6: Detail from Sheet 2 of Papyrus of Pashed. Monochrome depiction of four baboons adoring the sun

According to the BM description, the excellently preserved *Book of the Dead of Pashed* (BM EA 9955.2) was found in the cemetery of Deir el-Medina, the village of the workers associated with the Valley of the Kings near Thebes. The inscriptions indicate that Pashed was 'Foreman of the Work-gang in the Place of Truth' (Deir el-Medina) – a senior position in the Deir el-Medina hierarchy which afforded him the means to have a well-decorated tomb. This vignette on Sheet 2 of Pashed's papyrus shows four large grey baboons adoring the sun. The vignettes were done in black and red ink with orpiment and realgar being used for yellow / gold and red colouring respectively. This muted colour palette characterised the unique monochrome style of decoration displayed in some Ramesside tombs in the Western cemetery of Deir el-Medina (Stevens 2014:6).

- **Book of the Dead of Anhai: Dynasty 20**



Figure 4.7: Detail from Sheet 1 of Papyrus of Anhai. Four silver-greenish baboons in the adoration scene

Anhai was a Theban priestess (Pinch, 1994:34), described in her *Book of the Dead* as 'Chantress of Amun over the Phylae', 'Leader of Musicians of Osiris', 'Leader of Musicians of Nebtu and Khnum' and 'Lady of the House'. Sheet 1 of her intricately decorated papyrus (BM EA10472.1) contains a vignette to illustrate the hymn to the rising sun (Spell 15). The figures in this polychrome vignette are delicately done in a predominantly blue-green palette against a neutral background. The middle register depicts two baboons on each side of the central *imemet* emblem, with arms reaching up, palms towards the solar falcon in an act of adoration.

The above vignettes illustrated Spells 15 and 16 (praising Ra) whilst the next two vignettes are examples of illustrations associated with Spell 17 (Praising Khepri in the solar bark).

### **Praising Khepri in the Solar Bark (Spell 17)**

Spell 17 is an invocation to the sun god to assist the deceased in negotiating the dangers as he/she journeys into and from the realm of the underworld. The accompanying vignette frequently depicts baboons adoring the solar bark. In the following two vignettes, baboons adore the rising sun, Khepri, in his morning bark (*mandet*) (Wilkinson 1992:153). A specific plea is that Khepri would help the deceased so that the 'Examiners', Isis, Nephthys and the baboons, will do him no harm (Allen 1974:26-34). Figures 4.8 and 4.9 are vignettes from the Papyrus of Nakht (Dynasty 18) and Ani (Dynasty 19) in which the baboon-solar bark combination features. Baboons praising Khepri in the solar bark are regularly portrayed as squatting with arms lifted in adoration, palms facing towards the subject of their worship. Robins (1997:21) argues that these poses and gestures are influenced by artistic convention (hierarchical ordering of figures) and form a non-verbal statement of their relative status *vis-à-vis* others.

- ***Book of the Dead of Nakht: Dynasty 18***



Figure 4.8: Sheet 6 of the Papyrus of Nakht. Two baboons adoring Khepri in solar bark

Like Userhat, Hunefer and Ani, Nakht was a royal scribe. He was also a top military officer (Overseer of the Army) at the end of Dynasty 18 (<http://culturalinstitute.britishmuseum.org/asset-viewer/papyrus-from-the-book-of-the-dead-of-nakht/WwH842iaqE5qvw?hl=en> [05 August 2014]). The polychrome vignette illustrating Spell 17, on Sheet 6 of his *Book of the Dead* (BM EA 10471.6), depicts two large silver-grey green-caped squatting baboons adoring Khepri, portrayed as anthropomorphic god with a scarab as head. The baboons face the prow of Khepri's bark. Behind the baboons, a similar solar bark with a god in a sun disk (Ra) can be seen traversing the sky. The vignette is virtually replicated in the Papyrus of Ani, with only slight variations.

- ***Book of the Dead of Ani: Dynasty 19***



Figure 4.9: Detail from Sheet 10 of Papyrus of Ani. Isis, Nephthys and baboons praising solar bark of Khepri

The basic configuration of the solar bark scene (Spell 17) in Sheet 10 of the Papyrus of Ani (BM EA10470.10), closely resembles that of Nakht, except that here, Isis and Nephthys sit in front of the bark praising Khepri while the two greyish-green baboons are represented one above the other (therefore next to each other) behind the stern, adoring Khepri. The bark is placed on a sled in the form of the *pet* sign – evoking the solar bark's journey through the sky (Wilkinson 1992:121).

The association of baboons with divine adoration reflects the ancient Egyptians' observation and interpretation of nature where baboons chattering at dawn heralds the beginning of the solar god's journey across the sky. But as baboons

were also perceived to be intelligent and wise, the baboon motif was incorporated into one of the manifestations of Thoth. It is in this capacity that the baboon image figures in vignettes portraying the judgement of the deceased.

#### 4.2.2 Assessment: Weighing of the Heart: Figures 4.10 – 4.13

The idea of assessment developed gradually. Wilkinson (2010:155) cites political and social insecurity associated with the transition from the Old Kingdom into the chaotic First Intermediate Period, as the trigger for a new awareness that death might be the end, not the unconditional entry to eternal life. The ever-after could only be attained by attesting a moral earthly life, as is taught in *The Instruction for Merikara*:

‘When a man remains after passing away,  
His deeds are set alongside him...  
He who reaches (the next life) without wrongdoings  
Will exist there like a god...’

This awareness resulted in the acceptance that the dead person’s fate was decided in a final judgement where the deities assessed the merits of the deceased’s earthly life. Both the format and the focus of the assessment changed over time. Strudwick (2007:198) explains that during the Middle Kingdom (2055 – 1650 B.C.E.) only transgressors faced judgement, but by the New Kingdom (1550 – 1069 B.C.E.), all deceased, even the pharaoh himself, had to prove their virtue and lack of vice.

The latter was the focus of Spell 125, the ‘Spell for entering the broad hall of the Two Truths and adoring Osiris presiding over the West’ (Allen 1974:101). Here the deceased’s heart (representing the modern-day soul) was ‘weighed’ against the feather of *maat* (truth / righteousness) and by proclaiming the ‘negative confession’ before Osiris and the tribunal of deities, the deceased affirmed his/her abstinence from evil.

This all-important judgement eventually became central to funerary literature and decoration. Although Quirke (2002:176) points out that the weighing of the heart vignettes varied in content and composition, the baboon motif featured regularly in illustration as well as incantation; the scales of justice overseen by Thoth in baboon form and the inclusion of the four sons of Horus (one of them being the baboon-headed Hapi), can be described as key elements (the four Sons of Horus will be discussed in sub-section 4.2.4.). Greenlaw (2011:30-31) alludes to more baboon representations associated with Spell 125; the adjudicators hearing the 'negative confession' include Nosey of Hermopolis, a baboon presumably associated with Thoth, and in certain vignettes, more of the deities in the jury are portrayed as baboons. Apart from images, Greenlaw continues, Spell 125 also contain textual references to baboons. One important baboon deity, mentioned by name, is the aggressive Babi; in Spell 125c.2, the deceased appeals to be saved from Babi 'who lives on the entrails of the elders' (Allen 1974:99).

In the next four vignettes, the focus will be on the baboon motif in the 'Weighing of the Heart' scenes:

- ***Book of the Dead of Nebseni: Dynasty 18***

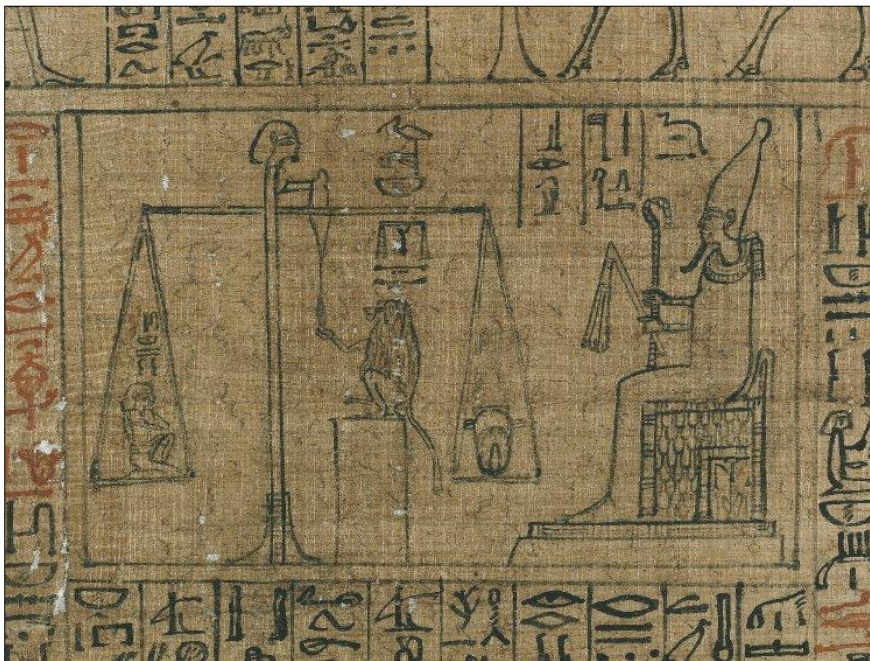


Figure 4.10: Detail of Sheet 4 of Papyrus of Nebseni. Baboon manifestation of Thoth



Nebseni carried the titles 'Copyist of the Temple of Ptah', 'Child of the Inner Palace' and 'Draughtsman of the Lord of the Two Lands'. This monochrome vignette on Sheet 4 of his papyrus (BM 9900.4), illustrates Nebseni's judgement in the presence of Osiris. The centre of the image is dominated by a baboon squatting on a stool and adjusting the balance of the scale in which Nebseni is weighed against his own heart. Quirke (2002:177) interprets the pose of the baboon, which resembles the hieroglyph *netcher* (seated god), and his action of managing the scale, as the deity Thoth personifying justice.

Where, in Nebseni's case, justice is implied by Thoth balancing the scale and alluded to by the bracket of the scale which is in the form of the feather (*shut*) which symbolises the goddess of truth and order *Maat*, the comparable scene in the Late Dynasty 18 Papyrus of Qenna accentuates this principle.

- ***Book of the Dead of Qenna: Late Dynasty 18***



Figure 4.11: Detail of Sheet 8 of Papyrus of Qenna. Weighing of the heart

The vignette containing the weighing scene of the late Dynasty 18 merchant, Qenna (RMO SR.8) is finely done in polychrome (black, white, red, yellow and

green). In this vignette, the heart of Qenna is weighed against the feather of *maat* with the head of Anubis topping the scale and the composite monster Amemet ('Swallower') or Am-mut ('Swallower of the Damned') awaiting the outcome of the judgement (Quirke 2002:176). However, the scene is dominated by the figures of the Thoth baboon on the left and the goddess Maat to the right of the scale, both depicted similar in size to Anubis and Qenna. Thoth is squatting in the *netcher* position, indicating his status as god; a designation which is amplified by him sitting on a shrine and wearing the lunar disk and crescent on his head. In this scene, Thoth, as the god of writing, awaits the verdict of Maat, who is judging Qenna.

In the judgement vignette of Qenna, the theriomorphic depiction of Thoth, the divine scribe, as baboon combines the aspects of **justice** and **writing**. Papyri from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasties show a marked change in configuration as far as Thoth is concerned.

- ***Book of the Dead of Ani: Dynasty 19***



Figure 4.12: Detail of Sheet 3 of the Papyrus of Ani. Weighing of the heart scene

In earlier papyri, Thoth was depicted in a single theriomorphic form, but the judgement scene in the Papyrus of Ani shows Thoth depicted both in theriomorphic and in anthropomorphic form, thus separating the aspects of truth / justice and divine **writing**. As baboon, Thoth sits atop the scale where the feather-form bracket represents Maat. Anubis balances the two pans of the scale which contain Ani's heart and feather of *maat*. To the right, Thoth in his anthropomorphic manifestation as ibis-headed human, writes down the outcome while the devourer looks on. The multiform manifestation of Thoth is continued in Dynasty 20.

- ***Book of the Dead of Anhai: Dynasty 20***

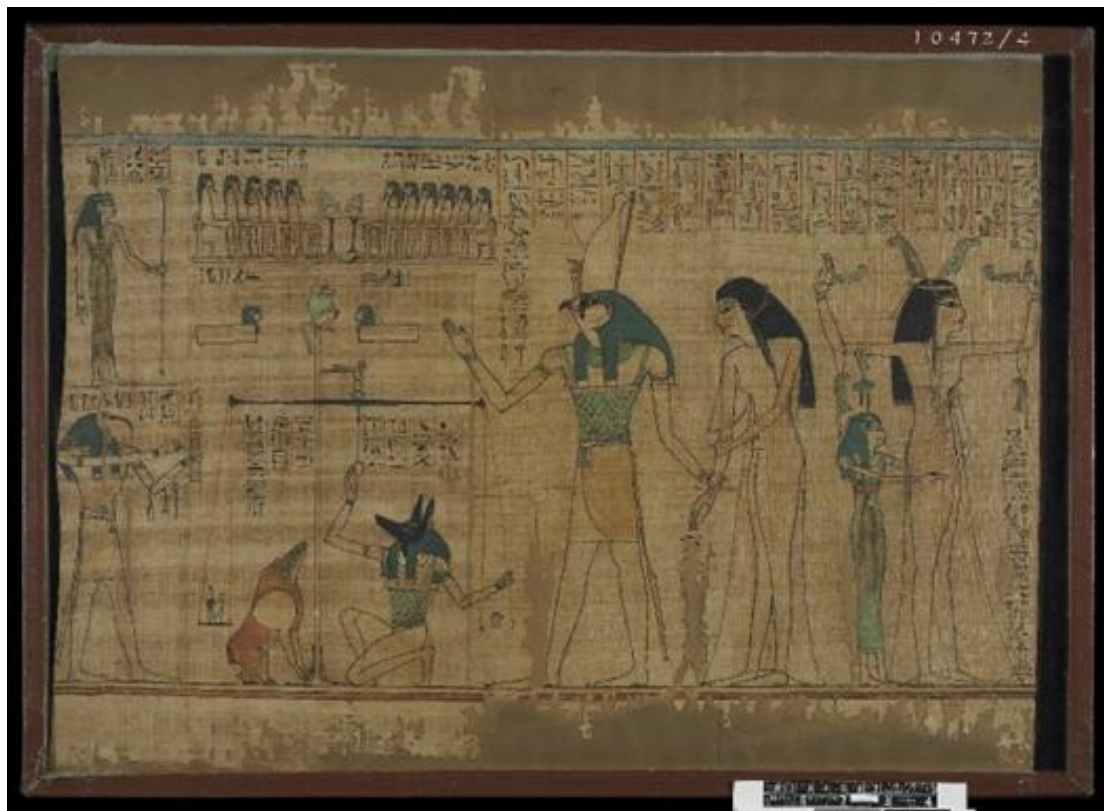


Figure 4.13: Sheet 4 of the Papyrus of Anhai. Weighing of the heart scene

The full-colour vignette illustrating Spell 125 of the *Book of the Dead* of Anhai continues the tradition of having Thoth represented both theriomorphically and anthropomorphically. While Anubis adjusts the balance in the presence of

Amemet, the devourer, Thoth is depicted as baboon in *netcher* pose on top of the scale. Thoth is also present as ibis-headed scribe holding the scribe's palette and reed, in the lower left register with Maat in the upper left register.

As Egyptian art is symbolically infused with ritual and belief (Teeter 2015:341), the baboon manifestation of Thoth (as deity of wisdom, writing, justice, astronomy, nature and cosmology) in the weighing of the heart scenes, evokes the notion of justice and truth; reassuring the deceased of a fair and open assessment.. Yet, once the judgement is completed successfully, the deceased enters a *bardo*; an unknown state between earthly and eternal life likened to a dangerous passage beset by hurdles. For protection on this underworld journey, the deceased relies on yet another aspect closely linked to baboons, its fierceness.

#### **4.2.3 Guardians and Gate-keepers: Figures 4.14 – 4.20**

In this sub-section, vignettes portraying the protective aspect of baboons receive attention. To understand where baboons feature as protectors with regard to other afterlife episodes, it is worth recapping van Dijk's (2002:162-3) concise description of the deceased's way through the underworld: after the 'Negative Confession' and the weighing of the heart against *maat*, the deceased had to navigate dangerous obstacles before being allowed to enter 'the secret portals of the West'. What were these dangerous obstacles? Lucarelli (2010:86-87) speaks of 'sacred liminal places' on the journey between earthly and eternal life. These were thresholds, 'dynamic instants of transition,' prone to forces of chaos, protected by guardian-figures or demons. The latter were intermediaries between the deities and humankind, endowed with supernatural powers but limited by divine will. Unique to ancient Egyptian religion, was the personal interaction between the deceased and these guardians; they had to be recognised and addressed by name. This necessitated the pictographic representation of these guardians and gate-keepers.

It is in relation to these thresholds that the motif of the baboon as guardian, occurs; firstly, at the Lake of Fire (usually Spell 126) and secondly, at the Gates of the Underworld (normally, according to Lesko (2002b:145), but not exclusively, in Spells 144 – 147). When looking at these two concepts in the *Book of the Dead* spells, the author clearly detects the seminal influence of earlier funerary literature, especially that of the *Book of Two Ways* in the *Coffin Texts*, dating from the early Middle Kingdom. The imaginary geography of the *Book of Two Ways* (*Coffin Text* Spell 1054/1166), begins with the **Lake of Fire** where the ancient notion of testing the morality of the deceased in a trial of fire, was practiced (Wilkinson 2010:155, van Dijk 2002:163). The *Book of Two Ways* also include references to **guarded gates** through which the deceased had to pass; a tradition that found its way into non-royal *Book of the Dead* vignettes via the Dynasty 19 *Book of Gates* (Lesko 2002b:145).

At this point it is necessary to make mention of the ever-present concept of duality; references have so far been made in Chapter 1 (sub-section 1.1) to the notion that a basic tenet of the ancient Egyptian psyche is the unquestionable acceptance that the whole is constituted by contrasts, and that order (thus life) depends on the balance between opposites (*maat*). In this sub-section, where the baboon features in a protective capacity, **duality** again comes into play. Baboons have been portrayed as sun worshippers and wise judges, but can also be vicious – a trait that makes them powerful protectors.

### **Guardians of the Lake of Fire**

The underworld Lake of Fire was a place of judgement where the righteous were regenerated and the unrighteous, the transgressors against *maat*, were permanently relegated to outer darkness horror and indescribable torture, comparable to ‘the slaughtering place’ (*nmt*) and ‘place of destruction’ (*h3dw*) which the goddess Sakhmet controlled (van Dijk 2002:162-3). The Lake, located in the ‘Sacred Cavern of Sokar’ (Bunson 2012:209), thus was the final destination of the damned.

