ISTITUTO UNIVERSITARIO ORIENTALE

PAVEL ČERVÍČEK

ROCK PICTURES OF UPPER EGYPT AND NUBIA

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Tip. « Don Bosco » - Via Prenestina, 468 - 00171 Roma - Tel. 25.82.640

To Roswitha, Jan and Ina

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PREFACE

In his classical publications, Hans Alexander Winkler published only about forty percent of the rock art material he collected on the Sir Robert Mond expeditions to Southern Upper Egypt and 'Uwēnât in the late thirties. The author screened all Winkler's material and read the expedition journals with his wife. In this book, the bulk of the unpublished part of the material is presented to the reader. It was necessary to refrain from publishing polychrome rock paintings Winkler recorded in the 'Uwēnât mountains and on other sites in the Libyan desert because the author only had prints of black-and-white expedition photos at his disposal. Furthermore, all rock pictures already published by Winkler have been omitted from the Catalogue and illustrative parts of the present book. For this reason, some of Winkler's sites do not appear in the Catalogue. For the descriptions of these the reader is referred to Winkler's Rock-Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt, I, p. 3 ff. and II, p. 4 ff.

I wish to thank the Egypt Exploration Society in London for their permission to publish Winkler's material and to study the expedition journals as well as for the friendly assistance of their staff. Further I wish to thank the Frobenius Institute at the University of Frankfurt-on-the-Main for their permission to use their prints of Winkler's photos and for their help. I am also very grateful to Professor Jean Leclant who over many years generously helped me in many ways to become informed about latest developments in the research into Egyptian and Nubian rock art and the disciplines relevant to it. My thankful remembrances go back to my parents, the late Professor František Lexa, my teachers the Rev. J. Červinka, Josef Viesner, Jiří Vodvárko, Professor Karel Petráček, the late Dr. Bohumil Soudský, the late Dr. Jiří Neustupný, the late Dr. František Váhala and especially to the late Professor Zbyněk Žába who was the first to promote my rock art studies and to the late Professor Siegfried Morenz who encouraged me to pursue them in spite of difficult circumstances. I am grateful to Professor Albrecht Jockenhövel for help and advice, to Professors Hermann Müller-Karpe and Lanfranco Ricci for encouragement, to Professor Luigi Cagni for his consent to publish my manuscript. William A. Kirby and Dr. Dale J. Osborn kindly read the manuscript and corrected my English; the latter also gave me invaluable zoological advice.

I feel, however, most indebted to my wife Roswitha who had the patience to discuss with me many a problem concerning this book and typed its manuscript.

Unfortunately, for cost reasons only fifty of Winkler's negatives can be published here – they are marked in the Catalogue as Photos 1–50.

Last but not least this publication has been written to render posthumous homage to the German orientalist and rock art specialist Hans Alexander Winkler. The author thanks the Egypt Exploration Society, the University and the municipality of Tübingen for valuable information on Winkler's biography. H. A. Winkler was born at Bremerhaven on 14 February, 1900. The inflation after World War I impoverished his family and Winkler worked in a mine in order to be able to finance his studies. At that time, he adhered to the German Communist Party which he left again after a few months. In 1925, he was graduated from the Tübingen University as one of the best disciples of the German orientalist Enno Littmann and became in 1928 Privatdozent at Tübingen. His thesis Siegel und Charaktere in der muhammedanischen Zauberei was published in 1930, his book Salomo und die Karina in 1931. In 1933, he was dismissed from the Tübingen University and not allowed to assume a professorship at Göttingen. Winkler himself named in a letter to the coptologist Crum three main reasons for this ban: his political past, his marriage with an Armenian wife and the orientation of his research towards the history of religions. The Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft helped him to do ethnographical research in Egypt; Winkler published its results in the standard books Bauern zwischen Wasser und Wüste (1934), Ägyptische Volkskunde (1936) and Die reitenden Geister der Toten (1936). When staying at the Upper Egyptian village of Kimân, Winkler learnt to know rock pictures and later wrote his first book on them, Völker und Völkerbewegungen im vorgeschichtlichen Oberägypten im Lichte neuer Felsbilderfunde (1937). With Sir Robert Mond's help, he undertook his 1936–8 rock art expeditions to the Eastern and Libyan deserts as far west as 'Uwēnât, collected the above mentioned material and wrote his celebrated Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt, I (1938) and II (1939). Hans A. Winkler was killed as German soldier near Thorn (today's Toruń) in northern Poland on 20 January, 1945. He had planned another, more detailed publication on Egyptian rock art in which he probably would have revised some of his previous views, maybe he would have reinterpreted his material under the aspect of his original discipline, history of religions. The present publication is an attempt at such a reinterpretation, the author himself coming from a country where free religious science has been suppressed since 1948.

Darmstadt, Easter 1986

PAVEL ČERVÍČEK

CATALOGUE

Site 2

Qena–Qoṣêr Road. Shelters in the slope of the hill, north of the road. Abu Muṭrag es–Sâlâm. Southern slope of a hill range with sandstone cliffs. Western end of the hill range. Neg. nos. M 10, 11, 13 and 14 in the second shelter from the west; neg. no. M 15 on a vertical side of a boulder on the valley bottom, facing the valley; neg. nos. M 18–20 in a shelter in a bay of the hill range, above a water hole; neg. nos. M 22 and 23 on big boulders on the valley bottom east of the bay [1].

Fig. 1 (Neg. no. M 10)

Horned animal, two saddled (?) animals, two ships.

Pecked engravings, the horned and the top animals partly rubbed and grooved respectively. The patina of the engravings is lighter than that of the rock, that of the ships is lighter than that of the animals.

Fig. 2 (Neg. no. M 11)

Animals, ships and symbols.

Pecked engravings, the symbols partly grooved. The patina of the ships is darker than that of most symbols and animals but lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 3 (Neg. no. M 13)

Antelopes, ibexes, bovid, anthropomorph et al.

Pecked engravings, some in contours, some hammered all over their surface. The patina of the engravings is almost as dark as that of the rock.

Fig. 4 (Neg. no. M 14)

Running antelope.

Grooved engraving with a patina lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 5 (Neg. no. M 15)

Antelopes and greyhounds.

Incised engravings in contours, antelope top left in an unmodelled

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[1] Winkler: 1938, p. 4; *Notebook* II/1, Season 1936–1937 (21 November 1936).

sunk relief[2]. The patina of the engravings is almost identical with that of the rock.

Fig. 6 (*Neg. no. M 18*)

Schematic anthropomorph (?).

Engraving hammered out in coarse dot-like marks. The patina of the engraving is slightly lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 7 (*Neg. no. M 19*), Photo 1

Anthropomorph holding a lassoed (?) bovid, in a superposition with an ibex, et al.

Pecked engravings the patina of which equals to that of the rock. Horns and legs of the ibex and the legs of the lower animal grooved.

Fig. 8 (*Neg. no. M 20*)

Two antelopes.

Both engravings are chalked in, so that neither their patina nor their technique are determinable, but they seem to have been grooved in contours.

Fig. 9 (*Neg. no. M 22*)

Long-horned bovid with three neck pendants and a line issuing from its mouth, in a superposition with a bow. A three-pointed star.

Grooved engravings in V-shaped contours the patina of which corresponds to that of the rock.

Fig. 10 (*Neg. no. M 23*), Photo 2

A pair of sandalprints, the one with a schematic figure (bow-string?) on it.

Incised engravings the patina of which corresponds to that of the rock.

Site 3

Hill range south of the road, opposite Site 2. Neg. no. M 29 on the western side of a shelter in a sandstone rock at the western end of the hill range; neg. no. M 30 on the southern side of this shelter; neg. no. M 32 in a shelter on the slope above the aforementioned shelter[3].

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[2] J. H. Dunbar's Technique 3 (en creux), cf. id.: 1941, p. 19.

[3] Winkler: 1938, p. 4; *Notebook* II/1, Season 1936–1937 (22 november 1936, p.m.).

Fig. 11 (*Neg. nos. M 29, M 29a*)

Gazelle, a hind leg of which seems tied to a stake, approached from behind by a dog; armed man with erected penis.

Pecked engravings, the patina of which is slightly lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 12 (*Neg. no. M 30*)

Elephant, equidae, other animals et al.

The equidae, pecked in thick contours, are superimposed on the schematic elephant in grooved thin contours. The patina of the engravings corresponds to that of the rock.

Fig. 13 (*Neg. no. M 32*), Photo 3

Ibex, followed by a dog and a bowman, shooting an arrow.

The patina of the engravings, which are finely pecked en creux all over their surfaces, is as dark as that of the rock.

Site 4

Cliffs south of the road, south-west opposite Site 2, beginning with neg. no. M 33 at the western end of the hill range [4].

Fig. 14 (*Neg. nos. M 34, M 34a*)

Antelope, galloping.

Grooved engraving, the patina of which is lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 15 (*Neg. no. M 35*)

Ship with two small superstructures on the stem and the stern respectively, a big one amidst and a big rudder hinged on a vertical support.

Finely pecked engraving, the patina of which is much lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 16 (*Neg. no. M 37*)

Ship with a curved, decorated stem and a vertical stern, equipped with a big rudder, carrying a headless, schematic anthropomorph with hyperthrophied fingers on deck.

Pecked engraving, the anthropomorph is grooved but its patina corresponds to that of the ship which is much lighter than that of the rock.

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[4] *Ibid.*

Fig. 17 (*Neg. no. M 38*)

Antelope, dog, giraffe, schematic signs.

Pecked engravings; the patina of the animals is only slightly lighter than that of the rock, that of the signs is very light, almost white.

Fig. 18 (*Neg. no. M 40*)

Long-horned cattle, bowman, schematic male anthropomorph, schematic signs.

Pecked engravings, the signs partly grooved. The patina of the bovids and anthropomorph is lighter than that of the rock, that of the signs much lighter, approaching white.

Site 5

Mouth of Wâdi abu Kuê'. On the western side of a recess in the cliff range, opposite Site 4, walls with good afternoon shadow [5].

Fig. 19 (*Neg. no. M 44*)

Meroitic offering tables, ankh and other symbols.

Grooved engravings on a vertical wall the patina of which is much lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 20 (*Neg. no. M 45*)

Ancient Egyptian inscription within a square frame, long-horned bovid, hind part of another bovid (?).

Pecked engravings, the Egyptian inscription partially grooved.

The patina of the bovid representations is lighter than that of the inscription.

Fig. 21 (*Neg. no. M 47*), Photo 4

Sailing ship with eight rudders, a helm, one superstructure on its prow and stern respectively, carrying a man aboard who stands beside the mast and holds on to it with one hand.

Pecked engraving the light patina of which contrasts with the darkly patinated rock.

Fig. 22 (*Neg. no. M 48 bottom*)

Manned ships with high prows and sterns [6]; caprids or ovines; symbols.

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[5] *Ibid.*

[6] The bark at the top has been published by Winkler: 1938, pl. XXXIV/23.

Pecked engravings; the patina of the engravings is lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 23 (Neg. no. M 50)

Manned ship with high prow and stern, towed by an anthropomorph. Pecked engraving, less darkly patinated than the rock.

Site 6

Cliff range with rockshelters, stretching approximately 0,8 km along the south side of the Qena Qoşêr Road, called Abu Kuê'.

The rock engravings neg. nos. M 58 and 60 are situated at the beginning of the Wâdi Abu Kuê', in an overhanging shelter. The place was a favourite resting place of travellers going to the quarries or the coast [7].

Fig. 24 (Neg. no. M 58)

Long-horned bovids, ships. There are more weathered animal representations on the same rock.

Pecked engravings in contours; the patina of the bovids is lighter than that of the rock, the sailing ship was photographed chalked-in; the ship left is superimposed on the bovid.

Fig. 25 (Neg. no. M 60)

Mammal and animal footprints.

Engravings crudely pecked all over their surface; their patina is slightly lighter than that of the rock.

Site 7

Hill range about 3 km upstream to the north in the Wâdi Abu Kuê'.

Boulders and overhanging shelters on the western side of the Wâdi [8].

Fig. 26 (Neg. no. M 64)

Ibexes with hypertrophic and normal-sized horns, other horned animals.

Pecked engravings the patina of which almost corresponds to that of the rock.

Fig. 27 (Neg. no. M 65)

Man sitting in a chair in front of which there is an offering table with vessels on it. There is a short-horned bovid with a calf below the

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[7] Winkler: 1938, pp. 4–5; *Notebook* II/1, 1936–1937.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 5 (27 November 1936).

chair and the whole scene is enframed. A schematic camel–rider carrying a long spear is superimposed on the bottom line of the frame.

The Egyptianized engravings finely pecked, the camel–rider is executed in a technique combining grooving and coarse pecking. The patina of all engravings is much lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 28 (Neg. no. M 66)

Anthropomorph with arms raised in the "cow dance" gesture.

Pecked engraving, its patina is lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 29 (Neg. no. M 67)

Two anthropomorphs with arms raised in the "cow dance" gesture.

Grooved engravings, heavily weathered, the patina of which is as dark as that of the rock.

Fig. 30 (Neg. no. M 68)

Anthropomorph with raised arms, a horned zoomorph.

Engravings crudely pecked all over their surfaces; their patina is almost as dark as that of the rock.

Site 8

Qena–Qoṣêr Road. Neg. no. M 71 is situated on a vertical rock at the beginning of a hill range on the northern side of the road, west of an ancient hydreuma called ukâle Abu Kuê' (Site 8 A), neg. no. M 75 on the slope of a hill north–west of Site 8 A, on the western side of the same wadi (Site 8 B)[9].

Fig. 31 (Neg. no. M 71)

Anthropomorph shooting with a bow, two wild asses.

Engravings finely pecked all over their surface.

Fig. 32 (Neg. no. M 75)

Anthropomorph with raised arms.

Engraving pecked all over its surface; its patina is almost as dark as that of the rock.

Site 10

Qena–Qoṣêr Road, low line of cliffs north–east of the road, leading to a hill called Qêf el–'Igûl. Good afternoon shadow, still a favourite

[9] *Ibid.* (28 November 1936). *Ukâle*, pl. *ukalât*, indicates ancient Roman hydreumata and castella, cf. Schweinfurth: 1922, p. 235 ff.; Winkler: 1936, p. 75.

resting place. The rock pictures neg. nos. M 77–81 begin at the road side of the cliff line [10].

Fig. 33 (*Neg. no. M 77*), Photo 5

Ship with a raised prow; superimposed on it an Old Egyptian and an Egyptian inscription.

Pecked engravings; the ship in contours, the Egyptian all over his surface. The patina of the ship is almost as dark as that of the rock, the patina of the Egyptian inscription and the human figure is a little lighter.

Site 12

Wâdi 'Aṭwani. This wadi consists of two main branches, the longer one leading straight from north to south, the shorter coming from the north–east. Joined, they run south–west and reach the Qena–Qoṣêr Road. Site 12 is at the beginning of the north–east branch near the junction, on boulders scattered around an abri on the hill–slope. On horizontal faces of the rocks in the vicinity there are artificial hammered–out polished cups and rills [11].

Fig. 34 (*Neg. no. M 83*)

Ships.

Pecked engravings in contours, the patina of which corresponds to that of the rock.

Fig. 35 (*Neg. no. M 84*)

Male anthropomorph, ibex.

Engravings pecked all over their surface, the patina of which is as dark as that of the rock.

Fig. 36 (*Neg. no. M 85*)

Antelopes, dogs.

Engravings pecked all over their surface; the legs, the horns and a part of the contours of the antelopes were apparently grooved before the pecking. The patina of the engravings corresponds to that of the rock.

Fig. 37 (*Neg. no. M 86*)

Camel rider, riding on the wrist of the camel and brandishing an axe.

Engraving pecked all over its surface; the patina of the engraving is lighter than that of the rock.

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[10] *Ibid.* (29 November 1936).

[11] *Ibid.*

Site 13

North–east branch of Wâdi 'Aṭwani, on the northern side of the wadi where the latter turns east, near Site 12. West of the hills there is a 1–1,5 m high gravel bank in front of some disturbed tombs. On this bank Winkler found flint implements, an arrowhead et al. Neg. nos. M 87–91 are situated in a shelter 80 steps east of the gravel bank, with shadow all day [12].

Fig. 38 (Neg. no. M 87)

Antelopes, ibex, ships et al.

Engravings pecked all over their surface, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 39 (Neg. no. M 88)

Ostriches, dog.

Engravings pecked all over their surface, patinated somewhat darker than the rock.

Fig. 40 (Neg. no. 89)

Elephants, ass, bird's head.

Engravings finely pecked all over their surface, patinated darker than the surrounding rock.

Fig. 41 (Neg. no. M 91)

Footprints.

Those top right and the second one from the bottom left grooved, the first one from the bottom left executed in a technique combining grooving and hammering. The patina of the engravings corresponds to that of the rock.

Site 14

Approx. 2 kms from Site 13 upstream in the very sinuous wadi.

On boulders at the bottom of the wadi, on the way to Site 13 [13].

Fig. 42 (Neg. no. M 94)

Ibexes et al.

Engravings pecked crudely in contours (right) or all over their surface (left). The patina of the engravings is almost as dark as that of the rock.

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[12] *Ibid.*

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 5–6.

Fig. 43 (*Neg. no. M 96*)

Stylized bird.

Engraving pecked crudely, patina: as dark as the rock.

Site 15

Situated in the same wadi as the foregoing site on its right side as viewed from Site 14 which is nearby. Walls of rock facing north [14].

Fig. 44 (*Neg. no. M 97*)

Anthropomorph shooting with the so-called Nubian bow at an antelope.

Engravings, partly grooved, partly packed, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 45 (*Neg. no. M 99*)

Two male anthropomorphs, ibex.

Pecked engravings, the patina of the anthropomorphs is as dark as that of the rock, the patina of the ibex is slightly lighter.

Fig. 46 (*Neg. no. M 100*)

Two manned ships.

Grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 47 (*Neg. no. M 101*)

Two bowmen and three bovids.

Pecked engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 48 (*Neg. no. M 102*)

Camel-rider carrying a long spear, camel, symbol.

Engravings grooved in V-shaped lines, patinated much more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 49 (*Neg. no. M 104*)

Manned ship with a big anthropomorph amidships, overtopping considerably the other crew. Bovid.

Pecked engravings, the patina of the bovid is as dark as that of the rock, that of the ship is lighter.

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[14] *Ibid.*, p. 6; *Notebook* II/2, 1936–1937 (9 December 1936).

Fig. 50 (Neg. no. M 105a)

Two bowmen, elephant, ship [15].

Pecked engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 51 (Neg. no. M 106)

Animal.

Grooved engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock, with remains of an incrustation with a light-coloures paste.

Site 16

Situated on boulders and on rock faces in the same wadi as Site 15, about 2 kms upstream on the right side of the valley [16].

Fig. 52 (Neg. no. M 107)

Male anthropomorph holding a long-horned bovid by its tail.

Pecked engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 53 (Neg. no. M 108)

Horse-riders, one of them superimposed on an elephant.

Pecked engravings; the patina of the elephant is slightly lighter than that of the rock, that of the horse-riders is much lighter.

Fig. 54 (Neg. no. M 109)

Sandalprints.

The left engraving pecked, the right one grooved; the patina of both is equally lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 55 (Neg. no. M 110)

A headless (?) anthropomorph et al.

Pecked engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 56 (Neg. no. M 111)

Dancing anthropomorphs et al.

Pecked engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 57 (Neg. no. M 113)

Dancing anthropomorphs et al.

Pecked engravings, the patina of which is slightly lighter than that of the rock.

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[15] The bark has been already published by Winkler: 1938, pl. XL/93.

[16] Winkler: 1938, p. 6; *Notebook* II/2, 1936–1937 (11 December 1936).

Fig. 58 Neg. no. M 114)

Two male anthropomorphs, each armed with shield and sword, fighting against each other; a big anthropomorph with raised arms (orant).

Pecked engravings, the patina of which is much lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 59 (*Neg. no. M 115*)

Pecked engraving, the patina of which is considerably lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 60 (*Neg. no. M 116*)

Antelopes.

Pecked engravings, the patina of the left animal slightly, that of the right animal considerably lighter than that of the the rock.

Fig. 61 (*Neg. no. M 118*)

Anthropomorph.

Pecked engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 62 (*Neg. no. M 110*)

Curved line (a snake?).

Crudely pecked engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 63 (*Neg. no. M 120*)

Camel with an anthropomorph on its hump, led by another anthropomorph.

Engravings in a technique combining grooving and pecking, patinated much more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 64 (*Neg. no. M 121*)

Elephant, ship.

Pecked engraving; the patina of the ship slightly, that of the elephant considerably lighter than that of the rock.

Site 17

The same wadi as Site 16, about 3 kms upstream from the latter site, on the left side of the wadi, walls of rock facing south-east, not easily accessible, approx. at the middle height of the slope [17].

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[17] *Ibid.* (13 December 1936).

Fig. 65 (*Neg. no. M 124*)

Ibexes.

Pecked engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 66 (*Neg. no. M 125*)

Elephant.

Pecked engraving; the legs of the animal are grooved and pecked; the patina of the engraving corresponds to that of the rock.

Fig. 67 (*Neg. no. M 127*)

Two crocodiles, bird (ostrich?).

Pecked engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 68 (*Neg. no. M 128*)

Anthropomorph, sun-like symbol et al.

Grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the inscribed boulder.

Fig. 69 (*Neg. no. M 129*)

Protruding rock with polished cups, lines of strokes et al.

Grooved and polished as well as pecked engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock except the cups the patina of which is much lighter.

Fig. 70 (*Neg. no. M 130*), Photo 6

Curves.

Pecked engravings, patinated not so darkly as the rock.

iFg. 71 (*Neg. no. M 131*)

Abstract figures.

Grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 72 (*Neg. no. M 132*)

Ship, strokes.

Pecked engravings, the ship pecked, the strokes grooved in a V-shapde profile. The patina of the ship is as dark as that of the rock, that of the strokes is lighter.

Site 18

Wâdi Gash, half-way between the wells of Lagêta and the Bîr Gash, a rock shelter at the mouth of one of the wadis coming from the north. The site is very rich in rock engravings and their palimpsests [18].

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[18] *Ibid.* (20 December 1936).

Fig. 73 (*Neg. no. M 138*)

Ships.

The ships above pecked, the lower ship grooved; the patina of all engravings corresponds to that of the rock.

Fig. 74 (*Neg. no. M 139*), Photo 7

Anthropomorph, antelope et al.

The anthropomorph partly grooved and partly pecked (head), the antelope only pecked in crude contours.

Fig. 75 (*Neg. no. M 148a*)

Two anthropomorphs performing the coitus.

Grooved and pecked engravings the patina of which is as dark as that of the rock.

Fig. 76 (*Neg. no. M 149a*)

Ship.

Engraving executed in the "sunk relief" technique, patinated almost as darkly as the surrounding rock.

Fig. 77 (*Neg. no. M 149b*)

Ships, anthropomorph, bovid, ovine.

Engravings grooved (right) and pecked (left), patinated almost as darkly as the rock (right) or more lightly (left). The ship right bottom has already been published [19].

Fig. 78 (*Neg. no. M 153*), Photo 8

Fish, anchor.

Grooved engravings, the anchor more deeply than the fish. The patina of the engravings is as dark as the rock.

Fig. 79 (*Neg. no. M 155a*)

Anthropomorphs.

The two big anthropomorphs partly grooved, partly pecked; the small one only pecked. The patina of the engravings corresponds to that of the rock.

Fig. 80 (*Neg. no. M 158*)

Ship; anthropomorph leading a camel.

Pecked engravings the patina of which is lighter than that of the rock.

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[19] Winkler: 1938, pl. XXXV/26.

Fig. 81 (*Neg. no. M 160*), Photo 9

Ships; bovid superimposed on the two ships left; symbols.

Pecked engravings; ship top left grooved. The patina of the ships is almost as dark as that of the rock, that of the bovid a little lighter, that of the symbols is the lightest.

Fig. 82 (*Neg. no. M 162*), Photo 10

Sailing ship.

Pecked engraving, patinated more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 83 (*Neg. no. M 163*)

Swastika, anthropomorph, composite zoomorph.

The composite zoomorph is pecked and patinated almost as darkly as the rock. The swastika and the anthropomorph are grooved and patinated more lightly.

Fig. 84 (*Neg. no. M 164*), Photo 11

Sailing ship, camels, hind part of a bovid.

Pecked engravings; the ship, the bovine hind part and the camel bottom right are patinated more lightly than the rock, the camel top right much more lightly.

Fig. 85 (*Neg. no. M 165*)

Bovid with symbol beneath it, anthropomorph armed with an axe and a spear; the bovid superimposed on a sailing ship; symbols.

The bovid with its symbol and the anthropomorph are executed in grooved contours with polished inner surfaces, the other engravings in pecked contours. The patina of the grooved and polished engravings is darker than that of the other ones though lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 86 (*Neg. no. M 166*)

Bowman, zoomorph.

Pecked engravings the patina of which is slightly lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 87 (*Neg. no. M 167*)

Bovid, zoomorph, Greek inscriptions, strokes.

Bovid top right executed en creux with the exception of its udder, the stroke top left pecked, zoomorph bottom right pecked in contours, inscriptions and strokes bottom left grooved.

The patina of the bovid, the inscriptions and the strokes is much

lighter than that of the rock, that of the zoomorph and of the stroke top left a little darker.

Fig. 88 (*Neg. no. M 168*)

Antelopes, ostriches, hippopotamus, anthropomorphs, camel, ibex, symbol, ship [20].

Pecked engravings; the hippopotamus is superimposed on the big ibex. Three degrees of patina: the camel, the ibex, the symbol and the anthropomorph at the bottom are much lighter than the rock; the hippopotamus, the anthropomorph beneath it and the ship are patinated a little more darkly; the remaining engravings are still darker, yet lighter than the rock.

Fig. 89 (*Neg. no. M 171*)

Bovids, gazelles, ankh–sign.

Pecked engravings; the patina of the bovids and gazelles is almost as dark as that of the rock, that of the ankh–sign is lighter.

Fig. 90 (*Neg. no. M 173*)

Three bovids: a humped bovid top is held at its hind leg by a small anthropomorph; a long–horned bull centre is held by a male anthropomorph by means of a cord at its horns; the longhorned bovid bottom seems tied up at its horns with a cord ending in an ovaloid object and at its tail with a cord bound to a peg, facing this bovid there is an unidentified animal, a stream of blood (?) is gushing from the bovid's neck.

The bovid top and the unidentified animal are pecked crudely, the remaining engravings finely – all have a patina almost as dark as that of the rock.

Fig. 91 (*Neg. no. M 174*)

Animals; Horus–name, probably that of Narmer [21].

Engravings, animals pecked all over their surface, the patina of the Horus–name is much darker than that of the animals and corresponds to that of the rock.

Fig. 92 (*Neg. no. M 175*), Photo 12

Ship, anthropomorphs, axes.

Pecked engravings, the patina of the engravings is as dark as that of the surrounding rock.

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[20] Already published by Winkler, *op. cit.*, pl. XLI/99.

[21] Similar Horus–names, probably of the same king, see *ibid.*, pl. XI/1; Porter–Moss, 1962, p. 327.

Fig. 93 (Neg. no. M 177)

Anthropomorph (orans).

Grooved engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 94 (Neg. no. M 178), Photo 13

Footprints.

Deeply grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 95 (Neg. no. M 180)

Ship, anthropomorphs; part of a symbol.

Finely pecked engravings, patinated more lightly than the rock; the part of a symbol grooved in broad untidy lines almost without patina.

Fig. 96 (Neg. no. M 180 bis)

Antelope.

Pecked engraving, patinated as darkly as the surrounding rock.

Site 18 a

Rocks on the western side of the Wâdi Hilâni, south–east of el–Buwêb. Good shelters [22].

Fig. 97 (Neg. no. M 198)

Ibex, unidentified animal, strokes. Juxtaposed to a sailing ship [23].

Pecked engravings in contours, patinated as darkly as the rock surface (the animals and the ship), the strokes grooved and patinated more lightly.

Fig. 98 (Neg. no. M 199)

Ibex, superimposed on the Egyptian god Min, on a palimpsests wall where there are various engravings and a Coptic inscription juxtaposed to Min.

Grooved engravings, Min in contours, the ibex in the sunken relief technique. The patina of both engravings is lighter than that of the rock; that of the ibex is lighter than that of Min.

2 km up the wadi, north–west of site 18. On the left, southern side of the wadi, on cliffs [24].

Fig. 99 (Neg. no. M 181)

Orant, scorpion.

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[22] Winkler, 1938, p. 6; *Notebook* II/2, 1936–1937 (29 March 1937).

[23] *Ibid.*, pl. XXXIV/15.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 6; *Notebook* II/2, 1936–1937 (25 December 1936).

Engravings, juxtaposed to further engraved representations, mostly of animals, on a boulder. The technique: combined pecking and grooving. The patina of the engravings is much lighter than that of the boulder surface.

Fig. 100 (*Neg. no. M 182*)

Ship; two anthropomorphs, each armed with a shield and a sword.

Engravings pecked all over their surface; the patina of the engravings is lighter than that of the rock surface.

Site 20

10 kms east of site 18 in the Wâdi Gash. Drawings here and there on both sides of the wadi [25].

Fig. 101 (*Neg. no. M 184*)

Ship, zoomorphs, anthropomorphs, symbols.

Palimpsest engravings; according to the patination grade, at least two horizons can be distinguished: the lower one, with a patina lighter than that of the rock, corresponds to the anthropomorph holding the long stick top left, on which an ibex with a still lighter patina is superimposed; the latter represents the upper horizon which only a few engravings belong to (the camel top centre, the symbol right of it, the 2 symbols right of the ship and the antelope-like animal below them).

Fig. 102 (*Neg. no. M 185*)

Male anthropomorph holding a bow and an arrow.

Pecked engravings, patinated more lightly than the surrounding rock.

Site 21 a

2,5 km east of site 20 in the Wâdi Gash, in a cave-like shelter, on the eastern side of the latter [26].

Fig. 103 (*Neg. no. M 190*)

Zoomorphs, symbols.

Grooved and pecked engravings the patina of which is lighter than that of the rock.

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[25] *Ibid.* (26 December 1936).

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 6–7; *Notebook* II/2, 1936–1937 (27 December 1936).

Site 21 b

On long, rather oblique boulders amidst the wadi north of the cave-like shelter [27].

Fig. 104 (Neg. no. M 193)

Ships, horse rider, symbols.

Pecked engravings; according to the patina differences and superimpositions two horizons can be distinguished: the lower horizon consists of the three ships [28], patinated as darkly as the rock; the upper one, consisting of the horse rider, the symbols and the additions to the above ship, is patinated much more lightly.

Site 22

Wâdi Zeidûn. 3 km east of the ukâle, south side of the valley, near the east side of the junction with the Rôḍ el-Maghalat. On the south-east side of a chain of cliffs [29].

Fig. 105 (Neg. no. M 194)

Cow, calf, anthropomorph.

Pecked engravins, patinated more lightly than the rock.

Site 23

Wâdi Zeidûn. West of site 22, south side of the wadi. On an overhanging rock south-west of the Ukule Hillal [30].

Fig. 106 (Neg. no. M 201)

Antelope, anthropomorph carrying a bow.

Pecked engravings, patinated a little lighter than the rock.

Fig. 107 (Neg. no. M 202)

Birds, zoomorph.

Pecked engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

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27 *Ibid.*, p. 6 (29 December 1936).

28 The two big barks have been already published by Winkler, 1938, pls. I, XXXVIII/60 and XL/81.

29 Winkler, 1938, p. 7; *Notebook* II/2, 1936–1937 (30 December 1936).

30 *Ibid.* (8 January 1937).

Fig. 108 (*Neg. no. M 203*), Photo 14

Long-horned cow, calf, anthropomorph holding a stick.

Pecked engravings; the uniform style and technique of the three figures suggest that they form one scene though their patination is unequal.

Site 24 H

Wâdi Menîḥ. Near a permanent well, the Bîr Menîḥ, where the wadi widens. The place is rich in vegetation, here and there good shelters are formed by piled boulders [31].

Fig. 109 (*Neg. no. M 289*)

Ships, ladder-like figure, anthropomorphs and zoomorphs.

Palimpsest engravings. The lower horizon, consisting of pecked ships and the ladder-like figure is patinated as darkly ad the rock; the upper horizon, consisting of grooved anthropomorphs and zoomorphs, shows much lighter patina.

Fig. 110 (*Neg. no. M 290*)

Orant, birds, footprint.

Pecked engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 111 (*Neg. no. M 291*)

Wavy lines et al.

Pecked engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 112 (*Neg. no. M 292*)

Anthropomorph.

Pecked engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 113 (*Neg. no. M 293*)

Stylized anchor.

Pecked engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 114 (*Neg. no. M 294*)

Bovid, unidentified objects [32].

Pecked engravings, the patina of which is slightly lighter than that of the rock.

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[31] *Ibid.*

[32] Cf. Winkler, 1937, fig. 57 (in this illustration, the figure top right is hardly discernible).

Fig. 115 (*Neg. no. M 297*)

Anthropomorphs, bovids, strokes et al.

