A lost Late Predynastic-Early Dynastic royal scene from Gharb Aswan

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In the early 1980s, Nabil Swelim copied the rock art scene which is the topic of the present contribution from a slide photograph (**fig. 1**). The image was among the papers of the late Labib Habachi (1906-1984, see Kamil 2007), in his apartment at Manshiyet el Bakry near Heliopolis. Labib Habachi intended to publish the image himself and at some point Hans Goedicke also planned to do so, but, ultimately this was never achieved. After all of these years, it now seems appropriate to publish this important document (fig. 1 & 2).

According to Labib Habachi, this rock art scene is in the Aswan vicinity, but the precise location was not mentioned, nor the date when he took the photograph. Labib Habachi had been posted as inspector at Aswan between 1930 and 1932 (Kamil 2007: 62-66), but only worked intensively at Elephantine from 1946 onwards (Habachi 1985; Kamil 2007). The photo was probably not taken during his first

stay at Aswan, when Habachi was not very active, as he admitted himself (Kamil 2007: 65), but rather when he began working at Elephantine and developed a keen interest in rock inscriptions (Kamil 2007: 182-183). The photograph may therefore have been taken as early as the late 1940s.

When inquiring about the document among a number of specialists, John Darnell provided the missing information regarding its location when he recognized that a very sketchy drawing of the scene had been published in Morgan et al. (1894: 203) (fig. 3), after information provided by A.H. Sayce.¹ He locates the scene "on the rocks behind Gharb Aswan, at about 4 km north of Aswan, on the western side of the Nile". At the end of the 19th century hardly anyone lived in this area (Morgan et al. 1894: 202), but now the large village of Midan el-Faras is located there.

^{1.} Archibald H. Sayce (1845-1933) travelled extensively in Egypt on his private dahabiya (Dawson et al. 1995: 375). This mode of travel made it possible for him to discover rock inscriptions and drawings in places that where at that time not regularly visited.



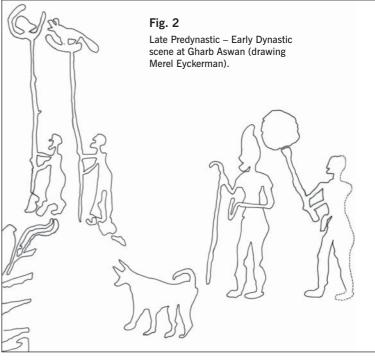


Fig. 1
Late Predynastic
– Early Dynastic
scene at Gharb
Aswan (photo

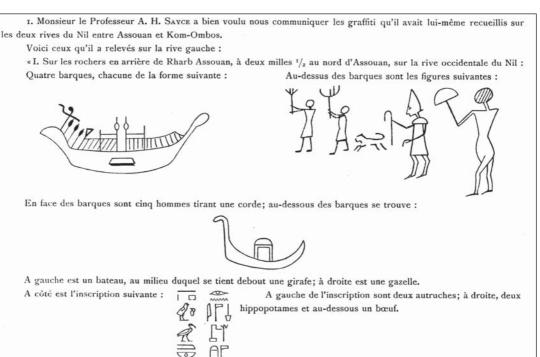


Fig. 3 Documentation by A.H. Sayce of the rock art tableau at Gharb Aswan (de Morgan et al. 1894: 203).

It is most remarkable that this very interesting document has not been mentioned in recent years, despite several surveys in the region and intensive archaeological activity in the Aswan region (Gatto *et al.* this volume; Seidlmayer 2006, 2007; Bloxam *et al.* 2007; Storemyr 2008;

Storemyr *et al.* 2008).² The unavoidable conclusion is that the rock drawing has most probably been destroyed, presumably due to the large scale quarry activities north of Aswan. It is indeed most unlikely that the scene would not have attracted attention if it would still be pre-

^{2.} Maria Gatto, Stephan Seidlmayer and Per Storemyr (pers. com.) confirmed that they have never seen the tableau under discussion. It passed equally unnoticed for the rock art survey missions, several of which included the Aswan region and which must have taken place when the drawing under discussion still existed (Winkler 1939; Resch 1967; Červiček 1974; 1986). More recent important rock art surveys mainly focussed on the Eastern (e.g. Rohl 2000; Morrow & Morrow 2002) and Western desert (e.g. Darnell & Darnell 2002).

served. Until the late 1980s, the region on the west bank north of Aswan was rarely accessed, but the construction of roads and especially of the Aswan Bridge near Kubbaniya has changed the situation drastically. At present, large scale quarry activities are being carried out for the construction of New Aswan.

