

REMOVE THAT PYRAMID!



Stan Hendrickx and the Narmer Palette, Egyptian Museum, Cairo, 2010 (© ZDF).

ORIENTALIA LOVANIENSIA

ANALECTA

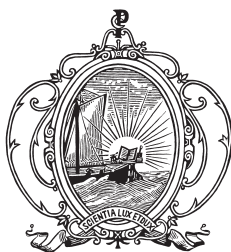
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REMOVE THAT PYRAMID!

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

edited by

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MEREL EYCKERMAN and DIRK HUYGE[†]



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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 Neshet-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 Adaiima : Le graffito S574/3	829
Vera MÜLLER	
The hippopotamus hunt and its relationship to other rituals in the 1 st 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'hippoptame ... 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>Kragenhals</i> beer jars.	1039
Eugène WARMENBOL	
The ape, the myth, the legend revisited: KV 50, 51, and 52: ‘Pet Sematary’ II	1059

FROM POTS TO ROCKS:
EDITORIAL TRIBUTE TO STAN

WOUTER CLAES, MARLEEN DE MEYER
& MEREL EYCKERMAN

“Remove that pyramid!” With these winged words, uttered in 1977, Stan Hendrickx’s extraordinary career in Egyptian archaeology took flight. One year after obtaining his MA in archaeology at KU Leuven, Stan was invited by the Committee of Belgian Excavations in Egypt and the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels to excavate the newly discovered Naqada III cemetery at the Upper Egyptian site of Elkab. Being a novice in fieldwork in Egypt, he had to learn a few basic words and phrases in Arabic to communicate with the Egyptian workmen. When on the morning of the second day in the field, a donkey was standing in the middle of the excavation trench, he instructed the workmen to “sheel al-haram!”. To his surprise, rather than removing the donkey from the trench, the workmen looked at each other in utter amazement. Instead of asking them to remove the donkey (“sheel al-humar” in Arabic), Stan had in fact asked them to remove a pyramid!

To everyone’s amusement, not in the least Stan’s own, this anecdote is still recounted regularly at the dinner table or during gatherings with a cold beer on the terrace of the Somers Clarke excavation house at Elkab after a hard day’s work. Although this whimsical tale has already been featured in a previous publication,¹ it may be unknown to those who never worked with the Belgian mission at Elkab. Deserving of a place in the historiography of Egyptian archaeology, we have chosen it as the title of this volume that honours Stan on his official retirement. Not only is it a fitting wink to Stan’s interests in the early phases of Egyptian civilisation prior to the Pyramid Age, it also nicely illustrates that Stan is a scholar who never took himself too seriously. Refreshing ideas on Egypt’s early history go hand in hand with making sure that there are always enough cold ‘refreshments’ in the fridge of the excavation house. And he generously shares his encyclopaedic knowledge and sheer mountain of documentation with anyone who is interested, regardless whether it is a student, PhD-researcher, or professor.

¹ BAHN, P., 2013. *Dirty diggers: Tales from the archaeological trenches*. Walnut Creek, CA: 59–60.

Although Belgium has a long-standing tradition of archaeological research in Egypt² and many Belgian scholars have made significant contributions to shaping Egyptology into the multidisciplinary scientific research field it is today, few scholars have had such a profound impact on its development in the past decades as Stan. Many topics, including Predynastic and early pharaonic pottery, the chronology of early Egypt, its art, iconography and material culture, and recently also rock art, have been greatly influenced by Stan's research and numerous publications.³ As an art history professor at Hasselt University, Stan has also inspired vast numbers of students over the years. Through his intercession, a select number of these artists also worked as illustrators for various archaeological missions in Egypt and beyond, skilfully drawing pottery, small finds, or rock art. The wonderful drawings that have been integrated into this volume are a token of appreciation by some of these students for their mentor. We offer them our special thanks for having responded so enthusiastically to our call to add a creative touch to this *Festschrift*.

