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Werner Pichler

The rock art sites in the region of Igherm/Anti-Atlas (S-Morocco)

Key words: Morocco, Anti-Atlas, rock art, documentation

Zusammenfassung:

Im einleitenden Kapitel wird der Versuch unternommen, die Verwirrung durch unterschiedliche Fundort-Benennungen aufzulösen. Der Hauptteil besteht aus einer Analyse der Felsbildmotive mit dem Schwerpunkt "komplexe Strukturen". Die Felsbild-Dokumentation umfasst mehr als 70 Paneele.

Abstract:

The introduction of this paper is the attempt of clearing up the confusion concerning the denomination of different sites. The main chapter consists of an analysis of rock art motifs with special concern on "complex structures". The documentation itself contains more than 70 rock art panels.

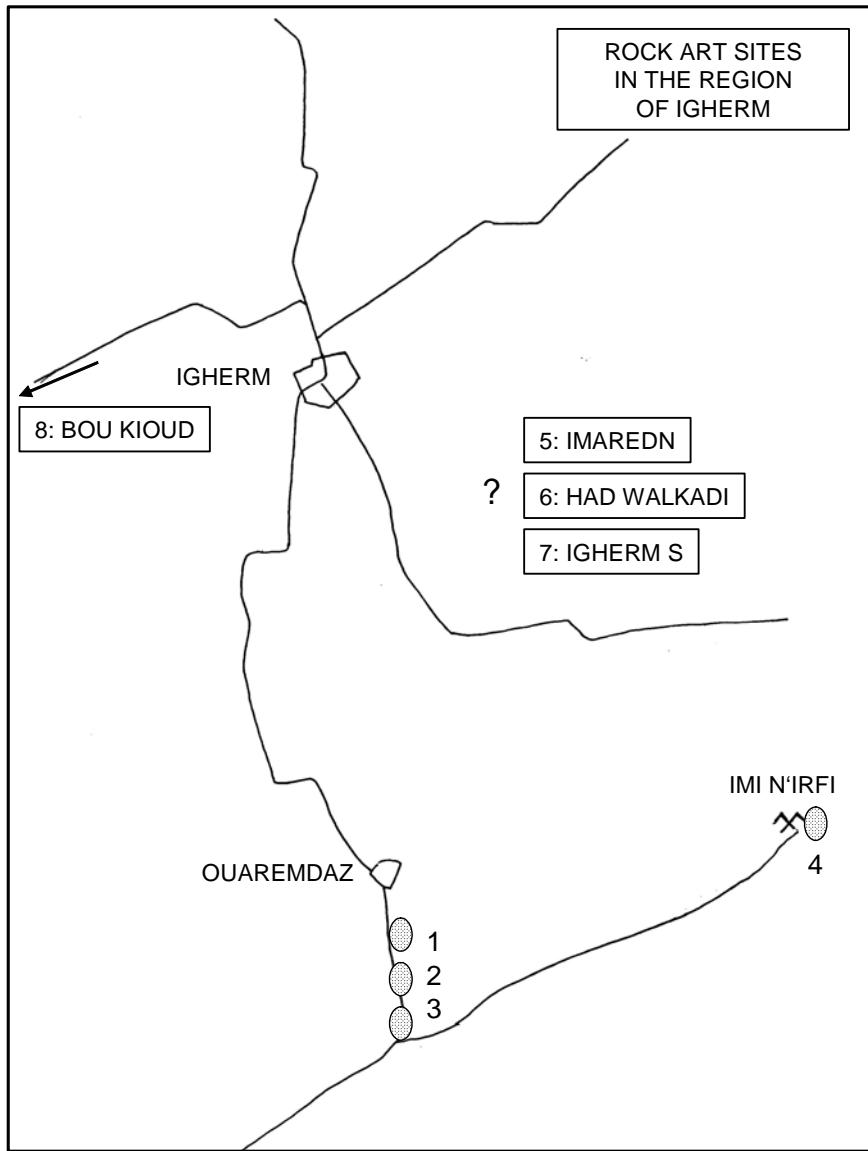
Resumen:

En el capítulo introductorio tratamos de deshacer la confusión por diferentes denominaciones del sitio. La parte principal consiste en un análisis de los motivos de los grabados rupestres con el tema central "estructuras complejas". La documentación de los grabados supera los 70 paneles.

The differentiation of sites and differing denominations of the same site have caused a considerable confusion among some papers published so far. Therefore, it seems to be necessary to clear up these questions by following the course of investigation.

In the early thirties of the 20th century Armand Ruhlmann was informed about the existence of rock engravings near Igherm by Capitain de Fleurieu, chief of the "Bureau des Affaires Indigènes". In 1934 he published a short article about two sites: OUARAMDAZ (1) and DJEBEL BOU KIOUD (2), illustrated by two photos each.

1: Ruhlman described the site OUARAMDAZ 12 km south of Igherm as "une vallée étroite et tortueuse, sillonnée par le lit de l'Assif n'Ouamsarda" (a narrow and meandering valley ploughing through the bed of the Assif n'Ouamsarda).



2: The second site is to be found 12 km apart from Igherm on the road to Ida Ou Zekri, 500 m east of DJEBEL BOU KIOUD.

Robert Letan is by far the best authority concerning this region. In 1966 he published a first article mentioning two sites: again the one south of

OUAREMDAZ in the territory of the Ait Ilemguerte (one photo) and a second one next to a copper mine called OUED CHEIK IMINIRFI (five photos).

In his "Catalogue des sites rupestres du Sud-Marocain" Simoneau (1977) listed up four sites (no photo):

150111: CHEIK IMI N'IRLI

150112: WARAMDAZ

150113: N. WARAMDAZ

150114: S. WARAMDAZ

In 1990 Uwe Topper presented the following inventory of sites south of Igherm:

1. IMAREDN: a farm house with a large threshing floor next to the street. Some boulders of the border present pecked circles and groups of ovals.
2. North of the Souk HAD WALKADI: a similar threshing floor including one rock slab with a pecking.
3. S-IGHERM: Leaving Igherm on the road 7085 to Issäfn, beneath the last houses in a dry valley six groups of engravings in a distance of three km (two drawings).
4. WEREMDAZ: six groups of engravings (three drawings).
5. SCHEIX IMI-N-IRLI (no description).

In a second article 1993 Topper added one drawing from the site Weremdzaz.

In 2002 Salih/Heckendorf included Waramdaz into their collection of Libyco-Berber rock art sites (one photo) and called the three locations (Simoneau 150112-114):

WARAMDAZ-SE

WARAMDAZ-CENTRE

WARAMDAZ-NW

In 2003 Letan published – as a sort of résumé of his lifework – in his book "Protohistoire de la Vallée du Draa" a collection of about 150 photos and 120

Tab. 1. Concordance of sites:

	Ruhlmann	Letan	Simoneau	Topper	Salih/H.	Searight
1	Ouaramdaz	Ouaremdaz	Waramdaz	Weremdaz	Waramdaz NW	Waramdaz
2			Waramdaz N		Waramdaz Centre	Waramdaz N
3			Waramdaz S		Waramdaz SE	Waramdaz S
4		Cheik Iminirfi	Cheik Imi n'Iqli	Scheix Imi-n-Iqli		
5				Imaredn		
6				Had Walkadi		
7				Igherm S		
8	Bou Kioud					Boukioud

drawings of the site Waremdaz. Unfortunately the photos only show Letan's chalk-drawings and the drawings itself are a little cursory concerning details, so that they can be used for scientific purposes only with great caution.

Site Ouaremdaz (1-3)

The author visited the region of Igherm three times (1999, 2004, 2007), each new visit was burdened with the painful question: which panels have disappeared since the last time? And the really painful answer is: Yes, even since the construction of the asphalt road there disappear panels and panels, and a considerable part of the rest is covered by recent graffiti.

Nobody knows how many panels have existed originally. The only thing we can do is to reconstruct from old photos.

By the way: it is impossible to insist on a consequent definition of the term panel at this site. Large rock slabs are broken into several pieces, one slab joins the other: where are the borders? Therefore, it is more realistic to use the neutral term "rock surfaces" or "panels" (within quotation marks).

Letan's collection includes 140 photos and 112 drawings. Due to a lot of inconsequence, overlapping and double occurrences we must reduce this amount of "panels" to about 220. Quite astonishing is the fact that about 80



Fig. 1. The site Ouaremdaz 3

"panels", which still existed in 2007, cannot be found in Letan's collection. Thus it seems to be realistic to assume an amount of approximately 300 "panels".

As a consequence of all these uncertainties the counting of motifs is far away from being exact. The cited amounts can give only an impression if a motif is unique, rare, frequent or very frequent.

Rock art motifs

1. Cupules (cup marks)

Being "hemispherical percussion petroglyphs" (Bednarik 2000:149) the cupules, strictly speaking, do not belong to the geometric motifs. Their dominant occurrence at Ouaremdaz is quite astonishing. Of course, cupules are distributed among the rock art all over the world. They can be presumed to be the most numerous of all petroglyph motifs. They originate from nearly all periods of history, very frequent in Bronze Age and Iron Age, in some cases extending back to the Lower Palaeolithic.

However, in the rock art of Morocco cupules are very seldom. Rodrigue (2006: 210f) counts 21 occurrences at Oukaimeden and 5 at Yagour, predominantly lines of 3 x 6, 8, 9, 11 and 13 cups, once 2 x 14 cups. It is obvious that these groups are representations of a game which is called Awali, Mancala or Keradet in Subsaharian Africa. Interestingly enough, this game is well known to the Touareg people but totally unknown to the Berber people. We do not know any other example of this rock art motif outside of the High Atlas so far. The only further example of cup marks in Morocco is a line of 16 cups at the site Foum Chenna.

Among the multitude of cupules at Ouaremdaz, estimated to be about 500, numerous are isolated or building groups without any recognizable structure [1], sometimes mixed up with circles and other geometric motifs [2]. In some cases they form distinct lines [4, 5]. Even as they are executed on nearly horizontal rock surfaces we cannot identify one example of a "game board" similar to the ones documented by Malhomme and Rodrigue. The purpose of these hundreds of cupules with diameters of 2-4 cm must have been a different one.

2. Geometric motifs

The repertoire of geometric motifs at the site Ouaremdaz is limited to about 30 different forms. The simple circle and the circle with additional lines and/or points inside are most frequent (ca. 65 %). In total there are no really exotic motifs, but very simple ones: lines, crosses, squares, "arch" and "wave" like signs etc. Signs which can appear in nearly every corpus, e.g. among pottery marks, tribal marks, camel brands etc.

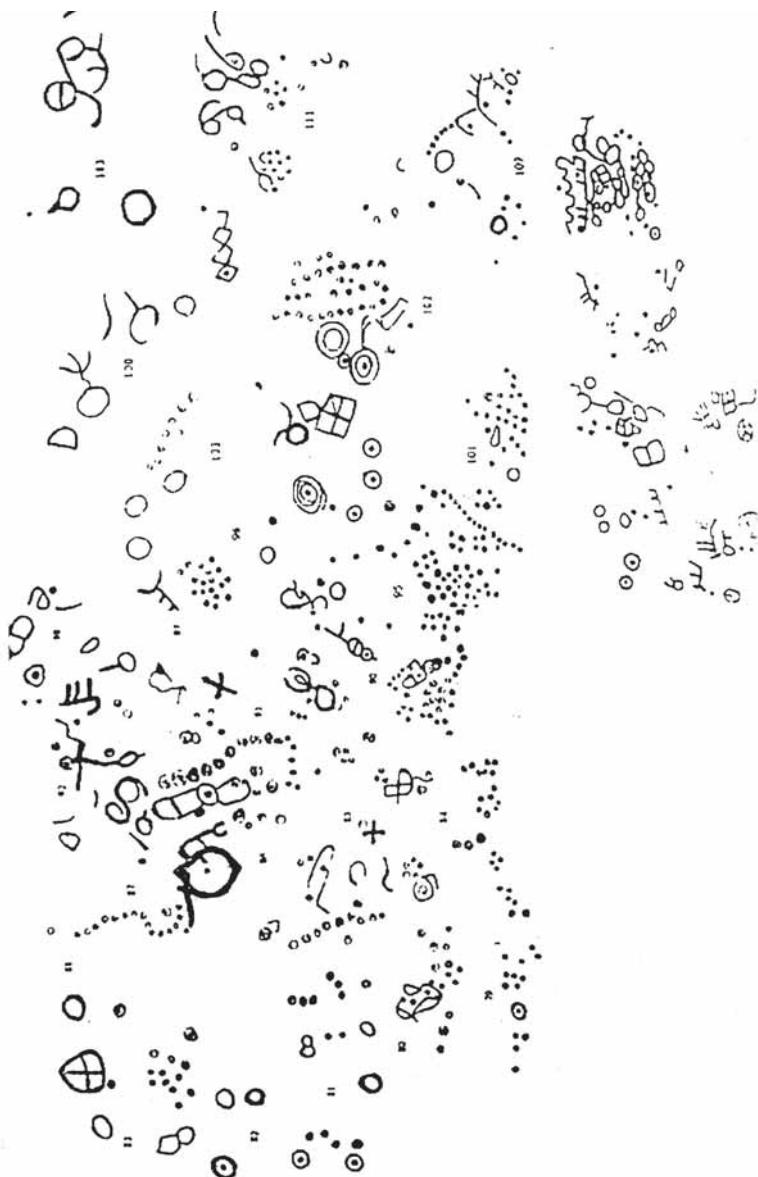


Fig. 2. "La grande table", Letan 2003:78

Tab. 2. Frequency of geometric signs

●	500	□	28
○	125	+	20
◎	14	—	15
⊕	14	~~~~	6
OO	12	□□	5
◎	10	~~~	5
⊖	10	~~~~~	4
⊕	4	L	4
⊕ ⊕ ⊕ ⊘ ⊘ ⊕			1-2
木 木 木 木 木 木			



As the alphabets of the Libyco-Berber script consist exactly of such "basic" geometric forms, there are good reasons for the supposition that some of these groups of signs could be Libyco-Berber lines.

