



AN EGYPTIAN GAME IN ATHENS

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ABSTRACT

*Egyptian playing pieces found at Greek sites signal the possible introduction of *senet* in the Aegean region but no actual board has yet been excavated in Greece. The *senet* board with a recumbent lion, exhibited in the National Archaeological Museum at Athens and published here for the first time, was in fact collected in Egypt. Instead this object provides a rare example of an Egyptian board featuring an ornamental animal on the edge of the board. Stylistic comparisons between this board and other decorated examples suggest that *senet* boards—documented in the Levant, Cyprus, and Nubia—have inspired other versions of race games beyond these regions, possibly including a series of Neo-Assyrian games of fifty-eight holes with animals on their flat end.*

INTRODUCTION

The game of *senet*¹ was in favor in Egypt from Predynastic times until at least the Late Period.² It is often depicted in playing scenes and is well represented in the archaeological record, with no less than 120 examples known from Egypt.³ These are made out of a variety of materials, including stone, wood, ivory, and faience. *Senet* boards, which typically measure from 12 to 55 cm long, are laid out in three rows of ten playing squares. Certain squares are marked, likely indicating a special outcome during the play of the game. Prior to the Second Intermediate Period, the game of *senet* is carved on slabs and, as graffiti, on stone pavements. From the 17th until the 19th Dynasty, *senet* is mainly found on double-sided game boxes, with the opposite side featuring the *game of twenty squares*. From the 19th–20th Dynasty to the 26th Dynasty, game boxes are replaced by slab-style boards.

The playing pieces are moved by each player following the results of casting sticks or knucklebones. They move in a *boustrophedon*

direction, which means that the track of play on the board is S-shaped. The full name of the game—*znt nt h'b*, “the passing game”—might come from the nature of gameplay where the pieces pass each other on the board.⁴ During the New Kingdom, if not earlier, *senet* becomes associated with the journey to the afterlife. The word *znt* suggests at least a similar connection with the passing of the *ba* through the *duat* that is made explicit in the Book of the Dead.⁵ Scenes of *senet*-playing are included among the vignettes of Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead on papyri or on the walls of the tombs. The game's development into the most prominent and religiously important board game in Egypt shows that it may have changed through time, which is to be expected for any game that was played over roughly three thousand years.

The transmission of *senet* to the Levant, Cyprus, and Nubia is not surprising when considering the game's popularity in Egypt and the diplomatic and commercial relations between these regions, but it is clear that it appeared in a different kind of social

context in those cultures than it did in Egypt.⁶ Egyptian playing pieces excavated from Greek sites point to the possible introduction of *senet* in the Aegean region or to the use of such pieces for other games. Four faience pieces of the *halma*-type, conical and knobbed at apex, were retrieved from the votive deposit at Ialysos,⁷ whereas cone-shaped, spool-shaped and figurative pieces were discovered on Crete in tombs, palaces, settlements, and ritual contexts.⁸ Gaming motifs, possibly inspired by the Egyptian sign *mn* depicting a board game with playing pieces, are attested on Early Minoan III small objects, notably a probable proto-die.⁹ Moreover, rows of cup-holes arranged in a 3x10 design are recorded on a block of the Late Minoan II Royal Tomb at Isopata, north of Knossos.¹⁰ The cup-holes appear vertically suggesting that the block was reused for the architectural structure of the tomb. The design could be dated to the Late Minoan II or earlier, although its purpose remains unclear. Finally, the *senet* game under study in this paper was probably collected in Egypt and brought to Greece in modern times. To date, no *senet* boards have been excavated in mainland Greece or the islands. If *senet* games in the Aegean had been made of wood, their preservation would be comparatively poor in comparison to Egypt.

The game board housed in the collection of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens preserves one decorated playing field, as well as a feline on the edge of the board. These two elements allow for comparisons with boards both within and outside Egypt for *senet* and other board games. Such a comparison uncovers evidence of regional influences since both the decorated squares and the animal decorations prove highly specific in form and confine the period to which the boards can be dated.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ATHENS *SENET* BOARD

In his corpus of *senet*, Piccione includes an item seen in 1979 by Professor Herman te Velde in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens: D.330 is described as “an unpublished board (...) with religious decoration in S26–30, although the nature of the designs is unknown.”¹¹ The single *senet* board currently located in Athens, inventory number λ. 22, has only one square in which incised decoration is preserved (Fig. 1).¹² If D.330 is in fact the board described in this paper, it was probably assigned to the category with the last five squares consistently decorated with religious symbols based on the presence of Horus in the very last one. This object,

along with faience playing pieces also on view in the Egyptian galleries, is from the collection of Alexandros Rostovitz (d. 1919)¹³, a Greek expatriate who lived in Cairo and donated 2,237 objects to the National Archaeological Museum in 1904.