We warmly thank all the authors of this volume for their papers and for entrusting us with the publication of their research. The sheer quantity of contributions, as well as the variety of topics, reflect our collective appreciation and respect for Stan, a scholar without equal. We are grateful to the various reviewers and to Megan Lucie Thomasson for her help with the proofreading during her internship at the Royal Museums of Art and History. A special word of thanks goes to Bert Verrept for his indispensable help with the editing process and to Peeters Publishers and Harco Willems for accepting publication of this volume in the series *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*. And last but certainly not least, we are grateful that Stan's *compagnon de route*, Dirk Huyge, (with feigned reluctance) agreed to help us make this *Festschrift* a reality shortly before his untimely death in 2018. We like to think that he is nevertheless content to have his name on the cover.

Stan, this *Festschrift* is best enjoyed with a cold Stella in hand!

² For an overview, see: BAVAY, L.; BRUWIER, M.-C.; CLAES, W. & DE STROOPER, I. (eds), 2012. *Ceci n'est pas une pyramide : Un siècle de recherche archéologique belge en Égypte*. Leuven; DE MEYER, M. & DE CARTIER D'YVES, S. (eds), 2021. *Belgians on the Nile: A history of royal visits, entrepreneurship, and archaeological exploration in Egypt*. Alexandria.

³ See the bibliography on p. XXXI–LVI. Perhaps the only regret in Stan's career is that he never was accepted to publish in 'De Woef' (www.woef.be), Belgium's leading dog magazine, despite his seminal publication on the role and significance of the African wild dog (*Lycaon pictus*) in Predynastic iconography (Hendrickx 2006, *The dog, the Lycaon pictus and order over chaos in Predynastic Egypt*). Another great man in Egyptology, George A. Reisner, did succeed in such a feat in the American equivalent of 'De Woef': REISNER, G.A., 1938. Ancient king gives dog a royal burial. *The American Kennel Gazette* 55(5): 7–9, 180–182.



Stan at Elkab in 1977 (left) and 2005 (right)
(© Belgian Archaeological Mission to Elkab).



The Elkab team in 1986. From left to right, top row: Hans Vandekerckhove, Dirk Huyge, Stan Hendrickx, Luc Limme; bottom row: Abdu Mahmud Ahmed Daud, Tayeb Mohamed Tayeb, Gabr Hussein Ali
(© Belgian Archaeological Mission to Elkab).



Stan with Prince Philippe of Belgium at Elkab in 1999
(© Belgian Archaeological Mission to Elkab).



Stan at the German excavation house in the
Dakhla Oasis (Photo by Frank Förster).

THE APACHE

LIEVE DE TROYER

No ... a prince on a white horse was never my intention. A wild Apache, yes, that is what I wanted. And on a beautiful day in 1978, sitting on a bar stool, not a horse, was the spitting image of my great hero Winnetou with flowing long black hair and sweet amber eyes. That evening we smoked the peace pipe and we have been together ever since. He became forever my wild Apache. Together we built our wigwam in faraway Werchter and had two beautiful daughters. His drive and passion for history and archaeology manifested itself very early on during our numerous trips and holidays with family and friends. No church or chapel, ruin or small-town museum escaped his eagle eye. Sand and sea ... forget it, that was for other people. His own office also bears witness to his zeal and perseverance: a true battlefield, in which even a cat cannot find her own cubs.¹ But for my dear husband, this chaos is a true pleasure and a place where he finds everything he needs without problems. Admirable! Even now that he is retired, he continues to work as never before. Family trees are thoroughly combed through, local historical societies are no longer safe, lectures in Belgium and abroad, deadlines for yet another article, international Skype conversations in French, German, and English. And let us not forget his excavations. Those truly are his elixir of life. After five weeks in Egypt I get back a man who is fully charged and sincerely happy, for which I thank the wonderful teams. It is my hope that he can continue to work for many more decades, and that he can remain the wonderful husband, father and grandfather that he is ... but, please, tidy up that desk!