In this paper we will not deal with the one great panel of Libyco-Berber script which is known since decades and is documented several times (Letan 1972, Pichler 1999, Skounti et al. 2003, Letan 2003). This panel is severely damaged nowadays by recent peckings (Fig. 3).

A nearly insoluble problem is the question where we should start to speak about an inscription. Surely not at single signs. Of course, each circle could theoretically be the written equivalent of Berber words such as "ar", "ara" or "aru". Each cross could be the equivalent of "ata", "iti" etc. However, it would be totally abstruse to define every circle or cross on a rock art panel as a Libyco-Berber character.

We can start to think about the possibility of script at an arrangement of at least two signs in one line. Excepting this definition we make a strike at least on nine panels (Fig. 4). This assumption is affirmed by the fact that one of the lines [61] can be transliterated as SRN, a personal name documented at RIL 298, the Berber equivalent of the Latin name SERANUS (CIL VIII 7694).

3. Iconic motifs

Among this group zoomorphic depictions dominate with 43 %, a few of them

Fig. 3. Damaged Libyco-Berber inscription

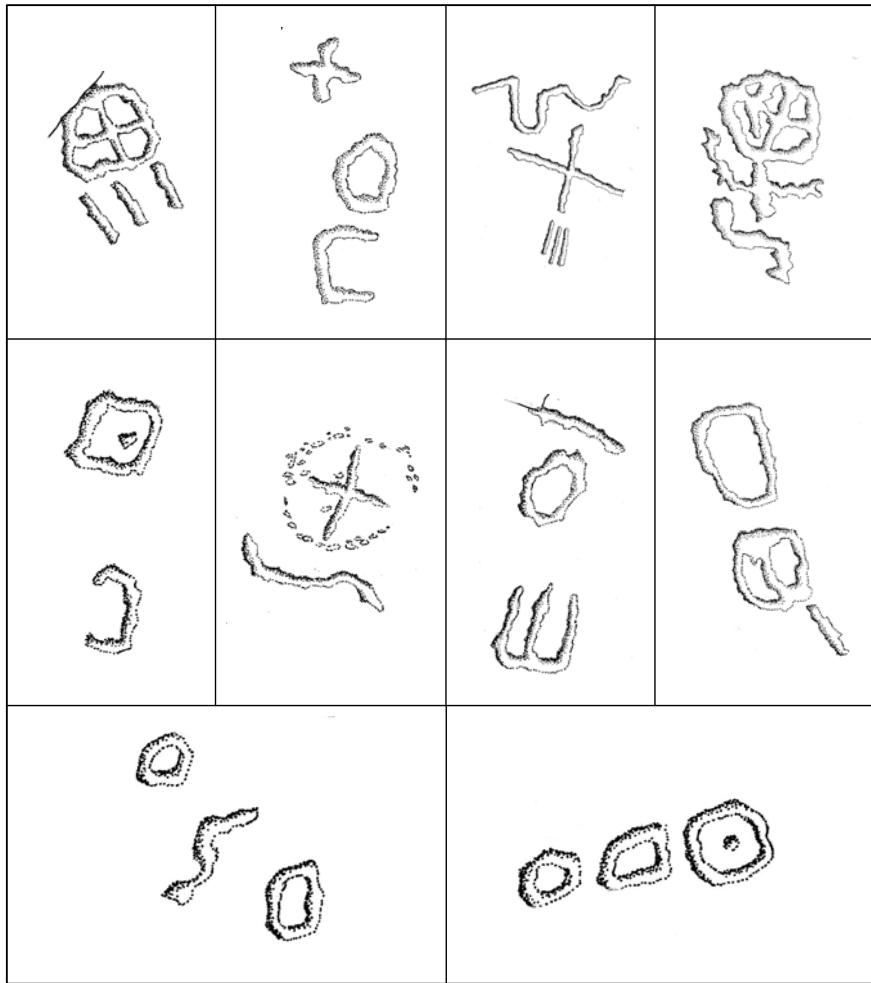


Fig. 4. Possible Libyco-Berber inscriptions

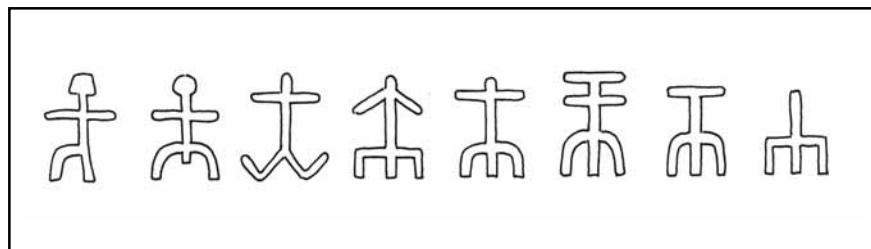


Fig. 5. Schematization of anthropomorph figures



Fig. 6. Motifs from Lalla Mina Hammou/High Atlas (Malhomme 1961/533/618/772)



Fig. 7. Complex structure: Lalla Mina Hammou/High Atlas (Malhomme 1961/548)

presenting quite realistic cattle [45, 46], the majority presenting linear animals of neutral shape.

26 % of the iconic motifs show horsemen and a few camel-riders. In this group we can recognize a clear tendency towards reduction and abstraction: a conceptual change from depicting towards denoting objects (Fig. 5).

4. Compositions

A great part of the rock art panels at Ouaremdaz present not only single/ isolated motifs but groups of them. They do not look like "scenes" (episodes) such as hunting or pastoral scenes which are very frequent at the site Foum Chenna, but rather like "compositions": arrangements of signs such as to form a meaningful whole. The problem is that we are not able to decode the meaning of these compositions [14, 17, 18, 20].

5. Complex structures

Searight describes these structures precisely as "uneven squares or rectangles, divided into a number of sections of different size, sometimes with a dot in one of the sections" (2004:53) and cites that Malhomme (1959) classified similar depictions of the High Atlas as "cadastral plans". Searight (1987:10) calls them "plans cadastraux", Jodin (1964:76) "cadastration primitive" and Souville (1900:574) "enclose parcellaires".

Züchner (1988:310f.) distinguishes two types of "topographical depictions":
1. cadastral plans consisting of rectangles and ovals divided into smaller parts from the Copper Age (Fig. 6)

2. complex maps with fields, houses and paths from the Bronze Age (Fig. 7).

This interpretation as maps has been put forward on the basis of a maintained similarity to some engravings in Europe (Val Camonica, Mont Bego). If we take a closer look at the famous "village du Bego" (de Lumley 1995:270/ 71) or at the "mappa di Bedolina" (Anati 1976:110), this maintained similarity is not at all convincing (Fig. 8 and 9).

On the other hand there are depictions of "réticules complexes" or "figures géométriques composées" (de Lumley 1995) at Mont Bego which look much more similar to those from the High Atlas and from Ouaremdaz (Fig. 10).

This interpretation is criticised by Bradley (1997:51) on the argument that "the prehistoric engravers were unlikely to have seen their environment in this way" (cited at Searight 2004:53).

Bradley's argument is not totally convincing. The prehistoric people might have seen their fields and settlements like a ground plan looking down from the top of hills or mountains in a similar way as they looked down on small animals like lizards [33]. They might not have seen the structure/ground plan of their houses except in the case of old houses broken down to their founda-



Fig. 8. "Village du Bego"

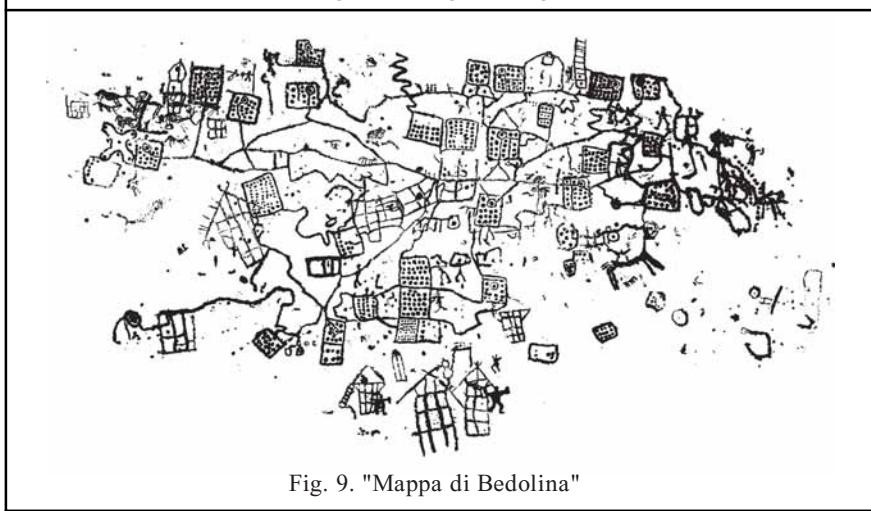


Fig. 9. "Mappa di Bedolina"

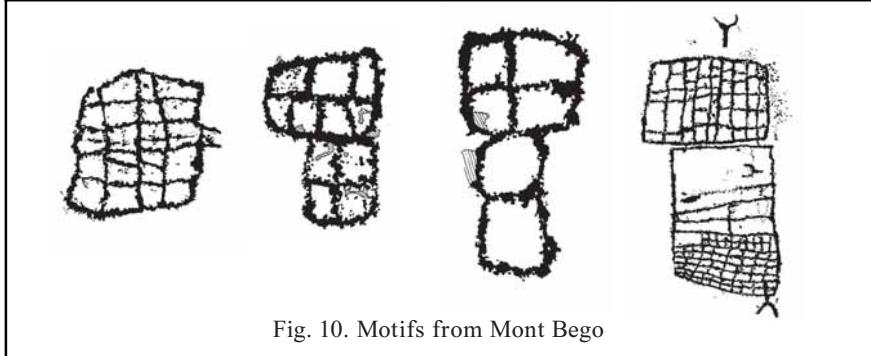


Fig. 10. Motifs from Mont Bego

tion walls. Anyway, this is not the central point of discussion. The fact is that the manner of depiction is determined by the manner in which perceptual mechanisms operate (for detailed information about this complex matter see the paper of Deregowski in RAR 12, No.1/1995 and the intensive discussion about this paper).

To tell it in short: there is a clear tendency to prefer "typical views" of an object: outlines with a high concentration of information to make it easy for the recipient to recognize the object. Thus the extraordinary frequency of lateral views in rock art is no surprise (in Pager's Ndedema 1971: 98 % of all humans and 99 % of all animals). This mechanism of preferring typical views leads sometimes to distortions in pictures such as chariots: the chariot itself seen from above, the wheels seen from the side [53].

It is totally evident that a "cadastral plan" of fields and settlements can be depicted only as a ground plan seen from straight above. Actually, there are some complex depictions on rock surfaces in the Alps which look very similar to fields and houses connected with paths. The question is if we can identify similar depictions among the rock art of Morocco. At Ouaremdaz there could be examples of houses connected with paths (or walls?) on some panels [63, 66, 67].

At last, let us have a look on the topic of depicting houses. In the case of modern houses a front view of an individual house may guarantee the same or even more information than a ground plan, depending on the imaginativeness of the architect. It will not be possible to assume the same for prehistoric settlements. Due to the absence of architectonic competition for building "beautiful" facades, there was normally no differentiation in the external shape of prehistoric houses, but only in the internal structure. If [56] was the ground-plan of a house, a front view (assuming two different heights of main and side rooms and omitting doors or windows) would look like Fig. 11b. It is not difficult to decide which variant provides more information.

A certain group of panels at Ouaremdaz can be imagined quite well as depictions of a group of small rooms, possibly accompanied by some folds/pens for the livestock. Central points in some of the rooms could be interpreted as central pillars for supporting the horizontal roof [55, 56, 64, 68].

The question is if we have any archaeological evidence for such complex buildings in prehistoric times.

At Fuerteventura/Canary Islands (Pichler 1993) I was able to document buildings of a very similar structure (Fig. 12). Please compare the rock art motif Ouaremdaz [56] with the ground plan 1 of a building from the Valle de Mal Nombre on Fuerteventura: they are nearly identical! It is very probable

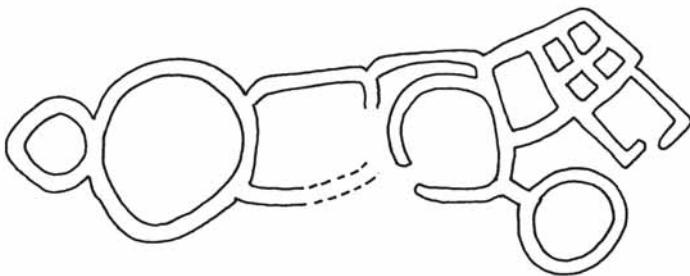


Fig. 11a. Rock art motif Ouaremdaz 56

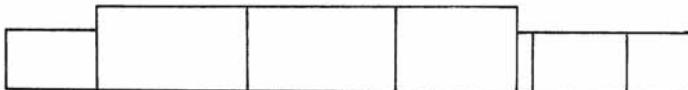
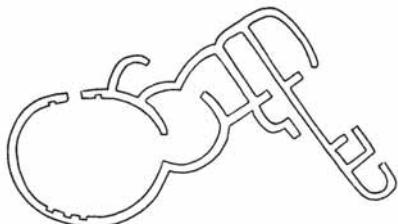


Fig. 11b. Theoretical ground plan

1



2

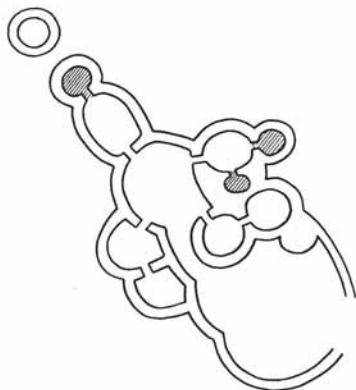


Fig. 12. Ground plans of Old Canary houses on Fuerteventura

that the builders of these Old Canary houses originated from Northern Africa.

However, it is totally surprising that we have no evidence of similar structures of prehistoric buildings in Morocco.

