



ARCHÉO-NIL

Revue de la société pour l'étude des cultures prépharaoniques de la vallée du Nil

La violence II

numéro
31
Septembre 2021



65 bis, rue Galande 75005 PARIS

BUREAU

Président :

Yann Tristant

Présidente d'honneur :

Béatrix Midant-Reynes

Vice-président :

Dominique Farout

Secrétaire :

Marie-Noël Bellessort

Trésorière :

Laëtitia Maggio

COMITÉ DE RÉDACTION

Directrice de publication :

Béatrix Midant-Reynes

Rédacteur en chef :

Yann Tristant

COMITÉ SCIENTIFIQUE

John Baines

Laurent Bavy

Charles Bonnet

Nathalie Buchez

Isabella Caneva

Josep Cervelló Autuori

Laurent Coulon

Éric Crubézy

Marc Étienne

Renée Friedman

Maria Gatto

Nicolas Grimal

Ulrich Hartung

Stan Hendrickx

Christiana Köhler

Bernard Mathieu

Dimitri Meeks

Catherine Perlès

Pierre Tallet

Dominique Valbelle

Pierre Vermeersch

Pascal Vernus

SIÈGE SOCIAL

Abs. Cabinet d'égyptologie

Collège de France

Place Marcelin-Berthelot

75005 Paris (France)

ADRESSE POSTALE

Archéo-Nil

abs / Marie-Noël Bellessort

11, rue Gabrielle d'Estrées

92170 Vanves (France)

COURRIEL :

secretariat@archeonil.fr

COTISATIONS

Membre étudiant : 25 €

Membres titulaires : 40 €

Membres bienfaiteurs :

50 € et plus

Membres donateur :

100 € et plus

MAQUETTE

Anne Toui Aubert



PHOTO DE COUVERTURE

Michel Gurfinkel

Tous droits de reproduction
réservés.

LISTE DES AUTEURS

Lucas BAQUE-MANZANO

Unitat de Recerca Egiptològica (URE)

Institut del Pròxim Orient Antic,

Universitat de Barcelona (IPOA-UB)

Gran Via Corts Catalanes, 585

08007 Barcelone (Espagne)

lucbaque@gmail.com

Pablo BARBA

Institute of Archaeology

University College London

31-34 Gordon Square, Bloomsbury

London WC1H 0PY (Royaume Uni)

tcnnpba@ucl.ac.uk

Elizabeth BRICE

Department of History and

Archaeology

25B Wally's Walk

Macquarie University

Sydney (Australie)

elizabeth.brice@hdr.mq.edu.au

Nathalie BUCHEZ

Inrap, UMR 5608 TRACES

Inrap Hauts-de-France

32, avenue de l'Etoile du Sud

80440 Glisy (France)

nathalie.buchez@inrap.fr

Xavier DROUX

Fondation Gandur pour l'Art, Genève

University of Geneva

Department of Genetics and

Evolution, Anthropology Unit

12, rue Michel-Servet

CH-1206 Genève (Suisse)

x.droux@fg-art.org

Julie GEREZ

juliegerez@yahoo.fr

Samuel GUERIN

Inrap, UMR 8164 HALMA

Inrap Hauts-de-France

Centre Archéologique de Passel,

Parc d'Activités

Avenue du parc

60400 Passel (France)

samuel.guerin@inrap.fr

Alice LEPLONGEON

KU Leuven

Department of Archaeology

Geology, Leuven (Arenberg)

Celestijnenlaan 200e - box 2409

3001 Leuven (Belgique)

alice.leplongeon@kuleuven.be

Sebastián Francisco MAYDANA

Instituto de Historia Antigua Oriental

"Dr. Abraham Rosenvasser"

Universidad de Buenos Aires

Buenos Aires (Argentine)

maydanasf@gmail.com

Béatrix MIDANT-REYNES

CNRS, UMR 5608 TRACES

Maison de la Recherche

5, allée Antonio-Machado

31058 Toulouse Cedex 09 (France)

bmidantreynes@yahoo.fr

Mathilde MINOTTI

UMR 5608 TRACES

Université de Toulouse 2 Jean Jaurès

Maison de la Recherche Bât 26

5, allée Antonio MACHADO

31058 Toulouse Cedex 9 (France)

mathilde_minotti@hotmail.com

Keita TAKENOUCHI

Japan Society for the Promotion of
Science

Greenhills 101, Haramachi 3-59

162-0053 Shinjuku-ku

Tokyo (Japon)

takenouchi.keita@gmail.com

Yann TRISTANT

Department of History and

Archaeology

Macquarie University

Sydney (Australie)

yann.tristant@mq.edu.au

Julie VILLAEYS

Université Paris-Sorbonne

Paris (France)

julie.villaeys@hotmail.fr

Archéo-Nil est une revue internationale et pluridisciplinaire à comité de lecture (« peer review ») dans le respect des normes internationales de journaux scientifiques. Tout article soumis pour publication est examiné par au moins deux spécialistes de renommée internationale reconnue dans le domaine de la préhistoire ou de l'archéologie égyptienne. L'analyse est effectuée sur une base anonyme (le nom de l'auteur ne sera pas communiqué aux examinateurs ; les noms des examinateurs ne seront pas communiqués à l'auteur).

Archéo-Nil uses a double-blind peer-review process. When you submit a paper for peer review, the journal's editors will choose technical reviewers, who will evaluate the extent to which your paper meets the criteria for publication and provide constructive feedback on how you could improve it.

Sommaire du n° 31

5 Introduction

par Béatrix Midant-Reynes

Dossier: la violence II

13 Objectual violence: some remarks on deliberate pottery fragmentation from Predynastic Egypt

par Pablo Barba

29 The Conqueror of the Riverline: on a Four-Legged White Cross-Lined Predynastic Bowl from the *Museo Egizio* (S.1825), Turin

par Lucas Baqué-Manzano

41 Chiefs, bound captives, and harpooned hippopotamuses: an exceptional unpublished C-ware vessel in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (inv. 900.2.13)

par Xavier Droux

61 Bringing the desert to the Nile: Some thoughts on a Predynastic terracotta model

par Sebastián Francisco Maydana

Études et essais

83 Forming the herd: A re-examination of Predynastic bovine figurines from settlement contexts

par Elizabeth Brice

111 The emergence of mudbrick architecture in Egypt in the 4th millennium BCE. Reflection based on recent discoveries at Tell el-Iswid (Eastern Delta)

par Nathalie Buchez, Julie Gerez, Samuel Guerin & Mathilde Minotti

- 135 Technical choices and processes of stone vessel manufacture under the reign of king Den: evidence from the Cemetery M at Abu Rawash

par Keita Takenouchi

Lectures

- 160 À propos de Jessie Cauliez & Xavier Gutherz (eds.), *Djibouti, des paysages et des Hommes. Regards sur le patrimoine archéologique du lac Abhé*, Éditions du CERD, Djibouti, 2020, 216 p., préface d'Yves Coppens, ISBN 978-2-95650-232-6.

par Béatrix Midant-Reynes

- 161 À propos d'Elena A.A. Garcea, *The Prehistory of the Sudan*, Springer Briefs in Archaeology, Contributions from Africa, Springer Nature Switzerland AG, Cham, 2020, XVII + 196 pages (<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-47185-9>)

par Alice Leplongeon

- 162 À propos de Willem van Haarlem, *Temple Deposits in Early Dynastic Egypt. The case of Tell Ibrahim Awad*, BAR International Series 2931, BAR Publishing, Oxford, 2019, 227 pages, 10 tables, 91 figures (16 en couleur), 41 planches, ISBN 978-1407-35367-8

par Yann Tristant

- 164 À propos de Claudia Lacher-Raschdorff, *Umm el-Qaab VIII. Das Grab des Königs Peribsen. Archäologie und Architektur*, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts 128, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2020, 132 pages, 29 figures, 25 planches en couleur, 5 plans hors format, ISBN 978-3-447-11344-1.

par Yann Tristant

- 165 À propos d'Alice Stevenson & Joris van Wetering (eds.), *The Many Histories of Naqada. Archaeology and Heritage in an Upper Egyptian Region*, GHP Egyptology 32, Golden House Publications, Londres, 2020, XVIII + 171 pages, ISBN 978-1906137694.

par Yann Tristant

- 167 À propos de Jean-Louis Georget, Philippe Grosos & Richard Kuba (eds.), *L'avant et l'ailleurs. Comparatisme, ethnologie et préhistoire*, Éditions du Cerf – Cerf Patrimoines, Paris, 2020, 371 pages, 99 figures, ISBN 978-2-204-13477-4.

par Julie Villaeys

Chiefs, bound captives, and harpooned hippopotamuses: an exceptional unpublished C-ware vessel in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (inv. 900.2.13)

Xavier Droux¹, Fondation Gandur pour l'Art, Genève & University of Geneva,
Department of Genetics and Evolution, Anthropology Unit, Geneva, Switzerland

This article presents a Predynastic C-ware beaker currently in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (inv. 900.2.13). The exterior is decorated with two mirrored scenes containing an exceptional series of bound captives under the domination of two 'victorious figures', as well as several tassel-like motifs which we propose to (re)interpret as powerfacts perhaps representing flails, an artefact common in later royal iconography that has not previously been identified prior to the time of king Narmer. On the interior, the beaker is decorated with two depictions of hunted hippopotamuses set among geometric designs.