¹ Literal translation of the Flemish “waar een kat haar eigen jongen niet in terugvindt”.



Lieve, Lisa, Stan, and Anne.

THAT'S OUR DAD

ANNE HENDRICKX

Our dad is anything but ordinary. It is only while growing up that you realise who your father really is. My sister and I thought it was perfectly normal for our dad to leave the country for several weeks every year, to wait for some postcards from a sandy country, and then in the end to collect a bronzed father at the airport. Souvenirs decorated the house throughout the year, until he left again for a few weeks. That's our dad.

Over the years we learned that he not only went to Egypt to get us the latest Cleopatra statue, but that he actually had something to say. While most of the vocabulary at home was of the *Urbanus*¹ humour variety, he presented at the same time the latest academic results at leading research institutions all over the world. When my mom, Lisa, and I went to New York with him and saw him speak there, we realised: that's our dad. At the same time, he guided us through all possible museums, whether we wanted him to or not. Like an animal in its habitat, he knew exactly what was made where and when, and especially why. Pictures were never just pictures, as he had learned from his favourite book by Eddy De Jongh.² Searching for meaning in the past, that is what he was after. All those years must somehow have set something in motion, because when I was 18 years old I chose to study history myself. For many years he enjoyed reading over my assignments and finally my thesis. That's our dad.

After years of getting by with limited Arabic vocabulary—largely consisting of 'alhamdulillah' and 'bukra fi'l mishmish'—he made the wise decision to join me for Arabic evening classes. Every Monday we first went out to dinner, during which I gave him a refresher lesson before he would not be able to follow again. Now he can impress the local villagers of Elkab and Dayr al-Barshā with a few fine words of Standard Arabic. *Hik abi*. I followed my father's example, and in his footsteps ended up in the Middle East, in Palestine. His interest in the local beer brewery at Taybeh was undoubtedly the main reason for his and my mother's holiday in the region, but his love for archaeology was also omnipresent there. While on the one hand he had dinner with our friend

¹ Flemish comedian.

² DE JONGH, E., 1995. *Kwesties van betekenis: Thema en motief in de Nederlandse schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw*. Leiden. An English translation appeared as DE JONGH, E., 2000. *Questions of meaning: Theme and motif in Dutch seventeenth-century painting*. Translated by M. Hoyle. Leiden.

Muhammad in the al-Jalazone refugee camp, he also quietly listened to his Israeli colleagues. That's our dad.

In turn, I also went to his area, to the excavations at Elkab and Dayr al-Barshā. Despite the busy work days there, he amply took the time to show me around. I saw on the walls of the excavation house at Elkab the drawings we had sent him as children so many years ago. History has beautiful twists, and no doubt Eddy De Jongh taught him the meaning of this. This slice of family history, in the middle of excavations into a distant past, shows what a wonderful father he is. That's our dad.

Retirement is only a stamp, because his interests keep him active. While his eternal passion for archaeology continues to occupy his time, he also delves into the history of Maaseik, expands his postcard collection of Werchter, and finally also shows himself to be a meticulous master in creating comic strips about and for his grandchildren. A true jack-of-all-trades if ever there was one, with much love for the past, but perhaps even more so for his family and the present. That's our dad.

SO, WHAT DOES YOUR DAD DO FOR A LIVING?

LISA HENDRICKX

So, what does your dad do for a living? A classic question among children. I always answered proudly: my dad is an archaeologist. That was invariably followed by a 'wow!'. In high school I dared to admit that my father also taught a bit: art history. The reactions to that were not always great, so I changed the answer to the question again to 'my dad plays a lot in the sand and makes little drawings.' Fortunately, I can now answer this question simply as 'my dad is retired, at least he pretends to be, because he still works.'

