The Cultural Manifestations
of Religious Experience
Studies in Honour of Boyo G. Ockinga

Edited by Camilla Di Biase-Dyson
and Leonie Donovan

in cooperation with
Heike Behlmer, Julien Cooper, Brenan Dew,
Alice McClymont, Kim McCorquodale and Ellen Ryan
Ägypten und Altes Testament, Band 85

The Cultural Manifestations of Religious Experience. Studies in Honour of Boyo G. Ockinga

Edited by Camilla Di Biase-Dyson and Leonie Donovan

in cooperation with Heike Behlmer, Julien Cooper, Brenan Dew, Alice McClymont, Kim McCorquodale, and Ellen Ryan

© 2017 Ugarit-Verlag, Münster
www.ugarit-verlag.com
All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photo-copying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

Printed in Germany

ISBN 978-3-86835-235-1
ISSN 0720-9061

Printed on acid-free paper
# Table of Contents

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS ix
LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES xiii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS xix
BOYO G. OCKINGA xxi
PUBLICATIONS OF BOYO G. OCKINGA xxix
TABULA GRATULATORIA xxxiii
INTRODUCTION xxxv

## Part 1: The Tomb as a Sacred Space

E. Christiana Köhler
UNDER THE STARRY SKIES OF MEMPHIS. NEW ARCHITECTURAL EVIDENCE FOR AN EARLY SANCTUARY? 3

Alexandra Woods
AGENCY, LEGITIMATION OR AN ACT OF REMEMBRANCE? ARTISTIC CONTINUITY AND USES OF THE PAST IN THE TWELFTH DYNASTY TOMB OF WEKH-HOTEP III (B4) AT MEIR 15

Alice McClymont
HISTORIOGRAPHY AND METHODOLOGY IN THE STUDY OF AMARNA PERIOD ERASURES 31

## Part 2: Material Culture

Julia Harvey
THE EYES HAVE IT. A NUDE FEMALE STATUE IN BARCELONA 45

Yann Tristant
TWO EARLY MIDDLE KINGDOM HIPPOPOTAMUS FIGURINES FROM DENDARA 53

Karin Sowada and Stefan Wimmer
TWO IRON AGE IA AMPHORISKOI FROM SOUTHERN CANAAN IN A TWENTIETH DYNASTY THEBAN TOMB 71

## Part 3: Human and Animal Remains

Michael Schultz
LEBEN UND LEIDEN DES IPY-ANKH. DIE OSTEObiOGRAPHIE EINES MANNES VOM ANFANG DES MITTLEREN REICHES 87

Mary Hartley
IT’S A DOG’S LIFE. VOTIVE CANID CRANIA FROM SAQQARA 105

## Part 4: Funerary Art

Naguib Kanawati
PAPYRUS THICKETS IN THE OLD AND MIDDLE KINGDOMS, WITH REFERENCE TO THE SCENES IN THE TOMBS OF BAQET III AND KHETY AT BENI HASSAN 119

© 2017, Ugarit-Verlag – Buch- und Medienhandel GmbH, Münster
Elizabeth Thompson
 MAN’S (AND WOMAN’S) BEST FRIEND? TWO UNUSUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF ANIMALS ACCOMPANYING
 THE TOMB OWNER AND HIS WIFE IN THE OLD KINGDOM CEMETERY AT TEHNA IN MIDDLE EGYPT 133

Kim McCorquodale
 THE ORIENTATION OF THE TOMB OWNER ON ENTRANCE DOORWAY THICKNESSES
 IN OLD KINGDOM TOMBS 145

Linda Evans
 PIG OVERBOARD? AN ENIGMATIC TOMB SCENE FROM BENI HASSAN 153

Renate Müller-Wollermann
 SONDERBARE SALBKEGEL 167

Tamás Bács
 MODEL TRANSFER AND STYLE REPETITION. ON THE REPRESENTATIONS
 OF THE PROCESSIONAL BARK OF AMUN IN TT 65 173

PART 5: HISTORICAL CONTEXTS – THE WORKFORCES
 AROUND RELIGIOUS MONUMENTS 185

Zahi Hawass
 SETTLEMENTS AT THE GIZA PLATEAU: grgt, ṭn-ṛsi and ṭr-š 187

Mark Collier
 THE LEFT SIDE OF THE DEIR EL-MEDINA WORK GANG IN THE LATE REIGN OF RAMESSES III 193

Benedict G. Davies
 VARIATIONS IN THE SIZE OF THE DEIR EL-MEDINA WORKFORCE 205

Jennifer Cromwell
 THE THREADS THAT BIND US. ASPECTS OF TEXTILE PRODUCTION IN LATE ANTIQUE THEBES 213

Matthew Underwood
 DOMESTIC OCCUPATION OF THEBAN TOMB 95 IN THE FIRST MILLENNIUM AD 225