In modern times, a missing piece of the beaker was replaced with a sherd from a different C-ware vessel with decoration that doesn't match the rest of the vessel, a phenomenon never encountered before in the corpus of C-ware vessels, which inadvertently

proves the authenticity of the beaker and of its fascinating decoration.

Cet article présente un gobelet prédynastique de la classe C-ware de la collection du Musée Royal de l'Ontario à Toronto (inv. 900.2.13). Sa surface extérieure est décorée de deux scènes similaires et symétriques contenant une exceptionnelle série de prisonniers attachés, placés sous le contrôle de deux 'vainqueurs' ainsi que de plusieurs motifs qui ressemblent à une houppes. Nous proposons de (ré)interpréter ces houppes comme des powerfacts représentant peut-être le flagellum, un objet fréquent dans l'iconographie royale de la période historique qui n'a jusqu'à présent jamais été identifié avant le règne de Narmer. À l'intérieur du gobelet, on voit deux représentations d'hippopotames frappés d'un harpon parmi un décor d'ordre géométrique.

1. We thank the anonymous reviewers of the first version of this article for their time and suggestions.

À l'époque moderne, une partie manquante du gobelet a été remplacée par un fragment provenant d'un autre vase peint de la classe C-ware dont la décoration ne correspond pas au reste du gobelet. C'est la seule occurrence connue parmi les vases peints de ce type, qui a en outre l'avantage de confirmer de façon fortuite l'authenticité de la pièce et de son décor remarquable.

C-ware vessels are characteristic artefacts of Naqada IA–IIB. Their decoration painted in creamy white contrasts markedly against the shiny red-polished background; it is often geometric, with triangles and chevrons being the most recurrent motifs. Petrie was the first to put together a wide corpus of C-ware vessels,² based primarily on the results of his own excavations at Naqada and in the region of Diospolis Parva. He listed 163 examples that are unfortunately only illustrated by small, post-stamp-sized drawings and without information about the archaeological context or provenance.



Fig. 1
Beaker Toronto
900.2.13.
Courtesy of the
Royal Ontario
Museum
© ROM.

Our knowledge of this class of objects was greatly enhanced by Graff's catalogue of painted predynastic pottery,³ which lists 192 vessels. Graff includes better illustrations than was previously available, together with a wealth of information regarding provenance and current collections, among other data. My own research has allowed me to extend this catalogue to over 880 C-ware vessels and fragments.⁴ It is now possible to see that these artefacts, though still a fairly rare occurrence at any archaeological site, occupied a greater place in the material culture of Naqada IA–IIB than previously envisaged.

There is only a minority of C-ware vessels that can be considered to have figurative decoration, although a number of geometric decorations do also incorporate vegetal elements, such as a single branch or plant. Therefore, new additions to the corpus of figurative decoration are always exciting and help us to better understand the meanings that such vessels and the painted motifs carried for the Predynastic Egyptians.⁵

Not all discoveries come from new excavation: in the summer of 2018, I had the opportunity to study a hitherto unpublished example held by the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (ROM; inv. 900.2.13, *Ponda* C-0775).⁶ The painted motifs are poorly preserved, but close examination permits a reconstruction of the decorative scheme almost in its entirety: it consists of an exceptional series of captives and two victorious figures on the exterior of the vessel and of two harpooned hippopotamuses on its interior. A few additional designs, including tassel-like motifs, complete the decoration.

2. Petrie 1921.

3. Graff 2009.

4. This corpus will progressively be made available from the autumn 2021 as the first published part of the *Predynastic Online Database* (hereafter *Ponda*; see www.ponda.org).

5. See e.g., Navajas 2012; Droux 2016.

6. I would like to express my gratitude to Pr Krzysztof Grzyski, Senior Curator and to Cheryl Nairn, Collection Technician, for permission to study the Predynastic painted vessels held by the Department of Art and Culture at the ROM in June 2018. This vessel is now accessible on the ROM online catalogue.

Most surprisingly, what looks like a near-complete vessel today does in fact incorporate a C-ware sherd (*Ponda* C-0880) from a different vessel. The reason for this odd occurrence is no doubt to be found in the modern history of the object. The Predynastic collection of the ROM contains twenty-three C-ware vessels, of which no less than twenty were sourced together in 1900. These were bought from the antiquities dealer Muhammad Mohassib⁷ by Charles Trick Currelly together with forty-eight other antiquities: the beaker under consideration here was part of this purchase. The information provided by the dealer at the time indicated that all these pieces were excavated in a single burial near Qena. However, this cannot be true since there are, beside the C-ware vessels, a number of pieces that are, not of the same time period, including D-ware vessels.⁸ The discrepancy between recorded information and objects, and therefore the lack of secure archaeological provenance, raise the question of the authenticity of the pieces: the early purchase date – less than five years after Petrie's excavations at Naqada,⁹ when the first C-ware vessels were documented in archaeological context – suggests that they are unlikely to be forgeries. As for the beaker 900.2.13 specifically, the inclusion of an extraneous sherd to fill what was probably deemed to be an unseemly gap by the dealer definitely proves the authenticity of both the vessel and its decoration. Indeed, a sherd of appropriate shape and painted on both sides was chosen in order to match the rest of the vessel. Its decoration is also poorly

preserved, so that it doesn't stand out too obviously against the beaker, and only a detailed examination shows that the diameter of the vessel it originated from was slightly smaller than the beaker's diameter. The dealer was most likely motivated by mercantile motives – a seemingly complete vessel was certainly more valuable. But in filling the gap in such a way, he also unwittingly proved the authenticity of the beaker and its decoration and inadvertently brought to our attention the existence of an otherwise unknown painted vessel.

The vessel and its decoration

The squat beaker belongs to the C-ware class; it is made of Nile silt (Nile B) with fine organic inclusions. It rests on a flat base (D. 8.5 cm) and has slightly bulging walls and a flaring rim (D. 19.1 cm; height: 13.1 cm).¹⁰ It is well polished, and the exterior and upper interior are coated in a thorough, red haematite slip, including the base; the bottom of the interior surface of the vessel was left uncoated. The decoration was applied in thick off-white paint that has flaked off and faded for the most part.

The beaker consists of several pieces that were glued back together, with a significant gap partly filled by the inclusion of the extraneous fragment (see below) and plaster (?) filling. The surface is heavily damaged, scratched, and eroded in parts, especially along the break lines. In many places, traces of the painted designs can, however, be detected as buff lines that

7. Bierbrier 2012: 376-7.

8. C. Nairn, pers. comm. In the absence of secure information about the provenance of the purchased objects, even the group of 20 C-ware vessels cannot be considered to come from a single burial. To date, as far as can be determined, the tomb with the largest number of C-ware vessels among its assemblage was tomb N1621 at Naqada, with six C-ware vessels (see www.ponda.org); a tomb with twenty objects of this class would be highly unexpected.

9. Petrie & Quibell 1896.

10. The ratio between maximum diameter and height gives a Vessel Index V_i 147. Open vessels with a V_i between 110–160 are here termed 'squat beakers' (equivalent to Gefäßklasse 5 'Näpfe' in Hartmann's typology (2016: I, 86-7); this name is not based on nor does it indicate the assumed function of the vessel. For a similar shape, see C32N (Ashmolean Museum AN 1896-1908 E.2780; Petrie 1921: pl. XXII; *Ponda* C-0151); its height is the same as that of the Toronto vessel, but its diameter is ca. 2 cm narrower.

Fig. 2

Beaker Toronto
900.2.13.
Detail of exterior
decoration
showing the
beginning of both
left and right
scenes, with the
two 'chiefs' ①
and ⑬, as well
as the shortest,
bound captives ②
and ⑫.

Photograph and traced
drawing by the author.



Fig. 3

Beaker Toronto
900.2.13.
Detail of exterior
decoration
showing part
of the left
scene, with tall
'chief' ①, the
pair of bound
captives ②-③,
and two medium
sized figures ④-⑤
(from left to right).

Photograph and traced
drawing by the author.



Fig. 4

Beaker Toronto
900.2.13.
Detail of exterior
decoration
showing part
of the left scene,
with short bound
captive ③ and
medium-sized
④-⑦ (from left
to right).

Photograph and traced
drawing by the author.



Fig. 5

Beaker Toronto
900.2.13.
Detail of exterior
decoration
showing the
connection
between the left
and right scenes,
with captives
⑥-⑦ (left) and
⑩-⑧ (right hand-
side, from right
to left).

Photograph and traced
drawing by the author.





Fig. 6
Beaker Toronto 900.2.13. Detail of exterior decoration showing part of the right scene, with medium-sized captives ⑩-⑨, the pair of short bound captives ⑫-⑪, and the tall 'chief' ⑬. The extraneous sherd is visible above the figures ⑩-⑪.
Photograph and traced drawing by the author.