The slab-like board is made of schist. The width of the board, with two finished edges, measures 12.5 cm, and the thickness is 2.2 cm. The dimension of each square is 3.8 by 3 cm. The preserved length of the board measures 8 cm, while the reconstructed length is about 37 cm. A recumbent lion is sculpted on the right short end of the board, as the player looks at the board; it is depicted with its head resting on its front paws crossed and facing straight ahead. The lion’s face is aligned with the final squares. The animal’s mane, frown lines, and lacrimal lines are rendered by incisions. The sculpture, well preserved, may have distracted from the presence of an incomplete game identified long after its acquisition by the museum.¹⁴ The fragment corresponds to the right hand part of the track with only three squares extant (square 10, square 11, square 30). The squares are defined on all sides by incised double lines. The final square of the game, square 30, is that marked with the incised figure of the god Horus as a falcon with a flail behind him. There is no trace of a game on the other side. We can generally deduce, based on other examples depicting Horus with a flail in square 30, what the illustrations of square 26 through 29 might have been. In the absence of additional information about the provenance of the board, stylistic comparisons with other examples provide further insight.

ILLUSTRATED FIELDS

From the Ramesside period onward, deities become the focus of the final five fields, with variants of Horus displayed on the thirtieth square (Table 1).¹⁵ The image of a Horus falcon with a flail is attested four times on boards collected most probably in Egypt during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, including the Athens example, and once on a board excavated at Tanis.

The first example is a rectangular blue faience board with the divisions and illustrations of the squares painted in black ink (Fig. 2).¹⁶ A couchant cheetah is represented on the edge of the board and a small hole is pierced near the rear paw, allowing the slab to be hung or strung.¹⁷ It was given to the Wiesbaden museum in 1898 by Auguste Demmin, but no information about its provenience is available. It is dated stylistically to the 19th to 20th



FIGURE 1: Stone *senet* board with a lion, inv. no λ. 22: (a–b) front and back, National Archaeological Museum, Athens (photograph by E. A. Galanopoulos) © ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ & ΘΡΗΣΚΕΥΜΑΤΩΝ/ ΤΑΜΕΙΟ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΩΝ ΠΟΡΩΝ/ © Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Education & Religious Affairs /Archaeological Receipts Fund; (c) reconstruction with squares numbered (drawing by Kayla Younkin).