The core construct of the vignette illustrating Spell 126, consists of a square body of water surrounded by flaming braziers with four hamadryas baboons guarding its corners ('the four baboons who sit at the bow of the bark of Ra'...'who judge the poor as well as the rich' (Spell 126 quoted from Allen (1974:102)); they decide who is going to be granted access through the 'secret portals of the West' and who will be delivered to the hellhound, the 'Swallower of Millions' who 'devours corpses' and who, according to Spell 17, oversees this pyro-trial (Faulkner 1994:pl.32, Greenlaw 2011:31, Quirke 2002:176, van Dijk 2002:163).

The majority of Spell 126 vignettes contain the basic pool-baboon-brazier composition, as seen in the Dynasty 18 *Book of the Dead* of Nu.

- ***Book of the Dead* of Nu: Dynasty 18**

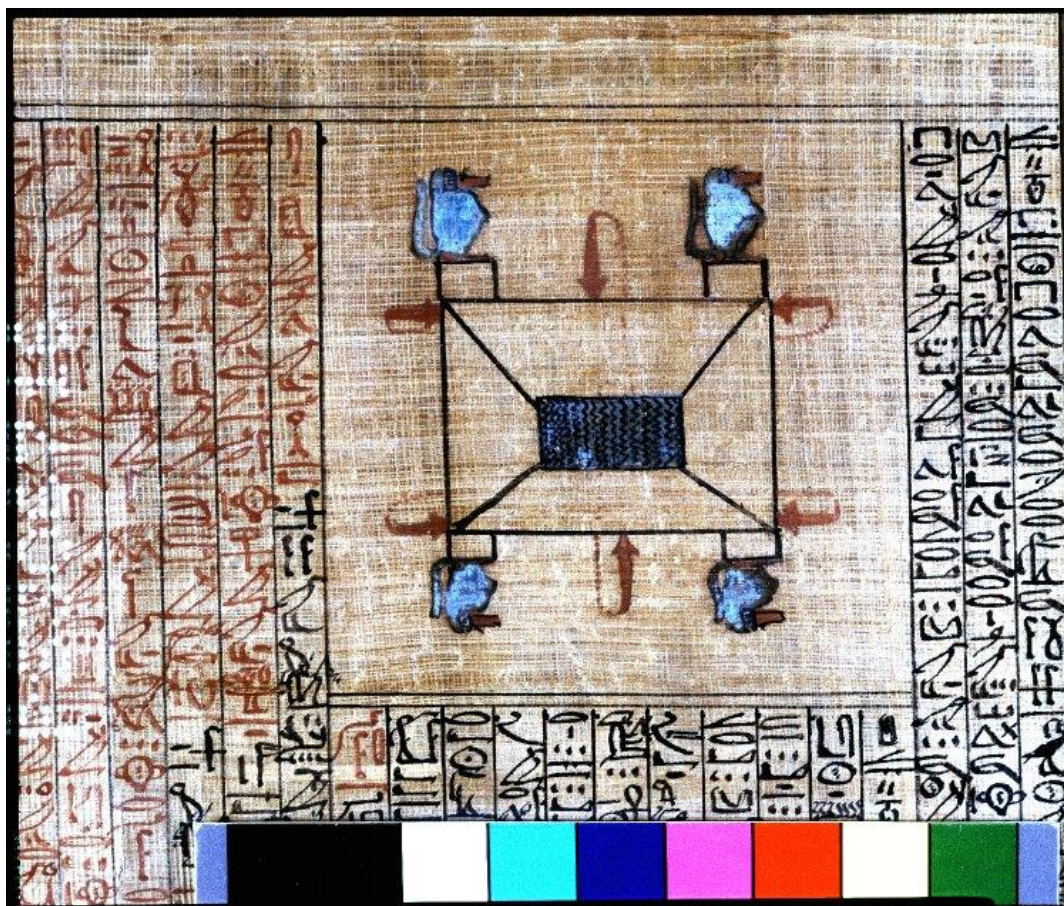


Figure 4.14: Detail from Sheet 24 of the Papyrus of Nu. Four baboons guarding the Lake of Fire

Nu was the Estate Overseer of the Treasurer during Dynasty 18. Sheet 24 of the *Book of the Dead* of Nu (BM EA 10477.24) contains Spell 125 (Weighing of the Heart) and Spell 126 (an appeal to the tribunal of baboons in the bark of Ra). The polychrome vignette portrays the square Lake of Fire with four squatting blue baboons, one at each corner, all facing eastward. Between the baboons are red flaming torch hieroglyphs. The basic construct of this vignette is replicated in other Books of the Dead with slight artistic variations, mainly concerning a) the **direction** in which the baboons face, and b) the variation in **proportion**, the latter noticeable from the end of Dynasty 18 onwards.

**Direction:** In the following two manuscripts, an unnamed *Book of the Dead* of Memphis (BM EA 9905.9) (Figure 4.15) and the Papyrus of Amenhotep (Overseer of Builders of Amun and Overseer of Works of the Mut Domain) (BM EA 10489.11) (Figure 4.16) the baboons at the top of the pool face eastwards, while those at the bottom face west.

- **Unnamed *Book of the Dead*: Memphis: Dynasty 18**

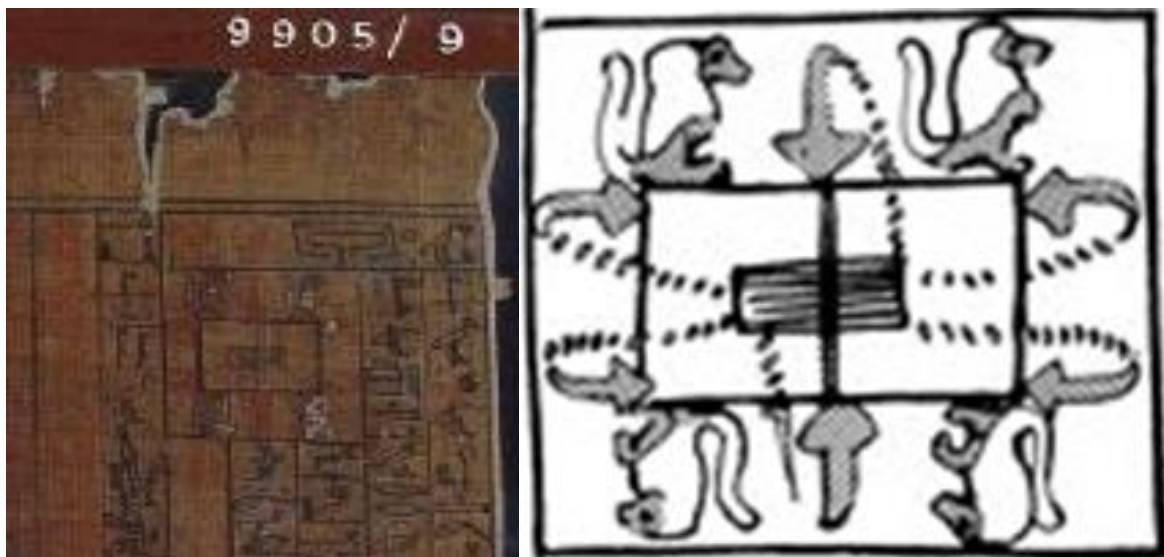


Figure 4.15: Detail of Sheet 9 of Papyrus from Memphis with name-space left blank and hand drawn copy. Baboons and braziers around Lake of Fire

- ***Book of the Dead of Amenhotep: Dynasty 18***



Figure 4.16: Sheet 11 of the Papyrus of Amenhotep showing baboons guarding the Pool of Fire

**Proportion:** The artistic principle and/or symbolic notion which informed the direction in which the four baboons faced, remains the subject of an independent study, but another distinct variation, albeit subtle, becomes noticeable towards the end of Dynasty 18. In both the Papyrus of the 'Scribe of the King' Nakht (BM EA 10471.8) (Figure 4.17) and that of Ani (BM EA 10470.33) (Figure 4.18), the baboons on the left side of the pool face westward while those on the right hand side face east, but of more interest here, is the slight change in proportion of bodies.



- ***Book of the Dead of Nakht: Dynasty 18***



Figure 4.17: Sheet 8 of Dynasty 18 Papyrus of Nakht. Four dark-faced and dark-caped baboons around the Lake of Fire

- ***Book of the Dead of Ani: Dynasty 19***

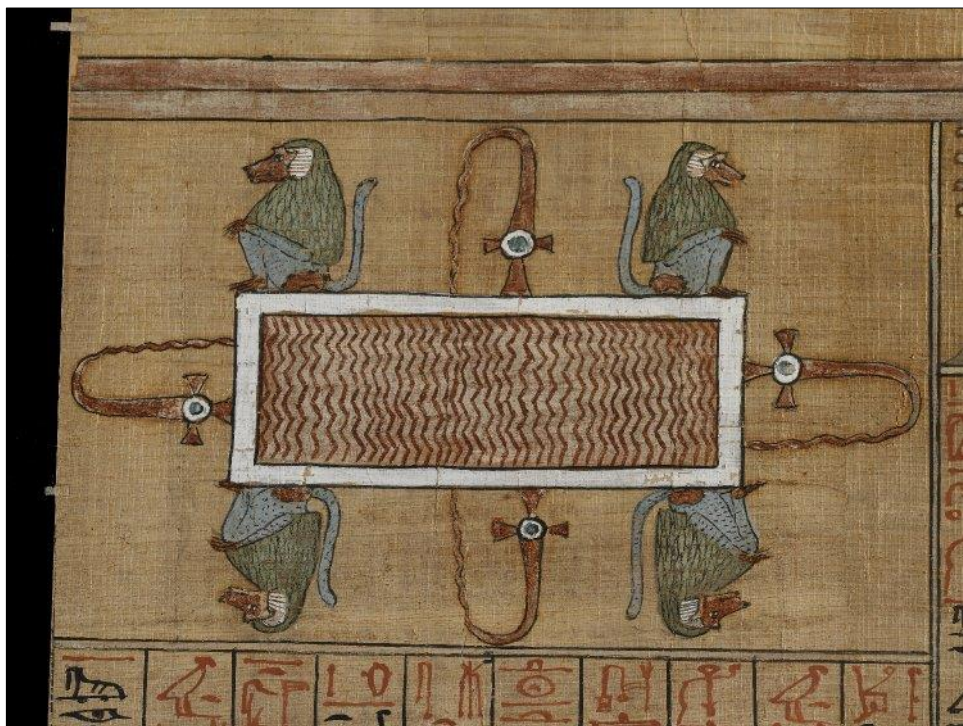


Figure 4.18: Detail from Sheet 33 of the Papyrus of Ani. Four blue-green baboons guarding the Lake of Fire

In comparison to the ‘classic’ Egyptian figures, the humans and baboons in the papyri of Nakht and Ani seem thickset. Similar proportions are to be found in the royal tombs of Horemheb (late Dynasty 18) and Ramesses I (early Dynasty 19), possibly brought about by the revision of the artistic canon of proportions in the post [Amarna](https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/papyrus-from-the-book-of-the-dead-of-nakht/WwH842iaqE5gvw) Period (<https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/papyrus-from-the-book-of-the-dead-of-nakht/WwH842iaqE5gvw> [10 November 2016]).

The Lake of Fire vignettes normally conformed to a basic tradition; depicting the body of water which could nourish the worthy as well as the baboons and braziers which could, through ferociousness and flames, destroy the damned. This intrinsic duality is emphasised in the *Book of the Dead* of Nebqed (Figure 4.19).

- ***Book of the Dead* of Nebqed: Dynasty 18**

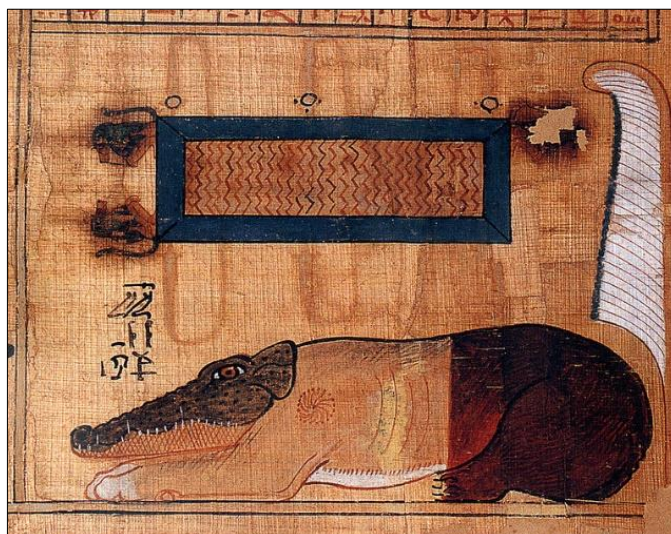


Figure 4.19: Detail from the *Book of the Dead* of Nebqed showing Ammit and baboons around the Lake of Fire

The Lake of Fire vignette of Nebqed underscores the finality of the fire-trial. Here, three baboons and flaming braziers surround the Lake of Fire, but the picture is dominated by Ammit, the ‘Devourer’, (mentioned earlier in the sub-

section) who lies in wait for the unrighteous, while the prominent white feather of Maat beckons the righteous to eternal life.

### **Keepers of the Gates of the Underworld**

Spells 144 – 147 empowered the deceased for a second category of hurdles en route to the ‘secret portals of the West’; thresholds guarded by composite and / or anthropomorphic beings from a varied repertoire of vertebrates including baboons. Because the deceased needed to recognise and name these guardian figures to pass the gates, portals and doors, they are regularly represented pictographically in vignettes (Lesko 2002b:145, Lucarelli 2010:86, Teeter 2002b:344), like in the Papyrus of Amenhotep.

- ***Book of the Dead of Amenhotep: Dynasty 18***



Figure 4.20: Sheet 7 of the Dynasty 18 Papyrus of Amenhotep. Amenhotep adoring a row of four squatting baboons

In the full colour vignette of Sheet 7 of the Papyrus of the Overseer of Builders of Amun, Amenhotep, (BM EA 10489.7), he is pictured appealing to four squatting baboons, protectors of the Gates of the Underworld, to grant him passage. Such an appeal for the ‘opening of the way’ is found in Spell 145:

'Make way for me (*wn wA.t*), since I know you, I know your name, I know the name of the god who guards you' (Lucarelli 2010: 88).

Yet the baboon motif is not limited to pictographic portrayals of door-watchers; baboons are also implied in several textual references. Spell 146:13 (Beginning of the secret portals of the house of Osiris in the Field of Rushes, to be said upon entering through the 21<sup>st</sup> gate) reads: 'I have come (today) through the gates of the Lords of Kheraha and the Princes of the Lord of the Universe. Make way for me' (Allen 1974:133). The key to understanding that this spell contains the baboon motif, lies in the reference to **Kheraha**.

Kheraha, situated between Memphis and Heliopolis, was a cult site of the sun-god Atum, the most important god in the Heliopolitan creation myth (Myśliwiec 2000:81). Hawass (2003:357) explains that Atum was venerated in Kheraha as Atum 'who shoots up his enemies from far away' and was portrayed as an *if w-ape* shooting arrows from his bow (the bow evoking the path of the sun across the sky). There are several allusions to baboons in connection with Kheraha, as in Spell 136 (Spell for sailing in the great bark of Ra) where reference is made to 'the sun-folk in Kheraha, the offspring of (1000) gods' (Allen 1974:111).

In Spell 17:13 (Allen 1974:29) mention is made of the 'Council around Osiris', namely the four Sons of Horus; Imset, Hapi, Duamutef and Qebehsenuf. By Dynasty 18, the baboon motif became irrevocably linked to Hapi. Because the Sons of Horus consistently figure as a unit, they will be discussed as such under 4.2.4.

#### **4.2.4 The Genii: Sons of Horus: Figures 4.21 – 4.24**

Hapi, the baboon-headed divinity, is one of four funerary deities (three are composite) which are regularly grouped together and collectively known as the Sons of Horus. As mentioned in Chapter 1, a numinous composite figure (*Mischgestalt*) was one way of representing divinity to humanity (Hornung

2005:165); in this mode the divine characteristics associated with the specific animal, symbolically entered the human world.

These four anthropomorphic genii (Breasted 1912:175, Shaw 2003:24) were unique to ancient Egyptian mortuary contexts, spanning the Old Kingdom through the Greco-Roman times. The origin of the group remains shrouded; in the *Book of Going Forth by Day*, we read in Spell 112 S2 that Horus and Isis were their parents (Allen 1974:91). Dodson (2002b:133) agrees that Isis is their mother, but it is unclear whether Horus of Khem (*Hm*) (Letopolis), Harsiese or Horus the Elder, is the father; that is, if they did not spring from a lotus flower as alluded to in the vignette to Spell 125. As early as the Old Kingdom, their relationships and roles are spelled out. Dodson (2002b:133) cites Spell 2078 and 2079 of the Pyramid Texts which describe the Sons of Horus as 'friends of the King'...who 'cause the King to ascent to Khepri when he comes into being in the eastern side of the sky'. In Spell 1333, they 'spread protection of life over your father the Osiris King'.

Sub-section 4.2.4 will explore textual and iconographic references to the Sons of Horus in New Kingdom *Book of the Dead* papyri. What did they look like? Originally portrayed in human form, the four Sons of Horus, Imset, Hapi, Duamutef and Qebehsenuf, became composite deities in the New Kingdom, when they assumed a human, baboon, jackal and falcon head respectively (Dodson 2002b:133). A variety of titles has been ascribed to them: In the *Book of Going Forth by Day*, there are references to them collectively as 'These Examiners' (with Isis and Nephthys in Spell 17b S5), 'Attendants of Horus' (Spell 17 S12), 'Council around Osiris' and four of 'These 7 Blessed Ones' (Spell 17 S13) (Allen 1974:29-31). Frankfort (1978:138) adds that they are also known as the 'Spirit-seekers'. They appeared in distinctive relationships: Geographically they are linked to the four cardinal points (Hapi – North) (Dodson 2002b:134, Naville 1886:164, Quirke 2002:176, Shaw 2003:24) while Spell 112 S3 states that Horus, Imset and Hapi are known as the 'Souls of Pe' (thus linked to the Delta city Buto) (Allen 1974:91). Vignettes further portray each of the four in a distinctive relationship to a tutelary deity: Hapi is normally paired with the goddess Nephthys. Anatomically, Hapi is associated with the

lungs (canopic jars) and together with Duamutef, with the hands (Spell 149 Pyramid Texts) (Dodson 2002b:134).

In vignettes of New Kingdom *Book of the Dead* manuscripts, the Sons of Horus feature prominently in three funerary scenes; the embalming scene, the judgement scene and the resurrection scene.

### **Spell 151: The Embalming Scene**

In the vignette accompanying Spell 151 (For Lowering the Head of a Blessed One), the four Sons of Horus are portrayed at the corners of the burial chamber where Anubis is tending the deceased. Also visible are Isis and Nephthys, flanking the bier. Hapi's words (Spell 151[1]) indicate that he, and the surrounding deities, fulfil a protective function in this scene: 'I am Hapi, (O) N. I have come that I may be thy magical protection. (I) have attached for thee thy head and thy limbs. (I) have smitten for thee thy enemies beneath thee, while thou art alive forever' (Allen 1974:147). Hapi is typically placed in the top right corner of the vignette, as in the Papyrus of the scribe and priest, Nakht (EA10471.20).

