

The Rise and Fall of the Genet:
The Relationship between the Cat and the Genet
in Ancient Egypt



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Abstract

The common genet (*Genetta genetta*) and the African Wild Cat (*Felis silvestris lybica*) are two morphologically similar animals that were depicted by the ancient Egyptians in two-dimensional painting and relief on tomb walls during the pharaonic period (c.3150BC - 30BC). While the latter animal has received much scholarly attention from Egyptologists, research on the genet in ancient Egypt has been limited to small articles and encyclopaedic entries in larger bodies of work. From the supposed advent of cat domestication in Egypt onwards, cat iconography increased dramatically. This exponential growth in the popularity of cats appears to have resulted in them replacing genets in marsh scenes during the New Kingdom period. This heralds a significant change to the Egyptians' traditional artistic repertoire.

This study seeks to examine this event through the application of an anthrozoological and an art historical perspective in order to unpack how the social construction of animals in society influences their reception. The primary aim is to achieve a more extensive understanding of this phenomenon and to explore its impact on ancient Egyptian society.

Statement of Originality

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Animals and Society

The influence and interaction of humans and animals upon each other has been a driving force for arguably the entirety of human history. Indeed, bioarchaeologist J. D. Vigne argues "there is no human society without animals".¹ Despite this, the presence and the role of animals in human societies, even contemporary ones, has often been taken for granted or else goes completely unacknowledged. These attitudes were reflected in academic literature and thus in the past many disciplines outside of the biological sciences failed to take into account the potential influence of animals in their respective studies.

In recent years, sociologists have been particularly vocal about acknowledging this shortcoming. K. Peggs highlighted that the conventional approach to this discipline was one that was completely anthropocentric, and thus sociological theories produced findings that focused on the impact of human elements on society and culture alone.² C. R. Kruse argues that it is detrimental to the study of humanity if one's sole focus is on humans, as it fails to take into account other influences that have shaped the course of human history.³ R. York and P. Mancus' case study on Ecological-Evolutionary theory demonstrates this point perfectly.⁴ They discuss how the purely materialistic approach first developed during the 1980s by G. Lenski, was used to analyse the development of agricultural and horticultural societies by focusing only on the technological differences between these two types of societies.⁵ As a result, the necessity of draft animals for the existence of agricultural societies is completely ignored. The history of human culture becomes far richer when animals are taken into account, as studies of

¹ J. D. Vigne, 'Introduction', in M. P. Horard-Herbin and J. D. Vigne (eds.), *Animaux, environnements et sociétés*, (Paris, 2005), p.7.

² K. Peggs, *Animals and Sociology*, (Basingstoke, 2012), p.2.

³ C. R. Kruse, "Social Animals: Animal Studies and Sociology", *Society and Animals* 10, 4, (2002), pp.375-379, pp.375.

⁴ R. York, P. Mancus, "The Invisible Animal: Anthrozoology and Macrosociology", *Sociological Theory* 31, 1, (2013), p.75.

⁵ *ibid.*, p.76.

this kind have the potential to reveal the various impacts they have had at multiple levels of human society and culture.

In response to this realisation, over the past few decades there has been a steady increase in animal studies outside of the biological sciences. Interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary studies have seen the emergence of anthrozoology, a sub-discipline of anthropology that is concerned with the study of human and animal interactions.⁶ It aims to understand and critically evaluate the complex and multi-faceted relationships between animals and humanity.⁷ This approach desires to illuminate how both parties impact upon each other's lives.⁸ As this approach has evolved, it has transcended the boundaries of anthropology and spread to encompass a whole range of disciplines, including ancient history. The creation of journals such as *Anthrozoös* and *Society and Animals* highlights how anthrozoology has become of increasing interest to the academic community. The focus of these studies had been placed initially on contemporary human and non-human animal interactions, especially those between individual humans and individual animals. Yet as York and Mancus demonstrate, the anthrozoological approach is now being applied to studies on ancient cultures as well.

1.2 Animals and Egyptology

In regards to Egyptology, animals have always had a strong presence within this field of research. Academics and enthusiasts have long been enamoured by the images of animals that were rendered in extraordinary detail on tomb and temple walls, or in three-dimensional form as amulets, statues, or decorative elements on a large range of domestic and religious items.⁹ These representations, along with a vast amount of skeletal and mummified remains of

⁶ H. W. S. Bradshaw, "Anthrozoology" in Mills, D.S., Marchant-Forde, J., (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Applied Animal Behaviour and Welfare*, (Cambridge, 2010), p.28.

⁷ A. B. Siddiq, A. Habib, "Anthrozoology –An Emerging Robust Multidisciplinary Subfield of Anthropological Science", *Green University Review of Social Sciences* 3, 1 (2016), p.46-47.

⁸ *ibid.*, p.47.

⁹ D. Arnold, "An Egyptian Bestiary", *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 52, 4 (1995), pp.1-64; P. Vernus, J. Yoyotte, (eds.) *Bestiaire des pharaons*, (Paris, 2005).

animals¹⁰, and numerous textual references¹¹, demonstrate how animals were indeed a central part of ancient Egyptian culture. In addition to their inclusion in general overviews of ancient Egypt, numerous studies have been produced that focus specifically upon the animals themselves. These come in the form of book series such as the "*Natural History of Egypt*", monographs focused upon singular species such as J. Malek's "*The Cat in Ancient Egypt*", or as an article or chapter in a larger body of work.¹² Even with this diverse range of material, many aspects of ancient Egyptian animals have yet to be explored, which leaves great potential for further work in this area.

L. Evans points out that the anthropocentric attitudes present in the above mentioned sociological works, is also present in Egyptological works.¹³ Animals are often not afforded the same level of detail as their human counterparts. Tomb reports, especially those made prior to the second half of the twentieth century, are prone to provided very little information on the location, number, or physical characteristics of animals within a funerary context, whether they be iconographic depictions or physical remains.¹⁴ At worst, animals can be omitted from scene descriptions all together, if they are not considered notable enough to mention. Furthermore, it is also important to acknowledge that not all animals are given equal treatment in the literature. The appendix of Porter and Moss'

¹⁰ S. Ikram (ed.), *Divine Creatures. Animal Mummies in Ancient Egypt*, (Cairo, New York, 2015).

¹¹ L. Griffith, *The Petrie Papyri: Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, (London, 1898); E. Teeter, "Animals in Egyptian Literature", in B. J. Collins (ed.), *A History of the Animal World in the Ancient Near East*, (Leiden, Boston, Köln, 2002), pp.251-270.

¹² Volumes in the *Natural History of Egypt* series include: P. F. Houlihan, *The Birds of Ancient Egypt*, (Warminster, 1986).; D. J. Brewer, R. F. Friedman, *Fish and Fishing in Ancient Egypt*, (Warminster, 1989).; D. J. Brewer, D. B. Redford, S. Redford, *Domestic Plants and Animals: The Egyptian Origins*, (Warminster, 1994).; D. J. Osborn J. Osbornová, *The Mammals of Ancient Egypt*, (Warminster, 1998).

¹³ L. Evans, *Animal Behaviour in Egyptian Art: Representations of the Natural World in Memphite Tomb Scenes*, (Oxford, 2010), p.10.

¹⁴ An example is where G. Brunton expresses uncertainty over the identity of potentially the earliest cat remains at Mostagedda, where they are simply described as "apparently a cat". G. Brunton, *Mostagedda and the Tasian Culture*, (London, 1937), p.34.

Topographical Bibliography series contains references for a number of animals, yet this list is not comprehensive.¹⁵ A reason for this omission, and the omission of various other animals, was not provided, but was perhaps based upon the species Egyptologist were most likely to seek out, a limited amount of space in the volumes, or due a lack of information on these lesser known animals. This study has chosen to focus on one of these lesser-known creatures: the genet.

1.3 The Genet

The common genet (*Genetta genetta*), also known as the small spotted genet, is a small, nocturnal carnivore belonging to the family of Viverridae. Its average head and body length are c.48cm, and the average tail length is c.50cm.¹⁶ The genet has coarse, pale fur, and a long, banded tail. The body is covered with numerous linear dark spots. R. Hoath highlights that little is known about the behaviour of Egyptian genets, and thus comments regarding their behaviour are largely drawn from studies of the same species elsewhere in the world.¹⁷

The only physical remains of a genet from Egyptian antiquity is a sole mandible found in the Nimir cave in the northern Eastern Desert, which has been dated to c.8880bp and 3650bp, an exceptionally broad timeframe.¹⁸ As it was found in dung that associated with a leopard (*Panthera pardus*) carcass, this suggests that these creatures preyed upon genets. This is an important point as M. Wemmer

¹⁵ This is true for the four volumes of Porter and Moss that were consulted for this thesis. R. L. B. Moss, B. Porter, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings, I. The Theban Necropolis*, (Oxford, 1960).; R. L. B. Moss, B. Porter, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings, III. Memphis: Part 1: Abu Rawash to Abusir*, (Oxford, 1981); R. L. B. Moss, B. Porter, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings, III. Memphis: Part 2: Saqqara to Dahshur*, (Oxford, 1974); R. L. B. Moss, B. Porter, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings, IV. Lower and Middle Egypt: Delta and Cairo to Asyut*, (Oxford, 1968).

¹⁶ R. D. Estes, *The Behaviour Guide to African Mammals*, (Berkley, Los Angeles, London, 1991), p.286; J. Kingdon, *The Kingdon Field Guide to African Mammals*, (London, 2015), p.416.

¹⁷ R. Hoath, *A Field Guide to the Mammals of Egypt*, (Cairo, New York, 2009)p.88.

¹⁸ S. M. Goodman, J. J. Hobbs, D. J. Brewer, "Nimir Cave: morphology and fauna of a cave in the Egyptian Eastern Desert", *Palaeoecology of Africa* 23 (1992), p.84, 86.

notes that nothing is known about the natural predators of the genet in any region.¹⁹ Osborn and Osbornová's have proposed that the skeletal remains found in the Nimir cave are enough to argue that genets were far more common during the predynastic era than in the pharaonic period.²⁰ However, given the rough dating attributed to this mandible, and the uniqueness of the find, there is insufficient evidence to make such a claim. At present, there is no evidence to suggest that the Egyptians mummified genets.²¹ There is no known word for genet in the Egyptian language.²² As the animal is rarely found outside of marsh scenes this is unsurprising, as no animals in this scene type were ever given an addendum.²³ While it is outside the temporal scope of this project, it is important to acknowledge the only three-dimensional representations of the genet, which are in the form of a handful of amulets from the Late Period.²⁴ As such, the only substantial form of evidence for the genet in ancient Egypt is their depictions in tomb scenes.

Two extant examples of genets appear in desert hunting scenes in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Khnumhotep III at Beni Hassan and the New Kingdom tomb of Rehmire at Thebes.²⁵ All remaining genets are found in just one scene type: marsh scenes. Aufrère and Malek both acknowledge the thematic elements shared by the cat, the genet, and the mongoose (*Herpestes ichneumon*) in marsh scenes.²⁶ Prior to the publication of his work, Aufrère acknowledged that these predators in the papyrus thicket had not been the focus of any study. His

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p.84; C. M. Wemmer, *Comparative ethology of the large-spotted genet Genetta tigrina and some related viverrids*, (Washington, 1977), p.6.

²⁰ D. J. Osborn, J. Osbornová, *op. cit.*, p.90.

²¹ *ibid.*

²² B. Wassell, *Ancient Egyptian Fauna: A Lexicographical Study*, Vol.1, Vol.2, (Durham, 1991).

²³ S. Gerke, "All Creatures Great and Small - The Ancient Egyptian View of the Animal World", in T. Pommerening, W. Bisang (eds.), *Classification from Antiquity to Modern Times* (2017), p.78.

²⁴ P. Vernus, "Genette", in P. Vernus, J. Yoyette, (eds.) *Bestiaire des pharaons*, (Paris, 2005), p.610.

²⁵ D. J. Osborn, J. Osbornová, *op. cit.*, p.90. See Chapter 4.1a and 5.1a for further discussion.

²⁶ S. H. Aufrère, " La loutre, le chat, la genette et l'ichneumon, hôtes du fourré de papyrus: présages, prédateurs des marécages et croyance funéraires", *Discussions in Egyptology* 41, (1988), p.7.

discussion speculates on the symbolic reasoning behind the inclusion of the animals in these scenes. He proposes that genets likely held positive connotations, and were perhaps viewed as a good omen for the hunt.²⁷ Like the cat, they may have assisted in flushing out birds for the tomb owner, although there is little practical evidence to support this speculation.²⁸ Genets occupy a small section of Evans monograph on animal behaviour from the Old Kingdom Memphite necropolis.²⁹ She identifies twenty-three tombs containing genets engaged in predation.³⁰ They are shown either stalking birds and their young in the papyrus thicket or, from the late fifth dynasty onwards, actively attacking their prey.

Conflicting reports surround the current status of genets within Egypt. Multiple Egyptological publications believe they are extinct, however, the six specimens of *G. genetta* that were captured in the late 1970s in the Aswan region, indicate that a sustainable breeding population of these creatures still exists in the south of the country.³¹ Some speculate that the disappearance of genets in the north occurred during antiquity. Aufrère postulates that climate change was likely a contributing factor, with the increasing aridity resulting in the loss of desirable habitat for this animal.³² Osborn and Osbornová, however, argue that there is no explanation for the disappearance of the genet in the Nile valley during later periods.³³ Wemmer claims that the range of habitat tolerance of *G. genetta* is far wider than for other species of genet.³⁴ Thus, there are still areas of the Nile valley that would be suitable habitation, making the genet's disappearance from the majority of this region even more puzzling. Arnold argues that the aforementioned amulets serve as evidence that genets were still present in Egypt

²⁷ *ibid.*, p.19.

²⁸ See Chapters 3-5.

²⁹ L. Evans, *op. cit.* pp.41-41, 117-119, 174.

³⁰ *ibid.*, p.117.

³¹ Reports of the genet as extinct: P. Vernus, *op. cit.*, p.610., D. Arnold, *op. cit.*, p.22. ; Six specimens present in: D. J. Osborn, I. Helmy, "The contemporary land mammals of Egypt (including Sinai)" *Fieldiana Zoology New Series* 5, (Chicago, 1980), p.415.

³² S. H. Aufrère, *op. cit.*, p.19.

³³ D. J. Osborn J. Osbornová, *op. cit.*, p.91.

³⁴ C. M. Wemmer *op. cit.*, p.5.

during the first millennium BC, however the lack of physical remains of this inhibits the confirmation of this theory.³⁵

Unlike many other animals depicted in Egyptian art, the genet does not appear to have an explicit connection with any deity. Some Egyptologists such as Alliot and Aufrère however, have speculated that the genet may have been associated with the goddess Mafdet.³⁶ Other scholars, such as Vernus, do not find their arguments to be convincing.³⁷

Numerous authors have labelled the genet as the "pre-cat" of Egypt, although they rarely expand upon this statement.³⁸ Gaubert argues that these assertions are not based on any concrete evidence.³⁹ Multiple scholars have observed that genets are often drawn to human settlements, thus this animal has a high probability of interacting with humans.⁴⁰ As a species, there is no evidence to suggest that genets were ever domesticated, however numerous individual animals have been tamed during modernity and there is a growing demand for genets as exotic pets.⁴¹ As there is no clear evidence for direct interactions between the Egyptians and genets during antiquity, the possibility that there were tamed individuals in this ancient society remains speculative at best.

1.4 The Cat

³⁵ D. Arnold, *op. cit.*, p.22.

³⁶ M. Alliot, "Les Auxiliaries de Chasse du Tueur d'oiseaux au baton de jet", *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 6, (1951), p.17.; S. H. Aufrère, *op. cit.*, p.10. For further discussion see Chapter 5.2f.

³⁷ P. Vernus, *op. cit.* p.610.

³⁸ *ibid.*, p.9., D. J. Osborn J. Osbornová, *op. cit.*, p.91.

³⁹ P. Gaubert, "Chapter 14: Fate of the Mongooses and the Genet (Carnivora) in Mediterranean Europe: None Native, All Invasive?" in Angelici, F. M., (ed.), *Problematic Wildlife: A Cross-Disciplinary Approach*, (Rome, 2016), p.302.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p.301; C. M. Wemmer *op. cit.*, p.5.

⁴¹ A. E. Brehm, *Brehm's Life of Animals*, I, (Chicago, 1895), p.142.; A. Kruzer, "Pet Genets" (updated 17th of August 2017), *The Spruce Pets*, viewed 28th of May 2018.

There were numerous species of felid that inhabited the Nile valley during antiquity, but only two were possibly domesticated.⁴² The first, and the most well known, is the African Wild Cat (*Felis silvestris lybica*). The taxonomy of this animal has undergone numerous revisions and remains a matter of debate. The point of contention is whether the African Wild Cat is a subspecies of *Felis silvestris*, or if it is its own separate species (*Felis lybica lybica*).⁴³ A consensus has yet to be reached, and thus both taxonomical designations have become synonymous in the literature.⁴⁴ The average size of *F. s. lybica* is c.60cm for the combined head and body length, and c.35cm for the tail.⁴⁵ Its legs are long compared to the modern domesticated cat (*Felis catus*).⁴⁶ The coat colour is highly variable, although it is most commonly sandy fawn.⁴⁷ The coat markings are similar to that of a mackerel or spotted tabby, with multiple vertical stripes covering the entirety of the animal, although they are lighter on the body. The tail is covered in dark rings and ends in a black tip.

The second type of small felid is known as the Jungle Cat, although it is also referred to as the Swamp or Marsh Cat (*Felis chaus nilotica*).⁴⁸ This animal is slightly larger in mass than *F. s. lybica*, with its average combined head and body length around 65-75cm.⁴⁹ Its tail is comparatively smaller than *F. s. lybica*'s, measuring around 25-30cm in length. Its coat is solid in colour, ranging from a reddish-brown, sandy fawn, to grey. Its ears are tufted with black tips. The coat markings of *F. chaus* are a dark dorsal stripe that runs along its back, and stripes that occur on its head, upper legs and tail.

⁴² J. A. Baldwin, "Notes and speculations on the domestication of the cat in Egypt", *Anthropos* 70, (1975), p.430.

⁴³ V. Linseele, V. N. Neer, S. Hendrickx, "Evidence for Early Cat Taming in Egypt", *Journal of Archaeological Science* 34, (2007), p.2081; A. Kitchener, et. al., "A revised taxonomy of the Felidae. The final report of the Cat Classification Task Force of the IUCN/SSC Cat Specialist Group" *Cat News Special Issue* 11 (2017), p.17.

⁴⁴ This thesis shall use the taxon of *Felis silvestris lybica*., abbreviated to *F. s. lybica*.

⁴⁵ J. Kingdon, *op. cit.*, p.276; J. Malek, *op. cit.*, p.24.

⁴⁶ R. D. Estes, *op. cit.* 357.

⁴⁷ J. Kingdon, *op. cit.*, p.276

⁴⁸ A. Kitchener, et. al., *op. cit.*, p.11.

⁴⁹ J. Malek, *op. cit.*, p.24.

Although there are mummies and skeletal remains of both species, *F. s. lybica* is clearly the dominant species in the archaeological record.⁵⁰ This, in conjunction with the physical attributes of cats depicted in wall scenes, has resulted in scholars unanimously agreeing that *F. s. lybica* was the main species of *Felis* domesticated by the Egyptians.⁵¹ While there is no clear evidence for the domestication of *F. chaus* in Egypt, Clutton-Brock has suggested that it was possible that the Egyptians tamed them, and even potentially interbred them with the African Wild Cat.⁵²

Extensive work has been done on the presence of cats in Egypt, with the works of Baldwin and Malek offering the most comprehensive overviews.⁵³ Literature on the cat generally focuses upon one of two themes: the domestication of the animal or its religious significance. Domestication is the process by which humans have changed and manipulated the behaviour and/or the physical appearance of other living organisms through the process of artificial selection.⁵⁴ Clutton-Brock recognises that unlike all other domesticated species, the cat is partly a nocturnal hunter and is a highly territorial and solitary creature.⁵⁵ Thus the cat is an unusual candidate for domestication, and scholars have offered various theories to explain how and why this event occurred.⁵⁶

Theories of cat domestication tend to favour either an ecological or a cultural approach. The latter believes religion was a power motivation for the

⁵⁰ J. D. Kurushima, et al., "Cats of the pharaohs: genetic comparison of Egyptian cat mummies to their feline contemporaries", *Journal of Archaeological Science* 39 (2012), p. 3217.

⁵¹ C. Ottoni, et. al., " The palaeogenetics of cat dispersal in the ancient world", *Nature Ecology and Evolution* 1, (2017), p.1; D. W. Engels, *Classical Cats: The Rise and Fall of the Sacred Cat*, (London, 1999), p.20.

⁵² J. Clutton-Brock, *A Natural History of Domesticated Mammals*, (Cambridge, 1999), p.137; A. P. Gray, *Mammalian Hybrids: a Checklist with Bibliography*, (1972), p.36.

⁵³ J. A. Baldwin, *op. cit.*, pp.428-448; J. Malek, *op. cit.*

⁵⁴ J. Clutton-Brock, *op. cit.*, p.vii, 2.

⁵⁵ J. Clutton-Brock, *op. cit.*, p.133.

⁵⁶ Recent studies have questioned the "solitary" nature of the cat. See Chapter 5.2f for further discussion.

domestication of this animal, based on the central role of cats in various cults.⁵⁷ Ecological approaches place emphasis on the idea that domestication was primarily the product of increasing human and cat contact over a prolonged period of time. Faure and Kitchener believe that it was likely a "specific set of human cultural events and requirements" that led to the domestication of the cat.⁵⁸ This viewpoint places emphasis on human agency in this phenomenon, which while important, does not take into account the animal's agency or suitability for the domestication process.

Brewer also supports an ecological approach, arguing that the primary role of the cat in Egyptian society was that of a mouser, and that it was in the pursuit of this prey that initially attracted cats to human settlements.⁵⁹ Faure and Kitchener support this idea, and see this behavioural aspect of the cat as the driving force behind its initial popularity.⁶⁰ Not only is this the traditional role of cats in multiple cultures, and is supported by the instinctual hunting behaviours of cats, but it is also alluded to in the ancient evidence. The opposition of the cat and the rat in a pastoral scene in the tomb of Baqet III at Beni Hassan⁶¹, and the numerous interactions between anthropomorphised cats and mice on the so-called satirical ostraca from Deir el-Medina make clear allusions to this intertwined relationship between predator and prey.⁶² Rodents are a serious threat to agricultural societies but favourable prey item for cats, and thus a symbiotic relationship between humans and cats was seemingly established around this combined ecological and cultural factor. There is no clear indication as to why *F.s. lybica* was favoured for domestication, although Linseele, Neer and Hendrickx suggest that it was the disposition of this species allowed for greater

⁵⁷ J. A. Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p.428

⁵⁸ E. Faure, A. C. Kitchener, "An Archaeological and Historical Review of the Relationship between Felids and People", *Anthrozoös*, 22:3 (2009), p.221.

⁵⁹ D. J. Brewer, D. B. Redford, S. Redford, *op. cit.*, p.109.

⁶⁰ E. Faure, A. C. Kitchener, *op. cit.*, p.221.

⁶¹ J. A. Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p.430.

⁶² P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan. Part II*, (London, 1893), p.32.

⁶² *ibid.*, p.428.; J. Malek, *op. cit.*, p.49, 118-119.

sociability than *F. chaus*, which enabled it to be more favourable towards domestication.⁶³

It was likely a combination of ecological and cultural factors that led to *F. s. lybica*'s successful domestication. Baldwin compellingly argues for a "composite hypothesis", where religious as well as ecological factors allowed for the domestication of this animal to take place.⁶⁴ It was likely a combination of all of the abovementioned theories that comes the closest to the unknowable truth.

Baldwin suggests that prior to the first millennium BC the domesticated cat was luxury item, and thus potentially only accessible to the elite classes of society.⁶⁵ This theory seems unlikely on two accounts. The first is that based upon the proposed model of domestication of the cat, it is the lower classes of society that likely had more frequent interactions with cats. The second is that due to the fragmentary extant evidence, it is difficult to draw any concrete conclusions on the lower echelons relationship with cats, as the majority of the population are often invisible in the archaeological record. While the images that this thesis is based upon are drawn from elite tombs, it is important to remember that cats likely had a presence at all levels of Egyptian society.

The representation of the cat in two-dimensional relief is one of the focal points of this thesis. P. Houlihan suggests that the cat is perhaps the animal studied the most frequently in Egyptian iconography.⁶⁶ As previously mentioned, it has been frequently used as the main evidence for estimating the date of cat domestication in Egypt. V. Linseele, V. N. Neer and S. Hendrickx use the absence of cat iconography during the Predynastic (prior to c.3150BC) and Early Dynastic period (c.3150 - c. 2613BC) as evidence to indicate that the domestication of cats

⁶³ V. Linseele, V. N. Neer, S. Hendrickx, "Evidence for Early Cat Taming in Egypt", *Journal of Archaeological Science* 34, (2007), p.2088.

⁶⁴ J. A. Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p.443.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p.441.

⁶⁶ P. F. Houlihan, "Felines", in D. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, (2005).

had not yet occurred.⁶⁷ Y. Hu et. al. agree that earliest domesticated cats can be identified in Egyptian art, either from the tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hassan or in numerous domestic scenes from the New Kingdom period.⁶⁸

While Malek and Houlihan state that the cat is absent from Old Kingdom tomb scenes, both Langton & Langton and Evans correctly assert their existence.⁶⁹ Evans identifies two examples of *F. s. lybica* in pastoral scenes from the tombs of Niankhnum and Khnemhotep, and Akhmerutnesut from Saqqara and Giza respectively.⁷⁰ Another cat in a pastoral scene has emerged from the recently rediscovered tomb of Hetpet at Giza.⁷¹ The animal is identifiable from its morphological features, the reddish brown colour of its coat, and the distinct black rings on its raised tail.⁷² As this is only the third example of this animal from this period this is an extremely significant find. In all three scenes, the cats are engaged in what Evans categorises as hunting behaviour.⁷³ Langton and Langton believe that these cats have no religious connotations, as there is no extant evidence that *F. s. lybica* had any affiliations with any deities at this time.⁷⁴ Rather, they interpret their inclusion in these scenes as an accurate reflection of the natural world at this time.

The first concrete appearance of a cat in a marshland scene comes from the aforementioned Middle Kingdom tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hassan.⁷⁵ This is a clear shift away from its previous depictions in pastoral scenes. While some

⁶⁷ V. Linseele, V. N. Neer, S. Hendrickx, *op. cit.*, p.2081.

⁶⁸ Hu, Y., et. al., "Earliest evidence for commensal processes of cat domestication", *PNAS* 111, 1 (2014), p.116. See Chapter 4.

⁶⁹ J. Malek, *op. cit.*, p.44.; P. F. Houlihan, 2005 " *op. cit.*., B. Langton, N. Langton, *The Cat in Ancient Egypt*, (London, 2002), p.2.; L. Evans, *op. cit.*, p.116.

⁷⁰ *ibid.* p.116.

⁷¹ BBC "Egypt unveils 4,400-year-old tomb of ancient priestess", *BBC News* 3 February (2018) <<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-42931533>>.

⁷² For further detail on the morphological features of African Wild Cats in Egyptian art, refer to Chapter 2.3b.

