

Uses of Domesticated Donkeys: Evidence from Old Kingdom Tombs Scenes*

استخدامات الحمير المستأنسة، أدلة من مناظر مقابر الدولة القديمة

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ملخص:

يلقي هذا البحث الضوء على مناظر الحمير المصورة على مقابر الأفراد في الدولة القديمة وكيف وظفها المصريون القدماء في الأعمال المختلفة. وقد قسمت أعمال الحمير إلى ثلاث مجموعات، المجموعة الأولى: تعنى بالحمير التي تحمل الأثقال والمجموعة الثانية: تعنى بالحمير التي تدرس الجيوب والمجموعة الثالثة: تلقي الضوء على الحمير التي تحمل صاحب المقبرة. ولقد ذكرت أمثلة على كل من هذه المجموعات من خلال المناظر المصورة على مقابر بالجيزة، سقارة، زاوية الأموات، الشيخ سعيد، مير ودير الجبراوي. وينتهي البحث بمناقشة علمية لتحديد العلاقة الخاصة بين المصري القديم والحمار مستعينة بأدلة تصويرية وكذلك نصية. ولقد راعت في المقدمة أن افرق بين نوعين من الحمير: النوع الأول *Equus asinus* والذي تم العثور على بقايا عظام له في مناطق العمري، المعادي، حلوان وأبو صير؛ وهو موضوع البحث. أما النوع الثاني و يعرف باسم *Equus africanus* فهو الحمار الوحشي غير المستأنس.

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to examine the iconography of donkeys in Old Kingdom scenes executed in private tombs and how the ancient Egyptians utilized them in their farming community. Three categories of donkey usages can be specified: (1) Donkeys carrying loads; (2) Donkeys threshing grain; and (3) Donkeys carrying officials. The paper ends with a discussion seeking to evaluate the relationship between people and donkeys.

Introduction

The Egyptian term for a male donkey is *aa*,¹ and *aat* for a female one.² The hieroglyphic word is written with a phonogram sign *aa*, a phallus, alluding to its strength and sexuality,³ and a donkey.

Two main species of donkeys⁴ were known in ancient Egypt, *Equus asinus*, which was probably identified during the late Pre-dynastic and in early

Dynastic period. Bone remains of domesticated *Equus asinus* were found at el-Omari,⁵ as one of the first sites, and at other sites such as Maadi,⁶ Helwan, and Abusir.⁷

Representations in Old Kingdom tombs⁸ indicate the existence of *Equus africanus*, the African Wild Ass, which lived wild in the desert.⁹ Examples of hunting wild donkeys dates to the New Kingdom; examples are shown on a painted box from the tomb of Tutankhamun, now exhibited in Cairo Museum,¹⁰ on the Mitrahina stela of Amenhotep II,¹¹ and on the walls of the temple of Medinet Habu.¹²

(1) First Category: Donkeys carrying Loads

Donkeys carrying weights and loads were commonly represented in agriculture pursuits in Old Kingdom tombs, in cemeteries both at the residence and in the provinces: for instance in the tombs of *Iymry*,¹³ *Nfr-bAw-ptH*,¹⁴ *%nDm-ib*,¹⁵ *Ra-xa.f-anx*,¹⁶ *KA-m-nfrt*,¹⁷

%Sm-nfr IV,18 and *@tp-n-ptH⁹* at Giza; and in the tombs of *Nfr-irt.n.f.*,²⁰ *PHn-wi-ka*,²¹ *%xm-anx-ptH²* and *AHt-Htp²³* at Saqqara; and in the tombs of *#w.ns²⁴* at Zawyet el-Amwat, *Wr-ir.n.*²⁵ at Sheikh Said, *Ppy-anx-Hrj-ib²⁶* at Meir, and *Ib²⁷* at Deir el- Gabrawi.

This category is best represented in the tomb of *Nfr-irt.n.f* at Saqqara. It dates to the Fifth Dynasty, and it comprises two phases:

Description

The scene in question occupies the whole east wall; it shows the deceased and his wife standing viewing agriculture activities depicted in seven registers. The first phase is depicted in the fifth register, apparently showing a group of donkeys having transferred their loads and being driven back heading to be loaded once again with sheaves or grain sacks. The second phase is illustrated in the sixth register, showing a loaded donkey with an oval-shaped bag. Over the donkey's back is a sort of cloth or saddle. Behind the donkey stood its drover, depicted hanging a linen band from the front, while uplifting his right hand with a stick, whereas his left hand is in the gesture of aiding the donkey with its loads.

The donkey is employed²⁸ in agriculture scenes;²⁹ the work however comprises a sequence of stages to accomplish its duties. A first phase depicts a scene composing a group of men chasing their unloaded donkeys towards their sheaves.³⁰ An earlier account of a complete scene of donkeys' arrival comes from a preserved relief in the tomb of *Iy-mry³¹* at Giza. In the middle register these donkeys are again depicted in one queue, facing the opposite direction, indicating carrying more loads. The number of donkeys shown is usually from four to eight, and the number of drovers varies from one scene to another. When drovers are shown following their donkeys in one queue, they seem to be similar

to the number of donkeys, so that each drover is responsible for one donkey,³² but sometimes each drover is looking after two donkeys.³³ They are shown wearing short open kilts,³⁴ clasping either long sticks or short ones. A scene represents the lead man holding two rhythm sticks.³⁵ Some scenes represent them barefooted, but other instances depict them with sandals, more likely to protect their feet from the donkeys' hooves.³⁶

A standard caption over the donkeys' heads reads: 'driving back a hundred donkeys'.³⁷ The text, however, indicates that the donkeys' tasks require cycles of carrying and dropping their load.

