

Louis-Shillokay
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“ΝΕΑ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΙΚΗ ΚΡΗΤΗ”

Προνοία
τοῦ Σεβ. Μητροπολίτου κ.κ. Θεοδώρου Β. Τζεδάκη

ΠΕΠΡΑΓΜΕΝΑ
ΤΟΥ Ζ' ΔΙΕΘΝΟΥΣ
ΚΡΗΤΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΥ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥ

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FALSE ANALOGIES:
THE MINOAN ORIGIN OF SOME SO-CALLED
«EGYPTIANIZING» FEATURES

This paper will investigate the origins of the seated cat image on Crete¹. The earliest representations on Crete of the cat are found at Malia in Quartier Theta (Fig. 1)², possibly dating to MM IB but more likely MM II, and in Quartier Mu in an MM II context (Fig. 2)³. They were employed as vessel appliques; surviving vessels are a jug and two cups from Quartier Mu. A variety of appliqué motifs decorate these vessels, including trees, crabs and nautilus shells in addition to the cats. The cat from Quartier Theta was found detached⁴, as were a number of other appliqué fragments of cats found in Quartier Mu. The pose is identical in all examples: the cat sits in profile, with its tail between its rear legs and wrapped around its forward haunch and mid-body. The example from Quartier Theta faces left, the others all face right. The cats from Quartier Mu are placed in front of a disproportionately small appliqué of a tree with overlapping branches in low relief, separately applied before the cats.

The excavators originally proposed the image, including the tree, derived from the Egyptian motif of the seated cat⁵, a suggestion further investigated and elaborated upon by Immerwahr⁶. She identifies it with the Egyptian motif of the

1. I would take the opportunity here to thank Dr. Maria C. Shaw for her critical comments to this paper. She bears, however, no responsibility for opinions expressed in it.

2. *Études Crétoises* XXII (Paris, 1976): 4-5, 9 fig., 62, pl. XVIII.17177.

3. *Études Crétoises* XXVI (Paris 1980) 120-125 #172-176, figs. 170-177.

4. It may or may not be an appliqué; it is not so described in its original publication (n. 2, above), but K. P. Foster, *Minoan Ceramic Relief* (*Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* LXIV, Göteborg 1982) describes it both as "perhaps appliqué", p. 87 n. 43, and "sherd", p. 111 chart 12. It appears to be more a figurine or a very high relief, however, unlike the appliques from Quartier Mu.

5. *Études Crétoises* XXVI (1980) 123. It was also suggested that the trees behind them clearly were imitative of Egyptian representations of trees.

6. S.A. Immerwahr, "A Possible Influence of Egyptian Art in the Creation of Minoan Wall Painting", in *L'Iconographie Minoenne* (*BCH Suppl.* XI, Paris 1985) 41-50; idem, *Aegean Wall Painting in the Bronze Age* (University Park/London 1990) 35.

L. Morgan, *The Miniature Wall Paintings of Thera* (Cambridge 1988) 41-44 also discusses the topic, with specific reference to the cat in the Thera miniature fresco.

cat in scenes of fowling, specifically from "direct autopsy of Egyptian paintings or painted reliefs"⁷. A detailed study of Egyptian sources, however, indicates there are some serious objections to such a connexion, and the likelihood of a wholly indigenous Minoan origin will be examined here.

Let us first take a look at Egyptian cats and their representations up to the time of the *Malia appliqués* which, in Egyptian terms, are not later than around the early Thirteenth Dynasty. Three species existed in ancient Egypt, the *Felis chaus*, the *Felis serval* and the *Felis silvestris libyca*. All have large usually pointed ears, comparatively small head, thin face, long thin neck, elongated limbs and generally short straight fur. It is difficult to distinguish the three species in Egyptian representations, especially in uncoloured examples. The only identifiable characteristics are the generally monochrome coat of the marsh-dwelling *chaus*, in contrast to the black body spots and tail rings of the *libyca* and *serval*, which are desert cats. The *serval* is a larger animal than the others; it was imported from farther south to ancient Egypt and is the least common of the three⁸.