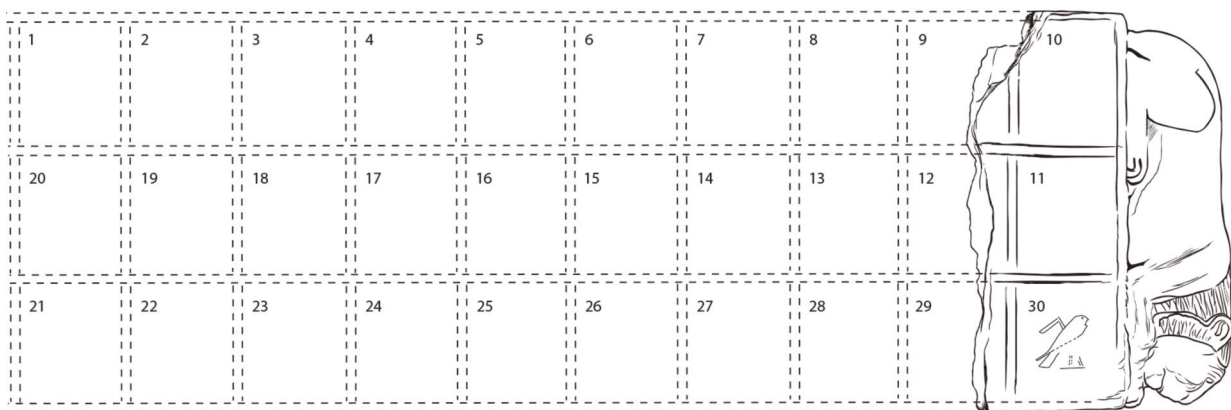
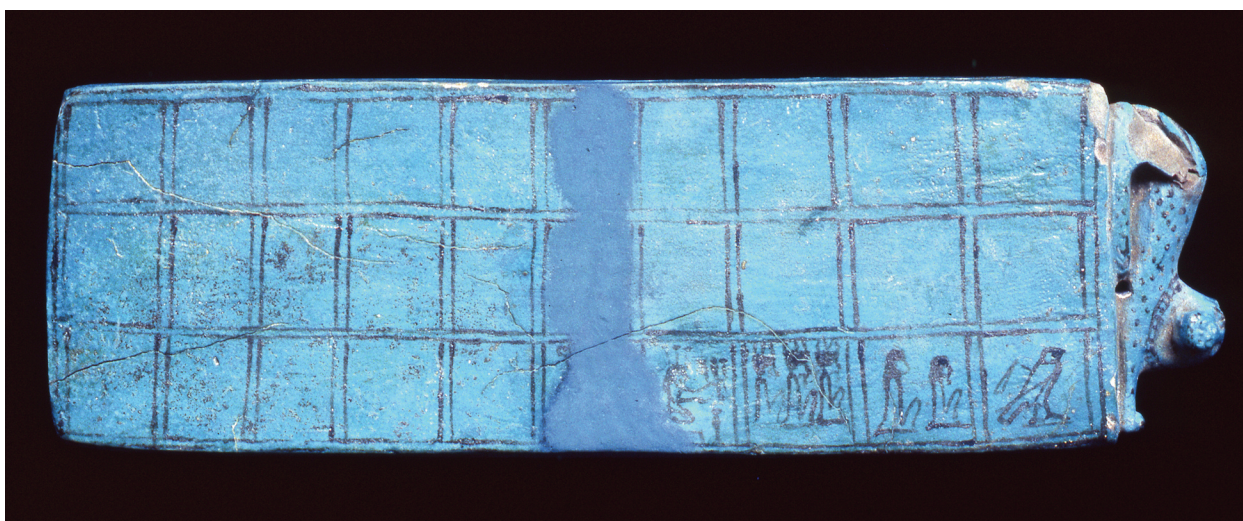


TABLE 1: Squares 26 to 30 of selected *senet* boards with Horus sign in the final square.

PRESENT LOCATION	26	27	28	29	30
National Archaeological Museum, Athens Λ.22	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	Horus + flail
Egyptian Museum, Cairo JdE 88007	<i>pr nfr</i>	<i>mw</i>	3 gods (Thoth, Shu, Ma'at)	2 gods (Ra, Atum)	Horus + flail
Egyptian Museum, Cairo JdE 88007	<i>pr nfr</i>	Hapy with offerings	3 gods (Thoth, Shu, Ma'at)	2 gods (Ra, Atum)	Horus + flail
Stadtmuseum, Wiesbaden DS 30	unknown	Hapy with offerings	3 gods	2 gods	Horus + flail
Formerly Sharkeya National Museum, H 881	<i>pr nfr</i>	Hapy with offerings	3 gods	2 gods (Ra, Atum)	Horus + flail above a basket
Israel Museum 91.71.247	Osiris + <i>pr nfr</i>	Hapy with offerings	3 gods (Osiris, Horus, Isis)	2 gods (Ra, Atum)	Horus
Yale University Art Gallery 1937.161	<i>nfrwy</i>	boat on water	<i>ntrw</i>	<i>ntrwy</i>	Horus
Egyptian Museum, Cairo JdE 52502	unknown	unknown	1 god with scepter preserved	2 gods with scepters	Horus
British Museum EA 23803	unknown	unknown	unknown	<i>ntrwy?</i>	Horus
British Museum 102396	<i>nfrw</i>	<i>mw</i>	<i>ntrw</i>	<i>ntrwy</i>	Ra-Horus

FIGURE 2: Faience *senet* board with a cheetah, DS 30, Stadtmuseum Wiesbaden.



Dynasty and considered as the first known appearance of a slab-style *senet* board in the New Kingdom.¹⁸ It measures 41 cm long, 13 cm wide and 3.5 cm thick. Square 26 is not preserved but the last four squares are. These bear one of the sequences of hieroglyphic symbols known from multiple boards: Hapy, god of the annual flooding of the Nile, kneeling and making offerings in square 27, three gods in square 28, two gods in square 29, and Horus with a flail behind him in square 30.