Pecked engravings the patina of which is much lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 116 (*Neg. no. M 298*)

Camels, armed male anthropomorphs.

Engravings pecked in contours, patinated much more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 117 (*Neg. no. M 303*)

Anthropomorphs, giraffe, camel rider, symbols. Right end of a large inscribed rock wall [33].

Pecked engravings the patina of which is much lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 118 (*Neg. no. M 304*)

Bovids, ibexes, camel, bucranium, antelopes, dogs, ships, strokes.

Pecked engravings. The patina of the ships, ibexes, bucranium and dogs is lighter than that of the rock; the patina of the bovids, camel, strokes and antelopes is lighter than that of the former engravings.

Fig. 119 (*Neg. no. M 305*), Photo 15

Bucrania.

Pecked engravings the patina of which is slightly lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 120 (*Neg. nos. M 307, 307a*)

Saddled bovid.

Rather crudely pecked engraving the patina of which is little lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 121 (*Neg. nos. M 308 ter + a*)

Anthropomorphs; two figures are copulating, a third one is partly broken off, a fourth one is apparently unfinished.

Engravings finely pecked all over their surface and executed in the sunken relief technique, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Site 25

Wâdi Agabawîye, eastern side, opposite the mouth of Wâdi Meneihi. Islet of sandstone on igneous rock. Rock faces and shelters near a well

[33] See *ibid.*, figs. 42–46; Winkler, 1938, pl. XXXIV/24.

beside which Winkler found coarse red sherds, painted in yellow, which he considered for the most part Roman [34].

Fig. 122 (Neg. no. M 204)

Ibexes, anthropomorph carrying a bow, dogs.

Crudely pecked engravings, the patina of which is lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 123 (Neg. no. M 205)

Male anthropomorph carrying a bow. Other two anthropomorphs armed with bows, heavily weathered, to the left.

Crudely pecked engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 124 (Neg. no. M 206)

Bovid, rings.

Crudely pecked engravings, patinated more lightly than the rock.

Site 25 b

Islet of sandstone south of site 25 [35].

Fig. 125 (Neg. no. M 311a)

Anthropomorph carrying an axe.

Pecked engraving, patinated slightly more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 126 (Neg. no. M 312)

Male anthropomorph.

Pecked engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Site 26

Wâdi Abu Wâṣil. There have been 11 sub-sites explored by Winkler on this site: sub-site A at the entrance to the wadi, on its northern side, on two sandstone boulders engraved with rock pictures and wusûm (M 211–213 A); sub-site B on sandstone rock faces and boulders east of sub-site A (M 214); sub-site C west of sub-site A (M 215, 216); sub-site D about 180 m further on the valley side, in a recess of the sandstone rock (M 217–223); sub-site E in the next recess on the valley side, approx. 120 m further (M 224, 225); sub-site F in the next recess on the valley side forming a small longish valley, about 300 m further (M 226–227); sub-site G in the last recess on this side of the valley near its end (M 228–30);

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[34] Winkler, 1938, pp. 7–8; *Notebook* II/2, 1936–1937 (9 January 1937).

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

sub-site H on the northern side of the valley opposite to sub-site G (M 231–231 A); sub-site I in a recess of the valley (M 232–234), sub-site K east of the recess (M 235–243); sub-site L in a big recess opposite sub-site A on rock walls on the valley side (M 244–254 A) [36].

Fig. 127 (Neg. no. M 211)

Ostriches, dogs, symbol, anthropomorph carrying a bow.

Pecked engravings showing at least two patina horizons: the big ostrich bottom right and the symbols bottom centre are very much lighter than the rock and much lighter than the remaining engravings which are a little lighter than the rock.

Fig. 128 (Neg. no. M 212)

Below fig. 127 on the same rock wall.

Anthropomorphs, one of them carrying a bow, birds, dogs, ibex.

Pecked engravings, patinated slightly more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 129 (Neg. no. M 216)

Anthropomorphs pulling at a rope; fragment, probably of a rock picture representing anthropomorphs towing a ship, the central part of which peeled off.

Pecked engravings, patinated a little more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 130 (Neg. no. M 217)

Antelopes, ibex, anthropomorph, dog.

Grooved and pecked engravings, heavily weathered, the patina of which is lighter than the rock.

Fig. 131 (Neg. no. M 218)

Antelopes, birds, anthropomorph carrying a bow, hippopotamuses.

Pecked engravings the patina of which is lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 132 (Neg. no. M 221)

Two bovids.

Partly grooved, partly pecked engravings the patina of which corresponds to that of the rock.

Fig. 133 (Neg. no. M 223)

Three bovids, anthropomorph carrying a bow.

Pecked engravings, partly weathered, the patina of which is much lighter than that of the rock.

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[36] *Ibid.* (10 January 1937).

Fig. 134 (*Neg. no. M 224*), Photo 16

Bucrania, semicircles et al.

Pecked engravings the patina of which is lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 135 (*Neg. no. M 225*)

Schematic figure, bovid. On the latter, double semicircles are superimposed.

Pecked engravings the patina of which is lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 136 (*Neg. no. M 226*)

Bovids, caprine zoomorphs, anthropomorph.

Pecked engravings. The depth of the pecked lines of the individual representation varies (with the big bovid it is deepest) but their patina is rather uniform and much lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 137 (*Neg. no. M 227*), Photo 17

Horsemen brandishing swords, horse, running anthropomorph et al.

Pecked engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 138 (*Neg. no. M 229*), Photo 18

Camels, camel riders, horsemen, anthropomorphs, symbols.

Pecked engravings the patina of which is much lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 139 (*Neg. no. M 232*)

Ships – both beside the horns of the long-horn bovid centre already published [36]; long-horned bovids, ibexes, anthropomorph et al.

Pecked engravings the patina of which is lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 140 (*Neg. no. M 233*)

Ibex, dog, unidentified figure.

Pecked engravings, intentionally damaged (figure centre and the hind part of the ibex), most probably a long time ago (the patina of the engravings and of the damage scars is approximately the same and much lighter than that of the rock).

Fig. 141 (*Neg. no. M 234*)

Antelope with double horns.

Pecked engraving patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 142 (*Neg. no. M 238*), Photo 19

Ship, ostrich, dog, bovids; the big bovid is superimposed on the ship and the ostrich.

Pecked engravings; the patina of the lower horizon engravings is lighter than that of the rock but darker than that of the big bovid.

Fig. 143 (*Neg. no. M 239*)

Ship; two anthropomorphs, one of them carrying a bow.

Pecked engravings patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 144 (*Neg. no. M 243*)

Bovids, anthropomorphs, ibex.

Pecked engravings, heavily weathered, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 145 (*Neg. no. M 244*)

Zoomorph.

Pecked engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 146 (*Neg. no. M 246*)

Ship.

Pecked engraving, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 147 (*Neg. no. M 247*)

Anthropomorph, bovid et al.

Pecked engravings; the patina of the anthropomorph and of the figures right slightly lighter than that of the rock; that of the remaining figures left still a little lighter.

Fig. 148 (*Neg. no. M 249*)

Anthropomorphs, dog, caprine animal, ship et al.

Pecked engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 149 (*Neg. no. M 250*)

Anthropomorphs.

Pecked engravings, patinated slightly lighter than the rock.

Fig. 150 (*Neg. no. M 251*)

Anthropomorphs, zoomorphs, ship.

Pecked engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock; the patina of the ship is as dark as that of the rock.

Fig. 151 (*Neg. no. M 252*)

Ships, circles et al. Beside fig. 152, on the same rock.

Pecked engravings, patinated more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 152 (*Neg. no. M 253*)

Circles, semicircles et al. Beside fig. 151 on the same rock.
Pecked engravings, patinated more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 153 (*Neg. no. M 254*), Photo 20

Unidentified object.
Pecked engraving, patinated a little more lightly than the rock.

Site 27

Wâdi Abu Wâṣil. 2 kms upstream of site 26, after a bend running from south to north, shelters and boulders on the western side of the wadi [37].

Fig. 154 (*Neg. no. M 314*)

Bovid.
Pecked engraving, the patina of which is lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 155 (*Neg. no. M 316*)

Symbols superimposed on a ship, bovid.
Partly grooved, partly pecked engravings; the patina of the symbols except that bottom centre is much lighter than that of the ship and the bovid, which is identical with that of the rock.

Fig. 156 (*Neg. no. M 318*), Photo 21

Long–horned bovid, combined with a sign of the cross.
Grooved engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 157 (*Neg. no. M. 258*)

Bird.
Crudely pecked engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 158 (*Neg. no. M 261*)

Footprint.
Pecked engraving, patinated slightly more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 159 (*Neg. no. M 262*)

Ship.
Pecked engraving, partly weathered, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 160 (*Neg. no. M 263*), Photo 22

Footprints et al., cup–shaped depressions.

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[37] *Ibid.* (17 January and 30 March 1937).

The footprints et al. are pecked engravings, the six bigger cups in the middle are hollowed out by a grinding motion, the other cups by hammering. The patina of the footprints et al. corresponds to that of the rock, that of the cups is lighter.

Fig. 161 (*Neg. no. M 264*)

Birds, ibex, dog, symbol, stroke.

Pecked engravings; the patina of the birds, the ibex and the dog is lighter than that of the rock but darker than that of the symbol and the stroke.

Fig. 162 (*Neg. no. M 265*)

Ships.

Pecked engravings patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 163 (*Neg. no. M 267*)

Anthropomorph holding a bovid with a lasso.

Crudely pecked engraving patinated much more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 164 (*Neg. no. M 268*)

Stylized elephant.

Pecked engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Site 28

Wâdi Abu Wâşil, south of site 27, about 3 kms upstream. Sandstone shelters and boulders on the western side of the wadi [38].

Fig. 165 (*Neg. no. M 274*)

Footprint, heavily weathered.

Grooved engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 166 (*Neg. no. M 275*), Photo 23

Sandal.

Grooved and pecked engraving, the patina of which is much lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 167 (*Neg. no. M 276*)

Zoomorph.

Pecked engraving, patinated much more lightly than the rock.

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[38] *Ibid.* (16 January 1937).

Fig. 168 (*Neg. no. M 277*)

Long-horned bovid.

Crudely pecked engraving, patinated much more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 169 (*Neg. no. M 279a*), Photo 24

Serpent-like figure.

Crudely pecked engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 170 (*Neg. no. M 280*)

Ship et al.

Pecked engraving, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 171 (*Neg. no. M 284*)

Serpent-like figure.

Pecked engraving, patinated more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 172 (*Neg. no. M 285*)

Egyptian inscription, donkey rider, giraffes et al.

The giraffe centre is superimposed on the inscription; pecked engravings; the patina of the inscription is slightly lighted engravings; the patina of the inscription is slightly lighter than that of the rock but darker than that of the figures.

Fig. 173 (*Neg. no. M 286*)

Bovids.

Pecked engravings the patina of which is slightly lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 174 (*Neg. no. M 287*), Photo 25

Unidentified object.

Pecked engraving, the patina of which is lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 175 (*Neg. no. 1936-37/28*)

Dish-like depressions.

Hollowed-out engravings, the patina of which is lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 176 (*Neg. no. 1936-37/28 Dish-like excavation*)

Dish-like depression and oval-shaped depression.

Hollowed-out engravings, the patina of which is lighter than that of the rock.

Site 29

Western Desert. Near Armant. Top of deep incised wadi in the slope of the limestone plateau. Sandstone plates, the even places of which are inscribed with inscriptions, partly painted in red colour and covered with drawings. Ancient Coptic monastery. Ruins of buildings, potsherds, broken glass, remains of columns [39].

Fig. 177 (Neg. nos. M 331, M 331a)

Giraffes, symbol.

The symbol is superimposed on the giraffes. Incised engravings; the patina of the giraffes corresponds to that of the rock, that of the symbol is much lighter.

Fig. 178 (Neg. no. M 333), Photo 26

Ankh-symbol.

Incised engraving, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 179 (Neg. no. M 335)

Cross.

Incised engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 180 (Neg. no. M 336)

Cross.

Incised engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 181 (Neg. no. M 337)

Double cross.

Incised engraving, partinated more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 182 (Neg. no. M 341)

Horus falcon.

Painting in red colour; weathered and in part intentionally damaged.

Site 30

On the main road crossing the desert between Armant and Nag' al-Ḥamâdi, called Ḍarb el-Ba'irât. At the northern border of the plateau the road leads down a steep pass to a branch of the Wâdi el-Ḥôl. The site

[39] *Ibid., Notebook* II/4, 1936–1937 (1 February 1937).

consists of 4 subsites. The subsite A, at the beginning of the descent, comprises the neg. nos. M 342–347; the subsite B, on the opposite side of the wadi at a height of about 5 metres above the modern wadi bottom, comprises the neg. nos. M 348–368 A; the subsite C, at the mouth of another small wadi running southwards, comprises the neg. nos. M 369–381; the subsite D, near the mouth of the Wâdi el-Ḥôl, comprises the neg. nos. M 381 bis and 381 bis A [40].

Fig. 183 (*Neg. no. M 348*)

Lion and gazelle.
Incised engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 184 (*Neg. no. M 354*)

Anthropomorph in Egyptianizing style, holding a bovid on a strick.
Painting in red colour, weathered.

Fig. 185 (*Neg. no. M 355*)

Stylized bird.
Incised engraving, patinated more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 186 (*Neg. no. M 358*)

Geometrical designs.
Incised engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 187 (*Neg. no. M 361*)

Sailing ship, bovid.
Grooved engravings, patinated much more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 188 (*Neg. no. M 364*)

Two Egyptianizing anthropomorphs.
Scratched, very shallow engravings, almost without patina, strongly contrasting with the dark patina of the rock.

Fig. 189 (*Neg. no. M 366*)

Antelopes et al.
Incised engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 190 (*Neg. no. M 368*)

Ships.
Pecked engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock; the ship upside down is patinated more lightly than the rock.

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[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 8–9 (9 February 1937).

Fig. 191 (Neg. no. M 376)

Ship, razor; Coptic script et al.

The very lightly patinated, scratched Coptic script and lines are superimposed on the ship and the razor, executed in a similar technique, but patinated more darkly.

Fig. 192 (Neg. no. M 378)

Two ships; the smaller one is placed inside the bigger one.

Pecked engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 193 (Neg. no. M 380)

Oared sailing ship.

Incised engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 194 (Neg. nos. M 380 bis)

Ten specimens of fish et al.

Incised engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock with the exception of the fish specimen opposite the head of the bovid which is patinated more lightly.

Fig. 195 (Neg. no. M 380 ter)

Bovid.

Incised engravings to the right of fig. 194, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 196 (Neg. no. M 381 bis a)

Ship.

Incised engraving, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Site 31

On the Ḍarb el-Ba'irât, at the mouth of the Wâdi el-Ḥôl, narrow cleft on the eastern side, 20 minutes' walk north-west from site 30 [41].

Fig. 197 (Neg. no. M 382)

Antelope, symbol.

Scratched engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 198 (Neg. no. M 385)

Ship, bovid et al.

Scratched engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

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[41] *Ibid.*, p. 9; *Notebook* II/5, 1936–1937 (13 February 1937).

Fig. 199 (*Neg. no. M 387*)

Barbary sheep and a hound.

Scratched engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

On them, crude modern grooved lines almost without patina are superimposed.

Fig. 200 (*Neg. no. M 390*)

Gazelle et al.

Incised and scratched engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 201 (*Neg. no. M 392*)

Ships.

Pecked and grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 202 (*Neg. no. M 394*)

Elephant connected with an anthropomorph.

Scratched engravings, patinated a little more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 203 (*Neg. no. M 397*), Photo 27

Elephant and the hind part of another animal.

Incised engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 204 (*Neg. no. M 398*)

Ship, ovine animal et al.

Grooved and scratched engravings the patina of which is lighter than that of the rock.

Site 33

On the eastern side of the Wâdi el-Ḥêba, near the northern top of the wadi, on a projecting rock on the southern border of the plateau [42].

Fig. 205 (*Neg. no. M 399*)

Long-horned bovid et al.

Incised engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 206 (*Neg. no. 400*)

Unidentified object.

Incised engraving, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

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[42] *Ibid.*

Fig. 207 (Neg. no. M 401)

Unidentified object.

Incised engraving, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Site 34

Southern border of the plateau, top of short wadi; a rock recess east of Darb er-Rejâine, ruins of an ancient monastery [43].

Fig. 208 (Neg. no. M 408)

Ship, animals; cross, ornament.

The latter engravings are superimposed on the ship and the animal. All engravings are grooved, but the patina of the ship and the animal is very dark whereas that of the cross and the ornament is very light.

Fig. 209 (Neg. no. M 418)

Elephant, cross, strokes.

Incised engravings; the cross and the strokes are superimposed on the elephant. The patina of the latter is almost as dark as that of the rock; the cross and the strokes have no patina.

Fig. 210 (Neg. no. M 422)

Ship, cross.

Ship: incised engraving (the bow and the stern additionally polished), patinated almost as darkly as the rock. Cross: crudely grooved engraving, almost without patina, superimposed on the ship.

Fig. 211 (Neg. no. M 424)

Ship (?).

Incised engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 212 (Neg. no. M 426)

Sailing ship, bovid, cross, Coptic graffiti.

Incised engravings; the patina of the ship almost as dark as the rock, that of the bovid a little lighter, that of the Coptic graffiti very light. The ship partly weathered.

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[43] *Ibid.* (5 March 1937).

Site 35

Environs of Ḥôsh. Subsite A: as far as about 2 kms north of Ḥôsh on the Nile bank, Neg. nos. M 427–435; Subsite B: on the slopes of a hill south of Ḥôsh, on the eastern side of the hill neg. nos. M 436–438, on the western side neg. nos. M 439–454; Subsite C: in the mouth of the Ḥôr Abu Ṭangôra, on the western wall of an isolated rock, neg. nos. M 455–458; Subsite D: Rock on the Nile bank south of Ḥôr Abu Ṭangôra, on its northern corner, neg. nos. M 459–475 [44].

Fig. 213 (*Neg. no. M 437*)

Man carrying a shield and a sword.

Crudely pecked engravings, patinated much more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 214 (*Neg. no. M 438*)

Ship.

Crudely pecked engraving, patinated more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 215 (*Neg. no. M 439*)

Horse (?) et al.

Pecked engravings, patinated more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 216 (*Neg. no. M 445*), Photo 28

Ships.

Pecked engravings, patinated a little more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 217 (*Neg. no. M 447*)

Hand.

Pecked engraving, patinated more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 218 (*Neg. no. M 448*)

Anthropomorph, plant et al.

Pecked engravings, patinated more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 219 (*Neg. no. M 450*)

Reptile et al.

Pecked engravings, the point bottom grooved; the patina of the engravings is lighter than that of the rock, that of the grooved point much lighter.

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[44] *Ibid.* (14 March 1937).

Fig. 220 (*Neg. no. M 453*)

Bucrania et al.

Pecked engravings, patinated more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 221 (*Neg. no. M 454*)

Birds, bucrania, " cups ".

Partly pecked, partly incised engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock, with the exception of the " cups " which are much lighter.

Fig. 222 (*Neg. no. M 456*), Photo 29

Ship.

Pecked and incised engraving (contours: V–shaped profile), patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 223 (*Neg. no. M 458*)

Giraffe, armed anthropomorph superimposed on a zoomorph, anthropomorph underlying a zoomorph carrying a rider on its back et al.

Pecked engravings; the anthropomorphs are grooved. The patina of the engravings is lighter than that of the rock, that of the giraffe is much lighter than the latter.

Fig. 224 (*Neg. no. M 461*)

Ship.

Pecked engraving, patinated more lightly than the rock, but in an uneven manner.

Fig. 225 (*Neg. no. M 465*)

Anthropomorph with horns on its head, bovid.

Crudely pecked engravings, patinated more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 226 (*Neg. nos. M 474 + M 474 bis*)

Giraffes, anthropomorphs, bucranium.

Pecked engravings, patinated much more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 227 (*Neg. no. M 475 bis 1*)

Ship, symbol.

Pecked engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock; the symbol is superimposed on the ship.

Fig. 228 (*Neg. no. M 475 bis 2*)

Horned altar.

Grooved engraving, patinated much more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 229 (*Neg. no. M 475 bis 3*)

Ships, bovid.

Pecked engravings, the interior surface of the ships additionally smoothed. The patina of the engravings is almost identical with that of the rock.

Fig. 230 (*Neg. no. M 475 bis 4*)

Caprine zoomorphs, bovids, "doubled" ibex, "cups".

Grooved, pecked and partly polished engravings, with a little lighter patina than that of the rock.

Fig. 231 (*Neg. no. M 475 bis 5*), Photo 30

Ships, bovid.

Incised engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 232 (*Neg. no. M 475 bis 6*)

Ship, zoomorphs.

Incised engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 233 (*Neg. no. M 475 bis 7*)

Lion et al.

Grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 234 (*Neg. no. M 475 bis 8*)

Ship, symbol.

Pecked and grooved (ship) engravings, patinated more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 235 (*Neg. no. M 475 bis 9*)

Symbol, ships.

The symbol is superimposed on the bigger ship; the ships are grooved the symbol pecked and its patina is much lighter than that of the rock and lighter than that of the ships which are, in their turn, lighter than the rock.

Fig. 236 (*Neg. no. M 475 bis 10*)

Ship, symbol.

Ship: grooved and polished, symbol: pecked engraving. The patina of the ship is lighter than that of the rock, that of the symbol much lighter.

Fig. 237 (*Neg. no. M 475 bis 12*)

Giraffe, caprid, bovid, ass et al.

The antelopes and the bovid grooved, the giraffe and the figure bottom pecked; the patina of all the engravings corresponds to that of the rock.

Fig. 238 (*Neg. no. M 475 bis 14*)

Ship.

Crudely pecked engraving, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 239 (*Neg. no. M 475 bis 15*)

Ship.

Pecked engraving, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 240 (*Neg. no. M 475 bis 16*)

Shallow polished "cups", small pecked "cups" arranged in lines.

The patina of the shallow "cups" corresponds to that of the rock, that of the pecked "cups" is lighter.

Fig. 241 (*Neg. no. M 475 bis 17*), Photo 31

Ships.

Incised engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 242 (*Neg. no. M 475 bis 19*)

Ship.

Incised engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 243 (*Neg. no. M 475 bis 20*)

Ships, bovids, anthropomorphs.

Pecked and grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock; the patina of the bovids superimposed on the ships, of the anthropomorph left and the ships left bottom is a little lighter.

Fig. 244 (*Neg. no. M 475 bis 21*)

Ship, anthropomorph and bovid.

Pecked engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 245 (*Neg. no. M 475 bis 22*)

Ship with an anthropomorph aboard, another ship with a zoomorph above it.

The ship bottom grooved and pecked, the ship top pecked.

The patina of the engravings is lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 246 (*Neg. no. M 475 bis 24*)

Ships, bovids, antelope et al.

Pecked and grooved engravings; the zoomorphs are superimposed on the ships, but the patina of all engravings corresponds to that of the rock.

Fig. 247 (*Neg. no. M 475 bis 27*)

Bowman shooting at a lion.

Grooved, pecked and smoothed engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 248 (*Neg. no. M 475 bis 28*), Photo 32

Wild ass, symbol.

The ass pecked in the en creux (sunken relief) technique, the symbol grooved. Both engravings patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 249 (*Neg. no. M 475 bis 29*)

Symbols, footprints.

Incised engravings, patinated not so darkly as the rock.

Fig. 250 (*Neg. no. M 475 bis 30*)

Giraffes.

Pecked engravings, the giraffe right grooved and pecked. The heads of the two big animals have been weathered and eroded off.

Patina of the giraffe right corresponds to that of the rock, that of the giraffes left is lighter.

Fig. 251 (*Neg. no. M 475 bis 34*)

Ship, antelope et al.

The antelope pecked, the ship grooved and pecked en creux.

The patina of the antelope is lighter than that of the rock but darker than that of the ship.

Fig. 252 (*Neg. no. M 475 bis 38*)

Two anthropomorphs and a zoomorph.

Crudely pecked engravings, patinated more lightly than the rock.

Site 36

South of Ḥôsh, in the Wâdi el-Shaṭṭ el-Rigâl, beneath the Mentuhotep relief which is situated on a rock face 690 mm above the valley bottom [45].

Fig. 253 (*Neg. no. M 478 bis 1*)

Giraffes, dog, symbols.

Grooved engravings, patinated more lightly than the rock.

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[45] *Ibid.* (the same date); Červíček, 1974, p. 97.

Fig. 254 (*Neg. no. M 493*)

Bird.

Pecked and grooved engraving, patinated more lightly than the rock, but in an irregular degree.

Fig. 255 (*Neg. no. M 494 bis 1*)

Male anthropomorph.

Grooved engraving, patinated much more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 256 (*Neg. no. M 494 bis 3*)

Ship, giraffes, anthropomorph.

The giraffe pecked, the ship and the anthropomorph grooved engravings; the patina of the giraffe is almost as dark as that of the rock, that of the ship and the anthropomorph is lighter.

Fig. 257 (*Neg. no. M 494 bis 4*), Photo 33

A pair of footprints, bovid, grooves.

Grooved engravings, the bovid grooved (contours) and pecked.

The patina of the footprint pair and of the grooves bottom left is a little lighter than that of the rock, that of the bovid and of the grooves top left (one of them superimposed on the bovid's horn) is still lighter.

Fig. 258 (*Neg. no. M 494 bis 5*)

Flower.

Grooved engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 259 (*Neg. no. M 494 bis 6*)

Cross.

Grooved engraving, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 260 (*Neg. no. M 494 bis 7*), Photo 34

Bucranium, three grooves.

Grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Site 37

In the Wâdi Rizēgât, approx. 800 m far from the wadi mouth, in the bed of a torrent on the eastern side of the wadi, about 100 m upstream in two shelters, protected against the torrent-bed with stone walls (Neg. nos. M 495–497) [46].

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[46] Winkler, 1938, p. 9; *Notebook* II/5 (23 March 1937).

Fig. 261 (*Neg. no. M 496*)

Ladder, ship.

Scratched engravings without patina, thus constrasting by their white colour with the black-patinated rock.

Fig. 262 (*Neg. no. M 497*)

Ships.

Pecked engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Site 38

Eastern Desert. Wâdi Abu Wâṣil, southern side. Stone hill with a sandstone moraine sloping down to north-east, about 4 kms far from the end of Site 26. Winkler recorded only the "most interesting" rock pictures here. Subsite A: on the north-east side of the hill, about 3 m above the ground M 498–508; subsite B: on the east-north side of the hill M 509 and on an isolated boulder in front of it M 510; subsite C: 150 m east of the hill on a boulder (no recordings); subsite D: 100 m north of subsite C on a boulder M 511, 512; subsite E: about 800 m downstream the wadi; i.e. towards the west, a rock shelter with M 513–15; subsite F: 600 m south of subsite A in a wadi leading to the south M 516, 517 [47].

Fig. 263 (*Neg. no. M 499*)

Two anthropomorphs.

Pecked engravings, the light patina of which contrasts with the dark one of the rock.

Fig. 264 (*Neg. no. M 500*)

Ibexes, anthropomorphs, symbol.

Pecked engravings; the symbol grooved; the patina of all engravings corresponds to that of the rock.

Fig. 265 (*Neg. no. M 502a*)

Ship, antelopes, dogs, bovid, bowman.

Pecked engravings, patinated more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 266 (*Neg. no. M 504*)

Ibex, dogs, anthropomorph, symbol.

Pecked engravings with a light patina contrasting with the dark one of the rock; the patina of the symbol is much lighter than that of the other engravings.

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[47] *Ibid.* (1 April 1937).

Fig. 267 (Neg. no. M 505)

Anthropomorph.

Pecked engraving, the patina of which is a little lighter than that o. the rock.

Fig. 268 (Neg. no. M 506)

Camel, symbol.

Pecked engravings, the patina of which is a little lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 269 (Neg. no. M 508)

Birds et al.

Pecked engravings, the patina of which is lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 270 (Neg. no. M 510)

Anthropomorphs.

Pecked engravings, patinated a little lighter than the rock.

Fig. 271 (Neg. no. M 512)

Bovids, anthropomorph.

Pecked and grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the rockf

Fig. 272 (Neg. nos. M 514, 514a)

Bovid and anthropomorph, gazelle.

Pecked engravings; the bovid with the anthropomorph have a light patina and are superimposed on the gazelle the patina of which corresponds to that of the rock.

Fig. 273 (Neg. no. M 515)

Two anthropomorphs, copulating; ship.

Pecked engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 274 (Neg. no. M 516)

Elephants.

Pecked engravings, patinated more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 275 (Neg. no. M 517)

Ship.

Pecked engraving, patinated more lightly than the rock.

Site 39

2 kms south of subsite 38 A, in a small wadi leading towards the south, on the western side of a slanting boulder M 518 and 519 [48].

Fig. 276 (Neg. no. M 518)

Bucranium, two anthropomorphs, ibex, two zoomorphs.

Bucranium, both anthropomorphs and the zoomorph right bottom pecked, the ibex and the zoomorph beneath it grooved and pecked engravings; the patina of the grooved and pecked engravings corresponds to that of the rock, that of the pecked engravings is a little lighter.

Site 40

Western Desert, north-west of Armant, in the Wâdi Abu Maḍâwi, one and a half hours' walk north-east from the 'Agaba of the Ḍarb Abu Dirre. In a short side-wadi on the eastern side of the Maḍâwi, in a shelter on the northern side of the small wadi [49].

Fig. 277 (Neg. no. M 208)

Giraffes.

Pecked engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 278 (Neg. no. M 209)

Antelope.

Grooved and pecked engraving, patinated lighter than the rock.

Fig. 279 (Neg. no. M 210a), Photo 35

Anthropomorph with raised arms and long bovine horns.

Pecked engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 280 (Neg. no. M 522)

Anthropomorph, zoomorph et al.

Incised engravings; the zoomorph is superimposed on the anthropomorph but both underlie the other engravings (lines).

The patina of the anthropomorph corresponds to that of the rock; that of the zoomorph and the other engravings is partly dark, partly light.

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[48] *Ibid.* (the same date).

[49] *Ibid.* (14 April 1937).

Fig. 281 (Neg. no. M 523 a)

Anthropomorphs, zoomorphs et al.
Grooved and incised engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 282 (Neg. no. M 525)

Unidentified object (fibula?).
Incised engraving, patinated much more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 283 (Neg. no. M 526)

Unidentified object (razor?).
Incised engraving, patinated much more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 284 (Neg. no. M 527)

Zoomorphs; unidentified figure.
Incised engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 285 (Neg. no. M 527 bis)

Bird.
Scratched engraving, patinated much more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 286 (Neg. no. M 527 bis 1)

Stylized anthropomorphs.
Incised engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 287 (Neg. no. M 527 bis 3)

Stylized bovid.
Scratched engraving, patinated not so darkly as the rock.

Fig. 288 (Neg. no. M 527 bis 4)

Unidentified object (spearhead?).
Incised engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 289 (Neg. no. M 527 bis 5)

Dog, unidentified object, gazelle, ship.
Incised engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 290 (Neg. no. M 527 bis 10)

Stylized horned zoomorph.
Crudely pecked and scratched engraving, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 291 (Neg. no. M 527 bis 11)

Symbol (double axe?).
Grooved engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Site 41

Wâdi es-Sâgiye, north of Armant; on the right (eastern) side of the wadi, on a vertical rock face ca. 700 m far from a conical hill near the three-part top of the wadi: M 528–529a [50].

Fig. 292 (Neg. no. M 528)

Zoomorphs.

Crudely pecked and scratched engraving with a very light patina, contrasting with the dark one of the rock. The patina of the zoomorph left is a little darker than that of the other engravings.

Fig. 293 (Neg. no. M 529)

Giraffes, anthropomorph et al.

Pecked (right) and scratched (left) engravings, the patina of which is almost as dark as that of the rock.

Site 43

Wâdi Abu Maḍâwi, about 15 kms north of the 'Agaba Wâdi Abu Maḍâwi, in a shelter on the western side of the wadi M 530–31 [51].

Fig. 294 (Neg. no. M 530)

Antelope.

Incised engraving, patinated a little lighter than the rock.

Fig. 295 (Neg. no. M 531)

Zoomorph, unidentified figure.

Pecked engravings; the patina of the unidentified figure is lighter than that of the rock but darker than that of the zoomorph.

Site 45

Wâdi Bargá, branch of the Wâdi Magâr, 9 kms west of Nagâda.

On a high solid vertical rock face about 600 m far from the slope of the plateau [52].

Fig. 296 (Neg. no. M 536)

Ship.

Grooved engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

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[50] Winkler, 1939, p. 5; *Notebook* I/1, Season 1937–1938 (22 November 1937).

[51] *Ibid.* (23 November 1937).

[52] *Ibid.* (6 December 1937).

