

The Pottery-Incised Serekh-Signs of Dynasties 0-1

Part II: Fragments and Additional Complete Vessels

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Résumé

Ce second volet d'une étude tripartite sur les premiers signes incisés de serekh se concentre sur les inscriptions/insignes royaux conservés sur des céramiques fragmentées contemporaines du contexte de la dynastie 0 et du début de la 1^{ère} dynastie, en Egypte, au Levant-Sud et en Basse-Nubie. En plus, neuf jarres complètes ont été ajoutées, en complément aux 24 présentées dans le premier volet.

Cette étude décrit également la transformation graduelle des serekh incisés, depuis les exemples simples, non distincts et anonymes jusqu'aux dix groupes distingués de *serekh* personnalisés, chacun étant associé à un souverain spécifique. On suggère également une nouvelle lecture pour un *serekh* provenant de la tombe 160 de Minshat Abu Omar et l'existence d'un souverain jusqu'alors inconnu, identifié sur ce serekh, "Horus, Celui qui appartient à Neith".

Une suggestion est également proposée avec prudence dans la distinction entre un souverain Nar et un monarque plus tardif, Horus Narmer, premier roi de la 1^{ère} dynastie et occupant de la tombe B17/18 du cimetière royal d'Abydos.

Abstract

This second installment of a tripartite study on early incised *serekh*-signs focuses on royal insignia/inscriptions preserved on fragmented pottery vessels found in Dynasty 0 and early First Dynasty contemporary contexts in Egypt, the southern Levant and Lower Nubia. In addition, another nine complete jars, a complement to 24 intact jars with incised serekh-signs presented in the first part of this study, are included in this installment.

This study also describes the gradual transmogrification of incised pottery *serekh*-signs from non-distinct plain and anonymous examples to ten distinct groups of personalized *serekhs*, each associated with a specific ruler. It also suggests a new reading for a *serekh* from Minshat Abu Omar Tomb 160 and the existence of a previously unknown ruler *Hr Nj Nj.t* "Horus He-who-belongs-to-Neith", identified from his *serekh*.

In addition, a suggestion is cautiously submitted for distinguishing between a ruler Nar and a later monarch, Horus Narmer, the first king of Dynasty 1 and occupant of Tomb B17/18 in the royal cemetery B at Abydos.

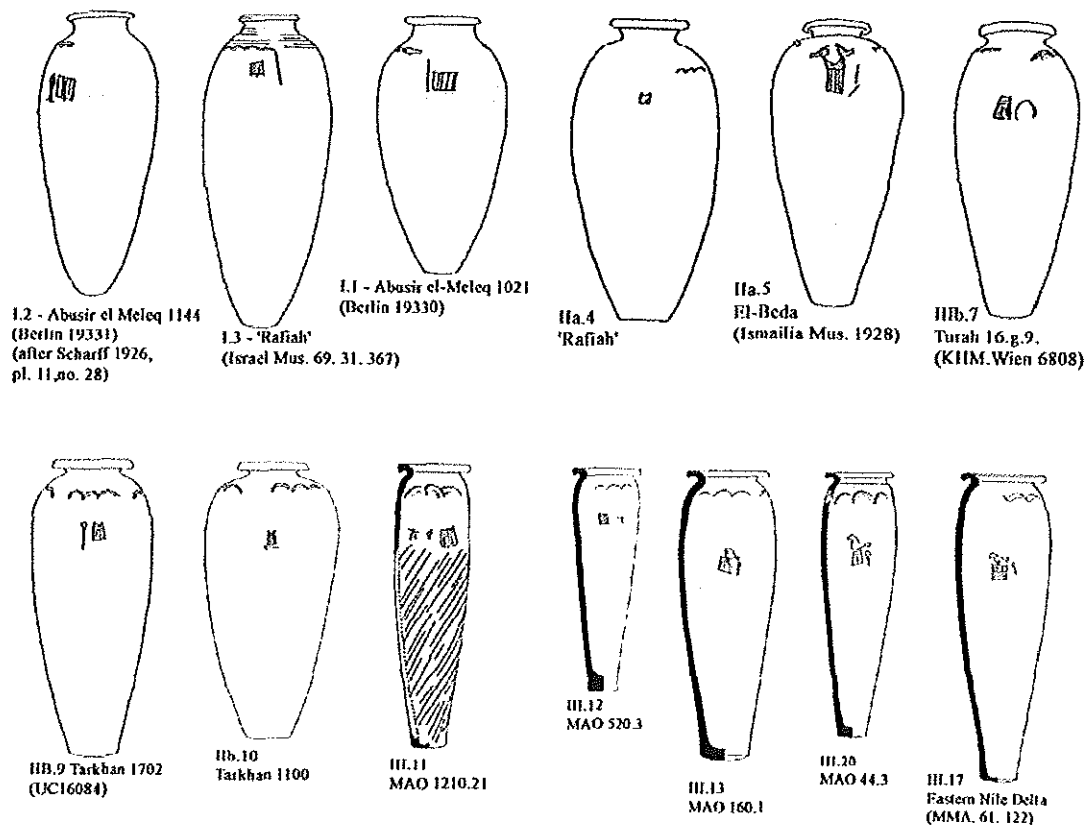
The Pottery-Incised Serekh-Signs of Dynasties 0-1

Part II: Fragments and Additional Complete Vessels

Edwin C.M. van den Brink

IN THE FIRST PART OF THIS STUDY (van den Brink 1996), I discussed the chronological sequence of incised *serekh*-signs found on tall, pottery storage jars dating from Dynasty 0 through Early First Dynasty (Nagada III_{a2-c2})² by focussing on a tentative typology of 24 complete ceramic vessels on which such *serekhs*-signs had been found incised prior to firing.³

This study discusses the incised *serekh*-signs preserved on quite small potsherds that with few exceptions lack diagnostic features that can be directly related to one of the four vessel types (I-IV) identified in Part I.⁴

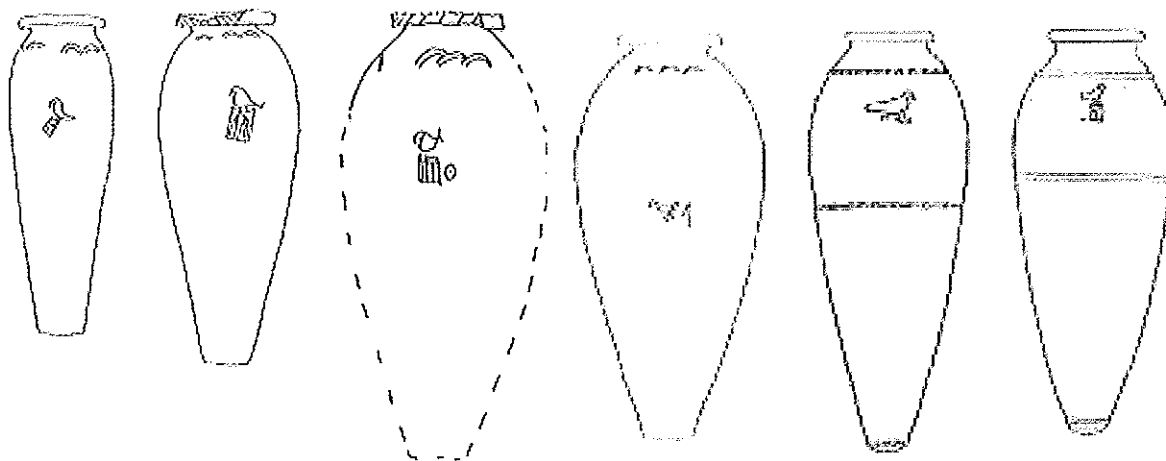


¹ The added specification "pottery(-incised)" recognizes the existence of early *serekh*-signs incised not only on ceramic vessels, but incised/scratched/carved and impressed into other media and objects, only indirectly referred to in this work. They included, for example, Egyptian, S. Levantine and Nubian cylinder seals/seal impressions, rock tableaux, stelae, graffiti, stone vessels, incense burners, ceremonial stone palette(s), ceremonial mace-heads, wooden, ivory, bone and faience objects such as labels and combs, a flint knife from Minshat Ezzat and the monumental Koptos stone statuary. Accordingly, the term 'incised' in this work implicitly stands for 'pottery-incised', unless stated otherwise.

² That is the time span slightly prior to the reign of king Double Falcon until and including the reign of Horus Narmer.

³ The numerous incised "domain marks" will be dealt with in a third and final installment of this study.

⁴ These exceptions include two *serekh*-incised fragments (see below, n°. 10.b.2.53 and 10.c.56) belonging to (Horus) Ka that do have features sufficiently diagnostic for conclusive attribution to Type III jars (van den Brink 1996 : 141, 16a-b). For an additional affirmed fragment of a Type III jar, possibly incised with the name of Iry-Hor, see below, n°. 9.a.2.44. For five additional fragments, diagnostic of Type IV jars, incised with *serekh*-signs, see below, n°. 8.b.2.27, 11.c.61, 12.81, 12.84 and 14.119.



III.15	III.16	Ezbet el-Tell	III.14	IVa.22	IVa.23
Helwan 1627.H.2	Helwan 1651.H.2	(Zagzig Univ.	Abydos B 1	Abydos B 1	Tarkhan 414 (UC
(after Saad 1947)	(after Saad 1947)	Mus.182)		(UC 16089)	16083)
		(after Leclant and			
		Clerc 1986)			

Of course an inability to type these fragments hampers chronological attribution. However, they represent the bulk of the incised corpus of *serekhs* (118 fragments as compared to 24 complete vessels until 1996)⁵ and their study enables us to focus on the progressive development of stylistic characteristics with a view to applying this information to *serekhs* on complete vessels.

This study discusses the fragments tentatively arranged (inasmuch as was possible) in chronological order into 11 separate groups according to their inscriptions (cf. Table 1). Three groups dealing with miscellaneous examples follow them. In addition, there are two appendices containing primary references for *serekhs* preserved both on intact pottery jars and on fragments.

The first group (1.a-b) deals with plain (1.a) and anonymous (1.b) *serekh*-signs that by their very nature can not be attributed to specific rulers⁶. The remaining ten groups (2-11) deal with names (some readable, some not) of individual rulers. The final burial places of at least three of these rulers, Iry-Hor, Horus Ka and Horus Narmer, have been positively identified in Cemetery B at Umm el-Ga'ab, Abydos. They are tombs B0/1/2, B7/9 and B17/18 respectively (Kaiser and Dreyer 1982). The importance of this royal necropolis is indirectly reflected in the fact that almost half of the incised *serekh*-signs preserved on ceramic fragments derive from this very site (see Table 2). They are mainly of kings Iry-Hor⁷ and Horus Ka (see Table 3).⁸

Pottery-incised *serekh*-signs dating to Dynasty 0 to early First Dynasty have been found in settlement and cemetery sites in both Lower and Upper Egypt, at various late Early Bronze Age Ib (EB Ib) settlement sites in the southern Levant and in a mortuary context in Lower Nubia (cf. Appendices A and B). Twenty-five fragments and 27 complete jars derive from Lower Egypt, while 50 fragments and four intact jars come from Upper Egypt, almost all of these last from the Royal Cemetery B at Abydos. Six fragments and three complete jars were found in north Sinai, while thirty-six fragments were recovered in the southern Levant. Only a single fragment comes from Lower Nubia (cf. Table 2). All but four of the *serekh*-signs cited in this study were incised into the wet clay prior to the firing of the jars; the remaining examples were scratched into their surfaces after firing.⁹

⁵ Since then only nine additional complete jars with incised *serekh*-signs have come to my attention (see e.g. Appendix B).

⁶ Kaiser in his 1982 treatment of pottery-incised *serekhs* listed both groups under a single heading *Einfache serekh*. He assumed the general anonymity of these *serekhs* reflects the vessels and their contents were intended for the royal court (Kaiser 1982 : 265, sub 2).

⁷ This name has never been found in (association with) a *serekh* (but see below, note 52). The arrangement of a falcon perching on the 'mouth'-sign actually is more reminiscent of still earlier representations of a falcon perching on a variety of signs (a rectangle, a triangle, a sickle) carved into small bone and ivory tags found in Tomb U-j, Cemetery U, Umm el-Ga'ab, Abydos (Dreyer 1998 : Fig. 79 ; and see below, Iry-Hor).

⁸ Whether some or all of these early rulers belonged to the same Abydene line of kings or whether some stood in opposition to them is beyond the scope of this paper (for one possible scenario see Dreyer 1992). Suffice it to note, for the present, they are identified here by their incised *serekh*-signs.

⁹ The only examples of *serekh*-signs scratched into the exterior of a jar after firing are: nos. 9.a.2.46 (Qustul), 12.80 (En Besor), 12.101 (Tell el-Farkha) and 14.119 (Wadi Umm Balad).

A progressive, though not quiet unilinear development of the *serekh*-signs is noted. The earliest pottery-incised *serekhs*¹⁰ are plain ones and not associated with a falcon. From them there is a development into a more distinct type of *serekh*-signs with a ruler's name/phonogram perching atop the plain *serekh*-sign¹¹. Eventually that type develops into one with 'personalized' *serekh*-signs, starting with Horus Ka¹². This type either has a royal name designation/phonogram **within** the lower part of the *serekh* frame; later the name appears inside the upper part or so-called 'name compartment' of the *serekh* frame. They appear with or without association to a falcon. Some examples are 'anonymous', i.e. the upper 'name compartment' was not inscribed¹³.

Incised marks that frequently accompany *serekh*-signs are from a rather restricted group. The earliest of these¹⁴ are not unlike those found in still earlier **inked** signs accompanying the name of Scorpion I (and some of his predecessors) from Tomb U-j, Umm el-Ga'ab, Abydos. Dreyer (1998) argues for interpreting these 'secondary' plant or tree-like signs as indications of provenance. Thus, the *serekh* would refer to the name of an individual ruler and the secondary signs would literally signify a "plantation" or (funerary) "estate" of the same ruler. Accordingly, such inscriptions should be read thus: "[produce] of the estate of king NN".

