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The dog, the *Lycaon pictus* and order over chaos in Predynastic Egypt

A scene figuring dogs engraved on a large black-topped beaker in the Brussels museum (Fig. 1)¹ has previously been considered by the author as a hunting scene, eventually with a funerary connotation and parallel to the hunting scenes figuring in the Old Kingdom mastabas (Hendrickx 1992), although a more symbolic interpretation, connected to the “order over chaos” theme was suggested soon after (Hendrickx 1995). Meanwhile, several authors have stressed the symbolic importance of Predynastic and Early-Dynastic representations of dogs and other canines (Baines 1993; Lopez 1995; Bianchi 1998; Bouvier-Closse 2001; Gransard-Desmond 2002, 2004) although the interpretations can differ greatly. The article by Baines is especially important as it explains the manner in which the meaning and importance of canines changed with the emergence of royal iconography. One of the purposes of the present contribution is to add elements to the interpretation by Baines and to explore their iconographic framework.

Predynastic representations of dogs

Representations of dogs occur occasionally on White Cross-lined pottery, which can be accepted to be more or less contemporaneous with the vessel from Brussels (Fig. 2; Tab. 1). Most of the dogs on White Cross-lined pottery are shown with collars from which occasionally part of a leash (?) hangs down, as on the beaker from Brussels. In the majority of examples a kind of knot or ring is indicated on the collars, which may have served for the attachment of leashes although on the plate in the Museum of Fine Arts at Moscow (Fig. 2; Tab. 1) the

¹ Brussels, Royal Museums for Art and History, Egyptian collection, E.2631. Provenance unknown, bought in Egypt in 1908.

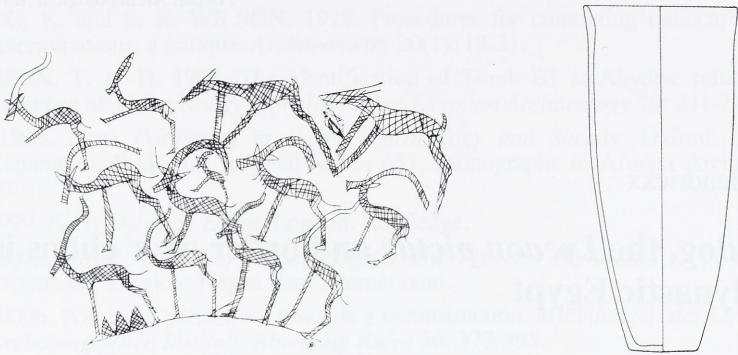


Fig. 1. Black-topped jar with incised decoration, Brussels E.2631 (Capart 1909 and Hendrickx 1992: fig. 5).

leashes don't seem to be attached to this element. The collars and leashes provide a link to humans although these are only very exceptionally represented themselves. On the Moscow plate a hunter can be seen, clearly identified by his bow, holding four dogs on leashes, while on a plate in Torino a similar hunter holds three dogs. Human representations occur also on the vessel from Abydos U-415 but the decoration of this jar is to be considered as consisting of two scenes (cf. Fig. 4).

Besides these two examples where hunters occur with the dogs and two examples in which dogs seem to be represented isolated, two types of scenes with dogs can be distinguished on the White Cross-lined pottery and the contemporaneous vessels with incised decoration (Tab. 1). The majority of the scenes are to be considered hunting scenes in which dogs are actively engaged against other animals, often surrounding them. Less frequent are rows of animal which include dogs. A row of animals running around a vessel obviously has no real "beginning" or "end", but on a vessel from Abydos (Ayrton & Loat 1911: pl. XVII; Fig. 3) the animals are placed vertically and at least two of the three (relatively short) animal rows end with dogs. This example, together with the evidence from the decorated ivories (cf. *infra*), allows the interpretation of the dogs as the "last" animals of the rows, also on the other vessels (Fig. 4). An similar alternative drawing can be made for the decorated jar from Hemamieh (Torino S 4749) published by Fattovich 1978: pl. II.

Further corroboration can be found in the regular hunting scenes where dogs are generally represented in the pursuit of - or immediately preceding an assault on- other animals. By considering the dogs the last animals of the rows, these scenes are only a variant of the more explicit hunting scenes.



Naqada. (Petrie 1896: pl. XXIX.91; Kantor 1953: 73, fig. 4D).



Naqada, tomb 1644, Oxford Ashmolean Museum 1895.482 (Payne 1993: n° 422).



Gebelein (?), Princeton Art Museum 30-491
(Kantor 1953: 73, fig. 4A).



Gebelein (?), Princeton Art Museum 30-493
(Kantor 1953: 73, fig. 4B).



London UC 15329 (Petrie 1921: pl. XXI.19N).



Moscow 2947 (Leclant & Huard 1980: 1).

Fig. 2. White Cross-lined vessels with representations of dogs.

Tab. 1. Dogs on Predynastic pottery.

