The Relationship between Goddess Anukis and Gazelle during New Kingdom
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Abstract
The gazelle is \( \text{ghs} \), represented much more times in ancient Egyptian context and scenes of tombs, temples and ostraca, but few studies call attention to the missing link or relation between goddess Anukis and gazelle in ancient Egypt. The ambiguous relation between them may render to many reasons such as; the idea regarding which animals are represented as the symbolic, also the lack of information which deal with gazelle and Anukis. The paper contributes in broader understanding of the missing relation between gazelle Anukis as member in Elephantine’s triad. The paper aims to clear the mysterious relation of gazelle with Anukis in shade light of an important texts of pyramid and coffin texts and rarely representations and scenes which gathering them. It is worthy note that few evidences as an attribute of Khnum and Anukis dates back to the New Kingdom and is mostly concentrated to western Thebes. On this basis the paper will introduce answers to the relation between goddess Anukis and gazelle; the author try to answer many questions deal with this relationship, for example is there a divine relation between goddess Anukis and gazelle? Is the gazelle considered just an offering to the goddess Anukis? Or a symbol, or represents the goddess herself? Is there any one single reference to the goddess in her titles for example that the gazelle mentioned clearly? This paper was developed using analytical and comparative approaches based on document and linguistic and picture analyses. The paper concludes that there is a distinguish connection between the goddess Anukis and gazelle are confirmed in a limited number of sources from the New Kingdom.

Key words: Anukis-Gazelle-divinity-Ostraca- New Kingdom.

Introduction
There are a distinctive Characteristics for the gazelle in ancient Egyptian art of tombs and temples (Harpur 1987: 82; Kingdon 1997; Houlihan 1986), but we have to mention that the earliest and first representations of the gazelle are found through numbers of Pyramid Texts utterances dated to the Six Dynasty which as a prey animal hunted by men and dogs \( \text{li.n t m hh sn t Wsir ny.n sy sn.f stš hr gs.f m gs pf n Ghsty} \) (Gardiner 1957: 58, 72-73; von Droste zu Hülshoff 1980; Wb IV: 202, 1-4; Hannig 1997: 69). The Egyptians have called the gazelle as \( \text{Ghs} \) (Brewer and Friedman 1989, Gamer-Wallert 1970). Through many scenes we found the gazelle is often found together with the ibex and the Oryx. Egyptologists had not the enough experience of the ancient Egyptians to
differentiate between the all types of gazelle that they tend to apply the term 'gazelle' to all three (Klebs 1915-1934, Vandier 1964, 1969 and Decker and Herb 1994; Wb IV: 202, 1-4; Hannig 1997: 69) (fig. 1).

It can be concluded from the ancient Egyptian's resources that there are three distinguish types of gazelle which begins with gazelle; ibex\(^1\) and Oryx; these three types are members of different subfamilies of the Bovidae family (Wb II: 11, 4-8; cf. Kees 1941: 26, n. 2). Each of the three species represents a separate genus and subgenus (Estes 1992: 63, 115, Kingdon 1997: 445). It is clear from the sources of the ancient Egyptians that they realized and distinguish between the three types, as there were separate names for them, distinctive representational details to indicate species (Ansell 1971: 48). This seems to have been the case on a Naqada vase in Brussels (De Meulenaere and Limme 1988: 12) where the three animals have been incised with their particular features, i.e. shape of horns, body and tail (Osborn 1998: 175-180).

All of several species of the gazelle appear to have been grouped under the name ghs which is the generic term for gazelle (Wb V: 191, 1-9). Among the various species of gazelle, the dorcas gazelle is by far the one most commonly depicted in Egyptian art (Brunner-Traut 1977: 426). Although other members of the gazelle genus are also found in some number, such as, 'Persian Gazelle',\(^2\) Persian lion which are represented in Persian shape (Osborn 1998: 180; Cooney 1965:39-48), which found in the so-called Botanical garden of Tuthmosis III in Karnak (PM II: 120, 407, cf. Osborn 1998: 177-180).