Fig. 7
Beaker Toronto 900.2.13. Interior decoration in top view. The extraneous sherd is visible in bottom right.
Photograph and traced drawing by the author.

contrast against the shiny background (see Figs 2a–7a), so that most of the original decoration can be reconstructed (Figs 2b–7b & 8).¹¹ However, one must be careful not to include some buff traces that result from the application of glue used for mending,¹² nor what appears to be added white details over red-coloured gap-filling material.¹³

Decoration on the exterior

The exterior of the beaker is decorated with an exceptional series of thirteen human figures.¹⁴ They have been depicted in three different sizes instead of the usual two¹⁵, despite belonging only to two categories of people: the tallest are to be considered as 'victorious figures' or 'chiefs', and all the others as captives. As is usual for C-ware

11. During my visit at the ROM, I had the opportunity to make a draft of the decoration and to take photographs from twelve different angles, each time taking several shots with a tripod, shining light from a variety of directions. Since I could not trace the decoration directly on the vessel in order to produce an epigraphically accurate drawing, I resorted to tracing all visible details from the photographs, clearly indicating where paint actually remain and where buff traces are still visible (Figs. 2b–7b). The rolled-out drawing (Fig. 8) was produced by illustrator Capucine Matti from the traced drawings. Unfortunately, I haven't had the opportunity to collate my drawings and verify them with the original beaker, so that there may be some errors and details that are not as precise as desired.

12. See esp. by the vertical break over the 'chief' on the right scene ⑬ (see Fig. 2a).

13. See esp. part of the front leg of the 'chief' on the left scene ① (see Fig. 2a) and over breaks in the interior of the vessel (see Fig. 7a).

14. Only the C-ware vessel from tomb U-239 at Abydos shows a larger group of human figures; see Table 1, no. 4.

15. For an overview of some vessels with human figures, see Graff 2004.

art, the decoration is not narrative in nature nor a realistic rendering of reality; it is on the contrary heavily imbued with symbolism.¹⁶

The figures can be divided into two scenes that mirror one another¹⁷ but are nevertheless interlinked. The only clear divide is to be found between the chiefs (①, ⑬), who are placed back to back facing opposite directions, each presiding over one of the scenes. They each stand in front of a pair of the smallest figures (②-③, ⑫-⑪); these characters face one another and are bound at the neck by a rope attached to a vertical pole erected between them. Next come four (④-⑦, left scene) and three (⑩-⑧, right scene) figures of intermediate size. Figures ⑤-⑥ and ⑨ all face right and have a line protruding from their neck. These lines represent a rope that visibly loops around the neck. The arm that one would expect to detect to the right of captive ⑤ is missing; in addition, there is a small loop painted by the wrist of his left arm, so that his arms are likely shown tied behind his back in profile rather than frontally. Figures ⑦-⑧ form a third pair of captives; they face each other and are bound by the neck to a pole¹⁸ placed vertically between them, thus exactly mirroring the two pairs of the shortest captives. Further, this group links the two scenes together, with the pole serving as a virtual division line. These examples clearly show that despite the artist's decision to adopt a small and a medium size for these figures, they should all be considered as captives. This is less immediately obvious for two of them. On the right scene, the upper part of figure ⑩ is missing, so we cannot ascertain whether a rope was tied to his neck. He stands next to the pair of small bound

captives and faces toward the chief, a position and attitude mirrored in the left scene by figure ④. There is no clear sign that the latter is bound, despite the relatively well-preserved surface in this area.

All these figures are stylised in the extreme and are little more than stick figures. A single, long vertical line represents their neck, torso, and 'front' leg.¹⁹ The back leg is drawn parallel to the front leg in its lower part and turns an angle just below the level of the waist,²⁰ where it joins the other line. The arms, when present and/or visible, join the line a fair distance below the head and are painted frontally on both sides of the body (except for figure ⑤, see above), with a marked angle at the elbow. The wrists connect again to the vertical line (sometimes not touching it) just above the waist. The hands, not always shown, point outward. It seems that the arms of captive ⑫ are not indicated at all. The same is true of the two chiefs, which is more striking. Indeed, from the known parallels where chiefs and captives appear together (**Table 1, nos 1, 4-6**), one would expect them to be shown with raised arms or perhaps holding a weapon or a rope binding the captives. There is a strange line that seems to connect the top of the head (or the headdress) to the neck of the chief ⑬, but it is most unlikely to represent his arms. It is far too small for this, and considering the length of the medium-sized captives' necks, one would expect the shoulders of the chiefs to be further down the body. The absence of their arms cannot be easily explained, but it doesn't seem to be caused by the state of the preservation of the beaker's decoration.²¹

In front of the waist of both chiefs are filled-in protrusions that angle upwards that can

16. See e.g. Graff 2009; Hendricks & Eyckermann 2012.

17. In the descriptions below, 'left' and 'right' scenes correspond to the division adopted on Fig. 8; the left scene comprises human figures ①-⑦ and the right scene figures ⑬-⑧).

18. Since the vertical line doesn't reach the bottom of the vessel (and this is not due to preservation), it can be argued that it is not a pole, but the extremity of the rope hanging between them.

19. The 'front' and 'back' legs can be the right or left leg depending of the orientation of the figure.

20. This angle is clearly not meant to represent the knee of the figures.

21. The arms of the victorious figure and of the hunters on vessel Abydos U-415/1 (see Table 1, no. 1) are not clearly indicated either, so that their absence may be more puzzling to us than it was during the early predynastic period.

		Collection	Provenance	Ponda
Prisonners & hippo hunt	1	Abydos, antiquities magazine, no. U-415/1	Abydos, tomb U-415	C-0022
		Hartung 2002: 89, fig. 4; Dreyer et al. 2003: 74–5, 80–2, fig. 5, pl. 15a ; Graff 2004: 75, no. 6, 79, fig. 7; Graff 2009: cat. 161; Hartung 2010: fig. 4b; Hendrickx & Eyckerman 2010: fig. 4; Hendrickx 2011: fig. 3; Droux 2015: cat. 1.64; Hartmann 2016: I: 271; II: 146, cat. no. 1374 pl. 130.		
	2	Abydos, antiquities magazine, no. U-415/2	Abydos, tomb U-415	C-0023
		Hartung 2002: 89, fig. 4; Dreyer et al. 2003: 78, 83–85, fig. 6a, pl. 15b; Graff 2004: 75, no. 7, 79, fig. 8; 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.		
3	Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, ROM 900.2.13	No provenance	C-0775	
	Royal Ontario Museum online catalogue.			
Prisonners, no hunt	4	Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 99072	Abydos, tomb U-239	C-0019
		Dreyer, Hartung & Pumpenmeier 1998: 111-4, figs 12.1, 13, pl. 6, d-f; Garfinkel 2003: 237, fig. 11.4b-d, 239, fig. 11.6a; Graff 2004: 74–5, no. 1, fig. 2; Graff 2009: cat. 155; Hartmann 2016: I: 242, fig. 115d; II: 71, cat. no. 698, pl. 65.		
	5	Brussels, Royal Museum of Art and History, E. 3002	No provenance	C-0158
		Scharff 1928: 268-269, pl. XXVIII; Baumgartel 1947: 64-5, fig. 14; Vandier 1952: 287, fig. 194; Asselberghs 1961: 302, cat. 9, pl. VI; Williams 1988: 47-48, 93, fig. 35; Davis 1989: 122-123; Hendrickx, 1994: 22–23, cat. 3; Hendrickx 1998; Garfinkel 2003: 35, fig. 2.5.10; 238, fig. 11.5; 239, fig. 11.6b; Graff 2004: 74, no. 2, 76, fig. 3; Graff 2009: cat. 145; Royal Museum of Art and History online catalogue.		
	6	London, Petrie Museum, UC 15339	No provenance	C-0437
	Capart 1905: 35-6, fig. 13; Petrie 1920: pl. XVIII, 74; Petrie 1921: pl. XXV, 100M; Baumgartel 1947: 55, fig. 5, 1; Vandier 1952: 271, fig. 173; Arkell 1975: 40-1, fig. 18, 9; Adams 1988: fig. 28d; Williams 1988: 49-51, 93, fig. 36; Garfinkel 2003: 236-7, figs 11.3e, 11.4a; Graff 2004: 74, no. 3, 77, fig. 4; Graff 2009: cat. 148; Petrie Museum online catalogue.			

Table 1

C-ware vessels with depictions of human figures where captives are present.

be interpreted as penis sheaths. All the other figures have a loop appendage at the same place, that either represent the male sex if the captives are considered to be naked, or a different type of penis sheath.²² There are only five other known C-ware vessels with representations of captives (see **Table 1**) out of a corpus of at least 22 vessels with human figures (see also **Table 2**).²³ With the exception of vessel U415/2 (**Table 1, no. 2**), captives are always shown together

with victorious figures, and their penis sheaths and/or male sex is systematically differentiated. In fact, the captives almost always have a loop that is not filled, while this never occurs with the representation of the chiefs. The vessel found in tomb U-239 at Abydos (**Table 1, no. 4**) is the only exception: a small straight stroke is painted at the waist of the captives and appears to be an indication of nakedness rather than a penis sheath; whether the same interpreta-

22. Their identification as male is however beyond doubt, as suggested already by Scharff (1928: 269); see Graff (2004: 82).

23. A few additional C-ware sherds contain parts of human figures of which three were found at Hierakonpolis (Ponda C-0127, C-0129, C-0604). Excluding sherds, the 22 listed vessels only represent about 3.6% of all complete or near-complete C-ware vessels, much less than the 16% suggested by Graff (2004: 79). We exclude from the list two vessels in the Museo Egizio in Turin (S. 1823, S. 1827, see Graff 2009: cat. 172, 017, respectively, and Ponda FAK-0001, FAK-0004, respectively): their decoration is most unlikely to be authentic.

Table 2 • C-ware vessels with depictions of human figures where captives are not present.

