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THE PLACE OF ROCK ART IN EGYPTIAN PREDYNASTIC ICONOGRAPHY – SOME EXAMPLES FROM THE FAUNA

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Abstract. Hierakonpolis (ancient Nekhen) near Edfu, in Upper Egypt, is well known for its late Predynastic and Early Dynastic archaeological localities, which have been excavated and researched over many decades. These localities lie in the desert, west of the Nile River, adjacent to rock beds and hills that exhibit rock art and inscriptions representing a very broad span of time. While much of the rock art occurs near areas that had permanent settlement or funerary sites in the Predynastic period, there are also a number of seasonal or temporary campsites and shelters incorporating petroglyphs ranging from abstract compositions to ‘fauna’ and ‘boats’. The themes purportedly depicted in the rock art and its close proximity to areas rich in archaeological heritage present unique research opportunities in associating the two, and many of the motifs depicted in rock art here have parallels in other media of the Predynastic period. Of the rock art recorded to date, the figural motifs have the closest affinity to specific iconography known from other aspects of Predynastic material culture such as pottery, potmarks and ‘palettes’. This paper will consider a selection of the animal motifs from the site and assess their level of coherence with Predynastic iconography as it is known from these other media. This coherence is examined at a number of levels: the types of infill used to decorate the bodies of animals; to their distinctive morphologies; and finally their inclusion in compositions such as purported hunting scenes.

Introduction

Much has been written on aspects of Predynastic Egyptian iconography, particularly with regard to ‘hunting scenes’ (cf. most recently: Darnell 2009; Graff 2009; Hendrickx 2010; Hendrickx and Depraetere 2004; Hendrickx and Eyckerman 2010) focusing on the elements depicted, their interrelationships, symbology and possible connections to later, Dynastic iconography as in the case of rock art (cf. Huyge 2009; Červiček 1998). The intent here is not to revisit these issues but to determine the level of correspondence between a selection of rock art at the major Predynastic site of Hierakonpolis and the iconography in other aspects of contemporary material culture in order to ascertain whether pertinent interpretations could also apply to rock art.

Relating the rock art to material culture accessed through archaeological work is particularly relevant at Hierakonpolis, where funerary and settlement contexts are collocated at the site and at times are even in close proximity to rock art localities (refer Fig. 1). The archaeological data thus provided is key to understanding the Predynastic communities that inhabited and traversed the site, data which further supports links established through the stylistic

comparison of the respective media.

The recognition of common themes and styles across rock art and other media is not new (cf. Capart 1905; Resch 1967; Morrow and Morrow 2010), but determining the level of coherence between rock art and other media has the potential to provide insights into the rock art’s chronology, cultural association and subject matter. This is an area that has had more passing comment than depth of analysis, nevertheless tentative steps have been taken in Eastern Desert rock art, with an analytical stylistic comparison of the corpus of ‘boat’ petroglyphs with other media (cf. Lankester 2012). Questions arise, however, as to whether we can truly claim the same chronology and meaning for similar motifs across varying media, and some scholars warn that such comparisons may possibly lead to incorrect assumptions (cf. Wengrow 2006: 112). Despite this, other scholarly work has shown that it is indeed possible to consider specific styles and subject matter to be temporally specific for Egyptian rock art generally (cf. Huyge 2002; Červiček 1992–93), and for the Predynastic, as has been demonstrated for the ‘barbary sheep hunt motif’ (cf. Hendrickx et al. 2009). More work is needed, however, in detailed analysis of the level of correspondence across the respective

media.

The key question to be considered here is whether selected elements of the rock art corpus surveyed at Hierakonpolis have a place within an overall Predynastic iconographic context. This entails an examination of the consistency of the design of the images in question in terms of their content, subject matter, compositions and details. The motifs chosen for a closer examination from the Hierakonpolis repertoire are faunal representations that incorporate 'decorative' infill. These motifs have been chosen to provide the greatest scope for contrasting the petroglyphs with motifs seen in other aspects of Predynastic material culture. The animals that will be considered therefore are a sample that meets this criterion, these being purported hippopotami, donkey, barbary sheep, giraffe and elephant from localities detailed below. This set has morphologies, feature decorative infill and some appear as elements within Predynastic scenes known in other media.

The Predynastic corpus of material culture bearing animal representation is extensive, and a consideration of all the types in relation to rock art is beyond the scope of this paper. This corpus includes decorated pottery, potmarks, combs, tusks, tags and a tomb wall painting (the Hierakonpolis 'Decorated Tomb') as well as animal shaped flints, figurines and 'palettes' (for an overview of the iconographic significance of many of the animal motifs on these items refer to e.g. Hendrickx and Eyckerman 2012). Of these, the media selected for correlation with the rock art will be the decorated pottery, incised 'palettes' and potmarks. These have been selected since they all incorporate faunal motifs with decorative infill and have styles and subject matter which are believed to be recognised within the rock art corpus at Hierakonpolis (the decoration on these object types and their relation to Egyptian rock art generally has also been noted by other researchers, cf. Resch 1967: 50–53; Midant-Reynes 1994).

The motifs on pottery will be considered through a corpus of decorated Predynastic pottery developed by Gwenola Graff (Graff 2009). Of this corpus, the white cross-lined ware ('C-ware') is a monochrome light-on-dark tradition known primarily from cemeteries in Upper Egypt (dating to the early fourth millennium BCE), which was produced during the Naqada I to Naqada IIA periods. It features geometric and floral patterns as well as depictions of fauna, at times in the contexts of hunting scenes. During the Naqada IIC and Naqada IID periods, this tradition was replaced by decorated ware ('D-ware'), a dark-on-light technique also featuring fauna, often in conjunction with 'boat' designs as well as 'human' depictions. The fauna, however, are of a different style to the C-ware with solid body infill. 'Palettes' are a type of plaquette which are flat, worked stone objects of greywacke (Harrell 2002), used for grinding of minerals for cosmetics (Baduel 2008). They were produced in a multiplicity of forms, including animal shapes (refer Ciałowicz 1991: Fig. 2);

however, of interest here are a group onto which faunal and hunting motifs have been incised after production (see Midant-Reynes et al. 1998: 280–282 for a listing of known examples). Potmarks are symbols inscribed onto ceramic objects, pottery vessels mainly, post-firing, and include both abstract designs and recognisable figures, including fauna but generally appear as single, isolated elements (cf. Petrie et al. 1896: Pl. LI; Petrie 1901: Pl. XX). An important aspect of the potmarks and 'palettes' is that they would have been inscribed by a different group of people (possibly the owners) to the artisans responsible for the painted decoration on the pottery. This other group were creating these incised images on finished products.

