

This pdf is a digital offprint of your contribution in W. Claes, M. De Meyer, M. Eyckerman, D. Huyge (eds), *Remove that Pyramid!*, ISBN 978-90-429-4255-4

https://www.peeters-leuven.be/detail.php?search_key=9789042942554&series_number_str=305&lang=en

The copyright on this publication belongs to Peeters Publishers.

As author you are licensed to make printed copies of the pdf or to send the unaltered pdf file to up to 50 relations. You may not publish this pdf on the World Wide Web – including websites such as academia.edu and open-access repositories – until three years after publication. Please ensure that anyone receiving an offprint from you observes these rules as well.

If you wish to publish your article immediately on open-access sites, please contact the publisher with regard to the payment of the article processing fee.

For queries about offprints, copyright and republication of your article, please contact the publisher via peeters@peeters-leuven.be

ORIENTALIA LOVANIENSIA

ANALECTA

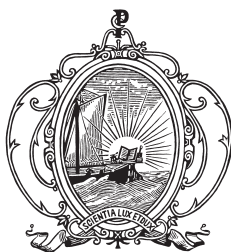
————— 305 —————

REMOVE THAT PYRAMID!

Studies on the Archaeology and History
of Predynastic and Pharaonic Egypt
in Honour of Stan Hendrickx

edited by

WOUTER CLAES, MARLEEN DE MEYER,
MEREL EYCKERMAN and DIRK HUYGE[†]



PEETERS

LEUVEN – PARIS – BRISTOL, CT

2021

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Wouter CLAES, Marleen DE MEYER & Merel EYCKERMAN	
From pots to rocks: Editorial tribute to Stan	XI
Lieve DE TROYER	
The Apache	XV
Anne HENDRICKX	
That's our dad	XVII
Lisa HENDRICKX	
So, what does your dad do for a living?	XIX
LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS	XXIII
TABULA GRATULATORIA	XXIX
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF STAN HENDRICKX	XXXI
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	LVII
Alain ANSELIN	
La tombe, l'image et le mot : Systèmes de signes, interférences et entrée en scène de la langue dans la culture funéraire des élites naqadiennes de l'Égypte antique	3
David A. ASTON	
Un animal sauvage dans l'Égypte Hyksos: Crocodiles in L81	29
Vladimir Wolff AVRUTIS & Eliot BRAUN	
Imported artefacts from Early Bronze I tombs at Nesher-Ramla, Israel and their chronological significance	49
Masahiro BABA	
Firing temperature of Predynastic pottery from Hierakonpolis	65
Bettina BADER	
High and low cuisine in late Middle Kingdom Egypt: Who is the cook? And who made the cooking pot?	75
Nathalie BUCHEZ	
Retour à Adaïma pour un point de chronologie	115

Richard BUSSMANN	
Visual traditions and early writing: Falcon and Naqada plant at Hierakonpolis	127
Marcello CAMPAGNO	
Emergence of the state and local leadership in the Nile Valley (4 th –3 rd millennia BC)	139
Josep CERVELLÓ AUTUORI	
The boundaries between the first three dynasties: Actual fact or late tradition?	151
Marek CHŁODNICKI	
New discoveries of Neolithic caliciform beakers on the Upper Nile (Sudan)	165
Krzysztof M. CIAŁOWICZ	
The eastern part of the Tell el-Farkha cemetery during the Early Dynastic period.	175
Wouter CLAES, Dorian VANHULLE & Thierry DE PUTTER	
Obsidian in early Egypt: The provenance of a new fragment from the Predynastic settlement at Elkab and the question of possible exchange routes	187
Kylie CORTEBEECK, Helen PEETERS & Nina TROOSTERS	
Regional typological variation: An example of early Middle Kingdom pottery assemblages from zone 9 at Dayr al-Barshā	237
John Coleman DARNELL	
Dancing women and waltzing ostriches: Ratites in Predynastic and Pharaonic imagery.	271
Marleen DE MEYER	
Chaos en beheersing: The life of Henri Asselberghs and his friendship with Jean Capart	309
David DEPRAETERE, Anne DEVILLERS, Morgan DE DAPPER & Wouter CLAES	
An enigmatic subterranean building within the Great Walls at Elkab . . .	363
Xavier DROUX	
Found in a cellar, but from Naqada? A new Predynastic hunting scene on a C-ware fragment from the Garstang Museum of Archaeology, Liverpool.	389

Dina A. FALTINGS	
Aulâd esh-Sheikh: Hermann Ranke's short trip into the Early Dynastic	405
Frank FÖRSTER	
Die Vision von der Figur im Flint: Ein Silex-Skorpion aus der Sammlung des Ägyptischen Museums der Universität Bonn	469
Renée FRIEDMAN	
Coming together: Fancy greywacke vessels from the Abydos Royal Tombs	483
Maria Carmela GATTO	
The First Cataract region in the Predynastic/Early Dynastic period: New data from Wadi el-Tawil.	513
Achilles GAUTIER	
Some shells and vertebrates from Neolithic sites west of Nabta Playa, Western Desert, Egypt	527
Gwenola GRAFF	
Contribution à l'iconographie de la violence au Prédynastique égyptien : Scènes de triomphe, de domination animale et de guerre dans le wadi Abu Subeira (Assouan)	537
Elizabeth HART	
The production and use of Early Dynastic Egyptian flint bangles	561
Rita HARTMANN	
„Augengefässe“ aus Tell el-Fara'in/Buto	597
Ulrich HARTUNG	
Holzköpfe aus Abydos	613
Salima IKRAM	
The 'Jacuzzi' and the 'Doughnuts': Possible directions to a watering hole in Egypt's Eastern Desert	633
Mariusz A. JUCHA	
Made of burnt clay tiles: The Early Dynastic structures within the Nile Delta cemeteries and settlements	645
Karin KINDERMANN	
Predynastic Elkab: A first stony perspective	661
E. Christiana KÖHLER	
A chronology and material puzzle from Helwan	681

Robert KUHN

- Schwein haben oder nicht? Zur Frage von Kontext, Datierung und Funktion des „Baliana-Konvolutes“ aus dem Ägyptischen Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin 697

Lucia KUIJPER & Merel EYCKERMAN

- Top or bottom? Stone components of chariots from the calcite alabaster workshop in al-Shaykh Sa'īd/Wādī Zabayda 725