Site	Museum	Type	Bibliography
White Cross-lined / Naqada I-IIA**			
Abydos U-415	Abydos	R	Dreyer a.o. 2003: 83, Abb. 6a *
Abydos	Unknown	R	Ayrton & Loat 1911: pl. XXVII *
Gebelein	Cairo	H	de Morgan 1896: pl. II,5
Gebelein (?)	Princeton AM 30-491	H	Kantor 1953: 73, fig. 4A *
Gebelein (?)	Princeton AM 30-493	H	Kantor 1953: 73, fig. 4B *
Gebelein (?)	Princeton AM 30-494	I	Kantor 1953: 74, fig. 5A *
Hu / Abadiya	Oxford Ash. E.2778	R	Payne 1993: n° 424
Naqada 1644	Oxford Ash. 1895.482	H	Payne 1993: n° 422
Naqada 1644	Oxford Ash. 1895.487	H	Payne 1993: n° 423 *
Naqada	Unknown	H	Petrie 1896: XXIX,91 *
Unknown	Bern, Bloch-Diener	H/ R	Page-Gasser & Wiese 1997: 23, fig. 4A *
Unknown	Brussels E.2316	H	Unpublished *
Unknown	Brussels E.2988	R	Unpublished *
Unknown	Cairo JdE 71603	H	Graff pers. com. *
Unknown	Genève D 1186	H	Wild 1948: fig. 3 *
Unknown	London UC 15329	I	Petrie 1921: pl. XXI
Unknown	London UC 15334	H	Petrie 1920: pl. XVII,69 *
Unknown	Moscow 2947	L	Houlihan 1996: 75-76 XX
Unknown	Torino S.1827	L	Donadoni Roveri & Tiradritti 1998: 142 * *
Unknown	Toronto 910.85.88	H	Hoffman a.o. 1988: 111, n° 4
Black-topped – Red-polished with incised decoration / Naqada I-IIA			
Abadiya U	Unknown	H	Petrie 1901: pl. XX,16
Abadiya U	Unknown	R	Petrie 1901: pl. XX,19
Unknown	Brussels E.2631	R	Hendrickx 1992
Decorated / mainly Naqada IIC-D			

Abydos	Ashm. E.2632	H	Payne 1993: n° 873
Abydos	Cairo JdE 72148	R	Habachi 1939 770, fig. 72
Hemamieh	Torino S.4749	R	Fattovich 1978: pl. II
Khozam (?)	Lyon 90000098	H	Marseille 1990: 59, fig. 310
Unknown	Toronto 9002.45	H	McHugh 1990: fig. 1
Incised / Naqada II (?)			
Unknown	OIM 10542	H	Williams 1989 *
Unknown	Berlin 14336	H	Scharff 1931: 170, n° 406, Abb. 68*

H = hunt

L = hunter with dogs on leashes

R = row

I = isolated dog

** (eventually dogs also occur on a few other White Cross-lined vessels. Abadiya B 88, Ashm. E.2784, Payne 1993: n° 390; Khozam (?), Berlin 22391, Scharff 1931: 118, n° 258; Bonn 172, Regner 1998: 126, n° 104)

* not included in catalogue Gransard-Desmond 2004: 76. Several other categories of this catalogue of canidae representations are to be supplemented. "Sceptre": München ÄS 1520, Grimm & Schoske 2000: 35; "Statuettes": Flint, Brooklyn 09.889.291, Needler 1984: n° 292; Flint, Hierakonpolis, Friedman 2000; Faience, Hierakonpolis, UC.11001, Adams 1974: n° 108; Faience, Ashmolean E8, Adams 1974: pl. 15; Faience, Cambridge E98.1900; Ivory, Hierakonpolis, UC 14872, Adams 1974: n° 330; Ivory, Hierakonpolis, UC 14861, Adams 1974: n° 331; "Stèles": Umm el-Qaab, Petrie 1900: pl. XXXII,10; Umm el-Qaab, Cairo CG 14603, Petrie 1900, pl. XXXII,12; Umm el-Qaab tomb T, Dreyer a.o. 1993: 61, pl. 13a; Cambridge 1395.1943, Kaplony 1963: fig. 717; unknown, Kaplony 1966: fig. 888; Cairo JdE 72601, Kaplony 1966: fig. 1022; cf. Flores 2003: 93, n. 8. For rock art, see among others Rohl 2000; Morrow & Morrow 2002. For animal remains, see Dreyer a.o. 2000: 86-89; Flores 2003 and Van Neer, Linsele & Friedman 2004.

Dogs are very exceptional on Decorated pottery, which is even more striking when the large number of decorated vessels compared to the number of White Cross-lined vessels is taken into consideration. This does however not necessarily mean that the representation of dogs lost its importance by the Naqada IIC period, the hey-day of Decorated pottery, but rather that the representations on Decorated pottery became more standardised than those on White Cross-lined pottery (Graff 2004: 771-772) and dogs apparently were not a regular part of the iconography used for these vessels. As the iconography of Decorated pottery seems mainly linked to funerary ideas (Graff 2003), this would therefore imply that dogs are no part of the iconography referring to the afterlife. The few

dogs on Decorated pottery are included in hunting scenes, and animal rows, much the same as their White Cross-lined predecessors, indicating that the ideas behind the original representations had not disappeared, but for one reason or another were no longer regularly confined to pottery. In this respect, it is not a surprise that in the Hierakonpolis "Decorated tomb", which has far more elaborate representations and also dates to the Naqada IIC period, dogs occur on the right hand side of the painted wall, again in hunting scenes, both with and without humans.

Dogs occur rather frequently on decorated ivories (Tab. 2; Ciałowicz 1992; Dreyer 1999; Whitehouse 1992, 2002, 2004; Droux in press.), but contrary to representations on pottery, they hardly ever occur in actual hunting scenes but nearly always at the end of animal rows (Figs. 5-8). The decorated ivories are generally accepted to date to the very end of the Naqada II and the beginning of the Naqada III period (cf. Dreyer 1999) and the difference to the decorative schemes on pottery may therefore be mainly chronological, implying that over time rendering the hunting capacities of the dog by placing the animal at the end of a line of animals was preferred. It is however to be stressed that we have already seen dogs at the end of animal rows from the Naqada IC-IIA period onwards (Tab. 1), and although the preference for the dog in this position in more recent periods is to be considered meaningful, we are not dealing with one type of representation replacing another one, but rather with two coexisting manners for representing more or less the same theme. But the "hunting" idea seems to have been more popular in the earlier period (Naqada IA-IIC ?) while with time passing (Naqada IID-IIIB ?) the "animal row" concept was preferred. Thus, the more anecdotic and to some extent realistic hunting scenes were largely replaced by a highly symbolic representation which is only meaningful within the context of a complex iconography. The only remaining anecdotic element is the raised front leg of the dogs or their "leaping" position, which can also often be observed in the hunting scenes. Also, by their attitude, the dogs on the Abu Zeidan knife handle (Fig. 6) and the Davis comb (Fig. 5) are the only "active" animals, which again corresponds well with the idea of hunting dogs.

