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Order and Chaos in the Hunting Iconography
and Ideology of the Predynastic Period

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

BA Egyptology

Swansea University

by Olivia Kinsman
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The people occupying the Upper Egyptian Nile Valley in the Predynastic period no longer relied upon hunting for subsistence, yet hunting is the predominant theme in art and iconography of this time. Hunting appears to have represented a battle between the human world of order and the ever-present threat of invading chaos from outside, originating from the animal world and developing into human foes. The significance of this Predynastic concept and its motifs is demonstrated by its extensive survival into, and throughout, the Dynastic period.

INTRODUCTION

Introducing Scholarly Background

The study of the Predynastic and Protodynastic periods of Egyptian prehistory (5300-3000 BC)\(^1\) has produced a great amount of scholarship and debate, beginning with individuals such as William Flinders Petrie in 1893.\(^2\) The topic of Predynastic hunting specifically has appeared in a number of publications, but is most commonly mentioned in a general study of the period, or alongside other topics, such as Prehistoric subsistence or settlements such as Hierakonpolis.\(^3\) A number of other scholars have devoted chapters or articles specifically to the topic of Predynastic hunting, such as Stan Hendrickx (2006, 2013),\(^4\) and Toby Wilkinson (2003)\(^5\) and have raised arguments for the ideological significance of hunters and hunting at this time. A number of Dynastic Egyptian practices, motifs and ideological concepts appear to have originated during the Predynastic period; specific to hunting is the concept of Order and Chaos which is evident in iconography from at least the Naqada I period, and predominantly from Upper Egypt, where the bulk of iconographic evidence has been found

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\(^1\) Shaw, I. 2000, 481.
It is therefore possible to study the ideology of the illiterate Predynastic Upper Egyptians through their iconography, which can be seen in eastern desert rock art, pottery, carved ivory and ceremonial palettes. Due to the nature of non-textual material, interpretations must be scrutinised, especially for anachronisms and embellished perceptions that are not wholly evident from the material. Modern scholars such as Whitney Davis (1992) provide arguments for the interpretation of Predynastic scenes which can lend itself to this study. Iconography must also be considered in context, considering the activities and lifestyle of the craftsman and how this may have impacted their artistic expression. By combining the study of specific archaeological examples with a consideration of the interconnected role that they may play in the broad context of the period, this dissertation aims to conclude whether or not the ideology of Order and Chaos was indeed evident and important during the Predynastic period.

**Chapter Summaries**

This discussion will consider the significance of the iconographic scenes depicting the conquest and defeat of wild animals, and will be explored through the scenes on Naqadan pottery, and Hierakonpolis tomb 100, with the argument that creatures, such as the hippopotamus, represent the uncontrolled forces of chaos in nature. The depiction of the control of wild animals through spatial containment, physical bonds, and organisation, such as is shown on some ivory combs and knife handles, will be examined in the second section, suggesting that beyond slaying wild animals, order could be achieved through living control. The presence of monstrous hybrids of the desert, as depicted on cosmetic palettes, such as the Oxford and Narmer palettes, will be studied for what they reveal about conceptions of chaos.

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6 Shaw, I. 2000, 481.
7 Despite difficulties in dating rock art, some rock art examples have been included in this study under the premise that stylistically they appear to belong to the Predynastic and Early Dynastic Period; Lankester, F. 2012, 359; Hendrickx, S. 2006, 735.
in the desert. Finally, the expression of human power over animals through animal adornments and the parallel between hunting and warfare in the overall theme of chaos will be discussed.

**Context of the Period**

To set the context of hunting during the Naqada period it is vitally important to note that the people settled in Upper Egypt during this time were moving towards, or already living in, a sedentary lifestyle relying on animal husbandry and agriculture for the majority of their food supply.\(^8\) This lifestyle led to larger social units and craft specialisation, paving the way for communal organisation of surplus and goods.\(^9\) It has been suggested by Barry Kemp that such settled societies often developed a sense of territorial ownership and defensiveness against the unfamiliar world beyond the settlement’s borders.\(^10\) For the Dynastic Egyptians it is clear that such an attitude towards the outside world was held and this ties in with the concept of Order and Chaos; it has often been argued, therefore, that the origins of this ideology belong to the Predynastic period, where such a lifestyle began.\(^11\) With this in mind, we must look at what the outside world was during this time, and how the Predynastic Upper Egyptians interacted with it.\(^12\)

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\(^9\) Köhler, E. 2010, 43.

\(^10\) Kemp, 2006, 74.


\(^12\) The material culture of Upper Egypt takes the predominant focus for this discussion as the majority of iconographic evidence has been preserved beyond the Delta region.
CHAPTER 1: DEFEATING CHAOS

Wild Animals Represent Chaos

Within their settlements, the Egyptians had already become accustomed to living with domesticated animals; outside their secure location, however, they came across wild animals that were beyond their control, many of which posed a direct threat to them. The formidable hippopotamus and crocodile were such wild creatures that they encountered on the Nile when fishing or collecting water. These creatures were extremely dangerous and must have represented the uncontrolled, wild forces of nature: a chaotic world beyond society’s sphere of influence.13 Lions, snakes and other beasts of the desert were also beings outside of their territory and society and so are likely to have represented the unknown and unfamiliar things of which to be wary. Therefore, it is reasonable to propose that such animals were the embodiments of chaos that directly opposed the order of their settled way of life. Here, then, comes the significance of hunting in such a worldview: in order to keep these creatures at bay, hunting was often necessary, which in turn conceptually meant that the forces of chaos were being defeated by the forces of order. During this period, the people of the Nile Valley began to communicate their ideas, beliefs and experiences through images,14 and so this ideology of Order and Chaos can be supported by a plethora of Predynastic iconographic images.

Depicting Defeat

It is during the Naqada I period that images of the natural world began to be created, such as animals carved on cosmetic palettes;15 human representations increased through the latter two

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Naqadan phases,\textsuperscript{16} and, with them, a human role in ideology can be theorised. One method of keeping the animal forces of chaos at bay was by the act of hunting and slaying them. The act of defeat could be shown in a number of ways, but always with the emphasis being on the control and process of defeating the animal, rather than on the end result;\textsuperscript{17} it appears to have been the act of hunting which held iconographic power rather than the depiction of slaughter.\textsuperscript{18} In some instances no hunter is actually shown and the weapons representing the domination are the only things depicted beside the beast.\textsuperscript{19} Alternatively, and more frequently, hunting dogs are shown in desert scenes on rock art (fig. 1) and pottery, and again the gore of slaughter is not shown, but the act of the dogs surrounding and launching themselves at the animals is given instead; this can be seen on a jar from Naqada, tomb 1644, depicting dogs hunting a Barbary sheep (fig. 2). What is particularly interesting about such dogs is the indication of human influence over them, shown by the notches above and below their necks, suggested by Hendrickx to be leashes or bells.\textsuperscript{20} This is supported by accompanying humans in other scenes such as on rock art from \textit{Wadi Barramiya} (fig. 3) and on a C-Ware bowl at the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, where the hunter holds in one hand his hunting bow, and in the other leashes tied to hunting dogs, with bells at their throat (fig. 4). Humans can also appear without their hunting dogs, and even without the assistance of other hunters. Another C-Ware bowl shows a solitary hunter in a boat harpooning and netting a hippopotamus and a crocodile at the same time (fig. 5), again without graphic detail of slaughter and with only the indication that the hunter has set in motion the defeat of these dangerous creatures. The unrealistic, and possibly ideological nature of a solitary human defeating wild animals occurs in a number of other pottery scenes, in rock art (fig. 6) and on a Naqada I cosmetic palette (fig. 7).