		Collection	Provenance	Ponda
Hippo hunt	7	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN 1909.1026	Abydos, tomb B5	C-0012
		Ayrton & Loat 1911: 35, pl. XXVII, 13 (top); Petrie 1921: pl. LXI, 100H (top); Vandier 1952: 283, fig. 190; Finkenstaedt 1980: 117, fig. 1; Behrman 1989: doc. 25b; Payne 1993: 61, cat. 411, fig. 29; Osborn & Osbornová 1998: 145, fig. 13-12; Hendrickx & Depaetere 2004: table 3; Graff 2009: cat. 84; Whitehouse 2009: 5; Droux 2015: cat. 1.38.		
	8	Abydos, antiquities magazine, no. U-415/2	Abydos, tomb U-637	C-0024
		Dreyer et al. 2003: 78, 84-5, fig. 7; Hendrickx & Depaetere 2004: table 3; Graff 2009: cat. 63; Hartung 2010: fig. 3d; Droux 2015: cat. 1.16; Hartmann 2016: I: 242, fig. 115f; II: 191, cat. no. 1721, pl. 165.		
	9	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN 1896-1908 E.2785	Mahasna, tomb Nag el-Alawna, L209	C-0171
		Garstang 1903: 5, pl. III, 1, 2; Petrie, 1920: pl. XXXIII, 1; Petrie 1921: pl. XX, 5S; Vandier 1952: 282-3, fig. 189; Fischer 1968: 21, no. (2), fig. 15b; Finkenstaedt 1980: 118, fig. 3; Behrman 1989: doc. 23b; Payne 1993: 58, cat. 389, fig. 27; Hendrickx & Depaetere 2004: table 3; Graff 2009: cat. 98; Droux 2015: cat. 1.33.		
Cro.+Hippo	10	New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 12.182.15	No provenance	C-0447
		Myers 1933: pl. XI, 2-3; Behrman 1989: doc. 24f; Hendrickx & Depaetere 2004: table 3; Graff 2009: cat. 86; Droux 2015: cat. 1.39; Metropolitan Museum online catalogue.		
Hippo+Bull hunt	11	New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 35.10	No provenance	C-0556
		Behrman 1989: doc. 25a; Hayes 1990: 11, fig. 10; Hendrickx & Depaetere 2004: table 3; Graff 2009: cat. 117; Hendrickx 2011: fig. 1; Droux 2015: cat. 1.30; Metropolitan Museum online catalogue.		
Hippo+Bull hunt	12	Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 2076 / JE 31064; Abydos, antiquities magazine, no. U-264/4	Abydos, tomb U-264	C-0020
		Morgan 1896: pl. II, 5; Budge 1902: 99; Capart 1905: 112, fig. 84; von Bissing 1913: 22-3, cat. 2076, pl. VII; Petrie 1920: pl. XXIII, 2; Vandier 1952: 279-80, fig. 184; Asselberghs 1961: 303, cat. 11, pl. VII; Behrman 1989: doc. 25c; Hendrickx & Depaetere 2004: table 3; Hartmann 2008: 167-79, figs. 4, 5; Graff 2009: cat. 74; Hartung 2010: fig. 3c; Hendrickx 2010: 111-2; Hendrickx & Eyckerman 2010: fig. 7; Hendrickx 2011: fig. 7; Droux 2015: cat. 1.19; Hartmann 2016: I: 242, fig. 115g; II: 83, cat. no. 806, pl. 76.		
Crocodile hunt	13	Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, MFA 11.1460	Abydos, cemetery U, surface find (Peet)	C-0009
		Peet 1914: 15, pl. IV, 1, 27; Petrie 1921: pl. XXV, 100E; Vandier 1952: 282, fig. 188; Graff 2009: cat. 113; Droux 2015: cat. 1.14; Hartmann 2016: I: 242, fig. 115e; II: 7, cat. no. 75, pl. 9; Museum of Fine Arts online catalogue.		
	14	Hildesheim, Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, 5411	No provenance	C-0396
		Unpublished.		
Bull+Ant. hunt	15	London, Petrie Museum, UC 15328	No provenance	C-0428
		Petrie 1902: pl. H, 5; Capart 1905: 110, fig. 82; Petrie 1920: pl. XVI, 63; Petrie 1921: pl. XX, 5M; Behrman 1989: doc. 27h; Graff 2009: cat. 25; Droux 2015: cat. 1.32; Petrie Museum online catalogue.		
Bull+Ant. hunt	16	Princeton, University Art Museum, y1930-493	No provenance (Gebelein?)	C-0110
		Kantor 1953: 76-8, figs. 1F, 2F, 3B, 4B; Graff 2009: cat. 52; Navajas 2012: pl. XXIX, c-e; Princeton University Art Museum online catalogue.		
No associated hunt	17	Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet, 5483	No provenance, likely Abydos	C-0388
		Kantor 1948: 49, fig. 3D; Droux 2015: cat. 1.59; Hendrickx et al. 2018.		
No associated hunt	18	London, Petrie Museum, UC 9547	Badari, tomb 3802	C-0047
		Brunton & Caton-Thompson 1928: 51, pl. XXXVIII, 70k, pl. XLVIII; Vandier 1952: 285, fig. 193; Graff 2009: cat. 11; Petrie Museum online catalogue.		
	19	Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 2077 / JE 26541	Gebelein or Mohalla	C-0101
		Morgan 1896: pl. III; Jéquier 1917: Wendorf 1968: 20, pl. 4; Graff 2009: cat. 141		
	20	Hannover, Museum August Kestner, inv. 1978.13	No provenance	C-0394
		Unpublished.		
No associated hunt	21	London, Petrie Museum, UC 15330	No provenance	C-0430
		Petrie 1920: pl. XVI, 65; Petrie 1921: pl. XXIII, 56; Graff 2004; Graff 2009: cat. 89.		
No associated hunt	22	Moscow, Pushkin Museum of Fine Art, inv. I, 1a 4777	No provenance	C-0537
		Scharff 1926: pl. II, 2; Scharff 1928: pl. XXVII, 4; Houtart 1934: 28-9, fig. 1; Baumgartel 1947: 64, fig. 13, 2; Vandier 1952: 285, fig. 192; Leclant & Huard 1980: 46, fig. 1; 49; 277, fig. 99, 1; Hodjash 2005: 16, no. 2; Graff 2009: cat. 9.		

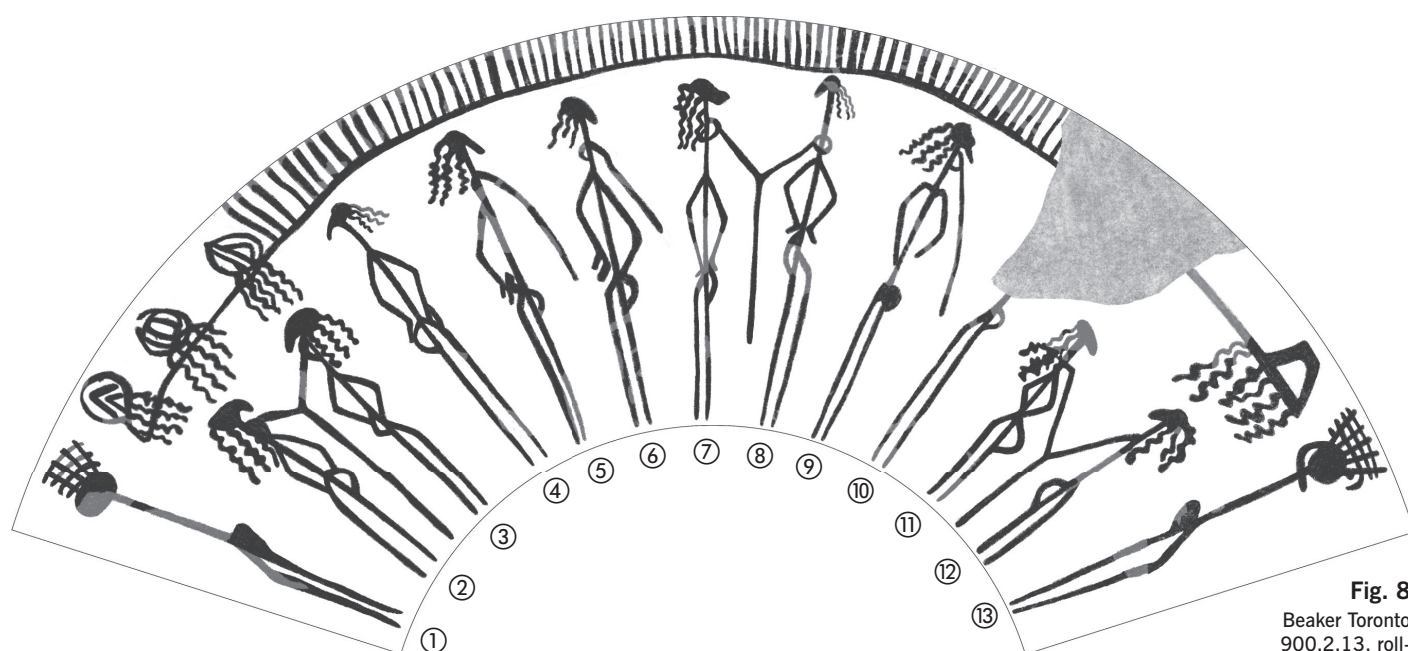


Fig. 8
Beaker Toronto 900.2.13, roll-out drawing of the exterior decoration, with left scene (figures ①-⑦, from left to right) and the right scene (figures ⑬-⑧, from right to left). Drawing from photographs and traced drawings by Capucine Matti.

tion should be adopted for the loops is possible, but not certain. The Toronto beaker is an important addition to this very small corpus of artefacts, since it strengthens the view that the marked difference between the captives' and chiefs' waists is not accidental but clearly intentional, and furthers the iconographic distinction between the two status.