Unfortunately, the available image does not show the entire scene and only small parts of other elements are visible, especially on the left hand side of the photograph. The drawing by Sayce (fig. 2) shows that the scene most probably did not continue to the right. The principal element is a standing male figure, apparently wearing the white crown and holding a long hook sceptre in his right hand an probably a flabellum in his left hand. He is followed by a servant holding a large round fan and preceded by a dog and two standard bearers.

This composition is very similar to the representation of Scorpion on his mace head (Oxford AM E.3632; Ciałowicz 1987: 32-38; 1997; Gautier & Midant-Reynes 1995), where the king is also preceded by two standard bearers and followed by two fan bearers. Similarly, on the Narmer mace head (Oxford AM E.3631; Ciałowicz 1987: 38-41), two fan bearers stand beside the high podium on which the king is enthroned, while four standard bearers are directed towards the king.

The Scorpion mace head certainly provides the closest parallel for the Gharb Aswan tableau, although only one fan bearer is present on the latter. The standard bearers are clearly limited to two because to the left of them are traces of another motif of an entirely different type. This is confirmed by Sayce's drawing. On the Scorpion mace head there are also only two standard bearers, while on the palette and macehead of Narmer and there after there are always four. The right standard of the Gharb Aswan tableau is of Wepwaout (Kaiser 1960: 122-123), recognisable by his long tail and pronounced

ears, while the left one contains the asymmetric rounded shape, first identified as the "royal placenta" by Seligman and Murray (1911; see also Frankfort 1948). This identification has never gained generally acceptance (Kaiser 1960: 127; Helck 1954: 27; Posener 1965) but nevertheless seems plausible (Cervelló Autuori 1996: 89-91; Wilkinson 1999: 198-199, 299). These same standards appear on the Scorpion mace head, while on the monuments of Narmer they are accompanied by two falcon standards.

These points of comparison suggest that the Gharb Aswan scene should be placed in a chronological position not far distant from the Scorpion mace head. This is to some extent also corroborated by the shape and position of the white crown worn by the Gharb Aswan king. Its tip points straight upward and, although this is less obvious on the Scorpion mace head, the crown is worn in a far more vertical position than on the Narmer palette, where it is already portrayed in the oblique position that will be standard throughout the rest of Egyptian history.⁴

Another interesting aspect of the Gharb Aswan rock panel is the conspicuous presence of the dog in front of the king. The animal is remarkably large compared to the king, but it is obvious that the dog belongs to the scene and due to its size forms an important element of it. Dogs are frequently represented during the Predynastic period, especially in hunting scenes (Baines 1993; Hendrickx 1992, 2006; Gransard-Desmond 2004). In these scenes, the hunters are almost always absent, and the dogs serve to replace them. The symbolism invested dogs is especially clear on some of the decorated ivories of the late Predynastic period (Naqada IID-IIIA), where they appear as controlling element at the end of animal rows (Hendrickx 2006: 736-739). However, by the beginning of the First Dynasty, far less importance is accorded to dogs. They now occur in more anecdotal or decorative contexts, such as on the Hemaka disk

^{3.} The Scorpion mace head is damaged in the area just in front of the two standards bearers, but a remaining trace of decoration shows that there was not another standard bearer (*cf.* Ciałowicz 1997: 14-15, fig. 7; Gautier & Midant-Reynes 1995: 88, fig. 1; contra Wilkinson 1999: 199; Menu 2003: 321).

^{4.} The Aswan king and the fan and standard bearers are obviously bearded. In this regard, it is important to note that Scorpion on his mace head is also bearded (contra Ciałowicz 1997: 14), but the drawing generally used (e.g. Gauthier & Midant-Reynes 1995: 88; Ciałowicz 1997: fig. 1-2) slightly underestimates the size of his beard. Close observation of the mace head itself or a good photograph of the relevant detail (e.g. Malek 1986: 29; Strouhal 1992: fig. 95; Manley 2003: 30) shows beyond doubt that the king wears a small beard.

or scenes in Old Kingdom mastabas. During Predynastic times, the symbolic importance of dogs can be compared with that of bulls and falcons, animals that were royal animals before the commencement of the First Dynasty (Hendrickx 2002; Hendrickx & Friedman in press), although the dog did not continue to enjoy this status. It is therefore remarkable to find a dog of large size in the Gharb Aswan scene in such a prominent position in front of the king. Final conclusions from a single example are difficult to draw, but the dog on the Gharb Aswan scene fits well with the Predynastic tradition of dogs as power symbols and appears to represent the dog as a royal symbol, a tradition which was not destined to continue.

