# An iconographic investigation of the attributes and functions of Ancient Egyptian canine deities and their relation to death

by

**Danièlle Gerber**

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Supervisor: Dr Jo-Marí Schäder

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# PREFACE / ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research originated from my passion for mythologies and ancient religions. It came from a young age as I frequently lost myself in novels based on the beliefs and myths of ancient civilisations. As such, I have always strived not only to learn more about ancient cultures but also to understand why they believed what they did.

Most of what I have achieved thus far would not have been possible without emotional, financial, and academic support of other people. My parents helped me financially until I could stand on my own feet. My fiancé offered me the emotional support I needed to keep going whenever I lost my drive. And lastly, my supervisor provided me with advice and guidance throughout my postgraduate studies. So, I would like to thank all of you for the dedicated support that you gave.

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[1] https://i.pinimg.com/originals/48/c0/a7/48c0a23667a4ddab2ababb304a1929a.gif

**Table 1: Chronology of Ancient Egypt**[2]

| Kingdom | Dynasty |
|---|---|
| **Predynastic period (5000–3100 BCE)** | |
| **Archaic period** | **1st Dynasty (3100–2890 BCE)** |
| **(3100–2686 BCE)** | **2nd Dynasty (2890–2686 BCE)** |
| **Old Kingdom** | **3rd Dynasty (2686–2613 BCE)** |
| **(2890–2181 BCE)** | **4th Dynasty (2613–2494 BCE)** |
| | **5th Dynasty (1494–2345 BCE )** |
| | **6th Dynasty (2345–2181 BCE)** |
| **First Intermediate Period** | **7th Dynasty (2181–2173 BCE)** |
| **(2181–1991 BCE)** | **8th Dynasty (2173–2160 BCE)** |
| | **9th Dynasty (2160–2130 BCE)** |
| | **10th Dynasty (2130–2040 BCE)** |
| | **11th Dynasty (2133–1991 BCE)** |
| **Middle Kingdom (1991–1786 BCE)** | **12th Dynasty (1991–1786 BCE)** |
| **Second Intermediate Period** | **13th Dynasty (1786–1633 BCE)** |
| **(1786–1567 BCE)** | **14th Dynasty (1633–1603 BCE)** |
| | **15th Dynasty (1674–1567 BCE)** |
| | **16th Dynasty (1684–1567 BCE)** |
| | **17th Dynasty (1650–1567 BCE)** |
| **New Kingdom** | **18th Dynasty (1567–1320 BCE)** |
| **(1567–1085 BCE)** | **19th Dynasty (1320–1200 BCE)** |

[2] Hornung, 1983:261.

| | |
|---|---|
| | **20th Dynasty (1200–1085 BCE)** |
| **Third Intermediate Period** | **21st Dynasty (1089–945 BCE)** |
| **(1089–525 BCE)** | **22nd Dynasty (945–730 BCE)** |
| | **23rd Dynasty (818–793 BCE)** |
| | **24th Dynasty (727–715 BCE)** |
| | **25th Dynasty (780–656 BCE)** |
| | **26th Dynasty (664–525 BCE)** |
| **Late Period** | **27th Dynasty (525–404 BCE)** |
| **(525–305 BCE)** | **28th Dynasty (404–399 BCE)** |
| | **29th Dynasty (399–380 BCE)** |
| | **30th Dynasty (380–343 BCE)** |
| | **31st Dynasty (343–332 BCE)** |
| | **Alexander the Great (332–305 BCE)** |
| **Ptolemaic Egypt (305–30 BCE)** | **(305–30 BCE)** |
| **Roman Egypt (30 BCE–600 CE)** | **(30 BCE–600 CE)** |

# CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the research problem, namely the connection between canines and the canine deities of the afterlife of Ancient Egypt. Anubis, Wepwawet and Duamutef, the three best-known canine deities, are under investigation. The canines connected to them are analysed to see which one (or more) of the canines best represents the deities and why. Furthermore, we are looking at how these canines could connect to the ideal of the afterlife for the Egyptians. This will aid in understanding the concept of the afterlife concerning canines, as well as explain the relationship the Egyptians had with canines and how they adapted that into their religion. The method used is also discussed as well as some of the primary and some secondary sources that are used.

### 1.1 Sacred animals in Ancient Egypt

In Ancient Egyptian history, the Chalcolithic period (*c.* 4000 BCE) offers most evidence about the worship and belief in multiple, differentiated gods. The Chalcolithic period marks the start of animal worship and the traditions that accompany the worship (Hornung, 1983:100–101), such as zoomorphic[3] gods and animal burials. The Chalcolithic period started as early as 5500 BCE in Syria, but it is commonly accepted that the period spanned the Fourth Millennium BCE in Egypt (Gilead, 1988:397–443).

The Ancient Egyptians had a unique relationship with animals in respect of their religion. The animals may have been a totem for the worship of a god, as the cross is for Christianity, or there might be some deeper meaning behind their association with animals (Frankfort, 1948:8–9). The Egyptians appear to have used these animals in their worship to represent the gods so that the gods ceased to be intangible (Spence, 1994:283). It is important to note that although

[3] Zoomorphic refers to the appearance where a god or person has animal attributes, or even a complete animal form (Merriam-Webster, 2019).

animals were given extreme respect in association with the gods, this does not mean that they themselves were worshipped (DuQuesne, 2007a:12).

The priests of Ancient Egypt may even have been vegetarian because of the strong connection between animals and the gods (DuQuesne, 2007a:9). The arguments of Spence (1994) and Frankfort (1948) in this regard are supported by those of Redford (2002) and DuQuesne (2007a). All of these discuss the importance of animal cults in Egyptian religion as well as the burial of animals in ancient times (Redford, 2002:86–91). DuQuesne (2007a), a more recent source, seems to second the opinions of the older works by Frankfort and Spence. While I made use DuQuesne's work to aid my research, I still critically analyse his text to formulate my interpretations. The unique relationship between animals and the Egyptians are further discussed by Te Velde (1980), who points out that even though some animals had significance to the Egyptians, other animals were treated as common pets or wildlife, or hunted for various uses, while those who were important enough, were given extravagant burials.

The theory that animals such as the jackal were mere totems must be reconsidered because there were vast cemeteries filled with mummified animals. This seems to suggest another link between the gods and animals (Frankfort, 1948:9). Such burials can be dated as early as the Chalcolithic period, which lasted for much of the Fourth Millennium BCE (Hornung, 1983:100). Such burials continued until the Roman Era. Great care was taken with these burials, suggesting that these animals may have been considered sacred. The graves were even supplied with extravagant grave goods, showing the utmost respect for the animals, as they were given the same treatment as the pharaoh in this regard, with grave goods suited for royalty (Hornung, 1983:101). While other ancient cultures also regarded some animals as sacred, animals were more likely considered to be the property of the gods, and were kept in herds adjacent to temples, for example by the ancient Greeks and Romans. However, neither the Romans nor the Greeks practised sacred burials for animals (Trevor, 1863:176).

One of the animals most frequently buried by the Egyptians was jackals[4] (Hornung, 1983:101–103). Some of the gods who were worshipped also assumed the shape of animals, which has led Egyptologists to argue that these burials had a divine connection. Horus, although he was not a canine deity, was believed to manifest as a falcon, and as a result, falcons were treated as sacred, and often buried and mummified. Anubis was often depicted as a reclining jackal, and

[4] When referring to the shapes and characteristics taken on by the gods, they shall be referred to as canine, although they are often referred to as jackals or dogs in literature on the topic.

was also believed to manifest in the animal itself; at the same time, he was seen as a funerary god with the head of a jackal but the body of a man, suggesting that he may not have been completely a divine animal, but in those instances just connected to the animal (Frankfort, 1948:10).

While the gods were generally assumed to represent a jackal and vice versa, the jackal was representative of some gods, and it might be worthwhile to consider the reaction of the Egyptians to the common dog as well. The Ancient Egyptians connected, in many instances, the dog with both a mother and a father figure. This relationship may suggest love and respect, but fear is also connected to this relationship (Halpert, 1980:1–12).

Unlike with the Greeks and Romans, animals were not seen as possessions of the gods, but sometimes as aspects or parts of the gods themselves (Trevor, 1863:176). The significance of animals in Ancient Egypt can also be seen in the prolific use of hieroglyphics that are depictions of animals. One hundred seventy-six of the seven hundred seventy-seven hieroglyphs known either depict animals, or parts of animals. To enter the afterlife, those being judged during the Weighing of the Heart ceremony had to have taken a vow that they had not abused any cattle, again emphasising the importance of animals to the Egyptians (Te Velde, 1980:76–82). Spence also suggests that the animals may also have evoked some level of fear, a theory that is supported by the Battlefield Palette (Spence, 1994:282–295).

The Battlefield Palette, with the lower half on display at the British Museum, and another fragmented cast on display at the Ashmolean Museum, seems to suggest that animals are more powerful than humans, as they are depicted in a way that usually is reserved for pharaohs or gods, in a scene where the animals appear to be smiting the humans, much like a pharaoh would be depicted with conquered foreigners after the battle. This could explain why the gods, superior to man, were often depicted with some, if not totally with, zoomorphic (animal form) attributes. Kings at the beginning of the Egyptian period known as Dynasty 0 (*c.* 3150–3050 BCE), were also given animal names such as that of the famous King Scorpion, although this is not found beyond the First Dynasty (*c.* 3050–2890 BCE) (Hornung, 1983:105).

The Battlefield Palette could provide insight not only into how the Egyptians viewed animals, but why they made a connection between animals and the gods. At first, the Egyptians might have feared animals and worshipped them to remain in their good graces, although this might have changed into admiration later (Spence, 1994:283). This makes the Battlefield Palette a

useful source for researching and gaining clarity between the relationship of the Egyptians and the animals around them.

In the iconography of Ancient Egyptian art and depictions of their deities, some gods are depicted completely in zoomorphic or animal form. In contrast, some are depicted as human or in anthropomorphic guise, others as biomorphic – a combination of human and animal parts (Hornung, 1983:109–124). This occurrence can be seen with gods such as Anput, who is part jackal and part human (DuQuesne, 2007:13). These depictions should not be taken literally as representing what the Ancient Egyptians believed their gods to look like (Tobin, 1989). They should instead be considered to be symbolic representations of them. According to Hornung (1983:111–125), the way deities were depicted could, in the end, give insight into their character or function.

Many of these deities were also depicted in more than one way, proving that there is a symbolic connotation with animals that can be better understood through research. These depictions of the gods might be how the Ancient Egyptians described and perceived their attributes and characteristics (Černý, 1952). This would then suggest that the iconography of the gods also gives us insight into how the Egyptians viewed animals (Frankfort, 1948).

### 1.2 Canine deities in Ancient Egypt

The research undertaken in this study focuses on a selection of depictions of some canine deities and how these depictions reflect the symbolism associated with them. The study focuses on canine deities specifically, because they seem to be predominantly connected with the afterlife in some manner or another (Hart, 1986), such as the jackal god Anubis, known famously as the god of embalming and mummification. Another canine deity, closely resembling Anubis, is Wepwawet. These two canine deities share a connection to death and are often depicted in almost the same way, with only a few minor details to tell them apart (DuQuesne, 2013:1). The following question then arises: Why did the Egyptians link the afterlife deities with the canine form?

## 2. RESEARCH PROBLEM

The Ancient Egyptians often depicted their gods as animals, or humans with animal qualities such as a human with an animal head (Hornung, 1983:109–110). But these representations were symbolic, and the meaning behind this symbolism could help us understand the

relationship between the religion of Egypt and the natural animal kingdom. Animals came to symbolise the god, in a manner even being inhabited by a god. However, this did not mean that the animals were worshipped, or even that all animals were sacred (Remler, 2006:15–16).

Most, if not all, of the jackal-headed or canine deities were somehow connected to death, as can be seen in the Papyrus of Ani.[5] Hart (1986), Remler (2006), and Spence (1994), all agree on the connection between canine deities and the afterlife. The question is why this connotation is made so frequently. Although previous research done by the above-mentioned sources has gone into some detail about the characteristics of canine deities, it has not, in detail, gone into the specific reason why the associations were made between canines and death.

The evidence of animal burials suggests there was a sacred and religious link to animals. To the Ancient Egyptians, animals that had a sacred connection were often treated with respect after death, and most were even mummified (Frankfort, 1948). The question of the meaning behind the way the gods were depicted can never be answered in full. This dissertation only proposes that some clarity might be possible with detailed research on the subject.

To gain a better understanding of why jackal-headed (canine) deities were connected to death, a few things need to be addressed. The research done for this dissertation focuses on the connections between the deities and the animals they are represented as, in order to answer the question of why the deities who were depicted as canines also seem to be deities with strong connections to the afterlife and death.

Why did the Egyptians connect the jackal to their dead, or chthonic[6] deities? All three of the male canine deities on which this dissertation focuses appear to have had some connection to the dead, namely Anubis as a protector of the dead and an embalmer (Remler, 2006:17–19), Wepwawet as a guide who cleared the way to the afterlife (Remler, 2006:220), and Duamutef as a deity who protected the stomach of the deceased after death (Remler, 2006:40). But this does not explain why the canine was specifically connected to the dead or the afterlife.

[5] *The Papyrus of Ani* was acquired by the British Museum in 1888. It is well known as being the best-preserved papyrus from the 18th Dynasty (1500-1400 BCE). The pristine quality of the papyrus makes it ideal to use as a source in order to better study the *Book of the Dead* (Budge, 1895:1).
[6] Chthonic refers to deities that dwell under the earth, or in the afterlife (Merrian Webster, 2019).

The canine gods are predominantly male, with one female, namely Anput, who is also the one who is mentioned the least of all the gods in question. Does this suggest that male deities were more strongly connected to death?

How did the Egyptians see the jackal in their natural world? What was the relationship between the jackal in the wild and the people who lived in Egypt? What made them connect the jackal to the dead? When considering the above, one can summarise the research question as follows: What connections are there, if any, between the canine form of some deities, and the Egyptian view of death and the afterlife?

## 3. RESEARCH APPROACH AND HYPOTHESIS

To gain a better understanding of the iconography of Egyptian canine gods, multiple sources have been investigated. Primary sources, such as a selection of plates from the *Papyrus of Ani's* version of the *Book of the Dead* (hereafter referred to as the *Book of the Dead*), which focus on the canine deities in question, are used to gain an understanding about the roles of the gods in the afterlife. The Battlefield Palette, which gives insight into the way the Egyptians viewed animals concerning themselves and the gods, is used to enhance understanding of the relationship the Egyptians had with the afterlife. Some artefacts from the Metropolitan Museum of Art as well as the British Museum and the Egyptian Museum, listed below, of which the condition is still complete enough to conclude how the deities were depicted in art, are also investigated.

While some sources have used a similar approach to understand the iconography of the Egyptian deities, these sources, such as DuQuesne, are not commonly found, as they do not focus on a popular topic. Unlike DuQuesne, who also incorporated other methods of research, I am focusing solely on an iconographic approach. However, DuQuesne still plays an important part in this research, since he has worked extensively on the topic on which this paper is focussing.

The sources I am using are from the *Papyrus of Ani*, as well as artefacts from museums. The chosen sources are listed in detail under primary sources (see no. 7 below) where attention is given to the aspects surrounding these sources and the reasons for choosing them. The investigation makes use of iconographic research, studying the way the deities listed below were depicted in the *Papyrus of Ani*, as well as the iconographic depictions of the artefacts of the Metropolitan, the British, and the Egyptian Museums.

Descriptions of the chosen deities are focused on to gain a better understanding of the role, if any, that the selected gods had concerning the afterlife as well as why they were connected to the canines. By looking at these depictions and the character of the gods, we might be able to conclude why they were worshipped in the way they were. Did the Egyptians fear the gods or the animals that represented them, did they love them, or did they merely respect them?

The depictions are used along with secondary sources, including those mentioned later (see no. 8 below) to investigate and discuss the characteristics and attributes of the gods, as well as the animals represented and how they were viewed in Ancient Egypt.

I attempt to form a clear connection between the gods and the animals they are represented by, and also to look at the burial of animals, specifically the jackal and domesticated dog, to gain an understanding of how the Egyptians treated animals, and then draw conclusions regarding any religious or symbolic meaning behind the treatment of the animals. The role of gender in connection with canine deities and death is also investigated, to gain an understanding of why the canine deities are predominantly male.

If I am able to form a clear connection between the symbolic meaning of the representation of gods in their canine forms, and the actual way the Egyptians viewed these animals, it should lead to a better understanding of Egyptian religion, and the relationship that the Egyptians had with the selected animals and deities. For this study, I focus on specific canine deities, those most prominently mentioned and depicted in the *Book of the Dead*. If the iconographic evidence in artefacts presented is studied along with the secondary sources listed, it should be possible to find the reason behind the connection between the canine deities in question and the afterlife.

## 4. METHOD

This study focuses on interpreting the ideologies and religious aspects of Egyptian culture. The approach is an iconographical one.

### 4.1 Interpreting the history of Egypt

When looking at a possible interpretation of Egyptian history, one needs to understand that all aspects of the material culture help to shape a more accurate depiction of the culture being studied. The artefacts alone are not enough to form an understanding of a culture. For a true understanding to be obtained, the backstory and history of an artefact also need to be studied.

This is done in Chapter 2, where we look at the different gods that are portrayed in detail, as well as in Chapter 3 where we investigate how the Ancient Egyptians viewed their wild and domesticated canines. The function, as well as physical aspects of the material culture, need to be studied, including the economic value of the object (Müller, 2015:78). When examining material culture in such detail, there is a better understanding not only of the object, but also the social aspects that surrounded it, including religious reasons. Material culture refers to all material objects that were made by man, most of which were preserved thanks to the arid climate of Egypt. An important aspect to remember is that while to us the material culture is artworks, to the Ancient Egyptians these were crucial parts of their religion and daily lives (Müller, 2015:78).

While there is certainly an abundance of material culture from Ancient Egypt, it is also important to remember that not all aspects of society are presented equally through the material culture. The wealthy would have had more material culture than the poor, and the funeral aspects would have been better preserved than the habitual aspects because of the location differences. Funeral monuments are mostly found in the desert while the housing was located closer to the river where the ground was more fertile. Different kinds of material culture give off different kinds of information that can be obtained from aspects such as shape, colour, and material. Wood would not last long, so stone was rather used for important monuments and statues (Müller, 2015:78).

Different styles of writing can also give information on the importance of what was being depicted. Formal hieroglyphics were reserved for important depictions, while informal hieroglyphics could often appear sketchy and hastily drawn, showing that less thought and effort were given. When looking at interpreting Egyptian art and material culture, it is important to remember that different backgrounds from the interpreters themselves influence their perspective and how they view what they see, which could be even further complicated if the object is devoid of context, due to bad excavation techniques (Müller, 2015:78). There is also a bias in place, where excavators lean more towards the royal people of Egypt than the poor. This could be because the royal Egyptians had more grave goods than ordinary people; thus, more information could be gained from their tombs than from that of a poor farmer who had very little to no grave goods. This, however, leads to an unequal understanding of the Egyptian culture, and we end up having a lack of information about the poor section of society (Müller, 2015:78).