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{16} Romer, J. 2013, 112. \\
\textsuperscript{17} Hendrickx, S. 2013, 239; Davis, D. 1992, 67. \\
\textsuperscript{18} Hendrickx, S. 2006, 736. \\
\textsuperscript{19} Hendrickx, S. 2013, 239. \\
\end{flushright}
Depicting and Manifesting

It is clear then, by such examples, that the depiction of the wild being aggressively subjugated was what was desired, rather than a realistic narrative of events. When this divide of the wild and chaotic versus the tamed and ordered is considered, the human hunters and their domesticated dogs can be seen as representations of order that are defeating chaos and danger. This idea can relate to later Naqada III and Dynastic smiting scenes, where the representation of the process of defeat directly equates to its manifestation in reality. Before suggesting that this may be anachronistic it is important to consider that the later Dynastic ideologies - of a ruler’s defeat of chaos by image - may have stemmed from earlier hunting iconography. This is possibly because, on a basic level, they represent the same ideas, just with different levels of social progress, and, in some scenes, imagery does indeed appear to survive into the Dynastic period. As Wilkinson suggests, by permanently representing this position of defeating in an image, half of the battle of defeat was already guaranteed in the hunters’ favour.

Narrative or Ideology

To further support this idea of the duality of Order and Chaos in the Predynastic hunting iconography, the paintings of Hierakonpolis tomb 100 (Naqada II) illustrate a clear divide between worlds. Kemp argues that the central boats may represent the order of human society, especially with a ‘ruler’ figure seated in one under an awning (fig. 8); surrounding these boats are both human and animal threats, each and every one defeated by a variety of threats.

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23 Kemp, B. 2006, 81.
26 Kemp, B. 2006, 81.
different means.\textsuperscript{27} Animals are hunted using traps, smiting, lassoing and a ‘master of animals’ motif (fig. 9);\textsuperscript{28} this last motif will be discussed later, but certainly contains ideological connotations. If we accept a symbolic interpretation of the visual representation of all these chaotic threats being conquered, we can conclude that the scenes of tomb 100 bring together iconographic motifs conveying order over chaos. Interestingly, this is also shown in a tomb environment,\textsuperscript{29} just as the aforementioned C-Ware pottery examples have been found, although to understand the meaning of this context would require further exploration into Predynastic funerary beliefs; it is possible, however, to interpret the scene in this context as a representation of the owner’s lifetime,\textsuperscript{30} or even as an idealised lifetime.\textsuperscript{31}

The scenes of tomb 100 have also been given historical significance. Studies may provide interpretations of such scenes without consideration for the context of the rest of the tomb, or provenance, which may in fact point to further clues of interpretation;\textsuperscript{32} therefore, it cannot be ignored that this painting was found in an area where during the Naqada period physical evidence of hunting and human violence has been found in a considerable amount.\textsuperscript{33} Hendrickx, also points out that some of the hunting methods shown may reveal actual hunting practices.\textsuperscript{34} We may then ask if it is possible that this scene is in fact a representation of events which occurred in the tomb owner’s life or at least in the geographical area. In this instance, due to the wild faunal evidence, it is not unlikely; although, the iconographic similarity to other hunting scenes also points to its symbolic nature, in which the concept of hunting is what was desired to be expressed. Although the painted tomb scene has no

\textsuperscript{27} Kemp, B. 2006, 93-94.
\textsuperscript{28} Arnold, B. & Counts, D. 2010, 11, 13.
\textsuperscript{29} Friedman, R. 2011, 43; there is also a now unsupported suggestion that the context is that of a subterranean shrine, Case, H. & Crowfoot Payne, J. 1962, 5.
\textsuperscript{31} Taylor, J. 2001, 139.
\textsuperscript{32} O’Connor, D. 2002, 6-7.
\textsuperscript{33} Hierakonpolis Online, Workers’ Cemetery HK43.
\textsuperscript{34} Hendrickx, S. 2011, 78.
parallels in other tombs, its individual motifs can be seen in other mediums throughout Naqada I-III, from a range of sites. Since the high percentage of wild faunal remains and hunting evidence at Hierakonpolis is an anomaly for contemporary sites, the significance may instead reside in a growing shared iconography and ideology, reflected in these common motifs. Certainly in the case of art from the Dynastic period, the artists sought to explore the idealised interaction between the human, natural, and supernatural worlds, and Wilkinson argues that this was not intended to record everyday occurrences. We can see unrealistic representations in many scenes, including the tomb 100 paintings, with the inclusion of a ‘master of animals’ motif that narrative expression was not the sole intention of the Predynastic artists, although we cannot rule it out entirely. Nevertheless in the unrealistic scenes especially, the human hunters appear to control the chaotic animal world, in the pose of defeating, as an ideological expression of order triumphing over chaos.

**Conclusions**

The suggested significance of most of the aforementioned scenes is that these are not depicting narrative scenes of reality but instead aimed to represent defeat without the necessity for realism. This non-narrative aspect may then lend itself to suggest that this aims to be an ideological scene, representing a great power held in human hands; however, one must also consider that the artist was depicting the minimum that was needed to be shown in order for the viewer to comprehend the concept of a hunt. At its simplest, they could depict the idea of hunting as an artistic and expressive motif of life experience. This may indeed be the case for the scenes within tomb 100, or in fact others found in the Hierakonpolis area dated to the Naqada period; however, other activities that were far more

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36 Hendrickx, 2013, 238.
38 Wilkinson, T. 2003, 143.
39 Hendrickx, S. 2013, 239.
economically important, such as fishing, are absent from the visual record,\footnote{Hendrickx, S. 2011, 77.} supporting the iconographic importance of hunting specifically. Whether reality, ideology or both, the viewer would see these creatures successfully dominated by weapons, hunting dogs, and human hunters, and not need reassurance with the detail of gore; in fact, depicting the mighty hippopotamus pre-death may have had a greater iconographic impact than one shown already dead – for the threat was then active and the expression of chaos clear. Davis addresses this concept of ‘masking the blow’ (1992) where the scene depicts the preconditions of the attack, rather than the attack itself.\footnote{Davis, W. 1992, 67.} While we cannot draw definitive conclusions either way, it is evident that whether it be ideology or an artistic expression of reality, the motif of hunting and defeat was significant to these people at this time. The fact remains that outside the ceremonial area of Hierakonpolis, hunting was not an economically important activity, nor a common one,\footnote{Hendrickx, S. 2013, 238; Wetterstrom, W. 1993, 224.} and so ideology remains a reasonable argument for its frequent representation.
CHAPTER 2: CONTROL

Iconographic Restriction

The aforementioned principles that have been suggested to stem from the Predynastic period, such as the power of an image to manifest into reality, can be seen in numerous forms in iconography. The ordered human world can dominate over the chaotic world of the wild, not only through violence, but through physical restriction as a result of hunting without immediate killing. There are multiple examples of animals depicted within an enclosed space on pottery vessels, for example a bowl from Abadiya is decorated with a white cross-lined motif of a crocodile (fig. 10); below the image are wavy lines identified as water, and drawn above is a net. An additional detail is the presence of weights on either side of the net, which spread over the rim of the bowl,\textsuperscript{43} as if to contain the crocodile inside. Another example features hippopotami surrounded by a depiction of wavy water lines, which serve to contain them within a circle (fig. 11);\textsuperscript{44} however, there are further examples which do not appear to coincide with this idea, as in the case of a Naqada I bowl featuring hippopotami around the rim, with one attempting to escape (fig. 12). The insinuation of escape may contradict the idea previously mentioned; however, the figure does not necessarily succeed in escaping the vessel. Nevertheless, the appearance of contradictory evidence does not discount the possible interpretation of other examples, and can suggest a multiplicity of ideas chosen to be displayed through the media of pottery; one artist may have chosen to represent an ideological containment of chaos, whilst another may have wished to convey an artistic preference. In this contradictory example, the very style of the decoration is in a sculptural form rather than white cross-lined, and so the same iconographic rules may not apply. Perhaps it also depended on the function of the bowl, which may be difficult to determine, especially if the find spot is unknown. Scholars have suggested that these Predynastic

\textsuperscript{43} The above description is based on the interpretation given in Wodzińska, A. 2010, 114.