This first phase is usually represented in a separate register,³⁸ but some scenes represent it along the same register with the second phase.³⁹ A remarkable scene pictures two donkeys meeting each other: one is shown loaded and the other unloaded, yet on its way to transport more produce. The loaded donkey's facial appearance seems to be expressing its unhappy experience from the heavy load it is carrying.⁴⁰ The second phase shows donkeys carrying corn sheaves and cut grain bundles, attached to the backs of the donkeys to be transferred to the threshing floor.⁴¹ Donkeys may be male⁴² or female.⁴³ They are illustrated between one to five in number, shown laden with sacks filled with grain or sheaves, fastened up at the top.⁴⁴ They are shown with an elaborate saddle-cloth, rectangular in shape, composing a section of fringed fabric, probably to fit the donkeys' back.⁴⁵ Its function is to offer safety for the carried product besides protecting the animal's bare skin, which is not rough enough to bear the load friction on its back.⁴⁶

Baskets differ in shape and size.⁴⁷ They include a basket or leathern bag fixed firmly, by ropes and bands, on the back of the donkey and around its belly, more likely to prevent the load from

falling. Examples represent them oval⁴⁸ in shape but sometimes the rounded top is shown flat⁴⁹ rather than circular. Other forms are rectangular,⁵⁰ hexagonal⁵¹ and rhomboid.⁵² Additional pile of sheaves is sometimes shown attached to the top,⁵³ in other instances, the sheaf is absent where the bag takes the shape of a pear.⁵⁴ Janssen argued however that the donkey would be capable of carrying loads of approximately 50 kg partitioned into equal parts on both sides.⁵⁵

Donkey drovers are one,⁵⁶ two⁵⁷ or three⁵⁸ in number. They are shown naked⁵⁹ or wearing either plain short kilt⁶⁰ or short open kilt,⁶¹ which vary in length, believed to be an upturned one or placed in different ways, enabling them to run freely after their donkeys.⁶² Other instances show them having a linen band hanging down around their necks, suggested⁶³ to be for cleaning dirt and sweat from the body. Visual representations show them with their natural hair, since workmen are not shown bearing wigs;⁶⁴ since they are exposed to the sun, it would be too hot to wear them. Yet wearing wigs, by donkey drovers, in agriculture theme is introduced first at Saqqara and later at Giza.⁶⁵ Also, a possible example is shown in the chapel tomb of *Wr-ir-n.i* at Sheikh Said.⁶⁶

Sometimes, scenes show three drovers accompanying one donkey,⁶⁷ each shown in different gestures.⁶⁸ The first who, precedes the donkey, is sometimes shown with his head turned towards the donkey, while orienting the direction in which the donkey moves. He is shown raising one hand to grasp the load, presumably to prevent it from falling. His duty might be also to stop the donkey from moving when needed. The second drover is shown moving beside the donkey. Sometimes he is depicted naked, indicating a young boy, and raising his hands in a gesture of steadying the donkey's heavy loads or perhaps

helping to balance the heavy weight in place on the donkey's back. The third drover, who is shown at the back of the donkey, is illustrated putting one hand on the load while his other hand is raised with a stick probably to fast the donkey's speed.⁶⁹ Some interesting scenes show them holding their sticks under their armpits.⁷⁰ One scene shows two drovers assisting one donkey; they are stretching their arms out, pulling and pushing the load to be rightly balanced on its back.⁷¹ It is not possible to be sure, with these scenes, whether they accurately represent the number of men driving a donkey on a particular occasion, or rather provide an abbreviated sequence of the range of actions needed to keep a donkey at work.

An unusual scene⁷² represents a female figure following a loaded donkey and its drover. She is wearing a head band shown fastened at the back of her head, carrying a sack over her head, supporting it with her right hand and holding another bag with her left hand. She is wearing a simple short skirt, presumably to free her move, and is also shown barefooted.

An interesting scene shows the transport of gazelles on donkey-back;⁷³ where a group of young gazelles are shown caged in a small box on the donkeys' back. The donkey is followed by a drover, named as the 'Supervisor *ka*-priest *Ftk-ta (?)*'. He is shown supporting the box with one hand and driving the donkey by a stick with the other. Texts labeling these agricultural scenes are straightforward labels: for instance, from the tomb of *Ppy-anx-Hrj-ib*⁷⁴ above the right hand group, there is the label 'lifting the barley, and above the left hand group is written 'lifting the emmer'. In the tomb of *Nfr-bAw-ptH*⁷⁵ the caption labels 'carrying away with a herd of donkeys' and 'causing to go slowly that which comes behind'.

(2) Second Category: Donkeys threshing grain

Threshing is the process where donkeys tread on the stems of grain and walk over the grain, spread on the threshing floor, using their round sharp hooves, until most of the grain is separated.⁷⁶ The term *sp.t* indicates 'threshing floor', although, during the Old-Kingdom the *-t* was often omitted.⁷⁷

This type of scene appears, for instance, in the tombs of *%nDm-ib*⁷⁸, *Ra-wr*⁷⁹, *Ra-xa.f-anx*⁸⁰, *%Sm-nfr* IV,⁸¹ *@tp-n-ptH*⁸² and *%nfrw-Htp*⁸³ in Giza; in the tombs of *Nfr-irt.n.f*,⁸⁴ *PHn-wi-kA*,⁸⁵ *%xm-anx-ptH*,⁸⁶ *PtH-Htp* I,⁸⁷ *AHt-Htp*,⁸⁸ *@tp-kA*⁸⁹ and *anx-ma-Hr*⁹⁰ at Saqqara; and in the tombs of *#w.ns*,⁹¹ *Wr-ir.n.*⁹² and *Ppy-anx-Hrj-ib*.⁹³

In a scene from the tomb of *Nfr-irt.n.f* the threshing process is shown:

Description

Seven donkeys are shown treading grain on a raised floor. They are moving in different directions, most likely forming a circle. Amusingly one of the donkeys is shown nibbling some grain from the floor, while the other is shown uplifting his head. The herd is supervised by a drover, who is shown naked, while hanging a band of cloth resting on his neck. He is raising up a long stick with one hands, while his other hand is directing one of the donkeys.