## 4.2 Iconography

An iconographic study refers to an investigation of the symbolic meaning attached to visual art such as statues, paintings, and pictures in reliefs and other media. While at a certain time Egyptologists possibly did not give much thought to the meaning behind the art, this has changed in recent years, and they are more concerned with why something was made (Müller, 2015:78). The iconographic study can also assist in explaining and understanding certain texts, helping with understanding the context of scripture (de Hulster, 2009: 140).

De Hulster has a different iconographical approach. De Hulster uses an iconographical approach on images, to link them to a text. The understanding of a text is thus the aim of this method, and the iconographical analysis of the depiction is only a tool used. This then helps better his understanding of the contexts of the scripture (de Hulster, 2009: 144). De Hulster refers to this method as Iconographic exegesis. The images are merely an aid for the study of texts (de Hulster, 2009: 18).

This method will however not be used widely in this study. The focus of the study is images, of which very few have texts that link up to them, as they merely artefacts and depictions. The approach by de Hulster could play a small role in the depictions taken out of the papyrus of Ani, such as the weighing of the heart ceremony (See figure 18). In the iconographic approach taken in this study, the researcher looks at three levels of meaning in three phases, adapted from Van Straten's approach. This approach allows for easier demarcation of which level or combination of levels are used in each chapter.

Referring back to the approach by Van Straten, the first level or phase is a pre-iconographic description. At this level, the researcher lists everything visible. This includes all the *physical* aspects of the art or artefacts involved. The aspects documented need to be listed extremely carefully, taking care not to miss small details that might change the interpretation in the later phases. There is no interpretation involved in this phase or level (Van Straten, 1994:3–6). This level is used in Chapter 4 when looking at the depictions of Ancient Egyptian art, as well as throughout the whole study when looking at depictions.

The second phase or level is the iconographic description. This phase deals with the actual description of the *subject* of the art. To do this, there needs to be an understanding of the themes involved in art, but also of the different ways in which they can be depicted (Van Straten, 1994:6–10). This level is not used much as it bears no connection to the physical or religious

aspects of the material we are investigating. We do, however, use this stage, to a certain extent, when looking at the gods and how they were depicted, in Chapter 2.

The third and final phase is the iconographic *interpretation*. This phase or level involves asking specific questions about the work of art and its possible meanings. These questions involve the hidden meaning, if any, in works of art. To do this accurately, one needs to have the necessary knowledge of secondary meanings and symbolism (Van Straten, 1994:11–12). This level is used in Chapter 4, where an attempt is made to find the religious meanings and reasons behind the depictions of the deities, as well as any similarities between them and the canines.

### 4.3 Iconology

Iconology, while connected to iconography, is not considered to be linked to a specific level, but stands alone, as it does not look at the image, but rather the background of the image. Iconology requires the use of background information on the culture of the artist, to try and explain why he/she chose a specific subject around which to centre his/her art on (de Hulster & LeMon, 2014). By doing this, attention can be drawn to certain influences that might have been present in the production of the art/artefact (Van Straten, 1994:12–13). As we are not looking at the artists or much background of the time in which these artefacts were made, this approach will not be used.

I mostly use the third phase or iconographic interpretation in my work, but I also touch on the first level and second level throughout the study in the demarcated chapters listed above. I adopt this iconographic approach to analyse the artistic depictions of the deities in question, including depictions in the *Book of the Dead*, as well as artworks displayed in the Metropolitan and British Museums, which are listed and briefly discussed below. I focus on the sources from museums to gain an insight into useful sources that are in a viable condition to be studied (de Hulster & LeMon, 2014). I have selected the depictions and statues based on a theme, without giving much emphasis to time and geographical origin, as it would be unpractical to look at statues from all the periods and locations separately in this study. The theme is on each of the selected deities (de Hulster & LeMon, 2014).

The specific depictions and art I am focusing on are listed under primary sources (see no. 6 below). The aim is not merely to describe what I see, but to formulate a theory on why the gods were depicted in this manner.

I focus on comparisons between the different ways the gods are depicted, both individually and as a group. I am focusing on physical features, such as skin colour. Their manner of portrayal is also discussed, such as stance and specific attire that they are wearing. I also look at their names as they are written in hieroglyphs, investigating the way they are written as well as the canines used in their names.

In doing so, I collect data and information on any known reasons for the iconography of Egyptian gods in general, after which I investigate iconography regarding three canine gods and one goddess. Furthermore, I compare the actual animals represented and the nature and characteristics of the gods. I then also investigate the specific views of jackals and the relationship(s) of the Egyptians with jackals in their surroundings.

In this study, I focus on a few selected deities from the canine spectrum. They are Anubis, Wepwawet, and Duamutef. I do, however, briefly mention the other canine deities that were also found in Ancient Egypt to give a better understanding of how all canine gods were depicted.

I make use of the *Book of the Dead*, while I am also focusing on research relevant or close to my topic by others in the Egyptological field, especially the work of T. DuQuesne (2007a), whom I have mentioned above. I also adopt an iconographic approach, using Ancient Egyptian artefacts to further my understanding of how the Ancient Egyptians depicted the gods mentioned above.

## 5. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The objectives of this study were as follows:

- Chapter 2 uses the method stated above, specifically level one and three to investigate and understand the view the Egyptians had of the gods. This chapter focuses specifically on canine deities and background information on them. An overview is given on each of the deities in question using both prior studies and iconography. This chapter will give the reader the necessary background on the canine deities that will be discussed, and the general way that the Egyptians viewed and practiced their religion.
- Chapter 3 investigates the animals that were thought to represent the gods as well as their behavioural traits and characteristics. This chapter then attempts to supply a better understanding of the view and relationship that the Egyptians had with the canines in

their environment. Attention is given to jackals, wolves, foxes, and domesticated dogs. In this chapter, the focus is on level three of Van Straten's method. Like chapter 2. Chapter 3 will give background on the animals and their characteristics which might have connected them to the canine deities.

- Chapter 4 focuses on using iconography to compare the different depictions of the deities and analyse the possible reasons for the differences identified. The iconographic depictions are also be compared to each other, leading to a better understanding of both the differences between the deities, and their attributes and roles in Ancient Egyptian society.

  To do this, specific artefacts were used, as well as the *Book of the Dead*, and it was aided using level one and three of the methodology stated. This contributes to a better understanding of how the deities were depicted. This chapter will be used to draw the ultimate conclusion between the canines and their representative animal forms.

- Chapter 5 summarises the information given in the study and also provides a conclusion to the study. Finalizing the information that was gathered as well as the connections, or lack thereof, between the canine deities and the canines.

## 6. PRIMARY SOURCES

The *Book of the Dead* consists of mortuary spells, originating mostly from the New Kingdom (1567–1085 BCE), the Third Intermediate Period (1089–525 BCE), as well as the Late Period (525–305 BCE). These spells were used as early as the reign of Thutmose III (1479–1425 BCE), to aid officials and royals in their journey into the afterlife, offering protection to those making the journey. The texts were mostly found in tombs and were written on papyrus (Hornung, 1999).

The primary sources that are discussed are demarcated plates in the *Papyrus of Ani's* version of the *Book of the Dead,* which is listed below. I only use the visual aspects and depictions, not the text itself. *The Papyrus of Ani* has been in possession of the British Museum since 1888 and is the best-preserved translation found of the *Book of the Dead*. The text dates to the second half of the 18$^{th}$ Dynasty (1500–1400 BCE), in the New Kingdom, and was found in Thebes. The following plates are used concerning the translation of the *Papyrus of Ani* by E.A.W. Budge (1895), in conjunction with a more recent translation by Faulkner et al. (2015).

The Plate Numbers and citations are those from Faulkner, as his work divides the plates into more detail than does that of Budge. However, Budge is used concerning the descriptions of the plates wherever he focuses on the details more than Faulkner does. Faulkner does include depictions of the Plates, while Budge does not.

- *Plate 3: Focusing on the Weighing of the Heart ceremony:* Plate B:
  Ani and his wife are found in the Hall of Double Law or Truth, where the heart is weighed on a balance against the feather of Ma'at. Anubis can be seen at the scale, which is used to weigh the heart of the deceased against the feather of Ma'at. The scene also depicts an inscription above Anubis: "He who is in the tomb saith, pray thee, O weigher of righteousness, to guide (?) the balance that it may be [e]stablished." (Budge, 1895:256) I focus on Plate 3 B, the depiction of Anubis (Budge, 1895:256; Faulkner, 1998: Plate 3-B).

- *Plate 5: The Funerary procession to the tomb:* Plate A:
  The mummy of the deceased can be seen lying on either a shrine or a chest on a boat. There is also a chest that has a mounted figure of Anubis, adorned with emblems of protection. I look at the depiction of Anubis on the chest, in Plate 5-A (Budge, 1895:163–164; Faulkner, 1998: Plate 5-A).

- *Plate 8:* Plate B:
  Duamutef is depicted, along with the other sons of Horus, standing around the mound of Abydos, otherwise known as the gate to Duat. The focus is on the depiction of Duamutef (Budge, 1895:347; Faulkner, 1998: Plate 8-B).

Unfortunately, Wepwawet is not commonly found in the Papyrus of Ani, and so this source is used to gain insight on how Anubis and Duamutef were depicted in the *Papyrus of Ani*. These plates are discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, along with the background on the deities.

Along with the above-mentioned plates, the following artefacts from the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum, as well as the Egyptian Museum, are also studied to gain insight into how these deities were represented in Ancient Egyptian art (see a description of them under no. 2 above). These specific artefacts were chosen because of their completeness and the lack of damage, thus giving the best chance of drawing a clear conclusion:

- Isis and Wepwawet, the god of Asyut, with the name of Siase, Overseer of the Two Granaries of Ramesses II: Accession Number 17.2.5. Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Funerary Figure of Duamutef: Accession Number 12.182.37a. Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Statuette of Anubis: Accession Number 38.5. Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Haremhab with Anubis: Accession Number 23.2.84. Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Recumbent Anubis: Accession Number 69.105. Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Statuette of Wepwawet: Accession Number 1989.281.103 Metropolitan Museum of Art
- Amulet of Wepwawet: Accession Number 04.18.8 Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Canopic jar of Duamutef: Accession Number 28.3.58a, b Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Battlefield Palette: Accession Number EA20791. British Museum.
- Duamutef Jar Stopper: Accession Number unknown. Louvre Museum.
- Shrine of Anubis: Accession Number JE61444. Egyptian Museum.

These artefacts are studied by using iconography to gain a better understanding of how the different canine gods were depicted, and what differences, if any, can be seen between the different depictions of the different canine gods. The possible meanings behind their depictions are also discussed. These artefacts were chosen because of the minimal damage to them, thus giving a clearer picture.

How these gods' names are written in hieroglyphics, as well as other hieroglyphics associated with them, are also studied. The hieroglyphics that are analysed can all be found in Anubis: The God's Manifestation in the Iconographical and Literary Sources of the Pharaonic Period by Antoniadou Christina (2018) spanning pages 13–17.

## 7. SECONDARY SOURCES AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Secondary sources that are connected to the question under investigation are also used, and provide the necessary background needed to answer my question, such as the relationship the

Egyptians had with their dogs as well as with wild jackals. The information gathered is used in conjunction with the information from the primary sources.

Secondary sources that are directly connected to my research question are investigated closely. I draw intensively on *Death, Dog and Anubis* (1980) by E. Halpert, which discusses the connection between fear of death and the canine form. The source also suggests a connection between the canine figure and a mother, which is valuable in connection to Anput, the only female canine deity.

Other secondary sources include *Ancient Egyptian Religion: An Interpretation* (1948) by H. Frankfort, of which Chapter 1: "The Egyptian Gods," and Chapter 4: "The Egyptian Hope," are particularly useful. These chapters discuss relevant information on sacred animals, gods, and their symbols, as well as certain aspects of death and the afterlife, which could contribute to the research. Chapter 1 provides background on Egyptian religion and the animal aspects of the religion itself. The chapter mentions the unusual role that animals play in the religion of the Ancient Egyptians. It also considers how to classify religion. Frankfort (1948) argues that one cannot assume that the worship of animals is primitive and that animals should rather be placed in the same category as sacred objects. Chapter 4 comments on the Egyptian perception of death itself and the afterlife. It deals with the preoccupation that the Egyptians had with death, which they saw as a replica of life, leading to the need to ensure a good afterlife, which can be seen in burial practices.

*Egypt: Myths and Legends* (1994) by L. Spence may also be useful. Chapter 5 deals with the great gods, which might aid in the understanding of how the Egyptians viewed their gods. Chapter 7 deals with magic, with interesting theories on the transformation of human figures into animals, which may be connected to why the gods are depicted as animal figures. The chapter focuses on how magic was used to transform a human form into an animal or give human zoomorphic features. Chapter 8 gives information on animal gods, the way they are represented, and possible symbolic meanings behind their depictions.

*The Theological Principles of Egyptian Religion* (1989) by V.A. Tobin's Chapters 1 and 3 can be used to gain a better understanding on the nature of the religion of Ancient Egypt and the effect this had on their depiction of their gods and how the Ancient Egyptians saw them.

*Religion in Ancient Egypt* (1991) by J. Baines, L.H. Lesko and D.P. Silverman is used to supplement the other sources, drawing particularly on Chapter 1, dealing with the gods and all things divine in Ancient Egypt, and Chapter 3, dealing more with religious practices that might

have come into play and could explain some of the meaning and why the gods were depicted as they were.

*The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife* (1999) by E. Hornung is the starting point for my search for primary sources. This book does discuss the content of the *Book of the Dead*, the Pyramid Texts, and the Coffin Texts along with various other ancient texts, but it does not give the translation of the texts. It rather offers a discussion and commentary on them. Hence it can serve as a starting point on which ancient texts to focus on.

*The Ancient Gods Speak: A Guide to Egyptian Religion* (2002) by D.B. Redford gives information on a few of the selected gods, as well as animal cults in general, which can be used in analysing the gods and the animals that represent them.

*Ancient Egyptian Religion* (1952) by J. Černý focuses on the characters of the gods in Chapter 2, as well as the relationship between humans and gods in Chapter 3. Chapter 2 could thus be useful when comparing the characters of the gods to each other and to the animals that represent them.

*A Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses* (1986) by G. Hart is used to gain information to supplement the other sources on the deities that are researched. The book deals in some detail with all the gods of Egypt and is thus useful when it comes to the less well-known deities, such as Anput.

*Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt* (1983) by E. Hornung forms the baseline in most of my research, focusing on the following chapters: Chapter 3: "Names and Combinations of Gods," Chapter 4: "Depiction and Manifestation of the Gods," and Chapter 5: "Characteristics of the Gods." The information in these chapters will be used as the backbone of my research.

T. DuQuesne's book *Anubis, Upwawet, and Other Deities: Personal Worship and Official Religion in Ancient Egypt* (2007) is used because it deals with canine deities in far more detail than any of the other texts mentioned above. The main focus will be on the first essay.

## 8. EXPECTED RESULTS

The expected results of this study are a better understanding of the relationship between gods and animals in Ancient Egyptian times, and of the view the Egyptians themselves had of both god and animal.

Furthermore, the study attempts to highlight some aspects of the way the Egyptians dealt with and related to death. A link is established between the afterlife and the canine form, and I elaborate on possible reasons for the Egyptians' connection between canines and death.

Moreover, based on a comparison of the deities in question, conclusions can be drawn on how the different aspects and tasks of a god influence how they are depicted, as well as the reasons for this. It is the hope that this study will not only enlighten us on the relationship and connections between the canine deities and their representative canines, but also open the door for more in-depth research into the reasons for the depictions of not only canine deities but all anthropomorphic deities in Ancient Egyptian culture.

# CHAPTER 2: BACKGROUND ON ANCIENT EGYPTIAN CANINE DEITIES

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses/provides background on the deities under investigation, namely Anubis, Wepwawet and Duamutef. The research focuses on the relationship of the Ancient Egyptians with the specific deities, as well as how they were viewed and depicted. It focuses on the location and periods that the deities were worshipped, as well as their traits and characteristics. In doing so, the arguments and content of Chapters 3 and 4 are contextualised.

The chapter looks at discerning characteristics and features of each of the deities. While the focus remains on Anubis, Wepwawet and Duamutef, the other canine deities of Ancient Egypt are also mentioned. Because of their minor roles in the afterlife and death, as well as a lack of information and depictions of these deities, they are not investigated in much detail. Anubis, Wepwawet and Duamutef were popular and are often mentioned, making them ideal candidates to use to better understand the canine aspect of the afterlife.

Special attention is given to the different roles these deities played, as well as the evolution, if applicable, of their roles throughout the different kingdoms. Furthermore, the chapter studies the different epithets or names given to the deities. In doing this, one might be able to draw a better conclusion on why they had the functions they did, as well as how the Egyptians saw the deities. The chapter also briefly looks at a general background on the practice of religion in Ancient Egypt to better understand the differences, if any, between the general religion and the perspective on the canines in comparison to other deities or religious practices.

## 2. ANCIENT EGYPTIAN RELIGION

By investigating the religion of Ancient Egypt and how the people were worshipping the different deities, it should help to also understand the worship of canine deities. It will reveal any differences in the practice of religion concerning death. By doing this one can see if there was a different method for worshipping deities who were, in theory, connected to death, as opposed to the worship of other deities who were not connected to death.

One of the main problems in studying Ancient Egyptian religion is the lack of religious consistency. In this religion, there is sometimes a mass of different versions of the same myth. One example is the creation myths, where there are not only various versions, but most versions have a different creator altogether. Yet, all of these myths were, in fact, true in the view of the Ancient Egyptians, and not one was viewed above the other (Tobin, 1989:5).

This unorthodox way of seeing religion was considered as a strength when it came to the Egyptian mind in terms of religion and was only hampered once in the history of Ancient Egypt, during the reign of Akhenaten, who tried to impose the singular worship of the sun disk god, Aten (Tobin, 1989:6). This open view of religion does impose some challenges for scholars, however, as there is never just one story, thus making it near impossible to fully understand the Egyptian relationships to their gods and goddesses (Tobin, 1989:6). This can cause difficulties when looking at why canines were representative of death and the afterlife, as well as what their exact role was.

The Egyptians also used personification quite often. Different nomes[7] and even concepts such as peace or war would often be personified along with a deity. The deity would then have the specific attributes of the nome or concept and be worshipped as such. The Ancient Egyptians would even develop cults for the gods (Hornung, 1983:72).

## 3. ANCIENT EGYPTIANS AND THE AFTERLIFE

Humans have always been aware, and in some ways fearful, of death. Humankind has always looked for ways to "cure" the finality of death, mostly by incorporating the concept of life after death into people's respective religions (Dunand & Zivie-Coche, 2005:154–165). The Egyptians left behind many texts concerned with this topic. Most of the texts we still have at our disposal are funerary texts, made to prepare and protect the deceased after they are buried. The dead were also often depicted doing everyday things that kept them occupied when still alive. Pharaohs are shown going about their usual tasks, suggesting that the afterlife was a copy of actual life (Dunand & Zivie-Coche, 2005:154–165).