The rock art considered here has been located as part of the Hierakonpolis Rock Art Survey, which focuses on the study of rock art in and around the low desert concession of the Hierakonpolis Expedition. Its aim is to record and analyse the rock art in such a way that it contributes to the understanding of past activities at Hierakonpolis, together with the establishment of links to evidence produced by other types of fieldwork at the site. Only a limited amount of rock art at Hierakonpolis had previously been recorded and published (e.g. Berger 1982, 1992; Friedman 1992, 2000; Friedman et al. 1999; Adams 2000; Mills 1995), but its incidence is far higher than this record suggests.

Hierakonpolis rock art corpus overview

Although suitable stone is available throughout the rocky ridge framing the south-west part of the site, a notable concentration of presumably Predynastic rock art has been observed around and especially on the eastern (river south) side of the Wadi Abu Suffian. A large portion is proximal to the Predynastic archaeological localities within it (e.g. HK11 hill, a prominent hill directly adjacent to the HK11 archaeological locality), with other concentrations found on the plateau south of Wadi Abu Suffian and along the so-called Wadi el Pheel which cuts through the plateau and runs parallel to, and south-east of, the Wadi Abu Suffian. Of note here are the relative locations of the archaeological localities (refer Fig. 1). In particular, it can be seen that the HK6 and HK11E cemeteries as well as the HK11 settlement are adjacent to a major rock art concentration around HK11 hill. The HK6 elite cemetery incorporates above-ground structures from at least Naqada IC, while the HK11E cemetery may be dated to Naqada II (see Friedman 2008). The inscriptions in the HK6 cave, those at the southern boundary of the site ('Flint City'), and the concentration of rock art at locality HK64, isolated at the north-eastern boundary of the concession, will not be discussed here as their date range is beyond the scope of this paper (Friedman 1992, 2000; Friedman et al. 1999; Adams 2000; Friedman and Youngblood 1999).

Of the presumably Predynastic rock art recorded to date, approximately 80% is composed of 'abstract designs' and the remaining 20% are figurative, comprising 'fauna' and 'boats' as well as limited

anthropoid depictions. The faunal representations include presumed hippopotami, elephants, ibex, donkeys, bovids, gerenuk, giraffes, hartebeest and barbary sheep.

The 'hippopotami, donkeys, barbary sheep, giraffes' and 'elephants' to be discussed here are to be found at the localities HK61A, 09-02, 10-21, 10-09, 10-17, 12-11 and 12-24 respectively (refer map in Fig. 1). Locality HK61A, located at the east side of the HK11 hill, is known for its elaborate 'boat' and 'faunal' depictions (Berger 1982, 1992) as well as further locations of rock art at HK61B and C. These locations are accessed via a side

wadi, and on the terrace immediately below them is the HK11E cemetery. The petroglyphs at HK 61A occur on the interior faces of a large fallen boulder that has split in two forming extensive adjacent panels. The north panel comprises the two elaborate 'boats' documented previously (Berger 1982: Figs I.18-19; 1992: Figs 1-2). The face of the south panel consists of a 'giraffe' and another elaborate 'boat' (Hardtke 2009).

Moving to the west side of the HK 11 hill, Giraffe Cave (locality 09-02) is a large natural cave opening to the north and overlooking the Wadi Abu Suffian and the settlement localities at HK11. On its façade are four panels composed primarily of zoomorphs, mainly 'giraffes' with a crosshatched body decoration (Hardtke 2009). This cave can be identified as Lansing's 'High Place', which was found to contain a selection of early Predynastic (Naqada I) pottery now in New York, attesting to other human activity here (Lansing 1935). Opposite the HK11 hill and the occupation area at its foot, locality 10-21 is situated on an inselberg located in the centre of the Wadi Abu Suffian. The focal point for rock art here is a rock overhang situated about half way up the gradient of the hill on the west side, which bears petroglyphs of 'boats' and 'abstract' designs. Down slope of the overhang, was found a small displaced sandstone boulder bearing a finely incised 'donkey', with a smaller 'donkey', possibly its progeny directly beneath it. The larger 'donkey' incorporates a herringbone decoration across its body, while the smaller one does not, but it is otherwise very similar in appearance.

Locality 10-09 is situated immediately to the south of the HK11 hill, upon a rise bounded by gullies emptying into the Wadi Abu Suffian. Central to this area is a circle of standing slabs of stones which are the remains of an ancient stone construction of unknown date. Polish marks, deep incisions and rows of notches are found on rocks surrounding the site. A small vertical panel incised with a schematic 'hippopotamus'

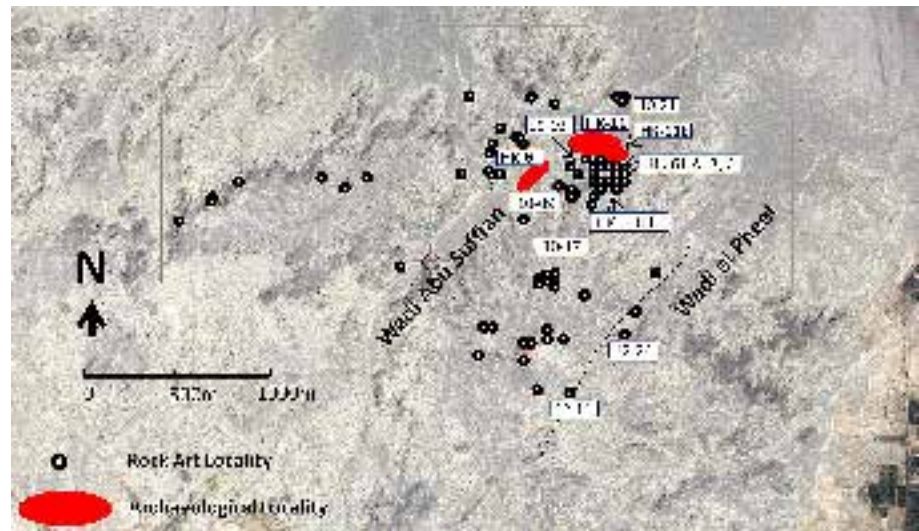


Figure 1. Rock art locations at Hierakonpolis.

featuring cross-hatched body markings is found in close proximity to the circle. The variety of petroglyphs in this area raises the possibility that they are to be associated with the stone circle here.