Site 4: Cheik Imi N'Irfi

In his book "Protohistoire de la vallée du Draa" Letan (2003) has collected some arguments for a close connection between prehistoric copper mining

and the rock art of the Anti-Atlas. In the case of this site some kilometres east of Ouaremdaz this connection sounds plausible, because the rock art panels can be found in the nearest neighbourhood of a copper mine. Unfortunately a great part of these panels is covered by slag heaps today. The few remaining panels show a great similarity to the repertoire of signs described at Ouaremdaz. [70, 71].

As we were not able to find the three sites south of Igherm we must restrict to the short notices at Topper 1990:241.

Site 5: Imaredn

Some boulders on the border of a threshing floor presenting pecked circles with lines inside and groups of ovals.

Site 6: Had Walkadi

One slab of a threshing floor showing a pecked motif.

Site 7: Igherm-S

Peckings of daggers, scorpions, circles, crosses and two boats (Fig. 13).

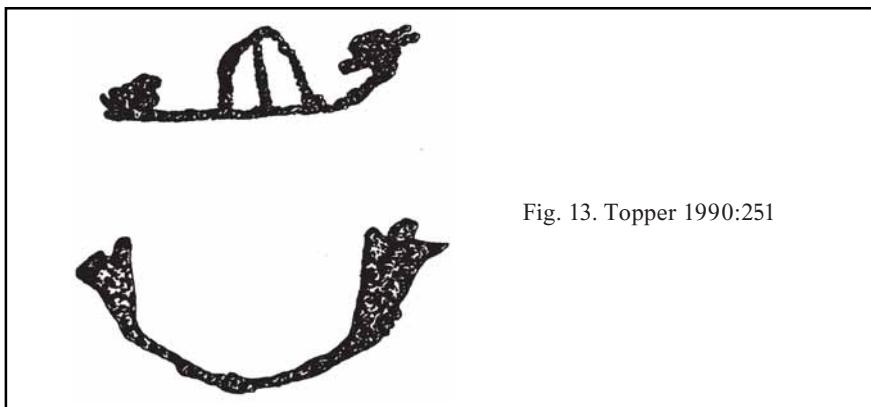


Fig. 13. Topper 1990:251

Site 8: Jebel Bou Kioud

Ruhlmann 1934 describes two panels situated about 500 meters east of the Jebel with apparently young representations of horsemen, scorpions, spirals and circles. Even consulting some local shepherds did not help us to find this site.

What we found was a new site very near to the top of the hill including a handful of panels with representations of predominantly daggers, camel riders and Arabic inscriptions (Fig. 14).