⁷³ L. Evans, *op. cit.*, p.115.

⁷⁴ B. Langton, N. Langton, *op. cit.*, p.1.

⁷⁵ N. Kanawati, L. Evans, *Beni Hassan Vol. 1: The Tomb of Khnumhotep II* (Oxford, 2014), pl.78; N. Kanawati, A. Woods, *Beni Hassan: Art and Daily Life in an Egyptian Province*, (Cairo, 2010), photograph 22; S. H. Aufrère, *op. cit.*, p.17.

such as Brewer, Redford, and Redford argue that this image is evidence of a domesticated cat, Boessneck does not believe that the cats depicted in Middle Kingdom tombs are domesticated.⁷⁶ It is however, the start of a trend that truly comes into fruition during the New Kingdom period.

The motif of the cat in marsh scenes was acknowledged by Wilkinson, who interpreted these animals as a family pet, accompanying the tomb owner during a day out in the marsh.⁷⁷ These animals are typically found amongst the papyrus thicket, though one interesting example from the tomb of Simut show the cat on the boat with the tomb owner, vying for his attention.⁷⁸ Alliot firmly supports the notion that the cats present in marsh scenes were assisting the tomb owner's fowling activities.⁷⁹ The use of cats as retrievers, an idea proposed by Wilkinson, has been firmly dismissed by Egyptologists, such as Alliot and Brewer.⁸⁰ Instead, the general sentiment is that cats were used to "flush out" birds nesting in the papyrus thicket, performing a similar function to flushing dogs used by modern hunters.⁸¹ The opposing interpretation of these scenes by scholars renders them completely symbolic.⁸² By the New Kingdom period, the marsh scenes depicted in tombs were completely fantastical, and no longer bore any resemblance to reality. Malek argues that the inclusion of the cat in marsh scenes reflects the ideological inclusion of cats into the family unit.⁸³ All of these interpretations view these New Kingdom cats as representations of domesticated individuals.

⁷⁶ J. Boessneck, *Die Tierwelt des Alten Ägypten*, (München, 1988), p.85.; D. J. Brewer, D. B. Redford, S. Redford, *op. cit.*, p.109.

⁷⁷ J. G. Wilkinson, *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, II, (New York, 1837), p.106.; For further discussion on the symbolic nature of marsh scenes and issues surrounding Egyptian art, please refer to Chapter 5.2f.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p.107.

⁷⁹ M. Alliot, " *op. cit.*, p.17.

⁸⁰ J. G. Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, p.106; M. Alliot, *op. cit.*, p.18; D. J. Brewer, D. B. Redford, S. Redford, *op. cit.*, p.109.

⁸¹ Game Management Authority, *Hunting game birds and deer with dogs in Victoria*, (viewed 13 October 2018), <<http://www.gma.vic.gov.au/hunting/deer/fact-sheets/hunting-game-birds-and-deer-with-dogs-in-victoria#>>.

⁸² D. Bastin, " Chats Chasseurs et Chats Chassés", in L. Delvaux, E. Warmenbol (eds.), *Les Divins Chats d'Égypte: un air Subtil, un Dangereux Parfum*, (Leuven, 1991), p.53.

⁸³ J. Malek, *op. cit.*, p.68.

The religious significance of cats must also be briefly acknowledged. Although the cat did not rise to the height of its religious popularity until the Late period (c.664BC-c.332BC) and the Ptolemaic period (c.305BC-c.30BC), which falls outside of the chronological scope of this project, there is a clear association with cats and the divine as early as the Second Intermediate period (c.1650BC-c.1550BC).⁸⁴ The association of cats with the goddess Bastet and Ra during the New Kingdom is clear, as both deities are depicted in the form of a cat.⁸⁵ Aufrère suggests that the inclusion of the cat in marsh scenes during the New Kingdom could also serve to invoke these deities and associate them with the tomb owner.⁸⁶ The rising popularity of the cat as a motif in tomb scenes thus coincides with their rise in religious significance.

While there is a multitude of works dedicated to the motivations behind the domestication of the cat and how this process has been expressed in the material culture, there has been little thought on how this has impacted upon the pre-existing elements of these scenes. From the supposed advent of cat domestication in Egypt onwards, cat iconography increased dramatically. This exponential growth in the popularity of cats seems to have led to them replacing genets in marsh scenes during the New Kingdom period. This heralds a significant change to the Egyptians' traditional artistic repertoire. This study examines this event through the application of art analysis in conjunction with an anthrozoological approach in order to unpack how the social construction of animals in society influences their reception. Thus, the primary aim is to achieve a more extensive understanding of this phenomenon and to explore its impact on ancient Egyptian society.

⁸⁴ B. Langton, N. Langton, *op. cit.*, p.3.

⁸⁵ J. A. Baldwin, " *op. cit.*, p.439.

⁸⁶ S. H. Aufrère, *op. cit.*, p.17.

2. Methodology

2.1 Aims

This thesis presents a case study that focuses primarily on two-dimensional representations of cats and genets in marsh scenes from tombs of the Old Kingdom period (c.2686BC-c.2134BC), the Middle Kingdom period (c.2055BC-c.1650BC), and the New Kingdom period (c.1550BC-c.1077BC).¹ Investigating the cultural impacts of the cat and the genet on the ancient Egyptians and vice versa through this medium is the primary goal of this project. In order to adequately address this objective, several additional sub-questions have been considered throughout the course of this thesis. They are as follows:

1. How are these animals depicted in tomb scenes and what behaviours are they engaged in? An ethological approach to this question seeks to determine the ancient Egyptians' understanding of the natural behaviours of cats and genets and explore how this was represented.
2. How frequently are cats and genets depicted in tomb scenes? Answering this question through quantitative research is key to understanding if and how the presence of these animals in tomb scenes changed over time.
3. What are the possible driving factors behind this alteration in the artistic repertoire? Aspects that are addressed include social events such as cat domestication, environmental factors such as climate change, and religious motivations linked to the rising religious significance of the cat.
4. Why were these animals included in the scene? This question is perhaps the most difficult to answer, and it is unlikely that any definitive conclusions will be drawn on the matter. However, it is important to consider the role of marsh scenes in a mortuary context and how this may have influenced the depiction and inclusion of cats and genets in this context.

¹ Chronology used: I. Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, (Oxford, 2000), p.480-489.

Importantly, this case study presents a complete cultural record of the genet in ancient Egypt from the Old Kingdom period, the Middle Kingdom period, and the New Kingdom period. Expanding upon the works of S. H. Aufrère and L. Evans, Chapters 3, 4, and 5 of this work provide a description and discussion of the genets (and cats) within marsh scenes.² A synthesis of these results together with the relevant archaeological evidence concerning these animals in ancient Egypt is provided in the latter half of these chapters. While restricted to a select number of necropoli, this project has expanded upon the work of the aforementioned authors and thus presents a comprehensive study of the often overlooked genet in these periods of Egyptian history.³

2.2 Scope

2.2a Chronological and Topographical Parameters

Due to constraints imposed by the word limit of this project, this case study has been shaped by both chronological and topographical parameters. Three corpuses have been compiled from the Old Kingdom tombs at Giza and Saqqara, the Middle Kingdom tombs at Beni Hassan, Deir el-Bersha, and Meir, and the New Kingdom tombs at the Theban necropolis. The sites were chosen due to the accessible nature of their tomb reports, and preliminary research that indicated the presence of a sizable number of marsh scenes to investigate. While the Middle Kingdom corpus is notably smaller than the other two, the inclusion of this period is vital to this study, as the tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hassan contains a significant innovation in the iconography of marsh scene predators.⁴

2.2b "Marsh Scenes"

The phrase "marsh scene" is an umbrella term used to describe a variety of activities and representations that are shown taking place in a marshland

² S. H. Aufrère, "La loutre, le chat, la genette et l'ichneumon, hôtes du fourré de papyrus: présages, prédateurs des marécages et croyance funéraires", *Discussions in Egyptology* 41 (1988), pp.7-28; L. Evans, *Animal Behaviour in Egyptian Art*, (Oxford, 2010), pp.41-41, 117-119, 174.

³ It is acknowledged that genets also occur in marsh scenes outside of these necropoli.

⁴ N. Kanawati, L. Evans, *Beni Hassan Vol. 1: The Tomb of Khnumhotep II* (Oxford, 2014), p.60, Pl.75, 78 (a).

environment.⁵ As a transitional space between terrestrial and aquatic environments, this biome is frequently characterised in Egyptian art by the presence of a body of water, herbaceous plants such papyrus, and an abundance of animal life present on land, in the water and in the air.⁶ As previously state, the genet appears almost exclusively in this scene type and so it was the logical choice for this project.

Marsh scenes are further categorised into different scene types based upon the activities depicted. Often, a number of marsh scene types are presented together to form a larger cluster scene.⁷ These grouped scenes are usually centred around a focal scene where the major figure, typically the tomb owner, is shown upon a boat engaging in a marshland activity.⁸ This study has examined all of these "focal" marsh scene types, as preliminary research indicated that papyrus thicket predators most frequently occur in these scene types.⁹ Thus, in the context of this thesis, a marsh scene refers to this collective group of scenes. Specific marsh scene types are referred in Chapters 3-6 by their abbreviation listed below.

⁵ A. Woods, *'A Day in the Marshes' A Study of Old Kingdom Marsh Scenes in the Tombs of the Memphite Cemeteries*, PhD Thesis, Macquarie University, 2007.

⁶ B. Leach, J. Tait, "Papyrus", in D. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, (Oxford, 2005).

⁷ G. Robins, "The decorative program in single-roomed pre-Amarna 18th dynasty Theban tomb chapels", in E. Frood, A. McDonald (eds.) *Decorum and Experience: essays in ancient cultures for John Baines* (Oxford, 2013), p.171-172.

⁸ A. Woods, *op. cit.*, p.11. See Table 1 for the various marsh scene types examined in this thesis.

⁹ N. 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", in C. Di Biase-Dyson, L. Donovan (eds.) *The Cultural Manifestations of Religious Experience: Studies in Honour of Boyo G. Ockinga*, (Münster, 2017), p.119.

Scene Type	Abbreviation
Tomb Owner Fishing	OFi
Tomb Owner Fowling	OFo
Composite Fishing and Fowling	CFF
Pleasure Cruise	PC
Papyrus Pulling	PP
Hippopotamus Hunt	HH
Cluster Scene ¹⁰	C

Table 1. Marsh Scene Abbreviations¹¹

When discussing the location of the animals in the papyrus thicket, the image has been divided into three sections.¹² The "lower" refers to the space mainly occupied by the stems of the papyrus plants. The "middle" section contains either one or more rows of papyrus umbels. The "upper" section encompasses the space above the vegetation. This terminology will be applied throughout this thesis.

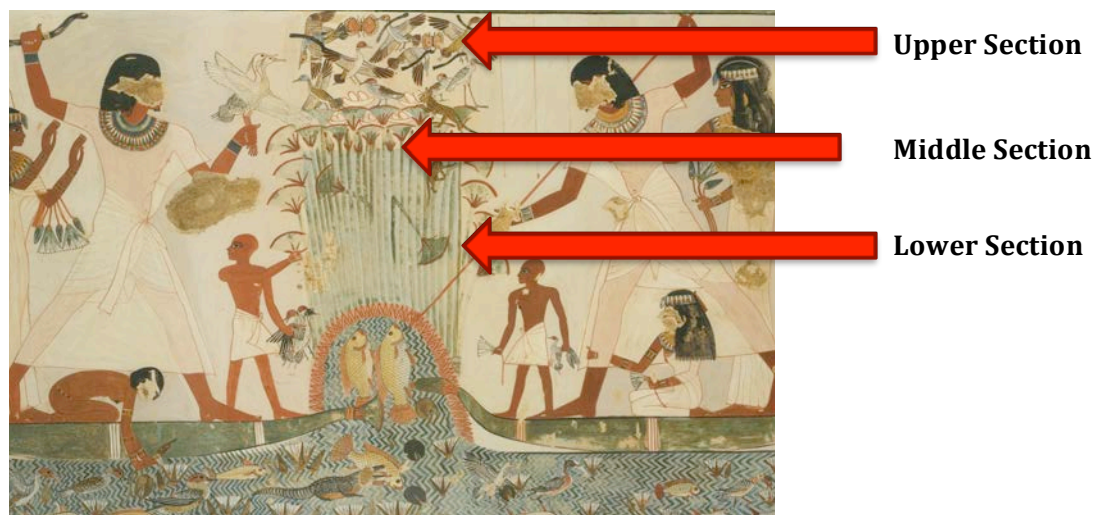


Figure 1. Divisions of the papyrus thicket.

¹⁰ This category refers to a grouping of multiple marshland activities that are overseen by the major figure of the tomb owner.

¹¹ The names for the different scene types and divisions were inspired by: Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, (London, New York, 1987); and A. Woods, *op. cit.*

¹² The following designations are based upon those found in S. Binder, "The Tomb Owner Fishing and Fowling", in L. Donovan, K. McCorquodale (eds.), *Egyptian Art: Principles and Themes in Wall Scenes*, (Guizeh, 2000), p.114.

2.3 Methods

The aims of this project have been addressed through a mixture of quantitative and qualitative analyses of cats and genets in marsh scenes.

2.3a Data collection

The first stage of the project was comprised of locating and collecting data from the scenes in question. The list of marsh scenes was initially assembled from the appendix of the four relevant volumes of B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss' *Topographical Bibliography*.¹³ This reference work provided basic information on the tomb and tomb owner, the location of the scene in the larger context of the funerary space, and, most importantly, bibliographic details for the required tomb reports. The *Online Egyptological Bibliography* and the *Theban Mapping Project* website were used to supplement this reference work and locate tomb reports that had been published after the *Topographical Bibliography*.¹⁴

The tomb reports were mined extensively for information and images of the desired scenes. This information was then compiled into a digital database in the form of Microsoft Word and Excel documents, comprising of an image of the scene along with details on the tomb's number, its owner, its dating, and a commentary on the relevant animals. The latter section includes the number of animals depicted, their behaviour, and their location in the wider context of the scene. While a section was provided for comments regarding the humans depicted in these scenes, they were only described in detail if they had any direct interaction with the animals in question. The bibliographic details of works relating to the scene were also recorded here.

The three compiled corpuses were subsequently compared to one another through quantitative analysis. This approach addressed sub-question 2

¹³ R. L. B. Moss, B. Porter, 1960, *op. cit.*; R. L. B. Moss, B. Porter, 1981, *op. cit.*; R. L. B. Moss, B. Porter, 1974, *op. cit.*; R. L. B. Moss, B. Porter, 1968, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ University of Oxford, *The Online Egyptological Bibliography*, viewed 14 June 2018, <<http://oeb.griffith.ox.ac.uk/default.aspx>>; Theban Mapping Project, *Bibliography References - Theban Mapping Project*, viewed 14 June 2018, <<http://www.tmpbibliography.com/>>.

regarding the frequency of genets and/or cats depicted in marsh scenes, and if or how this changed over time. Chapters 3-5 also articulate how frequently multiple genets/cats are depicted in the same tomb scene, how often they are accompanied by mongooses, and how frequently different types of behaviour are depicted. This analysis thus illuminates how important, or unimportant, genets and cats are to marsh scenes from all three periods.

This generalised assessment is supplemented in the following chapters by an in-depth qualitative discussion of the representation of cats and genets in these tomb scenes, which aims to address sub-question 1. It is here that the physical characteristics and behaviour of the animals are discussed in depth. The possibility of "chimera" creatures, an animal that cannot be identified clearly as either a cat or a genet but appears to be combination of the two, is also addressed. The behaviour of the animals and the presence of any other predators in the papyrus thicket, such as the mongoose (*Herpestes ichneumon*), have also been considered in order to track the overall thematic development of the motif of the animal hunter in the papyrus thicket.

2.3b Criteria

Distinguishing between genets and cats has proved, at times, to be rather difficult, due to their behavioural and morphological similarities. In order to combat this obstacle and strive towards an objective analysis, a set of criteria was constructed based upon the diagnostic features of these animals, which was used to distinguish between them. These features include the coat colour and markings of the animal, and the shape of their tail and snout. These differences and similarities can be observed in Table 2.

Diagnostic Criteria	Cat (<i>F. s. lybica</i>)	Genet (<i>G. genetta</i>)
Coat Colour	Commonly a sandy fawn, but also a reddish brown or grey.	Light grey or fawn.
Coat Markings	Traverse stripes along the body, usually a darker shade of the coat colour. Traverse stripes also typically extend to the legs and head, although they are darker in colour than those present on the body.	Numerous black or dark brown spots in rows along the body. Smaller spots of the same colour present on front legs. The back of the hind legs is often solid black or brown in colour.
Tail	Consistent width, striped, black tip.	Tapers, ringed, black tip.
Snout	Squared.	Pointed.

Table 2. Criteria used to distinguish between cats and genets.¹⁵

The latter feature has proven the most useful, as the pointed snout of genets and the squared snout of cats are the most consistently depicted physical attributes of these animals in the tomb scenes.¹⁶ Despite this set of criteria, during the New Kingdom period it becomes increasingly difficult to differentiate between these two animals. The genet's tail is no longer bulging, and is instead rendered with a consistent width like the cat. These uncertainties are noted and examined within this thesis, as this stylistic change has the potential to be a by-product of the changing perception of these two animals in Egyptian society.

¹⁵ Diagnostic criteria were drawn from the works of: R. D. Estes, *op. cit.*, p.286; J. Kingdon, *op. cit.*, p.416, in conjunction with my own observations.

¹⁶ See Chapters 3-5 for further discussion.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 2. External Features of Genets and Cats.

2.3c Dating

Tracking the changes and consistencies in tomb imagery is an *essential* component of this project, and thus a chronology of the tombs in question must be established. The dating of Old Kingdom tombs remains a contentious issue, due to a lack of data that firmly roots many tombs to a precise moment in time.¹⁷ Similar issues can arise in tombs of any period in the absence of evidence for absolute dating.

The author acknowledges the difficulties surrounding this aspect of the project, and thus many of the dates remain only relative at best. For the purpose of this project, relative dates for the Old and Middle Kingdom are acceptable, if somewhat undesirable, given the large chronological scope of this project. Precise dating is most important during the New Kingdom period, as the greatest shift in iconography regarding these animals occurs during this time.

¹⁷ J. Swinton, *Dating the Tombs of the Egyptian Old Kingdom*, (Oxford, 2014), p.1.; A. McFarlane, *Mastabas at Saqqara: Kaiemheset, Kaipunesut, Kaiemsenu, Sehetepu and Others* (Oxford, 2003), p.19-23; P. Jánosi, "Old Kingdom tombs and dating – problems and priorities. The Cemetery en Échelon at Giza" in M. Barta (ed.), *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology* (Prague, 2006), p.175-183.

For this thesis, the following dating conventions have been applied:

- Dates for the Old Kingdom tombs generally follow those proposed by Y. Harpur.¹⁸
- Dates for the Middle Kingdom tombs generally follow *Topographical Bibliography* or in the most recent tomb report.¹⁹
- Dates for the New Kingdom tombs generally follow those supplied in the *Topographical Bibliography* or in the most recent tomb report.²⁰

In all cases, if there is any conflict between the dates provided in the *Topographical Bibliography*, Harpur's *Decoration*, and the most recent tomb report, the most recent publication is generally favoured. Any points of contention or variations on these dating conventions are noted during the discussion of the relevant tomb scene.²¹

2.4 Limitations

As with any research project, this thesis is bound by a number of limitations. The visual identification of the two different species is at the core of the methodological approach undertaken, yet it is not without its flaws. Many of the scenes are only available as black and white photographs or as line drawings, and thus the coat colour, as well as coat markings for the latter, cannot be determined. The use of the image enhancement software DStretch® was trialled at the beginning of the project to improve the visibility of the photographs.²² Unfortunately, as this software was designed only to alter the intensity and saturation of colours, it proved ineffective on black and white photographs. Thus it failed to yield any meaningful results for problematic images.

¹⁸ Y. Harpur, *op. cit.*

¹⁹ R. L. B. Moss, B. Porter, 1968, *op. cit.*

²⁰ R. L. B. Moss, B. Porter, 1960, *op. cit.*

²¹ See Appendix 1-3 for the dating abbreviations used in Chapters 3-5.

²² L. Evans, A. Mourad, " DStretch® and Egyptian tomb paintings: A case study from Beni Hassan", *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 18, (2018), p.79.

Many of the marsh scenes in question are also poorly preserved or completely destroyed. The content of these scenes has therefore been permanently lost. If none of the diagnostic features of the animals were preserved, it was impossible to identify the species, and thus they could not contribute to the project in a meaningful way. The interpretation of each image is of course liable to human error or subjectivity. By implementing the aforementioned diagnostic criteria however, this project has attempted to moderate these variables, and maintain consistency in the interpreted results.

The number of destroyed or inaccessible marsh scenes is also be noted, and placed into a separate category for the quantitative aspect of the project. This was done to prevent these unknown factors from skewing the results. It must be acknowledged that not all of the tombs in the selected regions have been published and thus their content could not contribute to this project. Furthermore, it is acknowledged that by focusing on a select number of necropoli, this project has only examined a representative sample of the extant corpus. Thus it is possible that examples outside of this corpus may yield further variations from those accounted for in this project.

3. Old Kingdom Corpus

3.1 Descriptions

3.1a Genets

OK1 - Pl.1 (a), (b), (c)

Tomb #: LG86, Giza, CF

Tomb Owner: *Nb-m-3h.t*

Date: IV.5-6¹

Scene Type: PP

Location: Room 1, West

PM III.I, pp.230-232

Observations:

Two predators are preserved in this thicket, mirroring each other in location and behaviour. Both are depicted clambering up a papyrus stem in the middle lower section of the thicket towards a bird nest containing nestlings, thus seemingly in the act of stalking prey.² The animal on the right is easily identifiable as a genet, with its pointed snout and pricked ears. The tail is thin and slightly bulging, although the tip has not been preserved. Although the head of the animal on the left is completely destroyed, the tail appears to remain a consistent length, suggesting that perhaps this animal is a mongoose.³ As the scene is a line drawing it contains no colour or any indication of coat markings, if these were preserved at all.

OK2.1 - Pl.1 (d), (e)

Tomb #: ntn, Saqqara, UPC

Tomb Owner: *Ny-^cnh-hnmw* and *Hnmw-htp(.w)*

Date: V.6L-7

¹ J. Swinton, *op. cit.* p.28.

² A nestling refers to a young bird of any species that is completely dependent on its parents for food, and does not leave the nest.

³ L. Evans, *op. cit.* p.119.

Scene Type: CFF

Location: Forecourt, South

PM III.II, pp.641-644

Observations:

Only one predator is visible in the remains of this scene. The animal is located in the transitional space between the lower and middle sections of the thicket, climbing up a papyrus stem towards a nest containing at least two nestlings.⁴ Its snout appears to be touching the edge of the extended wing of the closest nestling, although the line drawing does not indicate any tactile interaction between predator and prey. Its snout, pricked ears, and the bulging tail are distinctly rendered in this scene, clearly marking this animal as a genet. No coat markings are discernible from the black and white photographs. The animal is extremely close to the left hand of the tomb owner, with the spear transparently overlapping the tail of the genet, as well as the papyrus stem it stands upon. In this instance, the motifs associated with the papyrus thicket were cut more deeply than the tomb owner's spear.

OK2.2 - Pl.2 (a), (b)

Tomb #: ntn, Saqqara, UPC

Tomb Owner: *Ny-^cnh-hnmw* and *Hnmw-htp(.w)*

Date: V.6L-7

Scene Type: CFF

Location: Outer Hall, West

PM III.II, pp.641-644

Observations:

Two predators are present in the lower section of this papyrus thicket, although both of their heads and the tail of lower individual have suffered damage. Based upon the shape of the tail, the animal on the upper right can be identified as a genet. As with the other CFF in this tomb, the tail of the genet overlaps the spear of the tomb owner. In this case, however, the genet's tail is opaque and placed in

⁴ The right side of the nest is damaged.

front of the spear. The remains of the lower middle animal bear no diagnostic features, although the build of its body is nearly identical to that of the other predator in the thicket. On this basis it is possible to tentatively identify this animal as a genet, although this interpretation is not conclusive. Evans interprets this animal as a mongoose.⁵ Both creatures again climb papyrus stems. Neither animal appears to have a clear object of pursuit, although there is still an abundance of bird-life in the middle and upper sections of the thicket. As with the previous scenes, due to scene damage and poor-quality photographs, no discernible coat pattern or colour could be gleaned from these animals.

OK3 - Pl.2 (c), Pl.3 (a)

Tomb #: D60, Saqqara, WSP

Tomb Owner: *Htp-hr-3h.ty*

Date: V.6-8E

Scene Type: OFi

Location: Chapel, North

PM III.II, pp.593-595

Observations:

One predator is located in the lower section of the papyrus thicket, directly above the so-called 'mound of water'. The animal is depicted climbing up a papyrus stem towards a nest containing three nestlings. Two adult birds flying above seem to be associated with the nest, and one appears to be swooping the approaching predator in an effort to protect the nest. Due to extensive damage in this area of the scene, no diagnostic features of the animal are preserved and thus it is impossible to identify the species definitively.⁶

OK4 - Pl.3 (b), (c)

Tomb #: ntn, Giza, CF

Tomb Owner: *Iti-sn*

⁵ L. Evans, *op. cit.* p.119.

⁶ L. Evans, *The Representation of Animal Behaviour in Old Kingdom Tomb Scenes from Giza and Saqqara*, Vol. 2. PhD thesis, Macquarie University (Sydney, 2006), p.490.

Date: approx. V.6-8

Scene Type: PP⁷

Location: Chapel, East

PM III.I, pp.252-253

Observations:

One genet is present in this scene and is located climbing on a stem in the middle of the lower section of the papyrus thicket. This animal is easily identifiable by its pricked ears, long pointed snout, and the bulging shape of its tail. It appears to be approaching an adult bird that is perched on a separate papyrus stem in front of the genet.

OK5 - Pl.4 (a)

Tomb #: ntn, Saqqara, UPC

Tomb Owner: *Iri-n-k3-ptḥ*

Date: V.6-9

Scene Type: CFF

Location: Offering Chamber, South

PM III.II, p.644

Observations:

While Moussa and Junge believe that the predator present in the papyrus thicket is a genet, the damage to this section of the scene is so extensive that the species cannot be identified definitively.⁸ No diagnostic features are preserved and thus any conclusions regarding the identity of the species are tentative at best.

⁷ Porter and Moss and Hassan identify this scene as the OFi. Harpur instead believes it to be a PP. Parallels for this scene can be found in the tomb of Werkhww, Hassan, Giza V, fig.104, and in OK1. For further discussion see Chapter 3.2. R. L. B. Moss, B. Porter, 1981, *op. cit.* p.252; S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza V: 1933-1934. With Special Chapters on Methods of Excavation, the False-Door, and Other Archaeology and Religious Subjects*, (Cairo, 1944), p.267; Y. Harpur, *op. cit.* p.192.

⁸ A. M. Moussa, F. Junge, *Two Tombs of Craftsmen*, (Mainz am Rhein, 1975), p.42. While Evans categorises this animal as a genet, she expresses that this animal could also be a mongoose, L. Evans, 2006, *op. cit.* p.500.

