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Chiori Kitagawa

The Tomb of the Dogs at Asyut

Faunal Remains and Other Selected Objects



The Asyut Project

Edited by
Jochem Kahl, Ursula Verhoeven
and Mahmoud El-Khadragy

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with contributions by
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Preface

Numerous publications, regardless of being scientific or popular books and articles, TV programmes and films in relation to Ancient Egypt may have created a kind of illusion that we know a lot about Ancient Egypt. Some ask me whether there is still something left to discover in Egypt, when I mention our fieldwork in Egypt. Perhaps we know quite a lot about Ancient Egypt, yet there is still even more that we do not know. One of these could be about animals in ancient Egyptian cults. What we surely know is that animals played their roles in the theology of Ancient Egypt. However, what is far less certain are details such as which species are exactly connected with certain gods, from where they came to archaeological sites (if we find their carcasses), how they reached the sites, who brought them there, how were they kept, how did they end their lives and so on. I hope that this book may contribute towards filling a missing piece of this intricate puzzle, not only of animals in Ancient Egypt, but also of its human history.

The author would like to acknowledge the help and support of the following people (honorific prefixes omitted) and institutions involved in this project. Without their support, this book would not have been completed; all errors in this work, however, are mine alone. The author wishes to express her gratitude first to the project directors, Ursula Verhoeven (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz), Jochem Kahl (Freie Universität Berlin) and Mahmoud El-Khadragy (Sohag University), who offered invaluable and continuous support. Also the Supreme Council of Egyptian Antiquities and their inspectors have always been helpful to our project.

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I am grateful to all our colleagues of the Asyut Project from Sohag University, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz and Freie Universität Berlin who provided insight into this work. In particular, the following colleagues (family names in alphabetical order) must be acknowledged for their patient work at the Tomb of the Dogs, despite the tough physical environment of fieldwork with the high temperature of August/September in Middle Egypt and with the unpleasantly smelling air kept for a few decades in the tomb: Mohamed Alshafey, Fritz Barthel, Rudeina Bayoumi, Tina Beck, Nadine Deppe, Michael van Elsbergen, Hisham Fahid Ahmed, Ann-Cathrin Gabel, Eva Gervers, Anne Herzberg, Jochem Kahl, Mohamed Helmi, Yaser Mahmoud Hussein Abouzid, Josephine Malur, Silvia Prell, Teodozja Rzeuska and Laura Sanhueza-Pino. Of special mention, Silvia Prell, Josephine Malur and Mohamed Alshafey who made much effort concerning the cleaning of the Tomb of the Dogs, which helped us to gain a large amount of faunal material for the present study. Maps and plans of our project, which are used in this

work, were provided by Ulrike Fauerbach, Manja Maschke, Cornelia Lehrle and Philipp Jansen. Fritz Barthel took, as always, excellent photos. Attiya Soliman and Tarek Abdel-Alla Mohamed performed onsite x-ray examination of animal mummies. Special thanks go to the local workmen, the ghafirs, the reis Ahmed Atitou and Zekry, the police and the drivers in Egypt for helping me and us in our fieldwork. Without them, the fieldwork would never have been carried out smoothly.

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Last, but not least, I cannot express enough thanks to my husband and children for their continued and patient support and encouragement, to whom this book is dedicated.

Berlin, May 2016

Chiori Kitagawa

CHAPTER ONE

Canids at Asyut: Tombs and Temples

Jochem Kahl & Chiori Kitagawa

Papyrus Jumilhac, “première légende” (pJumilhac XV, 9-16):

Quant au loup *kd-i(r)tjw*(?), avec le visage rouge (?) et le derrière blanc, c’est un animal entièrement noir, et il n’a absolument pas d’(autre) couleur en lui: c’est Anubis, et il est une hypostase d’Oupouaout. C’est une forme d’Isdès. Sa partie antérieure est ornée (?), et, son postérieur, petit; grandes sont (ses) oreilles et rapide sa course, comme celle du chacal. Il est une hypostase de «celui qui tire la barque des millions d’années». Il est honoré dans les villes et dans les nomes, dans le pays tout entier. Son visage est levé; il a une perruque noire, et il est habillé dans un vêtement. Son visage n’est en rien sauvage; il est enterré à Dounâouy/Hardaï et à Siout, en Haute Égypte, et, <en Basse Égypte>, à Chen-Kébeh et à Busiris. C’est l’ennemi d’Osiris, celui qu’on a fait mourir (?) auprès de lui, son corps (celui de l’ennemi) étant sous la puissance de ce dieu (Osiris?), après des années, et on s’est beaucoup réjoui, quand il (l’ennemi) a été sacrifié. Il a été enterré (?) dans la maison d’Anubis, à Siout, à Dounâouy/Hardaï, à Busiris et à Abydos. Son âme est (maintenant) dans la nécropole, comme celle de tout *imakhou*, pour l’éternité, encore qu’il ait été placé (autrefois) dans la salle *htm.t*, dans (ou: de) l’Amentit, jusqu’à ce que son âme et son corps fussent décomposés, conformément (au sort) de celui qui a duré sur terre, après une vieillesse heureuse.
(translation after VANDIER 1961: 127)

Papyrus Jumilhac, “troisième légende” (pJumilhac XV, 22-XVI, 2):

Quant au chien qui a le visage noir, le dos rouge, les pattes blanches et l’arrière-train blanc, c’est un animal entièrement *kd-i(r)tjw* et il n’a absolument pas d’(autre) couleur en lui: c’est Anubis, et il est une hypostase d’Oupouaout. Il est honoré dans les villes et dans les nomes, et dans le pays tout entier, (en qualité de) forme mystérieuse du Grand qui habite dans la maison d’Anubis, dans tous ses aspects, et, pourtant, sa sépulture n’a pas été pourvue dans les *itrty* du Sud et du Nord; il n’est pas sorti justifié auprès des maîtres des justifiés; son cadavre a été brûlé, son âme a cessé d’exister, ses enfants, alors qu’ils étaient vivants sur terre, ont été anéantis, et il est mort par la puissance du dieu de sa ville. C’est Oupouaout et Anubis, à Busiris, en Abydos, à Siout et à Dounâouy/Hardaï et, aussi, tous les dieux de la nécropole, qui l’ont protégé contre tous les ennemis après l’avoir conduit auprès du dieu grand, dans la nécropole.
(translation after VANDIER 1961: 127-128)

The passages from the Papyrus Jumilhac quoted above point towards the major issues discussed in the volume at hand: the question of the existence of a tomb of Anubis at Asyut, the question of the zoological classification of canids – dogs, wolves, foxes and jackals, in particular – as well as the question of in how far the diseases and pathologies affecting canids can provide insights into the circumstances surrounding the life and death of these animals.