Moving away from HK11 hill towards the desert plateau, locality 10-17 is situated in a relatively flat area with isolated hillocks. Rock art appears in the saddle between two such small hills ('west' and 'east'). At the summit of the west hill is a stone hut circle composed of upstanding sandstone slabs (Hardtke 2010: 12), while near its base, a mixture of rock art occurs predominantly on the east side. Here a flat expanse of exposed laminated sandstone features large-scale depictions of a 'boat', a 'donkey' and a 'bull'. Between and around them are areas where the stone has been smoothed and 'polished' by some activity. A short distance to the east, a more limited exposure of rock features a small, but highly detailed 'hippopotamus' with crosshatched decoration.

Situated in the Wadi el Pheel, locality 12-11 is on a slight rise, with a small modern track passing to the north-west. The rock art is executed on the horizontal plane of a low sandstone outcrop, the primary panel incorporating an incised, decorated 'elephant' situated next to a small ancient water cascade. The 'elephant' motif is incised with a chevron pattern filling its body. Also in the Wadi el Pheel, locality 12-24 features petroglyph panels, found as a group covering a conspicuous, heavily patinated, horizontal sandstone outcrop. The central petroglyph is a 'barbary sheep' with short curved horns, cross-hatched decoration and indications of the distinctive fur on the chest and forelegs. The 'barbary sheep' is being followed by another animal, apparently a dog in pursuit. Two further incised quadrupeds are present, one of which can be identified as a smaller 'barbary sheep', but with no body decoration. A high number of abstract compositions are found together with the animals, including many straight and curved notch rows.





1		Chevrons
2		Herringbone
3		Crosshatch
4		Parallel Lines

Table 1. Infill styles used for this analysis.

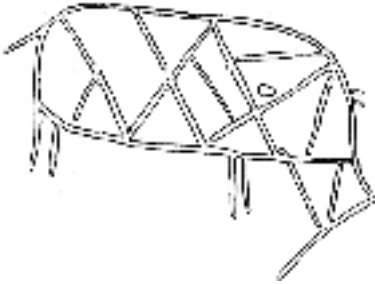


Figure 2. 'Hippopotamus', Locality 10-09.



Figure 3. 'Hippopotamus', Locality 10-17.

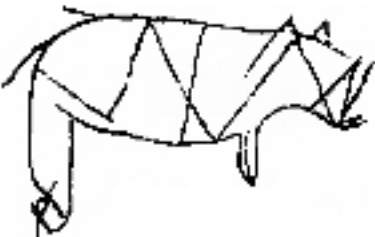


Figure 4. 'Hippopotamus' on potmark from Naqada tomb 1416 (Petrie et al. 1896: Pl. LI, No. 10).



Depictions of two 'hunting bows' are also found in the vicinity of the central 'barbary sheep'.

Infill decoration

As seen above, the survey to date at Hierakonpolis has uncovered animal motifs with a variety of body decoration or infill. For the purposes of this short review, the infill found on the site's rock art together with what could be observed as infill on animals on Predynastic pottery decoration, 'palettes' and potmarks was categorised into the following four groups: chevrons, herringbone, crosshatch and parallel lines (refer Table 1). Of these types, chevrons are often found in a downward pointing or with alternating downward and upward pointing orientations (refer Table 1, No. 1). They can themselves also be infilled with other chevrons, crosshatch designs or unfilled. They are commonly found as a decorative motif on C-wares (cf. Graff 2009: 180, No. G1). The herringbone pattern (refer Table 1, No. 2) resembles a number of chevrons on their side. They are found as body decoration on fauna depicted on C-wares (e.g. Graff 2009: No. 78) and on faunal depictions in potmarks (cf. Petrie et al. 1896: Pl. LI, No. 11). The crosshatch (refer Table 1, No. 3) consists of a number of crossing lines in a pattern which may be relatively dense or having greater distance between the individual crossing lines. They are also common as body decoration on fauna depicted on C-wares (e.g. Graff 2009: No. 146).

Review of the faunal depictions at the element level

Hippopotami

Presumed hippopotami with infilled body decoration are attested at two locations at Hierakonpolis (10-09 and 10-17). The animal at 10-09 incorporates a widely spaced crosshatch (Fig. 2), while the animal at 10-17 incorporates a more closely spaced crosshatch on the body with parallel lines on the head (Fig. 3). A very similar 'hippopotamus' with crosshatch decoration also appears in rock art at Wadi Qash (Winkler 1938: Pl. XIV). The key morphological features on all the 'hippopotami' are a downward pointing, axe-shaped head with a flat face, small round ears, tail, and small legs positioned at the extremities of the body. The 10-17 animal also sports a small but prominent set of tusks, oriented forward.

