RECONCILING THE ART OF ANCIENT EGYPT:

A STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF MEDIUMS, COMPOSITIONAL TECHNIQUES, AND REPRESENTATIONAL CONCEPTS FROM THE PREDYNASTIC TO THE DYNASTIC PERIOD.

CINDY SCOTT (BA)

SUBMITTED IN FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTERS OF RESEARCH

DEPARTMENT OF ANCIENT HISTORY, FACULTY OF ARTS

MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY, SYDNEY

10TH OCTOBER 2016

Abstract

The art of the Predynastic Period is often described as “chaotic” and “undeveloped”. This opinion has resulted from a comparison between early Egyptian art and that of the Dynastic Period. The art of the Dynastic Period is bound by conventions which are strictly adhered to in its production, all of which are seen to have emerged with state unification. Because of this the Predynastic and Dynastic Periods are a typically studied as separate traditions, with few features linking them together. This has resulted in a misunderstanding within the discipline by implying that the art of the Predynastic Period is not Egyptian art in the “proper sense”. This project will take a fresh look at the art of the Predynastic Period to establish that many of the conventions and themes of Dynastic art originated in earlier artistic productions. This will show that the art from earlier periods in Egyptian history are not a separate tradition from that of later periods, as much of the current scholarship suggests, but are a continuous evolution which reflects the social and cultural developments of the ancient Egyptian civilisation.

10th October 2016

I declare that this thesis is a product of my own work and has not been previously submitted for assessment at a tertiary institution.

Cindy Scott

Macquarie University, Sydney

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Yann Tristant, for his guidance, direction, and feedback. Not only do I appreciate your assistance this year in shaping this project, but your guidance throughout my entire academic career has been invaluable.

To my mother, Diane, the woman who never gave me any idea I couldn't do whatever I wanted to do or be whoever I wanted to be. Your unconditional love and belief in me has given me the strength to do things I never thought I would be capable of.

To Tim, thank you for your unwavering love and support. Every time I've doubted myself you've been there to tell me I can do it. Your support has meant the world to me.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Abbreviations

BACE *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology*

BIFAO *Bulletin de l'Institut fran*çais *d'archéologie orientale*

CCdE *Cahiers Caribéens d'Egyptologie*

GM *Göttinger Miszelle*

JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*

JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*

JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*

MDAIK *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo*

SAK *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*

ZÄS *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*

Preliminaries

1.1. Introduction and Overview

When considering the art of ancient Egypt, elaborate wall scenes and monumental statues of kings and gods come to mind. These grand artistic achievements seem to have suddenly appeared, fully formed, with the advent of state formation (3,200 B.C.). However, these monumental productions did not emerge from a blank cultural and intellectual landscape, with no established traditions to draw from. Artistic productions had existed and been developing in Egypt throughout the Predynastic Period for hundreds of years. Despite this, the full extent of the connection between the art of the Predynastic (4,400 – 3,200 B.C.), Early Dynastic (3,200 – 2,649 B.C.) and Dynastic Period (2,649 – 332 B.C.) is yet to be studied in great detail. The art created in the Predynastic Period appears to be drastically different to the productions of the Dynastic Period, and so a break in artistic tradition is often emphasised in art historical studies.

The overall aim of this project is to reconcile the art of ancient Egypt, often studied as two separate traditions. This will show that a holistic study provides greater information about the developments of artistic traditions than studying the periods in isolation. The intention is to bridge the gap in scholarship which represents Predynastic art as lacking the coherence and aesthetics of Dynastic art. This will be achieved by showing the complex nature of artistic development throughout the entirety of Egyptian history. To do this, this project will highlight the problems within the existing literature which perpetuate the belief that Predynastic and Dynastic art exist as separate traditions (Chapter One). It will provide an overview of the development of modes of representation, and associated mediums, through the course of ancient Egyptian history, with particular focus on the Predynastic Period and the development into the Dynastic Period (Chapter Two). An in-depth study of compositional techniques, typically thought to be Dynastic creations, will be conducted with the aim of showing the

origin and development of these techniques throughout the Predynastic Period (Chapter Three). Finally, the evolution of predominant motifs and themes will be traced and interpreted, to show the complex nature of the social and intellectual context of the Predynastic Period which eventually led to state formation (Chapter Four).

1.2. What is "Art"?

Before analysing artistic productions it is important to explain what is meant by the term "art" in any context. This is especially pertinent when applying it to an ancient civilisation which had no word comparable to our modern, western concept of "art".[1] The extent to which the ancient Egyptian people created representations for aesthetic appeal or functional purposes is unknown. Because of this it cannot be assumed that art was conceived of in the same manner it is today, and so the use of the term must be defined. For this study the term "art" will be used to describe the image making process, and resulting products, of the ancient Egyptians. It includes both two-dimensional and three-dimensional representations. In the context of this project any artefact which displays an image, or images, will be regarded as "art", regardless of aesthetic concerns or the perceived utilitarian nature of the objects they appear on. This includes, but is not limited to, pottery, palettes, mace-heads, seals, tags, combs, knife handles, statuettes, statues, and paintings on walls.

[1] G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), 12.

2. Methodology

The topic of this thesis requires data collection and analysis in two main areas which will be outlined here.

2.1. Examination of Current Literature

Firstly, background information on the current state of Egyptological literature must be collected and analysed. This will establish a brief history of previous studies on ancient Egyptian art, and document divisive attitudes and terminologies used in the discussion of the artistic productions. To collect this data major works commenting on ancient Egyptian art will be examined. A focus will be placed on identifying what the modern sources are implying through the descriptions and terminologies they employ. These will be commented upon in relations to the boundaries they create and the effect they have on the study of ancient art.

2.2. Examination of Artistic Productions

The second section of this project aims to illustrate that the art created during the Predynastic Period highlights the beginning of a long and continuous tradition of image making, which reflects the complex cultural history of ancient Egypt. The methodological framework for this section of the project is fundamentally art historical in nature, involving the application of a diachronic interpretative analysis to the development of ancient art. To show that many of the artistic techniques and themes thought to be purely Dynastic actually have their origins in the Predynastic Period, artefacts have been be selected, analysed, and interpreted using this methodology.

Difficulties arise in the collection of this data as much of the evidence available is subject to chance survival. We do not have a complete record of the art from this period and dangers arise when extrapolating the evidence from a small number of primary sources to represent an

entire period. However, enough evidence with similar traits exists throughout the entire Predynastic Period to represent the principles being argued for. Out of necessity this will not include every piece of Predynastic work. Therefore, only the artefacts which best display the themes and techniques which represent a continuity or development through to other periods will be examined in great detail. It is not the purpose of this research to show that every piece of Predynastic art displays techniques and themes which continue into the Dynastic Period, only to show that there is enough evidence to support the idea of a Predynastic origin and a subsequent continuity for many of them. That said, any artefacts showing major discrepancies to the argument will be noted and addressed.

The collection of this data involved a search of primary sources such as excavation reports[2] and catalogues,[3] along with evidence found in secondary sources predominantly consisting of scholarship on Predynastic art.[4] This evidence has then been subjected to art historical methods of analysis and interpretation, which will be discussed below. Using art historical methods of analysis to study the primary evidence has become a common practice within Egyptology and many examples are outlined by Maya Müller.[5] For this project the methods used will include a comparative analysis of major elements of Predynastic and Dynastic art to identify changes, developments, or continuations of particular aspects of the art. To do this a study of the main types of medium, compositional techniques, and representational concepts

[2] W.M.F. Petrie, J.E. Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas* (London, 1896); G. Brunton, *Matmar* (London, 1948); J.E. Quibell, F.W. Green, *Hierakonpolis*, 2 vols. (London, 1900-1901).
[3] W.M.F. Petrie, *Corpus of Prehistoric Pottery and Palettes* (London, 1921); W. Needler, *Predynastic and Archaic Egypt in the Brooklyn Museum* (New York, 1984); J. Crowfoot-Payne, *Catalogue of the Predynastic Egyptian Collection in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1993); G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Nagada I–Nagada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009).
[4] For example: H. Asselberghs, *Chaos en Beheersing: Documenten uit aeneolithisch Egypt* (Leiden, 1961); J. Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt* (London, 1905); F. Raffaele, 'Animal Rows and Ceremonial Procession in Late Predynastic Egypt', in F. Raffaele, M. Nuzzolo, I. Incordino (eds.), *Recent Discoveries and Latest Research in Egyptology. Proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, Naples, June 18th-20th 2008* (Wiesbaden, 2010), 245-285; D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011); S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Visual Representation and State Development in Egypt', *Archéo-Nil* 22 (2012), 23-72.
[5] M. Müller, 'Egyptology and the Study of Art History', *BACE* 24 (2013), 59-80.

have been analysed. This has been done with reference to major themes and techniques which evidence continuity throughout Egyptian history.

2.2.1. Style

The study and analysis of style is an important art historical method utilised in this project. While style is a difficult concept to define, it is one of the most fundamental concepts in the study of art. For the purpose of this project, style will be considered as the consistent way of representing or creating individual elements or groups of elements within an image. The identification of a particular style can be used to date works of, place them within a chronology, and can aid in tracing innovations.[6] Variations in style can be matched with historical events and cultural change, while individual and group styles can reveal phases of development.[7] This is an important concept which will be applied throughout the analysis of Predynastic art, and its comparison to Dynastic productions. The most important methods for this project include *stylistic analysis*, which involves the examination of form, subject matter, composition, organisation of space, and the depicting of individual elements and their relation to each other.[8] And *formalistic analysis*, which is one of the central methods used by Egyptologists to describe and categorise style.[9] This method predominantly focuses on composition and how each element is arranged within the whole. This type of analysis will be utilised to identify innovation and trace relationships between objects. Formalistic analysis does open itself up to criticism when used in the study of ancient art. Due to the heavy emphasis placed on aesthetic value in early connoisseurship the use of this type of analysis is often held in opposition to endeavours in cultural history.[10] However, if less emphasis is placed on aesthetic value and the art work is looked at more holistically, through technique,

[6] M. Hartwig, 'Style', in M. Hartwig (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art* (Chichester, 2015), 39.
[7] M. Hartwig, 'Style', in M. Hartwig (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art* (Chichester, 2015), 39.
[8] M. Hartwig, 'An Examination of Art Historical Method and Theory: A Case Study', in A. Verbovsek, B. Bakes, C. Jones (eds.), *Methodik und Didaktik in der Ägyptologie. Herausforderungen kulturwissenschaftlichen Paradigmenwechsels in den Alterumswissenschaften* (Munich, 2011), 313.
[9] M. Hartwig, 'Style', in M. Hartwig (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art* (Chichester, 2015), 43.
[10] M. Hartwig, 'Style', in M. Hartwig (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art* (Chichester, 2015), 45.

themes, symbolism, and composition, then the art can give a window into the cultural context from which it came.

2.2.2. Iconography

The study of iconography will also be used to engage with the primary evidence. This will include the identification and interpretation of an images contents, themes, and motifs. This analysis of data is probably the most important to art historical studies in regards to what it can reveal about the intellectual context from which it arose.

All of these methodologies will be combined to generate an analysis and interpretation of the current state of the literature on ancient Egyptian art, and the development of ancient Egyptian art in its entirety. This will be done with the aim of producing new insights and highlighting areas within the discipline which require further consideration.

Chapter One

Literature Review

1. Introduction

The existing body of literature for this project covers two separate areas and will be divided and commented on as such. Firstly, literature focusing on the study of Egyptian art will be reviewed. A brief background to the studies of Dynastic art will be given, followed by a survey of the literature concerning Predynastic and Early Dynastic art. Secondly, literature concerning disparaging attitudes towards Predynastic art, and the origin and use of divisive terminology, will be examined. Furthermore, the ways in which this literature emphasises a break in the artistic tradition of ancient Egypt will be considered. It is in the following body of literature that this project will situate itself, draw inspiration from, and attempt to contribute new opinions and knowledge to.

2. Ancient Egyptian Art

2.1. Dynastic Art

Egyptian antiquities were first recognised and analysed as art, in the modern sense, by Johann Winckelmann. In his influential work, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*,[11] Winckelmann made his distaste for Egyptian art clear. The problem for these early studies was that Egyptian art did not fit into the model of fine art set by the standards of the Classical Period. Many early studies were subject to a Hellenocentric approach.[12] This meant that studies and artistic analyses were based on an aesthetic appeal which ancient Egypt, unlike Classical antiquities, had no place in according to westernised ideals. This was due to the fact that Egyptian principles of representation were foreign to western ideas of art at this time. In 1847, Émile

[11] J.J. Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (Dresden, 1764).
[12] D. Bergman, 'Historiography of Ancient Egyptian Art', in M. Hartwig (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art* (Chichester, 2015), 26.

Prisse d'Avennes published one of the first studies to focus solely on Egyptian art,[13] without reference to the art of the Classical Period. From this point Egyptian art began to be considered in its own context, and its value and appeal started to be properly recognised. The first major analytical study of Egyptian artistic techniques was published by Heinrich Schäfer in 1919.[14] This study concentrated on two-dimensional art from the Dynastic Period, in which he analysed compositional techniques and style. However, the approach was still somewhat Hellenocentric, with Greek art being the benchmark for development. Following this, Jean Capart's survey of Egyptian art illuminated the social and intellectual context of Egyptian ideas of art.[15] The six volumes of Jacques Vandier's, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*,[16] classify and analyse representational art from all periods of Egyptian history in a comprehensive, chronological order. In his, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, William Stevenson Smith discusses the relationship between the development of history and art,[17] placing the art in a social context for greater understanding of developments. Throughout the extensive history of the research on Egyptian art the Dynastic Period has been considered as an entirety[18] and as separate periods.[19] It has also been studied in relation to

[13] É. Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments égyptiens, bas-reliefs, peintures, inscriptions, etc.* (Paris, 1847).
[14] H. Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst: besonders der Zeichenkunst* (Leipzig, 1919).
[15] J. Capart, *Leçon sur l'art égyptien* (Liège, 1920); J. Capart, *Egyptian Art: Introductory Studies* (London, 1923).
[16] J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* (Paris, 1952-1978).
[17] W.S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven, 1958).
[18] For example: W.M.F. Petrie, *Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1909); W.S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven, 1958); W.C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1953-1959); I. Woldering, *The Art of the Pharaohs* (Baden-Baden, 1965); J.R. Harris, *Egyptian Art* (London, 1966); C. Aldred, *The Development of Ancient Egyptian Art. From 3200 to 1315 B.C.* (London, 1973); E. Vassilika, *Egyptian Art* (New York, 1995); G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997); J. Malek, *Egyptian Art* (London, 1999); M. Hartwig (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art* (Chichester, 2015).
[19] For example: C. Aldred, *Old Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1949); W.S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1949); C. Aldred, *Middle Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt: 2300-1590 B.C.* (London, 1950); C. Aldred, *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt During the Eighteenth Dynasty*: *1590 to 1315 B.C.* (London, 1951); J.D. Cooney, *Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections* (New York, 1965); M. Eaton-Krauss, *The Representations of Statuary in Private Tombs of the Old Kingdom* (Wiesbaden, 1984); J. Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals: Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom* (New York, 1988); Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York, 1999); N. Strudwick, H. Strudwick (eds.), *Old Kingdom, New Perspectives: Egyptian Art and Archaeology 2750-2150 B.C.* (Oxford, 2011); O. Perdu, R. Meffre (eds.), *Le crépuscule des pharaons: chefs d'oeuvre des dernières dynasties égyptiennes: Ouvrage publié à l'occasion de l'exposition au Musée Jacquemart-André du 23 mars au 23 juillet 2012* (Brussels, 2012).

developments of particular compositional techniques[20] and themes. All of these studies have resulted in a well-rounded corpus of knowledge on the Dynastic tradition of artistic production.

This is only a brief survey of the literature concerning Dynastic Egyptian art and is no means exhaustive. It serves only to establish the developments and attention paid to the art of the Dynastic Period.

2.2. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Art

When the extent of literature dedicated to the art of the Dynastic Period is considered, the works dedicated to Predynastic and Early Dynastic art are comparatively small. There are very few examples of literature which attempt to provide a comprehensive guide to the art of these periods. Some of the most important examples will be considered here, beginning with those presented in an entire volume.

One of the first major attempts to study the image making process from the Predynastic and Early Dynastic Periods occurred in 1904, when Jean Capart published *Les débuts de l'Art en Egypte*[21] (subsequently published in English[22]). In this publication he highlights the fact that, before this point, the attention of scholars had never seriously been drawn to the art of ancient Egypt prior to the Fourth Dynasty.[23] He therefore attempts to provide a comprehensive guide to the art produced before this point in Egyptian history. He describes and comments on artistic processes and products, which had previously been ignored in scholarship. He discusses a wide range of topics including personal adornment, ornamental and decorative art,

[20] R. Lepsius, 'Über einige aegyptische Kunstformen und ihre Entwickelung', *Abhandlungen der Königl* (Berlin, 1871), 1-26; H.A. Groenewegen-Frankfort, *Arrest and Movement. Space and Time in the Art of the Ancient Near East* (London, 1951); E. Iversen, *Canon and Proportion in Egyptian Art* (London, 1955); G. Robins, C.C.D. Shute, 'Mathematical Bases of Ancient Egyptian Architecture and Graphic Art', *Historia Mathematica* 12 (1985); Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom: Studies in orientation and Scene Content* (London, 1987); G. Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* (London, 1994).
[21] J. Capart, *Les débuts de l'Art en Egypte* (Brussels, 1904).
[22] J. Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt* (London, 1905).
[23] J. Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt* (London, 1905), 5.

sculpture, painting, and early pharaonic monuments. The publication provides a useful overview of what was known about Predynastic art at this time. However, many new discoveries have been made and new approaches and interpretations have been developed since this publication.

In 1961 Henri Asselberghs presented a corpus of late Predynastic art including palettes, mace-heads, and knife handles. He accompanies this with an interpretation of the image making process,[24] in an attempt to provide a holistic study of the art of this period. Following Asselberghs, Whitney Davis analyses a similar body of late Predynastic evidence in *Masking the Blow*.[25] Davis focuses on the Narmer palette, along with some preceding palettes and knife handles, approaching the evidence with the aim of entering the mind of the Predynastic artist. He attempts to find narrative elements within the art which are used as visual strategies to show the artist in the role of hunter and/or killer.[26] While Davis presents an innovative idea and methodology, in an attempt to gain access to the psyche of the Predynastic artist, his arguments become hard to follow due to his convoluted and jargon-laden writing style. Also problematic is the fact that, while Davis admits that he arrives at many of the same conclusions as Asselberghs, he feels that Asselberghs' "suggestive commentary" and speculations about the events depicted in the art detract from the validity of his conclusions.[27] In saying this, he misses the fact that his own methodology falls short for the same reason. The most recent book providing in-depth analysis and interpretation of Predynastic and Early Dynastic art is the 2011 publication, *Dawn of Egyptian Art*.[28] This publication presents a variety of topics on Egyptian art forms and iconography from around 4,000 B.C. to 2,650 B.C. It presents the contributions of several different authors in a comprehensive manner, which explores the origin and early development of the less well known art of this period.

[24] H. Asselberghs, *Chaos en Beheersing: Documenten uit aeneolithisch Egypt* (Leiden, 1961).
[25] W. Davis, *Masking the Blow: The Scene of Representation in Late Prehistoric Egyptian Art* (Berkeley, 1992).
[26] I. Shaw, 'Review of Whitney Davis Masking the Blow", *Antiquity* 67 (1993), 457-458.
[27] W. Davis, *Masking the Blow: The Scene of Representation in Late Prehistoric Egyptian Art* (Berkeley, 1992), 258.
[28] D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011).

Noticeably, the art of the Early Dynastic Period is rarely considered as an independent tradition.[29] It is typically included either in studies of "early" art, or considered as the beginning of Dynastic art.[30] This highlights the ambiguous nature of the place of Early Dynastic art in ancient Egyptian art history.

With the exception of these few books the tendency has been to devote short studies to individual pieces, groups of pieces, or themes in Predynastic and Early Dynastic art. This body of literature makes up the bulk of information we have on these periods, and is composed of numerous important works examining the art. Some examples include studies by renowned scholars in the field such as, Krzysztof Ciałowicz,[31] Stan Hendrickx,[32] and numerous others.[33] However, many of these typically focus on a specific aspect of the art.

[29] Except; :S. Hendrickx, F. Förster, "Early Dynastic Art and Iconography", in A.B. Lloyd (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt* (Chichester, 2010).

[30] With the exception of being studied in the social context of the period: W.B. Emery, *Archaic Egypt* (London, 1961); I.E.S. Edwards, *The Early Dynastic Period in Egypt* (London, 1964); T.A.H. Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt* (New York, 1999).

[31] K.M. Ciałowicz, *Les palettes égyptiennes aux motifs zoomorphes et sans décoration: étude de l'art prédynastique* (Kraków, 1991); K.M. Ciałowicz, 'La composition, le sens et la symbolique des scènes zoomorphes prédynastiques en relief. Les manches de couteaux', in R.F. Friedman, B. Adams (eds.), *The Followers of Horus. Studies dedicated to Michael Allen Hoffman* (Oxford, 1992), 247-258; K.M. Ciałowicz, 'Le manche de couteau de Gebel el-Arak. Le probleme de l'interprétation de l'art prédvnastique' in J. Lipinska, U. Warszawski (eds.), *Essays in honour of Dr. Jadwiga Lipinska* (Warsaw, 1997), 399-52; K.M. Ciałowicz, *Ivory and gold. Beginnings of the Egyptian Art. Discoveries in Tell el-Farkha (the Nile Delta)* (Kraków, 2007).

