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Cattle Feet in Funerary Rituals: A Diachronic View Combining Archaeology and Iconography*

Marleen De Meyer, José M. Serrano

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PLATES LXXVI-LXXXIII

ABSTRACT

Cattle feet form a recurring find category in funerary contexts but their interpretation is not straightforward. In this paper an attempt is made to interpret archaeological remains of such deposits of cattle feet in tombs of Deir el-Bersha, dating to the Old and Middle Kingdoms, by comparing them to iconographic data from three unusual Theban Tombs dating to the 18th Dynasty. The argument is made that they form the remains of a slaughter ritual and should not be interpreted as food offerings.

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* Acknowledgements: This article pools together data that was collected by various Egyptologists and archaeologists in the field. We thank Veerle Linseele for the archaeozoological data on the feet; Leire Olabarria, Bart Vanthuyne, Helen Peeters, and Hanne Creylman for sharing the documentation of their work at Deir el-Bersha; José M. Galán, Harco Willems and Bart Hellickx for various discussions on the subject; and Laurent Bavay and Dimitri Laboury for permission to publish the scene in the tomb of Amenemope.

Over the course of almost fifteen years of excavating at different locations at the site of Deir el-Bersha (Middle Egypt), numerous tombs have come to light in which deposits of cattle bones form an essential part of the tomb contents.[1] Interestingly, it is most often not the prime meat cuts of bovines that are found but rather the lower parts of the legs, namely the four feet. Such deposits occur in tombs ranging in date from the Old to the Middle Kingdom, which demonstrates that they are the result of a funerary ritual that was persistent over a long period of time and that, moreover, they occur in tombs belonging to different levels of society, ranging from simple pit burials to high status rock-cut tombs.

The interpretation of such deposits as remains of a slaughter ritual has tentatively been suggested in an article over a decade ago[2] but that article was written at a time when only few contexts with such cattle feet had been uncovered. In the meantime, much more archaeological evidence has surfaced and the interpretation of this ritual is moreover significantly helped by a recently discovered and perhaps unexpected source: the reliefs in the inner chamber of the Theban Tomb of Djehuty (TT 11).

The archaeological evidence from Deir el-Bersha is first presented, after which it is evaluated in the light of the reliefs in the Tomb of Djehuty. From the outset it should be stated that this paper is just a preliminary and abbreviated version of a larger and more detailed study that will appear in the future. The dossier of cattle feet is much more substantial than what can be presented within the allotted space for these proceedings, so only the general outline of the argument is discussed here. This article also only includes intact contexts but there are many more attestations of partial or disturbed deposits that nevertheless must have been the result of the same type of activity. Finally, it also falls outside the scope of this article to give an overview of evidence of similar deposits at other archaeological sites, but it is clear that they exist (e.g. at Helwan, Qubbet el-Hawa, Saqqara, etc.).

Archaeological Evidence from Deir el-Bersha

The site of Deir el-Bersha contains several cemeteries dating to the Old and Middle Kingdoms, and in all of them deposits of cattle feet have been recovered (pl. LXXVI). In the late Old Kingdom necropolis on the south hill (zone 7) they occur both in tombs with rock-cut chapels as well as in shaft tombs without a rock-cut superstructure. In square Shaft 15183/1, which has a depth of 2.70m, the burial chamber is located at the bottom of the shaft in its east wall and the outline of the decayed wooden coffin is still preserved (pl. LXXVII, 1). The burial itself is partially disturbed, but enough remains to determine that the deceased was buried lying on his left side, head to the north, facing east. One brown tubular stone bead was found in the area of the neck but no other finds were associated with this burial. In the southern part of the burial chamber, to the west of the feet of the deceased and in front of the coffin, a deposit of juvenile unfused cattle bones was found. This consisted of four feet of calves (carpals, metacarpals, and phalanges), two front and two hind feet, from the same animal, and all still articulated and in their original position (pl. LXXVII, 2).[3] On the carpals cut-marks were observed, indicating that the feet were severed with some sort of a knife (pl. LXXVII, 3).

15194/1 is a second, similar shaft tomb that is located close to the previous one. Here as well the burial chamber contained a partially disturbed burial with an outline of a wooden coffin and cattle feet in front of it. However, in this case the composition is somewhat different, with one complete foreleg, one forefoot and one hind foot, again of juvenile cattle.

That such deposits also occur in late Old Kingdom tombs with rock-cut chapels on the south hill, is clear from tomb 16H50/1 (Uky). In one of the shafts a disturbed burial was found, but one articulated calf foot survived at the transition between the shaft and the burial chamber. Cut marks were observed on the carpals as well.

Moving away from the hills and into the desert plain in front of the south hill, remnants of a late Old Kingdom-early First Intermediate Period cemetery were found in the desert plain (zone 9B). Here simple shallow shaft tombs were dug out in the desert floor.