While the Egyptians believed that one would cross over into the afterlife and begin a new state of being, they also believed that the two worlds were combined, the living coexisting with the

[7] Nomes were small Egyptian cities or administrative districts in Egypt. Often these nomes would have a form of the god's name that represented it (Hornung, 1982:73).

dead. Because of this, the family of the deceased were required to take care of the grave and tomb of their loved one, providing all that the person would need in the afterlife (Wendrich, 2010:220–237). The border between life and death was at the celestial gate, where Wepwawet was mentioned to stand, thus furthering his role as a guide to the afterlife (Davis, 1977:171–172).

The *Book of the Dead*, first known as a collection of spells by the name *Spells for Going Forth by Day*, was made to accompany the dead and ensure the safe travelling of the dead so that they could join Osiris in the afterlife. It had the same function as a map for the soul to travel through the underworld, ensuring survival. While a copy of the *Book of the Dead* was almost always found in royal burials, written on papyrus, it was not reserved only for members of the upper class. These inscriptions, sometimes copied on previously used, or old, papyrus, were available to anyone concerned about their afterlife (McDermott, 2001:74–75).

The text was used not only by the dead: There were also amulets inscribed with part of the text to protect the living. These amulets would be found around the necks of mummies, as well as the living going about their day (McDermott, 2001:74–75).

## 3.1 The Ancient Egyptian view of the afterlife

Much of our understanding of the culture of the Ancient Egyptian civilisation is based on the knowledge we have gained from funerary texts such as the *Book of the dead* or the *Coffin Texts* (Redford, 2002:3). One such spell, which can be found in the funerary texts, refers to the West, which is connected to the canine deity Wepwawet. The west was where the dead could be found, and where Wepwawet would be leading them into the afterlife. The spell (Taylor, 2001:13) reads as follows:

> *"As to the time of deed on earth,*
>
> *it is the occurrence of a dream;*
>
> *one Says: 'Welcome safe and sound,'*
>
> *to him who reaches the West."*

The West was the entrance to the underworld, where the sun sets. Cemeteries were mostly situated on the west banks of the Nile for this reason. Death was not seen as an end, but rather an important milestone or change, before continuing into the afterlife. They were, however, still wary and afraid of death itself, as the journey to the underworld was not seen as an easy

one, since the body still needed substance, and only the pure of heart would survive the journey and the Weighing of the Heart ceremony (Taylor, 2001:13). Royals and the wealthy were often supplied with food and even weapons to complete the journey.

The Weighing of the Heart is when the heart of the deceased is weighed against the feather of Truth or also known as the feather of Ma'at. Thoth, who is the god of writing, would record the results shown on the scale. If the scale balanced, then the deceased would be allowed to enter the underworld (Remler, 2006:219). In this ceremony, Anubis is the guardian of the scale, making sure the scale is perfectly balanced. The heart of the deceased in the ceremony is representative of the deceased's emotions and thoughts. The person would have had to have lived a good life following the rules or code of Ma'at to pass the judgement. If the person had lived wrongly, the heart would be too heavy and tumble from the scales. The heart would then be devoured by Ammit, ending the existence of the deceased (Remler, 2006:220).

The Egyptians believed in eternal life after death, although this was only accessible if they lived according to the rules of Ma'at, the goddess who was responsible for peace and order. In many instances, the afterlife was also out of reach of the common folk; rather reserved for the elite and royal families (Redford, 2002:5). This was because often the poor could not afford proper burials to safeguard their bodies for the afterlife, nor could they afford the substance needed to maintain their bodies in the afterlife.

To thrive in the afterlife, the Ancient Egyptians believed they needed supplies, which were buried with them, along with spells and inscriptions for safe passage into the afterlife. The Funerary Texts were there to sustain the *Ka*. One of the most popular written inscriptions to support the deceased in the afterlife was known as the offering ritual. A simple version of the offering ritual reads as follows (see Taylor, 2001:96):

> *"An Offering which the king gives to Osiris so that he may give a*
>
> *voice-offering consisting of one thousand loaves of bread, one*
>
> *thousand jugs of beer, one thousand fowl, one thousand oxen, and*
>
> *every good and pure thing on which a god lives, for the Ka."*

In the text, it shows that the offering ritual can be seen as an inscription asking Osiris to "take care" of the deceased as if he were a god. Another spell which can be found in the Book of the

Dead takes care of the deceased by ensuring that his own heart does not turn against him, or is not stolen from him (Taylor, 2001:17). The spell (Taylor, 2001:18) reads as follows:

> *"I shall have power in my heart, I shall have power in my arms,*
>
> *I shall have power in my legs, I shall have power to do whatever*
>
> *I desire; my Ba and my corpse shall not be restrained at the portals*
>
> *Of the West when I go in or out in peace."*

These spells and inscriptions were, however, not the only substance needed for the body in the afterlife. Even after death, families often had to accept the responsibility of assuring the mummification of the deceased, as well as a regular supply of offerings to sustain the body, the *ka* and *ba* after death (Redford, 2002:7). The Egyptians believed that a living person comprised of five parts: the name, the body, and the shadow, as well as the *ba* and *ka* (Redford, 2002:1–7).

The name was powerful in Ancient Egypt. It was not only an expression of the individual but was the sense of self among both humans and gods. The Egyptians even believed that if someone wished them ill, they could write down their name and destroy it, causing harm to the intended victim. By speaking the name of someone who died, it was believed that they were being given breath to live again, and as such, to remove someone's name from history was a threat to their being (Holland, 2009:35).

The shadow of a person was a representative of the person's physical presence, both in the living world and in the afterlife. If your body was not casting a shadow, it was not present (Holland, 2009:35).

When a person died, their being was split into different parts. The *ba* was represented as a bird with the head of a human. It was part of the "soul" that moved and travelled outside the tomb (Chadwick, 2005:141). The *ba*, while being referred to as a soul, does not coincide with the characteristics of a soul. The *ba* can be better described as the spiritual presence of the deceased, in the living world. It is the projection of that person, on how they view themselves, yet the *ba* can also interact with other *bas*, and a person can also interact with his or her *ba*, suggesting it might even be separate to some degree, thus also self-conscious (Holland, 2009:35). During the day, the *ba* is in the heavens with the stars, which never set around the

North Pole. At night, the *ba* would dwell with Osiris in the afterlife. The *ba* does, however, need to return to the mummy to survive (Holland, 2009:35).

The *ka* stayed in the tomb with the deceased and was the part of the deceased that required nourishment to survive. The *ka* was connected to the individual identity and character of the deceased. It is also connected to the mind and the body from birth, almost as a life force or spirit. After death, the *ka* keeps receiving offerings from priests, so it stays nourished in the afterlife. The *ka* can, however, be divided into two parts, namely the internal *ka* and the external *ka*. The internal *ka* is for the protection of the person, while the external *ka* is the representation of a person in an image (Holland, 2009:35).

## 3.2 Egyptian afterlife

The afterlife was a permanent dwelling for the Egyptians, while the earthly life was only temporary. This can be seen with the way the Egyptians structured their houses, versus how they made their tombs. The houses were often made from mud or reeds, all of which was easily perishable and could succumb to floods. The tombs, however, were mostly made of stone so they could not be easily destroyed (Taylor, 2001:12).

The exact location of the afterlife differs according to different texts. In the Pyramid Texts, the afterlife is in the northern sky, where the Pharaoh would spend his days with Ra after he ascended to the heavens. The Coffin Texts state that the afterlife is earthbound, and the realm where Osiris rules. To reach the realm of Osiris, the deceased needed information that was included in the Coffin Texts, such as the location of the paths and gates in the underworld (Taylor, 2001:33).

The underworld was divided into twelve regions, each of which represented an hour of Ra's journey on the sun barque[8] in the underworld's river, giving life to the dead. The dead would then wake up and enjoy a full hour of human life. During this time, some would be rewarded, and some would be punished. When the hour was up, the dead would sleep again until the next night (Taylor, 2001:34).

[8] The sun or solar barque was the boat on which Ra travelled. There were two of these boats, one for the heavens and one for the underworld. The name for the one in the underworld was Mesektet and it became the personification of the right eye of the sun. Mandet, which sailed during the day through the heavens, was known as the left eye of the sun (Remler, 2006:200).

When the dead did, however, reach the eternal realm, they would be represented by their *bas*. The righteous would go to the Field of Reeds, where they would go about normal activities such as ploughing the lands, getting eternal substance (Taylor, 2001:34). In the afterlife, however, even the pharaohs were required to perform physical duties for the gods, unless they had *shabtis* who would do the labour for them. These figures were made and placed in the tomb, where they would become magical servants to the Pharaoh in the afterlife, doing his labour for him (Taylor, 2001:112).

## 3.3 The character of the gods

Most deities are easily identified, as they have unique features. These characteristics include certain animal features, different skin colours, and even a certain item that is kept with them, such as a crook or flail (Hornung, 1983:143). These characteristics can be seen with Osiris, where he is easily identified by his green skin, mummy wrapping, as well as the crown of Egypt with a hook and flail, crossed over his chest, as can be seen in Figure 2 below. The figure, while not showing the green skin, does depict all the other characteristics of Osiris that make him easily recognisable.

**Figure 2: Osiris**[9]

[9] https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/545802

The statue is from the Late Period (664–332 BCE) and is made from leaded bronze. The hook and flail that are depicted with him were symbols of power, usually carried by and depicted with pharaohs, as well as some gods, including Anubis. The flail could have been used to swat or chase flies, or it could have also been a shepherd's whip. Symbolically, however, the flail is used to summon divine power (Remler, 2006:72). The crook was a shepherd's crook and symbolised power and is often depicted with gods as well as pharaohs (Remler, 2007:51).

The Ancient Egyptian gods were also unique in their mortality. They could die, both from illness caused by wounds, and old age, thus falling out of the normal perception that gods are immortal and all-powerful; they were neither omnipotent nor omnipresent (Hornung, 1983:151). Osiris is again an ideal example of how gods could die, even though he was resurrected. Osiris was slain by his brother Seth out of jealousy, and after being killed, became the god of the underworld (Remler, 2006:161).

The Egyptians often gave the gods characteristics of the natural forces they were dependent on, such as the sun and the Nile. Each deity also had unique personalities, some calmer than others, and even carried weaknesses that the Egyptians were subjected to, showing the gods in a uniquely human way. Hapi, although not connected to canines, is deemed as an example of the personification of gods. Hapi was the god of the Nile, and as such, he was responsible for the flooding of the Nile. He was also the god of fertility, seeing as the crops depended on the yearly flood of the Nile to bring the fertile silt to the crops (Remler, 2006:83).

While the Egyptians held their afterlife in great regard, as can be seen from the above-mentioned information, there were a few deities that held important roles in their afterlife. In the following sections, the canine deities connected to the Egyptian afterlife are discussed.

## 4. ANUBIS

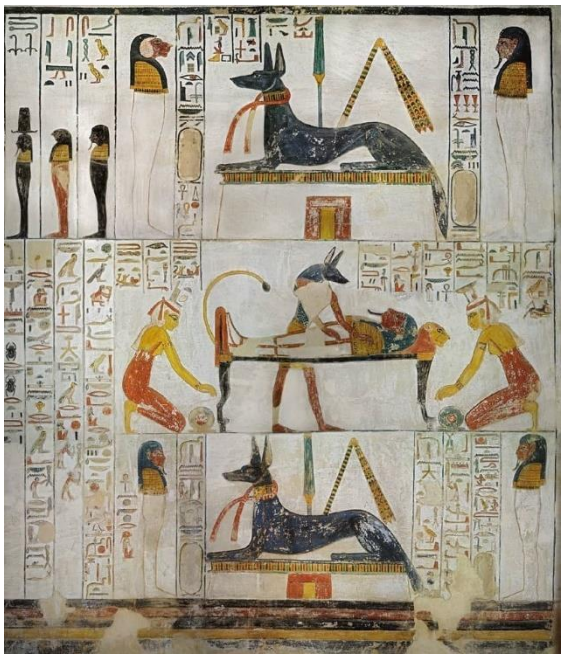
Anubis, or *Inpw*, was best known as the god of embalming as well as a protector of the dead. His connection to the ritual of embalming was clear in that masks representing him were worn by priests during the embalming process (Redford, 2002:21).

### 4.1 Depictions

Anubis could be mistaken for a wild dog but was intended to have the form of a jackal. He is often shown in a lying pose, and even bears a collar in some instances as can be seen from Figure 3 below. This Vignette can be found in the *Book of the Dead*, Chapter 151. The chapter

shows the Litanies of Re, where Anubis is aiding with the process of mummification. In the one scene, he can be seen in a lying down position, with a red and golden scarf-like collar around his neck. He is also depicted with a hook and flail above his back, showing power and authority. The scene is dated to the New Kingdom, 19th Dynasty (1292–1189 BCE). It was found in the Tomb of Siptah in the Valley of the Kings, West Thebes. Currently, it is in the Egyptian Museum (https://egypt-museum.com/search/Anubis/page/2).

**Figure 3: Vignette of Anubis[10]**



While he originally was depicted in full animal form, this evolved into a half-human shape, with a canine head on a human body, usually standing in a regal pose as can be seen in Figure 4 below (Redford, 2002:21).

[10] https://egypt-museum.com/search/Anubis/page/2

**Figure 4: Statuette of Anubis[11]**

While Anubis might have an anthropomorphic body except for his head, he is rarely depicted as being fully human, though one such example does appear in the temple of Ramesses II[12] in Abydos (Hart, 2005:25). In the example, Anubis can be seen in his human form, such as in Figure 5 below. He can be seen with the Ankh, symbol for life, in his one hand. This is, however, the only known example of Anubis in human form.

[11] https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/38.5/
[12] Ramesses II is a pharaoh of the early 19th Dynasty. He ruled *ca.* 1279-1213 BCE (Van De Mieroop, 2011:214).

**Figure 5: Anubis in Human form[13]**

Anubis was mostly depicted with a black-coloured head and sometimes was seen fully black, as can be seen in Figure 4 where Anubis is depicted in a regal standing pose, with his arms up, a pose that might have symbolised his actions during the process of embalming. The colour was thought to be connected to the dead and the afterlife (Redford, 2002:21).

The colour could also represent the colour of the deceased after being treated with the embalming mixture before mummification. This colour can thus be understood as symbolic, rather than an actual representation of the animal being depicted. Anubis, as the god of the embalmer, would have no doubt been connected to the idea of a decaying or dead body, and thus black would have been an easy way to symbolise this. Anubis is also often depicted with the flagellum[14] of Osiris on his body, usually in the centre of his body (Hart, 2005:25).

Anubis is also depicted as the one who personally embalms the body of the deceased pharaohs of Egypt. Another one of his more prominent depictions is in the Weighing of the Heart ceremony in the *Book of the Dead*, as can be seen below in Figure 6, where he weighs the deceased's heart against Ma'at[15] (Hart, 2005:27). The process of weighing the heart against the feather of Ma'at was done to see if the person had lived a good and pure life. If the person had

[13] http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/ramessesiiabydos.htm
[14] A flagellum is a type of whip or crop that was used by the pharaohs as protection against evil spirits, it was often depicted on sarcophaguses of the wealthy.
[15] Ma'at was the goddess who was a symbol for peace and harmony. In order to reach the underworld, one had to have lived according to Ma'at (Hart, 2005:89).

not sinned, his heart would balance against the feather, and he would be allowed entry into the afterlife. If his heart did not balance, he would be devoured by Ammit. The heart would be placed on the scale by Anubis (Hart, 2005:27).

## 4.2 Anubis' name

*Inpw* was often translated to mean "puppy," again giving a connection to canines. Other possible translations include "prince" and "to putrefy." The translation of "prince" might have a connection to the myth that Anubis is the son of Osiris, who was seen as the first pharaoh (Redford, 2002:21). The translation "to putrefy" would also then connect to the decomposing corpses that would be embalmed.

## 4.3 The epithets of Anubis

Anubis, as many if not all gods, and even kings, had epithets that were used as a descriptive inscription along with his name. These descriptions are called epithets. Epithets associated with Anubis are as follows:

- *Khenty-Imentiu*: "Foremost of the Westerners."[16] This describes Anubis as a leader of the deceased who were buried in cemeteries (Hart, 1986:23).
- *Khenty-She-Netjer*: "Presiding over the god's pavilion." The pavilion can refer to both the burial chamber as well as the area where the embalming was done (Hart, 1986:23).
- *Tepy-Dju-Ef*: "He who is upon his mountain." This gives the image of Anubis looking down on the cemeteries of Egypt from the desert cliffs (Hart, 1986:23).
- *Neb-Ta-Djeser*: "Lord of the sacred land." This sacred land refers to the desert where the dead roam (Hart, 1986:23).
- *Imy-ut*: "He who is in the place of embalming." This directly links to the concept of Anubis being the god of embalming (Hart, 1986:24).

[16] The term Westerners refers to those who were buried in cemeteries, which were commonly found in the west on the banks of the Nile. This is also where the sun sank into the underworld at night (Hart, 2005:26).

When looking at all the epithets combined, they all refer to Anubis in some context of the afterlife, either cemeteries or the process of embalming. But his descriptions have connections to the deceased, which can be seen by looking at his epithets.

## 4.4 The worship of Anubis

There is some speculation that Anubis might have been used as a totem before being worshipped as a god. He was primarily worshipped as a god of embalming as well as the one who led the deceased to Duat[17] where Osiris ruled. Osiris was the ruler of the underworld. He was the firstborn child of the earth god Geb and the sky goddess Nut (Remler, 2006:141). He was the god of resurrection and is depicted in the form of a mummy in most instances and is often accompanied by spells that were made to assist the deceased in their journey through the afterlife. One such example of a protection spell is as follows:

> *Protection and life surround him,*[18]
>
> *this god, guarding his Ka soul,*
>
> *the King of the Netherworld,*
>
> *who rules the West,*
>
> *and triumphantly conquered the heavens.*
>
> *Who shall endure for all eternity.*

Osiris, like Anubis, is often shown with a hook and flail, which in those times symbolised power. He is usually shown with either green or black skin. His main cult centre was at Abydos. Osiris is usually connected with Anubis through their shared connection to the underworld and the mummification of the dead (Remler, 2006:141). Anubis, who was also seen as a protector of Osiris, and as such might have had a protective aspect over the pharaohs of Egypt, was a protection deity. Anubis is also seen as the opener of ways in the north and connected to the summer solstice, while Wepwawet, a jackal god who will later be discussed, was the opener of ways in the south and connected with the winter solstice (Spence, 1990:106). Some of the main

[17] Duat is the Egyptian afterlife (Remler, 2006:61).
[18] Remler, 2006:141.

places of worship of Anubis in Egypt include Lycopolis and Abydos, but Anubis's worship and his cult were quite widespread (Spence, 1990:107).

## 4.5 The Book of the Dead

Anubis was mostly connected with the Book of the Dead and was particularly important in the funerary and embalming scenes, such as the Weighing of the Heart ceremony, depicted in Figure 4 (Spence, 1990:103–107). In Figure 6, Anubis can be seen attending to the scale, and to his right, Ammit is waiting to devour any hearts who do not pass the judgement. Anubis is once again depicted with a black head.

**Figure 6: Weighing of the Heart Ceremony[19]**

The *Book of the Dead* comprises a collection of spells, most of them on papyrus, though early versions can sometimes be found on the cloth that was used for the wrappings of the deceased (Hornung, 1999:15).