[32] S. Hendrickx, 'Bovines in Egyptian Predynastic and Early Dynastic Iconography', in F.A. Hassan (ed.), *Drought Food and Culture: Ecological Change and Food Security in Africa's Late Prehistory* (New York, 2002), 275-735; S. Hendrickx, 'L'iconographie de la chasse dans le contexte social prédynastique', *Archéo-Nil* 20 (2010), 106-133; S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Continuity and Change in the Visual Representations of Predynastic Egypt', in F. Raffaele, M. Nuzzolo, I. Incordino (eds.), *Recent Discoveries and Latest Research in Egyptology. Proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, Naples, June 18th-20th 2008* (Wiesbaden, 2010), 121-143; S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Visual Representation and State Development in Egypt', *Archéo-Nil* 22 (2012), 23-72; S. Hendrickx, 'Hunting and Social Complexity in Predynastic Egypt', *Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer, Bulletin des Séances / Koninklijke Academie voor Overzeese Wetenschappen, Mededelingen der Zittingen*, 57, 2-4 2011 (2013), 237-263; S. Hendrickx, M. De Meyer, M. Eyckerman, 'On the Origin of the Royal False Beard and its Bovine Symbolism', in M. Jucha, J. Dębowska-Ludwin, P. Kołodziejczyk (eds.), *Aegyptus est imago caeli. Studies presented to Krzysztof M. Ciałowicz on his 60th birthday* (Kraków, 2014), 129-143.

[33] Other important sources include, but are not limited to: W. Davis, 'Artists and Patrons in Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt', *SAK* 10 (1983), 119-139; G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Nagada I–Nagada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009); E. Nowak, 'Egyptian Predynastic Ivories Decorated with Anthropomorphic Motifs', in S. Hendrickx, R.F. Friedman, K.M. Ciałowicz, M. Chlodnicki (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins. Studies in Memory of Barbara Adams: proceedings of the international conference "Origin of the State, Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt," Krakow, 28 August - 1st September 2002* (Leuven, 2004), 891-904; F. Raffaele, 'Animal Rows and Ceremonial Procession in Late Predynastic Egypt', in F. Raffaele, M. Nuzzolo, I. Incordino (eds.), *Recent Discoveries and Latest Research in Egyptology. Proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, Naples, June 18th-20th 2008* (Wiesbaden, 2010), 245-285.

This means the development of themes, mediums, or stylistic techniques as a whole are rarely examined.

This particular study will draw on the ideas presented in these works, but will place an emphasis on the elements of Predynastic art which continue into the Dynastic Period. One of the main issues which become evident when studying the literature concerning Egyptian art is that Predynastic art is typically studied separately to Dynastic art. This project will situate itself with the existing body of literature, but will emphasise the elements of art which connect the two periods together.

3. Attitudes and Terminology

3.1. Attitudes

One of the main reasons Predynastic art has remained relatively unstudied, especially until more recent times, is because of the widely held opinion that Predynastic art is not "truly Egyptian" in the "proper" sense. It is typically thought that true Egyptian art only existed from a certain point in the known historical period; this point is often argued to be the Early Dynastic Period, which began with state formation. This opinion is reflected in the works of many prominent scholars.

In 1909, William Petrie published his work *The Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt*, in which he states that the art of the Predynastic Period is so rudimentary that the earliest Egyptian people certainly must have been superseded by a lower race, most likely from the East, for some time before the Dynastic Period.[34] He then states that during the Early Dynastic Period true Egyptian art "sprung up", with no traditions to spoil or hold it back.[35] Following this, in 1919

[34] W.M.F. Petrie, *Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1909), 13.
[35] W.M.F. Petrie, *Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1909), 14-15.

Heinrich Schäfer published his renowned work entitled, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*.[36] This was republished in English, entitled *Principles of Egyptian Art*, in 1974. In this publication, Schäfer argues that "Egyptian" art, in the proper sense, only existed from a certain point in the known historical period.[37] To Schäfer this point in history was, of course, the Early Dynastic Period. He argues that the art before this lacked something essential which would make it truly "Egyptian". Unfortunately, whatever Schäfer thought the Predynastic art lacked he could not put it into words, saying it was more something he "sensed" in the works themselves.[38] For a more recent view on the matter, the publication *The Art of Ancient Egypt* can be considered. In this, Gay Robins claims in her introduction that the aim of the book is to, "provide an accessible and up to date introduction to Egyptian art", which is meant to, "encompass the whole span of ancient Egyptian civilisation".[39] After saying this she then continues with the chapter entitled, "Origins: The Early Dynastic Period".[40] The attitude becomes clear, around 3,200 B.C. the Early Dynastic Period began and true Egyptian art "sprung up" with it.

This idea is also reflected through the more nuanced terminology scholars use as a designation for the art of the two periods. Several key works introduce these terms, which continue to be used throughout the discipline.

3.2. Terminology

Within academia, terminologies are used in every discipline to help codify a series of ideas, events, time periods, or concepts into categories for analytical purposes. Ancient Egyptian history is no different. Terminologies are used within ancient history to help categorise the phenomena which can be seen in the ancient evidence into manageable units of study. They

[36] W. Davis, 'Canonical Representations in Ancient Egyptian Art', *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 4 (1982), 20-45.
[37] H. Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst: besonders der Zeichenkunst: eine Einführung in die Beitrachtung ägyptischer Kunstwerke* (Leipzig, 1919), 9.
[38] H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1974), 9.
[39] G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), 7.
[40] G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), 30.

give specific meaning to an area of study, group similar objects or phenomena together, and provide frameworks for analysis. However, placing these phenomena into ridged categories can often create problems that were not originally intended. The difficulties of applying specific terminology to the study of Egyptian art was first noted by Jean Capart, who argued that "misfortune attaches itself" to any terminology used.[41] While no term can be all encompassing for the expansive and complicated history of Egyptian art, some are more detrimental to the holistic study than others. This section will examine how certain terminology used within the discipline of Egyptology emphasise a divide between the art of the Predynastic Period and that of the Dynastic Period.

To begin with, in 1919 Heinrich Schäfer first uses the term "formal" in his *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, to describe the style of art from the Dynastic Period.[42] He ascribes no terminology to describe the art of the Predynastic Period, arguing that it, "has no element that is distinctively Egyptian".[43] Instead, he argues that that the first steps towards authentic Egyptian art were expressed on the Narmer Palette and then throughout the Early Dynastic Period.[44] Building on this, Barry Kemp coined the term "preformal" in his 1989 publication, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilisation.* Kemp introduced his new terminology because he saw problems with the existing nomenclature. He argued that the existing terminology used to describe ancient Egyptian art was tied to the division between Predynastic and Dynastic history.[45] This did not fit with the regional areas Kemp was studying, which took longer to transition to the formal style. The term then, is used as a designation for the art and architecture produced in Egypt's Predynastic Period, along with the art in regional areas which persisted with this tradition for a time in the Dynastic Period. This is opposed to the "formal" art which occurred

[41] J. Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt* (London, 1905), 11.
[42] H. Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst besonders der Zeichenkunst: eine Einführung in die Beitrachtung ägyptischer Kunstwerke* (Leipzig, 1919); H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1974).
[43] H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1974), 10.
[44] H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1974), 10-11.
[45] B. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilisation* (London, 1989), 65-66.

in the city centres with the advent of state formation.[46] In his 2006 revised edition, Kemp does acknowledge that the boundaries created by his own terminology may be problematic.[47] However, he does not suggest what problems or limitations they may cause. One of the main problems with Kemp's classifications is that these new terms were not intended to promote continuity between the two periods, but rather to argue that the older traditions lasted longer in some areas before being stamped out by the Dynastic mandate.[48] While Kemp does acknowledge a process of development from the preformal to the formal tradition,[49] his emphasis was on the expanding of "formal" art from the city centres into regional areas. His new system highlighted the elements that were eventually replaced rather than those which continued. While his new term was sufficient to emphasise the phenomena he saw in his study, it reiterated the idea that the art from the Predynastic Period was "other" than that of the Dynastic. Despite these problems, the terms preformal and formal continue to be used within scholarship, particularly studies dedicated to the art of the Dynastic Period, but not exclusively so.[50] The problem with this continued use is that the aforementioned difficulties with this terminology are not taken into consideration when being utilised in scholarship. Because of this the idea that a significant change occurred in ancient Egyptian art, with the advent of state formation, continues to be perpetuated.

Other terms such as "precanonical" and "canonical", are also used to denote a similar break in tradition. These terms are used heavily by the scholar Whitney Davis[51] for the Predynastic and Dynastic Periods respectively. For Davis, the *canonical tradition* includes the, "drawing,

[46] B. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilisation* (London, 1989), 66, 88.
[47] B. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilisation* (London, 2006), 113.
[48] B. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (London, 1989), 65.
[49] B. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (London, 1989), 84-85; (Rev. ed. 2006), 136-137.
[50] Terms "preformal" and "formal" are used in studies of Predynastic art such as: S. Hendrickx, 'Earliest Examples of Pharaonic Iconography', *Nekhen News* 17 (2005), 14-15; D. Huyge, 'Cosmology, Ideology and Personal Religious Practice in Ancient Egyptian Rock Art', in R.F. Friedman (ed.), *Egypt and Nubia: gifts of the desert* (London, 2002), 192–206.
[51] W. Davis, 'Canonical Representations in Ancient Egyptian Art', *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 4 (1982), 20-45; W. Davis, *The Canonical Tradition in Ancient Egyptian Art* (New York, 1989); W. Davis, *Masking the Blow: The Scene of Representation in Late Prehistoric Egyptian Art* (Berkeley, 1992); W. Davis, *Replications: Archaeology, Art History, Psychoanalysis* (Pennsylvania State, 2010).

painting, relief, and sculpture produced in dynastic Egypt from the establishment of the dynastic state",[52] and a *canonical representation* is, "the making of an image regarded as well-formed according to particular standards of correctness".[53] In comparison, the precanonical tradition spanned from the beginning of the Naqada culture to the early Third Dynasty, at which point he considers the Dynastic state, and associated art, to be fully formed.[54] Davis' analysis of the art from the two traditions becomes confusing when he argues that elements of the precanonical tradition continue to be used in the canonical tradition. This raises the question as to whether element can be both precanonical and canonical at the same time. The prefix "*pre*" implies "before", precluding what comes after. "Precanonical" implies it is to the exclusion of that which is "canonical". So, while Davis admits that many elements of the art, which are classified as being major features of the canonical tradition, existed prior to its emergence[55] he makes no attempt to use a neutral language of description. He still uses "precanonical" and "canonical" to describe the art from certain periods of time, which are bound to certain techniques of production. Perhaps his argument would be clearer if he used these terms to refer to individual elements instead of entire periods. For example, if he used the term "precanonical elements", for elements which existed for a time and disappeared completely with the establishment of the Dynastic state, and "canonical elements", which have no referent in the Predynastic Period, the terms would be clearer. He would also then need to create a neutral term for the elements which he admits do continue from one period to another. Davis' argument also becomes quite convoluted as he cannot seem to decide which elements of canonical art existed during the Predynastic Period and which did not, often changing his opinion between chapters. For example, at one stage he states that the stylistic invariance seen in Dynastic art is also evident in Predynastic art.[56] He later argues that the transition from the art of the Predynastic Period to the Old Kingdom is

[52] W. Davis, *The Canonical Tradition in Ancient Egyptian Art* (New York, 1989), 1.
[53] W. Davis, *The Canonical Tradition in Ancient Egyptian Art* (New York, 1989), 1.
[54] W. Davis, *The Canonical Tradition in Ancient Egyptian Art* (New York, 1989), 119-120.
[55] W. Davis, *The Canonical Tradition in Ancient Egyptian Art* (New York, 1989), 116.
[56] W. Davis, *The Canonical Tradition in Ancient Egyptian Art* (New York, 1989), 124.

one of Predynastic variance to canonical invariance.[57] He also claims that there is nothing revolutionary about the Narmer Palette, then goes on to say it is the first of its kind.[58] Whatever argument Davis is trying to establish about the art of the Predynastic Period, it often gets lost in the changing of his arguments and a clearer analysis of which elements continue and which do not needs to be established. In his work, *Masking the Blow*, Davis emphasises the differences between precanonical and canonical images and avoids associating the two traditions as a continuous whole.[59] He does this despite previous attempts at connecting the productions of Predynastic and Dynastic art.[60]

The use of this terminology to denote two separate traditions of artistic production continues to be used in scholarship today,[61] despite the unstable nature and definition of the terms. The use of the terms by Davis is clearly problematic, with his opinion on its use and parameters changing between chapters and between publications. Because of this the terms should be used with caution in the study of ancient Egyptian art, without relying on Davis' definitions.

While several scholars have produced works which aim to highlight the connection between certain themes or elements of Predynastic art and those evident in the Dynastic art, these are few in number.[62] While the idea that the art of ancient Egypt develops rather than undergoes a sudden, dramatic change is not a novel idea, what makes this project innovative is the idea

[57] W. Davis, *The Canonical Tradition in Ancient Egyptian Art* (New York, 1989), 135.
[58] W. Davis, *The Canonical Tradition in Ancient Egyptian Art* (New York, 1989), 160.
[59] W. Davis, *Masking the Blow. Scenes of Representation in Late Prehistoric Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1992), 5.
[60] W. Davis, 'The Origins of Register Composition in Predynastic Egyptian Art', *JAOS* 96 (1976), 404-418; W. Davis, 'The Canonical Theory of Composition in Egyptian Art', *GM* (1982), 9-26; W. Davis, *The Canonical Tradition in Ancient Egyptian Art* (New York, 1989).
[61] O. Goldwasser, *From Icon to Metaphor: Studies in the Semiotics of Hieroglyphs* (Charlottesville, 1995), 5; M. Eaton-Krauss, "Non-royal Pre-Canonical Statuary," in N. Grimal (ed.), *Les critères de datation stylistiques à l'ancien empire* (Cairo, 1998), 209–255; W. Davis, *A General Theory of Visual Culture* (New Jersey, 2011); W. Davis, 'Scale and Pictoriality in Ancient Egyptian Painting and Sculpture', in J. Kee, E. Lugli (eds.), *To Scale* (Chichester, 2015), 30; W. Davis, 'Ancient Egyptian Illusions', in T.R. Gillen (ed.), *(Re)Productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt* (Leiden, forthcoming).
[62] W. Davis, 'The Origins of Register Composition in Predynastic Egyptian Art', *JAOS* 96 (1976), 404-418; W. Davis, *Replications: Archaeology, Art History, Psychoanalysis* (Pennsylvania State, 2010); S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Visual Representation and State Development in Egypt', *Archéo-Nil* 22 (2012), 23-72.

that it is our own academic constructions that are hindering our studies of ancient Egyptian art. It is within this context that this project will be situated.

4. Discussion and Conclusion

The body of literature the sections of this project are situated in provides the necessary background from which the information and examples will be drawn, and against which arguments will be made. Many of the ideas which will be presented in this project take inspiration from the works of the scholars discussed here. Some of their ideas and theories will be agreed with throughout this project, while others will be dispute in order to present new ideas. This project will situate itself within this body of literature, but will aim to present the information in a new way, combining ideas previously presented separately and bringing a new analysis and interpretation to the evidence.

Chapter Two
Ancient Egyptian Art: Types of Art and Mediums

1. Introduction

Many types of Dynastic art were pre-empted by Predynastic and Early Dynastic mediums and techniques. This is often not evident as many of the mediums used appear to be drastically different between the early stages of Predynastic art and the "classic" Dynastic form. Ancient Egyptian art is well known from temple and tomb walls and monumental statues of the Dynastic Period. However, it was during the Predynastic Period that the ancient Egyptian people first began to communicate their world views through the production of images on both stationary and portable mediums.[63] Many examples of this early art have been lost due to the perishable nature of the materials used, meaning that examples of Predynastic art are not attested at the scale of later periods. This affects and limits the investigation into the art of this period, giving only a limited number of examples to be examined. However, enough objects of similar types, with similar configurations have survived to provide this study with a range of objects for analysis. Throughout Egyptian history a variety of both two and three-dimensional art were produced across several types of mediums, which will be considered in this chapter.

2. Mediums and Modes of Representation from the Predynastic Period to the Dynastic Period

2.1. Two-Dimensional Art

During the Predynastic Period, two-dimensional art was developed through two main modes of representation. These are painted representations and carved relief. Both of these

[63] D. Patch, 'From Land to Landscape', in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 21.

techniques are ones which will be used on a variety of mediums throughout the entirety of ancient Egyptian history. During this period painted representations occurred on pottery, linen, and tomb walls while carved relief was used on ivory knife handles, and palettes. The representational medium of rock art should be included here and can be considered as either painted or inscribe, with both methods used to depict images onto rock surfaces.

Painted representations on Predynastic pottery are, comparatively, one of the largest bodies of evidence for Predynastic two-dimensional representations, and are generally thought to consist of two consecutive styles. These are known as White Cross-lined pottery (Naqada I) and Decorated Ware (Naqada II).[64] The material differences between the two styles are apparent. White Cross-lined pottery is made from Nile silt, and is a red-brown colour with cream-coloured painted decorations. Decorated pottery is made from marl clay, the body of the pottery is buff-coloured while the painted decoration is dark purple-black.[65] By the end of Naqada I the style, and most likely the purpose, of the decoration on pottery changed,[66] evident from the fact that the decoration on the White Cross-lined pottery is less standardised than that of the Decorated.[67] In the case of painted linens, only a few examples are known, all of which come from the late Naqada II period[68] and show similar motifs to the Decorated pottery. Only one preserved painted wall scene is known from Naqada IIC,[69] found in tomb 100 at Hierakonpolis.[70] However, fragments of painted plaster, also found at Hierakonpolis,[71]

[64] W.M.F. Petrie, *Corpus of Prehistoric Pottery and Palettes* (London, 1921).
[65] S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Continuity and Change in the Visual Representations of Predynastic Egypt', in F. Raffaele, M. Nuzzolo, I. Incordino (eds.), *Recent Discoveries and Latest Research in Egyptology. Proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, Naples, June 18th-20th 2008* (Wiesbaden, 2010), 121.
[66] S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Visual Representation and State Development in Egypt', *Archéo-Nil* 22 (2012), 47.
[67] G. Graff, 'Les peintures sur vases Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique', in S. Hendrickx, R.F. Friedman, K.M. Ciałowicz, M. Chłodnicki (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins. Studies in Memory of Barbara Adams. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", Kraków, 28th August – 1st September 2002* (Leuven, 2004), 771-772; G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), 25.
[68] D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cats. 64, 94.
[69] J.E. Quibell, F.W. Green, *Hierakonpolis II* (London, 1902), pls. LXXV-LXXVIII.
[70] J.E. Quibell, F.W. Green, *Hierakonpolis II* (London, 1902), pls. LXXV-LXXVI.

suggest painted walls occurred in above ground structures as well as in a tomb context during this time. Rock art depictions are utilised as a mode of representation throughout the Predynastic Period and into the Early Dynastic Period. These depictions show similarities in style and content to the images on the aforementioned media.[72] While the dating and chronology of knife handles and palettes is problematic,[73] a few examples are known from the early to mid Naqada period. One well known example is the Gebel el-Arak knife handle,[74] although this is sometimes dated to the Naqada III period. The earliest decorated palettes were incised with images before they were carved with relief. Examples of this are a rhomboidal palette with an elephant,[75] and one with a hunt scene.[76] Palettes showing early relief include the Gerzeh palette (Naqada IIC-D),[77] a palette with the symbol of the god Min (Naqada IID),[78] and the Ostrich or Manchester palette (Naqada IID-III).[79] These examples of carved knife handles and palettes show some of the earliest uses of relief in ancient Egyptian history.

From the end of Naqada IID and into the Naqada III period a shift in the major mediums used for two-dimensional art is evident. The painted pottery known from Naqada I and Naqada II

---

[71] R.F. Friedman, 'Excavating Egypt's Early King's: Recent Discoveries at the Elite Cemetery at Hierakonpolis', in B. Midant-Reynes, Y. Tristant (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins 2. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origin of the State, Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", Toulouse (France), 5th – 8th September 2005* (Leuven, 2008), 1186-1187, fig. 15.

[72] D. Huyge, 'Cosmology, Ideology and Personal Religious Practice in Ancient Egyptian Rock Art', in R.F. Friedman (ed.), *Egypt and Nubia: gifts of the desert* (London, 2002), 192–206; S. Hendrickx, H. Riemer, F. Förster, J.C. Darnell, 'Late Predynastic/Early Dynastic Rock Art Scenes of Barbary Sheep Hunting from Egypt's Western Desert. From Catching Wild Animals to the Women of the Acacia House', in H. Riemer, F. Förster, M. Herb, N. Pöllath (eds.), *Desert Animals in the Eastern Sahara: Status, Economic Significance and Cultural Reflection in Antiquity. Proceedings of an Interdisciplinary ACACIA Workshop held at the University of Cologne December 14-15, 2007* (Köln, 2009), 189-244; F.E. Hardtke, 'The Place of Rock Art in Egyptian Predynastic Iconography: Some Examples from the Fauna', *Rock Art Research* (2013), 103-114; D. Huyge, 'The Painted Tomb, Rock Art and the Recycling of Predynastic Imagery', *Archéo-Nil* 24 (2014), 93-102.