The mode and style of depiction in rock art is consistent with other media including examples in the corpus of Predynastic potmarks (cf. Petrie et al. 1896: Pl. LI, Nos 9 and 10, see Fig. 4). Potmark No. 10 includes chevron decoration and both animals incorporate forward pointing tusks. Potmark No. 9 is found on a vessel from the cemetery of Naqada dated to Naqada IIA (Payne 1993: No. 339). A potmark with a 'hippopotamus' including parallel lines as infill (Petrie 1901, Pl. XX, No. 26) was recovered from Abadiyeh tomb B8, dated to SD57 (Naqada IIB; Petrie 1920: Pl. LII). From Abydos tomb U-368 comes a 'hippopotamus' potmark without infill (Dreyer et al. 2000: Fig. 6) but with the same morphological traits discussed, dating to mid to late Naqada I. A very close correspondence with rock art can also be found with a 'palette' in the Medelhavsmuséet, Stockholm (Fig. 15) dating to Naqada I to early Naqada II (Säve-Söderbergh 1953: 17, Fig. 8; Asselberghs 1961). Here, the two 'hippopotami' have crosshatch decorations, while one of them features the same small 'tusks'. Hippopotami are most frequent in pottery decoration and are the most ubiquitous faunal form in the C-wares (Graff 2009: 161, No. Am7), see Figure 5. The infill decoration of the hippopotami in C-ware are most commonly chevrons (cf. Graff 2009: Nos 35, 38, 40, 55, 62, 63, 70, 74, 77, 84, 86, 94, 97, 98, 106, 164), while the second most frequent infill is the crosshatch decoration (cf. Graff 2009: Nos 41, 53, 93, 109, 160,

Figure 5. 'Hippopotami' in C-ware in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva (Graff 2009: No. 70).

162, 171). Morphologically, the C-ware 'hippopotami' follow the attributes seen in the rock art, with some having 'tusks' and others not (with 'tusks' cf. Graff 2009: Nos 55, 62, 98, 109). Instances are noted in the C-ware whereby a different infill is used for head and body (cf. Graff 2009: Nos 70, 77, 93, 109), again highlighting a similarity of technique to the 10-17 'hippopotamus'. No instances are noted in the D-ware of the type of 'hippopotamus' under discussion here (see also Hendrickx and Depraetere 2004).

The rendering of the 'tusks' in the locality 10-17 animal is noteworthy since they have been executed in a manner not seen in nature. In addition, the almost horizontal orientation of these might indicate that they represent the incisors which were likely added to emphasise the aggressive nature of the animal, as is the case in nature where these are used in ritualised fighting between rival hippopotami (Kingdon 1979: 259).

Barbary sheep

To date, purported barbary sheep are attested at only one location at Hierakonpolis (12-24), where two examples are depicted, the larger one featuring short curved 'horns', cross-hatched decoration and the distinctive fur on the chest and forelegs (Fig. 6). The large 'barbary sheep' is being followed by another animal, apparently a dog in pursuit. Two further incised quadrupeds are present, one of which resembles a smaller barbary sheep with curved horns, but with no body decoration. Very similar 'barbary sheep' are found in the rock art of the Eastern Desert (Morrow and Morrow 2010: 223; Redford and Redford 1989: Fig 13), Western Desert (Hendrickx et al. 2009: Fig 24) and closer to the Nile valley at the Wadi el Hol (Winkler 1938: Pl. 30, No. 2; Darnell 2009: Fig. 7). The key morphological features noted for the locality 12-24 animal of curved horns and chest hair are also common in other rock art, with hair on the forelegs also prevalent, but less often.

The morphological features in rock art are consistent with other media including examples from the corpus of Predynastic potmarks, see Figure 7 (cf. Petrie et al. 1896: Pl. LI, No. 18; Petrie 1901: Pls V, XX, Nos 19, 21), where the infill elements of parallel lines and crosshatch are also employed. Of these, the potmark from Naqada tomb 1475 (Petrie et al. 1896: Pl. LI no 18) is dated to Naqada IIB (Petrie 1920, Pl. LI). The potmark from Abadiyeh B101 (Petrie 1901: Pl. V) is dated to Naqada



Figure 6. 'Barbary sheep' at Locality 12-24.



Figure 7. 'Barbary sheep' potmark from Abadiyeh tomb B83 (Petrie 1901: Pl. XX, No. 21).

IIA (Payne 1993: Fig. 20, No. 160) while the example from Abadiyeh B83 (Petrie 1901: Pl. XX, No. 21, Pl. VI) is dated to Naqada IIB (Payne 1993: 286, inventory for B83). A further potmark of a 'barbary sheep' from El Amrah (Randall-MacIver and Mace 1902: Pl. 17, No. 21) compares less favourably, with smaller 'horns', indeterminate infill and no 'mane'. It came from El Amrah tomb a131 dating to Naqada IID1 (Payne 1993: 287, inventory for a131). A very close correspondence between rock art and incisions on 'palettes' is found to a rhomboid specimen from Abadiyeh in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, No. E928 (Petrie 1901: Pl. XX, No. 20; Payne 1993: No. 1869, estimated at Naqada I-II). Here, only the head with the oversized curved 'horns' is apparent and 'dogs' follow in pursuit.

Depictions of 'barbary sheep' are found in the C-wares (Fig. 8) (Graff 2009: Nos 22, 29, 136, 146, 149, 173)



Figure 8. 'Barbary sheep' in C-ware in the Art Museum, Princeton (Graff 2009: No. 22).

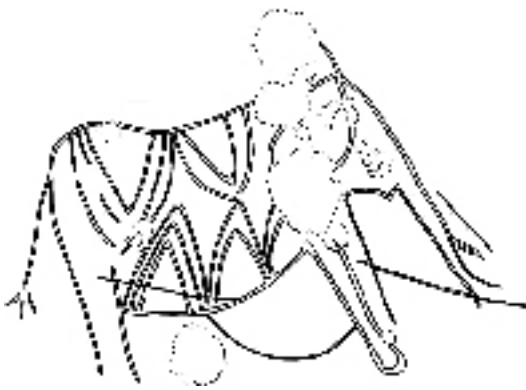


Figure 9. 'Elephant' from Locality 12-11.



Figure 10. 'Elephant' potmark, Capart 1905: Fig. 111.