The Book of the Dead contained spells with the primary function of protecting and aiding the deceased in the afterlife. The book does not focus on describing the afterlife; it rather offers practical and magical help to those who venture to the afterlife (Hornung, 1999:15). One of

[19] https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/684647001

these spells or inscriptions were found in the Tomb of Pahari at Elkab. The spell mentions not only substance but also the freedom of movement (Taylor, 2001:35):

*"You come in, you go out,*

*your heart in joy at the praise of the lord of gods;*

*a good burial after revered old age,*

*after old age has come.*

*You take your place in the lord-of-life,*

*you come to the earth in the tomb of the West.*

*To become indeed a living ba,*

*it shall thrive on bread, water and air;*

*to assume the form of phoenix, swallow,*

*of falcon or heron, as you wish.*

*You cross in the ferry without being hindered,*

*you fare on the water's flowing flood.*

*You come to life a second time,*

*your ba shall not forsake your corpse.*

*Your ba is divine among the spirits,*

*the worthy Bas converse with you.*

*You join them to receive what is given on earth,*

*you thrive on water, you breathe air,*

*you drink as your heart desires.*

*Your eyes are given you to see,*

*your ears to hear what is spoken;*

*your mouth speaks, your feet walk,*

*your hands, your arms have motion.*

*You count your members: all there, sound,*

*There is no fault in what is yours.*

*Your heart is yours in very truth,*

*you have your own, your former heart.*

*You rise to heaven, you open Duat,*

*in any shape that you desire…"*

The above-mentioned inscription also gives insight into what the *ba* needs after death. It shows that the Ancient Egyptians believed that not only did the *ba* need substance but that it was consciously aware of what goes on around it, with other *bas* as well as its own body and heart.

The specific vignettes, which can be compared to episodes or accounts, in which Anubis can be found, and which are outlined in Chapter 1, are discussed below.

***Anubis in the Papyrus of Ani***

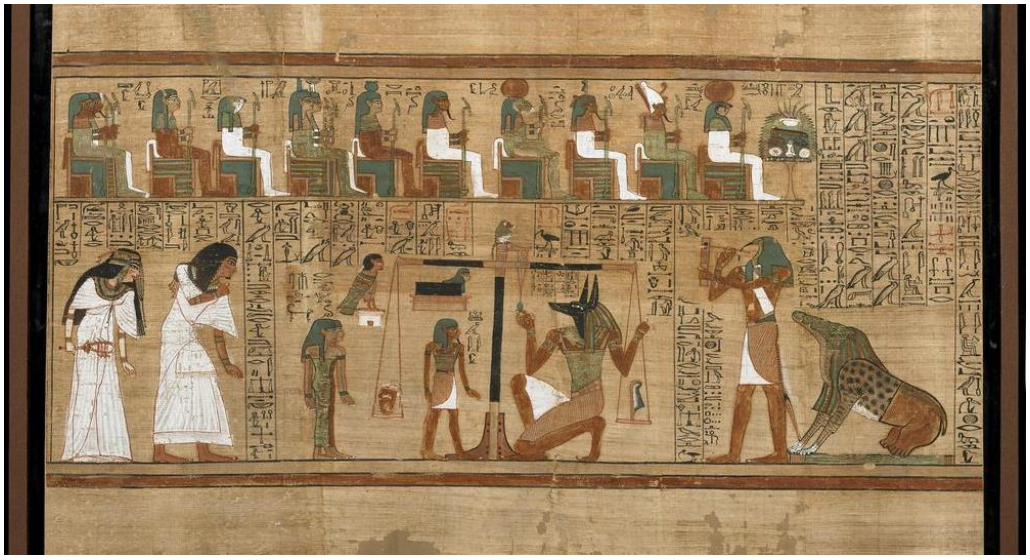
When looking at the Papyrus of Ani, which is an example of the Book of the Dead, Anubis can be seen frequently. We are not looking at all the depictions of Anubis, as that would make this topic too large for the dissertation. Rather we focus on Plate 3 and Plate 5, which show Anubis in his two most common forms.

***A) Plate 3: Ani's Judgement***

In Plate 3, we see the judgement taking place, also known as the weighing of the heart. This is where Anubis weighs the heart of the deceased against the feather of Ma'at to see if they have lived a good life, as depicted in figure 7 and 8 below.

**Figure 7: Ani's Judgement**[20]

**Image 8: Full image**[21]



In Figure 7 and 8, we are in the Hall of Judgement (Remler, 2006:220). A balance scale is depicted in the middle of the plate, one side for the heart of the deceased, the other for the feather of Ma'at. The heart is weighed on the left while the feather is on the right. Attached to

[20] https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/684654001
[21] https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/684647001

the beam supporting the balancing bar, there is a feather-shaped peg hanging down, which Anubis is holding to stabilise the scale.

At the top of the scale, there is a baboon, which represents the god Thoth[22] (Remler, 2006:210). Anubis is shown kneeling next to the scale while holding the cord of the feather of Ma'at[23] as well as the bob of the stabilizing peg. Thoth can be seen a second time, in his human form, to the right of Anubis. Thoth is holding the scribe's pallet, which will be used to note the results of the judgement. Behind Thoth is Ammit, who is also known as the devourer and who will be ready to eat the heart of anyone who does not pass the Judgment (Remler, 2006:11). At the top of the plate, one can see the great Egyptian gods, ready to give Judgement. These gods include Ra[24], Atum[25], Shu[26], Tefnut[27], Geb[28], Nut[29], Isis[30], Nephthys[31], Horus[32] and Hathor[33]. All are seated on thrones. They are also accompanied by the personification god of the divine world know as Hu, and the personification of perception, the god Sia (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/684674001).

Other gods are also shown to be just observing. To the left of the scale are Shay, Renenutet and Meskhenet, though these are minor deities in Egypt. Also present in the plate is Ani's *ba*. His ba is shown in the shape of a bird. If Ani passes judgement, he will be released to travel in and out of the tomb. Ani and his wife Tutu are also present in the pallet and are bent forward to show humility to the gods (Remler, 2006:27).

### B) Plate 5: The Funeral Procession

This plate shows the deceased Ani, on his way to his tomb, surrounded by a group of grieving women.

---

[22] God of Writing and Knowledge (Remler, 2006:210)
[23] Goddess representing truth and justice, represented by a Feather (Remler, 2006:124).
[24] Ra is known as the sun god as well as a creator god (Remler, 2006:181).
[25] An early sun god who was known to be neither male not female. He is also known as the creator god who created the world (Remler, 2006:26).
[26] God of Air (Remler, 2006:198).
[27] Goddess of Moisture (Remler, 2006:208).
[28] God of the earth (Remler, 2006:76).
[29] Great goddess of the sky (Remler, 2006:152).
[30] Egyptian Mother Goddess (Remler, 2006:105).
[31] Sister of Isis, known as a Funerary goddess (Remler, 2006:147).
[32] Lord of the sky and symbolic of Kingship (Remler, 2006:94).
[33] Cow goddess. She is the symbolic mother of pharaohs (Remler, 2006:83).

**Figure 9: Ani's Procession to his tomb[34]**

In Figure 9, we can see Ani' heading to his tomb. Unlike in Figure 7 and 8, Anubis does not play a big role in this pallet and is shown at the back following the Procession on his chest. At the end of the procession, Ani will be met by the grieving woman. In front of Ani's coffin, we see the priest who waves an incense burner and is pouring liquid out of a vase. The heavy coffin is being pulled on a sledge by two oxen.

Tutu, the widow, can be seen kneeling next to the coffin in sorrow. Behind the coffin are male mourners. Anubis is atop a chest that is decorated with the symbols Djed and Tiyet (Remler, 2006:18). He is being pulled by four men. Inside this chest are the canopic jars holding the organs of Ani.

## 4.6 Imiut fetish

An Imiut fetish is an object that was made from animal skins, often stuffed with linen. It was then connected to a staff or stick with scrap linen and often buried in a jar. These jars were

[34] https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/684674001

often also filled with special ointment (The Metropolitan Museum of Art., 2018). It is an emblem of Anubis and is originally spelt *jmjwt* and is linked to the epithet *Jmj-wt. Jmjwt* is translated to Imiut, which is an epithet of Anubis.

The Imiut fetish can be found as early as the 1st Dynasty (3150–2890 BCE), where it was used in the reign of four of the pharaohs, including Hor-Aha, Djer, and Den. The fetish was also commonly found on seals and labels next to the king, which led some to believe the fetish had a protective quality (Logan, 1990). The fetish, as can be seen in Figure 10 below, was made by stuffing animal skins. This was readily seen in the 4th Dynasty.

**Figure 10: An Imiut Fetish**[35]

## 5. WEPWAWET

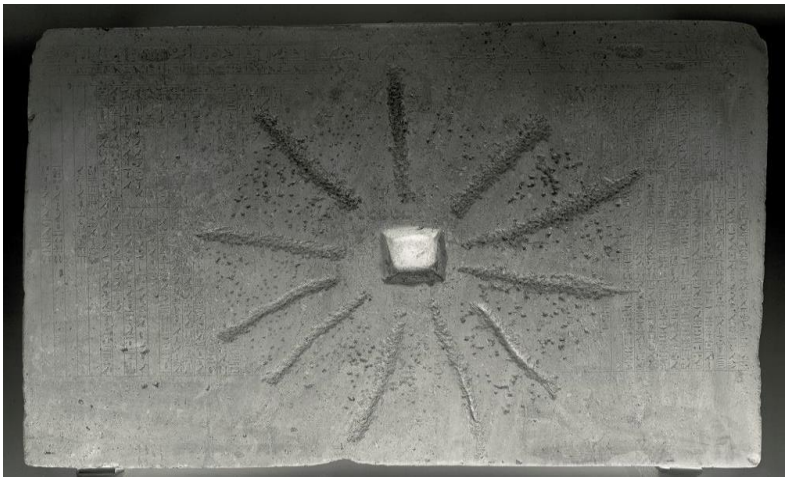
Wepwawet was a jackal-headed god who was best known in Upper Egypt. He was connected to both the underworld as well as conquests against foreigners. Wepwawet was believed to be connected to the king. This connection was based on his being identified with Horus on a

[35] https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/545547

papyrus[36], known as the Shabaqo Stone, dating to the Pyramid age (2613–2181 BCE) (Hart, 2005:162).

The Shabaqo Stone was originally a stela but was later reused as a millstone, and as a result, the hieroglyphic writing was damaged. Figure 11 shows that amount of damage that was done when the stone was used as a millstone, from the friction of grinding the flour (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA498). The Stone recorded the Memphite Creation myth, which was composed during the New Kingdom (710 BCE). The myth states that Ptah is the creator of all things through spoken words. The Stone can be found in the British Museum (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA498).

**Figure 11: Shabaqo Stone[37]**



## 5.1 Depictions

Wepwawet can often be confused with Anubis. They are both depicted with the heads of jackals. Wepwawet's head was usually either grey or white. While Wepwawet resembles a wolf, it seems more likely that he was, as Anubis, depicted as a jackal. He is often shown on a standard and is accompanied by the Uraeus[38], as well as a hieroglyphic that symbolises the placenta of the pharaoh (Hart, 2005:162). The hieroglyph for placenta is a circle with horizontal

[36] Shabaqo Stone is an original copy of the Papyrus on which Wepwawet was depicted (Hart, 2005:162)
[37] https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA498
[38] Uraeus was the snake that was often depicted on the heads of pharaohs or gods (Hart, 2005:162).

stripes across it, as can be seen in Figure 12 below. The hieroglyph is translated as a "KH" sound. A standard is also known as a Shedshed, seen as the object or emblem that was used when the pharaohs or kings ascended towards the sky (Hart, 2005:162). The standard was a sled-like object on which a person or god could stand, as can be seen in Figure 10.

**Figure 12: Placenta Hieroglyph**[39]


**Figure 13: Isis and Wepwawet**[40]

[39] https://www.ancient-egypt-online.com/hieroglyphics-alphabet.html
[40] https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544742

The deity was also sometimes depicted with a harpoon, keeping inhabitants of the Nile safe from crocodiles while they were swimming, which could further his role as a protector (El-Mahdy, 2017:62). The above depiction shows Wepwawet next to the goddess Isis and shows his canine features. In his one hand, he is holding a spear-like weapon or harpoon.

## 5.2 Name and epithets

Wepwawet means "the opener of the ways," which linked him not only to his funerary role of leading the deceased through the underworld into eternal life, but this also connected him to war, where he will lead the army towards victory (Redford, 2002).

Some other epithets of Wepwawet include "Lord of Abydos." Abydos is a city where he was worshipped. Another title is "Lord of the Necropolis"[41] that again links him as a deity connected to the underworld. Important to note is the close relationship between the epithets of Anubis and that of Wepwawet, a connection that probably originated from both their associations with the dead (Redford, 2002). Where Anubis is connected with the Westerners, those who are dead, Wepwawet is also connected to the Necropolis, a cemetery where the dead are buried. This draws the connection that both Anubis and Wepwawet are "Lords of the Dead." This connection is discussed further in Chapter 4.

## 5.3 The worship of Wepwawet

The worship of Wepwawet originated in the south of Egypt, in the late Predynastic Period, 5000–3100 BCE. Wepwawet is also connected with the placenta of the pharaoh, where Wepwawet represents the pharaoh himself as the opener of ways in the womb, with the birth of the pharaoh. Wepwawet, most likely because of his military connection, was also connected with the unification of Egypt (Hart, 2005:162).

In the funerary sense, Wepwawet is a guide to the dead, who keeps them from getting lost by taking them to the gate of the underworld (Hart, 2005:162). He was worshipped at the cemetery of Abydos, as well as being the local deity at the 13$^{th}$ nome in Ancient Egypt, called Lycopolis,[42] named after the wolf-like characteristics of Wepwawet. Along with these cities, he had cults in Quban, el-Hargarsa, Sais and Memphis (Hart, 2005:163).

[41] Necropolis refers to a Cemetery (Redford, 2002)
[42] Lycopolis means City of Wolves (Hart, 2005:163)

In the *Book of Going forth by Day*[43] and the *Book of That Which is in the Underworld*,[44] Wepwawet is depicted as a protection deity and was often connected to the dog-like creature that accompanied the pharaohs on hunting trips (Hart, 2005:162). In Figure 14, Wepwawet can be seen while he is being worshipped with the Uraeus next to his feet. The depiction shows the canine form of Wepwawet.

**Figure 14: Wepwawet being worshipped**[45]

## 6. DUAMUTEF

Duamutef is one of four sons of Horus. His brothers are Imsety, Hapy, and Qebehsenuef. Duamutef and his brothers were in charge of the organs of the diseased after they were removed during the process of mummification. Duamutef was the guardian of the lungs or stomach (Christina, 2018). As can be seen in Figure 15, Duamutef was often depicted as a mummified canine, linking him again with the mummification process.

Duamutef was worshipped from the Old Kingdom period, 2628–2134 BCE, through to the Roman rule, 30 BCE–395 CE. He is also featured in the *Book of the Dead*, where his exact role as a protector of the organs is discussed. His name is translated into "he who praises his mother" (Christina, 2018).

[43] The book of going forth by day is also known as the Book of the Dead and is a collection of funerary texts and spells describing and giving aid to those who enter the afterlife (Taylor, 2001:17).
[44] Also known as the Amduat, this book describes the journey of the sun god, on his barque through the underworld each day (Taylor, 2001:28).
[45] https://bit.ly/3awsEC7

**Figure 15: Duamutef**[46]

## 6.1 Mummification

Canopic jars were small containers used to house some organs from the deceased (see as an example Figure 13 below), which were removed during the mummification process. There were generally four of these jars, each guarding a different organ. These jars, in turn, were associated and guarded by a deity called a genius. These deities were responsible for the protection of the organs after death. The organ was usually wrapped and then sealed in the jar with a nitrogen solution (Remler, 2006:73). The canopic jars were often made in the image of the genius who guarded the organ kept inside (Redford, 2002:43).

[46] https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/551149

**Figure 16: Canopic Jars**[47]

The liver and the genius Imsety were grouped, and Imsety was then in turn guarded by Isis. Hapy was the genius for the lungs and was guarded by Nephthys, and the genius Kebehsenuef was associated with the intestines, and his guardian was Selket. The last genius was Duamutef, who was protected by Neith, and in charge of the stomach. All four of the genii were sons of the god Horus and Isis (Redford, 2002:43). All four of the genii can be seen in Figure 16 above, where they are depicted in their canopic jar forms. Only the stoppers of the jars, and the inscriptions, would be used to tell them apart.

The following spell was used to invoke the protection of the four sons (Remler, 2006:73):

> *"Mesti says: "I am Mesti, thy son Osiris. I come so*
>
> *that I may protect thee. I cause thy house to prosper, to be firm,*
>
> *By the command of Ptah, by the command of Re himself."*
>
> *Hapi says: "I am Hapi, thy son Osiris. I come*
>
> *So that I may protect thee. I bandage for thee thy*
>
> *Head and thy limbs, killing for thee thy enemies*
>
> *Under thee. I give to thee thy head, forever."*
>
> *Duamutef says: "I am thy son Horus, loving*

[47] https://bit.ly/2UuXllg

*Thee. I come to avenge my father, Osiris. I do not*

*Permit his destruction to thee. I place it under thy*

*Feet forever and ever."*

*Qebsenef says: "I am thy son Osiris. I have*

*Come that I may protect thee. I gather*

*Thy bones, I collect thy limbs, I bring for thee they*

*Heart. I place it upon its seat in thy body. I cause*

*Thy house to prosper."*

Duamutef and Hapy sometimes switched roles, and they are both associated with the hands, while Imsety and Kebehsenuef were associated with the feet. Duamutef is also associated with the east, while the other three sons are associated with the other geographical points (Redford, 2002:132).

## 6.2 Ancient texts

The genii were mentioned in the Pyramid Texts[48], where they were described as "friends of the King," where they assisted him with his ascension to the eastern sky. During the Old Kingdom, 2628–2134 BCE, the genii were described as souls of Horus. In the Coffin Texts[49] of the Middle Kingdom, Duamutef is told by Horus to worship the deceased. In the Middle Kingdom, 2040–1650 BCE, the genii were part of a council, which was started by Anubis to protect Osiris (Hart, 1986:204).

***Duamutef in the Papyrus of Ani***

[48] The Pyramid Texts are funerary texts that were inscribed on the inside walls of the pyramids. They gave explanations on what can be expected in the afterlife as well as spells on how to navigate the afterlife safely (Remler, 2006:175).

[49] The Coffin Texts came into being when the middle-class people of Egypt gained access to the Pyramid Texts as grave robberies increased through the First Intermediate Period. The Coffin Texts had the same purpose for the most part as the Pyramid Texts, but was more commonly used, and as such was written in individual coffins. Elaborate tombs and pyramids were no longer necessary for an afterlife (Remler, 2006:45).

Duamutef is another canine that can be seen in the Papyrus of Ani. He is usually depicted with the other three genii, as mentioned above. One such depiction can be seen below in figure 17.