Gillian Bowen
 CHRISTIANITY AT MUT AL-KHARAB (ANCIENT MOTHIS), DAKHLEH OASIS, EGYPT 241

PART 6: EPIGRAPHY AND DOCUMENT STUDIES 249

Nico Staring
 GRAFFITI ON A THIRTEENTH DYNASTY STELA FROM ABYDOS (LOUVRE C8) 251

Brenan Dew
 CARTOUCHES AS A STRUCTURAL ELEMENT UPON RAMESSIDE RHETORICAL STELAE 263

Colin A. Hope and Ashten R. Warfe
 THE PROSCRIPTION OF Seth REVISITED 273

Heike Sternberg-el Hotabi
 ZUM FORTLEBEN DER BENTRESCH-ERZÄHLUNG IN DER KOPTISCHEN HILARIA-LEGENDE 285

PART 7: TEXT, LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY 295

Anna-Latifa Mourad
 THE ASIATIC St.t and St.tyw FROM THE EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD TO THE MIDDLE KINGDOM 297
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>„Namen bilden“ (ir.t-rn.w). Ein Beitrag zur paradigmatischen Anthroponymie des Neuen Reichs</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacobus van Dijk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Cloaked Man Determinative</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waltraud Guglielmi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die „Ich-bin“-Prädikationen der Hatschepsut auf dem Block 146 der Chapelle Rouge. Ist die Rhetorik um eine innenpolitische Metaphorik bemüht?</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camilla Di Biase-Dyson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Nautical Metaphor for Obedience and a Likely Case of Negated Disjunction in Egyptian</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART 8: RELIGIOUS STUDIES</strong></td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milena Kooyman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Always on the Periphery? Seth and Personal Piety in New Kingdom Egypt</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthony Spalinger</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Cycle of 309 Egyptian Months</td>
<td>377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julien Cooper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between this World and the Duat. The Land of Wetenet and Egyptian Cosmography of the Red Sea</td>
<td>383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Todd Gillen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imagining the Numinous</td>
<td>395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nili Shupak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does the Idea of the Primacy of Morality over the Cult Exist in Egyptian Wisdom Literature?</td>
<td>405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SELECTED INDEX</strong></td>
<td>419</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Abbreviations

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS


**OTHER ABBREVIATIONS**

ÄM Prefix for registration number, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin

AR Altes Reich

Abb. Abbildung

BM Prefix for registration, British Museum, London

bes. besonders

bzw. beziehungsweise

c. *circa*, about, approximately

cf. confer, compare

DeM Deir el-Medina

d. h. das heißt

Diam. diameter

DZA *Digitalisiertes Zettelarchiv*

ed. editor, edition

eds editors

EK El-Kab

et al. *et alii*, and others

evtl. eventuell

fig. figure

figs figures

H. height

Hrsg. Herausgeber

JdE, JE *Journal d’Entrée, Egyptian Museum, Cairo*

Kol. Kolumne

KV Kings’ Valley

L. length

M.a.W. Mit anderen Worten

MFA Prefix for registration number, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

MR Mittleres Reich

n. note

n.d. no date

NR Neues Reich

O. Ostracon

o. ä. oder ähnliches

OIM Prefix for registration number, Oriental Institute Museum, Univ. of Chicago

P. Papyrus

pl. plate

pls plates

PN Personennname, personal name
THE CULTURAL MANIFESTATIONS OF RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

QV Queens’ Valley
rto recto
s. siehe
s. a. siehe auch
s. o. siehe oben
s. v. sub voce
Sp. Spalte
Taf. Tafel
TLA Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae
TT Theban Tomb
u. a. und andere, unter anderem
u. ä. und ähnlich
UC Prefix for registration number, University College, London
var. variant
vgl. vergleiche
vso verso
W. width
Z. Zeile
z. B. zum Beispiel
z. T. zum Teil
ZwZt Zwischenzeit
Pig overboard?
An enigmatic tomb scene from Beni Hassan

Linda Evans, Macquarie University, Sydney

For the ancient Egyptians, animals were ‘good to think with’.¹ Their strange morphology and curious behaviour inspired a rich array of images, symbols, and metaphors by which people could express complex ideas about life, nature, and the cosmos, and, via their seemingly supernatural abilities, animals offered a reliable conduit to the divine. They were consequently a fundamental component of Egyptian cultural life. Many animals were also ‘good to eat’, with cattle, sheep, goats, birds and fish providing the staples of the Egyptian diet. Nevertheless, not all animals were ‘good to live with’. Certain species, such as scorpions, crocodiles, and lions, were known to be dangerous and sometimes even deadly. Threatening animals might be tolerated when they stayed at the margins of Egyptian society and could be actively avoided, but what happened when an animal that was good to eat was also difficult to co-exist with? Despite their economic advantages, perhaps such animals were not ‘good to think with’ after all? One such animal appears to have been the pig.²

Egyptologists have struggled to understand the role of pigs due to the relatively scarce archaeological evidence that attests to their existence in ancient Egyptian life. Yet despite the poor record at our disposal, a picture has emerged of a complex relationship with this animal, one that perhaps tells us more about the Egyptians’ zoological interests than their more positive attitude towards other species. It is thus significant that a new and highly unusual image of a pig has recently been identified at the Middle Kingdom cemetery of Beni Hassan, one that may shed new light on the Egyptians’ interactions with the animals.