\textsuperscript{44} Craig Patch, D. 2011, 33.
Egyptians did not create art for art’s sake, supported by the later lack of a word translated as “art”;45 however, there was also no word for “religion” either, despite the clear existence of religion.46 It is clear from the pottery of this time that aesthetic value did play some role, when certain pots are decorated with only repeated patterns rather than natural scenes.47 Therefore, it is difficult to determine whether these scenes of iconographic containment are aesthetic decorations, depictions of habitats, ideological motifs, or indeed, all three.

**Master of Animals**

The idea of containing these animal forces through artwork is, however, supported by other examples that are more certain. The ‘master of animals’ motif seen in the Hierakonpolis tomb 100, (fig. 9, 13) and the *Gebel el-Ark* knife handle (fig. 14) also appear to show the physical restriction of wild animals, this time by direct human intervention. In this case lions are the beings targeted and in the latter example, the image of basenji hunting dogs appear below ‘master of animals’, drawing a link to the motif and hunting scenes; on the reverse are scenes of human conflict and chaos, which can also be associated to the hunt later on in this discussion. In these examples, a single human is holding these ferocious beasts with his bare hands, restricting their movement and with his own force his prevents them from doing harm. Unlike some other scenes where the line between historical images and ideology is uncertain, this ‘master of animals’ motif is clearly symbolic, and is one which appears in many other cultures, all similarly pointing towards the concept of humanity vs. nature; tamed vs. wild; and order vs. chaos.48 Bettina Arnold and Derek Counts point out that in almost all the contexts where this motif is found, hunting is not the primary form of subsistence, and is

47 As in the example of British Museum, EA47996.
therefore linked to the association between hunting imagery and the power of individuals.\textsuperscript{49} We can therefore interpret this physical restriction as demonstrating the powerful strength of the individual in his capacity to hold back these beasts, and in doing so, he holds back the forces of chaos.

**Tethered Animals**

There exist many more examples of Predynastic humans shown mastering animals through the means of physical restraint and tethering. Both hunters and herders alike are shown doing this, emphasising mastery over the wild and domesticated animals. Even though domesticated cattle are within the world of order, they are still of the animal world, and so the human dominance over them reflects the maintenance of human order over animals. A hunter can be seen aiming his arrow at a chained-down ostrich, with a hunting dog at its rear on a rock art panel at *Wadi Mineh* (fig. 15). The ostrich belongs to the world of chaos in the desert and is being prevented from fleeing, so that the hunter is guaranteed success in his hunt. It is suggested by Wilkinson that such scenes depict a ritual slaughter, indicating the ideological significance of killing such creatures;\textsuperscript{50} it is less likely an act of subsistence magic for acquiring food, but an act of apotropaic mastery.\textsuperscript{51} This draws a parallel to the previously discussed concept of the power of the image of defeating, now with additional emphasis on physical restriction. This is also paralleled later in Dynastic art, with the king restraining his victims before the kill.\textsuperscript{52} Rock art at *Wadi Abu Wasil* shows a cow tethered by a horned hunter-herder, beside his hunting dog and a smaller individual who is possibly a child (fig. 16).\textsuperscript{53} The presence of the hunting dog indicates that this scene can be interpreted like other hunting scenes, despite involving a domesticated cow. To further support the presence of this

\textsuperscript{49} Arnold, B. & Counts, D. 2010, 19.  
\textsuperscript{50} Wilkinson, T. 2003, 144.  
\textsuperscript{51} Raffaele, F. 2010, 245; Stein, R. & Stein, P. 2008, 83.  
\textsuperscript{52} Wilkinson, T. 2003, 145.  
\textsuperscript{53} Wilkinson, T. 2003, 107, fig. 38.
method of conquering chaos through restriction rather than just guaranteed slaughter, a vessel from Abydos shows tethered hippopotami, including a pregnant one, without any humans threatening them with weaponry (fig. 17). Here are also seen human captives, suggesting the idea that humans could also act outside the ordered rules of society, alongside the chaos of the wild.

Some of these scenes can reasonably be interpreted as an expression of reality, whereas others clearly cannot. It is indeed possible to tether an ostrich as part of a ritual slaughter, as well as a domesticated cow; it is less likely that hippopotami – and pregnant ones at that – would have been tethered, especially alongside cattle, as is featured in the Abydos vessel. Nevertheless, outside iconography, evidence exists of the captivity of wild animals in elite areas such as Hierakonpolis.54 In this case, unrealistic images originating from the Naqada period and cultural areas may act as a reflection of the overall idea of restriction, both in its ideological significance and in reality. In the ceremonial district of Hierakonpolis 17% of the faunal assemblage uncovered is of wild animal remains (fig. 18); its context and number implies that these wild animals played a role in the ceremonial practices and ideology present in the area.55 The cemetery contains the remains of beasts such as a hippopotamus, crocodile and an elephant; recent studies have shown that such remains bare evidence of captivity, through healed injuries,56 and human-provided stomach contents.57 Many of these animals have been found in association with elite burials, aligning them to powerful individuals and are suggested to reflect displays of power in their capture and ceremonially timed sacrifice.58 It is important to consider the parallel between the physical and iconographic evidence, to observe how these people may have been expressing

54 Friedman, R. 2011, 40.
55 This is in stark contrast to only 1.5 % of wild animal remains found in the rest of the settlement, Friedman, R. 2011, 36.
56 Friedman, R. 2011, 40; Van Neer, W & Linseele, V. 2009, 11-12.
58 Flores, D. 2003, 59; Friedman, R. 2011, 40.
aspects of their lives. The practices that can be seen in the archaeological record appear to have developed an ideology behind them, or vice versa, which extended beyond the barriers of reality and into metaphors and symbols. As Hendrickx suggests, “reality was taken as a starting point for developing an iconography by which much more complex ideas could be addressed”.

There certainly appears to be an argument for the ideological value of hunting wild animals, holding them in captivity, sacrificing and burying them, especially considering the fact that they are powerful, dangerous prey, and of little economic use; furthermore, this was all done by those who could afford to bury these good resources, including their domestic animals, and therefore were in a position to demonstrate their wealth and influence, especially through the use of iconography.