[73] K.M. Ciałowicz, *Les palettes égyptiennes aux motifs zoomorphes et sans décoration: étude de l'art prédynastique* (Kraków, 1991).

[74] É. Delange, *Le poignard égyptien dit « du Gebel el-Arak »* (Paris, 2009); M. Hartwig (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art* (Chichester, 2015), fig. 22.1.

[75] W.M.F. Petrie, *Diospolis Parva. The Cemeteries of Abadiyeh and Hu 1898-9* (London, 1901), pls. V, XII, no. 43.

[76] S. Hendrickx, 'Hunting and Social Complexity in Predynastic Egypt', *Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer, Bulletin des Séances / Koninklijke Academie voor Overzeese Wetenschappen, Mededelingen der Zittingen*, 57, 2-4 2011 (2013), fig. 4.

[77] W.M.F. Petrie, *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazguneh* (London, 1912) pl. VI, no. 7.

[78] W.M.F. Petrie, *Ceremonial Slate Palettes and Corpus of Protodynastic Pottery* (London, 1953), pl.A1.

[79] J.E. Quibell, F.W. Green, *Hierakonpolis II* (London, 1902), pls. 42; W.M.F. Petrie, *Ceremonial Slate Palettes and Corpus of Protodynastic Pottery* (London, 1953), pl.A2.

disappears[80] and an emphasis is placed on carving images into objects which previously had a functional purpose. During this period relief decoration becomes a major mode of representation, occurring on ceremonial knife handles, combs, palettes, and mace-heads. All of these objects are known from earlier in the Predynastic Period, but these had typically been utilitarian in nature with only a few decorated examples known. Decorated combs and knife handles, such as the Davis comb[81] and the Carnarvon knife handle,[82] show an increase in the decoration of ivory with great skill shown in the level of detail achieved. Relief was also increasingly used on palettes such as the Hunter's palette, the Four Dogs palette, the Oxford palette, the Battlefield palette, and the Narmer palette. All of which show a progression and refinement in the development of this type of medium and artistic technique. The subject matter of the earlier palettes all reflect the concept of domination over chaos and enemies, while the Narmer palette reflects the emergence of royal motifs. Several decorated mace-heads and mace-head fragments from Naqada III show a development from the much smaller, undecorated mace-heads of the earlier Naqada periods.[83] Two of the most well-known of these mace-heads are the mace-head of king Scorpion and that of king Narmer.[84] By the end of Naqada III two-dimensional art had begun to take on royal overtones, adapting the mediums and representational styles of the time to a new agenda. With the advent of the First Dynasty most of the known two-dimensional art can be said to relate to the king or to elite subjects. New mediums for royal two-dimensional representations include incised labels, such as those of King Den.[85] These show similar royal motifs to the Narmer palette and the mace-heads of Narmer and Scorpion. By the Second Dynasty the use of portable objects as decorative surfaces began to disappear.

[80] D. Patch, 'Early Dynastic Art', in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 139.
[81] G. Bénédite, 'The Carnarvon Ivory', *JEA* 5 (1918), pl. 33; D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cat. 178.
[82] G. Bénédite, 'The Carnarvon Ivory', *JEA* 5 (1918), pls. 1-2.
[83] E.A.W. Budge, *A History of Egypt from the end of the Neolithic Period to the Death of Cleopatra VII B.C. 30. Vol 1. Egypt in the Neolithic and Archaic Periods* (New York, 1901), fig. 9.
[84] G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), figs. 27-28.
[85] G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), fig. 29; D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cat. 117.

While the evidence for the Second Dynasty is scarce one important development did occur during this period. It was during the Second Dynasty that some of the earliest evidence for elaborately decorated stela began to appear, showing the deceased individual seated before an offering table.[86] This type of medium pre-empts the decoration of tombs during the Dynastic Period, first appearing in Third Dynasty tombs such as those of Khabausokar[87] and Hesire.[88] These tombs show the beginning of the use of both relief and painted scenes in the tomb context. Hesire's tomb is a particularly good example of this, with carved wooden panels[89] and painted scenes on the walls.[90] These examples show an evolution of the idea of tomb decoration, first shown in Hierakonpolis tomb 100, and the very early begin of a Dynastic tradition which would develop in the Fourth Dynasty and become a standard feature throughout the Dynastic Period.

2.2. Three-Dimensional Art

Three-dimensional art is well known from the Dynastic Period on a monumental scale. Large statues of kings, gods, and elite individuals are a memorable part of the Dynastic repertoire. However, the techniques used to fashion these monumental statues were first developed and practiced on much smaller mediums. Three-dimensional art from the Predynastic Period was expressed through carved palettes and combs, amulets, shaped pottery, and statues and statuettes.

Many types of three-dimensional art took the shape of animals during the Predynastic Period. Palettes carved into the shape of animals are known from Naqada I to Naqada III. Some of the

[86] G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), fig. 35; D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cat. 174, fig. 47.
[87] M.A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I* (London, 1905), pl. I.
[88] J.E. Quibell, *The Tomb of Hesy. Excavations at Saqqara (1911-1912)* (Cairo, 1913).
[89] J.E. Quibell, *The Tomb of Hesy. Excavations at Saqqara (1911-1912)* (Cairo, 1913), pls. XXIX-XXXII.
[90] J.E. Quibell, *The Tomb of Hesy. Excavations at Saqqara (1911-1912)* (Cairo, 1913), pls. XVI-XXII.

more popular representations include; antelope,[91] turtles,[92] birds,[93] fish,[94] elephants,[95] and lions.[96] After this, palettes were no longer made into the shape of animals, but many of these animals were represented in two-dimensional art during the Dynastic Period. Amulets in the shape of animals such as bovines,[97] elephants[98] (also thought to be bovines[99]), and hippopotami[100] were popular from Naqada I to Naqada II. After this most amulets began to take the form of deities or mythological symbols. Animal figures were often also carved from flint in the Naqada II period.[101] Elaborately carved hair combs were surmounted by animal figures[102] during Naqada I and Naqada II. Small animal figurines and statues are known from Naqada I to Naqada III. The earliest of these mostly represent bovines.[103] However, other examples, such as elephants,[104] were also created during the Naqada I and II periods. By the Early Dynastic Period many examples of falcon statuettes, typically associated with royal symbolism, begin to emerge.[105] Finally, pottery and stone vessels were often shaped into the forms of animals throughout the Naqada period.[106] During the Early Dynastic Period the mediums used for three-dimensional art was reduced. Small animal figures continued to be produced, but many other forms such as palettes, combs, and flint disappeared.[107] However, a significant development occurred at the end of the Predynastic Period and into the Early

[91] W.C. Hayes, *The Sceptre of Egypt: A Background for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Part 1: From Earliest Times to the End of Middle Kingdom* (New York, 1978), fig. 27.
[92] H.G. Fischer, 'Egyptian Turtles', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 24 (1966), fig. 4.
[93] D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cats. 29-30.
[94] D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cat. 11.
[95] D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cat. 48.
[96] D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cat. 53.
[97] S. Hendrickx, 'Bovines in Egyptian Predynastic and Early Dynastic Iconography', in F.A. Hassan (ed.), *Drought Food and Culture: Ecological Change and Food Security in Africa's Late Prehistory* (New York, 2002), figs. 16.13, 16.14, 82.
[98] J.E. Quibell, F.W. Green, *Hierakonpolis II* (London, 1902), pl. 48b; W. Needler, *Predynastic and Archaic Egypt in the Brooklyn Museum* (Brooklyn, 1984), no. 250, pl. 56.
[99] S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Visual Representation and State Development in Egypt', *Archéo-Nil* 22 (2012), 38-39.
[100] D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cats. 26-28.
[101] D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cats. 6, 40-43.
[102] D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cats. 54-59.
[103] D. Patch, 'From Land to Landscape', in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 21.
[104] D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cat. 49.
[105] D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cats. 36-38.
[106] D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cats. 11-14, 17, 18, 31-33.
[107] D. Patch, 'Early Dynastic Art', in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 171, cats. 147-151.

Dynastic Period when large animal sculptures began to be made from stone.[108] Animal statuettes and large statues continued to be produced throughout the Dynastic Period.

Evidence of three-dimensional representations of the human form is rare for the Predynastic Period.[109] Examples of the human form in flint[110] and ceramic pottery[111] are known from Naqada I and early Naqada II, but these did not continue into the Naqada III period. Figurines are the more common medium for rendering the human form during this period, though even these are few in number. Predynastic figurines were fashioned in two different styles, which Diana Patch calls, "abbreviated" and "realistic".[112] For abbreviated figurines only the torso of the human body is necessarily realistic, other elements are typically reduced or missing. For example, instead of two defined legs the lower body is often a solid conical form ending in a rounded point instead of feet and arms are often represented by short, pointed stumps;[113] though these are not requirements for this type. The famous Naqada IIA "bird women" figurines, from el-Ma'mariya,[114] are good examples of the abbreviated style. They also show variability within this type, as the arms are often long and raised over the head. The "bird head" could also be found on male figurines during the Naqada II period.[115] The shape of the head, and level of facial details included, varies considerably for this type of figure. Abbreviated male figures are also often represented as carved "tusks" and "tags".[116] "Realistic" figurines are depicted with the essential attributes of the human body, although,

[108] D. Patch, 'Early Dynastic Art', in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 163-169, cats. 137-145.
[109] D. Patch, 'The Human Figure', in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 100.
[110] D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), fig. 16.
[111] D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cats. 84, 95-97, fig. 31.
[112] D. Patch, 'The Human Figure', in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 101.
[113] D. Patch, 'The Human Figure', in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 103, cat. 83; G. Brunton, G. Canton-Thompson, *The Badarian Civilisation and Predynastic Remains Near Badari* (London, 1928), pl. 34.6.
[114] P.J. Ucko, *Anthropomorphic figures of Predynastic Egypt and Neolithic Crete with comparative material from the Prehistoric Near East and mainland Greece* (London, 1968), no. 72, fig, 47, pl. 20.
[115] P.J. Ucko, *Anthropomorphic figures of Predynastic Egypt and Neolithic Crete with comparative material from the Prehistoric Near East and mainland Greece* (London, 1968), no. 169; D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cats. 106, 107.
[116] D. Patch, 'The Human Figure', in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 132-135, cats. 11-13.

these are sometimes stylised and not all features (only most) have to be present.[117] These figures are typically represented with a head, facial features, a torso, identifiable sexual characteristics, arms, legs, and hands and feet. A good example of this type of representation is a standing figure of a woman, carved from an ivory tusk, from el-Badari.[118] This figure shows one of the earliest known successful attempts to represent an accurate female form. Although the figure lacks the finesse Dynastic statuettes achieved it shows that, even at this early stage, artisans conceived of and captured the human form in a realistic fashion. However, when this figure is compared to other female figures known from the Predynastic Period,[119] the notable differences suggest that there was no standardised convention for rendering the human figure during this time.[120] During the Predynastic Period a majority of the figurines, particularly the realistic style, exhibit what is termed "frontality" in Dynastic art. That is, they face straight ahead, neither twisting nor turning,[121] making the statues appear static or ridged.

During the Early Dynastic Period the abbreviated form disappears from the repertoire and only the realistic form continues.[122] The human figure was refined during this period, with more realistic facial features and greater detail in elements such as carved hair. A Naqada III example, now in the British Museum, shows narrower hips with less definition between waist and hips than earlier examples.[123] This, perhaps, anticipates the more slender, idealised form of female representations in the Dynastic Period. This figure stands straight, with her legs together, her right arm straight at her side, and her left arm bent at the elbow to lie across her

[117] D. Patch, 'The Human Figure', in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 101.
[118] G. Brunton, G. Canton-Thompson, *The Badarian Civilisation and Predynastic Remains Near Badari* (London, 1928), pls. 24.2, 25.3-4.
[119] D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), figs. 27, 28, cat. 91.
[120] D. Patch, 'The Human Figure', in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 99.
[121] G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), 19.
[122] D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cats. 152-161.
[123] D. Patch, 'The Human Figure', in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 124, cat. 103.

torso under her breasts.[124] Her pose mirrors that of other statuettes from the Early Dynastic Period, such as a statuette of a standing woman thought to be from the First Dynasty,[125] and the First Dynasty Statuette of Benerib.[126] A late First Dynasty or early Second Dynasty statuette from Hierakonpolis[127] shows a slight change in the pose so that the left arm now lies across the chest instead of under the breast like the earlier examples. This is repeated in another statue of a standing woman from the late Second Dynasty.[128] This posture remained in statuettes until the Fourth Dynasty.[129]

The static, "frontal" posture of Early Dynastic figures suggest that they evolved from realistic Predynastic figures,[130] which also showed little animation. This attribute continues throughout the Dynastic Period for royal and elite art. The realistic figure was developed throughout the Dynastic Period, becoming standardised in terms of technique by the Fourth Dynasty. The "seated" statue, which becomes popular throughout the Old Kingdom, also shows its earliest developments in the Early Dynastic Period. A statue of a woman seated in a chair holding a child,[131] and a seated statue of a man wearing a cloak,[132] show early examples of this style. This was developed in the royal statuary of the Second Dynasty with the seated statue of Khasekhem,[133] and in the Third Dynasty statues of Ankhwa[134] and King Djoser.[135] This type of statute continued to be used during the Old Kingdom,[136] into the First Intermediate Period[137] and Middle Kingdom,[138] and throughout the New Kingdom.[139]

---

[124] D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cat. 103.
[125] W.M.F. Petrie, *Abydos, Part II, 1903* (London, 1903), 23; D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cat. 154.
[126] D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cat. 157.
[127] W.M.F. Petrie, *Abydos, Part II, 1903* (London, 1903), pls. 2.4-5.
[128] R. Tefnin, *Statues et statuettes de l'ancienne Égypte* (Brussels, 1988), 16-17, no. 1.
[129] D. Patch, 'The Human Figure', in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 181.
[130] D. Patch, 'Early Dynastic Art', in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 174.
[131] W.M.F. Petrie, *Abydos, Part II, 1903* (London, 1903), pl. 11.230.
[132] W. Kaiser, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin* (Berlin, 1967), no. 187.
[133] G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), fig. 12.
[134] G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), fig.48.
[135] G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), fig. 40.
[136] G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), figs. 68-70.
[137] G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), fig. 81.
[138] G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), fig. 129.
[139] G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), figs. 133, 166, 168, 248.

Few monumental statues are known from the Predynastic Period. The earliest known monumental sculptures depicted the god Min who stands with his legs pressed together, a pose which remained standard for this deity.[140] These three colossal statues of the god, [141] found at Coptos, are thought to date to before the unification of Egypt. These early statues show that the ability to render three-dimensional art at a monumental scale was not a development of the Dynastic Period, but had been attempted much earlier.

By late Naqada III or early in the First Dynasty the "striding male" figure begins to emerge,[142] which became typical in Dynastic statuary.[143] While the rendering of the human form in such a manner is revolutionary for three-dimensional art, the pose is reminiscent of the male figures standing with their legs apart on Decorated ware and Naqada II palettes. This perhaps represents the application of a much older idea to new mediums and modes of representation.

Life size statues began to emerge in royal art during the Third Dynasty with the seated statue of King Djoser.[144] Yet, the first Egyptian statuary to conform to the royal conventions would not be reached until the Fourth Dynasty.[145] From the Fourth Dynasty on statuary would conform in attitude, proportions, and iconography to a standard which would be continued throughout the Dynastic Period. However, this standard was one which had evolved slowly over the preceding centuries.[146]

[140] M. Eaton-Krauss, 'Sculpture in Early Dynastic Egypt', in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 180.
[141] D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), figs. 41a-b.
[142] J.E. Quibell, F.W. Green, *Hierakonpolis II* (London, 1902), pl. 57.
[143] D. Patch, 'Early Dynastic Art', in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 174, cat. 166.
[144] G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), fig. 40.
[145] M. Eaton-Krauss, 'Sculpture in Early Dynastic Egypt', in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 180.
[146] M. Eaton-Krauss, 'Sculpture in Early Dynastic Egypt', in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 180.

3. Discussion and Conclusion

A brief overview of two-dimensional art shows that two main techniques are used throughout Egyptian history, these are painting and carved relief. These two techniques develop over time, with the artists adapting them to new mediums at different stages throughout the history of artistic development. These mediums all show a steady increase in use, along with the gradual disappearance of some. One medium which is particularly interesting is the decoration of tomb walls which, as far as the evidence can show, began in Naqada IID and became one of the major forms of representation in the Dynastic Period. By the beginning of the Early Dynastic Period the production of art began to accommodate new state ideologies. As a result, the art produced for the royal and elite class of ancient Egyptian society became increasingly standardised in form, style, and function.[147] However, the modes of representation and mediums used can be seen to come from a long tradition of artistic practice. A similar development is true for three-dimensional modes of representation. Some early mediums for rendering three-dimensional art were abandoned by Naqada III. Examples include flint, carved palettes and combs in the form of animals, and shaped pottery. Other types, such as statuary, established styles early in Egyptian history which would continue throughout its duration. For example, the realistic style of Predynastic figurines already shows an awareness of, and ability to, render the human figure in a realistic manner. Frontality is also established in the Predynastic Period and would persist throughout Dynastic art. Seated and striding statues, which would continue throughout Egyptian history, had their origins in the Early Dynastic Period. Lastly, while monumental statuary would not reach its characteristic Dynastic form until the Fourth Dynasty, the idea and ability to render statuary at a large scale can be seen in the Predynastic statues of the god Min.

[147] D. Patch, 'Early Dynastic Art', in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 161.

While some mediums appear to go in and out of fashion, the modes of representation remain relatively constant throughout Egyptian history. Painting, relief, and statuary all begin their development in the Naqada I period and continue to evolve and be utilised throughout the Dynastic Period. Although this analysis is necessarily brief, continuity can be seen through these modes of representation and the developments of mediums which persevere through the social and cultural changes of Egyptian history.

Chapter Three
Ancient Egyptian Art: Compositional Techniques

1. Introduction

The divide between the art of the Predynastic Period and that of the Dynastic Period is often viewed as one created by a lack of compositional order in the former and achievement of methodical arrangements in the later. Because of this comparison Predynastic art is often seen as chaotic, disorganised, and lacking any compositional clarity or structure. It is not until the Early Dynastic Period that the compositional techniques of ordered arrangement are believed to have been developed. However, upon closer examination it becomes clear that representations from the Predynastic Period display the use of early versions of many later conventions. By studying these early techniques, and their developments, connections can be made between the Predynastic art and the art of the Dynastic Period. This will show the origins of techniques, which are believed to be characteristically Dynastic, and illustrate development and continuity in the art rather than a division in traditions.

This chapter will take a diachronic interpretative approach to the compositional techniques of the art of ancient Egypt from the Predynastic Period, to the Early Dynastic Period and into in the Dynastic Period. This chapter will aim to show both changes and continuity in the art of Egyptian history through a stylistic analysis of the evidence. This will demonstrate how the art of the Dynastic Period was the result of a long tradition rather than a sudden occurrence or rapid change, as is often believed.

2.1. Base Lines and Registers

The composition and arrangement of Predynastic art is widely considered as “chaotic”, with ordered compositions thought to be the major point of separation between Predynastic and

Dynastic art.[148] One of the major compositional techniques which is used to achieve this order is the register system, characteristically credited to the Dynastic Period. However, upon closer examination of Predynastic two-dimensional representations the register system can be seen to have evolved from certain devices and techniques evident in their compositions.[149] This evidence argues for a long and gradual development spanning from the Predynastic Period until finally taking its standardised form during the Old Kingdom.