Dad's work and his passion for it were always omnipresent in my upbringing and youth. As a toddler of nearly two years old, I walked into the hospital with him to visit my new-born baby sister. Dad shone with pride when I was able to name some works of art in the hospital corridors, a talent that has now largely escaped me thirty years later, to dad's great shame. I even remember that as a toddler I loved looking at the images in books about ancient Egypt, Tutankhamun's mask of course being my favourite. When I was able to read letters and words a little later, it soon became clear that books like these were still too difficult for me. Fortunately, dad had a worthy alternative: comic books. We had hours of fun with his extensive comic book collection alongside his library of books about Egypt and Maaseik. Neighbours and friends were also welcome in our library, as long as we used cards to indicate which comic book had been borrowed. When we were teenagers, the comic books were moved to less accessible places to make more room for books about Egypt, Maaseik, art, etc.

It will therefore come as no surprise to anyone that dad is extremely happy with his version of a man cave: the office, the sanctuary of father Hendrickx, where he writes articles, makes PowerPoints, scans, types and does god knows what else. If mom, Anne and I had planned an evening in front of the TV, we invariably would have to yell if we wanted him to join us. He had his headphones on with appropriate music, which allowed him to completely cut himself off from the daily routines of the Hendrickx household. To scare him by suddenly tapping on his shoulder was our revenge. It was only when dad discovered the video game Tomb Raider that we were also glued to his PC. The fact that this was a game with an 'archaeologist' was sufficient for dad to make this pedagogically sound. We loved the giant spider, the dinosaur and the mansion of Lara Croft with her butler, but we ourselves hardly played because dad was better at it and we secretly found it all quite scary.

What our dad also always did better than any other dad was to help with homework. Not necessarily for the classic mathematics assignments, crafting or knitting, but especially when it came to oral presentations. Anne and I soon realised that Egypt and everything to do with history were easy subjects. My first presentation was with Marthe, one of my friends at the time, who did not have it easy at school. We used slides, photos, books and did our best to convey as well as possible what dad had explained to us. I think Marthe had never before achieved such brilliant results. We were proud as hell! I do not think it had escaped the teacher's notice though that we had received some help. A few years later, dad was asked to give a talk for the upperclassmen. Tom Bastin, son of the local carpenter, was very enthusiastic and wanted to ask a question, but the stand-in teacher kept ignoring him, whether consciously or not. Unsurprisingly, a few doors were skewed by father Bastin at our home. Fortunately, they were able to make up for it a few decades later when they discovered their shared passion for Werchter postcards.

In addition to being a well-known figure in Werchter, dad is also a true citizen of the world. While he would attend conferences several times a year, he experienced his highlights as a tourist with his wife and daughters. When we were little, this was generally limited to a cultural outing to some museum in Belgium, but we also went on city trips to Paris and New York. Our annual holidays included at least one day of culture as well. For me, the most beautiful holiday is still the trip to Egypt. Admittedly, in the beginning I was not so keen on this trip: I was in my first year of high school and during the Easter break a trip to Spain was planned. I was not allowed to go, but 'had to' come along to Egypt instead. However, I had a great time with my sister, Annelies and "the oldies." Dad was not only a concerned father, but also our guide, interpreter, tour operator and hero. Thanks to him we saw places that many people do not even know existed, and we always got factual and interesting information. What should have been the highlight for me, the tomb of Tutankhamun, was a bit of a disappointment, but the visit to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo with the funerary mask was fabulous... or was it the cool air inside at the time that made the impression?

At home or abroad, Anne and I can always count on the unconditional support of our parents. What do you want to be when you grow up, *Liske*? What are you going to study, *Flippe*? Have you made up your mind already? Why yes, I want to become a teacher! And, so, dad approved of my idea for an education as a primary school teacher. Here too I was able to make use of his passion for art, culture and history on several occasions. A number of portfolios were proofread and corrected by him, and accurate tables of content and source references were entirely his merit. When I had to design a city walk for children, we went to Maaseik with dad and grandma, which led to a magnificent result. During an internship with children with a disability, dad came to talk

about Egypt, which these children will certainly remember for a long time. Also going forward, he will often be brought in to teach the current generation of children. Not in the least my own children. When Jeff was in his second year of primary school, the question of professions came up. And what does your dad do? My dad is a painter, but my granddad is an archaeologist! And just like that, a visit by *Tonneke*¹ to the primary school of Werchter in 2017 was a fact.