The Papyrus Jumilhac in its extant form is a mythological manuscript dating from the 4th century BCE which appears to have been in use over the course of several generations.¹ The text is based on older sources; to be specific, editorial layers from the Middle Kingdom or Dynasty 18, from the Ramesside Period and from Dynasty 26 or later can be identified.² The manuscript predominantly contains theological knowledge pertaining to the 18th Upper Egyptian nome. However, some passages of the papyrus also constitute a compilation of various other regional traditions.³ Ten different canids are mentioned in several “legends” contained in the extensive “Gaumonographie” in pJumilhac XV, 9-XVI, 22. The text distinguishes these animals by coat colour, and names deities that manifest themselves in the respective animal. Further to this, there are references to the specific myth of Osiris, as well as to the worshipping, death and burial of canids.⁴

In all likelihood, the origin of the “première légende” (pJumilhac XV, 9-16) and the “troisième légende” (pJumilhac XV, 22-XVI, 2) is Asyut.⁵ Anubis is referred to as a hypostasis of Wepwawet in both legends; what is more, in the “première légende” Anubis is called a “Transformat”⁶ of Isdes and a hypostasis of the jackal that tows the sun barque. Cast as the enemy of Osiris, Anubis is sacrificed in this text as compensation for the harm he has done. His sacrifice is beneficial to Osiris, however, and so Anubis ultimately appears in a rather favourable light.⁷ The Papyrus Jumilhac explicitly mentions a “house of Anubis” at Asyut (XV, 15; XV, 24), which can be assumed to be identical with the temple of Anubis.⁸ Asyut is also called the burial place of Anubis (XV, 13; XV, 21), an unmistakable hint that a tomb dedicated to Anubis existed at Asyut.

Since 2008, this burial site can also be identified archaeologically. The site – or at least a certain part of it – is nowadays known as the Tomb of the Dogs, situated on the Gebel Asyut al-gharbi (Pl. 1) to the west of the modern city of Asyut. Apart from its significance for questions pertaining to the history of religion and to the domain of archaeology, the Tomb of the Dogs also offers a rich variety of zooarchaeological material. This zooarchaeological material is the central topic of the present volume (Ch. 2). Before we proceed to this issue, a brief overview of all temples and tombs at Asyut that can be related to canids is in order, as a further deity imagined in the form of a canid was worshipped at Asyut along with Anubis: the city’s chief deity, Wepwawet.

1.1 Temples for canine deities at Asyut

The worship of deities imagined in a canid form is documented for a period of over 2000 years at Asyut (Fig. 1), a city in Middle Egypt roughly 375 km south of modern Cairo: both Wepwawet, the city’s chief deity, protector and opener of the ways, and Anubis, god of the necropolis, stood at the centre of cultic activities – from the Old Kingdom at the latest all the way up to the Roman Period. Temples with associated land holdings, priests and musicians were dedicated to their worship.⁹ The earliest priest known by name is Min-nefer, who lived during Dynasty 5.¹⁰ There is clear evidence that the nomarchs of Asyut were also the overseers of the priests of Wepwawet and/or Anubis during the First Intermediate