Khnum is the main husband of Elephantine's triad which includes Anukis and Satet as two wife of Khnum. It is known that the king is the son of Khnum, who born of Anuket ms.n, 'the Mistress of Nubia' nbt t\(^3\) sty, and rose by Satis rn.n. Anukis is primarily mistress of the island of Sehel (Valbelle 1981: 94); she is associated with the Cataract area in south. There are a few examples dated to New Kingdom for Anukis as nbt Abw, 'Lady of Elephantine' (de Morgan et al 1894:7). Satis, often found together with Anukis in a triad with Khnum (Habachi 1957: Pl. VIII, Inscr. 27; de Morgan

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1 There are two terms associated with the ibex. The most specific is nirw which is used for male as well as female; this term has a broader meaning, covering wild game in general. The ancient Egyptian name for the Oryx is m3 bd, which means 'seeing white', referring to the coloring of the animal, as mainly white. The name for the Oryx provides the opportunity for a pun in one version of Chapter 112 of the Book of the Dead.

2 The Persians after their invasion to Egypt, they add some distinguish features to the Egyptian animals' representations such as lions and gazelles which are represented during Persian period with details and aggressive features. We find the majority of these examples were represented with open mouth and always the roof of the mouth will be ridged in a most realistic manner so we assure that these features of lion's representation were influenced by Persian features. By comparing the lion shape with Achaemenid examples we find the majority of these examples were represented with open mouth and always the roof of the mouth will be ridged in a most realistic manner so we assure that these features of lion's representation were influenced by Persian features.
et al 1894: 93, dM 132, 96, dM 153) remained nevertheless the main goddess of Elephantine (Valbelle 1981:106-107). It worth mention that the relation between gazelle and Triad of Elephantine are confirmed through many evidences for example; Khnum was given epithet the same of gazelle in ancient Egypt nb Ghsty which means Lord of Gehesty in two chapters of a 21st Dynasty version of the Book of the Dead; Anukis also appears in few scenes with gazelle dating to New Kingdom in divine relationship.

Ghsty 'two places of gazelles'
The gazelle was not animal game in ancient Egyptian society but it had secular role which was represented through different phases of gazelle from give birth to grow up and hunting, there is another ritual or religious side of gazelle in ancient Egypt; It is worth noting the close association between the gazelle and women in ancient Egypt; there are two examples of gazelle mummy are buried with women; first example dated back to 21th Dynasty the wife of Pinudjem II, who was the high priest of Amun (Cairo, JE 26227) (Ikram 2003a: 79; Dodson and Hilton 2004: 206); second gazelle mummy associated with Ankhshepenwepet, a singer of Amun from the 23rd Dynasty (PM 1/2: 628) which is discovered from her Deir el-Bahari tomb (no. 56, cf. PM I/2: Plan VIII; Winlock 1924: 30, Fig. 35). The gazelle appears to have had an iconographic association with women of subordinate rank during the New Kingdom (Troy 1986: 129). Gazelle was used during processions of temples (Flores 1999: 33-34). The ancient word Ghsty is mentioned in pyramid texts and was represented by two gazelles and referred to the place of two gazelles; this word is associated with Osiris place of death and resurrection (Griffiths 1980:22; Gauthier 1925: 63, 87, Duemichen 1865: Pl. LXV, no. 23). During Middle kingdom the gazelle have still played an important role; the word Ghsty was mentioned on sarcophagus (Cairo 28027=T9C), (Banes and Malek 2000: 120; Newberry, P.E., 1893- 1900). The connection between god Khnum and gazelle came from the same epithet nb n Ghsty 'Lord of Gehesty'; the epithet is represented by two gazelle, in the Book of Dead which found in Karnak Cachette (TT 320, Bab el Gasus) we have two examples indicate the connection between Khnum and gazelle; first mention is found in chapter 17 Naville 1912: Pl. XIII, 8) and the second in Chapter 112 (Naville 1912: Pl. XXII, 12). In both chapters Khnum is titled nb n Ghsty n the example from Chapter 17, Ghsty s written with the two standing gazelles drawn clearly and distinctively. The writing from Chapter 112 shows two recumbent gazelles. There is no apparent explanation for the reference to Khnum other than the owner’s affiliation to his cult, nor is it clear what the association with Gehesty implies.
Anukis Goddess and Gazelle animal
Gazelle is rarely represented as a goddess and there are few resources which pointed out to the missing relation of gazelle and Anukis (Otto 1975a: 333). It is worthy note that the majority of evidence dated back to New Kingdom (Valbelle 1981:117, 124). The first evidence for this relation comes from the temple of Buhen (fig. 2), (PM VII:133, Caminos 1974: Pl.20); the relief is in the southern temple of Buhen depicts Anukis giving life to Tuthmosis III, she is holding an ankh-sign to his nose. Anukis embraces the king with her other arm; she is identified by her plumed head dress. The hieroglyphic inscription on the pilaster is fragmentary, yet the remaining traces suggest the standard phrase 'giving life, stability and dominion'. Behind Anukis a small graffito 'incised rather deeply' (Caminos 1974:21) has been added. The horns are curved inwards, the legs slender and the short tail points upward. These details are specific for the gazelle (Osborn 1998: 175). The animal is furthermore standing on an individual base line, thus serving as an iconographic comment to the goddess. This represents perhaps the earliest known example of Anukis associated with the gazelle (fig. 2). As it is difficult to establish when the gazelle graffito was incised, it is possible that it is of a later date than the 18th Dynasty. Yet, the motif suggests an awareness of the iconographic link between goddess Anukis and the gazelle (Habachi 1950: Figs 1, 2)