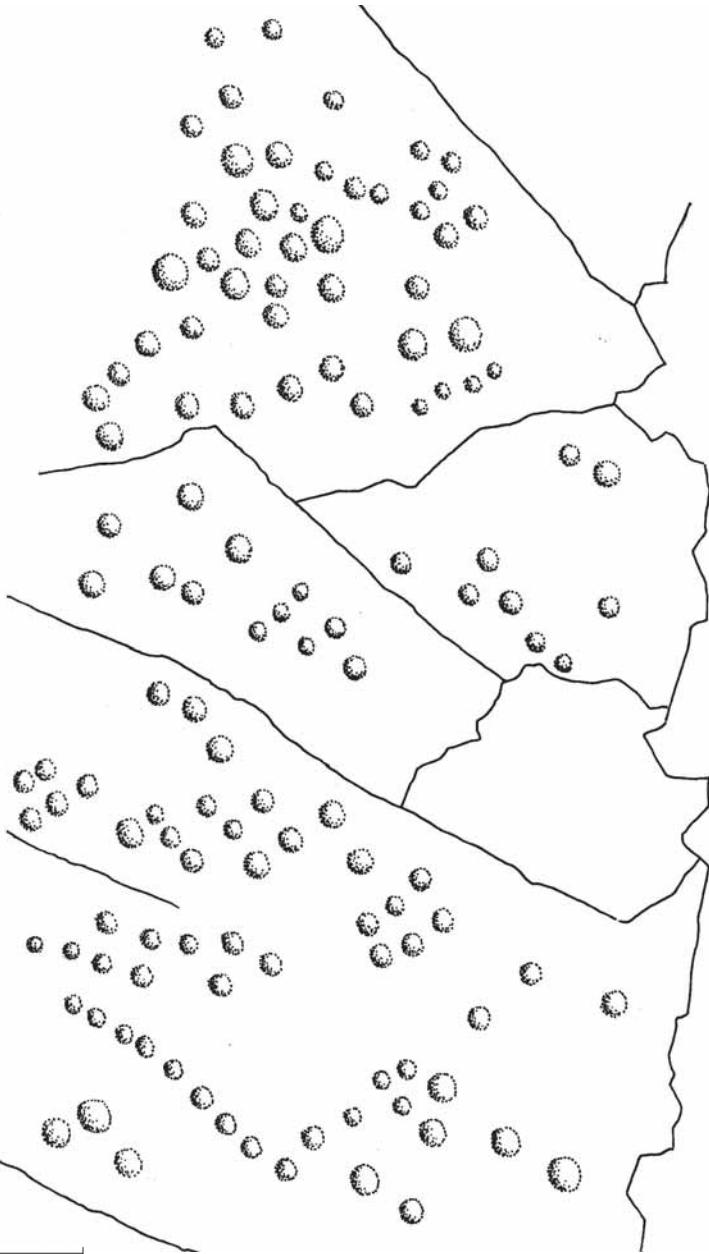


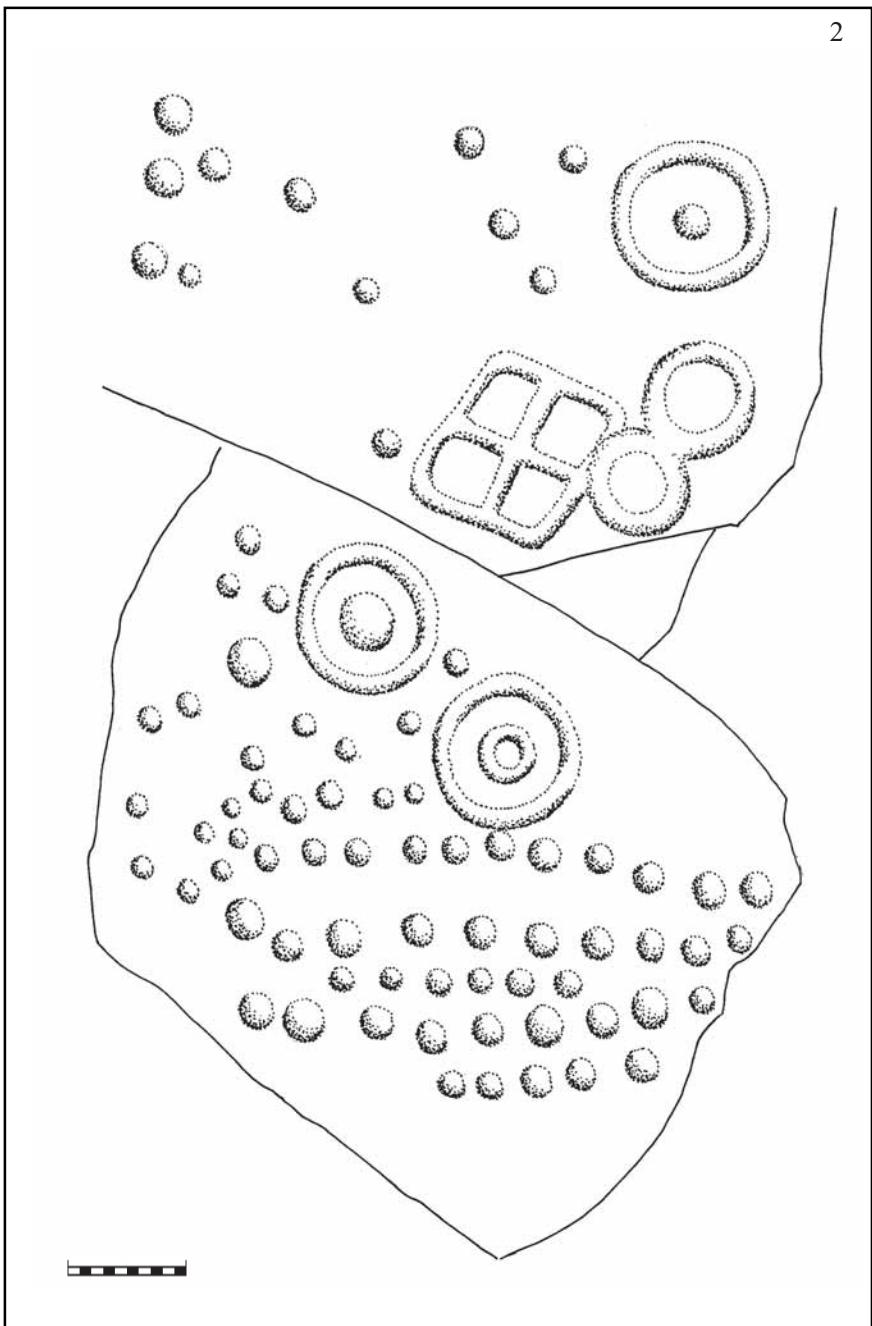
Fig. 14. Motifs from Jebel Bou Kioud

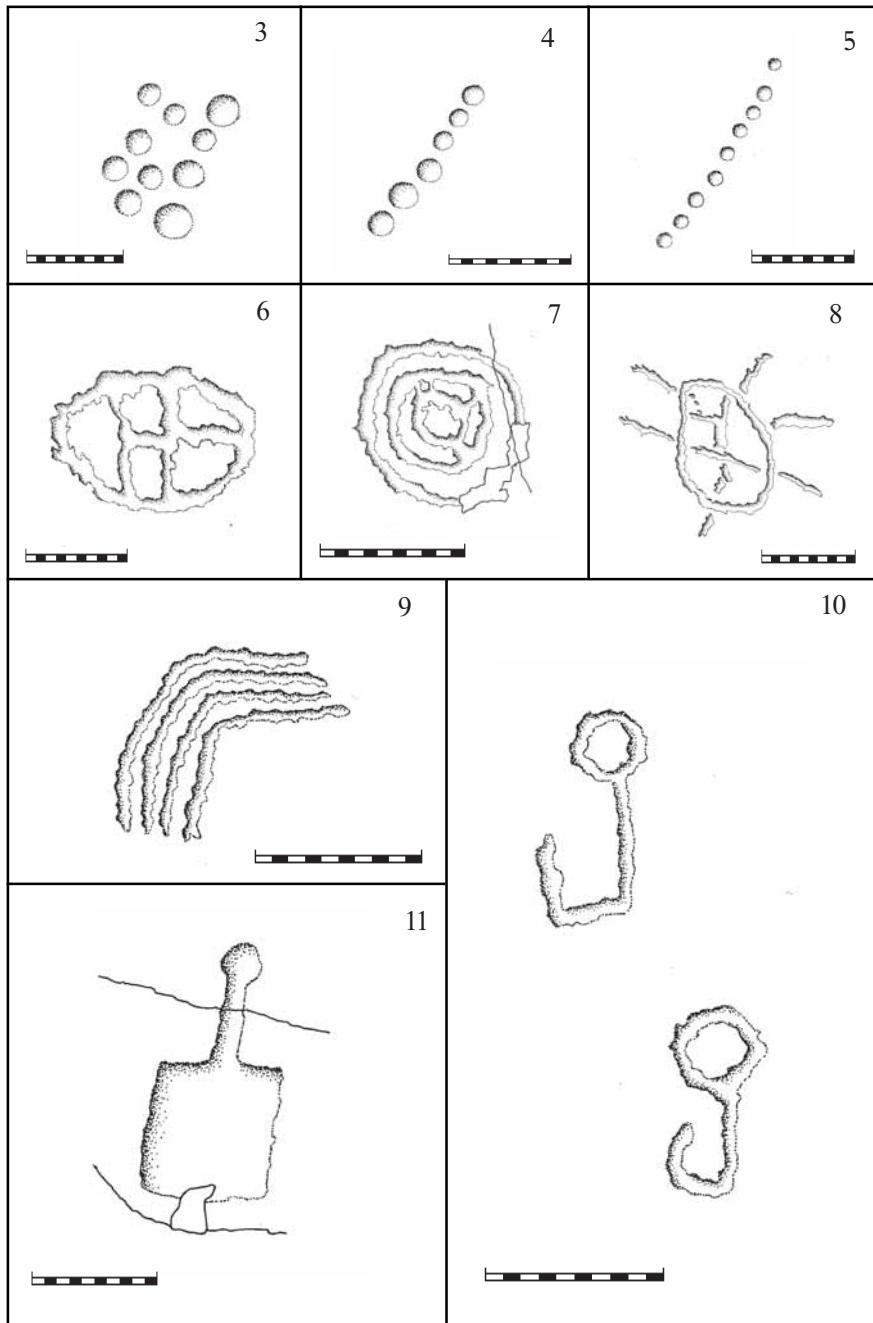
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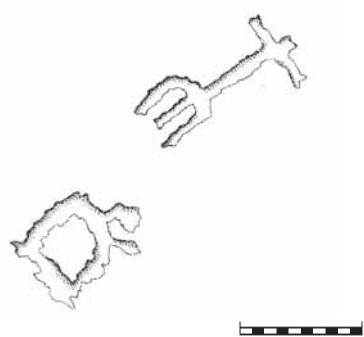
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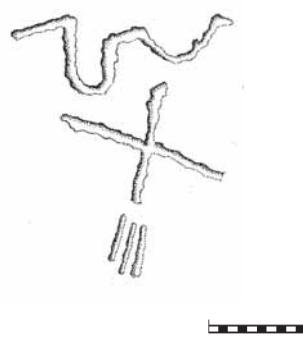
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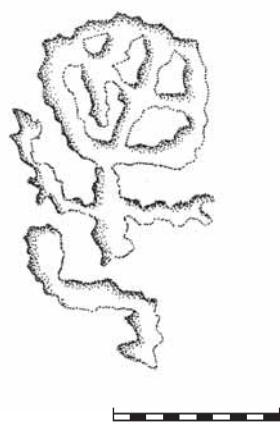
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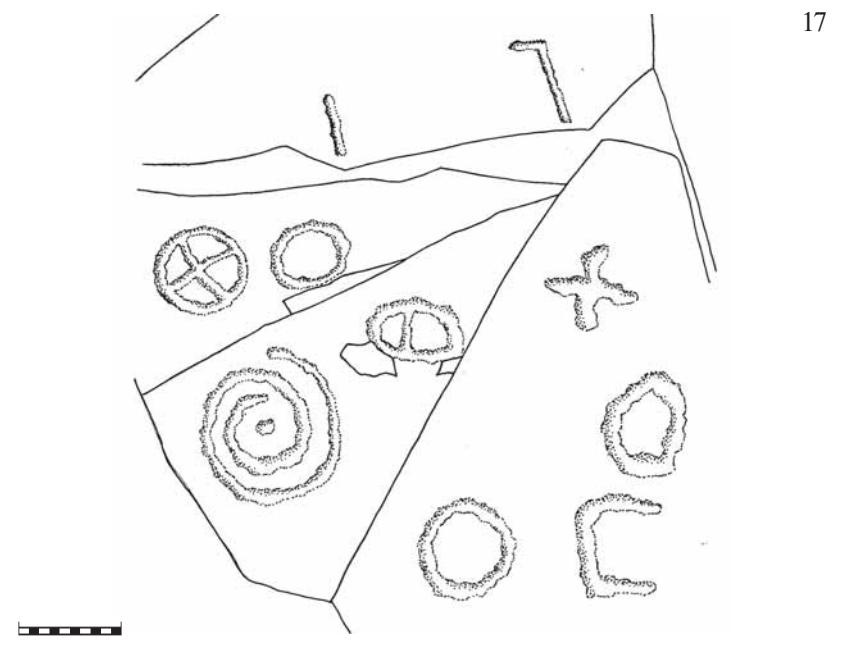
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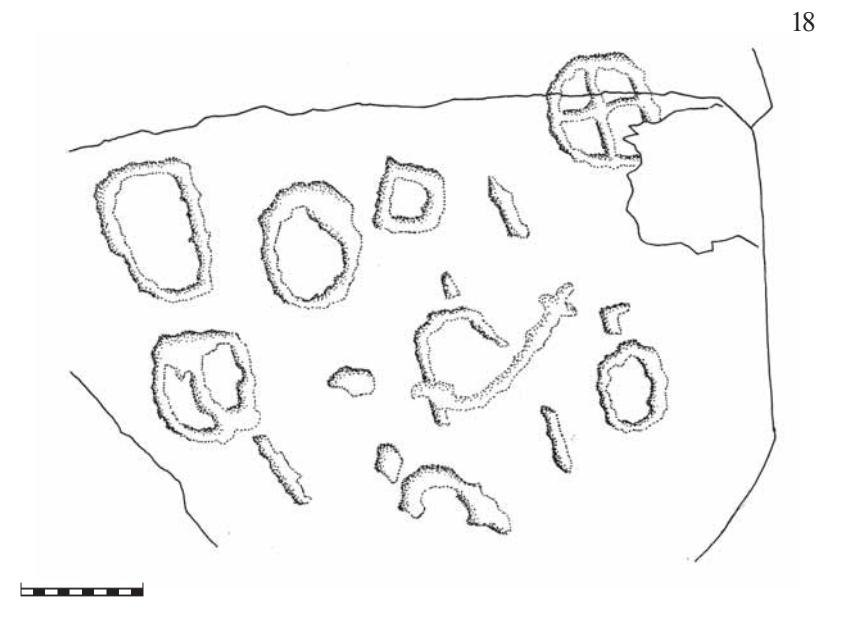
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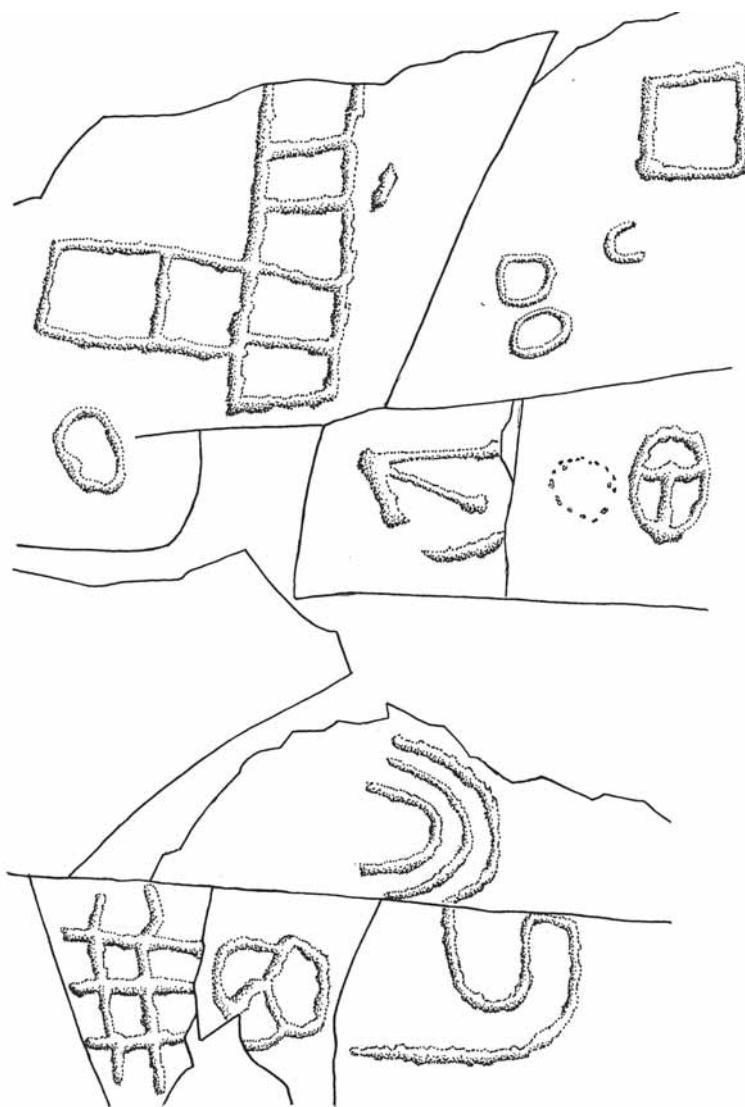


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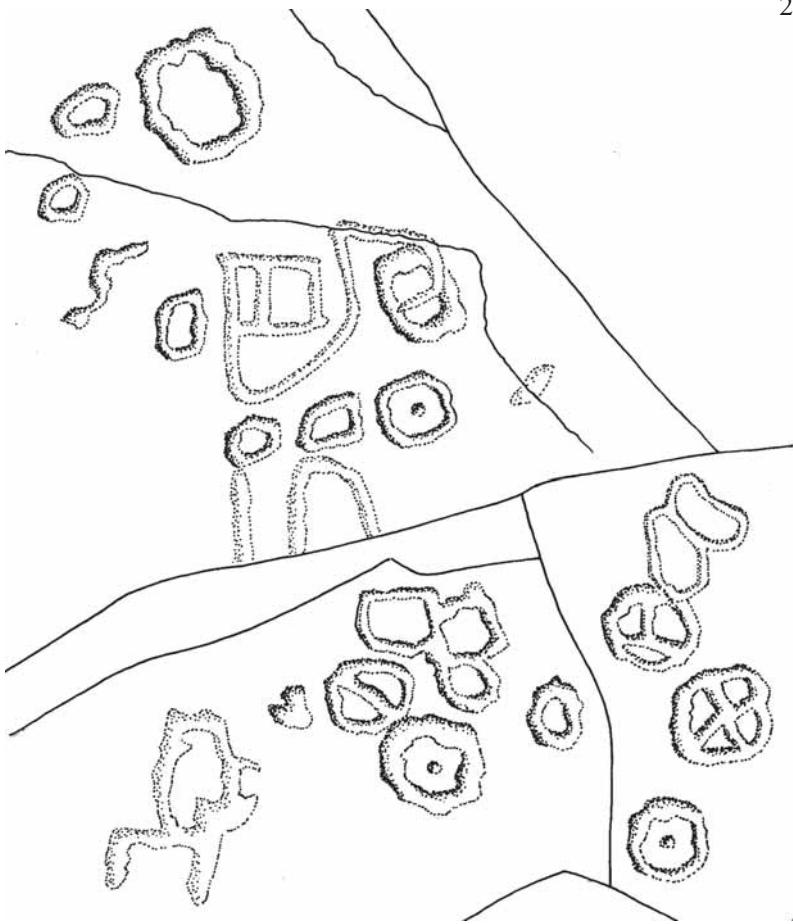


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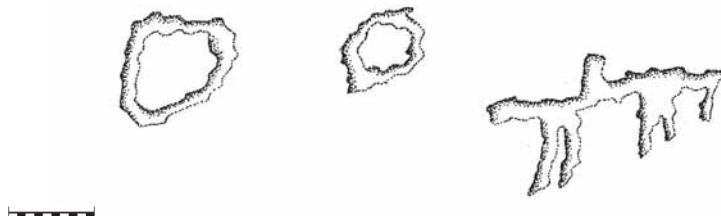


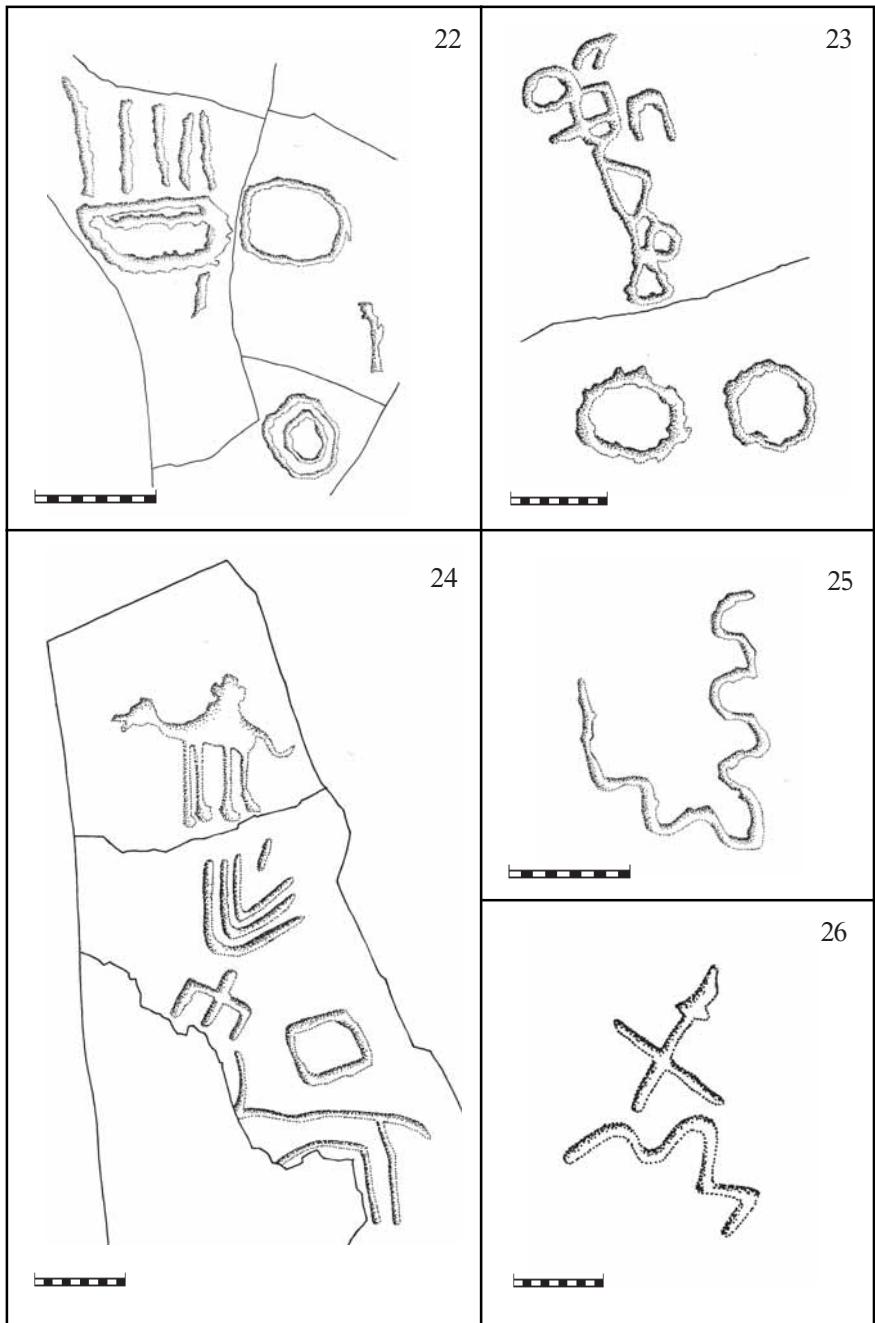


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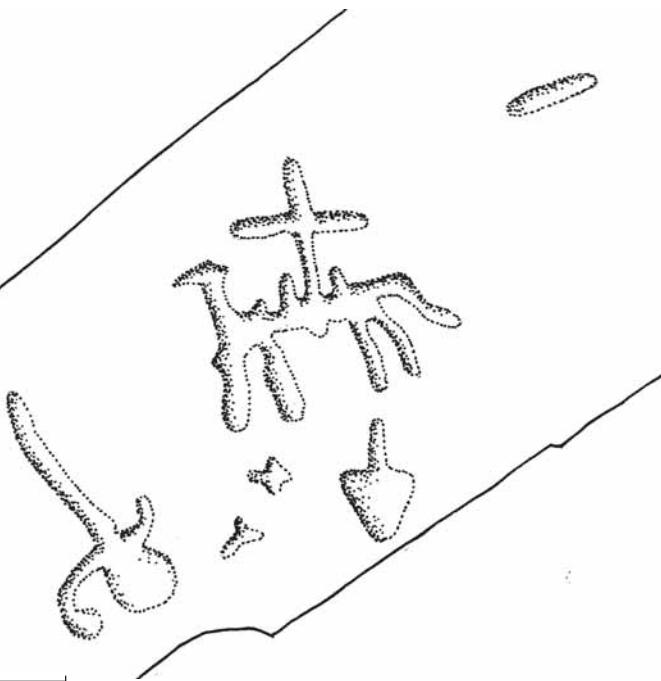