Plain and Anonymous *Serekhs* (Group 1a-b)

Twenty-four incised *serekhs* belong to this group. Ten are preserved on complete vessels, 14 as fragments only. They are of two basically different types:

- 1.a Plain *serekhs* (n = 15). They consist of a nearly-square or rectangular, undivided frame containing three to six vertical strokes running from the top to bottom of the *serekh*-sign. They are believed to be a schematic depiction of a niched or paneled palace façade and appear on jars of all four recognized types (I-IV). Therefore, they number in both the earliest (those appearing on Type I jars) as well as the latest (those appearing on Type IV jars) incised *serekh*-signs¹⁵. The upper horizontal border line of the *serekh* frame can be either straight (n = 13) or concave (n = 2). For an interpretation of the origin of the extreme concave plain *serekh*, no. 1.a.1.5 appearing on a Type IIa jar, see below: Double Falcon and Dreyer 1999 : 6.

None of the *serekh*-signs belonging to Group 1.a.1 (complete jars) is associated with a (superimposed or juxtaposed) falcon. And, as far as can be ascertained from the fragmentary state of the remaining plain *serekh* fragments, neither are those of group 1.a.2 (fragments), with the possible exception of the relatively late specimen of no. 1.a.2.5¹⁶ (see also Köhler and van den Brink 2002).

Out of the 15 *serekh*-signs, ten have an additional incised mark or marks either in right (n = 5) or left (n = 5) juxtaposition. There are only two certified cases (nos. 1.a.1.5 and 1.a.2.4) where a plain *serekh* is not 'supported' by a secondary mark. The two remaining specimens of this subgroup are too fragmentary to say anything for certain in this respect. It is perhaps not without significance that, with the exception of three (relatively late) fragments from Cemetery B, Abydos, all intact jars and remaining fragments come from mortuary and settlement contexts in north Sinai and Lower Egypt.

¹⁰ This refers to those *serekhs* of Group 1.a that appear on Type I jars. They are mainly, although not exclusively, found in north Sinai and Lower Egypt.

¹¹ It concerns Double Falcon (n°. 2.a.15, 2.b.1.11 and 2.b.2.16-17), Nar[mer] (n°. 11.a.30) and MAO T.520.3 (n°. 6.18). They appear on Types IIa and III jars.

¹² They are incised into Types III and IVa jars (cf. Table 4).

¹³ For different views on the origin and development of the *serekh*-signs, see Jiménez-Serrano 2000 ; 2001 ; Hendrickx, 2001 ; van den Brink, 2001.

¹⁴ They are often plant or tree-like signs. See e.g. Abusir el-Me'eq (n°. 1.a.1.4) and Helwan (n°. 1.a.1.6).

¹⁵ The plain *serekhs* incised on complete jars have been presented in typo-chronologic order. No serious attempt has been made to do the same for the plain *serekhs* preserved as fragments, since the majority of them is insufficiently diagnostic to allow them to be typed. Based on their contexts it would only be possible to make very general statements concerning their chronology. For instance, the various el-Beda fragments, because of their indirect association with Type IIa jars from the same site, probably are earlier ; the Abydos fragments from Cemetery B are later examples.

¹⁶ I would like to thank G. Dreyer for his kind permission to include this and several other unpublished *serekh* fragments found by him and his team in Abydos.

Group 1.a.1
Plain serekh-signs (intact ceramic jars)

NO. ¹⁷	SITE	REG. NO.	JAR / TYPE	FALCON	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
1.	Wadi el-Arish ²⁰	IM 69.31.367	3* / I	-	+
2.	Helwan, T. 1371. H2 ²¹		/ I	-	
3.	Abusir el-Meleq, T. 1021	Berlin 19330	1* / I	-	+
4.	Abusir el-Meleq, T. 1144	Berlin 19331	2* / I	-	+
5.	Wadi el-Arish ¹⁵	-	4* / IIa	-	-
6.	Helwan	EM00-92	25** / IIc ²²	-	+
7.	Minshat Abu Omar, T. 1210	MAO 1210.21	11* / III	-	+ (2)
8.	Abu Roash, T. 402		24* / IVa	-	+

Group 1.a.1
Plain serekh-signs (intact ceramic jars)

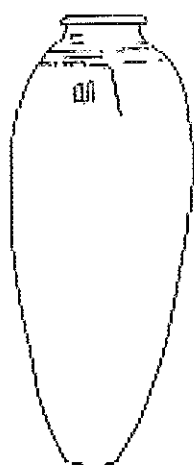


Fig. 1
1.a.1.1 (jar type I)
Wadi el-Arish
Israel Museum 69.31.367



Fig. 3
1.a.1.3 (jar type I)
Abusir el-Meleq T. 1021
Berlin 19330

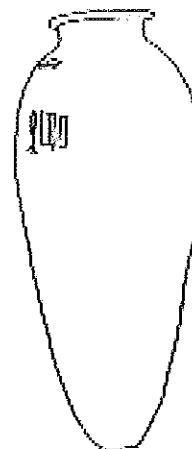


Fig. 4
1.a.1.4 (jar type I)
Abusir el-Meleq T. 1144
Berlin 19331

¹⁷ As an extra, visual aid, numbers 1-33 appearing in *italics* throughout Tables/Groups 1-11 refer to complete jars; plain numbers refer to fragments. The consecutive numbers allotted to complete vessels (nos. 1-33) and fragments (nos. 1-119) alike, have been retained throughout Appendices A and B. Also note that these very same numbers have been retained as Fig./Pl. numbers referring to the very same jars/fragments. For instance, Fig. 17 refers to the intact jar (no. 5.a.1.)17.

¹⁸ Numbers 1-24 suffixed with an asterisk (*) in Tables/Groups 1-11 and Appendix B refer to those used throughout Part I of this study for the complete jars (van den Brink 1996). Numbers 25-33 suffixed with ** refer to additional complete jars not treated in Part I, but presented here.

¹⁹ In this column + stands for 'additional incised sign(s) in association with the *serekh* is/are present'; - stands for 'absence of additional incised signs', and ? stands for 'sherd is too fragmentary to be sure whether additional sign(s) existed or not'.

²¹ Originally believed to have derived from Rafiah. Cf. van den Brink 1996: 156, n. 10

¹⁵ I would like to thank Dr. E. Christiana Köhler for drawing my attention to this jar.

²² In addition to van den Brink's 1996 Types IIa and b, Type IIc is introduced here to describe three non-continuous, pushed-up, vestigial wavy ledge handles (cf. Köhler and van den Brink, in press.)

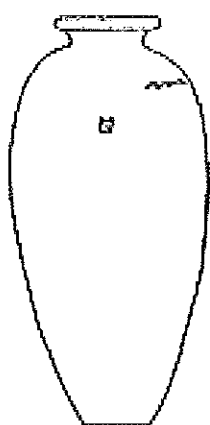


Fig. 5
I.a.1.5 (jar type IIa)
Wadi el-Arish

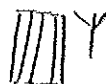
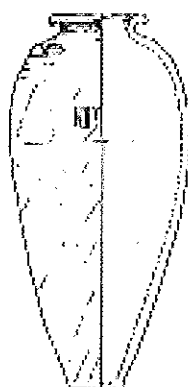


Fig. 6
I.a.1.6 (jar type IIc)
Heluan EM00-92 -

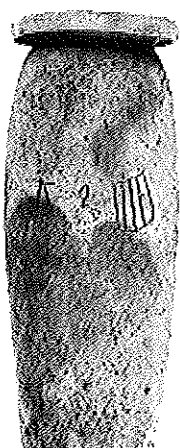
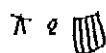


Fig. 7
I.a.1.7 (jar type III)
Minshat Abu Omar T.
1210.21



Fig. 8
I.a.1.8 (jar type IVa)
Abu Roash T. 402

NO.	SITE	REG. NO.	FALCON	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
1.	el-Beda		-	+
2.	Tell Ibrahim Awad	B200/150/186	-	+
3.	Zawiyet el-Aryan, T. Z 401		-	+
4.	Tarkhan		-	-
5.	Abydos	M112	?	+ (falcon?)
6.	Abydos B15		-	+
7.	Abydos O (Djer)			?

Group 1.a.2
Plain serekh-signs (pottery fragments)



Fig. 1
1.a.2.1
el-Beda

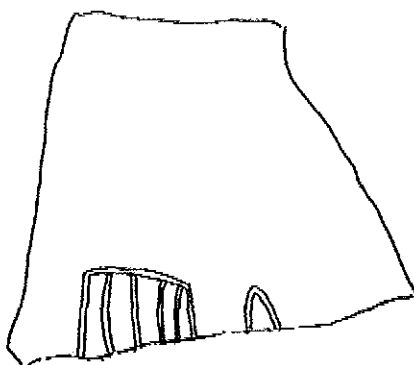


Fig. 2
1.a.2.2
Tell Ibrahim Awad
B200/150/186



Fig. 4
1.a.2.4
Tarkhan



Fig. 3
1.a.2.3
Zawiyet el-Aryan T. Z. 401

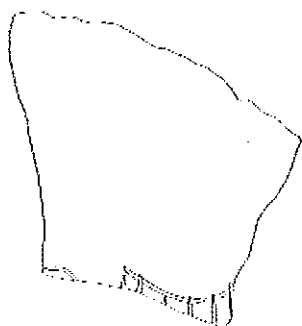
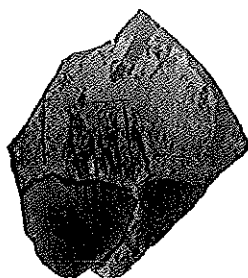


Fig. 5
1.a.2.5
Abydos
M112

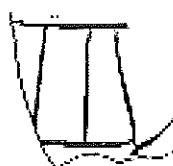


Fig. 6
1.a.2.6
Abydos Tomb B15

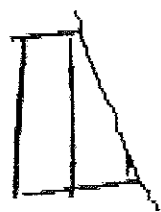


Fig. 7
1.a.2.7
Abydos Tomb O

1.b Anonymous *serekhs* (n = 9). They consist of a rectangular frame divided in its upper portion by a horizontal stroke into two compartments: a small, but otherwise empty upper compartment,²³ and a larger, lower compartment containing a varying number of vertical strokes, believed to be a schematic representation of a paneled palace façade (as those noted above: sub 1.a).²⁴ The top of the upper compartment can be either straight (n = 3) or concave (n = 6). This type thus far has been attested to for certain only on (intact) jars of Type III²⁵ and thus might be conceived of as a further development of the plain *serekh*-signs appearing on the slightly earlier Types I and II jars. In two cases a falcon surmounts an anonymous *serekh*²⁶, while in four cases an additional sign accompanies the anonymous *serekh*. There is an equal number of certified cases where the *serekh* stands alone.

**Group 1.b.1 Anonymous *serekhs* with empty name compartment
(complete jars; n=2)**

NO.	SITE	REG. NO.	JAR / TYPE	FALCON	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
9.	Minshat Abu Omar, T. 1800	MAO 1800.7	26**/ III	+	
10.	Minshat Abu Omar, T. 1640	MAO 1640.13	27**/ III	+	

**Group 1.b.2 Anonymous *serekhs* with [empty] name compartment
(fragments; n=7)**

NO.	SITE	REG. NO.	FALCON	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
8.	Ezbet el-Tell		-	-
9.	Ezbet el-Tell		-	+
10.	Ezbet el-Tell		?	?
11.	Abydos B15	Ashm. E.3986	-	+ (2)
12.	Abydos Z (sic!)		-	-
13.	Abydos U-vy	M473	-	+
14.	Abydos B		-	+

²³ For a refutation of Kaplony's notion in *LA* III, Sp. 59 (Horusnahme) that this would represent an open (palace) court, see Dreyer 1999: 6.

²⁴ Excluded from this group are two incised *serekhs* (n°. 8.b.1.21 and 8.b.1.22) from Turah. Although technically the upper (i.e. 'name') compartment is empty, on these examples the name of the ruler is written in the lower part of the *serekh* (much in the same manner as some of the *serekh*-signs of [Horus] Ka), usually reserved for vertical strokes indicating a niched palace façade. For a rejection of considering the Turah *serekhs* as 'personalized' see Hendrickx, 2001 : 94.

²⁵ Slightly predating the first occurrences of incised 'anonymous' *serekhs* on Type III jars (Nagada III_{b2-c1}; see van den Brink 1996 : Table 5), are similar, ink-inscribed signs on the exterior of net-painted cylindrical jars deriving from Cemetery U, graves U-s (Nagada III_{a2-b1}; see figs. A-B) and U-t [?] (Nagada III_{b1(-2)}; see fig. C); cf. Dreyer 1990 : 57-58, figs. 3a-b; idem 1993: fig. 9; idem 1998 : 89, fig. 69g; 1999 : 6, fig. 4a-b.

²⁶ For a similar, rock-cut arrangement at site H-18 in the Wadi Qash, in the Eastern Desert, see Winkler 1938 : 10, 25, pl. XI.1 (= Emery 1961: 47, fig. 6).