To the group of ivories with animal rows should be added the Gebel et-Tarif knife handle (Fig. 9) on which four groups of two animals are placed vertically to the longitudinal axis of the handle. These can be considered as "abbreviated" animal rows - the Sayala mace handle (Firth 1927: 205, fig. 8, pl. 18a-c) represents a similar example of abbreviated rows- each of which is terminated by a dominating animal, one of them a dog. In this case the dog is in important company because the animals to which he is made equal are a panther, a lion and even a mythological animal.

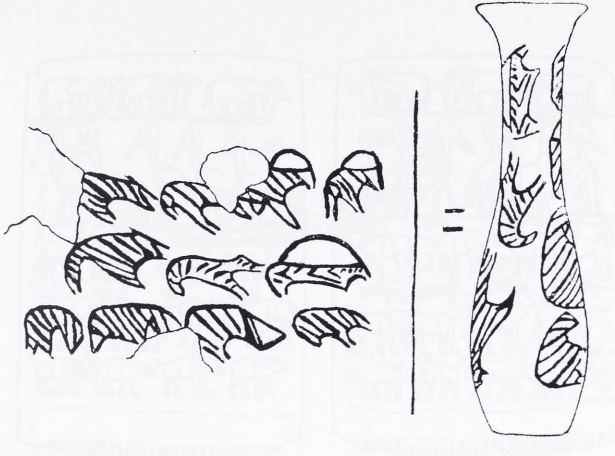


Fig. 3. Abydos, White Cross-lined jar. (Ayrton & Loat 1911: pl. XXVII.12).

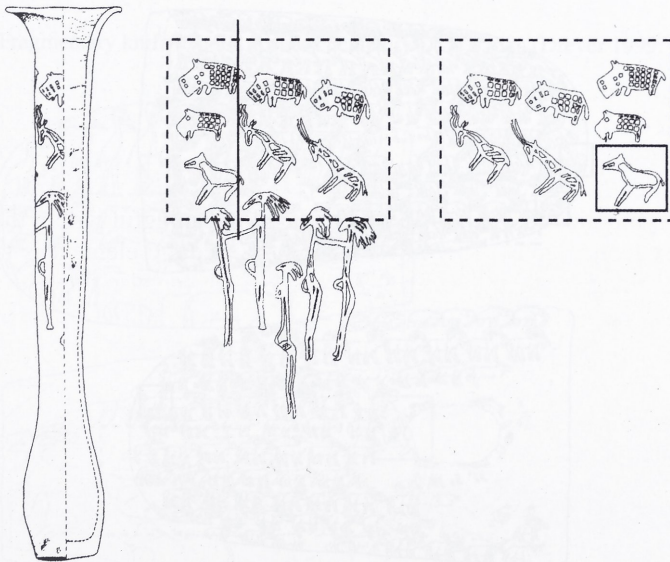


Fig. 4. Abydos, tomb U-415, White Cross-lined jar and alternative separation of representation (after Dreyer a.o. 2003: Abb. 6a).

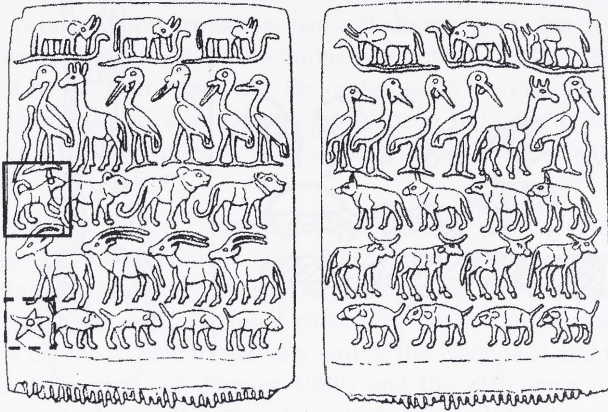


Fig. 5. Davis comb, New York, Metropolitan Museum 30.8.224 (Ciałowicz 1992: 251, figs. 6-7).

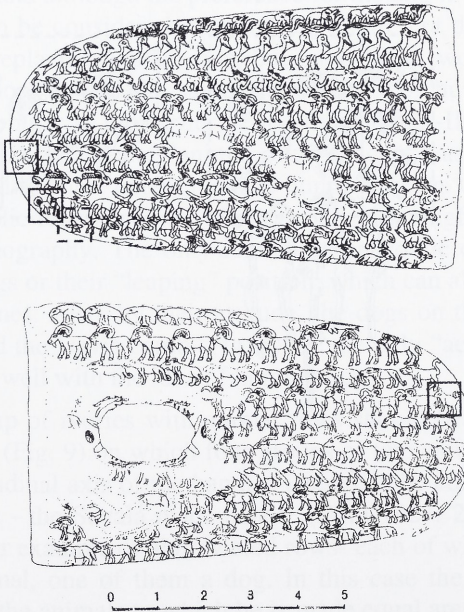


Fig. 6. Abu Zeidan knife handle, Brooklyn Museum 09.889.118 (Churcher 1984: 154).

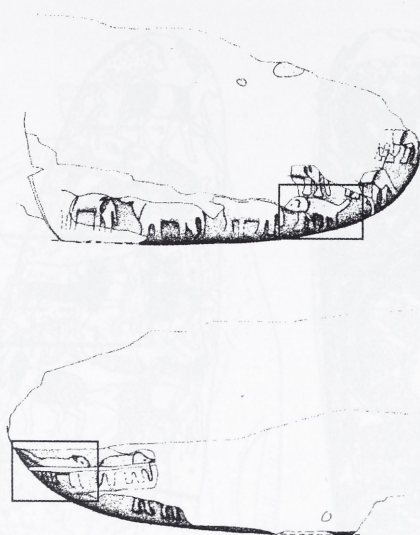


Fig. 7. Fragmentary knife handle, Abydos cemetery U, K 1262a (Dreyer 1999: 219, fig. 6).