Three representations once identified as Old Kingdom cats have recently been discredited. A relief fragment in the Vatican, formerly dated to the Fifth Dynasty and clearly depicting a cat, has recently been identified as originating from the tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34), a Theban official who lived at the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty and beginning of the Twenty-sixth, c. 650 B.C. (Fig. 3)⁹. The cat is depicted climbing on a papyrus stem, flushing birds from their nests or hiding places in a scene of fowling, together with two ichneumons. The cat has long pointed ears, slim elongated body and neck, comparatively small neck and comparatively slim tail. The two ichneumons have a long pointed head and nose, shorter ears, a longer body and a tail tufted at the end, accurately represented on this fragment and elsewhere. All preserved Old Kingdom scenes depict either the ichneumon or the genet, a wild animal with a similarly long pointed head and nose, with upright ears, long body and tail. On a reconstructed relief scene from the Sixth Dynasty tomb of Merynefer (G7101) at Giza¹⁰, both scene and pose are repeated. One of the two animals siezes a bird trying to

7. Immerwahr, "A Possible Influence" 44.

8. A good description of ancient Egyptian cat species, their characteristics and identification, is J. A. Baldwin, "Notes and Speculations of the Domestication of the Cat in Egypt, *Anthropos* 70 (1975) 428-431.

9. Jaromir Malek, *The Cat in Ancient Egypt* (London 1993) 38. See *The Arts of Ancient Egypt* (Vienna 1936) pl. 189, for the earlier opinion, which was perpetuated until quite recently.

10. W. K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu G7101 and 7102 (Giza Mastabas 2, Boston 1976)* 3, fig. 16.

escape. The clear lines of the published drawings belie the surviving record, a sketch in the excavation register book, of relief fragments that cannot now be located. The sketch is unclear, and more likely represents genets¹¹. A similar relief scene from the mastaba of Rakhafankh (G7948) at Giza, also depicts an animal in similar pose and outline, sometimes identified as a cat but more likely an ichneumon. It too is lost, and known only from a sketch¹². The vertical lines of the background indicate papyrus stalks of the marshy river scene, some bent over by the weight of the animals they support. Such scenes incorporating the genet and ichneumon continue into the Middle Kingdom and beyond¹³.

Only three (possibly four) Middle Kingdom tomb representations of the cat are known to us, all from Beni Hasan. One, part of a "fowling" scene from the Twelfth Dynasty tomb of Khnumhotep, is quite well-known (Fig. 4)¹⁴. Identifiably a *chaus* due to its monochromatic colouring and therefore in its natural marshy habitat, it sits alertly on a papyrus stem with tail raised as it watches the birds it hunts. Three of the wild desert animals in the hunting scene of Khnumhotep's tomb appear to be cats, from Newberry's published line drawing. Their colourations are not noted there, but are described elsewhere¹⁵. One is likely a *silvestris libyca* in its natural habitat, but the second is somewhat problematic and the third is certainly not a cat. In the Eleventh Dynasty tomb of Bakt III, a female cat in a similar pose confronts an overly large male mouse (Fig. 5); both

11. See Malek, *Car* 38.

12. C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien Ergänzungsband* (Leipzig 1913) pl. XXVIII. As seen in Lepsius's drawing, the blunt-faced head profile is typical of the cat, but the tail is tufted at the end like the ichneumon, and the resulting animal is not readily identifiable.

13. E. J. Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals* (Cambridge 1988) 18-19 no. 7, pl. I.1.

14. P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I (Egypt Exploration Fund, Archaeological Survey of Egypt 1, London 1893)* 11, pl. XXXIV, F. 11. Griffith et al., *Beni Hasan IV (EEF-ASE 7, London 1900)* pl. V.

15. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I* 69 illn and Pl. VI (at T, second from right; and V, two animals at far left). That at T is illustrated in N. de G. Davies, "The Egyptian Expedition, 1931-1932: The Work of the Graphic Branch of the Expedition," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 28 (Supplement April 1933) 27 fig. 7, where its cat-like features are more clearly seen and its spotted colouration evident (I am grateful to Dr. Christine Lilyquist, Thea Politis and Marsha Hill for this reference). Those at V are shown in Malek, *Car* 40 fig. 22, 43-44; they are different from each other but both are monochrome in colouring. Davies p. 24 and Malek p. 43 both identify the left example, also illustrated as Davies' Fig. 1, as a caracal (*Caracal caracal*). Although the pose and features of the other, to its right, clearly resemble a cat, it cannot be a *silvestris* due to its monochrome reddish-brown colouring. If accepted as a cat, it would have to be a *chaus* in an unnatural (i.e. desert) environment although the colour is incorrect even for the *chaus*, whose fur is a monochrome yellowish/brownish colour. The artistic licence in this scene that allowed the T cat to have a spotted stomach in defiance of reality may also have allowed the lack of spotting and odd colouration in the V cat, so we cannot entirely reject it as a cat illustration.