The large, rounded heads and headdresses of the two chiefs are also strikingly different from the heads of the prisoners. Their headdresses are drawn similarly but slightly differ in particular details. That of figure ① seems to consist of four lines protruding from the top of the head, crossed over by three or four horizontal lines; the headdress of chief ⑬ has five protruding lines. Comparison with a well-detailed depiction on a bottle of unknown provenance (**Table 1, no. 5**) suggests that these headdresses were made of vegetal elements: each of the four protruding lines have small leaves painted

along their edges, which infers that they may be made from small tree branches.²⁴ The cross-check pattern on the Toronto beaker headdresses appears to mimic the same motif, but in a more schematic, cruder way. In marked contrast, the heads of the captives have a prominent, 'beak-like' profile and three long strands of braided or curly hair floating behind them. They do not wear any headdress. In that respect, they fit comfortably into the surprisingly coherent group of C-ware captives.²⁵

Next to the two victorious figures and eleven captives are a few other elements decorating the upper part of the exterior of the beaker. First, a long band of parallel, vertical strokes runs over the succession of medium-sized captives. It is limited by a concentric line painted on the lip²⁶ and another one ca. 1.5 cm below. The lower horizontal line extends further above the two pairs of the smallest bound captives; three tassel-like designs are painted above

24. Scharff (1928: 268) already identified them as "twigs".

25. 'Personnages hirsutes', see Graff (2004, 2009).

26. This line was most likely fully concentric, but the surface of the lip is particularly eroded and prevents certainty.

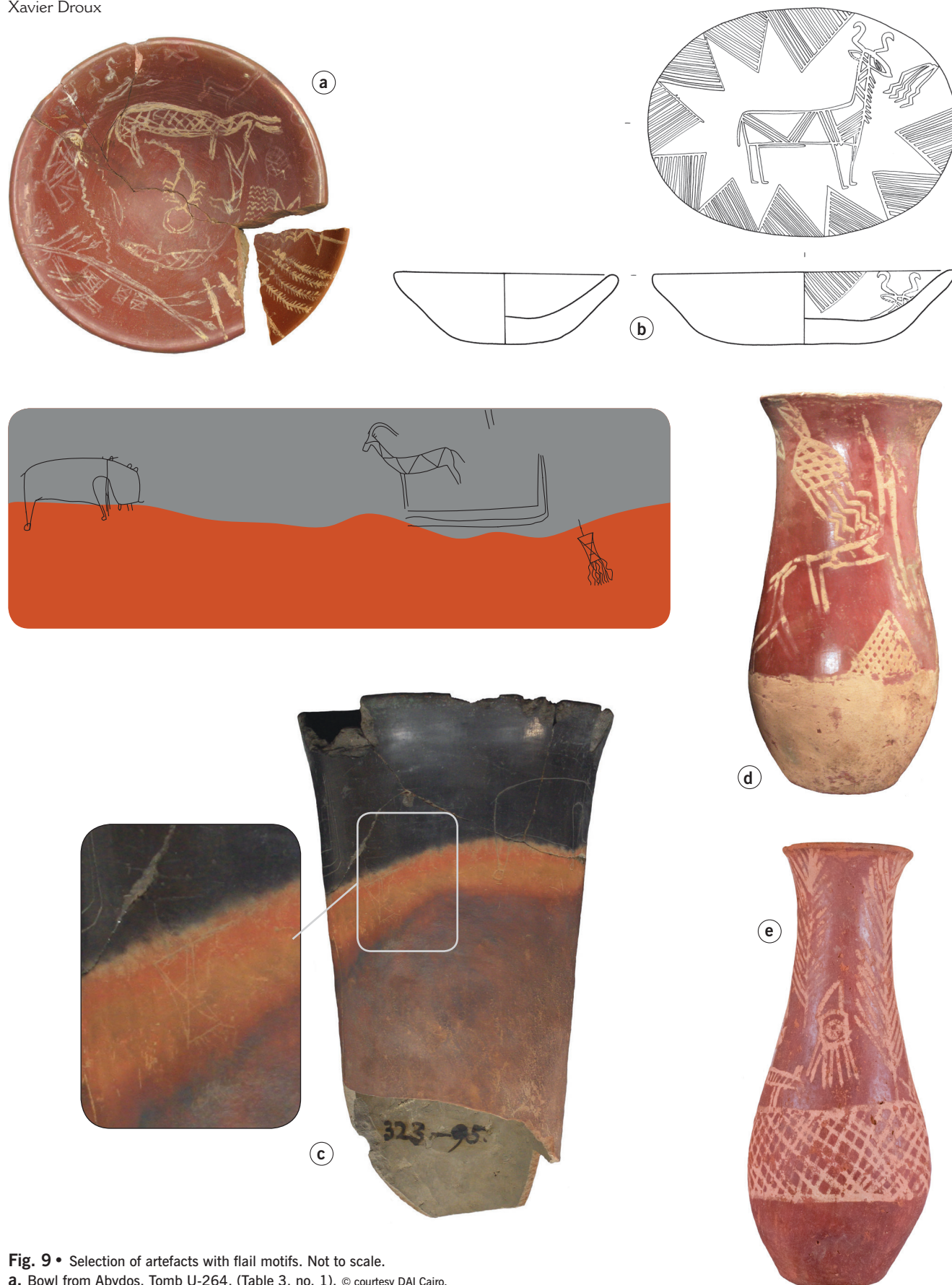


Fig. 9 • Selection of artefacts with flail motifs. Not to scale.

a. Bowl from Abydos, Tomb U-264, (Table 3, no. 1), © courtesy DAI Cairo.

b. Bowl, no provenance, Musée des Confluences inv. 90000135 (Table 3, no. 8), drawing by Merel Eyckerman..

c. Jar from Naqada, Tomb 1471, AN 1895.323, courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (Table 3, no. 12), photograph and drawing by the author.

d. Bottle, no provenance, LgAe BU 03, courtesy of Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig (Table 3, no. 5), photograph by the author.

e. Bottle, no provenance, Petrie Museum UC 15334, (Table 3, no. 7). Photograph by the author.

that line on the left scene, while the exact arrangement in this area of the right scene is uncertain because of the gap. The continuation of the lower horizontal line seems certain as its extremity can be seen joining the only fully preserved tassel-like design. Although we cannot establish where exactly the series of vertical strokes ended, there is sufficient space for two more tassel-like designs in the gap and to its right, where the surface is unfortunately poorly preserved. It is guaranteed that there were at least two tassel-designs based on the presence of two wavy lines that cannot belong to the preserved one.

Several other artefacts with similar designs are recorded in Predynastic art (see **Table 3, Fig. 9**), but this motif has so far eluded a convincing identification and interpretation. Petrie considered the designs painted on a bowl from Mahasna (**Table 3, no. 2**) as female representations; Payne suggested that the motif painted on one of the narrow sides of the box from el-Amra (**Table 3, no. 11**) might be a fishing trap;²⁷ Wolterman considers them to be sunshades;²⁸ Hartmann suggests that those painted inside a bowl from Abydos (**Table 3, no. 1, see Fig. 9a**) may be related to skin-emblems.²⁹ In her catalogue, Graff divides the tassel-like designs into four different types of motifs. She follows Petrie's interpretation on two occasions and includes them in her table of signs representing female figures (**Table 3, nos 2, 10**),³⁰ while another one is interpreted as wavy water lines (**Table 3, no. 6**).³¹ She further lists two more tassel-like designs (**Table 3, nos 5, 7**), but consi-

ders them as unidentifiable motifs.³² For Hendrickx, the meaning of the motif is to be found in a visual connection with the ventral mane of the Barbary sheep.³³

We first suggest here that all these tassel-like designs belong to a single group and all represent the same 'thing'. This assumption is based on their shared primary characteristics even when considering the variation: they are always shown in a hanging position with a series of undulating lines at the bottom, often with a small extension at the top, presumably for hanging or connecting to something else that is not included in the design. On the Toronto beaker, the undulating lines are painted in a manner similar to the hair of captives, but we should not assume that human hair was necessarily intended for the tassel-like designs. Indeed, on the vessel in Lyon (**Table 3, no. 7; Fig. 9b**), the undulating lines mirror those of the frontal mane of the Barbary sheep.³⁴ It is possible that these lines represent free-floating elements; they are perhaps strings that are attached to the central part of the designs, which is potentially a more robust element and represented with the most variety. In some cases, X-like lines are a visually significant feature, whether they are created by two triangles connected at their tip (**Table 3, nos 1 [hanging from the rim] and 2, see Fig. 9a**) or by lines crossing through the centre of rectangular motifs (**Table 3, nos 4, 11–13, see Fig. 9c**); in one case (**Table 3, no. 5, see Fig. 9d**), the rectangular motif is crosshatched. On three vessels, the central motif is more circular (**Table 3, nos 3, 7, 10, see Fig. 9e**).