1. In 2002 a team of KU Leuven University in Belgium started a long-term project here, the aims of which are presented in the first preliminary report (Willems *et al*. 2004, pp. 237-83: 243-47). We thank the Special Research Fund of KU Leuven and the Research Foundation Flanders (FWO) for their continued support of the project.

2. De Meyer *et al*. 2005-2006, pp. 45-71: 60-66.

3. We thank Veerle Linseele for the identification of all the cattle remains at Deir el-Bersha mentioned in this article.

Tomb 12J47/2 contained four juvenile cattle feet, located against the northern shaft wall with the burial chamber in the opposite shaft wall to the south. The preservation of these four feet was such that they still had skin retaining fur.

Further to the west, in the recently discovered late Old Kingdom-First Intermediate Period cemetery in al-Tud (zone 11), several shafts in the desert floor also contained similar deposits. In Tomb 02J35/1/6 a set of three juvenile cattle feet was located at the bottom of the 3.50m deep shaft right in front of the limestone blocking of the burial chamber, while in Shaft 01J69/1 a deposit of four articulated cattle feet together with the tail and horns was found in the centre of the shaft on the floor.

Somewhat more recent is the First Intermediate Period — early Middle Kingdom cemetery in Zone 9A, located in an elevated area in the desert plain and containing tombs ranging from shallow pit tombs to elaborately constructed shafts lined with mud brick walls on top. In Tomb 10O22/1 four articulated juvenile cattle feet were found at the bottom and in the centre of the nearly 5m deep shaft (pl. LXXVIII, 1).[4] A similar find occurred in adjacent Tomb 10O22/2, where such feet were deposited in between two broken red jars.[5] In both cases the feet came from a single calf (3-4 months old) and had cut marks on the carpals.

Finally, while no *in situ* deposits were recovered in shafts of Middle Kingdom governors (Zone 2), evidence from disturbed contexts indicates that cattle feet were also part of their tomb inventories. This shows that such deposits also occurred with the highest elite of the province at the time.

It is clear that sets of cattle feet form a frequently recurring deposit in tombs from the Old to the Middle Kingdom at Deir el-Bersha. Before turning to the interpretation of such deposits, let us briefly summarize the facts. These feet can occur in various constellations, most frequently as a set of four by themselves and originating from one animal, but sometimes also paired with for instance horns, the tail, or an entire foreleg. They always come from young calves, as is obvious from the unfused bones and ages between 3-4 months up to 1.5-2 years have been recorded. Cut marks are often found on the carpals, indicating that the feet were cut off deliberately. The location of these finds is also significant: they are located either inside the shaft or at the entrance to the burial chamber, and are sometimes associated with (broken) pottery.

Interpretation of the Archaeological Remains

The obvious interpretation, to see these deposits of cattle feet as food offerings, has one large disadvantage: feet are not the most edible parts of a cow.[6] More importantly though, cattle feet are never one of the beef cuts mentioned in the standardized offering lists in Old and Middle Kingdom tombs, in which the food items are listed that one would ideally want to have in one's tomb, despite the fact that many other beef cuts are part of them.[7] Instead, a mix of muscle meat and organs is preferred. There are also many depictions of meat cuts being carried into the tomb by offering bearers, but they are never shown carrying cattle feet into tombs. It therefore seems unlikely that these feet were part of the food offering ritual.

Iconography does not have much to offer in the way of help with interpreting these sets of cattle feet. While depictions of *ḫpš*-forelegs and other edible meat cuts are abundant in Egyptian iconography, the combination of four severed cattle feet is hardly ever encountered. There is one notable exception to this, namely the front panel of the outer coffin of Middle Kingdom governor Djehutinakht IV or V from Deir el-Bersha (Boston MFA 20.1822, Tomb 10A) (pl. LXXIX).[8] On the inside of this coffin panel a set of four cattle feet is depicted among a large pile of offerings which the deceased is facing, seated next to the false door. The variety of items represented in the offering table scene of this coffin panel is far greater than the items in the offering lists. This implies that the cattle feet do belong to the decorum of the funerary celebrations, but that they are not part of the food offering ritual, which constitutes only a part of those ceremonies.

4. For a more detailed description of this deposit, cf. De Meyer *et al*. 2005-2006, pp. 45-71: 48-49.

5. For a more detailed description of this deposit, cf. *ibidem*, pp. 45-71: 49-50.

6. Cf. also the comments of Alexanian 1998, pp. 3-22: 14.

7. Barta 1963, p. 49 (nr. 45-54: beef cuts); De Meyer *et al*. 2005-2006, pp. 45-71: 63-64. For the ancient Egyptian terminology of animal feet, cf. Ikram 1995, pp. 136-37.