It is obvious that the king on the Gharb Aswan tableau is depicted in an official, ceremonial context, the specific details of which were probably shown in the part of the rock drawing left out of the Habachi photo. Frustratingly, only the end part of what seems to be a complex depiction are visible in front of the king. The drawing and description of Sayce provide a few more details, but not enough to complete the picture entirely. Sayce (Morgan et al. 1894: 203) mentions four boats below the king and his retinue. His drawing of one of the boats (fig. 2) can hardly be equated with the horizontal and curving lines that probably representing branches, which are visible on the left hand part of the photo. The extremity of a stern or prow can be seen immediately in front of the two standard bearers. On the other hand, part of a stern might be present in the lower right corner of the photo. Both of these possibilities would result in boats of large size in comparison to the king and his retinue. Unfortunately Sayce provides no information on dimensions or the relative position of the boats. He only states that the king and his retinue are above the boats (plural) and in front of the boats are five persons pulling a rope. This does not permit us to determine whether the boats are placed one above the other, each with five persons before them, or whether they are one after the other, with five persons before the first boat only. The latter seems more plausible, but is far from ascertained. It is therefore not possible to be certain that the boats are part of the same scene as the king and his retinue. The available parallels on the Scorpion and Narmer monuments always show the king engaged in a particular action when accompanied by his retinue, thus it seems highly likely that the boats are part of this royal scene. The difference in scale between the boats and the humans is not an argument against this relationship as similar differences in scale occur on, for example, Early Dynastic labels.⁵

Although Sayce's sketch of the boat is of limited accuracy, it is nevertheless clear that the boat is not of the sickle shaped type well known from both Decorated pottery and rock art. On the prow of the boat is a standard, for which we will refrain from speculating on its type, given the obvious inaccuracy of the drawing of the standards held by the standard bearers discussed above. The standard on the boat is accompanied by what may very well be three large maces.⁶ Similar maces may also be depicted on the two cabins of the boat, but again this remains speculative. Nevertheless, the boat may refer to the military power of the king represented nearby.

Sayce's statement that at least one boat is being "pulled" by a rope is interesting. Given the proximity of the First Cataract, it is of course tempting to consider the boats and the king with his retinue as evidence for a king supervising boats being hauled over the First Cataract. However, this explanation is most unlikely since scenes of boats being pulled are well known from other sites in Upper Egypt, (e.g., Wadi Barramiya, Wadi Qash (see below), Wadi Abu Subeira, cf. Gatto et al. this volume), an exhaustive list of which would by far exceed the purpose of the present article. Most probably such scenes are to be seen in a highly symbolic religious context rather than as a reflection of reality (cf. Gatto

^{5.} Naqada, "royal mastaba" (Cairo, CG 14142, Kahl & Engel 2001: Abb. 10); Abydos, tomb of Aha (Philadelphia, E.9396, Petrie 1901: pl. IIIA.5, X.2); Abydos, tomb of Aha (London, British Museum, EA 35518, Petrie 1901: pl. IIIA.6, X.2; Spencer 1980: nº 455); Abydos, tomb of Dier (Berlin AMP 18026, Legge 1906; Kaiser 1967: 18, nº 161); Saqqara, S.2171, time of Dier (Cairo, Quibell 1923: pl. XI.2; Vikentiev 1955: 310, pl. IIB); Abydos, tomb of Semerkhet (London, British Museum, EA 32668, Petrie 1901: pl. XII.1, XVII.26, Spencer 1980: no 461). For further references, see: http://xoomer.alice.it/francescoraf/hesyra/tagcorpus.htm

^{6.} Large scale representations of maces occur also on one of the decorated ivories (Oxford AM E.4714) from the Main Deposit at Hierakonpolis (cf. Whitehouse 1992) and are probably also to be recognised in what Logan (1990: 68) identifies as "streamers" on the handle of a decorated vase (Chicago, OIM 29871, Logan 1990: fig. 3). See also Darnell this volume.