Jean-Loïc LE QUELLEC

- Des barques égyptiennes au Tassili ? 739

Georgia LONG

- A well-stocked kitchen: Model food offerings from the Middle Kingdom 759

Sylvie MARCHAND

- « Entre deux murs... » : Note sur quelques tessons et terres cuites remarquables d'Elkab du IV^e siècle av. J.-C. 809

Béatrix MIDANT-REYNES, Christiane HOCHSTRASSER-PETIT & Gaëlle BRÉAND

- À propos d'une frise animalière sur panse de jarre funéraire à Adaïma : Le graffito S574/3 829

Vera MÜLLER

- The hippopotamus hunt and its relationship to other rituals in the 1st Dynasty as represented on seals 853

Tanja POMMERENING & Harco WILLEMS

- Unravelling Daressy's excavations of the five shafts in front of the tomb of Djehutihotep at Dayr al-Barshā 871

René PREYS

- Une image de l'hippopotame ... 3000 ans plus tard 899

Ilona REGULSKI

- Divine depictions: First representations of gods in Egypt 911

Heiko RIEMER

- Caravan pioneers in Old Kingdom times: Pots and paths from the Darb el-Tawil 933

Alice STEVENSON

- Notes on Predynastic figurines in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology 955

Yann TRISTANT, Olivier P. ROCHECOUSTE, Yann ARDAGNA & Yannick PROUIN	
The subsidiary burials of Abu Rawash: New archaeological data to evaluate the sub-plot of human sacrifice in Early Dynastic Egypt	967
Edwin C.M. VAN DEN BRINK	
The stone and wooden cylinder seals in the Stern collection, Israel Museum, Jerusalem	1005
Athena VAN DER PERRE	
“To be spoken over a figure of the foe, made of clay”: A comprehensive typology of the Brussels execration figurines	1023
Bart VANTHUYNE	
Late Early Dynastic – Early Old Kingdom collared/ <i>Kragen Hals</i> beer jars.	1039
Eugène WARMENBOL	
The ape, the myth, the legend revisited: KV 50, 51, and 52: ‘Pet Sema-tary’ II	1059

FOUND IN A CELLAR, BUT FROM NAQADA?
A NEW PREDYNASTIC HUNTING SCENE ON A C-WARE FRAGMENT
FROM THE GARSTANG MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY, LIVERPOOL

XAVIER DROUX

Fondation Gandur pour l'Art, Geneva, Switzerland

This article presents a fragment of an early Predynastic (Naqada I or early Naqada II) White Cross-lined beaker in the collection of the Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool. The partly-preserved painted decoration consists of a hunting scene in which an ibex is prey to hunting dogs, a theme otherwise known from several contemporaneous painted vessels of the same class. The style and details of this fragment allow to attribute it to a specific painter who produced several pottery vessels excavated at Naqada.

Introduction

During a recent research visit at the Garstang Museum of Archaeology to examine its Predynastic collection in preparation for the launch of an open-access online corpus of Predynastic painted pottery [Droux, in prep. (a)], I had the pleasant surprise to discover a White Cross-lined (C-ware) fragment of significant interest (Fig. 1). At first glance, this piece seems rather uninspiring: most of the vessel is missing, the surface is worn in places, and the paint has partly flaked off. However, a close inspection of the decoration reveals that this fragment belongs to a known group of vessels with a common decorative theme—one very familiar to Stan Hendrickx—and which share stylistic characteristics. It can be argued that these vessels were likely painted by the same individual, and although the provenance of the Garstang piece is not known, it can be inferred to be Naqada—with some caution.

The Garstang Museum Fragment E4176

The Liverpool fragment comes from a beaker that belongs to the Black-top class (B-ware) with additional white-painted decoration, so that it is considered to be a C-ware vessel. These vessels were broadly produced during the earlier part of the Predynastic period, between Naqada IA and IIA. The base of the vessel is missing, but the profile of the vessel is almost fully preserved: the beaker was not much taller than the recorded 15.7 cm height of the fragment; it had a diameter of c. 9 cm (25 % preserved) (Fig. 1). The surface is particularly eroded on the upper part of the exterior, especially on the black

area, which has lost its shine and is pitted. The very edge of the rim is worn and its exact contour cannot be determined with certainty—it may have been direct or modelled—, but it is unlikely that it was extending further up. The interior surface is better preserved: it shows that a narrow band (< 2 cm) inside the lip had been smoothed horizontally—the potter's hand fingerprints having left recognisable thin lines—and slipped. The wall below had been roughly smoothed and preserves manufacturing traces, such as vertical scraping tool marks as well as finger marks.

On the exterior, the lower part of the sherd is less damaged than the rim. Remains of white-painted decoration are visible on the red-polished part of the body of the vessel, below the black area. In places, the paint has flaked off, leaving a 'ghost' of buff traces on the otherwise shiny background, allowing for the extensive reconstruction of the original motifs.



Fig. 1. Liverpool sherd E4176: back, front, and profile views
(Photographs by the author; courtesy of the Garstang Museum of Archaeology).

The painted scene is separated from the upper part of the vessel by two lines that likely ran continuously around the entire beaker. They are not quite horizontal and bend down on the right (Figs 1–2). At least two triangles can be seen hanging from the lower line. It is difficult to precisely distinguish their interior design (question marks on Fig. 2); in C-ware art, triangles tend to be filled in majority with crosshatching and with hatching of parallel oblique lines (more rarely parallel vertical or horizontal lines). If crosshatching cannot be excluded for the Liverpool fragment, it seems however more likely that these triangles were filled with solid white paint (see below).

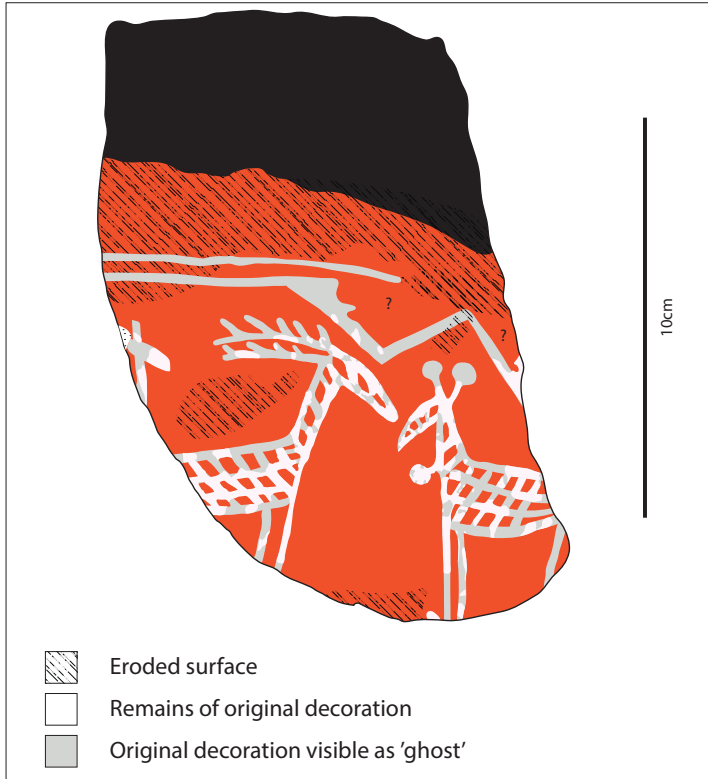


Fig. 2. Liverpool sherd E4176: painted decoration
(Drawing by the author).