Group 1.b.1
Anonymous *serekh*-signs (intact ceramic jars)



Fig. 9
1.b.1.9 (jar type III)
Minshat Abu Omar T. 1800-7



Fig. 10
1.b.1.10 (jar type III)
Minshat Abu Omar T. 1640.13

Group 1.b.2
Anonymous *serekh*-signs (pottery fragments)

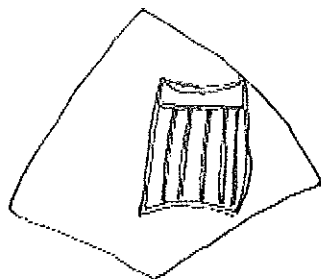


Fig. 8
1.b.2.8
Ezbet el-Tell

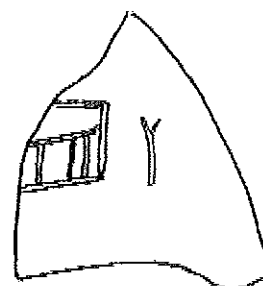


Fig. 9
1.b.2.9
Ezbet el-Tell

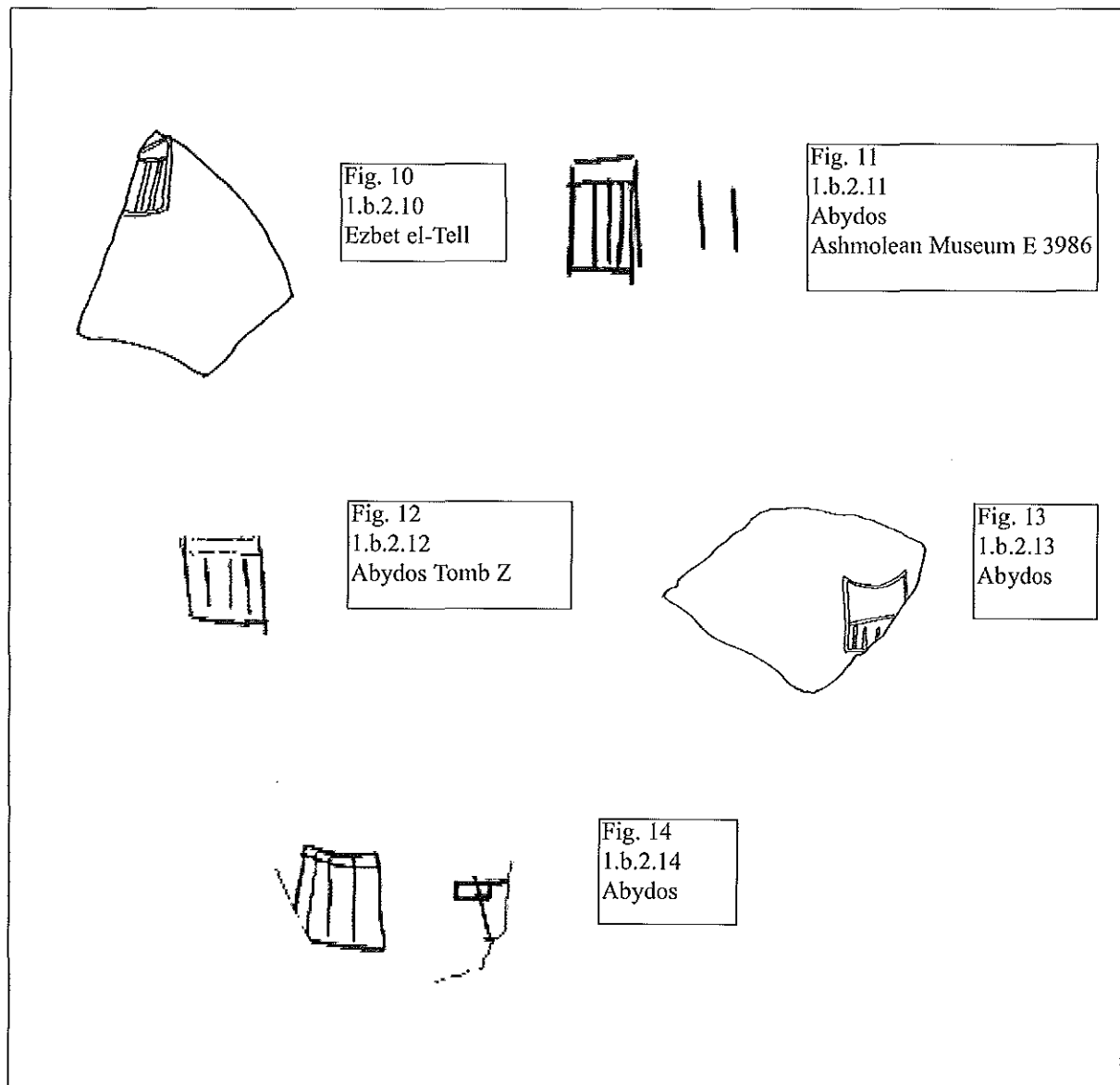
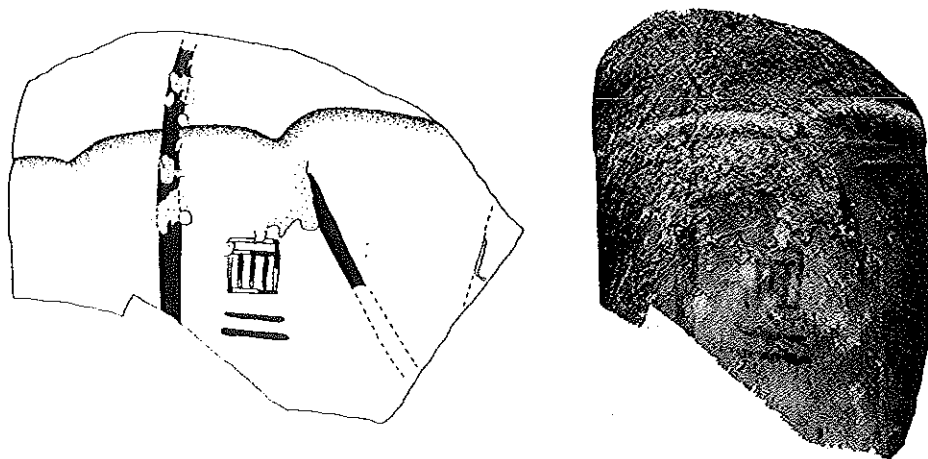
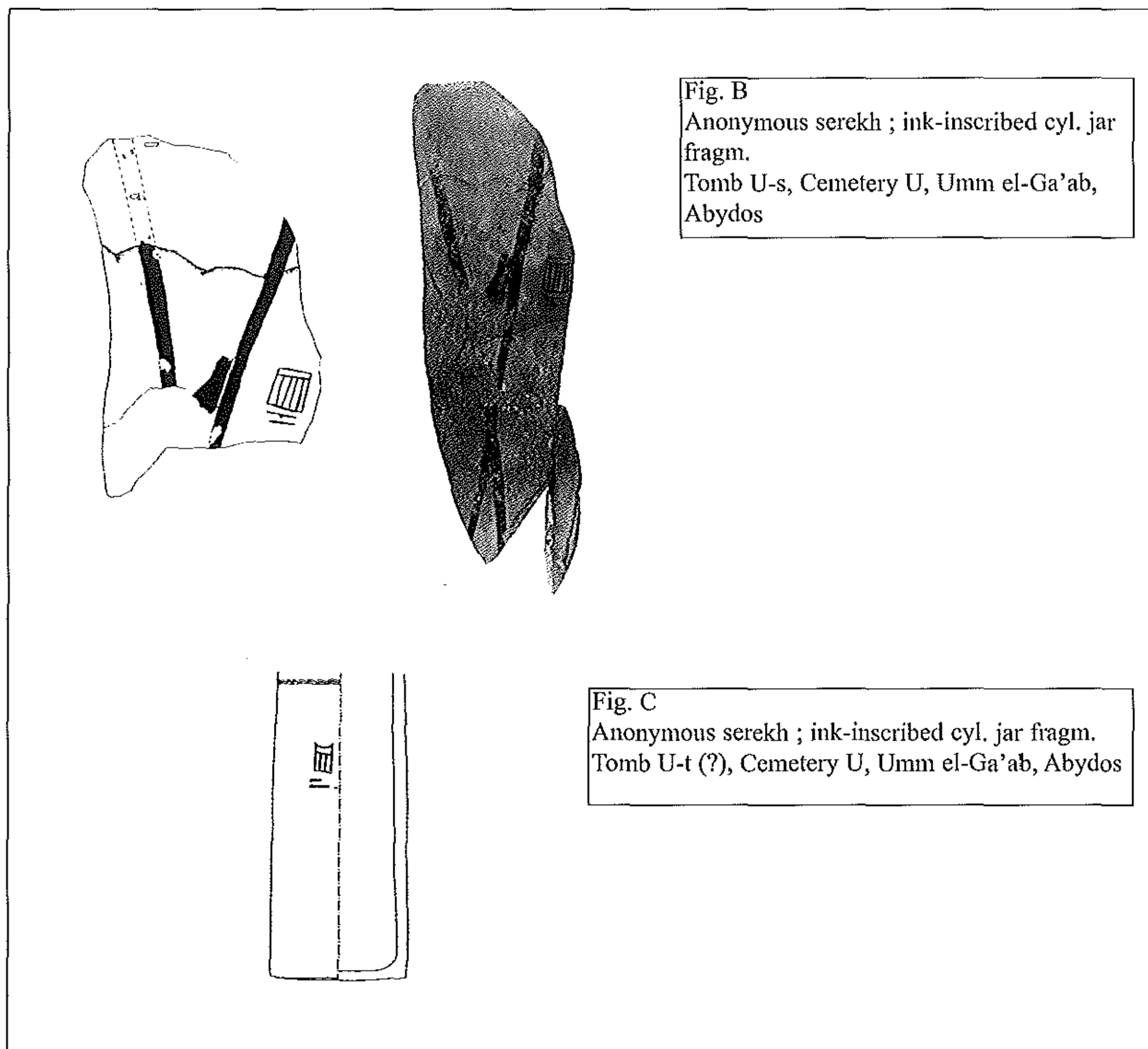


Fig. A
Anonymous *serekh* ; ink-inscribed cyl. jar fragm.
Tomb U-s, Cemetery U, Umm el-Ga'ab, Abydos





Double Falcon (Group 2a-c)

The Double Falcon *serekhs*²⁷ can be considered as more distinct and elaborate than the plain *serekh* (Group 1.a). Such an interpretation is in full agreement with the observation that the sharply concave and punctured (mountain?) sign surmounted by a pair of equally punctured, opposing falcons, was originally not integral to the *serekh* sign,²⁸ but was supplementary to it (Dreyer 1999 : 5-6). This progression from pairs of falcons facing either in the same direction or facing each other, perching atop a plain *serekh*, to pairs of (opposing) falcons perching on a concave sign set atop a plain *serekh*, is further corroborated by recognition that the earliest occurrence of plain incised *serekhs* is on Type I jars. By contrast Double Falcon *serekhs* and few other *serekh*-signs following the same scheme are preserved on the slightly later Types II and III jars (cf. van den Brink 1996 : 142, Table 1).²⁹

The nine incised *serekhs* ascribed to Double Falcon (two preserved on complete vessels, seven as fragments only) fall into three separate groups that may have chronological significance.

²⁷ For a different reading (*Nbwj* "The Two Lords") and interpretation of the Double Falcon *serekhs*, see Jiménez-Serrano 2000 : 123-124.

²⁸ See, however, the plain *serekh* n°. 1.a.1.5 deriving from Wadi el-Arish, which appears, like the Double Falcon *serekh* from el-Beda n°. 2.c.1.11 on a Type II jar and with which it moreover shares the extreme concave/curved top. Yet in the former the concave top is clearly part of the *serekh* frame itself, and not, like the latter, part of an additional 'mountain' sign on top of the *serekh*.

²⁹ These concern Nar (n°. 11.a.30) and MAO 520.3 (n°. 6.18).

- 2.a. This group is noted for a pair of non-antithetical falcons surmounting a plain *serekh*. Only a single example is known so far. Both (non-punctured) falcons face to the right on top of a plain *serekh*. To the right of the *serekh*-sign is an additional incised mark.³⁰ Similar pairs of falcons, perched on so-called “nome standards”, appear e.g. on several ceremonial slate palettes dating from Nagada III.

**Group 2.a (Non-punctured) pair of falcons facing both to the right,
on top of a plain *serekh* (fragment n = 1)**

N°.	SITE	REG. N°.	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
15.	Abydos		+

- 2.b. A pair of opposing falcons characterizes this type, either punctured or left plain, with or without legs, on top of, or above a plain *serekh* (n = 4). The *serekh* frame can contain one to three vertical strokes, indicating the paneled palace-façade.³¹ Although incompletely preserved, I assume that the two opposing falcons on fragment n°. 2.b.2.18 originally were resting also directly atop a plain *serekh*, since the falcons were left plain. The plain *serekh* on fragment n°. 2.b.2.17 is more trapezoidal than rectangular in form. At least three Double Falcon *serekh*-signs of subgroup 2.b are accompanied by an additional incised mark. Notably, all examples of this subgroup derive from north Sinai and Lower Egypt.

Group 2.b.1 (Punctured) Double Falcon on top of plain *serekh* (complete jars ; n = 1)

N°.	SITE	REG. N°.	JAR / TYPE	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
11.	Turah SS (Ezbet Lüthy)		6* / IIa	+

Group 2.b.1

(Punctured) pair of opposing falcons (intact ceramic jar)



Fig. 11
2.b.1.11 (jar type IIa)
Turah SS (Ezbet Lüthy)

Group 2.b.2 (Non-punctured) Double Falcon on top of plain *serekh* (fragment jars ; n = 1)

N°.	SITE	REG. N°.	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
16.	el-Beda		+
17.	Sinai A/137	Δ 5779	+
18.	Tell Ibrahim Awad	B200/150/97	?

Group 2.b.2

(Non-punctured) pair of opposing falcons (pottery fragments)



Fig. 16
2.b.2.16
el-Beda



Fig. 17
2.b.2.17
Sinai A/137, Δ 5779

³⁰ This information is based on a pers. comm. by Eva M. Engel (2001), whom I wish to thank for her kindness in sharing this information and allowing me to note it here.