The scene

The scene in question is located at the northern end of the west (entrance) wall of the Eleventh Dynasty rock-cut chapel of Baqet III (tomb No. 15), which, like other elite structures at Beni Hassan, is excavated into a cliff overlooking the east bank of the Nile. Percy Newberry and his colleagues published the tomb in 1893, however the scenes on the west wall were not recorded, as Newberry states that the paintings were ‘too mutilated to trace’.³ However, recent cleaning by Egyptian conservators and re-recording by the Australian Centre for Egyptology⁴ has revealed sufficient details to allow the decoration to be viewed for the first time. It can now be seen that the northern end of the wall displays an extensive marshland scene, similar to that found on the corresponding wall of the nearby tomb of Khety (tomb No. 17),⁵ in which a series of papyrus thickets extend horizontally across the wall surface, interspersed by narrow stretches of stylised water. Amongst the foliage, men harvest the papyrus and marshland animals gather. The latter includes a small herd of hippopotami in the upper section of the wall and flying birds in the

¹ Lévi-Strauss (1962: 89).
³ Newberry (1893: 46).
⁵ See Newberry (1893: pl. xi).
lower section. Like the tomb of Khety, a small group of pigs can also be seen in the marsh – in the mid to upper section of the wall, a large brown boar is accompanied by a small brown piglet as they travel to the right (FIGURE 1). Like the better-known herd of six pigs in the tomb of Khety, the animals have large ears, large eyes, long snouts, and bristled backs, the latter two features confirming that they are swine. The piglet also displays a short, upturned tail.

Pigs are often found in swamps (see below); their representation in the Baqet III marshland context is thus not unusual. This cannot be said of a second image of a pig, which is located below and to the left of the first pair (FIGURE 2). The scene shows two adjacent papyrus canoes, each guided by a single punter. Three semi-naked men crowd around the prow of each vessel, one in the left-hand boat and two in the right. Together, the men hold a pig overboard, its body dangling upside-down in the space between the two canoes. The individual on the left seizes both of the animal’s hind legs in his hands. The first man in the adjacent boat also holds one hind leg in his left hand, but reaches out with his right to clasp his companion’s right arm. The third individual leans forward to hold a rope or strip of cloth that is wound around one of the pig’s hind legs and steadies himself by grasping the canoe with his right hand. The animal, which is painted a homogenous brown, has a long, blunt snout, large, pricked ears and a large eye. Its tail is short and upturned and the hooves on each of its outstretched legs are divided. Although it lacks obvious bristles, it otherwise closely resembles the pair of pigs, described above, that are depicted on the same wall.

The animal is being held in such a position that its muzzle is underwater. The question is: are the men hauling the pig into the boats or overboard? And why? To understand the significance of this curious scene it is necessary to first review current knowledge of both the animal itself and physical and artistic evidence for pigs in Egyptian culture.

The animal

Domestic pigs (Sus scrofa domesticus) are descended from wild boar (S. scrofa). Wild boar are indigenous to North Africa and Eurasia, however the species has also been introduced to many countries, including New Zealand and the United States. The animals are characterised by a heavy, barrel-shaped body with well-developed forequarters, a thick neck, and a disproportionally large head that tapers to an elongated snout ending in a flattened cartilaginous disc around their nostrils. Their canine teeth, which grow continuously throughout life, project outward, giving the animals their distinctive tusks; in males, the upper canines rub against the lower pair to produce a razor-sharp edge. Their ears are large and pricked, but their eyes are small, leading to poor vision. Their legs are slender with four toes on each foot, with only the middle pair used for walking. Unlike domestic pigs, their tail is long and straight, and their body is covered in coarse, dark hair with a dorsal crest of longer hair, which they raise in agonistic encounters. Wild boar are very imposing animals, with males weighing up to 350 kilograms and attaining a height of c. 110 cm at the shoulder; their size varies, however, depending on the availability of food.

They are found in a wide range of habitats, from forests to grassland, but in general they require areas with adequate vegetation for cover and sufficient water for wallowing, such as reed beds, swamps, floodplains, and marshes. All pigs are able to swim well. As opportunistic omnivores, wild boar travel to new food sources frequently. Their diet includes fruits, grain, green foliage, bulbs, tubers, and fungi, but also animal material, from invertebrates to eggs, birds, small mammals, and carrion. Indeed, wild boar have an acute sense of smell, which they use to locate food both above and below the ground, the latter by employing their snout as a shovel to turn over the earth. Females are able to conceive at around 18 months and reliably produce litters of 4–5 piglets; the young pigs’ coats are marked by