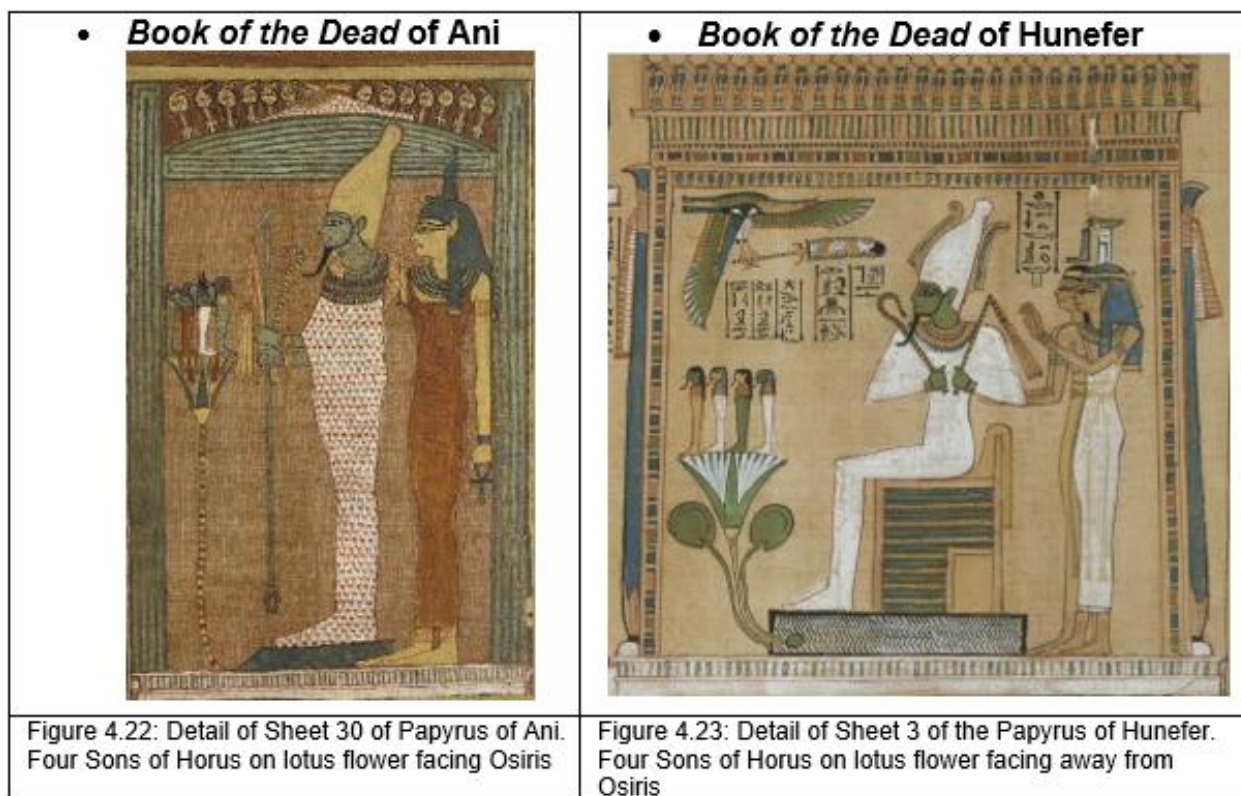
- ***Book of the Dead of Nakht: Dynasty 18***



Figure 4.21: Detail of Sheet 20 of Papyrus of Nakht. Four Sons of Horus (Hapi top right)

### **Spell 125, 182, 185 and 30: The Judgement Scene**

The Sons of Horus routinely appear in the Spell 125 vignette (Spell for Entering the Broad Hall of the Two Truths and Adoring Osiris Presiding over the West (Allen 1974:101)). They are portrayed standing on a lotus blossom in the pavilion of Osiris. This configuration is further referred to in Spell 182 where Thoth leads the deceased to Osiris (Allen 1974:196). Spell 185 ‘Giving praise to Osiris...’ (Allen 1974:202) might account for an interesting variation in the portrayal: the ordering of the figures of the Sons of Horus *vis-à-vis* Osiris. The iconography of the vignette highlights two important aspects; their relationship to Osiris, and the regenerative force they represent. Slight variations occur in individual papyri, yet the essence remains consistent as is seen in the Dynasty 19 Papyri of scribe Ani (BM EA10470.30) and the estate overseer Hunefer (BM EA9901.3).



The pavilion section of the judgement scene is normally associated with the deceased's appeal to his own heart 'not to oppose him in the god's domain' (Spell 30: Allen 1974:40) before Osiris in his pavilion. In both full-colour vignettes, characterised by the frequent inclusion of shades of green, the Sons of Horus are depicted on the corolla of a lotus blossom stemming from a pool of water. Both show the group positioned near but slightly lower than Osiris' head with the height of the lotus stem adapted to the pose of Osiris. The order of the four remains fixed (Hapi at the back), but the direction in which the group faces, differs (towards Osiris in the Papyrus of Ani and away from Osiris in the Papyrus of Hunefer).

Although the reason for the latter is not documented, I believe that the variation might well be ascribed to different roles fulfilled in the two scenes; in Figure 5.22, the Sons of Horus face Osiris as they venerate him (Spell 185), whereas in Figure 5.23, they face the deceased being brought before the throne of Osiris by Thoth (Spell 182). This interpretation correlates with the remark of Robins



(1997:24), that although the standard orientation in ancient Egyptian writing and art was left-right, reversals were deliberate in order to support a notion.

### Spell 17: The Resurrection Scene

The Sons of Horus is finally portrayed in a vignette depicting Osiris rising from a coffin. This vignette could possibly also be related to Spell 17: 'Beginning of Extollations and Commemorations (to be used at) Ascending from and Descending into the God's Domain and Becoming a Blessed One in the [Beautiful West] (Allen 1974:26). In the part of the vignette of Sheet 8 of the *Book of the Dead* of the scribe Ani (BM EA10470.8), the Sons of Horus appear twice.

- *Book of the Dead of Ani*

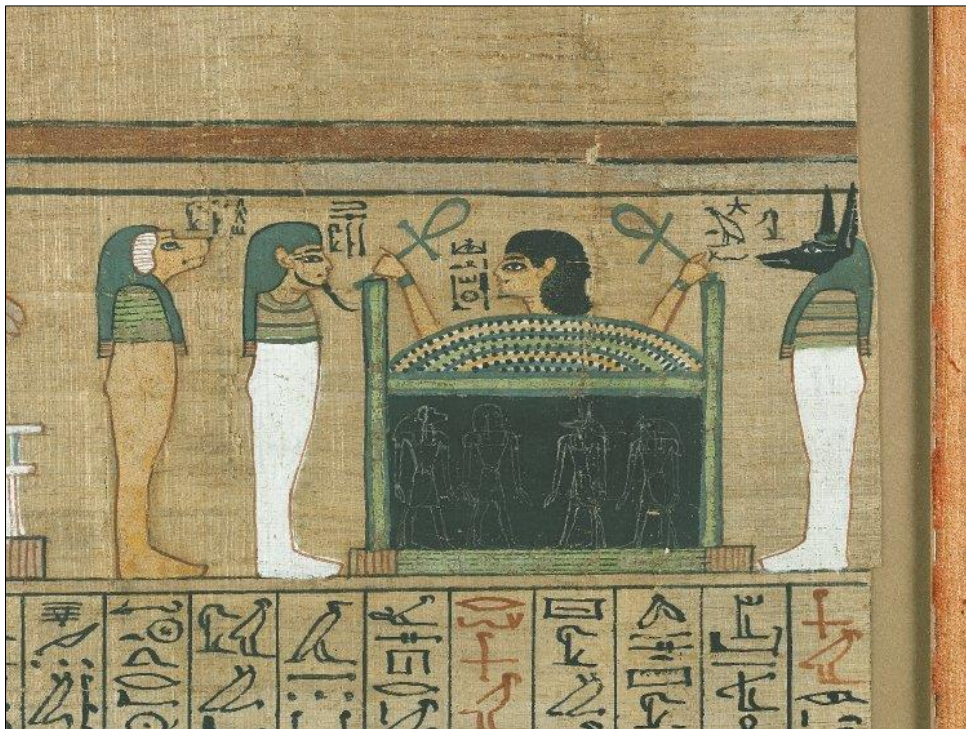


Figure 4.24: Detail of Sheet 8 of the Papyrus of Ani. Four Sons of Horus around and on funeral chest

In the finely executed polychrome vignette which is only partly visible on Sheet 8 of the papyrus of Ani (BM EA 10470.8), Osiris is portrayed rising from a funeral chest holding an *ankh*, the symbol of 'life', in each hand. Hapi and Imset stand to the left of Osiris with Duamutef on the right (Qebhsenuf not visible). All four Sons of Horus appear in the same order with Qebhsenuf (assumed) at the far right, drawn in white on the black background of the coffin. Dodson's rephrased quote of Spell 17 (2002b:133), suggests that the reason for the inclusion of the Sons of Horus in this scene, is for the protection of the deceased: 'As for the tribunal that is behind Osiris, Imset, Hapi, Duamutef, Qebhsenuf; it is these who are behind the Great Bear in the northern sky....As for these seven spirits, Imset, Hapi, Duamutef, Qebhsenuf, Maayotef, He-Who-is-under-his-Moringa-Tree, and Horus-the-Eyeless, it is they who were set by Anubis as a protection for the burial of Osiris'.

### 4.3 Conclusion

Egyptian burial customs were aimed at protecting the potential for resurrection through the mummification of the corpse and magical spells and rituals to safeguard the soul. These spells and rituals became embedded in funerary texts and art inscribed on papyri (as discussed above), on tomb walls and on coffins. Ritner (2002:211) states that although these forms of mortuary art represented general theological elucidations, it should primarily be considered as a mystic programme meant to ensure eternal life for the owner of the tomb.

## Chapter 5: Tomb Décor: Wall Paintings and Reliefs

### 5.1 Introduction

The décor of New Kingdom tombs constituted a natural development of the Middle Kingdom tradition in content and technique. However, where Middle Kingdom tombs lacked inscriptions, Arnold (2002:369) qualifies that New Kingdom décor contained both religious texts and visual material. The content featured selected motifs treated with varying degrees of prominence, while royal and private tombs differed in terms of flexibility in technique; the canon for royal tombs limited the artistic creativity that decorators enjoyed in private tombs (Dodson 2010:815, Tiradritti 2015:262). Exploring the baboon motif in New Kingdom tomb décor not only sheds light on the **subject matter** (what) of such decorations, but also draws attention to the **methods** (how) used in wall decorating. Since the wall décor in tomb sub-structures was less prone to the decaying effects of time and nature, they provide valuable insight into the *modus operandi* and means used. This sub-section will commence with remarks about the decorating process before addressing the content.

Ostraca found at Deir el-Bahri, the location of Hatshepsut's mortuary temple (Partridge 2010:378) yielded valuable information. From inscriptions on Deir el-Bahri ostraca that are linked to the tomb of Senenmut (TT71), Hatshepsut's trusted confidante, we understand more about the persons involved and the procedure followed to decorate the tomb (Houlihan 1996:108, Wilkinson 2010:235). Bryan (2010:1004-1005) considers the description of the **role of scribes versus** artisans as the most important contribution gained from these ostraca, for instance he mentions that in 'Step 3' draftsmen, i.e. scribes, did the trial drawings in red ochre while the artisans were responsible for adding the colour. Bryan (forthcoming) stresses that for the Egyptians the creative force lay in the outlining of the image (for which scribes were necessary); colouring constituted a secondary more menial activity done by artisans under supervision of scribes. Because Thoth is the patron deity of scribes, the author considers their leading role in tomb décor relevant to this study.

**Colour**, while considered to only contribute to, and not constitute the image, remained important. Bryan (2010:990) mentions that the basic Egyptian palette which included black, white, red, yellow, green and blue as primary colours, was enlarged by mixing some of these to produce brown, pink, orange and grey. According to Robins (2002:57-61), colours were used symbolically, whether applied realistically or non-realistically, therefore the context determined the positive or negative intention. The symbolic meaning of specific colours will be touched on when discussing individual images, but, as a general point of reference, the primary colours with their associations and symbolism can schematically be represented as follows:

<b>Colour</b>	<b>Association</b>	<b>Symbolism</b>
<b>Black (<i>km</i>)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• fertile soil after the Nile inundation</li> <li>• darkness / underworld where sun was regenerated</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• fertility</li> <li>• regeneration / rejuvenation</li> </ul>
<b>White (<i>ḥd</i>)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• purity</li> <li>• silver</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• purity</li> <li>• light</li> </ul>
<b>Green (<i>w3d</i>) and/or later also blue (<i>w3d</i>)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• fresh vegetation / papyrus</li> <li>• primordial waters</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• regeneration / resurrection</li> <li>• renewal / restoration</li> </ul>
<b>Red (<i>dšr</i>) also orange and yellow</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• blood</li> <li>• fire</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• life</li> <li>• beneficial/destructive</li> </ul>

Apart from the range of colours above that were used in various combinations and hues in polychrome tomb decor, some Ramesside tombs in the Western cemetery of Deir el-Medina was decorated in a unique monochrome colour palette (*vide* paragraph 5.3).

A specific New Kingdom ostrakon found at Deir el-Bahri, depicting a seated baboon under a funerary bed, is worth examining. Although the lack of identifying detail makes it impossible to contextualise the image and interpret the symbolism of the baboon, the relevance of this piece lies in its contribution to our understanding of the **process** of painted decoration.

- **Undated Deir el-Bahri trial-piece: New Kingdom**



Figure 5.1: Trial-drawing for wall painting: Baboon under funerary bed. Deir el-Bahri. New Kingdom

This undated painted limestone ostrakon (BM EA40969) is a trial-drawing for a wall painting; the preliminary sketch in black is done on a grid of red. The partly drawn image resembles a funerary bed similar to the one depicted in the vignette associated with Spell 89 of the *Book of the Dead*:



Figure 5.2: Vignette to *Book of the Dead* spell 89 ('Spell for making the soul attach [itself to] one's corpse in the God's domain' [Hornung, 1999:19])

According to Bryan (2010:1000 - 1002), the canon of proportion received renewed attention at the beginning of Dynasty 18. Late Second Intermediary Period tombs displayed a 'consistency of figural proportions' despite the lack of grids or discernible lines, showing that skilled artisans were always highly valued. When, at the end of Dynasty 17, a newly established central authority in Thebes heralded the beginning of the New Kingdom, a skilled work force was required to support the building programmes of Pharaoh Ahmose, and the **grid** was reintroduced to facilitate the skills training of artisans. Gradually the style of creating images showed signs of standardisation, yet by the Ramesside period (Dynasty 19 and 20) grids gave way to more expressionistic painting. Bryan (2010:1006) mentions that Ramesside tombs such as those of Sennedjem (TT1) and Imiseba (TT65) contain sophisticated scenes that are exquisitely drawn; clearly the skill to create images by drafting outlines remained present, although not within reach of many tomb owners. As the New Kingdom progressed, painted tomb décor gained popularity over relief, but painting as sole medium of decoration generally occurred only in the tombs of workmen at Deir el-Medina (Bács 2011:10, Tiradritti 2015:262).

This section will look into the baboon motif in tomb décor of eleven New Kingdom tombs which were selected to be representative of chronology and social stratification within the confines of accessibility and state of preservation.

In chronological order, the tombs belonged to the following individuals (pharaohs are indicated in red):

- Thutmose III (Dynasty 18)
- Amenhotep II (Dynasty 18)
- Tutankhamun (Dynasty 18)
- Horemheb (Commander of the Army who became pharaoh) (Dynasty 18)
- Seti I (Dynasty 19)
- Neferenpet aka Kenro (Scribe of the Treasury of Amun-Ra) (Dynasty 19)
- Nakhtamon (Artisan at Deir el-Medina) (Dynasty 19)
- Sennedjem (Artisan at Deir el-Medina) (Dynasty 19)
- Nefsekheru (Scribe) (Dynasty 19/20)
- Ramesses VI (Dynasty 20)
- Imiseba (Head of temple scribes and third generation chief archivist of Karnak temple) (Dynasty 20)

The wall décor, like the vignettes discussed in Chapter 4, drew its inspiration from funerary literature sources, consequently the thematic categorisation of section 4.2 (baboons as adorers, assessors, guards and genii), could be applied to wall paintings and reliefs as well. In sub-section 5.2 the discussion of the baboon motif in wall décor will follow these four broad categories.

## 5.2 Main Manifestations of the Baboon Motif

### 5.2.1 Adoration: Figures 5.3 – 5.7

As in the case of vignettes in the Books of the Dead (*vide* section 4.2), tomb wall scenes of adoration in which baboons feature, involve two foci of praise; Ra and Khepri in the solar bark.

## Praising Ra

When praising the sun deity, the standard construct of the image involves baboons in the upright pose with arms raised and palms facing the object of adoration. The scene is then populated by additional iconographic images to form a comprehensive yet unique symbolic message. Tomb TT335 of Nakhtamon is an interesting example of complex symbolic iconography and monochrome tomb décor (*vide* paragraph 5.3.1), while the praising scene in tomb TT65 of Imiseba corresponds with the typical configuration of comparable *Book of the Dead* vignettes (Figures 4.1 – 4.7), but touches on the additional issue of the usurping / re-using of ancient tombs (*vide* paragraph 5.3.2).

- **Tomb wall of Nakhtamon (TT335): Dynasty 19**

The north wall of the burial chamber of Nakhtamon, an artisan at Deir el-Medina comprises of a composite monochrome design depicting Thoth and the weighing of the heart scene (which will be discussed in 5.2.2). The praising scene forms part of the pedestal on which Thoth, as overseer of the weighing of the heart, sits.

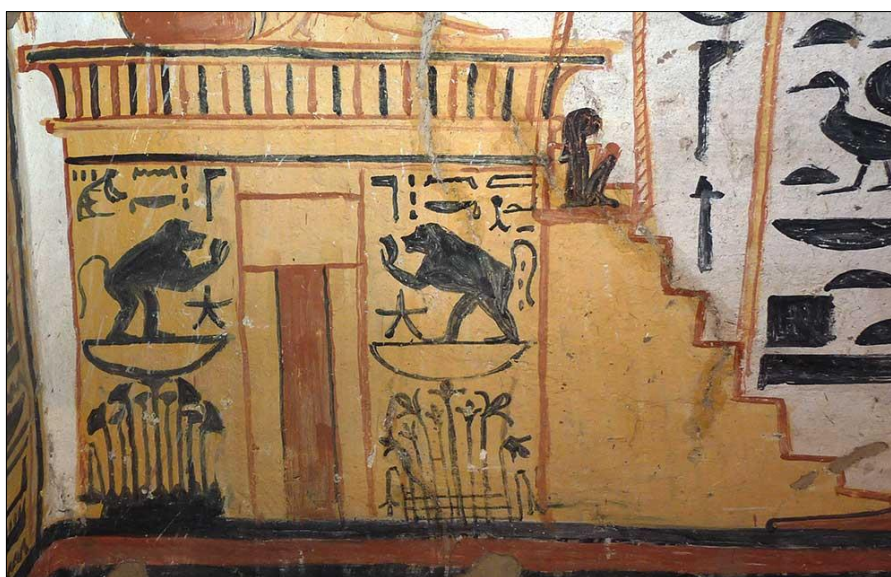


Figure 5.3: Praising baboons in burial chamber of Nakhtamon



This scene, at the bottom left corner of the north wall composition, depicts the pedestal in the form of the 'chamber of god' (Gardiner's sign list O21 in Wilkinson 1992:216). Two baboons flank the central door. Both are portrayed with a *seba* (star) in front of it, while standing on a *nebet* (basket) atop plants. The latter are *mehyt* (papyrus) on the left and *seshen* (lotus) on the right. Using Wilkinson's guide to hieroglyphs (1992:121, 130, 131 and 198), a possible interpretation of the symbolism can be 'all Egypt hails the deceased' because;

- the scene is portrayed on a place of worship
- the star sign signifies the immortality of the *ba* (soul) of the deceased
- baboons are regarded as perfect adorers
- standing on a basket denotes authority ('lord of')
- papyrus represents Lower Egypt and lotus Upper Egypt.