The signs on square 28 are not the generic hieroglyph for “god,” which is often found there. Instead, they seem to be distinguished from one another by way of their headdresses: the left two have three lines, while the right figure has four. The dark part of the hair or headdresses is much more pronounced than the generic god figures in square 29. Judging from the other boards where three gods appear in square 28, there are two options for groupings in this location on the board: either Thoth/Shu/Ma’at or Osiris/Isis/Horus. Thoth/Shu/Ma’at can be eliminated as an option, because none of the figures has an ibis head like Thoth. Although it is noted that Thoth sometimes can appear as human-headed, no boards with this form have been attested. The sequence Horus/Isis/Osiris seems more likely as the leftmost figure does not appear to have a beard. In either case, the images do not display iconography that betrays a clear reference to particular gods.

The two divine figures in square 29 also seem to be differentiated. The leftmost figure does not have a beard, but a longer wig, suggesting the determinative “goddess.” The right figure is the determinative “god.” So, instead of “two gods” following Piccione’s interpretation, these signs more likely represent a god and a goddess. This is in contrast with all other examples where the individual gods in square 29 are consistently Ra and Atum. Differentiation between the god figures in squares 28 and 29 is found in all other boards that use figures for individual gods, otherwise, the hieroglyphs *ntrw* and *ntrwy* are used, respectively.

The two next examples with square 30 displaying Horus with a flail behind him are on a double-sided fragmentary faience board, now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. It was acquired from the antiquities dealer Tano and attributed to the “Delta” region.¹⁹ The fragment measures 15.5 cm long, 12.4 cm wide, and 3.8 cm thick, and it is the only known example with the game of *senet* on both sides, as opposed to *senet* on one side and 20 squares or 33

squares on the other side. It corresponds to the right half of each track so that the sequence of fields 26 to 30 is preserved. Again, the arrangement is rather characteristic of this period: *pr nfr* “good house,” Hapy carrying offerings, three gods (Thoth, Shu, Ma’at), two gods (Ra, Atum), and Horus with a flail on one side, while *pr nfr* “good house,” *mw* “water,” three gods (Thoth, Shu, Ma’at), two gods (Ra, Atum), and Horus with a flail appear on the other side. It is stylistically dated to the 20th to 21st Dynasty.

Finally, faience fragments were discovered at Tanis to the west of 22nd Dynasty tomb no. III during Pierre Montet’s excavations.²⁰ They belong to a *senet* board with the following sequence in squares 26 to 30: *pr nfr* (with the *nfr* hieroglyph depicting a monkey holding an object), kneeling Hapy making offerings and libations, three gods (not identified due to the absence of attributes and their bad preservation), two gods (again without Ra and Atum’s attributes), and Horus with a flail above a basket. The dating of this board between the Third Intermediate and Ptolemaic periods is based on the “monkey” sign used for *nfr*.²¹ Considering that there is no evidence of *senet* boards after the 26th Dynasty, the possible attribution of this piece to the Ptolemaic period is puzzling.

FELINES AND GAMING EQUIPMENT

Decoration and inscriptions are sometimes added to *senet* boards outside the playing surface, on the long sides, the edge, or the reverse, from the end of the Second Intermediate Period onward.²² *Senet* being associated with the journey to the afterlife, the game surface is surrounded by offering formulae, offering scenes, as well as symbolic motifs. From the 19th Dynasty onward, the fastener for the drawer used to store playing pieces in game boxes has been reinterpreted on slab-style boards as an animal figure or papyrus flowers, with no practical function but religious significance.²³ Double duck or goose heads, symbol of life renewal, are attested at least on three boards,²⁴ while protective felines adorned two boards discussed here. Likewise, the lion’s symbolic role as sentinel is attested from the 19th Dynasty onward on door bolts in the form of a slider decorated with a recumbent lion to lock temple gates.²⁵ On the Wiesbaden board, the couchant cheetah is represented with its front paws extended to the front and its head turned to the right.²⁶ The leopard, *Panthera pardus*, and the cheetah, *Acinonyx jubatus*, were respectively perceived as the Upper and Lower Egyptian versions of the same animal.²⁷