8. Freed *et al*. 2009, p. 116 (fig. 70); Terrace 1968, pl. 1, 4.

Unfortunately, the four cattle feet do not occur in a context here that shows how or why they entered the tomb. There is no ritual act depicted with them. This begs the question of what kind of ritual the deposition of these feet was the result. We suggest that these are remains not of the offering ritual but of the slaughter ritual which must have preceded the offering ritual. The slaughter of cattle is a common depiction in tombs of the Old and Middle Kingdom. While the slaughter of course serves the practical purpose of providing meat cuts for the food offering ritual, ritual slaughter also involves its own set of ideological connotations in ancient Egypt, where the various steps in the process of destroying the animal are interpreted in the liturgy as stages of the defeat of hostile forces.[9] It is not unimaginable that some of the remains of this ritual episode, and especially those that were not required in other episodes such as the food offering ritual, were then thrown into the tomb shaft. The location of these remains is significant, generally in the shaft in front of the opening to the burial chamber, which is the most vulnerable place of the burial. In this way, the cattle feet perpetuate the effects of the ritual enemy destruction, thus protecting the entrance to the burial chamber against hostile forces. The fact that they sometimes occur together with broken red pots may be an additional argument for interpreting them in the sphere of enemy destruction. Selecting the feet may moreover have had the connotation of immobilizing the enemy. In a way one could thus see this act as a kind of ritual tomb protection or security.

Iconographic Evidence from Thebes

While there is no iconographic evidence of such ritual acts from the Old or Middle Kingdom to back up this hypothesis, evidence of exactly this kind of slaughter ritual is found in three 18th Dynasty Theban Tombs with highly unusual representations of funerary rituals: the Tomb of Djehuty (TT 11) at Dra' Abu el-Naga, the tomb of Montuherkhepeshef (TT 20)[10] also at Dra Abu el-Naga and almost neighbouring TT 11, and the tomb of Amenemope (TT 29).[11] While TT 11 and TT 20 are contemporary (reigns of Hatshepsut- Thutmose III), TT 29 is slightly later (reign of Amenhotep II), and the artist of the latter seems to have copied scenes from nearby tombs TT 11 and 20 for reasons that are not yet well understood.

The tomb of Djehuty (TT 11) has been under investigation by the Spanish-Egyptian *Proyecto Djehuty* since 2002 (pl. LXXX).[12] Djehuty was a high official during the reigns of Hatshepsut-Thutmose III, carrying out positions such as Supervisor of the Treasury, Overseer of the Cattle of Amun, and Overseer of Royal Works. His tomb corresponds to the typical model of the Theban Tomb, with an inverted T-shape, but for the purpose of this paper especially the decoration of the inner chapel is relevant. Here a number of rare and almost unparalleled funerary rituals are depicted, which contrast sharply with the typical and quite repetitive ritual sequences in other Theban Tombs of the 18th Dynasty.[13] While the entire decorative scheme of this chapel cannot be discussed here, the main themes present are:

— sacrifice, mainly of bovines, but also of humans
— the presentation of offerings
— ritual dramatics or performances[14]

In several of these episodes, round circles are depicted that represent top views of pits or shafts in which different kinds of products, objects or victims have been placed or thrown. The contents of these pits varies. They are dominated by products typically designated for funeral rites, such as cups with oils and cosmetics, incense, pieces of cloth, etc. Occasionally elements are depicted that have been used for certain ritual sequences which apparently needed to be thrown (and even burned) into the shafts, such as the sledge used to transport the coffin or the *tekenu* during the funeral procession. However, the inside of these pits most often shows cattle or parts thereof (bovine victims). Sometimes the entire animal appears, while other times only mutilated body parts are shown such as the entrails, the heart, or the front leg. All these parts play a central role in funerary rites, such as for instance

9. For references, cf. De Meyer *et al*. 2005-2006, pp. 45-71: 65-66
10. Davies N.d.G. 1913, pp. 1-19, pl. 1-17.
11. On TT 29, cf. Bavay 2007, pp. 7-20.
12. For this tomb, cf. Galán 2007, pp. 777-87; *id*. 2009, pp. 155-81; *id*. 2014, pp. 247-72; Serrano 2014, pp. 273-95; *id*. 2017 pp. 587-93.
13. *Ibidem*, pp. 587-93.
14. An example is the scene with the *tekenu*; cf. *id*. 2011, pp. 150-62.

the Opening of the Mouth ritual.[15] Often these pits appear together with representations of the ritual acts carried out previously by the priests and officiants in preparation for throwing all of these elements into the shafts. There also seems to be a relationship between these pits and the incineration of their contents by fire. This explains why they are often painted in a red colour, and fire is frequently referred to explicitly in the texts that accompany these scenes.

The pit that is of special interest here, is the one in the upper register of the south-western wall of the inner chapel, which is preserved intact in the tomb of Djehuty (pl. LXXXI). A clear depiction of four cattle feet is found inside the pit,[16] which looks very similar to those on the Middle Kingdom coffin of Djehutinakht IV or V. In the same pit the word *mḫt.w* «entrails» is written. Above the pit is written «Placing the entrails in the pit of fire, carrying out the ritual in front of the tomb (*jʿ*).»