An interesting scene is executed in the tomb of *Ra-xa.f-anx*:

Description

The relief illustrates a herd of donkeys shown heading in different directions, and with no saddle-cloth on their backs. There are three attendants or drovers. One is shown standing at the back of the herd, with a raised stick. The other male figure is depicted naked at the front of the herd; he is shown leaning backwards, and pulling one of the donkey's

fore-legs. The drover standing in the middle, placed at the centre of the floor, is shown outstretching his two arms in a manner of organizing the threshing process.

A depiction from the tomb of **j*⁹⁴ at Saqqara, shows the labourers unfastening the bags placed on the ground, while the sheaves in them are scattered next to the threshing floor in preparation for the threshing phase.

Scenes always show a raised flat round area, judging from pictures, on a level higher than that of the floor. This suggests a circular area in which the threshing process takes place, since a man is standing in the centre of the floor.⁹⁵ Donkeys⁹⁶ were most likely driven around the floor in a circle to crush the grain; they vary in number from one scene to another, but presumably they are sufficient in number to fulfill the duty. They are always represented moving together; one is shown attempting to run in an opposite direction, another is depicted upraising its head possibly braying; a further is figured pausing and lowering its head, in a desire to nibble some cereal or grain.⁹⁷ The donkeys are not wearing a saddle-cloth on their backs, since the nature of work required their sharp pointed hooves and not their backs.

The drovers are usually two in number; one is shown standing in front of the herd and the other standing at its back. Sometimes a male figure is shown in the middle, as if to watch out the work carefully. Harpur identified this as a 'new feature'.⁹⁸ All seem to be keeping the donkeys in position on the threshing floor to accomplish their task. Each man is shown brandishing either a long or a short stick. They are wearing short kilts, sometimes fastened with ribbons (?) at its back or its side (?), and are shown barefooted.⁹⁹ One example shows an apparently nude figure.¹⁰⁰ The scene is generally labeled with a caption that reads: 'turn back with them'.¹⁰¹

(3) Third Category: Donkeys carrying officials

Representations of men riding¹⁰² donkeys are rare; however, three examples of officials riding donkeys are known to me in Old Kingdom reliefs. These are from the tombs of *#w-wi-wr*,¹⁰³ *Ny-anX-#nmw* and *#nmw-Htp*.¹⁰⁴

Description

In the tomb of *#w-wi-wr* at Giza, on the eastern wall of the chapel, the fourth register shows an elaborate depiction of the tomb owner sitting directly, inside a litter without a cushion, fastened on a pair of donkeys' backs by thick ropes. One of these is shown nibbling a bit of grass. The tomb owner is holding a piece of cloth or perhaps a handkerchief (?) in his right hand, and leaning on a staff in his left hand, a symbol of high status. He is wearing a wig and a short pointed beard. Behind him is a donkey drover, wearing a short kilt and holding a stick in his right hand, while his left hand is placed on his shoulder, in a sign of admiration. The procession is followed by another drover who is also holding a stick, but wearing a short kilt and having a band of linen with two strips hanging over his neck, and is wearing sandals. The text in front of *#w-wi-wr* reads: 'Acquaintance of the king, *#w-wi-wr*'. The reason for this ride seems to be the inspection of his cultivation activities.¹⁰⁵ A parallel scene is shown in the tomb of *ppy-anX-Hrj-ib*, who is shown seated on a carrying-chair placed on the floor to watch and inspect the harvest process.¹⁰⁶

Another scene appears in the tomb of *Ny-anX-#nmw* and *#nmw-Htp*. Here *Ny-anX-#nmw*¹⁰⁷ is portrayed kneeling in an open carrying chair, set on the back of a pair of donkeys. He is holding the chair arm with one hand, holding a long stick with the other, and wearing a long wig. Above him is a hieroglyphic text stating his titles, his name and

the reason of his trip. It reads: 'Traveling to the Beautiful West', indicating that the possible reason for the visit was to view his tomb in the Beautiful West, in the necropolis.

'To the right of the procession is the donkey drover, wearing a short kilt and a band of linen, hanging over his neck, depicted with sandals on his feet. He is holding a long stick with one hand and grass with the other. He is shown turning back towards the two donkeys, and offering grass to their mouths; one of the donkeys has decided to nibble some. Another drover is shown following the two donkeys. He is dressed the like as the first drover, and also holding a stick in his hand. The procession is followed by a male figure, shown carrying a bag over his shoulder which might contain the equipment needed for such a journey'.

The tomb-owner is either shown in a seated position, with his knees up in a wooden chair tied to the backs of two donkeys. Partridge¹⁰⁸ has argued that the rider has to balance himself above the donkeys' hips, which apparently seems to be uncomfortable, but it is not possible to judge from the scenes. However, the reliefs show no evidence of padding to the chair that would make it a more comfortable journey.

Pictorial and textual evidence is absent for the riding of a donkey.¹⁰⁹ Houlihan has argued that 'in contrast to their modern descendants, ancient Egyptians apparently opted not to ride on the back of the donkey'.¹¹⁰ Against this opinion, Janssen and Janssen¹¹¹ argue that reliefs on the walls of private tombs cover religious contexts, besides a number of domestic activities, and do not necessarily represent daily life fully.

One would argue that the ancient Egyptian villagers must have ridden the backs of the donkeys, resembling their ancestors in modern Egypt; a practice which is restricted to lower strata in the

Egyptian hierarchy. For that reason it was not shown on the walls of the tombs. Another opinion is that the Ancient Egyptians also preferred going on foot.

Discussion

Depiction of donkeys are absent in the Fourth Dynasty, yet frequent in the Egyptian art of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties,¹¹² utilizing both male and female donkeys,¹¹³ in the three categories discussed above, as well as ploughing; a rare activity for the employment of donkeys.¹¹⁴ Yet Nibbi¹¹⁵ has noted that 'Louise Klebs¹¹⁶ draws attention to a passage in Papyrus Lansing¹¹⁷ which speaks rather affectionately of the feminine ass which pulls the plough at the required time'.