Not all representations distinguish clearly between the two felines; the cheetah is recognized by its uniformly spotted skin, which is different from the rosette-shaped spots of the leopard skin.²⁸ The cheetah's presence on the board could guarantee the player a safe journey to the afterlife, like the lion on the Athens board. The latter may refer to the god Aker guarding the entrance to the netherworld, although he is usually shown as opposing reclining lions.²⁹

The ancient Egyptians lived in awe of lions, considered as the manifestation of power and commonly representing the king.³⁰ Lions have been linked to games since Predynastic times, with playing pieces and visual imagery on the board or around. *Mehen*, described as a hunting game, is played with marbles as well as six couchant lions or lionesses.³¹ Lion-headed and leopard-headed pieces are often used for *senet* and the *game of twenty squares*, whereas tables for these games are supported by lion legs or decorated with lion figures.³² Moreover, confronting lions are observed above a *game of fifty-eight holes* on a Late Bronze Age ivory board from Megiddo in southern Levant.³³

After all, a pale blue-green faience board of the slab-type, said to be from the Tanis area, with a sequence of hieroglyphs in its last five squares resembling those on the boards described above, may originally have had such a decoration in relief on its side described as "abraded or deliberately cut down."³⁴ Kendall suggests "that it had been trimmed in order to fit conveniently into a container or carrying case."³⁵ Alternatively, the fragile sculpted end—adopting the shape of a feline or double duck heads(?)—could have been damaged and subsequently removed.

DATING OF THE ATHENS *SENET* BOARD

The label for the board in the National Archaeological Museum reads "A stone part of a *senet* game. N. Kingdom." Piccione dates board D.330 to the New Kingdom or Late Period (?)³⁶ on the basis of the religious sign, and this wider chronological range should probably be taken into consideration. Boards with a Horus falcon with a flail are mostly assigned stylistically to the 19th to 21st Dynasty. A *senet* board on a terracotta platter, from the 26th Dynasty fortress at Tell Defenneh, also displays Horus in square 30, demonstrating the continuation of that motif in the same position until that late date.³⁷ Finally, the board from Tanis may be consistent with a later date because of the use of the

monkey as *nfr*. Based on the Horus motif comparisons, the Athens board can be dated between the 19th Dynasty and the Late Period, supporting Piccione's assumption.

The animal decoration on the edge of the Athens board could point to a specific time period but the lion proved to be unique, and other boards with a sculpture at the end, replacing the sliding bolt, are dated to the Ramesside period only on stylistic grounds. No parallel to such a squatting lion has been found so far. The lion's recumbent pose is attested during a long period of time, from the 18th to the 30th Dynasty.³⁸ The absence of hair in the upper half of the ears would indicate a date before Ramesses II because this detail is first attested during his reign, but the attitude of the lion looking forward is usually attested after his reign,³⁹ so this leaves a possible opening for a later date.

The decoration of boards from other periods, such as the ivory panels on *games of twenty squares* from Thebes (Egypt), Enkomi (Cyprus), and Kamid el-Loz (Lebanon), dating to the Late Bronze Age, suggests that stylistic tendencies can transcend cultural boundaries.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the use of a dark stone for the Athens board is atypical, as the Egyptian *senet* boards from the Ramesside to the Late Period are mostly made of faience or limestone. Therefore, examples from outside of Egypt are also of interest for further comparison.

ANIMAL DECORATIONS ON NEAR EASTERN GAMES

In the ancient Near East, there is a long tradition of figurative adornment on the edge of game boards from the second millennium BCE onward. The most compelling example is the double-sided ivory board from Megiddo cited above, which features two lions opposing the round projection at the top of the *game of fifty-eight holes*, and two goats confronting the last squares of the *game of twenty squares*.