The scene to the right of this pit is unfortunately destroyed both in the tomb of Djehuty as well as in the tomb of Montuherkhepeshef (pl. LXXXII), but it is preserved in TT 29, the Tomb of Amenemope (pl. LXXXIII).[17] There the pit does not have any interior details, but is just painted red. However, it is certainly the same pit: it occurs at the same location in the broader composition, and the text accompanying it is also the same. The adjacent scene, to the right of the pit, is almost completely preserved, and we see the bovine victim being restrained by two people while it has been partially skinned, and a third man is extracting the entrails. Even more interestingly, it is clear from the colour scheme that the four feet have been cut off from the legs, which are obviously those that are depicted to the left, inside the pit, in TT 11 and TT 20.

While at first sight the iconography seems to correspond to the archaeological evidence, there is still a substantial chronological and geographical gap between the two. However, two important factors reduce this distance. The chronological distance is bridged by the fact that the funerary rituals that are depicted in TT 11 and TT 20 are clearly of an archaic nature. For instance, one of the other scenes shows the ritual of «encircling the tomb».[18] The tomb is depicted in the shape of a mastaba, which at this point is of course an archaic structure, and not contemporary to the rock-cut tomb in which it occurs. Moreover, the text that labels the scene is *pḫr ḥ3 jʿ*, with *jʿ* being an archaic word for «tomb».[19] The exact same wording for the ritual of «encircling the tomb» is used in the Middle Kingdom *P. Ramesseum* E, which describes an entire series of funerary rituals.[20] It is worth noting that the archaic word for tomb, *jʿ*, is also used in the inscription accompanying the pit with the four cow legs (cf. supra).

Djehuty thus seems to be representing archaic funerary rituals in his tomb, which fits with the general tendency towards archaism during the reign of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III.[21] This archaism affected art, literature and religion, among other aspects of society, and led to the reuse of models that connect directly or indirectly to the Old or Middle Kingdoms. This archaism affected private tombs as well. The first decorated Theban Tombs from the beginning of the 18th Dynasty, such as those of Tetiky (TT 15) or Hery (TT 12), draw inspiration from the 12th Dynasty Theban Tomb of Intefiker-Senet (TT 60). It is interesting to point out that the Theban Tomb of Puyemre, another contemporary of Djehuty, contains motifs and texts taken from Middle Kingdom tombs at Asyut.

Secondly, the geographical gap between the Theban area and Middle Egypt is reduced by the fact that Djehuty and Montuherkhepeshef both have strong ties with exactly that area, and likely even originate from there. They were buried alongside each other at Dra' Abu el-Naga, separated by only a few meters. It is possible that they may have maintained close personal links, perhaps even a family relationship. Djehuty carried out the highest priestly duties in the region of Hermopolis, centred around the great Temple of Thoth, and he held important posts in the

15. *Id.* 2014, pp. 273-95.

16. This pit is partially preserved in the tomb of Montuherkhepeshef, but the four feet were wrongly reconstructed by DAVIES as belonging to a standing bull (DAVIES N.D.G. 1913, pl. 10); cf. pl. XXXII. Since only parts of the feet are preserved, it is a logical mistake to make but there is no doubt that the scene should be reconstructed in the same way as in TT 11, namely with just four separate cattle feet.

17. The scene in the tomb of Amenemope is also depicted in BAVAY 2007, pp. 7-20: 11 (fig. 5).

18. SERRANO 2017, pp. 587-93: 592 and n. 4; *id.* forthcoming, *passim*.

19. ERMAN - GRAPOW *Wb* I, 40.3.

20. DÍAZ HERNÁNDEZ 2014, *passim*; SERRANO forthcoming, *passim*.

21. *Ibidem*, *passim*.

16th, 15th, and 14th Upper Egyptian Nomes.[22] For his part, Montuherkhepeshef shows close ties with the 10th Upper Egyptian Nome, where he occupied high-level positions in the administration.[23] Both tombs offer an almost identical, coherent set of ritual scenes with an archaizing character.