The main scene was painted below the near-horizontal lines and triangles. The preserved section shows two animals that face each other, with the tip of their muzzle in close proximity. Both are only partly preserved, and their back-sides are missing.

The main protagonist appears to be the one on the left: it has a fairly long neck, backward-curving horns with short strokes along their top edge, an elongated muzzle, and a body filled with crosshatching of horizontal and oblique (top-left to bottom-right) lines. In front of it stands a slightly shorter animal that faces left; it is characterised by a short neck, ears that end in small discs, and a pointed muzzle; below its neck is a small device consisting of a short line ending in a disc. The body of this animal is also filled with crosshatching, although the oblique lines have a reverse orientation (top-left to bottom-right). The legs of both animals are straight and extended further below the break; a small mark on the surface near the bottom of the front leg of one animal suggests that their feet were indicated. The very front part of the third animal,

facing right, is just visible on the extreme left of the fragment,¹ above the back of the larger animal. Only the short muzzle, neck, and perhaps parts of the ears, are preserved.

Overall, the painted scene follows the observed usual trends of figural C-ware art. In the case of animals, silhouettes are highly stylised, to such an extent that considered in isolation they can provide no help in identifying the intended species. When several species are represented together, their relative size is not naturalistic either. For the Predynastic Egyptians, there was however a clear aim to make each species recognisable by adding discriminatory details (see Hendrickx *et al.* 2018: 88). For example, in wild bovids, horns are often their most striking feature, and the manner with which the ancient artists reproduced their individual shapes is usually sufficient to make them critical identification factors: the horns of ibexes curve backward, those of Barbary sheep are crescent-shaped and frame the muzzle (see Fig. 3), those of hartebeests are lyre-shaped, and those of gazelles are S-shaped with frontward-pointing tips.

The identification of the bovid painted on the left of the Liverpool fragment is not hampered by its partial preservation since its horns are visible: they most closely resemble those of an ibex, and the artist even added short strokes along their upper edge to emphasise the characteristic bosses that can be observed in nature (see e.g. Hendrickx *et al.* 2018: fig. 7). The animal depicted in front of the ibex can be identified as a hunting dog (Hendrickx 1992; 2006; 2010). It is not the aim of this article to revisit the representations of dogs in C-ware art; the following paragraphs concentrate instead on the ibex and on the material with which the Liverpool fragment can be most closely compared.

The ibex in C-ware art

The ibex is the most-commonly depicted species of wild antelopes on C-ware vessels (Droux 2015: 151), with ten examples known (Table 1).² On two of

¹ It cannot be fully excluded that these scant remains belong to the backside of an animal, with a short downturned tail; this is however less likely based on comparison with other similar vessels; see *infra*.

² An additional C-ware vessel (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1946.297, no provenance; see Payne 2000: 60, cat. 406, fig. 29; Droux in prep. (a): C-0178) may have to be added to the corpus. Although the animals were described as giraffes by Keimer (1935: 168–169) and by Graff (2009: 161, cat. 67), Navajas Jiménez (2012, with references) later proposed to identify the animals as ibexes, based on a new examination of the vessel. She is certainly correct in considering the smaller animals as dogs attacking the antelopes, but the identification of the antelopes remains difficult, especially because of the elongated necks and both chest and neck manes, which are not characteristic of the ibex.

According to Graff (2009: 32), there are only two representations of ibexes on C-ware vessels, defined as motifs Ab3 and Ab20; however, these motifs are listed for five C-ware vessels in the catalogue: cat. 147, 136, 159, 162, and 172 (Table 1, nos 4, 5, 7, and 10, respectively; following my examination of Graff's cat. 172 in Turin, I consider the decoration to be a modern forgery;

these vessels, the identification of the ibex is not guaranteed: one animal has horns that curve strongly backward but that are rather short; the other one's horns are not especially curved, so that the identification of the animal as a White gazelle proposed by the excavators (Dreyer *et al.* 2003: 82) cannot be excluded (nos **9**, **10**, respectively).³ The bodies of ibexes are usually filled with parallel oblique lines (nos **5**, **7**, **9**, **10**), more rarely with chevrons (nos **6**, **7**) or left empty (nos **3**, **4**). Only one vessel, beside the fragment presented here, shows an ibex with its body filled with crosshatching (no. **8**, see Fig. 3a). Few of these vessels come from well-documented archaeological contexts, except the latter and no. **10**. No. **8** was found in the nearly intact tomb B102 at Naqada, behind the feet of the deceased in the north-east corner of the grave [Price 1895: 73; Baumgartel 1970: pl. LXIV; Droux in prep. (b)], while no. **10** had been deposited in the south corner of tomb U-415 at Abydos (Hartmann 2016: I: 271, fig. 125), in front of the head of the deceased. It can be deduced from these two examples that there was no correlation between C-ware motifs (and indeed C-ware vessels in general) and placement within a grave. The vessel from Naqada is of special interest here: it is a double-beaker joined on a horizontal base—a rather unusual shape for C-ware vessels⁴—that was filled with fine sand (Fig. 3a). The scene painted on each beaker mirrors the other: they are both hunting scenes, in which an ibex on one side and a Barbary sheep on the other are surrounded by hunting dogs (Navajas Jiménez 2012; Hendrickx 2011).⁵ The ibex is painted in a remarkably similar way to the ibex of the Liverpool sherd; its horns are nearly identical in shape and detail, including the bosses indicated by short strokes along the top edges. The Barbary sheep, as mentioned above, is easily recognised by the crescent-shaped horns framing the head; the artist also added a frontal mane, another feature characteristic of this species (Hendrickx *et al.* 2009).

work on this object and others from the Turin collection is ongoing). The horned quadrupeds on vessels nos **2**, **3**, and **8** are identified by Graff (2009: cat. 114, 99, 173, respectively) as representations of oryxes [motifs Ab4 (oryx), Ab10 (oryx beisa), Ab11 (oryx algazelle)]; they are more likely to all be ibexes. The remaining three vessels are not included in Graff's catalogue (Table 1, nos **1**, **6**, and **9**).