1 First edition: VANDIER 1961.

2 QUACK 2008: 203-228.

3 VON LIEVEN 2004: 161.

4 See VANDIER 1961: 80-96, 127-128. Cf. the instructive outline in VON LIEVEN 2004: 160-161.

5 VANDIER 1961: 88, 94, 95 already points this out.

6 On the specifically Egyptological usage of this term, see BUCHBERGER 1993.

7 See VANDIER 1961: 89.

8 See VANDIER 1961: 89, 95.

9 KAHL 2007: 39-50.

10 Leiden, RMO AMT 106; KAHL 2007: 49-50; BEINLICH 1976: 142.

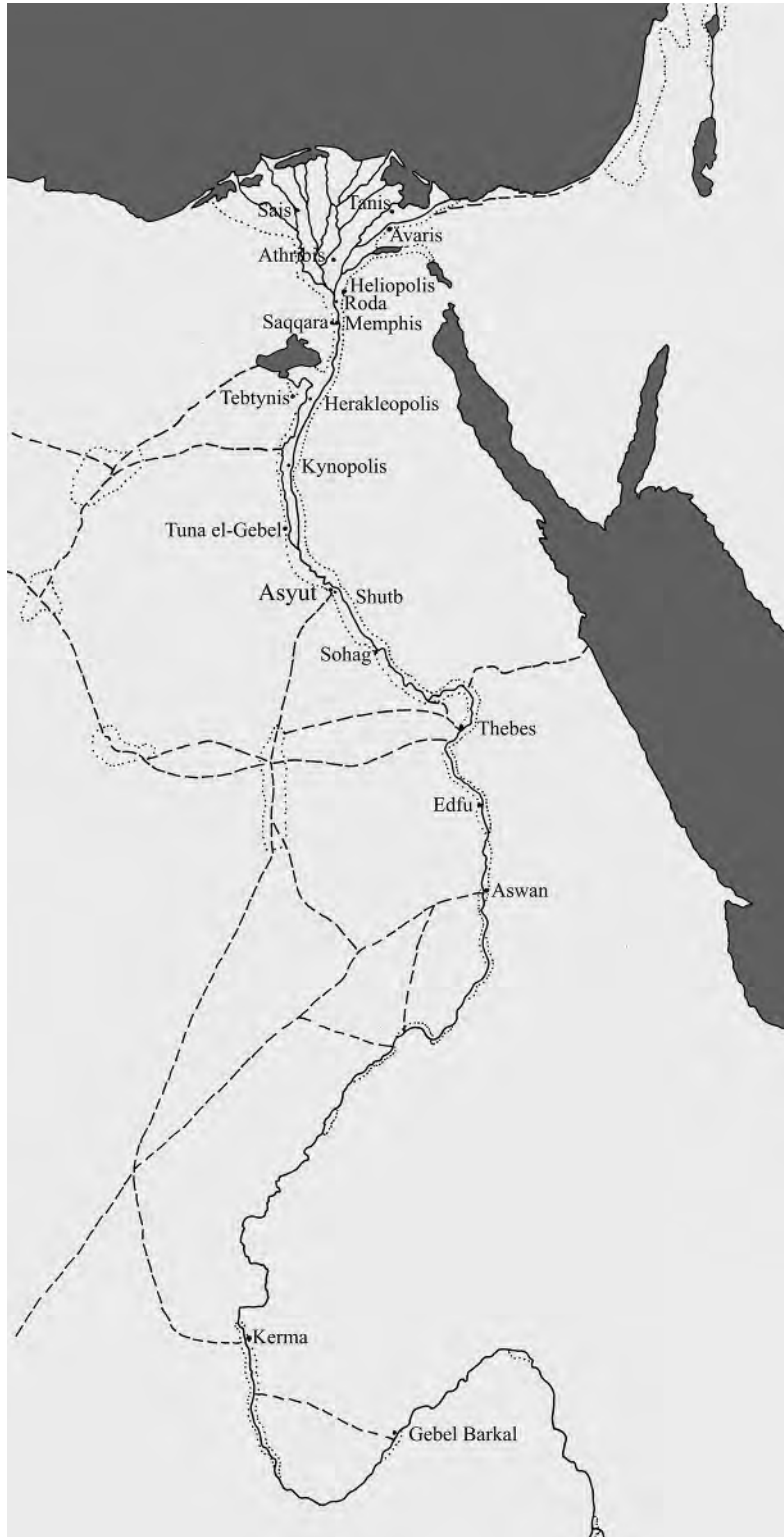


Fig. 1: Map of Egypt (© The Asyut Project).

Period and the Middle Kingdom (Khety I, Iti-ibi, Khety II, Iti-ibi-iqer, Mesehti, Anu, Djefai-Hapi I, Djefai-Hapi II).¹¹ First Prophets of Wepwawet are attested for the New Kingdom (Hori, Amen-hotep, Wepwawet-mose) and again for Dynasty 26 (Menekh-ib-Ra).¹² Some records of priests of Wepwawet are as recent as the Ptolemaic and the Roman Period.¹³

There is written evidence for the temples in which the two canid-shaped deities were worshipped. The temple of Wepwawet, mentioned for the first time in inscriptions from the end of the First Intermediate Period,¹⁴ was Asyut's main temple.¹⁵ It was called "The sky of the one who made the sky" (Siut IV, 21) at the time. Papyrus Harris I states that the wall enclosing the temple had a height of 15 m early in Dynasty 20.¹⁶ While the remains of the temple can be located at a depth of approximately 8 m underneath the modern city of Asyut (Fig. 2),¹⁷ they are inaccessible to archaeological research due to the modern buildings that cover the area.¹⁸ Written evidence concerning the temple of Wepwawet ranges up to the Ptolemaic Period.¹⁹

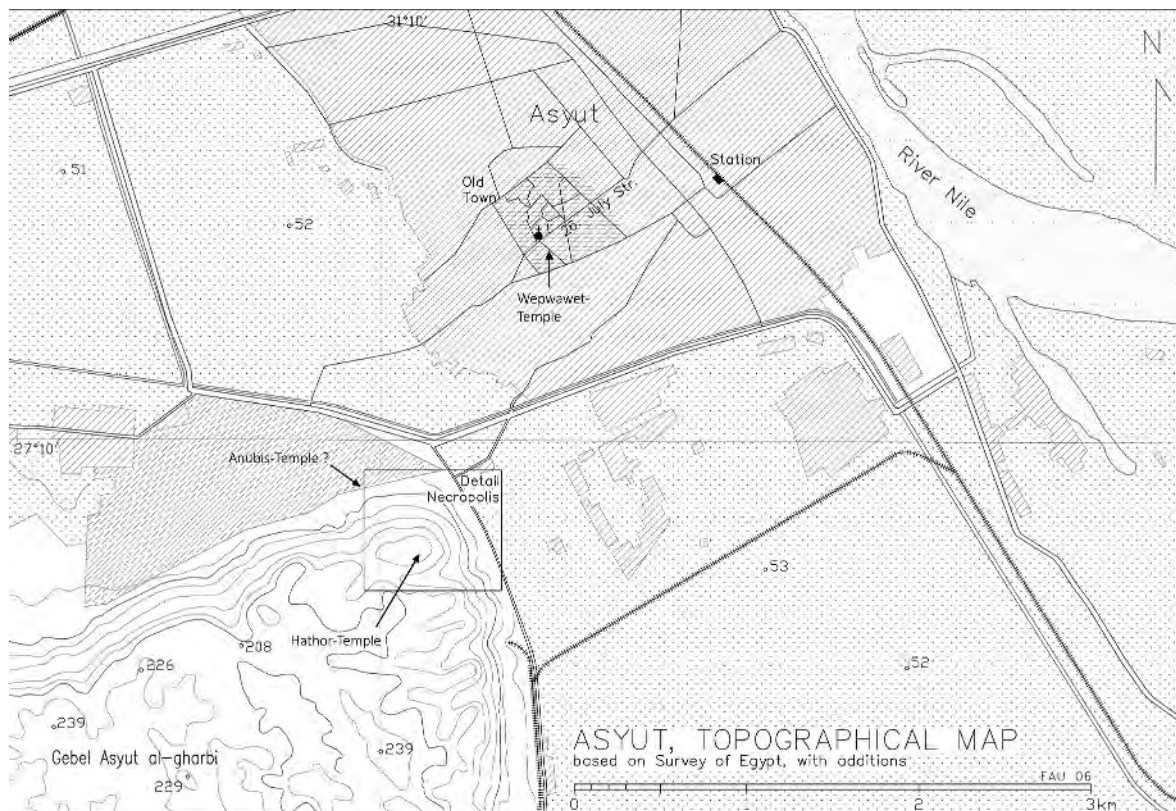


Fig. 2: Asyut, Topographical Map (Ulrike Fauerbach 2006; Philipp Jansen 2016; © The Asyut Project).