Conclusion

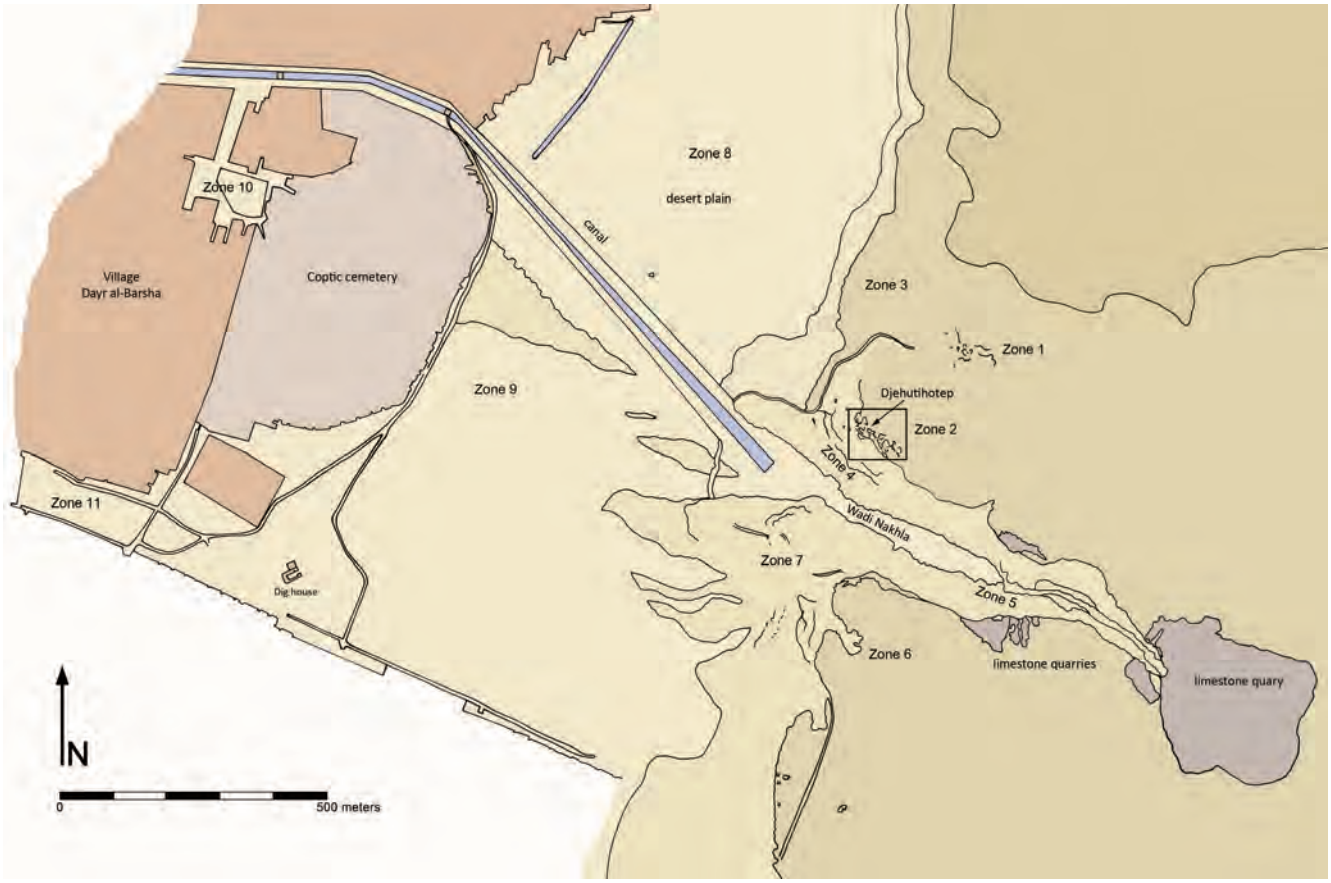
To conclude, we suggest to interpret this type of cattle feet deposits in archaeological contexts as remains of a slaughter ritual, placed inside shafts to perpetuate the ritual enemy destruction. While this ritual episode is not part of the iconographic repertoire of Old and Middle Kingdom tomb scenes, it does occur in a set of clearly archaic funerary rituals depicted in three Theban Tombs. The fact that the two oldest tombs belong to two high officials with connections to Middle Egypt, may suggest that they were portraying funerary rituals of old that they knew well from their home region, and which long formed part of a ritual commonly carried out during the funeral.

22. Governor of Her-Wer (16th UE Nome), Overseer of Priests of Khemenu (al-Ashmunayn; 15th UE Nome), High priest in the temple of Thoth (15th UE Nome), Overseer of priests of Hathor, Lady of Qis (14th UE Nome). For a complete and updated study of the biography of Djehuty and the positions he held, with a reference to and a review of previous studies, cf. Galán 2014, pp. 247-72: 247-52.