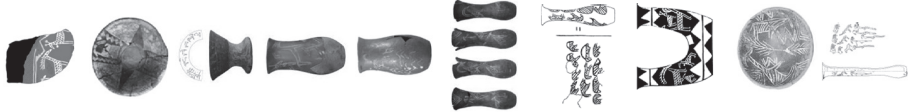
³ Numbers in bold refer to Table 1.

⁴ Only about eighteen double-vessels with C-ware decoration are known, two of which were found alongside one another in grave B102 at Naqada; beside the example in Philadelphia (Table 1, no. **8**) was a white-painted Black-topped double-beaker with geometric decoration (Fig. 3e; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1895.478; see Payne 2000: 33, cat. 96, fig. 22; Droux in prep. (a): C-0282). Notably, a third C-ware vessel was present among this assemblage: it is a beaker painted on its exterior surface with geometric and vegetal motifs, and with short strokes inside the lip (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1895.469; see Payne 2000: 61, cat. 408, fig. 29; Droux, in prep. (a): C-0281).

⁵ For the identification of the animal as an ibex, see Osborn & Osbornova 1998: 183; Navajas Jiménez 2012: 173, n. 13; Droux 2015, cat. 1.65; *contra* Graff (2009: 156) who identifies the animal as an oryx.

Table 1: C-ware vessels with representations of ibexes. *POnDa* numbers refer to Droux, in prep. (a).

	Collection	Provenance	<i>POnDa</i>
1	Liverpool, Garstang Museum of Archaeology, E4176 Unpublished.	Unknown, likely Naqada	C-0819
2	Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, MFA 13.3935 Kantor 1953: 79, fig. 5, right; Ehrlich s.d.: 18–19, fig. 10; Finkentstaedt 1980: 119; Graff 2009: cat. 114; Droux 2015: cat. 1.15; Museum of Fine Arts online catalogue.	Mesaid, tomb 763	C-0188
3	Brussels, Royal Museums of Art and History, E.2988 Graff 2009: cat. 99; Hendrickx 2010: 110, fig. 10; Hendrickx & Eyckerman 2010: fig. 6; Navajas Jiménez 2012: pl.XXXI, b; Droux 2015: cat. 1.36.	No provenance	C-0360
4	Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, LgAe BDE 04 Page-Gasser & Wiese 1997: cat. 4a; Wiese 2001: 28, cat. 3a; Graff 2009: cat. 147; Droux 2015: cat. 1.51.	No provenance	C-0345
5	London, Petrie Museum, UC 15338 Petrie 1902: pl. H, 1; Petrie 1920: pl. XVIII, 73; Petrie 1921: pl. XXV, 99; Keimer 1935: 168, fig. 4; Osborn & Osbornová 1998: 150, fig. 13–37; Graff 2009: cat. 136; Camuier 2010: 90–92, fig. 37; Droux 2015: cat. 1.53; Petrie Museum online catalogue.	Naqada or Ballas	C-0436
6	Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet, 5483 Kantor 1948: 49, fig. 3D; Droux 2015: cat. 1.59; Hendrickx <i>et al.</i> 2018.	No provenance, likely Abydos	C-0388
7	Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum, OIM E8923 Ayrton & Loat 1911: 34–35, pl. XXVII, 12; Graff 2009: cat. 159; Teeter 2011: 153–154, cat. 1; Droux 2015: cat. 1.62; Oriental Institute Museum online catalogue.	Abydos, tomb C2	C-0014
8	Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, E. 1418 Petrie & Quibell 1896: 38, pl. XXIX, 91; Petrie 1921: pl. XXV, 91; Ranke 1950: fig. 9; Kantor 1953: fig. 4d; Osborn & Osbornová 1998: 181, fig. 13–170; Navajas Jiménez 2009: note 22; Graff 2009: cat. 173; Hendrickx 2011: fig. 5; Navajas Jiménez 2012: 173, 176–178, pl. XXXI, a; Droux 2015: cat. 1.65; University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology online catalogue. See this article, Fig. 3a.	Naqada, tomb B102	C-0283
9	Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet, MM 11096 Droux 2015: cat. 1.18; Medelhavsmuseet online catalogue.	Abydos?, ex Gayer-Anderson collection	C-0008
10	Abydos, antiquities magazine, no. U-415/2 Hartung 2002: 89, fig. 4; Dreyer <i>et al.</i> 2003: 78, 83–85, fig. 6a, pl. 15b; Graff 2009: cat. 162; Hartung 2010: fig. 4c; Hendrickx & Eyckerman 2010: fig. 4; Hendrickx 2011: fig. 3; Droux 2015: cat. 1.63; Hartmann 2016: I: 271; II: 146, cat. no. 1375, pl. 130.	Abydos, tomb U-415	C-0023



More often than not, the ibex is the target of a hunt, a trend which is strengthened by the Liverpool sherd. The dogs are the active elements of the hunt and their human masters are not depicted, except on a jar of uncertain provenance—possibly Abydos (no. 6). This is a typical feature of desert hunting iconography in C-ware art, where dogs are shown surrounding their prey or at the end of a row of animals. In the context of the ibex hunt, there is no clear prevalence of one type of hunt over the other, with packs of dogs surrounding their prey on two vessels besides the Liverpool fragment (nos 4, 8), and dogs controlling rows of animals on three other vessels [no. 3 (in front) and nos 7, 10 (behind)]. The Copenhagen vessel (no. 6) is more unusual: two hunters and a dog take part in a hunt that includes an ibex, a Barbary sheep, a wild donkey and a gazelle as prey. The ibex is not attacked by the dog, but is prey to one of the hunters who appears to be holding a lasso (see Hendrickx *et al.* 2018: figs 2a–b, 18). On vessel no. 3, a boat is incorporated in the painted scene, which further emphasises the symbolic nature of the hunting iconography, since boats were evidently not used for hunting desert animals (Hendrickx 2011: 251). When the ibexes are not hunted (nos 2, 5, 9), they can be standing among other animals (no. 5) or among plant motifs (no. 9). Bowl no. 2 is particular, since it does not bear *stricto sensu* the depictions of ibexes, but rather of combs with recumbent ibex figurines at their top.⁶