**Figure 17: Duamutef at the gate of Duat[50]**

In the above figure, we see the four genii around the primaeval mound that came into being from Nut. This mound is known as a gate to the afterlife. In this depiction, Duamutef is wrapped in white mummy wrappings, with the body of a man. His head, much like that of Anubis, is black.

## 7. OTHER CANINE DEITIES

The focus remains on the above-mentioned deities, but they are not the only canine deities. They are only slightly better known than some of the others. There are several similar deities, but some of them, like Khentyamentiu, have been replaced by other more popular deities such as Anubis. The following deities are briefly discussed but will not be investigated in detail due to their relatively unknown status.

### 7.1 Khentyamentiu

Khentyamentiu, previously mentioned as an epithet for Anubis, means "Foremost of the Westerners." Westerners refer to the deceased. This god was mentioned in the necropolis' seals found at Den and Abydos, where he was first the lord of the cemetery, a role that was taken over by Anubis (Christina, 2018:21).

[50] https://www.jameswassermanbooks.com/a-treasure-of-antiquity-reborn/

His worship seems to have started in the 5th Dynasty (2494–2345 BCE), and by the Middle Kingdom, his role was completely taken over by Osiris while some aspects, as well as his name in the form of an epithet, were taken over by Anubis. He ceased to be a god on his own after the 13th Dynasty (1803–1649 BCE) (Christina, 2018:21).

## 7.2 Wepiu

Wepiu was also known as *Parter* and was known for his association with Wepwawet. He might have been just an alternative aspect of Wepwawet. He is connected to Ra and might be identified as a solar deity. His name means "opener," which also connects to Wepwawet, who was known as the "Opener of Ways," as previously discussed. Other translations include "divider" and "judge." He is mentioned in the Book of Gates, Amduat, and the Book of Days. These books were funerary texts that described and aided the journey through the underworld (Taylor, 2001:33). He is associated, like the other canine gods, with the city of Abydos (Christina, 2018:23).

## 7.3 Sed

Sed was first mentioned in the 5th Dynasty on the Palermo Stone[51] as the theophoric name[52] of the pharaoh. His worship continued until the Middle Kingdom before being replaced by Wepwawet. His epithet was *xnty-wsrt*, meaning "he who is foremost of his court." This might have suggested a role as a judge. He was also connected to the Sed Festival, which carries his name (Christina, 2018:23).

The Sed Festival happened every thirty years of the reign of a king to rejuvenate his soul and make him strong again. The festival started in the Predynastic times, which was before 3100 BCE. In the festival, the king takes part in several physical games as well as a feast (Redford, 2002:128).

[51] The Palermo stone is the first recorded kings' list from Egypt. The first human ruler it lists is Menes, while before him it lists gods as the rulers, spanning back further than when Horus ruled (Remler, 2006:163).
[52] The term refers to the word Theomorphic, meaning god-like. The Theophoric name was the name the pharaoh took to display his divine form (https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/theomorphic).

## 7.4 Anput

Anput is the female version and consort of Anubis. Her name is spelt the same, except for ending on a "t," which, in hieroglyphics, is the feminine ending. While she is known as the goddess of the 17th nome, our knowledge of her ends there. She is speculated to have been the mother of Kebechet, who is also the daughter of Anubis (Hill, 2010).

Just like her name, her role also seems to be a female version of her consort, as she is a funerary goddess and goddess of embalming. She is also depicted similarly to Anubis, although it is rare for her to be depicted as a woman with a jackal head. She is mostly depicted as a woman who is wearing a standard on which there is a black jackal, the colour of which probably represents the underworld and her connection to it (Hill, 2010).

In the Early Dynastic period, 2900–2628 BCE, she was known as Neith, thus connected to Duamutef as one of the protection goddesses of the canopic jars. She was, along with Wepwawet, a protector goddess of Lycopolis. In the Ptolemaic period, she is shown carrying knives for protection as well as the symbol of her consort, Anubis, which was a reclining jackal, that was often worn atop her head (Christina, 2018:23).

Anput, in many cases, was the only female canine deity, and as such, she also raises some questions. She is also one of the lesser-known Egyptian deities, as not many ancient sources mention her. Although she is a goddess, she fell into the shadow of her consort (Hill, 2010).

## 7.5 Souls of Pe and Nekkhen

The souls of Pe and Nekkhen were symbolic of the old rulers of Buto and Heliopolis. While the souls of Pe was depicted as falcon-headed, the souls of Nekkhen were canine-headed. Heliopolis was the capital of Upper Egypt (Christina, 2018:23). These gods were the upholders and enforcers of the rightful heir inheriting Egypt, symbolised by Horus. These gods do not feature heavily in funerary practices, but they are seen once with the Dance of Muu,[53] which was done next to a tomb (Hart, 1986:208) from the Old Kingdom till the New Kingdom.

The Muu dancers were the personification of the *Bas* or Pe. These dancers were the only male ones who sometimes wore reed crowns or garlands. The dance of Muu involves the dancers,

[53] The dance of Muu was a funerary dance that was performed in the embalming chamber (Spencer, 2003).

who usually dance in pairs of two or three, hurrying to meet the coffin in the burial ceremony. They then follow the coffin to its resting place, guarding its journey (Meyer-Dietrich, 2009:5).

## 8. SUMMARY

This chapter focussed on the characteristics of the canine deities and how they were connected to the afterlife, as well as their role in Egyptian society. Canine deities in Ancient Egypt played an important part in the funerary practices in Ancient Egypt, such as can be seen with Anubis in the Weighing of the Heart Ceremony. Canine deities were, however, not bound to the deceased as a few of them seem to take on the role of a protector of the living as well, such as Wepwawet. By looking at the information gathered on all the canine deities, it becomes clear that while most of them were indeed connected to the dead, this was not their sole purpose. All the canine deities are extremely similar, both in representation and in their role, and it is then not surprising that they are sometimes confused with each other such as Anubis and Wepwawet, or that one even assumes the role of the other such as with Khentyamentiu and Anubis.

The canine deities seem to all have some protective attribute, either protecting an organ, or the pharaoh, or even the deceased in the underworld. This might be linked to canines, who even in modern days are often called upon for protection or seen as guard dogs. Guarding, in general, can be an attribute that links canines to the deities we have discussed.

While all canine deities have some connection to or role in the afterlife and the journey there, or a funerary practice such as mummification, there is only one clear female canine deity, namely Anput. The connection between masculinity and canines, or masculinity and death, is still largely unknown and is further explored in Chapter 4 of this study. Most of the canine deities also have some connection to the necropolis as well as to Abydos.

# CHAPTER 3: CANINES IN ANCIENT EGYPT

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, we are looking at a brief history of animals in Egypt and their relationship with the Egyptians. Their roles in Egyptian society as well as their nature, in general, are analysed. Specific attention is given to all canine animals that relate to Anubis, Wepwawet and Duamutef. In doing so, a better understanding is hoped to be gained about why the Egyptians chose to associate dogs with the dead and the deities who are connected to the dead.

Animals have always played an important role in ancient civilisations, be it for companionship or as a source of food. While some were admired for their beauty, others were feared. Their physical attributes were often the cause of these associations. Their physical strengths and resilience were probably what drew people to them (Manning & Serpell, 1994:37). Animals were viewed as superior to humans in many instances, and some, such as canines, were respected because of their ability to communicate so clearly with one another, a type of "language" that Egyptians never really understood, although it existed between animals (DuQuesne, 2007:11).

Animals were an important part of Egyptian life. An example is the fact that the possession of many cattle was associated with being wealthy. While the Egyptians used animals for everyday necessities such as food and transport, they also lived in fear of beasts who could devour them (McDermott, 2001:34). A prime example of how this fear influenced their religion can be seen with the Devourer (Ammit) who would devour the heart of those who did not weigh up to Ma'at (Hart, 2005:14). Ammit can be seen in Figure 18, where she is crouched next to Anubis as he weighs the heart. The Devourer took the combined form of three beasts that the Egyptians feared, the crocodile, the lion, and the hippo. All of these were dangerous animals, so it makes sense that the Egyptians would have seen them as a threat in the afterlife as well.

**Figure 18: Weighing of the Heart Ceremony, showing both Anubis and Ammit (the Devourer) at the scale[54]**

Because of their superior characteristics in proportion to humankind, they were often associated with other forces which could not be controlled by humans, such as death. Some animals were usually associated with death, like the snake and the dog, who seemed to have invoked the fear of death in those who encountered them (Manning & Serpell, 1994:36)

## 2. ANIMALS IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN RELIGION

The Ancient Egyptians did not regard themselves as lords over animals. Their relationship would be better described as a partnership. The relationship can be seen when the Pharaoh faces judgement. One of the negative statements needed for the afterlife involves not having abused any animal, even cattle, showing that animals were regarded as equal to humans (Te Velde, 1980:77). These negative statements were used to prove that the diseased had lived according to Ma'at. An example of these statements is the following (Taylor, 2001:37):

> *"O Far-strider who came forth from Heliopolis, I have done no falsehood.*
>
> *O fire-embracer who came forth from Kheraha, I have not robbed.*
>
> *O Dangerous One who came forth from Rosetjua, I have not killed men.*

[54] https://bit.ly/3bFf8fm.

*O Flame which came forth Backwards, I have not stolen the god's offerings.*

*O Blood-eater who came forth from the shambles, I have not killed a sacred bull.*

*O Serpent with raised head who came forth from the cavern,*

*I am not wealthy except with my own property.*

*O Commander of Mankind who came forth from your house, I have not reviled a god."*

The Egyptians would, however, sometimes let an animal die, like drowning in a river, so it could rise out of the dead after being mummified to show respect to the gods. These mummified animals, regardless of the type of animal, could be regarded as an incarnation of Osiris (Te Velde, 1980:79).

It is rather well-known that the Ancient Egyptians did associate animals with their gods, and these were often worshipped, or used as offerings to the gods they were linked to. The gods could be represented as any combination of living things. Animals, humans, and even combinations of both were used to represent and even humanise the gods (Te Velde, 1980:78).

While not all animals were considered sacred or as representations of the gods, the Egyptians did believe that the god could inhabit a particular animal, and these were often raised for this purpose. A cat would be raised specifically for Baset to inhabit. The animal would be chosen by the priest, who would carry around a cult statue of the god. The statue would then tip towards one animal. This animal would afterwards spend his or her life in luxury in a temple for the god, being looked after by the priest (Remler, 2006:15).

Another example of how the Egyptians regarded the animals of Egypt can be seen with the Battlefield Pallet in Figure 19, where animals are depicted in the same fashion that a pharaoh would be after smiting his enemies. This shows us that the animals were regarded as strong and able to conquer men.

**Figure 19: Battlefield Pallet**[55]

The battlefield palette, which can be seen in Figure 19, was found in Egypt and dated to the Naqada III period, in prehistoric Egypt (3200–2900 BC). The palette shows humans who are bound by their wrists and who are being subjugated by animals. The palette includes a variety of animals, including a lion and different birds. When looking at the palette, it shows that the Egyptians did not view animals as weak or less than them, for animals could rule over humans. Animals are thus shown as equal, if not superior to humans, which could explain why they were so often associated with the gods.

## 3. THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS' VIEW OF ANIMALS

It is safe to assume that if some gods were depicted as animals, that the gods might have shared some characteristics of the animals they were depicted as (Christina, 2018:18). The importance of animals can be seen with the many animal mummifications that are found, both religious and personal, with some animals being connected to a god, and others just a beloved pet. It was said that if an animal was mistreated, even by the king, charges could be lain against the abuser,

[55] https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA20791

suggesting the Egyptians had the same, if not more, respect for animals as they did for their pharaoh (Christina, 2018:19).

Animals, especially canines, were also often depicted on tomb paintings and reliefs throughout all Ancient Egypt. A domesticated dog was shown sitting under the chair of his owner numerous times. In Figure 20, we can see a dog under the chair of the Pharaoh and his wife. The stela depicts Intef and his wife Senettekh, as well as their pet dog. Putting animals in funerary stela was another way of memorising the animals which they cared for (https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3600).

**Figure 20: Depiction of a dog under his owner's chair.**[56]

In the New Kingdom jackals were often described in poetry. They were symbols of beauty and elegance, and as such, all canines were often drawn with extreme care taken to make the depictions captivating (DuQuesne, 2007:10).

[56] https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3600

The fondness for the jackal can also be shown with the names taken on by some people, where *Ta-Wonshet*[57] and *Pa-Wonsh*[58] were used for both female and male names (DuQuesne, 2007:10).

The wild canine in ancient times was known to attack, kill and even eat humans. This might have been the reason that people began to associate the dog with the afterlife. Egyptians particularly feared the reality of being eaten after death. Their religion and afterlife depended on their bodies being preserved. Dogs and other canines were also known to scavenge the dead, often found in cemeteries (Spence, 1994:294). The fear of dismemberment could even explain the way the Egyptians constructed their Mastabas and pyramids, making it more difficult for scavengers to get to the dead (Evans, 2011:103). The association between dogs and death also indirectly caused the association that dogs and canines might help ward off death or protect the dead, as can be seen with Anubis (Manning & Serpell, 1994:36).

The Egyptians were the first group of people who took on an affectionate role with their dogs and even recorded the names that they gave them. Dog ownership was not limited to a certain social group, and they were owned by both the poorest farmers and the king. The dogs who did accompany their owners to the afterlife got the same level of respect and protection as their owners, in the form of engravings, sculptures, and paintings and sometimes mummification (Rice, 2006:78). An example of a mummified pet can be seen in Figure 21 with the Hapi puppy, which is discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Hunting dogs owned by the pharaohs were especially loved and respected and bore companionship to the afterlife with their owners, one example being the hunting hound that was buried along with Queen Herneith in the early 1st Dynasty (c. 3150–2890 BCE). She can be seen as the first animal lover in Egypt, and her hound was found lying at the entrance of her tomb in the Mastaba she was buried in. It appears that this hound was her sole companion in the afterlife (Rice, 2006:47).

Dogs in Ancient Egypt were often seen as guardians, and this could be seen at the entrances of some buildings, where dogs were depicted either in murals or in statues as guarding the building, such as with the temple in Nekhen, where dog guardians were used (Rice, 2006:47).

[57] The name used for the Female Jackal (DuQuesne, 2007:10).
[58] The name used for the Male Jackal (DuQuesne, 2007:10).

The Egyptians had a bond with canines, dogs especially. Dogs were sometimes mummified along with their owners to accompany them to the afterlife. But dogs were not only found in the private tombs of their owners; they could also be found in vast cemeteries (Frankfort, 1948:8), often dedicated to the god Anubis, where they were mummified and buried as votive offerings (Nicholson, Ikram & Mills, 2015:645).

Because of their connection to Anubis as canines, they were seen as a connection between the living and the dead. Thus, it might be argued that by giving a dog a proper burial and respect, those who buried him might get the same treatment from the gods in the afterlife (Rice, 2006:78).

Abutiyuw, one of the guard dogs of the great King Khufu, was given a tomb, and in the inscriptions from the king, it was explained why he gave a burial to his dog. The reason was so that his dog would be "honoured before the great god, Anubis," again bringing a connection to the hounds of Egypt and the god Anubis (Rice, 2006:79).

Canines were also seen as sacred in some cities. The dog and the jackal were regarded as being sacred at Cynopolis, while the wolf was sacred at Lycopolis. At Cynopolis, Anubis was worshipped, and Wepwawet and Anput were the local deities at Lycopolis (Trevor, 1863:19, 59, 179). Another connection that can be made between the canines of Ancient Egypt and the gods are the Shedshed, a platform that is often depicted along with Wepwawet, and sometimes with Anubis. The Shedshed resembles a burrow made by canines (Evans, 2011:103). The bulging shape that can be seen on the one end of the Shedshed could represent the den of the animal, while the straight narrow pipe-like part represents the burrow itself. The Shedshed can be seen in Figure 20, where the den-like shape is visible in front of Wepwawet. The den can be seen at the front of the standard on which Wepwawet is standing.

**Figure 21: Jackal on a Shedshed**[59]

These dens were often reused each year and were made by both the male and female. While all canines make dens, those of wolves are usually in an elevated environment, close to a source of water. These dens were also found in Ancient Egypt. The fact that they were dug underground suggests a connection to the afterlife or underworld (Evans, 2011:105).

These dens were not just used by wild canines; domesticated dogs also used dens, often to shelter puppies or store food. But food catching was not singular to domesticated dogs; all canines had the habit of storing food in a shallow hole, a trait that can be seen even now with some breeds of domesticated dogs across the world (Evans, 2011:105).

Another interesting point to note was that the Egyptian cobra was often found hiding in these burrows leading to the den. The cobra was depicted by the Uraeus, a rearing cobra that was often depicted along with Anubis and Wepwawet (Evans, 2011:106).

While some canines were wild and avoided contact with the Egyptians, the domestic dog was often seen as a companion, earning names such as good watcher or reliable one. They were also seen as guardians and protectors and represented bravery (Christina, 2018:18; Te Velde, 1980:76).

[59] https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/570343

The pharaoh's hunting hound was of particular importance. The golden hunting hound of Egypt became an important part of the Egyptian hunt. The hunt, although mostly for food and resources, also became sacred, and was often also performed by the Pharaoh. The hunt was so important to the pharaoh that tools and gear were provided for the afterlife in the tomb so that the pharaoh would be able to hunt for all eternity (Rice, 2006:88).

Considering that 176 signs from the hieroglyphic writing system are derived from the animal kingdom, the importance of animals in the Ancient Egyptian world can be noted, even by just looking at their language and script (Te Velde, 1980:76). The Egyptians did not see themselves as being rulers or dominant over animals; rather, animals commanded the same or more respect than the Egyptians themselves.

The pharaoh was sometimes depicted wearing a jackal mask and proclaimed to have had the face of a jackal. An example of the masks that would be used is provided in Figure 22. This might have been done to harness the power of the animal whose head was being used (DuQuesne, 2007:15).

**Figure 22: Mask that was worn by Pharaohs and Priests**[60]

In Egypt, animals were often feared and respected for their ability in terms of speed, strength, and agility, even intelligence. This might have led to their identifying animals with gods, who

[60] https://ancientegypt.mb4uli.com/egypt-museummask-of-anubisthis-mask-represe/

were also seen as superior to humans. This is not to say, however, that animals were never hunted and killed for sport or food (Te Velde, 1980:80).

# 4. MUMMIFICATION OF CANINES

Canines, as with many other animals, were often mummified. This show of respect and care gives insight into the relationship between people and animals. The following discussion focusses on the mummification of canines, followed by a discussion on the reasons for the mummification of animals.

## 4.1 Mummification

Mummification is the process of preservation of humans or animals where their remains are dried and treated with an embalming agent. Natrum was used during the process of embalming to aid in drying and preserving a body. In some cases, such as with pharaohs, specific organs would be removed and would be stored in canopic jars, which were guarded by gods in their tombs. After the body was dried out, it would be wrapped in linen (see Budge 1895:177). Gum would then be used as a glue to keep the bandages in place (Hdt. II. 86).

The preservation of a body was crucial for attaining life after death. It is considered an important rite that would enable a successful resurrection after death. Offerings would often also be left in the deceased's tomb for their use in the afterlife (see Redford 2002:37–39).