Register compositions divide a decorated surface into a series of horizontal bands. In Dynastic art these bands typically occur one on top of the other, equal in size and uninterrupted by artwork encroaching into other registers.[150] Exceptions to this rule do exist, such as with representations of the king, or in depictions of an elite tomb owner "overseeing" numerous registers at once.[151] The earliest accepted use of this convention appears on the Narmer palette,[152] from the Naqada III period. However, earlier compositional techniques, used to give similar order to a decoration, can be seen throughout the Predynastic Period. This idea was first raised by Heinrich Schäfer in 1919,[153] who believed that "base lines" could be seen in Hierakonpolis tomb 100.[154] These base lines were short, horizontal lines used to group together figures on the same level, which were typically of the same height, or to emphasise a single figure.[155] In the scene from tomb 100 the use of these lines is evident at the top of the scene, underlining three ibexes, and at the bottom left of the scene, underlying three captives. These base lines differ from what Schäfer calls "ground lines", which depict a literal, physical

[148] W. Davis, 'The Origins of Register Composition in Predynastic Egyptian Art', *JAOS* 96 (1976), 404.
[149] W. Davis, 'The Origins of Register Composition in Predynastic Egyptian Art', *JAOS* 96 (1976), 404.
[150] W. Davis, 'The Origins of Register Composition in Predynastic Egyptian Art', *JAOS* 96 (1976), 405.
[151] H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1974), figs. 151, 192, 205; G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), figs. 49, 71.
[152] J.E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I* (London, 1900), pl. XXX.
[153] H. Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst besonders der Zeichenkunst: eine Einführung in die Beitrachtung ägyptischer Kunstwerke* (Leipzig, 1919).
[154] H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1974), 163, fig. 144; J.E. Quibell, F.W. Green, *Hierakonpolis II* (London, 1902), pls. LXXV-LXXVI.
[155] H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1974), 163.

ground[156] and as such were not necessarily perfectly flat or horizontal. By the Early Dynastic Period both base lines and ground lines were used in conjunction on the same representation. For example, on the Scorpion mace-head[157] the king stands on a ground line, while other figures above and on either side of him are grouped together by base lines. For Schäfer, the register system gradually evolved from these two conventions, although, neither convention was completely removed from artwork during the Dynastic Period. Base lines and ground lines continued to be used as a system of organisation within registers themselves. For example, in a scenes from the Fifth Dynasty tomb of Ptahhotep one "register" shows a desert hunt scene in which the animals stand on a waving "ground line" and above this more animals sit on individual "base lines".[158] Following Schäfer, Whitney Davis theorises that all figures have an individual, invisible "base line" on which they stand if they are not standing on a visible "ground line".[159] Davis argues that these invisible lines orientate each figure within the scene and it is from these imaginary base lines that the register system is derived. Davis' thought process makes sense, in that, when depicting an object it is not usually drawn without context, "floating" in mid-air with no relation to the objects around it. However, his idea that these base lines are not only invisible, but can also be broken, curved, or interrupted[160] leaves his theory open to criticism. There appears to be no rules governing his version of the convention, if it were in fact employed, so it is easy for Davis to say they exist wherever he needs them to. The lack of standardisation and the invisible nature of Davis' base lines make it difficult to reconcile this theory with the rigidly used, horizontal, and visible register system of later periods.

[156] H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1974), 163.
[157] J.E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I* (London, 1900), pls. XXV-XXVIc.
[158] H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1974), 163-164, fig. 151; N. Davies, *Ptahhetep 1*, (London, 1865) pl. 21.
[159] W. Davis, 'The Origins of Register Composition in Predynastic Egyptian Art', *JAOS* 96 (1976), 408-410.
[160] W. Davis, 'The Origins of Register Composition in Predynastic Egyptian Art', *JAOS* 96 (1976), 412.

Schäfer's theory on base lines and ground lines seems to be more solid than Davis' as they are evident to any viewer and can be seen to continue into the Dynastic system of representation. However, his arguments need to be projected back further than the scene from tomb 100. If this idea is applied to pottery from Naqada I and II some early examples of the use of base lines and ground lines can be seen. Ground lines are evident on White Cross-lined pottery to a limited extent,[161] however, not all the elements in the scene are bound to it. This is continued into the Naqada II Decorated pottery,[162] where both ground and boats are used as ground lines.[163] Base lines begin to emerge on Naqada II Decorated ware, when groups of similar motifs at the same level and height are underlined. This is commonly done for groups of birds,[164] while one example shows a single individual who appears to stand on his own ground line (Fig. 1).[165]

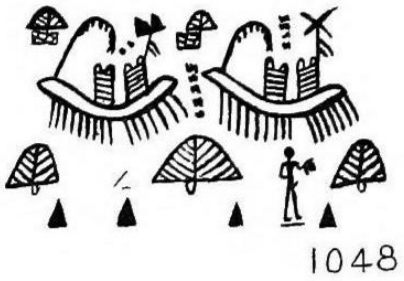


Fig. 1.

It is also significant that, in the ordering of some Predynastic pottery paintings, a series of horizontal bands appear. This is particularly evident on Decorated ware on which repetitive "rows" of the same element, usually animals or geometric patterns, occur in horizontal bands, one on top of the other.[166] This horizontal band formation is perhaps due to the natural shape

[161] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), nos. 17, 89, 134, 137, 143, 172.
[162] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), nos. 460, 560.
[163] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), nos. 469, 471.
[164] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), nos. 219, 236, 267, 281, 395, 466.
[165] W.M.F. Petrie, J.E. Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas* (London, 1896), pl. LXVI. 5.
[166] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), nos. 182, 183, 188, 189, 201, 214, 236, 271, 311.

of the pot, but is also comparable with the bands of later register compositions.[167] However, it must be noted that visible register lines are not necessarily present. During the late Naqada II to early Naqada III period ivory knife handles and combs show rows of wild animals in single file, similar to those on the Decorated ware. This could be considered as suggesting that the pottery decorations were perhaps prototypes to the ordering on combs and handles.[168]

Contrary to the belief that scenes from this period are disordered and chaotic, these linear arrangements of elements establish the expression of order and control.[169] A later example of the continuation of this type of arrangement can be seen on the Early Dynastic Libyan palette,[170] on which the register system is used to divide the rows of animals.

By the Naqada III period ceremonial palettes and mace-heads begin to resemble Dynastic registers in a more obvious manner, with the Narmer palette being the most well-known. On the Narmer palette separate scenes are organised into distinct registers, although the notable variation in the height of the registers shows that this is still a developmental stage in the evolution of the register system. The Narmer palette is therefore a late stage, but not the final stage, in a long progression and development of ordering scenes based on a horizontal design. During the Third Dynasty, the tomb of Hesire shows the beginning of the register system used in tomb wall scenes. In this tomb three registers were used to divide series of objects,[171] possibly representing funerary goods. Even at this stage in Dynastic art the register system was not used in the manner, or to the extent, that Dynastic compositions are known for. It was not until the Fourth Dynasty that progression towards orderly arrangement, through the use of the register system, can be said to reach its characteristic Dynastic form.

---

[167] W. Davis, 'The Origins of Register Composition in Predynastic Egyptian Art', *JAOS* 96 (1976), 408.

[168] F. Raffaele, 'Animal Rows and Ceremonial Procession in Late Predynastic Egypt', in F. Raffaele, M. Nuzzolo, I. Incordino (eds.), *Recent Discoveries and Latest Research in Egyptology. Proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, Naples, June 18th-20th 2008* (Wiesbaden, 2010), 261.

[169] F. Raffaele, 'Animal Rows and Ceremonial Procession in Late Predynastic Egypt', in F. Raffaele, M. Nuzzolo, I. Incordino (eds.), *Recent Discoveries and Latest Research in Egyptology. Proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, Naples, June 18th-20th 2008* (Wiesbaden, 2010), 259.

[170] A. El-Shahawy, F.S. Atiya (eds.), *The Egyptian Museum in Cairo. A Walk through the Alleys of Ancient Egypt* (Cairo, 2005), cat. 9.

[171] J.E. Quibell, *The Tomb of Hesy. Excavations at Saqqara (1911-1912)* (Cairo, 1913), 5-6, pls. XVI-XXII.

Organising images into systematic, horizontal rows and placing elements on visible lines was not a new concept in Dynastic art, its origin lies in the Predynastic representations. The examination of this evidence shows that the Dynastic registers compositions evolved from a combination of the use of base lines and ground lines, along with the tendency to group scenes together in horizontal bands or rows on many pots, knife handles, and ivories. However, the consistent use of these conventions does not appear to begin until Naqada III, when it begins to appear on royal palettes and mace-heads. Although it must be noted that, even at this stage, the registers differ slightly to the registers used from the Fourth Dynasty onwards. While register compositions did not take their standardised form until the Old Kingdom, the long evolution of this technique connects the arrangements of the Dynastic Period to the earlier productions on which it first began to be developed.

2.2. Spatial Relation, Orientation, and Distance

In regards to compositional techniques such as spatial relation, orientation, and distance, few attempts have been made to understand when these techniques originated or how they apply to the Predynastic Period. Schäfer attempted to integrate some examples into his study, but these are often limited, only mentioned in passing, and rarely studied in detail. Davis also attempts to study the origins of some of these conventions;[172] several of his ideas will be examined in this section.

2.2.1. Spatial Relation

In terms of spatial relation, that is how each element of a composition relates to other elements within the same space to form the image, the representations of the Predynastic Period are often viewed as being logically incoherent. Scholars specialising in this area, such

[172] W. Davis, 'The Origins of Register Composition in Predynastic Egyptian Art', *JAOS* 96 (1976); W. Davis, *The Canonical Tradition in Ancient Egyptian Art* (New York, 1989).

as Henriette Groenewegen-Frankfort, believe that figures and elements in Predynastic representations have no relation to each other spatially and appear to be aimlessly scattered.[173] However, the in-depth study on Predynastic pottery by Gwenola Graff[174] shows that many elements do demonstrate spatial relations with other elements. This proves that spatial awareness was a concept utilised by these early artist. For example, spatial relations occur between men and women and men and addax.[175] Across all the examples of Decorated pottery similar motifs are consistently organised in a similar manner. There is limited variation between the motifs used and their placement on the vessels. This said, it is likely that the ordering of the limited number of elements and their relation to each other in particular combinations must have meant something to the contemporary viewer. If this is considered to be true, spatial relation already played an important role in organising scenes in a manner which was logical to the viewer.

One of the main problems with understanding the spatial distribution on Predynastic pottery is the rounded surface. The choice of medium for these representations makes it difficult for the modern viewer to discern the start and end of a scene, making it hard to connect elements together. The lack of "breaking points" to divide tableaux on Predynastic pottery means scenes have no obvious beginning or end. This is because actual space dividers are rarely used, so the scene seems continuous due to the circular nature of the pot. However, in some cases visible scene dividers do exist, though it is often difficult to discern them from the rest of the image. For example, dividers mark the beginning and end of the scene on the White Cross-lined vase from Abydos tomb U-239.[176] Also, in a marsh scene on a White Cross-lined

[173] H.A. Groenewegen-Frankfort, *Arrest and Movement. Space and Time in the Art of the Ancient Near East* (London, 1951), 16.
[174] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Nagada I – Nagada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009).
[175] G. Graff, 'Les enjeux de l'iconographie des vases peints de Nagada II (Égypte, IVe millénaire): maintien de l'équilibre cosmique ou régénération de la vie?', *Anthropozoologica* 46 (2011), 47-64.
[176] G. Dreyer, U. Hartung, T. Hikade, E.C. Köhler, V. Müller, F. Pumpenmeier, 'Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof', *MDAIK* 54 (1998), 111, Abb. 13.

vessel (Metropolitan Museum of Art 12.182.14),[177] the scene appears to be divided by a plant which vertically stretches the whole way up the vessel dividing the scene entirely.

Stan Hendrickx and Diana Patch suggest that this problem most likely arises because the depictions on pottery were probably adapted to this medium from similar representations on wall scenes.[178] On large, flat surfaces the spatial reality of the scene would have been more apparent. For example, the scene from Hierakonpolis tomb 100 shows similar motifs and layout to the representations on Decorated ware. Despite this, scholars such as Groenewegen-Frankfort believe Decorated ware to be chaotic and the tomb 100 composition to show a much more developed use of spatial awareness and relation between elements.[179] Another possible example from Hierakonpolis is fragments of painted plaster from an above ground structure.[180] Although the fragments are poorly preserved they show that above ground structures could have painted walls during this period. Granted, due to the state of preservation, the extent of the decoration and its arrangement is hard to determine, but it does show that decoration on wall surfaces may not have been as rare as was previously considered. This supports the idea that large flat surfaces may have been a common media from which the pottery decorations could have been adapted.

Following this, the decorated palettes, knife handles, and ivories from the late Naqada II period are thought to show "groupings" of similar elements.[181] Most palettes appear to orient symmetric decorative elements to the outline of the palettes shape, such as on the Oxford palette or the Hunters palette, with a chaotic mass in the centre. However, on closer

[177] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Nagada I – Nagada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), no. 106.
[178] S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Visual Representation and State Development in Egypt', *Archéo-Nil* 22 (2012), 33; D. Patch, 'From Land to Landscape', in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 72.
[179] H.A. Groenewegen-Frankfort, *Arrest and Movement. Space and Time in the Art of the Ancient Near East* (London, 1951), 16-17.
[180] R.F. Friedman, 'Excavating Egypt's Early King's: Recent Discoveries at the Elite Cemetery at Hierakonpolis', in B. Midant-Reynes, Y. Tristant (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins 2. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origin of the State, Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", Toulouse (France), 5th – 8th September 2005* (Leuven, 2008), 1186-1187, fig. 15.
[181] W. Davis, 'The Origins of Register Composition in Predynastic Egyptian Art', *JAOS* 96 (1976), 405.

examination the elements in the centre can typically be grouped together to show spatial relation to each other.[182] By the Early Dynastic Period the consistent implementation of base lines and ground lines, along with the beginning of the register system, made the spatial relation between elements more evident. The use of these conventions throughout the Dynastic Period standardised the ways in which spatial distribution was depicted, binding elements together in an anonymous space and time.[183]

Early spatial distribution appears with elements being "grouped" in similar combinations and consistently related to each other in a similar fashion. The meaning of these groupings is not evident to the modern viewer, but the contemporary viewer would have been able to "read" the combination of elements. This evolves on ceremonial palettes where groupings of elements become more evident. Chaotic groupings are often surrounded by ordered groupings on earlier palettes, and on later palettes registers begin to group elements in a more obvious fashion. With the implementation of registers the spatial relation between figures, elements, and settings became definite. Throughout the Dynastic Period the lines of the register system see figures, actions, and localities bound together to create a definitive space and time.[184]

2.2.2. Orientation

Following spatial distribution the compositional arrangement of orientation connects figures to each other and orders the overall image. Orientation is inherent in any object rendered in two-dimensional art, particularly those rendered in profile. Whether this orientation is used to connect the image as a whole is a separate matter. Not all Predynastic compositions can be said to use orientation to connect all elements depicted on a surface to each other. For

[182] H.A. Groenewegen-Frankfort, *Arrest and Movement. Space and Time in the Art of the Ancient Near East* (London, 1951), 18.
[183] H.A. Groenewegen-Frankfort, *Arrest and Movement. Space and Time in the Art of the Ancient Near East* (London, 1951), 20.
[184] H.A. Groenewegen-Frankfort, *Arrest and Movement. Space and Time in the Art of the Ancient Near East* (London, 1951), 20.

example, on a rhomboid palette from Naqada I the elements of two hunting scenes are orientated in different directions, so some elements appear to be upside down compared to others.[185] On White Cross-lined pottery elements are either on flat surfaces of bowls, in circular patterns, showing little concern for orientating the elements in any particular direction. Or they are depicted on the outside of vessels where elements are orientated both vertically and horizontally. On Decorated ware elements are always vertically orientated in groups.[186] This gives the illusion that all of the elements are related to each other on the same plane and are intended to be viewed together. By examining the corpus of pottery complied by Graff, it becomes evident that some elements have a fairly standardised orientation, other than simply being vertical. The boats depicted on Decorated ware are typically orientated with the plant like ornamentation on the prow to the viewer's left.[187] Birds on Decorated ware are almost exclusively represented as facing the viewer's right.[188] The orientation of boats or particular animals in the same direction is not a phenomenon restricted to Decorated ware. From his studies on the rock art at Elkab, Dirk Huyge's indicates that giraffes almost exclusively face to the viewers left while boats are orientated to the viewer's right.[189] Males and other animals on Decorated ware appear to be elements whose directional orientation is consistently variable. While the meaning of this standardisation of orientation for some elements is unclear the orientation of images is an important compositional technique in Dynastic times. During the Early Dynastic Period the orientation of elements begins to demonstrate some of the principles of Dynastic composition. For example, in offering table scenes on false doors the tomb owner is always seated on the left side facing right in Dynastic

[185] S. Hendrickx, 'Hunting and Social Complexity in Predynastic Egypt', *Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer, Bulletin des Séances / Koninklijke Academie voor Overzeese Wetenschappen, Mededelingen der Zittingen*, 57, 2-4 2011 (2013), fig. 4.
[186] H.A. Groenewegen-Frankfort, *Arrest and Movement. Space and Time in the Art of the Ancient Near East* (London, 1951), 16.
[187] With the possible exceptions of: G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), nos. 416, 483, 499, 523.
[188] With the exceptions of: G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), nos. 218, 440, 557.
[189] D. Huyge, 'Cosmology, Ideology and Personal Religious Practice in Ancient Egyptian Rock Art', in R.F. Friedman (ed.), *Egypt and Nubia: gifts of the desert* (London, 2002), 200.

art.[190] This arrangement is already evident during the Second Dynasty.[191] On Early Dynastic palettes, mace-heads, and labels, all images of the king face towards the viewer's right.[192] Developing from this, the importance of orientation during the Dynastic Period is particularly evident from the art inside elite tombs from the beginning of the Old Kingdom onwards. Inside the tomb images of the deceased owner are always orientated to face out of the tomb, while "living" individuals, such as offering bearers, are orientated to face inside the tomb.[193] In the temples of the New Kingdom the orientation of images reflect the rituals of the temple, with deities facing out of their sanctuaries while images of the king face in.[194] These examples show that the orientation of images was often related to a symbolic meaning in the Early Dynastic and Dynastic Period. It would not be a stretch to argue that, where orientation is standardised for particular images during the Predynastic Period, a symbolic meaning is likely being conveyed to the viewer.

2.2.3. Distance

The representation of distance is used to create the illusion of a three-dimensional space in a two-dimensional image. The extent to which distance is used in Predynastic art is debatable. Davis believes that the representation of distance is achieved through separation of space. On Decorated ware this is achieved by layering the decoration according to a logical placement of the elements in their environmental order, which Davis calls a sequence of "positioning locales".[195] This theory argues that at the lowest level water is represented by boats. The next level, where women and animals appear to "float" above the boats, should be viewed as the

[190] G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), 72-74.
[191] G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), fig. 35.
[192] Evident on: both sides of the Narmer palette, the Scorpion mace-head, Narmer mace-head (G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), fig. 28.), the fragment of a mace-head from Naqada III (D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cat. 126.), the ivory label of King Den smiting an enemy (D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cat. 117.), the ebony label of King Den (G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), fig. 29.).
[193] G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), 74.
[194] G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), 174.
[195] W. Davis, 'The Origins of Register Composition in Predynastic Egyptian Art', *JAOS* 96 (1976), 407.

shore, and above this mountains are on the horizon in the distance. For Davis this arrangement corresponds to a "real" perspective view of background, middle ground, and foreground; which the artist could see in the world around him.[196] It is important to note that this idea does not hold for a majority of representations on Decorated ware. Often people appear under the boats, aquatic scenes are next to desert scenes,[197] or birds and "mountains" are under the boats.[198] There appears to be no consistency in the arrangement of elements to support Davis' theory. One possibility for the representation of distance on Decorated ware could be the use of rows of "z" shapes to represent birds in flight. Although, whether this is definitively what the images represent has never been agreed upon by scholars. If this is what they represent it could show one of the earliest conventions for representing an object in the distance. During the Naqada III period a sense of distance begins to be achieved through the illusion of three-dimensional space in a two-dimensional image. For example, the overlapping limbs on the Battlefield palette, the fan behind the head of the king on the Scorpion mace-head, and the servant whose right hand disappears behind a basket on the Scorpions mace-head[199] all show an illusion of space. This overlapping of figures[200] gives the impression that both a foreground and background exist. By the time of the Narmer palette a rudimentary form of vertical layering[201] can be seen with the bodies of headless enemies depicted in vertical rows. This is possibly an early attempt at showing numerous bodies stretched out on the ground before the king. The ability to represent distance is not properly achieved until the Dynastic Period when techniques such as lateral layering[202] and vertical layering[203] are used to create a sense of depth.

---

[196] W. Davis, 'The Origins of Register Composition in Predynastic Egyptian Art', *JAOS* 96 (1976), 407.
[197] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), no. 191.
[198] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), no. 232.
[199] H.A. Groenewegen-Frankfort, *Arrest and Movement. Space and Time in the Art of the Ancient Near East* (London, 1951), 19.
[200] See: H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1974), 177.
[201] See: H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1974), 186.
[202] H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1974), 178.
[203] H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1974), 186.

2.3. Rendering Objects: View, Perspective, Proportions, and Relative Size

The use of particular conventions to render images or encode meaning into an image during the Dynastic Period has been studied in detail by past scholars. However, little attention has been paid to where these conventions may have originated and how their development may connect the art of the Dynastic Period to that of the Predynastic.

2.3.1. View and Perspective

The perspective or "view" [204] of an image is the way in which the object is depicted to the viewer. For example, whether the object is seen from a frontal view, profile view, or birds-eye view. For the Dynastic Period the successful rendering of the compound view of the human body is one of the most well-known techniques.[205] However, view and perspective began to be used long before the rendering of kings and elite on tomb and temple walls. Characteristic views of an element began on some of the earliest Egyptian art and continued to be used throughout its history. The perspective view of an entire scene orientates the viewer to the events of the representation. For Dynastic art this perspective was typically frontal, as if the scene were unfolding before the viewer. Studies on Dynastic perspective are well known,[206] while only a few attempts to analyse the perspective view of Predynastic and Early Dynastic scenes have been made.