---

6  Keimer (1937: 151, fig. 2).
7  Bertin (1967: 589); Haltenorth and Diller (1977: 30–31).
8  Powell (2005: 288).
9  Haltenorth and Diller (1977: 31).
10 Powell (2005: 278).
distinctive longitudinal stripes, which they gradually lose with age. Male boar are highly aggressive; when fighting, they attack laterally, swiping their head from side to side to bite and slash their opponent with their prominent tusks. Finally, all pigs are highly social animals; a sow and her piglets form the most common social unit (known as a ‘sounder’) but adult males are largely solitary.12

Domesticated pig breeds usually lack the wild boar’s coarse coat and dark pigmentation, and their snouts are shorter and more robust; reductions in tooth size may also occur. If domesticated pigs escape human control, however, the resulting feral animals soon revert to the physical characteristics of their wild ancestors. Due to their prodigious reproductive abilities, feral pigs can quickly become a problem; for example, they are the most abundant free-ranging ungulates in the United States, with an estimated population of four million, while Australia may host up to 20 million feral pigs.13 Feral pigs cause substantial damage to both agriculture and the environment through their activities. They destroy crops by consuming grain and trampling plants. Fruit crops are targeted and pastureland is consumed and uprooted, the latter sometimes leading to soil erosion. The animals also prey on livestock, including goats and newborn calves but especially lambs, where in Australia they account for one third of annual losses. Feral pigs damage fences and pollute waterholes through wallowing and defecation; the animals also carry a number of communicable diseases.14 Feral pigs are consequently viewed as a major pest that must be managed in order to reduce their numbers and preserve natural and agricultural resources. The animals are controlled today using a variety of methods, including trapping, baiting, and shooting.

Physical evidence
The remains of swine have been identified at many sites across Egypt;15 however, there is a lack of agreement regarding how domesticated pigs came to exist there. Some scholars have argued that the domestic stock was derived from wild boar already living in the region while others have proposed that fully domesticated pigs were introduced to Egypt from the Ancient Near East,16 which has frequently been identified as the probable locus from which all domesticated swine originated. It is interesting to note, therefore, that genetic studies have now established that the domestication of pigs in fact took place at multiple locations across Eurasia,17 and that a recent morphometric analysis of 523 molars has confirmed the presence of both domesticated and wild pigs at ten archaeological sites in Egypt; it could not be determined, however, whether the non-domesticates were true wild boar or feral pigs.18

Skeletal material dating to the Epipalaeolithic period has been found in midden heaps at Helwan19 and also in the Fayum.20 The bones of pigs have been uncovered at the predynastic settlement and cemetery sites of Merimde-Benisalame,21 el-Omari,22 Buto,23 Maadi24 and Tell el-Ibrahim25 in the north and Armant,26 Toukh,27 Naqada28 and Hierakonpolis29 in the south.30 The most common mammal bones

12 For the behaviour of wild pigs, see Graves (1984: 482–492).
13 Seward et al. (2004: 34–35).
20 Caton-Thompson and Gardner (1934: 25, 34, and 89).
22 Debono (1948: 567); Boessneck and von den Driesch (1990: 100).
26 Mond and Myers (1937: 255).
28 Gautier and van Neer (2009: 30, Table 1).
30 For an overview of predynastic animal remains see Lesur (2013: 33–54).
found in the predynastic to early Old Kingdom settlement of Tell el-Farkha in the eastern Delta were those of domesticated pigs (comprising 76% of the skeletal material recovered); interestingly, the bones of a few wild boar were also identified at the site.\textsuperscript{31} So, too, the most abundant animal bones found at the Old Kingdom site of Kom el-Hasin in the western Delta were those of young pigs.\textsuperscript{32} The skull of a male pig was found beside the remains of poultry and cattle in the Sixth Dynasty tomb of Hetep-heres (LG 54) at Giza\textsuperscript{33} and more recently the fragmentary bones of juvenile swine were identified in elite tombs dating to the Old Kingdom in West Saqqara, suggesting that pork was occasionally included among funerary offerings.\textsuperscript{34} The early Fourth Dynasty official, Metjen, also recorded his inheritance of 'dependents, herds of pigs and donkeys' in his tomb at Saqqara.\textsuperscript{35} Physical evidence from the Old Kingdom is nevertheless quite sparse, while that from the Middle Kingdom is even less substantial\textsuperscript{36} (although it is significant that an official during the reign of Senusret I held the title of ' overseer of pigs'\textsuperscript{37}), possibly indicating a change in food practices after the predynastic and archaic periods.