Animal Rows

There remains to be discussed the iconographic motif of ordered rows of animals, wild and domesticated, that appear in rock art, as well as on “luxury items” such as ivory combs and knife handles. The rock art rows vary in that they can show a line of the same species, such as ostriches or ibexes (figs. 19 and 20), or they can show a line containing different species, such as is found near Silwa Bahari (fig. 21). Whilst the former can easily be interpreted as a simple flock or herd in horizontal representation, the latter is not a realistic narrative of processing animals. Interestingly, a hunter stands below the mixed-species row, aiming his arrow at a running ostrich. The row in conjunction with the hunting scene suggests a related theme of mastery over the species in the list. Perhaps the artist wished to convey a taxonomy of chaotic beings for the hunter to overcome, as they line up to their fate? The less explicit suggestion of slaughter can be seen on Naqada III combs and knife handles, where rows of

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59 Hendrickx, S. 2006, 743.
60 Friedman, R. 2011, 39-40.
61 Raffaele, F. 2010, 246.
62 Wilkinson, T. 2003, 142, 144, figs. 45, 47.
63 Houlihan, P. 1996, 40, fig. 30.
animals line up, often a species per row (figs. 22 and 23). In the case of the knife handles, the rows are orientated towards the blade, evoking again the memory of the rock art hunter aiming his arrow at the ostrich below the row of desert beasts.

As shown in Frank Raffaele’s study (2010), there is much to analyse with regards to the iconography and context of the carved ivory animal rows. These scenes appear to mimic rock art representations of rows and share the possibility of being an animal taxonomy; these also appear to resemble the rows of human captives now heavily featured in scenes of this period (late Naqada II- III). In many examples hunting dogs, and rosettes – symbols of order and elite authority – attack or follow the row (figs. 22, 23 and 24), functioning as shepherding figures to keep the animals within the contained order. Dogs are the most frequently occurring creature controlling the end of these rows on decorated ivories, drawing parallels to their favoured role as hunting companions controlling the wild in the hunt; indeed these rows may express a stylised expression of a dog-lead hunting scene. In addition to these figures, there are a number of examples that also show a top row of elephants upon two snakes dominating the rows below; this composite image presents difficulties in interpretation, although again appears to be acting as a symbol of authority. The position of the elephant on top of the snake evokes the idea of trampling upon the enemy, representing chaos. These dominating creatures often stand at the top of the animal rows, reigning over the whole scene, with serving hunting dogs and symbols of order maintaining the rows below. Perhaps it is also significant that these elephants appear in their own row,
being creatures of the desert themselves, and reinforcing the previously mentioned idea that even creatures of order needed to be kept in their place.\textsuperscript{74} It is possible, therefore that these ivory scenes not only serve a decorative function, for they are excellently carved, but also an ideological function, in organising these creatures of chaos into unnatural rows in order to control them.\textsuperscript{75} It is significant that such scenes appear on what Raffaele terms “luxury” items, or what Michael Hoffman calls “powerfacts”, belonging to the elite members of society; these would be the individuals or groups responsible for hiring specialised craftsmen who standardised ideology and iconography in order to legitimise their status.\textsuperscript{76} Individuals with authority over the forces of animal chaos would be recognised as powerful enough to dominate human foes and lead society, as is evident in Dynastic kingship.\textsuperscript{77}

**Conclusions**

The believed power of an image or sculpture to manifest in reality is again show in these Predynastic scenes. These images could function to express practices in life, but certainly not all of them did. If they represented ideas and concepts of dominating the animal world, then one must ask why this was an important and popular motif to depict. It may be relevant to point out that during the Dynastic period, the king’s royal regalia included a shepherds crook,\textsuperscript{78} demonstrating his role in “shepherding” his people, and perhaps dominance over the domesticated wild. The Egyptians had asserted control over these once wild creatures and demonstrated this in the iconography of control, through tethering and organising. For those creatures that were too dangerous or somehow out of reach from domestication, they served as the perfect symbol of the uncontrollable; however, this was a threat to human society, and so control must be achieved by individuals powerful enough to hunt them, and utilise

\textsuperscript{74} See discussion on tethered cattle, above.
\textsuperscript{75} Macy Roth, A. 2011, 197.
\textsuperscript{77} Wilkinson, T. 2000, 29.
\textsuperscript{78} Wilkinson, T. 2003, 139.
sympathetic magic to guarantee their success.\textsuperscript{79}

\textsuperscript{79} Wilkinson, T. 2003, 100.
CHAPTER 3: HYBRIDS OF CHAOS

Hybrids of the Desert

The creatures inhabiting the desert were creatures representing the chaos residing within unfamiliar territory and this apparently created a sense of mystery and fear of the desert and inspired the imaginations of the Egyptians regarding what may reside there. Mesopotamian iconography apparently presented the perfect method of expressing this mysterious and terrifying unknown, through its depiction of animal hybridity, particularly in the case of griffins and serpopards.80 These hybrids were appropriated for an Egyptian purpose and are always found shown within a desert environment.81 Aside from griffins and serpopards, native Egyptian animals could also be shown in hybrid forms which sometimes extended to aquatic creatures.82 Cosmetic palettes are frequently decorated with hybrid beings, either in carved decoration such as on the Oxford Palette,83 or carved in their whole form, such as on a palette in the shape of a bull and a tilapia fish (fig. 25).84 It is notable that such examples come from the Late Predynastic period of Naqada III, up to the First Dynasty, where the chaos of the Nile Valley appears to have been conquered by rulers, and a sedentary lifestyle kept people within the Nile Valley for most of their daily pursuits.85 Thus we see an increasing emphasis of desert and human chaos, on decorated elite items, with mythological hybrids as symbols of this, at this time. Their presence on elite items, or “powerfacts” may further suggest their role in the ideology of power, of Order over Chaos, extending from the hunters of the past to the rulers of the future.

The great numbers in which cosmetic palettes have been found, functional and ceremonial, and their possible role in cosmetic hunting preparation, has been suggested to

81 Houlihan, P. 1996, 43-44.
82 Hendrickx, S. 2011, 200-201, cat. 53.
84 Hendrickx, S. 2011, 80, 200-201, cat. 53.
indicate a lifestyle where hunting was important;\textsuperscript{86} the faunal remains show that whilst hunting was not of economic import at this time, it had ideological value, as has been shown.\textsuperscript{87} Furthermore, significant ceremonial palettes, such as the Narmer palette (fig. 26) and the Oxford Palette (fig. 27, also known as the Hierakonpolis or Two Dogs palette),\textsuperscript{88} were found in the ceremonial site of Hierakonpolis, suggesting a religious function.\textsuperscript{89} This context suggests that the images on these and other such palettes that are related to hunting may again be of ideological significance, especially with the inclusion of hybrid, mythological animals. In a time before writing, the exact meaning of individual mythological animals can be difficult to conclude. Some scholars have suggested that they had a protective role in defeating creatures of chaos,\textsuperscript{90} whilst others infer that these desert hybrids represented theriomorphic powers of chaos,\textsuperscript{91} just as the hippopotamus and crocodile symbolised in the Nile Valley.