Moreover, a group of Assyrian stone game boards presents the closest resemblances to the Egyptian examples, as they are adorned with one or more figures, including lions, carved in the round and projecting from the flat end of the game. They are boards for the *game of fifty-eight holes*, some inscribed with the name of Esarhaddon (680–669 BCE), king of Assyria.⁴¹ Most of them are fragmentary and were found in the Neo-Assyrian capitals, Nimrud and Nineveh. At first they were not identified as games because the incomplete game surface was not understood, similar to the case of the Athens board. They were described as small objects (pedestal, vase)

decorated with rosettes and figurative scenes in bas relief.⁴² A series of flat and curved moldings are characteristic for the edges close to the flat end. Some boards have mortices on the flat end to receive plugs “by which an applied decoration was fixed on.”⁴³ Generally, the decorations are missing and attested by hooves and paws, so the modern name “Bulls and Lions” was applied to the game.⁴⁴ The best-preserved example is an unfinished board from Sippar decorated at one end by a crouching human-headed winged lion (Fig. 3).⁴⁵ The typical series of flat and curved moldings point to a board intended for the *game of fifty-eight holes*. Human-headed winged bulls and lions, known as *lamassu*, are protective figures notably guarding passages in the Assyrian palaces. The small *lamassu*, meant to protect the game from Sippar, echoes the monumental sculpture whose base was scratched with a grid for the *game of twenty squares*, evidence of games taking place in a gateway of the citadel wall at Khorsabad.⁴⁶

Egyptian examples of the *game of fifty-eight holes* are older than the Near Eastern examples known by the 1930s, so Gadd links the revival of the game in Mesopotamia to Assyrian campaigns on their empire’s western frontier during the reign of Esarhaddon in the seventh century BCE, escalating to the invasion of Egypt.⁴⁷ In fact, the Assyrian soldiers almost certainly did not introduce the *game of fifty-eight holes* back from their campaigns: this game is identified in the Near East since the early second millennium BCE, a thousand years before the Neo-Assyrian period.⁴⁸ Furthermore, in the early first millennium BCE the game was nearly already absent from Egypt, as little evidence for it is known during this period except the enigmatic hippopotamus-shaped board dated to the Late Period.⁴⁹ Woolley is more cautious, considering the *game of fifty-eight holes* “introduced (or re-introduced?) into Babylonia by Esarhaddon.”⁵⁰

CONCLUSION

The Athens board is consistent with other boards with similar decorations, considering both squares and the Near Eastern comparanda for the animal sculpture on the end. This places the date for the Athens board between the Ramesside and Late Period. Though the board from Tanis with the monkey sign may suggest an even later date, the preponderance of the evidence points to this era of Egyptian history for the date of this board.

This detailed presentation of the *senet* board from



FIGURE 3: Unfinished game from Sippar, 118768, The British Museum © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Athens adds it to the known examples of slab-type boards, and most notably brings to light the feline figure on its edge. When Gadd discussed the *game of fifty-eight holes*, he specified that “[in] Egypt the ornamental (animal) groups standing on the flat end of the board are not found.”⁵¹ At the time of Gadd’s statement, such decoration on *senet* boards was indeed unknown. With the Athens board, we now have an example featuring the reinterpretation of the sliding-bolt system as a lion. This shows that the continual reevaluation of previously unknown or under-evaluated game boards leads to new interpretations of the corpus of *senet*.