animals are identified by inscriptions above¹⁶. The only other possible large scale Middle Kingdom representation of a cat is questionable. A wall relief fragment from Koptos, dated to the Twelfth Dynasty, depicts a rather chubby animal with short legs and stubby tail under its mistress's chair (Fig. 6); it has been identified as both a cat and a dog¹⁷. The physical characteristics of the Koptos "cat" do not correspond to those normally seen for this animal and identification remains obscure, although it more likely is a cat as similar scenes in the New Kingdom invariably show the cat under the woman's chair, and dog under the man's chair. All other tomb representations of the cat are of New Kingdom date, later than the Malia appliqué, and therefore are irrelevant to the present discussion. The popular modern recollection of both "fowling" and "domestic" scenes with cats derives from these New Kingdom representations.

The above is the sum total of known large-scale representations of animals identified as cats before the New Kingdom, limited to two certain, one probable and two or three highly questionable examples. Only those from the tombs at Beni Hasan could be seen as the source of inspiration for the cat appliqués from Malia, and even these are problematic due both to their relative contemporaneity to MM II and inaccessibility to any wandering Minoan artisan, and also for internal reasons to be discussed below. Similar scenes were unlikely to have decorated palaces and homes of the living¹⁸.

Cats represented in smaller scale also have survived. The probably Sixth Dynasty relief inscription of an unknown "Lord" of the otherwise unattested "Cat-Town" shows the town represented by three seated cats in two different poses (Fig. 7)¹⁹. It is an early example of the seated cat hieroglyph²⁰, appropriately transliterated "miw". The feminine private names "Miit" and "Miut",

16. P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan II* (EEF-ASE2, London 1894) 48, pl. VI.

17. H. M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection II* (Warminster 1979) 21 no. 87, pl. 19.1. For the date, see H. G. Fischer, "More Ancient Egyptian Names of Dogs and Other Animals", *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 12 (1978) 178 n. 32. W. M. F. Petrie, *Koptos* (London 1886) 12, pl. XI.6, originally identified it as a dog, but it is vastly different to the dog depicted on another fragment of the same relief under the chair of its master (Stewart, pl. 19.2; Petrie, pl. XI.5).

18. Although we have little evidence of palace and house decoration at that time, that which does exist suggests only geometric designs and highlighting on room ceilings and walls. Genre scenes such as those found on tomb walls would have been appropriate in living quarters. Their purpose on tomb walls was to ensure continuance of one's pleasures in the Afterlife; as these were actively pursued during one's lifetime, such scenes held no purpose for the living. See A. Badawy, *A History of Egyptian Architecture II* (Berkeley/Los Angeles 1966) fig. 6b.

19. H. Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht* (*The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition XX*, New York 1971) 52 no. 26.

20. See A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (3^d ed., Oxford 1957) 459 no. E13.

("Pussy", "Kitty") also are known by the late Old Kingdom and in the Middle Kingdom, although identified only rarely with the determinative of a seated cat before the New Kingdom²¹.

It should be noted, however, that the cat was *not* the animal manifestation of such goddesses as Basket, Sekhmet, Hathor and Mut until quite late in the New Kingdom - mostly appearing in the Twentieth Dynasty; the few earlier zoomorphic images of these goddesses are leonine²². The well-known bronze figures of, especially, Bastet as a seated cat²³ do not appear until the late New Kingdom, and are common only from the Twenty-Second Dynasty²⁴. Earlier three-dimensional representations of cats are limited to scaraboids, amulets and non-religious figurines, all rare before the Second Intermediate Period. They are found in a number of poses, few seated²⁵. An apparently unique travertine vessel in the form of a seated cat, dated to the Twelfth Dynasty, is the only larger-scale three-dimensional example known before the New Kingdom²⁶.