Fig. 297 (Neg. no. M 537)

Ship, orans, fish, lines.
Incised engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 298 (Neg. no. M 538)

Man carrying a shield, lines (superimposed on the former).
Incised engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 299 (Neg. no. M 539)

Orans, zoomorph, lines (superimposed on the former).
Incised engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 300 (Neg. no. M 540)

Anthropomorph, cross, lines (superimposed on the former).
Incised engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 301 (Neg. no. M 541)

Zoomorph.
Incised engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 302 (Neg. no. M 542)

Bird (peacock?), symbol.
Grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 303 (Neg. no. M 543)

Anthropomorph.
Grooved engraving, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 304 (Neg. no. M 546)

Ships.
Incised engravings, patinated a little lighter than the rock.

Fig. 305 (Neg. no. M 547)

Bark.
Incised engraving, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 306 (Neg. no. M 548)

Bark.
Incised engraving, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Site 48

On flat rocks 50 m south of the Wâdi Sab' er-Rigâl in the direction of the northern end of the village Ḥamâm M 563–602 [53].

Fig. 307 (*Neg. no. M 564*)

Male anthropomorph.

Crudely pecked engraving, patinated much more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 308 (*Neg. no. M 565*)

Crudely pecked engraving, patinated more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 309 (*Neg. no. M 567*), Photo 36

Antelopes.

Grooved engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 310 (*Neg. no. M 568*)

Symbol, scooped-out depression with a stroke.

Pecked (symbol) polished (depression) and grooved (stroke) engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 311 (*Neg. no. M 569*)

Ship (?).

Pecked engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 312 (*Neg. no. M 574*)

Ship.

Pecked engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 313 (*Neg. no. M 576*)

Zoomorph.

Crudely pecked engraving, patinated more lightly than the rock, the horns more lightly than the rest of the engraving.

Fig. 314 (*Neg. no. M 580*)

Giraffes et al.

Pecked engravings, patinated more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 315 (*Neg. no. M 582*), Photo 37

Symbols.

Grooved (arrows and stroke) and pecked (offering tables) engravings;

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[53] *Ibid.*, p. 6 (19 December 1937).

the patina of the arrows and of the stroke is a little lighter than that of the rock, the patina of the offering tables is much lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 316 (Neg. no. M 583)

Stylized ship.

Grooved engraving, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 317 (Neg. no. M 588)

Antelopes, gazelle, zoomorph.

Incised engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 318 (Neg. no. M 590)

Ships, ibexes and dogs, symbol.

Engraving pecked en creux (ibexes and dogs), incised (ships) and scratched (symbol). The ships are superimposed on the ibexes and the dogs. The patina of the engravings is lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 319 (Neg. no. M 591)

Ships, ibexes and dogs.

Incised ships are superimposed on the ibexes and the dogs. The patina of the engravings is lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 320 (Neg. nos. M 592, 593, 594)

Male anthropomorphs, fish et al.

Pecked engravings, patinated much more lightly than the rock.

The central part of the rock picture (neg. no. M 592) has been published by Winkler [54].

Fig. 321 (Neg. no. M 595)

Anthropomorph, dog et al.

Anthropomorph and dog grooved and pecked, the other lines pecked; the patina of the anthropomorph is lighter than that of the rock, that of the dog and of the other lines is still lighter.

Fig. 322 (Neg. nos. M 596, 597)

Bowman, anthropomorph, zoomorphs.

Grooved and pecked engravings, patinated more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 323 (Neg. no. M 598)

Anthropomorph with a sceptre.

Grooved and pecked engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 324 (Neg. no. M 599)

Dogs, zoomorph, symbol.

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[54] *Ibid.*, pl. XII/2.

The zoomorphs pecked, the symbol grooved engraving; the patina of the symbol is lighter than that of the rock, that of the zoomorphs is still much more lighter.

Fig. 325 (Neg. no. M 601)

Giraffe, horsemen, antelope, armed anthropomorphs, zooomorph, symbol.

Grooved and pecked engravings; the patina of the giraffe is a little lighter than that of the rock, but darker than that of the horseman left of it; that of the figure further left is still lighter.

Fig. 326 (Neg. no. M 602)

Bovid, giraffes, ass, ship (on which giraffe is superimposed).

Pecked engravings; the patina of the ship and the giraffe superimposed on it is almost as dark as the rock, that of the ass below the ship is partly lighter, partly almost as dark as the rock, that of the other zoomorphs is lighter than that of the rock.

Site 49

On a vertical wand of a rock near the temple of Horemheb opposite the pumping station of Kagôg M 603 [55].

Fig. 327 (Neg. no. M 603)

Symbols.

Incised engravings, patinated much more lightly than the rock.

Site 50

Opposite Gebel Silsile, on the corner of the sandstone ridge, on boulders and rocks about 800 m west of Dynastic rock inscriptions (M 604 and 605) M 606–610 [56].

Fig. 328 (Neg. no. M 606)

Stylized anthropomorphs and zoomorphs, footprint et al.

Grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 329 (Neg. no. M 608)

Zoomorphs (bovids, dogs, birds) et al.

Pecked engravings, patinated much more lightly than the rock.

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[55] *Ibid.*, p. 6; *Notebook* I/1, 1937–1938 (20 December 1937).

[56] *Ibid.*

Fig. 330 (*Neg. no. M 609*)

Zoomorphs, riders.

Scratched engravings, patinated much more lightly than the rock.

Site 51

About 1 km west of site 50, opposite the qubba of the sheikh 'Abd es-Salâm, in a shady shelter with vertical walls M 611–616 [57].

Fig. 331 (*Neg. no. M 611*), Photo 38

Ship, ibex, giraffe, dog et al.

Pecked and grooved engravings, patinated a little more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 332 (*Neg. no. M 612*)

Ship, bowman, zoomorphs.

Pecked engravings, patinated less darkly than the rock.

Fig. 333 (*Neg. no. M 613*)

Ship, hippopotamus, giraffes.

Pecked engravings, patinated less darkly than the rock.

Fig. 334 (*Neg. no. M 614*)

Ship.

Pecked engraving, weathered, patinated a little less darkly than the rock.

Fig. 335 (*Neg. no. M 615*)

Giraffes, anthropomorph.

Scratched and pecked engravings, patinated much less darkly than the rock.

Site 52

2 kms west of site 51, on a wall of rock facing south-west, situated approximately at the mid-height of the ridge, M 617–622 [58].

Fig. 336 (*Neg. no. M 619*)

Male anthropomorph.

Engraving pecked en creux, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

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[57] *Ibid.*

[58] *Ibid.*

Fig. 337 (*Neg. no. M 620*)

Male anthropomorph.

Engraving pecked en creux, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 338 (*Neg. no. M 621*), Photo 39

Palette.

Grooved engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 339 (*Neg. no. M 622*)

Sun-like symbol.

Pecked engraving, patinated less darkly than the rock.

Site 53

Near Gharb Aswân, in a small wadi about 5 kms north of Aswân, at the entrance into the wadi in the holy place of the sheikh Abu 'l-'Abbâs, about 3 kms west of the Nile, on an isolated rock in the wadi M 623–653 [59].

Fig. 340 (*Neg. no. M 623*), Photo 40

Bovid.

Pecked engraving, patinated less darkly than the rock.

Fig. 341 (*Neg. no. M 624*)

Stylized anthropomorphs.

Grooved and pecked engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 342 (*Neg. no. M 626*)

Bovid, anthropomorph et al.

Pecked engravings, patinated much less darkly than the rock.

Fig. 343 (*Neg. no. M 628*), Photo 41

Ship.

Pecked engraving, patinated less darkly than the rock.

Fig. 344 (*Neg. no. M 631*)

Zoomorphs, ships.

Pecked engravings, patinated less darkly than the rock; the ship bottom left grooved and pecked.

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[59] *Ibid.* (26 December 1937).

Fig. 345 (*Neg. no. M 632*)

Giraffes.

Pecked engravings, patinated less darkly than the rock.

Fig. 346 (*Neg. no. M 634*), Photo 42

Giraffe et al.

Pecked engravings, patinated less darkly than the rock.

Fig. 347 (*Neg. no. M 644*), Photo 43

Symbol.

Grooved and pecked engraving, patinated much less darkly than the rock.

Fig. 348 (*Neg. no. M 645*)

Symbol.

Pecked engraving, patinated a little less darkly than the rock.

Fig. 349 (*Neg. no. M 646*)

Armed anthropomorph.

Grooved and scratched engraving, patinated much less darkly than the rock.

Fig. 350 (*Neg. no. M 649*)

Giraffe.

Grooved and pecked engraving, patinated much less darkly than the rock.

Fig. 351 (*Neg. no. M 650*)

Bovid.

Pecked engraving, patinated less darkly than the rock.

Fig. 352 (*Neg. no. M 651*)

Unidentified figures.

Pecked engravings, patinated much less darkly than the rock.

Fig. 353 (*Neg. no. M 652*)

Ships, bird–headed anthropomorph, zoomorph.

Ships pecked, anthropomorph grooved and pecked, bovid grooved engraving; the patina of the anthropomorph is less dark than that of the rock, that of the ships and the bovid is still lighter.

Fig. 354 (*Neg. no. M 653*)

Antelope, gazelle, zoomorph.

Pecked engravings, patinated much less darkly than the rock.

SITE 54

At the entrance to the wadi on which site 53 is situated, a vertical rock face on the northern side of the hill which is the holy place of the Sheikh Abu 'l-'Abbâs and on the top of which there is a cairn; M 654 is situated on the cited wall below Arabic rock inscriptions [60].

Fig. 355 (Neg. no. M 654)

Schematic anthropomorphs and zoomorphs.

Scratched and pecked engravings, patinated much less darkly than the rock.

SITE 55

In the south of Khârga Oasis. North-east of the village Bārîs, a well, 'Ên Murra; a shelter about 50 ms south-west of the well [61].

Fig. 356 (Neg. no. M 662, 662a)

Zoomorph.

Painting in red paint, heavily weathered.

Fig. 357 (Neg. no. M 663)

Zoomorph.

Painting in red paint, weathered.

Fig. 358 (Neg. no. M 668)

Coptic inscriptions and symbols.

SITE 57

Painting in red paint, partly weathered.

Eḍ-ḍarb el-Ġubâri (Ghubâri Road); near km 63, south-west of the Kharga Oasis; north of the road on horizontal rock surfaces Arabic tribal marks (wusûm) and M 672 [62].

Fig. 359 (Neg. no. M 672)

Schematic altar and footprint.

Grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

SITE 58

Ghubâri Road, km 64.2. About 1,5 kms west of site 57, north of the road an isolated rock hill, in a shelter on the north-east side of the hill [63].

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[60] *Ibid.*, p. 7; *Notebook* l.c.
[61] *Ibid.* (19 January 1938).
[62] *Ibid.*
[63] *Ibid.*

Fig. 360 (*Neg. no. M 675*)

Anthropomorphs.

Grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 361 (*Neg. no. M 676*)

Anthropomorphs et al.

Grooved and polished en creux engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 362 (*Neg. no. M 677*)

Anthropomorphs and zoomorphs.

Palimpsest engravings, incised, grooved and pecked en creux, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 363 (*Neg. no. M 678*)

Stylized antelopes, zoomorph.

The stylized antelopes are grooved, polished and pecked en creux; the zoomorph is grooved and polished en creux and superimposed on an antelope. The patina of the engravings is as dark as that of the rock.

Fig. 364 (*Neg. no. M 680*)

Unidentified figure.

Grooved engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 365 (*Neg. no. M 681*)

Sandalprint.

Grooved weathered engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 366 (*Neg. no. M 682*)

Shoeprint.

Grooved weathered engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 367 (*Neg. no. M 383*)

Sandalprints.

Grooved weathered engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 368 (*Neg. no. M 684*)

Giraffes, ships.

Grooved (giraffes) and pecked (ships) engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 369 (*Neg. no. M 685*)

Symbol.

Grooved weathered engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 370 (*Neg. no. M 689*)

Giraffe.

Grooved, heavily weathered engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 371 (*Neg. no. M 690*)

Unidentified object.

Pecked weathered engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Site 61

Ghubâri Road, about km 132, behind the Buwêb. Several sandstone flat islands, approx. 1,000 m north of the road [64].

Fig. 372 (*Neg. no. M 696a*)

Zoomorphs.

Crudely pecked engravings, patinated less darkly than the rock.

Site 62

Ghubâri Road, about km 137. Approx. 600 m south of the road, a row of seven hills of an almost even height (15–20 m). Rock drawings M 697–705b occur on the north-east side and the top of the westernmost hill [65].

Fig. 373 (*Neg. no. M 698*)

Zoomorphs.

Grooved and polished engravings en creux, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 374 (*Neg. nos. M 699 and M 700*), Photo 44 (M 699)

Zoomorphs and female anthropomorph.

Grooved and polished engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock; the patina of the anthropomorph is a little lighter than that of the other engravings.

Fig. 375 (*Neg. nos. M 701 and M 701a*)

Giraffe and anthropomorph.

Grooved and polished engravings en creux, patinated as darkly as the rock.

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[64] *Ibid.*; *Notebook* I/2, 1937–1938.

[65] *Ibid.*, pp. 7–8; *Notebook* l.c.

Fig. 376 (*Neg. no. M 702*)

Zoomorphs.

Grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 377 (*Neg. no. M 703*)

Unidentified object.

Crudely pecked engraving, patinated a little less darkly than the rock.

Site 63

Ghubâri Road, 40 m east of km 145, rocky sandstone island 40 m north of the road, M 706–736 [66].

Fig. 378 (*Neg. no. M 708*)

Cross, schematic figures.

Grooved engravings, heavily weathered, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 379 (*Neg. no. M 710*)

Schematic figures.

Grooved engravings, heavily weathered, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 380 (*Neg. no. M 711*)

Symbols.

Grooved weathered engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 381 (*Neg. no. M 715*)

Schematic male anthropomorphs et al.

Grooved weathered engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 382 (*Neg. no. M 716*)

Schematic figures.

Grooves and polished weathered engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 383 (*Neg. no. M 717*), Photo 45

Schematic representations, symbol.

Grooved, partly weathered engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

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[66] *Ibid.*, p. 8 (2 February 1938).

Fig. 384 (*Neg. no. M 718*)

Schematic figures and symbols.
Grooved weathered engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 385 (*Neg. no. M 719*)

Zoomorph, cross, symbol.
Grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 386 (*Neg. no. M 720*)

Schematic figures, ships, strokes.
Grooved engravings, partly weathered, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 387 (*Neg. no. M 721*)

Cross, trident, ship, circle et al.
Grooved engravings; the patina of the trident corresponds to that of the rock, that of the other engravings is lighter.

Fig. 388 (*Neg. no. M 723*)

Cross potent with a monogram of Christ, keys, palm branch, disc with characters.
Grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 389 (*Neg. no. M 725*)

Shoeprints.
Grooved engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 390 (*Neg. no. M 726*)

Antelope.
Grooved weathered engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 391 (*Neg. no. M 728*)

Female anthropomorph.
Grooved weathered engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 392 (*Neg. no. M 729*)

Schematic zoomorph.
Grooved weathered engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 393 (*Neg. no. M 730*)

Female anthropomorph.
Grooved and polished engraving, secondarily crudely pecked as if by someone who wanted to damage it, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 394 (*Neg. no. M 732*)

Schematic zoomorph.

Polished and grooved (horns and legs) engravings, heavily weathered, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 395 (*Neg. no. M 734*)

Schematic figures.

Grooved weathered engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Site 64

Rocky hill 700 m east of site 63, another rocky hill 50 m farther eastwards, M 737–762a [67].

Fig. 396 (*Neg. no. M 737*)

Cup-like depressions on a boulder, superimposed on a weathered female anthropomorph.

Scooped-out engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 397 (*Neg. no. M 739*), Photo 46

Sandalprint.

Grooved engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 398 (*Neg. no. M 740*)

Antelopes, elephant.

Grooved engravings, partly damaged because the rock peeled off, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 399 (*Neg. no. M 741*)

Schematic zoomorphs, cross.

Grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock; the cross is superimposed on an zoomorph.

Fig. 400 (*Neg. no. M 742*)

Schematic female anthropomorph.

Grooved and pecked engraving, heavily weathered, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 401 (*Neg. no. M 743*), Photo 47

A row of birds.

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[67] *Ibid.*

Grooved and pecked engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 402 (Neg. no. M 745, 745a)

Schematic figures.

Grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 403 (Neg. no. M 747)

Schematic figures.

Crudely pecked engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 404 (Neg. no. M 748)

Schematic anthropomorphs et al.

Grooved weathered engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 405 (Neg. no. M 752)

Zoomorphs; part of a big frieze.

Grooved, polished and pecked engravings, patinated less darkly than the rock.

Fig. 406 (Neg. no. M 753)

Ships.

Grooved engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 407 (Neg. no. M 754)

A pair of shoeprints.

Grooved engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock, weathered.

Fig. 408 (Neg. no. M 757)

Zoomorphs, anthropomorph leading a giraffe.

Grooved, polished and pecked engravings, partly weathered, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 409 (Neg. no. M 758)

Schematic zoomorph et al. Continuation of the frieze fig. 408 to the right.

Grooved, polished and pecked engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 410 (Neg. no. M 759)

Giraffe, antelopes et al.

Grooved, polished and pecked engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 411 (*Neg. no. M 760*)

Schematic figures left above the giraffe fig. 410.
Grooved and pecked (right) engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Site 65

Ghubâri Road, about km 152,5; immediately on the northern side of the road, on a sloped top of a boulder M 763–765 [68].

Fig. 412 (*Neg. no. M 763*), Photo 48

Cross, schematic coitus representations et al.
Incised and grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 413 (*Neg. no. M 764*)

Schematic coitus representations.
Incised engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 414 (*Neg. no. M 765*)

Schematic representation of the male sexual organ.
Grooved engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Site 66

About 2,8 km north–east of site 63. Two parallel hills, rocky on the north side: M 766–786 [69].

Fig. 415 (*Neg. no. M 766*)

Sandalprints, antelope.
Grooved weathered engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 416 (*Neg. no. M 768*)

Handprint, line.
Grooved and smoothed engravings en creux, weathered and as dark as the rock.

Fig. 417 (*Neg. no. M 771*)

Elephant (?).
Grooved engraving, heavily weathered, patinated as darkly as the rock.

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[68] *Ibid.*
[69] *Ibid.* (10 February 1938).

Fig. 418 (Neg. no. M 772)

Ship, zoomorph.

Grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 419 (Neg. no. M 774)

Stylized male anthropomorphs.

Pecked engravings, heavily weathered, patinated less darkly than the rock.

Fig. 420 (Neg. no. M 775)

Ships, male anthropomorph, zoomorphs.

Pecked weathered engravings, patinated less darkly than the rock; the patina of the anthropomorph is lighter than that of the other engravings.

Fig. 421 (Neg. no. M 776)

Caprid.

Grooved engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 422 (Neg. no .M 777)

Shoeprint, strokes et al.

Grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock (shoeprints right) and less darkly than the rock (the remaining engravings).

Fig. 423 (Neg. no. M 778)

Schematic figures, scooped–out depression.

Grooved and scooped–out engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock (schematic figures) and less darkly than the rock (depression).

Fig. 424 (Neg. no. M 779)

Zoomorph, unidentified figures.

Grooved engraving with a patina much lighter than that of the rock (zoomorph) and pecked engravings patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 425 (Neg. no. M 780)

Giraffes.

Pecked (left), grooved and polished engravings (centre and right), patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 426 (Neg. no. M 781)

Bovid, sandalprint, strokes.

Grooved and incised (bovid, sandalprint) engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 427 (*Neg. no. M 782*)

Ship, stylized bovid, bird, zoomorph.

Stylized bovid pecked and smoothed, ship grooved and superimposed on the bovid, zoomorph grooved, polished and smoothed, zoomorph grooved, smoothed and pecked engraving. All engravings patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 428 (*Neg. no. M 783*)

Stilized anthropomorph, ship.

The ship is grooved and patinated almost as darkly as the rock; the anthropomorph is incised and patinated less darkly.

Fig. 429 (*Neg. no. M 784*)

Female and male anthropomorph et al.

Grooved and smothed engravings en creux, heavily weathered, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Site 67

Several rocky hills about 700 m north–east of site 66; on isolated boulders on the northern side of the hills M 787–848 [70].

Fig. 430 (*Neg. no. M 787*)

Spiral et al.

Pecked engravings, patinated a little less darkly than the rock.

Fig. 431 (*Neg. no. M 788*)

Footprint.

Grooved engraving, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 432 (*Neg. no. M 789*)

Unidentified figures.

Crudely pecked engravings, patinated less darkly than the rock.

Fig. 433 (*Neg. no. M 790*)

Unidentified figures, wavy lines; the figure left is partly broken off.

Crudely pecked engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 434 (*Neg. no. M 791*)

Unidentified figure.

Crudely pecked engravings, patinated less darkly than the rock.

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[70] *Ibid.*

Fig. 435 (Neg. no. M 792)

Unidentified figure.

Grooved engraving, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 436 (Neg. no. M 793)

Zoomorphs, anthropomorphs, strokes, pecked-out depressions.

Grooved and pecked engravings, patinated sa darkly sa the rock.

Fig. 437 (Neg. no. M 794)

Giraffes.

Grooved, snothed and pecked engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 438 (Neg. no. M 795)

Zoomorphs.

Grooved, smoothed and pecked engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 439 (Neg. no. M 796)

Antelopes.

Grooved and smoothed engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 440 (Neg. no. M 797)

Giraffes et al.

Grooved engravings, partly damaged, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 441 (Neg. no. M 799)

Lion.

Grooved engravings, heavily weathered, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 442 (Neg. no. M 800)

Giraffes et al.

Giraffes, grooved and polished en creux, as well as the figures on the top are superimposed on pecked figures. All engravings are patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 443 (Neg. no. M 802)

Schematic figures.

Grooved (top) and pecked (bottom) engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 444 (*Neg. no. M 803*)

Zoomorphs (?).

Grooved, heavily weathered engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 445 (*Neg. no. M 807*)

Two shoeprints et al.

Shoeprints and the figures bottom and top right grooved, the other figures pecked. All engravings are patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 446 (*Neg. no. M 809*)

Anthropomorph.

Weathered engravings, grooved en creux, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 447 (*Neg. no. M 810*)

Giraffe.

Grooved, smothed and pecked engraving en creux, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 448 (*Neg. no. M 813*)

Strokes.

Grooved engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 449 (*Neg. no. M 818*)

Bird.

Grooved engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 450 (*Neg. no. M 819*)

Female anthropomorph.

Grooved engravings, smothed en creux, weathered, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 451 (*Neg. no. M 828*)

Bird–headed male anthropomorph.

Engraving grooved and smoothed en creux, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 452 (*Neg. no. M 829*)

Schematic anthropomorph et al.

Incised engravings, patinated more lightly than the rock.

Fig. 453 (Neg. no. M 834)

Sandalprints in shallow scooped-out depressions, another scooped-out depression.

The depressions smoothed, the sandalprints grooved engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 454 (Neg. no. M 840)

Female anthropomorph, ship in a shallow scooped-out depression.

The depression smoothed, the anthropomorph and the ship grooved engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 455 (Neg. no. M 843)

Palimpsest of zoomorphs, shoeprints et al.

Grooved engravings, the shoeprints bottom smoothed en creux, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 456 (Neg. no. M 845)

Schematic female anthropomorph.

Grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 457 (Neg. no. M 846)

Schematic female anthropomorphs in a shallow scooped-out depression.

Grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Site 68

3 kms north-west of site 67, a long slope in the north-west direction, 350° north of the hill at km 145 of the Ghubâri Road; on a small sandstone island facing the slope M 849-882 [71].

Fig. 458 (Neg. no. M 849)

Two pairs of sandalprints.

Grooved engravings, the right pair additionally smoothed en creux. All engravings are patinated as darkly as the rock and weathered.

Fig. 459 (Neg. no. M 851)

Footprint with a mark within.

Grooved engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 460 (Neg. no. M 852)

Footprint with a mark within.

Grooved engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

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[71] *Ibid.* (15 February 1938).

Fig. 461 (*Neg. no. M 853*)

Male anthropomorph.

Grooved engraving, weathered and partly damaged, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 462 (*Neg. no. M 855*)

Male anthropomorph, zoomorph, strokes.

Grooved weathered engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

The strokes top left are superimposed on the other figures.

Fig. 463 (*Neg. no. M 856*)

Footprint, strokes et al.

Grooved weathered engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 464 (*Neg. no. M 858*)

Footprint, vulva, strokes.

Incised engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 465 (*Neg. no. M 861*)

Symbols, stroke rows et al.

Incised and grooved (top centre) engravings, partly weathered, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 466 (*Neg. no. M 862*)

Footprints and symbols.

Incised engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock (the footprint right partly weathered).

Fig. 467 (*Neg. no. M 864*)

Human legs, strokes.

Incised weathered engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 468 (*Neg. no. M 866*)

Two male anthropomorphs, strokes.

Grooved engravings, heavily weatheres, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 469 (*Neg. no. M 867*)

Male anthropomorph.

Grooved engraving, partly en creux, weathered, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 470 (*Neg. no. M 868*)

Unidentified figure (altar with offerings?), strokes.

Incised, heavily weathered engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 471 (*Neg. no. M 869*)

Horned altar.

Grooved, weathered engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 472 (*Neg. no. M 870*)

Horned altar, " double ladder ".

Grooved and incised (altar) engravings, weathered, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 473 (*Neg. no. M 871*)

Unidentified figure (vulva?).

Incised engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 474 (*Neg. no. M 873*)

Vulvae.

Incised engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 475 (*Neg. no. M 874*)

Footprint with a mark within.

Incised engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 476 (*Neg. no. M 876*)

Anthropomorph.

Grooved, heavily weathered engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 477 (*Neg. no. M 877*)

Male anthropomorph.

Incised, heavily weathered engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock

Fig. 478 (*Neg. no. M 879*)

Footprint, symbol.

Grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 479 (*Neg. no. M 880*)

Bird.

Grooved engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 480 (*Neg. no. M 881*)

Coitus.

Grooved engraving, heavily weathered, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 481 (*Neg. no. M 882*)

Antelopes, anthropomorph.

Grooved engravings, heavily weathered, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Site 69

About 3,5 kms north–north–west of site 68. Low sandstone island at the eastern end of the ḥaṭîya of Tenîda, M 883–916 [72].

Fig. 482 (*Neg. no. M 883*)

Schematic anthropomorph et al.

Grooved and incised engraving, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 483 (*Neg. no. M 884*)

Schematic orans et al.

Grooved engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 484 (*Neg. no. M 885*)

Schematic male anthropomorph, hand, labrys et al.

Palimpsest incised engravings, the hand is grooved and smoothed en creux; the patina of the engravings corresponds to that of the rock.

Fig. 485 (*Neg. no. M 886*)

Bovid, palette.

Grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 486 (*Neg. no. M 887*), Photo 49

Bovids.

Incised engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 487 (*Neg. no. M 889*)

Camel rider and horseman, zoomorph, anthropomorphs et al.

Incised engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 488 (*Neg. no. M 890*)

Camel rider, sword, ship, schematic coitus representation et al.

Incised and grooved engravings, patinated a little more lightly than the rock.

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[72] *Ibid.*, pp. 8–9; *Notebook* I/3, 1937–1938 (17 February 1938).

Fig. 489 (Neg. no. M 891)

Camel rider, mark.
Gooved engraving, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 490 (Neg. no. M 892)

Anthropomorph armed with sword and shield.
Grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 491 (Neg. no. M 893), Photo 50

Armed camel riders, camel.
Grooved and incised engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 492 (Neg. no. M 894)

Horseman and a man, both armed with a long lance, spearing a man armed with shield and sword; dog, men fighting with swords, ibex.

Incised engravings, the ibex incised, grooved and polished en creux; the patina of the engravings is a little lighter than that of the rock.

Fig. 493 (Neg. no. M 895)

Unidentified figures.
Incised engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 494 (Neg. no. M 897)

Foot- and shoeprints, abstract figures.
Incised palimpsest engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 495 (Neg. no. M 898)

Branches, ships, horseman, symbols.
Grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 496 (Neg. no. M 899)

Abstract designs, horsemen, hexagram.
Incised and grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 497 (Neg. no. M 900)

Two anthropomorphs fighting with swords, anthropomorph decapitating another one held by a third anthropomorph, unidentified figure.

Incised engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 498 (Neg. no. M 901)

Man, armed with a long spear, leading a saddled camel; two men, each armed with a sword and a shield, fighting against each other. Another man et al.

Incised engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 499 (*Neg. no. M 902*)

Unidentified objects.

Incised engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 500 (*Neg. no. M 907*)

Ships, camel riders et al.

Incised engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 501 (*Neg. no. M 909*)

Camel led by a man carrying a long spear, symbol, dog, anthropomorphs.

Grooved and incised engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 502 (*Neg. no. M 912*)

Horses, anthropomorph armed with sword and shield, anthropomorph armed with bow and arrow, abstract designs.

The incised abstract designs are superimposed on the other grooved figures; the patina of all engravings is almost as dark as that of the rock.

Fig. 503 (*Neg. no. M 915*)

Camels, zoomorphs devouring anthropomorphs.

Grooved engravings; the patina of the devouring zoomorphs is almost as dark as the rock, that of the camels is lighter.

Fig. 504 (*Neg. no. M 916*)

Ship carrying men aboard et al.

Grooved and incised engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Site 70

Gebel Ṭujûr north of Khârga, small wall of rock in the SE–NW direction in the western half of the hill plateau, facing east, M 917–922 [73].

Fig. 505 (*Neg. no. M 917*)

Footprints.

Incised engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 506 (*Neg. no. M 918*)

Horned altars et al.

Incised engravings, patinated more lightly than the rock.

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[73] *Ibid.*, p. 9 (9 March 1938).

Fig. 507 (*Neg. no. M 921*)

Shoeprint, inscription.
Incised engravings, patinated almost as darkly as the rock.

Fig. 508 (*Neg. no. M 922*)

Sandalprint, abstract design.
Grooved engravings, patinated as darkly as the rock.

METHOD

The aim of this chapter is to explain the method used by the author in dating and evaluating Upper Egyptian and Nubian rock art in this book.

The first premise held by the author is that the rock art in question, as any rock art, was primarily religious in character, at least as far as its origins and the bulk of its classical specimens are concerned. Its themes were numinous beings, religious symbols and myths; to execute a rock picture was a cultic act in itself: to renovate the image a deity painted of itself in the primeval age or to commemorate a religious ceremony, for example. These presuppositions are suggested by ethnographic parallels from regions where the rock art practice and tradition were alive until recent times [74] but also by oral traditions recorded about Libyan and Nubian rock art.

They link the latter with ghosts or with magical practices: Frobenius recorded a myth about the rock pictures of Galt el-Aguz in the Nubian desert according to which " a sheikh created those rock pictures of animals in order to bring real animals to the dry district " [75].

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[74] In Australia, cf. Jensen, 1960, p. 136 ff.; Herrmann: 1967, p. 170 ff.; Schulz, 1971, pp. 5–6, 97–98; the bibl. in Červíček, 1976, pp. 211–213; in South Africa, cf. Frobenius, 1931; Weyersberg, 1933; Holm, 1965; Jensen, 1966, p. 85, figs. 3 and 4; Pager: 1975; and in north-west America, cf. Jensen, 1960, pp. 300–301. Cf. also Varagnac, 1967.

[75] Almásy, 1943, p. 138; Frobenius, 1927. Such oral traditions can, however, only explain the basic character of rock art, not its origins or its concrete significance in different epochs. For the interpretation of the latter, only isochronological sources are relevant. In Upper Egyptian and Nubian rock art, magical symbols appear only in the E- and F-Horizons (see below). The iconography of the lower horizons does not reflect any magical pratices like those allegedly used in hunting by recent primitive peoples (Frazer, 1951, p. 109 ff. but cf. Jensen, 1960, pp. 298–300), which have been considered to have originated rock art (Reinach, 1977, p. 116). This hypothesis was also held by the author (id., 1964, pp. 73–74) who thereby corrects his previous views. Similarly, Upper Egyptian rock art has been interpreted as connected with " the hunter's magic " (Capart, 1094, p. 194 ff.) or as belonging to the sphere of " picture magic, as prayers for success in hunting, cattle-breeding and ship transport " (Behn, 1962, p. 64). Neither do the lower horizons reveal a complementarity or an antagonism of male and female values which have been postulated for West European Upper Palaeolithic rock art (Leroi-Gourhan, 1965, p. 119 ff.). Cf. also Jensen, 1960, pp. 300–301.

It is also the iconography and chorology of the rock art itself which implies its religious significance. Iconographically, it consits for the most part of canonized motifs (e.g. Naqada ships, C–group goddess, cow–and–calf, footprints). These motifs do not portray the surrounding workaday world of their period as so many authors assume. Thus the B–Horizon rock art ships are divine and celestial barks (see below).

With respect to the depicted fauna, it is clear that the zoomorphic motifs show only certain species but omit others which also lived in great numbers in the given area. In Upper Egypt and Nubia, examples of such " taboos " are sheep, pig, cat among the domestic animals and vulture, hare, cobra, hedgehog, hyrax and porcupine among the wild species. There are also fabulous zoomorphs like the " double bovid " [76].