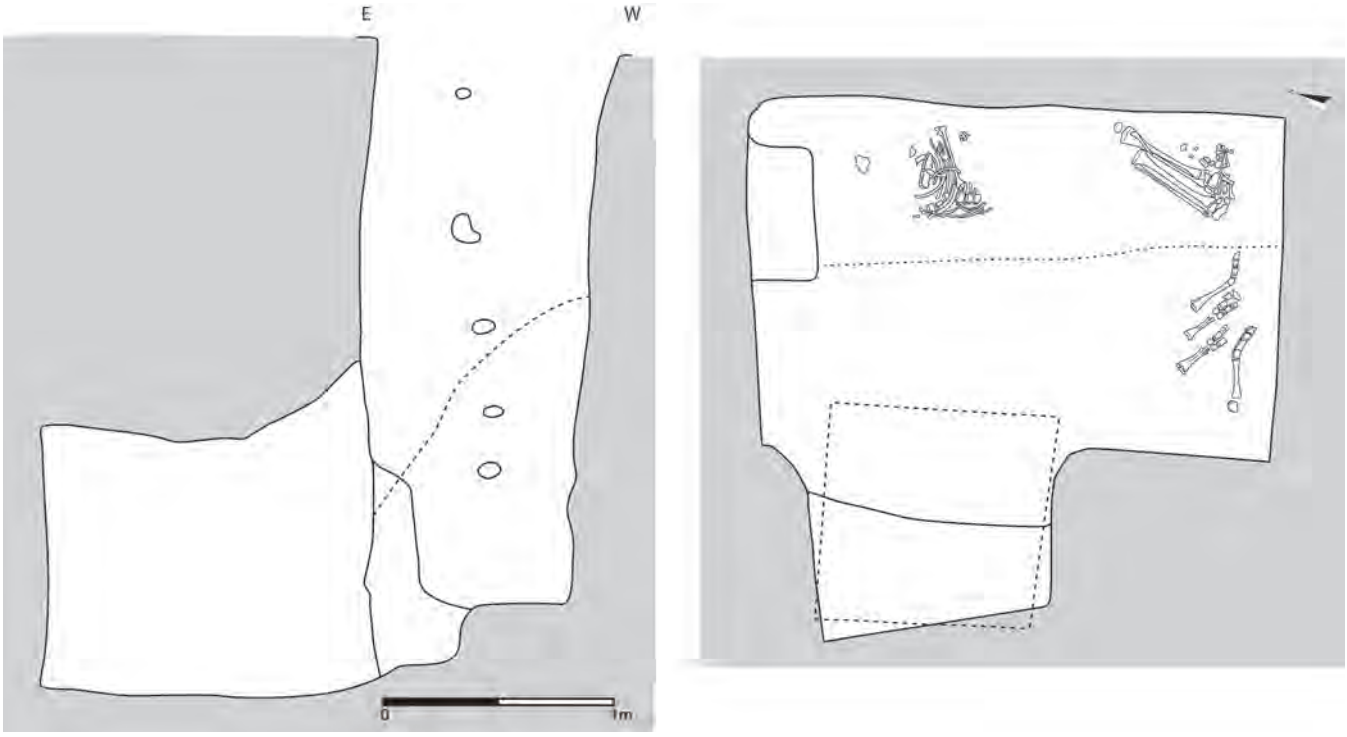
23. Governor of Antaeopolis, High Priest of Nebwy; Davies N.d.G. 1913, p. 34 and Bryan 2006, pp. 69-122: 74.