et al. this volume). If the boats and the king do indeed form an entity, a more plausible interpretation would involve the king attending a religious festival, which corresponds with the readings of the Scorpion and Narmer documents already mentioned. Very tentatively, one should note that on the Scorpion mace head, a boat with a high prow occurs in the scene below the king and overall, the Scorpion mace head can be understood as an agricultural ceremony in a religious setting of which the boat is part. Sayce mentions another boat, a giraffe and a gazelle to the left (further away from the king), but it seems unlikely that these have a connection with the scene of our primary interest. An inscription of the scribe Djehuti-em-heb is located by Sayce "to the east",7 in the neighbourhood of which are two ostriches, two hippopotami and a bull. The inscription does not predate the New Kingdom and is certainly not related to the royal tableau. Whether or not this is also the case for the boat and the animals mentioned by Sayce cannot be determined at the present time.

Royal representations are very exceptional in rock art, although three examples exist at Winkler's site 18 in Wadi Qash, a tributary of the Wadi Hammamat (Winkler 1938: pl. XIII-XIV, see also Wilkinson 2003: 80, fig. 23-24). The location of this rock grotto has recently been rediscovered (cf. Rothe et al. 2008: 90-93), and is now a tourist destination, but Winkler's (1928) photographs of the scenes in question current remain the only published record. As was usual in his day, the drawings were chalked to make them more visible in the photographs. For more complex drawings, only selected parts where chalked, which stand out strongly on the published photographs. The selection by Winkler reflects his interpretation and makes it difficult or in some cases impossible to understand the full scene. This is not so much of a problem for the first royal image published by Winkler (1938: pl. XIII.2, site 18. M 151a). It is an isolated representation of a king with a red crown, crooked staff and penis sheath. Unfortunately

there is no information about the eventual context of the representation. In the second example (Winkler 1938: pl. XIII.3, site 18. M 137a) a king wearing the red crown stands with a long staff raised before him facing a kneeling figure whose hands are raised on either side. Although his arms are not bound behind his back as is usual for prisoners⁸, this is still clearly a scene of subjugation. The relation of these figures both temporally and compositionally to the other motifs surrounding them is unclear. To the left are two stylized bucrania, and to the right is a boat. The animal figures are probably not related to the scene. This tableau is located on the back wall of the rock shelter, directly above the vast rock face that was the main focus of artistic expression and is covered with a dense array of superimposed scenes and motifs.

The third example of a royal figure at the site (Winkler 1938: pl. XIV.1-2, site 18 M 140 / M 141a) (fig. 4) occurs on this main, heavily

Fig. 4 Wadi Qash site 18 (Winkler 1938: pl. XIV.2).



^{7.} ir n it-ntr sš hwt-ntr n pr hnmw dhwty-m-hb. "Made by the God's Father and temple-scribe of the house of Khnum, Djehuti-em-heb". The name Djehuti-em-heb is not attested before the New Kingdom, but occurs frequently during that period (Ranke 1935: 408). We thank Frank Förster for the translation and further information.

^{8.} There are similarities with the scene of the Decorated tomb at Hierakonpolis in which a kneeling person presents a skin to a standing figure wielding two sticks (cf. Hendrickx 1998: 221-224, fig. 17).

incised panel, on its top left edge.⁹ It is certainly the most interesting of the royal scenes and has already been discussed extensively (Midant-Reynes 1994). It involves a detailed tableau, but one that occupies only a fraction of full panel, and superimposed on ibexes with ostriches superimposed upon part of it. The scene includes two hippopotami¹⁰ which have been harpooned by hunters who hold on to the lines. It also depicts at least two boats being dragged by at least 4 and 5 men respectively using ropes, although many other boats are also present immediately to the right and below, and throughout the rest of the rock panel. The scene is very complex, but it is difficult to distinguish its extent and all of the relevant elements. The king, wearing the red crown and holding a crooked staff before him, apparently views or possibly directs the action, although he is not shown at larger scale than any of the other figures.