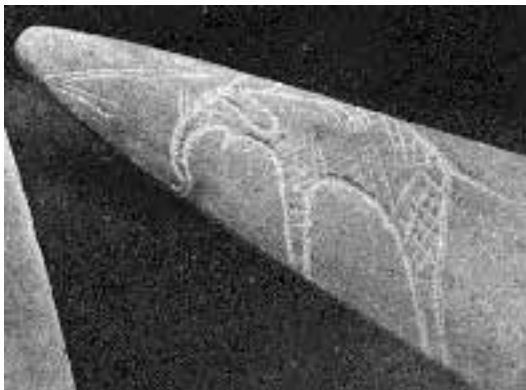


Figure 11. 'Elephant' on 'palette' from Abadiyeh grave B102 (Brussels E.7062).

with no convincing examples on D-ware. Decorated figurines also feature the animals with chest mane and parallel line infill (cf. Petrie et al. 1896: Pl. LIX, No. 6). The infill decoration of the 'barbary sheep' in C-Ware are most commonly crosshatch (three) with herringbone and chevron examples attested in lesser numbers (one each in Graff 2009). Morphologically, the C-ware 'barbary sheep' follow the attributes seen in rock art. All have the sideways oriented oversized 'horns' and the chest and foreleg 'mane'.

Elephants

The Purported elephant found at locality 12-11 incorporates a chevron infill consisting of multiple chevrons oriented in alternating upward and downward pointing directions. The lower lip is explicitly rendered, with the ears leaf shaped, one of which is raised and one down within the outline of the body (Fig. 9). Note another instance of an 'elephant' located at HK61C features no infill decoration, perhaps due to its very small size. It sports the upright 'mouse' ears, commonly found in rock art (cf. 'Type A' in Judd 2009: 14), but having little correspondence in other aspects of material culture. Elephants with similar infill decoration as the 12-11 animal are reported by H. A. Winkler at his Site 31 in the Wadi el Hol, and at Site 58 along the Darb el Ghubari (Winkler 1938: Pl. 57). Neither the ear style nor the chevron decoration, however, has been reported among the 'elephant' depictions in the rock art of the Eastern Desert (Judd 2009: 14).

Parallels in other media include examples from the corpus of Predynastic potmarks (cf. Petrie et al. 1896: Pl. LI, Nos 11, 12, 13; and Capart 1905: Fig. 111), where the morphological features of the ears and lower lip are the same, while the infill includes herringbone and chevrons (Fig. 10). Potmark No. 11 from Naqada grave 1497 dates to Naqada IB (Payne 1993: No. 340), No. 12 is unprovenanced but on a pot type dating to Naqada IIAB (Friedman 2004: 154), and No. 13 is from Naqada or Ballas but has no tomb provenance and is only a fragment of a vessel. It is estimated to date to Naqada I-II (Payne 1993: No. 341).

A very close correspondence between rock art and designs on 'palettes' is found to a rhomboid 'palette' from Abadiyeh grave B102 (Fig. 11: Brussels E.7062) dating to Naqada IIA (Payne 1993; see also Petrie 1901: Pl. XII, No. 43; Friedman 2004: 154; Hendrickx 1994). Here, the ears and lip have the same form as seen on the rock art. In both the 'palette' and the example from 12-11, the triangular chevrons are placed with two at the top, three at the bottom of the body. 'Elephants' are rare in pottery decoration and have no stylistic similarity to rock art (see for example Graff 2009: No. 103). The lack of representation of the elephant in C-ware is noteworthy. The one example from Mahasna shows the 'elephant' together with a 'bull', which is a known symbol for authority and power (cf. Hendrickx 2012: 29). It would seem that elephants are not seen as agents of chaos but more likely as an embodiment of power (cf. Friedman 2004: 163, especially given their iconographic uses in the Naqada III period and their burial in the elite cemetery of HK6). It is possible then that the choice of representation on potmarks, 'palettes' and in rock art in opposition to C-ware (where fauna as the quarry of the hunt is common) has something to do with this symbology. A single example in D-ware (Graff 2009: No. 218) bears little resemblance to rock art morphology and is depicted solely as the ensign of a

'boat' and is thus not representing the animal per se, but an image of the animal.

Donkeys

'Donkeys' are found in three different locations at Hierakonpolis. The animals at 10-21 (Fig. 12) consist of a large 'donkey' with body infill and a smaller one below, where the larger animal has a deep double outline around its body, head and ears and incorporates a herringbone design on its body. The 'mane' and 'tuft of the tail' are executed with a slightly lighter line. The smaller zoomorph copies the form of the large almost exactly, although it has only a single outline and no internal markings. Another 'donkey' (without body infill) at location 10-17 has a similar morphology with a distinctive 'mane' and large forward pointing 'ears'. 'Donkeys' commonly occurring in the Eastern Desert feature an entirely different morphology of simplistic, blockish bodies, no mane and upright (as opposed to forward pointing) ears with no decorative infill (see Judd 2006; Judd 2008: 18; Huyge 2009). An example from the Western Desert corresponds more closely to the Hierakonpolis examples, with a more realistic body depiction and prominent 'mane' (Ikram 2009: Fig. 7), although this animal has been assigned by Ikram to the Pharaonic Period.

Within the corpus of Predynastic potmarks no presumed donkeys appear. With regard to 'palettes', an approximate correspondence is found with an unprovenanced 'palette' on which is incised a 'donkey' with linear, possibly crosshatch infill, forward pointing 'ears' and tufted 'tail' (UCL Petrie Museum item UC15766, Petrie 1920: Pl. XLIII No. 4P). From the Naqada III period, the 'Town's Palette' (Egyptian Museum Cairo CG 14238) (Ciałowicz 1991) features a row of 'donkeys' with 'mane' and vertical 'ears' but these are carved in raised relief in an entirely different, more detailed style. One 'donkey' with curved 'muzzle', 'mane', forward pointing 'ears' and parallel line infill (Fig. 13) is attested in the C-ware (Graff 2009: No. 112), while a further example also displays parallel line infill with forward pointing 'ears' and curved 'muzzle' but no 'mane' (Graff 2009: No. 75). No apparently recognisable donkey representations are attested in D-Ware.