The ibex is systemically the only antelope species present when painted inside bowls. Each of these bowls has a distinct shape: no. 9 is hemispherical, no. 2 has a flat base and no. 3 stands on a ring-base. In contrast, ibexes on closed vessels are seemingly always painted with other species. Desert animals—most commonly Barbary sheep (nos 5, 6, 8) but also, e.g. gazelles (nos 6, 10)—are prominent; a giraffe (no. 5) and hippopotamuses (no. 10) are more unusual in these combinations. Because the Liverpool fragment only preserves a small portion of the original scene, it is not certain whether another species was also the target of the hunt, perhaps on the opposite side of the vessel. Since this fragment does not come from a bowl, it would at first appear that it ought to be the case. However, the array of shapes of these closed vessels is very restricted: apart from the double beaker (no. 8), they are all flasks and bottles with a bulbous lower part, a neck that can be fairly long and narrow,⁷ and a flaring rim. Evidently, the Liverpool fragment comes from a beaker that does not belong to this group; instead other vessels appear to be better comparative examples, despite not all showing ibexes.

⁶ A second C-ware vessel bears similar depictions of combs with animal figurines: Princeton, University Art Museum, y1930-494 (no provenance); the two animals have long rounded ears and are possibly hares; see Kantor 1953: figs 1G, 2G, 3C, 5 left; Droux in prep. (a): C-0454.

⁷ The published drawing of the bottle from tomb C2 at Abydos (no. 7; see Ayrton & Loat 1911: 34–35, pl. XXVII, 12) renders an inaccurate shape; a photograph (Teeter 2011: 153–154, cat. 1) shows that the narrow neck is longer and that the shape is closer to the that of the bottles found in tomb U-415 at Abydos (e.g. no. 10).

Comparative material

As pointed out above, the double-beaker from Naqada tomb B102 bears a decoration extremely similar to the Liverpool sherd on one of its elements. Not only is the ibex painted in the same style, it is also set in a hunting scene, in a similar position. Three dogs attack this ibex, one from the front, one from below, and one from behind (on the opposite side of the beaker, not visible on Fig. 3a). This vessel belongs to a long-recognised group of C-ware vessels (Figs 3a–d) that all bear depictions of Barbary sheep hunts (Kantor 1953: 77–78; Graff 2009: 116, pl. 6.18). Helene Kantor was cautious in attributing the group to a single hand, considering that “the rather simple character and technique of the White Cross-lined style make such suppositions dangerous”, but some arguments can nevertheless be brought forward in favour of a single artist being responsible for the decoration of this group of objects. Firstly, although Kantor was right in saying that C-ware style can appear simple in character—at least to our modern eye—, hunting scenes belong to the most complex scenes painted at the time. Moreover, the other vessels bearing this decoration theme are noticeably different in style to this group. Further, the similarities shared by the Barbary sheep and dogs in all four examples, especially the manner in which their bodies are filled with crosshatching of horizontal and oblique lines, is unlikely to be coincidental. Even seemingly more trivial details such as the rows of triangles strengthen the likelihood of a single painter. Indeed, filled-in triangles, a common occurrence in later D-ware decoration, are much rarer in C-ware art, with less than twenty examples known outside this group, of which only a handful were found during archaeological excavations, including three at Naqada.⁸ In all examples of the group, whether there is a single series

⁸ For the sake of brevity, only references to Droux in prep. (a) are listed here. **Vertical series of downturned triangles on outside of vessels:** bottle C-0276 (Naqada, tomb N1823, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1895.470), nearly identical to bottle C-0339 (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, MFA 04.1816), and of similar style to bowl C-0585 (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, MFA 04.1818). **Horizontal series of upturned triangles on outside of vessels:** bowl C-0278 (Naqada, tomb N1823, Philadelphia, Penn Museum, E.1412), nearly identical to bowl C-0521 (Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet, MM10271); bottle C-0022 (Abydos, tomb U-415, Egypt); bowl C-0493 (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.228.109), nearly identical to C-0519 (Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet, MM10268). **Series of triangles alternately pointing in opposite directions:** rattle C-0264 (vertical series; Naqada, tomb N1613, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN 1895.467); bottle C-0437 (vertical series; London, Petrie Museum, UC 15339); bowl C-0777 (horizontal series; Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 900.2.17). **Horizontal series of downturned triangles on outside of bowls on ring base:** C-0363 (Brussels, Royal Museums of Art and History, E. 2991), nearly identical to C-0453 (Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 900.2.127). **Series of downturned triangles inside rim:** bottle C-0158 (Brussels, Royal Museums of Art and History, E. 3002); bowl C-0558 (Princeton, University Art Museum, y1930-490); bowl C-0595 (London, Petrie Museum, UC 36299). **Double vertical series of triangles pointing in opposite direction:** bowl C-0475 (Turin, Museo Egizio, S.396). **Groups of triangles pointing in various directions:** bottle C-0106 (Gebelein, Paris, Louvre Museum, E 25382).

of triangles pointing all in the same direction (Fig. 3d–e), two series pointing in opposite directions (Fig. 3a–c), or a combination of both (Fig. 3c), there is systematically a doubling of the base line which leaves an ‘empty’ line along (or between) the series of triangles. None of the examples listed in note 8 show a similar pattern. Although the decoration of the double-beaker in Fig. 3e is purely geometric, it can be attributed to the same group since it shows this exact same pattern of triangles; its find location alongside the double-beaker with hunting scenes (no. 8) further reinforces the possibility of a single artist.

The decoration of the Liverpool fragment is similar in its details to vessels of this group. Although some uncertainties remain as to how the triangles in the upper part were filled (see above), it is likely that they were filled-in. This would explain the lack of discernible hatching or crosshatching as ‘ghost’ traces where the paint has disappeared. Moreover, the doubling of the baseline leaves the same ‘empty’ line above the triangles as seems characteristic of the style of the painter of the group. It also appears that this artist first painted the figural elements of the scenes, and the triangles afterwards: on the bottle in Fig. 3b, the head of the dog painted above the back of the Barbary sheep occupies the place of one of the triangles, and on the elliptical bowl in Fig. 3c, the series of downturned triangles above the animals’ heads is limited to the first and last triangles. It is therefore not surprising that the series of triangles on the Liverpool sherd is not continuous and that the horns of the ibex take the place of a potential triangle.