As to the anthropomorphs, those of the B–Horizon, for example, are most often shown dacing (figs. 29, 45, 56, 57, 74, 79, 95, 276), in connection with sacred barks (figs. 16, 23, 92, 95, 142, 143), posing in attitudes which can be interpreted as cultic (figs. 28, 32, 35, 52, 92, 110, 142, 270, 279), sexual (figs. 75, 95, 121, 126, 127, 273), martial (figs. 100, 102, 125, 341) or pertaining to venery (figs. 7, 13, 31, 44, 47, 52, 86, 90, 106, 110, 127, 128, 130, 131, 144, 163, 265, 272, 332). They sometimes wear festal head–dresses (figs. 79, 83, 129, 130, 147, 148, 276, 279, 337) or zoomorphic heads like the Naqada bird–headed deity (figs. 341, 353, 451); there are individuals who are depicted greatly oversized with respect to others of the same scene thus suggesting their numinous significance (aboard the Naqada barks, figs. 49, 95, 334).

The latter can also be attributed to the numerous symbols.

From the chrological point of view, rock pictures are almost never found isolated but always concentrated in galleries where they were often executed in palimpsest. From this one can deduce that only certain, well defined places on rocks were considered appropriate as rock art " canvas ". We can understand this if we imagine that rock art was linked with a stone cult and offerings presented to numina (see below).

Another premise held in this book is that the roots of the rock art discussed go back to prehistoric times. Unlike the first one, this premise has been proved by archaeological means. In 1982 Chester and in 1908 more throughly Boreux compared Upper Egyptian rock art representations

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[76] Cf. Červíček, 1974, pp. 170–171; 1978, p. 43, chart C 7. The author is indebted to Dr. Dale J. Osborn for valuable information on the species left out in rock art. The selection was not made according to the economic importance of the species: the sheep was completely and the goat almost completely left out though both species played an eminent role in the economy of the Libyan desert and Egyptian populations since the 6th millennium B.C.; pig, duck and cat were left out though they were domesticated in Egypt (cf. Krzyżaniak, 1983).

with those on the Decorated ware of the Naqada culture [77]. Such comparisons with the excavated mobiliary art will also be used on the following pages. They will enable us, together with vertical stratigraphy of palimpsest rock pictures, to establish a chronology of Upper Egyptian and Nubian rock art. Furthermore, horizontal stratigraphy will be used in order to obtain a chorology of the rock art discussed [78] which will show us that Upper Egypt and Nubia formed a specific rock art province.

Most specimens of the rock art discussed represent fixed, apparently canonized motifs. These can in most cases be dated either absolutely, when they themselves, or the style they were executed in, are paralleled on specimens of the mobiliary art, or relatively, when they occur upon or under a datable motif in a palimpsest. Two motifs have been dated by means of excavations when they happened to underlie datable archaeological layers [79].

Other possibilities of relative dating are offered by juxtapositions and palimpsests with rock inscriptions or by patina differences on a rock face inscribed with at least one datable motif or rock inscription [80]. There are also the so–called secondary drawings which were executed in the style and technique of rock drawings on the walls of certain temples and the vestigia accompanied by inscriptions or engraved in sanctuaries [81].

The method itself applied in interpreting rock art here can be called an isochronological one [82]. It stresses the fact that the world was at any moment in history an entity. Therefore, the historical phenomenon discussed (rock art) can only be interpreted historically by primarily using isochronological sources from the period concerned. Later sources are subsidiary and can be used solely when they refer either to survivals of the phenomenon discussed or to the more ancient period rock art dates from (more recent written sources). Ethnographic parallels can only elucidate the substance of a historical phenomenon, not its concrete manifestations in the past. They can thus helped us to identify rock art as basically religious but cannot identify it, in a concrete prehistorical context, as connected with the hunter's magic or the farmer's fertility cult, because observations they are based on have nearly always been made as late as in the last two centuries. Such an interpretation of rock art can only be derived

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77 Chester, 1982; Boreux, 1908.

78 A step towards a chorology of the E–Horizon see Červíček, 1980.

79 Myers, 1948, 1958, 1960; Bietak–Engelmayer, 1963, pp. 41–42.

80 Cf. Dunbar, 1941, p. 26 ff.; Červíček, 1973.

81 Castiglione, 1970; Červíček, 1982, p. 58.

82 Cf. Müller–Karpe, 1968, p. V ff.

from the rock pictures themselves and/or the isochronological sources named above.

As far as Upper Egyptian and Nubian rock art is concerned, isochronological sources concerning it are not completely absent. Apart from the mobiliary art, the most ancient Egyptian religious literature, the Pyramid texts, throw some light on the religion of the B–Horizon; the Old Testament contains references to religious practices of the Bronze Age, relevant to rock art of the C– and D–Horizons. From these horizons, many Egyptian sources have come down to us. Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Coptic, Arab and Persian sources are a help in interpreting the E– and F–Horizons.

In this book, no use will be made of non–prehistoric methods of dating and evaluating rock art because the documentation this book is based on is inadequate for this purpose. Such methods can be roughly classified as follows: methods borrowed from ethnology; those borrowed from ecology, zoology and exact sciences. Authors applying methods of ethnology to rock art imply that the rock artist depicted his own fellow men and objects of their material culture. They further imply that the rock artist tried to depict the subjects in question as realistically and true–to–nature as possible. They also imply that hunting themes are always older than agricultural ones. The classic of this methodology applied to Upper Egyptian rock art was H. A. Winkler who believed with its help that he could recognize in the rock pictures portraits of different prehistoric and historic peoples [83]. The classic author for applying methods of ecology and zoology to the rock art discussed is K. W. Butzer [84]. He has been primarily interested in the zoomorphs and implies that the rock artist depicted only real animals he knew by his own experience, without making any selection as to the species represented. This approach enables him to write an ecological history of the given region using zoomorphic rock pictures like animal fossils. K. S. Sandford and W. J. Arkell applied methods of geology, especially the elevation of rock pictures, for dating the latter. Recently, W. M. Davis has been developing a very similar approach [85].

An analysis of Saharan rock art under semeiotic aspects has been recently elaborated by K. H. Striedter [86].

Our isochronological method will enable us to distinguish several horizons of Upper Egyptian and Nubian rock art. Each horizon will consist of horizon motifs and/or styles, dated in one of the aforesaid ways.

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[83] Winkler, 1937, 1938, 1939.

[84] Butzer, 1958, 1959.

[85] Sandford and Arkell, 1933; Davis: 1978.

[86] Striedter, 1976, 1983, 1984.

Associated motifs and/or styles are those which can be considered contemporary with the horizon motifs and/or styles because they occur in juxtaposition with the latter in which they show the same degree of patination, or because they can be assigned to the horizon in question under the aspects of cultural history.

Some of the horizon and/or associated motifs appear in more than one horizon. These recurring motifs can nevertheless be classified in most cases into variants differing in style and/or technique and occurring in different juxtapositions and/or superpositions. Thus it is mostly possible to date the different variants to different horizons. There will of course remain a number of undatable motifs and styles but these represent the lesser part of the material collected by Winkler [87].

In the following chapter, the horizon and associated motifs and/or styles will first be discussed under the aspects of their chronology and chorology. The established chronological and chorological outline will then be interpreted historically.

[87] For the problem of the sun-like symbol see notes 179–81 below.

Chronology and Chorology

A–*Horizon*

Only two motifs of Nubian and Upper Egyptian rock art have been dated by archaeological methods. At Sayala, a rock fragment with a fragment of a rock engraving representing probably a giraffe has been found utilized for the construction of an A–Group abri and thus dated by a terminus ad quem [88]; unfortunately, this fragmentary engraving is too small and rather atypical.

At Abka, Myers excavated rock engravings of wavy lines he called " pythons drawings " buried in a stratigraphic position which enabled him to date them as made prior to 4000 B.C. [89]. These sinuous drawings, representing a horizon motif with 4000 B.C. as terminus ante quem, are paralleled in Nubia at the Second Cataract where they are associated with weathered engravings of spirals and cattle [90]; at Naga Kolorodna analogous engravings include concentric circles [91]; at Khor Zurqan they are associated with representations of cattle [92]; recently they have been discovered at Gebel Gorgod [93]. In Southern Upper Egypt, rock drawings of this type have been documented in the Wâdi Abu Maḍâwi near Armant [94], in the Wâdi Ḥammamât [95], in the Wâdi Menîḥ and in the Wâdi 'Aṭwani [96], in the environs of Ḥôsh [97], in the Wâdi Abu Wâṣil [98], near Gharb–Aswân [99] and along the Ghubâri Road in the Western Desert [100]. The snake–like

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88 Bietak – Engelmayer, 1963, pp. 41–42, pls. XXXVII/1 and XXXVIII/2.

89 Myers, 1958, pl. XXXIII/2, 3; id.: 1960, p. 177. Cf. Chart below.

90 Buschendorf–Otto, 1964, fig. 5 (Abu Sir). They occur on several further sites in the Second Cataract area, cf. Hellström, 1970, Corpus S.

91 Almagro Basch – Almagro Gorbea, 1968, figs. 76–79.

92 *Ibid.*, fig. 121.

93 Allard–Huard, 1982, figs. 2–4.

94 Winkler, 1939, pl. LX/1, LXI/1.

95 Goyon, 1957, p. 137, pl. XXXVII/139.

96 Winkler, 1937, figs. 57, 58; our fig. 111; id., 1938, pl. XXVII/1; our figs. 55, 62, 70.

97 Id., 1938, pl. XXXII; our fig. 220.

98 Our figs. 153, 159, 169, 171.

99 Our figs. 346, 352; Winkler, 1939, pls. LVIII, LIX.

100 Our figs. 371, 402, 403, 432–434; *ibid.*, pls. XLVI/2, LX/2.

motif recurs in the Tibesti rock art where it is associated with pictures of handprints [101]; it also occurs there as a decoration of bovids [102]. In general, it is spread across the Sahara and often accompanied by spirals [103]. Recently it has been found on the pottery excavated at Rahib Wells in the Wâdi Howar in the Libyan Desert [104]. It resembles the decoration of the Wavy Line ware of the "Khartoum Mesolithic", an archaic neolithic Sudanese culture, known from the south-west Libyan Desert and the East Central Sahara, too [105]. The latest dates place this culture in the 8th and 7th millennia B. C. [106].

As to the stratigraphical position of the wavy line motif (as we prefer to call it), it occurs almost always in juxtaposition or palimpsest with motifs of the same horizon.

Only in one case, on site 53 near Gharb Aswân, is it engraved beneath a giraffe which shows a sligntly darker patina (fig. 346). The line projecting from the giraffe's head does not seem to belong to the wavy line below it, it only touches the latter and its patina is darker than that of the giraffe. In figs. 111, 402 and 433 wavy lines are associated with curved lines, in figs. 403 and 432 with circles, in fig. 352 with stroke lines and cross-like figures. Several motifs associated with the wavy lines occur also separately, e.g. the curved lines and the stroke line on site 63 near the Ghubâri Road (fig. 386) or the handprints on site 35 (environs of Ḥôsh, fig. 217) and site 66 (near the Ghubâri Road, fig. 416). These handprints can be linked, because of their style and technique, with those in the Tibesti mentioned above. They represent a variant of the recurring handprint motif, another variant of which appears later in the 1st millennium B. C.

Another associated motif of the wavy lines, the spiral, is found in Upper Egypt in the Wâdi Menîḥ (fig. 114) in juxtaposition with a more lightly patinated bovid with a "lasso" [107], near the sources of the named wadi [108], in the Wâdi Abu Maḍâwi near Armant (linked with wavy lines) [109], in the environs of Ḥôsh [110]; in Lower Nubia, the spiral has been recorded

101 Červíček, 1984, p. 5, fig. 12.

102 Huard – Le Masson, 1964, fig. 13.

103 Huard – Leclant, s.d., p. 305 ff.

104 Kuper, 1981, figs. 35/2, 8.

105 Arkell, 1964, pp. 6–7; Gabriel, 1981.

106 Geus, 1982, p. 30, note 2; Gabriel places the most ancient neolitihc pottery of Tibesti, the "lower dotted wavy line", in the end of the 9th millennium B.C. (*op. cit.*, p. 199).

107 Cf. Winkler, 1937, fig. 57.

108 *Ibid.*, fig. 59; our fig. 160 (Wâdi Abu Wâsil).

109 Winkler, 1939, pl. LX/1.

110 Id., 1938, pl. XXXIX/1 (linked with a giraffe); our fig. 310.

in the Khor Rahma and in Korosko [111]; in Upper Nubia, it has been reported from the Second Cataract area [112] and Gebel Gorgod [113]. In the Western Desert, the spiral is attested near the Ghubâri Road east of the Dâkhla Oasis (fig. 430). Recently, spiral-decorated pottery dated to the times about 4000 B. C. has been excavated at Kadero near Khartoum [114]; on the other hand, the spiral appears on the Decorated Ware of the Naqada II pottery [115].

A rare associated motif of the wavy lines, the concentric circles, occur separately at Gebel Gorgod [116] and at the Second Cataract [117]. Still rarer are separate circles recorded at the Second Cataract [118] and in the Wâdi Abu Agag north of Aswan [119]. The circle is incised on a Naqada I ostrich egg and represents one of the standards carried by ships painted on the Naqada II pottery [120] but it could also represent the metal rings, used as ornamental money in Ancient Egypt, or a camel brandmark which was depicted in rock art and is still used by the Ababda [121]. As there are no discernible variants of this motif, it must be considered undatable. The same applies to the stroke lines which are not rare on Nubian rocks, in the Libyan Desert and on Egyptian and Nubian temples from different periods [122] as well as to cross-like figures which reappear in the Christian period.

We can thus define the first assemblage of rock art motifs, which we call the A-Horizon, as consisting of the wavy line horizon motif and four datable associated motifs: the curved lines, the spirals, the concentric circles and a handprint variant.

The undatable associated motifs comprise circles, giraffes, cattle, cross-like figures and stroke lines. Chronologically, the A-Horizon starts at a time prior to 4000 B. C.; it lasts till the second half of the 4th millennium B. C. because its motifs still appear on the mobiliary art of the Naqada II culture or occur in juxtaposition with B-Horizon Naqada motifs. In

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111 Dunbar, 1941, p. 8, pl. XXIII/152; Verner, 1974, fig. on p. 70.

112 Buschendorf-Otto, 1964, fig. 5; Hellström, 1970, Corpus X 103.

113 Allard-Huard, 1982, figs. 1, 4.

114 Krzyżaniak, 1978, fig. 3.

115 Vandier, 1952, fig, 229; Arkell: 1975, fig. 20/1.

116 Allard-Huard, 1982, fig. 3.

117 Hellström, 1970, Corpus X 42. The concentric circles recur on a neolithic vessel from the northernmost Tibesti, cf. Gabriel, 1981, fig. 6.

118 *Ibid.*, Corpus X 25.

119 Červíček, 1974, fig. 490.

120 Kantor, 1948, fig. 1, pl. IVA; Vandier, 1952, fig. 231/17.

121 Červíček, 1974, p. 198, fig. 15; id., 1978, p. 48.

122 *Ibid.*, p. 196–197.

these juxtapositions, both show the same patina [123] or the Naqada motifs are lighter [124].

Chorologically, the A-Horizon can be described as follows: it occurs in Upper Egypt in the Nile Valley and in the Eastern and Western Deserts, in the Nubian Nile Valley up to the Third Cataract. It is distributed fairly evenly over a few centres (Wâdi Menîḥ, Ghubâri Road, Ḥôsh, Korosko, 2nd and 3rd Cataracts). Outside Egypt and Nubia, it is widespread in Saharan rock art [125] and attested in the Sinai [126], see map 2.

B – *Horizon*

The most important motif cluster of the B–Horizon are the Naqada and First Dynasty barks [127]. They are a frequent rock art motif in Upper Egypt and Nubia, represented on several sites in the Eastern Desert (figs. 16, 22–24, 33, 34, 38, 45, 46, 49, 59, 72, 73, 76, 95, 100, 104, 109, 118, 136, 139, 142, 146, 148, 150, 151, 162, 170) [128], on the west bank of the Nile between Armant and Nag' al–Hamâdi (figs. 190–192, 196, 198, 201, 208), in the environs of Ḥôsh (figs. 216, 222, 227, 229, 238, 239, 241, 242, 244–246, 249, 265, 273, 275, 312, 316, 319, 326, 331–334), north of Aswân (figs. 343, 344, 353), on several sites on the east Nile bank between El–Kab and Aswân [129], throughout the Nubian Nile valley up to the Third Cataract [130] and in the Libyan Desert near the Ghubâri Road between the Khârga and Dâkhla oases (figs. 368, 406, 418, 420, 427, 454). All the barks are horizon motifs, only the bark in fig. 92 is an associated motif of the B–Horizon; it can be dated with the help of the Naqada anthropomorph with raised arms standing aboard it [131].

Another important B–Horizon motif cluster are the Badari, Naqada, A–Group and First Dynasty anthropomorphs [132]. Their chorology corresponds roughly to that of the B–Horizon barks; in Nubia, they are attested only up to the Second Cataract and occur there less frequently than the barks. They are often juxtaposed with the B–Horizon barks or

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123 Winkler, 1939, pl. LIX (with a Naqada bark); *ibid.*, pl. LXI/1 (with the double bucranium, an emblem known from the Naqada bark standards, cf. Vandier, 1952, fig. 231/5 and note 143 below).

124 *Ibid.*, pl. LVIII/1 (the Naqada barks show a lighter patina than the wavy lines).

125 Huard – Leclant, s.d., p. 305 ff.

126 Anati, 1979, fig. on p. 92 top (Ramat Matred).

127 Červíček, 1978, pp. 36–37, Chart A1 – 6. Cf. Chart below.

128 Cf. id., 1974, pp. 99–125.

129 *Ibid.*

130 Id., 1978, l.c.

131 Id., 1974, p. 139.

132 *Ibid.*, id., 1978, pp. 37–38, Chart A 7–14.

depicted aboard the latter like on the D-Ware of the Naqada culture, in the latter case mostly schematized to strokes (figs. 7, 13, 16, 23, 28, 29, 31, 32, 35, 44, 45, 47, 49, 52, 56, 57, 59, 61, 74, 75, 79, 83, 86, 88, 90-92, 95, 100, 102, 106, 110, 112, 118, 118, 121, 125-131, 142-144, 147-149, 150, 163, 170, 190, 191, 226, 239, 241, 244, 264-267, 270, 272, 273, 276, 279, 281, 286, 308, 332, 334, 336, 337, 341-344, 353, 360, 406, 419, 420, 446, 451, 461, 462, 468, 476, 477). They sometimes carry objects known from the Late Prehistoric and Archaic Egypt, e.g. sceptres [133]. The stylized squatting anthropomorphs in figs. 286 and 341 are paralleled by a protodynastic potmark from Lower Nubia [134]. The cluster consists of horizon motifs with the exception of the rather frequent associated motif of a wild cattle hunt with a lasso (figs. 7, 52, 90, 144, 163, 272) which can only be dated on the ground of its style and a palimpsest in which a B-style zoomorph is superimposed on it (fig. 272). In the less schematic pictures, a male anthropomorph lassoing a long-horned bull can be identified (figs. 52, 90, 144, 272). In figs. 90 and 144, further bovids are juxtaposed with this scene.

The aforesaid applies to almost the whole B-Horizon zoomorphic motif cluster; it consists of horizon motifs datable to it on the grounds of their style (figs. 2, 4, 51, 65, 141, 189, 194, 195, 197, 199, 200, 202, 203, 205, 248, 289, 309, 363, 385, 390, 401, 421) [135] except two associated motifs (the elephant in fig. 50, the bovid and ovine in fig. 77). The chrology of the B-Horizon zoomorphs corresponds approximately to that of the B-Horizon barks and anthropomorphs.

Another B-Horizon motif cluster consists of sandalprints with a pear-shaped outline and (not always represented) loosened straps, also documented as a pot-mark of the Naqada culture and the First Dynasty as well as a funerary object of the latter (figs. 10, 54, 94, 166, 415, 458) [136]. It is rarer than the foregoing horizon motifs but its chorology is almost the same; it is only absent on the sites on the border of the Libyan desert north-west of Armant and south-east of Nag' al-Ḥamâdi. It comprises two sandalprint motifs: one with two straps fastened on the sides (figs. 10,

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[133] *Ibid.*, p. 38; the anthropomorphs in figs. 468 and 476 carry an oar or rudder like those on a D-Ware vase (Vandier, 1952, p. 349, fig. 326), the anthropomorph in fig. 308 the *w*³*š*-sceptre like those in the painted Hierakonpolis tomb (*ibid.*, fig. 375 bottom left and 376 top left). The *ḥk*³*t*-sceptre is carried by anthropomorphs aboard a B-Horizon bark (Murray - Myers, 1933, fig. 1, XX/3). For crooks as West European megalithic, Mesopotamian and Scandinavian rock art symbols see Müller-Karpe, 1974, pp. 716, 728-9; Burenhult, 1980, Tradition I ("axes").

[134] Bosticco, 1967, fig. 40/4.

[135] Cf. Červíček, 1974, p. 168 ff.; 1978, pp. 39-40, chart A 15-23, 35.

[136] Id.: 1974, p. 192; 1978, pp. 40-41, chart A 30; Vila, 1976, fig. 38/3.

94, 166, 415, 458) and the other one with more straps on the sides and one strap on the tip of the sole (fig. 54) [137]. As these motifs have never been found among the vestigia in temples [138] and on rocks they are never jusxtaposed with inscriptions or otherwise found in an E–Horizon context, it does not seem correct to date them to the Greek and Roman periods [139].

Rare B–Horizon motifs are the Naqada III palettes (figs. 52, 69) [140] engraved in the environs of Ḥôsh and near the Ghubâri road east of Dâkhla, and razors near Armant (fig. 192) and the Second Cataract [141].

The B–Horizon symbol cluster comprises a floral motif similar to those painted on the Naqada C–Ware (fig. 71) [142], a double bucranium as a ship standard on the Naqada D–Ware (fig. 119) [143], bucrania and Z–signs paralleled on the Naqada palettes (fig. 134) [144], concentric semicircles like those on the D–Ware (figs. 134, 152) [145], a labrys–like motif (fig. 291) [146] and a harpoon (figs. 197, 248, 315). These are all horizon motifs with the exception of the associated harpoon motif. The B–Horizon symbols are much rarer than the other motifs – they are represented in the Eastern Desert, near Armant and Ḥôsh and the labrys–shaped symbol also near the Second Cataract [147]. An associated motif of the B–Horizon are the frequent scooped–out depressions, or at least some of them, because they have been in two cases engraved with secondary C–Horizon motifs (figs. 454, 457).

Chorologically, the B–Horizon corresponds roughly to the A–Horizon but its motifs are much more frequent than those of the latter. There is also a difference in that the A–Horizon is more frequent in the Libyan Desert than in the Eastern Desert and the B–Horizon vice versa.

C – *Horizon*

Barks are still an important horizon motif cluster in this period (figs. 121, 131, 232, 234–236, 243, 256, 296). In Winkler's material, the most

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137 Cf. Verner, 1974, p. 30–31 (types III/6 and 10); Červíček, 1974, fig. 132.

138 Castiglione, 1970.

139 Cf. Verner, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–31.

140 Cf. Vandier, 1952, pp. 385–386, fig. 262; Kaiser: 1957, pl. 24.

141 Cf. Hellström, 1970, Corpus X 45, 48; Müller, 1983.

142 Cf. Vandier, *op. cit.*, fig. 171; Childe, 1953, fig. 19.

143 Vandier, *op. cit.*, pp. 340–341, fig. 321/5. The bark standards are ensigns of gods; the double bucranium is the sign of the Great Goddess depicted on figs. 28, 29, 32, 92 and 279 – cf. Baumgartel, 1955, p. 13; 1960, p. 151, fig. 27.

144 Vandier, *op. cit.*, fig. 252.

145 *Ibid.*, fig. 240.

146 Červíček, 1978, p. 41, chart A 31.

147 *Ibid.*

frequent type of C–Horizon barks are the cargo boats in figs. 231, 234–236, 256 and 296. They carry a pointed oval rudder attested since the 5th Dynasty [148] or a triangular rudder which appeared in the New Kingdom [149]. These rudders are firmly fixed to a 2–3 m high steering post according to the steering gear system invented in Egypt at the end of the Old Kingdom [150]. Another bark type with a reverted zoomorphic prow is shown in fig. 232; such prows have been known on Egyptian ships since the 4th to the 6th Dynasties [151]. Another C–Horizon motif is the bark in fig. 243 (centre) with a double rudder coupled by means of a transverse pole for which the 6th Dynasty can be considered a terminus a quo [152]. The sailing bark in fig. 121 shows a type known from the Middle and New Kingdoms [153].

The C–Horizon barks have been depicted in the Eastern Desert in the Wâdi Menîḥ and in Magal Hodein [154], in Upper Egypt in the environs of Ḥôsh (figs. 231, 232, 234–236, 243, 256) and in the Wâdi Barqá west of Naqada (fig. 296), in Nubia in the Khor Akiba, at Sayala, Sabagura, Tomas, in the Second Cataract area and south of the Dal Cataract [155]. A second important motif cluster of the C–Horizon is the anthropomorphs (figs. 361, 374, 393, 400, 429, 450, 454, 456, 457). They show a female anthropomorph with the so–called false steatopygy, sometimes wearing a wide ornamented skirt, paralleled on the C–Group pottery [156]. Almost all the representations of this type are concentrated in the Libyan Desert along the Ghubâri Road (all the figs. cited above) [157]; some are found in Nubia at Fukundi, in the Khor Ghattas and near the Second Cataract [158].

A third motif cluster typical of the C–Horizon is the bovine representa tions. They comprise three horizon motifs: individual long–horned bovids in the style known from the C–Group pottery (figs. 9, 136, 142, 340, 486), anthropomorph holding a bovid by its tail (fig. 271) and the cow–and–calf

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148 Cf. Červíček, 1974, p. 130 (Typus XIV). Cf. Chart below.

149 Cf. Wreszinski, vol. 1/II, pls. 364, 366; vol. 2/II, pls. 116, 186; Davies: 1946, pl. XIII.

150 Köster, 1925, p. 21.

151 Červíček, 1974, p. 129 (Typus XII; the "hedgehog's head" on the prow is actually a goose head, cf. note 231 below).

152 Boreux, 1925, p. 402, fig. 167.

153 Červíček, 1974, p. 133 (Typus XXI).

154 *Ibid.*; Winkler, 1937, fig. 45 top right.

155 Červíček, 1978, pp. 41–42; Vila, 1976, fig. 38/1.

156 Červíček, 1974, p. 139, note 455.

157 Cf. Winkler, 1939, pls. XXXIX–XLVIII.

158 Červíček, 1978, p. 42.

motif (fig. 108) [159]. These motifs are rather frequent in the Eastern Desert (Qena – Qoṣêr Road, Wâdi Zeidûn, Wâdi Abu Wâṣil, Wâdi Abu Subeira, Magal Hodein Abrak) and in the Upper Egyptian Nile valley (Chor es-Salaam, El-Ḥôsh, Mamlah-El-Outuani) [160] as well as in the Libyan Desert (Winkler's site 53 north-west of Aswân, Ghubâri Road, Abu Ballas and Gebel 'Uwēnât); throughout Nubia as far south as the region of the Dal Caract; their affinities reach from the Sahara as far as Ethiopia and Arabia [161].

A recurring motif of the horizon discussed is the sandalprints. Their C-Horizon variant shows a sandal type with a distinct heel part, often found in pairs [162]. The C-Horizon sandalprints are known from El-Hagandia in the Upper Egyptian Nile valley, Wâdi Abu Subeira in the Eastern Desert [163], Naga Kolorodna, Khor Zurkan, Khor Agabed Magakya and the Second Cataract area in Nubia [164], as well as from the Libyan Desert where they occur on Winkler's site 53 [165] and along the Ghubâri Road (figs. 365, 367).

A C-Horizon symbol is the so-called Salomo's footprint, attested as a recurring rock-art motif near El-Ḥôsh (fig. 324) and at Gerf Hussein [166]. In the environs of Ḥôsh, Winkler documented a rock engraving probably representing a trapezoidal ingot (fig. 237b ottom). Analogous engravings have been discovered in the Second Cataract area near Abka. A hieroglyph of this appearance was used in the Middle Kingdom as an ideogram in the word "copper" and as determinative for objects of copper or bronze [167].

D – *Horizon*

The most important D-Horizon motif is again barks (figs. 15, 21, 97, 193, 212, 214, 243, 318). They are characterised by a rudder fixed to a high support pole, a small superstructure on the prow, another one on the stern and a rectangular yard-sail [168]. Their chorology includes the

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159 *Ibid.*, pp. 43–44, chart C 6, 12, 13.

160 Cf. Červíček, 1974, pp. 181–183.

161 Winkler, 1939, pls. XXXVI, XXXVII; Rhotert, 1952, pl. XV (Kargur Talh); Vila: 1975, fig. 110; 1978b, pl. LXIX B; Červíček, 1978, pp. 43–44. Cf. note 213 below.

162 Červíček, 1974, p. 192; 1978, p. 46.

163 *Id.*, 1974, figs. 130 and 510.

164 Id., 1978, l. c.

165 Winkler, 1939, pls. XIV/2, XVI/1.

166 Červíček, 1974, pp. 141, 192, fig. 227. According to Dunbar it appeared already in the B-Horizon (*Ibid.*, note 778).

167 Cf. Červíček, 1978, p. 45, chart C 16; Gardiner, 1964, p. 490 (N 34) and p. 529 (W 13).

168 Červíček, *op. cit.*, pp. 48–49. Cf. Chart below.

Qena–Qoşêr Road (figs. 15, 21), the Wâdi Hilâni (fig. 97), Kanais, Scharab and Abrak in the Eastern Desert; Mamlah – El–Otuani [169] and the environs of Ḥôsh (figs. 214, 243, 318) in the Upper Egyptian Nile valley; the eastern border of the Libyan Desert between Armant and Nag 'el–Hamâdi (figs. 193, 212); Nubia as far south as Sabu near the Third Cataract [170]. As to the metallic objects and horse–drawn chariots appearing as associated motifs in the rock art of this horizon in Nubia, in Winkler's material there is a razor representation from the Libyan Desert (fig. 426, Ghubâri Road). Chorologically, analogous motifs occur in Saharan (Horse Period), Near Eastern and European rock art, too [171].

E – *Horizon*

The most frequent E–Horizon motif is foot– or shoeprints, frequently occuring in pairs. Their forms correspond to those of the vestigia known from the temples and other holy places of the antique world [172]. On rocks they have been found in Upper Egypt in the Wâdi 'Aṭwani (fig. 41), in the Wâdi Abu Wâşil (figs. 158, 160), in the environs of Ḥôsh (figs. 249, 253, 257, 328), throughout Lower Nubia as far south as Qaşr Ibrîm [173], but their greatest concentration is along the Ghubâri Road east of the Dâkhla Oasis (figs. 359, 366, 382, 389, 391, 395, 397, 407, 422, 431, 445, 453, 455, 459, 460, 463, 464, 466, 475, 478, 494) with a smaller one north of the Khârga Oasis (figs. 505, 507, 508). A second E–Horizon motif is barks of the Graeco–Roman period (figs. 1, 80–82, 84, 85, 251, 304, 305, 306, 316). They are represented throughout the Upper Egyptian and Nubian Nile valley (as far south as Musawwarat es–Sufra where they occur as secondary pictures drawn in rock art techniques on the temple walls) [174].

A third E–Horizon motif is schematic offering tables of the Meroitic type (figs. 19, 315, 327) spread all over Lower Nubia as far north as El–Ḥôsh in Upper Egypt and Wâdi Hammamât in the Eastern Desert [175].

A fourth E–Horizon motif is the schematic horned altar (figs. 182, 228, 471, 472, 506) occurring in northern Lower Nubia and southern Upper

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169 Id., 1974, pp. 134–135 (Typus XXII–XXVI).

170 Id., 1978, pp. 48–49; Hinkel, 1978, photo 2 after p. 56.

171 According to its from, the razor probably dates from the time of the 18th Dynasty, cf. Petrie, 1917, pl. LXI/78, 79; Müller, 1983, fig. 3. Examples from Nubia see Červíček, *op. cit.*, pp. 47–48, 51; Leclant, 1972, pl. XXVI (fig. 30); Vila, 1976, fig. 49/2. For the other regions see note 216 below.

172 Castiglione, 1970. Cf. Chart below.

173 Červíček, 1980, chart; Žába: 1974, figs. 217, 338.

174 *Ibid.*

175 *Ibid.*

Egypt as well as near the Khârga Oasis [176]. A recurring motif of the E–Horizon is the swastika (fig. 83). Apart from Wâdi Gash, it occurs in Sharab, Abrak and Galt el–Aguz in the Eastern Desert [177] and on several sites in Lower Nubia [178].