As already noted by Midant-Reynes (1994: 232), the uppermost boats is directly connected by a rope lines to the lower and larger hippopotamus and indirectly through via another line held by a hunter, who is himself roping the same animal. This equation between the hunter and the boat is in our opinion paralleled by the occurrence of hunters in boats roping animals and also by animals tied to boats (see Gatto et al. this volume). The boat in and of itself obviously represents an element of power. As far as we know, there is no hunting scene associated with the Gharb Aswan tableau, but the dog serves as a reference to the hunt. The more obvious parallelism between the scenes from Wadi Qash and Gharb Aswan is, of course, that they both portray a king "overseeing" the boats being pulled. The fact that this is also depicted at Wadi Qash, far from both the Nile valley and the First Cataract, confirms that the Gharb Aswan scene should not be considered as a narrative about boats being hauled over the cataracts.

The Wadi Qash rock drawings just described were not made in the formal style of the Gharb Aswan scene, but establishing their chronological position is problematic.11 Midant-Reynes (1994: 232-234) notes that iconographic and stylistic elements of the boat-hauling/hunting scene (fig. 4) refer to various phases of the Predynastic period. Although this appears to be the case at first glance, it is should be remembered that hippopotamus hunting scenes are not necessarily confined to Naqada I – early Naqada II but continue into Early Dynastic times (Hendrickx & Depraetere 2004; Hendrickx in press). The presence of kings wearing the red crown is not a strong temporal argument since this crown already occurs on an oft-cited black-topped sherd from tomb 1610 at Naqada (Payne 1993: n° 774), which may be dated to Naqada I – early Naqada II.¹² Given the absence of the formal style on one hand and the presence of persons with raised arms on the other, the relevant Wadi Qash scenes can be dated before the Naqada III period, but our present knowledge of rock art does not allow a more precise date in Naqada I-II.

A rock art representation of a king is also known from Wadi Mahamid site 81, in the Elkab region (Huyge 1995: 177, pl. 152) (fig. 5). The sche-

^{9.} Two other royal images may also be present at the site. There is a schematic figure possibly wearing a crown in the lower part of the same main rock art panel and another possibly wearing the red crown on an isolated boulder.

^{10.} Midant-Reynes (1994: 232) questions Winkler's identification of the hippopotami, and suggests instead that the upper animal might be a rhinoceros. However, there is not doubt that it is a hippopotamus with the tusks in his lower jaw indicated and may be compared with representations on White Cross-lined pottery (e.g. Morgan 1896: pl. II.1; Ayrton & Loat 1911: pl. XXVI.2; Wild 1948: fig. 2). The image of the lower animal is probably distorted by Winkler's chalking, also already noticed by Midant-Reynes, but new photographs do not make its identification any easier.

^{11.} Although the royal figures discussed in this paper are not in the formal style, figures in that style are present at Wadi Qash, including the smiting scene (Winkler 1938: pl. X.3) located on an rock face separated from and to the right of the main scene and associated iconographical elements familiar from Naqada III times. In addition, three serekhs are known from the site, two of Narmer and one without name (Winkler 1938: pl. XI; Rothe 2008: 92-93; Darnell et al. 2002: 20 note 90).

^{12.} According to the Petrie notebooks, in addition to the sherd with the red crown in raised relief, Naqada tomb 1610 contained "regular 4 rbs (black-topped) west of head, 1 dish painted, 2 dishes filling". One of the black-topped jars is type B 63 c (AM 1895.283, Payne 1993: n° 262), which corresponds to the single sketch drawing of a jar in Petrie's notebook. The painted dish is unfortunately unknown, but should be White Cross-lined ware considering the Black-topped pottery in the tomb and especially because bowls of Decorated pottery are extremely rare. The fact that the red crown already appears in Upper Egypt before the Naqada expansion into Lower Egypt would indicate that it originally did not symbolise Lower Egypt (cf. Baumgartel 1975; Menu 1996: 43-44).

matic style of the incompletely preserved drawing and especially the upright position of the schematic white crown indicate a date in late Predynastic or Early Dynastic times. This is to some extent corroborated by the lesser degree of patination of the hare drawn close by. The hare certainly dates to the Dynastic period and may be roughly contemporaneous with the now destroyed New Kingdom bull frieze at site 82 (Huyge 1998) because of its detailed execution. The marked difference in patina strongly suggests a time difference potentially of over a thousand years between the two drawings.