- ¹ The title of this paper is inspired by Cyril J. Gadd's article, "An Egyptian Game in Assyria," *Iraq* 1 (1934): 45–50, in which Gadd brought to light a group of Assyrian games discussed here. We would like to express our warmest thanks to Marsha Hill (The Metropolitan Museum of Art) for bringing this object to our attention as well as many relevant references. We are particularly grateful to Konstantinos Nikolentzos, Alexandra Christopoulou, and Eleni Tourna (National Archaeological Museum, Athens) for their help and for the permission to publish this *senet* game, as well as Kayla Younkin (American Museum of Natural History) for the reconstruction drawing of the board. We would also like to thank Niv Allon (The Metropolitan Museum of Art), David Schneller (Columbia University), Jacobus van Dijk (University of Groningen), Antje Stoehr (Stadtmuseum Wiesbaden), Annika Potzgalski (Universität Heidelberg), Olaf Kaper (Leiden University), and Daphna Ben-Tor (Israel Museum) for their information and insight. Finally, we are thankful to our colleague Michael Seymour (The Metropolitan Museum of Art) for comments on a previous version.
- ² Walter Crist, Anne-Elizabeth Dunn-Vaturi and Alex de Voogt, *Ancient Egyptians at Play* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 41–64.
- ³ Peter A. Piccione, *The Historical Development of the Game of Senet and its Significance for Egyptian Religion*, PhD diss. (University of Chicago, 1990).
- ⁴ Peter A. Piccione, "The Egyptian Game of Senet and the Migration of the Soul," in Irving L. Finkel (ed.), *Ancient Board Games in Perspective: Papers from the 1990 British Museum colloquium, with additional contributions* (London: British Museum Press, 2007), 54.
- ⁵ Timothy Kendall, *Passing through the Netherworld: The Meaning and Play of Senet, an Ancient Egyptian Funerary Game* (Belmont, MA: Kirk Game Company, 1978), 28–31.
- ⁶ Crist et al. 2016, 67–77.
- ⁷ Rhodes Museum, inv. 7636, SNO 27-35/37. Nancy J. Skon-Jedele, *Aegyptiaka: A Catalogue of Egyptian and Egyptianizing Objects Excavated from Greek Archaeological Sites, ca. 1100–525 B.C., with Historical Commentary*, PhD diss. (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1994), 2583–2587, nos. 4824–4827, pl. 21.
- ⁸ Niklas Hillbom, *Minoan Games and Game Boards: An Archaeological Investigation of Game-Related Material from Bronze Age Crete* (Saarbrücken: Verlag Dr. Müller, 2011), 294–303.
- ⁹ Hillbom 2011, 109, 317–318, fig. 20 and 323, fig. 23.
- ¹⁰ Hillbom 2011, 104–109, fig. 24F.
- ¹¹ Piccione 1990, 440.
- ¹² The distinctive animal decoration is not mentioned by Piccione, so this example seemed different. The curators in Athens confirmed, however, that there is no other *senet* board in the National Archaeological Museum.
- ¹³ Alexandros Rostovitz was probably born in the early nineteenth century in Macedonia or in Constantinople; see Vassilis I. Chrysikopoulos, "L'histoire des collections d'antiquités égyptiennes du Musée National d'Athènes: les donateurs Ioannis Dimitriou et Alexandros Rostovitz," in Jean-Claude Goyon and Christine Cardin (eds.), *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists, Volume II* (Leuven: Peeters Publishers & Department of Oriental Studies, 2007), 335.
- ¹⁴ In the old catalogue of the Egyptian Collection, it is described as "on a high and narrow stone base a recumbent lion. The upper side is divided with incised lines in three squares."
- ¹⁵ Piccione 1990, 246–249. For a discussion about the religious significance of the *senet* decoration, see John M. Iskander, "A Recently Discovered *Senet*-Board from Heliopolis," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 66 (2010), 125–128.
- ¹⁶ Stadtmuseum Wiesbaden, DS 30. Beatrix Gessler-Löhr, *Meisterwerke altägyptischer Keramik: 5000 Jahre Kunst und Kunsthandwerk aus Ton und Fayence* (Hachenburg, 1978), 112, no. 131; Piccione 1990, 426.
- ¹⁷ Other examples of slab-type boards are pierced; see Piccione 1990, 446.
- ¹⁸ Piccione 1990, 246.
- ¹⁹ Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JdE 88007. Edgar B. Pusch, *Das Senet-Brettspiel im Alten Ägypten* (Munich: Deutsche Kunstverlag, 1979), 344–348, pls. 88–89; Piccione 1990, 434–435; Wolfgang