A second recurring motif of this horizon is the sun–like symbol (figs. 249, 325, 339 and 347). It appears in the C–Ware of the Naqada culture and reappears on the Napatan pottery [179]. Apart from Winkler's sites 35, 48, 52 (environs of Ḥôsh) and 53 (north–west of Aswân), this symbol is found in the Second Cataract area [180]. Its dating is attested by the juxtaposition in fig. 249 where it is associated (without patina differences) with an E–Horizon footprint and other symbols of this horizon; on the other hand, it never occurs in juxtaposition with B–Horizon rock–pictures [181].

A third recurring motif of the E–Horizon is the pentagram (figs. 249, 384). It also appears already on the mobiliary art of the Naqada culture [182], reappears in the C–Group, the 26th Dynasty ans as an apotropaic Christian sign [183] but its dating to the E–Horizon is attested by the juxtaposition in fig. 249. Apart from Winkler's site 35 it has been recorded on Lower Nubian rock art sites [184].

Chequered engravings (figs. 383, 494, 496) are an associated motif of the E–Horizon as they are found on Winkler's site 69 (Ghubâri Road) in a juxtaposition with the footprints of the latter (fig. 494). A similar motif like in fig. 494 occurs on a magical gem from the 2nd or 3rd century A. D.; the designs in fig. 383 and 496 resemble the spectacles–like characters of Coptic and Islamic magical texts [185].

Another associated recurring motif of the E–Horizon is the six–pointed star (figs. 383, 496); it was still in use in the following F–Horizon in which it occurs in the Eastern Desert at Sharab [186]. The palm branch

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176 *Ibid.*; Žába, 1974, figs. 271, 338.

177 Červíček, 1974, pp. 194–5, figs. 2, 177, 197, 426, 428, 439.

178 Verner, 1974, pp. 63–5.

179 Vandier, 1952, fig. 170/55; Dunham, 1965, Gr. III/6. It was still in use in the Christian period, see Červíček, 1974, p. 198, n. 826.

180 Hellström, 1970, Corpus X 1.

181 Nevertheless, sun–symbols like fig. 68 probably date from the B–Horizon as their patina and the analogous symbols of the Mediterranean and West European mega lithic context suggest (Müller–Karpe, 1974, pp. 714, 730).

182 Vandier, 1952, fig. 244.

183 Červíček, 1974, p. 197, note 819.

184 *Ibid.*

185 Cf. Winkler, 1930, p. 150 ff.; Urech, 1979, p. 43 top right; Stutzinger et al. 1983, p. 557, fig. 161.

186 Červíček, 1974, p. 197, fig. 437.

(figs. 327, 495) is also an associated motif of the E–Horizon as the juxtapositions in figs. 19 and 327 show. The disc with characters in fig. 388 is juxtaposed to a Christian cross and a palm branch; an analogous motif has been recorded in Lower Nubia [187]. The labrys (fig. 484) is on a Lower Nubian site in the region of Mariya associated with an E–Horizon shoeprint [188].

An associated motif of the E–Horizon is further rock pictures of anthropomorphs riding on the withers of the camel, in an archaic riding posture, typical of the beginnings of the dromedary nomadism in the second half of the first millennium B. C. (figs. 268, 487, 489, 491; 498 – camel saddled on its withers). Apart from Winkler's sites 38 (Wâdi Abu Wâṣil) and 69 (Ghubâri Road), this motif is widespread in the Eastern Desert and throughout the Sahara; it originated in the Arabic peninsula [189].

F – *Horizon*

The F–Horizon in Upper Egypt corresponds to the X–Group, Christian and Islamic horizons in Nubia [190]. It comprises several symbolical Christian horizon motifs: orants (figs. 93, 297, 299); stylized ibexes (figs. 299, 301, 357) [191]; peacock (fig. 302); crosses of different types (figs. 89, 103, 109, 117, 156, 178–181, 233, 259, 300, 358, 378, 380, 387, 399, 412) [192]; as well as further Christian and other symbols: fish and anchor (fig. 78); hand (fig. 484) [193]; the symbol in fig. 155 left [194]; the symbols fig. 465 right [195]; chapel (fig. 208) [196].

Recurring symbols such as the swastika, the pentagram, the six–pointed star, the sun–like symbol and the footprints were still used in this horizon [197].

An associated F–Horizon cluster comprises stylized male and female

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187 Fiedler, 1978, p. 45, photo 4 (classified without tangible grounds as "Arab"). A similar disc is engraved on a 3th cent. magic device from Pergamon, cf. Stutzinger et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 552–554, cat. no. 157.

188 Žába, 1974, p. 169, fig. 271.

189 Cf. Červíček, 1982, p. 57, chart NM 3; id. – Kortler, 1979, pp. 231–232.

190 Cf. Červíček, *op. cit.*, pp. 58–60, chart X and CH. Cf. Chart below.

191 Cf. Adams, 1962, fig. 16, nos. 4 and 6; Egger, 1964, p. 218 (Cat. no. 686), fig. 135.

192 Cf. Červíček, 1974, pp. 194–195.

193 The hand with six fingers is superimposed on E–Horizon engravings with a labrys.

194 In fig. 117 it is juxtaposed with a cross.

195 They are known from Nubia as X–Group potmarks, see Dunham, 1965, Group IX, 6.

196 Cf. Červíček, 1982, p. 60, chart CH 8.

197 *Ibid.*, chart; Winkler, 1930, p. 119 ff.; Castiglione, 1970, p. 96, note 16.

sexual organs and schematic scenes of sexual intercourse (in fig. 412 in a juxtaposition with a cross): figs. 412, 413, 414, 464 (associated with a footprint), 473, 474, 488, 493. Analogous representations are known from Arabia and Libya. Rock-drawings of the dwarf-like ithyphallic god Bes occur in Nubia and in the Fezzan [198].

Another associated motif of the F-Horizon is men armed with long lances (figs. 492, 501) or with round shields and short swords (fig. 298) [199]. Barks of the nuggar and felluka type (figs. 500, 504) can also be dated into this horizon [200].

They may already belong to the Islamic era in which Upper Egyptian and Nubian rock art died out – the Arabic tribal and propriety marks (wusûm) can be considered its last offspring [201].

Chorologically, the F-Horizon symbols are spread over Upper Egypt, the Eastern and Libyan Deserts as well as Nubia as far south as the Dal Cataract [202] with the greatest concentration in the Libyan Desert (Ghubâri Road). The distribution of the other motifs of the F-Horizon is more limited (see map 7).

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198 Cf. Frobenius, 1937, figs. 95–100, pls. L, LX–LXII; Curto et al., 1965, pp. 25–26, pl. XIVa, b; Červíček, 1979, pp. 9–10. Apart from Bes, they seem to go back to a pre-Islamic fertility cult of the Arabian peninsula, see Spoer, 1908, p. 283 ff.; Grohmann, 1963, p. 245, note 6 and p. 269.

199 See Červíček, 1982, pp. 55–60, Chart X 1.

200 Cf. Hornell, 1942, p. 13, pl. II/2.

201 Cf. Červíček, 1974, p. 198.

202 Cf. Winkler, 1939, pls. VII/2, IX/3; Dunbar, 1941, pl. XXIII/134–142, 147, 149, 159; Hellström, 1970, Corpus X 10–12, 88; Verner, 1974, p. 58 ff., 103 ff.; Vila, 1975, fig. 97 C.

Historical Interpretation

What story do the rock pictures tell? According to Winkler they tell us the ethnohistory of the given region. According to Butzer [203] they tell us the history of the climate and the history of the animals. According to Gabriel they tell us the history of the animals and the economic history, according to Krzyżaniak they tell us only the latter [204]. According to Huard they tell us the cultural history, according to Ziegert the rock pictures by themselves do not tell us anything [205].

As already mentioned in the chapter on the methods, in the author's opinion most rock pictures are works of religious art. The story they tell is, therefore, primarily relevant to the history of religions. However, they tell us the history of religions selectively and incompletely. The selectivity results from the fact that there exist regions where there are rocks yet rock art is completely or almost completely lacking, e.g. parts of Ethiopia, Central Europe, the most Balkans, Central Italy. These gaps are so large and profound that iconoclasm alone cannot account for them. The incompleteness is due to the fact that rock art was but an aspect of a given primitive religion as ethnographic parallels and archaeological fines show.

If we consider rock art as an artistic expression of certain primitive religions, i.e. its individual motifs as expressions of certain religious ideas, it becomes understandable why the chorology of these motifs differs from that of material artefacts. Like the religious ideas they represented, certain rock art motifs spread over areas normally much larger than those over which elements of material culture spread. There is a second difference: certain rock art motifs are, unlike elements of material culture, dispersed over several separated areas which can be very far from one another [206].

The oldest horizon of Upper Egyptian and Nubian rock art, the A–Horizon, prior to 4000 B. C., comprises linear motifs (wavy line, spiral, concentric circles) known from the Neolithic cultures of the Near East, the Mediterranean, South–East and Central Europe but also from the archaic Neolithic culture of the Sudan and from the Naqada culture.

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203 Butzer, 1958, 1959.

204 Gabriel, 1973, 1974, 1977, 1981; Krzyżaniak, 1983, p. 7.

205 Huard – Leclant, 1972; id., s.d.; Ziegert, 1967, pp. 27–8.

206 Cf. Müller–Karpe, 1981, p. 187 ff.

The spiral has been interpreted as the numinous male principle. The rock art wavy lines resemble serpents which also occur on predynastic Egyptian monuments. In Ancient Egyptian religion, an archaic earth-god Akeru, the god Atum as creator and certain demons were serpentiform. In the Pyramid texts, there is still an antagonism recorded between the serpentiform numina of the A-Horizon who come forth from the earth and the celestial numina of the B-Horizon who fight them. The A-Horizon numina were not yet anthropomorphic gods, they were numinous powers. Analogous motifs occur in rock art of the Sahara, the Canaries, on the earliest Scandinavian and Western European petroglyphs, in the megalithic art of the Maltese islands and within the West-European Megalithic [207].

In the B-Horizon, the discussed rock art reflects the religion of the Naqada culture and of the Nubian A-Group in which anthropomorphic gods appeared; the anthropomorphs comprise the so-called Great Goddess with arms raised in a protective gesture (figs. 28, 29, 32, 92, 279), sometimes represented with a male partner (figs. 45, 75, 92, 95, 121, 148). Her sign is a double bucranium (fig. 119). The male deity also appears alone (figs. 79, 147); he carries a feather headdress and (seldom) the Nubian bow (fig. 148). There are also rare rock pictures of a divine triad (fig. 121), of a bird-headed deity (fig. 451) and of an anthropomorph wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt. A characteristic B-Horizon motif is a male anthropomorph lassoing a bull. A bovine cult is attested by burials of bovids in the isochronological Badari culture and by bull's heads modelled in clay with real horns surrounding a First Dynasty royal tomb at Sakkara; another expression of this cult are the rock art bucrania [208].

The most ancient cup-holes and sandalprints date from this horizon. The Pyramid texts mention the sandals and/or soles many times as *ṯbt*, *ṯbw* or *wḫ³tj* ("pair of sandals" with a determinative similar to the sandalprint pairs on rocks). They belong to gods or to the (divine) King; Horus tramples snakes down with them and the earth god Gēb puts his sandal on the head of the King's foe Seth. The reborn King "shall lay

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[207] Cf. Keimer, 1947, pp. 27–28, figs. 25–29; Breasted, 1959, pp. 95, 135; Morenz, 1960, pp. 17–19; Soudský – Pavlů, 1966; Helck – Otto, 1970, p. 323; Herodotus, Hist. II, 74. Similarly in the pre-Islamic religions of Arabia, cf. Grohmann, 1963, pp. 82, 269. In the 14th and 15th cent., the Beja still held snakes in great esteem (Vantini, 1975, p. 623). For the European parallels see Glob, 1969, p. 298 ff.; Ridley, 1976; Burenhult, 1980, I, p. 104 ff., fig. 45 (Tradition I); Müller-Karpe, 1974, pp. 715–6; for the Saharan and Canarese parallels Červíček, 1984, p. 15, fig. 12; Beltran, 1978.

[208] Cf. Hornblower, 1929; Bonnet, 1952, p. 751 ff.; Emery, 1961, p. 71, pls. 8 and 9. Animal burials of the 4th millennium B. C. also show a cult of gazelles and dogs (Hornung, 1971, p. 92) which is again reflected by the B-Horizon "dog-and-gazelle" motif (Červíček, 1978, p. 39, chart A 18).

down the earth with his foot (*ṯbṯ*)". With the four sandal straps *rwḏ* belonging to the sandals of Osiris, Rē' will draw off the poison fangs of a snake which came forth from the earth. From the latter word, the verb and the adjective *rwḏ* is derived with the meaning "to endure", "durable". Later Egyptian sources speak about the beneficial and fertilizing role of the king's sandals: "The harvest is rich wherever his sandals are" [209].

Almost all bark types which appear in this horizon survived in Ancient Egypt as sacred barks. The barks depicted in rock art are the *dpt*, a divine bark (Winkler's Sickle–Boat, the author's Typus I); the *ḥb*3, a bark of the gods in the sky (Winkler's Square Boat, the author's Typus II) and the *wj*3, the bark of the sun–god Rē' in the sky and in the netherworld (Winkler's Incurved Sickle–Boat, the author's Typus IV). All three of them are divine and celestial barks with the help of which gods cross the sky. In the *wj*3–bark of the sun–god Rē', the deceased King shall "occupy his seat, row over the sky and mount up to the distant ones; he shall row with the Imperishable Stars, navigate with the Unwearing Stars" [210].

The B–Horizon belongs to the Late Neolithic and Early Copper Age; three of its main motifs – cup–holes, ships and footprints – reappear in Scandinavian Late Neolithic, Bronze and Iron Age rock art respectively. On the other hand, this horizon corresponds to the more ancient Round–Head Period of the Central Saharan rock art as is suggested by its anthropomorphs. Yet it is only the artistic style which could have spread from Central Sahara; the origin of the named motifs was autochthonous in Egypt and Nubia, or – in the case of Winkler's "square boats" – Mesopotamian [211].

In Upper Egypt, the B–Horizon chorology shows that the Naqada religion was more widely distributed than the Naqada culture as hitherto excavated. The corresponding rock pictures were frequent not only in the

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209 Pyr 197, 219, 442, 443, 578, 663, 681, 917, 1215, 1660, 2067; Castiglione, 1966, p. 46; Faulkner, 1969, pp. 52, 89, 114, 125, 159, 160, 191, 193, 247–248, 295. Cf. also Bertholet, 1976, p. 190 (Fußspur).

210 The anthropomorphs cf. Michailidis, 1955; Baumgartel, 1970, p. 492 ff.; Griffiths, 1975; Červíček, 1978, pp. 37–38, chart A 8. The barks cf. Gardiner: 1964, pp. 498–499 (P1, P3); Pyr. 124, 563, 785, 1171, 1764; Faulkner, 1969, pp. 39, 111, 143, 189, 259; Červíček, 1974, p. 99 ff., notes 258, 347; Wb V 446.

211 The classification of Central Saharan rock art see Kuper: s.d. Cf. O. Almgren, 1927; Schultz, 1931, p. 260 ff.; Winkler, 1938, pp. 27, 35–39; Althin: 1945; Marstrander, 1966; Glob: 1969; Hagen, 1971, p. 41 ff.; B. Almgren, 1980; Burenhult, 1980. Ethiopian rock art shows B–Horizon affinities with Copper Age pottery decoration and rock art of south–western Europe (cf. Müller–Karpe, 1968, p. 661, pls. 550–1, 570 D 9–12 with Červíček, 1971 b, figs. 29, 36–38, 41, 43, 47) as well as with the megalithic art of the Maltese islands (cf. Ridley, 1976, figs. pp. 25; 29; 57–63 with Červíček, *ibid.*, figs. 29; 1–3, 10, 15, 48; id., 1976, p. 13ff., figs. 14, 19–17, 21, 25).

Nile valley but also in the Eastern Desert east of Naqada and in the Libyan Desert between Khârga and Dâkhla oases. Similarly, the A–Group religion influence reached farther south in Nubia than the excavated A–Group sites.

The C–Horizon belongs to the Late Copper Age and the Early Bronze Age. Iconographically, it reflects the C–Group religion, with the characteristic goddess wearing a gorgeous skirt and the dominant bovine cult which links it with the Saharan rock art of the Cattle Period. The latter is more ancient, therefore the respective religion probably spread from the Central Sahara southwards and eastwards, across the Nile valley as far east as Ethiopia and Arabia. Its remnants seem to be a part of the so–called cattle complex of the modern Nilotes, Massai, Fulani, several Bantu and South Ethiopian peoples [212].

Archaeologically, three cultures correspond to the C– and D–Horizons: the C–Group in Lower Nubia and the Libyan Desert, the Pan–Graves in Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia and the Classical Kerma in Upper Nubia; archaeological finds are lacking in the Eastern Desert. All three cultures practised a bovid cult, the Pan–Graves in addition a gazelle cult and a goat one. The concentration of the C–Group affinities in the rock art of the Libyan Desert is paralleled by recent archaeological C–Group finds in the same area. The isochronological Egyptian written sources refer to three peoples, the *Tmḥw* (a Libyan tribe), the *Nḥsjw* (southerners) and the *Mḏ³jw* (inhabitants of the *Mḏ³* country east of Nubia), who can be located to the Libyan Desert, Nubia and the Eastern Desert respectively [213]. The C–Horizon chorology shows that the Eastern Desert was at that time populated as well and that its inhabitants had a rock art religion very similar to that of the Nile valley and the Libyan Desert (bovine motifs). There were, however, regional differences as well: the metallic objects were depicted only in Upper Nubia in the area of the Kerma culture and the "skirt–goddess" was only represented in the area of the C–Group.

The end of the C–Horizon belongs to the Bronze Age. Metallic objects represent an adored value of the Bronze Age religions; apart from Upper

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[212] Cf. Červíček, 1971a, b; id. – Braukämper, 1975; id. – Kortler, 1979; Anati, 1968, pp. 183–4; Roset, 1984. For a bovine cult in the Nile Delta and Libya in Herodotus' time cf. Hist. II, 41, note 57 and IV, 106. The Libyan peoples who practised this cult deformed the horns of their cattle (ibid. 183). Arab sources attest the cattle complex in the 13th century Eritrea (Vantini, 1975, p. 408). For the cattle complex of the modern African peoples see Merker, 1910, p. 168, fig. 58; Straube, 1960; Kronenberg, 1961; Braukämper, 1971, p. 102 ff.; Haberland, 1983; the C–Horizon rock pictures resembling it Červíček, 1978, p. 43.

[213] Wb II 186, 303 and V 368; Bietak, 1966, p. 61 ff.; Helck, 1974; Červíček, 1974, pp. 2 and 181 ff.; Osing, 1979.

Egypt and Nubia, they were rock art motifs in the Fezzan, Southern Morocco, in the Maritime Alps, England, Scotland, South Scandinavia, Karelia and rarely, Valcamonica [214]. It is at the end of the C–Horizon and in the D–Horizon that the Old Testament reveals us important aspects of the Late Bronze Age religions, relevant to rock art. On the tops of rocks and on hills, the autochthonous Bronze Age Palestinians brought offerings to numina either on altars or directly on the rocks themselves. Amongs the Israelites, only the place chasen by God was considered appropriate for offering to Him; "pictures of (pagan) idols" were to be destroyed [215]. Some offering places on the rock– and hill–tops may correspond to rock art sites with vestigia and cup–holes which are found on flat rock tops. The "pictures of idols" may comprise rock pictures and the command to destroy them could account for the traces of iconoclasm met with on many rock art sites.

The D–Horizon belongs fully to the Bronze Age. Apart from metallic objects with symbols of a solar religion depicted in Saharan and European rock art, the (sometimes horse–drawn) chariot, another cultic object of that epoch, links Nubian rock art with the contemporaneous Saharan, Near Eastern, North Pontic, Transcaucasian, Central Asian and Scandinavian rock art whereas most metallic objects and all chariots on Valcamonica rocks date from the Early Iron Age. Like the ship which continued to be depicted, the rock art chariot is a celestial vehicle of gods, comparable to a cloud; this interpretation goes back to Nordic mythology [216].

The E–Horizon belongs to the Iron age. Camel and horse rider representations link it with Arabian rock art where they originated and with the Saharan Camel Period which starts later. New belligerent motifs seem to be an axpression of a new religion, relics of which may be the warlike ethos and the high appreciation of the horse with the Arabs and many

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[214] Morris, 1977, p. 118; Červíček, 1978, pp. 44–45; Schumacher, 1983; Striedter 1984, figs. 85–87; Sawwatejew, 1984, pp. 96–7.

[215] Deut. 12.3–6, 11, 13, 14; Jud. 6.20, 26, 13.19; 2 Chr. 11.15, 15.17, 17.6, 20.33, 21.11, 28.4, 31.1, 33.3, 17, 34.4, 7.

[216] Solar symbols: Hellström, 1970, Corpus W 17, 18; Červíček, *op. cit.*, p. 47 ff.; H. Müller–Karpe, 1980, passim. Chariots: Kuper, s.d., fig. 5; A. Müller–Karpe, 1982, fig. 2, pl. 5/3; Striedter, 1984, figs. 42–44 (Central Sahara, Maghreb); Malhomme, 1959, figs. 197–201 (Great Atlas); Anati, 1979, pp. 20 (Sinai), 52–53 (Negev); Karakhanian – Safian, 1970, passim (Armenia); Dshafarsade, 1973, stone 55 (Kobystan); van khanian – Safian, 1970, passim (Armenia); Formozov, 1969, fig. 16 (Dagestan); van Bergh – Osterrieth, 1972 and Schumacher, 1983 (Valcamonica); B. Almgren, 1980, p. 21, figs. 22, 24 and Burenhult, 1980, I, p. 81 ff., fig. 27/II, fig. 5, pl. on pp. 62–63 (Scandinavia); Häusler, 1984 (North Pontic area, Transcaucasia, Central Asia). For mythological parallels see The Edda, pp. 48–9, 69–71; Ellis Davidson, 1964, passim; Althin, 1945, pp. 243–4.

other African peoples. In preislamic southern Arabia, the horse symbolized a solar deity. Furthermore, bovids continued to be represented and ibex rock pictures, a motif of Near Eastern origin, became frequent in the Eastern Desert: the bull and the ibex were holy animals of the South Arabian supreme god 'Almaqah. Camel figurines were sacrificed to Nabataean gods [217].

The very frequent motif of this horizon, the vestigia and the cup-holes, are widespread over Upper Egypt, Nubia, the Near East, the Mediterranean and beyond. In Palestina and Arabia, they are monuments of an ancient Semitic stone cult. There were sacrifices offered on the holy rocks, blood, food and drinks conducted into the cup-holes or smeared on the rocks. The sacrifices were meant for the daity dwelling in the rock just like the proscynema inscriptions. Another frequent motif of the E-Horizon, the offering table, supports this interpretation. On stone prototypes of the rock art offering tables, sacrificial meals were laid and libations poured forth in the sepulchral and temple cults. The footprints of believers were eternalizations of the devotion and presence of their makers in the holy places. Vestigia of precious periods were interpreted as beneficial and/or fertilizing traces of heroes or gods. It is as late as the beginning of this horizon that the vestigia became common in Southern Scandinavian rock art where they appear in Burenhult's Tradition III. Chorologically they frequently occur all over the Mediterranean area and the Near East. The corresponding idea seems to have spread northwards across the Ukraine, Karelia and Finland [218].

In the F-Horizon, Christian symbols predominate. They are more or less limitated to the Near East, Upper Egypt and Nubia – but a few of them, e.g. the orants, spread westwards across the Sahara [219]. The bark, since the B-Horizon an important motif of Upper Egyptian and Nubian rock art, can now be interpreted as the bark of salvation which

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[217] Červíček, 1982, pp. 57–58. In Central Arabia, rock art representations of camels seem to appear as early as the third millennuim B. C., cf. Anati, 1968a, p. 53 ff., figs. 4 and 15, pls. IV, VIII. For the warlike ethos and the high appreciation of the horse see Braukämper, 1971, p. 102 ff. For the camel votive figurines see Bulliet: 1975, p. 108 and Schmitt-Korte, 1976, fig. on p. 43 right. For the sanctity of the bull, the horse and the ibex see Grohmann, 1963, p. 244. For a chronology of the ibex rock pictures see Červíček – Kortler, 1979.

[218] Herodotus, Hist. II, 91 and IV, 82; Spoer, 1908; Gressmann: 1909; O. Almgren, 1927, p. 212 ff.; Formozov, 1969, pp. 146–149, figs. 50, 52, 60, 63; Glob, 1969, pp. 293, 296 ff.; Verner, 1974, pp. 15–20; Červíček, 1976, figs. 225, 336, 340, 367, 376, 377, 383, id. – Kortler, 1979, figs. 33; Morris, 1977; Reinach, 1977, p. 49; Burenhult, 1980, I, p. 136 ff., fig. 45; Wollenik, 1982.

[219] Antoniewicz, 1968.

is the faith of the Christian Church [220]. There are also sexual motifs going back to a Semitic fertility cult. Since the Christianization of Nubia in the 6th century A. D. and still more since the beginning of the Islamization of Egypt in the 7th century, rock art in the discussed area gradually extinguished together with the extinction of the ancient stone cult. Only in Jerusalem and in Mecca, where holy rocks with footprints and cup-holes were integrated into churches and mosques, these ancient works of rock art were once again reinterpreted as footprints of Idris, Jesus, archangel Gabriel and Mohammad and are still venerated [221].

For the E- and F-Horizons, there exist numerous written sources about the barbarian peoples who inhabitated the Eastern and the Libyan deserts. The Eastern Desert was originally inhabited by the Blemmyes of the classical authors, known later in Islamic times as the Beja, who were joined by the Arabs; the Libyan Desert was inhabitated by Derber tribes. The religion of the Blemmyes was based on a theocracy of Graeco-Roman and Egyptian elements of the kind which found favour with the Meroites. Beside that, the Blemmyes offered sacrifices, even human beings, to their patron deity, the sun-god Mandûlis who was also the god of the Eastern Desert tribes in general [222]. This religion is reflected by several E-Horizon rock art motifs: the vestigia, the horned altar, the offering table the swastika. Before the close of the 6th century A. D., the Blemmyes were converted, at least nominally, to Christianity [223].

Sources of the early Islamic era report that the Beja worshipped the stars, idols and "other objects they considered useful". To these, they sometimes even brought human offerings. In the mid-7th century, they adopted Islam in a superficial manner whereas their traditional religion survived. They kept camels, sheep, goats and long-horned cattle and were renowned as warriors fighting with spears, shield and swords from camel-back. If we compare their culture as known from these wtritten sources [224] with the iconography of the E- and F-Horizons rock art they were the probable authors of, we can see that their rock art followed the principle of selectivity mentioned above: it omitted sheep and goat but represented

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220 Thus Rassart-Debergh, 1982 according to Budge, 1910, p. 88 ff. Cf. also Stutzinger et al., 1983, pp. 624 (Cat. no. 213).

221 Castiglione, 1970, pp. 97-98 (Jerusalem). In Mecca there is a small building near the Kaaba, housing a stone with Abraham's footprints, called Maqām Ibrahīm.

222 Kirwan, 1937, pp. 69-76, 88. Cf. also Satzinger, 1968; Herzog, 1973; Krause, 1974.

223 Kirwan, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

224 See Vantini, 1975, pp. 73, 79, 92, 100-103, 113, 131, 152-153, 277, 521-522, 619-621, 630.

the camel, the horse and the bovid – animals attested as sacral in the isochronological ancient Arabian cultures.

To sum up the story Upper Egyptian and Nubian rock art tells, it goes as follows:

In Neolithic times, a religion using linear symbols similar to those of the archaic Neolithic cultures of the Near East, the Mediterranean, South–East, Central and West–Central Europe spread all over Upper Egypt and Nubia including the deserts. These symbols comprised the spiral, representing the male principle. An autochthonous idea of a serpentiform terrestrial power was reflected by the wavy–line motif. In the late Neolithic period, this religion vanished in Egypt and Nubia but it possibly spread via the Mediterranean (Malta), Iberia (Galicia), Brittany, Ireland and Scotland to Southern Scandinavia.

At the end of the Neolithic and in the Early Copper Age, linear symbols like the spiral continued to be used; a labrys–like symbol representing the female principle [225] appeared. But soon a new religion introducing the anthropomorphic gods emerged both in the Nile valley and in the deserts. It was the religion of the Naqada culture and of the A–Group. The style of round–headed anthropomorphs spread from Central Sahara to Egypt and Nubia where a goddess with raised arms, a god with feather headdress and a bird–headed deity were depicted in it. The two former deities formed a couple, rarely enlarged to a triad. Another deity depicted on rocks was an anthropomorph wearing the white royal crown of Upper Egypt. These rare rock pictures seem to be representations of prehistoric kings known from Egyptian annals [226].

The deities were sometimes represented aboard barks. These barks were, however, often depicted without them – they were invisible gods [227]. Certain rocks or places were holy because a deity dwelled in them; on such rocks or in such places the worshippers made rock pictures to please the deity and/or they represented "the striding of the deity" there by representations of its sandalprints [228]. They also brought offerings to the deity in such holy places. For this purpose, they scooped out cup–like

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[225] Soudský – Pavlů, 1966 but cf. Müller–Karpe, 1974, p. 726.

[226] For the different tentative interpretations of the couple and the triad see Baumgartel, 1970 and Griffiths, 1975. For the prehistoric kings see Kaiser, 1961; for the anthropomorphic gods Morenz, 1960, p. 16 ff., Müller–Karpe, 1968, p. 388 ff. and Hornung, 1971, p. 20 ff.

[227] Cf. B. Almgren, 1980, p. 23 ff.

[228] In Pyr, the word "*kbwj*", "a pair of soles", has a determinative similar to the B–Horizon pairs of sandalprints (Wb V 118). For a stone cult in Anc. Egypt see Wiedemann, 1920, p. 42. For sandals as a divine, royal and priestly attribute see Müller–Karpe, 1974, p. 729; Seyfried, 1983.

depressions to pour liquids to be offered into them. They sometimes took holy powder from such rocks with them as the scooped-out grooves in such places show. Elements of this B-Horizon religion (several deities, sacred celestial barks) passed into the ancient Egyptian religion. On the other hand, the cup-like depression and the B-Horizon divine bark ideas spread northwards to Europe where similar barks, sometimes manned, and cup-holes appeared. Whereas the cup-marks occur in the Near East, Malta and along the Atlantic coasts of western Europe (Galicia, Brittany, England, Scotland, Ireland, northern Germany) as far north as Scandinavia, ship petroglyphs are only found in Malta, South Spain, Brittany and Scandinavia. The intermediary role may, however, have been played by the Aegean culture of the 3rd mill. B. C. where the divine bark was an important element; barks also appear in West European megalithic art [229].

In the Late Copper Age and the Early Bronze Age, the religion of the C-Group manifested itself in a great number of rock pictures. In Lower Nubia and the Libyan Desert these show a goddess wearing a wide, gorgeous skirt. A more universal motif cluster is bovids mostly long-horned, sometimes represented adorned by burnt-in patterns or deformed horns. Religious ideas of this type, e.g. the cow-and-calf or the man-and-bovid themes, spread from Central Sahara southwards and eastwards as far as Arabia and Ethiopia.

A comparison with the analogous contemporary Egyptian bovide cult shows that this religion was celestial, too [230].

In the Later Bronze Age, new religious ideas reached Nubia across the Sahara. They were also reflected in the Bronze and Early Iron Age rock art of South Scandinavia, the Maritime and Italian Alps. According to them, it was necessary to depict numinous metallic objects and chariots on the holy rocks. The former sometimes carry symbols of a solar religion like their material couterparts; the latter mostly carried invisible deities like the barks which continued to be engraved on Scandinavian rocks and appeared on objects of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages in northern,

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229 Cf. Červíček, 1974, pp. 196–197 and note 218 above; Burenhult: 1980, I: cup-like depressions in Tradition I of Scandinavian rock art (pp. 133–134); Glob, 1969, pp. 298–9, 309–10, fig. 194; Thimme (ed.), 1976, figs. 21, 25, 89, 175; Müller-Karpe, 1980a, pp. 691–2 (Scandinavian cup-marks interpreted as solar symbols). B-Horizon-like barks on rocks in Azerbaidjan see Dshafarsade, 1973; in Scandinavia Burenhult, 1980, I, p. 136, figs. 10, 45; in Southern Spain Müller-Karpe, 1982, p. 13, fig. 8; on West European megaliths Marstrander, 1978, fig. 11.

230 In Ancient Egypt, the heaven, the sky goddess Hathor as well as many other goddesses were cow-shaped, cf. Störk, 1983, 261. For the modern cattle complex see note 212 above. Affinities between Nubia, Ethiopia and Arabia have also been stated on pre-Axumite pottery, cf. Fattovich, 1980, p. 83 ff.

western, central Europe and Italy; they now had zoomorphic, mostly bird's head prows like a type of the C–Horizon barks in Egypt and Nubia (see above) [231]. In the same period, the idea of the vestigia reached Southern Scandinavia.

In the Iron Age, camel–breeding nomads penetrated into the Egyptian and Nubian deserts from the Arabian peninsula. They brought with them the ideal of the camel– and horse–riding warrior, reflected by a great number of rock pictures, which is still heeded by Sudanese peoples. They probably further brought with them an ancient Semitic stone cult which manifested itself in the great number of footprint and shoeprint representations [232]. The rock art of that time, however, reflects also ideas of the Late Egyptian and Meroitic religions (offering table, horned altar, god Bes). Some rock pictures are expressions of a sexual fertility cult, probably of Semitic origin.