This possible iconographic interpretation is supported by the texts above the two baboons which according to Benderitter (2017), read "The gods greet you" (top left) and on the right top, "The gods acclaim you", signifying the exaltation of the sun and by implication, the deceased by both Lower and Upper Egypt.

- **Tomb ceiling of Imiseba (TT65): Dynasty 20**

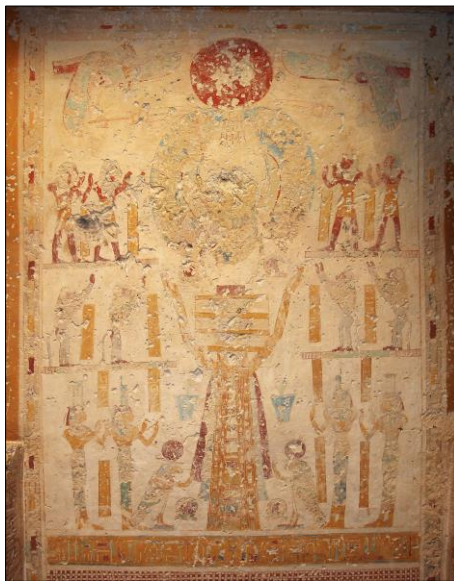


Figure 5.4: Four baboons adoring the sun deity. Ceiling scene. Tomb of Imiseba

Imiseba was head of temple scribes and third generation chief archivist of the Karnak temple during Dynasty 20. The polychrome painting on the ceiling of his tomb chamber (TT65), illustrates the solar journey, a preferred choice in private tombs (Bács 2011:43). The design visually correlates with those in the vignettes of the Books of the Dead of *inter alia* Qenna (Dynasty 18) and Ani (Dynasty 19) which illustrate the hymn to the sunrise (*Book of the Dead* Spell 16). In Imiseba's tomb, the ceiling panel portrays a sun disc above a personified *djed* pillar with traces of a scarab visible between the disc and the pillar.

In the second register from above, four caped grey baboons stand erect with arms outstretched and palms forward towards the solar construct in an act of adoration. Bács (2011:11-14) argues that this image is in fact more than merely an illustration of Spell 16. Given the selection and composition of material for the 'wall theology' (as formulated by Traunecker in Quirke 1997:168-177), which reflects Imiseba's career and access as chief archivist of Karnak temple, it should rather be viewed as a carefully chosen prelude to a whole corpus of solar liturgy contained in texts against the walls.

### **Praising Khepri in the solar bark**

In ancient Egypt mobility is closely associated with water; not only earthly travel depends largely on water, but the sun deity relies on the solar bark to traverse the sky and the netherworld. The image of the sun deity in the *meseket*, disappearing in the west at dusk to emerge renewed in the *mandet* at dawn in the east (Bunson 2002:225) as seen in the tombs of Sennedjem and Imiseba, echoes the cyclical world view of the ancient Egyptians. The adoration of the revived sun Khepri, also features in the Book of Gates, visible in a wall painting in the royal tomb of Ramesses VI.

- **Tomb of Sennedjem (TT1): Dynasty 19**

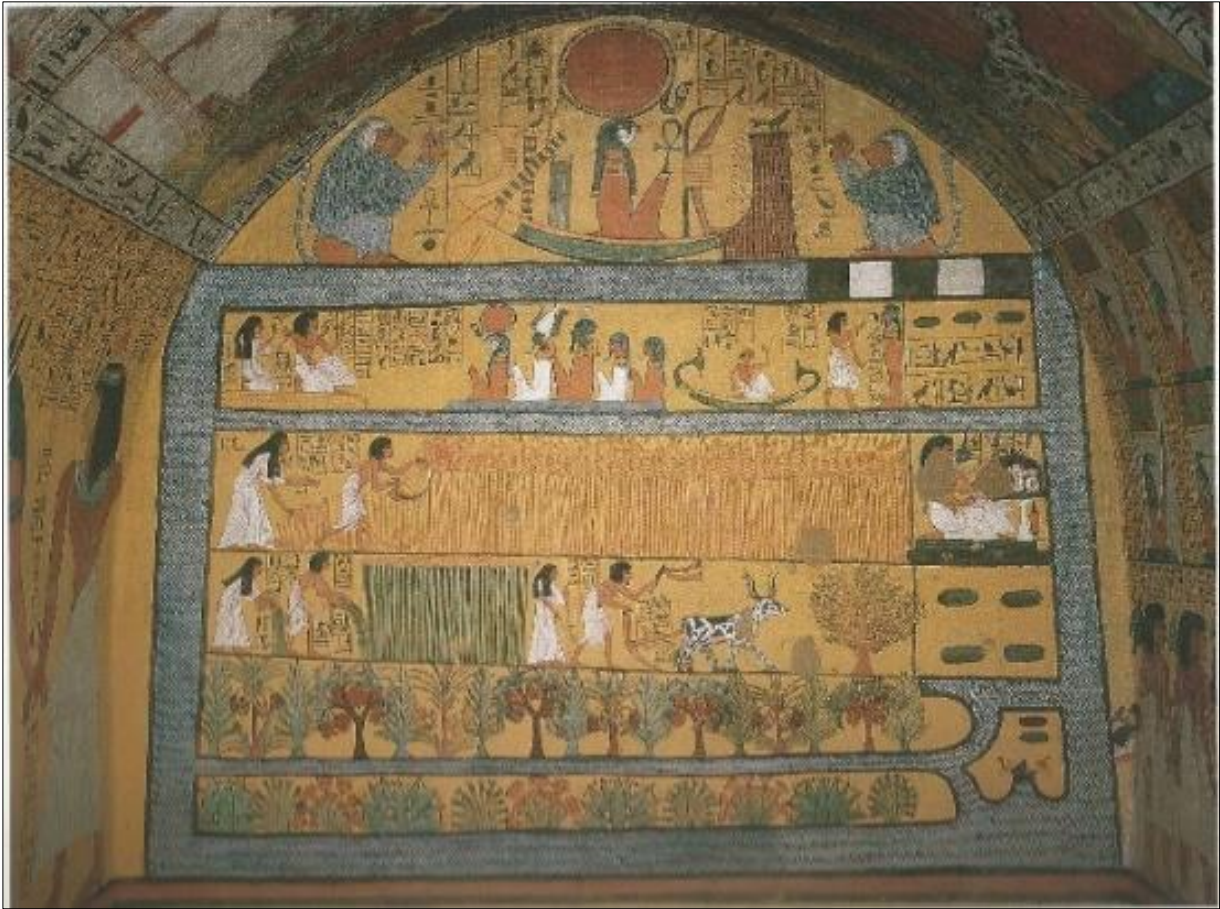


Figure 5.5: Baboons adoring sun deity in bark. Tomb of Sennedjem. Dynasty 19

Sennedjem's tomb displays an artful visual tour of Sennedjem and his wife Ineferti's envisaged life in the hereafter. The finely executed polychrome painting on the plastered east wall of the tomb chamber is topped by the rounded depiction of the sun deity traversing the underworld in his sacred bark. The bark is flanked by the two squatting caped grey baboons with arms upraised in a salute of adoration. Robins (1997:185) explains that the sun deity is sailing from west to east: the baboon on the left praises the sun deity as he sets, referred to as Atum, the 'All-Lord' (Müller 2002:326) while the other 'gives praise to Ra-Horakhty as he rises'.

- **Tomb of Imiseba (TT65): Dynasty 20**



Figure 5.6: Baboon adoring scarab-headed sun deity in bark. Tomb of Imiseba. Dynasty 20

There is marked iconographic consistency in Imiseba's tomb décor with a recurring emphasis on rejuvenation. In this image of the solar bark's voyage through the underworld the scarab is included as symbol of rebirth, as is the case in the previously mentioned adoration scene. Here the sun deity is depicted as the scarab-headed Khepri, the 'Emerging One' (Müller 2002:326), adored by a large grey caped baboon. I believe that by combining the scarab and baboon images in the iconography, the message of rejuvenation and revitalisation is strengthened. The use of a combination of images to effect additional emphasis can also be seen in the tomb of Ramesses VI.

- **Tomb of Ramesses VI (KV9): Dynasty 20**

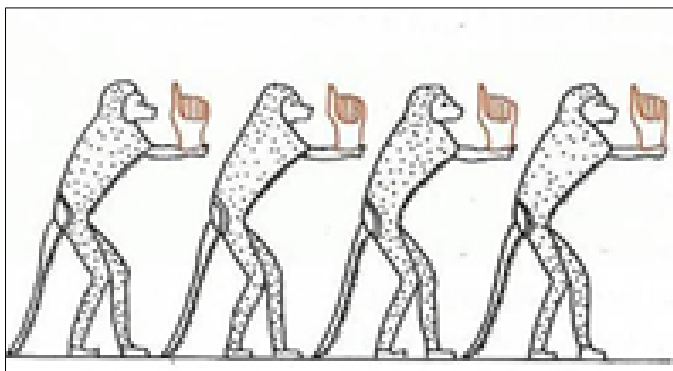


Figure 5.7: Four baboons carrying clenched hands; praising the rising sun.  
Tomb of Ramesses VI. Dynasty 20

A wall painting in the royal tomb of Ramesses VI (KV9) shows detail from the 'Eleventh Hour' of the Book of Gates; here four erect baboons are portrayed carrying clenched fists. Wilkinson (1992:55) describes how the hand symbolises not only actions associated with it ('take', 'grasp,' etc.) but also signifies 'action' itself. Additionally, the clenched fist also features in the '*henu*'-gesture (praise). These the baboons praise Khepri as he ascends from the underworld: 'It is they who announce Re in the Eastern Horizon of Heaven. They announce this god who has created them with their arms....'. As I mentioned earlier, the simultaneous use of images with corresponding meanings, adds weight to the intended message; baboons are associated with rejoicing at dawn and the incorporation of the '*henu*'-fist amplifies the implied adoration and praise.

### 5.2.2 Assessment: Figures 5.8 – 5.11

The Weighing of the Heart (discussed in paragraph 4.2.2) as defining a moment in the soul's elevation into an exalted afterlife or the descent into damnation, remained a focal point in royal and private tomb décor throughout the New Kingdom. It has been mentioned that the baboon motif features in this scene because of the baboon – Thoth association (symbolising truth/justice and representing divine writing), with the Thoth baboon regularly portrayed in combination with the scales of justice; either adjusting the scales (Figure 4.10), recording the outcome (Figure 4.11) or overseeing the weighing by sitting atop the vertical stand (Figure 4.12). This sub-section explores the less conventional

portrayals of the baboon motif in the wall décor of the royal tomb of Horemheb (KV57) and the private tomb of Nakhtamon (TT335).

- **Horemheb (KV57): Dynasty 18**

Horemheb (1319–1307 B.C.E.), a commoner by birth, became the last Dynasty 18 ruler of Egypt after distinguishing himself as commander of the defence force and viceroy under Tutankhamun. As decorated militarist under Tutankhamun's predecessor, Akhenaten, he had built an impressive private tomb for himself at Saqqara near Memphis, but after ascending the throne, he developed his royal tomb (KV57) in the Theban Valley of the Kings.

The tomb, though unfinished (*vide* paragraph 5.3.3 for comment), boasts a richly decorated inner precinct with *inter alia* the first recorded rendering of the *Book of the Gates*, which represents the sun deity's passage through the hours of the night, as part of the tomb wall décor (Bunson 2002:32, 73 and 171). *The Book of Gates*, like the *Book of That Which is in the Underworld (Amduat)*, is divided into twelve parts corresponding to the hours of the night; the baboon motif can be found in the illustration of the judgement scene which takes place during the 6<sup>th</sup> Hour, the nadir of the night:



Figure 5.8: Judgement scene and 6<sup>th</sup> Hour of Book of Gates. North wall of burial chamber of Horemheb with red granite sarcophagus visible in front. Boat with baboon and Seth pig circled in red (*vide* Figure 5.9 and 5.10 for detail)

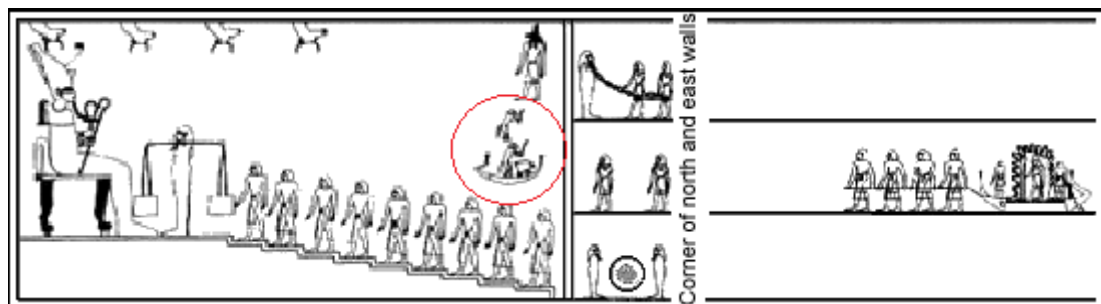


Figure 5.9: Sketched section on north wall of KV57: Judgement scene and 6<sup>th</sup> Hour of Book of Gates showing the location of the baboon and pig vignette (circled in red)

The scene is dominated by Osiris as judge, seated on an elevated level facing the scales. Nine steps lead up to the platform, on each stands one of the Ennead that follows Osiris (Hirst 2017a:2). Anubis is represented in the top right corner, overlooking the divine retinue. But unlike the assessment scenes discussed thus far where the Thoth baboon is regularly depicted in relation to

the scales of justice or the recording of the verdict, KV57 shows the baboon in an atypical position: between Anubis and the last of the deities is a boat carrying a baton-wielding baboon chasing a pig (*vide* figure 5.10).

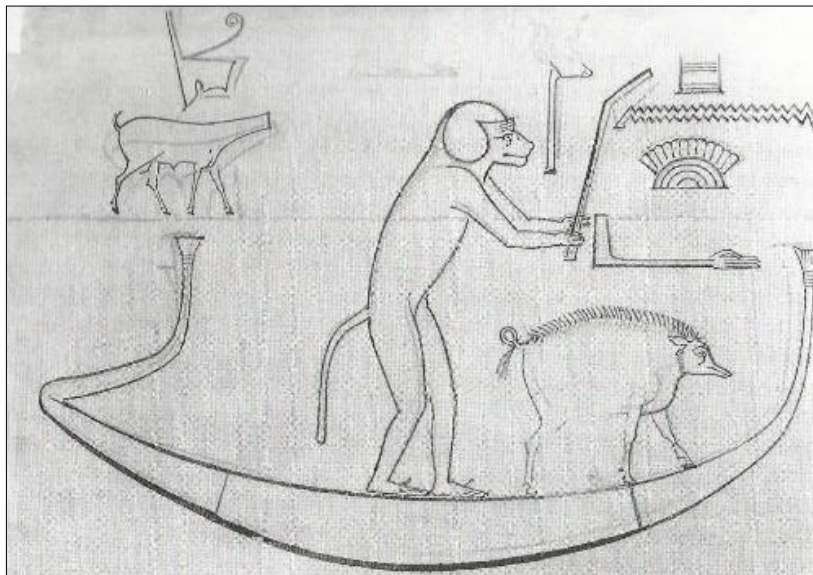


Figure 5.10: Trial-drawing for wall composition: Detail of baboon and Seth pig in boat.

Tomb of Horemheb (KV57)

This picture is a tempera reproduction of a trial-drawing of a segment of the KV 57 wall décor showing a fleeing pig pursued by a baboon; probably a reference to the Thoth – Seth clash (Houlihan 1996:27). Quirke (2002:176) agrees that the baboon represents Thoth and the despicable pig, Seth, and comments that the creator of the picture used the force of ridicule to disempower Seth in the ever-present battle of good versus evil; order versus chaos. The theme is echoed in Spell 112a (*Book of the Dead*) where Ra instructed the deities to ‘abominate the pig for Horus’ sake, so that he may recover’ after Seth inflicted an injury to Horus’ eye (Allen 1974:91). The allusion to Thoth’s victory over Seth (as exponent of chaos) fits well into Horemheb’s approach. His most important legacy was the restoration of political order and the return to religious orthodoxy after the Amarna interlude under Akhenaten. Horemheb’s famous edict which reintroduced law and order was complemented by royal building initiatives with temples dedicated to Amun and Thoth erected as far as Gebel Adda in Nubia (Bunson 2002:144 and 170).



- **Nakhtamon (TT335): Dynasty 19**



Figure 5.11: Thoth baboon in assessment scene. Tomb of Nakhtamon (TT335)

The main theme of this elaborately decorated north wall of the tomb of the Deir el-Medina artisan Nakhtamon (TT335), is the weighing of the heart. Contrary to the majority of assessment scenes, Osiris does not oversee the weighing, but Thoth baboon. The latter, with the full as well as crescent moon on his head, squats on top of a pedestal in the form of a shrine which is reached via eight steps. On the side of the pedestal two baboons feature prominently in a symbolically laden praising scene (*vide* sub-section 5.2.1 and figure 5.3). Nakhtamon and his wife Nebuemsheset watch as Thoth stabilises the scales in the presence of Maat (partly visible next to the upright of the scales).

The author is of opinion that a seemingly insignificant difference between the staircases portrayed in Horemheb's and Nakhtamon's tombs, merits attention because of the important symbolic message it conveys regarding the status of

Thoth in the two localities and social castes under discussion. In the case of Horemheb where Osiris oversees the weighing, the staircase consists of nine stairs, compared to the eight stairs leading to the pedestal of Nakhtamon where Thoth presides.

Staircases are known to symbolise the exalted position of a deity (Müller 2004:35). The nine stairs in Horemheb's tomb represent the Ennead; the nine deities of the Heliopolitan cosmogony (Heliopolis creation myth); a tradition honouring the emerging of Atum, the sun god, from the primeval waters to become Ra-Atum, the Creator sun god, thus creating order out of the original chaos. This tradition stems from the Old Kingdom and displays a notable political aspect by promoting the notion of divine kingship; the pharaoh is responsible for establishing and maintaining order (Tobin 2002:246). It therefore stands to reason that the royal tomb of Horemheb would feature the Ennead.