Second evidence consider as analyses of many Egyptologists who read this scene (fig. 3). From a period when the desert hunt is no longer included in the standard tomb decoration, an unusual scene is found in the tomb of Neferhotep, depicting an undulating landscape with various plants, trees and waterways, possibly indicating an island landscape. As many as eight gazelles walk around the area, with one, in the lower left of the scene, nursing her young. The heading for this representation is cited (PM I/1:313) as the 'Temple in grove of Anukis with gazelle on Island of Elephantine'. Anukis herself is however not present. This scene is not analyzed by Valbelle (1981:30), other than describing it as a garden with gazelles; 'Animaux Sacrés d’Anoukis'. A similar comment is made by Bruyère (1926:36) referring to a 'parc d’antilopes d’Anoukit à éphantine'. It is apparent that both regarded the content of the scene as self-evident. Even though this scene is considered unique (Davies 1923:51-52), there is no further discussion of this scene appears to have occurred (Kamp 1996: 494-496). This ‘silence’ indicates perhaps how enigmatic the motif is.

Third evidence comes from Deir el Medina is two ostraca, both of them are originating from Deir el-Medina, further confirm the connection between Anukis and the gazelle, both in iconography and text (fig.4). These examples

3 Similar compositions with Anukis holding the ankh-sign to the king’s nose can be traced back to the Middle Kingdom, featuring e.g. Sesostris III and Neferhotep
represent the most explicit sources known to link the goddess with this animal. First Ostraca is now in the collection of Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm features a seated Anukis, with two recumbent gazelles in front of her. The goddess is found to the left, holding a staff in one hand and an ankh-sign in the other. An offering table separates the animals from the deity. The inscription in front of her reads:  anqt nbt stt ‘Anukis, mistress of Sehel’. The title mistress of Sehel is established from the Middle Kingdom onward (Valbelle 1981: 107), with  hst occurring as the determinative for the toponym stt. The inscription above the gazelles reads  ghs  wt, which translates as ‘wild gazelle’ or possibly ‘small gazelle’. Peterson (1973:77) suggests that these two gazelles may have referred to Gehesty (cf. Peterson 7.2). Traces of an inscription along the lower edge read /// sdm  cs m st Pr m3’t imn n ipt///, ‘…Hearing the summons (?) in the Place of the House of Truth, Amen-em-ipet ///’ (fig. 4). The representation of double gazelle may refer to the double uraeus which a common belong to the crown worn by queens and gods (Troy 1986: 124, Ertman 1993: 44). During New Kingdom, reign of king Tuthmosis III and Amenhotep III, the two gazelle are characterized by their association with noble, royal, and women.