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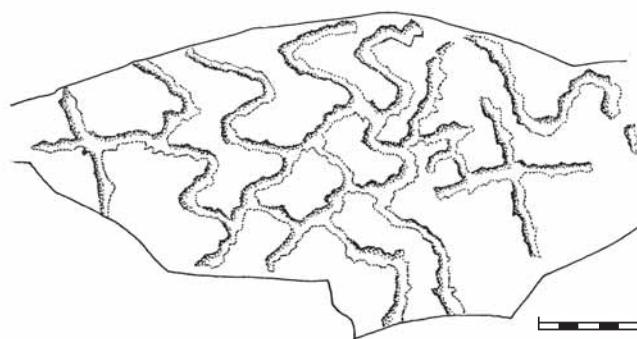
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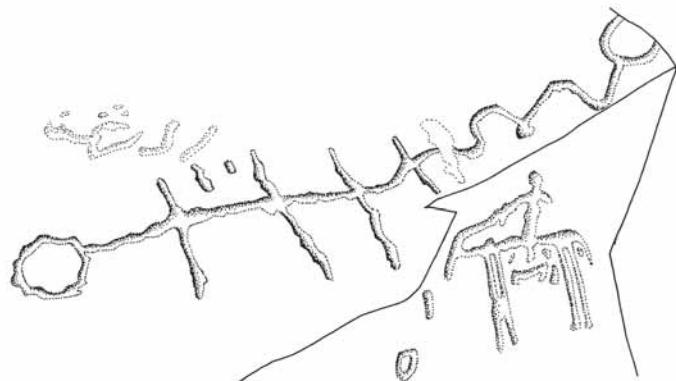
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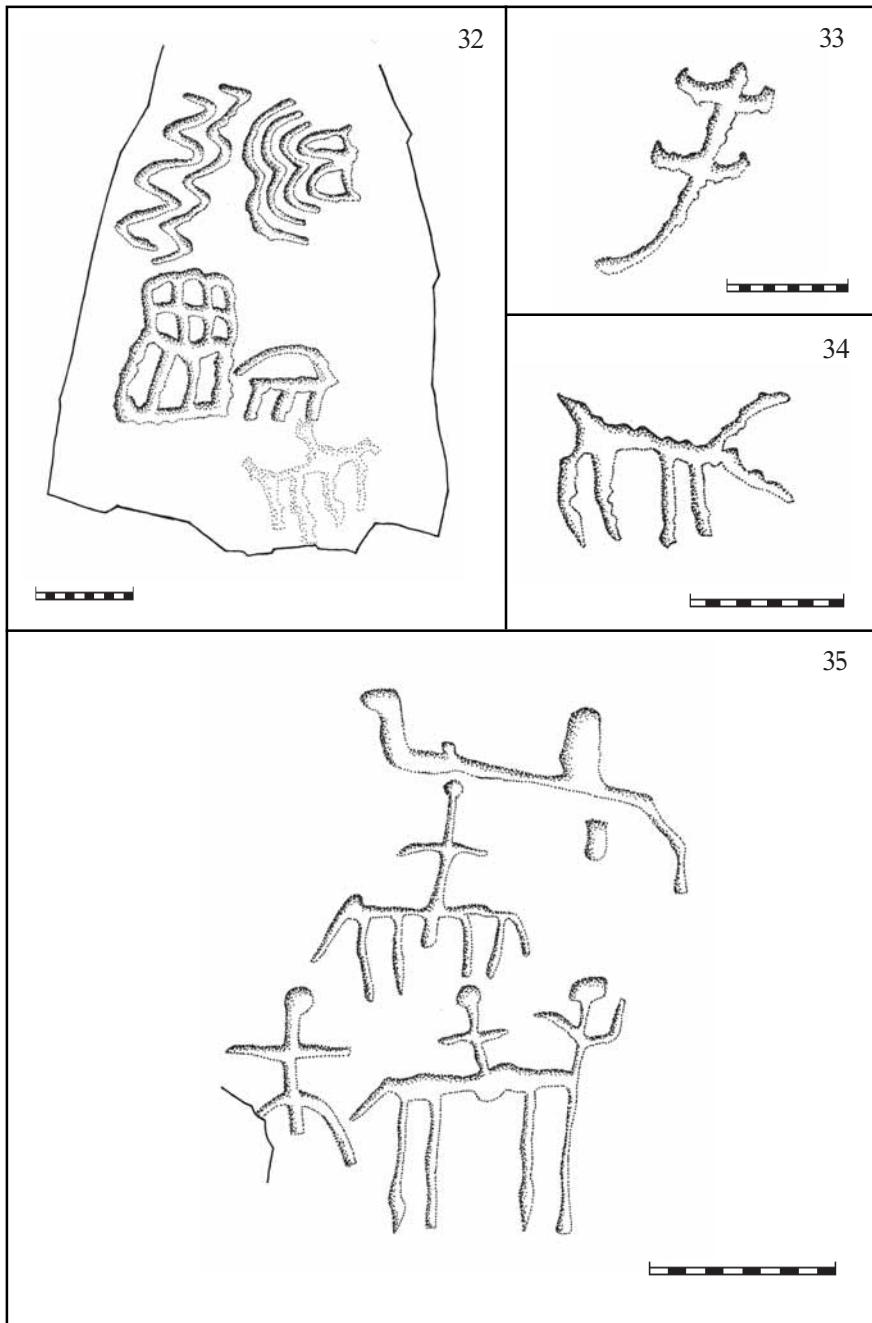


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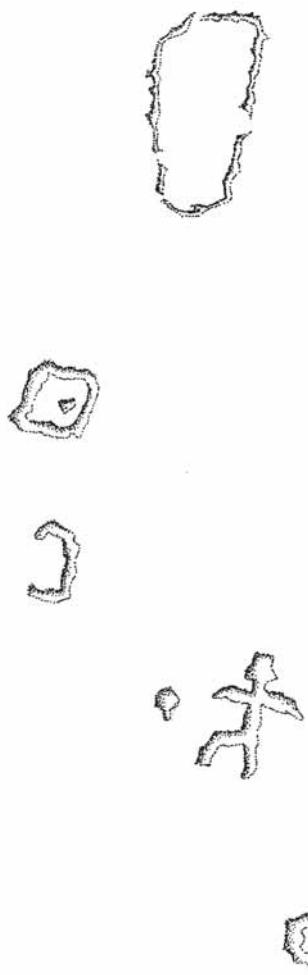


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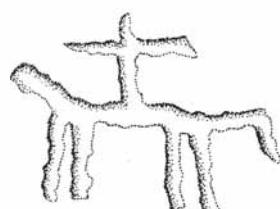




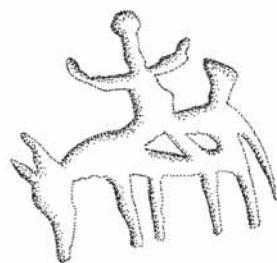
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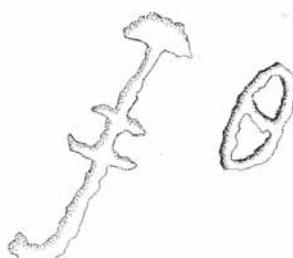
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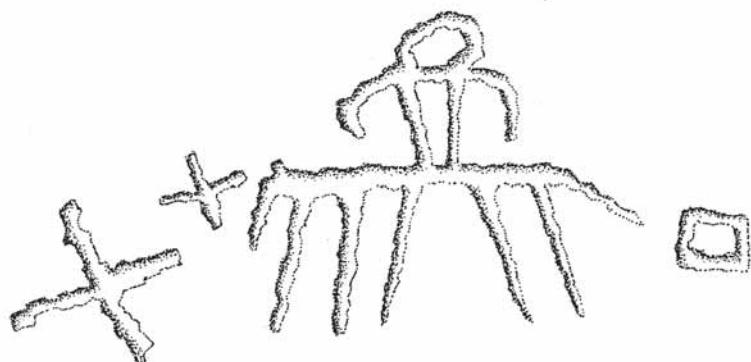


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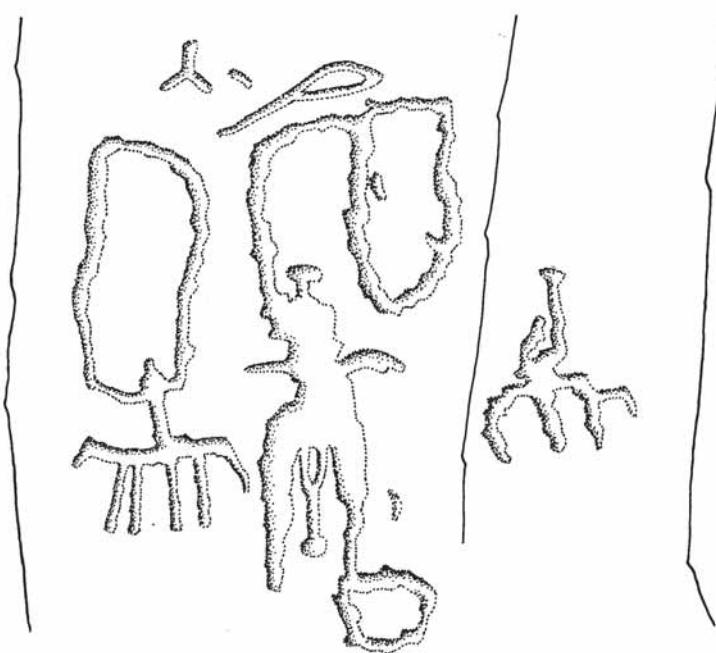