Giraffes

To date, 'giraffes' are attested at two locations at Hierakonpolis: HK61A and locality 09-02. In the latter location, a number of zoomorphs appear on panels overlooking the rock overhang. They are executed with lightly incised crosshatch decoration across the bodies. 'Giraffes' are a relatively frequently occurring motif in the rock art of the Western Desert, Nile Valley and Eastern Desert (refer Winkler 1938, 1939; Resch 1963, 1967; Červíček 1974; Fuchs 1989; Judd 2009; Morrow and Morrow 2010). The key morphological features on the 09-02 'giraffes' are small 'horns' and 'mane', with a neck and body that are approximately proportionate and realistic, placing these animals in Judd's 'type A' (Judd 2009: 12). The HK61A 'giraffe' (Berger 1982: 63) similarly displays 'horns', but has a disproportionate body and unrealistically long legs more akin to Judd's 'type B' (Judd 2009: 12). It also has crosshatch body decoration but has been pecked rather than incised into the rock. This 'giraffe' appears in conjunction with the 'boats' at HK61A which have been dated to the late Predynastic period based on their elaborate prow

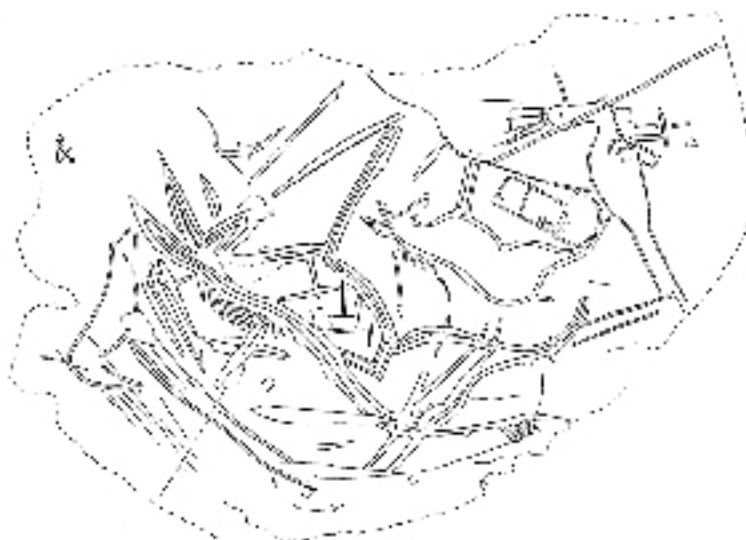


Figure 12. Donkeys from Locality 10-21.

ornamentation (Berger 1982). J. Darnell (2009: 90) proposes that boats may have been added at sites already containing giraffes in order to provide these giraffes considered by him to be earlier solar carriers with a modernised means of mobility. It remains to be seen if this explanation fits HK61A, especially as the 'giraffe' appears to be hunted (Berger 1982: 63). No boats were observed at locality 09-02.

The corpus of Predynastic potmarks includes a possible giraffe from Naqada tomb 1475 (dated to Naqada IIB) (Petrie et al. 1896: Pl. LI no 18) which features chevrons and small 'horns' at the top of the head in a way similar to the 09-02 'giraffes'. A further example with no



Figure 13. 'Donkey' in C-ware in the Staatliches Museum, Berlin (Graff 2009: No. 112).



Figure 14. 'Bows' near barbary sheep, Locality 12-24.

infill is a 'giraffe' from el Amrah (Randall-MacIver and Mace 1902: Pl. XVII, No. 22). From Hierakonpolis, a 'giraffe' potmark was uncovered from HK43 burial 104, dating to Naqada IIB (Friedman 1998), an animal decorated with a chevron infill. Comparing to 'palettes', an approximate correspondence is found to a 'palette' bearing a 'giraffe' and 'antelope', the 'giraffe' executed in a rough style with parallel line infill, 'mane' and 'tufted tail' (UCL Petrie Museum item UC15766; Petrie 1920: Pl. XLIII No. 4F). From the Naqada III period, the 'Louvre palette' (Musée du Louvre No. E11052) and 'two dog palette' (Asmolean Museum Oxford, E3924) depicted 'giraffes' featuring 'manes' but in an entirely different, more detailed style carved in raised relief (Ciałowicz 1991). From the same period, the 'giraffe' incised on a potsherd from Matmar (Brunton 1948: Pl. XXII, No. 19) shows that simpler styles were also prevalent at this time, although this animal has no infill, and little to relate it to the rock art discussed here. Clearly identifiable giraffes are infrequent in the pottery decoration of the C-wares. A possible pair of 'giraffes' appears on C-ware (Graff 2009: No. 136) with herringbone infill on both and small vertical 'horns' and protrusions from the neck of one of them. Other animals identified as giraffes by Graff are unconvincing in C-Ware and in any case have no resemblance to the rock art discussed here (Graff 2009: Nos 14, 16, 67, 460), as is single D-ware attribution to the 'giraffe' (Graff 2009: No. 507). An interesting scene on a C-ware bowl from Khozam shows a 'giraffe' atop a 'boat', possibly again highlighting its solar associations (Cannuyer 2010: 90). This 'scene' also has a parallel in rock art with a 'giraffe' atop a different type of 'boat' (Červiček 1974: Fig 71).

Purported scenes

Complementing the picture provided by the motifs at the elemental level, there are the purported scenes in which these elements occur in the Hierakonpolis rock art. These include supposed hunting scenes along with scenes possibly related to the idea of rejuvenation.

The 'scenes' of 'hunting barbary sheep' are attested

in 'palettes' and pottery decoration (Hendrickx et al. 2009). In many of these 'scenes' the 'animal' is being 'hunted' with 'dogs', and as the 'barbary sheep' at locality 12-24 is being followed by another 'animal', apparently a dog in pursuit, this is also regarded here as a hunting scene. In addition, a set of motifs found near the large 'barbary sheep' resembles two 'hunting bows' with 'arrows' in place (see Fig. 14). In this context, these 'bows' further imply a hunting connotation, since in many Predynastic depictions (rock art as well as decorated vessels) the 'barbary sheep' is shown hunted by 'bow-armed hunters' and/or 'dogs' (Hendrickx et al. 2009). A similar example in rock art of a 'bow' with 'barbary sheep' is found in the Western Desert at the 'sito del mufloni' (Hendrickx et al. 2009: Fig. 24). The appearance of the instruments

of the hunt in lieu of the hunter is not unusual in Predynastic depictions. Often 'harpoons', 'nets' and 'dogs' appear as the sole symbols of the hunt, implying that the depictions are not recounting actual events, but are symbolic (Hendrickx 2010).