Deir el-Medina, a village for the artisans working on the royal tombs near Thebes, is located in the vicinity of the Valley of the Kings (where Horemheb's tomb KV57 is). Yet in the tomb of the artisan Nakhtamon it is the Hermopolitan creation myth that inspires the design of the staircase. Said to be the oldest Egyptian creation myth, this tradition holds that the primeval waters contained the eight *Heh* deities, the Ogdoad; four divine couples (frog-headed males and serpent-headed females) who represented the divine creative power. With time, Thoth became incorporated into the Hermopolitan myth as another form of the supreme Creator god (Gahlin 2007:303, Tobin 2002:248). The eight step staircase of Nakhtamon thus supports the Deir el-Medina focus on Thoth as Creator god.

### **5.2.3 Guardians / Gatekeepers: Figures 5.12 – 5.19**

The underworld literature of the ancient Egyptians served as guidebooks on how to provide for and protect the deceased during the danger-filled journey into afterlife. The notion of having to overcome several obstacles during en

route became integrated into funerary literature with the allegory of guarded gates in darkness of night. The *Amduat* and the *Book of Gates* depict the sun-god's chthonic passage through twelve divisions which correspond with the twelve hours of the night (Bunson 2002:71-72, Hornung 1999:17, Lesko 2002b:139 – 147 and Szpakowska 2010:524-525).

The older composition, *Amduat*, found on walls of several Dynasty 18-20 royal tombs, described how the sun-god and his following overcame chaos (fought the serpent Apep) during the nocturnal journey to be revived in the morning. The similarly oriented post-Amarna *Book of Gates*, found in several royal tombs from Horemheb to Ramesses VII, and on royal sarcophagi (notably Sety I), additionally features guarded gates between each of the twelve nightly sectors of the divine journey (Taylor 2016b:137-145).

The baboon motif features prominently in the 1<sup>st</sup> Hour – that liminal phase between dusk and darkness. According to the *Amduat*, as translated by Budge (1905:9), the nine baboons of the 1<sup>st</sup> Hour are 'the gods who open the gates to the Great Soul' and their names are UN-TA, BA-TA, MAA-EN-RA, ABTA, ABABEN, AKEN-AB, BENTH, AFA and TCHEHTCHEH. This sub-section will compare the 1<sup>st</sup> Hour baboon images in six royal tombs:

- Thutmose III: Dynasty 18
- Amenhotep II: Dynasty 18
- Tutankhamun: Dynasty 18
- Ay: Dynasty 18
- Seti I: Dynasty 19
- Ramesses VI: Dynasty 20

The tombs of Thutmose III (c. 1479-1425 B.C.E.) (KV34) and Amenhotep II (c. 1427-1400 B.C.E.) (KV35) have detailed comparable depictions of the baboons of the 1<sup>st</sup> Hour:

- **Thutmose III (KV34): Dynasty 18**

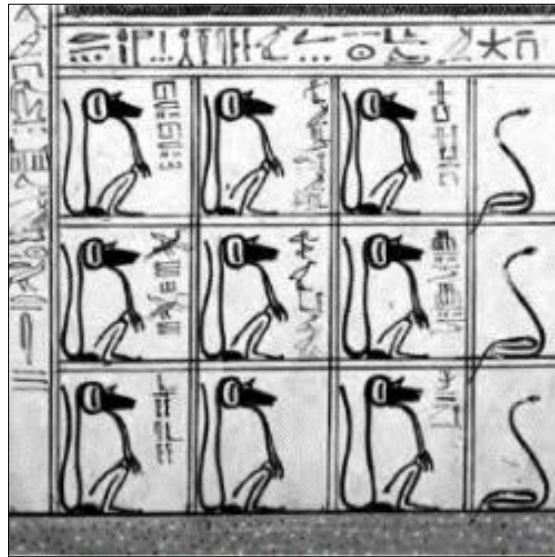


Figure 5.12: Baboons of the 1<sup>st</sup> Hour. Burial chamber of Thutmose III

- **Amenhotep II (KV35): Dynasty 18**

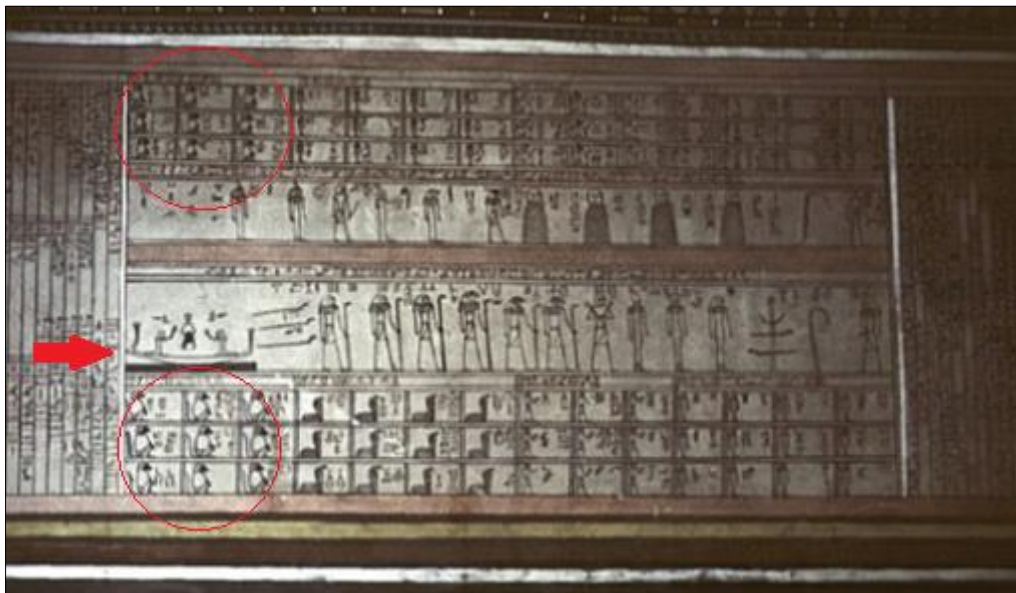


Figure 5.13: Baboons (circled in red) with the *meseke* (marked) in the 1<sup>st</sup> Hour scene in six pillar hall. Tomb of Amenhotep II

Taylor (2016b:136) observes that the *Amduat* images in both the tombs of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, are done in black ink, in the 'comic strip' style typical of the initial renderings of the *Amduat*.

Figure 5.13, the scene in the tomb of Amenhotep II, gives an indication of where the baboon motif, as in the tomb of Thutmose III, fits into wall portrayals of the 1<sup>st</sup> Hour of the *Amduat*. The scene shows the sun deity sailing into the west in the *meseke*, entering the first of twelve stadia on its journey to being transformed and to emerge rejuvenated in the *mandet* in the east (Bunson 2002:225). The *meseke* sails on the underworld equivalent of the Nile. On both shores, nine baboons, in the squatting position associated with divinity, are part of several chthonic creatures that await the bark to 'open the gates to the Great Soul'.

In the 1<sup>st</sup> Hour, the baboons are firstly shown as gate keepers or guardians, conjuring the idea of aggression associated with baboons. But as part of a huge number of underworld creatures that welcome the aging sun deity, baboons can also represent the ancestors, praising Atum-Ra as he arrives in the west. Here the duality of baboon associations (aggression and sun adoration) is portrayed in the same image.

The way in which the baboon motif is used in Figure 5.7 (Four baboons carrying clenched hands; praising the rising sun. Tomb of Ramesses VI) compared to Figures 5.12 (Baboons of the 1<sup>st</sup> Hour. Burial chamber of Thutmose III) and Figure 5.13 (Baboons with the *meseke* in the 1<sup>st</sup> Hour scene in six pillar hall. Tomb of Amenhotep II), highlights the fluidity of Egyptian symbolism. In Figure 5.7 (Ramesses VI tomb) the baboon motif symbolises adoration by depicting erect baboons in pose of praising. The image is manipulated (literally) by adding a clenched hand (*manus*) which in itself is associated with the *henu*-gesture of adoration; by combining these two images the Egyptians amplify the particular meaning. Figures 5.12 (Thutmose III tomb) and 5.13 (Amenhotep II tomb) use the squatting baboon image to symbolise both protection and praising; a single image is utilised to signify plurality of meaning.

Dynasty 18 royal tomb art, characterised by adherence to canon, underwent a dramatic change during the Amarna period, the reign of the 'heretic' Pharaoh Akhenaten (c 1352 – 1336 B.C.E.) who advanced a form of monotheism in which the Aten (sun disk) was considered the sole supreme deity (Josephson 2015:70). Not all Egyptologists agree on interpreting the Amarna theology; Brewer and Teeter (1999:46) prefer the term henotheism arguing that the Aten was elevated, but other deities were still recognized; however, *communis opinio* is that the content and style of the Amarna art programme was amended to support theological and political objectives. In terms of style, the fluid and dynamic Atenist art deviated from the conventionalised in that it showed a remarkable naturalistic element in the presentation of detail (Woods 2015:226).

Although the post-Amarna period saw a gradual return to orthodoxy, the tomb of Tutankhamun, Akhenaten's second successor, and that of Ay, both completed not long after Akhenaten's demise, display definite characteristics of Atenist tomb décor (Tiradritti 2015:262-263). In the following two tomb scenes, proportions reminiscent of the Amarna era can be detected in the rendering of especially the human figures (prominent abdomen and behinds and shorter lower legs) (Robins 1997:161), while the yellow background, similar to that used in Thutmose IV's tomb (KV43), represents aspects of the pre-Amarna period (Tiradritti 2015:263).

- **Tutankhamun (KV62): Dynasty 18**

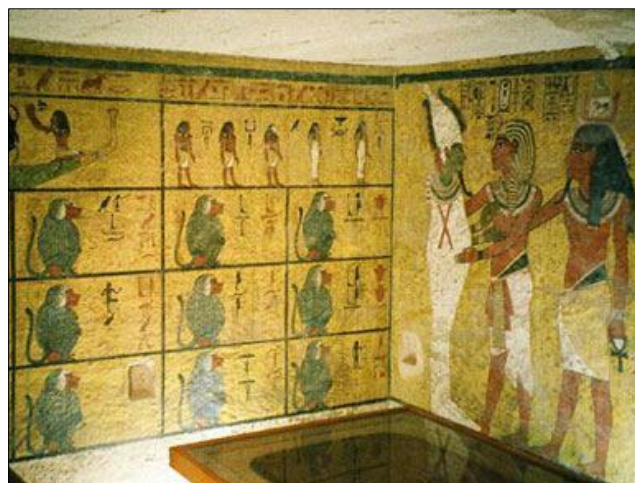


Figure 5.14: Baboons of the 1<sup>st</sup> Hour. Tomb of Tutankhamun

The nine baboons of the 1<sup>st</sup> Hour are found on the west wall of Tutankhamun's burial chamber. Like the rest of his tomb decoration, the baboon images on a golden background were executed only in painting, displaying a high level of craftsmanship. The simplicity and lack of relief in the décor might be ascribed to the limited time for completion (Tiradritti 2015:263). The baboon motif is virtually replicated in the tomb of Ay (KV23):

- **Ay (KV23): Dynasty 18**



Figure 5.15: Baboons of the 1<sup>st</sup> Hour. Tomb of Ay

The short reigning Ay, who served as a senior office bearer under both Akhenaten and Tutankhamun, ascended the throne on the death of the latter (Bunson 2002:61). The north wall of the burial room of Ay contains the depiction of the baboons of the 1<sup>st</sup> Hour in a style corresponding closely to that of Tutankhamun's tomb. Here twelve (not nine) squatting baboons are portrayed symmetrically; six on each side facing towards the centre. The images have suffered when Ay's royal tomb fell victim to *damnatio memoriae* when his successor, Horemheb eradicated any references to the Amarna period (Robins 1997:158).

A comparison between individual baboons portrayed in Tutankhamun's tomb (left) and Ay's tomb (right), supports the notion that the decoration of the tombs was carried out by the same team of artists. Apart from the slanted dark eye of the baboon on the left *versus* the round brown eye of the baboon in Ay's décor (right), the similarities are unmistakable:



Figure 5.16(a): Detail from baboon images in Tutankhamun's tomb



Figure 5.16(b): Detail from baboon images in Ay's burial chamber



Atenist art and Atenism fell into disrepute over time, but its legacy can still be detected in post-Amarna style innovations (Woods 2015:227). The design of the baboons of the 1<sup>st</sup> Hour in the Dynasty 19 royal tomb of Seti I, notably resembles those of Tutankhamun and Ay in terms of colour choice, detail and life-like presentation, but the execution is now done in painted relief, a development first demonstrated in the tomb of the last Dynasty 18 ruler, Horemheb (Tiradritti 2015:263).

- **Seti I (KV17): Dynasty 19**



Figure 5.17: Nine baboons of the 1<sup>st</sup> Hour under the winged depiction of Isis. Tomb of Seti I

The Ramesside era commences with Seti I, the first Dynasty 19 pharaoh. His tomb (KV17) is considered a ground-breaking artistic achievement in decoration and structure, befitting his status as one of a few living cult figures. Not only is it the first tomb in which the décor encompasses a complete programme of religious texts, but the burial chamber where the baboon motif is

found (Figure 5.18), is also the first to have a vaulted roof. The tomb art conspicuously lacks signs of the use of square grids – all decoration was drawn freehand and executed in classicist raised relief (*vide* Figure 5.42) complemented by exquisite paint finishing (Robins 1997:166, Teeter 2002c:85, Theban Mapping Project: Component 376, Tiradritti 2015:263, Woods 2015:227).



Figure 5.18: Detail of Baboons of the 1<sup>st</sup> Hour in raised relief. Tomb of Seti

Where Seti I's tomb was decorated in raised relief, sunk relief painted in lurid colours became the norm in royal tombs through the rest of the Ramesside period, as is seen in the scene containing the baboons of the 1<sup>st</sup> hour in the tomb of Dynasty 20 ruler, Ramesses VI:

- **Ramesses VI (KV9): Dynasty 20**



Figure 5.19: Baboons of the 1<sup>st</sup> Hour in painted sunk relief. Tomb of Ramesses VI

The baboon motif in the late Dynasty 20 tomb of Ramesses VI represents an interesting counterpart to that displayed in the early Dynasty 18 tomb of Thutmose III (Figure 5.12). Together they constitute a witness to the two key factors in the evolution of Egyptian tomb art: the interplay between religious convictions and artistic conventions. Over a span of *circa* five hundred years the content of tomb décor remained comparatively conservative, yet stylistic execution was dynamic and resilient, able to accommodate the Amarna interlude and the subsequent return to orthodoxy.

#### 5.2.4 Genii: Figures 5.20 – 5.23

The Sons of Horus feature regularly in *Book of the Dead* inspired tomb decorations. In judgement scenes they are portrayed standing on a lotus blossom in a set order near Osiris in his pavilion. This recalls Spell 17 S13, where they are described as the ‘Council of Osiris’ (Allen 1974:29) - for further elucidation, refer to paragraph 4.2.4. Elsewhere they are portrayed individually as part of a bigger formation with visible references to their superhuman qualities. Their intermediate status is aptly described by Lucarelli (2010:86) who postulates that genii possess divine powers, but are subordinate to deities and thus act as intercessors for the deceased.

This sub-section will look at the rendering of genii in three New Kingdom private tombs at Thebes: genii in judgement scenes on the walls of TT178 and TT296, as well as individual genii in ceiling décor of TT335 (tomb numbers from Manniche 1987:132-146):

- Neferrenpet aka Kenro (TT178): Dynasty 19
- Nefersekeru (TT296): Dynasty 19/20
- Nakhtamon (TT335): Dynasty 19

Hirst (2017b) uses the map below (by Kampp:1996), to indicate the location of the three tombs in the Khokha area of Thebes. The neighbouring tombs of Neferrenpet (TT178) and Nefersekeru (TT296) are contemporaneous and because the styles are similar, Hirst believes they might have been done by a team from the same workshop.

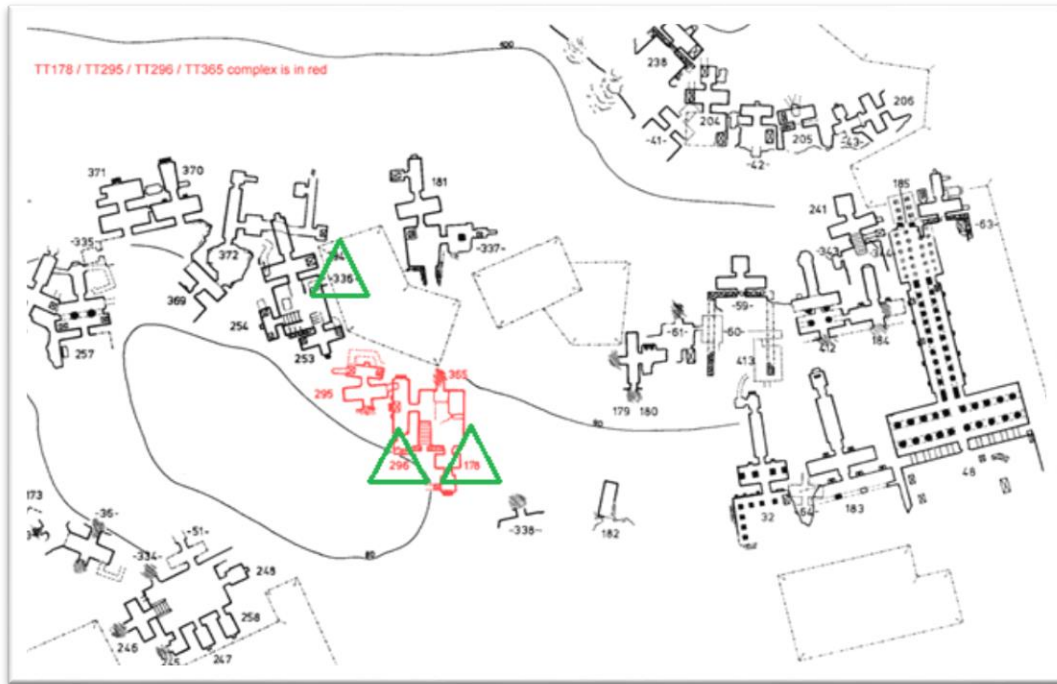


Figure 5.20: Map by Kampp showing tombs of Khokha area, Thebes. TT178, TT296 and TT335 marked in green

When comparing the judgement scenes on the tomb walls of Neferrenpet and Nefersekheru, the similarities in design and mode of execution is evident. One obvious difference concerns the presentation of the genii that, like in Figures 4.22 and 4.23, face in opposite directions:

- **Neferrenpet aka Kenro (TT178): Dynasty 19**



Figure 5.21: Genii on lotus flower in Osiris' pavilion. Tomb of Neferrenpet / Kenro