³¹ *Serekh*-sign n°. 2.b.2.16 as such, divided into two parts by a single vertical stroke, is closely paralleled by Nar's *serekh* n°. 11.a.30 (see below).

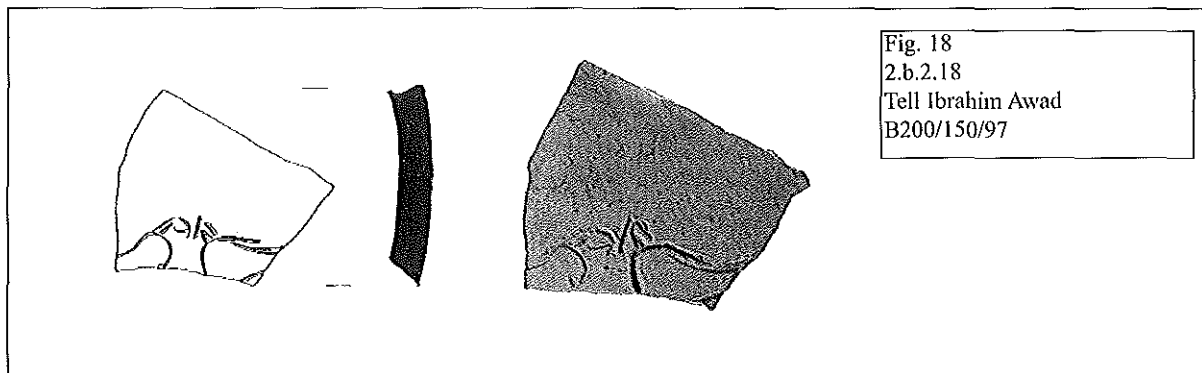


Fig. 18
2.b.2.18
Tell Ibrahim Awad
B200/150/97

2. This group is identified by a pair of opposing and punctured falcons over a punctured mountain-sign on top of a plain *serekh* ($n = 4$). The *serekh* frame contains three to four horizontal strokes indicating the paneled palace façade. Exceptionally, in the case of n°. 2.c.2.20 these three vertical strokes are replaced one above the other.

The fragmentary *serekh* from Palmahim Quarry, Str. 2 (n°. 2.c.2.19) presumably related to this group, has already been dealt with elsewhere (Braun and van den Brink 1998). Here I would only like to add that this *serekh* frame is slightly trapezoidal, reminiscent of the north Sinai fragment n°. 2.b.2.17. Because of the very fragmentary state of the specimen from Adaïma n°. 2.c.2.21, it is of course impossible to tell whether in fact it belongs to group 2.c., or perhaps to group 2.b.³²

In at least two cases the *serekhs* are accompanied by additional marks. The *serekhs* of this subgroup have been identified in the southern Levant, north Sinai and Lower Egypt as well as in Upper Egypt.

**Group 2.c.1 (Punctured) Double Falcon over (punctured)
mountain on top of plain *serekh* (complete jars; $n = 1$)**

N°.	SITE	REG. N°.	JAR / TYPE	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
12.	el-Beda	Ismailia Mus. 1928	5* / IIa	+ (2)

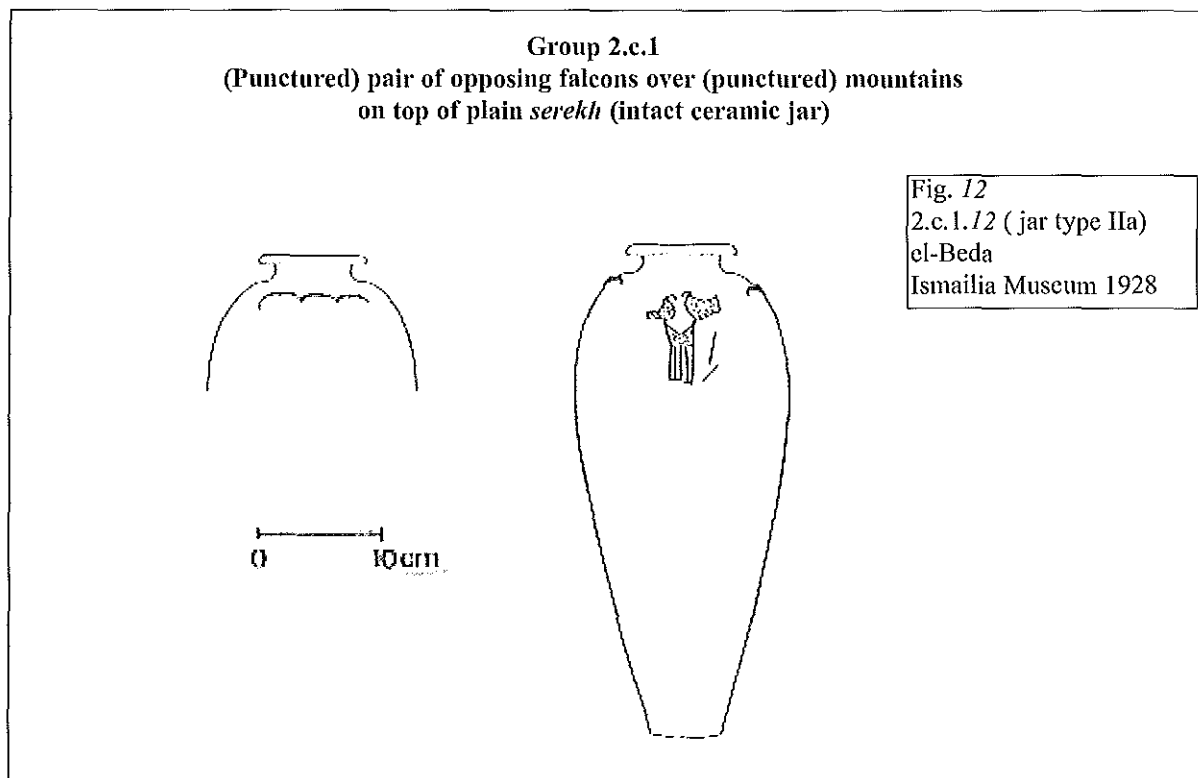


Fig. 12
2.c.1.12 (jar type IIa)
el-Beda
Ismailia Museum 1928

³² Only the upper part of what I presume to be the left [punctured] falcon [thus facing right] is preserved. I thank B. Midant-Reynes for kindly providing me with this unpublished data from her excavations at Adaïma, Upper Egypt and for permission to represent it here.

**Group 2.c.2 (Punctured) Double Falcon over (punctured) mountain
on top of plain *serekh* (fragments ; n = 3)**

Nº.	SITE	REG. Nº.	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
19.	Palmahim, str. 2	1617/504; 1617/522.1	+ 33
20.	el-Beda		+
21.	Adaïma, 1060/175	AD 98/178	?

**Group 2.c.2
(Punctured) pair of opposing falcons over (punctured) mountains
on top of plain *serekh* (pottery fragments)**

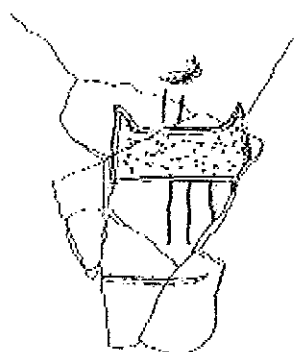
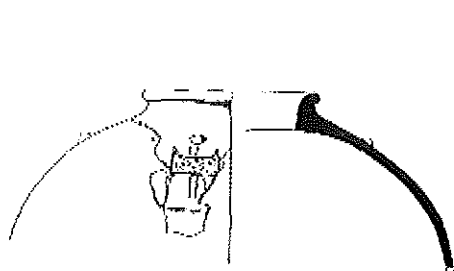
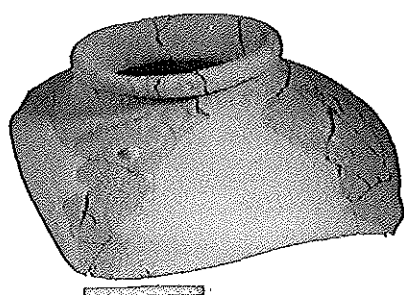


Fig. 19
2.c.2.19
Palmahim Stratum 2



10 cm

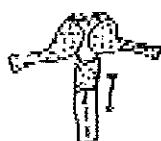


Fig. 20
2.c.2.20
el-Beda



Fig. 21
2.c.2.21
el-Adaïma, AD98/178

³³ For a slightly similar *serekh*-sign deriving from Hierakonpolis, Loc. HK. 64, cf. Jiménez-Serrano 2000 : ch. 4, p. 167, tipo 2F35a.

Nj(-Hr) (Group 3a-b)

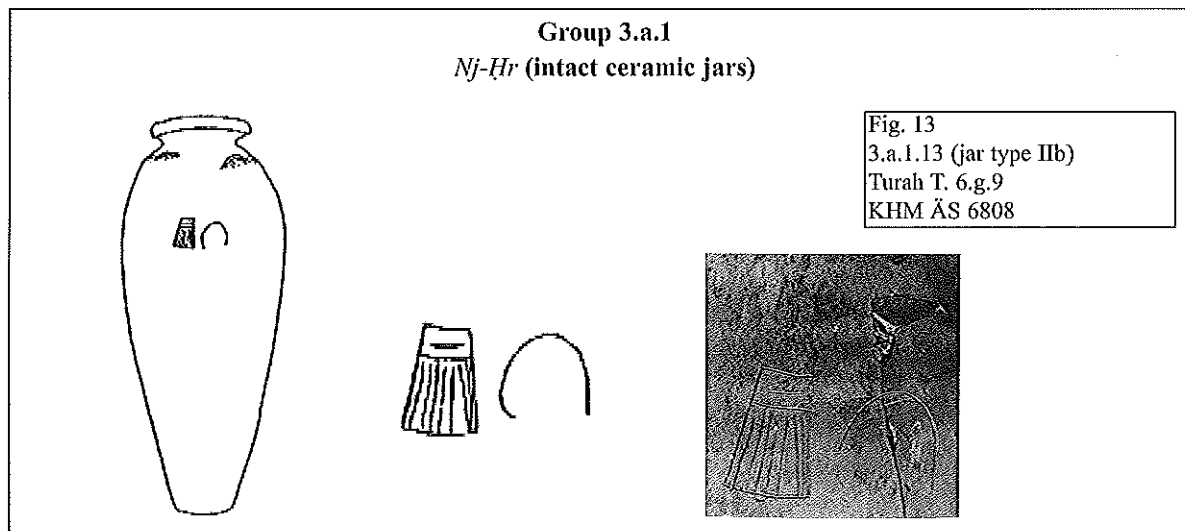
Seven incised *serekhs* belong to this group. Three are preserved on complete vessels, four as fragments only. They are of two different types:

3.a One type consists of *serekhs* composed of a rectangular frame divided into a narrow upper compartment and a more spacious lower compartment containing two to seven vertical strokes, rendering a paneled palace façade (n = 5). In this respect they are stylistically related to the anonymous *serekhs* of Group 1.b. By contrast with the latter, however, the present all have a single sign (a straight, horizontal stroke) in the upper (i.e. "name") compartment. A reading for this (cursive) sign as *Nj(-Hr)* has been suggested by Kaiser (1982: 264),³⁴ but Hendrickx (2001) offers an altogether different interpretation.

As in the case of the *serekhs* of Group 1.b, the top of the upper compartment can be either straight (n = 3) or concave (n = 2). This type thus far has been attested for certain on jars of Types IIb and III. Only in one case does the falcon surmount a *serekh*, thus vindicating the reading of *Nj-Hr* as suggested by Kaiser.³⁵ Note that this specimen (n°. 3.a.1.15) is read by others as Horus Nar(mer).³⁶ However, since the sign preserved in n°. 3.a.1.15 is identical with all the others included in Group 3.a., there is no compelling reason to separate the former from the rest.³⁷ Either they are all to be read as *Nj(-Hr)* or the like, or, in case one opts for a reading of (Horus) Nar(mer) for specimen no. 3.a.1.15, they all should be read (Horus) Nar(mer).³⁸

Group 3.a.1 *Nj-Hr* (Complete jars ; n = 3)

N°.	SITE	REG. N°.	JAR / TYPE	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
13.	Turah, T. 6.g.9	KHM ÄS 6808	7* / IIb	+
14.	Turah, T. 9.g.1		8* / IIb	+
15.	Ezbet el-Tell	182	21* / III	+



³⁴ A *serekh*-sign, very similar in particular to no. 3.a.13 (even to the extent of an equal number of seven vertical lines making up the paneling) was uncovered in the temple at Abydos (Petrie 1903: 27, Pl. III, 216). It is given, however, by Jiménez-Serrano (2000: 170, tipo 4F32a) a post-Narmer date.

³⁵ The direct association of a personalized *serekh* with a (single) falcon on top is attested for the first time on Type III jars with the names of *Nj-Gr* (no. 3.a.1.15), Horus *Nj Nj.t* (?) (no. 5.a.1.17), Horus (Crocodile) the Subduer (?) (no. 7.19), Horus ? (no. 8.a.20), Horus Ka (nos. 10.a.1.28, 10.a.2.49, 10.b.1.29, 10.b.2.51 [?]) and Horus Narmer (nos. 11.b.1.31-32, 11.b.2.61-62, 11.d.2.73 [?]). Also attested for the first time on Type III jars are anonymous *serekhs* associated with a (single) falcon (nos. 1.b.1.9-10). For the only possible association of a plain *serekh* and a falcon, see no. 1.a.2.5. For another possible association of a Horus (perching a bark or boomerang) with the *Nj*-sign, cf. Quibell 1900: Pl. 34; Quibell and Green 1902: Pl. 48a. Jiménez-Serrano, however, considers the straight line to represent water (below the bark; Jiménez-Serrano [2000: 115, Tipo 3B35b]; pers.comm. 2000).