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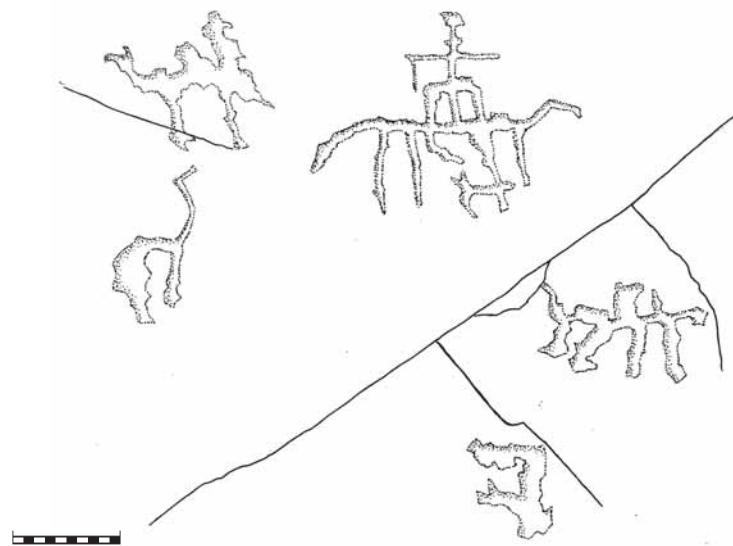
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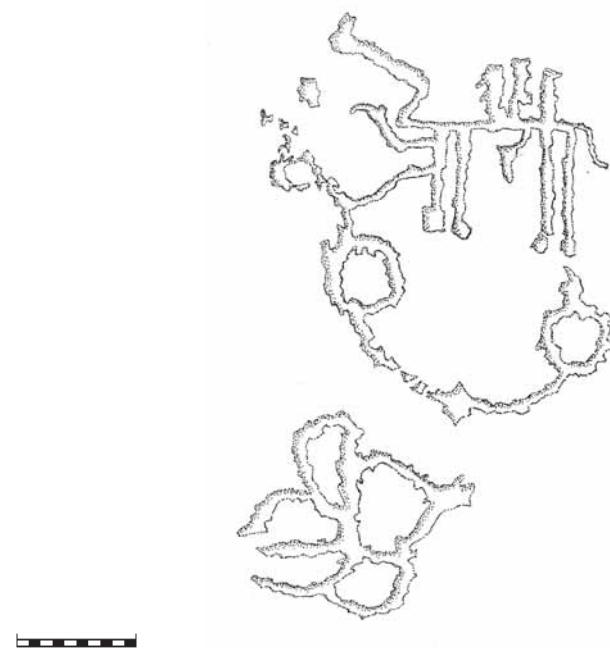
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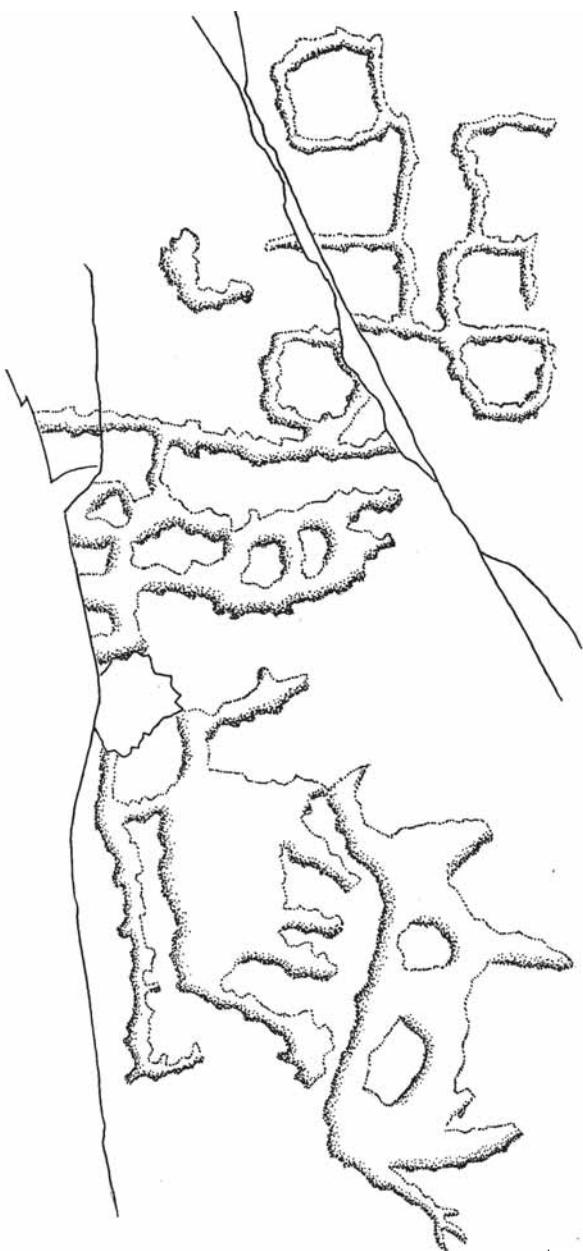
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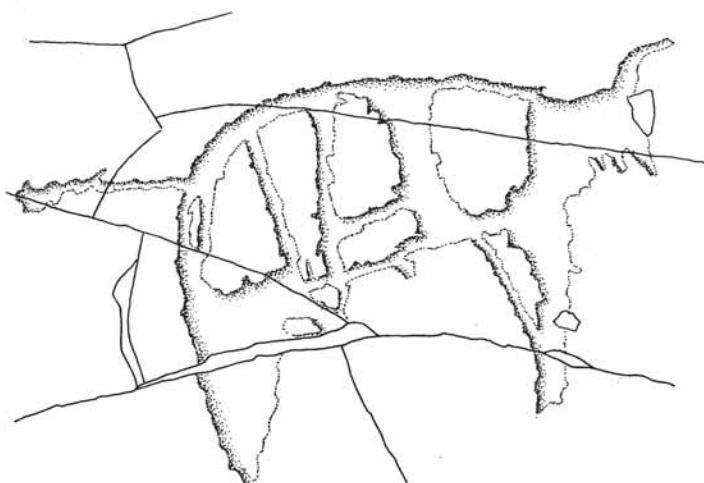
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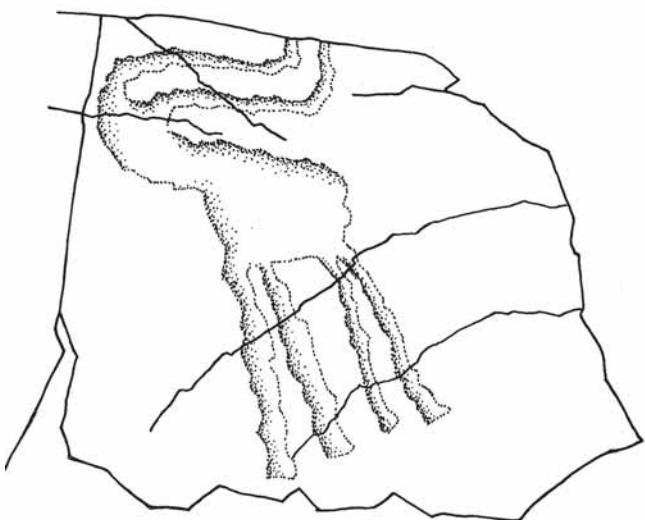
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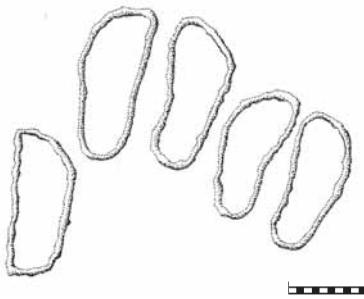
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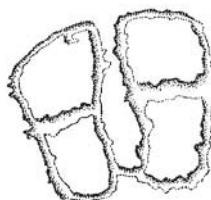
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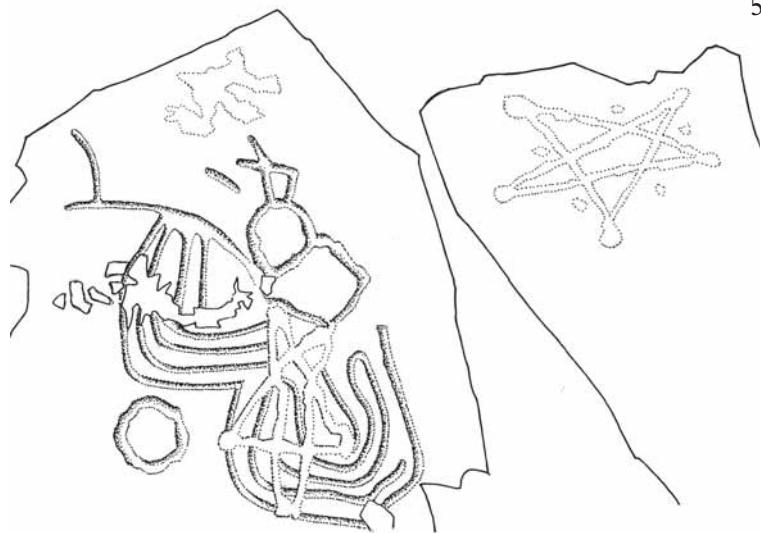
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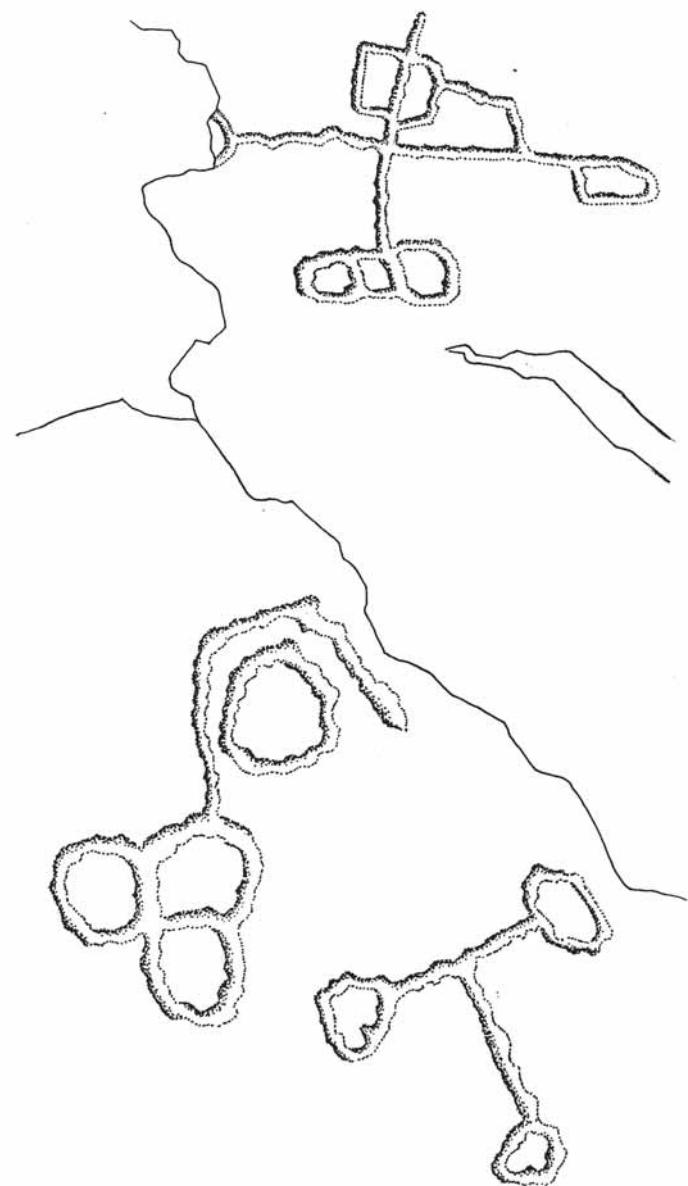


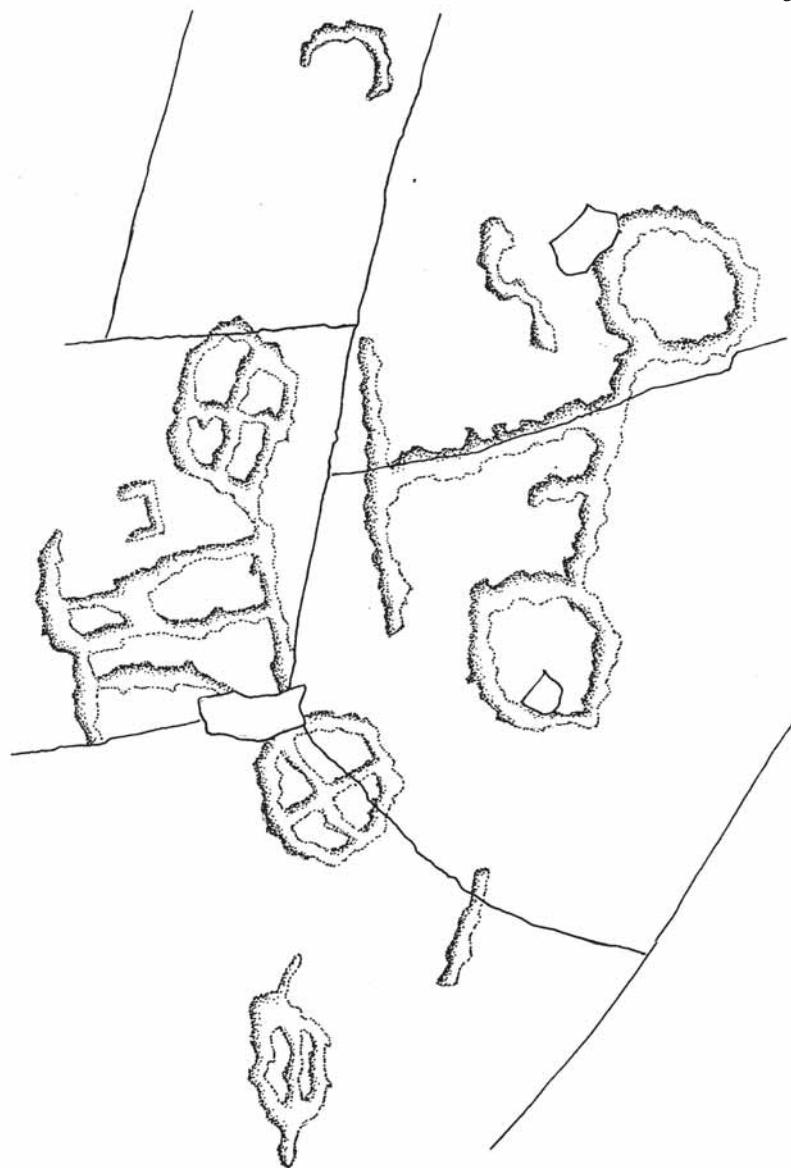
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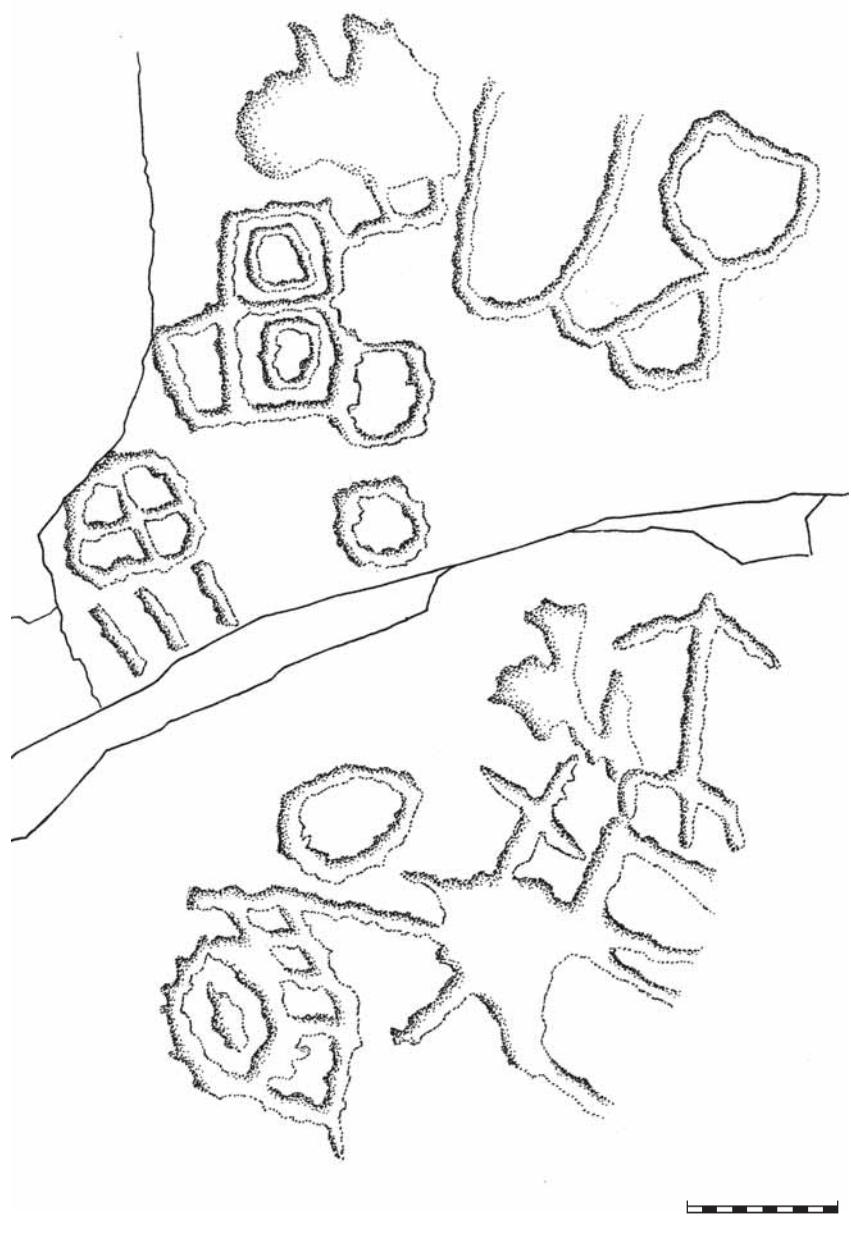