Neferrenpet, also known as Kenro, was the scribe of the Treasury of Amun-Ra. In this colourfully painted plaster representation of the judgement scene, Thoth in ibis-form presents the successful outcome to the enthroned Osiris in his pavilion. Isis and Nephthys stand behind Osiris. In front of the throne are the four Sons of Horus standing on a lotus flower which symbolically grows out of the primordial water. The use of the colour green further emphasises the symbolism of rebirth and eternal life already contained in the lotus construct. The image illustrates Spell 182 as the genii face Thoth and Horus (*vide* discussion following figures 4.22 and 4.23) and compare with TT296:

- **Nefersekeru (TT296): Dynasty 19/20**

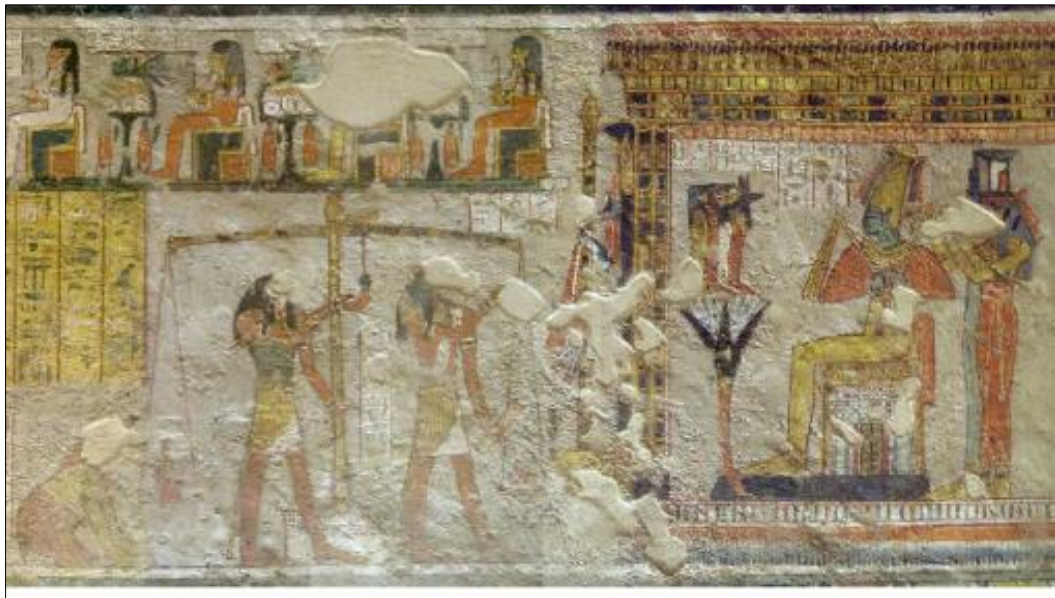


Figure 5.22: Sons of Horus on lotus flower facing Osiris. Tomb of Nefersekeru

In the wall painting of the judgment of the Ramesside scribe Nefersekeru (officially titled ‘Deputy administrator of the treasury’, ‘Royal scribe of the treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands’, ‘Scribe of the divine offering of all the gods’ and ‘Director of slaves’ (Hirst 2017b)), the genii stand atop the lotus bud which springs from the dark blue *she*-sign (Robins 1997:137), in a similar reference to the creation of life from the primeval waters. The genii are facing Osiris, thus, like Thoth and Horus behind them, are showing adoration to the deity (Spell 185: ‘Giving praise to Osiris’ (Allen 1974:202)).

- **Nakhtamon (TT335): Dynasty 19**



Figure 5.23: Hapi in divinity pose holding *ankh*. Ceiling of tomb of Nakhtamon

The décor programme in Nakhtamon's tomb TT335 in Deir el-Medina is solely done in black and gold with secondary lines in red on a white background (Benderitter 2017). The tomb forms an important archaeological legacy because the state of conservation enables research on the monochrome palette used in some of the tombs in this workers' village. The vaulted ceiling of the tomb chamber is decorated in eight sectors (an allusion to the divine number and thereby the Ogdoad) which form two rows of four each, separated in the apex by bands of hieroglyphs.

In each of the four central sectors, one of the Sons of Horus is represented as an anthropomorphic deity in the form of the hieroglyph *netcher*, which signifies divinity. Like the other three, Hapi, is portrayed in the typical 'mummy-wrapped' *netcher* figure holding an *ankh* (life sign) while seated on a plinth-like base. The latter, because of its straightness, is associated with *Maat* and denotes concepts like truth, order and justice. The uraeus on Hapi's head reinforces the connotation with solar theology, the divine and the pharaoh (Wilkinson 1992:31, 37 and 177). As emblem of Lower Egypt, it also brings to mind Hapi's connection with Buto as one of the 'Souls of Pe' (Spell 112 S3) (Allen 1974:91).

The richness and fluidity of Egyptian symbolism support a wide scope for interpretation, but locating this image of Hapi within the décor design of the tomb chamber contributes to better understanding. The tomb chamber is dominated by a huge image of Thoth baboon overseeing the weighing of the heart of Nakhtamon (*vide* Figure 5.11); here the deceased faces the final judgement which will determine whether he will be allowed to join the train of the sun-god and be reborn or will suffer eternal damnation.

In this picture, evoking the protective aspects associated with baboons, Hapi thus represents one of the divine intermediaries who safeguard the transparent orderly evaluation of the deceased's merits to enter the 'Beautiful West'.

### **5.3 Conclusion and supplementary notes**

Sub-sections 5.1 and 5.2 concentrated on the symbolic messages embedded in the baboon motif in tomb décor in order to gain more insight into the ancient Egyptians' approach to life and death. The baboon motif in tomb wall décor contributes to the understanding of not only which mortuary themes were relevant to the New Kingdom but also to what processes were followed to execute the decorative design.

Tomb décor was founded in funerary literature and thematically, like in the vignettes, the baboon motif featured in four broad categories namely baboons as adorers, assessors, guards and genii. The themes echo the baboon's association with piety, prudence and protection. The inherent Egyptian religious conservativeness becomes clear in the aftermath of the Amarna era; subject matter soon became orthodox again but the artistic treatment showed vibrancy and pliancy by incorporating aspects of the Amarna style in later conventions regarding proportions.



The study highlights the visual connection between Thoth and baboons in the subject matter, yet the decorating process also offers pointers to the importance of Thoth who, in his baboon manifestation, is the patron of scribes. The development of the decorative programme involved both scribes and artisans, but evidence indicates that scribes played the more prominent role in creating the images by drawing the outlines whilst artisans fulfilled a secondary role by applying the colour.

In conclusion, three interesting aspects, which merit contextualising remarks, came to the fore, namely monochrome tomb decoration, the re-using / usurping of tombs and the fact that the décor of some tombs were not completed.

### **5.3.1 Monochromatic tomb décor**

The Deir el-Medina western cemetery is home to a distinctive type of funerary décor. These Ramesside workmen, intimately familiar with royal funerary ideology, experimented with designs and were first to decorate the burial chamber itself, either in a polychrome or in a unique monochrome palette (a combination of white, yellow, red and black). The latter mute colours are more prevalent in tomb chambers, such as that of Nakhtamon (*vide* figures 5.3, 5.11 and 5.23) than in tomb chapels. Several reasons have been posed; time and cost-effectiveness, expense and availability of colour pigments and even two diverse religious doctrines. However, the difference in choice of palette is accompanied by an identifiable difference in choice of iconological motifs; the motifs in monochrome décor shows striking similarities with the motifs used on contemporary coffins, although the latter were decorated in a polychrome palette. It seems plausible that these decorated burial chambers were viewed as alternative to customary coffins which became either too expensive or could be stolen / re-used. The monochrome style burial chamber, together with the increasing use of communal tomb structures might indicate a move towards defensive burial practices informed by a scarcity of resources (Stevens 2014:1-14).

### 5.3.2 Usurpation of tombs and tomb décor plagiarism

By the end of Dynasty 20 it was not uncommon to appropriate deserted tombs. This was the result of *inter alia* the political and economic dynamics in the Bronze-Iron Age transition; wealthy Thebans gradually opted for communal burials in defunct tombs and old tombs were re-purposed (Cooney 2011:3). Imiseba, the Dynasty 20 Chief of Temple Archives at Karnak, re-used the Sheikh abd el-Qurna tomb (TT65) of Nebamun, a Dynasty 18 official of Hatshepsut. He developed the tomb to evoke a royal memorial structure into which he integrated his own funerary cult (Bács 2011:11). Snape (2011:240) is of opinion that tomb decoration was mostly inspired by other tombs; a form of plagiarism. He quotes McDowell (1999:242) who suggests that a graffito of two Deir el-Medina workmen, Amenhotep and Amennakht, at the burial complex of Ramesses VI, could imply they were scanning royal décor while decorating Imiseba's tomb.

### 5.3.3 Unfinished tombs

Tutankhamun's tomb is arguably one of the more famous excavated so far because of the corpus of funerary goods found inside, yet the level of workmanship and completion showed that it was done in a great hurry (Wilkinson 2010:300). But not all unfinished tombs can be attributed to unexpected / untimely deaths like that of Tutankhamun.

Because Egyptians viewed earthly life as the prelude to and part of eternal life, they generally invested in preparing for the latter by building a person's tomb during his / her lifetime. The structure, décor and furnishings of these 'houses for eternity' were all developed to ensure a safe passage into the unknown afterlife. Once the tomb was completed it was symbolically ready for a body and the owner could, in principle, face death without fear (Brewer and Teeter 1999:53, Olson 2002:35).

This resulted in some owners deliberately deferring completion in order to delay the inevitable (El-Shahawy 2005:13). Horemheb died at an advanced age (Bunson 2002:170, Dodson 2002a:46); thus the fact that his tomb, KV57, had certain areas left uncompleted, might well have been part of a defensive funerary strategy.

## Chapter 6: Tomb Furnishing Decoration: Coffins, Canopic Jars and Chests and *Shabti* Cases

### 6.1 Introduction

Tomb furnishing display interesting changes as the New Kingdom progressed. Paragraph 5.3.2 mentioned the usurpation and reuse of tombs. Cooney (2011:3-29) argues that burial practices changed to accommodate the increasing scarcity of materials and the subsequent increase in reuse of tombs and theft of tomb furnishings. By late Dynasty 20, individual stone sarcophagi in solar tombs with temple superstructures and courtyards became obsolete; the emphasis shifted to more space-efficient funerary practices, as is seen in the popularity of sets of nesting coffins. This development was part of a defensive strategy against earthly risks; to counter the ever-present afterlife threats, the apotropaic decoration programme on movable funerary goods was intensified and the coffin became a 'densely decorated discrete miniature tomb'.

### 6.2 Coffins: Figures 6.1- 6.4

Burial containers of ancient Egyptians could range from simple body wrappings in crudely constructed coffins to opulent stone sarcophagi containing as many as five nesting wooden coffins with an additional mummy board and cartonnage around the mummy. In the New Kingdom a sarcophagus was called *djebat* ('shrine'). The inner coffin, normally made of wood, though metal and pottery have been recorded, was called *wet* (Cooney 2015:272-273, Lapp and Niwinski 2002:48). The latter will be the focus of this sub-section.

Royal coffins, like those of Tutankhamun, were opulently adorned. Yet, the political stability and economic prosperity of Dynasties 18 and 19 enabled not only the elite to have skilfully crafted and extensively decorated coffin(s), but also allowed less affluent persons who could not afford expensively decked out tombs to obtain some form of coffin, though the latter varied in quality of material and execution (Cooney 2015:272-278 and 284). As such, coffins provide us

with important insight into the status of the deceased as well as the social, economic and religious circumstances in which (s)he lived.

Over the centuries, the development of the coffin in terms of form, colour and iconographic decoration, mirrored the *Zeitgeist*, up until the Middle Kingdom, coffins were approached as a final dwelling for the dead and consequently the rectangular coffin reflected an architectural aspect. Dynasty 17 signalled a shift away from the coffin as substitute abode towards being viewed as a surrogate body, and the anthropomorphic shape coffin was introduced. The coffin no longer only protected the corpse, but also promoted resurrection and eternal life (Cooney 2015:269).

The Egyptian approach to a coffin was a form of 'functional materialism'; a natural man-made object could provide supernatural benefits like protection and transformation to the deceased. These perspectives required that form, colour and iconography figure in an integrated programme on both the inside and outside of the coffin. As multi-dimensional construct, the coffin was meant for a living audience to view on the outside while the inside was designed to enable the deceased to progress safely through the netherworld (Cooney 2015:272, Tiradritti 2015:264).

**Form:** Towards the end of Dynasty 17, anthropoid coffins, evoking a transformed Osirian body, started replacing the traditional rectangular ones. At first these anthropoid coffins were characterised by 'feather' decoration and known as *rishi* coffins, but later the decoration associated with the old rectangular coffins, evenly-spaced text bands simulating mummy bandages, became fashionable. Spreading in Thebes, these anthropoid coffins with traditional funerary décor became standard for the New Kingdom (Cooney 2015:283, Dodson 2002a:45, Lapp and Niwinski 2002:51, Robins 1997: 144-146).

**Colour:** The exterior schemes of New Kingdom anthropoid coffins gradually changed from the early Dynasty 18 (up to Thutmose III) polychrome decorations on white gesso backgrounds, to yellow/gold decorations on shiny black backgrounds, and finally, in the post-Amarna period, it became fashionable to use polychrome embellishments on yellow backgrounds. The polychrome text and decorations (blue, green, black, red and white) frequently resembled relief owing to the heavy layering of the paints (Dodson 2002a:44-45, Hayes 1990:221 and 414, Lapp and Niwinski 2002:54). White, black and yellow/gold are symbolically laden background colours, representing pure mummy shrouds, resurrection and Osiris's flesh, and the golden flesh of deities respectively. Because yellow/gold further has a strong connotation with the sun-god, gilding and inlay were popular on coffins belonging to the top echelon of society (Cooney 2015:284-285, Robins 1997:146 and 187).

Throughout the New Kingdom the interior of the majority of anthropoid coffins was black, symbolising the regenerative force of fertile soil but during the final years of Dynasty 20, polychrome decorations started appearing on coffin insides as well (Cooney 2015:272 and 284). The change in the decoration of the inside of the coffin was the result of the scarcity of expensive materials like the black resin; polychrome decorations were more affordable, but a contributing factor could have been the need to intensify the divine protective shield around the body of the deceased, effectively taking over the role of tomb wall décor (Cooney 2011: 22-29).

**Iconography:** The baboon motif was a standard component of New Kingdom coffin iconography. Dynasty 18 saw the long-standing tradition of text references to Osiris, Anubis, and the Sons of Horus (found on lateral bands on coffins), increasingly complemented by visual portrayals of the deities and the composite genii (Dodson 2002b:133, Lapp and Niwinski 2002:53, Robins 1997: 144-146). In Dynasty 19, after Amarna, iconographic decoration represents funerary literature; imagery from the *Amduat* graced royal coffins while the repertory on non-royal coffins was derived from the *Book of Going Forth by Day* complemented by solar motifs. By late Dynasty 20, both royal and non-royal iconographic programmes included Nut on the lid, Nephthys at the head, Isis at

the feet, Anubis on the legs, and images of Thoth and the Sons of Horus along the sides of the coffin (Cooney 2015:284, Lapp and Niwinski 2002:54).

The location of the Sons of Horus are implied by allusions to the relationship between the deceased and a specific genius found on the text bands, for example 'one in honour with Hapi' indicates that Hapi is stationed at the left (west) of the deceased's shoulders (Hayes 1990:70, Wilkinson 2003:87). The deities are normally stationed as the author indicates below, but slight variations are possible; Cooney (2015:283) places the Sons of Horus around the mid-section of the body where they protect the vital organs (Hapi is associated with *inter alia* the lungs), while Hayes (1990:72) locates them around the shoulders and legs with Horus, Geb, Shu and Tefenet taking the centre position around the waist:

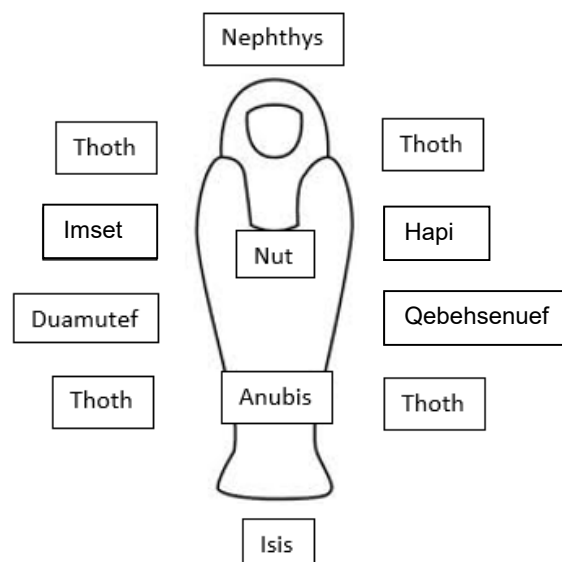


Figure 6.1: Schematic representation of configuration of apotropaic deities on New Kingdom coffins

Cooney (2015:283) highlights the close correlation between Spell 151 of the *Book of Going Forth by Day* and the iconographic programme on coffins, quoting Lüscher (1998) that New Kingdom coffins can be described as three dimensional renditions of Spells 151 and 161: in this way the appeals to Anubis, Thoth, Isis, Nephthys and the Four Sons of Horus to protect Osiris's body, literally envelop the corpse.

- **Henutmehyt: Dynasty 19**



Figure 6.2: Hapi on the right of the gilded outer coffin of Henutmehyt. Dynasty 19

Henutmehyt's anthropoid coffin (British Museum EA 48001), with its artfully painted and inlaid decoration forms the outer coffin of a set crafted in the yellow background style, but as Mistress of the House and Chantress of Amun, the upper part of the coffin is gilded.



Lapp and Niwinski (2002:51-52) explains that only royal coffins were decorated in pure gold and silver, but depending on the relationship of the deceased to royalty or to the high priest, sections of a coffin would be gilded or silvered. The gilding not only reflects Henutmehyt's social standing, but also evokes her association with the divinities, particularly with the sun god (Robins 1997:187), just as the position of Henutmehyt's hands, crossed on her chest as if holding royal sceptres, stresses her identification with Osiris.

Through an integrated mesh of magical spells, the coffin offers the deceased protection against decay and dark forces as well as the possibility to maintain contact with the outer world through the two *udjat* eyes and (not visible from the current angle), the false door façade in the decorations (Lapp and Niwinski 2002:48 - 52).

Henutmehyt's anthropoid coffin is a well-preserved example of a coffin intended to provide a surrogate body for the departed; it replicates the deceased in idealised form, showing her beautiful features as a woman of elevated status.

Although the outer coffins of anthropoid coffin sets were normally gender-specific like that of Henutmehyt, indications are that the more private inner body containers and the mummies of females were adapted to assume a masculine gender by a series of magical, liturgical and physical manipulations in order to enhance her prospects of being born again into eternal life (Cooney 2015:283 quoting Cooney 2008a and Cooney 2008b).