OK6.1 - Pl.4 (b), Pl.5 (a),

Tomb #: LS16 = S902, Saqqara, NSP

Tomb Owner: *R^c.w-špss*

Date: V.8M

Scene Type: OFo

Location: Forecourt, West

PM III.II, pp.494-496

Observations:

One genet is present in the lower section of the papyrus thicket. It is climbing up a papyrus stem towards one adult bird and one nestling in a nest located just before a papyrus umbel. The pricked ears, long pointed snout and shape of the tail easily identify this species. In comparison to earlier examples, however, the size and length of the tail appears exaggerated. By enlarging the tail, the tail to body ratio of the genet in this scene more accurately reflects those of the real animal compared to the previous examples.⁹ The width of the tail, which at its widest point exceeds that of the animal's torso, is undoubtedly exaggerated.¹⁰ The line drawing does not reveal any coat markings or colours, if they were present.

OK6.2 - Pl.4 (b), Pl.5 (b)

Tomb #: LS16 = S902, Saqqara, NSP

Tomb Owner: *R^c.w-špss*

Date: V.8M

Scene Type: PC

Location: Forecourt, North

PM III.II, pp.494-496

Observations:

Two predators are present in the lower section of the papyrus thicket. They are depicted on opposite sides of the thicket, each climbing a papyrus stem. Due to

⁹ R. D. Estes, *op. cit.* p.286.; J. Kingdon, *op. cit.* p.416.

¹⁰ Compare with Figure 3, 4 and 5.

extensive damage to the scene, the tail is the only diagnostic feature of the animal on the left that is preserved. The shape and size of this tail are nearly identical in style to OK6.1, and thus it is tempting to label this animal as a genet. However, the other predator on the right side of the thicket also possesses the same tail shape, albeit with a slightly thicker base. Additionally, while this animal possesses the long, pointed snout typically associated with a genet; its ears are small and curved, seemingly pressed against its head. It is this distinctive feature that identifies this animal as a mongoose.¹¹ As the tail shape is shared by the depictions of genets and the mongoose in this tomb, the species of the animal on the right remains uncertain. As the thickness of the tail base more closely resembles that of the genet in OK6.1 than the mongoose it shares the scene with, the former species is the more likely candidate.¹² No coat markings are extant to aid in the identification process.

OK7.1 - Pl.5 (c), Pl.6 (a)

Tomb #: G2370 = LG27, Giza, WF

Tomb Owner: *Sndm-ib: inti*

Date: V.8M-L

Scene Type: OFo

Location: Portico, West

PM III.I, pp.85-87

Observations:

Two predators are present in the lower section of the papyrus thicket, mirroring each other in location and behaviour. Both are climbing up papyrus stems towards a nest while being swooped by an adult bird that is likely defending the nest. The animal on the left has a robust build, with an extremely thin tail that is a consistent width. Its head is conical with small rounded ears, indicating that this animal is a mongoose. The animal on the right is undoubtedly a genet, with a lithe build, thin, pointed snout, pricked ears, and a slightly thicker tail. Again, the line drawing shows no indication of coat markings, if any were present.

¹¹ Evans also agrees with this identification, L. Evans, 2010, *op. cit.* p.119.

¹² *ibid.*, p.117.

OK7.2 - Pl.6 (b), (c)

Tomb #: G2370 = LG27, Giza, WF

Tomb Owner: *Sndm-ib: inti*

Date: V.8M-L

Scene Type: PC

Location: Room II, West

PM III.I, pp.85-87

Observations:

As with the previous scene, two predators are present in the lower section of the papyrus thicket. They are each climbing up a papyrus stem towards a bird nest. While the nest on the right stem contains at least one nestling, the one on the left appears completely barren. A mongoose advances toward this empty nest, depicted with a robust build, a rounded snout, small curved ears, and a bulging tail, which it appears to hold slightly aloft.¹³ The genet on the right bears the pointed snout and pricked ears commonly associated with the species. Unlike the mongoose, the genet's tail does not flare or taper, instead remaining at a consistent thin length. The line drawing does not indicate the presence of coat markings.

OK8 - Pl.7 (a), Pl.8 (a), (b), (c)

Tomb #: D22, Saqqara, NSP

Tomb Owner: *Tii*

Date: V.8-9

Scene Type: PC

Location: Room III, North

PM III.II, pp.468-478

Observations:

¹³ The shape of the tail is similar to the mongoose in OK6.2, although its size is far less exaggerated.

Three predators are present in the top of the lower section of the papyrus thicket. The animal on the left bears all of the typical features of a mongoose, including the rounded snout and ear. The latter feature is accurately rendered on the side of the animal's head, contrasting previous examples where the rounded ears were placed on top of the head in the same position as a genet's. The tail of this mongoose is also the most anatomically correct thus far, with a thick base that tapers to a point at the extremity.¹⁴ These morphological accuracies also extend to the two genets located in the middle and right of the papyrus thicket. The accurate rendering of the nose and the earflaps displays accurate knowledge of the anatomy of these animals. All three animals exhibit the standard behaviour of climbing up a papyrus stem. The genets are clearly in pursuit of the nestlings located at the end of their respective stems, and consequently are under attack from the swooping parents who are desperately trying to defend their young. The line drawings do not indicate the presence of any coat markings.

OK9 - Pl.9 (a), (b)

Tomb #: D23, Saqqara, NSP

Tomb Owner: *K3.i-m-nfr.t*

Date: V.8-9

Scene Type: OFo

Location: Chapel, North

PM III.II, pp.467-468

Observations:

Two predators can be observed in the remains of the lower section of this papyrus thicket. Both are in the typical mode of climbing a papyrus stem and approaching a bird's nest. The rounded snout and ears of the animal on the left mark it as a mongoose, while the pointed snout and ears of the animal on the

¹⁴ J. Kingdon, *op. cit.* p.434, Also see Figure 4.

right indicates that it is a genet.¹⁵ The head of the genet is turned to face the adult bird that is attacking them from behind. The scene is unfinished, and the photographs do not reveal the presence of any coat markings.

OK10 - Pl.10 (a), (b), Pl.11 (a), (b)¹⁶

Tomb #: D64, Saqqara, NSP

Tomb Owner: *3htj-htp*

Date: V.8L-9E

Scene Type: C

Location: Hall, East

PM III.II, pp.599-600

Observations:

This expansive papyrus thicket contains four predators in its midst. All four animals have the same thin consistent tail shape. Their body build is also similar, although the animals on the far left and middle right are slightly more truncated. Additionally, the line drawing does not depict these creatures with any visible earflaps and this, in conjunction with their rounded snouts indicates that these are mongooses.¹⁷ Conversely, the pointed snout and ears indicate that the middle left and far right animals are genets. While all four animals are in the pursuit of nestlings, this scene contains the earliest extant example of these predators actively attacking their prey. The mongoose and genet on the left are both shown biting a nestling and removing it from the nest, much to their parent's dismay.

OK11 - Pl.12 (a), (b)

Tomb #: ntn, Saqqara, UPC

Tomb Owner: *Hnw.t*

Date: V.9

¹⁵ Simpson erroneously labels this animal as a marsh cat, W. K. Simpson, *The Offering Chapel of Kayemnofret in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, (Boston, 1992), p.5.

¹⁶ Despite being split in half, Pl.10 (a) and Pl.11 (a) form one continuous scene.

¹⁷ There is damage to the head of the middle right mongoose and thus it is unclear whether this individual was depicted with earflaps.

Scene Type: Unknown

Location: Room A, East

PM III.II, pp.623-624

Observations:

Only the head and upper torso remain of this genet from this vastly destroyed scene. The pointed snout and ears are rendered in great detail, including the nose and pinnae. The genet is likely in pursuit of the two nestlings before it, as it is under attack by at least two adult birds attempting to protect their young.

OK12 - Pl.13 (a), (b)

Tomb #: ntn, Saqqara, UPC

Tomb Owner: *Jj-nfrt: š3.n.f*

Date: V.9

Scene Type: CFF

Location: Room 1, North

PM III.II, p.616

Observations:

Two predators are present in the lower section of this papyrus thicket, exhibiting standard stalking behaviour. The animal on the top left bears the pointed ears and snout of a genet. Its tail is thin with a slight flare. Its limbs are slightly longer than those of the second predator located on the bottom right. While the diagnostic features of its head are damaged, these morphological variations suggest that this animal is likely a mongoose.¹⁸ An Egyptian goose (*Alopochen aegyptiaca*) and a pied kingfisher (*Ceryle rudis*) defend their nests from the genet and mongoose respectively. No coat markings are present in the line drawings.

OK13 - Pl.14 (a), (b)

Tomb #: ntn, Saqqara, TP

¹⁸ Although they express uncertainty, Kanawati and Abder-Raziq propose that it is a mongoose on the basis that this animal and the genet are usually shown together, N. Kanawati, M. Abder-Raziq, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, Volume 6: The Tomb of Nikauisesi* (Warminster, 2000), p.18.

Tomb Owner: *Nj-k3w-jzzj*

Date: VI.1M

Scene Type: OFo

Location: Room 1, East

PM III, N/A

Observations:

Four predators appear in the lower section of the papyrus thicket. The species are distinguishable based on the shape of their ears and tails. The two genets, located on the bottom left and the top right, possess the diagnostic pricked ears and long pointed snout. Their tails are a consistent length and are accurately proportionate to their body. In contrast, the mongoose on the top left and bottom right are depicted with small, curved ears and tapering tails.

All four animals are shown actively attacking their prey. Both genets have seized a nestling by the neck and are removing it from their nest, despite the furious onslaught from the parents attempting to protect their young. Two herons (*Ardea sp.*) and an Egyptian goose are depicted actively biting the head and ears of the genets. The line drawing indicates the presence of markings on the underbelly of both genets. No other coat markings have been preserved.

OK14 - Pl.15 (a), (b)

Tomb #: ntn, Saqqara, TP

Tomb Owner: *Mrrw-k3.j: mrj*

Date: VI.1M-L

Scene Type: OFo

Location: Chamber A1, North

PM III.II, pp.525-534

Observations:

Two predators are present in the lower section of this papyrus thicket. Despite damage to its head, the animal on the upper papyrus stem can be identified as a mongoose. The consistent tapering of its tail contrasts with the bulging tail of the

predator on the lower papyrus stem, whose pricked ears and pointed snout clearly mark this creature as a genet. While it has no clear object of pursuit, the genet is surrounded by a multitude of bird nests that are resting on other papyrus umbels in the thicket. No preserved paint on the genet is visible in the coloured photograph.

OK15.1 - Pl.16 (a), (b)

Tomb #: ntn, Saqqara, UPC

Tomb Owner: *Zšzšt: jdwt*

Date: V.9 r/u, VI.1-2E

Scene Type: PC

Location: Room B, West

PM III.II, pp.617-619

Observations:

Two predators are present in the lower section of this papyrus thicket. The animal on the upper papyrus stem is easily identified as a genet by its pricked ears and pointed snout. Its tail is depicted with a consistent width. The genet is shown in the act of successfully attacking its prey, having removed a gosling from its nest by the neck, despite being swooped upon by the nestling's parents. The coat was originally painted grey, with black spots and stripes along the body and tail respectively. This clearly differentiates the genet from the other predator located on the lower papyrus stem that, in addition to bearing the typical diagnostic features of a mongoose, also possesses a solid brown pelage, with a fawn-coloured underbelly.

OK15.2 - Pl.16 (c)

Tomb #: ntn, Saqqara, UPC

Tomb Owner: *Zšzšt: jdwt*

Date: V.9 r/u, VI.1-2E

Scene Type: Unknown

Location: Unknown

PM III.II, pp.617-619

Observations:

In addition to the aforementioned example, a relief fragment found in this tomb also depicts a unique scene involving a genet giving birth. While only the hindquarters and base of the tail of the mother survive, the emerging offspring clearly possesses the pricked ears and pointed snout of genets, reflecting the features of the genet in OK15.1. While little else remains of the scene, it is clear that the mother is standing upon a papyrus stem, indicating that this fragment was once part of a marsh scene. This image also marks the first extant instance of a genet engaging in an activity outside of predatory behaviour.

OK16 - Pl.17 (a), (b)

Tomb #: ntn, Saqqara, TP

Tomb Owner: *Sḥnḥ-w(j)-pṯḥ*

Date: VI.1L

Scene Type: CFF

Location: Room 1, East

PM III, N/A

Observations:

Four predators are present in the lower section of this papyrus thicket. The animal on the upper left and the one in the middle are identifiable as mongooses by their rounded snouts and small curved ears located on the side of their heads. Both animals are depicted standing on a papyrus stem, directly before a bird's nest containing fledglings while being viciously attacked by the adult birds. The predators on the top and bottom right are clearly genets with their pointed snouts and pricked ears. The tips of the latter feature are somewhat more rounded than in the previous examples, although their size and position still clearly distinguish the species. Both genets exhibit predatory behaviour, each having seized a nestling by the neck and dragging it from their nest. All four predators are bombarded by attacks from the adult birds, which are attempting

to protect their young. An Egyptian goose is depicted biting the genet on the lower right on its back.¹⁹ No coat markings are indicated in the line drawing.

OK17.1²⁰ - Pl. 18 (a), (b), Pl.19 (a), (b)

Tomb #: ntn, Sappara, TP

Tomb Owner: *H.zj*

Date: VI.II-2E

Scene Type: CFF

Location: Portico, South

PM III, N/A

Observations:

There are two predators present in the lower section of the papyrus thicket on the east side of the entrance to the tomb. The animal to the left of the water mound possesses the pointed snout and pricked ears of a genet, although the tail shape is tapered like that of a mongoose. It has seized a pied kingfisher nestling by the wing, dragging it from the nest, while the nestling's parent attacks the genet on the head. The predator to the right of the water mound bears the small rounded ears, snout, and tapered tail of a mongoose. This tail, while the same shape as its counterpart in the scene, is slightly thicker at the base, providing some variation between the two. Like the genet, the mongoose is engaged in seizing its prey, however instead of a nestling it has taken down an adult bird. The line drawing does not indicate the presence of any coat markings.

OK17.2²¹ - Pl. 18 (a), (b), Pl.19 (a), (b)

Tomb #: ntn, Sappara, TP

Tomb Owner: *H.zj*

Date: VI.II-2E

¹⁹ Evans identifies this as a display of parental defense, L. Evans, 2010, *op. cit.* p.147.

²⁰ OK17.1 and OK17.2 are considered part of the same scene. They have been split for ease of description.

²¹ OK17.1 and OK17.2 are considered part of the same scene. They have been split for ease of description.

Scene Type: C - CFF

Location: Portico, South

PM III, N/A

Observations:

Four predators climb papyrus stems in the lower section of the thicket. The animals on the lower left and the upper right are identifiable as genets by their pointed snouts and pricked ears. Their tails are thin and rendered at a consistent length. The line drawing indicates that the tips of their tails are banded. Both are engaged in predatory behaviour. Interestingly, the lower left genet, having seized a nestling in its jaws, descends the papyrus stem, away from the nest while the nestling's parent aggressively bites the predator on the back.²² The upper right genet approaches an egret's nest that contains four nestlings. Its head is turned to face the onslaught of the defending parent, which bites the genet's ears and claws at its snout and back.

The two mongooses, located in the upper left and lower right, bear the small rounded ears and tapered tails that are the standard diagnostic features of this species. The genet and the mongoose in the lower half of the thicket are both orientated towards the base of the papyrus stem, in contrast to their higher counterparts, which are depicted in the typical mode of climbing up the stem.

OK18 - Pl.20 (a), (b)

Tomb #: G2381, Giza, WF

Tomb Owner: *Mrj-R^c.w mrj-Pth-^cnh: Nhbw*

Date: VI.2

Scene Type: OFi

Location: Unknown, fragment from forecourt. Currently in the Museum of Fine Arts, Accession #13.4332

PM III.I, pp.90-91

²² For discussion on the possible development of this motif see: L. Evans, "Otter or Mongoose: Chewing over the Evidence", in S. Binder, A. McFarlane, A. Woods (eds.) *Egyptian Culture and Society: Studies in Honour of Naguib Kanawati*, Vol. I, (Cairo, 2010), p.123.

Observations:

One predator is preserved in the lower section of this papyrus thicket. While there is damage to the animal's face, the pricked ears and pointed snout are still visible, indicating that this is a genet. The tail is notably longer than the body, with a distinctive bulge. Although poorly preserved, dark spotted coat markings are visible on a small portion of the animal's back.²³ This genet also exhibits predatory behaviour, having successfully seized a nestling by the wing from the nest before it. It is turned to face a pied kingfisher, which has swooped down before the genet, likely to attack the latter's face.

OK19 - Pl.21 (a), (b)

Tomb #: ntn, Saqqara, location unknown.

Tomb Owner: *Jnw-mnw*

Date: VI.2E-M

Scene Type: CFF

Location: Room II, West

PM III, N/A

Observations:

One predator is visible in the remains of the lower section of the papyrus thicket. This individual possesses the typical features of a genet in Egyptian art, with pricked ears, pointed snout, and a bulging tail. Climbing up a papyrus stem, it has seized the wing of a nestling in its jaws, although it is yet to pull the young bird from its nest. The beak of an adult bird bites down visibly upon the ear of the genet.²⁴ The line drawing does not indicate the presences of any coat markings.

OK20.1 - Pl.22 (a), (b)

Tomb #: ntn, Saqqara, UPC

Tomb Owner: *Mhw*

²³ Visible in Pl.20 (c)

²⁴ The species is unidentifiable as the beak and the tip of one wing are the only parts of the animal that are preserved.

Date: VI.2M-3

Scene Type: HH

Location: Room I, North

PM III.II, pp.619-622

Observations:

Two predators are depicted in the lower section of this papyrus thicket. The animal on the upper left bears the pricked ears and pointed snout of a genet. Its tail is thin and a consistent width. The genet is shown biting a pied kingfisher nestling around the neck. An adult pied kingfisher is poised behind the genet, its beak aimed for the genet's eyes, likely in an attempt to defend its nest. The predator in the lower right possesses the typical features of a mongoose, including the rounded snout and ears, and a tapered tail. Like the genet, it has also seized a nestling and is under attack from an Egyptian goose. The photographs of this scene do not reveal the presence of any coat markings.

OK20.2 - Pl.23 (a), (b), (c)

Tomb #: ntn, Saqqara, UPC

Tomb Owner: *Mh_w*

Date: VI.2M-3

Scene Type: OFo

Location: Room I, East

PM III.II, pp.619-622

Observations:

Four predators are present within the lower section of this papyrus thicket. The animals first and third from the top are both identifiable as genets by their pricked ears and pointed snouts, with the length of both features slightly elongated in comparison to earlier examples. The uppermost genet has a bulging tail, while the lower genet possesses the thin tail variety, depicted at a consistent width. The upper genet is depicted biting the head of the nestling within its nest. Damage obscures the face of the lower genet, although it appears to be biting the wing of the adult Egyptian goose before it. The remaining two predators are

easily identifiable as mongooses by their rounded snouts, small rounded ears, and tapered tails. The tomb owner's son has grasped the lower mongoose around the base of the tail.²⁵ Unfortunately, no coat markings are preserved on any of the predators.

OK20.3 - Pl.24 (a), (b)

Tomb #: ntn, Saqqara, UPC

Tomb Owner: *Mh_w*

Date: VI.2M-3

Scene Type: OFi

Location: Room I, West

PM III.II, pp.619-622

Observations:

There are two predators present in the lower section of this papyrus thicket. The animal at the top displays the pricked ears and pointed snout of a genet, as well as a bulging tail. It has seized a nestling around the neck from the nest before it, much to the dismay of two adult Egyptian geese, which swoop the genet from above. The other predator again bears all the standard diagnostic features of a mongoose. As with the other scenes from this tomb, the photographs do not indicate the presence of coat markings.

OK21 - Pl.25 (a), (b)

Tomb #: ntn, Saqqara

Tomb Owner: *Mr.f-nb.f*

Date: VI.3

Scene Type: OFo

Location: Chapel, East

²⁵ Harpur incorrectly refers to this animal as a genet Y. Harpur, *op. cit.* p.198. A parallel for this can be seen in the tomb of *Mrrw-k3.j: mrj*. See N. Kanawati et. al., *Mereruka and his Family. Part III:1. The Tomb of Mereruka*, (Oxford, 2010), pl.16. For further discussion of the interactions between humans and mongooses see L. Evans, "Beasts and beliefs at Beni Hassan: A preliminary report", *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 52 (2016), pp.219-229.

PM III.II, N/A

Observations:

Two predators are present in the lower section of this papyrus thicket. The animal on the right possesses a pointed snout, flat ears, a tapered tail and a solid brown coat, indicating that it is a mongoose. The animal on the left bears a pointed snout, pricked ears and a tapered tail, marking it as a genet. This animal has the best-preserved coat colour and markings from this period, with a light grey coat covered in rows of small dark spots along the head, legs and body, and a banded tail. The inside of the ears is pale pink in colour, showing a great attention to detail. Both predators exhibit predatory behaviour. The mongoose approaches a nest full of nestlings, while the genet bites down on a pied kingfisher nestling, lifting it from its nest.

OK22 - Pl.26 (a), (b)

Tomb #: ntn, Giza

Tomb Owner: *Jj-nfr.t*

Date: VI.3-4E

Scene Type: C - OFo

Location: Chapel, unknown.

PM III.I, pp.298-299

Observations:

While there are two predators present in the lower section of this papyrus thicket, only one species can be identified with certainty. The animal on the right bears the pointed snout and ears of a genet. Its tail flares but does not taper. It is approaching a nest containing nestlings, while an adult bird swoops down from behind, likely in defence of its nest. The predator on the left is not well preserved and none of its diagnostic features survive. Thus, its species cannot be identified. No coat markings are indicated in the line drawing.

OK23 - Pl.27 (a)

Tomb #: G7101, Giza, EF

Tomb Owner: *Mrjj-r^c.w-nfr: k3r*

Date: VI.4

Scene Type: CFF

Location: Lower Stairway, North, currently in the Boston Museum, Accession

#25-5-16

PM III.I, pp.184-185

Observations:

The fragment contains only the front half of a genet in the lower section of a papyrus thicket. It bears the standard pointed snout and ears, although the latter feature is particularly long compared to earlier examples. The genet has seized a nestling by the neck, hoisting it out of its nest and into the air. The photograph does not reveal any coat markings.

OK24 - Pl.27 (b), Pl.28 (a)

Tomb #: E17, Saqqara, UPC

Tomb Owner: *3htj-htp*

Date: VI.4

Scene Type: CFF

Location: Offering Room, East

PM III.II, pp.633-634

Observations:

Two predators are present in the lower section of the papyrus thicket. The animal on the higher papyrus stem has the pointed ears of a genet. Its snout has been damaged, but the slope of the face suggests that it was likely pointed. The other animal is also damaged, to the extent where neither snout nor ears are visible. While both animals have tapered tails; the genet's is slightly longer with a thinner base. This variation may indicate that the other animal is a mongoose. A pied kingfisher swoops the genet, pecking at the animal's head and eyes in an attempt to defend its nest. The line drawing does not reveal the presence of coat markings in this scene.

3.1b Cats

Only one possible example of a cat in a marsh scene survives from this period. There are, however, three depictions of this animal that appear in pastoral scenes and two that occur in desert hunting scenes.²⁶

OK25 - Pl.28 (b), (c), Pl.29 (a)

Tomb #: G7948, Giza, EF

Tomb Owner: *R^c.w-h^c.f-nh*

Date: V.3-6

Scene Type: Marsh - Unknown

Location: Chapel, North

PM III.I, pp.207-208

Observations:

A predator is seated at the base of a papyrus thicket. According to the line drawing, the animal possesses a squared snout, small pricked ears, and a long tufted tail that is held aloft.²⁷ No coat markings are visible in either the photograph or the line drawing.

OK26 - Pl.29 (b)

Tomb #: D70/LS15, Saqqara, NSP

Tomb Owner: *P^hn-wk3*

Date: V.6-8E

Scene Type: Desert Hunting

Location: Room I, West

PM III.II, pp.491-492

Observations:

²⁶ Pastoral: Pl.29 (a), (b), Pl.30 (a); Desert Hunting: Pl.28 (b), Pl.30 (b); For details, see Appendix: OK25-OK29.

²⁷ OK27 and OK29 feature African wild cats that are also depicted with a "tufted" tail.

The cat in this scene has a square snout, pricked ears and a short, thin tail. The latter feature suggests that this animal represents *F. chaus*. It is striding towards an opposing crested porcupine (*Hystrix cristata*).²⁸ No colour is preserved on the pelage of the animal.

OK27²⁹ - Pl.30 (a)

Tomb #: ntn, Saqqara, UPC

Tomb Owner: *Ny-^εnh-hnmw* and *Hnmw-htp(.w)*

Date: V.6L-7

Scene Type: Pastoral

Location: Vestibule, North

PM III.II, pp.619-622

Observations:

The cat in this scene displays a square snout, pricked ears and a raised "tufted" tail. It exhibits predatory behaviour, crouching behind a goat (*Capra aegagrus*) giving birth ready to attack the newborn post-birth. A man is positioned behind the cat in a lunging pose, holding a baton in his hands ready to strike the cat in an effort to protect the livestock. The line drawing does not show any coat markings.

OK28 - Pl.30 (b)

Tomb #: G2184, Giza, WF

Tomb Owner: *3htj-mrw-nsw.t*

Date: V.9-VI.1

Scene Type: Pastoral

Location: Chapel, West

PM III.I, pp.80-81

Observations:

²⁸ J. Kingdon, *op. cit.* p.217-218.

²⁹ Genets are also found in this tomb, see OK2 and OK3.

One cat is present in this pastoral scene. It bears a square snout, pricked ears, and a long, thin tail, which it holds aloft. The drawing indicates that the head, tail, and dorsal pelage are dark in colour, while the ventral pelage is a lighter shade. The cat is perched on top of a raised platform with its head lowered looking down upon a small herd of goats. Evans suggests that the goat giving birth is the target of the cat's gaze, thus it exhibits the same predatory behaviour seen in OK27 and OK29.³⁰

OK29 - Pl.31 (a)

Tomb #: ntn, Giza

Tomb Owner: *Htp-pt*

Date: VI.1-4

Scene Type: Pastoral

Location: Unknown

PM III.I, p.298

*Observations:*³¹

A cat is positioned behind a cow (*Bos taurus*) giving birth, exhibiting similar predatory behaviour to OK27. While there is damage to the head and the snout is no longer visible, the animal appears to have pricked ears. The pelage is rust coloured. It holds its tail aloft, curling it towards its back. The end of the tail has black and white bands with a black tip and appears to be "tufted".

3.2 Discussion

3.2a Frequency

Genets occur in a total thirty scenes from twenty-four tombs: six from Giza and eighteen from Saqqara. Within these tombs, thirty-six individual animals have been identified with certainty. Genets appear in seven different scene types: CFF (10)³², OFo (8)³³, PC (4)³⁴, OFi (3)³⁵, PP (2)³⁶, HH (1)³⁷, and C (1)³⁸. Two scenes

³⁰ L. Evans, 2010a, *op. cit.* p.115.

³¹ All observations are based from unpublished photographs.

³² OK2.1, OK2.2, OK5, OK12, OK16, OK17.1, OK17.2, OK19, OK23, OK24.