27. Payne 1993: 79–80. This box has often been included in the corpus of C-ware artefacts (e.g., Graff, 2009: cat. 171). However, it is made of rough fabric and is painted with black pigment, so that it should be considered separately. It remains however true that it is contemporaneous with the period of production of C-ware vessels, since it is dated by context to Naqada IC; the decorative themes also closely relate to C-ware art (see Droux 2015: cat. 3.1).

28. Wolterman 2001–2002: 9–10.

29. Hartmann 2008: 171–4.

30. Graff 2009: 151, sign Hf7; see also Graff 2004: 78–9.

31. Graff 2009: 181, sign G6–G7.

32. Graff 2009: 183, 188, signs Ni5 and Ni54.

33. Hendricks, Midant-Reynes & Eyckerman 2010: 56–8. See also Hendricks et al. 2009: 231, n. 20.

34. See note 31.

On two examples, the central motif is not shown: the free-floating undulating lines either hang from a horizontal line or are connected directly to the hanging extension (**Table 3, nos 6, 8, resp.**) The tassel-like designs on the Toronto beaker have a more-or-less circular central element in the left scene: one with chevrons in its centre, one with concentric lines, and the last one with two vertical lines. In the right scene, the only preserved motif is triangular. At any rate, the presence of tassel-like designs with fairly different central parts on the same vessel that all occupy the same place in the decoration proves that all these motifs belong to a single, coherent group. The number of tassel-like motifs depicted on the Toronto beaker is notable, but they do occur in multiple examples on several vessels, with up to four on the bowl from Zawaida (**Table 3, no. 4**).

Interpreting this group and determining what ‘thing’ these tassel-like motifs represent is challenging, and our proposition is only tentative. We first observe that in many cases, they appear in a context that includes either captives (the Toronto beaker), wild animals that are obviously prey (**Table 3, nos. 1, 5–7, 10, 12**), wild animals that are not obviously prey (**Table 3, nos 8, 11, 13**), and boats (**Table 3, nos 1, 11–12**). There are only three C-ware vessels where the designs are only in association with geometric designs, such as crosshatched rectangles (**Table 3, no. 2**), panels filled with polka dots (**Table 3, no. 3**), and vertical series of connected hatched triangles (**Table 3, no. 4**). The hunt, captives, and boats are all part of the symbolic visual narrative of power used by Predynastic elites, and the tassel-like designs should therefore be understood in this specific context: they are most likely *powerfacts*. In these com-

plex iconographic scenes, they become controlling elements, even when depicted with animals that are not obviously prey; in fact, their presence alone may be enough to modify our understanding of the scenes. The hunt, control, and/or capture of wild animals can be symbolically represented by dogs, a crosshatched net, or a harpoon, without human presence; the tassel-like motif seems to have played a similar role. If this interpretation is correct, then the Barbary sheep (**Table 3, no. 8**), hippopotamus (**Table 3, no. 11**), and ibex (**Table 3, no. 13**) should be reconsidered as prey too.

It is necessary to consider the nature of the man-made object behind the two-dimensional tassel-like depictions. The wildly different interpretations offered so far, ranging from stylised female figures to fishing traps to sunshades demonstrate that it is not an easy task. The inclusion of the motif in scenes displaying captives and several wild animal species prevents its identification as a weapon or a trap. Indeed, in C-ware art, each type of hunt includes specific symbols of power and control: dogs chase desert antelopes, crocodiles are captured with nets,³⁵ and hippopotamuses are harpooned; captives are bound by ropes and sometimes controlled with maces. A different weapon that could be used interchangeably between all types of hunting and control scenes is therefore rather unlikely.

We would like to tentatively suggest an alternative interpretation. The tassel-like motif seems to be similar to a symbol that later became a recurring element of royal regalia: the flail.³⁶ The fringe of free-floating undulating lines would be akin to the flail’s strings – not yet standardised to three strands – attached to the central part. If this central element was made of woven material, it would perhaps help explain the variety of designs

35. Crocodiles are shown hunted with harpoons on a D-ware jar from Naqada tomb N193 (Naqada IIC–IID, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN 1895.579; see Payne 1993: 112, cat. no. 917, fig. 49, *Ponda* D-0762), but the use of this weapon in the context of the crocodile hunt is not attested during earlier periods.

36. We do however not suggest that the pharaonic flail finds its origin in the early predynastic period. As far as we are aware, there is no evidence of the continued use of that symbol between Naqada IIA–B and the early Dynastic period; Narmer is shown holding a flail on the Narmer palette.

encountered, especially the circular ones. As to the extension at the top, it may represent a diminutive handle or just a thong that could be attached to a handle.

Insofar as the Toronto beaker is concerned, the six flails can be interpreted as *powerfacts* that are painted in addition to the two victorious figures. They are placed above the

	Collection	Provenance	Ponda
C-ware vessels	1 Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 2076 / JE 31064; Abydos, antiquities magazine, no. U-264/4 See Table 2, no. 12. See <i>infra</i> , Fig. 9a.	Abydos, tomb U-264	C-0020
	2 Yale, Peabody Museum of Natural History, inv. 6797 Ayrton & Loat 1911: 34, pl. XXIV, 3; Petrie. 1920: 16; Petrie 1921: pl. LXI, 100K; Vandier 1952: 258, fig. 182; Graff 2009: cat. 123; Yale, Peabody Museum of Natural History online catalogue.	Mahasna, tomb H88	C-0169
	3 Berkeley, Phoebe A. Hirst Museum of Anthropology, inv. 6-4328 Lythgoe & Dunham 1965: 101-2, fig. 42; Friedman 1981: 201, pl. 12A; Berkley Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology online catalogue.	Naqada ed-Deir, tomb 7199	C-0224
	4 St-Germain-en-Laye, Musée d'Archéologie nationale, inv. 77.709 u Musée des Antiquités Nationales (ed.) 1982: 148-9, no. 77.709 u; Graff 2009: cat. 80. See <i>infra</i> , Fig. 9f.	Zawaida, context unknown	C-0574
	5 Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, LgAe BU 03 Sotheby's 1976; Page-Gasser & Wiese 1997: cat. 4a; Wiese 2001: 28, cat. 3a; Graff 2009: cat. 147; Droux 2015: cat. 1.51. See <i>infra</i> , Fig. 9d.	No provenance	C-0345
	6 Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Scharff 1926: 17, pl. 1, 2; Scharff 1931: 118, cat. 258, fig. 36, pl. 11; Kaiser 1967: 10, no. 33, fig. 31-35 (centre); Graff 2009: cat. 112.	No provenance (Khozam?)	C-0512
	7 London, Petrie Museum, UC 15334 Petrie 1920: pl. XVII, 69; Petrie 1921: pl. XXV, 96L; Vandier 1952: 271, fig. 173; Graff 2009: cat. 143; Petrie Museum online catalogue. See <i>infra</i> , Fig. 9e.	No provenance	C-0434
	8 Lyon, Musée des Confluences, inv. 90000135 Hendrickx et al. 2010: cat. 24, 56-7, 108; Navajas 2012: 173, pl. XXX, c; Droux 2015: cat. 1.25. See <i>infra</i> , Fig. 9b.	No provenance	C-0555
	9 Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, ROM 900.2.13 See Table 1, no. 3.	No provenance	C-0775
	10 Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, ROM 910.85.88 Hoffman, Willoughby & Stanton 1988: 61-2, cat. 4; Graff 2009: cat. 156; Droux 2015: cat. 1.61.	No provenance	C-0465
Box	11 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN 1896-1908 E.2816 Randall-MacIver & Mace 1902: 16, 36, pl. XII, 10-13; Capart 1905: 132, fig. 105; Williams & Logan 1987: 260; Payne 1993: 79-80, cat. 600, fig. 32; Behrmann 1989: doc. 30; Wolterman 2001-2002: fig. 4; Graff 2009: cat. 171; Droux 2015: cat. 3.1. See <i>infra</i> , Fig. 9c.	el-Amra, tomb a41	
Incised pots	12 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, AN 1895.323 Petrie & Quibell 1896: pl. LI, 9, 27, LIII, 113; Behrmann 1989: Doc. 31a; Droux 2015: cat. 4.10.	Naqada, tomb 1471	
	13 Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, ÄM 22392 Wolterman 2001-2002: fig. 7.	Uncertain (Khozam?)	

Table 3
Representations of tassel-like/flail motifs in predynastic art.

two pairs of the smallest captives (②-③, ⑫-⑪), but also immediately in front of figures ④ and likely ⑩; the lack of clearly visible binding for these two latter captives may in fact be due to the presence of the flails, which may have been deemed sufficient expressions of their inferior status.