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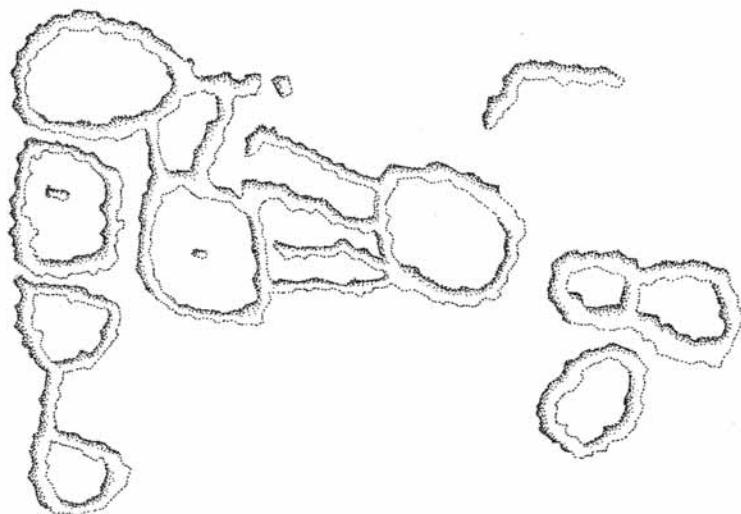




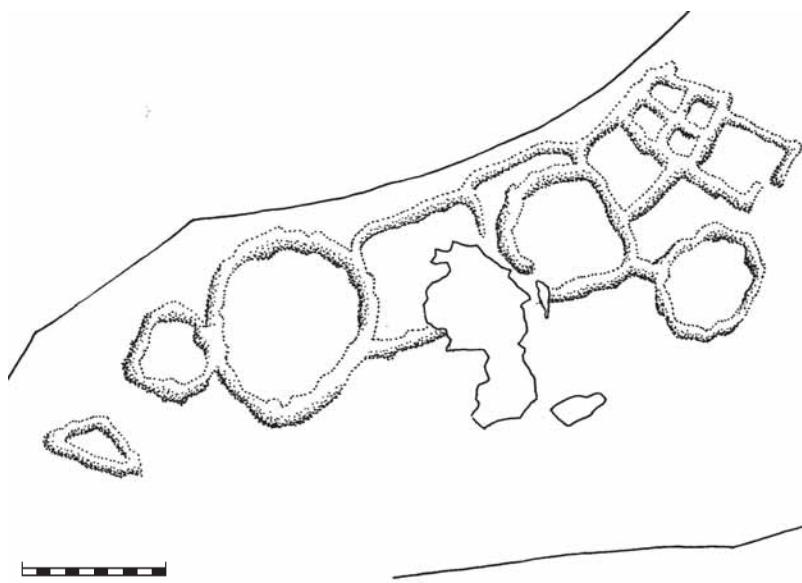




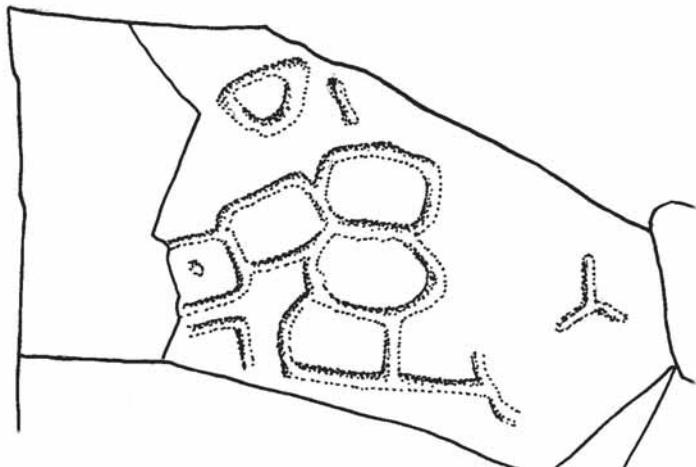
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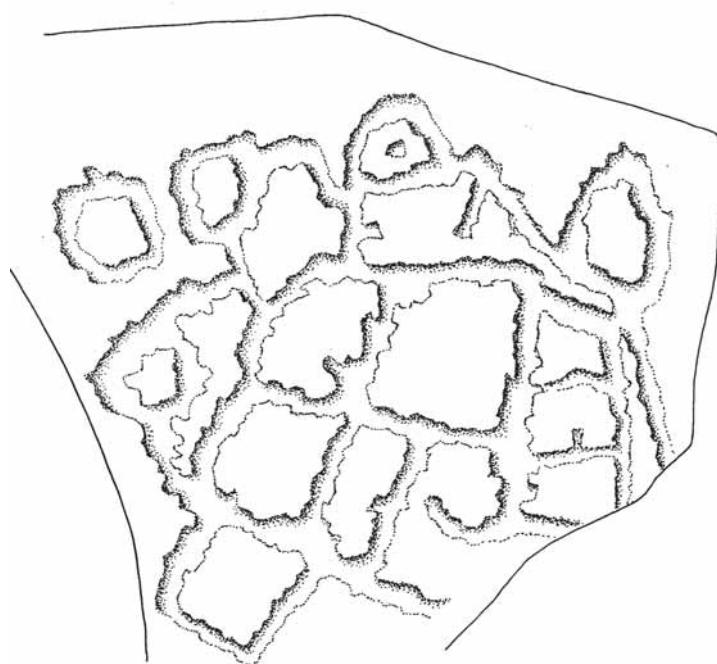
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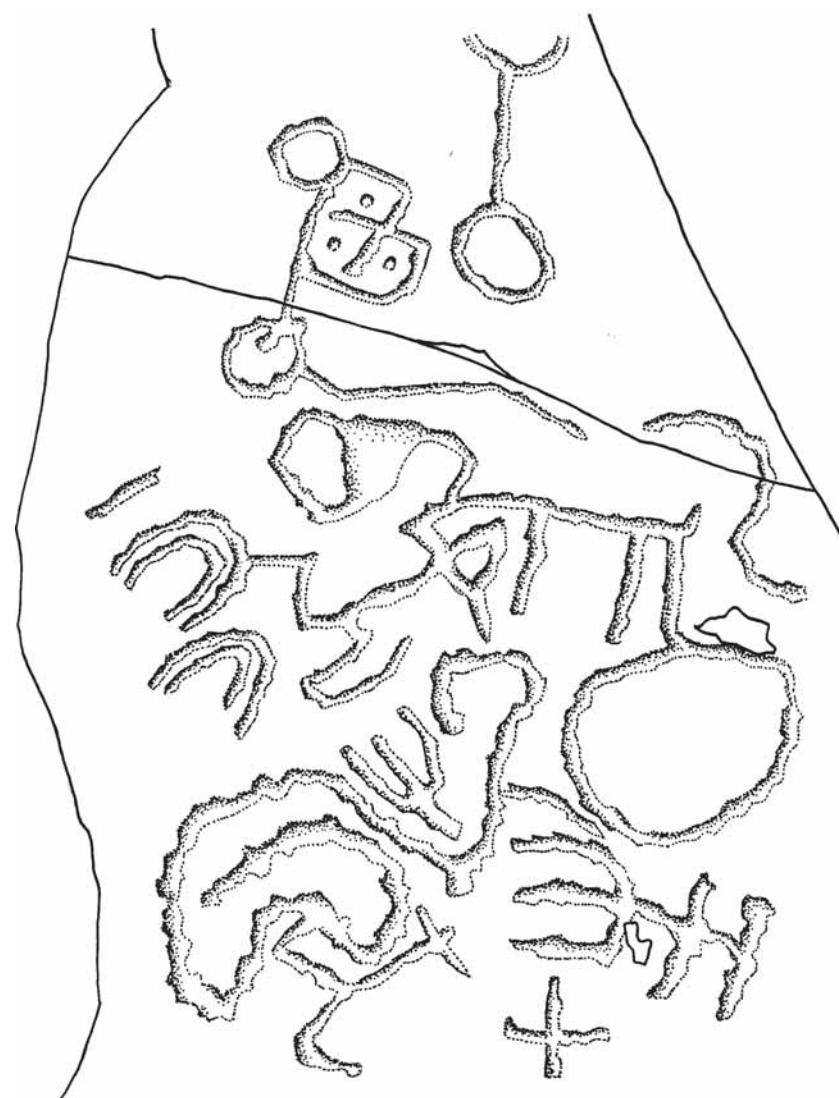


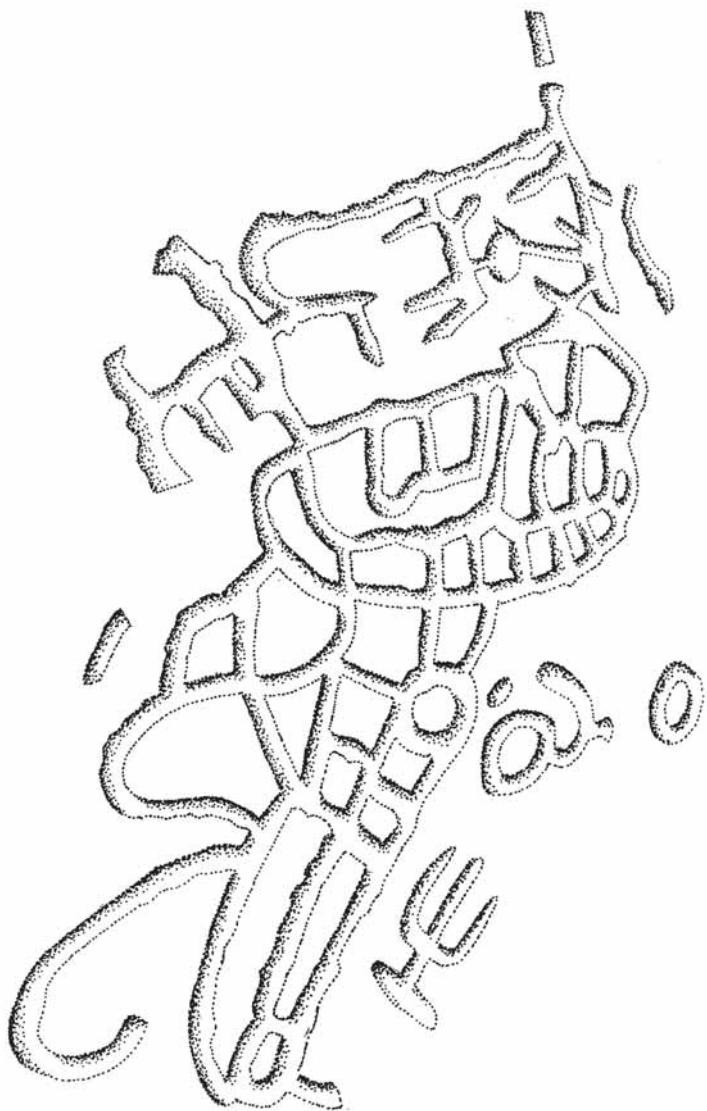
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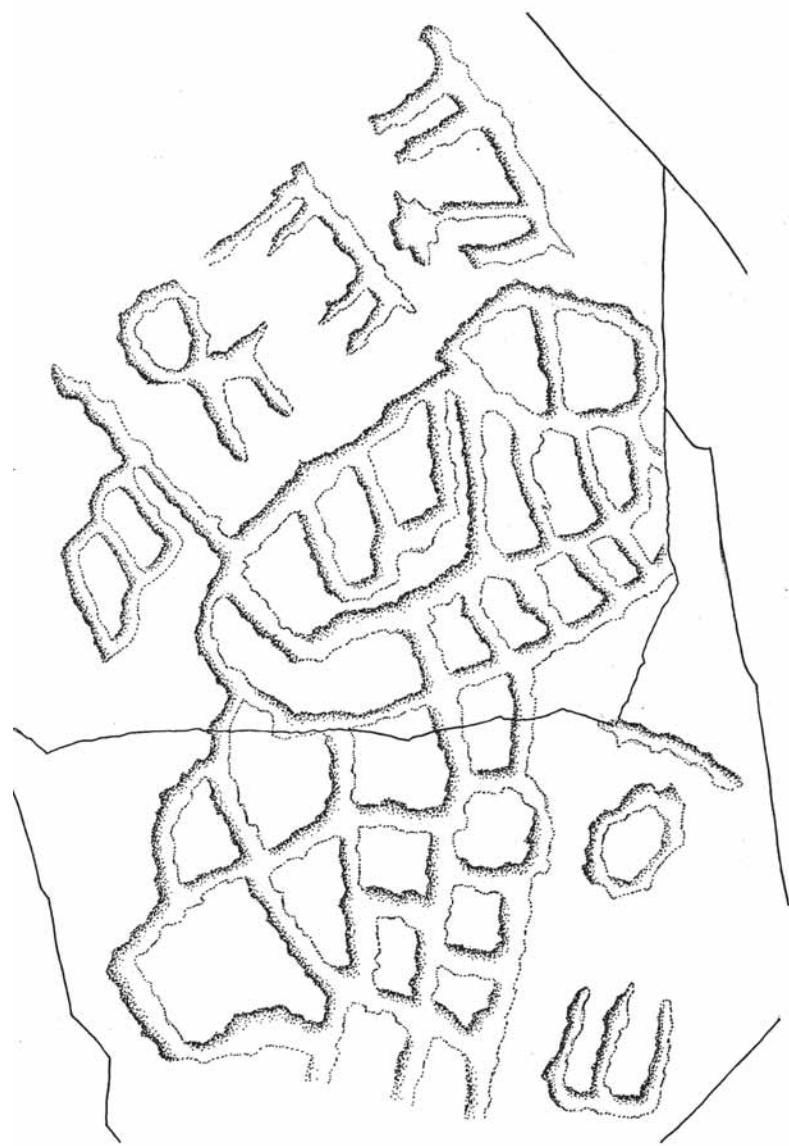