The fine proportions of the coffin and the well-sculpted visage do not bear any resemblance to the earlier crude *rishi* coffins; having reached a level of sophistication that characterised body containers of the later eras (Hayes 1990:71).

- **Khonsu (TT1): Dynasty 19**

The iconographic scheme of the inner and outer coffins of Khonsu follows that of Henutmehyt, but here the funerary deities are located along the side panels of the casket:



Figure 6.3: Hapi second from right on inner coffin of Khonsu. Dynasty 19

Khonsu, one of the sons of Sennedjem and Inefert, followed in his father's footsteps as Servitor in the Place of Truth. He died in the reign of Ramesses II and was buried in a finely crafted set of two coffins in his father's tomb, TT1 (Hayes 1990:414-416).



Figure 6.4: Anthropoid coffin set of Khonsu in yellow background style. Dynasty 19

The quality and craftsmanship of Khonsu's coffin set, executed in the yellow background style (*vide* Figure 6.4), befit a senior official in the Theban necropolis, but it lacks any gilding that would indicate royal or high-priestly connections. According to Robins (1997:187) the decorative style of Khonsu's coffins became fashionable by the reign of Ramesses II: anthropoid coffins with a yellow base colour were decorated in red, light blue and dark blue. The blues later turned green because of the covering varnish.

The late Dynasty 20 anthropoid coffins differ drastically from the early Dynasty 18 rectangular and *rishi* type coffins. However, the development process reflects the ancient Egyptians' conservative approach towards change: for example, text columns were kept, but configured in bands to mimic mummy bandages (Cooney 2015:283). The gradual incorporation of the new into the old is especially noticeable in the retaining of the traditional iconographic repertoire despite modifications in form and colour.

### 6.3 Canopic jars and chests: Figures 6.5-6.7

Like coffin sets, the treatment of canopic material progressively adapted to new methods and materials. During the mummification process internal organs were treated individually: the heart as seat of intellect and soul, remained in the body, the brain was discarded and the four vital organs (liver, lungs, stomach and intestines) were separately desiccated and deposited in containers known as canopic jars. These jars, found in *inter alia* Tüneh, Thebes, the Memphite area and Abydos, display similarities in development of design and decoration, despite being made from a variety of materials such as calcite, limestone, pottery, wood, cartonnage or faience (Brier 1994:84-85, Dodson 2002a:45, Hayes 1990:424).

Since the end of the Old Kingdom each of the four organs was linked to one of the funerary genii collectively known as the Sons of Horus who acted as guardians or reincarnations of the organs. Through the historical periods the organ-deity association remained constant, but changes in shape and

decoration of the containers echo changes in how the Egyptians approached the canopic material. Inscriptions on the flat / dome-lidded Old Kingdom jars invoked the related genius; in the First Intermediate Period the inscriptions were complemented by human-headed lids which apparently represented the deceased (Dodson 2002a:43-45, Olson 2002:38).

Early in Dynasty 18, the Theban jars of Katynakhte are the first examples of a new trend where lids began to assume the profile of the deity they represented. This signified an iconographic shift from canopic jars personifying the deceased to personifying the demi-deity (*vide* Figure 6.5). The use of the differentiated faunal heads as stoppers became widespread by late Dynasty 19 but fell into disuse by the end of the New Kingdom when mummified viscera was no longer put in jars but wrapped around a wax model of the relevant funerary deity and returned to the body (Dodson 2002a:43-45, Hayes 1990:72-73 and 424).

<b>Organ</b>	Liver	Lungs	Stomach	Intestines
<b>Genius</b>	Imset	Hapi	Duamutef	Qebehsenuf
<b>Deity</b>	Isis	Nephthys	Neith	Selket
<b>Canopic lid</b>	Human	Baboon	Jackal	Hawk

Figure 6.5: Visual association between organs, Sons of Horus, deities and canopic lids

The shape and proportions of the jars also changed, although not as radically as the lids. From early Dynasty 18 onwards the squat Middle Kingdom jars changed gradually into the slimmed down and elongated late New Kingdom versions which lack the pronounced shoulders of earlier jars (Dodson 2002a:43-45, Hayes 1990:72-73 and 423, Olson 2002:38). The altered design did not affect the customary canopic formula on the jars in which Nephthys, the funerary deity associated with Hapi and guardian of the lungs, guaranteed her divine protection over Hapi and the deceased (Dodson 2002b:134, Doxey 2002a:276, Hayes 1990:423). In Figure 6.6 the four Hapi-lidded jars appear in chronological order from left to right to illustrate the modification of form:



Figure 6.6(a)

Figure 6.6(b)

Figure 6.6(c)

Figure 6.6(d)

Figure 6.6: New Kingdom canopic jars with faunal lids representing Hapi displaying the change in proportions from squat to slender

- 6.6(a) is an early New Kingdom painted limestone jar probably from Abydos (Metropolitan Museum 12.183.1b.1 – 2);
- 6.6(b) shows the Dynasty 19 black painted wooden jar of Henutmehyt (British Museum EA 51813);
- 6.6(c) is a Dynasty 19 jar from Tüneh made of fragile turquoise blue faience, and
- 6.6(d) is an alabaster jar found at Saqqara, (Brooklyn Museum Accession Number 48.30.3a-b) belonging to the late Ramesside Royal Scribe and Chief Lector Priest, Tjuli (also referred to as 'Thenry' in the museum catalogue description).

According to Dodson (2002a:44-45) each set of jars was normally kept in a canopic chest, which imitated the design of contemporaneous coffin sets from the end of the Middle Kingdom onwards. The decorations developed from textual references to the funerary deities and genii inscribed on a black or later yellow gesso background, to the complex polychrome decorative programme of the New Kingdom as can be seen on the canopic chest of Khonsu (Figure 6.7):

- **Khonsu (TT1): Dynasty 19**



Figure 6.7: Isis, Nephthys, Hapi and Qebehsenuf. Canopic chest of Khonsu. Dynasty 19

As mentioned in Sub-section 6.1, Khonsu was a senior official in Deir el-Medina, sharing not only his father Sennedjem's title in life as Servitor in the Place-of-Truth, but also the tomb of his parents (TT1). His painted wooden canopic chest represents a finely executed example of the later New Kingdom polychrome chest which resembled the shape of a *naos* shrine (Dodson 2002a:45):



Figure 6.8: Egyptian hieroglyph for shrine in profile: Gardiner's Sign List O18

The intricate decoration programme centres on the protection given by the funerary deities: Hapi (symbolically associated with the north) figures prominently next to Qebehsenuf (normally linked to the west) (Wilkinson 2003:87), while Isis and Nephthys guard the knob which opens the slightly sloping rounded lid on which Anubis reclines. The inscriptions and secondary symbols all support the divine safeguarding of ‘the Osiris, Khonsu, the justified’. The decoration is done on a yellow background (as are his coffins: *vide* Figure 6.4) and rounded off with a band of *ḥekeru*-ornaments and a brightly coloured flaring *cavetto* cornice at the top (Hayes 1990:418).

It was customary to mount canopic chests on miniature sledges, as is seen in Figure 6.7, because of their part in the funerary ritual: wall scenes of the *tekenu* procession to the tomb show the canopic chest being drawn on a small sledge behind the coffin’s sledge and the priest crouched on a bier (Olson 2002:38, Roth 2002:152).

The application of a decorative programme in which visual representations augmented the divine protection, as evident on the canopic chest, is also found on a third category of tomb furnishings; the so-called *shabti* cases, small chests used for holding funerary figurines.

### 6.3 ***Shabti* cases: Figures 6.9-6.10(a)**

The decoration of Egyptian tombs and tomb furnishings bears witness that Egyptian theology is infused with magic; textual references and visual representations on walls, coffins and canopic material invoke divine intervention on behalf of the deceased. These “‘magical mechanics’ of cultic worship” (Ritner 1993:247) referred to in Chapter 1, were complemented over time by an evolving category of three-dimensional statuettes referred to as *shabtis*, *shawabtis* and *ushebtis* (Milde 2012:1-9, Ritner 2002:210, Spanel 2002:136, Taylor 2012: 220-240; also for further etymological clarification). The figurines are relevant to the study of the baboon motif primarily because the containers in which they were held from late Dynasty 18 onwards were

decorated with Hapi as one of the Sons of Horus. To understand why *shabti* cases adorned with funerary deities came increasingly into use from the reign of Amenhotep III onwards (Taylor 2016a:219), a brief overview of the nature, function and development of these funerary figurines is important.

Miniature models of objects and people were characteristic components of ancient Egyptian burials; they served to magically sustain the deceased as well as to signify his / her status in the underworld (Hayes 1990:33, Ritner 2002:210, Spanel 2002:136). Model people morphed into the all-purpose servant figurines. Their functions were two-fold, simultaneously representing and substituting the owner to ensure him/her benefitting from eternal sustenance and ease his/her contribution to obligatory agricultural labour.

As the emphasis gradually shifted from representation to substitution, changes in size, number and container followed. At first they were primarily represented an alternate body; an abode for the *ka* and *ba* of the deceased, 'bearer of his extended identity' (Assmann 2005:111): large, limited in number and closely linked to the owner, these figurines were normally placed individually in miniature coffins.

In sub-section 6.1, author referred to Cooney's (2015:269) observation that with the onset of the New Kingdom, the shape of burial containers for bodies changed from rectangular (perceived as being an eternal house) to anthropoid, virtually becoming the proxy body. This mind shift was echoed in the treatment of funerary figurines. The anthropoid coffin addressed the need for a representative body, but now the prevalent Osirian belief about eternal agricultural bliss necessitated afterlife force-multipliers to substitute for hard labour (Wilkinson 2010:153-155). Milde (2012:7) quoting Bonnet (1952:849-850), explains the altered relationship between owner and *shabtis* which is expressed in Spell 6 of the *Book of Going Forth by Day*, the deceased as conscript enlists assistance: *shabtis* are to answer 'I will do; here I am' when called upon to work (for a man) in the 'god's domain' (Allen 1974:8).



From the reign of Thutmose IV, the aspect of substitution became more pronounced leading to smaller, more numerous figures that were not as closely identified with the owner. With mass production and the change in status of *shabtis*, containers became less personal and more functional (Hayes 1990:425, Milde 2012:1-9, Spanel 2002:136, Taylor 2016a: 219, Tooley 2002:220).

*Shabti* cases were wooden boxes on sledges (similar to canopic chests). These polychrome decorated containers which resembled single or double shrines could hold several figurines (Hayes 1990:428). The first tall shrine-shaped *shabti* case, referred to as an *itr* in accompanying texts, was found in Thebes and dated from the reign of Amenhotep III. Yet *shabti* cases in the form of multiple shrines and painted boxes only became numerous in the Ramesside period. Few survived, probably because of wood's poor durability, but it is interesting that Theban tomb scenes regularly depict *shabti* cases and not miniature coffins (Milde 2012:9, Whelan 2011:9).

- **Henutmehyt: Dynasty 19**



Figure 6.9: Sons of Horus. Shabti case of Henutmehyt. Dynasty 19

The decoration of Henutmehyt's double-shrined *shabti* case (British Museum EA 41548) resembles her coffin set in colourful design and fine workmanship. On the side panel of the case Henutmehyt is portrayed praising three of the four Sons of Horus, Duamutef, Hapi and Imset. The side panel of Anhai's case also depicts a praising scene:

- **Anhai: Dynasty 19/20**

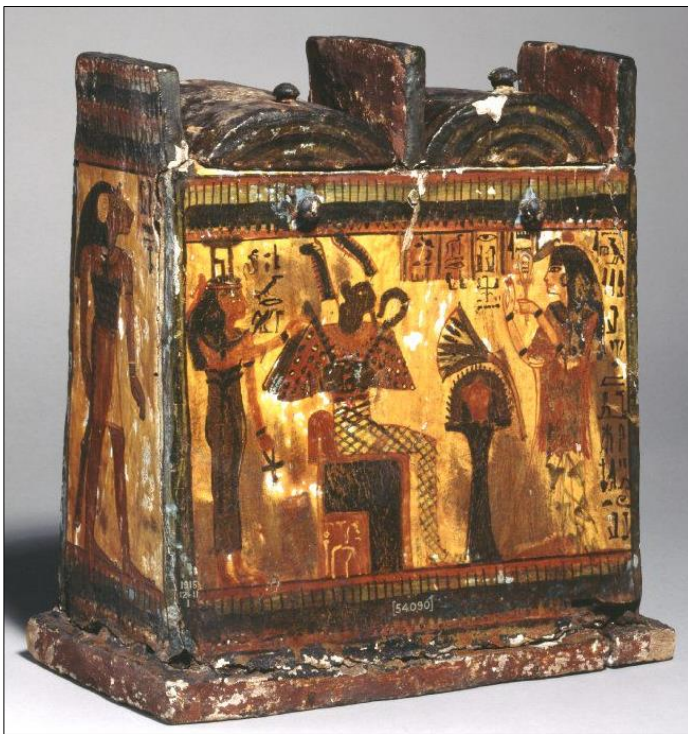


Figure 6.10: Shabti case of Anhai. Dynasty 19 / 20



Figure 6.10(a)

Figure 6.10 shows the side panel of Anhai's plastered wooden *shabti* case (British Museum EA 54090). Here she shakes a sistrum and praises Osiris, the god of the netherworld. He sits on his throne, holding his royal insignia, the crook and flail. A female deity holding an *ankh* is next to him; she wears the headdress typically associated with Nephthys, but according to the BM catalogue, she is identified as Isis in the inscribed text. On the top end of the case is Hapi, the protégée of Nephthys (fig.6.10(a)).

The design and decoration of the *shabti* cases indicate that although the relationship between the deceased and the figurine had changed from being a direct representative to being a substitute / servant, it still merited divine protection. Assmann (2005:110) points out that the netherworld personnel corps was the deceased's way not to evade, but to be able to engage in the divinely conscripted work. Therefore, like the decoration programme on the coffin formed a divine shield for the deceased, so the images of funerary deities and genii on the containers of funerary figurines safeguarded and empowered them eternally.

## **6.5 Conclusion**

During the New Kingdom tomb furnishings gradually increased in importance as the economic and political situation deteriorated towards the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period. Defensive funerary strategies involved the densification of burial space and a subsequent densification of the decoration programme on individual body containers. The 'less is more' principle was applied; fewer funerary goods without forsaking the important divine protection afforded by the iconographic design in which Thoth and Hapi, as part of the Sons of Horus, constantly featured.

## **PART III: CONCLUSION**

## Chapter 7: Conclusion, Limitations and Recommendations

### 7.1 Conclusion

7.1.1 Exploring the baboon motif in the private domain of New Kingdom Egyptian tombs, required contextualising the topic against the *Zeitgeist* and the faunal milieu that characterised the *circa* five centuries that Egypt was ruled by Dynasties XVIII through XX.

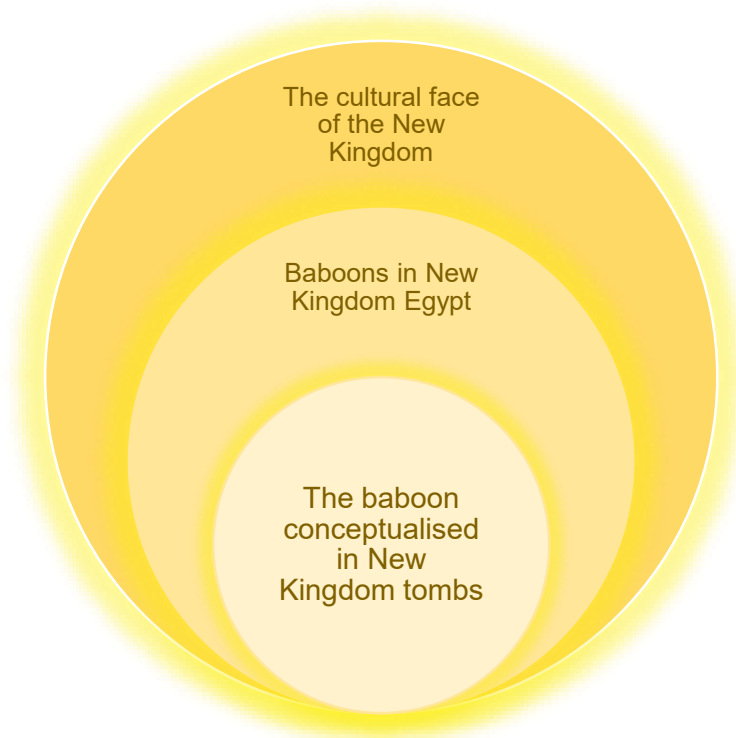


Figure 7.1: Schematic representation of the contextualising of the baboon motif in New Kingdom tomb art

7.1.2 What was the *Weltanschauung* of New Kingdom Egyptians and why?

The fundamental characteristics of the New Kingdom developed in and was defined by its natural polarised biosphere which was dominated by the life-giving Nile and protected by borders of deserts and the sea. Two distinct recurrent events marked the flow of time and ensured renewed life: the daily **sun cycle** and the annual inundation. Central to Egyptian beliefs were an inherent **conservatism** stemming from their perceived seclusion and the high premium placed on cyclic **regeneration** (2.1.3). They accepted that earthly life could only flourish (2.2) when polarities were in balance (*maat*) and **order**

reigned. The dreaded state of chaos could only be averted by the pharaoh's power as divine delegate. His power base depended on the character of his kingship (divine kingship) (2.2.5) and the communication of royal ideology primarily through art (2.2.9).

New Kingdom Egypt celebrated the height of political and cultural achievements. They enjoyed international power with far-ranging diplomatic relations that were not only motivated by military objectives, but also by economic intents. Their technological level allowed them trade expeditions which included extensive sea voyages to amongst others, Punt. The availability of resources, local and exotic, brought wealth, which combined with leisure time, resulted in an artistic renaissance (2.2.8). The latter manifested in *inter alia*, the very important visual communication system consisting of architecture, art and writing (2.2.9).

How did Egyptians approach nature? The Egyptian civilisation developed in partnership with nature; in their religious framework, the terrestrial and celestial were interrelated; the visible could reveal aspects of the invisible so that every entity's place in the cosmic milieu could be explained through myths (2.3.1). Because humanity innately yearns to understand the universe, they sought the 'sacred knowledge' by scrutinising nature; constructing mythological explanations based on observed animal behaviour. Baboons were closely studied, presumably because they represented a unique combination of traits, both similar to and differing from humans (2.3.2). The baboon displayed characteristics which resonated with Egyptian religion in which morality and reverence for the deities and the departed, were key concepts (2.4.2):

- The baboon's intelligence and assumed wisdom represented **fairness** (morality), which linked these animals to Thoth, the deity of truth and justice and patron of intellectual domains (language, writing, science, measuring, medicine, cosmology and astronomy). The link is visually underscored by Thoth's manifestation as either a baboon or an ibis.

- The baboon's chattering and stretching at dawn represented **fellowship**, divine adoration and jubilation in a secret sacred language, making them the true performers of religion, able to join the deified ancestors in afterlife.
- Finally, the all-important need to ensure survival, to gain the eternal life, depended on **procreation** and **protection**; in this regard, the virile, fierce baboon was the epitome of a regenerative force.