In our opinion, the joint occurrence of these similarities and peculiarities across this group is sufficient to consider that a single person painted these six vessels.

A single painter also implies that all the vessels of the group are contemporaneous. The four vessels with a known archaeological provenance come from Naqada, and were recovered in two separate tombs, N1644 and B102. Very little is known about the former: its exact location within the Great Cemetery is not recorded, but most tombs with C-ware vessels were found in its eastern part, closer to the floodplain. The ceramic assemblage of the tomb was limited to four vessels according to excavation records (Quibell 1895: 36). The recently recovered pottery list established by Petrie in the preparation of his relative chronology (Stevenson 2020: fig. 2.36) indicates that beside the two C-ware vessels was one beaker of type B27e, which does not help narrowing down the relative date of the tomb.⁹ Tomb B102, located over 900 m to the south, is better documented, and one Red-Polished bowl of type P7 can be dated to Naqada IC. By extension, it is likely that all the vessels of the group, including

⁹ Type B27e is noted for 12 tombs in the Naqada main cemetery: tombs N1463, N1465, N1471, N1499, N1500, N1641, N1644, N1661, N1729, N1783, N1851, and N1858; they range in date from Naqada IA to Naqada IIC (see Stevenson 2020: figs 2.33, 2.36–39, 2.41).



Fig. 3. Group of C-ware vessels attributed to the same painter:

- a) Double-beaker from Naqada, tomb B102 (Philadelphia, Penn Museum, E.1418);
- b) Flask from Naqada, tomb N1644 (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1895.482);
- c) Elliptical bowl, said to come from Gebelein (Princeton, University Art Museum, y1930-491, Gift C. Hayes, 1925);
- d) Hemispherical bowl from Naqada, tomb N1644 (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1895.487);
- e) Double-beaker from Naqada, tomb B102 (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1895.478);
- f) Liverpool beaker fragment. Scale: 15 %.

Drawings: (a–d) Kantor 1953: figs 4D, 4C, 4A, 4E, resp.; (e) Payne 2000: fig. 22, no. 96; (f) by the author. Photographs by the author.

the Liverpool sherd, date to Naqada IC. This date is slightly later than the one suggested for several other C-ware flasks with hunting scenes (Hendrickx *et al.* 2018: 87), but nevertheless fits well within the stipulated broad range of C-ware production (Naqada IA–IIA).

A final aspect of the sherd can be considered: unlike the vast majority of C-ware vessels, it is not a Red-Polished (P-ware) beaker that was decorated, but one belonging to the B-ware class. These vessels only constitute a discrete group of 26 examples among a corpus of c. 880 C-ware pots and fragments [$< 3\%$; Droux, in prep. (a)].¹⁰ Fourteen have a known provenance, of which eleven were excavated at Naqada. Among these, five fragments come from peculiar ‘tubular’ vessels; it is not clear how many vessels they originally belonged to, but since they were found in three different burials, at least three vessels are likely [the exact number of tubular fragments found during Petrie’s excavation is also uncertain; Droux, in prep. (b)], which brings down the number of excavated painted B-ware vessels to twelve, of which no less than 75 % come from Naqada.

Besides the tubular vessels and a bowl on foot (of which only the ring base is coated in paint), all the listed white-decorated B-ware vessels are beakers (including double-beakers, a beaker on a ring base, and a beaker on three legs). The decoration of white-painted vessels was applied prior to firing (Geller 1984: 93; see C-ware wasters from HK59a, Droux, in prep. (a): C-0872, C-0873), and in the case of these painted B-wares, the black-polished upper part of the vessel is usually not painted, as we can see on the Liverpool fragment. From these observations, we can draw two conclusions. First, that the

¹⁰ For the sake of brevity, only references to Droux in prep. (a) are given here. **Vessels from Naqada:** tomb N1465: bowl on ring-base C-0705, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1895.367; tomb N1584: beaker C-0260, Manchester, University Museum, 3128; tomb N1587: sherd of tubular vessel C-0228, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN 1895.474; tomb N1591: sherds of tubular vessel C-0315 and C-0252 [the black-polished upper part of the latter is missing], Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1895.471 and AN 1895.475; tomb N1599: sherds of tubular vessel C-0316 and C-0314, and beaker C-0312, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1895.472, .473, and .485, resp.; tomb N1628: beaker C-0311, Philadelphia, Penn Museum, E.1419; tomb N1681: double-beaker on base C-0706, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN1895.342; tomb B102: double-beaker C-0282, see *infra*. **Vessels with other provenance:** Abydos, tomb U-13: beaker C-0280, South Hadley, MA, Mount Holyoke College Art Museum, MH 1911.13.A.A; El-Amra, tomb a74: beaker C-0070, Bristol, Museum and Art Gallery, H691; Hierakonpolis, Locality HK29: sherd of beaker C-0142, Egypt. **Vessels without certain provenance:** Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CGC 11533: beaker on three feet C-0642 (Gebelein?); Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrus-sammlung, ÄM 15784 and ÄM 22390: beaker C-0830 (Kus/Naqada region?) and beaker on foot C-0831 (Khozam?); Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, MFA 04.1820 and MFA 04.1821: beakers C-0587 (Basileia?) and C-0588 (no prov.); Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CGC 11572 and CGC 11574: sherd of double-beaker C-0562 and beaker C-0564 (both from Naqada?); Geneva, Musée Barbier-Mueller, 203-88: beaker C-0544 (no prov.); Geneva, Musées d’Art et d’Histoire, D1180: beaker C-0343 (‘Ombos’?); Liverpool, Garstang Museum, E4176: beaker fragment (see *infra*); London, Petrie Museum, UC 15308: beaker C-0709 (no provenance); New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 07.228.142: beaker C-0498 (no provenance).

artists knew beforehand to leave the upper part free of decoration, so that these vessels were not intended to be classic red-polished C-wares that accidentally became black-topped during the firing process. And second, that it was deemed important to keep the white decoration clear of the material in which the vessel, placed upside down in the kiln, was partly buried (only two vessels contradict this trend: C-0498 and C-0587 (see note 10); for the production of B-ware vessels, see Hendrickx *et al.* 2000).

Vessels of the Black-top class are considered to be less porous than those of the P-ware class, and it is possible that practical considerations led to the adaptation of the classic C-ware style to the Black-top class, although this cannot be demonstrated.