[204] For use of the term "view" and its reservations in this context see: H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1974), 91.
[205] H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1974), 278-309; W. Davis, *The Canonical Tradition in Ancient Egyptian Art* (New York, 1989), 27-29; G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), 21.
[206] L. Klebs, 'Die Tiefendiension in der Zeichnung des Alten Reiches', *ZÄS* 52 (1915), 19-34; H. Senk, 'Von der Beziehung zwischen 'Geradvorstelligkeit' und 'perspctivischen Gehalt'', *ZÄS* 74 (1938), 125-132; H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1974), 259-276.

On White Cross-lined pottery the view of the human body varies between examples. The human form can be depicted completely in profile,[207] completely frontal,[208] or in a composite view so that the head appears either profile or frontal, the shoulders appear frontal and the lower body appears in profile.[209] This last technique helps to depict the most characteristic elements of the human body. There appears to be no rule governing when each style is used and each depiction most likely depended upon either the ability or choice of the artist. The only two female figures Graff believes to be depicted on White Cross-lined pottery are shown frontally with raised arms, a straight, thin upper torso, rounded hips, and separated legs. The identification of these two figures as female was also given by Petrie,[210] though it is difficult to discern why this sex was decided on.

On Decorated pottery women are typically represented in a frontal view, an interesting exception is a vase from the Ashmolean Museum (E.2832).[211] In this example the woman is depicted with her head in profile to show her chin, and instead of a conical lower body the rounded shape squares off above the woman's feet to show the shape clearly represents a skirt. Male figures are typically represented in a composite frontal/profile view,[212] in which the shoulders and chest are frontal and the lower torso and legs are in profile. This type of composite view of the human figure, in which the most characteristic views of each part of the human figure are combined, is a typical feature of Dynastic compositions.[213] Whether the head is in profile or frontal view is often difficult to tell, due to the lack of facial feature on

[207] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), no. 89, 162.
[208] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), no. 17, 98, 141.
[209] H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1974), 278. G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), no. 9, 113, 145, 148.
[210] W.M.F. Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt: Illustrated by over 1000 objects in University College, London* (London, 1920), 16, fig. xxiii no.1.
[211] D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cat. 74.
[212] H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1974), 278-279; W. Davis, *The Canonical Tradition in Ancient Egyptian Art* (New York, 1989), 27-29; G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), 27.
[213] H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1974), 278-309; W. Davis, *The Canonical Tradition in Ancient Egyptian Art* (New York, 1989), 27-29; G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), 21.

most examples. Some examples do show short beards and one male is shown with his head in profile, this is the only example on which the facial feature of a nose is evident.[214] During Naqada III the composite human figure, becomes more standardised. The portrayal of the face and legs in profile while the torso is frontal[215] is achieve in great detail, in a manner which will become standardised in Dynastic art.

Animals are also represented through a generally standardised view. On White Cross-lined and Decorated pottery animals appear to be rendered in their most characteristic view. This is to say, the most essential parts of the body are represented regardless of whether the entire "view" makes sense in reality or not. This is similar to the ways in which the human form was rendered. For example, crocodiles,[216] snakes,[217] and scorpions[218] are almost exclusively drawn as if being viewed from above. Hippopotami are depicted in a profile view with all four legs showing. Bovines are typically shown in profile, with all four legs showing, and the head in profile, although both horns are shown in a frontal fashion. This is also true for animals such as gazelle, addax, and oryx. Birds are drawn from a profile view with two legs, and sometimes wings,[219] showing. During the Naqada III period birds in flight are depicted in a composite view, the head and legs appear to be in profile while the body and wings appear in birds-eye view.[220] Two different views will be used on the same vessel if two animals are characteristically represented differently. For example, on a bowl from the Egyptian Museum,

[214] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), no. 626.
[215] D. Patch, 'Early Dynastic Art', in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 152; cat. 115, 127, 129.
[216] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), no. 8, 12, 25, 36, 38, 74, 76, 106, 113, 117, 152, 160, 506.
[217] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), 506, 507, 509, 517, 518.
[218] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), 506, 519, 637.
[219] D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cat. 39, 71.
[220] For example, the Battlefield Palette, see: D. Patch, *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cat. 123.

Cairo (J.E. 54329),[221] two hippopotami are depicted in profile while a crocodile is shown from a bird eye view perspective. The overall standardisation seen in the rendering of animal forms was not due to a lack of ability. For example, the ability to show a complex view of an addax looking back over its shoulder is evident on a vessel from the Ashmolean Museum (E.2832),[222] and so each must have been depicted in a particular fashion for a reason.

Standardised views of elements continue into the Dynastic Period, beginning during the Third Dynasty in the tomb of Hesire. In this tomb some characteristic views from earlier periods continued, such as the human figure, while other changed. For example, a crocodile represented in this tomb is no longer depicted in birds-eye view, but in profile.[223] When and why the choice to keep some elements and change others occurred is unknown. However, once incorporated into the art of the Dynastic Period the chosen characteristic view of each element remained relatively consistent throughout its history.

While representing a single view of one element is achieved during the Predynastic Period, evident from the above discussion, the successful rendition of complex perspective of an entire scene is often considered to be "beyond the predynastic ability".[224] That is, depicting something as it was happening in "real" space and time, even if it occurred out of the artists view, is often thought to not have been achieved until the Dynastic Period. During the Dynastic Period an artist would achieve a perspective view by using different techniques, such as the vertical and lateral layering previously mentioned. Artists in the Predynastic Period achieved a similar effect by breaking up the single, complex perspective into separate sections.[225] The technique of "ordering the view"[226] by using multiple perspectives began on

[221] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), no. 38.
[222] D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cat. 74.
[223] J.E. Quibell, *The Tomb of Hesy. Excavations at Saqqara (1911-1912)* (Cairo, 1913), pl. VII no. 2.
[224] W. Davis, 'The Origins of Register Composition in Predynastic Egyptian Art', *JAOS* 96 (1976), 408.
[225] W. Davis, 'The Origins of Register Composition in Predynastic Egyptian Art', *JAOS* 96 (1976), 408.

White Cross-lined pottery in Naqada I. One of the most notable attempts at achieving this occurs on a vessel on which the representation of a human figure with four dogs on a leash[227] is depicted. The human stands at the wrong angle to the animals, making the elements appear to occupy completely different planes. However, if this scene is thought to be viewed from above, but depicted in the characteristic perspectives of each element, the scene makes sense. It is the reconciliation of the birds-eye view perspective with the profile view of the elements which makes the scene difficult to understand. A later attempt at this type of compositional ordering occurs on the bottom of the Oxford palette,[228] where two dogs attack an addax in a manner which makes them appear to "float" above the addax. Davis suggests that an attempt has been made to depict the action of the scene as it would be seen from a bids-eye view, but at a frontal perspective.[229] In this case, the two dogs would be attacking the addax from "behind", the addax being between the viewer and the dogs. In reality the addax would obstruct the dogs from view, which could not be depicted without an "overlapping of forms". The artist needed a way to indicate the relative position of figures, and their relation to each other, on a two-dimensional surface. To rectify this, the dogs have been placed "above" the addax, though realistically the dogs are on the same ground-plane as the addax. This places the profile representations of the animals, which is their characteristic depiction, in positions which still translate the action of the scene.[230] A similar technique is sometimes used in Dynastic art. For example, in the tomb of Mererkua a group of dogs surround a felled antelope with some appearing to be "above" the others.[231] However, this scene is ordered by the use of base lines so the perspective appears to be more apparent. The combination of perspectives is also used in many depictions of pools or lakes surrounded by trees during the

[226] W. Davis, 'The Origins of Register Composition in Predynastic Egyptian Art', *JAOS* 96 (1976), 408.
[227] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), no. 9.
[228] J.E. Quibell, F.W. Green, *Hierakonpolis II* (London, 1902), pl. XXVIII.
[229] W. Davis, 'The Origins of Register Composition in Predynastic Egyptian Art', *JAOS* 96 (1976), 410.
[230] W. Davis, 'The Origins of Register Composition in Predynastic Egyptian Art', *JAOS* 96 (1976), 411.
[231] P. Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka* (Chicago, 1938) pl. 24.

Dynastic Period.[232] All this considered, the use of combined "characteristic" perspectives of each element to make a complex view can be seen to have a long history of development before it is incorporated into the Dynastic art.

2.3.2. Proportion and Relative Size

Another major characteristic of Dynastic art which needs to be considered is the so called "canon of proportions".[233] It is often though that the human figure reached the standard of representation adopted into the Dynastic repertoire by the time of the Narmer palette. However, a closer examination shows that the proportions of the human body, characteristic of the Old Kingdom, are not yet achieved on this representation. In her study on proportions of the Egyptian human figure, Gay Robins applies a hypothetical grid of 18 squares to several early depictions.[234] When this grid is applied to the figures of Narmer, the king on the scorpion mace-head, and the figure of Den on an ivory label, none of these early figures show the proportions used in Old Kingdom art.[235] It is not until the Third Dynasty stelae of Djoser that the human figure begins to conform closely to the proportions characteristic of Dynastic representations. However, even during this period the proportions have not become standardised. For example, the standing figures on the wooden panels of Hesire[236] do not correspond to the grid system or match the proportions of Djoser, even though they are from the same Dynasty.[237] It is not until the Fifth Dynasty that the characteristic proportions of the Dynastic human figure are standardised.[238] This shows that the development of the canon of proportions was a slow progression, not a convention which appeared in an already perfected

[232] H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1974), figs. 262-265b.
[233] É. Prisse d'Avennes, *L'Histoire de l'art égyptien, d'après les monuments, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusq'à la domination romaine. Texte par P. Marchand de la Faye d'après les notes de l'auteur* (Paris, 1879), 122-129; E. Iversen, *Canon and Proportions in Egyptian Art* (London, 1955); W. Davis, *The Canonical Tradition in Ancient Egyptian Art* (New York, 1989), 20-27; G. Robins, *Proportions and Style in Egyptian Art* (London, 1994).
[234] G. Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* (London, 1994), 228-236.
[235] G. Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* (London, 1994), 228, figs. 10.1, 10.2.
[236] J.E. Quibell, *The Tomb of Hesy. Excavations at Saqqara (1911-1912)* (Cairo, 1913), pls. XXIX-XXXII.
[237] G. Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* (London, 1994), 235, figs. 10.11, 10.12.
[238] G. Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* (London, 1994), 239.

state. During the Dynastic Period the number of grid squares used to properly proportion the human figure did not change. However, the relationship between some body parts and associated grid lines did change during different periods,[239] showing that the art of the Dynastic Period is not as standardised as it is sometimes assumed to be.

Another convention which must be examined from its origins is the use of relative size to symbolically encode importance into a scene. Using relative size as an indication of importance is a convention practiced throughout the Dynastic Period.[240] However, upon examination of the art of the preceding Predynastic Period it can be seen that this technique is one which began its origins much earlier. From some of the earliest rock art a "victor" with raised arms is often depicted at a larger scale than the rest of the scene.[241] This is also evident for victory scenes on White Cross-lined pottery where relative size is used as an indication of importance within the scene. In these victory scenes the captives are always shown on a smaller scale than the victorious person(s).[242] The use of this hierarchic scale continues into the Decorated ware of Naqada II, where the women with raised arms are typically larger in size than the accompanying men.[243] The men in these scenes are often considered as playing a subordinate role to the women due to this relative size and their orientation towards the women.[244] In the Naqada IIC painted scene from Hierakonpolis tomb 100,[245] a man smiting his enemies, in the lower left corner, is shown at a much larger scale than his captives. Scale

[239] G. Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* (London, 1994), 87.
[240] G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), 32; W.H. Peck, 'The Ordering of the Figure', in M. Hartwig (ed.) *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art* (Chichester, 2015), 372.
[241] S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Continuity and Change in the Visual Representations of Predynastic Egypt', in F. Raffaele, M. Nuzzolo, I. Incordino (eds.), *Recent Discoveries and Latest Research in Egyptology. Proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, Naples, June 18th-20th 2008* (Wiesbaden, 2010), 130.
[242] S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Continuity and Change in the Visual Representations of Predynastic Egypt', in F. Raffaele, M. Nuzzolo, I. Incordino (eds.), *Recent Discoveries and Latest Research in Egyptology. Proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, Naples, June 18th-20th 2008* (Wiesbaden, 2010), 122.
[243] D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 70.
[244] S. Hendricks, M. Eyckerman, 'Visual Representation and State Development in Egypt', *Archéo-Nil* 22 (2012), 33.
[245] J.E. Quibell, F.W. Green, *Hierakonpolis II* (London, 1902), pls. LXXV-LXXVI.

is then used to encode importance in Naqada III palettes and mace-heads on which the figure of the king is the largest in his register.[246] It is during this period that using the large size of the principle figure to encode importance begins to reach the form characteristic of Dynastic art.[247] This becomes a standard mode of representation for royal and elite scenes throughout the Dynastic Period.

3. Discussion and Conclusion

The techniques used to order scenes and render figures are well known for Dynastic art. The monumental scenes in tombs and temples show a rigorous adherence to these conventions, making them easy to identify and comment upon. However, the mistake which is often made by scholars is that these conventions are not studied in their entirety. Their origin and development during the Predynastic and Early Dynastic Periods are often ignored. This gives the impression that these conventions were created suddenly at the advent of state unification. It is because of this that the art of Predynastic and Dynastic Periods are often viewed as entirely separate traditions. This chapter has aimed at giving a more holistic overview of the development of some well-known conventions. In doing so, it becomes evident that many of the conventions typically associated with Dynastic art were originally conceived of and practiced much earlier. Conventions for ordering a scene such as registers, spatial distribution, orientation, and distance were all the result of a long development in which different techniques were used to achieve the same objective. Conventions for rendering view, perspective, proportion, and relative size, were also practiced, developed, and refined over a long period. The main difference between the Dynastic art and earlier productions appears to be the standardisation of the use of each convention. Though even this standardisation was not a sudden occurrence, but a slow development after the Dynastic Period had already

[246] G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), 32.
[247] W.S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven, 1958), 12.

begun.[248] The social changes which lead to this standardisation are seen as separating the Predynastic Period from the Early Dynastic and Dynastic Periods. However, as has been shown, these divisions did not end one type of art and immediately begin another. Different aspects of Egyptian art developed, grew, changed, continued or disappeared at different rates and at different times throughout Egyptian history. It is impossible to ascribe the development of the art of ancient Egypt to the ridged boundaries it is often designated. To study the conventions of Dynastic art without first acknowledging their earlier history is to dismiss hundreds of years of evolution. Conventions were utilised, abandoned, and returned to throughout the entirety of Egyptian history. Because of this, the current tendency to generalise art in ridged categories is problematic.

[248] B. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilisation* (London, 1989), 66.

Chapter Four

Representation of Concepts

1. Introduction

Another point at which Predynastic art is thought to diverge from Dynastic art concerns the content of the scenes. During the Dynastic Period the art most often studied comes from either a royal, religious, or elite context and the themes therefore reflect this. However, early forms of several Dynastic themes are evident in Predynastic iconography. Little attention has been given to the symbolism and meaning of most of the representations from Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt,[249] despite the information these could provide about the intellectual context of this time. Studying these early examples shows continuity in the symbolism of the iconography, which also represents continuity in social, intellectual, and ritual practices and beliefs. Several scholars have produced works which aim to highlight the connection between certain themes or elements of Predynastic art and those evident in Dynastic art,[250] and the recognition of common themes across different media is not new.[251] However, it is still important to consider this argument here in order to fully establish the connections between Predynastic and Dynastic art. Some scholars warn against claiming the same meaning for similar motifs represented on different media, arguing that incorrect assumptions could result from such comparisons.[252] While the work of other scholars shows that it is possible to consider common subject matter to be temporally specific.[253] Further examination is needed

[249] S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Visual Representation and State Development in Egypt', *Archéo-Nil* 22 (2012), 24.

[250] For example: W. Davis, 'The Origins of Register Composition in Predynastic Egyptian Art', *JAOS* 96 (1976), 404-418; P. Cervicek, 'Rock Art and the Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts', *Sahara* (1998), 110-111; W. Davis, *Replications: Archaeology, Art History, Psychoanalysis* (Pennsylvania State, 2010); S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Visual Representation and State Development in Egypt', *Archéo-Nil* 22 (2012), 23-72; S. Hendrickx, M. De Meyer, M. Eyckerman, 'On the Origin of the Royal False Beard and its Bovine Symbolism', in (eds.) M.A. Jucha, J. Debowska-Ludwin, P. Kolodziejczyk, *Aegyptus est Imajo Caeli. Studies Presented to Kryzysztof M. Ciałowicz on his 60th Birthday* (Kraków, 2014), 129-143.

[251] J. Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt* (London, 1905); S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Visual Representation and State Development in Egypt', *Archéo-Nil* 22 (2012), 23-72.

[252] D. Wengrow, *The Archaeology of Early Egypt: Social Transformations in North-East Africa, 10, 000 to 2650 B.C.* (Cambridge, 2006), 112.

[253] F.E. Hardtke, 'The Place of Rock Art in Egyptian Predynastic Iconography: Some Examples from the Fauna', *Rock Art Research* (2013), 103; D. Huyge, 'Cosmology, Ideology and Personal Religious Practice in Ancient Egyptian Rock Art', in R.F. Friedman (ed.), *Egypt and Nubia: gifts of the desert* (London, 2002), 192–206; S.

to understand the level of correspondence between themes and motifs represented across different media and throughout different periods.

The key question to be considered in this chapter is whether select motifs or themes, found on a variety of media throughout the Predynastic Period, act as symbols to convey overarching concepts which transcend time periods and continue into Dynastic art. Changes may occur in the representation of these themes, but the underlying concept continues. This chapter will present some of the problems encountered when analysing and interpreting Predynastic iconography and symbolism. Following this, a brief analysis will be conducted for several motifs and themes which are prevalent in the Predynastic Period and can be seen to continue into the Dynastic Period.

2. Iconography, Symbolism, and Interpretation

Within the study of art, "iconography" refers to the contents of an image, as opposed to the ways in which the image is arranged. It deals with the themes and motifs contained within the image, which need to be identified and interpreted.[254] For the Predynastic Period iconography consisted of geometric shapes and highly stylised representations of flora, fauna, the landscape, and human figures. The level of craftsmanship evident in the creation of many objects shows the artisans of this period could create any kind of representation they desired[255]. This means that the stylisation of images was most likely intentional. Artisans did not attempt to render the exact image or an "ideal" image; instead the general idea was

Hendrickx, 'L'iconographie de la chasse dans le contexte social prédynastique', *Archéo-Nil* 20 (2010), 106-133; S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Visual Representation and State Development in Egypt', *Archéo-Nil* 22 (2012), 23-72; S. Hendrickx, 'Hunting and Social Complexity in Predynastic Egypt', *Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer, Bulletin des Séances / Koninklijke Academie voor Overzeese Wetenschappen, Mededelingen der Zittingen*, 57, 2-4 2011 (2013), 237-263.

[254] M. Müller, 'Iconography: Basic Problems of Classification of Scenes', in S. Curto (ed.), *Il IV congress internazionale di Egittologia a Torino dall 1-8/9/199, vol. II* (Turin, 1993), 337-345.

[255] S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Visual Representation and State Development in Egypt', *Archéo-Nil* 22 (2012), 23.

depicted by using the most characteristic elements.[256] The intended meaning and associated interpretation of many of the motifs is still debated amongst scholars. This is particularly so for elements which do not have an obvious parallel in the Dynastic Period. An example of such an element is the so called Naqada plant, for which Graff provides an overview of the suggested identifications.[257] While the intrinsic symbolic values of each element would have been evident to the contemporary viewer, their highly stylised nature results in the exact meaning being difficult for the modern viewer to discern. For this reason, before studying theme development in Predynastic art, the matter of iconography and symbolism, and the ways in which we interpret it, must first be broached.