The iconography of the Egyptian donkey shows it fairly large in size, with long ears, normally grey in color, and with dark stripes along its back and across the shoulders.¹¹⁸ The advantage of the donkey as a domesticated animal is that it is easy to keep; they also can simply live on small quantities of regular forage, and are long-lived, sometimes reaching their fortieth year, and they reproduce well, providing new generations at minimum cost to their owners. However, one of their disadvantages is their low speed.¹¹⁹

Measuring the relationship between people and donkeys

The environment which surrounded the Egyptians imposed a high level of contact with animals. Strouhal expressed this association: 'It seems more likely that among the agricultural community the orderly cycle of seasonal work, added to the contact with the animal world.'¹²⁰ Tomb scenes indicate contrasting relationship from care to cruelty. Such care is executed in a scene from the tomb of *Baq* at Beni Hassan,¹²¹ representing a procession of male and female donkeys moving with their young foals, and following a driver

who is shown carrying a foal gently on his shoulder, while at the rear of the procession a small male figure, is shown with upraised hands holding a stick. The question which rises is the nature of the contradiction between these two behaviors towards the animal simultaneously depicted at the same scene. Would the first action allude to love of donkeys whereas the second performance is regarded as superiority or brutality towards the donkeys?

For instance, scenes show a repetitive motif which occurred in different categories in donkey illustrations.¹²² They represent what is probably a punishment of a reluctant donkey by one¹²³ or two drovers. One example represents the donkey moving to the opposite direction of the loaded donkeys in the same register, while one of the drovers is shown standing in front, tugging the donkey's right foreleg and pulling his ears. The other driver is shown goading the animal's rear with a short stick held in one hand, while pulling his tail with the other.¹²⁴ Murray suggested that this behavior towards the animal is 'with the intention either of making it stand still or of throwing it'.¹²⁵ A drover's cry accompanies the scene it reads: 'Hurry back to thy things'.¹²⁶

A negative personal attitude towards the donkey is portrayed in the tomb of Iti at Gebelein, dating to the First Intermediate Period. The scene represents the donkey carrying a sack fastened to its back, probably to be transported to granaries. It is followed by a driver who holding a stick over his shoulder. Significant is a depiction of a red sore wound at the donkey's hind part, apparently in consequence of being beaten.¹²⁷

Similar behavior is evident from a text, dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty, from Deir el Medina,¹²⁸ where a man is addressing his colleague (?). The text reads: 'What means your telling me in speaking falsely about the donkeys, 'They have become of no use to you,' and your telling [me], 'The she-ass is ill owing to the shabuti,' when I asked you if its illness commenced

during the decade (a ten-day period)? Now look here, you shall bring it back loaded up [for] all your people.' The text alludes to donkey's mistreatment, recording its sickness from being beaten by a shabuti,¹²⁹ which Wenté¹³⁰ interpreted as a 'wooden implement that has caused the donkey some discomfort', and also transporting many people.¹³¹

Another threshing scene from the tomb of anx-ma-Hr shows seven donkeys trampling over a threshing floor; one of the donkeys is shown eating, with cereals in his mouth, while two drovers are administering sticks to them. The text reads: 'I will persuade you to turn there in'.¹³²

On the other hand, a positive relationship is shown in reliefs representing herds of donkeys in a number of agricultural scenes, with their breeding¹³³ foals who appear in different representations.¹³⁴ They are not carrying any loads or involved in any work, but simply accompanying their herd,¹³⁵ as if they are receiving training to perform equivalent work in the future. It also indicates their care in treating foals. A threshing scene shows a donkey raising his foreleg facing his drover, the text reads; 'Descend with them, comrade'.¹³⁶ The caption composes an indication to sort of companionship. Also placing a sort of cloth or a rug on the donkey's back is another sort of care in treating the donkeys.¹³⁷

A textual record from Deir el Medina,¹³⁸ dating to the Twentieth Dynasty, is addressed to the scribe of the necropolis: 'select the good one [meaning the donkey] and treat it well [with] proper treatment', indicating possessors care towards donkeys.

Finally, why did the ancient Egyptians use sticks in driving donkeys? Physiologically, donkeys seem to be stubborn and single minded,¹³⁹ and perhaps sticks are the appropriate means to direct and encourage donkeys to continue with their jobs, since they had to perform hard long-term work. Waving sticks might play a symbolic role to scare the donkeys rather than

applying actual beating, yet as a result of the personal aggressiveness of some drovers', some of these donkeys were wounded. However, cruelty was not the basis in dealing with donkeys, for the ancient Egyptians usually cared for donkeys and understood the need for such animals,¹⁴⁰ since their first domesticated them.

Notes:

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** 'To the donkey who has been always working in ultimate silence, who carried the wealth of Egypt on its burden patiently, from the dawn of the Ancient Egyptian civilization till now, I dedicate this work'. The Author.

1 *Wb.* I, 165, 6-11; R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962) 38; Sethe, *Aeg. Les.* 79, 9; *Urk.* IV, 325, 5; E. Brunner-Traut, 'Esel', *LÄ* II 28-30.

2 *Wb.* I, 165, 12; Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 38; *Urk.* IV, 1735, 18.

3 M.C. Betrò, *Hieroglyphics the Writings of Ancient Egypt* (USA, 1996), 94.

4 For species of the donkey in ancient world see: D.J. Brewer, D.B. Redford and S. Redford, *Domestic Plants and Animals: The Egyptian Origins* (Warminster, 1994), 98-100; cf. J. Clutton-Brock, *Domesticated Animals from Early Times* (London, 1981), 91-6; A. Nibbi, 'Some remarks on ass and horse in Ancient Egypt and the absence of the mule', *ZÄS* 106 (1979), 148-150. Cf. Ph. Germonde, *An Egyptian Bestiary: Animals in Life and Religion in the Land of the Pharaohs* (London, 2001), 62.

5 B. Midant-Reynes, *The Prehistory of Egypt, From the First Egyptians to the First Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1992), 124, 215; B.G. Trigger, B.J. Kemp, D. O'Connor and A.B. Lloyd, *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* (Cambridge, 1983), 17, 19.