As Hendrickx points out (Hendrickx et al. 2009: 224) the depictions in C-ware of 'barbary sheep hunts' do not show 'dogs' making contact with the prey in attacking poses (as is typical for rock art), however, there are limited examples on D-ware vessels which date to Naqada II. We need to be careful with this distinction, however, since there are indeed attacking dogs depicted in C-wares, albeit not concerning barbary sheep as the main quarry (Graff 2009: No. 52), indicating that dogs in this more aggressive pose are also part of the Predynastic pottery decoration repertoire in this earlier period.

The two 'hippopotami' (Fig. 15) on the site (localities 10-09 and 10-17) have lines issuing from their heads. These could be interpreted as harpoon lines and therefore imply that these depictions constitute hunting scenes. In contrast to other rock art representations of the hippopotamus where the hunt is more explicitly rendered (e.g. Wadi Qash, Hendrickx et al. 2009; and in the desert west of Luxor, Darnell 2009) the examples from Hierakonpolis appear in isolation, with the purported harpoon line as the only evidence of activity. This is similar to many of the C-ware pottery depictions of the 'hippopotamus hunt' (refer Graff 2009: Nos 62, 63, 74, 77). The appearance of the weapon in lieu of the hunter is also consistent with the way other presumed hunting scenes are constructed at this time (Hendrickx 2010).

There was a reduction in the frequency of 'hippopotamus' representations as well as its hunting in the transition from C-ware to D-ware. Hendrickx believes that this is because the iconography on D-ware is related to afterlife concerns. The 'hunting scenes' on the Decorated Tomb (Naqada IIC) from Hierakonpolis imply that hunting was still an important theme, but it seems the medium used for its depiction changed

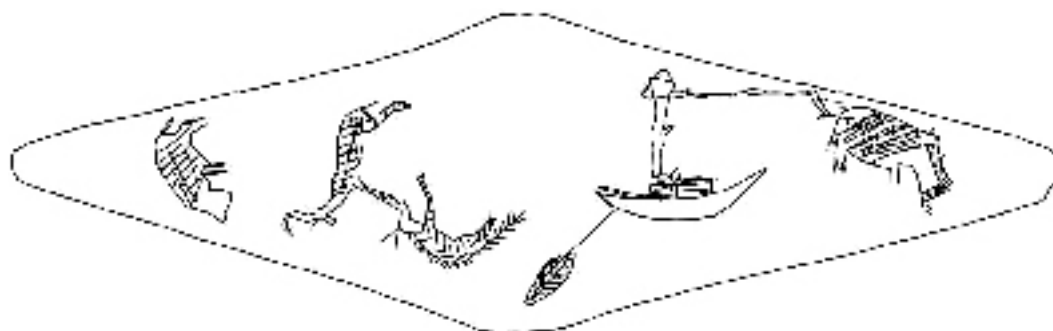


Figure 15. 'Hippopotamus hunt scene' on 'palette' in the Medelhavsmuséet, Stockholm (Hendrickx in press Fig. 4).

away from pottery (Hendrickx in press: 12). In any case, the subject of the 'hippopotamus hunt' outlasted the Predynastic and persisted into the Pharaonic period (Säve-Söderbergh 1953; Müller 2008), thus it seems only that the style in which the subject was rendered underwent more frequent change.

At locality 10-21 in Hierakonpolis a 'donkey' is accompanied by a smaller 'donkey'. In addition, in the wadi to the east of HK11 hill, at location 09-10 is a small rockshelter featuring the depiction of a possible donkey, also likely with its young, but both are on a very small scale. These depictions possibly add a new dimension to the symbology of the donkey. Similar depictions of parent with offspring have been observed by the author in other parts of Egypt, but to date these have been of bovids (e.g., Červíček 1974: Figs 213, 343, 347), not donkeys (but see Červíček 1974: Fig. 126 where it seems a donkey with offspring is being hunted with dogs). These representations may symbolise a desire for the ongoing regeneration of these important beasts of burden (see also Ikram 2009: 277 where their role as a means of transport is emphasised). The frequent co-occurrence of 'donkeys' with 'boats' as seen at Hierakonpolis location 10-17, as well as Elkab (Huyge 2002: Pl. 111) and in other parts of the Eastern Desert (Resch 1963: 91), could also suggest they are important as a mode of transport. Although donkey bones have been recovered from the HK6 cemetery, none have a good provenance, so evidence from the site itself is mute on this topic (Van Neer et al. 2004). Their importance generally is further substantiated for the First Dynasty through the presence of donkeys in subsidiary burials with kings (Bestock 2009). This theme of rejuvenation might also be present in other media such as C-ware depictions, where wild animals are depicted with their young. One example is a scene of the 'hippopotamus hunt' where the hunted seem to have their young in-utero (Graff 2009: No. 161) and a group of what are purported to be giraffes with their young (Graff 2009: No. 67). In apparent opposition to this idea, some researchers believe that the donkey, especially in its wild form, is a manifestation of chaos and the god Seth, and stands in opposition to the solar character of the boat (Huyge 2002: 201). Furthermore, as several depictions of donkeys show a shaft issuing from the neck implying their killing, D. Huyge (2009: 302) sees

the donkeys as waylayers of the sun, which were ritually destroyed as part of the solar cult. The 'donkey' at 10-21 also appears with various superimposed incisions on its body, possibly representing shafts for its ritual killing. This might seem contradictory; however it is possible that the two concepts are complementary, whereby rejuvenation is required for the ongoing ritual killing to continue. This duality is possibly also the basis for the 'hippopotamus hunt scene' described earlier, which combines the prey with its young in-utero.