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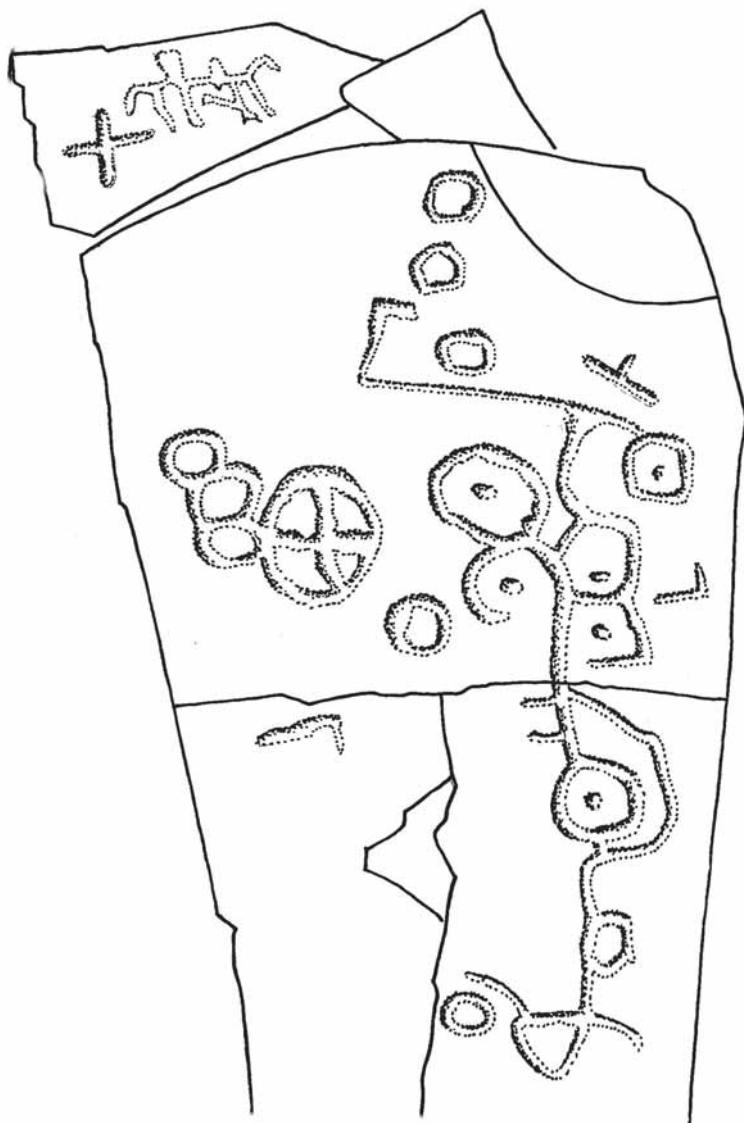


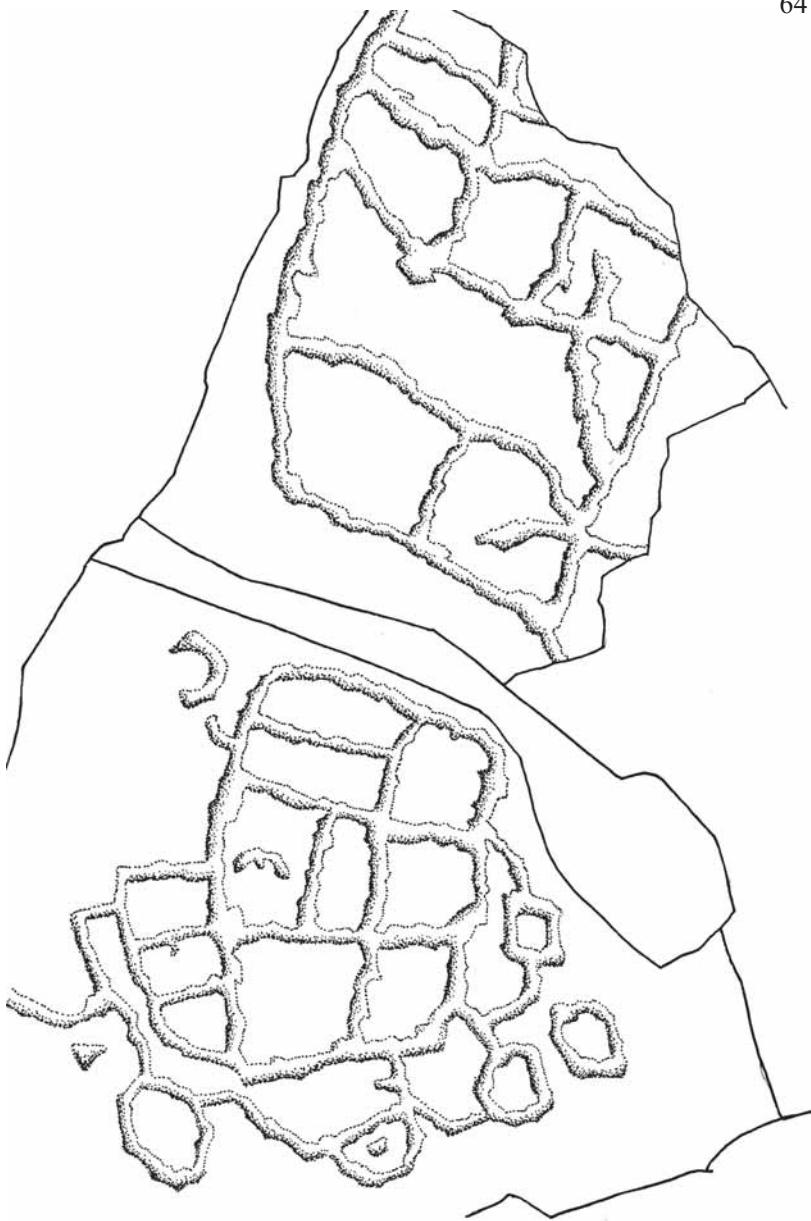


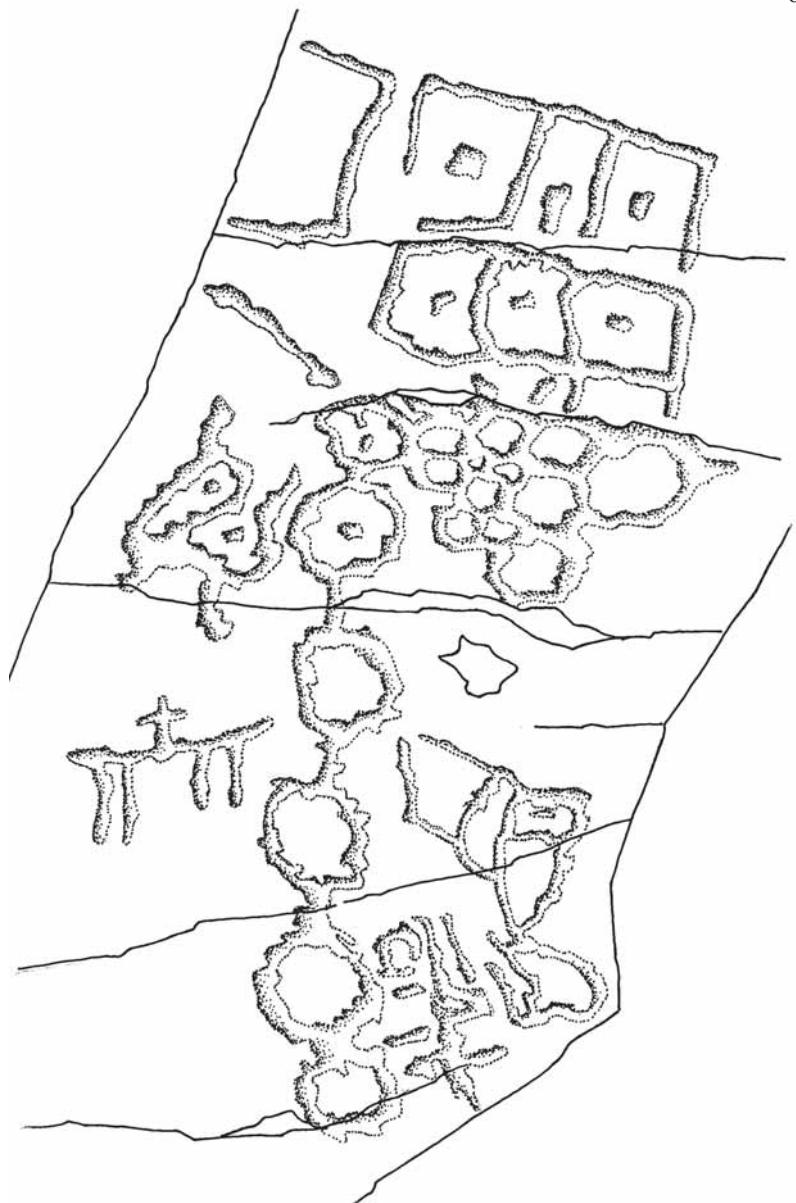








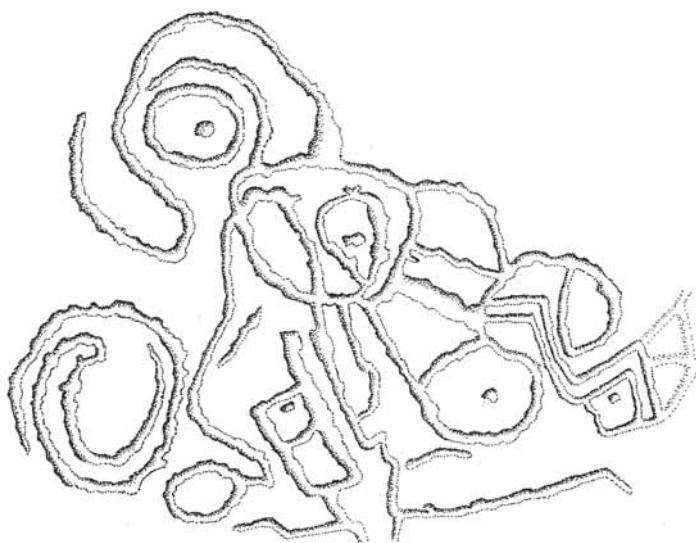




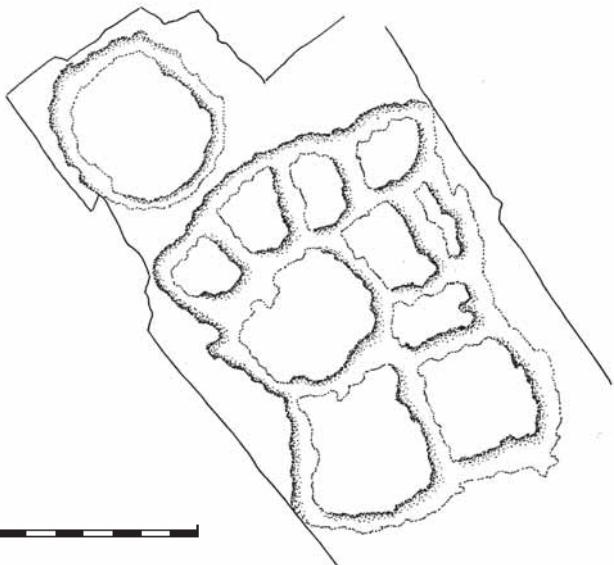
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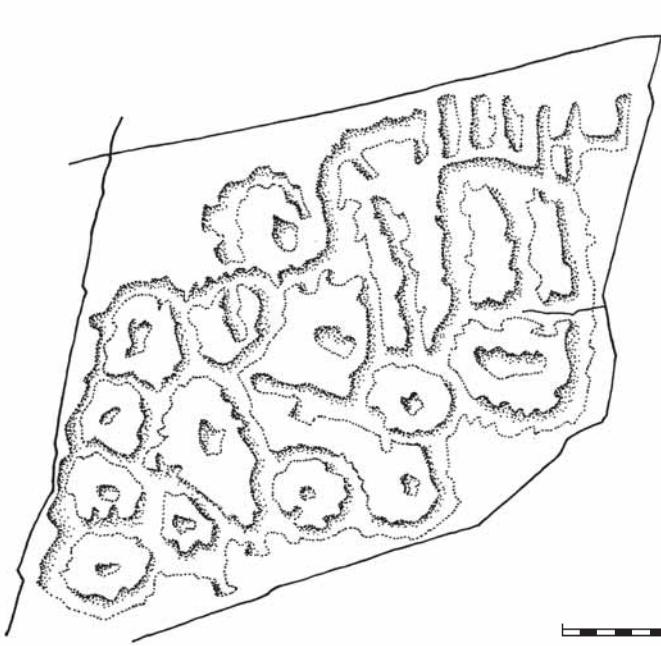
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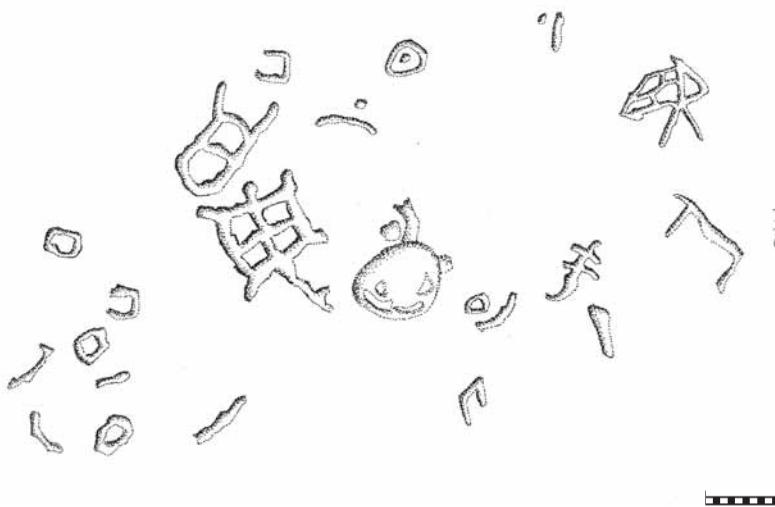
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