The cat was identified instead with the gods Re and Atum²⁷ in the Middle Kingdom "Coffin Texts". These texts, a collection of spells for the protection of the deceased in the Afterlife, were inscribed directly onto coffins of the deceased and occasionally illustrated with vignettes. Spell 335 was accompanied by the vignettes of a legless apotropaic cat brandishing a knife, as on the Twelfth Dy-

21. H. Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I* (Glockstadt 1935): 145 no. 26 (*mjw*); II (Glockstadt 1952) 184 (*mjw*), *mjw*, both with the feminine "i" ending. The name "Ta-mit" ("The Cat") is unknown until the New Kingdom, p. 185 (*t3mjw*), and its masculine equivalent, "Pa-miut", until the Nineteenth Dynasty, p. 184 (*p3mjw*). See also Malek, *Cat* 47-49, fig. 26.

22. E. Hornung and E. Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen* (*Ägyptische Denkmäler in der Schweiz* 1, Mainz 1976) 120; H. te Velde "The Cat as sacred animal of the goddess Mut", in M. Heerma van Voss et al. eds., *Studies in Egyptian Religion Dedicated to Jan Zandee* (*Studies in the History of Religions XLII*, Leiden 1982) 127-137. Identification with cats in earlier periods are in error, e.g. N. and B. Langton, *The Cat in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge 1940) 1-3; Baldwin, "Notes and Speculations", 439.

23. E.g. H. de Morant, "Le Chat dans l'Art égyptien", *Chronique d'Égypte* 12 (1937) 36-39, figs 4-5. The other goddesses named also are found in cat form or as a cat-headed woman, but the bronze figures normally represent Bastet.

24. The ruling family of the Twenty-Second Dynasty originated from the city of Bubastis in the Delta, the cult centre of Bastet.

25. Pre-Second Intermediate Period examples include G. Brunton, *Qau and Badari II* (BSAE-ERA 45, London 1928) 11, pl. XCV.126; W. M. F. Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinder Seals* (BSAE-ERA 29, London 1917) 21, pl. XVI.1; idem, *Buttons and Design Scarabs* (BSAE-ERA 38, London 1925) 16, pl. IX.312; W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt I* (New York 1953) 224 fig. 140 (lower right); Bourriau, *Pharaohs* 117 no. 108.

26. See Malek, *Cat* 52-53, fig. 29.

27. Both these gods, preeminent deities in the New Kingdom, were quite minor figures in Middle Kingdom religion.

nasty coffin of Sepi III from El-Bersheh²⁸. Very few Coffin Text vignettes of the cat are known, but the same figure -now fully illustrated as a seated animal- is commonly seen in vignettes in "Book of the Dead" texts (a rolled papyrus that succeeded the Coffin Texts, used for a similar purpose) of the New Kingdom, together with an *ished-tree* and the snake 'Apep corresponding to the text of the spell²⁹. Neither snake nor tree appears with the cat in the Coffin Texts.

Prior to the New Kingdom, the seated cat is commonly found only on the so-called "magic wands", curved ivory objects inscribed with a multitude of apotropaic figures often accompanied by a short protective text, dating from the late Eleventh through Thirteenth Dynasties³⁰. The representations of cats preserved on these wands are our most prolific source for the seated cat image in the Middle Kingdom. H. Altenmüller, who studied these wands in detail, has codified four basic poses for the seated cat figure, which he calls Variants A through D (Fig. 8)³¹. Variant A has its forelegs shown together as a single leg only, and the tail rising directly from the rear. Variant B has the tail in the same position as Variant A, but the forelegs are separately indicated. Variant C has both forelegs together (as Variant A) and the tail wrapped around the haunch before rising behind. Variant D has the forelegs separately indicated (as Variant B), but the tail follows Variant C.

Of the four, Variant B is unknown on "magic wands" (and thus is indicated in dashed lines in Fig. 8), although it appears elsewhere, and Variant C has but a single example known on a wand and also is rarely found elsewhere³². Variants A and D, on the other hand, are common, and represented on all but one "magic wand". The poses seen on tomb paintings and in hieroglyphic representations

28. See A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Chicago 1935-1961), IV 282-287 Spell 335; VII Plan I (at no. 34). For a translation, see R.O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Warminster 1973-1978) I 261 Spell 335, 264 Spell 335.