6 Cf. S. Bökönyi, 'The animal remains of Maadi, Egypt: a preliminary report', in: M. Liverani, A. Palmieri and R. Peroni (eds), *Studi di Paleontologia in onore di Salvatore*

- M. Puglisi* (Rome, 1985), 495-9; A. Gautier, 'fauna, domesticated', in: K.A. Baud and S.B. Shubert (eds), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1999), 301; I. Shaw and P. Nicholson, *British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1995), 166.
- 7 P.F. Houlihan, *The Animal World of the Pharaohs* (London, 1996), 29; cf. Libyan palette in Cairo Museum JE 27434= CG 14238, Saleh and Sourouzian, *Egyptian Museum Cairo*, fig. 7a; W.J. Darby, P. Ghalioungui and L. Grivetti, *Food: The Gift of Osiris*, I (London, 1977), 235. The introduction of the horse during the Second Intermediate Period probably decreased the donkey's utilization whereas evidence of the camel dating to the pre-dynastic and first Dynasty comes from camel bone remains discovered at Helwan by Zaki Saad, now preserved at the agriculture museum; its usage was in the Greco-Roman period which presumably limited the donkey's role. See: Partridge, *Transport in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1996), 98; J. Janssen and J. Janssen, *Egyptian Household Animals* (Aylesbury, 1984), 38-48; E. Strouhal, *Life of the Ancient Egyptians* (Liverpool, 1997), 113.
 - 8 In the tomb of *Ny-mAat-ra*, in the lower register, an amazing variety of animals who are engaged in copulation, where two of these are un captioned copulating wild asses see: A.M. Roth, *Giza Mastabas*, vol. 6; *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants* (Boston, 2001), 132, pls. 95-7, 189. Cf. S. Ikram, 'Animal mating motifs in Egyptian funerary representations', *GM* 124 (1991), 51-68. For the curses (late New Kingdom) which refer to copulation with a donkey- the sexual disorder of the donkey see: S. Morschauser, *Threat-Formulae in Ancient Egypt* (Baltimore, 1991), 110-12, 133, 135.
 - 9 Partridge, *Transport in Ancient Egypt*, 95; Houlihan, *Animal World*, 29.
 - 10 *JdE* 61467, M. Saleh and H. Sourouzian, *Official Catalogue. The Egyptian Museum Cairo* (Mainz, 1987), fig. 186.
 - 11 A.M. Badawy, 'Die neue historische Stele Amenophis' II', *ASAE* 42 (1943), 12, pl. I.
 - 12 PM II2, 516 (185); Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, *Medinet Habu*, II, 1932, pls. 116, 130.
 - 13 Time of Neuserre or later, PM III2, 173 (10); *LD* II, 51; K. Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G6000* (Boston, 1994), 46-50, fig. 39, pls. 23-25.
 - 14 Mid to end of the Fifth Dynasty, PM III2, 169 (1-2); *LD* II, 56 a; Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G6000*, fig. 9.
 - 15 Time of Unis (Wenis), PM III2, 88 (3); *LD* II, 73 (left); E. Brovarski, 'The Sendjemib Complex at Giza' I, in: *L'Égyptologie en 1979. Axes prioritaires de recherches*. Tomes 1 et 2 (1982), 139-42, figs. 112-113, pls. 114 a-b.
 - 16 Fifth Dynasty or later, PM III2, 207 (2); *LD* II, 9.
 - 17 Fifth Dynasty-Sixth Dynasty, PM III2, 209 (2); *LD* Erganz xxxii [lower]; A. M. Badawy, *The Tombs of Iteti, Sekhem'ankh-Ptah and Kaemnofret at Giza* (California, 1976), fig 30, pl. 34.
 - 18 Fifth Dynasty or Sixth Dynasty, PM III2, 223-6; *LD* II, 80 [c, right]; Junker, *Giza*, XI, fig 75, pls. XX, XXI.
 - 19 Early Sixth Dynasty, PM III2, 95 (3); *LD* II, 71 a; H. Altenmüller, 'Das Grab des Hetepnptah (G 2430) auf dem Westfriedhof von Giza', *SAK* 9 (1981), fig 3; A. Badawy, *The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the Tomb of Ankhma'hor at Saqqara* (California, 1978), pl. 8.
 - 20 Most likely date time of Neferirkara-Kakai, PM III2, 584 (8), east of the step pyramid of Saqqara; B. van de Walle, *La chapelle funéraire de Neferirtenef* (Bruxelles, 1978), 58-60, pl.12; B. van de Walle, 'le mastaba de Neferirtenef', *BSFE* 69 (1974), 12.
 - 21 Mid Fifth Dynasty or later, PM III2, 491 (3); *LD* II, 47.
 - 22 Mid Fifth Dynasty or later, PM III2, 454 (2); W.K. Simpson, *The Offering Chapel of Sekhem-ankh-Ptah in the Museum of Fine Arts* (Boston, 1976), 10-16, fig 7, pl. D, IX-XVI.
 - 23 Fifth Dynasty or early Sixth Dynasty, PM III2, 635 (3); C. Ziegler, *Le Mastaba d'Akhetetep. Une chapelle funéraire de l'Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1993), 126, 129.
 - 24 PM V, 235; *LD* II, 106 b, 107.
 - 25 PM IV, 188-9; N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Said* (London, 1901), pl. XVI.
 - 26 PM IV, 254-5; A.M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir IV* (London, 1914-53), pl. XIV right.
 - 27 PM IV, 243-4; Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrawi I*, pl. XII.
 - 28 They were also used in trade routes for transporting products as seashells and galena from Sinai and the Red Sea. See: Midant-Reynes, *The Prehistory of Egypt*, 124. The ancient Egyptians utilized donkeys for long-distance journeys to Sinai, Eastern desert and Oasis. Strouhal, *Life of the Ancient Egyptians*, 113. An inscription from Sinai mentions the use of 500 donkeys in an expedition where they might have carried water and supplies. See: Houlihan, *Animal World*, 32. In the autobiography of Harkhuf recorded on his tomb no. 8 at Aswan, in one of his voyages he mentioned a caravan consisting of 300 donkeys in which they were loaded with goods back to Egypt. For publication see: *Urk*. I, 120-131; for translation see: M. Lichtheim,