11 For evidence, see KAHL 2007: 46-49.

12 For evidence, see KAHL 2007: 46-48; METAWI 2013.

13 The last priest of Wepwawet known by name is Djed-Djehuti-ii-ef-ankh, who flourished between the 1st and 2nd century CE (RIGGS & STADLER 2003: 80-81).

14 See KAHL 2007: 41.

15 See KAHL 2007: 39-48.

16 For further information on the temple, see also pHarris I, 58,12-59,3.

17 GABRA 1931.

18 Occasional illicit excavations do seem to be taking place, however – the relief of Seti I mentioned in ahramonline on 4 October 2015 is a case in point (<http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/9/40/152042/Heritage/Ancient-Egypt/Egypt-recovers-Stolen-relief-of-King-Seti-I-from-L.aspx>).

19 THOMPSON 1934: 18, 23, 43.

Coins from Emperor Hadrian's 11th regnal year (126/127 CE) still depict the divine Wepwawet.²⁰ On festive occasions, an image of Wepwawet was carried in procession through the streets of Asyut.²¹

The exact site of the temple of Anubis is unclear, but it was probably located directly at the foot of Gebel Asyut al-gharbi (Fig. 2).²² Tombs H11.1 (Northern Soldiers Tomb) and I10.1 could provide clues²³ regarding the position of the temple of Anubis at the foot of the mountain. Their central axes and their entrances are not oriented towards the city with its main temple (Pl. 2). Provided that there is no other plausible explanation for the conspicuously divergent orientation of the two tombs in comparison to other burial sites nearby (especially Tombs I-V), an orientation towards the temple of Anubis would be conceivable. In that case, the temple would probably be located in the area of the modern-day Muslim cemetery. The temple is mentioned several times in written sources until the Ptolemaic Period,²⁴ and it is possible that the temple was still in use as late as 229/230 CE under the reign of Emperor Alexander Severus.²⁵

1.2 Canid tombs on Gebel Asyut al-gharbi

Two large burial sites for canids on Gebel Asyut al-gharbi are known today: one is the tomb of the nomarch Djefai-Hapi III, the so-called Salakhana Tomb,²⁶ and its surroundings, situated on geological Stage 2 within the perimeter of the modern military camp; the other is a structure that was rediscovered by the German-Egyptian Asyut Project in 2008-2009 and that has since been referred to as Tomb of the Dogs (O11.13),²⁷ located on geological Stage 4 of the mountain (Pl. 2).²⁸

Travellers in the 18th and 19th century CE pointed out burials of dogs and other animals on Gebel Asyut al-gharbi, with canine burials being described as the most numerous.²⁹

The condition of the tombs was disastrous even in the 19th century. The English nurse and writer Florence Nightingale remarked in 1849:

Numbers of heads and tails of mummy-jackals were lying about in their rags ... Anubis was ... the god of Time. But Time itself now lay dead; and the mummies, so carefully put under his protection, all lay tumbled about among the rocks.

(SATTIN 1987: 63)

In 1792, the English traveller William George Browne wrote:

In the mountain above Assiut are several remarkable caverns, very spacious, and adorned with hieroglyphics and emblematic figures. Some appear to have been sepulchral, as they contain fragments of the jars in which were deposited, not only the ibis, but cats, dogs, and other animals, whether considered as sacred or slain to attend their master or mistress in the other world.

(BROWNE 1799: 125)

²⁰ GEISSEN & WEBER 2004: 304-305, Pl. 2.21.

²¹ DURISCH, 1993: 219; MONTEVECCHI 2000: 146; DUQUESNE 2003; DUQUESNE 2007: 27, 60 (S30); KAHL 2007: 45, 48.

²² EDEL 1984: 48.

²³ On H11.1, see EL-KHADRAGY 2006; KAHL 2007: 83-84; KAHL 2013: 116-118; ABDELRAHIEM & HISHAM FAHID 2012: 202-205; on I10.1, see KAHL 2007: 96-97; KAHL 2013: 120-121; VERHOEVEN forthcoming.

²⁴ KAHL 2007: 49-50.

²⁵ KAHL 2007: 50.

²⁶ This epithet derives from the tomb's location next to Asyut's former abattoir.

²⁷ KAHL 2007: 68; KAHL 2009; KITAGAWA 2009; KAHL & KITAGAWA 2010; KAHL 2010; KITAGAWA 2011; KITAGAWA 2012.

²⁸ On the geological stages of Gebel Asyut al-gharbi, see KAHL 2007: 59-61.

²⁹ An overview of sources mentioning canid burials at Asyut can be found in KAHL 2013: 124, Tab. 10.

The Scottish traveller and antiquarian Robert Hay of Linplum reported in 1830:

The small excavations are innumerable, + the Mountain is perforated in every direction with them ... in and about these I observed Many bones + heads of what appeared to me to be the Taleb from their size and on some of the heads still remained some hair of a redish colour. None of them seemed large enough for those of wolves.

(HAY 1830: 17)

The English archaeologist John Gardner Wilkinson observed in 1842:

Many of the burnt bones I observed were of wolves; and it is probable that most of the smaller caves were intended for depositing the mummies of those sacred animals of Lycopolis, which have since been purposely or accidentally burnt.

(WILKINSON 1843: 88)

1.2.1 The Salakhana Tomb

Whereas the quoted travelogues refer to canids and to deposits of canid remains on the Gebel Asyut al-gharbi in general, other reports describe a particular burial site for canids next to the so-called Salakhana Tomb. This site, partly excavated by Mohamed Halfawee in 1889, apparently contained the mummies of canids. There is no formal report on these fieldworks, but the American jurist and Egyptologist Charles Edwin Wilbour as well as the German traveller Sophie Rohe who both visited the excavation site in 1889 mentioned canid mummies contained in vessels.³⁰

Charles Edwin Wilbour reported on 22 March 1889:

Omar told me of new work in the mountain and took me after noon to a considerable excavation, quite grandiose, which Mohammed Halfawee, with permission from Grébaut, was making. It is only a few rods north of the end of the causeway, perhaps one third of the way to the cemetery, and thirty or forty feet up. A narrow way cut through rock leads to an open place, on the north side of which are two rock chambers, the door of the farthestmost being inscribed in the name of the same Hap-jef whose *two* tombs have been a wonder for many years... Two or three broken steles have been found and an offering table with name of Hap-jef. Digging is only begun on the north side of the place. Above six feet of sand is a four or five foot layer of jackal mummies in pots, some of which are ornamented. Their shape and decoration is wonderfully varied. One had a face with protruding tongue; many had raised work. I remember too, a hawk-headed Sphinx with the beginning of a Demotic inscription. To finish the work Mohammed Halfawee thinks would take two hundred pounds.