³³ OK6.1, OK7.1, OK9, OK13, OK14, OK20.2, OK21, OK22.

could not be identified due to their poor state of preservation.³⁹ From this overview, it is clear that genets were favoured in CFF scenes, as well as their separate components. Their stronger presence in CFF and OFo scenes is likely due to the shared objectives of the tomb owner and the genets: the pursuit of fowl. The inclusion of genets in the remaining scene types, however, indicates that fowling activities were not necessary for their inclusion within a scene.

With the exception of OK2.1 and OK6.1, genets are not the only predators within the papyrus thicket.⁴⁰ In twenty-three scenes, they are shown alongside one mongoose. Five scenes contain two genets accompanied by one or two mongooses.⁴¹ OK17 contains an exceptional case: three genets and three mongooses within the same thicket. The presence of multiple genets in seemingly close quarters is highly unusual. Genet populations tend to be low in density and remain within sex-related territories.⁴² A mother and her young are thought to be the most complex social unit formed, which is disbanded after the offspring are weaned at between four and a half to six months.⁴³ Pairs of genets are occasionally sighted in the wild, but the majority of these animals are solitary and highly territorial.⁴⁴ Thus, while pairings are plausible, they are highly unlikely. Evans suggests these inaccuracies in the tomb scenes are either the product of artistic license, or that the seemingly small papyrus thicket represents

³⁴ OK6.2, OK7.2, OK8, OK15.1.

³⁵ OK3, OK18, OK20.3.

³⁶ OK1, OK4.

³⁷ OK20.1.

³⁸ OK10.

³⁹ OK11, OK15.2.

⁴⁰ Two other examples of this occur in provincial tombs. See: S. H. Aufrère, *op. cit.* p.9.

⁴¹ One mongoose: OK8. Two mongooses: OK10, OK13, OK16, OK20.2.

⁴² C. Espírito-Santo, L. M. Rosalino, M., Dantos-Reis, "Factor affecting the placement of Common Genet latrine sites in a Mediterranean landscape in Portugal", *Journal of Mammalogy* 88, 1 (2007), p.202.

⁴³ R. D. Estes, *The Behaviour Guide to African Mammals*, (Berkley, Los Angeles, London, 1991), p.286.

⁴⁴ C. M. Wemmer, *op. cit.* p.6; R. D. Estes, *op. cit.* p.286.

a much larger physical environment.⁴⁵ Possible symbolic or religious factors may also have influenced these depictions.⁴⁶

Overall, out of the sixty-four tombs examined containing one or more of the above scenes, less than half (36%) contained genets.⁴⁷ It is acknowledged that many scenes have been damaged, destroyed, or else remain unknown, and thus this number does not truly reflect the original ancient corpus. Yet this observation is still significant and worthwhile to this study.⁴⁸ It reveals that while marsh scenes may have been a predominant feature of the tombs of the Old Kingdom period, genets were not an essential component of them.⁴⁹ In comparison, there is only one dubious example of a cat in a marsh scene. This unique exception indicates that this was an extremely rare, if not a non-existent, motif during this period.

3.2b Morphology

Across the thirty tomb scenes, all genets with their diagnostic features intact possess the pricked ears and pointed snout that defines this animal in Egyptian art. Trends in coat markings are difficult to discern, due to the limited number of extant examples in this corpus. Yet when they are preserved, they reflect the typical pelage expected of *G. genetta*, which is grey or sandy in colour, with rows of dark spots along the body and rings around the tail.⁵⁰ The most common variation in the morphology of these animals occurs in the shape of the tail. Three different tail shapes are attested in the Old Kingdom corpus: the bulging tail, the thin tail, and the tapered tail. The first variant is by far the most common, with nineteen individuals possessing this tail type.⁵¹ The size of the "bulge" itself varies greatly; on some genets it is barely discernible,⁵² while on others it is

⁴⁵ L. Evans, 2010a, *op. cit.* p.119.

⁴⁶ See Chapter 5 and 6 for further discussion on this topic.

⁴⁷ See Appendix for full list of tombs examined.

⁴⁸ This holds true for all three corpuses examined in this thesis.

⁴⁹ A. Woods, *op. cit.*, p.1; Y. Harpur, *op. cit.* p.139.

⁵⁰ J. Kingdon, *op. cit.* p.417.

⁵¹ OK2.1, OK2.2, OK4, OK6.1, OK6.2, OK8, OK9, OK10, OK12, OK13, OK14, OK15, OK16, OK18, OK19, OK20.2, OK20.3, OK.21, OK22.

⁵² OK16, OK10.

almost comically exaggerated.⁵³ The thin tail variety refers to when a genet's tail is rendered at a consistent width from base to tip, with no obvious bulge. Six individuals possess this tail type.⁵⁴ The tapered tail is the rarest from this period, with only two genets depicted with this shape.⁵⁵ The length of the tail is typically the same length as the body, accurately reflecting the proportions of the real animal.⁵⁶

Thus the archetypal genet in the Old Kingdom period is one with pricked ears, a pointed snout, and a bulging tail. The former two features accurately reflect the morphology of genets, but the reason behind the bulging tail is slightly more obscure. As Figures 3 and 4 show, genet tails typically resemble the thin and tapered tail types, rather than the bulging variety. Yet it is the latter variant that remains predominate across both Giza and Saqqara. It is possible that this shape is intended to depict the thick, soft tail fur of the genet, which may "bulge" at certain points as shown in Figure 5.⁵⁷ Thus it is possible that the multiple tail shapes are a response to the natural variation that occurs in *G. genetta*, rather than from a lack understanding of the animal's morphology. The bulging tail was perhaps also used as a visual signal to distinguish genets from mongooses, although the bulging tails of the mongooses in OK6.2 and OK7.2 show this was not always the case.⁵⁸ Regardless of intention, it remains one of the most predominate features of the genet from this period.

The potential cat in OK25 unfortunately suffers from a lot of damage to its diagnostic features, and thus the ears and snout are not easily discernible in Pl.29 (a). The drawing from Lepsius's *Denkmäler*, Pl.28 (b) and (c), indicates that the animal has pricked ears and a squared snout, the latter feature clearly distinguishing it from a genet.⁵⁹ Parallels for the long "tufted" tail can be seen in

⁵³ OK6.1, OK6.2, OK22.

⁵⁴ OK1, OK10, OK13, OK15, OK17.2, OK20.1.

⁵⁵ OK17.1, OK23.

⁵⁶ R. D. Estes, *op. cit.* p.286.

⁵⁷ J. Kingdon, *op. cit.* p.417.

⁵⁸ Inconsistencies in the depiction of the mongoose are noted in: D. J. Osborn, J. Osbornová, *op. cit.* p.96.

⁵⁹ For parallels see: OK25, OK26, OK27.

OK27 and OK29, and is especially apparent in the former. Typically, wild cats do not have tufts on their tails; instead they tend to be a consistent length, not unlike the thin variety of genet tails. Like the bulging tail of the genet, the "tufted" tail may also represent bulging fur such as in Figure 6, although unlike the genet, this is rather uncommon, and thus an uncertain interpretation. Alternatively, it may be an artistic error, as not all depictions of wild cats possess a tufted tail.⁶⁰

All three wild cats in OK27, OK28, and OK29 are shown holding their tails aloft and curved, while engaged in predatory behaviour. OK28 is the most significant, for the cat in this scene is also seated, not unlike OK25. It is important to note that this form mimics that of the earliest cat hieroglyphs, further confirming that OK25 is indeed a representation of a cat.⁶¹ As mentioned above, OK26 almost certainly depicts a jungle cat, *F. chaus*, rather than the African wild cat, *F. s. lybica*. In modern Egypt, *F. chaus* cat favours the marshes or low-lying grassy valleys, thus it is odd to find this species depicted in an arid desert environment.⁶² It would be more feasible to expect *F. s. lybica* in this habitat, as this species is found in a wider range of environments.⁶³ Thus, despite the habitat, the cat in OK25 most likely depicts *F. s. lybica*.

⁶⁰ OK27.

⁶¹ J. Malek, *op. cit.* p.46; Fragment currently at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession Number: 15.3.1708.

⁶² J. Kingdon, *op. cit.* p.405.

⁶³ *ibid.*, p.406.



Figure 3. "Thin" tailed genet.



Figure 4. "Tapered" tailed genet.

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Figure 5. "Bulging" tailed genet.

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Figure 6. "Tufted" tailed African wild cat?

3.2c Behaviour

Without exception, all genets are depicted in the lower section of the thicket "climbing" up or down a stem of the papyrus plant, and section 3.1 describes this behaviour as such. Numerous authors agree that this depiction is unrealistic, as the papyrus stem would not be capable of supporting the weight of any of the predators.⁶⁴ Evans goes further, noting that the genets in these scenes do not exhibit climbing gait suitable for traversing the narrow stems of the papyrus plant.⁶⁵ Rather they are shown using a walking gait, further emphasising that this particular behaviour does not reflect reality. Aufrère suggests that this motif serves to convey how expertly genets (and other predators in the thicket) could navigate the dense foliage, while adhering to Egyptian artistic conventions.⁶⁶

With the exception of OK15.2, all genets are shown to exhibit predatory behaviour, either approaching their prey or actively attacking their targets. The latter behaviour is only introduced into the artistic repertoire in the late fifth dynasty.⁶⁷ Instead of just approaching, they are shown seizing nestlings by the neck or the wing and dragging them from the nest.⁶⁸ Such behaviour coincides with an increase in the ferocity of parental defence behaviour in birds, suggesting a larger shift in the artistic landscape that is not just restricted to genets and mongooses. Birds, primarily nestlings, are the genet's only prey in these scenes. OK.20.2 is the only instance where an adult bird is the intended target. In reality, genets are opportunistic feeders whose diet shifts seasonally.⁶⁹ In addition to birds, genets also favour small mammals, arthropods and even

⁶⁴ J. Malek, *op. cit.* pp.32-33.; S. H. Aufrère, *op. cit.* p.8.; L. Evans, 2010a, p.42; P. F. Houlihan, "A guide to the wildlife represented in the great swampland scene in the offering-chapel of Ti (No. 60) at Saqqara", *Göttinger Miszellen* 155, (1996), p.20.

⁶⁵ L. Evans, 2010a, *op. cit.* p.42.

⁶⁶ S. H. Aufrère, *op. cit.* p.8.; J. B. Anderson, "Spatial Distribution", in L. Donovan, K. McCorquodale (eds.), *Egyptian Art: Principles and Themes in Wall Scenes*, (Guizeh, 2000), p. 37; G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2008), p.19-24.

⁶⁷ L. Evans, 2010a, *op. cit.* p.118.

⁶⁸ Earliest example is OK10.

⁶⁹ A. P. Clevenger, "Seasonality and relationships of food resources use of *Martes martes*, *Genetta genetta* and *Felis catus* in the Balearic Islands", *Revue d'Ecologie* 50, 2 (1995), pp.113, 117, 122; D. J. Osborn, I. Helmy, *op. cit.* p.415.

occasionally plant matter.⁷⁰ Their sole pursuit of birds may thus potentially be related to the function of the marsh scene as a whole, connecting the genet to the tomb owner through their shared hunting activities.⁷¹

There is an alternative interpretation for the bulging tails of genets and the "tufted" tails of cats aside from simple morphological variation. It is possible that these tail shapes depict "bristling tails", a threat display used by cats and genets, in response to the aggressive behaviour of their bird and human adversaries.⁷² Cats have also been observed bristling their tails in response to birdcalls, and often twitch the tip of their tail when in the presence of animal.⁷³ Thus, the "tufted" tail of the Old Kingdom cats may be an expression of their hunting excitement.

The unique scene fragment OK15.2 reveals that genets were not restricted to predation behaviour in the papyrus thicket and could exhibit parental behaviour. The mother is clearly shown "climbing" upon a papyrus stem despite being in the midst of birthing her young. As genets tend to give birth within a hole or a nest of leaves a literal interpretation of this scene is highly unlikely.⁷⁴ The papyrus thicket itself, however, would be a desirable environment for genet's den. This gives further weight to the notion that the predators of the papyrus thicket are not "climbing" the papyrus stems, so much as they are simply traversing or existing within the thicket. As Evans observes, the relative size of the young to its mother is far too large.⁷⁵ Whether this was the artist's error or intentional to make the young easier to see is impossible to discern.

⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p.415.

⁷¹ See Chapter 5.2f for further discussion on predator's symbolic function in marsh scenes.

⁷² R. D. Estes, *op. cit.* p.284; L. Evans, *pers. comm.*

⁷³ A. Forbes, C. S. Sherrington, "Acoustic Reflexes in the Decerebrate Cat", *Journal of Physiology* 35, 4 (1914), p.370; M. Biben, "Predation and Predatory Play Behaviour of Domestic Cats", *Animal Behaviour* 27, 1 (1979), p.83.

⁷⁴ R. D. Estes, *op. cit.* p.288.

⁷⁵ L. Evans, 2010a, *op. cit.* p.174.

In contrast to the dynamic movements of genets in marsh scenes, the potential cat in OK25 is depicted in a seated pose. While its surroundings are greatly damaged, from what little remains the animal does not appear to engage with other aspects of the scene. The cats in the other scene types, however, are all seemingly in the pursuit of prey.⁷⁶ Whether this was also the case with OK25 cannot be determined.

3.3 Summary

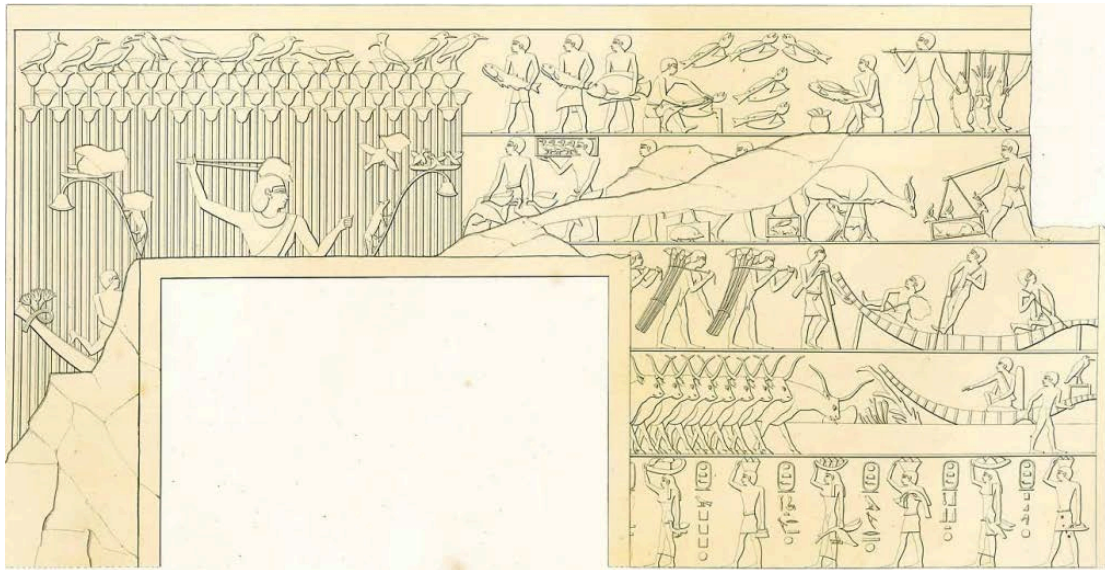
Genets are present in less than half of the extant marsh scenes in the tombs of the Old Kingdom period. When they do appear, they are always within the papyrus thicket on the hunt for prey, usually accompanied by a mongoose. The archetypal genet for this period is one with pricked ears, pointed snout, and a bulging tail. Both species of *Felis* are scarce in marsh scenes, and completely absent from the papyrus thicket. Interactions between humans and cats appear antagonistic at best. Pricked ears and a square snout distinguish *Felis silvestris lybica*, as does a long tail that is always held aloft and which may be "tufted" at the end.

Outside of these wall scenes, there is no further archaeological evidence for genets in Egypt during this time period. Unlike the mongoose⁷⁷ and the cat,⁷⁸ humans and genets never truly interact with one another in any of the scenes. The overall presence and accuracy of the depictions of genets in these tomb scenes displays a clear familiarity with these creatures, yet there is no evidence to suggest that the Egyptians did little more than coexist with them during this time.

⁷⁶ OK26-OK29.

⁷⁷ OK20.2.

⁷⁸ OK26.



(a) OK1 - *Nb-m-3ht*, Room 1, West



(b) OK1 - *Nb-m-3ht*, Room 1, West



(c) OK1 - *Nb-m-3ht*, Room 1, West

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(e) OK2.1 - *Ny-^cnh-hnmw* and *Hnmw-htp(.w)*, Forecourt, South

(d) OK2.1 - *Ny-^cnh-hnmw* and *Hnmw-htp(.w)*, Forecourt, South

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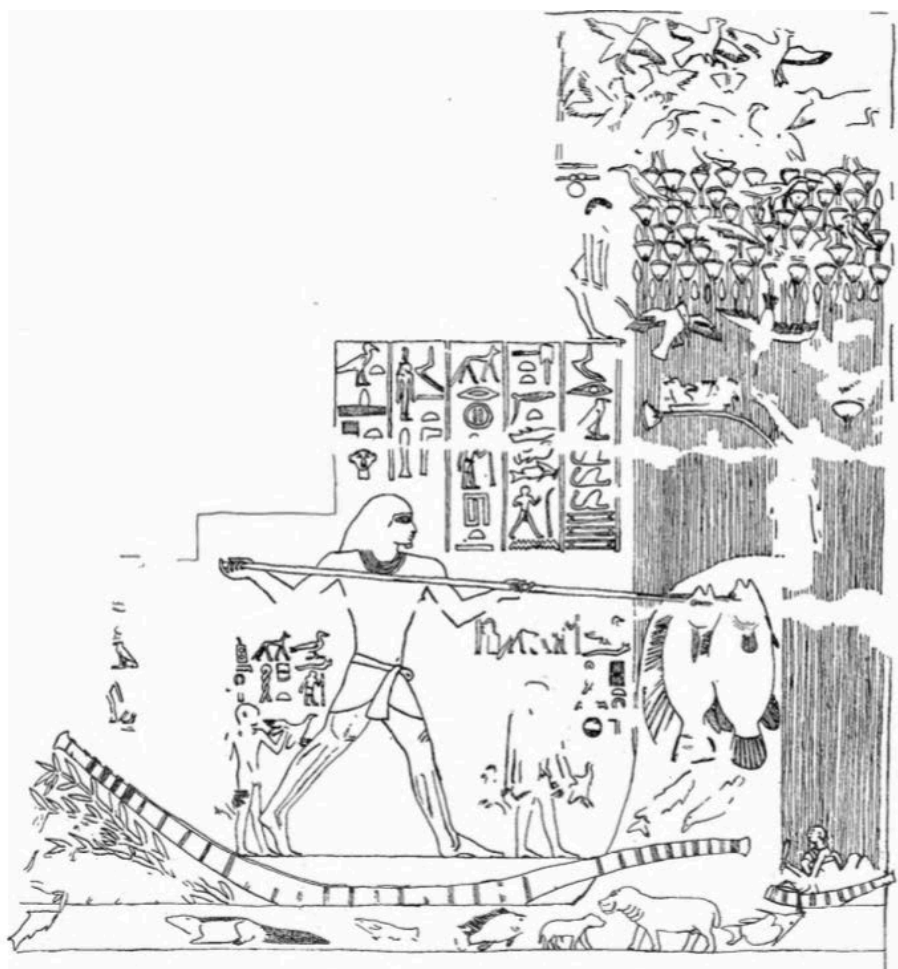
(a) OK2.2 - *Ny-^cnh-hnmw* and *Hnmw-htp(.w)*, Outer Hall, West

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(b) OK2.2 - *Ny-^cnh-hnmw* and *Hnmw-htp(.w)*, Outer Hall, West



(c) OK3 - *Htp-hr-3hty*, Chapel, North



(a) OK3 - *Htp-ḥr-3ḥty*, Chapel, North



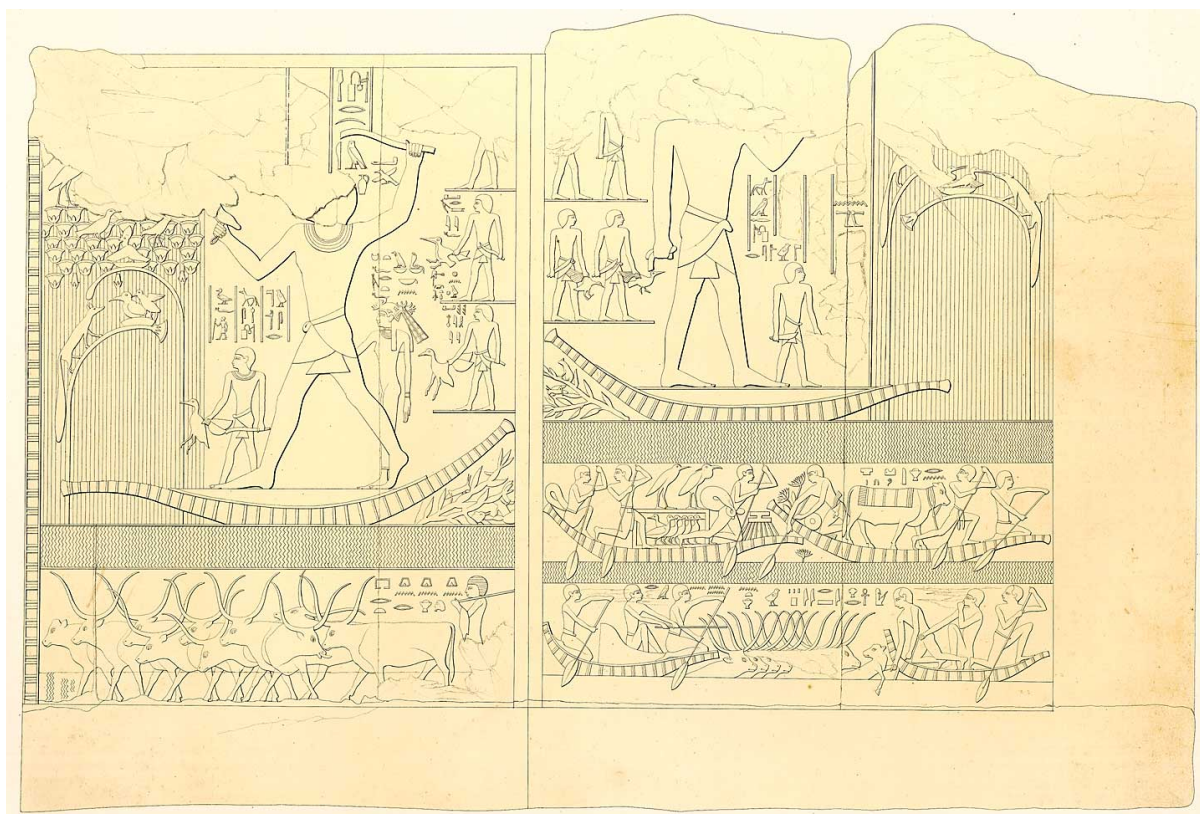
(b) OK4 - *Tti-sn*, Chapel, East



(c) OK4 - *Tti-sn*, Chapel, East

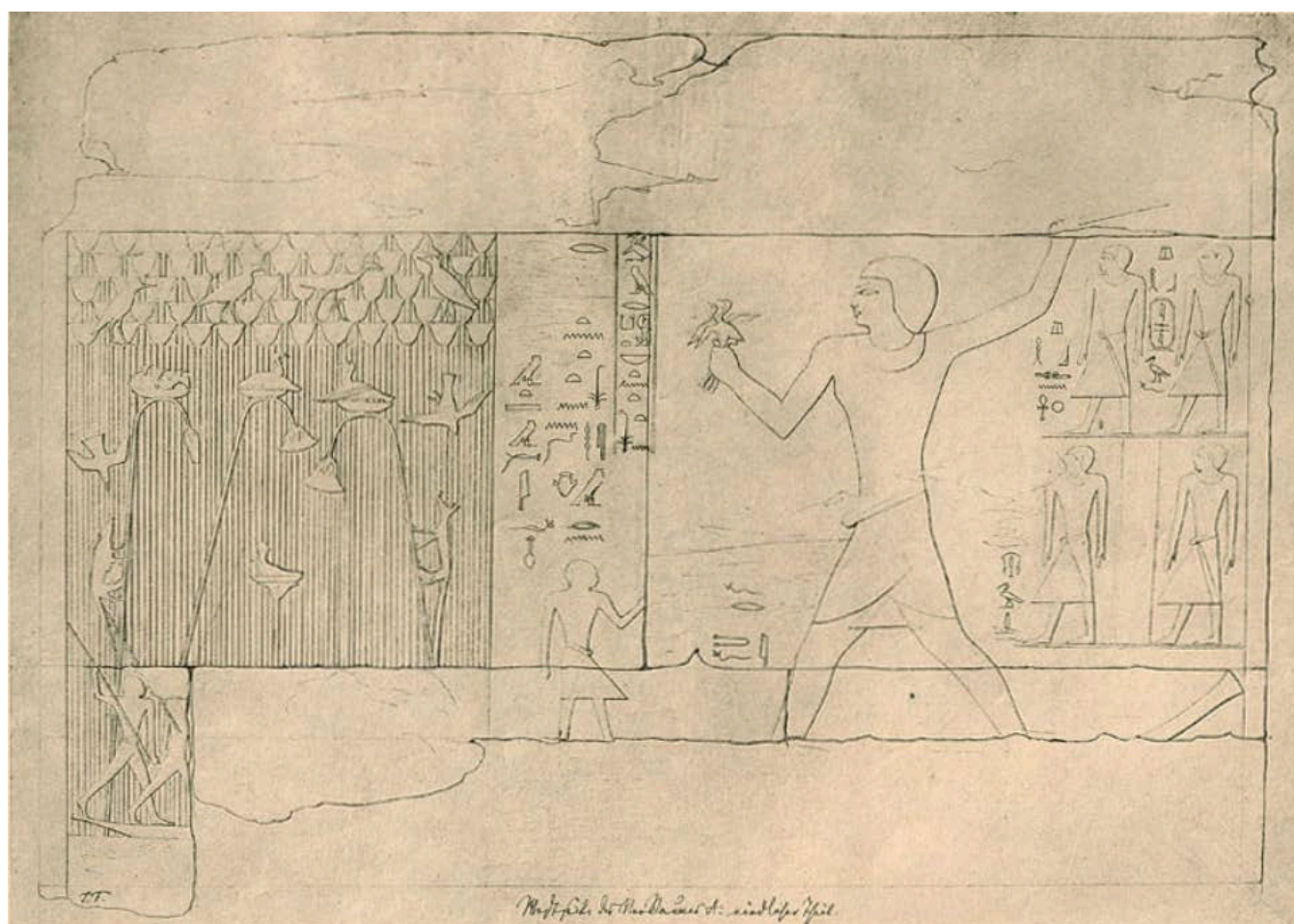
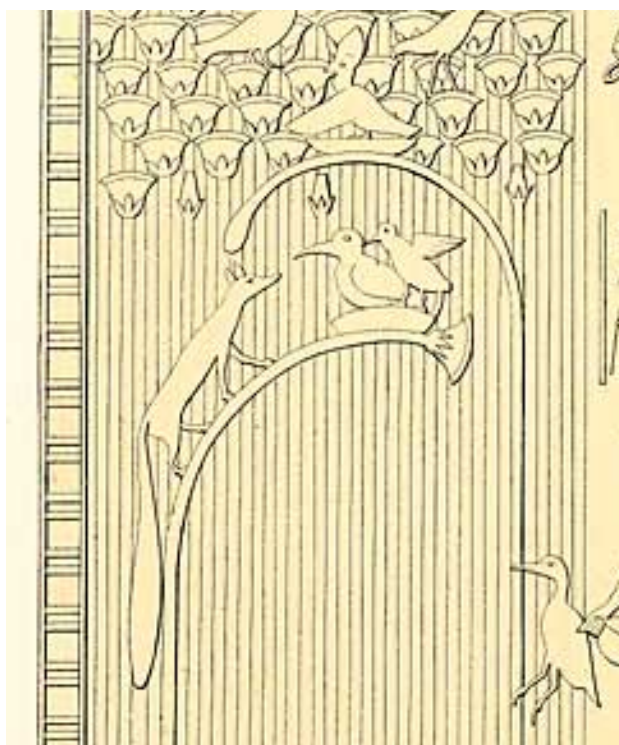
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(a) OK5 - *Trt-n-k3-ptḥ*, Offering Chamber, South



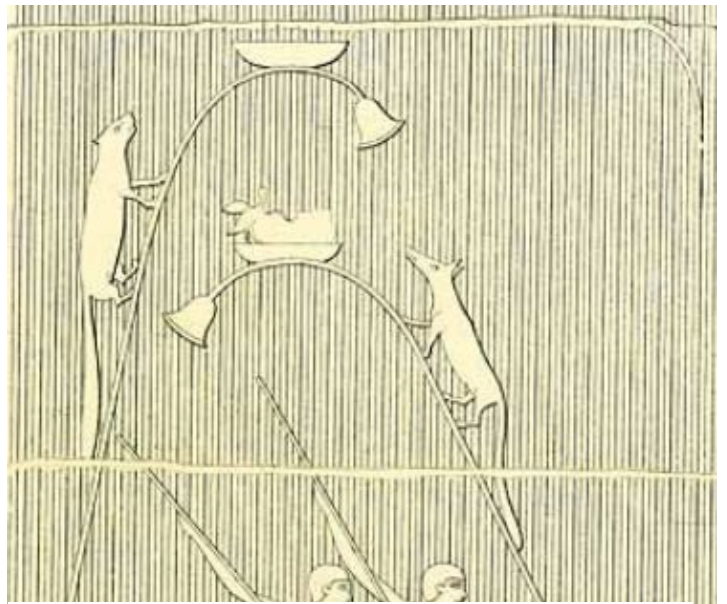
(b) Left: OK6.1, *R^c.w-špss*, Forecourt, West.