Regarding the New Kingdom period, however, evidence of both domestic pigs and pig breeding has come to light at the site of el-Amarna in the form of both skeletal material and animal pens found outside the perimeter of the Workman’s Village;\textsuperscript{38} the identity of the animals held in the sties has since been confirmed via an analysis of preserved coprolites, which show evidence of the pig’s omnivorous diet.\textsuperscript{39} The remains of domestic pigs dating to the Nineteenth or Twentieth Dynasties have been uncovered in the Workman’s Village at Deir el-Medina\textsuperscript{40} and at the palace of Amenhotep III at Malkata, although primarily from a village on the edge of the royal site (area J).\textsuperscript{41} In addition, inscriptions show that during his reign, Amenhotep III donated 100 pigs and 1000 piglets to the temple of Ptah at Memphis,\textsuperscript{42} while the Nauri Decree indicates that pigs were kept in Seti I’s temple to Osiris at Abydos.\textsuperscript{43} Pigs formed part of the offerings for a feast of Ptah-Sokar, as recorded in Rameses III’s temple at Medinet Habu.\textsuperscript{44} Pig bones have also been recovered from a Twenty-Sixth Dynasty pit at Saqqara, which contained the skeletal remains of both victual and ritual animals.\textsuperscript{45} Thus despite a longstanding belief that the consumption of pork was avoided in ancient Egypt, the nature of the skeletal material found and its persistent presence in the archaeological record indicate clearly that pigs formed a substantial part of the Egyptian diet.

**Artistic evidence**

The extant depictions of pigs match the chronological distribution of physical evidence closely, with a number of examples arising from the predynastic period, fewer images from the Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom periods, and then an increase in depictions in the New Kingdom period. Examples from the predynastic period are varied, with instances in a range of media. The earliest known representation is a rock drawing of a pig possibly dating to the late Neolithic or Archaic period, which is located in the Dakhla Oasis.\textsuperscript{46} Petrie reports two seal impressions from Abydos that feature heavy-set,
pig-like creatures,\textsuperscript{47} while an ivory cylinder seal of unknown provenance in the Brooklyn Museum (no. 44.123.1) shows similar animals, but this time with the pigs’ diagnostic dorsal crest.\textsuperscript{48} The figure of a wild boar is carved in relief on a wooden club found at the site of Gebelein (JE 26602),\textsuperscript{49} the animal displaying a long, narrow snout, bristled back, and a straight tail as it stands inside a stylised structure. Small, three-dimensional models are also known. Figurines in the shape of pigs have been reported from Hierakonpolis and Abydos,\textsuperscript{50} and Keimer describes a predynastic terracotta model featuring the heads of two pigs oriented back-to-back, reminiscent of a limestone Naqada I vase (UC 15752) that also depicts a pair of pig-like animals, one upon the other. It should be noted, however, that it is often difficult to differentiate models of pigs from those of hippopotami due to similarities in the animals’ general morphology.\textsuperscript{51} This is not the case with a theriomorphic ‘goddess’ figurine, now held in Berlin’s Neues Museum (ÄM 31658) and dated to c. 3050–2850 BC, which features human arms, a pair of prominent breasts, and long hair, but also pricked ears and a long snout ending in a prominent disc and nostrils.\textsuperscript{52}

Representations of pigs from the Old Kingdom period are rare. Pig hieroglyphs are recorded in the names of two estates, one in the Fourth Dynasty tomb of Nefermaat at Meidum\textsuperscript{53} and the other in the Fifth Dynasty tomb at Dahshur.\textsuperscript{54} Pigs are otherwise unrepresented in wall scenes. Contrary to confused reports, a small animal held to the mouth of a herdsman in the Sixth Dynasty tomb of Kagemni at Saqqara is not a piglet but a small dog.\textsuperscript{55} Similarly, a herd of animals in a treading scene in the late Fifth Dynasty tomb of Kaeimheset, also at Saqqara, although tentatively identified as pigs\textsuperscript{56} or donkeys,\textsuperscript{57} have now been shown to be sheep,\textsuperscript{58} the species most commonly found in such contexts.

Although crudely modelled pig-like figurines have been found at Harageh and Lahun, the images at Beni Hassan described earlier are the only known wall scenes from the Middle Kingdom period. Many more two-dimensional representations are found in the New Kingdom period, however, in both tomb and coffin decorations. Unlike the Middle Kingdom examples, which all occur in marsh scenes, those of the New Kingdom period are largely found in agricultural or mythological contexts. Agricultural scenes are found in at least seven tombs: those of Paheri (EK 3)\textsuperscript{59} and Renni (EK 7)\textsuperscript{60} at el-Kab, which date to the early Eighteenth Dynasty, and those of Ineni (TT 81) and Amenemhet (TT 123) at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna and three men each named Nebamun (TT 24, TT 145, and TT 146) at Dra\textsuperscript{c} Abu el Naga\textsuperscript{c},\textsuperscript{61} all of which date to the mid Eighteenth Dynasty. The el-Kab scenes, as well as the lower section of TT 81, show a small herd of adult pigs being driven forward by a swineherd at their rear; early reproductions of TT 81 also show a sow and her young approaching a papyrus thicket in the upper section.\textsuperscript{62} Piglets are included in TT 81, TT 24, TT 123 and TT 145; curiously, although the herds in these scenes have curled tails, which is a feature of domesticated swine, the young animals in TT 81 and TT 24 display side stripes, which are usually only found in wild boar or feral piglets. Like those at el-Kab and in TT 81, a swineherd follows the herd in TT 24, but here the group is preceded by a sower who casts grain upon the ground. So, too, a herd of adult pigs in TT 146 follows a sower, with one animal leaning forward to