(CAPART 1936: 528)

Sophie Rohe wrote:

Immer noch an Mumienteilen vorbei schritten wir wieder bergab und kamen zu einem erst entdeckten Grabe, mit dessen Bloßlegung man gerade beschäftigt war. Gerne hätten wir der Eröffnung eines Raumes beigewohnt, den seit mehr als 3000 Jahren vielleicht kein menschlicher Fuß betreten; aber trotzdem man die Thür schon sah, musste erst der aus Schutt und Hundsmumien in Vasen bestehende Hügel vorn und darüber sorgsam abgetragen und eine Kommission von Kairo abgewartet werden, ehe man das Geheimnis ergründen konnte. So gingen wir denn unseres Weges weiter, froh, wenigstens einige gerade ans Licht beförderte Väschen und Näpfchen als Andenken erhandelt zu haben.

(ROHE 1892: 54)

³⁰ See KAHL 2013: 118-119.

In 1922, a large number of votive stelae dating from Dynasty 18 to Dynasty 27, as well as small pottery sculptures showing canids, Demotic papyri and mummies of canids were discovered in the direct vicinity of this site when cleaning work was carried out under the direction of the British archaeologist Gerald A. Wainwright in the tomb of nomarch Djefai-Hapi III (reign of King Amenemhat II; Dynasty 12).³¹ The objects were encountered in the debris which filled the pillared hall.³² Due to its location close to Asyut's Early Modern abattoir, this nomarch tomb gained the moniker "Salakhana Tomb"³³ among Egyptologists, while the find of stelae and other objects is known as "Salakhana Trove."³⁴ The stelae were votive offerings to Wepwawet and other gods, deposited by priests, soldiers or pilgrims either as an expression of gratitude or as an intercessory plea. The Salakhana stelae and the pottery sculptures attest to a widespread cult of Wepwawet at Asyut that stretched from the New Kingdom to the Late Period.³⁵ The finds provide numerous hints that canids were considered sacred animals.³⁶ In many cases, Wepwawet is depicted standing on a standard. Groups of canids are another frequent iconographical motif on the stelae.³⁷ Possible interpretations of these groups range from the depiction of real canids as representations of the respective god's Ba via sacrificial animals to the magically efficient purpose of envisioning the power of the deity to grant the wish of the supplicant who offered the stela.³⁸ Sometimes the standard is supported on a carrying shrine, on top of which an image with a jackal's head interpreted as "Ba-souls of Nekhen" is depicted, along with another figure interpreted as "Ba-souls of Pe."³⁹ It is still unclear whether the tomb functioned as a sanctuary since the New Kingdom, or whether it was reused as a cachette of the Wepwawet temple.⁴⁰ The fact that the stelae refer to Wepwawet and not to the tomb's owner Djefai-Hapi III seems to argue in favour of the second possibility.⁴¹

The reported large amount of canid bones is evidence for the prolonged usage of the area as a cemetery for sacred animals. Since most of the stelae refer to the canid-headed main god of Asyut, Wepwawet, a close connection to this particular deity seems to be evident.

Today, the Salakhana Tomb and its immediate vicinity are part of a restricted area used by the Egyptian Military, and are thus inaccessible to further research. The current whereabouts of most of the canid mummies are unknown.⁴²

31 WAINWRIGHT 1928: 176-189; LACAU 1922: 379-380; LACAU 1923: 34. On the papyri, see SOTTAS 1923: 34-46; SPIEGELBERG 1932: 39-53; SHORE 1988: 200-206; JOHNSON 1994: 113-132; KAHL 2007: 123-124; a revised edition by Jannik Korte is in preparation.

32 See the plan in DUQUESNE 2009: 14 (below). The photograph in DUQUESNE 2009: 14 does not represent the Salakhana Tomb as stated, but rather Tomb VII at Der Rifeh (see MONTET 1936: Pl. 6A).

33 LACAU 1922: 379-380; WAINWRIGHT 1928: 176-189; MOSS 1933: 33; PORTER & MOSS 1934: 264; MONTET 1936: 134-135; CAPART 1936: 528; MAGEE 1988: II, 27-28; KAHL 2007: 92-93; DUQUESNE 2007; DUQUESNE 2009; KAHL 2013: 118-119.

34 The late Terence DuQuesne described more than 500 stelae and more than 50 figurines: DUQUESNE 2007; DUQUESNE 2009.

35 BECKER 2007; DUQUESNE 2007; DUQUESNE 2009.

36 See DURISCH 1993: 218-219.

37 See DUQUESNE 2009: 86.

38 See DUQUESNE 2009: 86.

39 See DUQUESNE 2009: 134.

40 See the discussion in DUQUESNE 2009: 82-84 and DUQUESNE 2000: 18.

41 See KAHL 2007: 93.

42 See DUQUESNE 2007: 24, but cf. the report in GAILLARD 1927: 33-42 concerning two canid skulls from the Salakhana Tomb.

1.2.2 The Tomb of the Dogs

1.2.2.1 Previous research

The Tomb of the Dogs houses thousands upon thousands of dead animals,⁴³ which were deposited there, in a liminal location, for cultic reasons.⁴⁴ Situated at a height of approximately 110 m a.s.l. on Gebel Asyut al-gharbi, the tomb not only contains deposits of canids, but also of cats, different kinds of birds and crocodiles. The tomb constitutes a closely packed section within the network of animal deposits that stretches over the whole mountain on the western outskirts of Asyut, a section that has been made partly visible again today. A further major site of canid remains is the Salakhana Tomb, which is located further down on the slope of Gebel Asyut al-gharbi (see 1.2.1 and Pl. 1). The middle area of the Gebel also contained tombs filled with the mummies and bones of dogs.⁴⁵ In addition to this, deposits of other animals (ibises and rams) are visible in smaller concentrations elsewhere on the mountain.⁴⁶