Decoration on the interior

As mentioned above, the Toronto beaker is also decorated on the interior (Fig. 7), and the scene perfectly complements the exterior scene discussed above. Originally, two hippopotamuses facing left were painted on opposite sides, with several geometric designs added between them. Unfortunately, most of the body of one of the hippopotamuses is lost in the gap, with only its back legs and part of its belly still recognisable. It is difficult to determine if the bodies of both animals were filled in the same manner with zigzag designs, but the remaining traces suggest otherwise. The preserved hippopotamus has a short tail, rounded belly, short legs that end with a slight indication of the

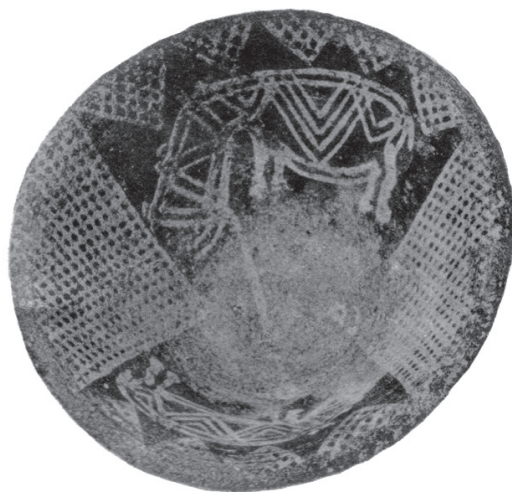
feet, and a square head. Its ears (or eyes) are represented by a small protuberance near the top of the head, and his incisive tusks protrude from the mouth. The muzzle is filled with parallel lines. Generally speaking, this hippopotamus perfectly fits the usual iconography of the animal in C-ware art.³⁷

A vertical line is clearly visible at the tip of the hippopotamus head; it extends downward over the part of the vessel that remained unpolished and unslipped. This is a rare occurrence among C-ware vessels, especially as the artist did not just accidentally go a little beyond the limit: the line ends with a double loop that is entirely painted on the rough surface and the same happened on the opposite side of the vessel. These lines represent the ropes, coiled at their extremity, attached to harpoon heads that are stuck in the animals' muzzles or mouths. The scene is therefore a hunting scene, where only prey and weapon are shown, but not the hunters. This is far from unusual for hippopotamus hunts.

The rest of the decoration is fairly conventional and mirrored on both sides of the vessel. There is an oblique band with parallel horizontal lines in front of the hippopotamus³⁸ with a delicately painted group of horizontal wavy zigzags next to it and a downturned crosshatched triangle reaching the backside of the other hippopotamus.

This scene finds its closest parallel in the Cairo Museum C-ware bowl CG 2071 (Fig. 10), said to come from either Gebelein or Abydos.³⁹ Two hippopotamuses are shown in exactly the same position and attitude, although their bodies are filled with chevrons. One of the animals is harpooned in the mouth, and the rope of the weapon, coiled at its extremity, is also painted on bottom of the bowl that was left rough. Between the two animals are two large downturned triangles filled with fine crosshatching.

Fig. 10
Bowl Cairo
Museum CG 2071,
after von Bissing
1898: pl. IV.



37. See Droux 2015.

38. Because of the gap, it is not clear whether the same motif was painted in front of the second hippopotamus.

39. See Droux 2015: cat. 1.10; *Ponda* C-0112, with references.

The extraneous sherd

Little can be said about the decoration of the vessel that the extraneous sherd originated from. On the exterior (see **Fig. 6**), the motifs are quite unusual, with a design shaped like a large Σ . It is not impossible that it may be a half-preserved flail motif composed of two inverted triangles connected at their tip, in a manner similar to the bowl from Abydos prior to the discovery of its missing sherd (**Fig. 9a**). The lines to its left could belong to an animal, possibly the backside of a hippopotamus with remnants of the short tail, upper part of the back legs and the extremity of the lines decorating the body. On the interior, the sherd is decorated with a series of parallel oblique lines that may belong to the filling of a downturned triangle (see **Fig. 7**). However, the preserved fragment is too small for certainty, and it cannot be associated with any other loose C-ware sherds nor attributed to a partially preserved vessel thus far.

Conclusion

The Toronto C-ware beaker fits perfectly within a recognised pictorial tradition that used heavy symbolism and *powerfacts* to represent the status enjoyed by the elites of the early Predynastic period. It combines depictions of captives and victorious figures together with hippopotamuses shown as prey, and thus shares clear similarities with two vessels found at Abydos in tomb U-415. The message is clear: the victorious figures, most likely representing a chief, is all-powerful and rules over the human realm and appropriates the forces of nature by killing hippopotamuses, the strongest and most fearsome animal of their environment.

The presence of tassel-like designs allows us to review this motif in Predynastic art and to see that it is a *powerfact* often associated

with hunting, captives, and boats. We suggest that the motif should be identified as a flail, which was hitherto not known to have existed prior to the reign of king Narmer. This proposition is only tentative and open to debate; however, alternative interpretations should take into consideration all the occurrences of these strange-looking depictions, since they doubtlessly form a coherent group and represent the same artefact and/or idea.

Determining the likely provenance of a C-ware vessel based on the themes represented on it or its style is notoriously precarious.⁴⁰ However, we can note that depictions of harpooned hippopotamuses predominantly come from Abydos and surrounding area,⁴¹ as do most human representations – all early Predynastic depictions of captives with a known provenance come from Abydos, with the exception of the three bound prisoners found on the main wall of the painted Tomb 100 at Hierakonpolis (however, this tomb post-dates the period of production of C-ware vessels). It is therefore likely that the Toronto beaker comes from Abydos, or at least that it was produced there. Further, it is possible to suggest that its closest parallel – the Cairo Museum bowl CG 2071 – was painted by the same person or at the same workshop: its hippopotamuses, harpoons, and cross-hatched triangles offer too many similarities for coincidence. As a consequence, this latter bowl is more likely to have come from Abydos than Gebelein, which have both been indicated as its possible provenance.

Having purchased this vessel in Egypt turns out to have been a rather lucky investment for Charles Trick Currelly: two vessels for the price of one, and in more ways than one: a beaker and an unrelated fragment; a dual, mirrored, and elaborate decoration on the exterior with captives under the control of victorious figures; and a complementary double-scene of harpooned hippopotamuses. This vessel, despite the poor state of preservation of its painted decoration, is altogether a remarkable addition to the corpus of C-ware vessels.

40. See Finkenstaedt 1980.

41. See Droux 2015.

Addendum

After this article was written and peer-reviewed, an unpublished C-ware bottle without known provenance or current location was brought to our attention. The decorative theme echoes that of the Toronto vessel with a series of bound human figures and chiefs. A 'tassel-like motif is held by one of the chiefs who appears to hold a knife to

the head of one of the prisoners. This opens a new avenue of investigation and the identification of the tassels with flails as proposed here may already need revision. Other findings discussed in this article remain however valid: all tassel-like motifs represent the same artefact, and that this artefact is used in iconography as a *powerfact*. The vessel and its iconography will be published in detail in the next issue of *Archéo-Nil*.

Bibliography

- ADAMS, B., 1988. *Predynastic Egypt*. Shire Egyptology 7. Princes Risborough.
- ARKELL, A.J., 1975. *The prehistory of the Nile Valley*. Handbuch der Orientalistik 1. Leiden.
- ASSELBERGHS, H., 1961. *Chaos en beheersing: documenten uit het aeneolithisch Egypte*. Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui 8. Leiden.
- AYRTON, E.R. & LOAT, W.L.S., 1911. *Predynastic cemetery at El Mahasna*. Egypt Exploration Fund 31. London.
- BAUMGARTEL, E.J., 1947. *The cultures of prehistoric Egypt I*. London.
- BEHRMAN, A., 1989. *Das Nilpferd in der Vorstellungswelt der alten Ägypter. Teil I, Katalog*. Europäische Hochschulschriften VIII, 22. Frankfurt am Main.
- BIERBRIER, M.L. (ed.), 2012. *Who was who in Egyptology* (Fourth Revised Edition). London.
- BRUNTON, G. & CATON-THOMPSON, G., 1928. *The Badarian civilization and the Predynastic remains near Badari*. Egyptian Research Account and British School of Archaeology in Egypt 46. London.
- BUDGE, E.A.W., 1902. *Egypt in the Neolithic and Archaic periods*. Books on Egypt and Chaldaea IX. London.
- CAPART, 1905: *Primitive art in Egypt*; translated from the revised and augmented original edition. London.
- DAVIS, W.M., 1989. *The canonical tradition in Egyptian art*. Cambridge.
- 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. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*, 59: 67-138.
- DREYER, G., HARTUNG, U. & PUMPENMEIER, F. 1998. *Umm el-Qaab I: Das prädynastische Königsgrab U-j und seine frühen Schriftzeugnisse*. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 86. Mainz.
- DROUX, X., 2015. Riverine and desert animals in predynastic Upper Egypt: material culture and faunal remains. Dphil thesis, University of Oxford. Oxford.
- DROUX, X., 2016. Putting the Hierakonpolis C-ware on the map. *Nekhen News*, 28: 7-8, 16.
- FINKENSTAEDT, E., 1980. Regional painting style in prehistoric Egypt. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 107: 116-120.
- FISCHER, H.G., 1968. *Ancient Egyptian representations of turtles*. Metropolitan Museum Occasional Papers 13. New York.
- FRIEDMAN, R., 1981. *Spatial distribution in a predynastic cemetery: Naga ed Dêr 7000*. MA dissertation, University of California. Berkeley.
- GARFINKEL, Y., 2003. *Dancing at the dawn of agriculture*. Austin.
- GARSTANG, J., 1903. *Mahâsna and Bêt Khallâf*. Egyptian research account 7. London.
- GRAFF, G., 2004. Les représentations de personnages humains sur les vases peints de Nagada I. *Trabajos de Egiptología* 3: 73-82.
- GRAFF, G., 2009. *Les peintures sur vases de Nagada I-Nagada II: nouvelle approche sémiologique de l'iconographie prédynastique*. Egyptian Prehistory Monographs 6. Leuven.
- HARTMANN, R., 2008. Zwei Fragmente der White Cross-Lined Ware aus dem Friedhof U in Abydos zu Gefäßen aus dem Ägyptischen Museum Kairo [in:] ENGEL, E.-M.; MÜLLER, V. & HARTUNG, U.(eds), *Zeichen aus dem Sand: Streiflichter aus Ägyptens Geschichte zu Ehren von Günter Dreyer*. Menes, Studien zur Kultur und Sprache der ägyptischen Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches 5. Wiesbaden: 163-182.
- HARTMANN, R., 2016. *Umm el-Qaab IV: die Keramik der älteren und mittleren Naqada-kultur aus dem prädynastischen Friedhof U in Abydos (Umm el-Qaab)*. 2 vols. *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 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 [in:] RAFFAELE, F.; NUZZOLO, M. & INCORDINO, I. (eds), *Recent discoveries and latest researches in Egyptology. Proceedings*