There is no denying that *Tonneke* is a very proud *Tonneke*, especially when Jeff discovered that not all figures on the Narmer Palette have calf muscles. This was a great observation that *Tonneke* himself had not made before. It was spoken about it with great pride at one of the many conferences. Another highlight came when I first brought a child into the world and gave him the name Stan. Like a real Nostradamus, dad claimed to have already known this. The next oracle he predicted was a granddaughter who finally would pay attention to him instead of to the beautiful blond pearls of our family. And so, it happened that Nel was born, *Tonneke*'s best friend. "Where is *Tonneke*'s belly?" remains her favourite game. With a lot of love, *Tonneke* currently tells his grandchildren the biggest nonsense. I am looking forward to all the moments when he can help them in the same way he did for me and my sister. Dad is an archaeologist, draughtsman, storyteller, playmate, loyal friend, in short, the best!

¹ Nickname for Stan. 'Tonneke' is Flemish for a small beer barrel, which is appropriately also how Jeff calls his grandfather, Stanneke.

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Boorkop: 192 (no. 79).

Cilindervormige schijnvaas: 197 (no. 86).

Cilindervormige vaas: 195 (no. 84).

Cilindervormige vaas: 196 (no. 85).

Fragment van een stenen vaas: 193 (no. 81).

Knotshoofd: 186 (no. 67).

Mes: 185 (no. 62).

Onafgewerkte schaal: 199 (no. 91).

Ruitvormig palet met ingesneden voorstelling van een olifant: 186 (no. 66).

Schaal: 200 (no. 92).

Stenen vaas in de vorm van een veldfles: 194 (no. 83).

Stuk kalksteen met proefboringen: 193 (no. 80).

Vaasje voor cosmetica: 194 (no. 82).

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Couteau: 185 (no. 62).

Fragment d'un vase en pierre: 193 (no. 81).

Mandrin: 192 (no. 79).

Morceau de pierre calcaire avec perforations expérimentales: 193 (no. 80).

Palette en forme de losange, sculptée d'un éléphant: 186 (no. 66).

Plat: 200 (no. 92).

Plat inachevé: 199 (no. 91).

Pot à cosmétique: 194 (no. 82).

Vase cylindrique: 195 (no. 84).

Vase cylindrique: 196 (no. 85).

Vase cylindrique peu évidé: 197 (no. 86).

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 Amuletten – Amulettes: 38–39, 41 (nos 12–20).
 Black-topped” vaas – Vase à bord noir: 34–35 (no. 1).
 Black-topped” vaas – Vase à bord noir: 34–35 (no. 2).
 Black-topped” vaas – Vase à bord noir: 34–37 (no. 3).
 Geometrische schminkpaletten – Palettes à fard géométriques: 36–37 (nos 5–6).
 Knotshoofden en gewichten (?) – Massues et poids (?): 38–43 (nos 21–25).
 Kom – Coupe: 46–47 (no. 39).
 Schminkpaletten in de vorm van vissen – Palettes à fard en forme de poisson: 36–40 (nos 7–11).
 Stenen vaas – Vase en pierre: 44–46 (no. 38).
 Stenen vaas – Vase en pierre: 46–47, 49 (no. 41).
 Stenen vaas – Vase en pierre: 48–49 (no. 42).
 Stenen vaatwerk – Vases en pierre: 42–45 (nos 27–32).
 Stenen vaatwerk – Vases en pierre: 44–45 (nos 33–37).
 Stenen vaatwerk – Vases en pierre: 48–49 (nos 43–47).
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Amfoor: 184–185 (no. 68).