See also de Buck, *Coffin Texts* VII 321-322 Spell 1063, 514 Spell 1174; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* III 141-142 Spell 1063, 186-187 Spell 1174.

29. Spell 17 and, more peripherally, Spell 125. See R.O. Faulkner and C. Andrews, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (London 1985) 32 Spell 125, 48 Spell 17.

30. Additionally, there are some related "magic rods", long square-sectioned sticks made in several joining sections and carved with similar apotropaic figures. At least one includes figures of a seated and stalking cat, see Hayes, *Scepter* I 225-226, fig. 43. A stalking cat is seen on the fragmentary example in Bourriau, *Pharaohs* 115-116 no. 104b.

31. H. Altenmüller, "Ein Zauberstab des Mittleren Reiches" *Studien zur Ägyptischen Kultur* 13 (1986) 6-7, on which the following description and enumeration are based.

32. Now in Boston; see S. D'Auria, P. Lacovara and C. Roehrig, *Mummies and Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt* (Boston 1988) 127-128 no. 59. The image is reproduced as Fig. 8, Variant C.

correspond almost entirely to Variants A, B and D. Both cats at Beni Hasan, for example, are in the Variant D pose, whilst the vast majority of private name hieroglyphs are either Variant B or D. Two "Cat-town" cats are Variant B, and the third is Variant D. The only known example of Variant C, on the "magic wand", holds the same long broad knife as those of the Coffin Text vignettes, like the majority of "magic wand" cats.

With all this in mind, let us re-examine the Malia appliqués. The first and immediately noticeable discrepancy is the pose, which would be classified as Altenmüller's elusive Variant C rather than Variant A, B or D poses almost universal in Middle Kingdom Egypt. Secondly, the relative proportions of the body are unlike Egyptian cats, but instead have a short thick body and neck with a comparatively large head, full face and short legs. The ears also are quite small, a reasonable precaution to prevent breakage of the appliqué at a vulnerable edge. Large ears are seen on a Middle Minoan clay model head of a cat found at Prinias Siteias³³. Similar and generally contemporary clay model heads from Malia³⁴ and nearby Mavrikiano³⁵ have their ears broken off; presumably these too were large. There are, by the way, no parallels in Egypt for these heads, nor for the three-quarter view images of cats with frontal-view heads on seals of slightly later date (MM IIB-III)³⁶.

The disproportionate trees found on the vessels from Malia are not found as backdrop to any illustration of the cat prior to the New Kingdom in Egypt³⁷. Instead, the cat is associated with papyrus marsh in the only known instance where backdrop scenery is provided.

In short, the details of the seated cat image and its surroundings at Malia are at variance with Egyptian representations. Large scale images of the cat were extremely rare in the Middle Kingdom, and their location inside tombs is not

33. C. Davaras, *Hagios Nikolaos Museum* (Athens, n.d.) fig. 40. The head, like others from both MM and LM contexts elsewhere, was not broken off a cat body. These heads are found both as model heads and as vessel protomes (in LM also as rhyta), and are limited geographically to eastern Crete. Examples other than those mentioned in the main text are known from Gournia, Kato Zakro, Palaikastro and Siteia, all in LM contexts.

34. *Études Crétoises* XXVI 112 no. 161, fig. 156. It was found in an MM II context.

35. *Études Crétoises* VIII (Paris 1948) 4, pl. III (second row, centre and second from right). It was found in a context described as Proto-Palatial.

36. Seals from Goula, near the north-eastern coast (Ashmolean Museum 1910281) and central Crete (Ashmolean Museum 1938.791), see V.E.G. Kenna, *Cretan Seals* (Oxford 1960) 105 no. 120, 113 no. 174, pls. 6.120, 8.174.