Although the tomb apparently features in Arabic sources (see below), it appears only once in Western travelogues, namely in the records of the German Egyptologist Heinrich Brugsch for the year 1853:

Und auch ich wandte mich den Gräbern zu, freilich Gräber einer andern bessern Zeit, von der das heutige Aegypten auch nicht die leiseste Ahnung hat – und betrat zuerst die Grabkapelle des fürstlichen Hap-Tefâ aus der Zeit der XIII. Dynastie. Sie bestand ursprünglich aus drei mächtigen Sälen. Die Hauptthür führt von dem ersten in den zweiten Saal. Sie ist wie die Thüren der Gräber von Beni-Hassan ohne allen architektonischen Schmuck; jedoch rings mit hieroglyphischen Inschriften des schönsten Styls umgeben. Der erste Saal ist leicht gewölbt und mit gelben Sternen auf blauem Grunde besät. Die beiden andern Gemächer sind mit Darstellungen und bezüglichlichen Texten bedeckt; jetzt aber meistens zerstört und schwer leserlich geworden. Im letzten Saal befindet sich nach Westen der Brunnen, welcher zu der eigentlichen Grabkammer in eine finstere Kluft hinabführt; heutzutage die finstere Wohnung zahlloser Fledermäuse. Die erhaltenen Inschriften belehren mich, dass die Stadt, zu welcher die Nekropolis gehörte, wie noch jetzt, so auch im grauesten Alterthume **Siut** hiess. Sie war dem schakalköpfigen Gott *Tap-heru* [d. i. „dem Wächter der Strassen“] gewidmet und ihr waren Hunde, Schakale und Wölfe heilig, woher denn auch ihre griechische Bezeichnung *Lykopolis*, „Wolfsstadt“ stammte. Dieses mächtige Grab, in dessen Nähe sich eine Grotte mit Thiermumien der obenbezeichneten Thierclassen befindet, nennen die Eingeborenen Antar's Stall.

(BRUGSCH 1855: 101-102)

According to Brugsch, a tomb containing canid mummies is located close to Tomb I. Given that the area next to the Salakhana Tomb was excavated as late as 1889 by Mohamed Halfawee; that the animal mummies there were apparently covered by detritus (cf. the reports of Wilbour and Rohe above); and that the Salakhana Tomb itself only drew the attention of Egyptologists in 1922, while the mummies there were found in the hall (cf. the section on the Salakhana Tomb above), Brugsch's remarks could well refer to the Tomb of the Dogs. After Heinrich Brugsch's hypothetical reference in 1853, the Tomb of the Dogs disappeared from the sight of Egyptologists once again until it was rediscovered by the Asyut Project in 2008. Tomb robbers clearly remained aware of its existence, however – the tomb had been ransacked completely when it was rediscovered. In the memory of the local Ghafir Abu Hamuda (Mohamed Saad Moursi) who spent his childhood on Gebel Asyut al-gharbi, the tomb was big enough for a tractor to be driven around in it in the late 1950s.⁴⁷ Later on, the tomb seems to have been gradually buried under the accumulating rubble, until a large avalanche of debris sealed off the entrance area of

43 See KAHL 2007: 68; KAHL 2009; KITAGAWA 2009; KAHL & KITAGAWA 2010; KAHL 2010; KITAGAWA 2011; KITAGAWA 2012.

44 For further details on the interpretation of the finds as deposits and not as burials, see FITZENREITER 2003: 6.

45 Excavation diary of Virginio Rosa, 3 April 1911 to 5 April 1911 (Archivio di Stato di Torino [The Turin National Archives] 2V_05_02_SCA_GEB_087).

46 An essay on the topography of animal cults at Asyut by Chiori Kitagawa is in preparation.

47 According to oral testimony from Mohamed Saad Moursi obtained in 2008.

the tomb for good in the 1990s.⁴⁸ The location of the tomb could be ascertained once more thanks to a surface survey carried out in 2008,⁴⁹ and just a year later it became possible to start clearing away the debris that covered the tomb's entrance to a height of up to 6m (Pl. 3a).⁵⁰ The opening that was uncovered in the process (Pls. 4a-b) proved to be a modern entranceway used by tomb robbers, a fact made readily apparent by the wooden planks and tarpaulins that had been employed to secure a walkway through the layer of debris, and also by recent leftovers within the tomb itself, such as insecticide in spray cans.

The gradually removed debris in turn originated partly from the Italian excavation campaign of 1906, in the course of which Ernesto Schiaparelli ordered the digging of several investigative trenches leading from Tombs III and IV in the direction of the city.⁵¹ As far as can be reconstructed today, Schiaparelli seems not to have taken any notice of the Tomb of the Dogs. Although remains that can be connected to his excavation work were found in the debris covering the modern entrance,⁵² neither the known documentation of his excavation nor his finds contain any direct reference to the Tomb of Dogs. The same holds true for the excavations carried out by the French Egyptologists Chassinat and Palanque in 1903, which took place directly below Deir el-Meitin, and thus to the south of the Tomb of the Dogs;⁵³ and as far as can be determined at present, the campaigns of the British archaeologist David George Hogarth (1907) and of the local pioneer of Egyptology Ahmed Bey Kamal (1913/14) similarly did not yield any finds that could be linked to the Tomb of the Dogs.⁵⁴

Apart from boulders and gravel, the debris mainly contained the remains of a brick wall that presumably belonged to the ancient monastery Deir el-Meitin (Pl. 3b). A connection to the monastery is highly probable due to the location of the find, and due to the fact that fragments of Late Antique pottery were used as temper for the air-dried mud bricks of which the collapsed wall originally consisted, along with straw, small mussels, animal bones and little pieces of wood.⁵⁵ Schiaparelli demolished the wall in the course of his search for Pharaonic tombs – an approach that resembles that of Chassinat and Palanque, who destroyed monastic structures without any documentation whatsoever when they excavated the tombs of the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom a little further to the south in 1903.⁵⁶

The animal remains inside the Tomb of the Dogs, many of which are canids, include parts of mummies with bandages as well as non-bandaged carcasses, with the animals heaped up in thick layers everywhere. The highest concentration of animal remains is to be found in the tomb's inner hall. The presence of a copious amount of animal carcasses, combined with the fact that the tomb was sealed off for years after a landslide caused by heavy rain, encouraged the growth of mould on the walls and animal remains inside the tomb. It was unclear at first whether it would be safe to work inside the tomb at all, and even if that was the case, which protective measures against fungi had to be taken into consideration. Samples were taken from four different locations in the large room where the spread of mould was most noticeable, and subsequently examined in order to ascertain whether any of the fungi presented a health hazard. According to a DNA analysis carried out at the Utrecht-based CBS-KNAW (*Centraalbureau voor Schimmelmicrocultures / Fungal Biodiversity Centre – Institute of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences*) in January 2011 various species of *Cladosporium* were in evidence, along with *Aspergillus sydo-*

48 According to oral testimony from Mohamed Saad Moursi obtained in 2008.

49 KAHL 2009; KITAGAWA 2009.

50 KAHL 2010; KAHL & KITAGAWA 2010.

51 Excavation diary of Ernesto Schiaparelli, 1906 (Archivio di Stato di Torino [The Turin National Archives], 2V_03_09_SCA_SYT).