Throughout Egypt, numerous mummified animals have been discovered. They were sometimes associated with animal cults (Richardin *et al.*, 2017:595). In Ancient Egyptian religion, each of their primary gods was associated with at least one sacred animal. As a result, these sacred animals would sometimes be mummified.

Dogs were among the first animals, along with cats, to be awarded the respect of mummification. While they were sometimes used as votive offerings to Anubis and Wepwawet, they were also sometimes given burials as pets, in the same tomb as their human master or companion. Votive dogs were buried in canine cemeteries, scattered across Egypt, including at Abydos, where Anubis was worshipped (Ikram, 2013:299).

## 4.2 Reasons for mummification

Animals were mummified for a variety of reasons, depending on species and function. An overview of the reasons why animals were sometimes mummified are as follows:

### *(a) Victual mummies*

Victual mummies were primarily found in tombs dating to the New Kingdom period, with a few found as far back as the Old Kingdom period (McKnight *et al.,* 2015:2109). Victual mummies are when parts of animals, or the whole animal itself, were mummified to preserve the meat, to feed those in the afterlife. It can be compared to biltong in many instances (Cornelius *et al.,* 2012:130). These mummies are usually either whole birds, or cuts of meat, such as legs of cows, stored in small coffins (Cornelius *et al.,* 2012:130). Canines were not used as victual mummies, suggesting that they were perhaps too sacred to be viewed as food.

### *(b) Sacred animals*

While canines were not seen as a source of substance, they also did not get the title of being sacred by themselves. Sacred animals, such as the Apis bull,[61] who was seen as the vessel for Ptah,[62] or the Ram of Mendes,[63] which was the vessel for Osiris, who was mentioned previously, would be mummified after living out its natural life. With sacred animals, there could only be one alive at a time. With canines, they all seemed to represent the canine gods (Cornelius *et al.,* 2012:130).

### *(c) Votive mummies*

Votive mummies are the most found mummified animals. All gods had animals that were sacred to them; in the case of Anubis, it would be jackals (canines). These animals were then offered to the gods in the form of a votive mummy (Cornelius *et al.,* 2012:130). Sometimes these animals would be bred on a type of farm for the sole purpose of being offered to the god that they represented. In the case of canine deities, this would most likely have been dogs, as wild canines would not have been easily bred (Jackowski *et al.,* 2008:1485). Figure 23 depicts a dog that was mummified as a votive mummy for Anubis. The mummification process, although probably rushed to keep up with demand, shows that care was taken when wrapping these mummies.

---

[6161] A bull that was believed to be the god Ptah in animal form (Remler, 2006:20).
[62] Ptah was the creator god of all living things though speaking (Remler, 2006:170).
[63] The Ram of Mendes was believed to contain the soul of the god Osiris (Remler, 2006:179).

**Figure 23: Sacred Dog mummy**[64]

The mummification of these animals might have been a cheap and quick endeavour, instead of the costly one given to humans, even though their preparation was by no means simple (Buckley et al., 2004:294). The complex way these animals were treated might support the notion that the Ancient Egyptians had great reverence and respect for animals (Buckley et al., 2004:294). There are only a few mummified dogs that were found as votive mummies. Their numbers are distinctively smaller than that of cats, suggesting that the domestic dog was not often associated with any of the canine deities. There are, however, catacombs beneath Saqqara that suggest otherwise (Buckley et al., 2004:294).

### *(d) Mummified for companionship*

The last and most emotional reason for the Egyptians to mummify animals was that of companionship. Pets would sometimes be mummified so that they too could be preserved in body and soul, following their owners into the afterlife (Cornelius *et al.*, 2012:129). Preparations for the mummification of animals would have been handled while the owner was still alive (McKnight *et al.*, 2015:2109). The exact cause of death for these animals is still unknown, be it induced or natural (Cooke, 2013:438). Dogs were some of the most common

[64] https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/552371

pets that were mummified (McKnight *et al.*, 2015:2109), but these mummies were still quite rare to find.

One such example is Hapi-Puppy, which can be seen in Figure 24. The Hapi-Puppy was a Jack Russel type of dog that was mummified along with his owner, Hapi-Men.

**Figure 24: The Mummy of the Hapi-Puppy**[65]

The X-ray depicting the dog in the mummification wrappings can be seen in Figure 25. He would have been buried during the New Kingdom (Viegas, 2009). Seeing as the dog was still a puppy, it suggests that it was killed at the time of the death of its owner, showing a clear emotional attachment towards the dog.

[65] https://www.penn.museum/sites/artifactlab/tag/hapi-puppy/

**Figure 25: X-ray of Hapi-Puppy[66]**

Another example is that of the Pharaoh Intef Wahankh II who had a stele made of himself accompanied by his three hunting dogs, with their names Gazelle, Greyhound and Black engraved on it (Viegas, 2009). It can be seen in figure 26.

[66] https://www.penn.museum/sites/artifactlab/tag/hapi-puppy/

**Figure 26: Intef Wahankh II's three dogs**[67]

## 5. CANINE SCAVENGERS AND PREDATORS IN ANCIENT EGYPT

Canine scavengers would often feed on the waste of ancient cities, although if there were not enough food, they would have surely gone looking for more, either from the dead who were buried out in the desert or from small livestock (Dixon, 1989:2).

While scavengers mostly stuck to the outskirts of town, in the desert they did sometimes venture too close to the people of the towns, causing tension. The Egyptians tried to domesticate some of these scavengers, such as the hyena, but they were mostly seen as a nuisance. While it was rare for hyenas and jackals to attack humans, attacks did happen. Spells were sometimes used to ward off the scavengers and to protect livestock. Dogs were also

[67] https://www.ancient.eu/image/6419/dogs-of-intef-ii/

enlisted to guard properties (Dixon, 1989:3). This would cause problems of its own as sometimes the dogs would contract rabies from the wild animals and transfer the disease to humans. Unfortunately, wild animals were not the only threat. Sometimes the dogs of the village would form packs, causing problems in the cities themselves (Dixon, 1989:4).

Wolves were in Egypt long before the Nile Valley became occupied permanently (Rice, 2006:2). While the exact point where wolves began to evolve into a species resembling the domestic dog is largely unknown, a rough estimate seems to point to the end of the last Ice Age, dating to about 12 000 years ago. It is believed, though, that before this transition, humans and canines would have been in contact (Rice, 2006:6).

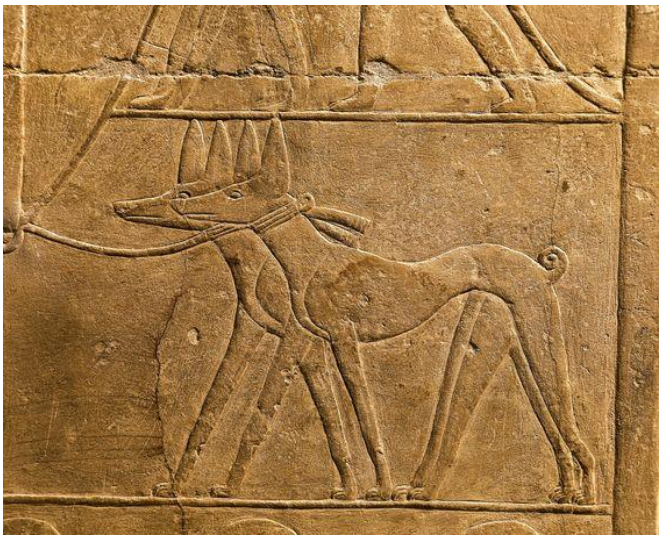
While it is believed there was contact between wolf and man, it does not mean that humans were in the process of domesticating the wolf. The pelt of the wolf alone gives enough reason for contact between mankind and canine. In times of extreme cold, the pelt was particularly sought after to help ward off the cold (Rice, 2006:6).

When humans became sedentary and settled into permanent occupations, the wolves, or dogs of the time, would likely have settled with them, forming the bond between humans and canines that we still see today. While the wolves would have evolved into a dog, it would not have evolved by that time into different breeds of dogs. These dogs would have been domesticated for various reasons, including for companionship, for hunting, and to serve as protectors and herders (Rice, 2006:7).

Dogs have always been connected to human civilisation, demonstrating a bond that could only have been built over time. The wolf, on the other hand, was a powerful predator. Wolves, unlike dogs, have been known to stay in their packs and prefer to stay clear of human interaction. Some interactions might have occurred, especially with young cubs. These cubs might have been abandoned and taken in by humans. They would then have become tame to some extent and inbreeding with the domesticated dogs would have followed (Rice, 2006:8).

The Egyptians managed to preserve their breed of hound, called the Tjsem, which can be seen in Figure 27, for about 2000 years, and that is truly impressive, but that bloodline would have most likely died down from mixed breeding by now (Rice, 2006:81).

**Figure 27: Tjsem Dogs on Leashes**[68]



While it is assumed that the dog or most dog breeds come from the wolf, the golden jackal might also have had some influence on the dog and how it looks and acts today. Domesticated dogs, however, are much more connected to wolves in their cognitive behaviour, as can be seen in the forming of packs of stray dogs in particular (Rice, 2006:78).

## 6. SUMMARY

In this chapter, the way the Egyptians viewed canines was focused on, as well as the role animals played in their religion. This might help to better understand why the Egyptian people connected canines to the deities of the afterlife. This chapter showed the way the Egyptians viewed each of the canines discussed, as well as their role in Egyptian society. From the information gathered in this chapter, we can draw a couple of conclusions.

The Egyptians did not see themselves as superior to animals, and animals were in many ways either seen as a partner of humans or even sacred to the gods. This was demonstrated from the Battlefield palette, in which animals can be seen smiting or conquering humans. Some animals, such as the Apis bull, were more sacred than others. Dogs, for instance, were not directly linked to deities, unlike jackals, and as such did not carry as much reserve for being sacred.

[68] https://bit.ly/3gU7zEH

It becomes clear that while the Egyptians certainly held animals in high regard, dogs were more of a companion than a totem of worship towards the canine deities, as they did not accurately represent the deities.

While there certainly are cases where dogs were used as votive mummies, this could have also been because of a lack of more accurate representations, such as jackals and wolves. Since both types of animal were not only wild but also dangerous, they would have presented a challenge to not only catch and kill them, but also to breed them to keep up with the high demand for votive mummies.

Dogs might have been an easier way to keep up with the demand for totem mummies, even if they were not truly accurate representations. Regardless, the Egyptians placed importance on both wild and domestic canines, shown in not only their artwork but also hieroglyphics.

Perhaps in everyday life, the hunting hound would have held the position of most important to the Egyptians, not only as a companion but also as a protector and aid. The loyalty that was received from dogs, in particular, might have played a role in the reason why the canine deities were connected to death. Not only would dogs look after and protect their masters while alive, but they would also guide them through the afterlife and protect them there.

# CHAPTER 4: ICONOGRAPHIC AND COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF DEITIES AND CANINES

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the critical comparison between both the gods and the canines that are connected to them. It investigates how the gods and canines' names are written in hieroglyphics, as well as the similarities and differences that exist between the animals and the gods. Physical and behavioural aspects are considered. Furthermore, the exact traits between the animals are compared to those of the gods. Tables are used to summarise these differences and similarities, to ultimately draw conclusions on which animal is the best representation of the different gods.

The chapter also addresses the gender trend under canine deities, as well as possible reasons for their connection to death and the afterlife. It also focuses on iconographical images of the selected gods and uses detailed analysis to look for any common factors, while also noting the differences. The images are then compared to those of the canines, in the hope of finding similarities.

The images that are used were sourced from a variety of museums, as well as hieroglyphic writings. The following chapter will be making use of the information that was gathered in the previous chapters to make interpretations and reach conclusions based on the images. Few sources are listed as most of the interpretations are made from personal inspection and analysis of the depictions.

In the following section, we examine the canine species that were found in Egypt, and we look at their traits, both behavioural and physical. By doing this, one can draw a better conclusion about which animal has the most in common with some of the deities.

## 2. CANINES OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN DEPICTIONS

There are six canine species in Egypt, although there were seven to start with. The African wild dog died out in Egypt during the early dynastic period. Out of the six species that remain, the three main categories are wolves, foxes, and jackals. Wolves are much larger than foxes and as

such are easy to identify. The easiest way for wolves to be differentiated from jackals is the way they run. Wolves lope while jackals are known to trot (Zaki, Abd-elaal, Fekri, & Farid, 2018:64).

## 2.1 Jackals

Subspecies: Canis anthus lupaster.

Height: 101.2 – 127 cm

Weight: 10 – 15 kg.

Tail: 29 – 34.7 cm

The jackal can often be mistaken for a small wolf, with a head that resembles a domestic dog. The muzzle is slender, and the ears are small in proportion to the body. The ears are, however, pointed. The legs are long and lean, and the jackal has a relatively short bushy tail. For the most part, the animal appears to be brown or salt-and-pepper in colour, with an almost white belly as can be seen in Figure 28 below (Zaki, Abd-elaal, Fekri, & Farid, 2018:64).

Jackals were mostly found in the Western Desert in Egypt, near Cairo. They were also found in the Nile valley north of Cairo towards the Delta. Jackals were few in numbers, mostly because they competed with the feral dog packs in the region (Zaki, Abd-elaal, Fekri, & Farid, 2018:64).

Jackals, while inhabiting the deserts, mostly favoured wastelands and desert margins and cliffs. They could also be seen at Lake Nasser and near any agricultural areas. Jackals are mostly seen at dusk. They often make dens in opportunistic places such as caves or tombs. Jackals also feed on opportunistic prey such as insects and young or weak livestock.

**Figure 28: Egyptian Jackal[69]**

They have been seen eating rather old and rotting flesh. While jackals are often seen in packs, they can mostly be seen in pairs of two. The jackal usually howls and yelps after sunset and before dawn (Hunter, http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/canines.htm) (Zaki, Abd-elaal, Fekri, & Farid, 2018:64).

## 2.2 Wolf

Subspecies: Canis lupus pallipes

: Canis lupus arabs

Height: 114 – 140 cm

Weight: +-25 kg

Tail: 31 – 45 cm

The above-mentioned measurements are not certain as no Egyptian wolf has been measured yet. The wolf is larger than the jackal, with long legs and a more slender and angular head. The fur is a greyish colour, but light under the belly, and with grey on the inside of the legs. The ears are large and pointed as can be seen from the following image, Figure 29 (Hunter,

[69] https://retrieverman.net/tag/canis-aureus-lupaster/

http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/canines.htm) (Zaki, Abd-elaal, Fekri, & Farid, 2018:64).

**Figure 29: Egyptian wolf[70]**

The Egyptian wolf was found mostly in the Sinai, and while not much is known of the Egyptian wolf, they were most probably also nocturnal.

## 2.3 Red Fox

Subspecies: Vulpes vulpes aegyptia

Length: 76.7 – 105 cm

Weight: 1.8 – 3.8 kg

Tail: 30.2 – 40.1 cm

The female red fox was more likely to be seen than the male. The colour of the fox is grey-brown, with an almost black underside. The fox does have a few white marks, such as the chin as well as down their rear sides. They have large ears with a slender muzzle. Their tail is known

[70] http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/canines.htm

for being practically bushy and full (Zaki, Abd-elaal, Fekri, & Farid, 2018:63). The Red Fox can be seen in Figure 30.

**Figure 30: Red Fox[71]**

The red fox could be seen anywhere from the Delta to Alexandria and south along the Nile Valley. They were mostly found in desert margins and on farms, even going as far as private gardens. They spent most of the day in shallow burrows that they dig and come out for food at dusk. They are also known to make use of abandoned places such as tombs, ruins, and old houses. Their food mostly includes small insects or mammals, as well as fruits and vegetables (Zaki, Abd-elaal, Fekri, & Farid, 2018:63).

## 2.4 Ruppell's Sand Fox

Subspecies: Vulpes rueppellii

Length: 68.4 – 90.6 cm

Weight: 1.1 – 2.13 kg

Tail: 27.3 – 38.7 cm

[71] https://www.thoughtco.com/red-fox-facts-4628382

The sand fox is a small animal and has shorter legs than those previously discussed. It is also slimmer than the red fox, though its ears are much larger. It is difficult to track this animal, as its paw pads are almost completely covered with hair. The main colours of the fox are a reddish copper brown that tapers down to a white belly. It has a slender muzzle while the tail is bushy and full, the photo of this animal can be seen below in Figure 31 (Hunter, http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/canines.htm) (Zaki, Abd-elaal, Fekri, & Farid, 2018:63).

**Figure 31: The Rüppell's sand fox[72]**

The sand fox can be found widespread through the Western and the Eastern Deserts, while they are for the most part quite rare in the Nile Valley itself. They are, however, the widest spread fox in Egypt and would have been spotted easily in the desert. While the fox is mostly nocturnal, it can also be seen during dusk (Zaki, Abd-elaal, Fekri, & Farid, 2018:63). While it may dig a shallow burrow for shelter, it is also commonly found in vegetation and rock crevices (Hunter, http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/canines.htm).

[72] https://www.naturepl.com/stock-photo-ruppell-s-fox-sand-fox-vulpes-rueppellii-captive-occurs-in-north-image01489018.html

## 2.5 Blanford's Fox

Subspecies: Vulpes cana

Length: 73 – 76.2

Weight: 710 – 956 g

Tail: 32.4 – 36 cm

The Blanford's fox, while being quite small, has a bushy tail that in comparison to its body, is quite long and full. The colour of the fox is grey to brown on the flanks, with dark brown-black on its back and legs. The fox has a narrow and pointed muzzle. The fox can be seen in Figure 32 (Zaki, Abd-elaal, Fekri, & Farid, 2018:63).

**Figure 32: Blanford's fox[73]**


Little is known of the habitat of this animal, with most found in the Southeast Sinai. Sightings of the fox are quite rare. These foxes do not dig burrows, rather using rocks for shelter.

## 2.6 Fennec Fox

Subspecies: Vulpes zerda

[73] https://www.quora.com/What-is-the-natural-habitat-of-the-Blanfords-Fox-in-Pakistan

Length: 52.3 – 61.4 cm

Weight: 1 – 1.5 kg

Tail: 18.6 – 23 cm

The fennec fox is small and pale. It has a pointed muzzle and large ears, with a full and bushy tail that ends slightly pointed. The fox is mostly found towards the Western Desert, even though it is the fox that is most suited to the desert (Zaki, Abd-elaal, Fekri, & Farid, 2018:63). The fox is completely nocturnal, and retreats to is shallow burrow at sunrise. Figure 33 shows a depiction of the Fennec fox (Hunter, http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/canines.htm).

**Figure 33: Fennec fox[74]**

## 3. HIEROGLYPHICS OF CANINES

In the section below, we can also see the two hieroglyphics associated with the canines in Ancient Egypt. There are limited examples of canine hieroglyphics. It could be that the jackal hieroglyphic represents all wild canines, and the dog one does the same for all domestic canines. The hieroglyphics might, however, help us draw a conclusion on which canine represents which god, as the god's name or signs could be similar or contain the hieroglyphic of the animal they are associated with.

[74] https://animals.sandiegozoo.org/animals/fennec-fox

***Hieroglyphics connected to canines***

**Figure 34: Dog Hieroglyphic[75]**

A clear difference between the dog form and that of Anubis and Wepwawet is the tail. Where both gods are depicted with club-like tails, the dog is shown to have a curly tail, which is connected to none of our gods.