Right: OK6.2, *R^c.w-špss*, Forecourt, North

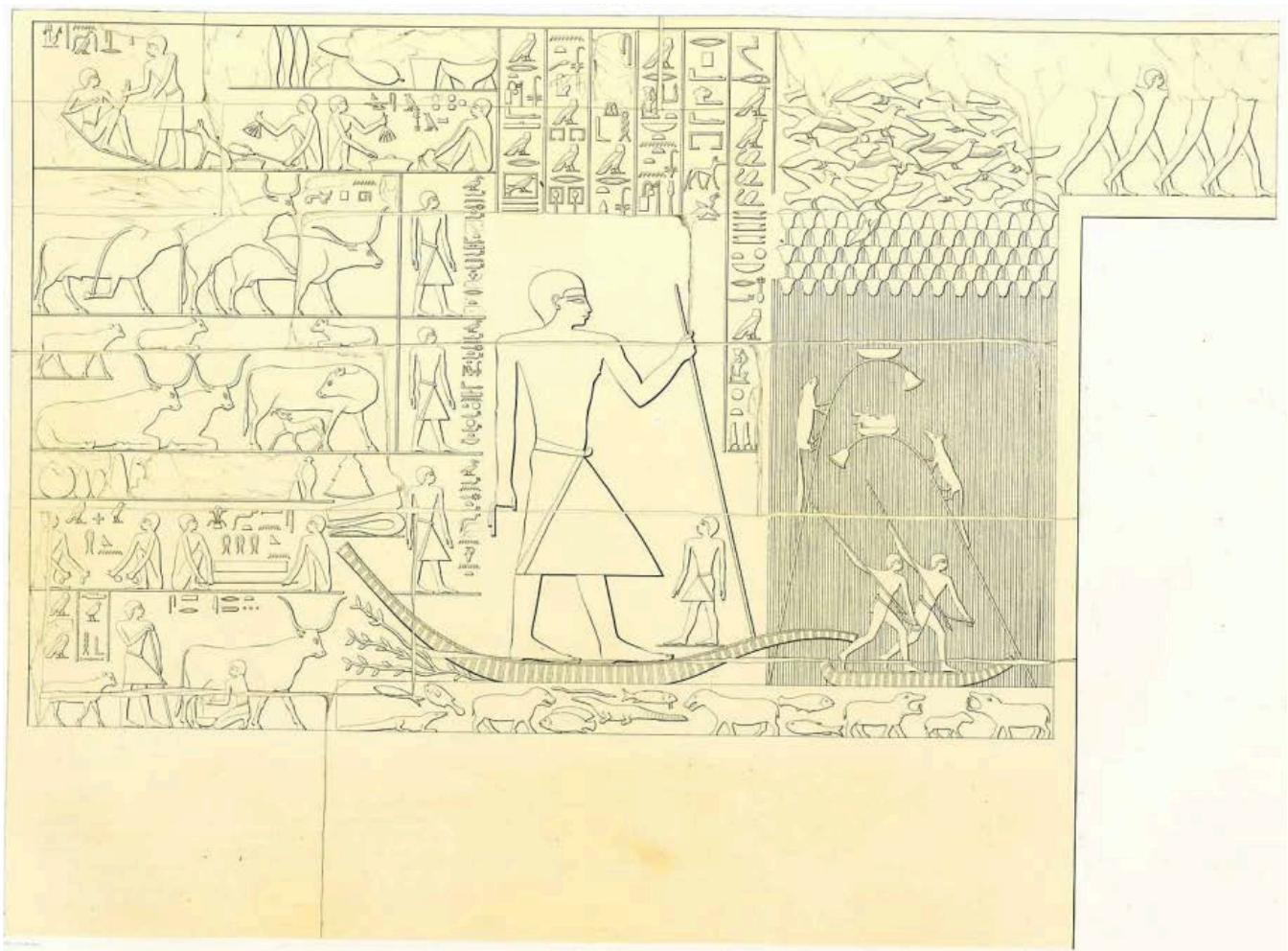




(a) OK7.1 - *Snḏm-ib: inti*, Portico, West



(b) OK7.2 - *Snḏm-ib: inti*, Room II, West



(c) OK7.2 - *Snḏm-ib: inti*, Room II, West

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(a) OK8 - *T11*, Room III, North

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(a) OK8 - Tii, Room III, North

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(b) OK8 - Tii, Room III, North)

(c) OK8 - Tii, Room III, North

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(a) OK9 - *K3.i-m-nfrt*, Chapel, North

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(b) OK9 - *K3.i-m-nfrt*, Chapel, North

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(a) OK10 - $3\hbar tj - \hbar tp(.w)$, Hall, East

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(b) OK10 - $3\hbar tj - \hbar tp(.w)$, Hall, East

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(a) OK10 - 3h_{tj}-h_{tp}(.w), Hall, East

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(b) OK10 - 3h_{tj}-h_{tp}(.w), Hall, East

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(a) OK11 - *Hnwt*, Room A, East

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(b) OK11 - *Hnwt*, Room A, East

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(a) OK12 - *jj-nfrit: §3.n.f*, Room 1, North

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(b) OK12 - *jj-nfrit: §3.n.f*, Room 1, North

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(a) OK13 - *Nj-k3w-jzzj*, Room 1, East

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(b) OK13 - *Nj-k3w-jzzj*, Room 1, East

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(a) OK14 - *Mrrw-k3.j: mrj*, Chamber A1, North

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(b) OK14 - *Mrrw-k3.j: mrj*, Chamber A1, North

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(a) OK15.1 - *Zšzšt/ jdw t*, Room B, West

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(c) OK15.2 - *Zšzšt/ jdw t*, Unknown

(b) OK15.1 - *Zšzšt/ jdw t*, Room B, West

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Above: (a) OK16 - *S^cn_h-w(j)-p_{th}*, Room 1, East

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Left: (b) OK16 - *S^cn_h-w(j)-p_{th}*, Room 1, East

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(a) OK17.1 - *H_{zj}*, Portico, South, East of Entrance

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(b) OK17.1 - *H_{zj}*, Portico, South, East of Entrance

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(a) OK17.2 - *H_{zj}*, Portico, South, West of Entrance

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(b) OK17.2 - *H_{zj}*, Portico, South, West of Entrance

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(a) OK18 - *Mrj-R^c.w mrj-Pth-^cn_h: N_hbw*, Fragment from forecourt

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Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(b) OK18 - *Mrj-R^c.w mrj-Pth-^cn_h: N_hbw*, Fragment from forecourt

(c) OK18 - *Mrj-R^c.w mrj-Pth-^cn_h: N_hbw*, Fragment from forecourt

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(a) OK19 - *jnw-mnw*, Room II, West

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(b) OK19 - *jnw-mnw*, Room II, West

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(a) OK20.1 - *Mhw*, Room I, North

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Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(a) OK20.2 - *Mḥw*, Room I, East

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Above: (b) OK20.2 - *Mḥw*, Room I, East (Upper)

Right: (c) OK20.2 - *Mḥw*, Room I, East (Lower)



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Above: (a) OK20.3 - *Mhw*, Room I, West

Left: (b) OK20.3 - *Mhw*, Room I, West

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Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(a) OK21 - *Mr.f-nb.f*, Chapel, East

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(b) OK21 - *Mr.f-nb.f*, Chapel, East

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(a) OK22 - *jj-nfr.t*, Chapel, unknown

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(b) OK22 - *jj-nfr.t*, Chapel, unknown

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

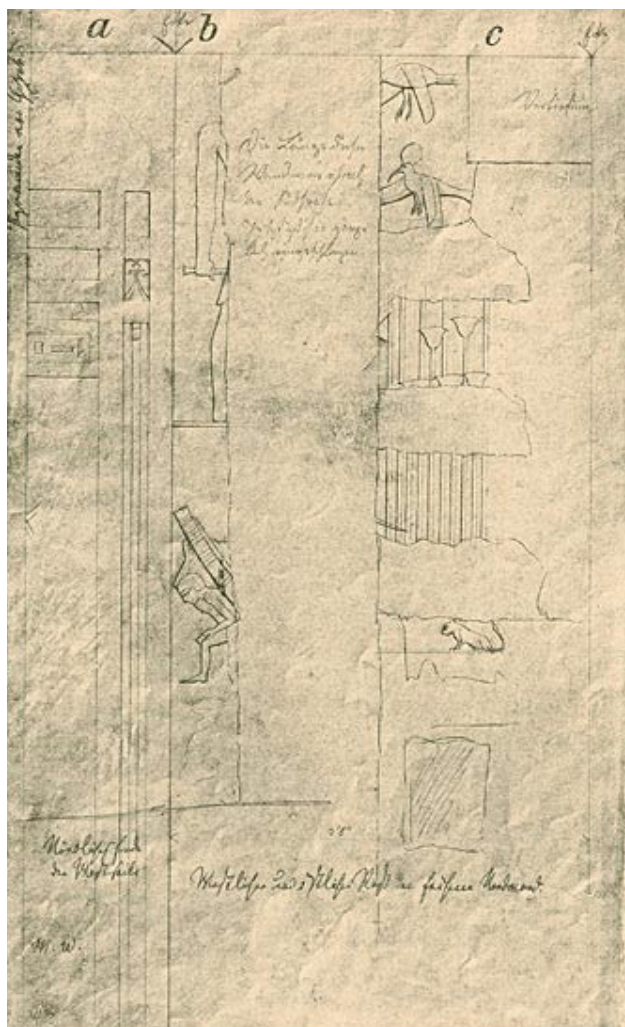
(a) OK23 - *Mrjj-r^c.w-nfr: ꜥ3r*, Boston Museum #25-5-16

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(b) OK24 - *3ḥtj-ḥtp(.w)*, Offering Room, East

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(b) OK24 - 3 $\dot{h}tj$ - $\dot{h}tp(.w)$, Offering Room, East



Left: (b) OK25 - $R^c.w-\dot{h}^c.f-^cn\dot{h}$, Chapel, North

Above: (c) OK25 - $R^c.w-\dot{h}^c.f-^cn\dot{h}$, Chapel, North

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(a) OK25 - *R^c.w-h^c.f-n^ch*, Chapel, North

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(b) OK26 - *P_hn-wk3*, Chapel, North

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(a) OK27 - *Ny-^cnh-hnmw* and *Hnmw-htp(.w)*, Vestibule, North

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(b) OK28 - *3htj-mrw-nswt*, Chapel, West

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(a) OK29 - *Htp-pt*, Unknown location.

4. Middle Kingdom Corpus

The following chapter presents the extant examples of cats and genets in marsh scenes, dating from the Middle Kingdom period (c.2055BC-c.1650BC), as well as a unique example of a genet in a desert hunting scene, from tombs at Meir, Beni Hassan and Deir el-Bersha.¹

4.1 Description

4.1a Genets

MK1 - Pl.32 (a)

Tomb #: 29, Beni Hassan

Tomb Owner: *B3kt*

Date: XI.E²

Scene Type: OFo

Location: Hall, North

PM IV, p.160

Observations:

Two predators are visible in the lower section of the papyrus thicket. The animal on the left has pricked ears and a pointed snout. Its tail is only partially preserved, but it appears to be thin in shape. The animal on the right possesses small rounded ears and tapered tail, which identifies this animal as a mongoose.³ No coat colour or markings are indicated in the line drawing. Both predators approach the same nest containing two nestlings.

¹ While examined, the tombs at Deir el-Bersha do not contain any extant examples of cats or genets in marsh scenes and are thus absent from section 4.1.

² A more refined date has not been offered. P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan. Part II*, (London, 1893), p.32.

³ A leashed mongoose also appears in this tomb. See: L. Evans, 2016, *op. cit.* pp.220-224.

MK2 - Pl.32 (b)

Tomb #: B1, Meir

Tomb Owner: *Snb.j*

Date: XII.1-2⁴

Scene Type: CFF

Location: Chapel, North

PM IV, pp.249-250

Observations:

A predator is visible in the lower right section of the papyrus thicket. It bears the pricked ears and pointed snout of a genet.⁵ Both of these features are elongated and the snout is particularly thin in comparison to the archetypal genet from the Old Kingdom period.⁶ The tail shape is the bulging variant and the line drawing does not indicate the presence of any coat markings. The genet exhibits typical predatory behaviour; it grasps a nestling around the head after pulling it from its nest. Having seized its prize, the genet turns its head away from the swooping duck or goose to look in the direction of the tomb owner. Interestingly, the papyrus stem upon which it stands not only bends convexly underneath the genet, but it also appears to be snapped at an acute angle at the point where the nest rests upon it.

MK3.1⁷ - Pl.33 (b), Pl.34 (a)

Tomb #: 3, Beni Hassan⁸

⁴ N. Kanawati, L. Evans, *The Cemetery of Meir Vol. IV: The Tombs of Senbi I and Wekhhotep I*, (Oxford, 2017), p.15.

⁵ Previously, this animal has also been identified as either a fox: For further discussion on the similarities between foxes and genets, see Chapter 5.2b. as either a red fox (*Vulpes vulpes*): Vernus, P., "Genette", in P. Vernus, J. Yoyotte, (eds.) *Bestiaire des pharaons*, (Paris, 2005), p.610; A. M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir. Vol. 1, The Tomb-Chapel of Ukh-Ḥotpf's son Senbi*, (London, 1914), p.28; or a Rüppell's fox (*Vulpes rueppelli*): D. J. Osborn, J. Osbornová, *op. cit.*, p.73. For further discussion on the similarities between foxes and genets, see Chapter 5.2b.

⁶ See Chapter 3.

⁷ Part of the same scene as MK2.2.

Tomb Owner: *Hnmw-htp(.w)*

Date: XII.3⁹

Scene Type: CFF

Location: Chapel, East, North of Entrance

PM IV, pp.144-149

Observations:

Two predators are present in the lower section of this papyrus thicket. The animal at the upper left can easily be identified as a genet, with its pale spotted coat, pointed snout and pricked ears. The latter feature is particularly elongated, more so than in any previous examples. Its ringed bulging tail is also particularly prominent, although unlike the ears, its length and width are proportionate to the rest of the animal.¹⁰ The genet is shown attacking a cattle egret (*Bubulcus ibis*) with its forepaws, while its head is turned to look at a nest of eggs behind it.¹¹ While its facial features are not well preserved, the mottled grey and orange coat and tapered tail mark the second predator as a mongoose. It is also interested in a nest of eggs that lies before it.

MK3.2¹² - Pl.33 (a), Pl.34 (b), Pl.35 (b)

Tomb #: 3, Beni Hassan

Tomb Owner: *Hnmw-htp(.w)*

Date: XII.3

Scene Type: CFF

Location: Chapel, East, South of Entrance

PM IV, pp.144-149

Observations:

⁸ This thesis follows the numbering conventions used by the most recent tomb publication: N. Kanawati, L. Evans, 2014, *op. cit.*. This tomb is listed as Khnumhotep III in R. L. B. Moss, B. Porter, 1968, *op. cit.* p.144., and Khnumhotep IV in S. H. Aufrère, *op. cit.* p.26.

⁹ N. Kanawati, L. Evans, 2014, *op. cit.* p.25.

¹⁰ J. Kingdon, *op. cit.* p.417.

¹¹ N. Kanawati, L. Evans, 2014, *op. cit.* p.55.

¹² Part of the same scene as MK2.1.

Four predators are present in this papyrus thicket. The one on the lower left is located in the lower section as usual, but the one on upper left and the two on the right are unusually placed in the middle section of the thicket. The lower left animal possesses the same features as the genet in MK2.1, including the elongated features and bulging tail. The posture of this animal is unique. Instead of the standard walking gait in which genets are traditionally depicted in, this genet is shown seated upright in the papyrus thicket. Its head is turned to face the empty nest behind it. The animal in the upper left is readily identified as a cat.¹³

The animals on the right of this thicket are easily identified by their morphological features. The mottled coat of the lower creature and the absence of any prominent ears identify it as mongoose. The animal at uppermost right bears all of the features of the other genets in this tomb, although the bulge of the tail is far more subdued than its counterparts. While the mongoose does not appear to be in pursuit of any specific prey, the genet is advancing towards two bird nests nestled among the umbels.

MK3.3 - Pl.36 (a)

Tomb #: 3, Beni Hassan

Tomb Owner: *Hnmw-htp(.w)*

Date: XII.3

Scene Type: Desert Hunting

Location: Chapel, North

PM IV, pp.144-149

Observations:

Many predatory animals are present in this desert scene, but only one has the potential to be classified as a genet. The animal in question is short in stature, with a long neck and body covered in large spots, and a long, thin, ringed tail. It has pricked ears and a defined square snout. While the colour is not well

¹³ For the full description of this animal, see MK2.2 under 4.1b.

preserved, the majority of the coat appears to be pale orange, although somewhat darker than that of the genets in MK2.1 and MK2.2.

While the large spots and ringed tail seem to mark this animal as a genet, the presence of a squared snout calls this assessment into question. The three other genets present within this tomb bear long pointed snouts, so it is unusual that there is this variation here, as no genets have previously possessed a snout of this shape. It is morphologically distinguishable from the other felines within the scene, a caracal (*Caracal caracal*) and serval (*Leptailurus serval*), and its small size does not lend itself to either the *Panthera* or *Acinonyx* genus. Thus, it is almost certainly a viverrid, and, despite the squared snout, a genet is the most likely candidate.

MK4 - Pl.37 (a), Pl.38 (a)

Tomb #: B4, Meir

Tomb Owner: *Whw-htp(.w)*

Date: XII.3

Scene Type: OFi

Location: Chapel, South

PM IV, pp.251-253

Observations:

Two animals are present within the lower section of this papyrus thicket. While its head is completely destroyed, the animal on the right has the tapered tail of a mongoose. It is engaged in predatory behaviour, seizing a nestling while enduring an onslaught of attacks from its parent. Blackman only notes this mongoose, however Aufrère notices the possible presence of a genet in this thicket as well.¹⁴ It is extremely damaged, with only a possible hindquarters and part of its tail present to the left of the mongoose in the line drawing. It is equally

¹⁴ A M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir. Part VI: The tomb-chapels of Ukh̄hopte son of Iam (A, No. 3), Senbi son of Ukh̄hopte son of Senbi (B, No. 3), and Ukh̄hopte son of Ukh̄hopte and H̄eny-H̄ery-Ib (C, No. 1)*, (London, 1953), p.15.; S. H. Aufrère, *op. cit.* p.26.

possible, however, that this curved shape is actually a papyrus stem, thus the presence of a genet within this scene remains debatable.

MK5 - Pl.38 (b), Pl.39 (a)

Tomb #: C1, Meir

Tomb Owner: *Whw-htp(.w)*

Date: XII.4

Scene Type: CFF

Location: Chapel Room B, West

PM IV, pp.253

Observations:

Two predators are also apparent in the lower section of this papyrus thicket. Blackman believes these are two mongooses, however variation in tail shape indicates that these are two different species.¹⁵ As the heads are both extremely damaged and the line drawing does not reveal any coat colour or markings, the tails are the only diagnostic feature available. The animal on the upper right possesses the tapered tail typically associated with the mongoose, while the lower left animal bears the bulging tail of a genet. While damage to the scene renders it difficult to discern their behaviour, the genet is placed directly before a bird in flight. It is unclear, however, whether it is under attack.

4.1b Cats

MK6 - Pl.39 (b)

Tomb #: 15, Beni Hassan

Tomb Owner: *B3kt*

Date: XI.1

Scene Type: Domestic

Location: Hall, South

PM IV, pp.151-159

¹⁵ A M. Blackman, 1953, *op. cit.* p.25.

Observations:

A cat is present in this domestic scene, where it is depicted directly opposing a rat or mouse.¹⁶ The cat possesses pricked ears and a square snout. It is seated upright, with its tail curled around one of its hind legs with the tip held aloft. Its pelage is fawn coloured, with no visible markings. The word for cat (*myt*) and the rat or mouse (*pnw*) is written above the respective animal.¹⁷

MK3.2 - Pl.33 (a), Pl.35 (b)

Tomb #: 3, Beni Hassan

Tomb Owner: *Hnmw-htp(.w)*

Date: XII.3

Scene Type: CFF

Location: Chapel, East, South of Entrance

PM IV, pp.144-149

Observations:

Directly above the genet in this scene (MK3.2), also in a seated position on a stem, is the first definite example of a wild cat in the papyrus thicket. It is notably larger than the other predators in the vicinity. The cat is rendered in great detail, with pricked ear, a squared snout with whiskers, and a long, thin, striped tail. Its coat is solid fawn in colouring, with a lighter coloured underbelly and darker stripes along its forelimbs. Its tail is curled around its right hind leg with the tip held aloft in the air. It appears to be looking towards the nest of eggs located in front of it.

¹⁶ P. Newbery, *op. cit.* p.48.

¹⁷ The presence of the feminine suffix indicates that this cat was female. The word *pnw* is used to both rats, mice and occasionally jerboa. B. Wassell, *Ancient Egyptian Fauna: A Lexicographical Study*, Vol.1, (Durham, 1991), pp.73, 88-89.

4.2 Discussion

4.2a Frequency

Little can be said about the development of the genet motif during this period. Out of the eleven tombs examined, only five marsh scenes within five tombs contain a cat and/or genets.¹⁸ Only three marsh scene types are represented: CFF (3),¹⁹ OFi (1)²⁰ and OFo (1)²¹. Given the rarity or absence of marsh scenes during this period, it is unsurprising that these predators infrequently. Eight genets were found in total. In contrast, only one cat appears in a marsh scene during this period. Thus, like the Old Kingdom period, the latter motif is extremely rare in comparison to the more prolific genet.

When examining the frequency of the presence of these animals, it is important to note that four of the marsh scenes were completely destroyed and thus the contents of the papyrus thicket remain completely unknown.²² As a result, genets appear in over 70% of tombs containing this scene type, a significant increase from the Old Kingdom period. While the sample size is too small to provide a definitive comment on the overall trends during this period, their frequent appearances in the extant tombs does suggests that genets were a important component of these scenes.

The tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hassan contains the largest variety of predators in the thicket, with three genets, a mongoose and a cat present in the same scene.²³ A mongoose also accompanies the genets in MK1, MK4²⁴ and MK5. Only in MK2 is the genet the sole predator in the thicket. Multiple genets within the same thicket only occur in MK3.2. As stated above, this location is particularly crowded with a variety of predators. Thus, it is reasonable to believe

¹⁸ See appendix 2.2 for the complete list of tombs examined.

¹⁹ MK2, MK3.1, MK3.2, MK5.

²⁰ MK4.

²¹ MK1.

²² Destroyed tombs indicated in the appendix.

²³ MK3.1, MK3.2.

²⁴ The presence of a genet is questionable.

that the spatial distribution of the animals in these scenes adheres to the logic proposed by Evans for their Old Kingdom counterparts.²⁵

One other possible genet is present in a desert hunting scene. As it is the only extant example of this animal in this scene type during the Middle Kingdom period, it is a unique depiction. The common genet is well adapted to live in this arid environment and is commonly found in scrub and woodland near desert fringes as well as in marshland environments.²⁶ Their inclusion in this scene type reveals that the Egyptians were aware of their wider distribution.

4.2b Morphology

The morphology of the genets in these scenes is largely similar to those of the Old Kingdom period, with some minor innovations. The majority of the genets from this period resemble the archetypal genet from the earlier period, with pointed snouts, pricked ears, and a bulging tail. The snout and ears of the genets in MK3.1 and MK3.2 are somewhat more elongated than the Old Kingdom norm, however. The one exception to this archetype is the possible genet from MK3.3, which not only possesses a thin tail, but also the first example of a squared snout. If this animal is in fact a genet, the reason behind this variation remains unclear. The familiarity in scene composition and morphology of the animals was almost certainly influenced by those of earlier tombs. Kanawati suggests that the representation of marsh scenes and their various components, especially MK3.1-2, was influenced by the style of earlier motifs found in the Memphite necropolis, which would account for the similarities in the scene composition.²⁷

The animals in Old Kingdom tomb scenes are always identified as common genets, whose presence is attested in Egypt both in antiquity and modernity.²⁸ The large size of the spots on the genets' coats has led Aufrère to suggest that the animals in MK3.1 and MK3.2 may represent the large spotted genet (*Genetta*

²⁵ L. Evans, 2010a, *op. cit.* p.119. Also see Chapter 3.2a.

²⁶ J. Kingdon, *op. cit.* p.417.; R. D. Estes, *op. cit.*, p.286.

²⁷ N. Kanawati, 2017, *op. cit.* p.123.