The Gharb Aswan scene stands out against the near totality of rock art scenes and is certainly inspired by the standardised representations on mace heads and palettes. Yet even these can not be considered the original prototypes. The use of registers and sections indicates that the scenes were designed for flat, roughly rectangular surfaces. Unfortunately, these must have been on perishable surfaces such as walls or textiles, now lost to us.13

Besides the Gharb Aswan scene, the only other example that can be directly compared to late Predynastic and Early Dynastic scenes such as the Scorpion and Narmer mace heads, is the Gebel Sheikh Suleiman rock panel (Murnane 1987). Although no royal figure is present, it is also an "official" document because of the large serekh. Interestingly, on the right side of the scene, a prisoner is attached to a boat and below the boats are a number of dead enemies. As there are no human represented in the boats, they must have had meaning by themselves. Because of the attached prisoner, the boat must refer to "power" in a political context, rather than a religious one.

The importance of boats in a royal context is also known from other more or less contemporaneous documents.14 The reconstruction of the Qustul incense burner (Chicago, OIM 24069, Williams 1986: 138-145, pl. 34, 38) shows a king wearing the white crown seated in a boat,



Fig. 5 Wadi Mahamid. site 81:1.

next to an empty serekh topped by a falcon. There are two other boats, on one of which is a seated prisoner. Another prisoner, with arms bound behind his back, seems to be attached by a rope around his neck to the prow of the third boat which contains an animal.¹⁵ The prisoners make an obvious link with the Gebel Sheikh Suleiman panel. The animal on the last mentioned boat has been identified as a feline (Williams 1986: 140-141), although a male white baboon has also been suggested (Gatto 2006: 71). It may be understood as a deity (Williams 1986: 144), but it could just as well represent the king, similar to the lion on the Battlefield palette (London BM EA.20791, Spencer 1980: n° 576). The religious context of the scenes is not explicitly shown, but can inferred from the function of the incense burner itself.

A strongly related scene, also from Qustul, is found on the so-called "Archaic Horus" incense burner (Chicago, OIM 24058, Williams 1986: 145-146, pl. 33). Its decoration consists of two palace façade motifs and six boats. Williams reconstructed the scene as representing two boat processions, each composed of three barks directed towards a shrine symbolised by the palace façade. Both processions are headed

^{13.} Several fragment of a wall painting have been found at the early Naqada II elite cemetery HK6 at Hierakonpolis (Friedman 2008: 1187, fig. 15).

^{14.} It has also been suggested that the painted linen from Gebelein and the Decorated tomb at Hierakonpolis (e.g. Williams 1986: 139) contained depictions of kings in boats, but, although possible. this remains questionable.

^{15.} Williams (1986: 141) identifies a man with one arm raised. On the seal from Qustul tomb 17, mentioned by Williams as parallel, the raised arm is of an entirely different shape, which is also the case for the human representations on Decorated vessels. However, the characteristic bend of the arm behind the back leaves no doubt that a prisoner is intended.

by a boat bearing a king who wears the white crown. On one of the following boats, a bound prisoner can be distinguished. The parallel boat is unfortunately too damaged to determine whether or not it was also carrying a prisoner. The scene shows strong parallelism with the Qustul incense burner just mentioned, but the religious setting is more explicitly depicted.¹⁶ Both of the Qustul scenes show the importance of boats in royal iconography and also support the idea of the boat as an element of royal power, as suggested above for the Gebel Sheikh Suleiman relief and the scene from Wadi Qash. On the recto side of the decorated knife handle in the Metropolitan Museum (MMA.26.241.1, Williams & Logan 1987), a king wearing the white crown is again shown in a boat. This time the religious context is far more explicit, and includes the prisoners according to the reconstruction by Williams and Logan (1987: 247). For these scholars, both the Qustul incense burner and the Metropolitan knife handle represent the "Greater Pharaonic Cycle", which covers all Predynastic royal iconography. Although several elements of the interpretation by Williams and Logan can be questioned, the relationship between the king, boats and prisoners seems undeniable. The Gharb Aswan royal scene fits well in this context, although connection of the two "parts" of the tableau is cannot yet be fully ascertained.

The present contribution wishes to make the scene from Aswan available for the benefit of all who are interested. It is hoped that further documentation may be identified and that the scene will be rediscovered.

ADDENDUM

When the present article was already finished, the scene discussed was found by Maria Gatto. Unfortunately it had been heavily damaged and among others for that reason it was decided to publish this article nevertheless. The full publication will be coordinated by Maria Gatto.

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^{16.} The religious setting is also confirmed by the (temple) buildings on several other incense burners from Qustul (cf. Williams 1986: pl. 29-32).

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