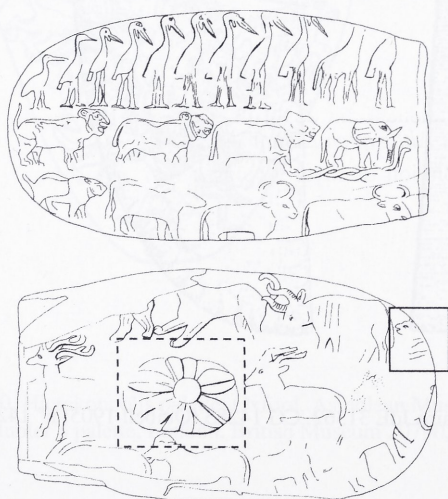


Fig. 8. Carnarvon knife handle, New York, Metropolitan Museum 26.247.1 (Ciałowicz 1992: 250, fig. 5; 255, fig. 8).

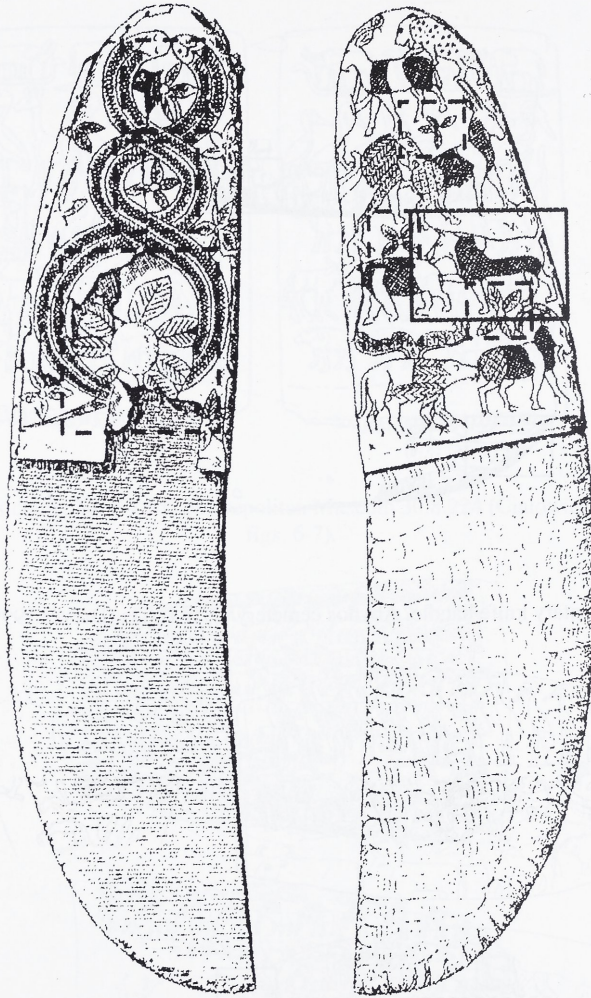


Fig. 9. Gebel Tarif knife handle, Cairo JdE 31362, CG 14285 (Quibell 1905: n° 14285).

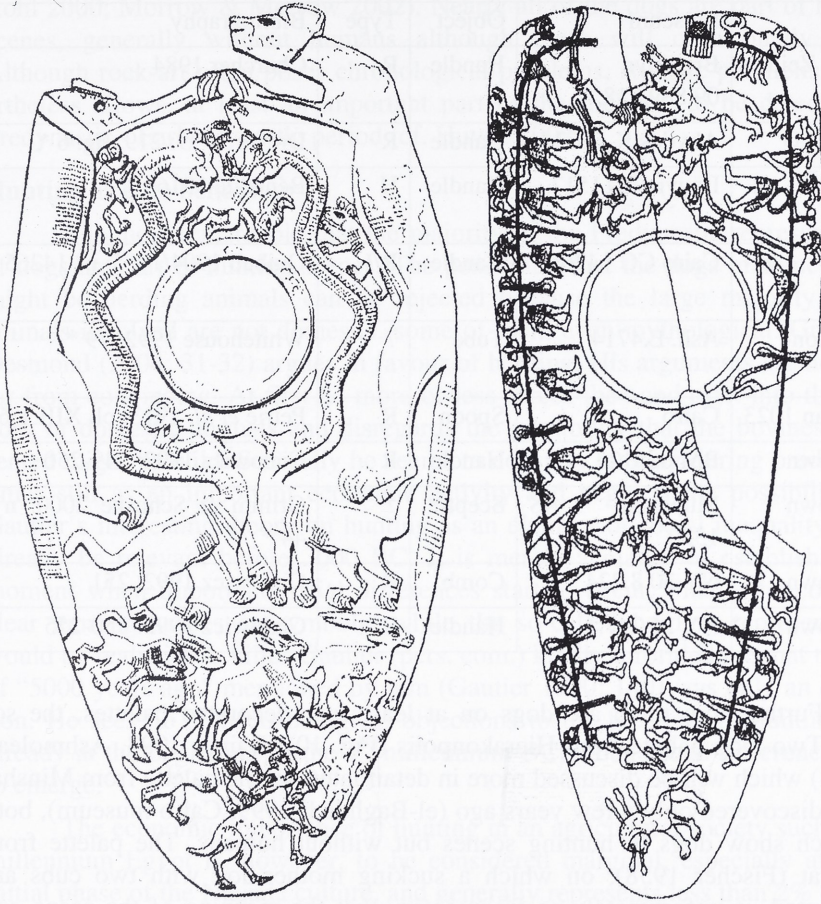


Fig. 10. Hierakonpolis palette, Oxford, Asmolean Museum 3924 (Baines 1993: 60, fig. 1) / Hunter's palette, London, British Museum 20790, 20792 / Paris, Louvre E.11254.