²⁸ S. M. Goodman, J. J. Hobbs, D. J. Brewer, *op. cit.* p.84, 86.; D. J. Osborn, I. Helmy, *op. cit.* p.415.

tigrina) rather than the common genet, *G. genetta*.²⁹ It is important to note that the large spotted genet is now given the binomial name of *Genetta maculata*, whereas *G. tigrina* now refers to the Cape genet, a species endemic to southern Africa.³⁰ *G. maculata* does favour similar terrain to *G. genetta*, however this species is only found as far north as Eritrea.³¹ Furthermore there is no evidence of this particular species in Egypt or any neighbouring territories. While it is possible that it simply did not leave an archaeological record, it is more likely that the large spots are a stylistic variation, and the genets of MK3.1-2 actually represent *G. genetta*.

The cat in MK3.2 appears in its "hieroglyphic form", which is well established by this period: seated upright with the tail curled around one haunch, with the end held aloft.³² The species of this cat has been debated, as it shows characteristics of both *F. s. lybica* and *F. chaus*. Morphologically, it is built like *F. s. lybica*, with its long, thin tail and legs, which has lead some authors to conclude that it likely represents this species.³³ The absence of coat markings on the body of the animal has led Baldwin and Malek to argue that this cat should be recognised as *F. chaus*.³⁴ As Kanawati and Evans point out, however, the coat of *F. s. lybica* varies regionally and body markings are not always prominent.³⁵ Thus it is more likely that this cat represents *F. s. lybica*.

²⁹ S. H. Aufrère, *op. cit.* p.9.

³⁰ P. Gaubert, P. J. Taylor, G. Veron, "Integrative taxonomy and phylogenetic systematics of the genets (Carnivora, Viverridae, Genetta): a new classification of the most speciose carnivoran genus in Africa", in B. A. Huber, B. J. Sinclair, K. H. Lampe (eds.), *African Biodiversity: Molecules, Organisms, Ecosystems. Proceedings of the 5th International Symposium of Tropical Biology*, Museum König, (Springer Verlag, 2005). pp.371–383.

³¹ J. Kingdon, *op. cit.* p.419.

³² J. Malek, *op. cit.* p.40; Sign E13 in Gardiner's Sign-list: A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar. Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, (Cambridge, 1957), p.459.

³³ N. Kanawati, L. Evans, 2014, *op. cit.* p.60.

³⁴ J. A. Baldwin, *op. cit.* p.431.

³⁵ N. Kanawati, 2014, *op. cit.* p.60; ³⁵ J. Kingdon, *op. cit.*, pp.405-406.; R. D. Estes, *op. cit.* p.357.

Malek notes that the Egyptians did not appear to distinguish between *F. chaus* and *F. s. lybica* lexicographically, and thus he argues that this motif served as the archetypal cat motif encompassing both species.³⁶ Instead of representing a specific individual, this cat potentially represents the overall presence of both species within the marshland environment, or perhaps is a product of the Egyptians' growing familiarity with these animals.³⁷

4.2c Behaviour

Due to damage, the exact behaviour of the genets in MK4 and MK5 is unclear, but the remaining four marsh scene genets display predation. The genets in MK2 and MK3.1 are shown actively attacking their targets, a nestling and adult cattle egret respectively. The upper right genet in MK3.2 and the genet in MK1 are depicted in the usual form, approaching a nest positioned at the end of a papyrus stem. As mentioned previously, the seated position of the lower left genet in MK3.2 is unique. The empty nest is perhaps what induces this genet's stationary stance, and the resulting disappointment from a failed hunt, placing it in contrast to its more successful counterparts in MK3.1 and MK3.2.

While the cat in MK3.2 looks in the direction of potential prey, its seated position indicates that it is not actively engaged in predatory behaviour. As such, while the position of this animal within the thicket is innovative, it imitates the passive behaviour of the cat in OK25, while also adhering to the stylistic norms of a cat motif for this period.

³⁶ J. Malek, *op. cit.* p.40.; B. A. Wassell, *Ancient Egyptian Fauna: A Lexicographical Study*, Vol.1, PhD Thesis, Durham University, 1991, p.73.

³⁷ While *F. chaus* prefers the marshland environment, it is also suitable habitat for *F. s. lybica*: J. Kingdon, *op. cit.* pp.405-406.; R. D. Estes, *op. cit.* p.357. See section 4.2d for further discussion on the impacts of domestication.

4.2d Domestication

Evident by the remains in various cemeteries, the Egyptians have interacted with both cat species from at least the Predynastic period.³⁸ Yet it is not until the Middle Kingdom period that scholars agree that there is solid evidence for their domestication.³⁹ MK6 contains what may be the earliest depiction of a domesticated cat. Like the cat in MK3.2, this animal also depicted in the "hieroglyphic form", and is shown opposing a rat in a domestic scene.⁴⁰ Its "domesticated" status is determined from the context of the scene. Malek does not believe the cat in MK3.2 is a domesticated creature.⁴¹ Its placement amongst the other untamed animals of the thicket, along with the absence of human interaction, suggests that this does indeed represent a wild animal.

Unlike their antagonistic presence in the Old Kingdom pastoral scenes, these cats now appear to take on a benign, if not beneficial role in these scenes. As outlined by scholars such as Baldwin and Malek, there is also an increasing amount of material evidence relating to cats that occurs during this period. Cats are depicted on the so-called magic "wands", "knives" or "birth tusks", alongside other apotropaic animals, gods and demons, again imbuing this animal with positive connotations.⁴² Cat shaped vessels, statuettes, jewellery and amulets also appear occasionally during this period, evidence of an increasing popularity, which Malek believes is inherently tied to their apotropaic qualities.⁴³ Seventeen cat skeletons associated with offering pots were found in a twelfth dynasty tomb

³⁸V. Linseele, W. Van Neer, S. Hendrickx, *op. cit.* p.2081; W. Van Neer, V. Linseele, R. Friedman, B. De Cupere, "More evidence for cat taming at the predynastic elite cemetery of Hierakonpolis (Upper Egypt)", *Journal of Archaeological Science* 45 (2014), p.103.; J. D. Kurushima, et. al., "Cats of the pharaohs: genetic comparison of Egyptian cat mummies to their feline contemporaries", *Journal of Archaeological Science* 39 (2012), p.3221.

³⁹ J. Malek, *op. cit.* pp.48-49; J. A. Baldwin, *op. cit.* p.432.

⁴⁰ P. Newbery, *op. cit.* pl.6.

⁴¹ J. Malek, *op. cit.* p.41.

⁴² S. Quirke, *Birth Tusks: the Armoury of Health in Context - Egypt 1800 BC*, (London, 2016), pp. 119-120; G. Steindorff, "The Magical Knives of Ancient Egypt", *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 9 (1946), p.44, 46; J. Malek, *op. cit.* p.52-53.

⁴³ *ibid.* p.52-53.

at Abydos.⁴⁴ As outlined in Chapter 1, there is no equivalent material to indicate that genets were either tamed or domesticated during the pharaonic period. Thus the suggestions by authors such as Pinney that this practice occurred are somewhat contrived.⁴⁵ At this time, the cat was already beginning to expand its influence outside of funerary art in a way that the genet seemingly never achieved. This development showcases an increasing familiarity, and perhaps even fondness, of this creature.

4.3 Summary

During the Middle Kingdom, genets appear in over half of the extant marsh scenes from this period. They continue to exhibit predatory behaviour, with bird nestlings and eggs being their primary prey. A mongoose frequently accompanies the genets within these scenes. The archetypal genet remains the same as the Old Kingdom period: pointed snout, pricked ears, and a bulging tail, although these are often somewhat more elongated.⁴⁶

Despite the increasing presence of cats in the material culture and in MK6, the cat in MK3.2 remains a unique depiction in marsh scenes during this period. As such, the genet and the mongoose continue to be the primary predators represented amongst the papyrus thickets at this time. However, placed alongside the other hunters, the cat seems to be welcomed into the fold, and this likely paved the way for their more frequent appearances in marsh scenes in later periods.

⁴⁴ F. Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos*, (London, 1925), p.11. Petrie proposes that the vessels likely contained milk.

⁴⁵ R. Pinney, *The Animals in the Bible: the identity and natural history of all the animals mentioned in the Bible*, (Philadelphia, 1964), p.37.

⁴⁶ Particularly in MK3.1 and MK3.2.

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(a) MK1 - *B3kt*, Hall, North

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(b) MK2 - *Snb.j*, Chapel, North

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(a) MK3.2 - *Hnmw-htp(.w)*, Chapel, East, South of Entrance

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(b) MK3.1 - *Hnmw-htp(.w)*, Chapel, East, North of Entrance

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(a) MK3.1 - *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)*, Chapel, East, North of Entrance

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(b) MK3.2 - *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)*, Chapel, East, South of Entrance

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(a) MK3.2 - *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)*, Chapel, East, South of Entrance

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(b) MK3.2 - *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)*, Chapel, East, South of Entrance

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(a) MK3.3 - *Hnmw-htp(.w)*, Chapel, North

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(a) MK4 - *Whelp*(.w), Chapel, South

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(a) MK4 - *Whw-htp(.w)*, Chapel, South

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(b) MK5 - *Whw-htp(.w)*, Chapel Room B, West

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(a) MK5 - *Whw-htp(.w)*, Chapel Room B, West

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(b) MK6 - *B3kt*, Hall, South

5. New Kingdom Corpus

The following chapter discusses the cats and genets present in marsh scenes of the Theban necropolis from the New Kingdom period (c.1550BC-c.1077BC).

5.1 Description

5.1a Genets

NK1 - Pl.40 (a), (b)

Tomb #: TT73, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Tomb Owner: *Imn.w-ḥtp(.w)*

Date: XVIII.5¹

Scene Type: CFF

Location: Hall, Northeast

PM I.I, pp.143-144

Observations:

Four predators are depicted in the lower section of this papyrus thicket. The creature on the lower right possesses the small rounded ears and a tapered tail of a mongoose. An adult bird defends its nest of eggs from its approach. Moving left, the next animal bears the diagnostic features of a genet: pricked ears, pointed snout and a slightly bulging tail. It approaches a duck or goose perched on a papyrus flower bud. The animal on the upper left possesses a similar tail shape to the genet, thus it is likely that it also belongs to this species. Unlike the other genet, its tail is not outstretched instead it hangs vertically so that it does not obstruct the animal depicted on the lower left. This creature does not possess the diagnostic features of a genet, cat, or mongoose. While its head is damaged, its long body and tail are covered in multiple horizontal stripes, with the latter feature terminating in a tight curl. These features mark this animal as a chameleon (either *Chamaeleo africanus* or *Chamaeleo chamaeleon*), a rare but

¹ See Appendix 1.3 for the New Kingdom period chronology.

attested animal in Egyptian art.² The line drawing does not indicate any coat markings on any other the predators other than the chameleon.

NK2 - Pl.41 (c)

Accession #: TT100, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Tomb Owner: *Rh-mi-R^c.w*

Date: XVIII.6-7

Scene Type: Desert Hunting

Location: Hall, Northeast

PM I.I, pp. 206-214

Observations:

A genet has been included in the hunting scene. It is identifiable by its long pointed snout, spotted coat and bulging tail.³ Interestingly, its ears are not pricked, but instead flat against the head. This unique depiction shows the animal recumbent with its head also on the ground, resting in what appears to be either a semicircular burrow or brush, painted green with dark stripes throughout.

² A. A. Ibrahim, "Some Aspects of Ecology of the Common Chameleon, *Chamaeleo chamaeleon musae* (Squamata: Chamaeleonidae) in Northern Sinai, Egypt", *Russian Journal of Herpetology* 20, 3 (2013), p.203.

Aufrère identifies another chameleon in a marsh scene, contemporary with this example, in the tomb of Ineni (TT81), where it also appears alongside a mongoose: S. H. Aufrère, *op. cit.* p.26; E. Dziobek, *Das Grab des Ineni : Theben Nr. 81*, (Mainz Am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1992), pl.9, 62.

For further discussion on chameleons in Egypt, see: L. Keimer " Sur quelques représentations de caméléon de l'ancienne Égypte", *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 36 (1936), pp.85-95. The horizontal stripes are also depicted on the ostraca from Deir el-Medina. Note that Keimer believes EA1518 is from Saqqara and dates to the fifth dynasty, however this fragment is actually from a twenty-sixth dynasty tomb, TT34, at Thebes; EA1518, in *The British Museum, Online Collection*, (viewed 6 October),

<https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=119661&partId=1&searchText=nebamun&page=1>. It is possible that its inclusion in that tomb was influenced by its presence here, E. R. Russmann, "Relief Decoration in the Tomb of Mentuemhat (TT 34)", *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 31 (1994), p.13.

³ Noted during a personal visit to the tomb in December 2017. The colour of the pelage was dark and difficult to discern due to the position of the image high up on the wall and the poor lighting in the tomb.

5.1b Cats

NK3 - Pl.41 (a), (b)

Tomb #: TT18, Dra' Abu el-Naga'

Tomb Owner: *B3ki*

Date: XVIII.6

Scene Type: CFF

Location: Hall, West

PM I.I, p.32

Observations:

One predator is visible in the middle section of this papyrus thicket. Although it is in a poor state of preservation, the pricked ears and a long thin tail of the animal is visible. The coat is dark in colour, with no visible markings preserved. The snout has suffered the most damage, however the remaining traces of paint suggest it was squared, which if true would indicate that this animal is a cat. It is engaged in the typical mode of predatory behaviour, approaching a bird perched at the end of a papyrus stem.

NK4 - Pl.42 (a), (b)

Tomb #: TT53, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Tomb Owner: *Imn.w-m-h3.t*

Date: XVIII.6

Scene Type: CFF

Location: Hall, Northwest

PM I.I, pp.102-104

Observations:

One predator is located in the transitional space between the lower and middle sections of this papyrus thicket. Like NK2, the coat of the animal is a solid dark colour, with no discernible markings. It has pricked ears, a square snout and a

long, thin tail. Therefore it can be identified as a cat. It stands before a nest of eggs positioned at the end of the papyrus stem.

NK5 - Pl.43 (a), (b)

Tomb #: TT127, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Tomb Owner: *Sn-m-iʿh*

Date: XVIII.6

Scene Type: CFF

Location: Hall, Northeast

PM I.I, pp.241-243

Observations:

One predator is depicted in the lower section of this papyrus thicket. It bears pricked ears, a square snout and a long thin tail, clearly identifying it as a cat. Although the image lacks clarity for finer details, it appears that even the whiskers are carved into the relief. The cat bites the head of a nestling, intending to pull it from its nest, much to the dismay of its parent flying above. No coat colour or markings are visible in the photograph.

NK6 - Pl.44 (a), (b)

Tomb #: TT164, Dra' Abu el-Naga'

Tomb Owner: *Int.f*

Date: XVIII.6

Scene Type: CFF

Location: Hall, Northeast

PM I.I, pp.276-277

Observations:

Two predators are present in the lower section of the papyrus thicket. The animal at the top left possesses pricked ears and a long thin tail. The snout is unfortunately damaged and thus its shape cannot be determined. The small extent of damage indicates that it would not have been long, thus it is most likely a cat. This scenes composition is extremely similar to NK4, with the cat seizing a

nestling by the head while its parent swoops down in an attempt to save it. The other predator in this scene is easily identified as a mongoose despite its pointed snout due to its long tapered tail and small round ears positioned on the side of its head. It is depicted standing before a nest of eggs. There are no coat markings or colour on either animal.

NK7 - Pl.45 (a), (b)

Tomb #: TT93, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Tomb Owner: *Kn-Imn.w*

Date: XVIII.7

Scene Type: Unknown

Location: Passage, North

PM I.I, pp.190-194

Observations:

The head of one cat is visible in the lower section of the papyrus thicket. Its morphological features are rendered in great detail. It possesses the standard squared snout and pricked ears of a cat. One of these ears appears to be turned back, likely in response to a noise elsewhere in the thicket. The head and dorsal pelage is sandy in colour, with the underside of the neck and snout a pale cream. Dark stripes are present on the head and neck, the typical markings of *F. s. lybica*. The cat gazes intensely at the screaming nestlings before it, suggesting that they are the animal's intended prey.

NK8 - Pl.46 (a), (b)

Tomb #: TT69, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Tomb Owner: *Mnn3*

Date: XVIII.8

Scene Type: CFF

Location: Inner Room, North

PM I.I, pp.134-139

Observations:

Two predators are present in different sections of the papyrus thicket. The animal in the middle section of the thicket bears the pricked ears, squared snout and long, thin tail of a cat. Its pelage is brown in colour, with dark vertical stripes across the entirety of the neck, legs, body and tail, with the latter feature ending in a black tip. The cat is clearly in motion, advancing towards a nest of eggs with its left hind leg outstretched, and its right foreleg uplifted to reach its goal. The animal in the lower section of the papyrus thicket is a rather odd depiction of what is most likely a mongoose. It has a pointed snout, a long, thin tail, and oversized round ears. Its pelage is the same colour as the cat's, with no discernible markings.

NK9 - Pl.47 (a), (b)

Accession #: EA37977

Tomb Owner: *Nb-Imn.w*

Date: XVIII.8⁴

Scene Type: CFF

Location: Unknown

PM I.I, N/A

Observations:

The cat present in the middle section of the papyrus thicket is perhaps one of the most exquisite depictions of this animal from this period. It possesses the standard morphological features of a cat, with a squared snout, pricked ears and a long, thin tail. The pelage is light brown, with pale cream sections on the snout, paws and ventral pelage. Light vertical stripes are present across the entirety of the cat's head, legs and body with black stipes towards the end of the tail, which terminates with a black tip. The cat's whiskers are bent forward, a behaviour typically exhibited while striking prey, as seen here.⁵ Conservation work

⁴ E. Miller, R. B. Parkinson, "Reflections on a gilded eye in 'Fowling in the Marshes' (British Museum, EA 39977)", in Davies, W.V. (ed.), *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt* (British Museum Press, 2001), p.49.

⁵ J. W. S. Bradshaw, *The Behaviour of the Domestic Cat*, (Wallingford, 1998), p.129. This behaviour likely compensates for the cats poor vision at close range.

discovered that the cat's eye was originally gilded.⁶ Even the digital, metacarpal and carpal pads are included on the cat's paws. All of this detail shows a profound knowledge and understanding of the cat's anatomy and behaviour. The cat directly engages with three birds, one trapped between its hind paws, one beneath its front paws, with the third's wing is clasped in the cat's jaws.

NK10 - Pl.48 (a)

Tomb #: A.24, Dra' Abu el-Naga'

Tomb Owner: *S3-Mwt*

Date: XVIII.9

Scene Type: CFF

Location: Hall

PM I.I, p.454

Observations:

One cat is depicted in this scene, but instead of being amongst the papyrus, it is upon the boat with the tomb owner. It possesses the typical pricked ears, square snout and long thin tail of a cat. Vertical stripes are present on the head, back, tail and legs of the animal. The cat has reared up on its hind legs, with its front paws resting on the tomb owner's kilt. The tomb owner's daughter (?) appears to be looking directly at the animal. One mongoose is present within the lower section of the papyrus thicket, attacking a fledgling, invoking the traditional motif. No colour is present in the drawing.

NK11 - Pl.48 (b)

Tomb #: TT217, Deir el-Medina

Tomb Owner: *Jpw.j*

Date: XIX.3

Scene Type: OFo

Location: Hall, East

PM I.I, pp.315-317

⁶ Prior to this discovery, no examples of gilding were known from the Theban tombs, E. Miller, R. B. Parkinson, *op. cit.* p.50.

Observations:

One cat is visible in the lower section of the papyrus thicket. It bears the typical morphological features of a cat: the pricked ears, square snout, and thin tail. Its pelage is fawn in colour. While stripes are present on the animal's forelegs, the rest of the body is covered in numerous lines of small, dark spots. The carpal pad is present on the forelegs. The cat's mouth is open with a protruded tongue. The animal has no clear object of pursuit, nor does it appear to be standing on a defined papyrus stem.

5.1c Uncertain

NK12 - Pl.49 (a), (b)

Tomb #: TT22, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Tomb Owner: *W3h*

Date: XVIII.6-7

Scene Type: CFF

Location: Hall, East

PM I.I, pp.37-38

Observations:

Only the tail of this predator has been preserved. It is long, thin and dark in colour. In absence of any other diagnostic features, the species cannot be determined.

NK13 - Pl.50 (a), (b)

Tomb #: TT79, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Tomb Owner: *Mn-hpr-R^c.w-snb*

Date: XVIII.6-7

Scene Type: OFo

Location: Hall, Southeast

PM I.I, pp.156-157

Observations:

One predator is present in the lower section of the papyrus thicket. It approaches a nest containing two egret nestlings that are under the watch of one of their parents. Anatomically, this animal is a genet, as it possesses pricked ears, a pointed snout, and a tail with a slight bulge. The coat markings however, are clearly those of a cat, with vertical stripes that run along the animals back. Due to these conflicting diagnostic features⁷, this animal cannot be confidently identified and thus its species remains unknown.

NK14 - Pl.51 (a), (b)

Tomb #: A.5, Dra' Abu el-Naga'

Tomb Owner: *Nfr-ḥtp(.w)*

Date: XVIII.6-7

Scene Type: Unknown Marsh

Location: Unknown

PM I.I, pp.448-449

Observations:

Two predators are present in the middle section of the papyrus thicket. A barn owl (*Tyto alba*) protects its nest of eggs from the predator on the right, which possesses the rounded snout, tapered tail and mottled brown coat of a mongoose. The snout of the animal on the left is damaged. Its ears are pricked and it has a thin tail. Its pelage is light brown in colour, except for the ventral section, which is white. No coat markings are present. The Louvre identifies this animal as a genet, but the pelage and tail shape call this classification into question.⁸

NK15 - Pl.52 (a), (b)

Accession #: TT56

Tomb Owner: *Wsr-ḥ3.t*

Date: XVIII.7

⁷ For further discussion on this phenomenon, see 5.2b below.

⁸ Louvre, *Scene in the Nile Marshes*, (viewed 1 October 2018), <<https://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/scene-nile-marshes>>.

Scene Type: CFF

Location: Inner Room, East

PM I.I, pp.111-113

Observations:

One predator appears in the lower section of the papyrus thicket before two nestlings. It is extremely damaged, with only fragmented sections of the brown pelage visible. Due to its poor state of preservation, it is impossible to determine the species.⁹

5.2 Discussion

5.2a Frequency

A great shift occurs in the proportion of cats to genets in marsh scenes during the New Kingdom period. Out of forty-two tombs examined ¹⁰, only one unambiguous example of a genet in a marsh scene was found from this period (0.2%), a tremendous decrease in their rate of appearances.¹¹ The presence of genets in desert hunting scenes also continues to be a rare occurrence, with only one example from this period.

The genet does not appear in any marsh scenes after the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.¹² This decline is greatly contrasted by the rising presence of cats in marsh scenes, with nine individual animals identified across nine tombs (21%). Cats are therefore still notably less frequent than genets were in the Old (36%) and Middle Kingdom (71%) periods. Even the combined presence of cats, genets, and the uncertain predators in marsh scenes does not reach the

⁹ Aufrère states this may be the latest example of a genet in this scene type, although he acknowledges that it is impossible to be certain. S. H. Aufrère *op. cit.* p.27.

¹⁰ A total of fifty-seven tombs were examined, however, fifteen contained marsh scenes that were either largely damaged or completely destroyed and therefore could not contribute to the results. See Appendix 2.3 for full list.

¹¹ NK1.

¹² In regards to the Theban necropolis during the New Kingdom Period.

frequency of genets in previous periods, as they only appear in a total of fourteen tombs (33%).

The majority of scenes represented are CFF (12)¹³, with the rest either OFo (2)¹⁴ or unknown (1)¹⁵. The disappearance of cats and genets in marsh scenes is linked to the increasing rarity of daily life scenes in post-Amarna tombs.¹⁶ There is only one example from the nineteenth dynasty, NK11, and it is the last extant scene containing this motif from Thebes during the New Kingdom period.

The mongoose continues to be included in marsh scenes, both alongside cats¹⁷ and genets¹⁸ but also independently¹⁹ or alongside the newcomer to the thicket, the chameleon.²⁰ The continued inclusion of the mongoose alongside cats, in addition to the complete absence of genets within the same scene, suggests that cats were not a substitute for the entirety of papyrus thicket predators. Unlike in MK3.2 there appears to be exclusivity between cats and genets in these scene types. Perhaps influenced by earlier examples, cats were incorporated as a regular into the pre-existing roster of papyrus thicket predators and became the most popular member during the New Kingdom period. The inclusion of cats and chameleons demonstrates willingness for innovation, with the Egyptians incorporating new and contemporary elements into ancient motifs.

¹³ NK1, NK2, NK3, NK4, NK5, NK6, NK8, NK9, NK10, NK12, NK14, NK15.

¹⁴ NK11, NK13.

¹⁵ NK7.

¹⁶ A. Dodson, "Mortuary Architecture and Decorative Systems", in A. B. Lloyd (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*, (Oxford, 2010), p.820; N. Strudwick "Change and Continuity at Thebes: The Private Tomb after Akhenaten", in C. Eyre, A. Leahy and L. Montagno Leahy (eds.), *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt: in Honour of A. F. Shore*, (London, 1994), pp.321-36.

¹⁷ NK6, NK8.

¹⁸ NK1.

¹⁹ TT155: T. Säve-Söderbergh. *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, (Oxford, 1957), pl.XIV.

²⁰ TT81: E. Dziobek, *op. cit.* pl.9, 62.

5.2b Morphology

The two extant genets from this period adhere to the archetype established in the Old Kingdom period, possessing pricked ears, a pointed snout, and a bulging tail.²¹ Their coat colour and markings are unfortunately unknown. While cats also possess pricked ears, their tails are always thin and their snouts always square. Whiskers are occasionally depicted.²² The pelage of cats is consistently depicted as either sandy²³ or fawn²⁴ in colour, with a lighter ventral pelage and vertical stripes along the head, back, legs, and tail of the animal.²⁵ One cat has a spotted coat, with stripes only present on the forelimbs.²⁶ The colouration and patterns of the pelage strongly indicate that these cats are *F. s. lybica*.

Section 5.1c presents two unusual marshland predators in NK13 and NK14.²⁷ NK13 possesses diagnostic features of both cats (a striped pelage), and genets (pointed snout, bulging tail). It is possible that the Egyptians have conflated the appearance of the two, producing a "chimera", a synthesis of two or more species into a singular animal. The coat pattern or morphology may simply be a mistake by the artist who intended to only depict one or the other, but this confusion perhaps illuminates the similarities of the two species in the mind of the Egyptians. Cats and genets are interchangeable, for their similarities in behaviour and appearance allow them to perform the same function within the marsh scene: a predator amongst the papyrus.

Alongside a mongoose, NK14 features another predator in the pursuit of nestlings. The Louvre identifies this animal as a genet, but a closer examination proves that this may not be the case.²⁸ The pelage of the animal is not typical of

²¹ NK1, NK2.

²² Clearly visible in NK9. Possibly also present in NK5.

²³ NK7.

²⁴ NK8, NK9, NK11.

²⁵ NK7, NK8, NK9, NK10.

²⁶ NK11. Spotted coats are a natural variation of *F. s. lybica*: B. Ragni, M. Possenti, "Variability of coat-colour and markings system in *Felis silvestris*", *Italian Journal of Zoology* 63, 3 (1996), p.287.