PLATES

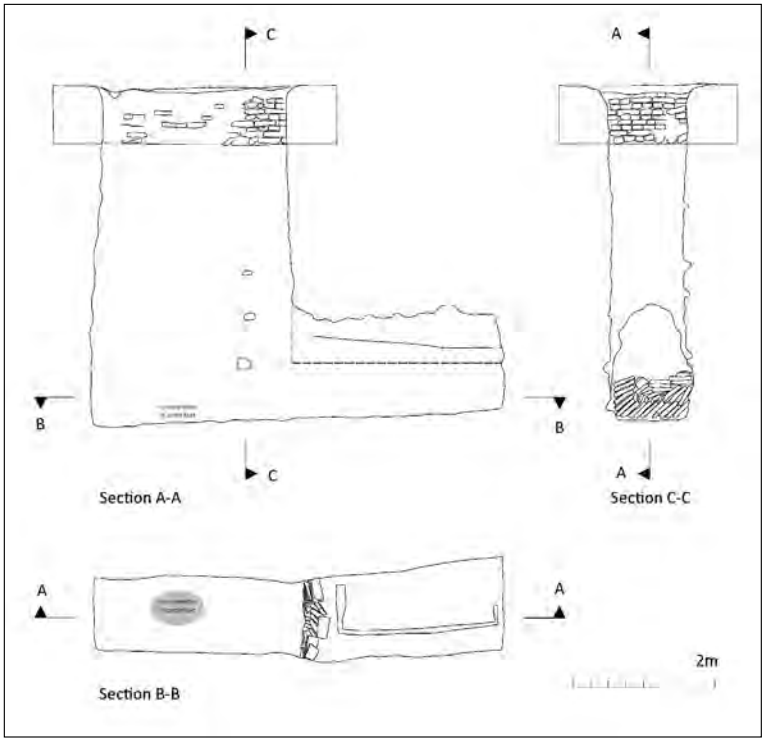
Plates

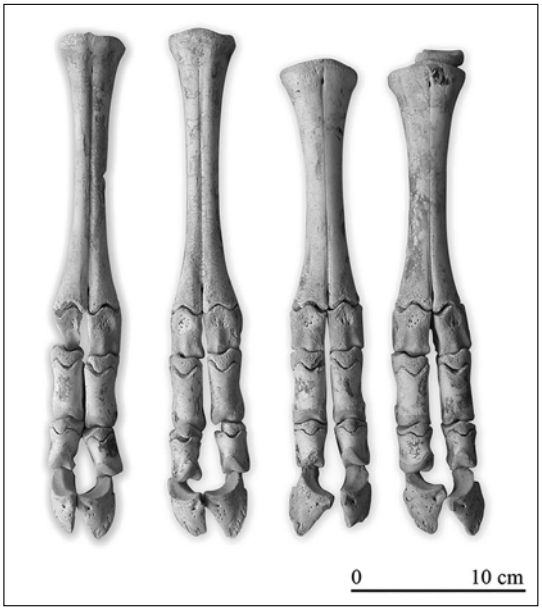


Map of Deir el-Bersha indicating the different zones (© Dayr al-Barsha Project, ku Leuven).



Tomb 15I83/1, south hill (zone 7), Dayr al-Barsha, showing the four cattle feet and a detail of one of the carpals with cut marks (©Dayr al-Barsha Project, KU Leuven)