- Decker and Michael Herb, *Bildatlas zum Sport im Alten Ägypten. Corpus der Billichen Quellen zu Liebesübungen, Spiel, Jagd, Tanz, und Verwandten Themen* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 677; Piccione 2007, 61–62, fig. 6.7.
- ²⁰ Formerly in the Sharkeya National Museum, Herrat Reznah, H 881. Manuela Gander, “Senet Game Fragments,” in Mohamed I. Bakr and Helmut Brandl with Faye Kalloniatis (eds.), *Egyptian Antiquities from the Eastern Nile Delta* (Cairo/Berlin: Museums in the Nile Delta, 2014), 184–185.
- ²¹ Gander 2014, 185.
- ²² Piccione 2007, 55.
- ²³ Piccione 1990, 9. On some boards, a bolt is represented; see Piccione 1990, 446–448.
- ²⁴ British Museum, 102396; Yale University Art Gallery, 1937.161; Egyptian Museum, Cairo JdE 52502; see Piccione 1990, respectively D.220, D.240, D.250.
- ²⁵ Eric Young, “Sculptors’ Models or Votives? In Defense of a Scholarly Tradition,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 22.7 (1964): 252–253 no. 10; Bettina Ventker, *Der Starke auf dem Dach: Funktion und Bedeutung der löwengestaltigen Wasserspeier im Alten Ägypten* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), 240–243.
- ²⁶ The animal has also been described as a lion; see Piccione 1990, 426.
- ²⁷ Dorothea Arnold, “An Egyptian Bestiary,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 52:4 (1995): 19.
- ²⁸ Elisa Castel, “Panthers, Leopards and Cheetahs: Notes on Identification,” *Trabajos de Egiptologia. Papers on Ancient Egypt* 1 (2002): 23.
- ²⁹ Richard H. Wilkinson, *Reading Egyptian Art: a Hieroglyphic Guide to Ancient Egyptian Painting and Sculpture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992), 68–69.
- ³⁰ Arnold 1995, 16.
- ³¹ Crist et al. 2016, 24–26.
- ³² Anne-Elizabeth Dunn-Vaturi, “Pion en forme de lion” and “Pion inscrit au nom de Hatchepsout,” in Isabelle Bardiès-Fronty and Anne-Elizabeth Dunn-Vaturi (eds.), *Art du Jeu, Jeu dans l’Art. De Babylone à l’Occident médiéval* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2012), 49 and 107; William J. Tait, *Game-Boxes and Accessories from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1982), 11–12, pl. III; Decker and Herb 1994, pl. CCCLXXII, Q 3.40.
- ³³ Rockefeller Museum, 38.826. Gordon Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories*, Oriental Institute Publications 52 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), 19, pl. 47, no. 220.
- ³⁴ Israel Museum, 91.71.247. Herbert Hoffmann, *Norbert Schimmel Collection* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1964), cat. 97; Oscar W. Muscarella, *Ancient Art: the Norbert Schimmel Collection* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1974), cat. 197. It has been dated to the 18th–19th Dynasty in these catalogs but should probably be attributed to the 19th–20th Dynasty.
- ³⁵ Timothy Kendall, “Games,” in Rita Freed (ed.), *Egypt’s Golden Age: The Art of Living in the New Kingdom 1558–1085 B.C.* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1982), 268.
- ³⁶ Piccione 1990, 440.
- ³⁷ British Museum, EA 23803. Crist et al. 2016, 61–62, fig. 3.5.
- ³⁸ Hans W. Müller, “Löwenskulpturen in der Ägyptischen Sammlung des Bayerischen Staates,” *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 16 (1965): 21–22, fig. 14 and 25–26, fig. 27.
- ³⁹ Müller 1965, 25.
- ⁴⁰ Crist et al. 2016, 101.
- ⁴¹ Gadd 1934.
- ⁴² Essad Nassouhi, “Un curieux monument néo-assyrien en marbre rouge veiné,” *Revue d’Assyriologie et d’archéologie orientale* 22.1 (1925): 17–22; Reginald C. Thompson and Richard W. Hutchinson “The Excavations on the Temple of Nabû at Nineveh,” *Archaeologia* 79 (1929): 109, pl. LVII, no. 338.
- ⁴³ Gadd 1934, 48.
- ⁴⁴ Gadd 1934, 50; Anne D. Kilmer, “Games and Toys in Ancient Mesopotamia,” in Juraj Pavúk (ed.), *Actes du XIIIe Congrès International des Sciences Préhistoriques et Proto-Historiques*, Bratislava, 1–7 septembre 1991, (Bratislava: Institut Archéologique de l’Académie Slovaque des Sciences, 1993), 360.
- ⁴⁵ British Museum, 118768. Gadd 1934, 49, no. 9, p. VIIIa.
- ⁴⁶ British Museum, 118809.

⁴⁷ Gadd 1934, 50.

⁴⁸ Elizabeth D. van Buren, "A Gaming-Board from Tall Halaf," *Iraq* 4.1 (1937): 12.

⁴⁹ Geneviève Pierrat-Bonnefois, "Game Board in the Shape of a Hippopotamus and Three Gaming Pieces for the Game of 58 Holes," in F. Dunn Friedman (ed.), *Gifts of the Nile: Ancient Egyptian Faience* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1998), no. 96, 219.

⁵⁰ Leonard Woolley, "Excavations at Ur, 1931-32," *The Museum Journal* 23.3 (1932): 248.

⁵¹ Gadd 1934, 49.