\textbf{Hybrids on the Oxford Palette}

The obverse of the Oxford Palette provides an example of two serpopards framing the cosmetic disk with their elongated heads, and standing above a desert hunting scene, led by hunting dogs.\textsuperscript{92} In this representation the serpopards are licking an ibex which rests between their two heads; it is difficult to determine what this act is supposed to express. Their position imitates that of the \textit{Lycaon pictus'} framing the palette, who are argued by Hendrickx to represent the ideal desert group hunter, and in this context they maintain order by containing the chaos of the desert hunt within the scene;\textsuperscript{93} the serpopards create a similar shape on this

\textsuperscript{86} Wilkinson, T. 2003, 95.
\textsuperscript{87} Hendrickx, S. 2011, 28.
\textsuperscript{88} Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, AN1896-1908.E3924.
\textsuperscript{89} O’Connor, D. 2003, 9.
\textsuperscript{90} Meeks, D. 2000, 505.
\textsuperscript{91} Hendrickx, S. 2003, 80.
\textsuperscript{92} Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, AN1896-1908.E3924.
\textsuperscript{93} Hendrickx, S. 2006, 740.
palette, suggesting the possibility that they too are containing the chaos within. On the reverse the hunting scene continues and a single serpopard appears attacking an ibex, in identical fashion to lions, a leopard and a griffin. David O’Connor suggests that the obverse illustrates matters of the divine, and the reverse represents dealing with the chaotic forces outside; however, there does not appear to be a clear iconographic differentiation on this palette to demonstrate that, other than the positioning of the serpopards around the cosmetic disk. The subduing of the hunted desert animals by the felines and hybrids is not unlike other hunting scenes, argued to represent defeating chaos, and so a protective function seems possible. Griffins and serpopards both return to iconography in the Middle Kingdom on apotropaic wands with a protective function. Their monstrous appearance had the same terrorising effect on negative entities as the Dynastic form of Bes and Taweret; however, this cannot necessarily be applied to the Predynastic period, not only due to the great time span, but also because of contradictory interpretations. It is also possible that the serpopards shown on the Two Dogs Palette may instead represent creatures of chaos amongst a chaotic hunt, all hunting one another, rather than actively protecting the ordered world.

**Hybrids on the Four Dogs Palette**

The Four Dogs Palette (fig. 28) is, as the name suggests, framed by four hunting dogs. In the centre of the reverse are two giraffes on either side of a palm tree interpreted by Christiana Köhler to represent chaos and tamed nature respectively. Turning to the obverse, then, above the cosmetic disk is a lion and an ibis, and below the disk is a serpopard. It would be easy to interpret this, then, as the four dogs surrounding natural sources of chaos and keeping

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95 Meeks, D. 2000, 505.
97 As paraphrased by Hendrickx, S. 2010, 81.
It contained. This serpopard does not imitate the containing dogs, and instead appears in a similar position to the lion and ibis; the head of the serpopard and the ibis, however, do act to seal the scene, appearing between the heads of the dogs. As aforementioned, before the unification until one leader and one ideological-iconographical canon, it is indeed possible for different artists to wish to convey different ideas with the same available motifs; indeed, whilst a lion is defeated in the Hunters’ Palette (fig. 29), a lion destroys human foes, and seems to represent a victorious ruler, on the Battlefield Palette (fig. 30). The role of the lion on the Four Dogs Palette is thus uncertain, as is the role of the serpopard.

Hybrids on the Narmer Palette

A key theme of the Narmer Palette is the subjugation of human foes, and thus victory of order over foreign chaos; on the obverse two serpopards also appear, framing the cosmetic disk. In this example, the function of these hybrids is perhaps clearer as they are tethered at the neck by two men how hold them in place. This brings a direct link between mythological desert hybrids and the natural animals of chaos, in their necessity to be tethered and controlled. The two men restraining the serpopards appear to resemble the king with their divine beards, and perhaps represent royal power subjugating these forces. The images on the ceremonial palettes should not be interpreted without consideration given to the overall function of the palette. Wilkinson has suggested that functioning cosmetic palettes may have been appropriately shaped into creatures which the user intended to hunt, combining the practice of cosmetic application for hunting rituals, and the symbolic grinding and destroying...

98 A similar idea is expressed on the Metropolitan Palette; Metropolitan Museum of Art, #28.9.8.
99 British Museum, EA20791; on the reverse of this palette the giraffe and palm tree motif appear again, tying the scene into the theme of order and chaos further.
100 Global Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE32169.
of the creatures depicted;\textsuperscript{102} if this is the case then it can perhaps extend to the ceremonial palettes. These ceremonial palettes are decorated with elaborate designs compared to the functional palettes (a term which might be misleading if the ceremonial palettes were used in ceremonies);\textsuperscript{103} both types of palette appear to demonstrate the same ideological purpose of dominating chaotic foes, and therefore have a magical function.\textsuperscript{104} Some scholars have argued that the palettes can be read as a narrative, especially in the case of the Narmer Palette;\textsuperscript{105} however, with the previous discussion given for hybrid creatures on these palettes, an ideological symbolic function cannot be ignored. The overall theme of Order and Chaos is certainly visible, with the serpopards being physically restrained within the same context of defeating human foes.

In addition to serpopards and griffins, other composite animals have been identified on functional palettes and on an ivory knife handle. Dirk Huyge has acknowledged two rows of hybrid animals on the \textit{Abu Zeidan} knife handle: on the seventh row he describes the animals as a unique mix between an ibex and a tilapia (fig. 31).\textsuperscript{106} With this combined form he suggests an interpretation based on later symbolic associations of rebirth and fertility, directed at these two animals.\textsuperscript{107} These hybrid creatures appear in rows of the untamed wild and as previously discussed, are thus being controlled and fixed into a world of order.\textsuperscript{108} Perhaps the hybrid and double headed creatures formed by cosmetic palettes, such as a cross between bull and tilapia fish (fig. 25), also represent the unordered nature of the animal world, and as Wilkinson suggests, are defeated and controlled by the symbolic act of grinding upon the palette.\textsuperscript{109}

\textsuperscript{102} Wilkinson, T. 2000, 94.
\textsuperscript{103} O'Connor, D. 2002, 9.
\textsuperscript{104} Davis, D. 1992, 19.
\textsuperscript{106} Huyge, D. 2004, 825, 829, fig. 2.
\textsuperscript{107} Huyge, D. 2004, 830.
\textsuperscript{108} Macy Roth, A. 2011, 197.
\textsuperscript{109} Wilkinson, T. 2003, 94.
Conclusions

The representation of animal hybrids presents a dual interpretation of animals symbolising chaos, or animals combining power, which would be favourable in defending order. Their deviation from natural forms and wild desert habitat defend the argument that they belong with the forces of disorder, and this is particularly evident on the Narmer Palette where two serpopards are physically held back by figures resembling the king himself; the overall theme of the palette appears to be the subjugation of enemy forces,\(^{110}\) within which the hybrids are certainly included. The use of serpopards appears to have been abandoned until the Middle Kingdom, where they appear on apotropaic wands as a protective entity;\(^{111}\) with the formalising of Dynastic iconography the elite rejected Mesopotamian motifs in favour of native ones, but the theme of chaos remained and hybrid animals still appeared.\(^{112}\)

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\(^{110}\) Narmer Palette, Egyptian Museum of Antiquities, Cairo, 7.

\(^{111}\) British Museum, EA18175.