37. The earliest examples are the "Book of the Dead" vignettes. Similar trees are, however, illustrated on tomb walls, as correctly noted by Immerwahr, "A Possible Influence", 41, but without associated cats.

conceivably accessible to the Minoan artisan. Smaller scale images normally are not very detailed, and tend to appear on objects of religious significance. Moreover, it is particularly noticeable that the earliest Minoan images are found at sites notably lacking in Egyptian imports and images derived from Egyptian sources³⁸. None, for example, have been found at Knossos, which produced the vast majority of Egyptian imports in the Proto-Palatial and later periods. Cats probably existed on Crete by this time; their usefulness in an agrarian economy such as that on Crete is obvious. Indeed, they probably were observed by the artisans, for the seated pose is natural when the animal is not frightened of its observer. The MM II period was one of artistic experimentation, with numerous animals, birds, flowers, marine creatures and other motifs appearing for the first time in detailed artistic presentation in ceramic relief³⁹; many are found on the jug and cups from Malia. I suggest that the seated cat was but one of them, and the happenstance of generally similar motif appearing in Egypt is no more than that. Rather than an Egyptian source for this motif, it is more likely of local derivation.

Addendum

Recently, another appliqué identified, most likely correctly, by the excavators as a cat has been published⁴⁰ from the site of Monastiraki, south of Re-thymnon, in an MM II destruction level context. As the Quartier Mu appliqué, it faces right in the seated position, and has a curling tail; the head is missing. Much more roughly made, or quite worn (to judge from the published photograph), it apparently belonged to a much larger composition that included a three-dimensional model of a building with a porch and columned facade, and even a balcony; the model was suggested to be a sanctuary.

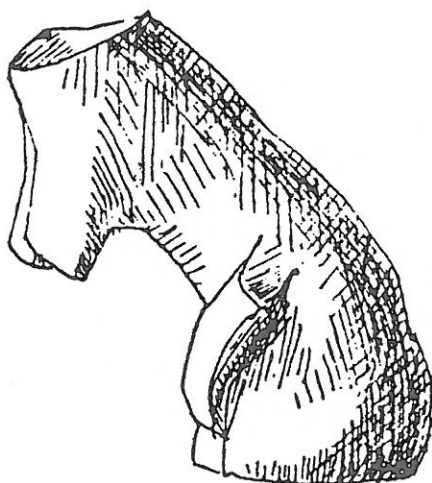
If indeed representing a cat, this appliqué adds greater weight to the argu-

38. Other contemporary motifs from Quartier Mu at Malia were identified as deriving from Egyptian sources in *Études Crétoises* XXVI nos. 169-171. Briefly, as they are not the subject matter of this paper, they are: no. 169, a sphinx appliqué of Near Eastern (not Egyptian) inspiration; no. 170, a jar with squatting woman appliqué "paralleled" in Egypt only by objects not earlier in date than the Eighteenth Dynasty; and no. 171, a lid with "falcon" appliqué directly paralleled with a generally contemporary Anatolian appliqué of Mesopotamian inspiration (R.D. Barnett, *Ancient Ivories of the Middle East* (Qedem 14, Jerusalem 1982) pl. 25.a), but not the First Dynasty object noted quoted by the excavators.

39. See Foster, *Minoan Ceramic Relief* 80-103, 144-145.

40. L. Godart and Y. Tzedakis, *Témoignages archéologiques en Crète occidentale du Néolithique au Minoen Récent IIIB* (Rome 1992) 70-72, pl. LXXXVIII.1.

ment in favour of a local development for the cat image: the tail, to judge from the published photograph, is depicted unlike either Egyptian variant of the tail position, but rather it curls from behind the left (*not* right) haunch, over the back and across the forward (right) side of the body. It is unique in this respect also in Crete. Also, Monastiraki, in western Crete, is even more clearly lacking in Egyptian imports or images deriving from Egyptian sources than Malia and the other East Cretan sites mentioned above where the cat image has also been found.



Fragment d'animal n° 17.177.

Fig. 1: Figurine or appliqué from Malia, Quartier Theta, MM IB/II. (*Études Crétoises XXII*, p. 9, by permission, École Française d'archéologie d'Athènes).



Fig. 2: Appliqué on a cup form Malia, Quartier Mu, MM II. (*Études Crétoises XXVI*, fig. 174, by permission, École Française d'archéologie d'Athènes).