²⁷ As they are extremely fragmentary, NK12 and NK15 will not be discussed here.

²⁸ Louvre, *Scene in the Nile Marshes*, viewed 1 October 2018, <<https://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/scene-nile-marshes>>.

either animal and the absence of any coat markings is quite unusual.²⁹ An earlier relief from the Mortuary Temple of Montuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari shows an animal with a similar appearance. While only the head and the upper torso are visible, morphologically they greatly resemble that of a genet. The coat is rust coloured, however, with no discernible markings. The Fitzwilliam Museum expresses confusion over the identity of the animal and suggests that it may represent a canid, such as a fox, either the red fox (*Vulpes vulpes*) or the Rüppell's fox (*Vulpes rueppelli*).³⁰ Due to the shared characteristics of a pointed snout and a bulging tail, genets and foxes have often been confused in the past.³¹ The marshes are not desirable habitat for either fox species, with the Rüppell's fox in particular favouring desert environments.³² Thus, it is unlikely that they would naturally appear in this environment. Kanawati and Evans argue that as genets are traditionally represented in marsh scenes, it is more likely that these scenes represent these animals.³³ However, the colour of the pelage cannot be ignored. As demonstrated by the cat and the chameleon, the Egyptians were not adverse to incorporating new animals into this scene type, thus it is possible that these unusual representations are indeed foxes instead of genets. As NK14 possesses a thin tail, it is unlikely that this animal was intended to be a fox. Instead, like NK13, these animals could be viewed as a "chimera". This would explain the presence of a "fox" outside its natural habitat. It is always possible that the colour of the pelage is an artistic error, potentially suggesting an unfamiliarity with *G. genetta*.

²⁹ While some pelage some genets can be red-brown in colour, the absence of spots is quite peculiar. R. D. Estes, *op. cit.* p.286.

³⁰ E.5.1906, in *The Fitzwilliam Museum, Collections Explorer*, (viewed 9 October 2018), <<http://webapps.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/explorer/index.php?oid=50933>>.

³¹ D. J. Osborn, J. Osbornová, *op. cit.* p.73; J. Kingdon, *op. cit.* p.375-376.

³² S. Larivière, P. J. Seddon, "*Vulpes rueppelli*", *Mammalian Species* 678 (2001), p.1-2; S. Larivière, M. Pasitschniak-Arts, "*Vulpes vulpes*", *Mammalian Species* 537 (1996), p.2-3.

³³ N. Kanawati, L. Evans, 2017, *op. cit.* p.30.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 7. Marsh Scene from the Mortuary Temple of Montuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari.

5.2c Behaviour

Genets continue to exhibit primarily predatory behaviours in the marsh scenes of the New Kingdom period, with the animals in NK1 shown in the pursuit of adult birds. The genet of NK2 is uniquely depicted in a recumbent resting position, within what appears to be a den.³⁴ The position of the ears in this scene is quite unusual, as genets are not known to rest their ears in this way.³⁵ As it is part of a hunting scene, it is possible that the flattened ears intended to depict a fear response. A parallel for this image can be seen in an earlier eighteenth dynasty tomb, TT21, where a red fox is also shown resting (or hiding) within a den.³⁶ The body shape of NK2 differs from TT21 as it is more globular in shape, but the other similarities are clear, again showing how genets are often associated with other animals during this period.

³⁴ Shelter is a key component in habitat selection: S. Larivière, J. Calzada, "Genetta genetta", *Mammalian Species* 680 (2001), p.3.

³⁵ , C. M. Wemmer, *op. cit.* p.9-10.

³⁶ N. Davies, *op. cit* pl.XXII; D. J. Osborn, J. Osbornová, *op. cit* p.71.

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

Figure 8. Red fox in a desert hunting scene, TT21.

In the New Kingdom period, the cat is no longer restricted to a "hieroglyphic form" and is depicted in a number of dynamic poses.³⁷ The majority of these are related to their predatory activities in the marshes. As with the genet and the mongoose, it is unlikely that these cats are "climbing" the papyrus stems so much as they are traversing the thicket. Some are shown in the traditional walking gait, with all four paws flat on a surface,³⁸ while others are depicted with some legs outstretched,³⁹ giving a greater sense of movement within the scene. Cats are shown to prey exclusively on birds in marsh scenes. Three scenes show cats actively biting their prey two with nestlings⁴⁰, and one with an adult bird.⁴¹ Like genets and mongooses, cats also target eggs, which while not a major component of their diet, they are known to consume eggs on occasion.⁴² One example shows a cat with an open mouth and a protruded tongue. Given the context of the scene it is likely that the cat is making a "chirping" sound, which is often produced in response to nearby prey.⁴³

The extraordinary scene in NK10 shows the only direct interaction between humans and cats in a marsh scene. In previous interactions between humans and mongooses in marsh scenes, the human is always the active agent, exerting

³⁷ This also applies to cats that appear in different scene types.

³⁸ NK3, NK4, NK6.

³⁹ NK8.

⁴⁰ NK5, NK6.

⁴¹ NK9.

⁴² A. P. Clevenger, *op. cit.* p.118.

⁴³ P. Leyhausen, *Cat behavior*, (New York, 1979), p.38; L. Evans, 2010a, *op. cit.* p.193.

control over the animal.⁴⁴ This is not the case here, as the cat's autonomy is clear and their desire for interaction or attention is similar to that expressed by the kitten on the lap of *Jpw.j*.⁴⁵ The intimacy of the cat on the boat greatly contrasts with the wildness of the mongoose in the thicket. It is unquestionable that this cat has a relationship with the tomb owner. It is unfortunate that this scene only exists in the form of a drawing.

5.2d Genet Tails?

Osborn and Osbornová identify the long black and white adornments associated with depictions of Nubians in this period as genet tails.⁴⁶ They are typically found tied around the elbows, upper arms or waists of the wearers, although they are also used to adorn the horns of cattle.⁴⁷ Davies suggested that these adornments were perhaps "cat (?) tails", although his uncertainty on the matter is easily understandable.⁴⁸ The "tails" are thin and long in shape, covered in black and white bands. As these tails always end in a black tip, Osborn and Osbornová suggest they may have belonged to *G. maculata*.⁴⁹ While there is no other evidence for the existence of genets in Nubia in antiquity, it is well within the modern range of *G. genetta*.⁵⁰ Based upon these observations, it is possible that these adornments do indeed represent genet tails, however, the evidence remains far from conclusive.

⁴⁴ OK20.2.

⁴⁵ N. Davies, *Two Ramesside tombs at Thebes*, (London, 1927), pl.XXVb.

⁴⁶ D. J. Osborn, J. Osbornová, *op. cit.* pp.90-91. Present in TT40, TT78 and TT286.

⁴⁷ TT40

⁴⁸ N. M. Davies, A. H. Gardiner, *The tomb of Huy, Viceroy of Nubia in the reign of Tut'ankhamūn*, (London, 1926), p.24.

⁴⁹ D. J. Osborn, J. Osbornová, *op. cit.* p.91. For the discussion on the probability of *G. maculata* in Egypt, see Chapter 4.2b.

⁵⁰ R. Hoath, *A Field Guide to the Mammals of Egypt*, (Cairo, New York, 2009), p.87.

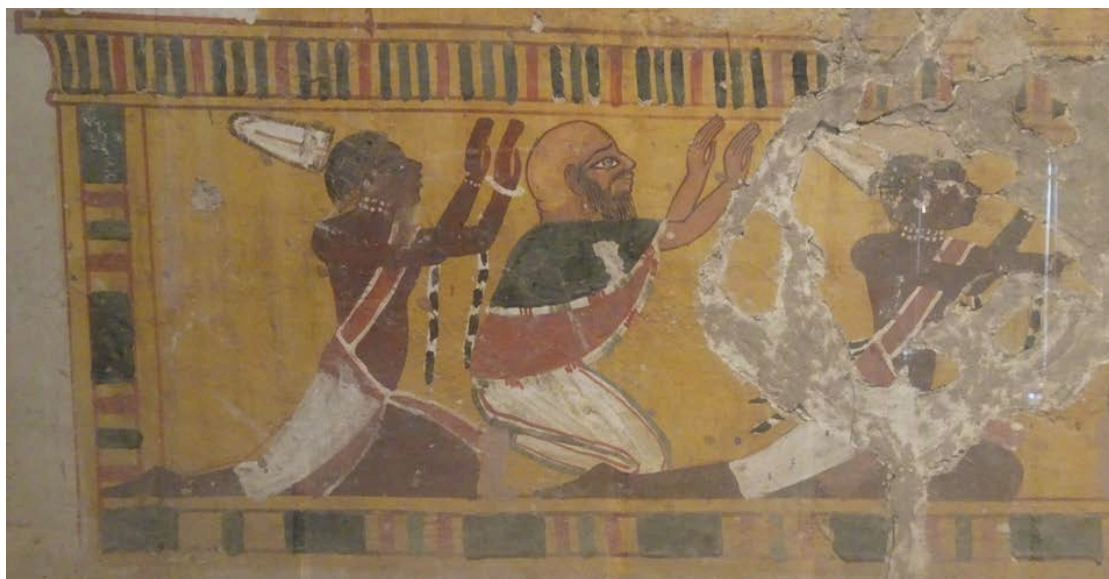


Figure 9. "Genet Tails" from TT286. Now in the Luxor Museum.

5.2e The Rise of the Cat

As in earlier periods, additional material evidence for genets is almost non-existent. An amulet dating to the Second Intermediate period (c.1650-1550BC) bears the likeness of a genet.⁵¹ Petrie identifies it as either a genet or linsang (*Poiana sp.*) by the shape of the snout and the length of the tail.⁵² He believes the presence of an ankh around its neck suggests that the animal was venerated.⁵³ The raised position of its tail is unusual for a genet, but was likely done to conform to the limited space afforded by the amulet's shape. Other than this, the genet is confined to their limited appearances in tomb scenes during this period.

The cats rising popularity during the New Kingdom is a well-documented phenomenon. Cats not only appear in marsh scenes, but also are present in domestic scenes during the nineteenth dynasty, usually underneath the chair of the tomb owner's wife.⁵⁴ An increasing volume of cat themed artefacts occur

⁵¹ F. Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, (London, 1925), p.24

⁵² There is no evidence to suggest that Linsang ever existed in Egypt. R. D. Estes, *op. cit.* p.286.

⁵³ F. Petrie, *op. cit.* p.24.

⁵⁴ D. Sweeny, "Cats and their People at Deir el-Medina" in D. Magee, J. Bourriau, S. Quirke (eds.) *Sitting besides Lepsius: Studies in Honour of Jaromir Malek at the Griffith Institute*, (Leuven, Paris, Wakpole, 2009), p.533.

from the seventeenth dynasty onwards⁵⁵ They frequently appear on satirical ostraca with a playful attitude towards the dichotomy of predator and prey.⁵⁶ Amenhotep III's crown prince Thutmose also had a sarcophagus constructed for a cat.⁵⁷ Cat keeping was thus likely prolific amongst the Egyptian elite during this time. This likely filtered down through to the lower echelons of society, but the lack of evidence relating to these classes makes this impossible to ascertain.

The religious significance of the cat also increases during this period, due to its association with Re. The sun god in the form of "the Great Tom-cat" appears in some of the private tombs of this period, where it is depicted defeating the enemy of Re, Apep.⁵⁸ Malek suggests that it was the cat's popularity that eventually led to its religious importance.⁵⁹ He also acknowledges that the reverse is also possible, although the lack of evidence concerning the cat in the religious sphere before this period makes this hypothesis unlikely.⁶⁰ The abundant evidence has led scholars to unanimously agree that the cat had become a common domesticate by this period.⁶¹ The increased inclusion of cats in marsh scenes was thus undoubtedly a response to their domestication and assimilation into Egyptian society.

5.2f The Cultural Impacts of the Cat and the Genet

The paradigm shift surrounding cats and genets has not gone unnoticed in the past. Some authors have touted the idea that the genet was the pre-cat of Egypt, acting as a biocontrol agent against vermin, yet as this project has shown, there is no real evidence to suggest that the Egyptians tamed, let alone domesticated the animals.⁶² Genets that lived close to human settlements likely lived in symbiosis with their inhabitants and would have benefited from the increased

⁵⁵ B. Langton, N. Langton, *The Cat in Ancient Egypt*, (London, 2002), p.3.

⁵⁶ J. A. Baldwin, *op. cit.* p.428; J. Malek, *op. cit.* p.49, 118-119.

⁵⁷ A. Dodson, "Crown Prince Djhutnose and the Royal Sons of the Eighteenth Dynasty", *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 76 (1990), p.88.

⁵⁸ J. A. Baldwin, *op. cit.* p.439.

⁵⁹ J. Malek, *op. cit.* p.45.

⁶⁰ *ibid.* p.55.

⁶¹ J. A. Baldwin, *op. cit.* p.433.

⁶² P. Gaubert, *op. cit.* p.302.

amount vermin drawn to the agricultural produce. Kingdon suggests that cats were favoured over genets, as not only did they have a more pleasant odour and were more efficient hunters, but they were also able to kill genets.⁶³ It is unlikely that this alone would have had a significant impact on the size of the genet population, although an increased number of cats and dogs amongst human settlements may have deterred genets from frequenting those areas.⁶⁴ It is also worth noting that cats are able to tolerate living amongst a large number of their own species, unlike genets.⁶⁵ Their complex social hierarchies and organisation thus allowed for mass saturation of this animal amongst human settlements.

The possible symbolic meaning behind the various marsh scenes must also be acknowledged.⁶⁶ The significance of the iconography and religious connotations of marsh scenes has been the focus of numerous past studies.⁶⁷ Aufrère provides the only in-depth discussion on the symbolism of the cat and the genet within this context. Expanding upon the work of Alliot, he proposes that all the predators in the papyrus thicket served as auxiliary hunters to the deceased,

⁶³ J. Kingdon, *East African Mammals: An Atlas of Evolution in Africa IIIA*, (London, New York, 1977), p.136; A. Galantinho, A. Mira, "The influence of human, livestock, and ecological features on the occurrence of genet (*Genetta genetta*): a case study on Mediterranean farmland", *Ecological Research* 24 (2009), p.681.

⁶⁴ Similar conflicts between genets and other animals, including humans (in the form of poisoning, vehicular collisions etc.), are not thought to threaten the population: C. Widdows, C. Downs, "Urban roost temperatures of large-spotted-genets: The effect of anthropogenic structures", *Journal of Thermal Biology* 57 (2016), p.66.

⁶⁵ Cats are traditionally thought to be solitary animals, but there is increasing research to suggest that, when resources allow for it, they are a social species: J. W. S. Bradshaw, *op. cit.* p.140-143; S. L. Crowell-Davis, T. M. Curtis, R. J. Knowles, "Social organization in the cat: a modern understanding", *Journal of Feline Medicine and Surgery* 6 (2004), pp.19-28.

⁶⁶ For further discussion on the symbolic nature of genets and cats, refer to Chapters 1.2 and 1.3 respectively.

⁶⁷ P. Derchain, "Symbols and Metaphors in Literature and Representations of Private Life", *RAIN* 15 (1976), pp.7-10; E. Feucht, "Fishing and Fowling with the Spear and Throw-Stick Reconsidered", in U. Luft (ed.), *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt: Studies presented to László Kákossy by Friends and Colleagues on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday*, (Budapest, 1992), pp.157-169; G. Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt*, (London, 1993), pp.187-190; D. Klotz, "Fish at Night and Birds by Day (Kemit VIII)", *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 136 (2009), pp.136-140.

assisting them with their journey to the afterlife.⁶⁸ The strong affiliation of cats and genets with CFF and OFo implies this auxiliary support. It is suggested that by targeting birds, cats and genets assisted the tomb owner in controlling the chaotic forces of nature symbolised by the birds in the thicket.⁶⁹

It is possible that the cats and genets in these scenes are affiliated with certain deities, and thus by depicting these animals the tomb owner invokes their presence. Aufrère notes that the standard felid-like form of Mafdet is often depicted climbing a papyrus stem, thus resembling the actions of a genet in the marsh.⁷⁰ Vernus does not find this argument or the evidence compelling enough to make this connection believable.⁷¹ Based upon the morphological features of the Mafdet animal, which is almost always depicted with a square snout, it is unlikely that these images represent a genet.⁷² The association between the cat and the sun deity has already been noted. Bastet was still primarily a leonine deity during this period and there is little evidence to suggest she was affiliated with cats.⁷³ Thus, while there is some evidence to suggest a connection with a deity, it is unlikely that this was the primary reason for the inclusion of these animals in marsh scenes.

It has often been debated whether the cats in these marsh scene should be considered wild or domesticated individuals. NK10 is a compelling case for the latter, and implies that the other eight cats may be considered domesticated as well. It is uncertain whether these animals were intended to represent specific individuals, such as a family pet, or if they were simply meant to embody the presence of their species as a whole. In the past it has been proposed that cats were use to either flush out⁷⁴ or retrieve⁷⁵ fowl for the tomb, however, given the

⁶⁸ S. H. Aufrère, *op. cit.* p.8; M. Alliot, *op. cit.* pp.17-24.

⁶⁹ D. Bastin, " Chats Chasseurs et Chats Chassés", in L. Delvaux, E. Warmenbol (eds.) *Les Divins Chats d'Égypte: un air Subtil, un Dangereux Parfum*, (Leuven, 1991), p.53.

⁷⁰ S. H. Aufrère, *op. cit.* p.10.

⁷¹ P. Vernus, *op. cit.* p.610.

⁷² The specific morphological details are discussed in detail in Chapter 2.3b.

⁷³ J. A. Baldwin, *op. cit.* p.439.

⁷⁴ D. J. Brewer, D. B. Redford, S. Redford, *op. cit.* p.108; M. Alliot, *op. cit.* p.18.

nature of cats, both of these hypotheses seem highly unlikely.⁷⁶ It is more plausible that these animals, like the genet, were auxiliary hunters in a symbolic sense. The Egyptians incorporated the natural predatory behaviours of the animals into these scenes, demonstrating a great understanding and interest in the natural world, while also fulfilling a religious function.

Aufrère observed that the cat became the "dominant personality" in the marsh scenes of the New Kingdom period, ousting the genet and the mongoose from this role.⁷⁷ While Aufrère cites climate change as the leading factor behind the disappearance of the genet, he does not consider how cultural change may have factored in to this development.⁷⁸ The domestication of cats allowed for a cultural infiltration into various parts of Egyptian society, impacting upon pre-existing elements. Shared morphological and behavioural similarities enabled cats to fulfil similar functions and allowed them to become a cultural substitute for genets.⁷⁹ Humans and animals co-shaped each other and this is clearly evident in the evolution of marsh scene motifs.⁸⁰

5.3 Summary

Genets disappear from marsh scenes early in the New Kingdom period, after featuring in only one tomb. In contrast, cats occur in nine marsh scenes, which is a significant increase compared to previous periods. The morphology of both animals remains consistent with previous periods, although cat coat markings are depicted far more frequently after the reign of Amenhotep II.⁸¹ The cat is no longer restricted to its "hieroglyphic form" and is now shown in a variety of poses.

⁷⁵ J. G. Wilkinson, *op. cit.* p.106.

⁷⁶ D. Bastin, *op. cit.* p.52.

⁷⁷ S. H. Aufrère, *op. cit.* p.19.

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p.19.

⁷⁹ J. M. Pfeiffer, R. A. Voeks, *op. cit.* p.283, 287.

⁸⁰ C. Pearson, "History and Animal Agency", in C. Kalof (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Animal Studies*, (Oxford, 2015), p.243.

⁸¹ NK7, NK8, NK9, NK10, NK11.

The increasing presence of cats in domestic, religious and funerary spheres was likely spurred on by the growing popularity of the animal within ancient Egyptian culture as a result of their domestication. The social construction of the cat within Egyptian society allowed it to be incorporated into pre-existing scenes and motifs. As a result, given their shared behavioural and morphological similarities, the cat replaced the genet as the predominant predator in marsh scenes. This shift marks a small but significant change in artistic decorum, facilitated by the predominance of the cat in the minds of the Egyptians.

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(a) NK1 - *Jnn.j*, Portico, North

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(b) NK1 - *Jnn.j*, Portico, North

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(a) NK3 - *Bṣki*, Hall, West

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(b) NK3 - *Bṣki*, Hall, West

(c) NK2 - *Rḥ-mi-R^c.w*, Hall, Northeast

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(a) NK4 - *Imn.w-m-h3.t*, Hall, Northwest

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(b) NK4 - *Imn.w-m-h3.t*, Hall, Northwest

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(a) NK5 - *Sn-m-ith*, Hall, Northeast

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(b) NK5 - *Sn-m-ith*, Hall, Northeast

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(a) NK6 - *Int.f*, Hall, Northeast

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(b) NK6 - *Int.f*, Hall, Northeast

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(a) NK7 - *Kn-Imn.w*, Passage, North

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(b) NK7 - *Kn-Imn.w*, Passage, North

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(a) NK8 - *Mnn3*, Inner Room, North

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(b) NK8 - *Mnn3*, Inner Room, North

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(a) NK9 - *Nb-Imn.w*, Unknown

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(b) NK9 - *Nb-Imn.w*, Unknown



(a) NK10 - *S3-Mwt*, Hall

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(b) NK11 - *Jpw.j*, Hall, East

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(a) NK12 - $W3h$, Hall, East

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(b) NK12 - $W3h$, Hall, East

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(a) NK13 - *Mn-hpr-R^c.w-snb*, Hall, Southeast

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(b) NK13 - *Mn-hpr-R^c.w-snb*, Hall, Southeast

Image has been removed as it contains copyright material.

(a) NK14 - *Nfr-htp(.w)*, Unknown

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(b) NK14 - *Nfr-htp(.w)*, Unknown



(a) NK15 - *Wsr-h3.t*, Inner Room, East



(b) NK15 - *Wsr-h3.t*, Inner Room, East

6. Conclusions

The two primary goals of this study were: 1) to gain a greater understanding of genets in ancient Egypt and 2) how cultural events and the social construction of the cat influenced and changed their depictions. The results show that genets appear consistently in just under half of the marsh scenes in tombs of the Old and Middle Kingdom periods. During this time, cats were a rarity in these scenes, with only one example known from each period.¹ The greatest morphological variations in the genet occur during the Old Kingdom period, which is likely a result of the larger corpus size. While cats and/or genets are only present in less than half of the marsh scenes across all periods, the continued inclusion of this motif suggests that to some extent they are an important aspect of this scene type. The disappearance of the genet after the reign of Thutmose III coincides with the frequent inclusion of cats within these scenes. The scarcity of both animals in post-Amarna tombs is a result of the disappearance of marsh scenes all together after this period. The one exception, NK11 from the Ramesside period, comes from a tomb that employs numerous eighteenth dynasty motifs.²

Predatory behaviour is predominantly represented across all periods for both cats and genets. Birds are exclusively hunted by both species in marsh scenes, although the cats in Old Kingdom pastoral scenes are also shown in the pursuit of livestock.³ The contrast between this antagonistic behaviour of the cats of the Old Kingdom period and the benevolent animals of the New Kingdom period is clear. The replacement of genets with cats was undoubtedly driven by their morphological and behavioural similarities, which allowed the latter creature to easily fill the niche once occupied by the former.

The inclusion of these animals in marsh scenes likely was in part a reflection of the natural marshland environment and its inhabitants. However, given the Egyptians' love for symbolism, all marshland predators, including cats and

¹ OK25, MK3.2.

² D. Bastin, *op. cit.* p.53.

³ OK27, OK28, OK29.

genets, likely held a functional role in these scenes, serving a greater purpose for the afterlife of the tomb owner. This may have been through the form of a symbolic auxiliary hunter, a connection to a deity, or a combination of the two. This matter remains speculative and no solid conclusions can be drawn.

The domestication of cats appears to be the primary catalyst for this shift in decorum. Cats were certainly domesticated by the eighteenth dynasty, but it is highly likely that this event actually occurred much earlier. Their increasing presence in numerous aspects of Egyptian material culture is the result of a long association between humans and cats, demonstrated throughout the course of this study.⁴ As cats are attested in marsh scenes across all periods, their inclusion in this scene type during the New Kingdom period was not unprecedented and potentially was even influenced by these earlier examples.⁵

The effect of cat domestication on other animals in Europe has been considered in past studies. Gaubert believes that the popularity of the cat as a companion animal, and its practical function as a biocontrol agent against rodents, saw a decrease in popularity of other animals that previously filled this cultural niche, such as other felids and the mongoose.⁶ It is plausible that a similar outcome may have occurred in Egypt. The genet simply could not compete with the popularity of the cat.

The impact of the genet on Egyptian culture should also not be overlooked. The initial inclusion and prevalence of genets in marsh scenes, and their occasional appearances in the material culture, reveals that this animal also had its place in ancient Egyptian life. Their form was important enough to the funerary decorum that it was depicted at least forty-five times over a thousand-year period. It is important to stress that the disappearance of genets from tomb scenes does not necessarily equate to the disappearance of the animal in the natural world. Artistic representations, while a valuable source of information, should not be

⁴ J. A. Baldwin, *op. cit.* pp.428-448; J. Malek, *op. cit.*

⁵ OK25, MK3.2.

⁶ P. Gaubert, *op. cit.*, p.301.

taken at face value. While their natural range is now limited to the far south of Egypt, there is no extant evidence to show when this shift may have occurred, assuming that their range was once much wider. Cats and genets reappear in marsh scenes as a result of archaism in the Late period⁷, although numerous authors stress that they should not be understood as expressions of the contemporary environment.

The obsession and integration of a "new" animal into a society is not at all unique case study. A similar phenomenon was observed with the Green Iguana in Puerto Rico, where this invasive species has now become a cultural icon.⁸ While *F. s. lybica* is a native to Egypt, the domestication of the local population, or its introduction from the Levant had a profound impact on Egyptian culture, both in antiquity and in how history has remembered them. The shift in artistic decorum is a reflection of changes in society. The increased presence and acceptance of cats within ancient Egyptian culture allowed these animals to have lasting effects on the world around them. The human and animal worlds are completely and utterly intertwined.

The far-reaching consequences of cultural events such as cat domestication should not be overlooked, especially in regards to how it influenced established traditions and the impact it had on other species, no matter how small. The assimilation of this animal into Egyptian society produced a favouritism and familiarity for this species over other non-domesticated animals, which allowed the cat to integrate into multiple aspects of Egyptian culture and identity. It is therefore not a coincidence that the rise of the cat coincided with the fall of the genet.

⁷ Example: TT34. J. Malek, *op. cit.* p.18.

⁸C. G. García-Quijano, T. A. Carlo, J. Arce-Nazario, "Human Ecology of a Species Introduction: Interactions Between Humans and Introduced Green Iguanas in a Puerto Rican Urban Estuary", *Human Organization* 70, 2 (2011), p.175.

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- 9 Emily Corbin.

Appendices

Appendix 1 - Dating and Chronology

The notation used follows the conventions established by Harpur.¹

Abbreviations:

"E": Early

"M": Middle

"L": Late

Highlighted notations indicate the presence of genets and/or cats in marsh scenes during that king's reign.