- Ancient Egyptian Literature, A Book of Readings I: The Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom* (Berkeley, 1973), 23, 26. The discovery of donkey skeletons at Maadi suggest their use in transporting products to Palestinian sites as Wadi GhazzeH (site H) and Tel el Erani, and back to Egypt where Palestinian goods have been found at Maadi. See: Shaw and Nicholson, *British Museum Dictionary*, 166. Also, their duties extended in mining operations conveying gold and minerals from the mines. In quarries in Western desert, north-west of Toshka, a record of 1000 donkeys were engaged. See: Trigger *et al.*, *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, 123. An example of a letter No. 141. O. Gardiner 86, dating to the Ramesside Period, mentions 2,870 donkeys among the estate of Amun in the Delta; agricultural estates had great number of donkeys employed in such duties, see: E. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt* (U.S.A, 1990), 118-9. An interesting letter dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty from Deir el Medina no. 204. O. DM 303, states the contact between the draftsman and his supervisor; the Place of Truth scribe, he addresses him the text reads: 'If there is work, bring the donkey! And if there is fodder, bring the ox!', indicating the hard charge the donkey has to accomplish. Cf. translation after Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 149. For a donkey hire contracts at Deir el Medina see: J. J. Janssen, 'BAKW from work to produce', *SAK* 20 (1993), 61-94 -most recent article on these by P. Grandet, 'Les ânes de Sennéfer (O.Ifao 10044)', *BIFAO* 103 (2003), 257-65. See: also Janssen, *Donkeys at Deir el Medina* (Leiden, 2005). Numerous donkeys joined the campaigns carrying provision and equipment required by the army. Evidence comes from reliefs depicting the camps of Ramesses II wars cf. PM II2, 433 (3,2). Medicinally, medical prescriptions ingredients included male donkey urine, testicle (Ber., 124), skull, ear, dung (Eb., LXV, 460), blood (Eb., LXIII, 425), fat (Eb., XLVII, 249), liver (Eb., LXVI, 463), hoof (Eb., LXV, LXVI, 460, 468) and tooth (Eb., LXVI, 470). See: Houlihan, *Animal World*, 32. Evidence of eating the donkey meat is so far obscure. See: Darby, *The Gift of Osiris* I, 235.
- 29 Scenes of agriculture process illustrate a sequence of closely six connected activities. For summary of agriculture stages, see: Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom Studies in Orientation and Scene Content* (London, 1987), 158.
- 30 Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 166.
- 31 LD II, 51; Cf. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 208.
- 32 In the tomb of KA-m-nfrt scene represent four men chasing four donkeys see:: L.D. Erganz xxxii [lower]; in The tomb of Iy-mry. The relief shows five men chasing five donkeys see:: LD II, 51; in the tomb of Wr-ir.n.i the scene shows six men running after six donkeys see: Davies, *Sheikh Said*, pl. XVI.
- 33 Tomb of #w.ns shows three drovers following six donkeys see:: LD II, 106 b, 107.
- 34 LD II, 51.
- 35 Tomb of %xm-ka [G 1029] at Giza see: W.K. Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery* I (Boston, 1980), 1.
- 36 Cf. the chapel of Nfr-irt.n.f see: van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 12; tomb of Wr-ir.n.i see:: Davies, *Sheikh Said*, pl. XVI; tomb of #w-ns see: LD II, 106 b, 107. Harpur stated that Old Kingdom minor figures seldom wore sandals except of the three previous cases. See:: Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 171 FN 125.
- 37 Davies, *Sheikh Said*, pl. XVI; Simpson argued that the term SHAt means 'donkey pack (?)'. See: Simpson, *Mastabas*, 2. For instance in the tomb of AXty-Http the text informs us that 2500 donkeys are been driven back see: N. de G. Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep at Saqqareh* (London, 1900), 13,
- 38 LD II, 51; Badawy, *Iteti*, fig. 30 a.
- 39 LD II, 106b, 107; cf. tomb of Wr-ir.n.i see: Davies, *Sheikh Said*, pl. XVI tomb of #w-ns see:: LD II, 106 b, 107.
- 40 See: tomb of pHn-wi-kaI; LD II, 47.
- 41 Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 158.
- 42 van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 12.
- 43 Female donkeys are followed by young foals cf. LD II, 106b, 107.
- 44 Fixing bundles of sheaves into sacks is a preceding stage to donkeys' carrying loads. Cf. tomb of Mrrwka W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte* III (Leipzig, 1936), pl. 45-7.
- 45 Cf. van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 12; LD II, 47; M.A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I (London, 1905), pl. XI; LD II, 106 b, 107; Janssen and Janssen, *Egyptian Household Animals*, 36.
- 46 Nibbi suggested that such saddle was made of wood to be able to carry heavy cargo. See: A. Nibbi, 'The %*& sign', *JEA* 64 (1978), 56-64.
- 47 Cf. J. Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne* VI (Paris, 1978), fig 63.
- 48 Cf. van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 12; Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. XIV;
- 49 Cf. LD II, 56 a.
- 50 Davies, *Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep at Saqqareh*, pl. VII.