³⁶ See, for instance, Leclant and Clerc, 1986: Tab. XI, 6; Jiménez-Serrano 2000: 133, Tipo 4D12a.

³⁷ The only difference between the vertical stroke in the "name compartment" of no. 3.a.1.15 and others belonging to this group is that in the former the line is somewhat more extended and fills the inside space of the "name compartment" to its full extent. In the latter instances these strokes are slightly shorter, leaving space between the extremes of the horizontal stroke and the borders of the name compartment.

³⁸ An additional argument against reading no. 3.a.1.15 as Nar(mer) is the observation that even though the incised name of (Horus) Nar(mer) can be rendered in a variety of (abbreviated) ways (see below, Group 11a-d), none is written with a single, horizontal stroke. Even the most cursive writing of Narmer's name (no. 11.d.3.77, deriving from Hierakonpolis) is still a wedge-shape sign, in no way approaching a single, horizontal line. The horizontal stroke appearing in Horus (Nar)mer's *serekh* no. 11.b.1.31 is considered here not as the first part of Narmer's name, viz. *n'r*, but as a space divider constituting the base line of an (otherwise empty) "name compartment".

Fig. 14
3.a.1.14 (jar type IIb)
Turah T. 9.g.1



Fig. 15
3.a.1.15 (jar type III)
Ezbet el-Tell
182

Group 3.a.2 *Nj(-Hr)* (Fragments; n=2)

N°.	SITE	REG. N°.	ADDITIONAL SIGN(s)
22.	Small Tel Malhata		?
23.	Buto, Str. IVc	TEF 87 T IX 56 27	?

Group 3.a.2
Nj-Hr (pottery fragments)

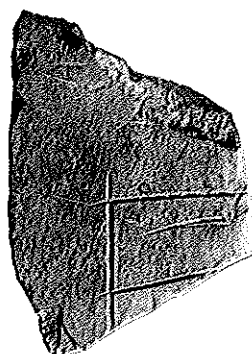
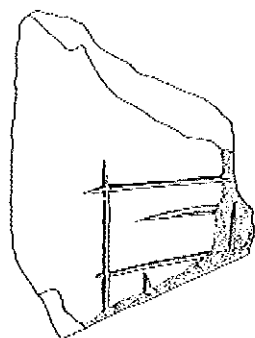


Fig. 22
3.a.2.22
Small Tel Malhata

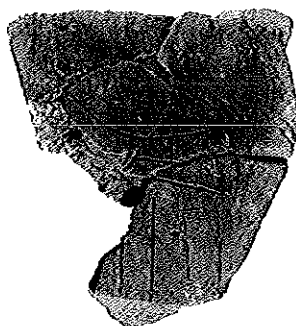
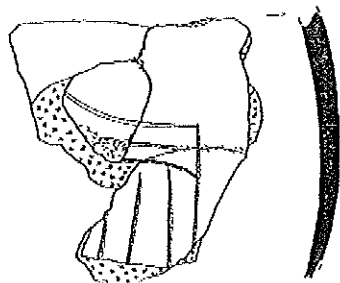


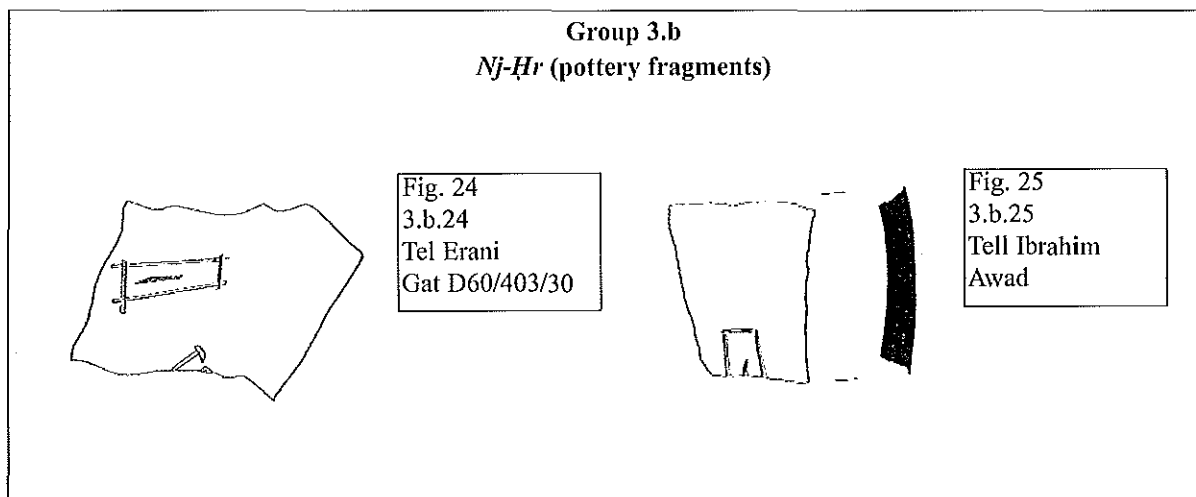
Fig. 23
3.a.2.23
Buto, Stratum IV,
TeF87 T IX5627

10 cm

3.b The '*serekh*'-signs, provided that that is what we are dealing with here in this sub-group, consist only of narrow, rectangular name compartments (incised either horizontally or vertically) containing the *N.j(-Hr)* sign (n = 2). They lack the lower renditions of a paneled palace façade, typical of the *serekh*-signs of group 3.a.

Group 3.b *N.j-Hr* (Fragments ; n = 2)

N°.	SITE	REG. N°.	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
24.	Tel Erani	Gat D60/403/30 ³⁹	+
25.	Tell Ibrahim Awad	B200/150/186	?



In four cases the *serekhs* of group 3.a-b are accompanied by an additional sign, each different from the other. The remaining three *serekhs* in this group are too fragmentary for me to be certain whether or not they were accompanied by an additional sign. Examples of *N.j-Hr serekh*-signs were uncovered in a late Early Bronze Age I settlement in the southern Levant (Ilan, 2002) and in both settlement and cemetery contexts in Lower Egypt. They have not been identified in Upper Egypt.

H3.t-Hr (Group 4)

Thus far only a single incised *serekh* attested to this ruler, and read by Kaiser (1982: 264) as *H3.t-Hr*, has been identified. It appears on a Type IIb jar from the cemetery at Tarkhan. The *serekh* is juxtaposed to the left with a *hd*-like sign.⁴⁰

Group 4. *H3.t-Hr* (Complete jar; n = 1)

N°.	SITE	REG. N°.	JAR / TYPE	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
16.	Tarkhan, T. 1702	U.C. 16084	9* / IIb	+

³⁹ Contrary to what is stated in Yeivin's original publication of this 'ostracon' (Yeivin 1963: 205), the correct reg. n°. of this fragment is Gat D60/403/30 and not Gat D60/403/60. I am thankful to Baruch Brandl (IAA, Jerusalem) for pointing this out to me.

⁴⁰ At least four other personalized *serekhs*, each belonging to a different ruler, but with similar juxtaposed signs (all to the right of the *serekh*-signs) are known (cf. n°. 7.19, 8.a.20, 10.a.1.28, and 11.b.1.31). In three other cases *hd*-like signs are written within the lower *serekh* frame's compartment (cf. n°. 8.b.1.21, 8.b.1.22 and 11.b.1.32).

Group 4.
H3.t-Hr (intact jar)

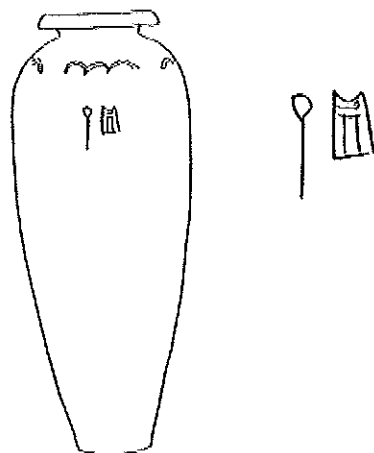


Fig. 16
4.16 (Type IIb)
Tarkhan, T. 1702
U.C. 16084

Horus *N.j Nj.t* [?] (Group 5)

A single *serekh*, appearing on a Type III jar⁴¹ and consisting of a niched façade with a straight-roofed "name compartment" contains the name of a hitherto unrecorded Horus *N.j Nj.t* (see below). It is unique in that it is not **surmounted** by a falcon, but rather **juxtaposed** with one facing it to the right. The only other two **possible** examples of an incised falcon juxtaposed with a *serekh*-sign known to me are on an unpublished fragment from Cemetery B at Umm el-Ga'ab, Abydos (n°. 1.a.2.5) and on a sherd found by Petrie (1900 : pl. XLIV.1), co-joining a fragment uncovered by G. Dreyer from the very same cemetery (n°. 11.d.2.73).

The falcon is very similar to another, still unpublished fragment of an incised falcon uncovered at Cemetery B, Tomb B10 at Umm el-Ga'ab, Abydos (no. 5.a.2.26). Comparable details are in the shape of the tails, bent legs, and the indication of the eyes of both falcons. This is one of only very few cases in which I feel confident enough to state that both specimens are most likely incised by one and the same person for one and the same ruler.

The name sign, consisting of two crossed lines with a small horizontal stroke above it appears to be a cursive form, either of the hieroglyph of a pintail duck (Gardiner's [1978] Sign list G39 or, less likely, G33) or that of the emblem of Neith, the two crossed arrows (Kahl's 1994 Sign list, r 3) with a short horizontal stroke above it, most likely the n (Gardiner's Sign list N35).⁴²

If the former interpretation is correct, Jochem Kahl proposes to read the name as Horus S3 (Z3) or *Hip.w* (*Hp*).⁴³ While real cursive *serekh*-inscriptions do occur, they are quite rare.⁴⁴ Since, on the other hand, references to Neith are attested in early First Dynasty royal (female) theophorous names like Neith-hotep, Her-Neith and Mer-Neith, I personally would opt for the second reading proposed by Jochem Kahl, viz. Horus *N.j Nj.t* "He who belongs to Neith".

⁴¹ This vessel, uncovered by the late Z. Y. Saad during his excavations at Helwan, was among four jars recently retrieved from the stores of the Cairo Museum by E. Ch. Köhler. I would like to thank her for her permission to discuss this jar here as well as for her kind suggestion to publish this and three other jars from Helwan in a joint paper (see Köhler and van den Brink 2002).

⁴² I am very thankful to Jochem Kahl who provided the information in two pers. comm. (dd. September 2000 and July 2001) that allows me to make this statement.

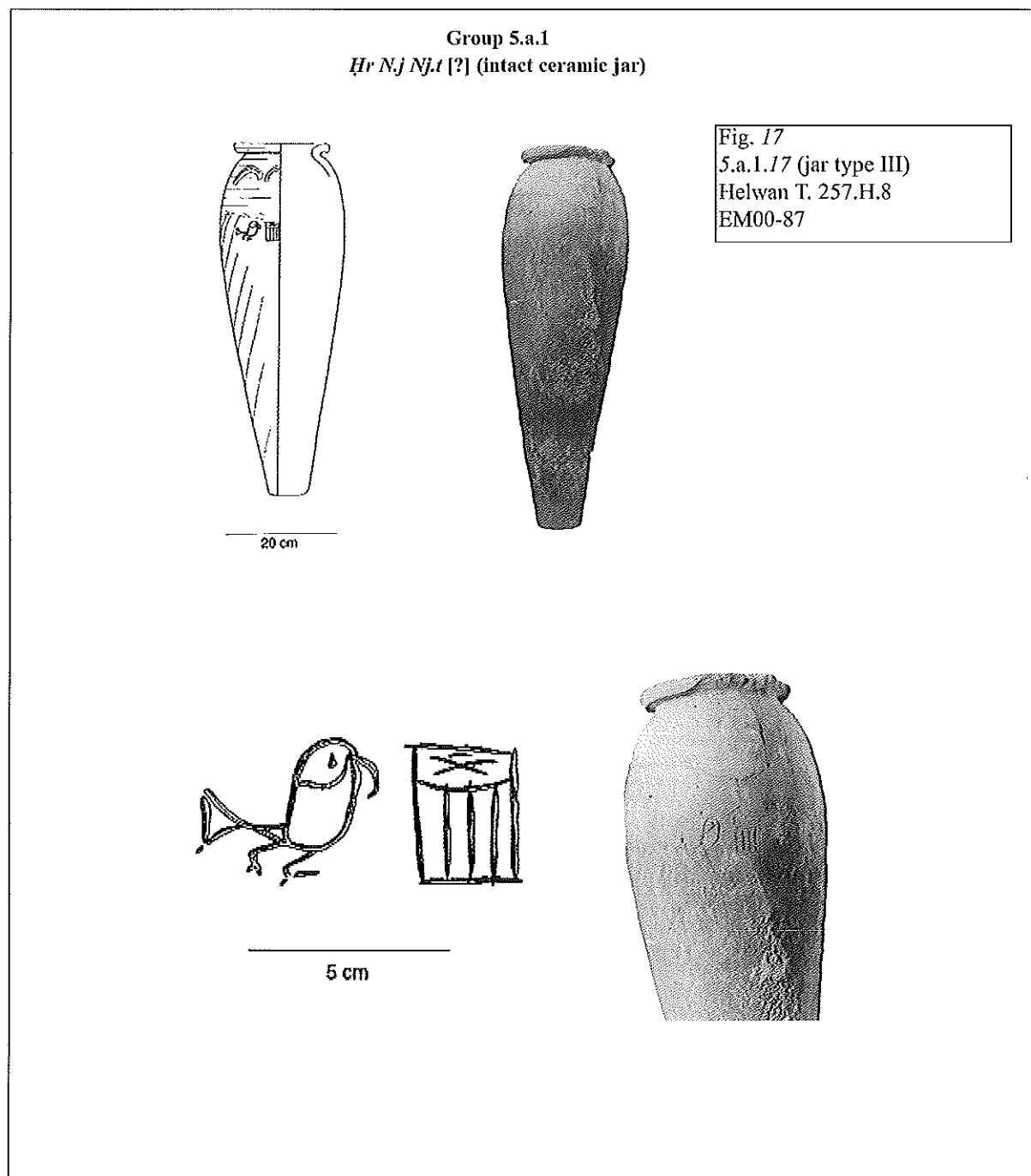
⁴³ Cf. Kahl 1994 : 529-530. For, admittedly later, parallels of the cursive form of this sign, cf. Goedicke 1988 : 16 : Helwan ; Abusir 35C, 4.f, 45B ; see also James 1962: XII.6 for the stroke above the crossed lines. Based on the typology of the jar, it slightly predates the thus far earliest occurrence of this sign [*s3/hp*] during the reign of Horus Aha.