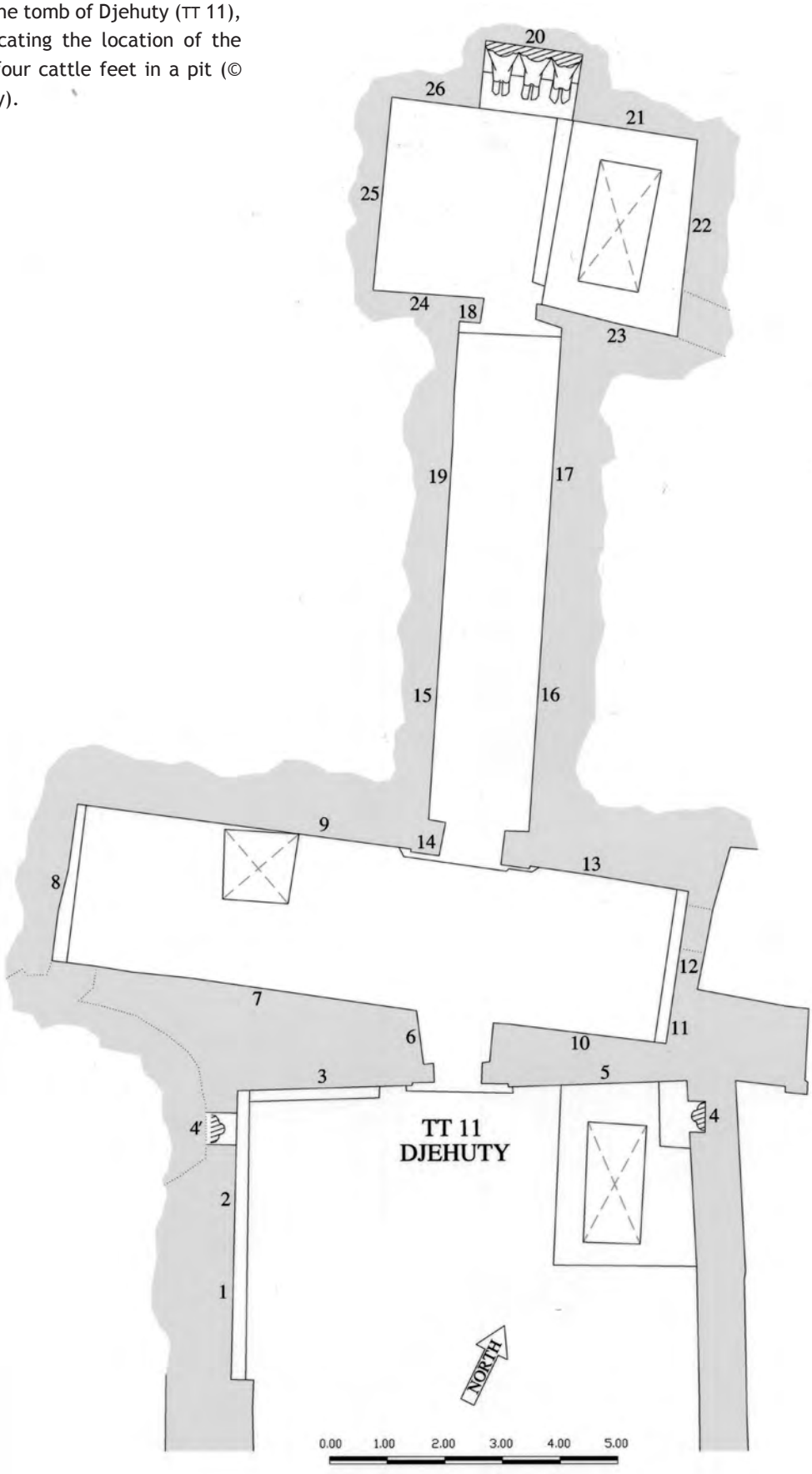




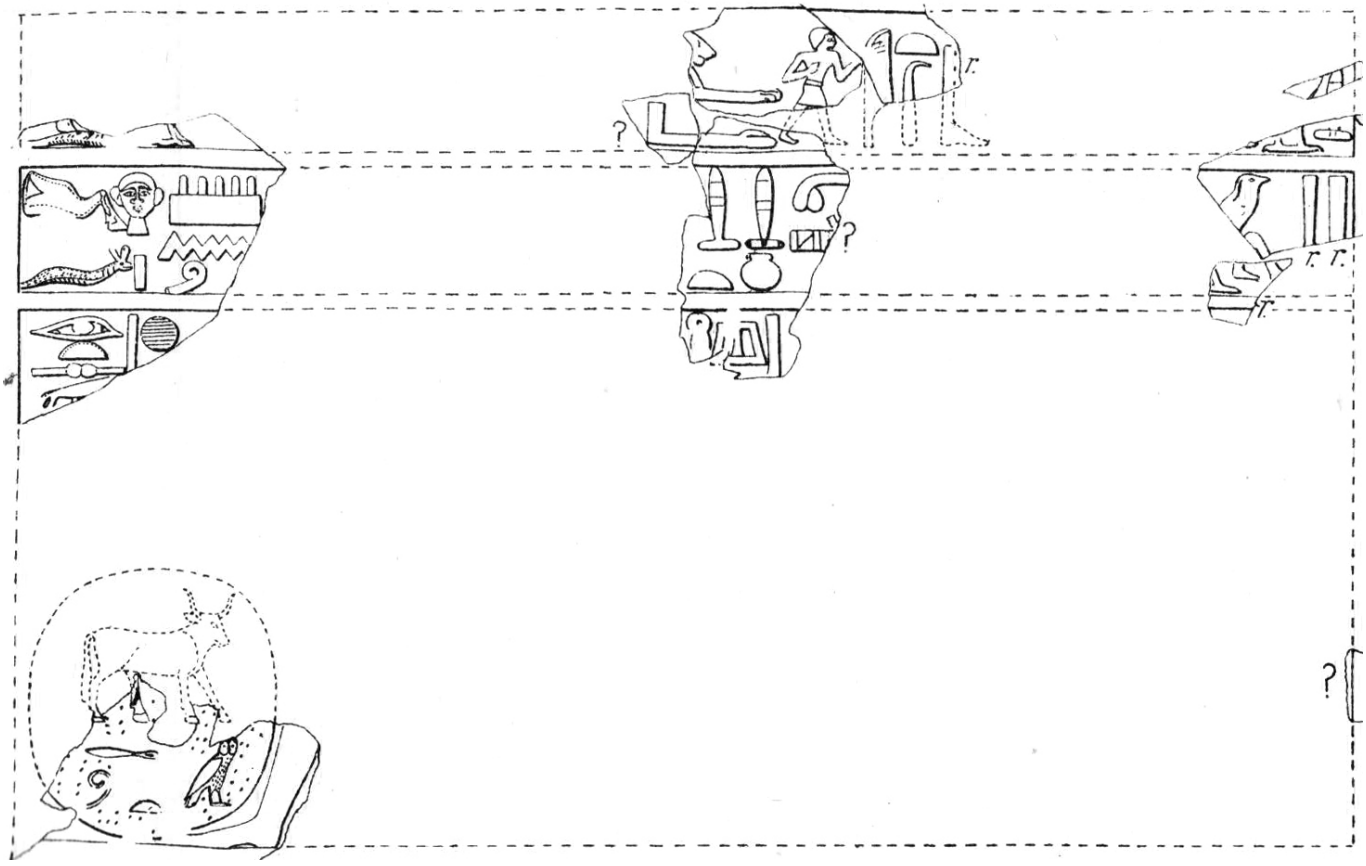
Tomb 10O22/1, desert plain (zone 9A), Dayr al-Barsha, showing the four cattle feet in situ (© Dayr al-Barsha Project, KU Leuven)

Detail of the four severed cattle feet on the front panel of the outer coffin of Middle Kingdom governor Djehutinakht IV or V from Dayr al-Barsha (© MFA Boston, 20.1822).

Ground plan of the tomb of Djehuty (TT 11), with nr. 24 indicating the location of the scene with the four cattle feet in a pit (© Proyecto Djehuty).



Detail of the scene with the four cattle feet, tomb of Djehuty (TT 11) (© Proyecto Djehuty).



Detail of the scene with the four cattle feet, tomb of Montuherkhepeshef (TT 20), after DAVIES N.d.G. 1913, pl. 10.

The ritual in which the four cattle feet are severed, tomb of Amenemope (TT 29) (© MANT).

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