Tab. 2. Dogs on ivories and related objects (for abbreviations, see Tab. 1).

Site	Museum	Object	Type	Bibliography
Abu Zeidan 32	Brooklyn 09.889.118	Handle	R	Churcher 1984
Abydos U	Abydos K 1262a	Handle	R	Dreyer 1999: 219, fig. 6 *
Gebel el- Arak	Louvre E.11517	Handle	H	Bénédite 1916
Gebel et- Tarif	Cairo CG 14265	Handle	R/I	Quibell 1904/1905: n° 14265
Hierakon- polis	Ash. E.4714	Tube	?	Whitehouse 1992: 79 *
Tarkhan 1023	Cairo	Spoon	R	Petrie <i>et al.</i> 1913: pl. XIII.1-6
Unknown	BM 68512	Handle	R	Ciałowicz 1992: 249-250
Unknown	München ÄS 1520	Sceptre	?	Grimm & Schoske 2000: n° 44 *
Unknown	NY 30.8.224	Comb ²	R	Ciałowicz 1992: 251
Unknown	NY 26.247.1	Handle	R	Ciałowicz 1992: 250-255

Furthermore there are dogs on at least four decorated palettes, the so-called Two-Dog palette from Hierakonpolis (Fig. 10) (Baines 1993, Ashmolean E.3924) which will be discussed more in detail later on, the palette from Minshat Ezzat, discovered only a few years ago (el-Baghdadi 1999, Cairo museum), both of which show dogs in hunting scenes but without humans. The palette from Munagat (Fischer 1958), on which a sucking mother-dog with two cubs are represented, is unfortunately so fragmentary that the meaning of the scene can not be recognised, but because of its uniqueness it most probably falls besides the scope of the present article. Finally, a palette of doubtful authenticity in the Barber-Mueller Museum at Genève (Zimmermann 1991: 4) shows a dog in combination with a strange falcon emblem and is only mentioned here for the sake of completeness.

² This comb is traditionally known as the “Davis comb” (Fig. 5). Recently doubts have been expressed about its authenticity (Gransard-Desmond 2004: 23), which however are of little importance for the present study because the Davis comb only backs up the evidence of the Abu Zeidan knife handle, the authenticity of which is beyond doubt.

Dogs also figure rather frequently in rock art, both in Nubia (e.g., Hellström 1970) and the Eastern Desert (e.g., Winkler 1938; Leclant & Huard 1980; Rohl 2000; Morrow & Morrow 2002). Nearly all of the dogs are part of hunting scenes, generally without humans although these will occasionally occur. Although rock-art often poses chronological problems, stylistic parallelism nevertheless allows, at least an important part of the rock-art, to be dated in the Predynastic - Early Dynastic period (cf. Huyge 2002).

Hunting as elite behaviour

It is most remarkable that the majority of the Predynastic representations of dogs are part of hunting scenes. The possibility that the dogs in some scenes might be herding animals can be rejected because the large majority of the animals involved are not domestic, some of them even mythological. Gransard-Desmond (2004: 31-32) argues in favour of herding. His arguments are however far from convincing. At first he more or less forces ibex and oryx into the category of domestic animals and disregards the possibility that the bovines represented might be wild. Secondly he seems to consider hunting during predynastic times still as an important economic activity and neglects the possibility that Gautier's interesting theory on hunting as an element of social inequality might already be relevant before 3000 BC. It is merely a matter of establishing the moment when important social differences start to occur. Finally he considers clear hunting scenes as symbolic while the so-called herding representations would be realistic. Achilles Gautier (pers. com.) kindly informed me that the date of "5000 years ago" mentioned by him (Gautier 1990: 140) was only an estimation. He sees no archaeozoological objections to the breeding of hunting dogs already at the beginning of the 4th millennium BC, when social differences start to emerge.

The economic importance of hunting in an agricultural society such as 4th millennium Egypt is, however, to be considered marginal, especially after the initial phase of the Naqada culture, and generally represents less than 2% of food procurement (Vermeersch, Van Neer & Hendrickx 2004: 269, see also Huyge 2002: 192). In elite contexts however, such as the temple site HK29A at Hierakonpolis, exceptionally wild mammals make up nearly 16% (Linseele & Van Neer 2003). Also at Hierakonpolis, a remarkable wide range of wild animals occurs at the elite cemetery HK6 (Van Neer, Linseele & Friedman 2004). Hunting will have been part of the elite way of living allowing a more varied nourishment, but perhaps even more important, giving opportunity for the practise of weapons. Dogs obviously played an important role in hunting and in this manner are to be considered part of elite behaviour and symbolism (cf. also Baines 1993: 65). This seems to be confirmed by the presence of dog burials in the elite cemeteries. There are eighth burials including dogs in the nineteen heavily disturbed

burials from the HK6 cemetery at Hierakonpolis, dated to ca. Naqada IC-IIA (Van Neer, Linseele & Friedman 2004: 73-74); one of them, tomb 5, seems to have been a multiple dog burial, containing at least seven animals. A similar find has been made in a "pit" in the elite cemetery T at Naqada, where the remains of about twenty dogs were found by Petrie at the end of the 19th century (Petrie 1896: 26). Unfortunately no details have been published and the chronological position of this find remains unknown. All that can be said is that cemetery T seems to have been used continuously from Naqada IIB onwards, until the beginning of the 1st dynasty. This kind of multiple dog burials has not been found at cemetery U, the predynastic elite burial ground of Abydos, where only a single dog burial has been identified for certain (Dreyer a.o. 2000: 87). There are, however, several tombs, dating both to the earlier (Naqada IC-IIA/B) and to the more recent (Naqada IID-III) phases of the cemetery, in which dog bones occur, but they may have been buried with humans (Dreyer a.o. 2000: 87-88). For the 1st Dynasty royal tombs at Abydos finally, there are several dog burials, with funerary stelae, among the subsidiary tombs surrounding the tombs of the kings (Flores 2003: 93).