\textsuperscript{47} Petrie (1900: pls xxii, no. 33 and xxvi, no. 60).
\textsuperscript{48} Needler (1984: 376, no. 305).
\textsuperscript{49} Daressy (1922: 22–23, fig. 6).
\textsuperscript{50} Quibell (1900: pl. xxi, no. 7); Petrie (1903: pl. vi, no. 66).
\textsuperscript{51} Adams (1996: 10–11).
\textsuperscript{52} Te Velde (1992: 572). For an illustration, see Vernus (2005: 559).
\textsuperscript{53} Petrie (1892: pl. xxii); see also Harpur (2001: fig. 77 and pl. 8a).
\textsuperscript{54} Maspero (1889: 191).
\textsuperscript{55} Miles (2010: 71–88).
\textsuperscript{56} Harpur (1987: 163, fig. 137).
\textsuperscript{57} McFarlane (2003: 31, pl. 44).
\textsuperscript{58} Evans (2010: 233, n.28).
\textsuperscript{59} Tylor (1895: pl. iii).
\textsuperscript{60} Tylor (1900: pl. ii). Renni also recounts his ownership of 1,500 pigs, far exceeding the size of his other flocks.
\textsuperscript{61} For the scenes in TT 81 and TT 24, see Newberry (1928: pl. xix). For TT 146, see Whelan (2013: fig. 7) and for TT 123 and TT 145 see Davies (1932: figs 8 and 9).
\textsuperscript{62} See Wilkinson (1878: 100); also Newberry (1928: 212, n.4).
consume the fallen grain. These images thus appear to confirm a statement by Herodotus that swine were employed to tread seed into fields,63 despite the use of sheep for this purpose in earlier wall scenes.64

Pigs also feature in a mythological motif that adorns both sarcophagi and royal funerary chapels dating from the New Kingdom until the Late Period. Specifically, representations of the judgment scene from the Book of Gates (sixth hour) reliably show a papyrus canoe travelling away from the seated figure of Osiris, which contains a pig under the control of a baton-wielding baboon.65 Examples can be seen in the tombs of Horemheb,66 Ramesses III,67 Ramesses VI,68 and Ramesses VII69 and on the sarcophagus of Seti I,70 as well as non-royal sarcophagi from the Thirtieth Dynasty.71 In some cases the pig is represented with multiple teats and is clearly a sow; all show the curled tails of domesticated swine. The baboon in these scenes is a manifestation of the god Thoth, while the pig is believed to represent Seth. The pig, which is often labelled ‘am, ‘swallower’, is being beaten by the Thoth baboon so that it spits out what it has ingested; according to Manassa, the scene is connected to an event recorded in the Late Egyptian story, Contendings of Horus and Seth, in which Thoth removes from Seth’s head a disk of gold that represents the semen he has swallowed earlier. The image may also be influenced by CT 157 (or BD 112a), in which Seth devours the lunar eye of Horus while taking the form of a black pig.72 The mythological association between pigs and Seth may also account for later depictions of Thoth or Horus, in which they wound pigs with spears and knives.73

These mythological motifs hint at a possible reason for Egyptian ambivalence towards the pig, for, as the previous summary has shown, swine are poorly represented in the artistic record compared to other species. The relative paucity of images is certainly unusual. This, combined with later references by Herodotus to Egyptian avoidance of the animals (‘if a man in passing by a pig should touch him only with his garments, he forthwith goes to the river and plunges in; ... swineherds ... are not allowed to enter any of their temples’),74 has suggested to some scholars that pigs were considered taboo in Egyptian society.75

### Pigs as taboo

Evidence for the Egyptians’ relationship with pigs is thus contradictory. Although the animals were consumed, visual depictions of them are few and sometimes negative. Consequently, if a prohibition existed against pigs, it differed from that of Jewish and Muslim populations for whom pork must be avoided.76 However, if a cultural taboo operated, might this account for the treatment of the animal in the Baqet III wall scene?