⁴⁴ See e.g. Junker 1912 : 46f., 64-65 ; cf. Kaiser-Dreyer 1982 : 263-267.

The Neith emblem (on a standard) appears even earlier (Nagada IIIa₂) on a cylinder seal impression found in tomb U-j (see Dreyer 1998: 109-110, Abb. 72e). Since the principal shrine of Neith was located in Sais in the northwest Delta, this ruler's name perhaps expresses a Lower Egyptian affiliation, notwithstanding the apparent association of his *serekh*-sign with a falcon/Horus in juxtaposition.

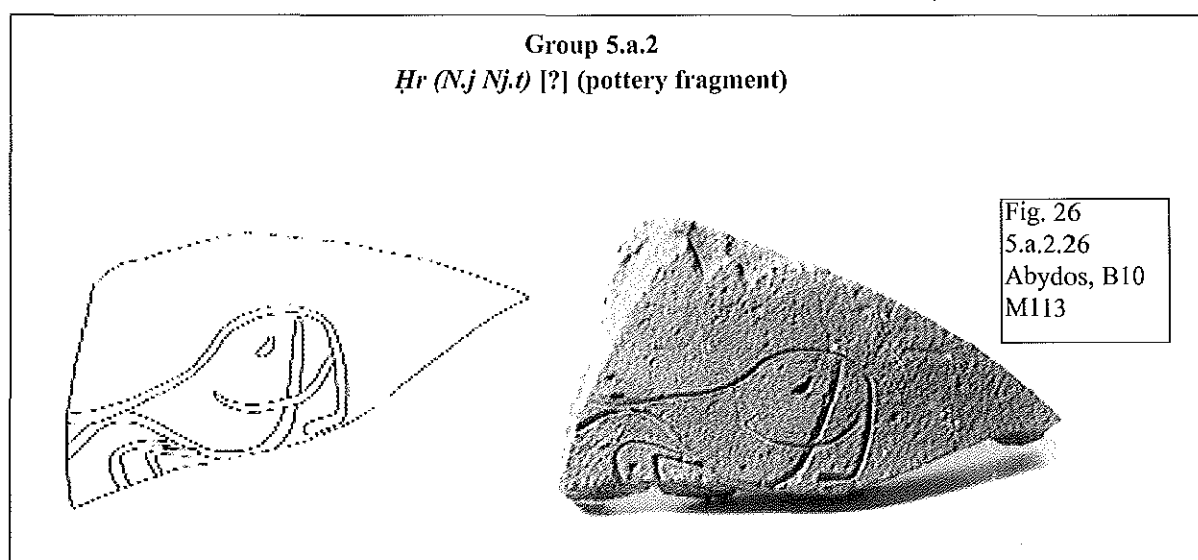
Group 5.a.1 Horus *N.j Nj.t* [?] *serekh* juxtaposed by a falcon (complete jar ; n = 1)

N°.	SITE	REG. N°.	JAR / TYPE	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
17.	Helwan, T 257.H.8	EM00-87	28* / III	-



Group 5.a.2 Horus *Nj Nj.t* [?] (fragment ; n = 1)

N°.	SITE	REG. N°.	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
26.	Abydos B10	M113	?

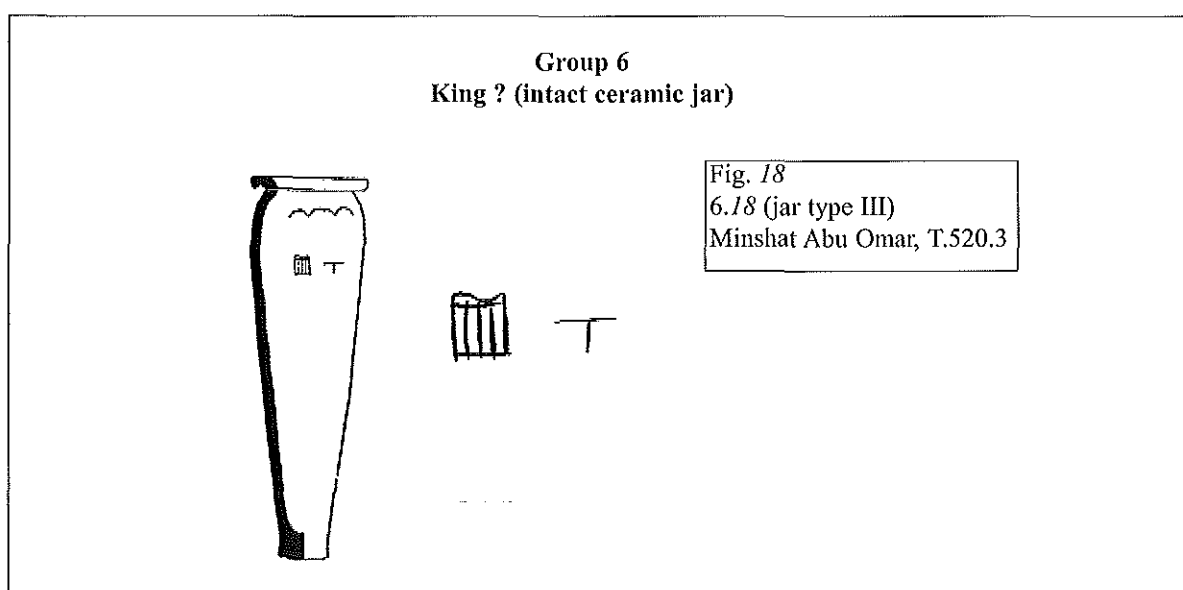


Serekh of King ? (Group 6)

A single instance of this ruler's name is written as an apparently cursive sign on top of a plain *serekh*. To the right of the *serekh* is an additional incised sign. So far no suggestions for reading this phonogram have been put forward. It is one of only few incised *serekh*-signs with a ruler's name/phonogram perching atop a plain *serekh*-sign. The others are of Double Falcon (n°. 2.a.15, 2.b.1.11 and 2.b.2.16-17) and Nar (n°. 11.a.30). While the former appear, as far as can be ascertained, on Type IIa jars, the present *serekh* is incised into a Type III jar, albeit a small one (height of the vessel ca. 50 cm), and, therefore, must be dated slightly later than those appearing on Type IIa jars.

Group 6. Unreadable *serekh* names (complete jar ; n = 1)

N°.	SITE	REG. N°.	JAR / TYPE	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
18.	Minshat Abu Omar, T. 520	MAO 520.3	12* / III	+



Once more only a single instance of this ruler's name is attested. The personalized *serekh* has a cursive sign written in the 'name compartment'. For the proposed reading of this name I recall an article by G. Dreyer (1992). Contrary to the prevailing opinion that the Horus name contained in two almost identical ink inscriptions on cylindrical jars uncovered in the cemetery of Tarkhan⁴⁵ consisted of a single sign, read as Scorpion,⁴⁶ Dreyer convincingly demonstrated that the Horus names in these *serekhs* in fact consist of two, separate cursive signs, one above the other (Dreyer 1992: figs. 1b, 2b). He based himself on new infra-red photographs of the inscriptions on the jars (Dreyer 1992: figs. 1a, 2a). The top-most sign of these two ink inscriptions would read *Sbk* or *Hmz* "Crocodile"; the bottom one, he suggests, most likely represents a coil of rope (Gardiner 1978, sign list VI), possible read *šnj(w)* "the Subduer", an attribute of the name of Horus Crocodile, in the same manner as the name of Horus Narmer is composed of a noun (*n'r*) and an adjective (*mr*).

In light of the above mentioned readings I briefly discuss *serekh* n°. 7.19 found on a Type III winejar from the cemetery at Minshat Abu Omar (jar MAO 160.1; Kroeper and Wildung 1994: 159, 160/1), in the past also ascribed to Horus Scorpion, although not without reservations.⁴⁷ Incised before firing into the wet clay on the shoulder of this relatively tall and narrow jar, it is surmounted by a falcon facing left, accompanied at the right side by a single sign reminiscent of Gardiner (1978)'s Sign list T3 (*hḏ*). Within the upper, 'name compartment' of the *serekh* is the sign interpreted in the past as Scorpion. I argue here for the possibility of reading this *serekh* as *Hr (Sbk) šnj(w)* "Horus (Crocodile) the Subduer". This interpretation is based on a certain similarity⁴⁸ between the MAO 160.1 phonogram and the second name component identified by Dreyer as *šnj(w)* in the two ink inscriptions from Tarkhan noted above. This observation is corroborated with another, much closer parallel of this sign found on a cylinder seal of Early Dynastic date read by Kaplony (1963, III : pl. 108, fig. 552) as *šnj*.⁴⁹

A second part of my argument is based on an analogous, although admittedly exceptional case of writing of (Horus Nar)mer's name, also incised in the wet clay of a similar Type III jar uncovered in the same cemetery (MAO 44.3 ; see below n°. 11.b.1.31). Similarly, in this instance the noun (*n'r*) was omitted and the ruler can be identified only by its attribute/adjective (*mr*) appearing within a *serekh* with empty 'name compartment'. Like MAO 160.1 (n°. 7.19), the (Nar)mer *serekh* (n°. 11.b.1.31) is surmounted by a falcon facing left.

The MAO 160.1 jar is dated by Kaiser (1990 : 291, Anm. 23) not earlier than Iry-Hor and not later than Horus Aha⁵⁰ The two ink inscriptions of Horus Crocodile the Subduer are dated to the reigns of Dynasty 0 rulers Iry-Hor and/or Horus Ka (Dreyer 1992 : 260, Datierung) on the basis of their paleography, the type of cylindrical jars⁵¹ on which they appear as well as on further typo-chronological considerations concerning additional ceramic grave goods found together with the two ink-inscribed jars.

⁴⁶ Kaplony (1963 : 1090) called it "*Skorpione mit Stachel nach unten*" ("scorpion with sting downwards"), a view accepted by Kaiser (1964 : 103; see also Kaiser and Dreyer 1982: 103ff.), albeit with reservation. For a different opinion see Helck 1985 : 437; 1987: 93ff.

⁴⁷ See for example Kroeper and Wildung 1985 : 75: "*Beide Horusnamen sind nicht vollkommen klar geschrieben, so dass die Lesungen 'Horus Narmer und Horus Skorpion unsicher bleiben'*"; see also Kaiser and Dreyer 1982: Abb. 15, Anm. U: "*Der Bezug von Grab 160 in Minshat Abu Omar auf Skorpion ist andererseits nicht gänzlich sicher*".

⁴⁸ This similarity, admittedly seemingly remote, becomes stronger if one keeps in mind that the MAO 160.1 incised inscription is applied mirror-like (from left to right) in comparison with the two Turah ink inscriptions (written from right to left). This, however, doesn't explain away the "upside-downness" of the MAO 160.1 sign in comparison to the lowermost signs in the two above mentioned examples from Turah.

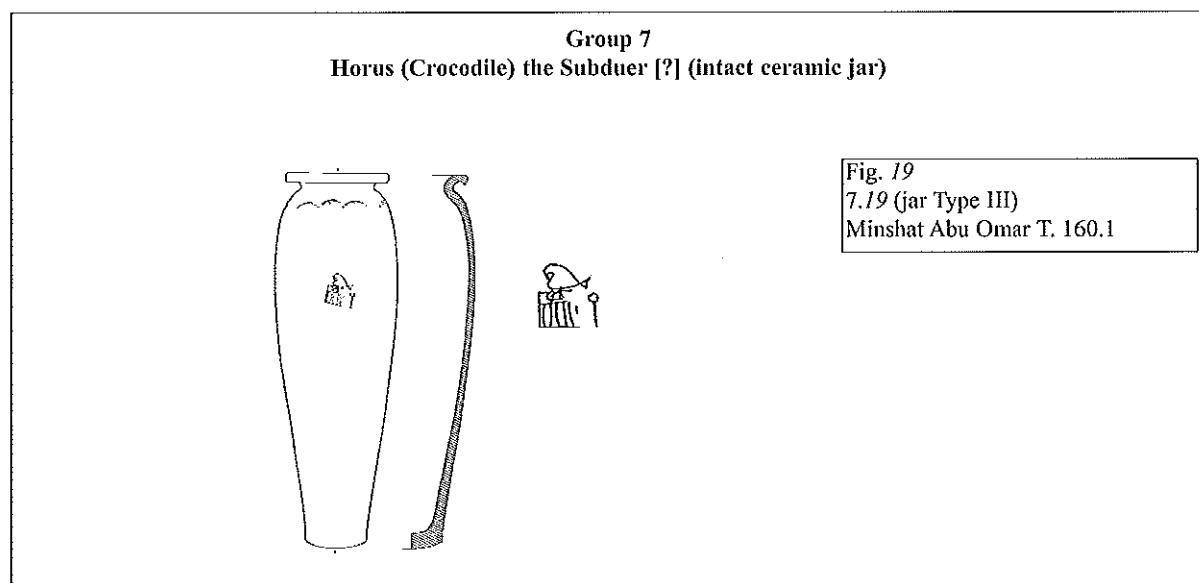
⁴⁹ It concerns a cylinder seal of ?nj-k3-Inpw, with *i3h*-title (cf. Kaplony op. cit.); the direction of writing is the same in both examples.