52 For example an Italian newspaper (KITAGAWA 2009: 129) and a snippet of paper inscribed with the words “Ernesto” and “Torino” that was found in the topmost layer of debris covering the modern entrance to the Tomb of the Dogs.

53 CHASSINAT & PALANQUE 1911.

54 For details regarding these earlier excavations, see KAHL 2007: 25-33; KAHL 2013: 92-95; ZITMAN 2010: 45-69.

55 The temper was examined by Silvia Prell and Thomas Beckh on 19 and 20 August 2009.

56 See Excavation diary of Ernesto Schiaparelli, 1906 (Archivio di Stato di Torino [The Turin National Archives], 2V_03_09_SCA_SYT), although he assumed that the wall was Pharaonic in origin; KAHL 2007; KAHL 2013.

wii, *Aspergillus niger* and *Penicillium brevicompactum*.⁵⁷ The examined samples contained what appeared to be four new species of *Cladosporium*, prompting Samson and Meijer to suggest that the tomb might constitute a unique niche environment for fungi. Most of the identified species were common worldwide, however, and there were no indications for a serious health risk. Nonetheless, gloves and overalls were recommended to be worn in order to avoid direct contact with the fungi.⁵⁸

The implementation of the recommended safety measures interfered with the workflow in the tomb and resulted in delays. It was not before 2011 that the systematic removal of animal bones could commence in the tomb's inner hall. The present volume is dedicated to the animal bones that could be retrieved up to and including the year 2012, as well as to the observations that were made during the same period in the tomb itself. The vast majority of the tomb remains unexplored from an archaeological point of view. Besides the fungal infestation, parts of the collapsed ceiling cover the debris and hamper work in the north-west of the inner hall. Further to this, the north-east of the room is riddled with holes resulting from illicit excavations.

A trench of 4 m x 4 m that was dug to a maximum depth of 1.5-2.0 m in the south-east of the inner hall in 2012 revealed that this area had also been burrowed through and massively disturbed. Apart from shattered pottery, Demotic ostraca and miscellaneous other objects, skeletal remains and parts of mummies were found in large quantities, whereas completely preserved mummies of animals were few and far between (Pl. 8). The floor of the inner hall was not reached – the excavation had to be halted at a depth of approximately 1.5-2.0 m below surface level due to security concerns when debris threatened to slide into the pit.

The animal bones discussed in this volume are thus the result of fieldwork carried out between 2008 and 2014 (Tab. 1). They originate from the surface of the central part of Gebel Asyut al-gharbi (geological Stages 3-5), from the area in front of the modern entrance to the Tomb of the Dogs, as well as from samples taken in the corridor and in the south-eastern part of the inner hall. Some of the bones and mummies found outside of the modern entrance were located above the layer of scattered bricks that resulted from Schiaparelli's activities (e.g. S09/st174-176). Nevertheless, there is a strong likelihood that they belong to the tomb and were only transported outside when tomb robbers scavenged the site at some point after the Italian campaign. Although they are not preserved *in situ* due to pillage and have been disturbed as well, the bones and mummies retrieved from inside the tomb itself certainly originate from there.

Tab. 1: Fieldwork carried out between 2008 and 2014.

2008: Survey of the central part of Gebel Asyut al-gharbi, geological Stages 3-5; study of animal remains.
2009: Cleaning operations in front of modern entrance O11.13; taking of bone samples at southern end of corridor and at entrance to inner hall.
2010: Cleaning operations in front of modern entrance O11.13 and cleaning of O11.23; taking of bone samples in the inner part of the tomb; study of animal remains and pottery.
2011: Cleaning operations in front of modern entrance O11.13 and taking of samples of animal bones in the interior of the tomb; on-site X-ray examination of animal mummies; study of animal remains and pottery.
2012: Digging of a trench in the south-eastern part of the inner hall and taking of samples from that location; study of pottery; documentation of the architecture.
2014: Study of animal remains; study of Demotic ostraca and pottery.

⁵⁷ SAMSON & MEIJER 2011.

⁵⁸ SAMSON & MEIJER 2011.

1.2.2.2 *Architecture of the tomb*

The Tomb of the Dogs is hewn into the limestone of Gebel Asyut al-gharbi on geological Stage 4 (Pl. 1). As far as can be discerned, it consists of a corridor with a length of 22 m and a height of 4.2 m + x oriented along a north-to-south axis (Fig. 3, Pls. 5-6), from which three passageways stretch away into the direction of the city. A further passage (5.05 m long, 1.45 m wide and 2.45 m + x high) branches off to the west and opens into an inner hall with a floor area of approximately 12.5 m x 8.2 m (Pls. 7-8). It is currently impossible to determine the total height of the hall, as the level of the floor has not yet been reached – this measurement can thus only be given as 4.4 m + x. Neither has it been possible to elucidate whether the tomb was hewn from the rock for the original purpose of burying animals, or whether it was reused or expanded from an existing structure. The passageways leading downhill towards the city (towards the east) could not be explored for reasons of safety, as the ceiling is in imminent danger of collapse. The tomb's further extension to the north and south likewise remains unclear as a result of the mountains of debris that cover the tomb in those areas to a height of up to 10 m. The original entrance to the Tomb of the Dogs is presumably located in the north of the accessible structure. The area outside the entranceway – built by tomb robbers, it is currently the only place of ingress – was subject to extensive quarrying operations even in antiquity. This is attested by former tomb shafts of which only the lower-most portions remain (e.g. O11.15 from the Middle Kingdom and O11.17, which probably dates from the Ptolemaic Period),⁵⁹ as well as by a find of hundreds of hammers made from limestone.⁶⁰ As a whole, these stone hammers show only light traces of wear and tear, which caused Silvia Prell to assign them to a workshop which may have been connected to the quarrying that took place during the New Kingdom in Tomb IV.⁶¹ It seems that a connection can also be drawn between these events and the quarrying of the rock immediately above the modern entrance to the Tomb of the Dogs.