1.1 Old Kingdom

Notation	King
IV.1	Sneferu
IV.2	Khufu
IV.3	Djedefre
IV.4	Khafre
IV.5	Menkaure
IV.6	Shepseskaf
V.1	Userkaf
V.2	Sahure
V.3	Neferirkare Kakai
V.4	Neferefre
V.5	Shepseskare
V.6	Niuserre

¹ Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom: Studies in orientation and scene content*, (London, New York, 1987).

V.7	Menkauhor
V.8	Djedkare: Isesi
V.9	Unas
VI.1	Teti
VI.2	Userkare
VI.3	Pepy I
VI.4	Merenre I
VI.5	Pepy II
VI.6	Merenre II
VI.7	Netjerkare Siptah

1.2 Middle Kingdom

Notation	King
XI.1	Montuhotep II
XI.2	Montuhotep III
XI.3	Montuhotep IV
XII.1	Amenemhat I
XII.2	Senwosret I
XII.3	Amenemhat II
XII.4	Senwosret II
XII.5	Senwosret III
XII.6	Amenemhat III
XII.7	Amenemhat IV
XII.8	Sobekneferu

1.3 New Kingdom

Notation	King
XVIII.1	Ahmose I
XVIII.2	Amenhotep I
XVIII.3	Thutmose I
XVIII.4	Thutmose II
XVIII.5	Hatshepsut and Thutmose III
XVIII.6	Thutmose III
XVIII.7	Amenhotep II
XVIII.8	Thutmose IV
XVIII.9	Amenhotep III
XVIII.10	Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten
XVIII.11	Smenkhkare
XVIII.12	Tutankhamun
XVIII.13	Ay
XVIII.14	Horemheb
XIX.1	Ramesses I
XIX.2	Seti I
XIX.3	Ramesses II
XIX.4	Merneptah
XIX.5	Seti II
XIX.6	Amenmesse
XIX.7	Siptah
XIX.8	Tawosret

Appendix 2 - List of Tombs

Below is the complete list of tombs that were examined for this study. Tombs discussed Chapters 3-5 are indicated by their corpus number listed next to "Identification". Plate credits are listed under "Source".

The "Inaccessible" label is used to indicate a tomb where the papyrus thicket was not observed. This occurred when either: a) the marsh scene was extensively damaged or destroyed, or b) an image of the scene could not be obtained. These tombs did not contribute to the frequencies discussed in Chapters 3-6.

The tombs are arranged in alphabetical order for each period, according to the name of the tomb owner.

2.1 Old Kingdom period

Identification: D64, Saqqara, NSP, PM III.II, pp.599-600 - **OK10**

Tomb Owner: *3htj-htp*

Scene Type: C

Source: Pl.10 (a), (b), Pl.11 (a), (b): N. de Garis Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep at Saqqareh, Part II: The Mastaba. The Sculptures of Akhethetep*, (London, 1901), pl.13, 14.

Identification: E17, Saqqara, UPC, PM III.II, pp.633-634 - **OK24**

Tomb Owner: *3htj-htp*

Scene Type: CFF

Source: Pl.27 (b), Pl.28 (a): H. Petrie, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, (London, 1952), pl.6.

Identification: Giza, WF, PM III.I pp.80-81 - **OK28**

Tomb Owner: *3h.t-mr.w-nsw*

Scene Type: OFi, Pastoral

Source: A779_NS, *Giza Archive*,
<<http://www.gizapyramids.org/view/photos/asitem/term@AUT.AAA.AAK.AAB.AAA.ABG/6/renditionNumber-desc?t:state:flow=40ea7149-9077-43cb-9f77-e99bad9756c1>>.

Identification: G 2196, Giza, WF, PM III.I, pp.82

Tomb Owner: *Bsn*

Scene Type: PP

Identification: LG 16, Giza, WF, PM III.I, pp.170-174

Tomb Owner: *Tyi-mr.y*

Scene Type: PP - Inaccessible

Identification: ntn, Giza, PM III.I, pp.298-299 - **OK22**

Tomb Owner: *jj-nfr.t*

Scene Type: OFo

Source: Pl.26 (a), (b): W. Schürmann, *Die Reliefs aus dem Grab des Pyramidenvorstehers Ii-nefret*, (Karlsruhe, 1983), fig.6 [b].

Identification: ntn, Saqqara, UPC, PM III.II, p.616 - **OK12**

Tomb Owner: *jj-nfr.t: š3.n.f*

Scene Type: CFF

Source: Pl.13 (a), (b): N. Kanawati and M. Abder-Raziq, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, Volume 6: The Tomb of Nikauisesi*, (Warminster, 2000), pl.37.

Identification: ntn, Saqqara, UPC, PM III.II, p.644, - **OK5**

Tomb Owner: *Iri-n-k3-ptḥ*

Scene Type: CFF

Source: Pl.4 (a): A. M. Moussa, F. Junge, *Two Tombs of Craftsmen*, (Mainz am Rhein, 1975), pl.12.

Identification: ntn, Saqqara, UPC, PM III.II, p.639

Tomb Owner: *ʿIri-n-k3-ptḥ/ Ḥn.w*

Scene Type: OFo - Inaccessible

Identification: ntn, Saqqara, location unknown, PM III, N/A - **OK19**

Tomb Owner: *jnw-mnw*

Scene Type: CFF

Source: Pl.21 (a), (b): N. Kanawati and L. Evans, pers. comm.

Identification: ntn, Giza, CF, PM III.I, pp.252-253 - **OK4**

Tomb Owner: *ʿIti-sn*

Scene Type: PP

Source: Pl.3 (b), (c): S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza V: 1933-1934. With Special Chapters on Methods of Excavation, the False-Door, and Other Archaeology and Religious Subjects*, (Cairo, 1944), p.123.

Identification: ntn, Saqqara, TPC, PM III.II, pp.512-515

Tomb Owner: *ʿnh-m-ʿHr/ Ssi*

Scene Type: OFi

Identification: ntn, Saqqara, TPC, PM III.II, p.519

Tomb Owner: *Wrn.w*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: E 9, Saqqara, WSP, PM III.II, p.596

Tomb Owner: *Pp,y-ddi*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: D70/LS15, Saqqara, NSP, PM III.II, pp.491-492 - **OK26**

Tomb Owner: *Pḥn-wk3*

Scene Type: Desert Hunting

Source: BAM 1132, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Online Collections Database*,
<<http://www.smb->

digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=606690&viewType=detailView>.

Identification: G2381, Giza, WF, PM III.I, pp.90-91 - **OK18**

Tomb Owner: *Mrj-R^c.w mrj-Pth-^cnh: Nhb^w*

Scene Type: OFi

Source: Pl.20 (a), (b): W. Stevenson Smith, "The Judge Goes Fishing", *Boston Museum Bulletin* 56 (1958), fig. 2.; 13.4331.19, *Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, <<https://www.mfa.org/collections/object/relief-of-nekhebu-with-biographical-inscription-and-nekhebu-spearing-fish-466804>>.

Identification: Saqqara, TPC, PM III.II, p.520

Tomb Owner: *Mr.w/ Tti-snb*

Scene Type: OFo

Identification: ntn, Saqqara, WSP, PM III.II, N/A - **OK21**

Tomb Owner: *Mr.f-nb.f*

Scene Type: OFo

Source: Pl.25 (a), (b): K. Myśliwiec, *The Tomb of Merefnebef* (Varsovie, 2004), pl.64.

Identification: G7101, Giza, EF, PM III.I, pp.184-185 - **OK23**

Tomb Owner: *Mrjj-r^c.w-nfr: k3r*

Scene Type: CFF

Source: W. K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu, G7101 and 7102*, (Boston, 1976), fig. 16.

Identification: ntn, Saqqara, TP, PM III.II, pp.525-534 - **OK14**

Tomb Owner: *Mrr.w-k3.j: mrj*

Scene Type: OFo

Source: Pl.15 (a), (b): N. Kanawati et. al., *Mereruka and his Family. Part III:1. The Tomb of Mereruka*, (Oxford, 2010), pl.13, 68.

Identification: ntn, Saqqara, TPC, PM III.II, pp.518-519

Tomb Owner: *Mrrī*

Scene Type: OFi

Identification: ntn, Saqqara, UPC, PM III.II, pp.619-622 - **OK20**

Tomb Owner: *Mḥw*

Scene Type: HH, OFo, OFi

Source: Pl.22 (a), (b), Pl.23 (a), (b), (c), Pl.24 (a), (b): H. Alenmüller, *Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu in Saqqara*, (Mainz am Rhein, 1998), pl.10, 11, 13.

Identification: ntn, Saqqara, UPC, PM III.II, pp.646-648

Tomb Owner: *Mtī*

Scene Type: OFo

Identification: ntn, Saqqara, PM III.II, pp.694-696

Tomb Owner: *N.y-ṣnh-nsw.t*

Scene Type: OFo

Identification: Saqqara, UPC, PM III.II, pp.641-644 - **OK2, OK27**

Tomb Owner: *Ny-ṣnh-ḥnmw* and *Ḥnmw-ḥtp(.w)*

Scene Type: CFF, Desert Hunting

Source: Moussa, A. M., Altemmüller, H., *Das Grab de Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, (Mainz am Rhein, 1977).

Pl.1 (d), (e): pl.4

Pl.2 (a), (b): pl.74

Pl.30 (a): fig.8.

Identification: G 2097, Giza, WF, PM, N/A

Tomb Owner: *N.y-Mḥ.t-Rṣ.w*

Scene Type: OFi

Identification: G 8900, Giza, CF, PM III.I, pp.282-284

Tomb Owner: *N.y-M3^c.t-R^c.w*

Scene Type: HH - Inaccessible

Identification: ntn, Saqqara, TP, PM III, N/A - **OK13**

Tomb Owner: *Nj-k3w-jzzj*

Scene Type: OFo

Source: Pl.14 (a), (b): N. Kanawati and M. Abder-Raziq, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, Volume 6: The Tomb of Nikauisesi*, (Warminster, 2000), pl.50.

Identification: ntn, Saqqara, TPC, PM, N/A

Tomb Owner: *N.y-k3.w-Issi: 'Issi*

Scene Type: OFo

Identification: LG86, Giza, CF, PM III.I, pp.230-232 - **OK1**

Tomb Owner: *Nb-m-3h.t*

Scene Type: PP

Source: C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, Band II, (Berlin, 1849), pl.12.

Identification: D55, Saqqara, ESP, PM III.II, pp.583-584

Tomb Owner: *Nfr-irt.n.f*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: ntn, Saqqara, UPC, PM III.II, p.645

Tomb Owner: *Nfr-sšm=Pth* and *Shnty.w*

Scene Type: Unknown - Marsh - Inaccessible

Identification: ntn, Giza, CF, PM III.I, p.278

Tomb Owner: *Nsw.t-pw-ntr*

Scene Type: OFo

Identification: G7948, Giza, EF, PM III.I, pp.207-208 - **OK25**

Tomb Owner: *R^c.w-h^c.f-^cnh*

Scene Type: Marsh - Unknown

Source: *Digital Giza / G7948*, (viewed 20 September 2018),
<http://gizamedia.rc.fas.harvard.edu/images/MFA-images/Giza/GizaImage/full/photoreg/A7422_NS.jpg>., C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, Ergänzungsband, (Berlin, Leipzig, 1913), pl.28.

Identification: LS16 = S902, Saqqara, NSP, PM III.II, pp.494-496 - **OK6**

Tomb Owner: *R^c.w-špss*

Scene Type: OFo

Source: Pl.4 (b), Pl.5 (b): C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, Band II, (Berlin, 1849), pl.60.

Identification: ntn, Saqqara, TPC, PM, N/A

Tomb Owner: *Rmni/ Mrwi*

Scene Type: CFF - Inaccessible

Identification: ntn, Saqqara, UPC

Tomb Owner: *Hr-Mr.w/ Mrri*

Scene Type: OFi - Inaccessible

Identification: D60, Saqqara, WSP, PM III.II, pp.593-595 - **OK3**

Tomb Owner: *Htp-hr-šhty*

Scene Type: OFi

Source: Pl.2 (c), Pl.3 (a): H. T. Mohr, *The Mastaba of Hetep-her-akhti : Study on an Egyptian tomb chapel in the Museum of Antiquities Leiden*, (Leiden, 1943), fig.34.

Identification: ntn, Sappara, TP, PM III, N/A - **OK17**

Tomb Owner: *Hzi*

Scene Type: CFF

Source: Pl. 18 (a), (b), Pl.19 (a), (b): N. Kanawati and M. Abder-Raziq, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, Volume 5: The Tomb of Hesi* (Warminster, 1999), pl.53, 54.

Identification: ntn, Giza, PM III.I, p.298 - **OK29**

Tomb Owner: *Htp-pt*

Scene Type: Pastoral

Source: BBC "Egypt unveils 4,400-year-old tomb of ancient priestess", *BBC News*
3 February (2018) <<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-42931533>>.

Identification: D 60, Saqqara, WSP, PM III.II, pp.593-595

Tomb Owner: *Htp-hr-3h.t*

Scene Type: OFi

Identification: LG 95, Giza, CF, PM III.I, pp.254-255

Tomb Owner: *Hww-wr*

Scene Type: PP

Identification: G 7150, Giza, EF, PM III.I, pp.190-191

Tomb Owner: *H^c.f-Hwfw.f*

Scene Type: PP

Identification: ntn, Saqqara, UPC, PM III.II, pp.623-624 - **OK11**

Tomb Owner: *Hnwt*

Scene Type: Unknown

Source: Pl.12 (a), (b): P. Murno, *Das Unas-Friedhof Nord-West : Topographisch-historische Einleitung*, (Mainz am Rhein, 1993), pl.33.

Identification: G 2092 + 2093, Giza, WF, PM, N/A

Tomb Owner: *S3ib*

Scene Type: OFo

Identification: ntn, Saqqara, TP, PM III, N/A - **OK16**

Tomb Owner: *S^cnh-w(j)-pth*

Scene Type: CFF

Source: Pl.17 (a), (b): N. Kanawati, M. Abder-Raziq, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, Volume 3: The Tombs of Neferseshemre and Seankhuiphtah*, (Warminster, 1998), pl.96.

Identification: ntn, Giza, WF, PM III.I, pp.101-103

Tomb Owner: *Snb*

Scene Type: PP

Identification: G2370 = LG27, Giza, WF, PM III.I, pp.85-87 - **OK7**

Tomb Owner: *Sndm-ib: inti*

Scene Type: OFo

Source: C. R. Pl.5 (c), Pl.6 (a): Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, Band II, (Berlin, 1849), pl.77; Pl.6 (b), (c): C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien, Ergänzungsband*, (Berlin, Leipzig, 1913).

Identification: ntn, Saqqara, UPC, PM III.II, pp.617-619 - **OK15**

Tomb Owner: *Zšzšt: jdwt*

Scene Type: PC

Source: Pl.16 (b): N. Kanawati, M. Abder-Raziq, *The Unis Cemetery at Saqqara, Volume 2: The Tombs of Iynefert and Ihy (reused by Idut)*, (Oxford, 2003), pl.2.
Pl.16 (a), (c): R. Macramallah, *Le mastaba d'Idout*, (Cairo, 1935), pl.7.

Identification: G 2378: LG 26, Giza, WF, PM III.I, pp.87-88

Tomb Owner: *Sndm-ib: Mḥi*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: D41, Saqqara, NSP, PM III.II, pp.454-455

Tomb Owner: *Šḥm-ḥnh-Pth*

Scene Type: C

Identification: LG 53, Giza, GIS, PM III.I, pp.223-226

Tomb Owner: *Sšm-nfr*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: E 10, Saqqara, ESP, PM III.II, p.585

Tomb Owner: *K̄dns*

Scene Type: CFF - Inaccessible

Identification: ntn, Saqqara, UPC, PM III.II, pp.631-632

Tomb Owner: *K3-irr.w*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: G 4561, Giza, WF, PM III.I, pp.131-133

Tomb Owner: *K3i-m-ḥnh*

Scene Type: PP

Identification: ntn, Giza, CF, PM III.I, pp.244-245

Tomb Owner: *K3.i-dw3*

Scene Type: PP

Identification: G 2091, Giza, WF, PM III.I, pp.69-70

Tomb Owner: *K3pi*

Scene Type: PP

Identification: D23, Saqqara, NSP, PM III.II, pp.467-468 - **OK9**

Tomb Owner: *K3.i-m-nfr.t*

Scene Type: OFo

Source: Pl.9 (a), (b): W. K. Simpson, *The Offering Chapel of Kayemnofret in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, (Boston, 1992), p3.

Identification: G 7721, Giza, EF, PM III.II, p.203

Tomb Owner: *K3-hr-Pth*

Scene Type: PP

Identification: LS 10, Saqqara, TPC, PM III.II, pp.521-525

Tomb Owner: *K3-gm.n.i: Mni*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: D22, Saqqara, NSP, PM III.II, pp.468-478 - **OK8**

Tomb Owner: *Tii*

Scene Type: PC

Source: Pl.7 (a), Pl.8 (a), (b), (c): H. Wild, *Le Tombeau de Ti*, (Cairo, 1966), pl.CXIX.

Identification: D 61, Saqqara, WSP, PM III.II, p.608

Tomb Owner: *Dw3.n-R^c.w*

Scene Type: OFo - Inaccessible

Identification: D 59, Saqqara, WSP, PM III, p.595

Tomb Owner: *Dw3-hp*

Scene Type: CFF

2.2 Middle Kingdom period

Identification: 2, Beni Hassan, PM IV, pp.141-144

Tomb Owner: *Imn.w-m-h3t*

Scene Type: OFi

Identification: B4, Meir, PM IV, pp.251-253 - **MK4**

Tomb Owner: *Whw-htp(.w)*

Scene Type: OFi

Source: Pl.37 (a), Pl.38 (a): A. M. Blackman, *The Tomb-Chapel of Ukh-Hotp Son of Ukh-Hotp and Mersi (B, no. 4)*, (London, 1915), pl.vi.

Identification: C1, Meir, PM IV, pp.253 - **MK5**

Tomb Owner: *Whw-htp(.w)*

Scene Type: CFF

Source: Pl.38 (b), Pl.39 (a): Blackman, A. M., *The Rock Tombs of Meir. Part VI: The tomb-chapels of Ukh^hopte son of Iam (A, No. 3), Senbi son of Ukh^hopte son of Senbi*

(*B*, No. 3), and *Ukhꜥopte son of Ukhꜥopte and Hꜥeny-Hꜥery-Ib* (*C*, No. 1), (London, 1953), pl.XIII.

Identification: 15, Beni Hassan, PM IV, pp.151-159 - **MK 1, MK6**

Tomb Owner: *Bꜣkt*

Scene Type: Domestic

Source: P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan. Part II*, (London, 1893), pl.iv; Pl.39 (b): L. Evans, pers. comm.

Identification: 3, Beni Hassan, PM IV, pp.144-149 - **MK3**

Tomb Owner: *Hnmw-ḥtp(.w)*

Scene Type: CFF, Desert Hunting

Source: N. Kanawati, L. Evans, *Beni Hassan Vol. 1: The Tomb of Khnumhotep II* (Oxford, 2014), pl 34, 62, 64, 75, 77, 78.

Identification: 17, Beni Hassan, PM IV, pp.154-159.

Tomb Owner: *Hty*

Scene Type: OFi - Inaccessible

Identification: B1, Meir, PM IV, pp.249-250 - **MK2**

Tomb Owner: *Snb.j*

Scene Type: CFF

Source: Pl.32 (b): N. Kanawati, L. Evans, *The Cemetery of Meir Vol. IV: The Tombs of Senbi I and Wekhhotep I*, (Oxford, 2017), pl.80.

Identification: 1, Deir el-Bersha, PM IV, pp.177-179

Tomb Owner: *Dḥwty-nḥt*

Scene Type: OFi - Inaccessible

Identification: 2, Deir el-Bersha, PM IV, pp.179-181

Tomb Owner: *Dḥwty-ḥtp(.w)*

Scene Type: OFo, OFi - Inaccessible

2.3 New Kingdom period

Identification: TT241, PM I, pp.331-332

Tomb Owner: *Bḥ-ms*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: TT217, PM I, pp.315-317 - **NK11**

Tomb Owner: *Jpw.j*

Scene Type: OFo

Source: Pl.48 (b): 30.4.119, *Metropolitan Museum of Art*,

<<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547713>>.

Identification: TT73, PM I pp.143-144 - **NK1**

Tomb Owner: *Imn.w-ḥtp(.w)*

Scene Type: CFF

Source: Pl.40 (a), (b): T. Säve-Söderbergh. *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, (Oxford, 1957), pl.9.

Identification: TT345, PM I, pp.413-414

Tomb Owner: *Imn.w-ḥtp(.w)*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: TT85, PM I, pp.170-175

Tomb Owner: *Imn.w-m-ḥ3b*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: TT53, PM I, pp.102-104 - **NK4**

Tomb Owner: *Imn.w-m-ḥ3t*

Scene Type: CFF

Source: Pl.42 (a), (b): Chicago Oriental Institute Photos: 6416

Identification: TT82, PM I, pp.163-167

Tomb Owner: *Imn.w-m-h3t*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: TT123, PM I, pp.236-237

Tomb Owner: *Imn.w-m-h3t*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: TT42, PM I, pp.82-83

Tomb Owner: *Imn.w-ms*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: TT89, PM I, pp.181-183

Tomb Owner: *Imn.w-ms*

Scene Type: CFF - Inaccessible

Identification: TT318, PM I, p.391

Tomb Owner: *Imn.w-ms*

Scene Type: CFF - Inaccessible

PM I, p.391

Identification: TT81, PM I, pp.159-163

Tomb Owner: *Jnnj*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: TT155, PM I, pp.263-265

Tomb Owner: *Int.f*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: TT164, PM I, pp.276-277 - **NK6**

Tomb Owner: *Int.f*

Scene Type: CFF

Source: Pl.44 (a), (b): Schott photos: 6619, 6621

Identification: TT84, PM I, pp.167-170

Tomb Owner: *Jh-msjw*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: TT22, PM I, pp.37-38 - **NK12**

Tomb Owner: *W3h*

Scene Type: CFF

Source: W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, Vol. 1 (Geneve, 1988), pl.40.

Identification: TT56, PM I, pp.111-113

Tomb Owner: *Wsr-h3t*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: TT18, PM I, p.32 - **NK3**

Tomb Owner: *B3ki*

Scene Type: CFF

Source: Pl.41 (a), (b) W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, Vol. 1 (Geneve, 1988), pl.117.

Identification: TT39, PM I, pp.71-75

Tomb Owner: *Pwj-m-R^c.w*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: TT331 PM I, p.399

Tomb Owner: *Pnniw.t: Sw-nw-r3*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: TT77, PM I, pp.150-152

Tomb Owner: *Pth-m-h3t*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: TT109, PM I, pp.226-227

Tomb Owner: *Min*

Scene Type: CFF - Inaccessible

Identification: TT69, PM I, pp.134-139 - **NK8**

Tomb Owner: *Mnn3*

Scene Type: CFF

Source: Pl.46 (a), (b): N. M. Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings, Volume II: Plates 53-104*, (Chicago, 1936), pl.53.

Identification: TT79, PM I, pp.156-157 - **NK13**

Tomb Owner: *Mn-hpr-R^c.w-snb*

Scene Type: OFo

Source: Pl.50 (a), (b): Schott photos: 3683, 8295

Identification: TT172, PM I, pp.279-280

Tomb Owner: *Mntw-jj.w*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: TT52, PM I, pp.99-102

Tomb Owner: *N^cht*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: C.8, PM I, p.459-460

Tomb Owner: *N^ch.t*

Scene Type: CFF - Inaccessible

Identification: TT24, PM I, pp.41-42

Tomb Owner: *Nb-Imn.w*

Scene Type: CFF - Inaccessible

Identification: EA37977 - **NK9**

Tomb Owner: *Nb-Imn.w*

Scene Type: CFF

Source: *The British Museum, Online Collection*, (viewed 6 October),
<https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=119661&partId=1&searchText=nebamun&page=1>.

Identification: TT157, PM I, pp.266-268

Tomb Owner: *Nb-wnn.f*

Scene Type: CFF - Inaccessible

Identification: TT256, PM I, pp.340-341

Tomb Owner: *Nb-n-km.t*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: TT216, PM I, pp.312-315

Tomb Owner: *Nfr-htp(.w)*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: A.5, PM I, pp.448-449 - **NK14**

Tomb Owner: *Nfr-htp(.w)*

Scene Type: Unknown - Marsh

Source: Pl.51 (a), (b): Louvre, *Scene in the Nile Marshes*,

<<https://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/scene-nile-marshes>>.

Identification: TT165, PM I, pp.277

Tomb Owner: *Nhm-ꜥwꜣy*

Scene Type: CFF - Inaccessible

Identification: TT72, PM I, pp.142-143

Tomb Owner: *Rꜥ.w*

Scene Type: CFF - Inaccessible

Identification: TT100, PM I, pp.206-214 - **NK2**

Tomb Owner: *Rh-mi-Rꜥ.w*

Scene Type: Desert Hunting

Source: Pl.41 (c): N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē at Thebes : Volume II*, (New York, 1943), pl.43.

Identification: TT66, PM I, pp.132-133

Tomb Owner: *Hpw*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: TT78, PM I, pp.152-156

Tomb Owner: *Hrw-m-ḥ3b*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: A.24, PM I, p.454 - **NK10**

Tomb Owner: *S3-Mwt*

Scene Type: CFF

Source: Pl.48 (a): J. G. Wilkinson, *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, II, (New York, 1837), p.18.

Identification: TT92, PM I, pp.187-189

Tomb Owner: *Sw-m-nw.t*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: TT63, PM I, pp.125-128

Tomb Owner: *Sbk-ḥtp(.w)*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: TT127, PM I, pp.241-243 - **NK5**

Tomb Owner: *Sn-m-i^h*

Scene Type: CFF

Source: Pl.43 (a), (b): Chicago Oriental Institute Photos: 3474

Identification: TT96, PM I, pp.197-203

Tomb Owner: *Sn-nfr*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: TT93, PM I, pp.190-194 - **NK7**

Tomb Owner: *Kn-Imn.w*

Scene Type: Unknown - Marsh

Source: Pl.45 (a), (b): N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes*, (New York, 1930), pl.51.

Identification: TT23, PM I, pp.38-41

Tomb Owner: *T3y*

Scene Type: CFF - Inaccessible

Identification: TT158, PM I, pp.268-271

Tomb Owner: *T3-nfr*

Scene Type: CFF - Inaccessible

Identification: TT125, PM I, pp.237-241

Tomb Owner: *Dw3.y-nhh*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: TT200, PM I, pp.303-304

Tomb Owner: *Ddj*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: TT11, PM I, pp.21-24

Tomb Owner: *Dhwtj*

Scene Type: CFF - Inaccessible

Identification: TT32, PM I, pp.49-50

Tomb Owner: *Dhwt-ms*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: TT342, PM I, pp.409-410

Tomb Owner: *Dhwt-ms*

Scene Type: CFF - Inaccessible

Identification: TT80, PM I, pp.157-159

Tomb Owner: *Dhwtj-nfr*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: TT104, PM I, pp.217-219

Tomb Owner: *Dhwt-nfr*

Scene Type: CFF

Identification: TT91, PM I, pp.185-187

Tomb Owner: Unknown

Scene Type: CFF - Inaccessible