CHAPTER 4: THE HUNTER’S POWER

Mastering Animal Power

A very common occurrence on Predynastic depictions of hunters is the inclusion of animal adornments upon the hunters’ persons, or heterosomatic hybridity; these depictions show the hunters’ proficiency at mastering their prey, in their ability to wear them as trophies. This can be seen in the eastern desert rock art of Was-ha-waset, white cross-lined pottery, ceremonial cosmetic palettes and again in Hierakonpolis tomb 100 (figs. 32, 17, 29, 9, respectively). This practice, or iconographic motif - for it is unclear whether this was one or the other or both - is also seen on the Narmer Palette with the king wearing a bull’s tail, and further Dynastic scenes, where the same purpose seems to be relevant. As appears to be the case for animal-formed amulets, the owner could harness the power of the animal that they wished to absorb, through sympathetic magic; theoretically, so too could the wearer of hunted animal remains absorb the powers of that animal, even if just through a visual representation of doing so. In fact, this may be the very reason that early gods were zoomorphic, and why they continued to be shown in this way during the Dynastic period. This may be what is depicted on the Hunters’ Palette, where it would be desirable for the hunters to obtain the hunting prowess of the Lycaon pictus, from the tails that they wore. In doing this, the hunters would have mastered the animal through slaying it, and then mastered the animal’s power by wearing their trophy; thus the hunter takes the power away from the wild and uses it for himself for his own aims. Horns are a common feature of animal adornment, as are tails and feathered headdress (figs.16 and 17 and 32), identifying the most characteristic aspects of the respective animal. A hunter pictured in the paintings of

113 Simandiraki-Grimshaw, A. 2010, 94.
114 Hendrickx, S. 2013, 254, fig. 13.
116 Wilkinson, T. 2003, 100, 140.
118 Hendrickx, S. 2006.
Hierakonpolis tomb 100 appears wearing the skin of the species that he is hunting in the very same scene (fig. 9, no. 3), implying his power to dominate these animals in the past, and his ability to do so again. Animal adornments do not appear on every hunter, however, and certain adornments may indicate status; \(^{119}\) certainly in the Dynastic period it was a royal prerogative to wear the bull’s tail as a sign of the bull’s power appropriated by the King, which is displayed on the Narmer Palette. Hendrickx points out that figures appearing in warfare scenes on the white cross-lined jars found in Abydos tomb U-239 and U-415 (figs. 17 and 33) show only the victors wearing these tails; \(^{120}\) they appear to have mastered animal chaos, and now can master human chaos too. Mastery over the chaotic powers of the wild may even extend to the very embodiment of the complete animal form, which also appears to feature in the elite ideology of power.

**Elite Ideology**

It can be seen through the increasingly clear separation of common and elite graves during the Naqada period, that there was a growing elite class at this time. \(^{121}\) In the case of the elite graves and the ceremonial area of Hierakonpolis, it is clear that dominance over wild animals was one aspect of the elite ideology of power, as seen in the faunal remains previously discussed. \(^{122}\) This ideology of power appears to have spread through harnessing iconographic motifs on luxury items, such as ivory combs and cosmetic palettes, all which commonly bear representations of hunting and control. It therefore appears that the elite of this time sought a legitimisation of power through the ideology of their superhuman role as the maintainers of Order over Chaos, and thus as protectors of the people. The role of the hunter is emphasised through the aforementioned method of animal power appropriation, and, in a similar way, the

\(^{119}\) Craig Patch, D. 2011, 37.
\(^{120}\) Hendrickx, S. 2006, 742; Hendrickx, S. 2006, 741, fig. 4; Craig Patch, D. 2011, 62, cat. 62.
\(^{121}\) Hendrickx, S., Huyge, D. & Wendrich, W. 2010, 23.
\(^{122}\) Friedman, R. 2011, 36.
lead victor of warfare can appear in full animal form, such as the lion on the Battlefield Palette, (fig. 30)\textsuperscript{123} or the bull on the Narmer Palette (fig. 26). These individuals not only had the power to control or kill these beasts, but they could also become them and take on their attributes.\textsuperscript{124} Before the identification of the ruler and lion, the lion was seen as a creature of chaos;\textsuperscript{125} in both instances, however, the lion’s fierce power is represented. Davis highlights a potentially important iconographic feature differentiating when the ruler is depicted as a lion on the Battlefield Palette, and when the lion is the enemy of the Hunters’ Palette: On the former, the lion’s rear is protected by his curling tail and the enemy flees; on the latter the rear is exposed and a hunter follows behind the cub with his mace raised.\textsuperscript{126} Davis also places the Hunters’ Palette chronologically earlier than the Battlefield Palette,\textsuperscript{127} suggesting a development in iconography and ideology.

On the Hunters’ Palette, (figs. 29 and 34) the lion is dominated as a force of chaos, whilst an authority figure appears as a double bull. In these scenes the hunters circle the circumference of the palette, hunting wild animals, including the lion, which even attacks a hunter, with his cub behind him.\textsuperscript{128} All of this occurs below an image of a shrine and a double bull motif, thus being brought under the control of these symbols of the divine and, or, leadership.\textsuperscript{129} It is possible to deduce from this that, at least in Naqada II-III, hunters may have hunted their wild prey on behalf of elite patrons, to display, eat and bury as grave goods;\textsuperscript{130} indeed, by monopolising the food supply, individuals would place themselves in a position of authority, and could proclaim their status through iconography.\textsuperscript{131} Prior to this, the ideology of hunting may have belonged the hunters themselves, in being the defenders of

\textsuperscript{123} Davis, D. 1992, 132-133; British Museum, EA20791.  
\textsuperscript{124} Friedman, R. 2011, 40.  
\textsuperscript{125} Davis, W. 1992, 142.  
\textsuperscript{126} Davis, D. 1992, 143.  
\textsuperscript{127} Davis, D. 1992, xvii.  
\textsuperscript{128} This is a rare scene that shows a hunter being slain by a creature of chaos. Perhaps this acts to demonstrate the bravery and risk of the lion hunt, whilst at the same time keeping it under control by defeating it.  
\textsuperscript{129} Craig Patch, D. 2011, 143.  
\textsuperscript{130} Davis, W. 1992, 96; Friedman, R. 2011, 40.  
order. Also worth noting is the lack of economic value that hunting a lion would provide;\textsuperscript{132} the hunters appear to have the combined job of hunting economic prey, such as ibex, and hunting symbolic prey such as the lion, which would display their, or their patron’s, power over the wild forces of the desert.\textsuperscript{133}

**Elite Hunters**

As aforementioned, certain animal adornments could indicate a higher status of the hunter, in their ability to display an animal trophy. Images of human hunters have been indentified throughout this discussion on a range of mediums, but the identity of these hunters remains ambiguous, and the depictions may not actually represent individuals,\textsuperscript{134} instead, they may just represent the overall concept of hunting. Penis sheaths or ithyphallic figures can be seen on a number of examples, (figs. 7 and 16)\textsuperscript{135} but also do not appear on many others (figs. 5 and 29). These features are the only identifying ones marking the hunters as male, who are otherwise genderless or ambiguous.\textsuperscript{136} The scene from *Wadi Abu Wasil* where the hunter-herder tethers a cow alongside a child and a hunting dog, appears to be an elite figure due to his trophy adornments and his dog – which are often found amongst elite contexts;\textsuperscript{137} in addition, he is placed beside another scene of an identical figure (himself?) appearing on a boat. Wilkinson discusses the religious and elite role of boat iconography at this time,\textsuperscript{138} and so this aligns the hunter-herder, as a controller of chaos, within the elite sphere. This supports