Amfoor met Griekse tekst: 186–187 (no. 71).

Amfoor met tekst betreffende rekening voor wijn: 186–187 (no. 70).

Barbotine vaas: 181 (no. 63).

Bes-kruik: 191 (no. 77).

Drinkkommetje versierd met plantenmotief: 190 (no. 76).

Dromedaris met lading amforen: 192 (no. 78).

Fles met geometrische versiering: 190 (no. 75).

Kanthalos: 182–183 (no. 64).

Kanthalos: 182–183 (no. 65).

Kookpot: 184 (no. 67).

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Schaal met opgezette versiering: 180 (no. 61).

St. Menas-flesje: 180 (no. 60).

Vaas versierd met gestileerde druiven: 188 (no. 73).

Versierde kom: 186 (no. 72).

Versierde voorraadkruik: 189 (no. 74).

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Bol: 135 (no. 27).

Coupe: 118 (no. 10).

Coupe: 145 (no. 35).

Couteau: 128, 130 (no. 22).

Couteau en silex « ripple flake »: 128–129 (no. 21).

Essais de forage ? : 120 (no. 12).

Fragment en forme de pilier *djed*: 141 (no. 31).

Fragments d'objet en forme de palmier: 139–140 (no. 30).

Meule-foret: 119 (no. 11).

Palette à fard en forme d'éléphant: 133 (no. 25).

Palette à fard en forme de quadrupède: 132 (no. 24).

Petite coupe fragmentaire: 144 (no. 34).

Petite vase cylindrique: 142 (no. 32).

Petite vase cylindrique: 143 (no. 33).

Silex figuratif: 131 (no. 23).

Vase ovoïde: 134 (no. 26).

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Bouteille de Saint Menas: 180 (no. 60).

Canthare: 182–183 (no. 64).

Canthare: 182–183 (no. 65).

Coupe: 182 (no. 66).

Coupe à décoration estampée: 181 (no. 62).

Coupe décorée: 186 (no. 72).

Cruche à provision décorée: 189 (no. 74).

Cruche Bes: 191 (no. 77).

Dromadaire avec un chargement d'amphores: 192 (no. 78).

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 Cône de scellement avec empreintes de sceau au nom de *Peribsen*: 121–122 (no. 66).
 Coupe *White Cross-lined*: 101–102 (no. 39).
 Coupe *White Cross-lined*: 103 (no. 41).
 Coupe *White Cross-lined*: 103–104 (no. 42).
 Coupe *White Cross-lined* à décor végétal: 104 (no. 43).
 Étiquette inscrite: 161–162 (no. 127).
 Jarre: 118–119 (no. 63).
 Jarre « à vin »: 120–121 (no. 65).
 Jarre avec passoire: 118 (no. 62).
 Jarre de stockage en céramique à dégraissant végétal: 117–118 (no. 61).
 Jarre *Decorated*: 114–115 (no. 56).
 Jarre *Wavy-handled*: 115 (no. 57).
 Jarre *Wavy-handled* décorée de lignes ondulées: 116 (no. 58).
 Tesson avec graffito en forme de *serekh*: 119–120 (no. 64).
 Vase *Black-topped*: 99–100 (no. 35).
 Vase *Black-topped*: 100 (no. 36).
 Vase *Black-topped*: 100–101 (no. 37).
 Vase *Black-topped*: 101 (no. 38).