- of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, Naples, June 18th–20th 2008. Wiesbaden: 107-120.
- HENDRICKX, S., 1994. *Antiquités préhistoriques et protodynastiques d'Égypte*. Guides du département égyptien 8. Brussels.
- HENDRICKX, S., 1998. Peaux d'animaux comme symboles prédynastiques: à propos de quelques représentations sur les vases White Cross-lined. *Chronique d'Égypte*, 73: 203-230.
- HENDRICKX, S., 2010. L'iconographie de la chasse dans le contexte social prédynastique. *Archéo-Nil*, 20: 106-133.
- HENDRICKX, S., 2011. Hunting and social complexity in predynastic Egypt. *Bulletin des Séances de l'Académie royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer*, 57: 237-263.
- HENDRICKX, S. & DEPRAETERE, D., 2004. A theriomorphic predynastic stone jar and hippopotamus symbolism [in:] HENDRICKX, S.; FRIEDMAN, R.; CIAŁOWICZ, K.M.; CHŁODNICKI, M. (eds), *Egypt at its origins: studies in memory of Barbara Adams; proceedings of the International Conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt"*, Kraków, 28th August–1st September 2002. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 138. Leuven: 801-822.
- HENDRICKX, S. & EYCKERMANN, M., 2010. Continuity and change in the visual representation of predynastic Egypt [in:] RAFFAELE, F.; NUZZOLO, M. & INCORDINO, I. (eds), *Recent discoveries and latest researches in Egyptology. Proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, Naples, June 18th–20th 2008*. Wiesbaden: 121-143.
- HENDRICKX, S. & EYCKERMANN, M., 2012. Visual representation and state development in Egypt. *Archéo-Nil*, 22: 23-72.
- HENDRICKX, S.; DROUX, X.; EYCKERMANN, M. & HARTMANN, R., 2018. Hunting for power: an exceptional White Cross-lined jar in the National Museum of Denmark. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*, 74: 83-97.
- HENDRICKX, S.; MIDANT-REYNES, B. & EYCKERMANN, M., 2010. La collection prédynastique, in: EMMONS, D.; EYCKERMANN, M.; GOYON, J.-C.; GABOLDE, L.; HENDRICKX, S.; MADRIGAL, K. & MIDANT-REYNES, B., *L'Égypte au Musée des Confluences. De la palette à fard au sarcophage, les collections égyptiennes du Musée des Confluences*. Milano - Lyon: 51-75.
- HENDRICKX, S.; RIEMER, H.; FÖRSTER, F. & DARNELL, J.C., 2009. Late Predynastic / Early Dynastic rock art scenes of Barbary sheep hunting from 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. Köln: 189-244.
- HODJASH, S.I., 2005. *Ancient Egyptian vessels in the State Pushkin Museum of Fine Art, Moscow*. Moscow.
- HOFFMAN, M.A.; WILLOUGHBY, K.L. & STANTON, E.B., 1988. *The first Egyptians: an exhibition organized by McKissick Museum and the Earth Sciences and Resources Institute of the University of South Carolina*. Columbia SC.
- HOUTART, A., 1934. Les chiens dans l'Égypte ancienne. *Chronique d'Égypte*, 17: 28-34.
- JÉQUIER, G., 1917. The most ancient representation of the sign ankh. *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 39: 87-88.
- KAISER, W., 1967. *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin: [im] Östlicher Stülerbau am Schloss Charlottenburg*. Berlin.
- KANTOR, H.J., 1948. A predynastic ostrich egg with incised decoration. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 7: 46-51.
- KANTOR, H.J., 1953. Prehistoric Egyptian pottery in the Art Museum. *Princeton University, Record of the Art Museum*, 12: 67-83.
- LECLANT J. & HUARD, P., 1980. *La culture des chasseurs du Nil et du Sahara*. Tome 1. Mémoires du C.R.A.P.E. XXIX. Alger.
- LYTHGOE, A.M. & DUNHAM, D., 1965. *The predynastic cemetery N7000*. Egyptian Archaeology VII; Naga-ed-Dêr IV. Berkeley - Los Angeles.
- MORGAN, J. de, 1896. *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte I: l'âge de la pierre et les métaux*. Paris.
- MUSÉE DES ANTIQUITÉS NATIONALES (ed.), 1982. *Archéologie comparée*. Catalogue sommaire illustré des collections du Musée des

Antiquités Nationales de Saint-Germain-en-Laye 1. Paris.

MYERS, O.H., 1933. Two prehistoric objects. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 19: 55.

NAVAJAS, I.A., 2012. Some new hunting scenes in pre-dynastic C-wares: London Petrie Museum UC15331 and Oxford Ashmolean Museum 1946.297 'revisited'. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 139: 171-178, pls 28-31.

OSBORN, D.J. & OSBORNOVÁ, J., 1998. *The mammals of ancient Egypt*. Natural History of Egypt 4. Warminster.

PAGE-GASSER, M. & WIESE, A. 1997. *Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig: die ägyptische Abteilung*. Sonderbände der Antiken Welt. Mainz am Rhein.

PAYNE, J.C., 1993. *Catalogue of the predynastic Egyptian collection in the Ashmolean Museum*. Oxford.

PEET, T.E., 1914. *The cemeteries of Abydos II: 1911-1912*. Egypt Exploration Fund Memoir 34. London.

PETRIE, W.M.F., 1902. Prehistoric Egyptian pottery. *Man* 2: 113.

PETRIE, W.M.F., 1920. *Prehistoric Egypt*. British School of Archaeology in Egypt & Egyptian Research Account, twenty-third year, 1917. London.

PETRIE, W.M.F., 1921. *Corpus of prehistoric pottery and palettes*. British School of Archaeology in Egypt & Egyptian Research Account, 23rd year, 1917. London.

PETRIE, W.M.F. & QUIBELL, J.E., 1896. *Naqada and Ballas*, 1895. Egyptian Research Account 1. London.

RANDALL-MACIVER, D. & MACE, A.C., 1902. *El Amrah and Abydos, 1899-1901*. Egypt Exploration Fund, special extra publication, 23. London.

SCHARFF, A., 1926. Vorgeschichtliches zur Libyerfrage. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 61: 16-30.

SCHARFF, A., 1931. *Die Altertümer der Vor- und Frühzeit Ägyptens I: Werkzeuge, Waffen, Gefäße*. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung IV. Berlin.

SCHARFF, A., 1928. Some prehistoric vases in the British Museum and remarks on Egyptian prehistory. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 14: 261-276.

VANDIER, J., 1952. *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne I: 1; les époques de formation, la préhistoire*. Paris.

VON BISSING, F.W., 1898. Les origines de l'Égypte. *L'Anthropologie*, IX: 241-58, 409-17.

VON BISSING, F.W., 1913. *Tongefäße: Erster Teil, bis zum Beginn des Alten Reiches*. Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Vienna.

WENDORF, F. (ed), 1968. *The prehistory of Nubia. Combined Prehistoric Expedition to Egyptian and Sudanese Nubia*. Dallas.

WHITEHOUSE, H., 2009. *Ancient Egypt and Nubia in the Ashmolean Museum*. Oxford.

WIESE, A., 2001. *Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig: die ägyptische Abteilung*. Sonderbände der Antiken Welt. Mainz am Rhein.

WILLIAMS, B.B., 1988. *Decorated pottery and the art of Naqada III: a documentary essay*. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 45. Munich.

WILLIAMS, B.B. & LOGAN, T.J., 1987. The Metropolitan Museum knife handle and aspects of pharaonic imagery before Narmer. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 46: 245-85.

WOLTERMAN, C., 2001-2002. C-ware Cairo dish CG 2076 and D-ware flamingos: prehistoric theriomorphic allusions to solar myth. *Jaarbericht "Ex Oriente Lux"*, 37, 5-30.

Online ressources

DROUX, X. (ed.). *Predynastic Online Database*, <https://www.ponda.org>.

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM, *Online catalogue*, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection>.

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, *Online catalogue*, <https://collections.mfa.org/collections>.

PEABODY MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, *Online catalogue*, <https://discover.odai.yale.edu/ydc/>.

PETRIE MUSEUM, *Online catalogue*, <http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk>.

PHOEBE A. HEARST MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY, *Online catalogue*, <https://webapps.cspace.berkeley.edu/pahma/search/search/>.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY ART MUSEUM, *Online catalogue*, <https://artmuseum.princeton.edu/search/site>.

ROYAL MUSEUM OF ART AND HISTORY, *Online catalogue*, <https://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be/eMP/eMuseumPlus>.

ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM, *Online catalogue*, <https://collections.rom.on.ca>