It is however to be noted that burials of dogs also occur in less prestigious environments. At Adaïma for example, five dogs were found buried within the settlement (Midant-Reynes & Buechez 2002: 533-534; for further examples: cf. Flores 2003). The fact that matting could be used for these burials and that in some instances a water jar accompanied the dog indicates nevertheless the importance attached to these animals.

Another important observation is that result of the hunt, the prey, is not shown, although in rock-art lassoed animals or animals hit by arrows are known. Also, the dogs are never shown fighting animals, at the most of the attack is shown when they jump. The fact that dogs can attack and kill animals of the size of an ibex or oryx, especially when several dogs hunt together, is however beyond doubt. Therefore, the actual result of the hunt was not the primary concern of those making the images but rather the idea of hunting.

The end of the row

Returning to the small group of decorated ivories with animal rows, it is to be noticed that only a minority of the rows is ended by an animal different from the rest of the row (Tab. 3). But for those which are, not only dogs occur. Most interestingly, rows can also be ended by a fish, a bird, a rosette or an enigmatic representation which has been considered a catfish (Ciałowicz 1992: 249). The latter occurs only on the Pitt-Rivers knife handle, but the identification as a catfish is far from obvious because the last animal of the lowest row on the flat side of this object most probably represents a catfish, (considered a crocodile by

Ciałowicz 1992: 250.), especially when compared to the fish in the same position on the Abu Zeidan knife handle. The actual meaning of the enigmatic representation remains unfortunately unclear. Very tentatively a fossil could be suggested, because of the resemblance with the symmetrically repeated part of the Min emblem, which has been considered a fossil (Wainwright 1931), which however is doubted by Welvaert (2002). The bird occurs only once and is unfortunately represented in little detail and it is impossible to determine the species of the bird. The fish differ in shape but all of them might be catfish because of the extensions on their sides. No attempt will be made here for a possible symbolic interpretation of the catfish, but it is of course to be noted that it is part of the name of Narmer, but on the other hand we have to admit that the way in which the writing of the early royal names was established is still largely an open question.

Tab. 3. Elements at the end of animal rows on decorated ivories *

	Dog	Rosette	(Cat)fish	Bird	? (fossil)
Abu Zeidan handle	X	X	X		
Pitt-Rivers handle	X		X	X	X
Carnarvon handle	X				
Abydos K 1262a handle	X				
Davis comb	X	X			

* Eventually, dogs occur at the end of some animal rows on the decorated spoon from Tarkhan (cf. Table 2), but the difference with the other animals in a row is not very distinct.

The rosettes are at present the most significant element at the end of rows. They can be recognised by the slightly oval shape of their leaves and especially by the small circle in the middle, assuring that we are not dealing with stars. For a number of the examples in Tab. 4, the circle in the middle is not present, but the slightly oval shape of the “leaves” in for example the Gerza palette nevertheless allows an identification as rosette and not as star. The often suggested relationship with Hathor as sky goddess is anyhow not relevant because it is not Hathor that is represented but Bat (Fischer 1962; Hendrickx 2002: 292-298), a cow goddess without association with the sky. The rosette can also be found in another position on decorated ivories besides at the end of animal rows (Tab. 4). It occurs several times in combination with entwined snakes on two very similar knife handles (UC 16294 and Berlin 15137) and on the Gebel et-Tarif knife han-

Tab. 4. Objects with rosette

Site	Museum	Type	Bibliography
Ivories			
Abu Zeidan 32	Brooklyn 09.889.118	Handle	Churcker 1984
Gebel et-Tarif	Cairo JdE 31362	Handle	Quibell 1905
(?) Tarkhan 1925	Cairo	Spoon	Petrie 1914: pl. I, II.5
Unknown	Berlin 15137	Handle	Scharff 1929: 82, n° 111
(?) Unknown	NY 26.241.1	Handle	Williams & Logan 1987
Unknown	NY 26.247.1	Handle	Ciałowicz 1992: fig. 5,8
Unknown	NY 30.8.224	Comb	Ciałowicz 1992: fig. 6-7
Unknown	UC 16294	Handle	Petrie 1920: pl. XLVIII.3-4
Stone vessel			
Hierakonpolis	UC 16245	“Hathor” bowl	Burgess & Arkell 1958
Qustul L24	Chicago OIM 24069	Incense burner	Williams 1986: pl. 34
Palettes			
Gerza	Cairo JdE 34173	Gerza palette	Petrie 1912: pl. VI.7
Hierakonpolis	Cairo JdE 14716	Narmer palette	Quibell 1900: pl. XXIX
Maceheads			
Hierakonpolis	Oxford E.3632	Scorpion mace	Quibell 1900: pl. XXVIa
Hierakonpolis	Oxford E.3631	Narmer mace	Quibell 1900: pl. XXVIb
“Ostrakon”			
Hierakonpolis	Hierakonpolis	Sherd	Hendrickx & Friedman 2003
Seal			
Abydos U-210	Abydos	Seal impression	Hartung 2001: Abb. 41,c
Abydos U-j	Abydos	Seal impression	Dreyer 1998: 109, Abb. 72,c
Amulet			
Helwan	Cairo	Amulet	Saad 1951: pl. 39
(?) Matmar 2645	Oxford 1931.390	Button-bead	Payne 1992: n° 1730
Figurine			
(?) Naqada ?	Berlin 13810	Bulls head	Scharff 1929: 39, n° 61

** On five objects, indicated with (?), it can be doubted whether the rosette is actually represented. The starlike shapes on the knife handle in the Metropolitan Museum and the bulls head from Berlin can be considered rather certain as rudimentary renderings of the rosette. The Tarkhan spoon and the Matmar bead are far less certain.