In what way did the Egyptians present these beliefs? They displayed their interpreted universe in a system of symbols (2.5.3) which was organised into art; visual art was the most important vehicle of meaning because literacy was very limited. Symbols anchored their thought processes as it allowed for flexible interpretation and the targeting of selective audiences (2.5.4). But most importantly, symbols were potent representatives of that which they symbolised (2.5.3).

Tomb art thus consisted of an integrated system of symbols aimed at promoting the wellbeing of the deceased in the afterlife and protecting him / her against the dangers lurking in the netherworld. At the core of the quest for understanding the universe, lies the undeniable drive to pursue life, on earth and in the hereafter. It is with this urge to ensure eternal life that the Egyptians approached the preparation of their last abode, the tomb.

The most important part of the tomb was the intimate private substructure, the burial chamber; the final earthly station for a deceased from where (s)he would begin the perilous passage into the unknown underworld. For the deceased, the tomb decoration programme of the private domain formed a symbolically laden insurance policy to guarantee the successful transition into a beatified life (2.6.2); for the modern day researcher, it provides a glimpse into the world view of an ancient civilisation.

### 7.1.3 What can be deduced from the archaeo-zoological evidence of baboon presence in the New Kingdom Egypt?

Although the Egyptian habitat could potentially sustain two baboon species, the *Papio hamadryas* and *Papio anubis*, neither of these were indigenous in the New Kingdom anymore (3.1.5). Yet archaeo-zoological evidence indicates that these animals were present in New Kingdom Egypt (3.1.6), making a verifiable case for the import of baboons; baboon remains and baboon mummies from this period were found at Avaris, Saqqara and Thebes (3.2.1). The argument for the presence of these two species is further substantiated by their depictions in New Kingdom art. The following important archaeo-zoological theorems emerged:

- *Hamadryas* and *anubis* baboons were physically present in New Kingdom Egypt.
- New Kingdom Egypt was able to invest in transnational trade endeavours. Baboons were not indigenous, but imported (from Kush and/or Punt) while some were possibly bred in captivity. Art scenes at Hatshepsut's Deir el-Bahri temple show trade expeditions returning from Punt, laden with exotic goods, including baboons (Brewer & Teeter 2007:45). Research results of Dominy, Ikram *et al* (2015) based on oxygen isotope analysis of mummified baboons, indicate that their genetic material mirrors that of *hamadryas* baboons in Eastern Somalia / Eritrea-Ethiopia, supporting the hypothesis that Punt was located in this vicinity (3.1.5).
- New Kingdom medical knowledge and procedures allowed successful complicated veterinary interventions on semi-feral animals (3.3.4).
- New Kingdom baboon remains point to three main reasons for the presence of these animals (3.2.2):
  - Cultic animals at temples. Remains buried in the Valley of the Baboons (Western Valley of the Kings) at Thebes are thought to be those of animals kept for cultic purposes. This burial tradition allegedly started after



Amenhotep III's *sed* festival in which baboons probably featured, since baboon remains were found in proximity to his tomb, KV22. Alternatively, the latter could have been:

- Animals in captivity. Amenhotep III also treasured exotic fauna which he kept in a private 'game reserve' for pleasure and prestige.
- Animals as beloved pets. The remains found in KV 34 (Thutmose III), KV50, KV51 and KV71 all display bodily procedures (canine teeth removed) and / or funerary rituals (mummified or elaborately interred) that reflect their probable status as (domesticated) pets.
- Animals for votive purposes (3.4.2 and 3.4.3). During the politically stable New Kingdom, baboon mummification was mainly done on privately owned animals. Times of economic prosperity potentially stimulate urbanisation, which in turn could see increased sentimentality in human – pet relationships, whereas political and economic instability contribute to renewed religious fervour. This corresponds with the Egyptian situation where baboons were increasingly mummified as votive animals as systems swayed and Egypt entered the Third Intermediate Period. During this tumultuous era, the Baboon Catacomb at North Saqqara was established (3.4.3).

#### 7.1.4 What does the baboon motif in the private domain of New Kingdom tombs reveal about how the animal was conceptualised by the Egyptians?

After examining the New Kingdom *Zeitgeist* from a historical perspective and assessing the physical baboon presence through archaeo-zoological evidence, the iconographic analysis of the baboon motif in private tomb art of the period reveals how the Egyptians conceptualised the baboon in their understanding of the universe.

Exploring the baboon motif in the private domain of New Kingdom tombs highlighted important practical aspects related to tomb art: the sources (especially funerary literature), conceptualising and developing the decorative programme, the role of scribes (as protégés of Thoth) in applying the design, the availability and use of colour pigments as well as the deliberate choice of colour schemes (poly- or monochromatic) (5.1) and the actual process (5.1).

This study focussed primarily on the symbolic content of the baboon motif which appears in three visual art media found within the mortuary chamber; vignettes in funerary literature, tomb décor (wall paintings and reliefs) and tomb furnishing decoration (coffins, canopic jars and chests and *shabti* cases).

The motif represents three broad themes which correlate with characteristics associated with baboons in nature: jubilation and veneration (as their morning behaviour is interpreted), wisdom and fairness (an interpretation of their contemplative staring) and protection (as portrayed by their fierceness). An analysis of the forms in which the motif manifests, indicates that there is a marked consistency in the way in which motifs are applied to illustrate themes:

- Theme 1 (Jubilation and veneration)
  - Squatting baboon with arms lifted in veneration  
The motif in this shape regularly appears in scenes depicting two baboons praising the sun deity in his sacred bark.
  - Upright (standing or walking) baboon with arms lifted in veneration  
The upright motif is ubiquitous in scenes illustrating the solar hymn; although there are instances where a single baboon or seven baboons featured in this construct, they are normally depicted in groups of two, four, six or eight (presumably numbers associated with perfection, such as the four divine couples of the Ogdoad in the Hermopolitan creation myth (5.2.2)).

- Theme 2 (Wisdom and fairness)
  - Seated baboon in the *netcher* position of a god  
Here the motif portrays Thoth baboon as god of divine justice and truth, adjusting the scales at the Weighing of the Heart ceremony. The motif consistently shows a single baboon and often the status of the deity is amplified by the addition of divine insignia on its head such as a sun disk, an *uraeus*, the full moon with or without the crescent moon, or alternatively holding the *ankh*.
  - Upright baboon with stick chasing Seth pig (Thoth)  
This atypical depiction of a baboon in a boat, wielding a stick at a pig (5.2.2), most probably refers to Thoth; despite the lack of divine signifiers, its location on a tomb wall featuring the judgement scene and the fact that it evokes the Thoth – Seth battle, support the assumption that it portrays Thoth.
  
- Theme 3a (Protection) Baboon figure:
  - Squatting baboon with hands on knees  
The squatting baboon with forepaws resting on its knees, is regularly found in scenes related to firstly, the underground lake of fire which is typically surrounded by four baboons. Secondly, four baboons in this position are shown protecting the gates of the underworld. The third category comprises the ‘Baboons of the 1<sup>st</sup> Hour’; normally a group of nine (although twelve have been noted) baboons guarding the underworld gate of the First Hour.
  - A single trial piece for a wall painting depicts a squatting baboon underneath a funerary bed, presumably signifying protection.
  
- Theme 3b (Protection) Composite figure:  

The baboon frequently features as Hapi, one of the Four Sons of Horus, of whom three are portrayed as composite figures (*Mischgestalten*);

human bodies with faunal heads. They usually appear together as follows:

- Seated, overseeing the embalming scene to offer protection for the deceased in this liminal phase
- Standing together on lotus bud at the judgement scene where they appear in the vicinity of Osiris, either facing him or facing the deceased
- Standing separately around the funeral chest to protect the resurrected when rising
- Appearing on the coffin to protect the deceased within
- Appearing on the canopic chest to protect the canopic jars
- Appearing on the *shabti* case to protect the substitute figures
- Finally, as faunal head stopper to protect the lungs of the deceased in the canopic jar.

The three themes that manifested within the tomb, represent the human desire to firstly please the deities through veneration and secondly, to experience divine benevolence. This defined the unique role of the baboon motif. To the Egyptians, the baboon embodied both the aspirations of humanity and the attributes of the divine: it possessed traits that they could assume (worshipping) as well as traits that they assigned to the divinities (righteousness and protection). This combination, which the baboon personifies, would guarantee everlasting life in an ordered universe.

## 7.2 Limitations

### 7.2.1 Knowledge of primary textual sources

One of the fundamental challenges of iconographic analysis remains the scope for interpretation of the layers of intended meaning by the creator and the layers of possible meaning extracted by the observer. The author aimed to limit the plurality of interpretations by considering each artefact against the backdrop of the interrelated cultural domains of the New Kingdom, yet the research would

have benefited from a combined examination of primary textual sources with the imagery.

### 7.2.2 Availability and representativity of primary sources

It remains problematic to find a corpus of artefacts that is accessible and usable for analysis despite laudable attempts by museums and academic institutions to locate, preserve and document primary sources. Apart from the effects of decay and destruction, the selection of available material cannot be considered representative of the social strata of the New Kingdom Egypt because the skewed distribution of resources and gender inequality did not allow all Egyptians the same access to burial practices.

## 7.3 Suggestions for further research

### 7.3.1 Baboons in tomb art

Aspects of the baboon motif in tomb art that merit further attention are amongst others:

- What is the motivation for the choice of specific numbers of baboons in the scenes depicting veneration; is it correct that it evokes the concept of perfection (as assumed above in 7.1.4 under Theme 1).
- Available primary sources portray the Sons of Horus in the lotus bud construct in the assessment scene in vignettes of the *Books of the Dead*; what is the reason that this image apparently does not appear in the comparable tomb wall décor?
- What is the iconographic interpretation of the fact that the Sons of Horus in the lotus bud construct of the judgement scene, appear either facing Osiris or away from him towards the deceased?

### 7.3.2 The baboon motif compared with other animal motifs

This study concluded that the significance of the baboon motif in New Kingdom tomb art lies in the fact that one animal embodied divine attributes as well as human aspirations. A comparative evaluation of other animal motifs could shed light on whether embodiment of dualistic characteristics (human and divine) is unique to the baboon motif in ancient Egyptian culture.

## List of Illustrations

### Figure 1.1:

Cornelius 1988:5,

[http://www.religionswissenschaft.uzh.ch/idd/dictionary\\_entries.php](http://www.religionswissenschaft.uzh.ch/idd/dictionary_entries.php)

[15 September 2016]

### Figure 2.1:

Aldred 1980:10

### Figure 2.2(a):

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?searchText=semerkhet%20ivory&LINK|34484,|assetId=218795001&objectId=116736&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?searchText=semerkhet%20ivory&LINK|34484,|assetId=218795001&objectId=116736&partId=1)

[10 October 2017]

### Figure 2.2(b):

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?searchText=semerkhet%20ivory&LINK|34484,|assetId=218795001&objectId=116736&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?searchText=semerkhet%20ivory&LINK|34484,|assetId=218795001&objectId=116736&partId=1)

[10 October 2017]

### Figure 3.1:

Goudsmit and Brandon-Jones 2000:117 fig.2

### Figure 3.2:

<https://www.google.co.za/search?q=carnivoraforum.com+papio+hamadryas&rlz=1C1FERNenZA676ZA676&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwid5pG-i-vVAhUBM8AKHbbZDDoQsAQIMg&biw=1366&bih=638#imgrc=-LynVf-vhKhzM:>

[22 August 2017]

### Figure 3.3:

<http://www.oceanwideimages.com/species.asp?s=Papio+anubis>

[22 August 2017]

### Figure 3.4:

Kemp 2006:9 fig.1 (Baboon sites from Ikram 2005: xvii)

### Figure 3.5:

[http://www.thebanmappingproject.com/atlas/index\\_kv.asp?tombID=450](http://www.thebanmappingproject.com/atlas/index_kv.asp?tombID=450)

[22 Sept 2016]

### Figure 3.6:

<http://www.thebanmappingproject.com/sites/>

[22 Sept 2016]

Figure 3.7:

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Monkey and dog mummies, Cairo Egyptian Museum 01.JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Monkey_and_dog_mummies,_Cairo_Egyptian_Museum_01.JPG)

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Figure 3.7a:

Strudwick 2006:155

Figure 3.8:

Ikram 2005: fig. 9.4

Figure 3.9:

<http://www.saqqara.nl/excavations/tombs>

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Figure 3.10:

<http://www.saqqara.nl/excavations/tombs/tia--tia/finds>

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Figure 4.1:

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectid=139570&partid=1&searchText=Egypt+New+Kingdom&images=true&page=9](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectid=139570&partid=1&searchText=Egypt+New+Kingdom&images=true&page=9)

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Figure 4.2:

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Figure 4.3:

<http://www.rmo.nl/collectie/zoeken?object=SR+vel+1>

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Figure 4.4:

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectid=113344&partid=1&searchText=ani&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectid=113344&partid=1&searchText=ani&page=1)

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Figure 4.5:

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Figure 4.6:

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectid=119793&partid=1&searchText=ancient+egypt&matcult=15694&material=18087&page=8](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectid=119793&partid=1&searchText=ancient+egypt&matcult=15694&material=18087&page=8)

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Figure 4.7:

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Figure 4.8:

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Figure 4.11:

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Figure 4.12:

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Figure 4.13:

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Figure 4.14:

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Figure 4.17:

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Figure 4.19:

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Early\\_Ammit.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Early_Ammit.jpg)

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Figure 4.20:

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details/collection\\_image\\_gallery.aspx?assetid=1184793001&objectid=113168&partid=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetid=1184793001&objectid=113168&partid=1)

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Figure 4.21:

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Figure 4.22:

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Figure 4.23:

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Figure 4.24:

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Figure 5.1:

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectid=164241&partid=1&searchText=Egypt+New+Kingdom&images=true&page=10](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectid=164241&partid=1&searchText=Egypt+New+Kingdom&images=true&page=10)

[11 August 2016]

Figure 5.2:

Hornung 1999:19 fig.5

Figure 5.3:

[http://www.osirisnet.net/popupImage.php?img=/tombes/artisans/nakhtamon335/photo/nakhtamon\\_tt335\\_ch\\_151.jpg&sw=1366&sh=768&wo=0&so=90](http://www.osirisnet.net/popupImage.php?img=/tombes/artisans/nakhtamon335/photo/nakhtamon_tt335_ch_151.jpg&sw=1366&sh=768&wo=0&so=90)

[09 July 2017]

Figure 5.4:

Bács 2011: fig.19

Figure 5.5:

Robins 1997: fig.218

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Wilkinson 1992:54 fig.3

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Figure 5.9:

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Figure 5.10:

Houlihan 1996:27

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[11 December 2016]

Figure 5.12:

[https://www.academia.edu/7555360/The Writing Hand and the Seated Baboon Tension and Balance in Statue MMA 29.2.16](https://www.academia.edu/7555360/The_Writing_Hand_and_the_Seated_Baboon_Tension_and_Balance_in_Statue_MMA_29.2.16)

[24 August 2016]

Figure 5.13:

<http://www.bluffton.edu/homepages/facstaff/sullivanm/egypt/thebes/amen2/amen2.html>

[01 September 2016]

Figure 5.14:

<http://www.ancientegyptonline.co.uk/tutankhamun-tomb.html>

[15 August 2016]

Figure 5.15:

[http://www.osirisnet.net/popupImage.php?img=/tombes/pharaons/ay/photo/ay\\_cd\\_fusion\\_01.jpg&lang=en&sw=1366&sh=768](http://www.osirisnet.net/popupImage.php?img=/tombes/pharaons/ay/photo/ay_cd_fusion_01.jpg&lang=en&sw=1366&sh=768)

[03 August 2017]

Figure 5.16(a):

Supreme Council of Antiquities. 2009. *Factum Arte's Work in the Tombs of Tutankhamun, Nefertari and Seti I*. March-May 2009:5 Image 5815. Available online: [http://www.factum-arte.com/publications\\_PDF/Tutankhamun\\_Report\\_may2009.pdf](http://www.factum-arte.com/publications_PDF/Tutankhamun_Report_may2009.pdf)

[01 August 2017] IMG\_5815.jpg

Figure 5.16(b):

[http://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/pharaons/ay/e\\_ay\\_pharaon\\_02.htm](http://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/pharaons/ay/e_ay_pharaon_02.htm)

[5 July 2017]

Figure 5.17:

<http://ccivcopy.site.wesleyan.edu/project-7-2/new-kingdom-winged-isis-depictions-tomb-of-seti-i-and-tomb-of-horemheb/>

[19 September 2016]

Figure 5.18:

<http://cuicui.be/egypt-kings-valley-seti-i-tomb/>

[14 April 2017]

Figure 5.19:

[http://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/pharaons/ramses6/ramses6\\_slideshow.php?en](http://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/pharaons/ramses6/ramses6_slideshow.php?en)

[05 May 2016] IMG 38/71

Figure 5.20:

[http://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/nobles/nefersekherou/photo/e\\_plan4.gif](http://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/nobles/nefersekherou/photo/e_plan4.gif)

[11 November 2016]

Figure 5.21:

Robins 1997:182 fig.215

Figure 5.22:

<http://www.osirisnet.net/popupImage.php?img=/tombes/nobles/nefersekherou/photo/ewall-su-reg-4.jpg&sw=1366&sh=768&wo=0&so=90>

[11 November 2016]

Figure 5.23:

[http://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/artisans/nakhtamon335/e\\_nakhtamon335\\_01.htm](http://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/artisans/nakhtamon335/e_nakhtamon335_01.htm)

[11 December 2016]

Figure 6.1:

Author

Figure 6.2:

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectid=158614&partid=1&searchText=henutmehyt&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectid=158614&partid=1&searchText=henutmehyt&page=1)

[21 August 2016]

Figure 6.3:

Hayes 1990:414 fig.265

Figure 6.4:

<http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/684755>

[21 August 2017]

Figure 6.5:

Author

Figure 6.6(a):

<http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/543953?sortBy=Relevance&ft=ancient+egypt+baboon&pg=4&rpp=20&pos=64>

[11 August 2016]

Figure 6.6(b):

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details/collection\\_image\\_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=1436323001&objectid=117312](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=1436323001&objectid=117312)

[24 July 2016]

Figure 6.6(c):

Hayes 1990:424 fig.270

Figure 6.6(d):

<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/61171>

[05 Sept 2015]

Figure 6.7:

Hayes 1990:418 fig.266

Figure 6.8:

<http://www.egyptianhieroglyphs.net/gardiners-sign-list/buildings-parts-of-buildings-etc/>

[30 August 2017]

Figure 6.9:

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details/collection\\_image\\_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=408847001&objectid=163663](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=408847001&objectid=163663)

[24 July 2016]

Figure 6.10:

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectid=125534&partid=1&searchText=anhay&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectid=125534&partid=1&searchText=anhay&page=1)

[29 August 2016]

Figure 6.10(a):

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details/collection\\_image\\_gallery.aspx?assetid=144452001&objectid=125534&partid=1#more-views](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetid=144452001&objectid=125534&partid=1#more-views)

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