One of the main problems in analysing iconography is determining whether the scene depicted is the documentation of a "real" event, or whether the scene has a more symbolic meaning. Whether they have a narrative construct, pictographic-like reading patterns, or a deeper meaning is rarely evident. For example, Whitney Davis believes the art of the Naqada II period shifted towards a concern for the presentation of "reality". He believes the presentation of a particular event, space, or time was attempted through the depiction of quasi-narratives.[258] Francesco Raffaele argues that all complex representations on portable objects from the Predynastic Period are visual replicas of ritual moments.[259] This corresponds with Diana Patch's argument that scenes on Decorated ware represent the progressive stages in a ritual.[260] Raffaele also argues that the iconography often acts as "semantic devices akin to

[256] W. Davis, 'The Origins of Register Composition in Predynastic Egyptian Art', *JAOS* 96 (1976), 406; S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Visual Representation and State Development in Egypt', *Archéo-Nil* 22 (2012), 23.
[257] Cf. G. Graff, 'Les représentations de femmes et de la plante nagadienne sur les vases Decorated-ware de Nagada II', *CCdE* 12 (2009), 38-40.
[258] W. Davis, 'The Origins of Register Composition in Predynastic Egyptian Art', *JAOS* 96 (1976), 406.
[259] F. Raffaele, 'Animal Rows and Ceremonial Procession in Late Predynastic Egypt', in F. Raffaele, M. Nuzzolo, I. Incordino (eds.), *Recent Discoveries and Latest Research in Egyptology. Proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, Naples, June 18th-20th 2008* (Wiesbaden, 2010), 270.
[260] D. Patch, 'From Land to Landscape', in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 70-71.

writing".[261] While Stan Hendrickx believes that the stylised iconographic elements were symbols which combined a variety of ideas into one element. These symbols became "labels, which can be used in different contexts",[262] and could be immediately recognised and understood by the viewer. The combination of these symbolic, pictorial elements in various contexts was used to create meaning. For Hendrickx this is the fundamental principle for understanding Predynastic art.[263] The problem of meaning, purpose, and interpretation is not unique to the stylised images of the Predynastic Period, but is also true for Early Dynastic and Dynastic art. From as early as the Narmer palette scholars have debated whether the iconography represents a real event, whether it showed a symbolic event, or whether it is an example of royal propaganda. This problem continues into the Dynastic Period where the purpose of "scenes of daily life" is still unclear. Whether or not these scenes reflect the life of the tomb owner or whether they were a symbolic wish for the afterlife is still not agreed upon by scholars.[264] The choice of which interpretative approach is used for the analysis of the art affects the study and has the ability to bias the results. If all Predynastic representations are thought to be documentations of actual events, the possibility of a deeper meaning and intellectual context is lost. If all representations are thought to be purely symbolic the possibility for examining the wider social implications of a scene is ignored. Instead, each theme must be examined for all of its possible interpretations.

---

[261] F. Raffaele, 'Animal Rows and Ceremonial Procession in Late Predynastic Egypt', in F. Raffaele, M. Nuzzolo, I. Incordino (eds.), *Recent Discoveries and Latest Research in Egyptology. Proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, Naples, June 18th-20th 2008* (Wiesbaden, 2010), 263.

[262] S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Visual Representation and State Development in Egypt', *Archéo-Nil* 22 (2012), 23.

[263] S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Continuity and Change in the Visual Representations of Predynastic Egypt', in F. Raffaele, M. Nuzzolo, I. Incordino (eds.), *Recent Discoveries and Latest Research in Egyptology. Proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, Naples, June 18th-20th 2008* (Wiesbaden, 2010), 129.

[264] E. Feucht, 'Fishing and Fowling with the Spear and Throw-stick Reconsidered', in U. Luft (ed.), *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt, Studies Presented to Laszio Kakosy* (Budapest, 1992), 157-169; R. Van Walsem, 'The Interpretation of Iconographic Programmes in Old Kingdom Elite Tombs of the Memphite Area: Methodological and Theoretical (Re)considerations', in C. Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3-9 September 1995* (Leuven, 1998), 1205-1213; N. Kanawati, *The Tomb and Beyond. Burial Customs of Egyptian Officials* (Warminster, 2001), 115-122.

Another problem that makes Predynastic art particularly difficult to interpret is the lack of writing. In Dynastic art writing and images are intrinsically combined,[265] this aids the viewer in interpreting the scene. Writing was slowly incorporated into the art of the Early Dynastic Period, beginning with the writing of king's names. This begins the tradition of hieroglyphs being integrated into art throughout the Dynastic Period, becoming an integral part of the production of artwork. For the Predynastic Period there are no hieroglyphs to assist with the interpretation of scenes. For this reason interpretations are usually based on comparison with known themes and motifs from the Old Kingdom.[266] This can be problematic because the themes in Dynastic art come with a set of widely held beliefs. It cannot automatically be assumed that the people of the Predynastic Period already had the same extensive belief system in place. Therefore, all elements of Predynastic iconography must be interpreted with caution, in regards to their context and in relation to all accompanying elements.

3. Development of Themes and Motifs

While the connection between late Predynastic and Early Dynastic iconography to that of the Dynastic Period have been extensively studied, it is necessary to extend the analysis back further if a true complete history is to be aimed at. The development and continuation of themes will be examined here in regards to three main Predynastic scenes. These are victory scenes, hunting scenes, and boat scenes. Each of these represents either a social or ritual theme which can be seen to continue into the Dynastic Period through the perpetuation of particular iconography. While the precise meaning of these themes is still a matter of debate, it is likely that their meaning and interpretation is consistent across the media.[267] This is evident due to the fact that, despite differences in style, the same iconography was repeated

[265] G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), 24.
[266] D. Patch, 'From Land to Landscape', in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 74.
[267] F.E. Hardtke, 'The Place of Rock Art in Egyptian Predynastic Iconography- Some Examples from the Fauna', *Rock Art Research* 30 (2013), 112.

for extensive periods of time, meaning they must have been part of an extant repertoire of themes.

3.1. Victory, Power, and the Smiting Motif

Expressions of power through victory over enemies was an important theme in royal iconography throughout Dynastic art. One of the most recognised expression of the king's power was through the "smiting motif". The smiting motif is one of the best attested and longest lasting iconographic elements of Egyptian history. It occurs at least 90 times throughout the surviving Dynastic record, lasting for over 3,000 years.[268] Although the development of this particular motif has been extensively studied,[269] it is still an important element to discuss here. In this motif the king stands with a mace raised above his head, holding a group of kneeling enemies by the hair, ready to "smite" them. The earliest example of a king (not a chief, ruler, leader, etc.) smiting his enemies comes from the Naqada III Narmer palette, on which the king holds one enemy by the hair with a mace raised above his head. Next it appeared on the First Dynasty alabaster label of King Djer,[270] followed by an ivory label of King Den,[271] still holding one captive. It is then repeated on several stone markers throughout the Old Kingdom.[272] The first appearance of the king holding multiple captives by the hair occurred in the Sixth Dynasty on a wall relief from Pepy II's funerary

[268] M. Luiselli, 'The Ancient Egyptian Scene of 'Pharaoh Smiting his Enemies': An Attempt to Visualise Cultural Memory?', in M. Bommas (ed.), *Memory Culture in Ancient Societies* 1 (London, 2011), 17.
[269] E. Swan Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies: A Comparative Study* (Berlin, 1986); C. Köhler, 'History of Ideology? New Reflections on the Narmer Palette and the Nature of Foreign Relations in Predynastic Egypt', in E.C.M. van den Brink, T.E. Levy (eds.), *Egypt and the Levant: Interrelations from the 4th through the Early 3rd Millennium BCE* (London, 2002), 499-513; M. Luiselli, 'The Ancient Egyptian Scene of 'Pharaoh Smiting his Enemies': An Attempt to Visualise Cultural Memory?', in M. Bommas (ed.), *Memory Culture in Ancient Societies* 1 (London, 2011), 10-25; S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Continuity and Change in the Visual Representations of Predynastic Egypt', in F. Raffaele, M. Nuzzolo, I. Incordino (eds.), *Recent Discoveries and Latest Research in Egyptology. Proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, Naples, June 18th-20th 2008* (Wiesbaden, 2010), 122-127; S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Visual Representation and State Development in Egypt', *Archéo-Nil* 22 (2012), 62.
[270] E. Swan Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies: A Comparative Study* (Berlin, 1986), fig. 7.
[271] D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cat. 117.
[272] E. Swan Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies: A Comparative Study* (Berlin, 1986), figs. 10-17, 19, 20.

temple.[273] The motif continued throughout the Dynastic Period as a representation of the king's power and as a symbol of maintaining order over chaos.[274] It even continued through the Amarna Period,[275] when the artistic program underwent substantial changes. However, despite the constant use, the motif was never completely standardised.[276] The posture and number of the captive, the position of the king's arm, and the weapon used varies throughout Egyptian history, yet its inherent meaning remained the same.

Prior to the Dynastic Period, where this motif became exclusively royal, earlier examples of this theme exist across several media during the Early Dynastic and Predynastic Periods. The motif is evident on Early Dynastic ivory cylinders,[277] on which rows of identical figures smite bound captives. Preceding this, the motif appeared on the wall scene of Hierakonpolis tomb 100, where a man strikes three prisoners with a mace, holding the first one by the hair. This marks the first appearance of this version of the motif, which was to be adopted into royal art throughout Egyptian history.[278] Before the motif took this recognisable form, the theme of victory over enemies was expressed on White Cross-lined vessels in a slightly different manner. In these scenes a victorious person was characterised by distinctive headdresses and as having either raised arms,[279] or a mace.[280] The common element to all victory scenes are the captives. On White Cross-lined vessels captives have rope around their necks and often their hands are tied behind their backs. On some vessels angular shoulders and no arms represents a stylised abbreviation of the same idea.[281] Victory scenes such as these do not

[273] E. Swan Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies: A Comparative Study* (Berlin, 1986), fig. 22a.
[274] G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), 17.
[275] E. Swan Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies: A Comparative Study* (Berlin, 1986), figs. 37, 39, 40.
[276] M. Luiselli, 'The Ancient Egyptian Scene of 'Pharaoh Smiting his Enemies': An Attempt to Visualise Cultural Memory?', in M. Bommas (ed.), *Memory Culture in Ancient Societies* 1 (London, 2011), 17.
[277] J.E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I* (London, 1900), pl. XV no. 1-2, no. 4.
[278] W.S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven, 1958), 11.
[279] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), nos. 145, 148.
[280] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), nos. 155, 161.
[281] S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Continuity and Change in the Visual Representations of Predynastic Egypt', in F. Raffaele, M. Nuzzolo, I. Incordino (eds.), *Recent Discoveries and Latest Research in Egyptology. Proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, Naples, June 18th-20th 2008* (Wiesbaden, 2010), 122.

appear on Decorated pottery, but the appearance in Hierakonpolis tomb 100 shows that this theme was part of a visual repertoire that spanned across multiple media during the Predynastic Period. Whether these early depictions memorialised an actual victory, or are symbolic of power or the triumph of order over chaos, is purely speculative. Although the lack of direct action, such as a battle or killing of the captives, is suggestive of a more symbolic meaning.[282] This is also supported by the combination of the victory scene with hunting scenes on some White Cross-lined vessels,[283] which also have a symbolic interpretation relating to cosmic balance.

The development of this theme becomes clear through a diachronic analysis of the iconography used to represent it. The captives attached to the victor by rope on the Naqada I White Cross-lined pottery evolved into the victor holding one captive by the hair, while the rest were still joined to the first by rope, on the Naqada IIC tomb 100 wall scene. The establishment of the lateral layering technique allowed for the king to hold more than one captive by the hair, although this was not utilised until the late Sixth Dynasty. Victors holding maces evolved into the smiting motif by the Naqada IIC period, with its first known expression on the wall of Hierakonpolis tomb 100. Maces were a common element in victory scenes from the Naqada I period until the New Kingdom, when a variety of weapons were used.[284] It is possible, although purely speculative, that the mace raised above the victors head in the smiting motif was a combination of the raised arms in some Naqada I victory scenes and maces in others. The use of this theme across several different media throughout the Predynastic and Early Dynastic Periods shows a gradual evolution in the theme and the iconography and symbolism used to express it. Once this theme was incorporated into the

[282] S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Continuity and Change in the Visual Representations of Predynastic Egypt', in F. Raffaele, M. Nuzzolo, I. Incordino (eds.), *Recent Discoveries and Latest Research in Egyptology. Proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, Naples, June 18th-20th 2008* (Wiesbaden, 2010), 122.
[283] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), nos. 161, 162.
[284] E. Swan Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies: A Comparative Study* (Berlin, 1986), figs. 25-90.

royal artistic program it continued to appear on various mediums throughout Dynastic history, including the Ptolemaic Period (304-330 B.C.), where it appears on the pylons of the Horus temple at Edfu.[285]

3.2. Hunting: Social Status and Control over Chaos

Hunting scenes in the Dynastic Period are seen as either part of royal symbolism, representing maintenance of order over chaos,[286] or are considered part of the visual repertoire of "scenes of daily life" commonly included in elite tombs. These included both hippopotamus hunts[287] and desert hunts.[288] Because of this, hunting is thought to be an elite activity[289] representing status and social stratification. However, the origin of this theme began long before the monumental art of tombs and temples. Throughout the Predynastic Period hunting was a theme which was consistently represented across various mediums. This occurred despite the fact that hunting was of little economic importance during the Predynastic Period.[290] Several types of hunting continued to be a dominant in Predynastic art[291] and were incorporated into the Dynastic repertoire. The development of these will be discussed here.

[285] G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997), fig. 5.
[286] S. Hendrickx, F. Förster, 'Early Dynastic Art and Iconography', in A.B. Lloyd (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt* (Chichester, 2010), 830.
[287] N. Kanawati, *The Tomb and Beyond. Burial Customs of Egyptian Officials* (Warminster, 2001), 94, fig. 111.
[288] N. Kanawati, *The Tomb and Beyond. Burial Customs of Egyptian Officials* (Warminster, 2001), 96-97, figs. 79, 81, 115.
[289] S. Hendrickx, 'L'iconographie de la chasse dans le contexte social prédynastique', *Archéo-Nil 20* (2010), 106.
[290] V. Linseele, W. Van Neer, 'Exploitation of Desert and other Wild Game in Ancient Egypt: The Archaeozoological Evidence from the Nile Valley', in H. Riemer, F. Förster, M. Herb, N. Pöllath (eds.), *Desert Animals in the Eastern Sahara: Status, Economic Significance, and Cultural Reflection in Antiquity* (Köln, 2009), 47-78; S. Hendrickx, 'L'iconographie de la chasse dans le contexte social prédynastique', *Archéo-Nil 20* (2010), 106; S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Visual Representation and State Development in Egypt', *Archéo-Nil* 22 (2012), 58.
[291] cf. most recently: J.C. Darnell, 'Iconographic Attraction, Iconographic Syntax and the Tableaux of Royal Ritual Power in the Pre- and Proto-Dynastic Rock Inscriptions of the Theban Western Desert', *Archéo-Nil* 19 (2009), 83-107; G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009); S. Hendrickx,, 'L'iconographie de la chasse dans le contexte social prédynastique', *Archéo-Nil* 20 (2010), 106-133; S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Visual Representation and State Development in Egypt', *Archéo-Nil* 22 (2012), 58-63; S. Hendrickx, 'Hunting and Social Complexity in Predynastic Egypt', *Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer, Bulletin des Séances / Koninklijke Academie voor Overzeese Wetenschappen, Mededelingen der Zittingen*, 57, 2-4 2011 (2013), 237-263.

Hippopotamus hunt scenes often occur often on White Cross-lined vessels. This scene can either be represented with a person spearing the hippopotamus,[292] or with just the hippopotamus and the harpoon.[293] Crocodile hunt scenes are also common, this is typically symbolically represented by a crocodile under a net[294] with no human figures present. Desert hunting scenes also occur on White Cross-lined pottery. A few examples of this scene include human figures,[295] while most are symbolically represented by animals caught in traps,[296] or dogs hunting wild animals[297] in place of the human. Dogs hunting wild animals is also evident on Blacktop pottery.[298] In these scenes it would appear that the instruments used for hunting, such as harpoons, nets, and dogs are sufficient to identify the action of hunting, thus the scenes become abbreviated and the symbols for hunting represent the action.[299]

Hunting scenes do occur on Decorated pottery, but are not part of the "regular" iconography for this medium.[300] This is possibly due to the chance survival of only a few examples rather than the diminishing importance of this scene. Hippopotamus hunts occur on only a few known hippopotamus shaped vessels, on which hunters and harpoons are represented.[301] Rare

[292] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), nos. 84, 86, 98, 117, 161.
[293] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), nos. 40, 62, 63, 77, 158.
[294] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), nos. 8, 12, 25, 76, 113, 117, 152.
[295] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), nos. 9, 17, 172.
[296] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), nos. 27, 30, 42.
[297] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), nos. 22, 52, 74, 75, 92, 119, 143, 146, 149, 156, 159.
[298] S. Hendrickx, 'L'iconographie de la chasse dans le contexte social prédynastique', *Archéo-Nil 20* (2010), fig. 7.
[299] S. Hendrickx, 'L'iconographie de la chasse dans le contexte social prédynastique', *Archéo-Nil 20* (2010), 108.
[300] S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Continuity and Change in the Visual Representations of Predynastic Egypt', in F. Raffaele, M. Nuzzolo, I. Incordino (eds.), *Recent Discoveries and Latest Research in Egyptology. Proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, Naples, June 18th-20th 2008* (Wiesbaden, 2010), 126.
[301] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), nos.558, 561, 563.

examples of desert hunts on this medium do not typically include people,[302] but instead show dogs hunting in their place.[303] One rare example of a crocodile hunt shows a crocodile speared with harpoons,[304] though no humans are present. Concurrent to this pottery, one example of painted linen from Naqada II shows a hunt scene.[305] This theme was also represented on the painted wall of Hierakonpolis tomb 100. This particular example shows more elaborate representations in which humans are always depicted and a variety of hunting methods are evident.

Hunting scenes are also commonly represented on decorated palettes. An early example, expressed on a Naqada I rhomboidal palette,[306] is incised with both a human figure harpooning a hippopotamus from a boat and a dog hunting an ibex. During the Naqada III period hunting scenes appear on several ceremonial palettes. For example, on the bottom of the Oxford palette the symbolic motif of dogs chasing or biting animals continues. One of the most elaborate hunting scenes comes from the Naqada III period and can be found on the Hunters palette.[307] The earliest known royal hunt scenes comes from a seal found near the tomb of Den.[308] It shows the king involved in a hippopotamus hunt, which begins the tradition of this theme being incorporated into the royal iconographic program and the association with the theme of maintenance of order over chaos or "containment of unrule in the universe".[309]

[302] Except: G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), no. 507, 626.
[303] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), nos. 193, 563.
[304] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), no. 177.
[305] D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cat. 25.
[306] S. Hendrickx, 'L'iconographie de la chasse dans le contexte social prédynastique', *Archéo-Nil 20* (2010), fig. 11.
[307] D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cat. 115, fig. 38.
[308] S. Hendrickx, F. Förster, 'Early Dynastic Art and Iconography', in A.B. Lloyd (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt* (Chichester, 2010), 830, fig. 37.4.
[309] B. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt. Anatomy of a Civilisation* (London, 1989), 48.

Since hunting had little economic importance during the Predynastic Period[310] another explanation for the prevalence of this scene needs to be sought. The first explanation posed by scholars relates to the social status and prestige associated with bringing wild animals back from a hunt.[311] This makes hunting an elite activity,[312] parallel to those depicted in the tombs of the elite throughout the Dynastic Period. A second theory argues that, particularly on Decorated vessels, the hunting of animals occurs for ritual purposes. These animals are brought to ritual sites, which are thought to be depicted on several vessels.[313] This theory is derived from the fact that in most desert hunt scenes, across all media, animals are rarely shown as being killed, but instead are trapped or lassoed.[314] This theory is supported by archaeozoological remains found at the ritual site HK29A at Hierakonpolis.[315] This is parallel by Dynastic examples in which live animals are presented as offerings to kings and elite individuals.[316] This relates to the final interpretation which postulates a more symbolic meaning, arguing that hunting scenes represent the deeper theme of cosmic order through control over chaotic forces. This argument suggests that hunting scenes are linked to the catching of animals for rituals, which reinforce and renew control of chaos.[317] It also suggests a more symbolic view in which humans represent order and the animals represent wild,

[310] Although a recent study shows evidence that hunting persisted at a few sites, this was probably related to the function of the site or social position of its occupants. See: J. Lesur, 'Des animaux et des hommes en Égypte au Néolithique et Prédynastique : les apports de l'archéozoologie', *Archéo-Nil* 23 (2013), 47.

[311] S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Visual Representation and State Development in Egypt', *Archéo-Nil* 22 (2012), 58.

[312] S. Hendrickx, 'L'iconographie de la chasse dans le contexte social prédynastique', *Archéo-Nil 20* (2010), 127-129.

[313] G. Graff, M. Eyckerman, S. Hendrickx, 'Architectural Elements on Decorated pottery and the Ritual Presentation of Desert Animals', in R.F. Friedman, P.N. Fiske (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins 3. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origins of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", London, 27th July - 1st August 2008* (Leuven, 2011), figs. 1-6.

[314] G. Graff, M. Eyckerman, S. Hendrickx, 'Architectural Elements on Decorated pottery and the Ritual Presentation of Desert Animals', in R.F. Friedman, P.N. Fiske (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins 3. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origins of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", London, 27th July - 1st August 2008* (Leuven, 2011), 455.

[315] V. Linseele, W. Van Neer, 'Exploitation of Desert and other Wild Game in Ancient Egypt: The Archaeozoological Evidence from the Nile Valley', in H. Riemer, F. Förster, M. Herb, N. Pöllath (eds.), *Desert Animals in the Eastern Sahara: Status, Economic Significance, and Cultural Reflection in Antiquity* (Köln, 2009), 47-78.

[316] N. Kanawati, *The Tomb and Beyond. Burial Customs of Egyptian Officials* (Warminster, 2001), 97, fig. 86.