⁵⁰ "*Darüber hinaus sagt der Keramikbestand des Grabes nicht mehr aus, als dass er nicht vor Iry-Hor und nicht nach Aha liegen sollte*" (Kaiser 1990 : 291, Anm. 23).

⁵¹ "*Die Gefässe weisen beide eine einfache, gerade Zierrille unterhalb des Randes auf (...)*" (Dreyer 1992 : 260).

Horus (Crocodile) the Subduer (?) Group 7 (*complete jar* ; n = 1)

N°.	SITE	REG. N°.	JAR / TYPE	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
19.	Minshat Abu Omar, T. 160	MAO 160.1	13* / III	

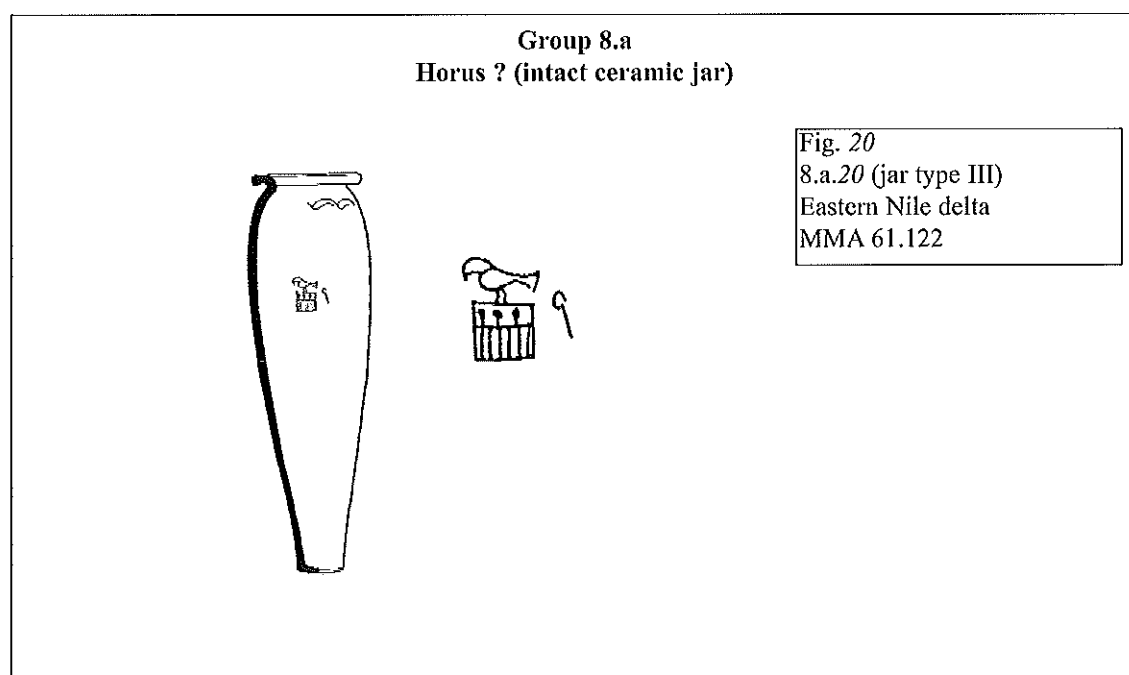


Horus ? (Group 8a-b)

8a. In this group the main component of this ruler's name are three vertical, *Id*-like signs appearing in the upper, i.e. "name compartment" of the *serekh*, surmounted by a falcon, facing to the left. To the right of the *serekh* is an additional, incised, *hd*-like sign.⁵²

Horus ? Group 8.a (*complete jar* ; n = 1)

N°.	SITE	REG. N°.	JAR / TYPE	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
20.	East Delta	MMA 61.122	17* / III	+



⁵² It concerns a ruler labeled - for want of better- as 'King A' by Wilkinson (1999 : 56). Jiménez-Serrano (2000 : 138) connects this name with grain and agriculture.

8b. In this group the three vertical, *hḏ*-like signs appear in the lower compartment of the *serekh*, much in the same way as sometimes the names of (Horus) Ka (n°.10.b.1.29, 10.b.2.51, 10.b.2.53-55) and (Horus) Nar(mer) (n°.11.b.1.31-32, cf. also n°.11.b.2.60) are written in the space that is usually reserved for the palace-façade. Whether the only incompletely preserved *serekh* no. 8.b.2.28 really belongs to this group is not certain at all; although it seems to share the presence of (originally three?) *hḏ*-like signs in the lower compartment, another sign (a horizontal stroke?) seems to be written in the upper, 'name compartment', in contrast to nos. 8.b.1.20-21.

These *serekh*-signs appear only on Type III (n = 3) jars. In all three cases additional incised signs accompany the *serekhs*. The complete jars both derive from Lower Egypt, while the fragment derive from Abydos, Upper Egypt.

Group 8.b.1 (Horus) ? (*complete jars* ; n = 2)

N°.	SITE	REG. N°.	JAR / TYPE	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
21.	Turah, T. 5.g.2	KHM ÄS 6805	18* / III	+
22.	Turah, T. 17.7.1.a		19* / III	+

Group 8.b.1 Horus ? (intact ceramic jars)



Fig. 21
8.b.1.21 (jar type III)
Turah T. 5.g.2
KHM ÄS 6805



Fig. 22
8.b.1.22 (jar type III)
Turah T. 17.7.1.a

Group 8.b.2 (Horus?) ? (*fragment* ; n = 1)

N°.	SITE	REG. N°.	JAR / TYPE	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
27.	# not used!			
28.	Abydos Tomb U			+

Group 8.b.2 Horus ? (pottery fragments)

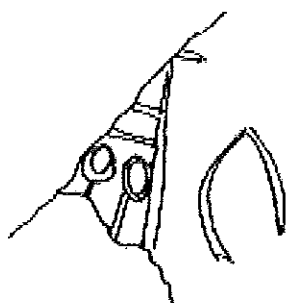


Fig. 28
8.b.2.28
Abydos Tomb U

Iry-Hor (Group 9)

The most characteristic feature of this group is the invariable presence of a falcon and the equally unvarying absence of a *serekh*-sign.⁵³ Twenty-two pottery inscriptions refer to this Abydene ruler.⁵⁴ Four are preserved on complete jars, ⁵⁵ 18 on fragments. ⁵⁶

They all share the same characteristics: A falcon, with two legs usually straight, but occasionally also bent, facing either to the right (n = 16) or left (n = 5), surmounting or hovering over a single sign. The shape of this sign varies from oval to circular, from elliptic to triangular ⁵⁷ and, in one case (exceptionally applied post-firing) is rectangular-squarish. ⁵⁸ The arrangement as such actually is more in line with the earlier representations of falcons perching on a š-sign or on a 'Krumholz', attested for in Cemetery U, Tomb j, Abydos (e.g. Dreyer 1998 : Abb. 79), than with the incised *serekh*-signs proper. This sign combination is frequently (n = 8) accompanied by an additional incised mark. Twice the name of Iry-Hor is certified on Type III jars, twice on Type IVa jars and once on a Type IVc jar. But for two, all specimens (n = 11 ; cf. Kaiser and Dreyer 1982) derive either from Iry-Hor's very burial place Tomb B0/1/2 or from its immediate environs (n = 9) at Abydos. As for the remaining two specimens, one derives from a cemetery site in Lower Egypt that also yielded a cylinder seal impression with the name of Iry-Hor, the other comes from an elite cemetery site in Lower Nubia.

Group 9.a.1 Iry-Hor (*complete jars* ; n = 4)

Nº.	SITE	REG. Nº.	JAR / TYPE	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
23.	Abydos, B1		14* / III	+
24.	Abydos, B1	U.C. 16089	22* / IVa	+
25.	Abydos, B1	Ashmolean E.847	/ IVa ⁵⁹	+
26.	Abydos, B1	Ashmolean E.4078	/ IVc ⁶⁰	+

⁵³ There is only one case in which an Iry-Hor like incised falcon, equipped with all the trappings of what would have made it an otherwise regular Iry-Hor sign (in this case a falcon surmounting a circle) is indeed associated directly with a *serekh*-sign, incised underneath it. Since this *serekh*-sign, however, contains the name of Nar(mer), it is impossible to attribute it to Iry-Hor. It therefore has been grouped under the Narmer *serekh*-signs (see below, n°. 11.c.62). The only other two interpretations possible for this particular piece are a. that the sign contained in the upper compartment of the *serekh* itself does not refer to Nar(mer), but, somehow, to Iry-Hor or b. -a perhaps more attractive explanation but at this point impossible to proof- is that an affiliation is indicated between Iry-Hor and Nar(mer), even though the reigns of Iry-Hor and Nar(mer) are separated by at least that of one other king, Horus Ka. This would be not unlike the assumption made by some scholars that the juxtaposed names of *Mn* and Aha found incised on a small ivory tablet expresses a relationship between *Mn*/Menes and Aha.

⁵⁴ Wilkinson (1993) initially expressed some doubts about the royal status of Iry-Hor, which he later on slightly reappraised (Wilkinson 1999 : 55).

⁵⁵ Four complete jars with incised Iry-Hor's name should be considered a minimum number. It is well possible that Petrie 1900 : Pl. XLIV, 3, 6 and 8 (here n°. 9.a.2.33-34, 9.a.2.37) are preserved on intact jars as well, since no 'breakage lines' have been indicated by Petrie in these figures; however, since the present location of these specimens is unknown to me, I could not verify this. They have been listed, therefore, under 'fragments'.

⁵⁶ For another possible, although very fragmentarily preserved incised name of Iry[-Hor], deriving from Tel Lod in Israel, see below, Group 14. 114. In addition to the pottery-incised names of Iry-Hor, his name is attested on at least five ink-inscribed cylindrical jar fragments, deriving from Abydos, as well as on three cylinder seal impressions uncovered in Zawaiyet el-Aryan (Dunham 1978 ; cf. fig. 106) and Abydos (Petrie 1901 : pl. 13, n°. 96; Dreyer et al. 1996 : pl. 9c [deriving from Tomb B-0]).

⁵⁷ The name of Iry-Hor as written in n°. 9.a.2.34 is reminiscent of similar representations (but apparently with different connotations) of a falcon above a triangle depicted on small bone/ivory tags found in Tomb U-j, Cemetery U, Umm el-Ga'ab, Abydos dating possibly as much as a century earlier than the Iry-Hor example here at issue (cf. Dreyer 1998 : fig. 79: 111-120).

⁵⁸ An incised falcon above a near-square rectangle (n°. 9.a.2.46) appearing on the upper part of a storage jar has been read by B. Williams in the primary publication of this fragment as Pe-Hor (Williams 1986 : 149, pls. 76-77). However, in view of the rather angular execution of both the falcon and rectangle - most likely due to the fact that exceptionally these signs were scratched into the vessel's exterior after firing of the vessel - I believe this to be just another 'writing variant' of Iry-Hor's name. For a very different interpretation of this representation, see Jiménez-Serrano 1999. Stan Hendrickx kindly drew my attention to the existence of a rock graffito in Nubia, also displaying a falcon above a square: see Vahala and Cervicek 1999 : Taf. 40, fig. 149.

⁵⁹ Dr. H. Whitehouse kindly provided me with the following information concerning jar Ashmolean E.847 from Abydos B 1: repaired, ht. 1.05 m, diam. 37.8 cm; pinky-brown ware with bands of finger-impressed decoration above and below shoulder and above base, incised potmark Petrie 1900 : pl. XLIV.2

⁶⁰ Dr. H. Whitehouse kindly provided me with the following information concerning jar Ashmolean E.4078 from Abydos B 1: repaired but missing top, ht. 99.5 cm, diam 44.2; drab ware with bands of finger-impressed decoration above and below shoulder, incised pot-mark Petrie 1900 : pl. XLIV.5

Group 9.a.1
Iry-Hor (intact ceramic jars)

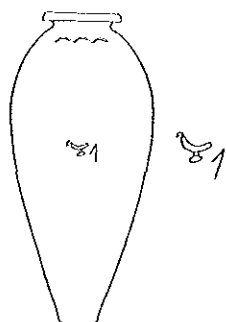


Fig. 23
9.a.1.23 (jar type III)
Abydos Tomb B1

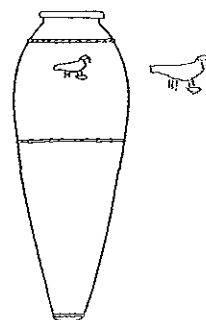


Fig. 24
9.a.1.24 (jar type IVa)
U.C. 16089



Fig. 25
9.a.1.25 (jar type IVa)
Abydos Tomb B1
Ashmolean E. 847



Fig. 26
9.a.1.26 (jar type IVc)
Abydos
Ashmolean E. 4078

Group 9.a.2 Iry-Hor (fragments; n = 18)

N°.	SITE	REG. N°.	JAR / TYPE	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
29.	Zawiyet el-Aryan, T. Z 486	MFA 11.2323		?
30.	Abydos B1	M102		?
31.	Abydos B1	M103		?
32.	Abydos B1	M104		?
33.	Abydos B1			-
34.	Abydos B1			+
35.	Abydos B1			+
36.	Abydos B1			-
37.	Abydos B			+
38.	Abydos B			+
39.	Abydos , 10m east of U-s	M304		?
40.	Abydos (B1?)	ROM 901.8.171		?
41.	Abydos (B1?)	ROM 901.8.172		+ (?)
42.	Abydos (B1?)	ROM 901.8.192		?
43.	Abydos (B1?)	ROM 901.8.193		+
44.	Abydos	M164	III	?
45.	Abydos	M410		?
46.	Qustul, tomb L2	24268		+(4)

⁶¹ I wish to thank Th. D. Gilroy for kindly providing me with the data concerning the unpublished n°. 42 and 43 and for permission to represent it here, in addition to n°. 40-41, 51 and 74 appearing in Gilroy 2001.