The provenance of the Liverpool fragment and concluding remarks

At present, there is no known document relating to the discovery or acquisition of the Liverpool sherd in the archives of the Garstang Museum. The only available information is provided by a handwritten note on a sticker glued to the back of the fragment: “Found in cellar”. This hardly helps us in identifying the provenance of the sherd, and only tells us that at some point in time, likely in the first half of the 20th century, the fragment was ‘re-discovered’ in a basement where it had been abandoned earlier and forgotten about.

Having determined that the fragment was painted by the same hand as several vessels found at Naqada, and that B-ware beakers with white-painted decoration predominantly come from that site, it is tempting to suggest that the Liverpool sherd also comes from Naqada. Garstang worked in the region of Naqada in 1904—when he notably re-excavated in springtime the ‘royal mastaba’ found by de Morgan in 1896 (Garstang 1905)—so that he certainly had the opportunity to collect the sherd, perhaps as a surface find during a visit to the areas excavated nearly a decade earlier by Petrie and his team, which lies c. 8.5 km to the north of the royal mastaba (site PWT.112, see van Wetering 2012). Only the discovery of another fragment from the same vessel would positively confirm this supposition: it is all the more regrettable that the whole extent of the ‘Great Cemetery’ and of Cemetery B at Naqada have been thoroughly destroyed and are now cultivated over [Droux, in prep. (b)]. If the sherd does indeed come from Naqada, it is unlikely that the rest of the beaker will ever be recovered.

Although attributing the sherd to Naqada appears as a seductive possibility, we must remain cautious in doing so. Indeed, our understanding of the production and dissemination of C-ware vessels is still extremely limited, and one example—among others—highlights that the Liverpool sherd may come from a different area of Upper Egypt altogether. Two bowls have a very similar decoration that broadly consists of four animals, all facing right and following

one another around the interior wall of each bowl, with a circular design at the bottom (Graff 2009: 142, pl. 6.18, vases nos 27 and 30; see Droux, in prep. (a): C-0201 and C-0119, resp.). The animals' silhouettes are unparalleled in C-ware art, so that it is difficult to offer a certain identification of the species, although bulls were likely intended (Hendrickx 2002: 305, App. A, no. 2). The similarities between the two vessels are such—especially the manner with which the backsides of the animals are filled with concentric designs—that they were most certainly painted by the same person, despite some variations in the details of the rim and of the circular design at the bottom of the vessel. However, this seems countered by the distance separating the two find spots of these bowls: one was found at Hammamiya (tomb 1649), the other one about 80 km to the south, at Naqa ed-Deir (tomb 7014). This raises interesting questions: were C-ware vessels produced at a limited number of 'facilities' and distributed over fairly large distances? Did the artists travel and produce similar vessels at different places? If two artists from different places are responsible for such a group, did one observe and copy the work of the other? A more detailed analysis of groups of vessels with similar decorations and known archaeological provenances is necessary before such questions can be tentatively addressed. At present, it is best to remain careful in attributing a possible find area to an object based on comparison with others bearing similar or near-identical decoration. Thus, although it is certainly possible that the Liverpool sherd comes from Naqada, it may equally have been found elsewhere by Garstang.

The history of the Liverpool fragment and of the beaker it was once part of remains mysterious. The hunting scene painted on its exterior surface fits well within the artistic corpus of the early Predynastic period. This small, unassuming piece also proves to be a valuable addition to a group of vessels that can be attributed to the same Predynastic painter, who lived during Naqada IC. Nothing may be known about this individual, but it would appear that his skills were well-appreciated and that he was a sought-after artist, especially for the production of complex White Cross-lined decoration, chief among them hunting scenes involving Barbary sheep, ibexes, and dogs.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the editors for their invitation to contribute an article to this volume. The study of the Liverpool fragment was greatly facilitated by the team at the Garstang Museum, and we thank in particular its curator Dr. Gina Criscenzo-Laycock for permission to access and publish this object. We thank the staff of the Department of Antiquities at the Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology and in particular Mr. Liam McNamara, the Lisa and Bernard Selz Curator for Ancient Egypt and Sudan, for their help and welcome during several research visits.

Bibliography

- AYRTON, E.R. & LOAT, W.L.S., 1911. *Pre-dynastic cemetery at El Mahasna*. MEEF 31. London.
- BAUMGARTEL, E.J., 1970. *Petrie's Naqada excavation: A supplement*. London.
- CANNUYER, C., 2010. *La girafe dans l'Égypte ancienne et le verbe <sr> : Étude de lexicographie et de symbolique animalière*. Acta Orientalia Belgica. Subsidia 4. Brussels.
- DREYER, G.; HARTMANN, R.; HARTUNG, U.; HIKADE, T.; KÖPP, H.; LACHER, C.; MÜLLER, V.; NERLICH, A. & ZINK, A., 2003. Umm el-Qaab: Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof: 13./14./15. Vorbericht. *MDAIK* 59: 67–138.
- DROUX, X., 2015. *Riverine and desert animals in Predynastic Upper Egypt: Material culture and faunal remains*. Oxford (Unpubl. PhD dissertation, University of Oxford). <https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:d6d885a7-86f9-4d51-b4d5-bb21b26d2897>.
- DROUX, X., in prep. (a). *POnDa: Predynastic Online Database of painted pottery*. <https://ponda.org>.
- DROUX, X., in prep. (b). *The Naqada C-ware corpus: Revisiting Petrie's excavations in light of preserved documentary evidence* (working title).
- EHRlich, P., s.d. *The Predynastic of Mesaeed* (Unpubl. manuscript, Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).
- FINKENSTADT, E., 1980. Regional painting style in Prehistoric Egypt. *ZÄS* 107: 116–120.
- GARSTANG, J. 1905. Note upon excavations made 1904–05. *Man* 5: 145–146.
- GELLER, J., 1984. *The Predynastic ceramics industry at Hierakonpolis, Egypt*. Washington (Unpubl. MA dissertation, Washington University).
- GRAFF, G., 2009. *Les peintures sur vases de Nagada I–Nagada II : Nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique*. EPM 6. Leuven.
- HARTMANN, R., 2016. *Umm el-Qaab 4: Die Keramik der älteren und mittleren Naqadakultur aus dem prädynastischen Friedhof U in Abydos (Umm el-Qaab)*. ÄV 98. Wiesbaden.
- HARTUNG, U., 2002. Abydos, Umm el-Qaab : Le cimetière prédynastique U. *Archéo-Nil* 12: 87–94.
- HARTUNG, U., 2010. Hippopotamus hunters and bureaucrats: Elite burials at Cemetery U at Abydos [in:] RAFFAELE, E.; NUZZOLO, M. & INCORDINO, I. (eds), *Recent discoveries and latest researches in Egyptology. Proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology (Naples, 18th–20th June 2008)*. Wiesbaden: 107–120.
- HENDRICKX, S., 1992. Une scène de chasse dans le désert sur le vase prédynastique Bruxelles, M.R.A.H. E. 2631. *CdÉ* 67(133): 5–27.
- HENDRICKX, S., 2002. Bovines in Egyptian Predynastic and Early Dynastic iconography [in:] HASSAN, F.A. (ed.), *Drought, food and culture: Ecological change and food security in Africa's later Prehistory*. New York: 275–318.
- HENDRICKX, S., 2006. The dog, the Lycaon pictus and order over chaos in Predynastic Egypt [in:] KROEPER, K.; CHŁODNICKI, M. & KOBUSIEWICZ, M. (eds), *Archaeology of early Northeastern Africa: In memory of Lech Krzyżaniak*. SAA 9. Poznań: 723–749.
- HENDRICKX, S., 2010. L'iconographie de la chasse dans le contexte social prédynastique. *Archéo-Nil* 20 : 108–136.
- HENDRICKX, S., 2011. Hunting and social complexity in Predynastic Egypt. *Académie royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer. Bulletin des Séances / Koninklijke Academie voor Overzeese Wetenschappen. Mededelingen der Zittingen* 57(2–4): 237–263.