**Figure 35: Jackal Hieroglyphic[76]**

The ideogram for a jackal does indeed look like that of Anubis. The body is slightly bulkier than that of Wepwawet, and the tail more club-like, unlike that of Wepwawet where the tail seems to be pointed at the end, and slightly longer. The jackal is, however, depicted in a standing pose that seems to depict movement. It is not, however, in a formal standing pose such as with Wepwawet.

# 4. COMPARISONS OF THE ICONOGRAPHICAL REPRESENTATIONS OF CANINE DEITIES

In the following section, we will be looking at the three main canine deities, Anubis, Wepwawet and Duamutef. While other canine deities were mentioned in the previous chapters, these three deities are the major deities that can be seen in the Egyptian religion and can be found most frequently in texts and depictions, giving more information that can be used to form conclusions.

These deities are first investigated individually, and then they are critically analysed and compared to each other. The focus is on physical features, such as skin colour. The way they are portrayed will also be discussed, such as stance and attire they are wearing. Lastly, their names, written in hieroglyphs, are studied, as well as the different ways in which they were written and the subtle differences, if any, in the canine aspect connected to their names.

[75] Christina, 2018:13.
[76] Christina, 2018:13.

## 4.1 Anubis

In the coming section we will be looking at a few different depictions of Anubis, two found at the Metropolitan Museum and one from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. These specific depictions were chosen because they are largely undamaged, which leads to a more complete interpretation of the images. The differences and similarities are noted and compared to that of Wepwawet and Duamutef. The focus is also given to the hieroglyphics associated with Anubis. Anubis is also compared to the different animals that could relate to him.

### *Art Depictions of Anubis*

The following figure of Anubis can be found at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The relief is from the 18th Dynasty, 1323–1295 BCE, when Haremhad was in power (https://shorturl.me/DR5OG20v). The relief was found in his tomb. The Accession Number is 23.2.84

**Figure 36: Relief of Anubis[77]**

[77] https://shorturl.me/DR5OG20v

The image shows Anubis next to Haremhad, holding the ankh symbol in his one hand. The Ankh was rarely seen in possession of a human. It was symbolic for the eternal life as well as protection of the deceased (Remler, 2006:16). He is shown as a man with a canine head, wearing what can be assumed to be royal apparel. When looking at his face one can see long pointed ears, a long and sharp snout, and what seems to be makeup lines around his eyes, the same as the Pharaoh. Eye makeup was important in Egypt, both for magical and symbolic reasons, as well as for personal adornment (Remler, 2006:50).

Above his head is a hieroglyphic inscription where Anubis can be seen in full animal form, upon a standard, with what looks like a scarf around his neck. Both the hieroglyph and the painting of Anubis depict the animal's skin as black, which is of significance. The colour black represents the colour of the skin of the deceased after it had been treated with the embalming liquid. It also represents fertility when looking at the black silt that is washed up with the annual flooding of the Nile (Hart, 2005:25).

Figure 37 is a statue from the Late Period – the Ptolemaic Period, around 664–30 BCE. It was made from limestone and at the time, was painted completely black, as can be seen from the slightly darker face. It can be found in the Metropolitan Museum of art under the accession Number: 69.105.

**Figure 37: Anubis in full animal form[78]**

[78] https://shorturl.me/TS29

In Figure 37, Anubis is in full animal form. We see the same features with his head, the long, pointed ears, and a sharp nose. We also see a club-like tail that seems to be straight with no noticeable curls in it. The canine appears to be lean and trim, not overly bulky in muscle tone. Its head has a grey look to it, showing the remains of black paint.

In Figure 38, we again see Anubis in full canine form, upon a shrine in the shape of a chest. The chest is decorated with *Djed* and *Tyet* signs, which show a connection to protection and stability. The *Djed* is a symbol that relates to Osiris and represents stability. The symbol was also connected to power and the god Ptah. The symbol was often used on coffins to give the deceased stability in the afterlife. The *Djed* symbol was often used as an amulet, both for the living and for the dead (Remler, 2006:58).

The *Tyet* was also known as the knot of Isis and was a protection amulet that was used for mummies (Remler, 2006:107). The statue bearing these symbols was found in the famous tomb of Tutankhamun. It can be found in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

**Figure 38: Anubis on a shrine[79]**

[79] https://egypt-museum.com/search/anubis/page/3

Anubis is painted black with a golden scarf-like material around his neck, the same scarf that we also see in the hieroglyphic depiction in Figure 36. His ears and eyes are decorated in the same golden colour, which might symbolise royalty, as the clothes from Figure 36 did. The canine is again very lean, with large ears in proportion to the rest of the head. The snout of the canine also follows the same trend, ending in a narrow point.

### 4.1.1 Ankh

The ankh symbol is used to represent eternal life (Remler, 2006:16). Anubis might be holding it to symbolise his connection to the afterlife and the embalming of the body, promising an eternal afterlife if the deceased is prepared correctly and do indeed pass the Weighing of the Heart Ceremony (Remler, 2006:18). As the ankh relates to the afterlife, where the Egyptians believed you continue living, it could represent a connection between Anubis and the life that is promised after death.

### 4.1.2 Black skin

The black skin of the canine form could be the physical attributes of the animal it represents, or it could signify a symbolic connection to the afterlife. The black skin can be a connection to the afterlife, or to the mummification process where the skin of the diseased turns black from the natron used in the mummification liquid. On the other hand, it might also refer to fertility, as black was also associated with the fertile black soil that would wash ashore after the flooding of the Nile (Remler, 2006:47).

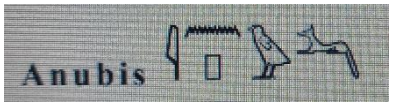
### 4.1.3 Golden scarf

In almost all the depictions of Anubis, he can be seen with a golden scarf tied around his neck. This could potentially link up to domesticated dogs, who are often shown in a similar fashion wearing collars and leashes.

**Hieroglyphics connected to Anubis**

By looking at the way that Anubis was portrayed in hieroglyphics, we can establish a tentative connection between the god and the different animals that are associated with him.

**Figure 39: Name of Anubis[80]**




The writing of Anubis's name uses a hieroglyph that looks like the physical way he is depicted. The canine hieroglyph looks identical to the statue of Figure 38. The only discerning factor so far is that the canine is in a recumbent position. When looking at this writing, the canine in the hieroglyphics is white, contrasting to the usual black skin tone of Anubis. The feather of Ma'at is also depicted at the beginning of his name, again linking him to the Weighing of the Heart Ceremony (Remler, 2006:125).

**Figure 40: Canine Standard[81]**

When looking at the canine on the standard, a representation of Anubis, it is like what is used in his name. Unlike in the name Wepwawet, the canine is not depicted with a cobra in front of the standard (Remler, 2006:220). The hieroglyph bears striking similarities to that of Figure 38 as well as Figure 37. A clear pattern can be seen in how Anubis is commonly depicted. We again see Anubis in a reclining position, with a club-like tail hanging straight down. This hieroglyph, as in Figure 39, is also depicted white instead of black.

**Figure 41: Anubis and the Feather of Ma'at[82]**

The last ideogram shows Anubis lying down with a feather on top of his back. The canine is the same as the previous two hieroglyphs, while the feather symbolises Ma'at, such as with the spelling of Anubis's name in Figure 39 (Remler, 2006: 125). While in Figures 39, 40 and 41, we see Anubis in the same pose, only the surroundings change. The name, a standard, and a feather are the only differences in the depictions shown so far for Anubis. All the previously mentioned figures also correspond with that of Figure 38, except for the colouring.

[80] Christina, 2018:13.
[81] Christina, 2018:14.
[82] Christina, 2018:13.

**Figure 42: Sitting Canine[83]**

Figure 42 is used to depict both Wepwawet and Anubis, which could suggest they were the same animal. The figure, however, is black, which corresponds to the idiographic depictions of Wepwawet, and the art depictions of Anubis. The Magical and symbolic meaning behind the colour black has already been discussed in previous chapters (Remler, 2006:47). Figure 42, however, does not show a canine in a reclining position as can be seen with the previous hieroglyphic depictions of Anubis, but rather in a sitting position, with what can be seen as a human body.

## 4.2 Wepwawet

When looking at depictions of Wepwawet, the most noticeable difference is that he is mostly depicted in full animal form, standing upright. Wepwawet is mostly depicted similarly to Anubis.

**Figure 43: Wepwawet in Animal Form[84]**

[83] Christina, 2018:13.
[84] https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544913

Figure 43 depicts Wepwawet standing in full canine form, with a long club-like tail. The statue is from the Third Intermediate Period or early Late Period, around 700–332 BCE. It is made from either Bronze or Copper Alloy and can be found at the Metropolitan Museum under Accession Number 1989.281.103.

The canine, like the depictions of Anubis, seems to be wearing a collar of some sorts around his neck. His ears are also like those of Anubis, long and pointed. One difference to be noted is the longer legs, and seemingly slimmer body build, which might suggest a different canine than that of Anubis, although this might be because of the standing stance compared to Anubis who is usually laying down. The snout of this depiction seems to be a bit more defined, with less of a tapered snout and more of a clear definition between forehead and snout, as can be seen with animals such as dogs and wolves.

**Figure 44: Wepwawet and Isis[85]**

The figure above is from the New Kingdom, in the reign of Ramesses II, around 1279–1213 BCE. It is on exhibit in the Metropolitan Museum under the Accession Number 17.2.5. It is

[85] https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544742

not known if the statue was painted and it is thus impossible to draw any significance from the colour.

Figure 44 depicts Wepwawet in an anthropomorphic way, with the body of a man, and only the head of a canine. While the snout is mostly missing, one can see the large ears, which seem slightly rounded at the base. Wepwawet does not seem to be dressed lavishly, even though he is depicted with a royal stance usually adopted by kings. He is also not carrying the Ankh symbol. He is holding a staff with what looks to be a snake, perhaps connecting him to the Uraeus. While there is no clear material around his neck, it is unknown if something was painted on.

**Figure 45: Amulets of Wepwawet[86]**

The amulets from Figure 45 are from the Middle Kingdom, 1850–1775 BCE. All these amulets can be found in the Metropolitan Museum, Accession number 04.18.8. None of the amulets has paint on them, but all are in full Zoomorphic form. They all exhibit the same long limbs and slim build. Their tails are again slightly longer than average. Some of the ears seem to be a bit shorter than that of Anubis. While their snouts are long and tapered, it does not seem to be as those on Anubis's depictions.

[86] https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/555803

### 4.2.1 Skin tone

While Duamutef is not depicted with black skin in any of these depictions, it is not clear if that was the intention, or if it was painted and the paint is now gone. In these depictions though, Wepwawet does not have black skin.

### 4.2.2 Standing pose

Wepwawet is most often featured as standing upright with his tail straight down. Whether or not this will be significant information will be seen after further investigation.

**Hieroglyphics connected to Wepwawet**

Just as with Anubis, Wepwawet has his own set of hieroglyphics connected with him, some of which are distinct from Anubis.

**Figure 46: Name of Wepwawet[87]**


Wepwawet, like Anubis, depicts the canine in a similar way to the physical depictions. The canine is on the standard with a cobra in front. He is again depicted as lean with long legs. The figure is black, but it might be because of how lean it is drawn: There is simply no space between the lines. One clear difference between the writing of Anubis and that of Wepwawet is the pose of the jackal. Whereas Anubis stayed in a reclining position, even in hieroglyphs, Wepwawet is still depicted as a standing canine.

**Figure 47: Wepwawet on a Standard[88]**

Wepwawet is again depicted as black and lean. The depictions seem to suggest that Wepwawet might have been a leaner canine then Anubis. The canine is on a standard with the Cobra in front of it. Another noticeable characteristic of the canine is the long and pointed tail – a contrast to Anubis who has a more club-like tail, with a rounded end.

[87] Christina, 2018:20.
[88] Christina, 2018:14.

## 4.3. Duamutef

Duamutef, as can be seen in the images below, was depicted uniquely compared to that of Anubis and Wepwawet. His body was usually either depicted through a canopic jar, or the entire body was shown to be mummified. This means that only the canine head can be used to conclude the type of canine, and no aid will be received by examining his body.

**Figure 48: Side view**[89] **Figure 49: Front view**[90]

Figures 48 and 49 show a wooden figurine depiction of Duamutef. It dates to the Ptolemaic period, 400–30 BCE and is currently on display in the Metropolitan Museum under the Accession Number 12.182.37a. Figure 48 is merely a side view of Figure 49 to gain a better understanding of the finer details of the canine head.

The figures show a clear black colour for the canine, like that of Anubis. The figure does, however, seem to depict slightly shorter ears, as well as being less rounded at the base. The face or snout of the canine also seems less tapered and more defined, as would be expected from some household dogs. The ears are also closer together and more centred on the top of

[89] https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/551149
[90] https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/551149

the head than that of Anubis or Wepwawet, who sport ears that are more based at the sides. The snout of Duamutef also seems to be coloured a lighter shade than the rest of the head

The following two images again show the same object, a canopic jar featuring Duamutef as the lid.

**Figure 50: Front view**[91]

**Figure 51: Side view**[92]

Figures 50 and 51, also from the Metropolitan Museum, depict a canopic jar from the Third Intermediate Period, 712–664 BCE. The jar was made from limestone, and is plain white, with no clear evidence that it was painted. The Accession number is 28.3.57a.

While no colour can be observed on the jar, the ears are like that of the figure before. While these seem to be a bit lager, both in height and in width, the placement is still more central to the head than that of the other canine deities. The mouth, although not as defined as the first figure of Duamutef, still seems to be a bit less tempered, almost robust in size.

[91] https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/559934
[92] https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/559934

**Figure 52: Jarhead**[93]

Figure 52 was in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The figure dates to the New Kingdom, 1292–1189 BCE. It has, in the meantime, moved to the Louvre Museum. The jar stopper is completely black, similarly to a depiction of Anubis. The canine head also features the same necktie as the other canine deities. The head is again a bit more defined, while the snout is a bit more tapered than the usual Duamutef images. The ears are once again close together and not as flared as those of Anubis and Wepwawet.

### 4.3.1 Face structure

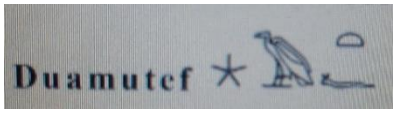
Anubis and Wepwawet had very tapered and narrow snouts, with ears placed close to the sides of their head. Duamutef seems to be built a bit more robust, with his ears placed more to the centre of his head, perhaps signalling a different canine than that of the previous gods.

**Hieroglyphics connected to Duamutef**

Duamutef, unlike that of Anubis and Wepwawet, has no clear canine link to him in his hieroglyphic name. This then makes it more difficult to identify Duamutef and the canines that could be associated with him.

[93] https://egypt-museum.com/search/duamutef/page/2

**Figure 53: Name of Duamutef[94]**




When looking at the name Duamutef, there is no connection to the canine figure at all. As there is no information to be gained about the canine view of Duamutef from the hieroglyphs, only this hieroglyph will be given.

## 4.4 Summary of depictions of deities in art

When looking at all the depictions of all the different deities, one can see that there are clear similarities, but also a few differences. These criteria include aspects such as facial structure, the pose of the deity, or an object/symbol they relate to. This next section will be a summary of the similarities as well as differences between these gods.

### 4.4.1 Table 2: Summary of attributes

| **Deities** | **Anubis** | **Wepwawet** | **Duamutef** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Skin colour** | Black. | Unknown/or light. | Sometimes Black. |
| **Pose** | Either anthropomorphic as a standing male with canine head, or reclining canine. | Either an anthropomorphic male with canine head or standing canine. | Canine with mummified body. The body seems to resemble that of a human man. |
| **Symbols Associated with.** | Ankh Symbol. | None. | None. |
| **Necktie or collar** | He is frequently seen with a scarf-like material wrapped around his neck. | Seems to be depicted with a sort of collar, more solid and dog-like than the scarf. | Can also be seen with the scarf in a few instances. |
| **Facial structure** | Long and tapered snout. Ears placed to | Same as Anubis | Structure of the face seems more robust, a |

[94] Christina, 2018:21.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | the side of the head. Big and wide ears. | | clear definition between the forehead and snout. The ears of Duamutef are placed more to the centre of his head. |
| **Tail** | A club-like tail, hanging straight down or resting next to him. | A club-like tail. Depicted as being very long, hanging past the canine's feet. | No tail as the lower body is usually mummified. |
| **Apparel** | When wearing clothes, it is usually the royal or fine clothes of the upper class. | Seems to be wearing more basic clothes. Mostly depicted as full canine. | Dressed in mummy wrappings. The wrappings seem to be complex, depicting importance and wealth. |

The table above shows that there were little differences when depicting Anubis and Wepwawet. They could easily be confused with each other as some main characteristics, such as facial structure and even body structure, were the same. Some differences do include the skin tone as well as the pose of the canine. The skin colour of Anubis could be representative of the dead and the underworld, which would then raise the question as to why Wepwawet is not also always depicted with black skin, while Duamutef is only depicted with black skin sometimes. The colour could also have a suggestion towards the type of animal used to represent these gods. Wepwawet could be represented by an animal with a lighter fur than Anubis. The wolf, for instance, is lighter in colour than most of the foxes.

When we examine the pose that the deities are depicted in, we also see that Anubis is almost always lying down, while Wepwawet is standing. Duamutef, however, is only depicted as a mummified jackal. The reason for the differences in pose might be connected to how the Egyptians saw the animals that represented the gods. If Wepwawet were connected to the wolf,

then maybe they saw the wolves as more prone to moving about, while the jackals might have been basking in the sun or resting more often.

All the canine deities can be seen with some form of scarf or collar around their neck in multiple instances. This might be by association with the wild canines and the dogs, or it could be a way of showing respect by giving the gods a form of jewellery, showing their respect to the gods.

When we look at most of the physical features such as facial shape and the tail, most of the aspects are quite similar, with a few, hard to notice, differences. This might suggest that no god was depicted with only one animal in mind, rather that they were being depicted to be canine looking, not necessarily wolf or jackal looking.

Duamutef seems to be set apart from Anubis and Wepwawet in the way he is depicted, with the typical use of a mummified human body. This aspect alone makes Duamutef unique in the art to that of the other canine deities.

### 4.5 Conclusion of Iconographic depictions of Deities

When looking at all the above-mentioned information, we can see that Wepwawet, Anubis and Duamutef all share some common iconographic factors, while they only have small differences. One factor they all share that might help us understand which canine they are depicted as is the collar that they all seem to be depicted with. The collar could point to a link with a domesticated animal, or it might be just a symbolic adornment given to the gods.

Another common factor, between at least Anubis and Wepwawet, is the club-like tail. This is an unknown factor for Duamutef as no tail is depicted. The tail's shape might help conclude the type of animal but will do little in explaining as to why that type of animal was associated with death.

These are the most obvious connections between the gods, although there are certainly others, as mentioned in the column. Further analysis of the hieroglyphics and depictions of the animals themselves could aid in drawing further conclusions.