A second entranceway further down on the slope of Gebel Asyut al-gharbi (O11.23; approx. 103.5 m a.s.l.) that opens into a corridor leading uphill in the direction of the Tomb of the Dogs (Fig. 4; Pl. 9) had to remain unexplored as well, again due to the danger of a collapsing ceiling.⁶² This structure might be another tunnel belonging to a whole system of galleries, similar to the far more extensive network that is documented for Tuna el-Gebel.⁶³

1.2.2.3 *Burial customs*

The heavily disturbed condition of the Tomb of the Dogs notwithstanding, a number of statements regarding the burial customs that applied to canids can be made. The animals were apparently bandaged before they were deposited in the tomb, although this cannot be determined with absolute certainty due to the disturbances the deposits were subjected to. While some of the animals were embalmed, others received no special treatment. As of yet, there is no clear evidence for evisceration (see Ch. 3). It seems that coffins were used for the burials, albeit rarely: a number of separate wooden boards (S11/st704) retrieved from the corridor outside of the inner hall was successfully reassembled (Pl. 10a). These wooden remains constitute the only example of an animal coffin found in the Tomb of the Dogs. The coffin's size (L: 19.5 cm; W: 16.7 cm; H: 20 cm) is sufficient for it to hold the mummy of a dog. A depiction of two opposing canids in prone position is still visible on one of the weather-worn outer surfaces (Pl. 10b). The inside of the coffin is coated with bitumen.

⁵⁹ PRELL 2011: 194-195.

⁶⁰ PRELL 2010: 199-206.

⁶¹ PRELL 2010: 202.

⁶² PRELL 2011: 195-197.

⁶³ See DRIESCH, VON DEN et al. 2006: 204, Fig. 1.

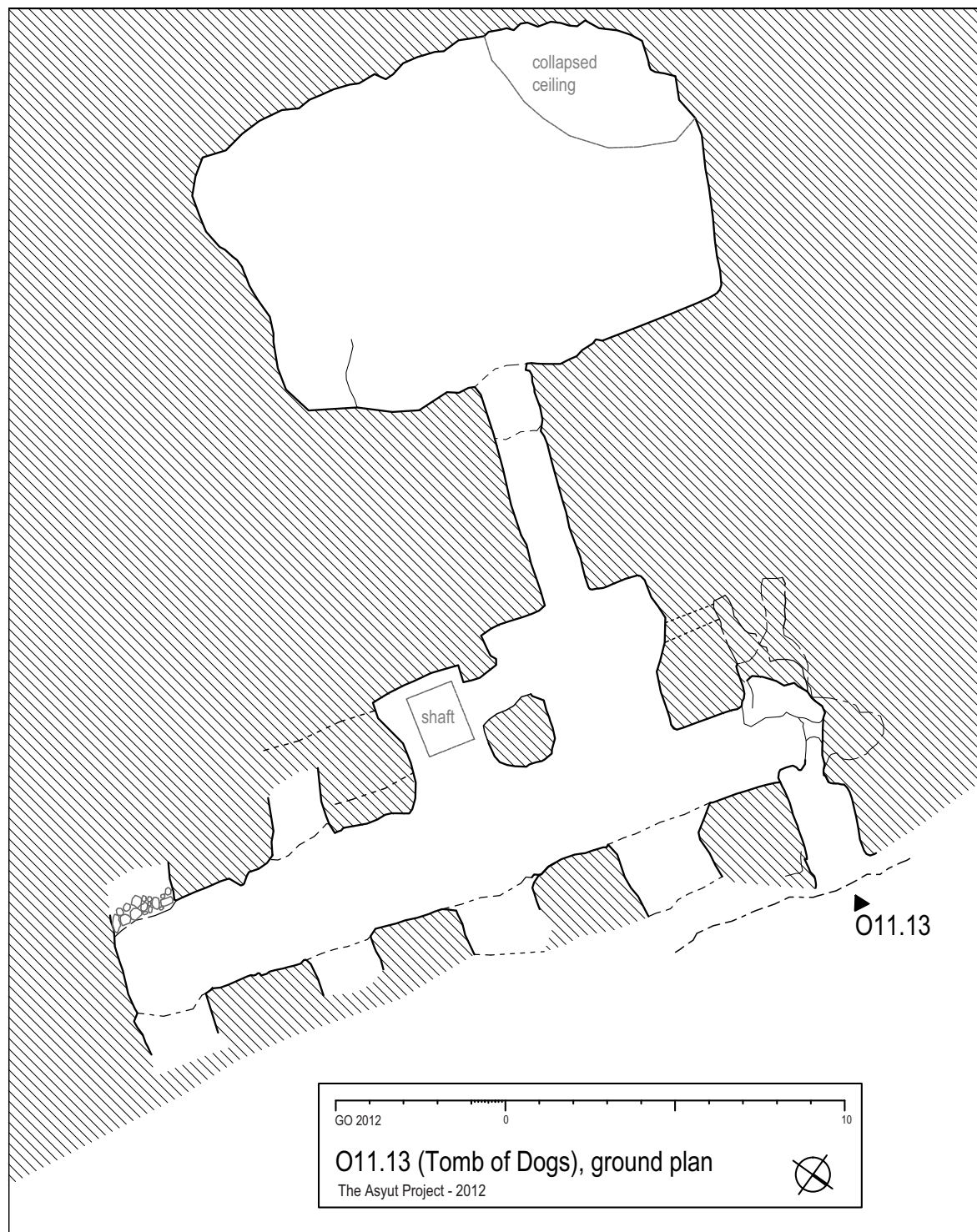


Fig. 3: Tomb of the Dogs, ground plan (Cornelia Goerlich 2012; © The Asyut Project).