- HENDRICKX, S.; DROUX, X.; EYCKERMAN, M. & HARTMANN, R., 2018. Hunting for power: An exceptional White Cross-lined jar in the National Museum of Denmark. *MDAIK* 74: 83–97.
- HENDRICKX, S. & EYCKERMAN, M., 2010. Continuity and change in the visual representation of Predynastic Egypt [in:] RAFFAELE, E.; NUZZOLO, M. & INCORDINO, I. (eds), *Recent discoveries and latest researches in Egyptology. Proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology (Naples, 18th–20th June 2008)*. Wiesbaden: 121–143.
- HENDRICKX, S.; FRIEDMAN, R. & LOYENS, F., 2000. Experimental archaeology concerning Black-topped pottery from ancient Egypt and the Sudan. *CCÉ* 6: 171–187.
- HENDRICKX, S.; RIEMER, H.; FÖRSTER, F. & DARNELL, J.C., 2009. Late Predynastic/Early Dynastic rock art scenes of Barbary sheep hunting in Egypt's Western Desert: From capturing wild animals to the women of the "Acacia House" [in:] RIEMER, H.; FÖRSTER, F.; HERB, M. & PÖLLATH, N. (eds), *Desert animals in the Eastern Sahara: Status, economic significance, and cultural reflection in antiquity. Proceedings of an interdisciplinary ACACIA Workshop held at the University of Cologne (December 14–15, 2007)*. Colloquium Africanum 4. Cologne: 189–244.
- KANTOR, H., 1953. Prehistoric Egyptian pottery in the Art Museum. *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 12(2): 67–83.
- KEIMER, L., 1935. Sur des vases prédynastiques de Khôzam. *ASAÉ* 35: 161–181.
- NAVAS JIMÉNEZ, A.I., 2009. *Bos primigenius / Loxodonta africana* : Iconographie et symbolisme au travers de la céramique White Cross-lined. *CdÉ* 84(167–168): 50–87.
- NAVAS JIMÉNEZ, A.I., 2012. Some new hunting scenes in pre-dynastic C-wares: London Petrie Museum UC15331 and Oxford Ashmolean Museum 1946.297 'revisited'. *ZÄS* 139(2): 171–178.
- OSBORN, D.J. & OSBORNOVÁ, J., 1998. *The mammals of ancient Egypt*. The Natural History of Egypt 4. Warminster.
- PAGE-GASSER, M. & WIESE, A., 1997. *Ägypten, Augenblicke der Ewigkeit: Unbekannte Schätze aus Schweizer Privatbesitz*. Mainz am Rhein.
- PAYNE, J.C., 2000. *Catalogue of the Predynastic Egyptian collection in the Ashmolean Museum: With Addenda*. Oxford.
- PETRIE, W.M.F., 1902. Prehistoric Egyptian pottery. *Man* 2: 113.
- PETRIE, W.M.F., 1920. *Prehistoric Egypt, illustrated by over 1000 objects in University College, London*. BSAE/ERA 31. London.
- PETRIE, W.M.F., 1921. *Corpus of Prehistoric pottery and palettes*. BSAE/ERA 32. London.
- PETRIE, W.M.F. & QUIBELL, J.E., 1896. *Naqada and Ballas 1895*. London.
- PRICE, H., 1895. [*Naqada excavation fieldnotes*] (Unpubl. manuscript notebook no. 70, Petrie Museum, London).
- QUIBELL, J.E., 1895. [*Naqada excavation fieldnotes*] (Unpubl. manuscript notebook no. 137, Petrie Museum, London).
- RANKE, H., 1950. The Egyptian collections of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. *University Museum Bulletin* 15(2–3): 1–109.
- STEVENSON, A., 2020. The archival record of W.M.F. Petrie's 1894–5 excavations in the Predynastic cemeteries of Naqada [in:] STEVENSON, A. & VAN WETERING, J. (eds), *The many histories of Naqada: Archaeology and heritage in an Upper Egyptian region*. GHP Egyptology 32. London: 11–15.
- TEETER, E. (ed.), 2011. *Before the pyramids: The origins of Egyptian civilization*. OIMP 33. Chicago.

- VAN WETERING, J., 2012. Relocating de Morgan's Royal Tomb at Naqada and identifying its occupant [in:] KABACIŃSKI, J.; CHŁODNICKI, M. & KOBUSIEWICZ, M. (eds), *Prehistory of Northeastern Africa: New ideas and discoveries*. SAA 11. Poznań: 91–124.

Online resources (last accessed 17.08.2019)

Medelhavsmuseet online catalogue: <http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm/web>

Museum of Fine Arts online catalogue: <https://collections.mfa.org/collections>

Oriental Institute Museum online catalogue: <https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu>

Petrie Museum online catalogue: <http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/search.aspx?formtype=advanced>

University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology online catalogue: <https://www.penn.museum/collections/>