- Vase Decorated*: 106 (no. 47).
Vase Decorated: 107 (no. 48).
Vase Decorated: 113 (no. 52).
Vase Decorated globulaire / *Vase Decorated* globulaire / *Vase Decorated* globulaire: 113–114 (nos 53–55).
Vase Fancy: 105–106 (no. 46).
Vase Red-polished / *Vase Red-polished*: 104–105 (nos 44–45).
Vase Wavy-handled / *Vase Wavy-handled* à décor de filet ocre rouge: 116–117 (nos 59–60).
Vase Wavy-handled à décor de type *Decorated* / *Vase Wavy-handled* à décor de type *Decorated*: 108–113 (nos 50–51).
Vase White Cross-lined: 102–103 (no. 40).
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- Bol: 308.
 Bol: 309.
 Bol: 310–311.
 Bol: 310–311.
 Bol: 328–329.
 Bol: 329.
 Bol à goulot cylindrique: 318.
 Bol biconique: 327–328.
 Bouchon de vase: 338.
 Coupe: 316–317.
 Coupe: 316–317.
 Coupe: 316–317.
 Couteau: 278.
 Grand plateau: 324.
 Grand vase cylindrique: 319.
 Grand vase cylindrique: 320.
 Grand vase cylindrique: 330.
 Grattoir sur lame de silex: 279.
 Petit vase: 329–330.
 Petit vase: 332.
 Petit vase à khôl: 332.
 Petit vase à khôl: 337.
 Petit vase cylindrique: 321.
 Petit vase cylindrique: 321.
 Petit vase cylindrique: 322.
 Petit vase cylindrique: 322.
 Petit vase cylindrique: 323.
 Petit vase cylindrique: 323.
 Petite aiguière: 338.
 Plat: 312–313.
 Plat: 312–313.
 Plat: 312–313.
 Plat: 314–315.
 Plat: 314–315.
 Profils de récipients: 453–457.
 Silex en forme de scorpion: 52–53.
 Vase à anses tubulaires: 307.
 Vase biconique: 331.
 Vase cylindrique: 326.
 Vase cylindrique: 331.
 Vase en deux parties assemblées: 326.

- Vase ovoïde: 327.
 Vase ovoïde à anses: 325.
 Vasque du roi Den: 305–306.
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 Beaker: 42 (no. 21).
 Beaker: 42 (no. 22).
 Bottle: 44 (no. 28).
 Bouteille: 104 (no. 148).
 Bouteille: 104–105 (no. 150).
 Bowl: 42 (no. 23).
 Bowl: 43 (no. 24).
 Bowl: 43 (no. 25).
 Bowl: 43 (no. 26).
 Bowl with two legs: 43–44 (no. 27).
 Cup: 44 (no. 29).
 Cup: 44 (no. 30).
 Cylindrical jar: 46 (no. 36).
 Cylindrical jar: 46 (no. 37).
 Cylindrical jar: 47 (no. 38).
 Decorated jar: 47 (no. 39).
 Decorated jar: 47 (no. 40).
 Decorated jar: 47–48 (no. 41).
 Decorated squat jar: 48 (no. 42).
 Jar: 45 (no. 31).
 Jar: 45 (no. 32).
 Jar: 45 (no. 33).
 Jar: 45–46 (no. 34).
 Jar: 46 (no. 35).
 Jarre: 103 (no. 145).
 Jarre: 104 (no. 149).
 Meidum bowl: 103–104 (no. 146).
 Meidum bowl: 104 (no. 147).
 Oval jar: 48 (no. 43).
 Small jar: 48 (no. 44).
 Small jar: 49 (no. 45).
 Small jar with lug handles: 49 (no. 46).
 Small storage jar: 50 (no. 50).
 Storage jar: 49 (no. 47).
 Storage jar: 49–50 (no. 48).
 Storage jar: 50 (no. 49).
 Water or beer jar: 50 (no. 51).
 Water or beer jar: 51 (no. 52).
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Ä&L	Ägypten und Levante
ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
AAR	African Archaeological Review
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament. Studien zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments
ACE	Australian Centre for Egyptology
AH	Aegyptiaca Helvetica
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AnSoc	Ancient Society
APF	Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete
ASAE	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte
ASE	Archaeological Survey of Egypt
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
AV	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
BACE	Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BdÉ	Bibliothèque d'Étude de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale
BCÉ	Bulletin de Liaison de la Céramique égyptienne
BÉC	Bulletin de Liaison du Groupe international d'Étude de la Céramique égyptienne
BES	Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar
BIE	Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BKMKG/BMRAH	Bulletin van de Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis/ Bulletin des Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire
BMMA	Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art
BMPES	British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan
BMSAES	British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan
BÖN	Berichte des Österreichischen Nationalkomitees der UNESCO- Aktion für die Rettung der Nubischen Altertümer
BSAE	British School of Archaeology in Egypt
BSFÉ	Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie
CAA	Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum
CAENL	Contributions to the Archaeology of Egypt, Nubia and the Levant
CASAÉ	Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Cahier
CCdÉ	Cahiers Caribéens d'Égyptologie
CCÉ	Cahiers de la Céramique égyptienne
CCEM	Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean
CdÉ	Chronique d'Égypte
CENiM	Cahiers « Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne »

CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CMAA	Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology
CRAIBL	Comptes rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
CRIPPEL	Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille
DE	Discussions in Egyptology
DOPM	Dakhleh Oasis Project Monograph
DGÖAW	Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie
EA	Egyptian Archaeology
EDAL	Egyptian and Egyptological Documents, Archives and Libraries
EES EM	Egypt Exploration Society. Excavation Memoirs
EES OP	Egypt Exploration Society. Occasional Publication
EPM	Egyptian Prehistory Monographs
ERA	Egyptian Research Account
EVO	Egitto e Vicino Oriente
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale
FÉRE	Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth
GM	Göttinger Miszellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion
GM/B	Göttinger Miszellen. Beihefte
GOF	Göttinger Orientforschungen. 4. Reihe: Ägypten
HÄB	Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge
HAS	Harvard African Studies
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik. 1. Abteilung: Der Nahe und der Mittlere Osten
HES	Harvard Egyptological Studies
HOS	Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section 1: Ancient Near East
IBAES	Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie
JAA	Journal of African Archaeology
JAEL	Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections
JANEH	Journal of Ancient Near Eastern History
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt
JAS	Journal of Archaeological Science
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JEH	Journal of Egyptian History
JEOL	Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch genootschap Ex Oriente Lux
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JÖAI	Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes
JSSEA	Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities
JWP	Journal of World Prehistory
LdÄ	HELCK, W. & OTTO, E. (eds), 1975–1992. <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> . Wiesbaden
MA	Monumenta Aegyptiaca
MÄS	Münchener Ägyptologische Studien
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
MEEF	Egypt Exploration Fund Memoirs
MEES	Egypt Exploration Society Memoirs

MIE	Mémoires de l'Institut d'Égypte
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale
MKS	Middle Kingdom Studies
MMJ	Metropolitan Museum Journal
MRÉ	Monographies Reine Élisabeth
MVEOL	Mededelingen en verhandelingen van het Voorzatisch-Egyptisch genootschap Ex Oriente Lux
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OIMP	University of Chicago. Oriental Institute Museum Publications
OINE	University of Chicago. Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition
OIP	University of Chicago. Oriental Institute Publications
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLP	Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica
OMRO	Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden
PAM	Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean
PdÄ	Probleme der Ägyptologie
PMMA	Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Egyptian Expedition
PNAS	Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America
PSBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
RAPH	Recherches d'Archéologie, de Philologie et d'Histoire
RdÉ	Revue d'Égyptologie
RecTrav	Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes
SAA	Studies in African Archaeology
SAGA	Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SARS	Sudan Archaeological Research Society Publication
SCO	Studi Classici et Orientali
SDAIK	Sonderschriften des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
SSR	Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion
TAVO	Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients
TTS	Theban Tomb Series
<i>Urk.</i>	Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums, Leipzig
USE	Uppsala Studies in Egyptology
UZK	Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes
<i>Wb</i>	ERMAN, A. & GRAPOW, H. (eds), 1926–1961. <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> . Leipzig
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orientalgesellschaft
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
YEP	Yale Egyptological Publications
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