The advance of Christianity brought a great variety of Christian symbols pictures on rocks. Sometimes they were applied in an apotropaic manner to rock pictures of more ancient religions. The rock art practice itself, however, was dying out because numina were no longer considered to dwell in stones or rocks. Even outside the Nile valley, churcheus were replacing holy places in the open. The advance of Islam brought the definitive extinction of Upper Egyptian and Nubian rock art. Many of its specimens were certainly destroyed by iconoclasts but some of its symbols are still used by nomads as tribal and propriety marks. Other rock art

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[231] Cf. Kossack, 1954, p. 27 ff.; Glob, 1969, p. 309 ff.; Jockenhövel, 1980, p. 31, pl. 31/589 and probably also pls. 13/229 and 32/604; Schumacher, 1983, pp. 78–79. Ship types belonging to Burenhult's Tradition III (cf. id., 1980, I, p. 136, fig. 12 and II, pp. 94–5 and passim). Analogous ships of the Sea Peoples (Helck, 1977, fig. 2) with goose–head stems and sterns have possible prototypes in the Egyptian barks with goose–head prows of the 4th to the 6th Dynasties (Wiedemann, 1920, p. 220; Vandier, 1964, fig. 435; id., 1969, figs. 277, 292/2, 306; Störk, 1976; note 151 above). For an intermediary Bronze Age Cretan–Mycenaean form see Müller–Karpe, 1980b, fig. 5/6. In central Europe and Italy, the goose–head bark was combined with the Ankh–sign, also of Egyptian origin (cf. Kossack, 1954, pls. 8–12; Jockenhövel, 1974 – with another interpretation; Müller–Karpe, 1980b, p. 26 ff., figs. 1, 16–18; 2, 23–9.35.42; 32–7; 5, 15–20). There seems to have existed a goose cult in Copper Age Egypt and Nubia (Vandier, 1952, figs. 370, 373, 386; Hellström, 1970, Corpus Q 94 ff.; Hoffman, 1984, fig. 71) which spread via Bronze Age Greece (Müller–Karpe, 1983, fig. 38) to Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Europe as far north as Karelia (Kossack, 1954, passim; Priuli, 1984, 54; Sawwatejew, 1984, passim).

[232] As early as in the New Kingdom, a new word "kp", meaning "sole (of the foot)", borrowed from Hebrew, occurs in Egyptian magical texts. It is still used in the Coptic Sahidic dialect as ϭⲟⲡ. Cf. Wb V 119; Westendorf, 1965, p. 462.

symbols survived till modern times as magical symbols (pentagram, hexagram, hand, ladder) [233].

Rock pictures are monuments from a very long era in which certain rocks, caves, stones, hills, rivers, lakes, moors, woods, trees and animals were worshipped as seats of numina. This is attested by archaeological finds of votive objects in certain moors, rivers, caves, on some hill tops and in other holy and offering places [234]. For the believers of rock art religions it was iconceivable to damage, pollute or destroy the holy rocks or hills they venerated, brought offerings to, adorned with rock pictures and felt themselves attached to. Apart from the great esthetic value and the inimitable technical perfection of their rock art, it is this profound respect for Nature and their notion of a numinous principle behind it which is their very important legacy to modern man.

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233 Cf. Winkler, 1930, passim. The first mention of iconoclasm directed possibly against rock art as well see Deut. 12/2, 3.

234 H. Müller–Karpe, 1974, pp. 656–657; id., 1980a, p. 682 ff.; Bertholet, 1976, p. 226 (Heilige Stätten). Neither the iconography nor the chronology of rock art suggest that the latter was a forerunner of script as some authors assume (cf. e.g. Földes–Papp, 1975).

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BSPF = Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française. Paris.
Cd'E = Chronique d'Egyte. Brussels.
EAZ = Ethnographisch–archäologische Zeitschrift. Berlin.
IPEK = Jahrbuch für prähistorische und ethnographische Kunst. Berlin – New York.
JEA = The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. London.
JNES = Journal of Near Eastern Studies. Chicago.
KAVA = Kolloquien zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Archäologie. Munich.
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MIFAO = Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire. Cairo.
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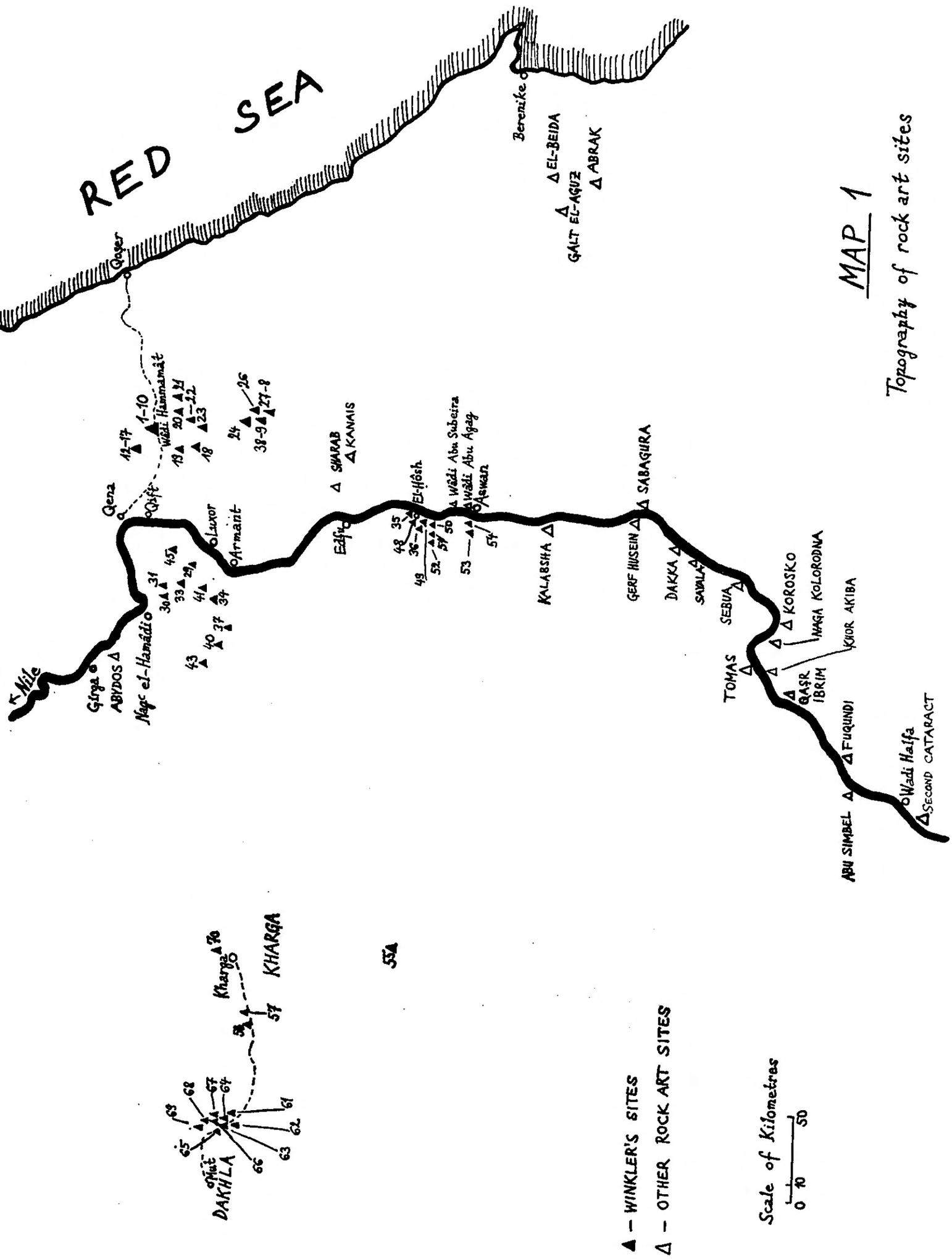
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Nile
Girga
ABYDOS
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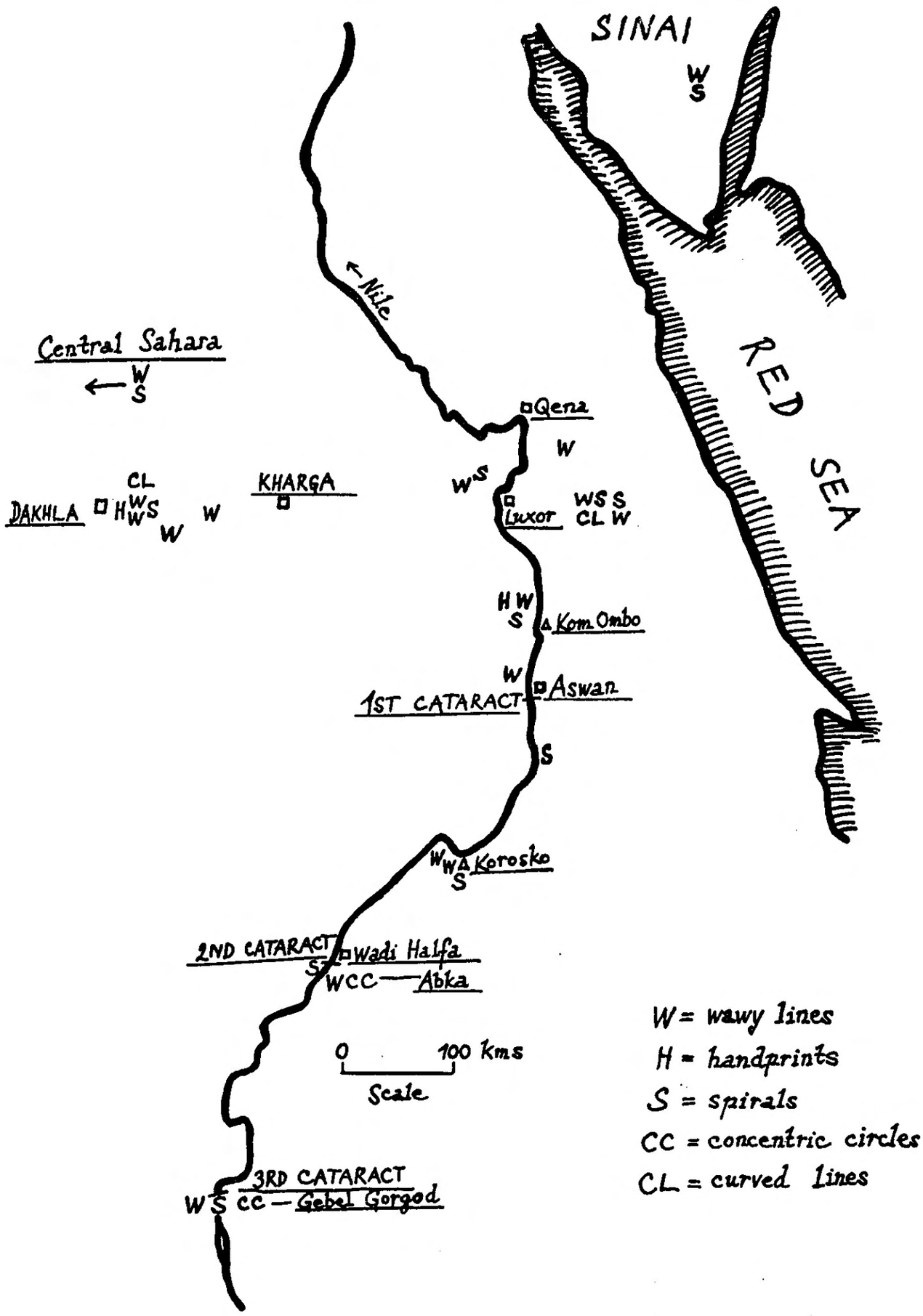
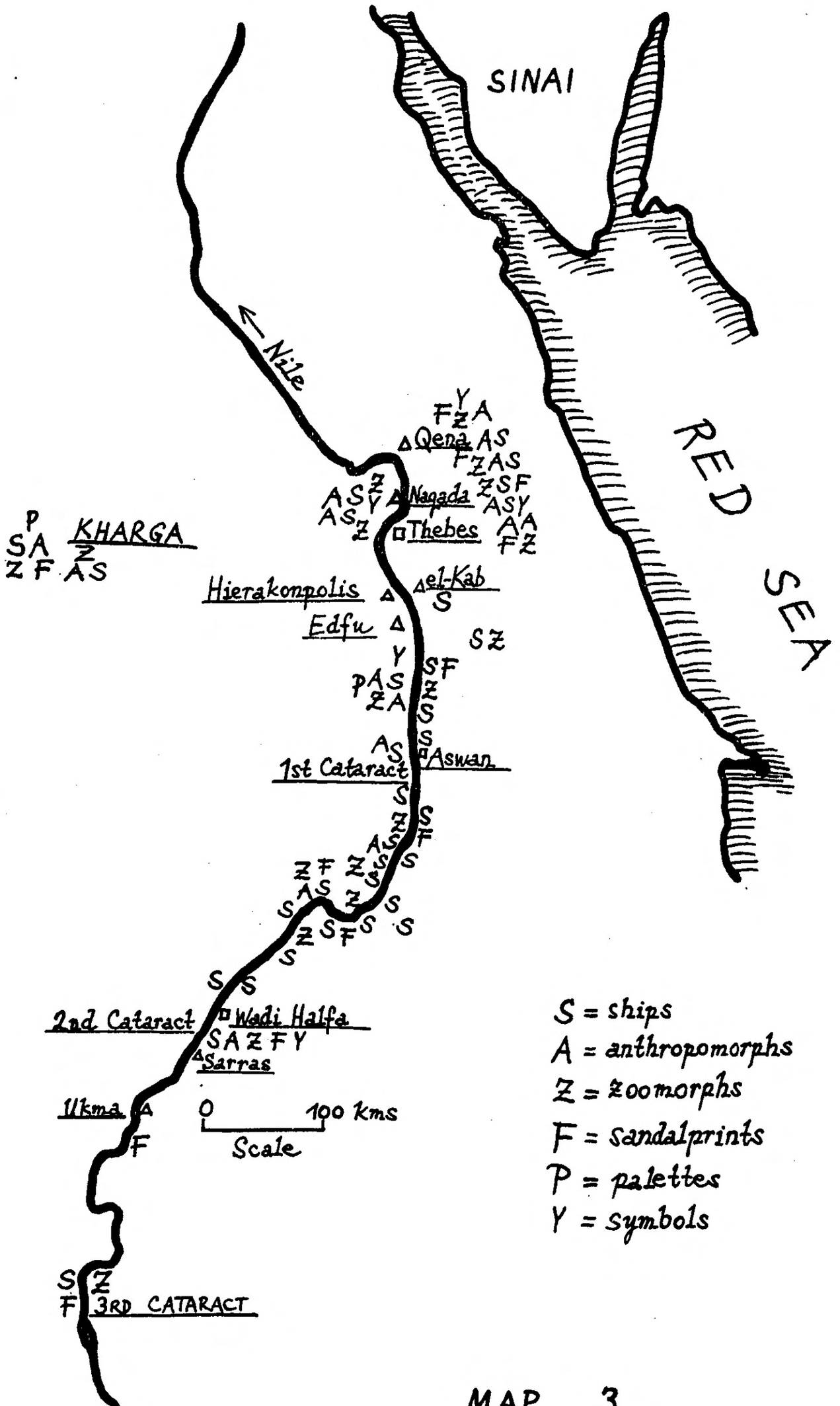
Qena
Qift
Qoser
Wâdi Hammamât
Luxor
Armaint
Edfu
SWARAB
KANAIS
El-Hôsh
Wâdi Abu Sabeira
Wâdi Abu Agag
Aswan
KALABSHA
GERF HUSEIN
SABAGURA
DAKKA
SAYALA
SEBUA
TOMAS
KOROSKO
WAGA KOLORODNA
KIOR AKIBA
QASR IBRIM
FUQUNDI
ABU SIMBEL
Wadi Halfa
SECOND CATARACT
Berenike
EL-BEIDA
GALT EL-AGUZ
ABRAK
KHARGA
DAKHLA
MAP 1
Topography of rock art sites
▲ – WINKLER'S SITES
Δ – OTHER ROCK ART SITES
Scale of Kilometres
0 10 50



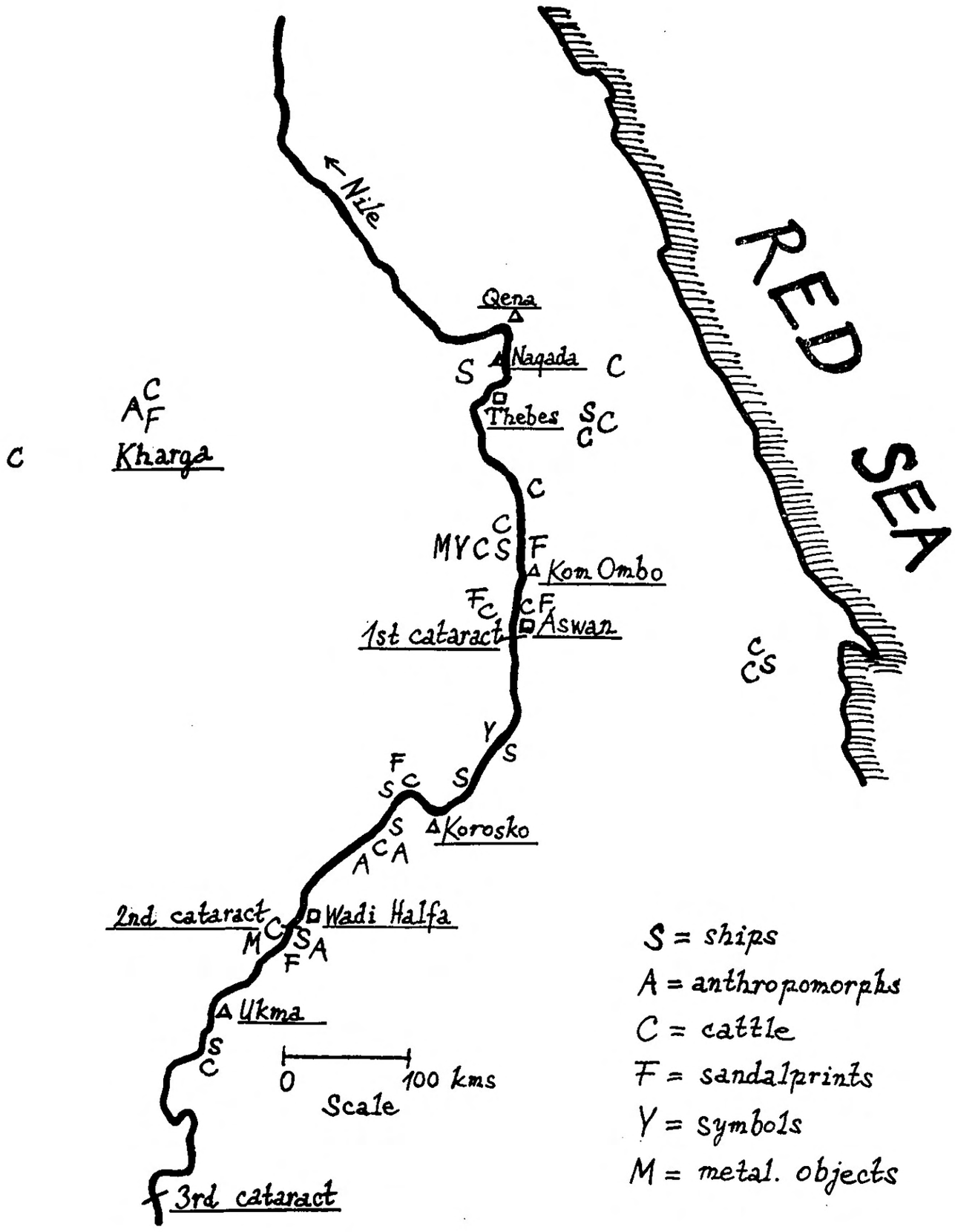
MAP 2

Chorology of the A-Horizon



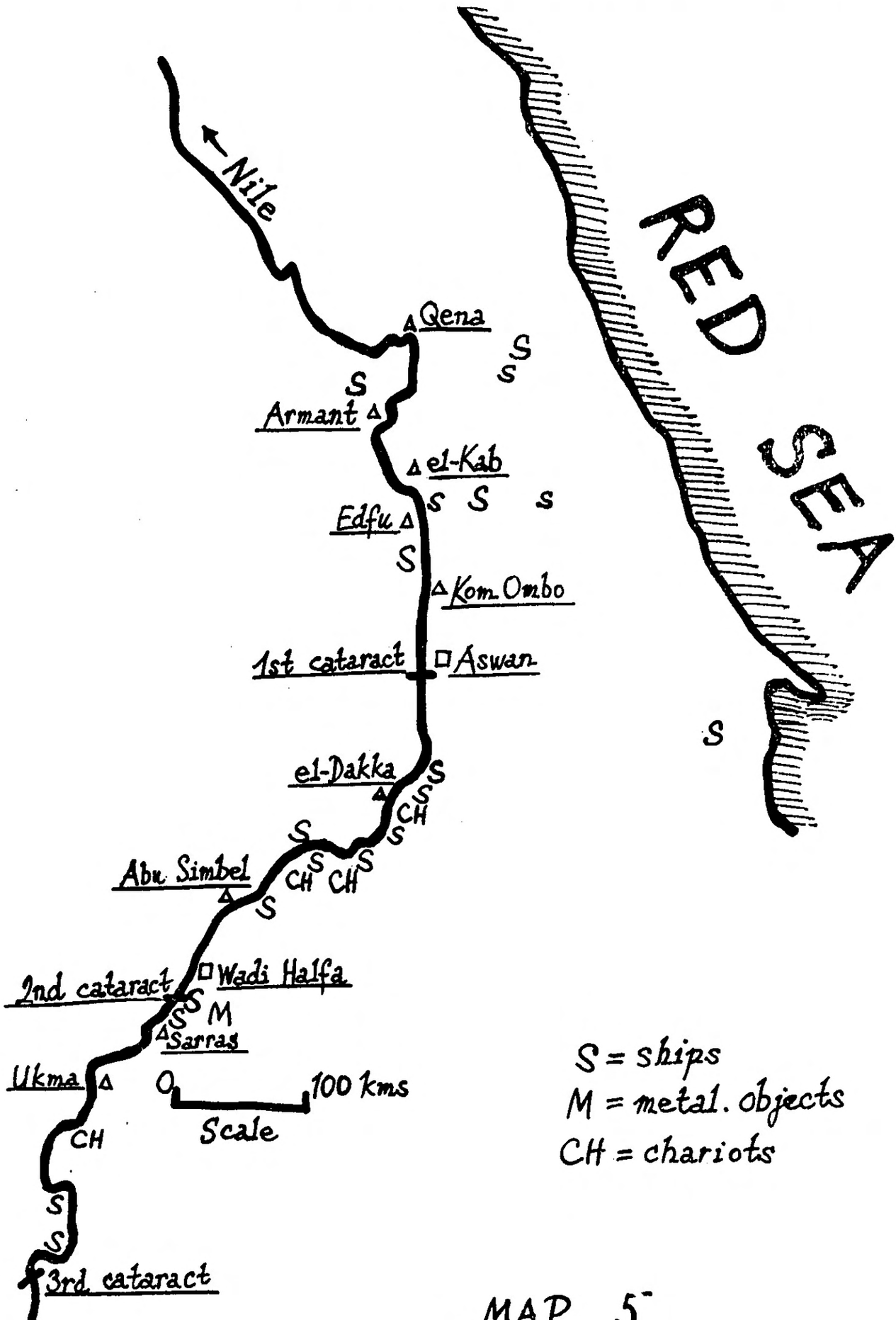
MAP 3

Chorology of the B-Horizon



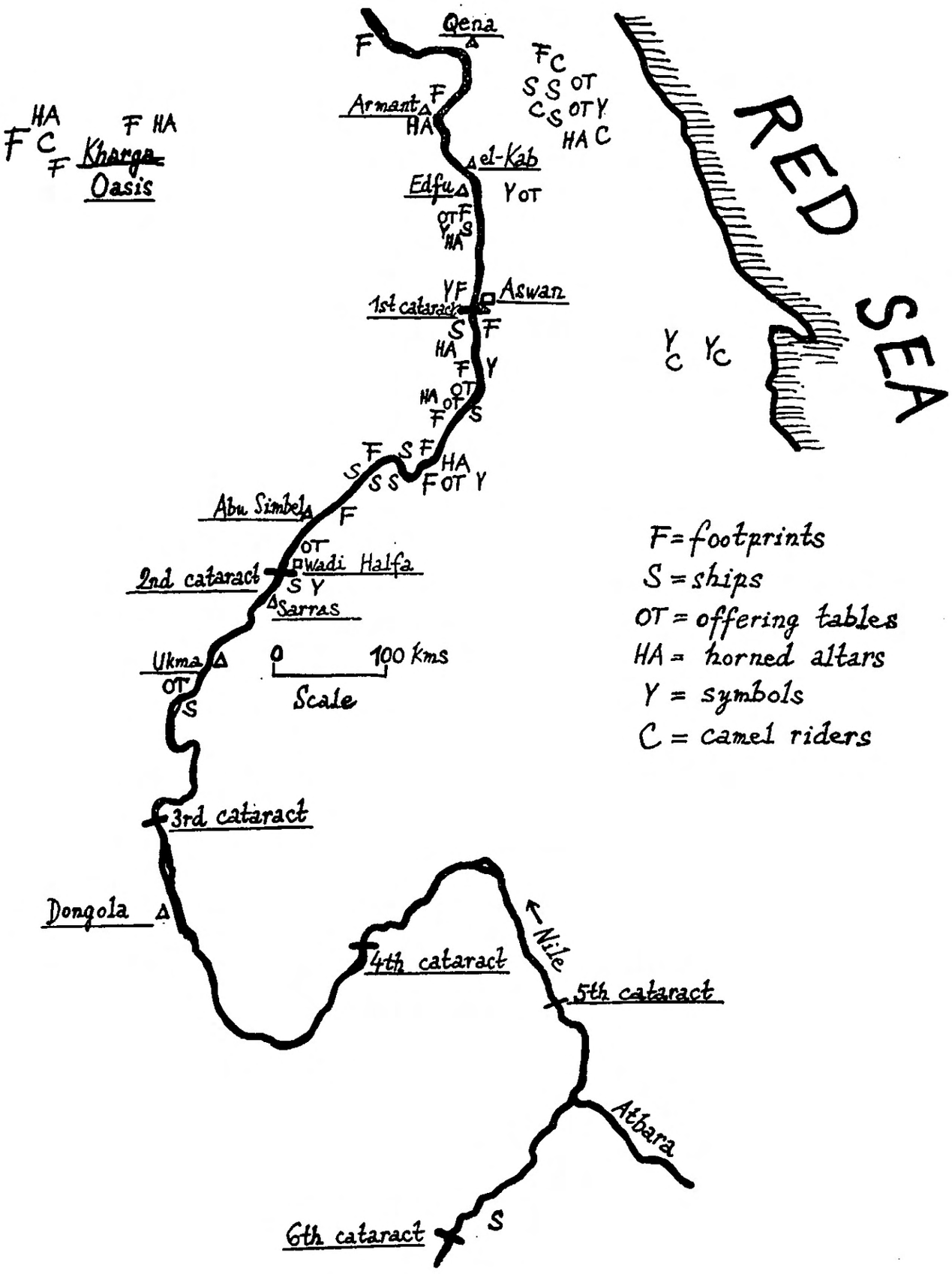
MAP 4

Chorology of the C-Horizon



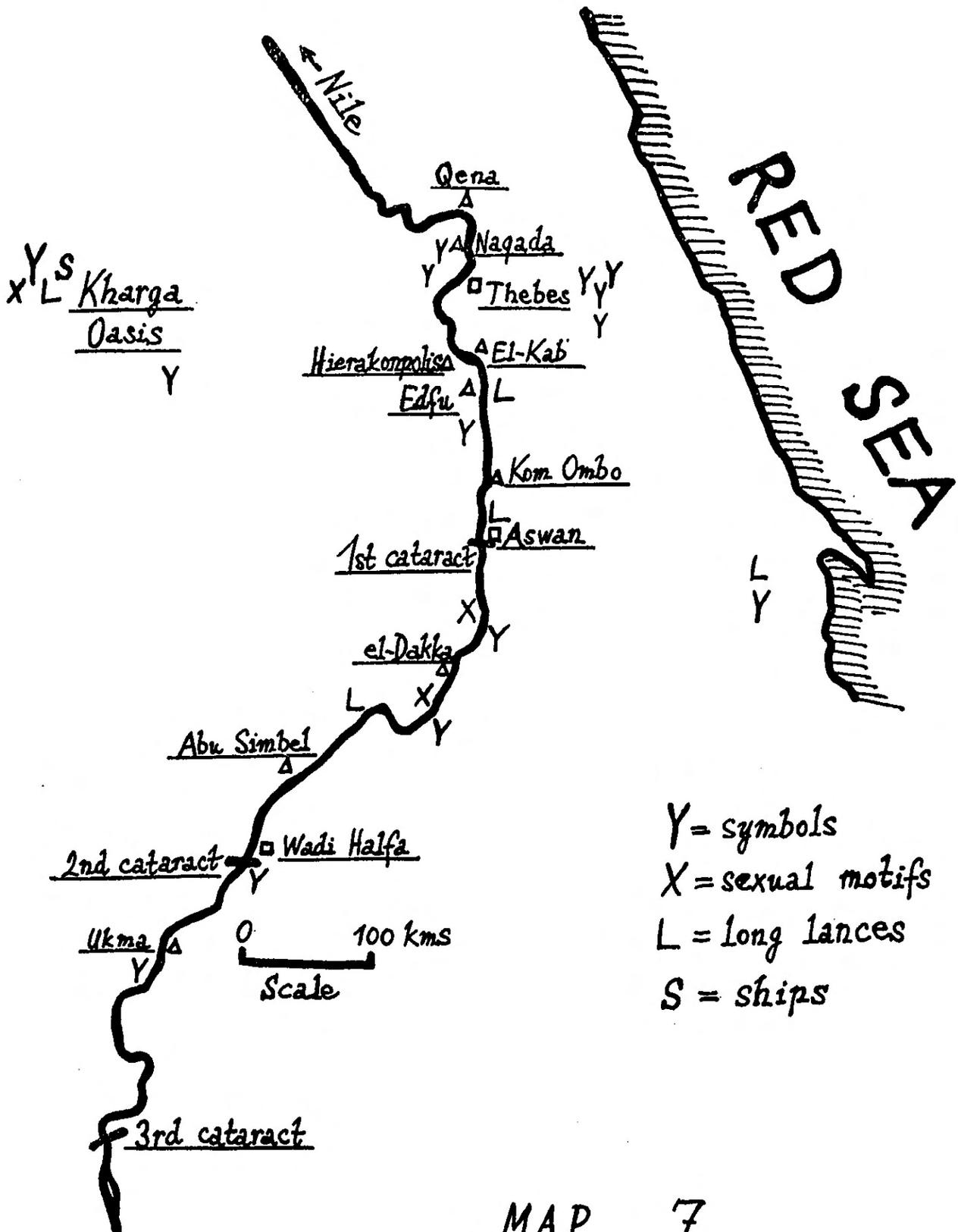
MAP 5

Chorology of the D-Horizon



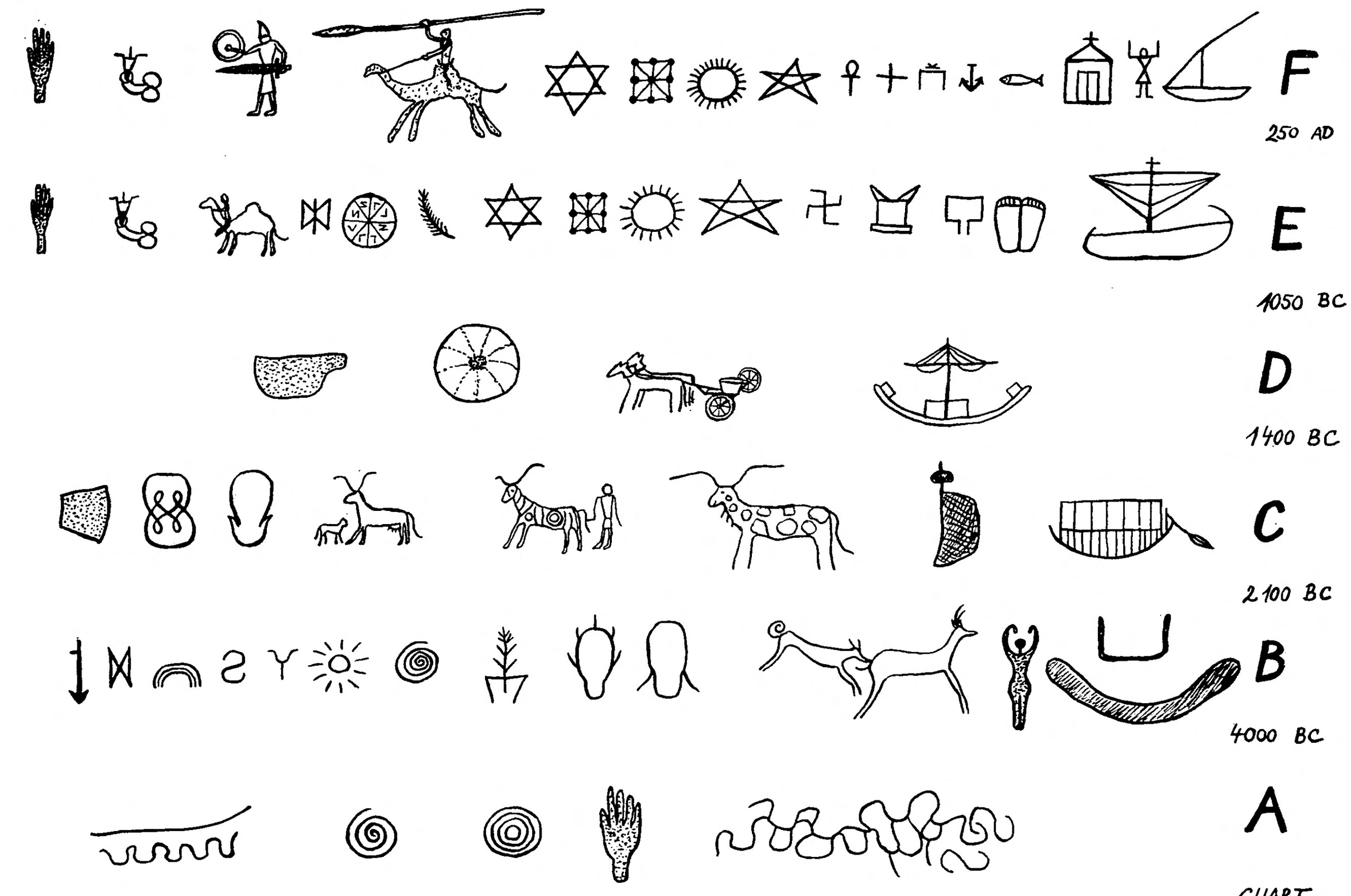
MAP 6

Chorology of the E-Horizon



MAP 7

Chorology of the F-Horizon



CHART

PHOTOS

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Photo 3 (Fig. 13) Neg. no. M 32.