[317] S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Continuity and Change in the Visual Representations of Predynastic Egypt', in F. Raffaele, M. Nuzzolo, I. Incordino (eds.), *Recent Discoveries and Latest Research in Egyptology. Proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, Naples, June 18th-20th 2008* (Wiesbaden, 2010), 131.

chaotic forces. The hunting of wild animals therefore represents domination and control over the chaos represented by the animals. This theme is particularly evident on the Hunters palette, on which a chaotic mass of animals is surrounded by orderly rows of hunters. Although, for the most part, the hunters do not appear to be harming the animals. Instead, it seems as though the hunters are herding the animals towards a building at the top of the palette, perhaps for the ritual purposes previously mentioned. This echoes the Dynastic belief that the world would function only if dangerous elements were controlled.[318] It is likely that the symbolism implied through hunting scenes during the Predynastic Period was manifold, just as it was during the Dynastic Period. It therefore could have represented elite status, the collection of animals for rituals, or the manifestation of control over chaos, depending on the context of its creation.

3.3. Boat Scenes

Scenes in which boats are a major iconographic element appear throughout the Predynastic Period and are associated with several different interpretations. All of these interpretations represent the origin of ideas, beliefs, and traditions which will continue into the Dynastic Period. Different types of boats have been distinguished throughout the Predynastic representations,[319] though the variation and chronological significance is difficult to determine for this period.[320] Boats on White Cross-lined pottery appear mostly to be associated with aquatic hunting,[321] although those which appear as the only element on a vessel are difficult to interpret. On Decorated ware the interpretation of boat scenes becomes

[318] D. Patch, 'Early Dynastic Art', in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 140.
[319] P. Cervicek, *Felsbilder der Nord-Ethbai, Oberägyptens und Unternubiens. Ergebnisse der 8. Deutschen innerafrikanischen Forschungs Expedition (DIAFE) nach Ägypten, 1926* (Wiesbaden, 1974); J. Majer, 'The Eastern Desert and Egyptian Prehistory', in R.F. Friedman, B. Adams (eds.), *The Followers of Horus. Studies Dedicated to Michael Allen Hoffman* (Oxford, 1992), 227-234; G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Nagada I – Nagada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), 67-70.
[320] S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Continuity and Change in the Visual Representations of Predynastic Egypt', in F. Raffaele, M. Nuzzolo, I. Incordino (eds.), *Recent Discoveries and Latest Research in Egyptology. Proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, Naples, June 18th-20th 2008* (Wiesbaden, 2010), 127.
[321] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Nagada I – Nagada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), nos. 99, 74, 117.

more ambiguous. Two main competing theories will be examined here. The first argues for the interpretation of a funerary scene or themes of rebirth in the afterlife, while the second presents themes of ritual worship.

Most boat scenes on Decorated vessels are interpreted as having a funerary meaning or being related to aspects of the afterlife.[322] One of the main reasons for this is that most examples of Decorated ware were found in a funerary context.[323] Because of this it is often assumed that the boats themselves must also be funerary in nature.[324] Whether these boats represent actual funerary processions or rituals, or are more symbolic of rebirth in the afterlife is a matter of speculation. Gwenola Graff interprets the boat scenes on Decorated ware as funerary or as associated with "regeneration of life".[325] This interpretation comes from the analysis of several motifs. In many examples a male character presents a short, stick like object to a woman with raised arms, an addax, or a banner. Graff believes that the object offered is not what is commonly referred to as a "stick of power", but is instead the horns of an addax or ibex. For Graff, this indicates that the theme on the painted vessels should not be interpreted as scenes representing control, power, or cosmic balance, but instead should be interpreted as the regeneration of life.[326] Following this, an analysis of the so-called Naqada plant led Graff to relate this particular motif to the "tree of life" and associated it with the later tree goddess. She argues that the plant and women with raised arms are interchangeable, making the

[322] G. Graff, 'Les vases naqadiens comportant des représentations d'addax', *CCdE* 5 (2003), 35-57; G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Nagada I – Nagada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), 122-124; S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Visual Representation and State Development in Egypt', *Archéo-Nil* 22 (2012), 46.

[323] S. Hendrickx, 'Iconography of the Predynastic and Early Dynastic Periods', in E. Teeter (ed.), *Before the Pyramids. The Origins of Egyptian Civilisation* (Chicago, 2011), 76-77.

[324] S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Continuity and Change in the Visual Representations of Predynastic Egypt', in F. Raffaele, M. Nuzzolo, I. Incordino (eds.), *Recent Discoveries and Latest Research in Egyptology. Proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, Naples, June 18th-20th 2008* (Wiesbaden, 2010), 129.

[325] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Nagada I – Nagada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), 112-124.

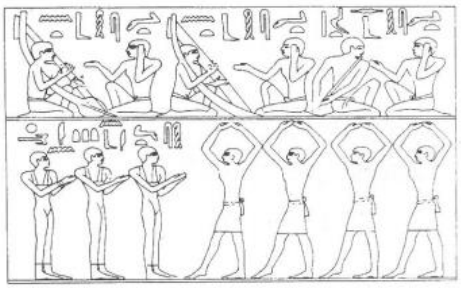
[326] G. Graff, 'Les enjeux de l'iconographie des vases peints de Nagada II (Égypte, IVe millénaire): maintien de l'équilibre cosmique ou régénération de la vie?' *Anthropozoologica* 46 (2011), 47.

women dispensers of life.[327] Graff also associates the animal skins on poles with funerary rites, believing them to be used for wrapping the body.[328] The analysis of all of these elements has lead Graff to believe the theme depicted on these vessels is related to rebirth in the afterlife. The idea of rebirth in the afterlife is supported by archaeological evidence such as the foetal position the body is often buried in during this time.[329] The existence of boat burials in the Early Dynastic Period[330] also supports the idea that the association of boats with funerary rites or the afterlife may have been pre-existing. This theme is similar to Dynastic beliefs in which the deceased individual lives on in the hereafter,[331] and the scene is reminiscent of the funeral journey[332] often depicted in tombs. If these scenes do represent a funerary ritual or journey to the afterlife then these early representations show the continuity of social practices or early religious ideologies between the Predynastic and Dynastic Periods.

The second interpretation relates to ritual worship. Diana Patch believes the boat scenes on Decorated ware depict a ritual involving the entire landscape.[333] In this theory the attention of the ritual is directed towards sun worship and daily rebirth,[334] rather than rebirth in the afterlife. This theory implies a wider mythological theme, relating to religious belief on a larger scale. While little is known about the religious practices of the Predynastic people, several of the motifs support this interpretation. The first of these is the individuals with raised arms. This motif is problematic as it evokes several interpretations. While Graff

[327] G. Graff, 'Les représentations de femmes et de la plante nagadienne sur les vases Decorated-ware de Nagada II', *CCdE* 12 (2009), 33-67.
[328] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Nagada I – Nagada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), 122.
[329] N. Kanawati, *The Tomb and Beyond. Burial Customs of Egyptian Officials* (Warminster, 2001), 4.
[330] W.B. Emery, *Excavations at Saqqara 1937-38* (Cairo, 1939), pl. 3; W.B. Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty I* (Cairo, 1949), pl. 19; Z.Y. Saad, *Royal Excavations at Helwan* (Cairo, 1951), pl. LX, LIXA, LIXB; W.B. Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty II* (London, 1954), fig. 203; A. Klasens, *The Excavations of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities at Abu Roash. Report of the Third Season: 1959. Part II. Cemetery M* (Leiden, 1961), fig. 2; Y. Tristant, F. Briois, G. Castel, O. Onézime, 'Barques sur Nil… Le mastaba M06 d'Abou Rawach et sa barque funéraire (Ier dynastie, règne de Den): découverte de la plus ancienne embarcation égyptienne actuellement conservée en Égypte', *BIFAO* 214 (2014), 563-588.
[331] Cf. N. Kanawati, *The Tomb and Beyond. Burial Customs of Egyptian Officials* (Warminster, 2001).
[332] N. Kanawati, *The Tomb and Beyond. Burial Customs of Egyptian Officials* (Warminster, 2001), fig. 147.
[333] Whitney Davis also interpreted the tableaux as an entire landscape (W. Davis, 'The Origins of Register Composition in Predynastic Egyptian Art', *JAOS* 96 (1976), 407).
[334] D. Patch, 'From Land to Landscape', in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 70-71.

associates this pose with the Naqada plant, other interpretations include dance, victory,[335] a welcome or greeting,[336] and mourning.[337] During the Dynastic Period scenes of mourning did involve individuals with raised arms. Some of these scenes of mourning did occur on boats in funerary procession iconography[338] and would provide a parallel for this theory. The problem with this interpretation is that, in these Dynastic scenes of mourning,[339] arms are not raised up and over the head so much as in front of the face. In Dynastic scenes of dance, however, the arms are often raised in a circular motion over the head (fig. 2).[340] This is almost identical to the individuals on the Decorated ware.

Fig. 2. 

A recent study by Aurélie Roche shows that Predynastic dance formed part of ritual practices concerning victory, political celebrations, and renewal of life.[341] Meaning that in some contexts, such as on White Cross-lined vessel where a victorious captor raises his arms above his head,[342] this dance relates to victory, or more symbolically to order over chaos. In these boat scenes, it is possible the dance is symbolic of the renewal of life each day. It is also

[335] S. Hendrickx, H. Riemer, F. Förster, J.C. Darnell, 'Late Predynastic/Early Dynastic Rock Art Scenes of Barbary Sheep Hunting from Egypts Western Desert. From Catching Wild Animals to the Women of the Acacia House', in H. Riemer, F. Förster, M. Herb, N. Pöllath (eds.), *Desert Animals in the Eastern Sahara: Status, Economic Significance and Cultural Reflection in Antiquity. Proceedings of an Interdisciplinary ACACIA Workshop held at the University of Cologne December 14-15, 2007* (Köln, 2009), 189-244.
[336] D. Patch, 'From Land to Landscape', in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 77.
[337] E. Brunner-Traut, 'Tranz', in W. Helck, E. Otto (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 6 (Wiesbaden, 1986), col. 217.
[338] R. Partridge, *Transport in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1996), fig. 40.
[339] N. Kanawati, *The Tomb and Beyond. Burial Customs of Egyptian Officials* (Warminster, 2001), pls. 19, 20, 51, figs. 148.
[340] N. Kanawati, *The Tomb and Beyond. Burial Customs of Egyptian Officials* (Warminster, 2001), fig. 132.
[341] A. Roche, 'Des scenes de danse dans l'iconographie prédynastique? Essai d'identification et d'interprétation à la lumière de la documentation pharaonique', *Archéo-Nil* 24 (2014), 161-189.
[342] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Nagada I – Nagada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), nos. 145, 148.

possible that the raised arms of victors on White Cross-lined vessels and the raised arms of the individuals on Decorated ware are related. If these scenes do in fact represent solar worship it is possible that the rebirth of the day is associated with a triumph over chaos at night. In this case the dance in both scenes relate to the theme of the triumph of order over chaos, though this interpretation does assume much about the intellectual context of the evidence. This corresponds with Hendrickx's analysis of Predynastic motifs, which suggests that each symbol has manifold meaning depending on its context.[343]

The presentation of animals to a motif which has been interpreted as an architectural construction[344] must also be considered here. This element appears in conjunction with boats, and also on vessels without boats, but with a combination of other element associated with boat scenes. The iconography in these scenes is interpreted as representing order over chaos or as being related to the regeneration of life,[345] both of which can be associated with solar worship. A rare Decorated vessel,[346] rare perhaps due to chance survival, shows a desert hunt scene in association with a women with raised arms and the architectural element. The combination of all these elements emphasises the connection between all of these motifs and the theme of order over chaos, which appears to permeate Decorated ware.

The second iconographic element which supports this theory is the birds which are commonly depicted in these scenes. Whether or not the birds in these scenes are flamingos or ostriches is

[343] S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Visual Representation and State Development in Egypt', *Archéo-Nil* 22 (2012), 23.

[344] G. Graff, M. Eyckerman, S. Hendrickx, 'Architectural Elements on Decorated pottery and the Ritual Presentation of Desert Animals', in R.F. Friedman, P.N. Fiske (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins 3. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origins of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", London, 27th July - 1st August 2008* (Leuven, 2011).

[345] G. Graff, M. Eyckerman, S. Hendrickx, 'Architectural Elements on Decorated pottery and the Ritual Presentation of Desert Animals', in R.F. Friedman, P.N. Fiske (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins 3. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origins of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", London, 27th July - 1st August 2008* (Leuven, 2011), 456.

[346] G. Graff, *Les peintures sur vases de Nagada I – Nagada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009), no. 328.

still debated by scholars.[347] However, if we consider Patch's sun worship theory to be true there are interesting associations between ostriches and the sun. Evidence from the Dynastic Period shows that the ancient Egyptians were aware of the early morning behaviour of ostriches, which run around flapping their wings. For example, the Karnak stela of Ahmose I, from the Eighteenth Dynasty, describes Ahmose as, "*like Atum in the east of the sky, when the ostriches dance in the valleys*".[348] In scenes of solar adoration at Medinet Habu, prancing birds were identified by Charles Kuentz as ostriches.[349] These birds are reminiscent of the birds with raised wings in these scenes on Decorated ware. It is possible that human statuettes with bird heads,[350] and sometimes with raised arms, could represent a combination of the individuals with raised arms and the ostrich in an application of this concept to another medium. However, this is purely an assumption based on comparison to later images and beliefs, whether or not the people of the Predynastic Period were aware of this behaviour displayed by ostriches cannot be stated for sure.

Finally, the boats themselves must be taken into consideration. While often interpreted as funerary, the boats could also be considered as divine barques.[351] To begin with the plant like ornamentations on the prow of the boats is reminiscent of solar barques.[352] A solar association with boats during the Predynastic Period has also been suggested for several rock art tableaux.[353] The similarity to boats on ceramics found at the Early Dynastic temple precinct in Abydos[354] is also notable and argues for an interpretation as a sacred vessel rather than a

[347] S. Hendrickx, 'Autruches et flamants - les oiseaux représentés sur la céramique prédynastique de la catégorie *Decorated*', *CCdE* 1, (2000).
[348] K. Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie: übersetzt I* (Leipzig, 1914), no. 5; J.H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt II* (Chicago, 1906), 13-14, §§ 29-32.
[349] C. Kuentz, 'La danse des autruches', *BIFAO* 23 (1924), 87.
[350] D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), cats. 93, 102, 106, 107.
[351] S. Hendrickx, 'Iconography of the Predynastic and Early Dynastic Periods', in E. Teeter (ed.), *Before the Pyramids. The Origins of Egyptian Civilisation* (Chicago, 2011), 79.
[352] D. Huyge, 'Cosmology, Ideology and Personal Religious Practice in Ancient Egyptian Rock Art', in R.F. Friedman (ed.), *Egypt and Nubia: gifts of the desert* (London, 2002), 200.
[353] D. Huyge, 'Cosmology, Ideology and Personal Religious Practice in Ancient Egyptian Rock Art', in R.F. Friedman (ed.), *Egypt and Nubia: gifts of the desert* (London, 2002), 200.
[354] W.M.F. Petrie, *Abydos, Part II, 1903* (London, 1903), pl. XII, no. 266.

funerary one. Many boat models are also found in a variety of contexts in the Predynastic and Early Dynastic Periods. While some model boats have been found in funerary contexts,[355] these are rare and not considered as a standard funerary offerings. More commonly these models appear in settlement and temple deposits, where their symbolic meaning is evident.[356] The higher ratio of boat models outside of the funerary context could indicate that boat iconography had a significant role in the daily lives of the ancient Egyptians, possibly relating to religious practice or belief.

The lack of Decorated pottery from a context other than cemeteries has resulted in a distorted picture of the full iconographic program, use, relevance and interpretation of these artefacts.[357] Because these artefacts were found in a funerary context their iconography is often automatically associated with funerary themes. However, other interpretations such as ritual worship can also be applied to these motifs and should be considered. Whether these scenes represent a funerary procession, beliefs about the afterlife or solar worship they still represent early conceptual ideas, religious thoughts, or social practices which will carry on into later Dynastic Periods.

3. Discussion and Conclusion

The fundamental themes of Dynastic art were established from the very beginning of the Old Kingdom and changed little for 3,000 years after. It is difficult to believe that this occurred with no influence from the culture which preceded it, and yet, this is often how it is studied. A

[355] Z.Y. Saad, *The Excavations at Helwan: Art and Civilisation in the First and Second Egyptian Dynasties* (Norman, 1969), pls. 103-104; K. Kroeper, D. Wildung, *Minshat Abu Omar II. Ein vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Friedhof im Nildelta. Gräber 115-204* (Mainz, 2000), tf. 15.1.

[356] S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Continuity and Change in the Visual Representations of Predynastic Egypt', in F. Raffaele, M. Nuzzolo, I. Incordino (eds.), *Recent Discoveries and Latest Research in Egyptology. Proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, Naples, June 18th-20th 2008* (Wiesbaden, 2010), 132.

[357] S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Continuity and Change in the Visual Representations of Predynastic Egypt', in F. Raffaele, M. Nuzzolo, I. Incordino (eds.), *Recent Discoveries and Latest Research in Egyptology. Proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, Naples, June 18th-20th 2008* (Wiesbaden, 2010), 130.

closer examination reveals a development in iconography and symbolism, which connects the Dynastic Period to the intellectual context of the past rather than dividing it. In Predynastic art, a limited number of themes emerge and are repeated across various media. While some of these themes appear to be more prolific on certain media than others, this is likely due to chance survival of certain materials over others. Studying the most well represented themes of Predynastic art, in the context of a holistic Egyptian history, shows these representations offer us insight into the early stages of social, intellectual, and religious development. Many of the fundamental beliefs represented through Predynastic iconography remain essential to the Dynastic way of life.

The interpretation of ancient art will always be problematic. We approach it with a set of preconceived notions about analysing art and about the culture which produced it. For the Predynastic Period this is particularly difficult, because so little is known about the intellectual culture of this period, while we know so much about the later Dynastic Period. Because of this, there is a tendency to work backward, applying what is known about the Dynastic civilisation to the earlier civilisation. While this is difficult to escape, it must be done with caution. If we work forward rather than backward it becomes evident that certain iconographic themes show temporal continuity.[358] These themes, and their associated symbolism, develop from the Naqada I period and are incorporated into the Dynastic Period. While the exact interpretation of themes from the Predynastic Period remains problematic, the overarching concept of cosmic balance through the triumph of order over chaos appears to be repeated through several different symbolic representations. This theme will become the underlying concept of the Dynastic civilisation, representing the continuation of conceptual and social themes evident through the repetition of early iconographic evidence.

[358] S. Hendrickx, M. Eyckerman, 'Visual Representation and State Development in Egypt', *Archéo-Nil* 22 (2012), 34.

Conclusion

The preceding chapters have established that many elements of Dynastic art had their origins in the Predynastic and Early Dynastic Periods. Strong connection can be seen in modes of representation, compositional techniques, and themes and motifs. The development evident in all of these aspects intimately links the art of the Dynastic Period to that of the Predynastic Period. This shows that, rather than forming separate traditions, the periods of Egyptian history represent phases of development in a greater whole. While the productions of the Predynastic Period did not strictly adhere to the same set of ridged rules that royal and elite art did in the Dynastic Period, many of these fundamental principles were taken from earlier examples. Despite these connections, the art of the Predynastic Period is often viewed and studied separately to that of the Dynastic.

While scholars have begun to take steps towards more clearly establishing the connections between the art of the Predynastic and Dynastic Periods, the two are often still represented as separate traditions in Egyptological scholarship. This is partly due to a history of aesthetic influence on the study of ancient art. The art of the Predynastic Period does not fit into the model of "art" constructed by the study of Dynastic productions, and it is therefore seen as something "other" than Egyptian art. This is reflected in the attitudes of some of the major commentators on ancient Egyptian art. The negative descriptions of Predynastic art and the apparent sudden emergence of Dynastic techniques serve to separate the art of ancient Egypt into two distinct traditions. One is chaotic, ugly, and rudimentary, while the other is ordered and aesthetically pleasing. This divide is also evident in the more nuanced nomenclature used within the scholarship, which create artificial boundaries between the art of each period. These terms tend to define the art of the Predynastic Period as merely the negative of the Dynastic. While it would be impossible to discuss art without the use of some designation to particular time frames of production, terminology which implies one set of defined rules and

techniques to the exclusion of all others is detrimental to the study of ancient Egyptian art. It must be admitted that the use of terminologies such as “Predynastic” and “Dynastic” also present problems relating to chronological divisions and boundaries. However, it is inescapable to use some form of terminology to denote the phase in Egyptian history during which the art was created. The term “Predynastic” is a chronological placement rather than a value judgement, as some of the other terminologies are (see Chapter One). The true problem lies in terminologies which diminishes the achievements of earlier periods of production or emphasises a divide in the artistic tradition, when development and continuation are more akin to the actual history of the art. The term Predynastic appears to be the safest, as long as it is noted that many of the techniques established during this period were the precursors of later art. Changes were obviously made, both during and between the periods, but these were not so drastic that the terminology used should imply the periods are mutually exclusive traditions. To achieve a more holistic study of Egyptian art an emphasis needs to be placed on the continuations evident in the art, rather than just the perceived differences in style.