- 51 Wreszinski, *Atlas III*, 49-50.
- 52 Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. XI.
- 53 van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 12.
- 54 Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. XI; cf. discussion of Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 212-13; for suggestions of other sack forms see: Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne VI*, 129.
- 55 van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 12; LD II, 106 b, 107; also see: Janssen and Janssen, *Egyptian Household Animals*, 36; Partridge, *Transport in Ancient Egypt*, 96; Nibbi mentioned that 'The British Army Manuel lays down the maximum weight that can be carried by an ass as 100 pounds, or approximately 50 kilograms, divided in to two parts, for a load on each side'. See: Nibbi, *ZÄS* 106 (1979), 155 and FN (54).
- 56 van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 12.
- 57 LD II, 51.
- 58 LD II, 106 b, 107.
- 59 Badawy, *Iteti*, fig. 30 a.
- 60 LD II, 51; Vogelsang-Eastwood defines a kilt as 'a wrap around garment worn by men, which covers part of all the lower half of the body'. See: G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing* (Leiden, 1993), 53-4.
- 61 Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, pl. XI.
- 62 Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 170-1.
- 63 Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 170-1.
- 64 Cf. Blackman, *Meir IV*, pl. XIV right see: also Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 171.
- 65 Cf. discussion of Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 171-2.
- 66 Davies, *Sheikh Said*, pl. XVI.
- 67 Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne VI*, 151-3.
- 68 Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne VI*, 136-7, 146-9.
- 69 LD II, 106b, 107; Ergänzung xxiiib cf. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 213.
- 70 LD II, 106b, 107.
- 71 Blackman, *Meir IV*, pl. XIV right.
- 72 Evidence comes from the tomb of *Axti-Htp* [D 64] at Saqqara see: Davies, *Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhetbetep at Saqqareh*, 13, pl. VII; Cf. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 220, FN 160.
- 73 A.M. Mossa und H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchnum und Chnumhotep* (Mainz am Rhein, 1977), 104, fig. 13.
- 74 Blackman, *Meir IV*, 38-9, pl. XIV right.
- 75 LD II, 56 a; Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G6000*, 22, fig 9.
- 76 Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 167; Partridge, *Transport in Ancient Egypt*, 96; Janssen and Janssen, *Egyptian Household Animals*, 36.
- 77 *Wb.* III, 434 (14); Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 221. Cf. Junker, *Giza VI*, 146.
- 78 PM III2, 88 (3); LD II, 73 (left); Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex*, I, 139-142, figs 112-113, pls. 114a-b.
- 79 Late Fifth Dynasty PM III2, 162 (1); Junker, *Giza III*, fig 48.
- 80 PM III2, 207 (2); LD II, 9.
- 81 PM III2, 225 (16)-(17); Junker, *Giza XI*, fig. 75, pls. XX, XXI.
- 82 PM III2, 95 (3); LD II, 71a; Altenmüller, *SAK9* (1981), fig. 3; Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah*, pl. 18.
- 83 Sixth Dynasty, PM III2, 96 (1); C. Fisher, *The Minor Cemetery at Giza* (Philadelphia, 1924), fig. 132, pl. 53.
- 84 PM III2, 584 (8); van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, 60-62, pl.12; van de Walle, *BSFE* 69 (1974), 12.
- 85 PM III2, 491 (3); LD II, 47.
- 86 PM III2, 454 (2); Simpson, *The Offering Chapel of Sekhem-ankh-Ptah*, 10-16, fig. 7, pl. D, IX-XVI.
- 87 Time of Djedkare-Isisi, PM III2, 597 (15); Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, I, 15; Hassan, *Mastabas of Ny-anh-ppy and Others*, 45-8, pls. XXXVII- XXXVIII-XXXVIII.
- 88 Time of Isesi- Unis, PM III2, 635 (3); Ziegler, *Mastaba d'Akhetbetep*, 135-137.
- 89 Fifth Dynasty or Sixth Dynasty, PM III2, 447 (4); G.T. Martin, *The Tomb of Hetepka and Other Reliefs and Inscriptions from the sacred Animal Necropolis North Saqqara 1964-1973* (London, 1979), pl. 10 [7].
- 90 Sixth Dynasty, PM III2, 512-515; Wreszinski, *Atlas III*, pl. 52; Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah*, 15-7, fig. 24, pls. 26-7; N. Kanawati and A. Hassan, *The Teti Cemetery II; The Tomb of Ankhmahor* (Warminster, 1997), 30-2, pl. 4, 37 a.
- 91 PM V, 235; LD II, 106 b, 107.
- 92 Davies, *Sheikh Said*, pl. XVI.
- 93 PM IV, 254-5; Blackman, *Meir IV*, pl. XIV right.
- 94 Wreszinski, *Atlas III*, 49-50; Cf. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 166.
- 95 See: also the tomb of *ppy-anx-Hri-ib* Blackman, *Meir IV*, pl. XIV right.