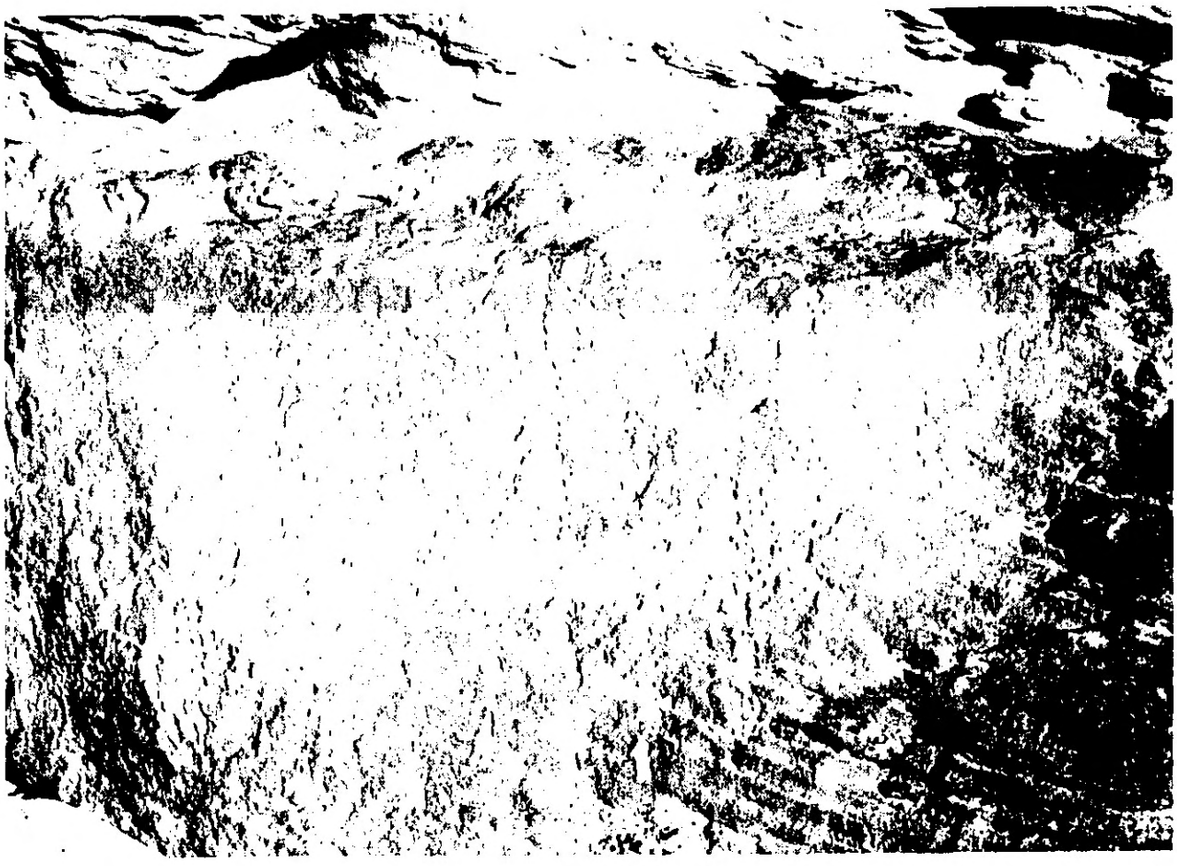

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Photo 6 (Fig. 70) Neg. no. M 130.

Photo 7
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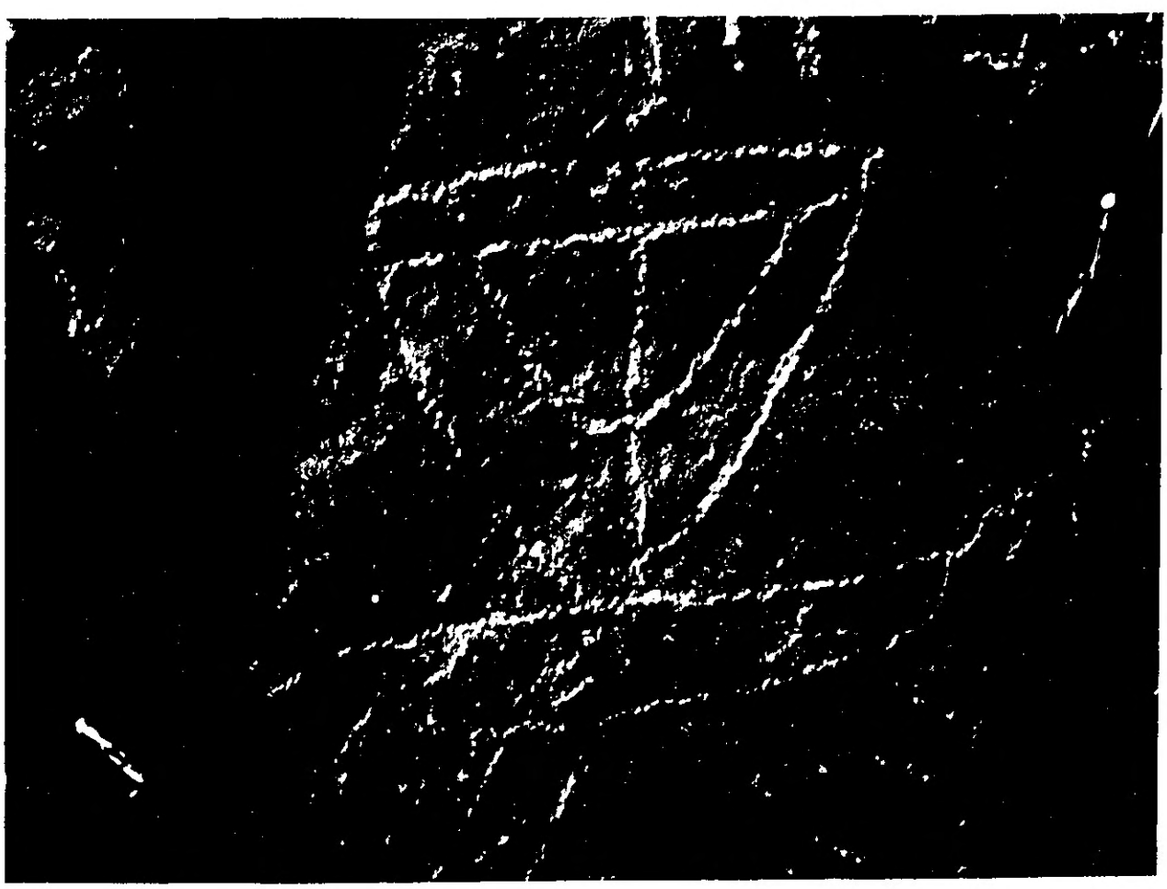

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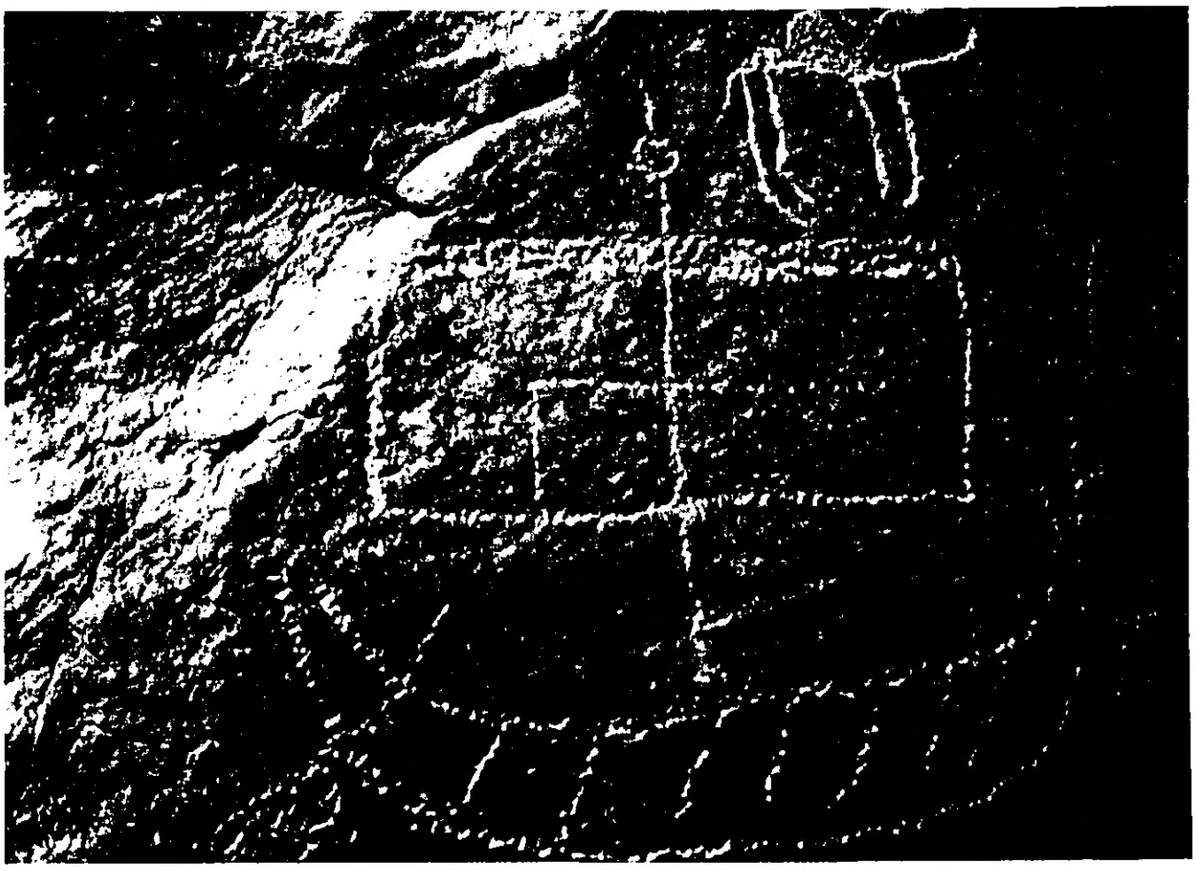

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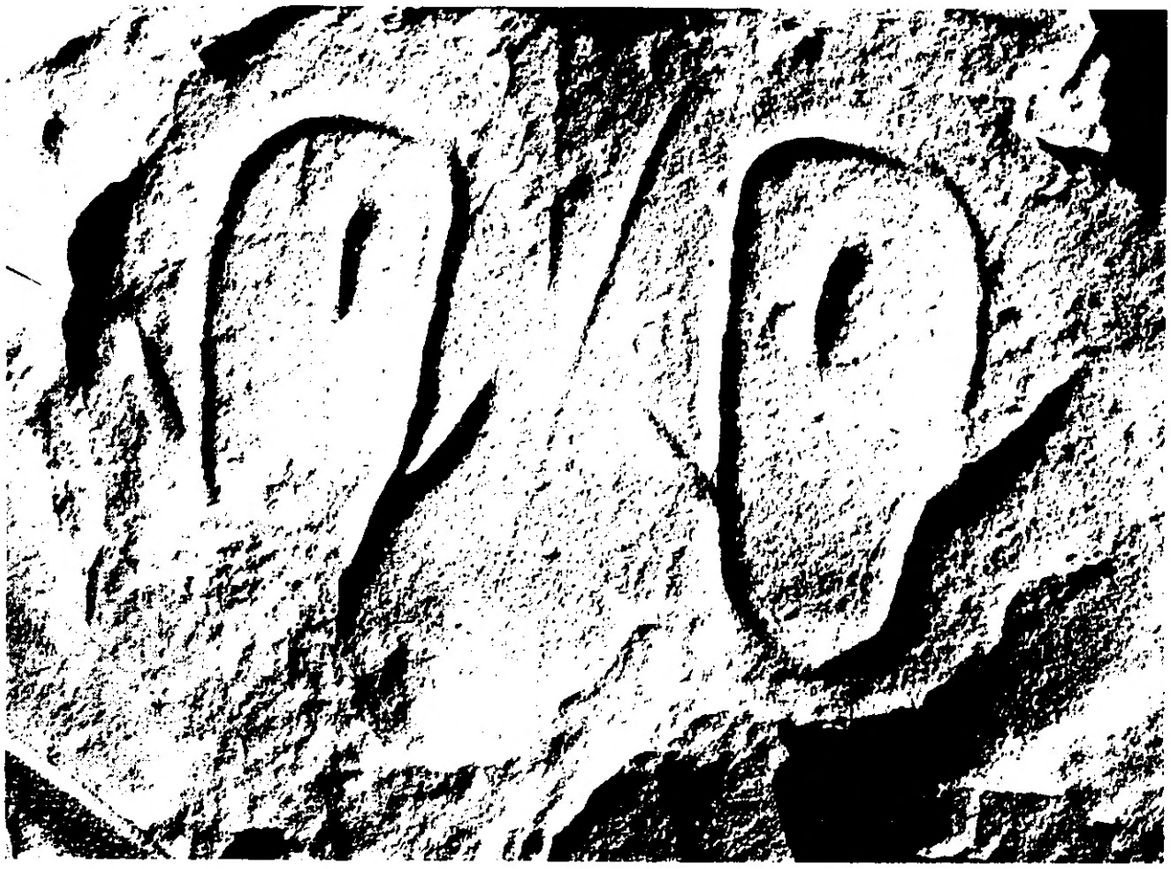

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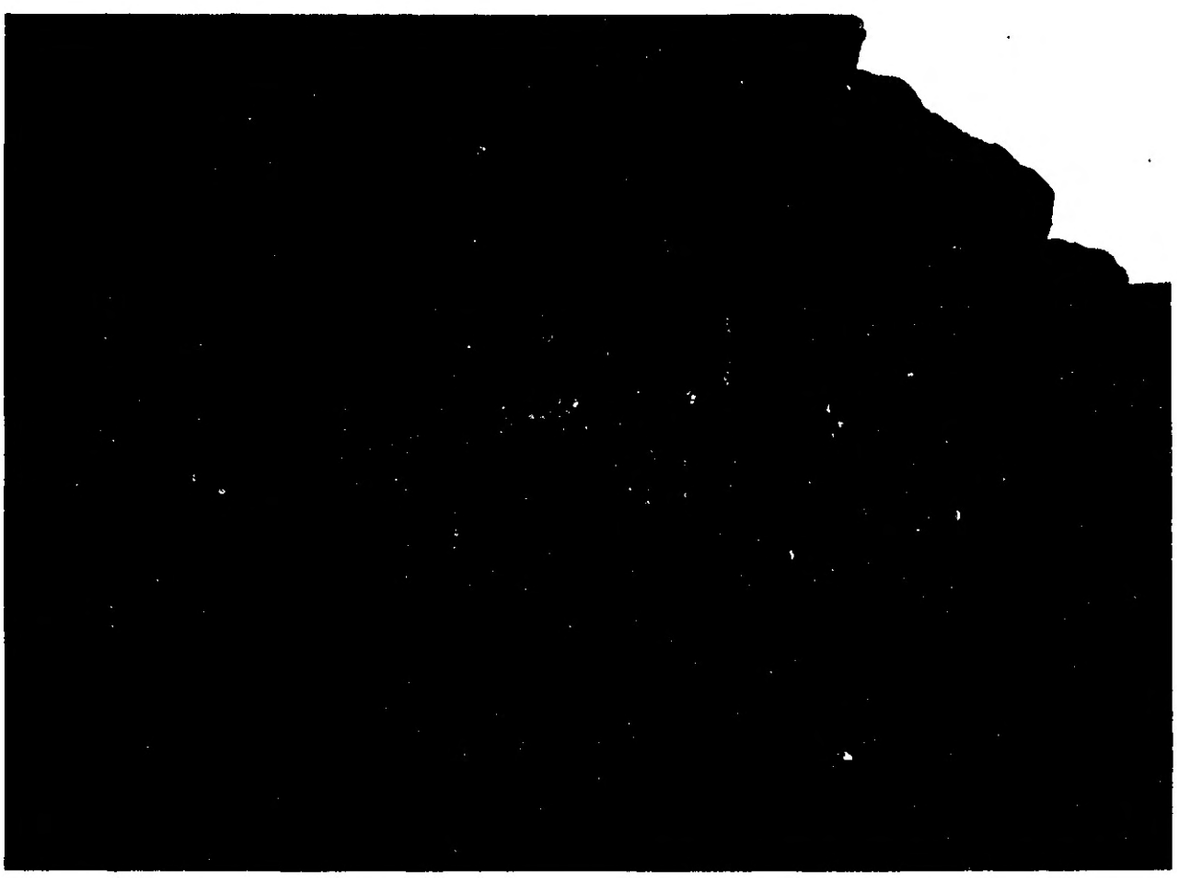

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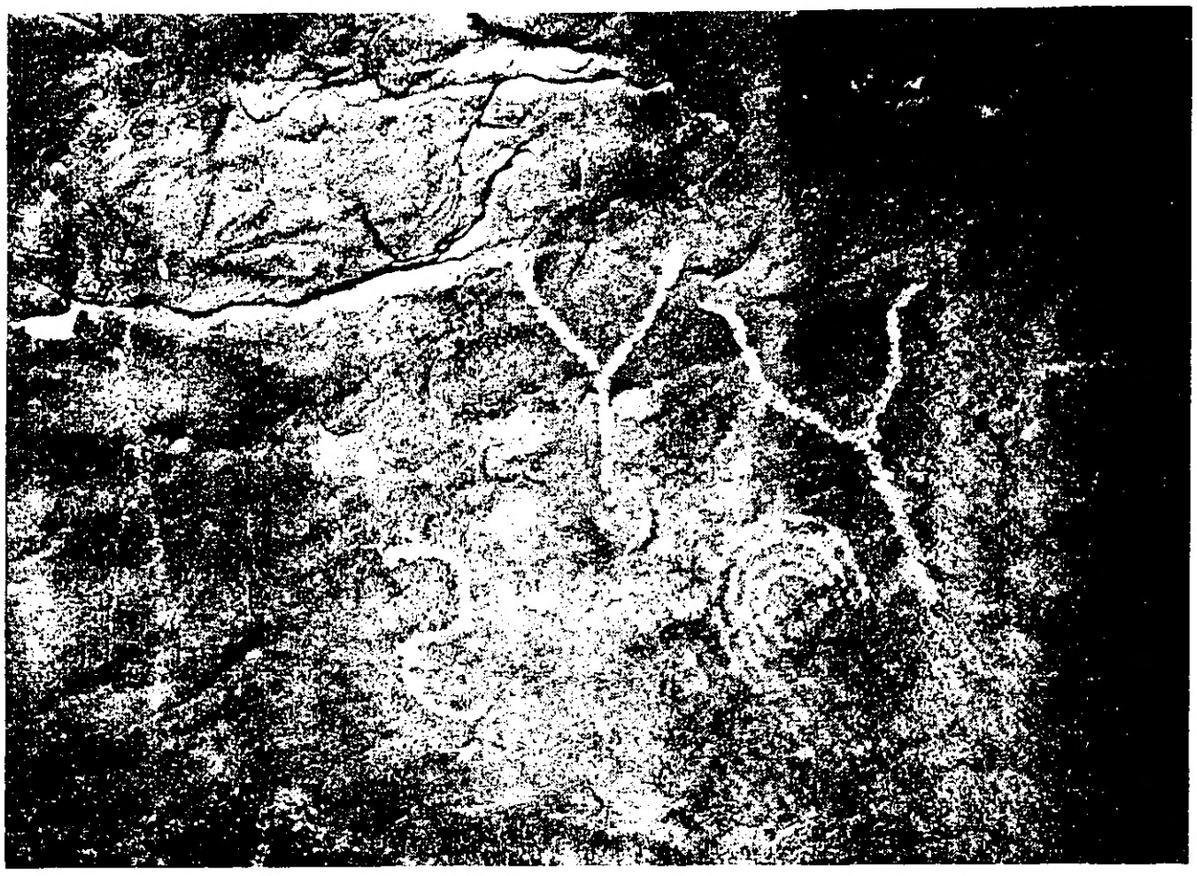

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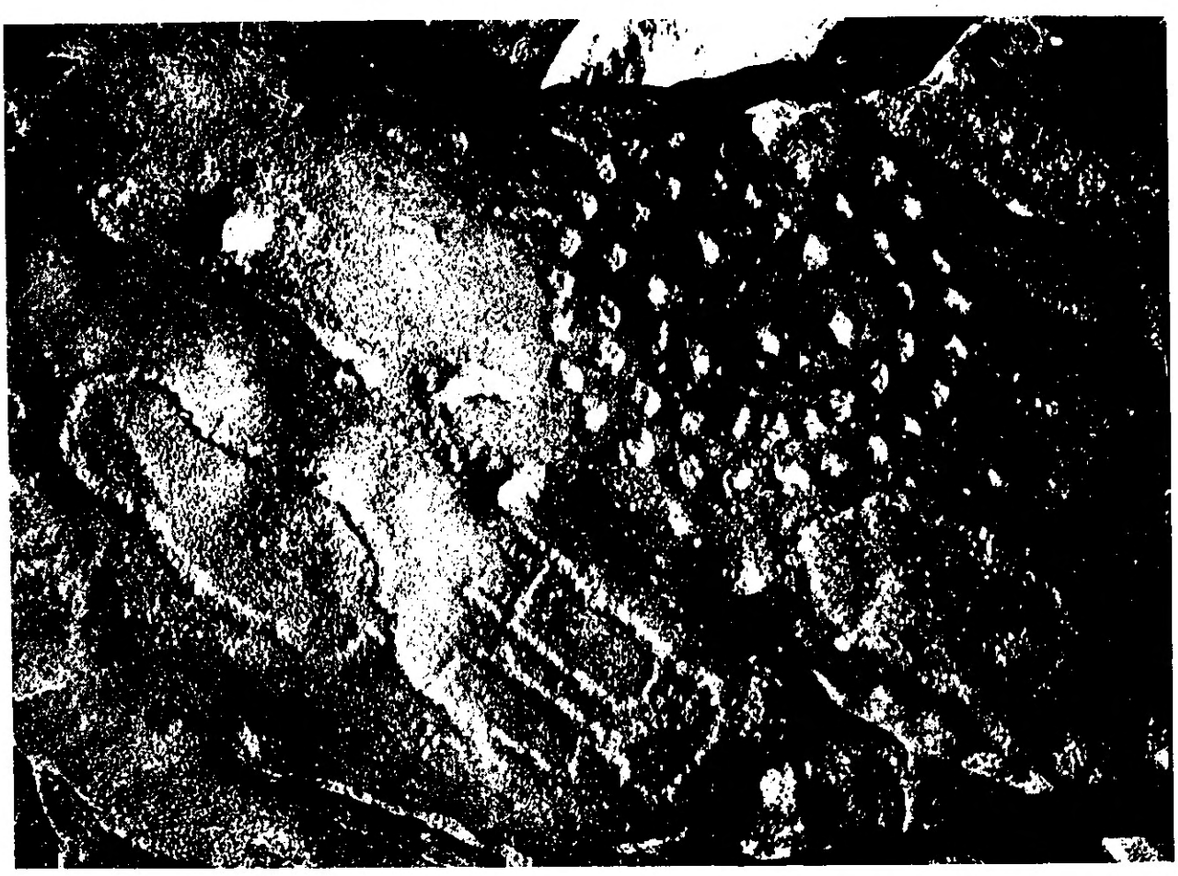

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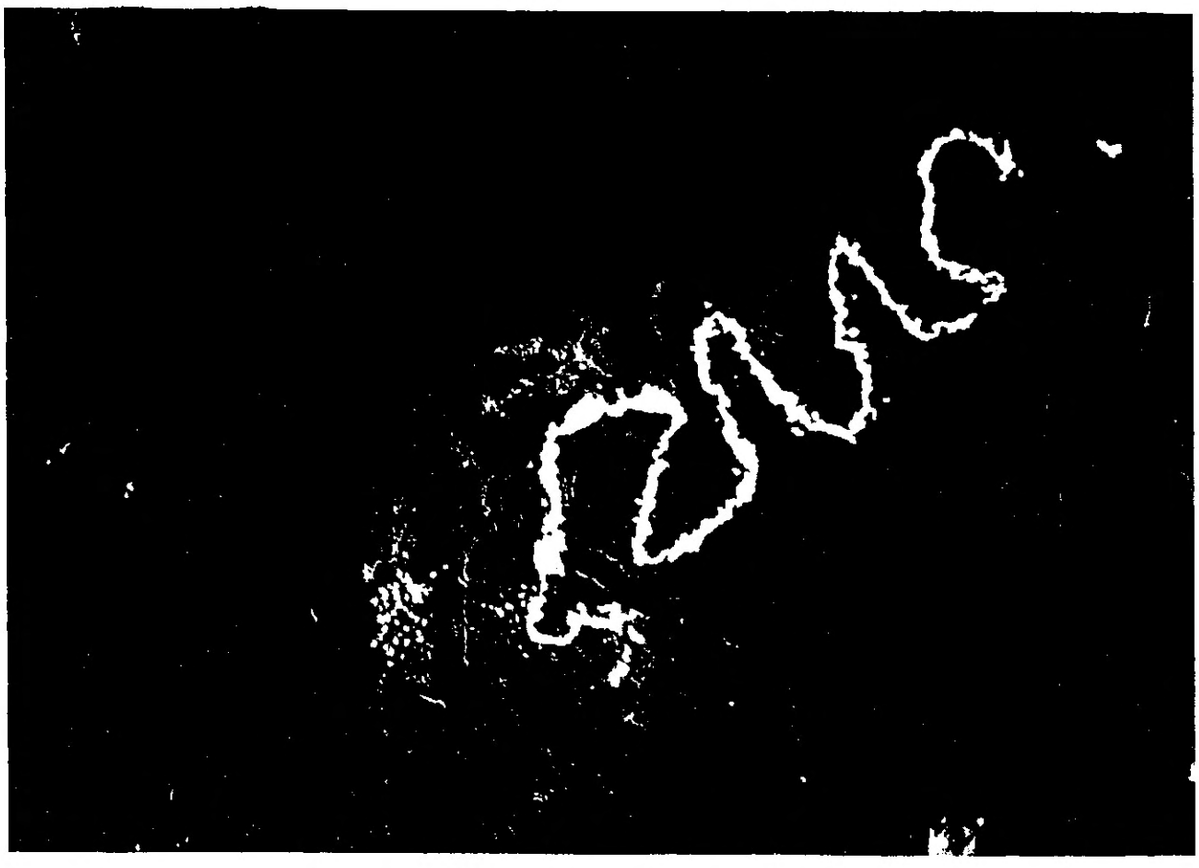

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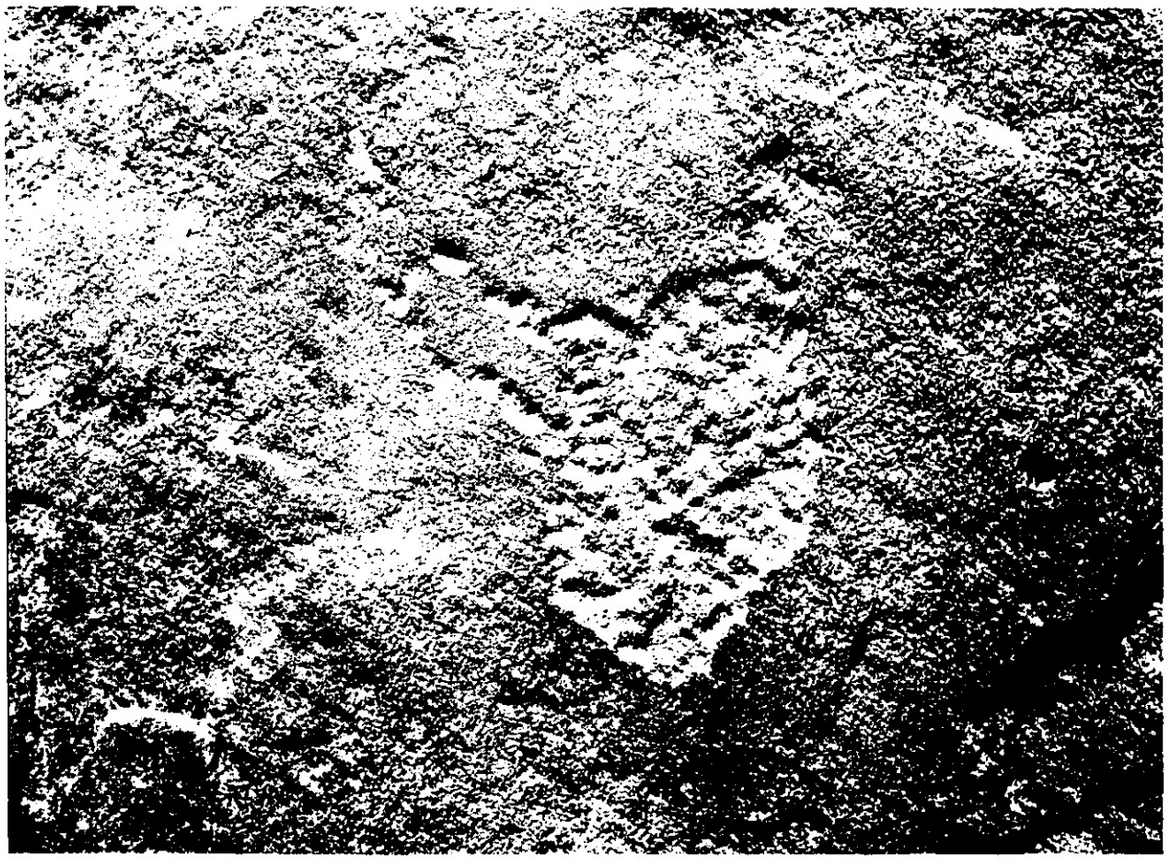