\textsuperscript{132} Herb, M. & Förster, F. 2009, 26.
\textsuperscript{133} It may also be possible that the lion was a competitive threat over their prey and so it was necessary to hunt the lion for this reason, Herb, M. & Förster, F. 2009, 26-27.
\textsuperscript{134} Davis, D. 1992, 14.
\textsuperscript{135} Wilkinson, T. 2003, 107, fig.38; Raffaele, F. 2012. Corpus of Egyptian Late Predynastic Palettes, Hippopotamus Hunt Palette.
\textsuperscript{136} Women have been identified on certain figures with raised arms and broad hips, but these appear on D-Ware vessels that appear to have a different overall theme, for example, British Museum EA35503; Davis, D. 1992, 15.
\textsuperscript{137} Flores, D. 2003, 56-57.
\textsuperscript{138} Wilkinson, T. 2000, 146-161.
the argument and evidence that hunting was an elite sport of power display at this time, rather than subsistence for the wider community. Evidence of great amounts of wild animal remains in the Hierakonpolis ceremonial site, compared to the considerably lower amount in other Predynastic settlement sites, suggest restricted access to wild meat and its possible function in religious rites; this restriction can further support the role of hunting for the elite. Furthermore, the Narmer and Oxford Palettes were found in the main deposit of the ceremonial area of Hierakonpolis, and their ideological significance has been demonstrated. At Hierakonpolis, the graves of hunters have been found, containing considerably fine grave goods, and buried in proximity to other elite individuals. Hendrickx goes into detail about the social role of hunters at this time, and highlights that hunting allowed the elite access to high protein food, exercise, weapons practice and social networking. Whether these hunters represented real people, or an ideological role, both functioned to maintain ordered human society, and their status was expressed through the iconography of power.

Wild Chaos and Human Chaos

The link between the chaos of the wild and the chaos of human foes has already been alluded to earlier in this discussion. A number of scenes present hunting and warfare images side by side, such as the painting of Hierakonpolis tomb 100, and a vessel from the Naqada I Abydos Tomb U-415 (fig. 17). As aforementioned, the Abydos vessel shows the unlikely act of tethering cattle and hippopotami side by side, in conjunction with a scene of warfare above, with bound captives. These human foes are presented tethered in the same way as hunted wild animals, and domesticated cattle, aligning them with the forces of chaos. Likewise, the

139 Hendrickx, S. 2011, 77; Friedman, R. 2011, 40.
142 Friedman, R. 2011, 39.
143 Hendrickx, S. 2011, 77.
hunter-herder in the scene is almost identical to the figure leading the captives, wearing a feathered headdress, animal’s tail and penis sheath; the hunter-herder’s mace is lacking from the animal scene, which may be due to the fact that maces were not involved in the hippopotamus hunt, where they would have been used in warfare or perhaps in the desert hunt. The top of the vessel shows triangular shapes, described as the mountains or hills of the desert, suggesting that these human foes were associated with the desert, like many animals of chaos.

The Naqada I vessel bears iconographic similarity to elite scenes from Naqada II and III, such as the Gebel el-Arak knife handle, Hierakonpolis tomb 100 and the Narmer Palette. All three of these examples show scenes of warfare alongside hunting scenes. The Hunters’ Palette has also been linked to warfare, with the suggestion that the hunters are dressed and equipped as soldiers, carrying weaponry and shields. This is ambiguous, however, as it would have been a time when weapons would have been the same between hunting and warfare, although the carrying of standards do imply a military theme, nevertheless the identification of the shields has been contested by Raffaele, arguing for their identification as cosmetic palettes instead. Indeed, the use of cosmetics for hunting preparation may be appropriate and support the latter interpretation. Nevertheless, the parallel between hunting and warfare is evident in multiple Predynastic scenes, and its role in Order over Chaos is certainly clear in Dynastic scenes which show the king smiting human enemies in much the same way as he hunts wild animals, such as the hippopotamus (fig. 35). The earliest scenes therefore appear to focus on conquering the chaos of nature and the wild, whereas towards the Late Predynastic periods and certainly by the Dynastic period, human foes appear

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144 As shown on the Hunter’s Palette.
146 Hendrickx, S. 2011, 28; Raffaele, F. 2012. Corpus of Egyptian Late Predynastic Palettes, Turtles.
147 Davis, D. 1992, 98.
149 Wilkinson, T. 2003, 94.
150 Compare figures 26 and 35; Wilkinson, 1999, 216-217; Säve-Söderbergh, T. 1953, 16, fig. 7.
to be the priority of the chaos to be faced.\footnote{Wilkinson, T. 2000, 27.} Once they had defeated the chaos of the natural world, the human world was next, and this did not need groups of hunters, but groups of soldiers under the command of one leader. The iconography of the hunt at this time, placed alongside human warfare, sought to subjugate both forces, with non-Egyptians being identified with the untamed wild as they posed the same chaotic threat to the almost unified Egyptian society of order.\footnote{Craig Patch, D. 2011, 142; Wilkinson, T. 2000, 29.}

**Conclusions**

Scenes of hunting and warfare are the most common themes expressed on white cross-lined pottery of the Naqada periods and appear to be intrinsically linked.\footnote{Hendrickx, S. 2011, 77.} Hunting scenes appear frequently on elite items and evidence of hunting has been found in ceremonial-elite contexts, such as Hierakonpolis, supporting the argument that the theme and practice was related to powerful members of society at this time. Some hunters appear to have adornments suggesting status, either exerting dominance over the power of animals, or over human foes, both being associated with the forces of chaos. The superhuman power of the hunter is expressed in early iconography,\footnote{Metropolitan Museum of Art, #35.10.} and such individuals may have held a revered status in the community, considering slaying a hippopotamus is an impressive feat to overcome.\footnote{Hendrickx, S. 2013, 238; Wetterstrom, W. 1993, 224.} As warfare became increasingly important in this society, the powerful hunters who had kept the wild and chaotic at bay now had the extended responsibility to continue this with human enemies. Considering hunting was not a common activity in the majority of settlements,\footnote{The image of a solo hunter may act as a representational device to convey the idea of hunting in a simple way; a group of hunters is more likely to have been the reality of the practice.} the abundance of powerful hunters in iconography may not represent real individuals, but instead the ideological idea of the hunter. This concept could therefore be associated with the
elite, who may have gained this status through engaging in hunting themselves, or employed others to hunt for them and return trophies for their display. Therefore, by the end of the Predynastic period, hunters were to be replaced as the primary means of maintaining order as the responsibility shifted upon soldiers, and ultimately the king.

CONCLUSION

Hunting scenes appear on a variety of different mediums discussed here, including rock art, palettes, the Hierakonpolis tomb 100 wall painting and on pottery; with the addition of warfare scenes, hunting features heavily on elite-ceremonial objects in particular. Hunting appears to be a topic which interested all levels of Upper Egyptian Predynastic society, despite being an activity that scarcely occurred, and contributed little to the economy and survival at this time.\(^\text{159}\) Non-narrative iconography supports the argument that many instances of Predynastic art aimed to portray the ideological concept of power, inherent in animals and achievable by humans, and that sympathetic magic may have been at work in the images of defeating chaotic forces.\(^\text{160}\) Hunting iconography could symbolically guarantee the subjugation of wild chaos, as well as exerting control over it through different motifs of containment, restriction and organisation, some of which may represent actual practices enacted on wild and domesticated animals.\(^\text{161}\) The forces of chaos could be represented by hybrid animals that deviated from nature, but appear immersed in the chaos of hunting scenes, or amongst the corpus of ordinary cosmetic palettes. The ceremonial palettes, knife handles and ivory combs dating to the Naqada II-III periods, anticipated the formation of the Egyptian state, and focus on demonstrating the human mastery over the chaotic animal world; in some cases, the enemy human world was included and both of these indicate the theme of chaos, and continue throughout the Dynastic period.\(^\text{162}\) The ideology of power found in the Dynastic period was “overlaid retrospectively by an earlier iconography of hunting”,\(^\text{163}\) and the power of the hunter to dominate the wild world of chaos, through destruction or control, gradually extended to human foes representing the same thing.