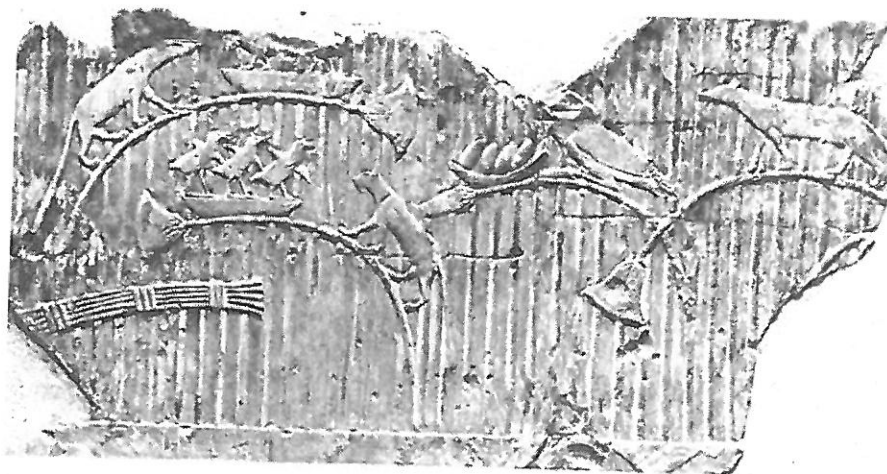


Fig. 3: Relief fragment from a "fowling" scene, in the Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Vatican, from the tomb of Monteumhat (TT 34), c. 650 B.C. (*The Arts of Ancient Egypt* pl. 189, by permission, Phaidon Press).

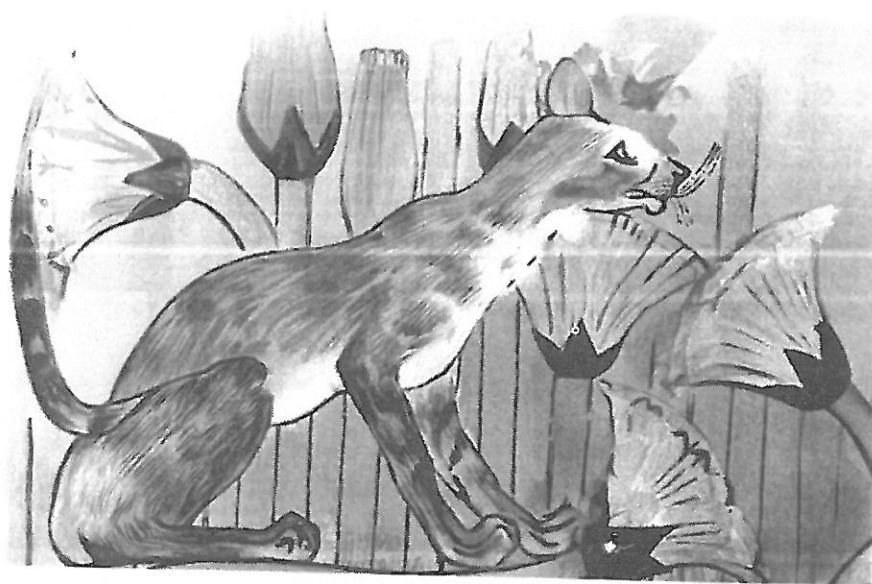


Fig. 4: Painted detail of a "fowling" scene in the tomb of Khnumhotep, Beni Hasan, Dynasty XII. (Griffith et al, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. V, by permission, the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Society).

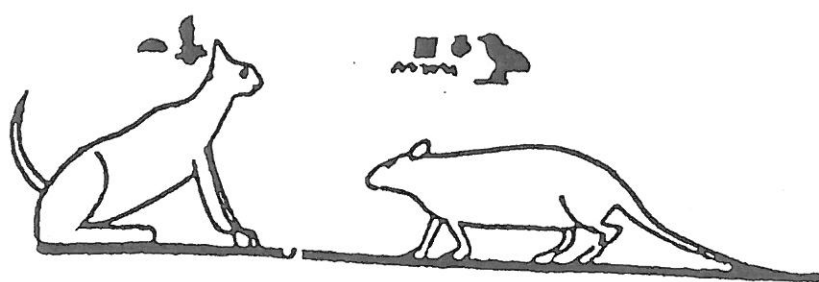


Fig. 5: Painted vignette in the tomb of Bakt III, Beni Hasan, Dynasty XI. (Newberry, *Beni Hasan II*, pl. VI, by permission, the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Society).