The Second Ostracon is found in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. To the left is the royal scribe Hay, kneeling and with his hands raised in an adoration position (fig.5). A lavish offering table is in the middle of the scene. To the right a gazelle strides forth from the mountains, facing the offering table and Hay. The inscription above the scene is divided into two sections; Hay and the other are describing the gazelle. Daressy published a complete transcription of the text (1919: 77), beginning with the inscription above the offering table and the kneeling Hay:

\[
\text{Rdit dw3 n } \text{  nsw s}^s\text{ m st m3’t h.3i.t m3’ hrw s3 imn nht m3’ hrw s3 n s3.f which read as: ‘Giving praise to Anukis is that which the royal scribe in the Place of Truth Hay, justified and Saamunnakht, justified, son of his son did’.}
\]

The text above the gazelle reads ‘an offering which the king gives Anukis, lady of the sky, mistress of the gods’  htp dl nsw  nkt nbt pt  hwt ntw clearly identifying the gazelle as goddess Anukis. The motif is confirmed the divinity of a gazelle which emerging from mountains is analogous to that of Hathor striding forth from the western mountains (fig. 5), in her role as the lady of the west and the protector of the deceased (Hornung 1990: 58-59).

It can be summarized that the relationship between the gazelle and Anukis, first documented in the New Kingdom is reflected in some of the deity’s
titles. The title *Hr (yt) ib pr mrw*, ‘the one who dwells in Komir’, is inscribed on a temple wall of the Khonsu Temple at Karnak dating to the 19th Dynasty (Helck 1968: 121). This confirms that Anukis was connected to Komir as early as the New Kingdom (Gomaa 1977: 684). This association is maintained until the Roman Period when one of Anukis’ titles is *hnwt pr mrw* ‘mistress of Komir’, found on the north inner wall of the temple at Esna (Sauneron 1975:119, no. 516, 6). Sauneron pointed out that this title has a parallel in another scene on a pillar at the same temple where however, *hnwt pr mrw* has been replaced by *hnwt ghst* ‘mistress of Geheset’, written with a gazelle standing on a standard (Sauneron 1968: Esna III, 230, no. 312, 7).

**Discussion**

May the relationship between Anukis and gazelle is vague for first time, but after a focus reading to the few representations of Anukis with gazelle, it can be concluded that Anukis is given the epithet *nbt Ghst* which means lady of gazelle, also Anukis related to Komir, where the gazelle cemetery was located confirm the divine relationship between them, first documented for the relation between Anukis and gazelle in the New Kingdom is reflected in some of the deity’s titles *Hr (yt) ib pr mrw*, ‘the one who dwells in Komir’, is inscribed on a temple wall of the Khonsu temple at Karnak dating to the 19th Dynasty which confirms that Anukis was connected to Komir as early as the New Kingdom. Finally goddess Anukis is known as the goddess of hunting. The role of Anukis is perhaps best understood via other goddesses, such as Hathor which is given Hathor is given an epithet from temple of Phila *t3 Ghst n dw* which means the female gazelle of the mountain (Quaegebeur 1999: 21-22), she protecting the deceased and Nephthys’ role in Geheset(y). This relates the connection between the gazelle and Anukis to the (western) mountains and regeneration. The connection between the gazelle and Anukis is confirmed through limited number of sources from the New Kingdom; that they have appeared together through scenes and texts. Fig. 5 summarize the relation between goddess Anukis and gazelle that it be shown Hay while adoring to gazelle and the texts refer to Anukis as author mentioned before

**Rdit dw3 n ‘nkt ir n nsw s8 m st m3’t h.3i.t m3’ hrw s3 imn nht m3’ hrw s3 n s3.f; another evidence from the same ostraca clearly identifying the gazelle as Anukis which is the text above the gazelle reads ‘an offering which the king gives Anukis, lady of the sky, mistress of the gods’

\[\text{http di nsw ‘nkt nbt pt hnwt nfrw}\]

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4 This site is situated 12 kilometers south of Esna, on the west bank of the Nile.
The relationship between goddess Anukis and gazelle continues to 1st Century A.D which it is found in the texts from the temple of Esna, there is a written material provides one example where Anukis is explicitly associated with the gazelle. Also it can be concluded from few gazelle’s resources dating to New Kingdom that the gazelle is offered as offerings from Old Kingdom to connect deceased to living relatives; it is considered most important ritual and a funerary meal (Vandier 1964: 81). The gazelle is used as determinative for the word dwAt (or dwAtw) from Pyramid texts Utterance 504; it is deal with the purification of the king, so maybe there is relation between the gazelle and purification ritual of king  