---

63 Herodotus II. 14.
64 Rushdy (1911: 162–163).
65 For an analysis of this scene, see Manassa (2006: 122–126).
66 Davis, Maspero and Daressy (1912: pls liv–lv).
67 Lefèbure (1889: pl. lxiv).
68 Champollion (1845: pl. cclxxii).
69 Lefèbure (1889: 7).
71 For example, see the sarcophagi of Djedher (Louvre D9), Djedher (Cairo CG 29305), and Gemhap (British Museum EA 1504). For illustrations, see Manassa (2006: pls xvi [a–b] and xvii).
72 Dawson (1928: 603); te Velde (1992: 572).
73 Dawson (1928: 604).
74 Herodotus II.47–48.
76 The Torah (Leviticus 11:4–47) specifies that pigs are unclean and must not be eaten, while the Qur’an (Sura 5:3) also forbids the consumption of swine flesh. Many theories have been proposed to account for this prohibition on pork—that it spoils faster than other meat; that it was associated with Trichinosis spiralis, a parasitic disease; that the pig’s scavenging and wallowing behaviour tainted its meat—none of which is correct. See Lobban (1994: 57–75); also Simoons (1994: 13–43).
Moreno Garcia has explored the question of why pigs appear so infrequently in tomb scenes compared to other livestock.\textsuperscript{77} Acknowledging the physical evidence for the consumption of pork he argues that the scenes cannot be viewed as faithful representations of rural life. The distribution of pig bones, however, reveals clear social differences, with higher numbers associated with the more humble members of society (for example, workmen’s villages) and few remains from elite contexts; the reverse is found in conjunction with the bones of cattle. Pork was undoubtedly a common food for the poor. As such, Moreno Garcia concludes that only herds that were a sign of wealth were included in tomb scenes—primarily cattle, as these animals, unlike pigs, ‘conveyed the concept of possession of a prestigious property that was not accessible to all inhabitants of the Nile Valley, a property that also expressed the idea of elevation in the social hierarchy’.\textsuperscript{78} The omission of pigs from the artistic record may thus simply reflect social snobbery and the elite aspirations of tomb owners and other individuals.\textsuperscript{79}

Pigs were also associated with the god Seth.\textsuperscript{80} In addition to its mythological role, the pig’s relationship with the god has etymological support. It was identified by one of two labels: \textit{rr.j} ‘swine’ (\textit{Wb} II, 438.7) or \textit{šš} ‘swine’ (\textit{Wb} IV, 401), the latter term occurring for the first time in the Middle Kingdom period.\textsuperscript{81} Knowing the favoured habitat of swine, it is significant that \textit{šš} also refers to a marsh or swamp (\textit{Wb} IV, 399.7–400.5). More importantly, \textit{šš} is a well-established name for the Seth-animal (\textit{Wb} IV, 401.6–7). Consequently, as te Velde observes, ‘It seems impossible to negate a connection between these two words’.\textsuperscript{82} Furthermore, swine possess many behavioural attributes that made them an ideal symbol of the chaotic god. Although these features are most obvious in wild pigs—animals that operate outside of human control—domesticated pigs also display many of the same negative characteristics. As noted earlier, wild pigs cause considerable damage to agricultural crops and animals, farm infrastructure, and watercourses. Unlike other livestock, swine compete directly with humans by eating many of the same foods that we rely upon.\textsuperscript{83} Indeed, it has been suggested that this conflict over resources may have been the primary reason why pigs were shunned and eventually viewed as abhorrent in the Middle East. Ancient Egyptian farmers, like those in the tropics today, probably maintained their domesticated swine by allowing them to roam and scavenge freely, with little management of their prolific breeding.\textsuperscript{84} Such animals can quickly become feral. Wild pigs were thus likely a constant feature of the ancient Egyptian riverine and rural landscapes, bringing with it frequent exposure to the animals’ destructive behaviour. It would seem feasible, then, that the Egyptians, especially farmers, would have viewed feral pigs unfavourably, possibly leading to or justifying their negative association with Seth. It is thus interesting to note that unlike domesticated swine, most feral pigs are black, recalling the Sethian black pig that devoured the eye of Horus. This aggressive ingestive act also matches the voracious and omnivorous proclivities of all swine, but especially those of uncontrolled feral pigs, which actively seek out foods of all kinds.

If pigs in general were connected with Seth, then they may sometimes have been afforded the same treatment as other Sethian creatures—such as hippopotami, which were ritually killed in order to defeat the chaos that the god represented. Execration rituals, in which objects were destroyed so as to magically control hostile forces in the form of foreigners, enemies, or supernatural elements, usually leave behind evidence only when inanimate objects have been targeted, such as smashed pots or mutilated figurines that are inscribed with the names of their victims. It is likely, however, that live animals and even humans (such as captives or criminals)\textsuperscript{85} were also subjected to such rituals, but these

\begin{footnotes}
\item[77] Moreno Garcia (1999: 251–254).
\item[79] Such a mercenary attitude would accord with the observation that only those aspects of the natural world that fulfilled a particular social, religious or economic function were valued culturally by the Egyptians. See Evans (in press).
\item[80] Newberry (1928: 211–225); te Velde (1977: 21–22).
\item[82] Te Velde (1992: 572); te Velde, however, does not believe that the Seth-animal was itself a pig.
\item[84] Redding (1991: 23).
\item[85] See Willems (1990: 27–54).
\end{footnotes}
are ‘archaeologically invisible’. It is significant therefore that physical evidence from the site of el-Amarna has recently emerged, which may show the ritual punishment of pigs. In one case, the cranium of a pig displays a healed, circular indentation, the result of deliberate scarification of the skull, rather than blunt-force trauma. In another example, the scapulae of three pigs have been pierced, probably with a metal spear or dagger. Evidence of healing reveals that the animals survived in each of these examples. It has subsequently been proposed that the pigs’ association with Seth may have prompted their unusual treatment; indeed, the damaged scapulae are reminiscent of later scenes in which Thoth and Horus spear the animals in the back.