- 96 Scenes also show oxen helping in the threshing process cf. LD II, 47, 71a, 106.
- 97 LD II, 47; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. XI; Davies, *Sheikh Said*, pl XVI; Simpson, *The Offering Chapel of Sekhem-ankh-Ptah*, pl. D, IX, XVI.
- 98 Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 210.
- 99 LD II, 47; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. XI; Davies, *Sheikh Said*, pl XVI; Simpson, *The Offering Chapel of Sekhem-ankh-Ptah*, pl. D, IX, XVI.
- 100 LD II, 9.
- 101 For different phraseology see: for example van de Walle, *Nefertitenefer*, pl. 12; Blackman, *Meir IV*, pl. XIV; Junker, *Giza XI*, fig. 75; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. XI; LD II, 47; Simpson, *The Offering Chapel of Sekhem-ankh-Ptah*, fig. 7, pl. D, IX-XVI; Ziegler, *Mastaba d'Akhetetep*, 148-9.
- 102 A graffiti found at Serabit al-Khadim in Sinai, dated to the Twelfth Dynasty, shows Asiatic princes riding on the donkeys' backs. Cf. A.H. Gardiner, T.E. Peet and J. Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai I* (London, 1955), pls. 37, 39, 44, 85. Also, an Asiatic prince is portrayed riding a donkey depicted on a scarab, dated to the Fifteenth Dynasty. Cf. Houlihan, *Animal World*, 31. For the matter of prestige's, *Urk. IV*, 1236, 3-5 – Gebel Barkal stela of Tuthmosis III, the defeated chiefs are allowed to ride away on donkeys, because the king has taken their horses from them. On the basis of a text in O. Cairo 25543 lines 4-5, Janssen stated that donkeys were employed in pulling chariots in rare occasions. See: J. Janssen, *The Commodity Prices from the Ramesside Period* (Leiden, 1975), 170; cf. argument of Nibbi in *ZÄS 106* (1979), FN (61). Textual evidence dating to the New Kingdom alludes to chariots pulled by donkeys. See: Brewer, *et al.*, *Domestic Plants and Animals*, 100.
- 103 PM III2, 255 (5); LD II, 43 (a); S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza, I* (Cairo, 1932), 244-246, fig 104; L. Klebs, *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches* (2980-2475 v. Chr.) (Heidelberg, 1915), 29.
- 104 PM III2, 642 (11); Mossa und Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, pls. 42-3.
- 105 Cf. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 55.
- 106 Blackman, *Meir IV*, 38, pl. XIV. Cf. A.M. Roth, 'The practical economics of tomb-building in the Old Kingdom: a visit to the necropolis in a carrying chair', in: D.P. Silverman (ed.) *For His Ka. Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer* (Chicago, 1994), 227-240.
- 107 Mossa und Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, 114, pl. 42. For #nmw-Htp seated on a carrying chair over the back of two donkeys cf. Mossa und Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, 115, pl. 43.
- 108 Partridge, *Transport in Ancient Egypt*, 97.
- 109 Gautier, in: Baud and Shubert (eds.), *Encyclopedia*, 301; Owing a great number of domesticated donkeys is viewed as bearing high measure of status in society. See: Partridge, *Transport in Ancient Egypt*, 96; they were shown counted in tribute and booty scenes indicating their value to the country cf. PM II2, 344 (10).
- 110 Houlihan, *Animal World*, 31; cf. Darby, *The Gift of Osiris*, I, 235.
- 111 Janssen and Janssen, *Egyptian Household Animals*, 36; also see: Partridge, *Transport in Ancient Egypt*, 97.
- 112 W.S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1946), 172.
- 113 There was no difference between the price of both genders. See: Janssen Ramesside Period study of donkey prices in *Commodity Prices*, 165-79; cf. Nibbi, *ZÄS 106* (1979), 154.
- 114 Ploughing is the process where animals, usually sheep, would stamp over seeds, using their hooves, to immerse them on a soft land, to a reasonable profundity. See: Brunner-Traut, *LÄ II* (1977), 27; Brewer, *et al.*, *Domestic Plants and Animals*, 100.
- 115 Nibbi, *ZÄS 106*, 155.
- 116 Cf. Klebs, *alten Reiches*, 51; L. Klebs, *Die Relief und Malereiendes Mittleren Reiches* (Heidelberg, 1922), 27.
- 117 A. Erman, *Papyrus Lansing* (Kobenhaven, 1925), 39.
- 118 Gautier, in: Baud and Shubert (eds.), *Encyclopedia*, 301.
- 119 Partridge, *Transport in Ancient Egypt*, 95; Janssen and Janssen, *Egyptian Household Animals*, 36; Strouhal, *Life of the Ancient Egyptians*, 113.
- 120 Strouhal, *Life of the Ancient Egyptians*, 117-8
- 121 Dating to the Twelfth Dynasty, see: J. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie* (Paris, 1845), pl. CCCXCI.
- 122 Cf. Junker, *Giza XI*, fig 75; Cf. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 207.
- 123 Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. XI; tomb of Ra-wr Hassan, *Excavations at Giza I*, 33 fig 26.
- 124 LD II, 47.
- 125 Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, 15.
- 126 Davies, *Mastaba of Ptahetep and Akhetetep at Saqqareh*, 14.

- 127 *Museo Egizio*, Turin cf. Houlihan, *Animal World*, pl. XIII.
- 128 168. O. Berlin 12398 translation after Wenté, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 137.
- 129 Parallel spelt words indicate 'baton' or 'cudgel'.
- 130 Wenté, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 170 (3).
- 131 Cf. Brewer, *et al.*, *Domestic Plants and Animals*, 100; Janssen and Janssen, *Egyptian Household Animals*, 37. For a possible example in a threshing context, dating to the Old Kingdom, of beating donkeys see: inscription in Fisher, *Minor Cemetery at Giza*, 100, pl. 53
- 132 Kanawati and Hassan, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara II*, pl. 77 (room I). In the story of the Eloquent Peasant, the peasant's donkeys were punished for eating grain in the field by being made to thresh. See: Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 171.
- 133 For cattle-breeding scenes see: Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G6000*, 41, fig. 33, pls. 17-25; Junker, *Giza XI*, fig. 93, pl. XXIV [b].
- 134 Foals are mentioned in contracts and illustrated in animal processions. See: Janssen and Janssen, *Egyptian Household Animals*, 36; Partridge, *Transport in Ancient Egypt*, 96; Representations of young animals date to the Fifth Dynasty see: Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, 210. Their existence in large number suggests a regular breeding system. See: Brewer, *et al.*, *Domestic Plants and Animals*, 100.
- 135 Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. XI; LD II, 106b, 107.
- 136 Kanawati and Hassan, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara II*, pl. 77 (room I).
- 137 Nibbi, *JEA* 64, 57; Nibbi, *ZÄS* 106, 153.
- 138 P. Turin 1976 translation after Wenté, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 137-8.
- 139 Brewer, *et al.*, *Domestic Plants and Animals*, 100.
- 140 The Ancient Egyptians knew the donkeys' basic qualities, practices, feeding, growth, illness and reproduction. They kept them at Pens overnight away from wild animals or thieves. Examples are derived from Old Kingdom tomb scenes; for example on the walls of the mastaba of *Mrrwka* five species of animals are shown eating from troughs and lower registers represent hyenas being fattening up. See: P. Duval *et al.*, *The Mastaba of Mereuka II* (Chicago, 1938), pl. 153. Also a wooden model comes from the tomb of *Mkt-raat* Deir el Bahari dated to the Eleventh Dynasty depict a pens where four cattle are feeding from a manger, in which the front two men force-feeding two cows. Cf. Strouhal, *Life of the Ancient Egyptians*, 110.