dle where on the other side the rosette seems to be connected with the dominating animals. However, these examples don't add much for the meaning of the rosette motive. For this we have to turn to the objects such as the Scorpion macehead, Narmer macehead and Narmer palette. In this context, the rosette already attracted a lot of scholarly attention (e.g. Baumgartel 1966; a full discussion of previous literature Winter 1994; Schneider 1997). In the just mentioned cases where the rosette is to be considered as a hieroglyph, Schneider (1997) argued for a reading as *nb* against the generally accepted *hr* (Kahl 1994: 55) or the previously proposed alternative *sš* (Winter 1994). However, all readings refer one way or another to the king and the rosette is unanimously accepted as a royal emblem. This is corroborated by the Qustul incense burner and probably also by the Metropolitan museum knife handle, where the rosette can be seen in combination with the representation of a king. There can hardly be a doubt that the rosette at the end of animal rows is also a symbol of authority, be it perhaps not yet royal authority.

All of the elements at the end of the animal rows are to be considered the controlling elements over already orderly disposed wild animals, and even mythical animals as recently shown by Huyge (2004).

Lycaon pictus

Tab. 5. *Lycaon pictus* on decorated palettes.

Site	Museum	Bibliography
Hierakonpolis	Oxford Ash. 3924	Baines 1993
Munagat	New York MMA	Fischer 1958
Unknown	Paris Louvre E.11052	Bénédite 1904
Unknown	Brussels E.6196	Hendrickx 1994
Unknown	New York MMA 28.9.9	Fischer 1958
Unknown	Cairo, Michailidis collection (?)	Fischer 1958
Unknown	London BM EA.20790, 20792 / Paris Louvre E 11254	Spencer 1980: 79, n° 575

The presence on Predynastic decorated palettes of the African hunting dog or *Lycaon pictus* (Tab. 5) has already been recognised for a long time (Fischer

1958; Asselberghs 1961; Lopez 1995). Representations of *Lycaon pictus* have never been attested for certain on other monuments than decorated palettes. However, they may eventually occur on decorated ivories, cf. Hierakonpolis, UC 14864, Drenkhahn 1987: 61, right side of the lower row; Donadoni Roveri and Tiradritti 1998: 231, n° 196, lower row.

Representations of this animal can easily be distinguished from those of dogs because of the rounded ears instead of the pointed or hanging ears of dogs and the long, hanging tail opposed to the generally curled dog tails. The difference with other canines such as the fox is equally easy to notice. There are several palettes and fragmentary palettes on which the *Lycaon pictus* occurs on a large size at the edges of the palette (cf. Asselberghs 1961: pl. 70-96; Ciałowicz 1991). This so-called heraldic position of the animals is probably inspired by the way in which the Lycaon hunts (all details after Estes 1991; Kingdon 1997). They are cooperative hunters, hunting in packs led by the alpha male. The selected prey can be chased over distances of several kilometres while being surrounded. The kill itself is spectacular, the prey sometimes being disembowelled while still running and torn apart while still alive. Most remarkable also are the social structure and concerns of these animals. Young, wounded or sick animals will receive regurgitated food after a successful hunting party. Aggression between pack members is almost entirely lacking, with the occasional exception between females over breeding rights. Also important to notice is that *Lycaon pictus* is very reluctant to go into water, where they would be an easy prey for crocodiles. In the Egyptian perspective this implies that they are linked to the (low) desert, where they will find among others antelopes, one of their favourite preys. They are anyhow well adapted to the desert because they need little water. For the ancient Egyptian the Lycaon must certainly have been the ultimate desert hunter. They may also have been impressed by the group spirit of these animals and their social structure.

Similar to the representations of dogs, the Lycaon does not actually hunt on the palettes. He is nevertheless to be considered the “controlling” element on the palettes, especially compared to the chaotic animal world on the palettes themselves, for which the Hierakonpolis palette is the most obvious example. The symbolic aspects of this have already been recognised in the past, with a first major breakthrough by Asselberghs (1961: 166-192) but for the present article, the not so very different interpretations of Kemp (1989: 46-53) and Baines (1993) referring to the “containment of unruly in the universe” will be followed.

Hunters and *Lycaon pictus*

At this point, a comparison between the Hierakonpolis palette and the Hunters palette is to be made (Fig. 10). In the same manner as the large size

Lycaon do on the Hierakonpolis palette, the composition of the Hunters palette is framed by the rows of hunters at both sides of the palette (Baines 1993: 63), indicating also the vertical position in which the palette is to be looked at (Tefnin 1979: 223) (Fig. 10). However, this is not the only connection between the Hierakonpolis and the Hunters palettes. The hunters have tails attached to their belts which are identical in shape to those of the Lycaon. A parallel for the hunters with tails can be found on an ivory cylinder formerly in the private collection of Ludwig Borchardt (present whereabouts unknown; Borchardt 1931: Tf. I; Scharff 1931). The tails of *Lycaon pictus* are striking by their length of about 30 cm, their full shape and especially the differences in colour, generally consisting of ochre at the base, black in the middle part and white at the tip, but many variations occur. These colour differences are rendered by lines in the tails, both of the Lycaons and those worn by the hunters on the Hunters palette. Gransard-Desmond (2004: 50) seems to consider the tails on the Hunters palette as those of foxes, following Leclant & Huard (1980: 119). Their arguments are not explicitly stated, but Gransard-Desmond also identifies the animal on the Köfler-Truniger fragment as a fox (Gransard-Desmond 2004: 51, fig. 38), as well as the two canines on the Hunters palette (Gransard-Desmond 2002: 68), which have tails resembling those of the hunters. However, already the identification of the animals as foxes is not as obvious as stated by Gransard-Desmond, especially when compared with the palette from el-Ahaiwa tomb 226 (Reisner 1936: 378, fig. 188, Berkeley 6-19071), the most detailed representation known of a fox for the Predynastic period, which looks very different. (Although Houlihan 1996: 81 considers the animal as “probably a jackal”). The canines on the Hunters palette are slim in shape and have long legs of equal size, which does not correspond with foxes. Also the profile of the snout has a rather oblate shape and is not pointed as that of a fox. All of these characteristics fit rather with the Lycaon, but the pointed ears do not. These do indeed resemble much more those of foxes, which is probably the main argument for Gransard-Desmond to consider them as such. On the Kofler-Truniger fragment, however, the head of the animal considered to be a fox is missing. There are significant differences between the shapes of the tails of the animals and those worn by the hunters. The tails of the eventual foxes are longer and less thick and fluffy than those of the hunters, for which also the lines drawn in them are more striking. The tail of the animal in the upper part of the palette even has an asymmetric profile with a slight curve, making it very different from those worn by the hunters. On the other hand, the tails of the Lycaon on the predynastic palettes are always entirely symmetrical. For all of these reasons and also because of the compositorial parallelism between the two Lycaon delimiting the Hierakonpolis palette and the two rows of hunters having the same function for the Hunters palette, the tails worn by the hunters are to be considered as those of the Lycaon.