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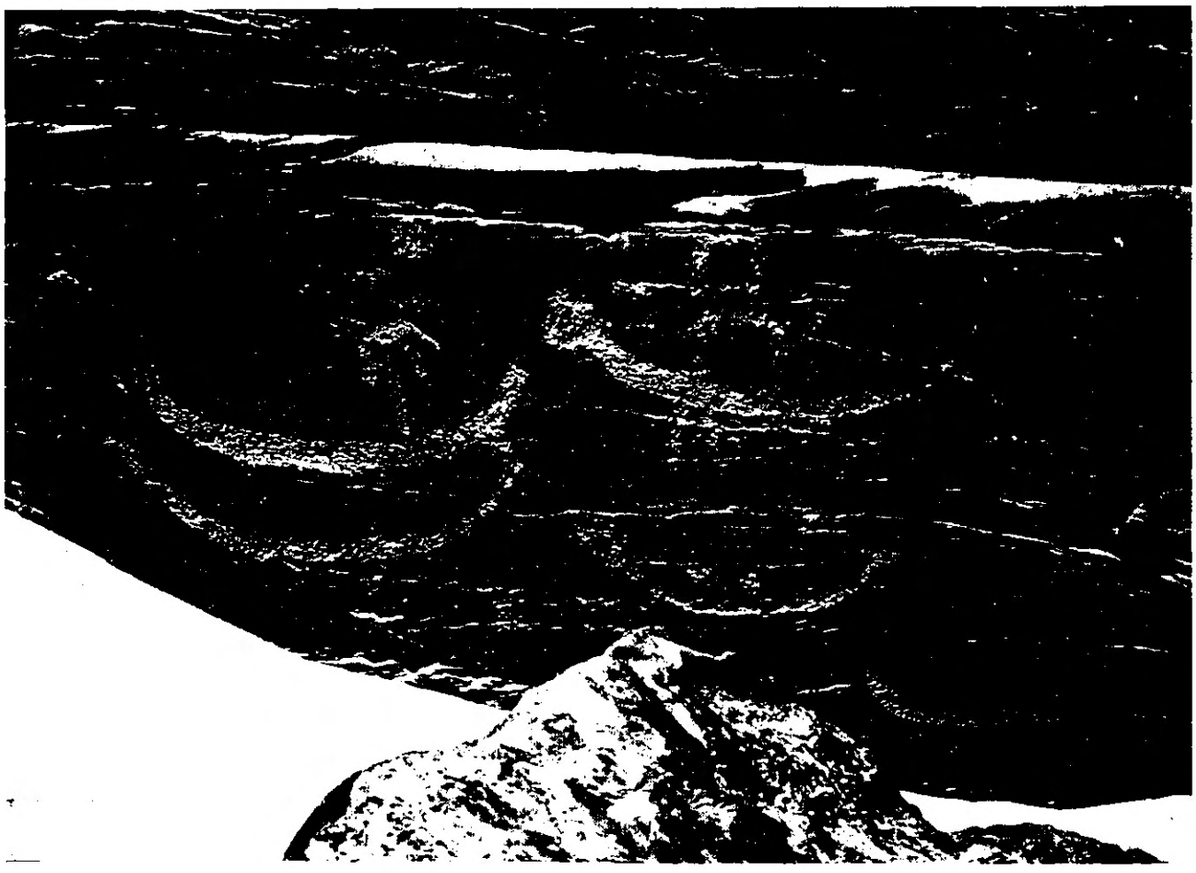

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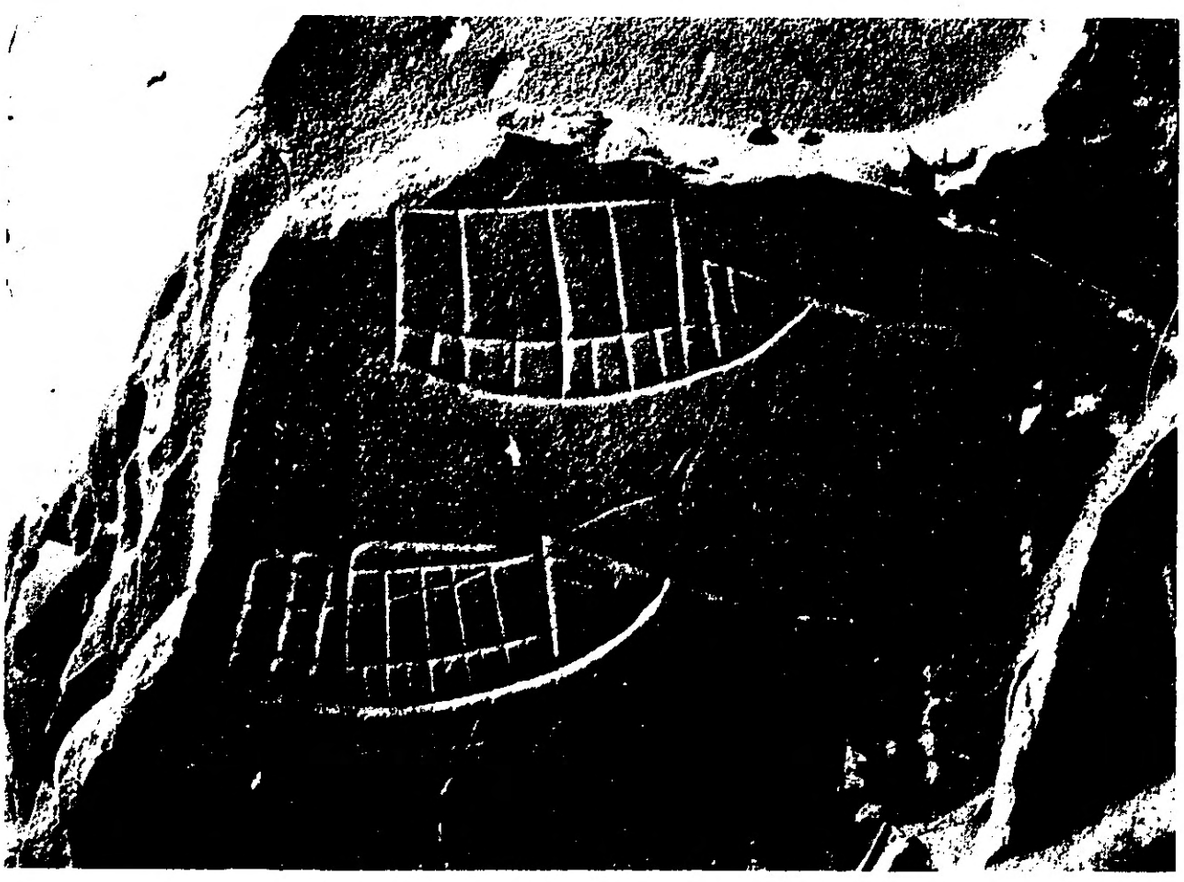

Photo 30 (Fig. 231) Neg. no. M 475 bis 5.

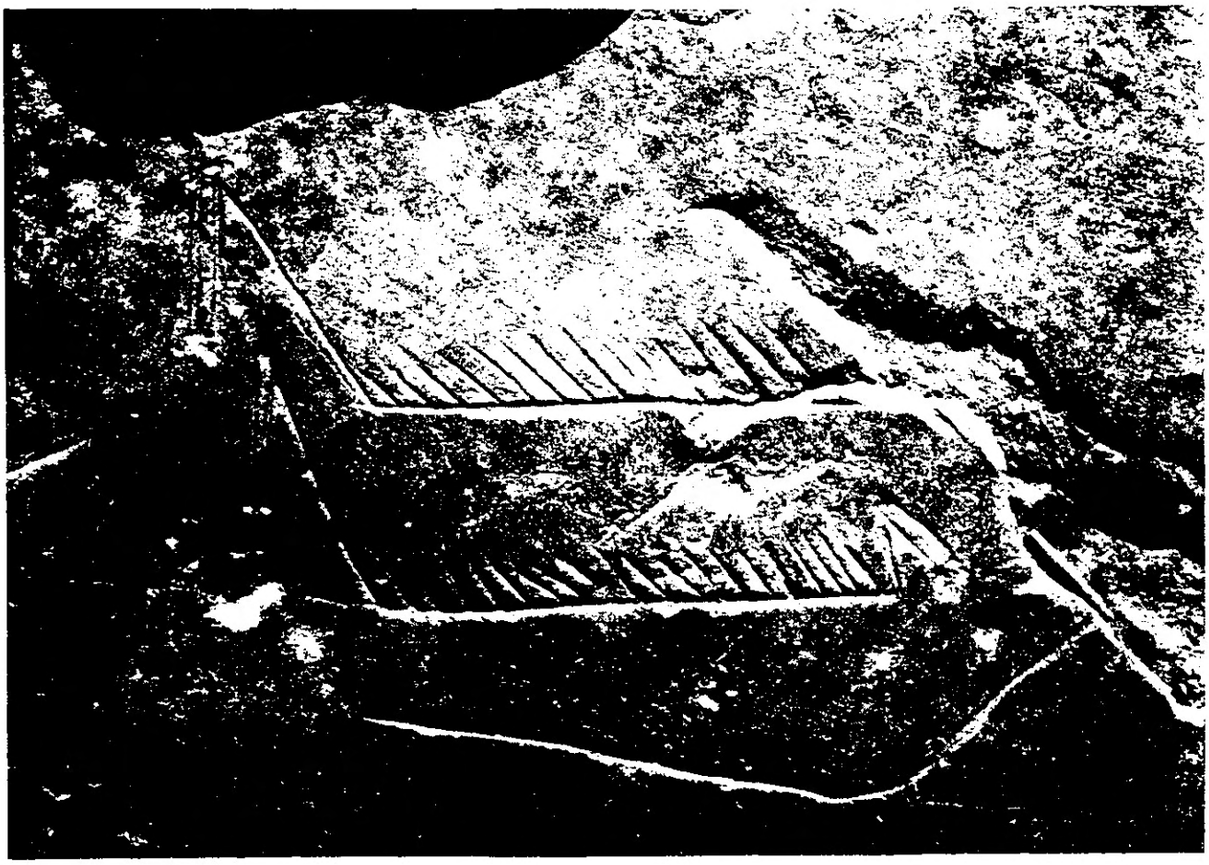

Photo 31 (Fig. 241) Neg. no. M 475 bis 17.

Photo 32 (Fig. 248) Neg. no. M 475 bis 28.

Photo 33 (Fig. 257) Neg. no. M 494 bis 4.

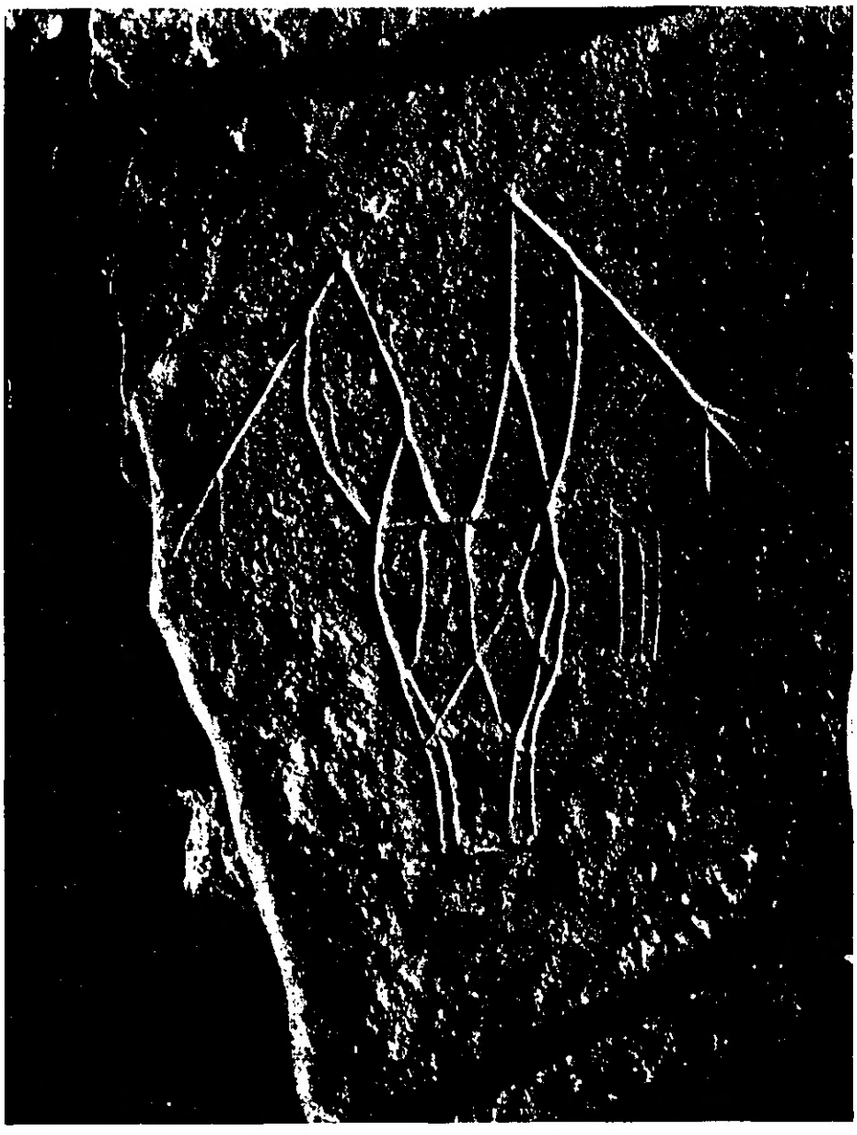

Photo 34
(Fig. 260)
Neg. no. M 494 bis 7.

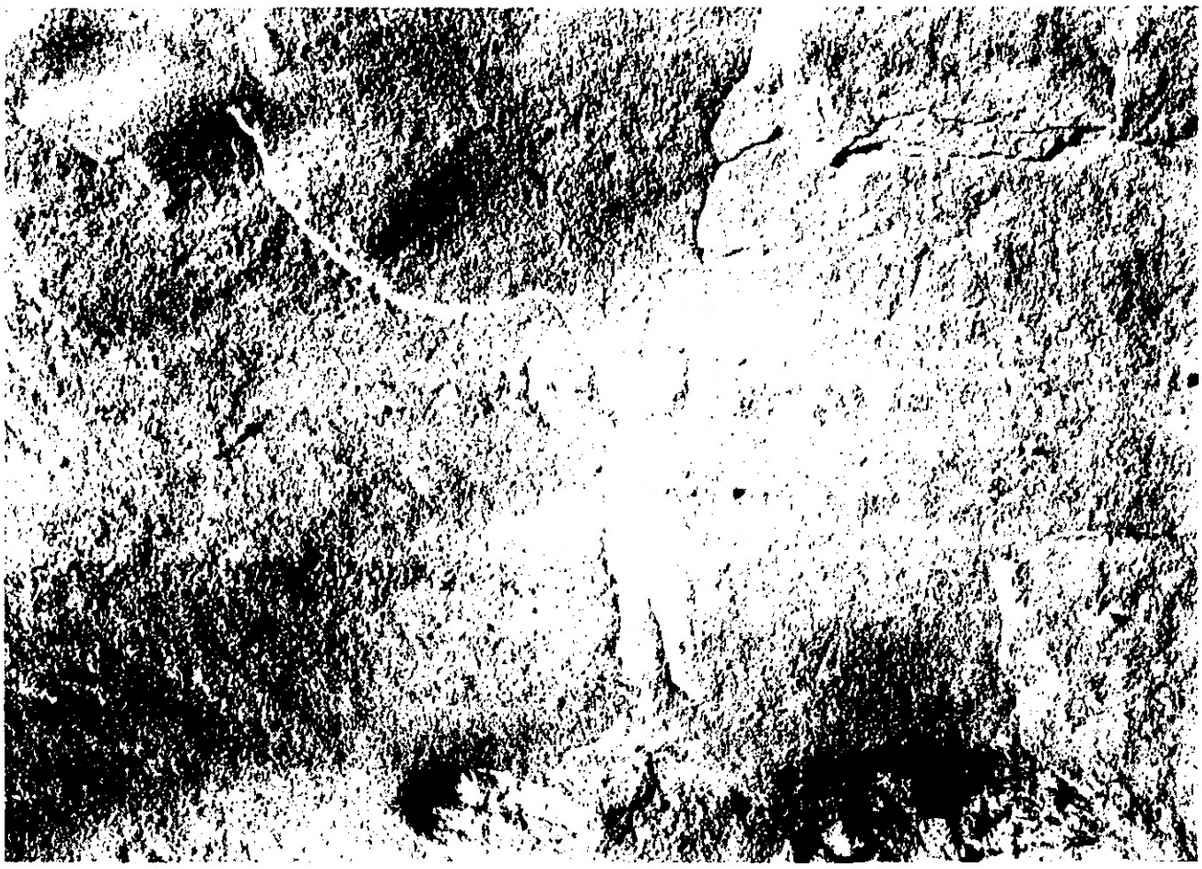

Photo 35 (Fig. 279) Neg. no. M 210a.

Photo 36 (Fig. 309) Neg. no. M 567.

Photo 37 (Fig. 315) Neg. no. M 582.

Photo 38 (Fig. 331) Neg. no. M 611.

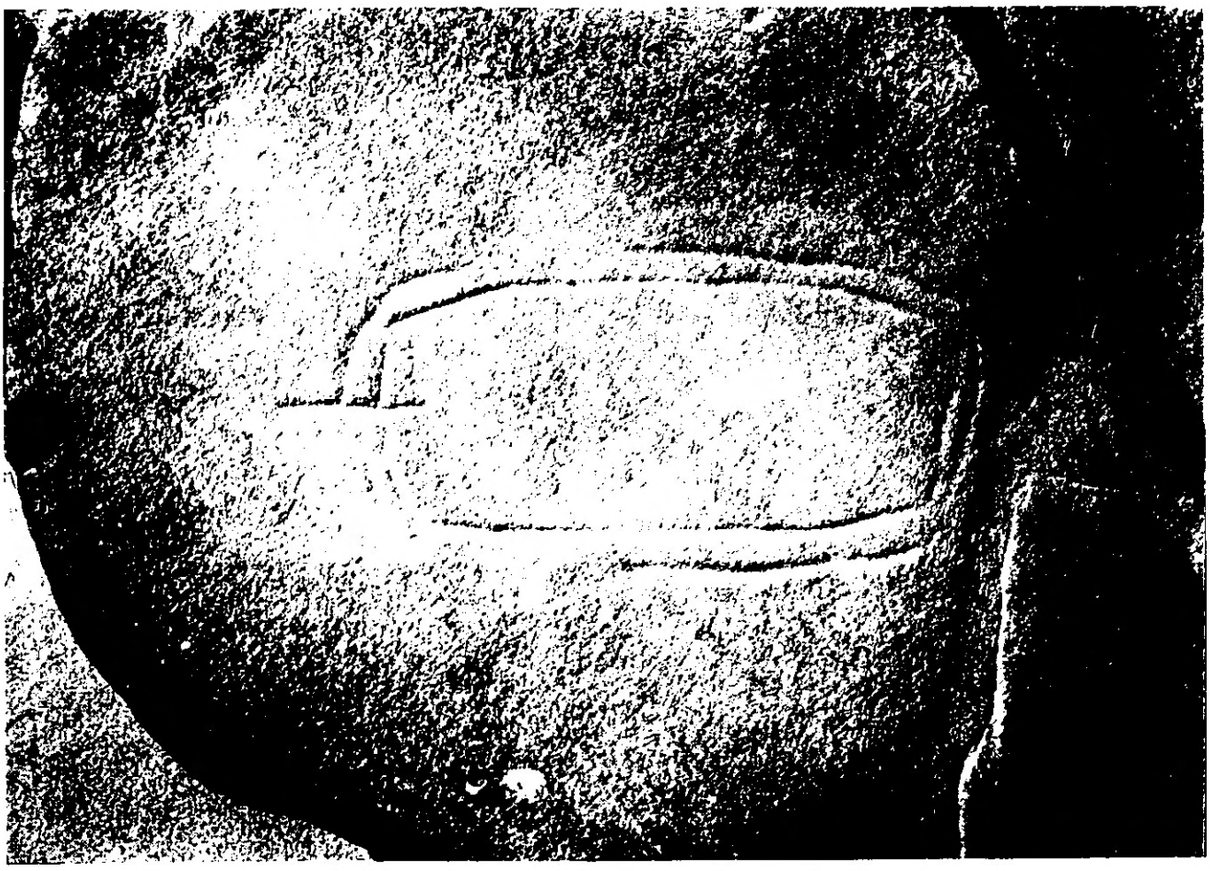

Photo 39 (Fig. 338) Neg. no. M 621.

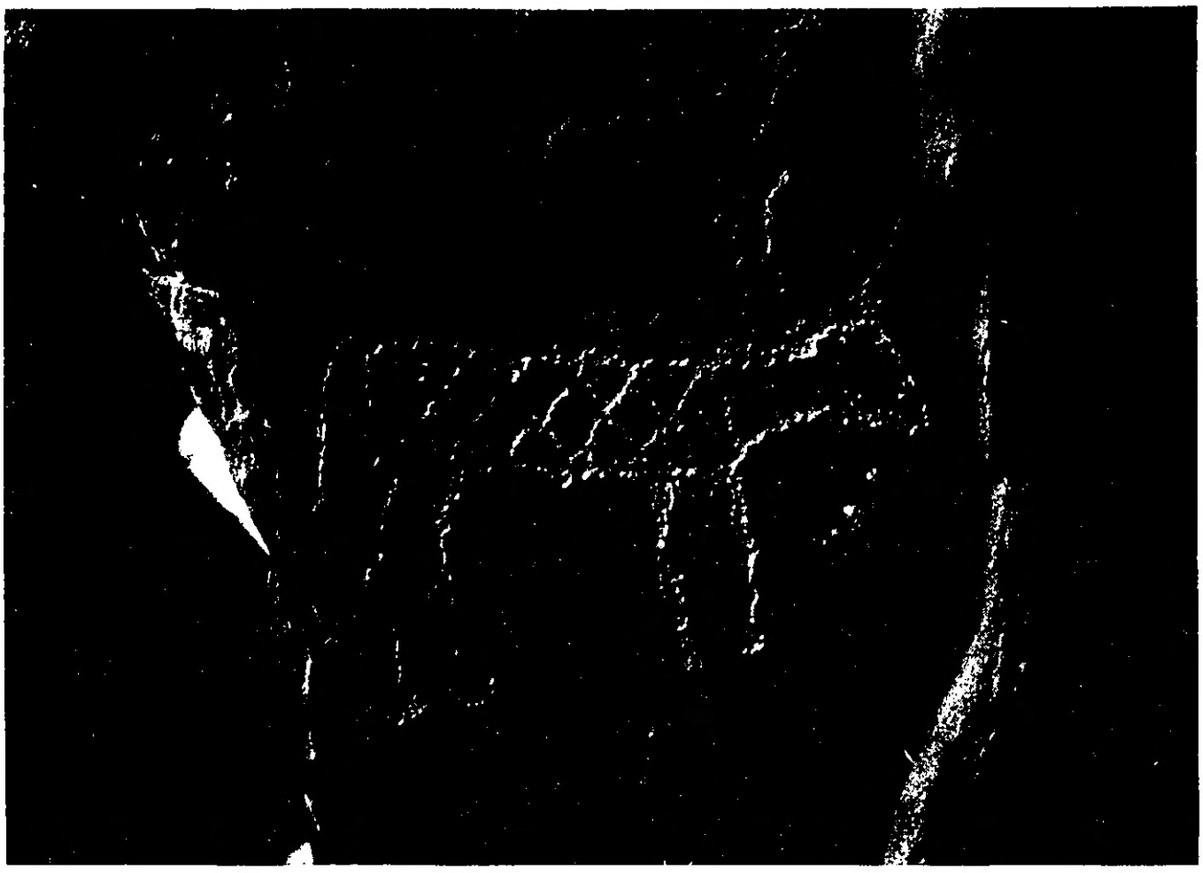

Photo 40 (Fig. 340) Neg. no. M 623.

Photo 41 (Fig. 343) Neg. no. M 628.

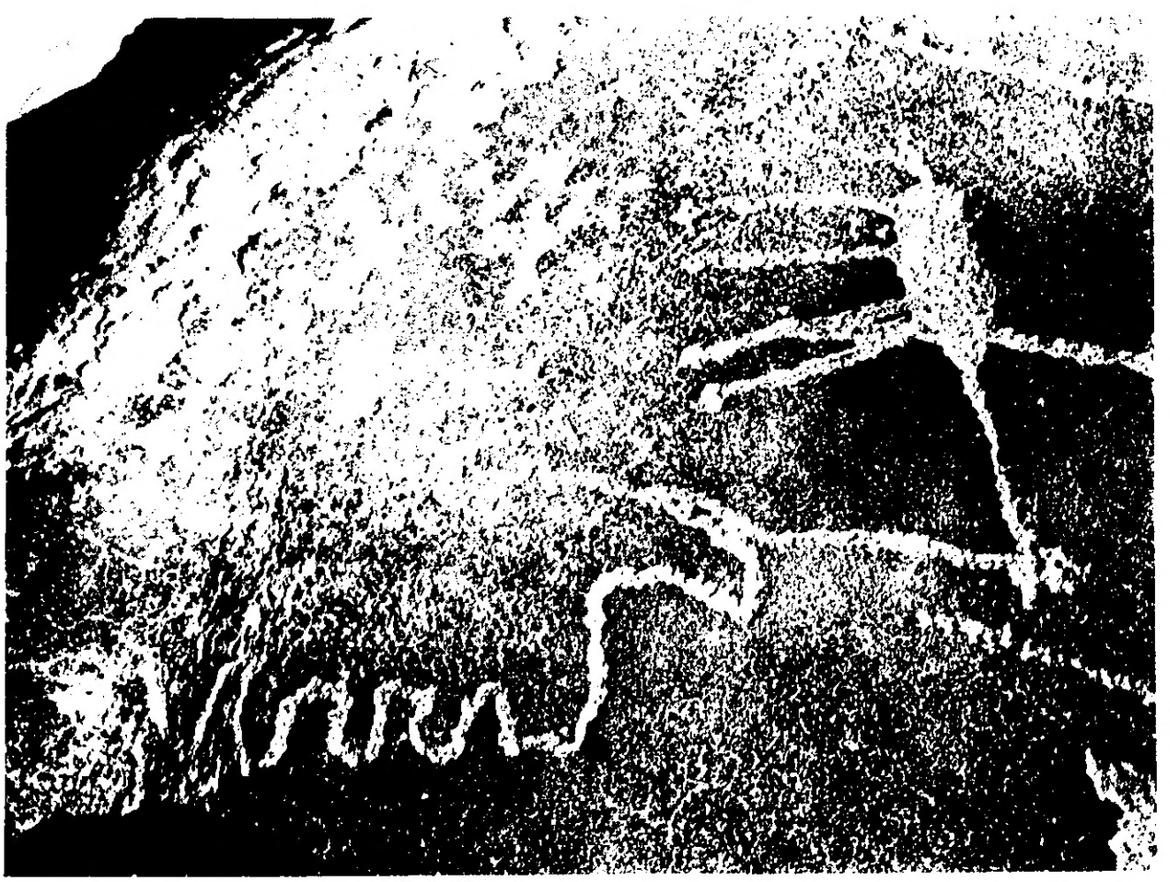

Photo 42 (Fig. 346) Neg. no. M 634.

Photo 43 (Fig. 347) Neg. no. M 644.

Photo 44 (Fig. 374) Neg. no. M 699.

Photo 45 (Fig. 383) Neg. no. M 717.

Photo 46 (Fig. 397) Neg. no. M 739.

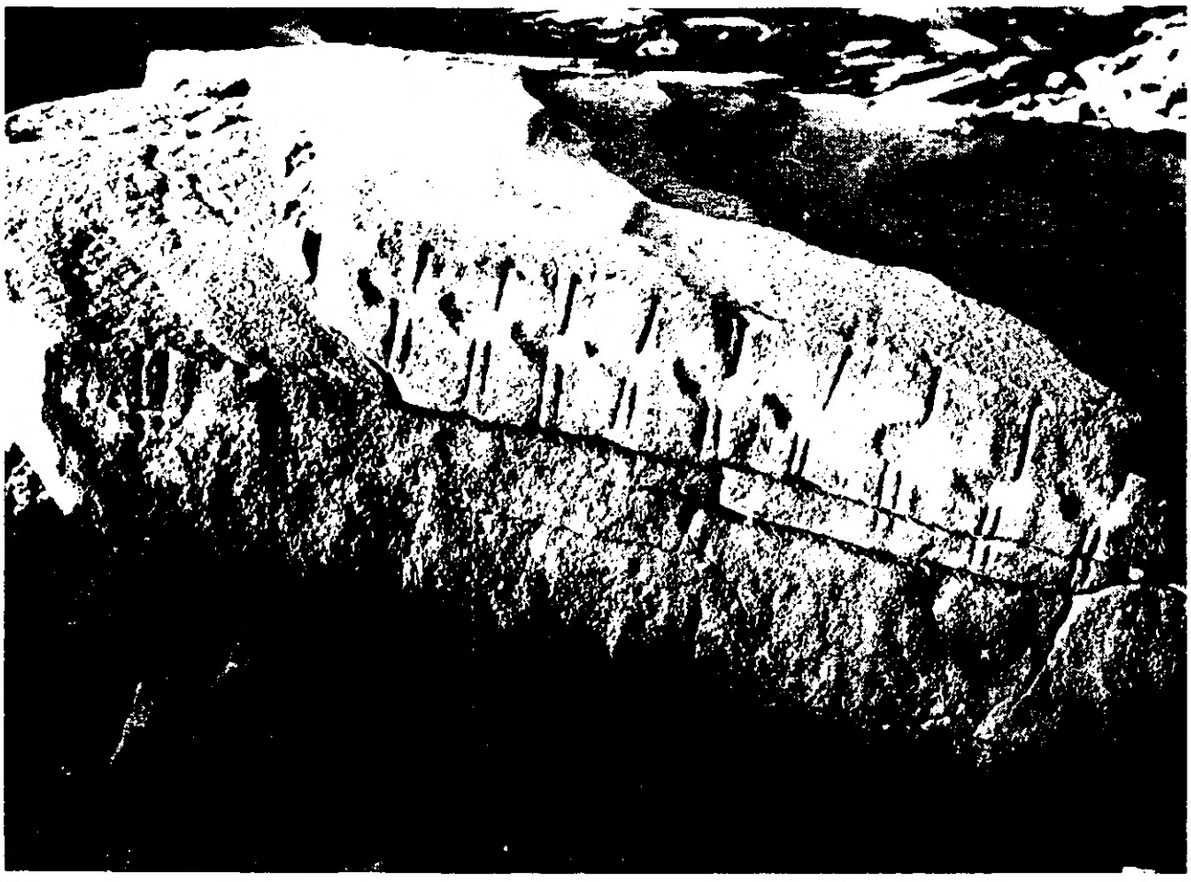

Photo 47 (Fig. 401) Neg. no. M 743.

Photo 48 (Fig. 412) Neg. no. M 763.

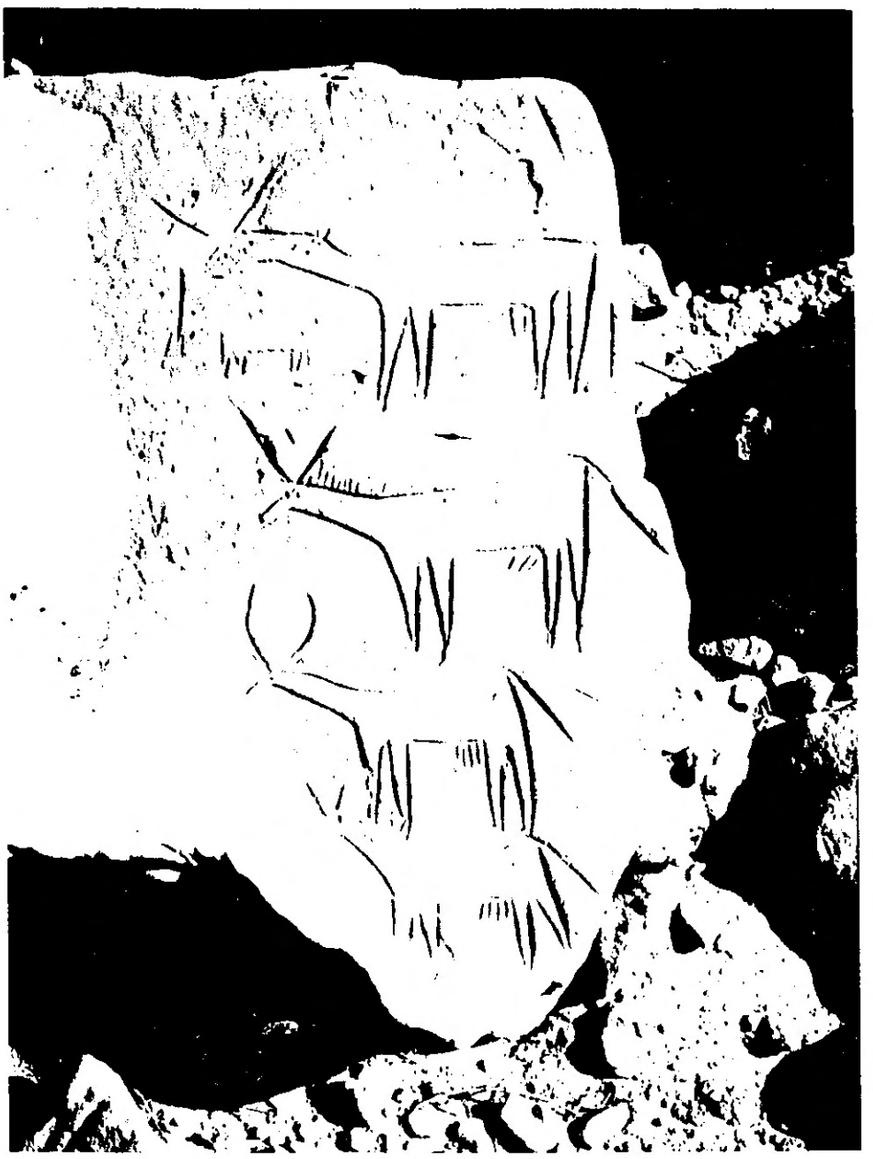

Photo 49
(Fig. 486)
Neg. no. M 887.

Photo 50 (Fig. 491) Neg. no. M 893.