Faulkner supposes that dwA means 'to worship' or 'she who worship' (Faulkner 1962: 310, Wb V: 426-428), he linked between the dwAt and wTh and sfH that the king to pass from neither world he had to purify in two lakes which is reinforced the image of a woman holding the gazelle which was associated with allusions to, and possibly rituals for, the dawn and the rising sun (Goebs 2008: 9-10). From table 1 and 2 we can conclude an important results deal with many elements; beginning the relation between gazelle and goddess Anukis in size that the gazelle in majority of scenes appear in medium size, but Anukis is represented in large size. It is worth noting the association between gazelle and goddess Anukis in position, that scene 1 gazelle and Anukis are represented in standing pose while in scene 3 they are represented in sitting pose.

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no</th>
<th>Gazelle size</th>
<th>Gazelle pose</th>
<th>Gazelle pose with Anukis</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Standing</td>
<td>behind Anukis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Standing (looking back)</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Crouching (sitting)</td>
<td>in front of Anukis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Large</td>
<td>Sitting (dancing)</td>
<td>in front of Anukis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no</th>
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<th>Anukis Pose</th>
<th>Anukis representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Large</td>
<td>Standing</td>
<td>As a full lady with headdress of ostrich feathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Large</td>
<td>Sitting</td>
<td>As a full lady with headdress of ostrich feathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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**Figure captions**

**Figure 1**: Two dorcas gazelles. Mortuary temple of Sahure, Berlin 21783, after Borchardt 1913: Pl. 17.

**Figure 2**: Anukis giving life, a gazelle behind her. Temple of Buhen. Caminos 1974: Pl. 20. With the permission of the EES.

**Figure 3**: Neferhotep ‘garden’ of gazelles, with a nursing scene. Tomb of Neferhotep, TT 216, after Davies 1923: 52, Fig. 20.


**Figure 5**: Hay adoring Anukis in the shape of a gazelle. Cairo, JE 43660, after Quaegebeur 1999: 22, Fig. 14.
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**Figure 4:** Anukis and two recumbent gazelles. Stockholm, MM 14011. Peterson 1973: Pl. 19. Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm. Ove Kaneberg
Figure 5: Hay adoring Anukis in the shape of a gazelle. Cairo, JE43660, after Quaegebeur 1999: 22, Fig. 14
العلاقة بين الإلهة أنوكيس (عنقت) والغزال خلال عصر الدولة الحديثة
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لقد ظهر الغزال كثيراً في مصر القديمة سواء من خلال مناظر المقابر أو المعابد أو حتى الأوستراكا، أو في سياق نصوص دينية. وقد قدمت الكثير من الدراسات تفسير لمناظر الغزال وصيده ولكن هناك القليل من الدراسات التي قدمت العلاقة بين الغزال والآلهة وهي علاقة مقدسة ربما يكون السبب وراء ذلك هو نقص المعلومات والأدلة الثرية التي تثبت هذه العلاقة المقدسة. لذلك تساهم الورقة البحثية في فهم أكثر عمقاً للعلاقة بين الغزال وأحد أعضاء ثالوث إلفنتين: خنوم وعنقت وذلك من خلال بعض الشواهد واللوحات الأثرية القليلة والتي يعود أغلبها إلى عصر الدولة الحديثة والتي تكشف اللثام عن العلاقة الغير المعلومة بين الغزال وبين ثالوث إلفنتين. وتستند الورقة البحثية للمنهج التحليلي المقارن للوحات واللفى الأثرية سواء من الناحية الفنية أو الدينية أو اللغوية للتعرف على مزيد من المعلومات للعلاقة بين الغزال وبين ثالوث إلفنتين متمثلاً في الإله خنوم والآلهتين سانت وعنقت. وفي النهاية يمكن للباحث أن يستنتج بأن هناك علاقة مؤكدة بين الغزال الذي ظهر في بعض اللوحات القليلة مع ثالوث إلفنتين وخاصة الإله خنوم وعنقت أو أنوكيس مع عدم ظهور للإلهه سانت.

الكلمات الدالة: غزال- عنقت- خنوم- مقدس- لوحة