**Pig overboard?**

Having considered the social, religious, and behavioural factors associated with pigs, an explanation for the enigmatic Baqet III image can now be attempted. First, the setting for the scene indicates that the animal is either a wild boar or a feral pig, as marshland is the preferred habitat for both. The Egyptians probably encountered wild pigs often when frequenting the swampland areas beside the Nile and along its backwaters. Next, are the men subjecting the pig to some form of ritual punishment? The animal is certainly treated roughly, being both incapacitated and inverted, with its head underwater. Its orientation is particularly significant as captives were sometimes punished ritually by inverting their bodies. For example, Amenhotep II tied seven inverted enemy princes to the prow of his ship prior to killing them, and at the Middle Kingdom site of Mirgissa, a human skull was buried upside-down in a ceramic pot, while the body was discarded some distance away. Furthermore, drowning was also a recognised form of ritual punishment. However, although the animal’s inversion is notable, we can be reasonably certain that the three workmen are not attempting to drown the animal by throwing it overboard because, as noted earlier, all swine can swim well. Instead, I propose that both the postures of the men and the way in which they handle the animal reveal that they are in fact hauling its body on board.

As noted above, feral swine are managed in many countries via a range of methods. Hunting wild pigs is also a popular recreational sport, especially hunting with trained dogs. Dog packs are used to first locate a boar and then corner it. While the dogs distract the animal, the hunter approaches from behind to seize its hind legs, lifting its back-quarters off the ground to stop it from spinning around. Once immobilised, the pig is thrown on its side, its legs are tied, and it is then dispatched. As wild pigs fight by swinging their head back and forth laterally, a hunter must always grasp the animals from the rear in order to avoid laceration by their razor sharp tusks.

The men in the Baqet III scene also focus their attention on the pig’s hind legs. If we consider how pigs are handled today, then we begin to see that they are in fact lifting the animal, rather than flinging it overboard, holding it upside-down and safely from behind in order to avoid its sharp tusks. Indeed, the arrangement of the men’s arms, such that the workman in the centre helps to steady his colleague’s right arm, suggests that they are struggling to support the animal’s weight and are working together in a coordinated fashion. Despite being further back, the third individual also contributes to the task by grasping a rope that will be used to tie the animal’s legs, once it is on board. I propose, therefore, that the men are transferring a captured feral pig from one boat to the other, passing it carefully from those on the right to the individual on the left. The animal is thus being harvested just like the other marshland resources in the surrounding scene, rather than disposed of.

Confirmation that seizing pigs by the hind legs was a recognised method for handling swine comes from a late occurrence. The cosmological ceiling in the pronaos of the Greco-Roman temple of Hathor

---

89 Muhlestein (2011: 21).
90 Muhlestein (2011: 19).
at Dendera includes an intriguing image of a male deity standing inside a large disc, whose green skin indicates that he is probably Osiris. The figure holds a pig by both hind legs in his left hand. As the disc is believed to represent the full moon, the motif appears to verify Herodotus’ later assertion that once every year pigs were sacrificed to the moon. In light of the marshland context of the Baqet III image, it is intriguing to note that the calendar of Hathor at Edfu also lists a festival for the fifteenth lunar day of the month in which ‘a pig is to be slaughtered and placed on the altar of the riverbank’.

**Conclusion**

While we can only speculate about the ultimate fate of the Baqe t III pig, it seems likely that it was destined for the dinner-table. If so, then the scene would confirm archaeological evidence that in Egyptian society, pigs were ‘good to eat’, but primarily for the poor—an easily accessible, if somewhat challenging, source of meat. Hidden on the entrance wall of his chapel, such that the captured pig is not seen immediately upon entering, Baqet III has nonetheless defied social stigma to include an illustration of what was probably a common local practice, one that has subsequently given us a clearer insight into the complex role of these animals in Egyptian life.

**Bibliography**


93 Priskin (2015: 170–171). See also Cauville (2013: 539–541). Note that elsewhere in the temple’s decorative programme a female deity, probably Isis, grasps an animal by a single hind leg. The animal is sometimes identified as a pig, but closer examination suggests that it is probably a baboon.

94 Herodotus II.47. See Vernus (2012).

95 Priskin (2015: 171).


Menghin, O. and Amer, M. 1932. The Excavations of the Egyptian University in the Neolithic Site at Maadi: First Preliminary Report (Season of 1930–31), Cairo.


Quibell, J.E. 1900. *Hierakonpolis I*, British School of Archaeology in Egypt 4, London.


Figure 1. Adult pig and piglet. Northern end of the west wall of the chapel of Baqet III (No. 15), Beni Hassan, upper section. Reproduced with permission from the Australian Centre for Egyptology, Macquarie University.

Figure 2. Pig held overboard. Northern end of the west wall of the chapel of Baqet III (No. 15), Beni Hassan, middle section. Reproduced with permission from the Australian Centre for Egyptology, Macquarie University.