\(^\text{159}\) Hendrickx, S. 2013, 238; Wetterstrom, W. 1993, 224.
\(^\text{160}\) Wilkinson, T. 2003, 100.
\(^\text{161}\) Hendrickx, S. 2011, 78.
\(^\text{163}\) Davis, W. 1992, 15.
The concept of Order and Chaos is evident in Predynastic Egyptian iconography and ideology, representing fundamental observations about their lifestyle and environment. The world of animals and foreigners outside of their settlement posed a threat to them, whereas home and the domesticated world was safe and ordered; the maintenance of this order, in keeping the outside chaos at bay, required an intermediary, either enacted by, or symbolised by, a hunter or hunters. In the Dynastic period these numerous motifs and the hunter archetype was embodied by the King himself, who kept the forces of chaos out of Egypt.\textsuperscript{164} Considering that Predynastic Egypt was a time and people previously excluded from traditional Egyptological study,\textsuperscript{165} it is striking to see this important Dynastic theme of Order and Chaos, and iconographic motifs such as the smiting pose, present in Predynastic imagery.

\textsuperscript{164} Wilkinson, T. 2000, 29.
\textsuperscript{165} Hendrickx, S., Huyge, D. & Wendrich, W. 2010, 15.
Bibliography


Figures

Fig. 1: (1) Photo of rock art panel Meri 06/12, showing a dog hunting a Barbary sheep. Note the neck above his neck; (2) Drawn version of the same panel, with more features shown. (Hendrickx, S., Riemer, H., Förster, F. & Darnell, J. 2009, 199, figs, 10, 11)

Fig. 2: Vessel from Naqada, Tomb 1644, depicting Barbary sheep and hunting dogs. Naqada I. (AN1895.482 Pottery beaker decorated with triangles and animals, Naqada, grave 1644. © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.)

Fig. 3: Rock art from Wadi Barramiya, depicting ibex, hunters and hunting dogs. (Wilkinson, T. 2003, pl.6)

Fig. 4: White Cross-Lined bowl decorated with the image of a hunter holding leashed hunting dogs. Naqada I-II. (The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, #I.1.a.4777)
**Fig. 5:** White Cross-Lined bowl decorated with the image of a hunter in a boat, hunting a hippopotamus and a crocodile. *Naqada I.* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, #35.10, obtained from: [http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/548385?rpp=30&pg=1&ft=white+cross-lined+ware+bowl&pos=6](http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/548385?rpp=30&pg=1&ft=white+cross-lined+ware+bowl&pos=6))

**Fig. 6:** Drawing of rock art from *Was-ha-waset*, depicting a hunter hunting a hippopotamus and presumed crocodile. (Hendrickx, S. 2013, 244, fig. 8)

**Fig. 7:** The Hippopotamus Palette, showing a solo hunter hunting a hippopotamus from a boat and a dog hunting an ostrich. *Naqada I.* (Raffaele, F. 2012, Corpus of Egyptian Late Predynastic Palettes, Hippopotamus Hunt Palette; obtained from: [http://xoomer.virgilio.it/francescoraf/hesyra/palettes/hippohunt.htm](http://xoomer.virgilio.it/francescoraf/hesyra/palettes/hippohunt.htm))
**Fig. 8:** Hierakonpolis tomb 100 painting, close up of boat and ‘ruler’ figure. *Naqada II.*

(Close up of image originally from Quibell, J. & Green, F. 1902, pl. LXXV-LLXXVIII; obtained from: http://www.ucl.ac.uk/museums/static/digitalegypt/hierakonpolis/tomb100/index.html)

**Fig. 9:** Hierakonpolis tomb 100 painting, close up of animal defeat scenes; (1) Smiting the animal; (2) Master of animals and hunting trap; (3) Hunting and wearing trophy; (4) Tethered animal. *Naqada II.* (Close ups of image originally from Quibell, J. & Green, F. 1902, pl. LXXV-LLXXVIII; obtained from: http://www.digitalegypt.ucl.ac.uk/hierakonpolis/tomb100/)

**Fig. 10:** White Cross-Lined Bowl with image of crocodile, water and a net. *Naqada I.*

(Wodzińska, A. 2010, 114; originally from Crowfoot-Payne, J. 1993, 388, fig 27)
**Fig. 11:** White Cross-Lined Pottery bowl depicting three hippopotami encircled by water. *Naqada I- II.* (Museum of Fine Arts Boston, #11.312)

**Fig. 12:** Pottery vessel with hippopotami and crocodiles sculpted around the rim. *Naqada II.*

(British Museum, EA63408)

**Fig. 13:** Close up of Hierakonpolis tomb 100 ‘master of animals’ motif. *Naqada II.* (Close up of image originally from Quibell, J. & Green, F. 1902, pl. LXXV-LLXXVIII; obtained from: http://www.digitalegypt.ucl.ac.uk/hierakonpolis/tomb100/)

**Fig. 14:** (1) Close up of the ‘master of animals’ motif on the *Gebel el-Araï* knife handle; (2) Obverse of the handle; (3) Reverse of the handle. *Naqada II.* (Louvre, E11517)

**Fig. 15:** Drawing of rock art from *Wadi Mineh*, depicting a hunter hunting a bound ostrich with a hunting dog, beside and ibex. (Wilkinson, T. 2003, 145, fig. 49)

**Fig: 16:** (1) Rock art from *Wadi Abu Wasil* showing a horned herder with a child, cow and hunting dog; (2) Drawing of this rock art. (Image sourced from: http://egyptology.blogspot.co.uk/2008/07/lecture-notes-many-faces-of-rock-art- by.html; Wilkinson, T. 2003, 107, fig. 38)

**Fig. 17:** Drawing of a vessel from Abydos Tomb U-415, depicting human captives above tethered hippopotami and cow/bull. *Naqada I.* (Hendrickx, S. 2013, 241, fig. 4)
**Fig. 18:** Pie Chart based on figures from Friedman, R. (2011) and Hendrickx, S. (2013).

**Fig. 19:** Drawing of a row of Ostrich from *Wadi Barramiya* rock art. (Wilkinson, T. 2003, 142, fig.45)

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**Fig. 25:** Bull-Tilapia hybrid palette. *Early Dynasty I.* (Hendrickx, S. 2011, 200-2001, cat. 53.) Reprinted Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

**Fig. 26:** Reverse and Obverse of Narmer Palette. *End of Naqada III.* (Global Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE32169)

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Fig. 31: Drawing of composite animals from Abu Zeidan Knife Handle. *Naqada II-III*. 
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Fig. 32: Drawing of rock art from *Was-ha-waset*. (Hendrickx, S. 2013, 254, fig. 13)

Fig. 33: A victor wearing a horned or feathered headdress, with his arms raised beside his human captives. *Naqada I*. (Craig Patch, D. 2011, 62, cat. 62)

Fig. 34: Close up of injured lion and double bull on the Hunters’ Palette. *Naqada III*. 
(Bridgeman Art Gallery, http://www.bridgemanart.com/)

Fig. 35: Seal impression of King Udimu, or Den, harpooning and wrestling a hippopotamus. 
*Dynasty I*. (Säve-Söderbergh, T. 1953, 16, fig. 7)
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