Discussion

The selection of rock art from Hierakonpolis demonstrates that there is a level of correspondence between rock art and Predynastic iconography in other aspects of material culture visible through common themes and styles. The level of coherence discussed provides insights into some aspects of the rock art chronology, its cultural association and subject matter.

It was seen that there is a general consistency in the types of infill deployed across the media considered. The Hierakonpolis speculated faunal representations displayed infill of crosshatches, chevrons and herringbone. This has its closest correspondence with painting on C-ware, where these patterns also predominate on faunal depictions. The 'palettes' reviewed similarly exhibit crosshatch and chevron infills, with no herringbone, but examples with parallel line infill were found. The potmarks similarly incorporated all the infill types for the fauna under consideration. It was noted in addition that infill at times varied within the same animal, with a different infill used for the head and body (e.g. hippopotamus). This occurs in both rock art and C-ware. There seemed, however, to be no pattern discernible in the choice of infill for faunal types, with seemingly arbitrary decisions being made to decorate the fauna one way or another.

The 'hippopotami' under discussion from localities 10-09 and 10-17 shared morphological traits with the depictions on all the other media considered. Of these, the C-wares had the strongest correlation due to the large number of examples. The combination of a consistent palette of infill patterns between the media, as well as shared, very specific morphological features are key to this correlation. An important feature present in rock art and other media were the forward facing 'tusks'.

This is considered a deliberate, stylistic addition to the 'hippopotamus' iconography and not representative of its natural appearance, added likely to enhance the aggressive side of its symbology. At the level of the scene, the 'hippopotamus hunt' is well represented on the C-wares, with one scene on a 'palette'. However the examples in Hierakonpolis rock art only constituted a scene due to the inclusion of a purported harpoon with no indication of the actual hunter. This symbolic rendering of hunting is also frequently attested in the C-wares. The chronology of the other media considered follows the C-ware range of Naqada I – IIA, with some potmarks and 'palettes' continuing into Naqada IIB, a time when the iconographic record on pottery is lacking.

The 'barbary sheep' from locality 12-24 also share morphological traits with the depictions on all the other media considered. Though less frequently depicted than the 'hippopotamus' on the C-wares, the 'scenes' with 'barbary sheep' correlate well with the rock art due to the significant number of 'hunting scenes' attested with 'dogs' present and without hunters on C-ware. The example at Hierakonpolis supplements this notion of symbology by inclusion of the instrument of the hunt, the bow, but without a hunter. The chronology of the media considered accords with the C-ware range of Naqada I – IIA, continuing into Naqada IIB.

The 'elephant' motif from locality 12-11 had no specific links with pottery painting, however, compelling parallels were observed with the potmarks and a 'palette'. The morphological traits identified for this motif are highly distinctive, particularly the shape and orientation of the 'ears'. The different preference of media for elephant representation (compared to the hippopotamus and barbary sheep) might be related to the elephant's association with power symbolism as opposed to the chaotic. The other media reviewed with 'elephant' iconography were found to occupy a date range of Naqada IB – IIB.

The 'donkeys' from the rock art localities have parallels in the pottery which closely followed their morphology. A further example incised design on a 'palette' is also similar. Overall, however, the number of examples was too small to allow detailed correlation. The giraffe similarly is represented on only a small number of examples in other media. Nevertheless, with regard to the use of infill on the bodies of both of these species there is correspondence across rock art and the other media. The 'donkeys' at Hierakonpolis in addition raised the possibility of a new type of scene incorporating animals with their young, which might be linked to the symbolism of rejuvenation, as has been suggested for other aspects of Predynastic iconography such as the C-ware.

Of the rock art considered here, the 'hippopotami', the 'barbary sheep' and 'elephant' currently offer the most information enabling them to be placed in a context with the other aspects of material culture. The 'hippopotami' and 'barbary sheep' in addition provided

information at the level of both the individual elements and within 'scenes'. Both the design and style of the elements as well as the 'hunting scenes' in which they are depicted find clear correlates in the other media of potmarks, C-wares and 'palettes'. It was observed in each case that the level of correlation between the rock art and pottery decoration fell dramatically with the advent of the D-ware. This may be explained by a transfer of certain subjects such as hunting scenes to other media, such as in the Hierakonpolis Decorated Tomb or other perishable media no longer available to us. Stylistic and subject matter similarities were also seen across the C-ware, potmarks and some 'palettes' which occupied the same chronological range (Naqada I to Naqada IIB), all of which correlate with the rock art examples discussed here. It seems unlikely that this rock art postdated this range and the level of coherence demonstrated between the rock art selection from Hierakonpolis (particularly for the 'hippopotamus', 'barbary sheep' and 'elephant') and the pottery, potmarks and 'palettes' leaves little doubt that the associated motifs derive from the same culture and that the rock art partakes of the same core iconography. The 'hunting themes' depicted and their specific arrangements also strongly suggest that they are imbued with the same array of symbology. While the precise meaning of these themes is still a matter of debate, it is likely that their meaning and interpretation is consistent across the media. The potmarks and 'palettes' would have been inscribed by a different group of people to the artisans responsible for the painted decoration on the pottery. This indicates that the style under discussion here was pervasive around the culture at the time and was not simply a phenomenon restricted to a small group of artists. It had resonance with the general population and they drew in the same manner. The correlation with rock art extends this pervasiveness.

Given that the selection of rock art discussed surrounds the site of Hierakonpolis this cultural association should come as no surprise, and it was seen that the nearby archaeological localities of HK6 and HK11E demonstrated a similar chronological range with HK6 commencing at Naqada IC and HK11E dating to Naqada II. In addition there was a cave locality (09-02) in which Naqada I pottery vessels were found in the same context with the incised 'giraffes'. While it cannot be ruled out that other groups were occupying the site who might have created the rock art, the fact that we have evidence for the physical presence of the people responsible for the creation of the artefacts we have correlated with the rock art, can only serve to support a case that they were the creation of the same culture, likely at the same time.

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