This project has aimed at highlighting the continuation evident in many aspects of ancient Egyptian art. This has been done to show that the development of artistic productions require a holistic study if they are to be understood fully. For this to occur the negative attitudes towards the productions of the Predynastic Period need to be removed from descriptions of art and terminologies need to be considered for what they imply before being used. It is not sufficient to study the art of the Dynastic Period, starting with the Narmer palette, and ignoring the extensive history of its development. To truly understand the intellectual context of the ancient Egyptian culture the entire development of the system of representation must be taken into account. For this to begin negative attitudes and divisive terminologies must first be overcome in future studies.

Bibliography

Aldred, C., *Old Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1949).

Aldred, C., *Middle Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt: 2300-1590 B.C.* (London, 1950).

Aldred, C., *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt during the Eighteenth Dynasty*: *1590 to 1315 B.C*. (London, 1951).

Aldred, C., *The Development of Ancient Egyptian Art. From 3200 to 1315 B.C.* (London, 1973).

Asselberghs, H., *Chaos en Beheersing: Documenten uit aeneolithisch Egypt* (Leiden, 1961).

Bénédite, G., 'The Carnarvon Ivory', *JEA* 5 (1918), 1-15.

Bergman, D., 'Historiography of Ancient Egyptian Art', in M. Hartwig (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art* (Chichester, 2015), 25-38.

Breasted, J.H., *Ancient Records of Egypt II* (Chicago, 1906).

Brunner-Traut, E., 'Tranz', in W. Helck, E. Otto (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 6 (Wiesbaden, 1986), 217.

Brunton, G., *Matmar* (London, 1948).

Brunton, G., Canton-Thompson, G., *The Badarian Civilisation and Predynastic Remains Near Badari* (London, 1928).

Bourriau, J., *Pharaohs and Mortals: Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom* (New York, 1988).

Budge, E.A.W., *A History of Egypt from the end of the Neolithic Period to the Death of Cleopatra VII B.C. 30. Vol 1. Egypt in the Neolithic and Archaic Periods* (New York, 1901).

Capart, J., *Les débuts de l'Art en Egypte* (Brussels, 1904).

Capart, J., *Primitive Art in Egypt* (London, 1905).

Capart, J., *Leçon sur l'art égyptien* (Liège, 1920).

Capart, J., *Egyptian Art: Introductory Studies* (London, 1923).

Cervicek, P., *Felsbilder der Nord-Ethbai, Oberägyptens und Unternubiens. Ergebnisse der 8. Deutschen innerafrikanischen Forschungs Expedition (DIAFE) nach Ägypten, 1926* (Wiesbaden, 1974).

Cervicek, P., 'Rock Art and the Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts', *Sahara* (1998), 110-111.

Ciałowicz, K.M., *Les palettes égyptiennes aux motifs zoomorphes et sans décoration: étude de l'art pré- dynastique* (Kraków, 1991).

Ciałowicz, K.M., 'La composition, le sens et la symbolique des scènes zoomorphes prédynastiques en relief. Les manches de couteaux', in R.F. Friedman, B. Adams (eds.), *The Followers of Horus. Studies dedicated to Michael Allen Hoffman* (Oxford, 1992), 247-258.

Ciałowicz, K.M., '*Le manche de couteau de Gebel el-Arak. Le probleme de l'interprétation* de l'*art* prédvnastique' in J. Lipinska, U. Warszawski (eds.), *Essays in honour of Dr. Jadwiga Lipinska* (Warsaw, 1997), 399-352.

Ciałowicz, K.M., *Ivory and gold. Beginnings of the Egyptian Art. Discoveries in Tell el-Farkha (the Nile Delta)* (Kraków, 2007).

Cooney, J.D., *Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections* (New York, 1965).

Crowfoot-Payne, J., *Catalogue of the Predynastic Egyptian Collection in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1993).

Darnell, J.C., 'Iconographic Attraction, Iconographic Syntax and the Tableaux of Royal Ritual Power in the Pre- and Proto-Dynastic Rock Inscriptions of the Theban Western Desert', *Archéo-Nil* 19 (2009), 83-107.

Davies, N., *Ptahhetep 1*, (London, 1865).

Davis, W., 'The Origins of Register Composition in Predynastic Egyptian Art', *JAOS* 96 (1976), 404-418.

Davis, W., 'The Canonical Theory of Composition in Egyptian Art', *GM* (1982), 9-26.

Davis, W., 'Canonical Representations in Ancient Egyptian Art', *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 4 (1982), 20-45.

Davis, W., 'Artists and Patrons in Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt', *SAK* 10 (1983), 119-139.

Davis, W., *The Canonical Tradition in Ancient Egyptian Art* (New York, 1989).

Davis, W., *Masking the Blow: The Scene of Representation in Late Prehistoric Egyptian Art* (Berkeley, 1992).

Davis, W., *Replications: Archaeology, Art History, Psychoanalysis* (Pennsylvania State, 2010).

Davis, W., *A General Theory of Visual Culture* (New Jersey, 2011).

Davis, W., 'Scale and Pictoriality in Ancient Egyptian Painting and Sculpture', in J. Kee, E. Lugli (eds.), *To Scale* (Chichester, 2015), 27-43.

Davis, W., 'Ancient Egyptian Illusions', in T.R. Gillen (ed.), *(Re)Productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt* (Leiden, forthcoming).

Delange, É., *Le poignard égyptien dit « du Gebel el-Arak »* (Paris, 2009).

Dreyer, G., Hartung, U., Hikade, T., Köhler, C., Müller, V., Pumpenmeier, F., 'Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof', *MDAIK* 54 (1998), 77-167.

Duell, P., *The Mastaba of Mereruka* (Chicago, 1938).

Eaton-Krauss, M., *The Representations of Statuary in Private Tombs of the Old Kingdom* (Wiesbaden, 1984).

Eaton-Krauss, M., "Non-royal *Pre-Canonical* Statuary," in N. Grimal (ed.), *Les critères de datation stylistiques à l'ancien empire* (Cairo, 1998), 209–255.

Eaton-Krauss, M., 'Sculpture in Early Dynastic Egypt', in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 180-193.

Edwards, I.E.S., *The Early Dynastic Period in Egypt* (London, 1964).

El-Shahawy, A., Atiya, F.S., (eds.), *The Egyptian Museum in Cairo. A Walk through the Alleys of Ancient Egypt* (Cairo, 2005).

Emery, W.B., *Excavations at Saqqara 1937-38* (Cairo, 1939).

Emery, W.B., *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty I* (Cairo, 1949).

Emery, W.B., *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty II* (London, 1954).

Emery, W.B., *Archaic Egypt* (London, 1961).

Feucht, E., 'Fishing and Fowling with the Spear and Throw-stick Reconsidered', in U. Luft (ed.), *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt, Studies Presented to Laszio Kakosy* (Budapest, 1992), 157-169.

Fischer, H.G., 'Egyptian Turtles', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 24 (1966), 5-35.

Friedman, R.F., 'Excavating Egypt's Early King's: Recent Discoveries at the Elite Cemetery at Hierakonpolis', in B. Midant-Reynes, Y. Tristant (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins 2. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origin of the State, Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", Toulouse (France), 5th – 8th September 2005* (Leuven, 2008), 1155-1192.

Goldwasser, O., *From Icon to Metaphor: Studies in the Semiotics of Hieroglyphs* (Charlottesville, 1995).

Graff, G., 'Les vases naqadiens comportant des représentations d'addax', *CCdE* 5 (2003), 35-57.

Graff, G., 'Les peintures sur vases Naqada I – Naqada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique', in S. Hendrickx, R.F. Friedman, K.M. *Ciałowicz, M.* Ch*łodnicki (eds.), Egypt at its Origins. Studies in Memory of Barbara Adams. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", Kraków, 28th August – 1st September 2002 (Leuven, 2004), 765-778.*

Graff, G., *Les peintures sur vases de Nagada I–Nagada II. Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique* (Leuven, 2009).

Graff, G., 'Les représentations de femmes et de la plante nagadienne sur les vases Decorated-ware de Nagada II', *CCdE* 12 (2009), 33-69.

Graff, G., 'Les enjeux de l'iconographie des vases peints de Nagada II (Égypte, IVe millénaire): maintien de l'équilibre cosmique ou régénération de la vie?', *Anthropozoologica* 46 (2011), 47-64.

Graff, G., Eyckerman, M., Hendrickx, S., 'Architectural Elements on Decorated pottery and the Ritual Presentation of Desert Animals', in R.F. Friedman, P.N. Fiske (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins 3. Proceedings of the International Conference "Origins of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", London, 27th July - 1st August 2008* (Leuven, 2011), 437-465.

Groenewegen-Frankfort, H.A., *Arrest and Movement. Space and Time in the Art of the Ancient Near East* (London, 1951).

Hardtke, F.E., 'The Place of Rock Art in Egyptian Predynastic Iconography: Some Examples from the Fauna', *Rock Art Research* (2013), 103-114.

Harpur, Y., *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom: Studies in orientation and Scene Content* (London, 1987).

Harris, J.R., *Egyptian Art* (London, 1966).

Hartwig, M., 'An Examination of Art Historical Method and Theory: A Case Study', in A. Verbovsek, B. Bakes, C. Jones (eds.), *Methodik und Didaktik in der Ägyptologie. Herausforderungen kulturwissenschaftlichen Paradigmenwechsels in den Alterumswissenschaften* (Munich, 2011), 313-326.

Hartwig, M., (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art* (Chichester, 2015).

Hartwig, M., 'Style', in M. Hartwig (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art* (Chichester, 2015), 39-59.

Hayes, W.C., *The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1953-1959).

Hayes, W.C., *The Sceptre of Egypt: A Background for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Part 1: From Earliest Times to the End of Middle Kingdom* (New York, 1978).

Hendrickx, S., 'Autruches et flamants - les oiseaux représentés sur la céramique prédynastique de la catégorie *Decorated*', *CCdE* 1, (2000).

Hendrickx, S., 'Bovines in Egyptian Predynastic and Early Dynastic Iconography', in F.A. Hassan (ed.), *Drought Food and Culture: Ecological Change and Food Security in Africa's Late Prehistory* (New York, 2002), 275-735.

Hendrickx, S., 'Earliest Examples of Pharaonic Iconography', *Nekhen News* 17 (2005), 14-15.

Hendrickx, S., 'L'iconographie de la chasse dans le contexte social prédynastique', *Archéo-Nil* 20 (2010), 106-133.

Hendrickx, S., 'Iconography of the Predynastic and Early Dynastic Periods', in E. Teeter (ed.), *Before the Pyramids. The Origins of Egyptian Civilisation* (Chicago, 2011), 75-81.

Hendrickx, S., 'Hunting and Social Complexity in Predynastic Egypt', *Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer, Bulletin des Séances / Koninklijke Academie voor Overzeese Wetenschappen, Mededelingen der Zittingen*, 57, 2-4 2011 (2013), 237-263.

Hendrickx, S., De Meyer, M., Eyckerman, M., 'On the Origin of the Royal False Beard and its Bovine Symbolism', in M. Jucha, J. Dębowska-Ludwin, P. Kołodziejczyk (eds.), *Aegyptus est imago caeli. Studies presented to Krzysztof M. Ciałowicz on his 60th birthday* (Kraków, 2014), 129-143.

Hendrickx, S., Eyckerman, M., 'Continuity and Change in the Visual Representations of Predynastic Egypt', in F. Raffaele, M. Nuzzolo, I. Incordino (eds.), *Recent Discoveries and Latest Research in Egyptology. Proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, Naples, June 18th-20th 2008* (Wiesbaden, 2010), 121-143.

Hendrickx, S., Eyckerman, M., 'Visual Representation and State Development in Egypt', *Archéo-Nil*, 22 (2012), 23-72.

Hendrickx, S., Förster, F., "Early Dynastic Art and Iconography", in A.B. Lloyd (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt* (Chichester, 2010), 827-1121.

Hendrickx, S., Riemer, H., Förster, F., Darnell, J.C., 'Late Predynastic/Early Dynastic Rock Art Scenes of Barbary Sheep Hunting from Egypts Western Desert. From Catching Wild Animals to the Women of the Acacia House', in H. Riemer, F. Förster, M. Herb, N. Pöllath (eds.), *Desert Animals in the Eastern Sahara: Status, Economic Significance and Cultural Reflection in Antiquity. Proceedings of an Interdisciplinary ACACIA Workshop held at the University of Cologne December 14-15, 2007* (Köln, 2009), 189-244.

Huyge, D., 'Cosmology, Ideology and Personal Religious Practice in Ancient Egyptian Rock Art', in R.F. Friedman (ed.), *Egypt and Nubia: gifts of the desert* (London, 2002), 192–206.

Huyge, D., 'The Painted Tomb, Rock Art and the Recycling of Predynastic Imagery', *Archéo-Nil* 24 (2014), 93-102.

Iversen, E., *Canon and Proportion in Egyptian Art* (London, 1955).

Kaiser, W., *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin* (Berlin, 1967).

Kanawati, N., *The Tomb and Beyond. Burial Customs of Egyptian Officials* (Warminster, 2001).

Kemp, B., *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilisation* (London, 1989).

Kemp, B., *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilisation* (London, 2006).

Klasens, A., *The Excavations of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities at Abu Roash. Report of the Third Season: 1959. Part II. Cemetery M* (Leiden, 1961).

Klebs, L., 'Die Tiefendiension in der Zeichnung des Alten Reiches', *ZÄS* 52 (1915), 19-34.

Köhler, C., 'History of Ideology? New Reflections on the Narmer Palette and the Nature of Foreign Relations in Predynastic Egypt', in E.C.M. van den Brink, T.E. Levy (eds.), *Egypt and the Levant: Interrelations from the 4th through the Early 3rd Millennium BCE* (London, 2002), 499-513.

Kroeper, K., Wildung, D., *Minshat Abu Omar II. Ein vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Friedhof im Nildelta. Gräber 115-204* (Mainz, 2000).

Kuentz, C., 'La danse des autruches', *BIFAO* 23 (1924), 85-87.

Lepsius, R., 'Über einige aegyptische Kunstformen und ihre Entwickelung', *Abhandlungen der Königl* (Berlin, 1871), 1-26.

Lesur, J., 'Des animaux et des hommes en Égypte au Néolithique et Prédynastique : les apports de l'archéozoologie', *Archéo-Nil* 23 (2013), 33-54.

Linseele, V., Van Neer, W., 'Exploitation of Desert and other Wild Game in Ancient Egypt: The Archaeozoological Evidence from the Nile Valley', in H. Riemer, F. Förster, M. Herb, N. Pöllath (eds.), *Desert Animals in the Eastern Sahara: Status, Economic Significance, and Cultural Reflection in Antiquity* (Köln, 2009), 47-78.

Luiselli, M., 'The Ancient Egyptian Scene of 'Pharaoh Smiting his Enemies': An Attempt to Visualise Cultural Memory?', in M. Bommas (ed.), *Memory Culture in Ancient Societies* 1 (London, 2011), 10-25.

Majer, J., ‘The Eastern Desert and Egyptian Prehistory’, in R.F. Friedman, B. Adams (eds.), *The Followers of Horus. Studies Dedicated to Michael Allen Hoffman* (Oxford, 1992), 227-234.

Malek, J., *Egyptian Art* (London, 1999).

Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York, 1999).

Müller, M., ‘Iconography: Basic Problems of Classification of Scenes’, in S. Curto (ed.), *Il IV congress internazionale di Egittologia a Torino dall 1-8/9/199, vol. II* (Turin, 1993), 337-345.

Müller, M., ‘Egyptology and the Study of Art History’, *BACE* 24 (2013), 59-80.

Murray, M.A., *Saqqara Mastabas I* (London, 1905).

Needler, W., *Predynastic and Archaic Egypt in the Brooklyn Museum* (New York, 1984).

Nowak, E., ‘Egyptian Predynastic Ivories Decorated with Anthropomorphic Motifs’, in S. Hendrickx, R.F. Friedman, K.M, Ciałowicz, M. Chlodnicki (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins. Studies in Memory of Barbara Adams: proceedings of the international conference "Origin of the State, Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt," Krakow, 28 August - 1st September 2002* (Leuven, 2004), 891-904.

Partridge, R., *Transport in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1996).

Patch, D., (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011).

Patch, D., ‘From Land to Landscape’, in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 21-82.

Patch, D., ‘The Human Figure’, in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 97-136.

Patch, D., ‘Early Dynastic Art’, in D. Patch (ed.), *Dawn of Egyptian Art* (New York, 2011), 137-179.

Peck, W.H., ‘The Ordering of the Figure’, in M. Hartwig (ed.) *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art* (Chichester, 2015), 360-374.

Perdu, O., Meffre, R., (eds.), *Le crépuscule des pharaons: chefs d’oeuvre des dernières dynasties égyptiennes: Ouvrage publié à l’occasion de l’exposition au Musée Jacquemart-André du 23 mars au 23 juillet 2012* (Brussels, 2012).

Petrie, W.M.F., *Diospolis Parva. The Cemeteries of Abadiyeh and Hu 1898-9* (London, 1901).

Petrie, W.M.F., *Abydos, Part II, 1903* (London, 1903).

Petrie, W.M.F., *Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1909).

Petrie, W.M.F., *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazguneh* (London, 1912).

Petrie, W.M.F., *Prehistoric Egypt: Illustrated by over 1000 objects in University College, London* (London, 1920).

Petrie, W.M.F., *Corpus of Prehistoric Pottery and Palettes* (London, 1921).

Petrie, W.M.F., *Ceremonial Slate Palettes and Corpus of Protodynastic Pottery* (London, 1953).

Petrie, W.M.F., Quibell, J.E., *Naqada and Ballas* (London, 1896).

Prisse d'Avennes, É., *Monuments égyptiens, bas-reliefs, peintures, inscriptions, etc.* (Paris, 1847).

Prisse d'Avennes, É., *L'Histoire de l'art égyptien, d'après les monuments, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusq'à la domination romaine. Texte par P. Marchand de la Faye d'après les notes de l'auteur* (Paris, 1879).

Quibell, J.E., *Hierakonpolis I* (London, 1900).

Quibell, J.E., *The Tomb of Hesy. Excavations at Saqqara (1911-1912)* (Cairo, 1913).

Quibell, J.E., Green F.W., *Hierakonpolis II* (London, 1901).

Raffaele, F., 'Animal Rows and Ceremonial Procession in Late Predynastic Egypt', in F. Raffaele, M. Nuzzolo, I. Incordino (eds.), *Recent Discoveries and Latest Research in Egyptology. Proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, Naples, June 18th-20th 2008* (Wiesbaden, 2010), 245-285.

Robins, G., *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* (London, 1994).

Robins, G., *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1997).

Robins, G., Shute, C.C.D., 'Mathematical Bases of Ancient Egyptian Architecture and Graphic Art', *Historia Mathematica* 12 (1985), 107-122.

Roche, A., 'Des scenes de danse dans l'iconographie prédynastique? Essai d'identification et d'interprétation à la lumière de la documentation pharaonique', *Archéo-Nil* 24 (2014), 161-189.

Saad, Z.Y., *Royal Excavations at Helwan* (Cairo, 1951).

Saad, Z.Y., *The Excavations at Helwan: Art and Civilisation in the First and Second Egyptian Dynasties* (Norman, 1969).

Schäfer, H., *Von ägyptischer Kunst: besonders der Zeichenkunst* (Leipzig, 1919).

Schäfer, H., *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1974).

Senk, H., 'Von der Beziehung zwischen 'Geradvorstelligkeit' und 'perspctivischen Gehalt'', *ZÄS* 74 (1938), 125-132.

Sethe, K., *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie: übersetzt I* (Leipzig, 1914).

Shaw, I., 'Review of Whitney Davis Masking the Blow", *Antiquity* 67 (1993), 457-458.

Smith, W.S., *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1949).

Smith, W.S., *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven, 1958).

Strudwick, N., Strudwick, H., (eds.), *Old Kingdom, New Perspectives: Egyptian Art and Archaeology 2750-2150 B.C.* (Oxford, 2011).

Swan Hall, E., *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies: A Comparative Study* (Berlin, 1986).

Tefnin, R., *Statues et statuettes de l'ancienne Égypte* (Brussels, 1988).

Tristant, Y., Briois, F., Castel, G., Onézime, O., 'Barques sur Nil… Le mastaba M06 d'Abou Rawach et sa barque funéraire (Ier dynastie, règne de Den): découverte de la plus ancienne embarcation égyptienne actuellement conservée en Égypte', *BIFAO* 214 (2014), 563-588.

Ucko, P.J., *Anthropomorphic figures of Predynastic Egypt and Neolithic Crete with comparative material from the Prehistoric Near East and mainland Greece* (London, 1968).

Van Walsem, R., 'The Interpretation of Iconographic Programmes in Old Kingdom Elite Tombs of the Memphite Area: Methodological and Theoretical (Re)considerations', in C. Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3-9 September 1995* (Leuven, 1998), 1205-1213.

Vandier, J., *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* (Paris, 1952-1978).

Vassilika, E., *Egyptian Art* (New York, 1995).

Wengrow, D., *The Archaeology of Early Egypt: Social Transformations in North-East Africa, 10, 000 to 2650 B.C.* (Cambridge, 2006).

Wilkinson, T.A.H., *Early Dynastic Egypt* (New York, 1999).

Winckelmann, J.J., *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (Dresden, 1764).

Woldering, I., *The Art of the Pharaohs* (Baden-Baden, 1965).