Apparently the hunters identified themselves to a certain degree with the animal or more likely, as already mentioned, with the manner in which the animal hunts and eventually also in its social characteristics. As hunting is no fundamental part of the economy and because eating meat of wild animals was part of the ritual at the Hierakonpolis temple site, the reason for this identification can hardly have been hunting magic, or if this practice nevertheless should have occurred, than it should be considered only part of a broader context. In general, the symbolic function of the hunters will have been more or less identical to that of the Lycaon on the Hierakonpolis palette, and therefore referring to order over chaos, or the containment of unruly as it is called by Kemp.

Males with tails attached to their belt occur already a long time before the Hunters palette. They can already be seen on two White Cross-lined jars found in tombs U-239 (Dreyer a.o. 1998: 114, Abb. 13) and U-415 (Dreyer a.o. 2003: 81, Abb. 5) of the elite cemetery U at Abydos dating to the transition between Naqada I and II. In the context of the Abydos jars, it can be suggested that on the unprovenanced vessel in Brussels (E.3002, Hendrickx 1998), the row of small circles at the right side of the legs of the two males with raised arms may eventually represent the tail. Furthermore, a tail is certainly worn by the hippopotamus hunter on a bowl in the Metropolitan museum (MMA 12.182.15, Behrmann 1989: Dok. 24f). The scenes on these jars are almost unanimously accepted as victory scenes.³ It is to be stressed that only the victors are wearing tails. The lack of details does not allow state that they wear Lycaon tails, and this even seems rather unlikely given the absence of with certainty identified representations of the animal before the Naqada IID-III period where the decorated palettes are to be placed. But, for what is worth, on a palette in Stockholm (Medelhavsmuseet E.M.6000, Asselberghs 1961: pl. XLVI), a canine - Gransard-Desmond (2004: 21) considers the animal as a hyena, which is well possible.- in a hunting scene can be seen with a tail similar to those worn by the victors on the roughly contemporaneous jar from tomb U-239 at Abydos. Whatever the nature of the tail, its symbolism connected to power dates already from at least about 3700 BC and will of course still be present in the dynastic representation of the king.

³ See however Garfinkel (2003: 233-248), who considers the representations on the jar from U-239 and Brussels E.3002 as a dancing scenes. The presence of clearly identified prisoners leaves however no doubt. Eventually the possibility of victory dance could be considered, although this does not seem very likely given the further development of the iconography (see Hendrickx 2002).

Conclusions

The conclusion reached by Tefnin (1979) that the “hunt” on the Hunters palette can not be considered a rendering of daily life can be expanded to all representations of hunts and in the context of the present article, all representations including dogs. This does not mean that there is no relation with reality, only that reality was taken as starting point for developing an iconography by which much more complex ideas could be addressed.

Obviously both the dog and the *Lycaon pictus* have been used as indication for control over wild animals, mainly desert animals, referring to the maintenance of order over chaos. Both animals are linked to man, which is obvious for the dog, but also for the Lycaon with whom the hunters on the Hunters palette identified themselves (see also Baines 1993: 69). But the dog and the Lycaon can not be regarded as equals. They occur for example both on the Hierakonpolis palette, where they are clearly differentiated, and Baines (1993) clearly showed the symbolic difference between the kinds of animals.

The theme of order over chaos seems to be present already from at least the late Naqada I period, which is not surprising since the second important power issue, namely military power, also occurs from that moment onwards. Over time there seems to have been an evolution in the iconographic context in which the dog was represented, from a preference for actual hunting scenes to dogs controlling orderly arranged rows of animals. However from the beginning both representations occur next to each other and continue to do so.

The iconography discussed in the present article is to be placed in the context of preformal art as defined by Kemp (1989). The Lycaon no longer occurs in the formal iconography of pharaonic Egypt, (for a possible exception, see Lopez 1995) the reasons of which have been discussed by Baines (1993: 69) and the iconographic variety relating to canines, and especially dogs, will strongly diminish (Baines 1993: 69-70). The development of formal iconography is intimately linked with the emergence of kingship, and compared to dogs, only less “common” animals such as the bull and the falcon found their way into the royal iconography. Dogs do of course continue to be represented, also in hunting scenes, but already the representations themselves differ from the Predynastic examples. The exquisite disk decorated with dogs hunting gazelles from the tomb of Hemaka (Cairo JdE 6279, Emery 1938: 29, n° 307), dating to the reign of Den, clearly illustrates this. One of the dogs is chasing a gazelle while the other holds an apparently already killed gazelle, lying down, by the throat. Act and result of the hunt are shown in a manner unknown for the Predynastic period. This does not necessarily imply that we are dealing with a pure narrative about hunting, but the eventual symbolism, which should be studied in the context of the Old

Kingdom representations, must have changed at least partially from that of the Predynastic period.

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