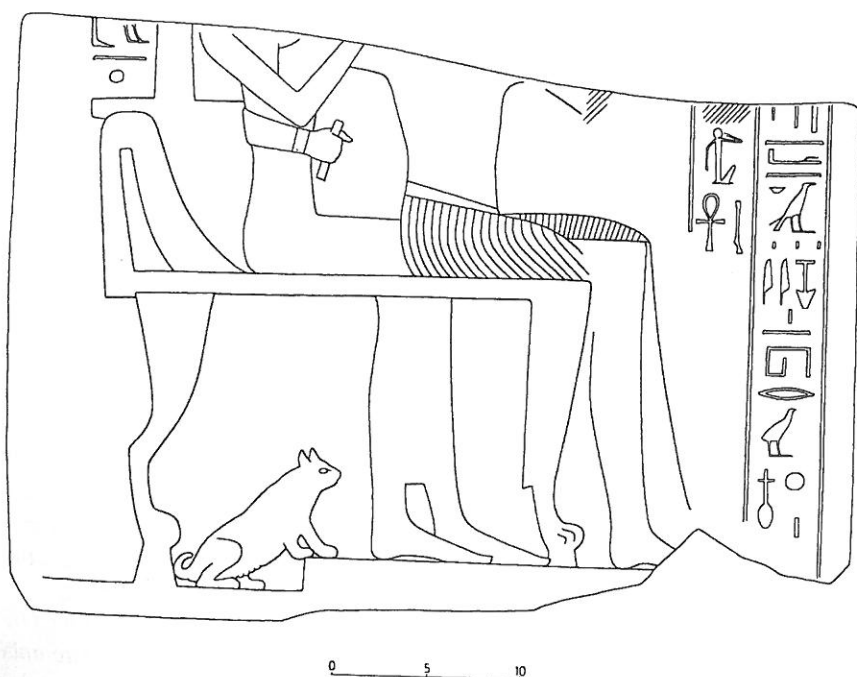


Fig. 6: Relief fragment found at Koptos, now in the Petrie Collection of University College, University of London, Dynasty XII. (Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection II*, pl. 19.1, by permission, the Department of Egyptology, University College).

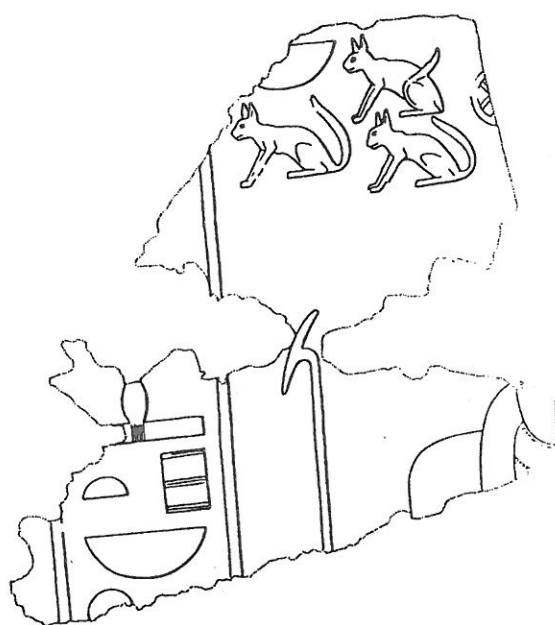
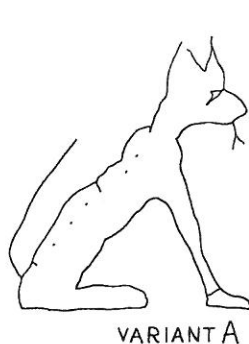


Fig. 7: Relief fragment of an inscription found at Lisht, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, probably Dynasty VI. (Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht no 26*, by permission, Metropolitan Museum of Art).



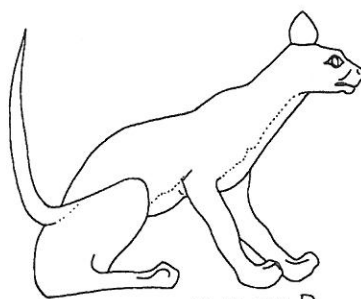
VARIANT A



(VARIANT B)



VARIANT C



VARIANT D

Fig. 8: Typology of the seated cat figure on "magic wands" of the Middle Kingdom, collated by the author, based on the typology described by H. Altenmüller in *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 13 (1986) 6-7.