## 5. ANALYSIS OF HIEROGLYPHICS

The following section is an investigation of the hieroglyphics used in depicting the gods, as well as some of the canines associated with them. The hieroglyphics are listed under their represented deities or animals in the chapter. The hope is to find some link between the

hieroglyphs for the animals and those used for the gods. The hieroglyphics are briefly discussed. The common factors or differences found are then highlighted, and a conclusion is formed.

## 5.1 Differences and similarities

When looking at the characteristics of the hieroglyphics, attention is given to key features such as the tail, the pose of the animal, the colour that it is depicted in, as well as the body and any objects surrounding the animal such as a standard. The table below shows the similarities that can be seen by analysing the hieroglyphics. Anubis seems to have a fair amount of similarities with the jackal, the only difference being that Anubis can be seen lying down and sometimes on a standard. Wepwawet, on the other hand, has few to no similarities to a jackal, except for the standing pose. Duamutef was not applicable in this analysis as there is no canine hieroglyph associated with him.

Wepwawet is the only canine depicted as black, a characteristic that is usually seen with Anubis. It is unknown, however, if this is a technique used to depict how lean the animal is, or if the black colour has a symbolic meaning. Regardless, it is a clear distinction between the two deities.

The following table shows the patterns followed by the depiction of the deities and canines in the form of hieroglyphics. Figure 38, used for both Anubis and Wepwawet, is separated from the groupings of Anubis and Wepwawet to show a better representation of how the deities were represented.

**Table 3: Summary Table of hieroglyphics**

| Figure | **Club-like tail** | **Sharp pointed tail** | **Curly tail** | **Standing pose** | **Laying down** | **Lean body** | **Black body** | **On a standard** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Figure 30 | | | YES | YES | | | | |
| Figure 31 | YES | | | YES | | YES | | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Figure 35 | YES | | | | YES | YES | | |
| Figure 36 | YES | | | | YES | YES | | YES |
| Figure 37 | YES | | | | YES | YES | | YES |
| Figure 38 | | | | | | | YES | |
| Figure 42 | | YES | | YES | | YES | YES | YES |
| Figure 43 | | YES | | YES | | YES | YES | YES |
| Figure 49 | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A |

From the table above we can see that while Anubis is always showed in a reclining position, Wepwawet is always upright. The colour differences are also highlighted here, with Wepwawet always black, and Anubis always white. Both deities were, however, sometimes shown on a standard, although this is more common with Wepwawet, where he is never off the standard. It should also be noted that while Wepwawet is on a barge standard, Anubis is most likely shown to be on a coffin. For the most part, the information gathered on the hieroglyphs match what we know of from their physical depictions, showing different skin tones and poses.

The hieroglyphics did, however, rule out domesticated dogs as a canine that can be associated with the deities, as it is depicted in a quite different manner. This then suggests that the deities in question were all depicted by wild canines, which would not have interacted much with the people of Egypt, perhaps suggesting a connection to the afterlife. As they would never come where people lived but roamed and searched for food where the dead dwelled. This could suggest that the Egyptians believed that the only place to encounter these animals would be if one died.

### 5.3 Conclusion of hieroglyphic depictions

In the above-mentioned section, information was gathered from the way gods and animals were shown in hieroglyphics. A few conclusions could be made from the analysis of the hieroglyphics. There are clear connections between Anubis and the jackal, while Wepwawet and Duamutef lack these connections. Anubis is a near copy of the jackal hieroglyphic, the only difference being the poses the canines are found in.

Wepwawet, on the other hand, is a slimmer black canine, with a tail that ends in a sharp point, and not the club-like tail found with Anubis and the jackal. The canine of Wepwawet is also always standing, with both feet together. There is also always a cobra with Wepwawet, suggesting a strong connection with the Uraeus. No information was gained on Duamutef in this section.

## 6. DEITIES VERSUS CANINES

In the next section, we will be analysing the resemblances between the physical characteristics of the canines found in Ancient Egypt, and that of the deities Anubis, Duamutef and Wepwawet. We will then also be noting some of the behavioural characteristics of the canines, and any resemblances that occur there between these gods and the canines. In this section, we are making use of tables to compare the attributes of the deities and those of the canines found in Ancient Egypt, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. In doing this, we hope to draw a clear conclusion on which canines are used to depict the deities, and if it is a mixture of canines, generalised to represent the deities.

### 6.1 The Jackal

Muzzle: Slim muzzle on a slender face.

Tail: Relatively short and bushy tail.

Ears: Small in proportion to the body, with pointed tips.

Body: Long and lean legs with a slender body.

Colour: Mostly brown with a lighter abdomen.

When looking at the physical attributes that are stated above, some match what we have seen with the deities in the artistic depictions, while some seem inconsistent. Anubis is known for

having quite large and dominant ears, whereas the jackal does not, which might lend its attributes more to Duamutef than Anubis. The jackal does, however, also have the slim and pointed facial structure that can be seen with Anubis and Wepwawet. The colouring of a jackal is dominantly brown, whereas Anubis is mostly depicted in black (Remler, 2006:18) and Wepwawet is grey or white (Remler, 2006:220). The black of Anubis might have been an exaggeration by the Egyptians of the natural colour of the jackal, or it could have been symbolic for death and the afterlife (Remler, 2006:111).

No comments can be made on the leg and body structure of the jackal in comparison with Anubis, as Anubis is always seen as lying down. The body structure does, however, match that of Wepwawet, with the slim body and long legs, Anubis does, however, have a club-like tail, which might have been a representation of being bushy, while Wepwawet has a significantly longer tail. As stated previously, the jackal did make noise at dusk and dawn, which might draw a connection to Ra moving through the underworld at night (Remler, 2006:181), connecting to both Anubis and Wepwawet, as well as Duamutef.

## 6.2 The Wolf

Muzzle: The wolf had a more angular head with a less pointed snout.

Tail: The tail was long and pointed, while still being bushy.

Ears: The wolf had large ears that were pointed at the tips.

Body: The body of the wolf would have been slim, with long legs.

Colour: The wolf was mostly a grey colour.

From what can be seen above, the wolf does not have any clear connections to Anubis and Wepwawet, except for the large ears, and the slim body. The wolf does connect with Wepwawet in terms of colour, where both are grey to white (Remler, 2006:220). Another connection that can be drawn between the wolf and Wepwawet is the tail, which is long in proportion to the body of the canine, as can be seen in the depictions of Wepwawet. The wolf, however, would have hunted in a pack, rather than scavenge rotten meat such as a jackal, and as such would not have frequented cemeteries as often as the jackal did. There is also not enough known information about the Egyptian wolf to draw solid conclusions on the nature of the wolf.

## 6.3 The Fox (Collectively)

Muzzle: The muzzle of the foxes discussed previously were collectively pointed, with narrow facial structures.

Tail: Collectively, the tails of the foxes were long in proportion to their bodies and were known to be very full and thick.

Ears: All the foxes showed exceptionally large ears in proportion to their bodies.

Body: The foxes were much smaller than jackals and wolves, with legs more portioned to their bodies.

Colour: The colour of foxes differed greatly, from rust-coloured to the light beige of the fennec fox, to the almost black colours of the Blanford's fox.

Foxes show remarkable similarities to both Wepwawet as well as Anubis and Duamutef. The muzzle and facial structure of foxes match all the deities in question, while the ears also fit into the depictions of the deities. When looking at the tail of the foxes, the long and thick tails match that of Wepwawet more than the club-like tail of Anubis. Colour-wise we see similarities all around, as the colours of foxes differ greatly. Anubis might match the Blanford's fox, while Wepwawet takes more to the colouration of the Fennec fox.

When looking at the behaviour of foxes, we also see a few similarities. They roamed at night, coming out at dusk, and retiring again at dawn, much like the barge of Ra going through the underworld (Remler, 2006:182). They were also known to frequent abandoned places, as discussed previously, so they would have been spotted at cemeteries and abandoned tombs by the Egyptians. They did not, however, eat rotten flesh, as can be seen with the jackal.

## 6.4 Conclusion on Animals and Deities

When looking at the above-mentioned, we can see some similarities between different animals and the deities discussed. The deities and the animal they share the most similarities with will now be discussed.

**Anubis**

Anubis shares little common features with the wolf, other than the big ears. However, Anubis does share quite a few characteristics with the jackal and the fox. Physically Anubis resembles both these animals, taking on the ears from the fox, the tail from the jackal, as well as the lean

body and long legs seen with jackals. Some character traits are also shared, such as the jackal and its connection to decaying flesh, or the shared trait of foxes and jackals, where they frequent abandoned places and tombs in search of food and shelter. Anubis takes more to the colour of the Blanford's fox than the colour of the jackal, but this might only be for symbolic reasons. Another important connection between the jackal and Anubis is the habit of the jackal making noise at dusk and dawn, drawing a connection to Duat and the afterlife. While Anubis does have more similarities with the jackal, we cannot completely disregard the similarities between Anubis and the fox.

**Wepwawet**

Wepwawet shares most characteristics with the wolf and the fox, although its lean body could also be associated with the jackal. The ears of Wepwawet seem to be depicted a bit shorter than that of Anubis, which fits in better with the image that a wolf would give. The long and lean body of Wepwawet, with the long tail, can also be linked to a wolf. Wepwawet does, however, have a few similarities with the fox as well. Both the fox and the wolf are known for making dens. These dens might link up with the rounded den that can be seen on the *Shed-Shed* that Wepwawet is mostly depicted with. Both foxes and wolves had long tails that could be linked to Wepwawet. We do, however, know that Wepwawet was linked to Lycopolis, the city of wolves, evidence that cannot be ignored, suggesting that Wepwawet was strongly associated with wolves, rather than foxes.

**Duamutef**

While both Anubis and Wepwawet had clear similarities to some of the canines discussed, this is not the case with Duamutef. A drawback when comparing Duamutef is that only his head is depicted, meaning there are limited connections to be made. When working with this drawback, we can, however, say that Duamutef seemed to have had a more robust snout, which might be more wolf-like, he had definite large and exaggerated ears, which might be more fox-like than a wolf or a jackal. Seeing as Duamnutef also did not have any hieroglyphic canine images to draw from, it seems that Duamutef might not be linked to any specific canine, rather a combination or generalisation of the canines found in Egypt.

## 7. SUMMARY

In this chapter, the iconographic aspects of the deities Anubis, Wepwawet and Duamnutef were analysed in detail, while also looking at the physical characteristics of the animals they are

associated with. Hieroglyphics were also studied to make substantial connections between canines and the deities they relate to.

While there are definite similarities between Anubis and the jackal, as well as between Wepwawet and the wolf, it cannot be stated with certainty that these canines were alone responsible for the image of these deities. Duamutef seems to exhibit a combination of characteristics from all the canines discussed in this chapter. This might also be the case with Anubis and Wepwawet.

While they do carry the traits of the jackal and wolf each, it is not impossible that they are also a combination of different canines, and that indeed they represent canines in general, instead of a specific canine. We have seen from the lack of hieroglyphics for canines such as the wolf and fox, that the Egyptians might have classified them all as being “canine” and as such never meant for Anubis and Wepwawet to be identified with only one specific canine.

# CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In this dissertation, it was attempted to form connections between certain canines and corresponding deities, Wepwawet, Anubis and Duamutef. It was also attempted to understand why these canines were connected to the afterlife, and how the Egyptians saw the canines in their everyday life. An iconographic approach was used to gain as much understanding from the depictions as possible, in the hope of forming a conclusion on why the most popular gods of the afterlife were depicted as canines. This would then give us a better understanding of the Egyptian afterlife, as well as their views on the gods and canines.

## 2. SUMMARY

In the previous chapters of this dissertation, we delved into the background of each of the main deities being discussed, namely Anubis, Wepwawet and Duamutef. We did also investigate the lesser canine deities, to gain a better overall understanding of the functions of canine deities. It did become quite clear that the most dominant functions of canine deities collectively are connected to the dead and the afterlife. It also became quite clear that most of the deities also shared physical traits, making it difficult to differentiate between them.

Further along in the study, we also looked at the canines that can be found specifically in Ancient Egypt. These included foxes, jackals, wolves, and domesticated dogs. We looked at which of those bore the most connections to the canine deities and why. Furthermore, we also looked at the way the Egyptians would have viewed these animals and how much contact they would have had with them. This helped to form conclusions on why the Egyptians would have chosen to associate the canine deities with the specific canines found in Egypt.

The Ancient Egyptians had a complex relationship with animals. Animals were not only seen as pets or as food but bore a strong connection to the Egyptian religion, as can be seen with examples such as the Apis Bull and votive mummification. We also saw that the Egyptians had a strong bond with their pets, sometimes even burying them in their tombs and giving them elaborate mummifications.

While they were aware of the wild canines such jackals in the desert, it is likely that they only encountered these animals when they ventured out into the desert. For the most part, tombs were built in the desert, and their villages were on the Nile river, where true desert animals such as foxes and jackals would be seen less often because of the human population.

When comparing the canines of Egypt to the deities of the afterlife, we looked at both physical appearance and depictions, as well as character traits and the duties that the deities were associated with. We also looked at the hieroglyphic writing of both canines and deities to see if there were any corresponding theme in depiction. These results are summarised below under each of the main deities discussed.

## 2.1 Anubis

- Known as a jackal-headed deity.
- The most featured canine deity in funerary texts.
- God of embalming and protector of the deceased.
- Always in a reclining position if in full canine form.
- He can also be seen with the body of a man and a black head of a canine.
- Often seen with a hook and a flail for authority and power, usually seen with pharaohs.
- He is usually depicted with black skin.
- Sharp canine features fitting foxes and jackals.
- His name can mean Puppy, forming a connection to a loyal pet or companion.
- Shares characteristics from multiple canines such as foxes, jackals, and domestic dogs. Shows the deceased the way into the underworld, as well as a war deity who aids in conquering his enemies.

## 2.2 Wepwawet

- Has a light grey or white colour.
- Always shown standing.
- Physically resembles more than one canine, though through his city and name he is more connected to a wolf.

### 2.3 Duamutef

- Only canine deity to not be depicted in a fully canine form.
- Usually depicted as a mummified man with a black canine head.
- Protector of the organs along with the other genii.
- Does not link up to any specific canine.

The above-mentioned information will be used below to form a conclusion as well as suggestions for further study.

## 3. CONCLUSION

The above-mentioned information was obtained through an iconographical investigation into the depictions of canine deities in Ancient Egypt. Through this investigation, it has become possible to highlight some of the reasons why the canine deities Anubis, Wepwawet and Duamutef were depicted in the manner that they were. It has also become possible to gain an understanding of their role in the afterlife and how this might have influenced the choice to depict the deities in question with canines.

While there have been some aspects through which the deities can be tied to the different canines, there is no denying that the deities carry aspects from more than just one canine. The Ancient Egyptians, as shown in Chapter 4, did not have that many hieroglyphics depicting the canines of Egypt. While there was certainly a difference between wild canines and domesticated dogs, these differences do not follow through for different types of wild canines. This could be because the Egyptians saw them all as the same. It is unclear whether the Egyptians differentiated between foxes, wolves, and jackals. They all could simply have been classified under wild desert dogs.

When looking at the information from this point of view, it explains why most of the deities have combined aspects from all the canines. They even carry behavioural characteristics of domestic dogs, such as with Wepwawet where he is often seen as a loyal companion to the pharaoh, accompanying him to battle and showing him the way, much like a hunting hound might do on a hunting trip. On the other spectrum, Anubis has been connected to the name “puppy” suggesting a link to the domestic dog, yet his behaviour links up with that of a jackal scavenging the cemeteries for food, as well as singing and yipping at dusk and dawn. Duamutef, on the other hand, is hard to link to any canine. He does not have the different features that the

other deities have; thus, less information can be compared. The best way to describe him would be as a jackal, the same as Anubis. It was perhaps the jackal's habit to dig up the bodies that linked them to Duamutef, who protects the organs.

That might be the reasons behind the types, or lack thereof, of canines connected to the deities. It does not explain why the canines were connected to the dead in the first place. The best way to analyse this would be to look at the characteristics of wild canines, as domesticated dogs play a lesser role. Wild canines of Egypt would have been scarce in the Nile valley between the cities and would rather have been found on the edges of the desert and deeper into the desert. While the Ancient Egyptians did live in the Nile Valley, tombs and funerary practices were often carried out in the desert, where there was less chance of the body being disturbed. This shared location can be the first link between wild canines and the afterlife.

Another connection would be the eating habits and sleeping habits of wild canines. Because of the deceased being buried in cemeteries, it would have attracted wild canines as a source of food. They also would have seen the tombs as a safe place to seek shelter. Being nocturnal for the most part means they would have come out at dawn and retreated at dusk. This would mean the Egyptians would see them coming and going at the exact time that the barge of Ra was supposed to travel through the sky, thus forging another connection between the afterlife and canines. They would have been gatekeepers or keepers of the afterlife in a way, and as can be seen with Wepwawet, guides to the afterlife.

It would seem then that it was the location of wild canines that forged their connection to the afterlife, and while some of them surely did cross over into domestic areas, most of them would have stayed in the desert, mostly seen at night. When looking at further research opportunities, the relationship between canines and humans could be investigated more extensively, to gain a better understanding of why the canine deities were predominantly male. This could also connect with the male mourners that can be seen in the papyrus of Ani, in Figure 9. They were held in higher regard than the female mourners, suggesting that the afterlife was a serious aspect of the Egyptian religion and reserved for a male presence. But this would need extensive research to understand.

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https://www.naturepl.com/stock-photo-ruppell-s-fox-sand-fox-vulpes-rueppellii-captive-occurs-in-north-image01489018.html

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Figure 33: Fennec fox: https://animals.sandiegozoo.org/animals/fennec-fox

Figure 34: Dog Hieroglyphic. Christina, A. 2018. Anubis: The God's Manifestation in the Iconographical and Literary Sources of the Pharaonic Period. The University of the Aegean.

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https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544913

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Figure 52: Jarhead: https://egypt-museum.com/search/duamutef/page/2

Figure 53: Name of Duamutef. Christina, A. 2018. Anubis: The God's Manifestation in the Iconographical and Literary Sources of the Pharaonic Period. The University of the Aegean.

# SUMMARY

The Ancient Egyptians have always had a strong connection with their animals. This can be seen in the depictions of their gods as well as in their way of writing in hieroglyphics, in which multiple animal figures are used. The Ancient Egyptians are also associated strongly with the afterlife and their interest in the deceased and funerary texts. Much of the Ancient Egyptian material culture that has been preserved has some connection to one of these aspects. Their funerary culture has been well-preserved thanks to the dry and arid conditions of the desert, while the Nile has almost completely destroyed the rest of their culture.

This dissertation focuses on the relationship of the Ancient Egyptians with animals, specifically canines, in association with death and the afterlife. The focus is on the similarities between canines and the main canine deities: Anubis, Wepwawet, and Duamutef, listing the connections between the funerary, canine gods and the animals the Egyptians linked to them. It also looks at the hieroglyphic representation of both the gods and the canines. The animals in question are also briefly discussed, analysing their behaviour, and linking it to the information gathered on the canine deities.

# KEYWORDS

Anubis

Wepwawet

Duamutef

Iconography

Canine

Duat

Deceased

Hieroglyphics