Group 9.a.2
Iry-Hor (pottery fragments)

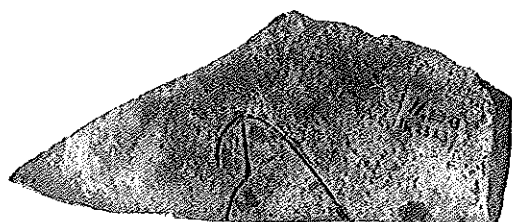


Fig. 29
9.a.2.29
Zawiyet el-Aryan, T. Z 486
MFA 11.2323

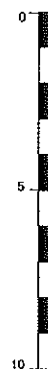
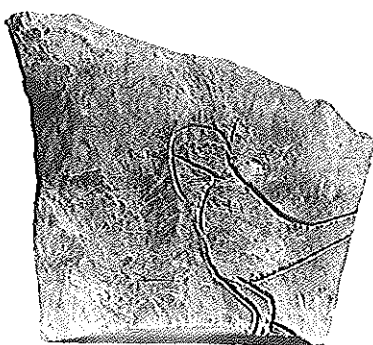


Fig. 30
9.a.2.30
Abydos, B1
M102

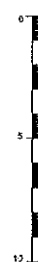
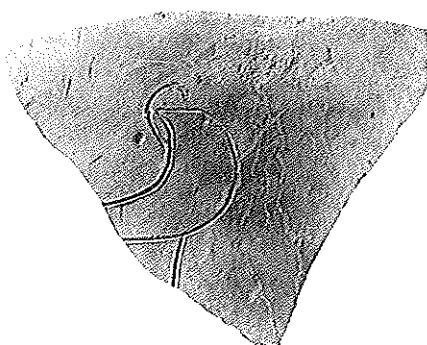
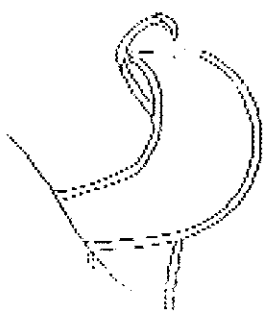


Fig. 31
9.a.2.31
Abydos, B1
M103

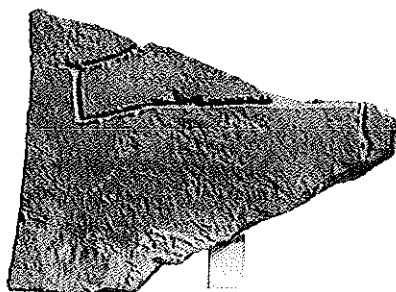
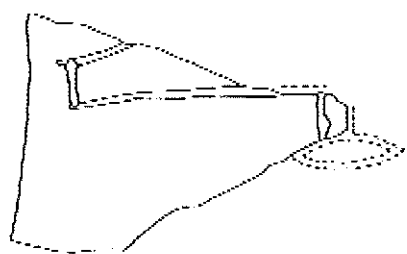


Fig. 32
9.a.2.32
Abydos, B1
M104

Group 9.a.2
Iry-Hor (pottery fragments)



Fig. 33
9.a.2.33
Abydos Tomb B1



Fig. 34
9.a.2.34
Abydos Tomb B1



Fig. 35
9.a.2.35
Abydos Tomb B1



Fig. 36
9.a.2.36
Abydos Tomb B1



Fig. 37
9.a.2.37
Abydos Tomb B



Fig. 38
9.a.2.38
Abydos Tomb B

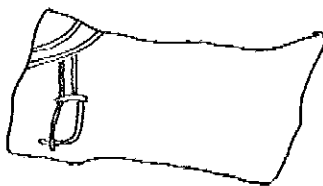


Fig. 39
9.a.2.39
Abydos, 10m east of Tomb U
M304

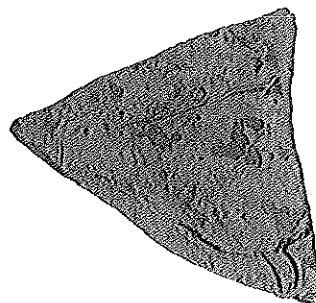
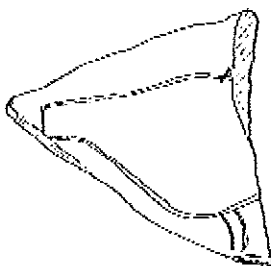


Fig. 40
9.a.2.40
Abydos (Tomb B1?)
ROM 901.8.171

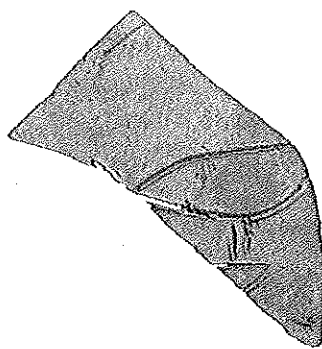
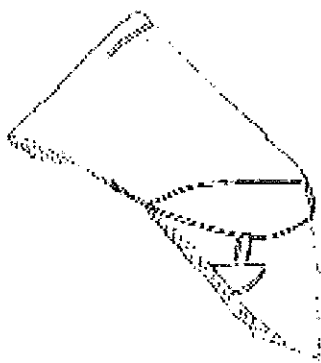


Fig. 41
9.a.2.41
Abydos (Tomb B1?)
ROM 901.8.172

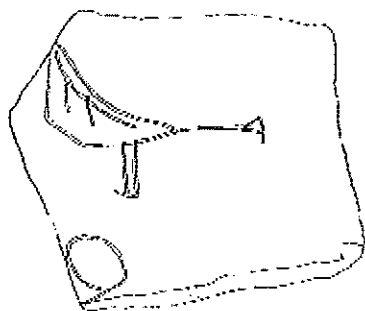


Fig. 42
9.a.2.42
Abydos (Tomb B1?)
ROM 901.8.192

10 cm

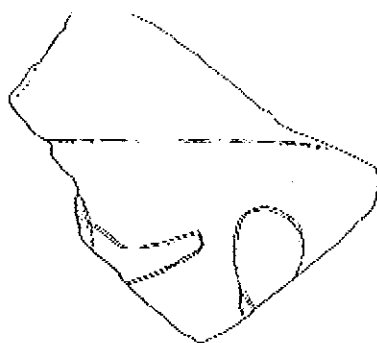


Fig. 43
9.a.2.43
Abydos (Tomb B1?)
ROM 901.8.193

10 cm

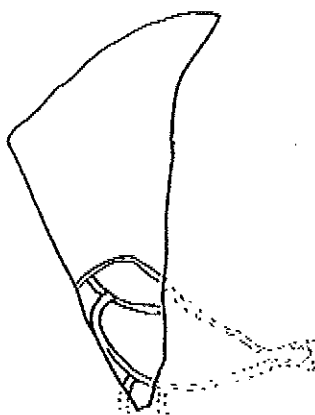
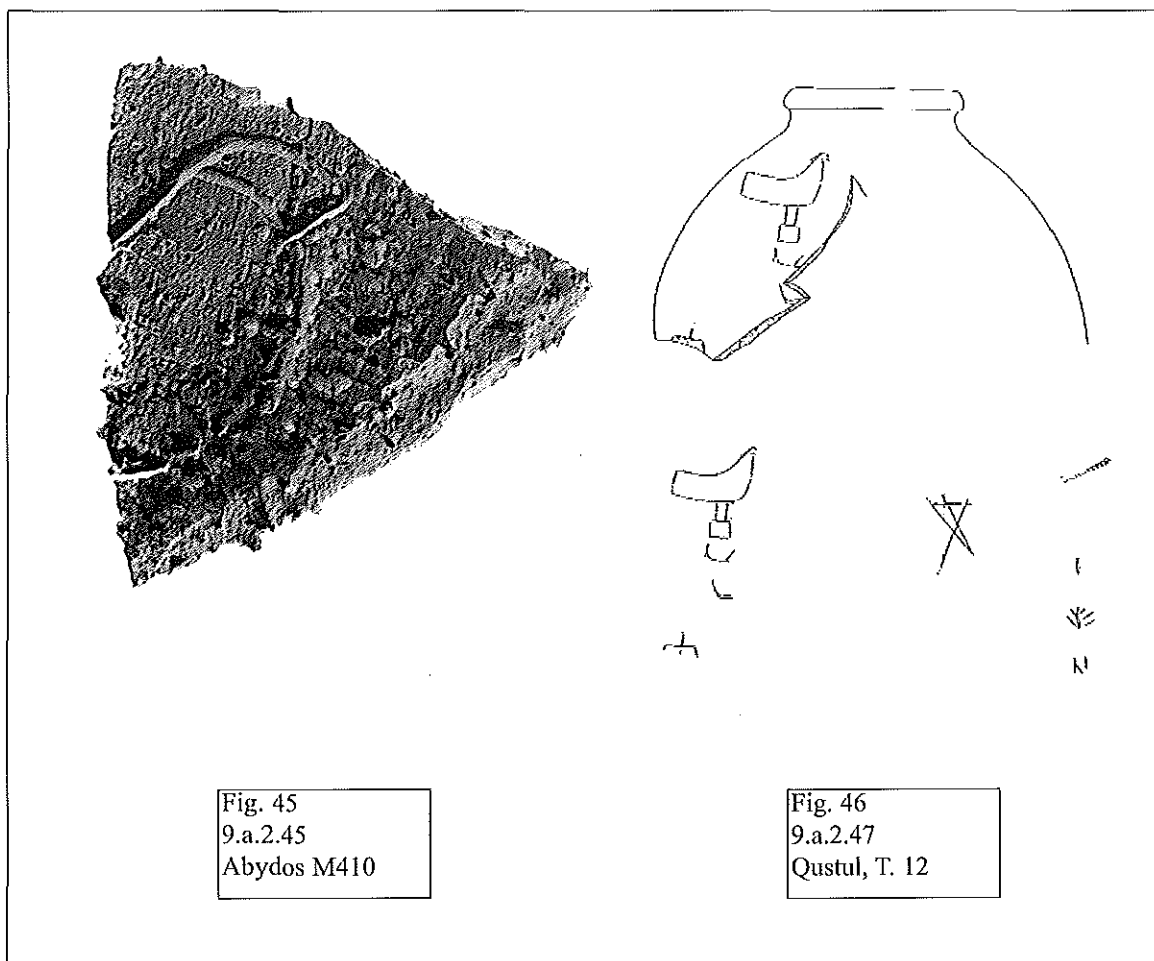


Fig. 44
9.a.2.44 (jar type III)
Abydos



(Horus) Ka (Group 10a-c)

Sixteen incised *serekhs* belong to this group (10a-c). Three are preserved on complete vessels, 13 as fragments only. They are certified so far on Type III jars only. The *serekh*-signs are basically of three different types:

10.a.1-2. In this group the name of Horus Ka⁶² is written in the upper compartment of the bipartite *serekh* (n=6). The top of the *serekh* can be either straight (n = 4) or concave (n = 2). Two specimens are surmounted by a falcon, both facing to the left. Three other specimens of this subgroup are certainly not surmounted by a falcon, while a sixth specimen is too fragmentary to say anything for certain. Only in one case (n°. 10.a.1.28) do the two hands point downwards (towards the palace façade), in all others cases they point upwards (in four cases away from the palace façade, in two cases towards it). Three specimens do have an additional incised sign; one certainly doesn't, and two specimens are too fragmentary to say anything for sure in this respect.

The rather fragmentarily preserved *serekhs* n°. 10.a.2.49 and 10.a.2.50 are somewhat problematic in as far as it is not clear whether the former *serekh* does or does not lack a horizontal stroke below the actual Ka phonogram that would separate the upper part from the lower part (no longer preserved). As for the latter it should be noted that apparently the two hand, but not the arms, are written in the upper compartment. The later is also distinguished from the remaining four fragments because of the presence of "fringes" on top of the *serekh*. Some have suggested that these "fringed" *serekh*-frames represent the later 'h' -palace hieroglyph (cf. Dreyer 1998). They are also met with in subgroups 10.b-c (see below).

⁶² For a discussion on the reading and writing of the name, see e.g. Kaiser 1964 : 93; Kahl 1994 : 38-40. Kaplony (1958 : 54-57) suggests to read this phonogram as Sekhen.

**Group 10.a.1 Horus Ka. Phonogram in upper part (name compartment)
of the *serekh* (complete jars ; n = 2)**

N°.	SITE	REG. N°.	JAR / TYPE	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
27.	Kafr Hassan Daoud, T.1008 ⁶³	105/20/10/KH0070	/ III	+
28.	Helwan, T. 1627.H2	EM00-89	16* ⁶⁴ / III	+ (<i>hd</i> sign)

**Group 10.a.1
Horus Ka (phonogram in upper part of the *serekh*; intact ceramic jars)**



Fig. 27
10.a.1.27 (jar type III)
Kafr Hassan Daoud, T.

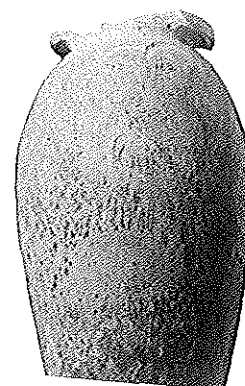
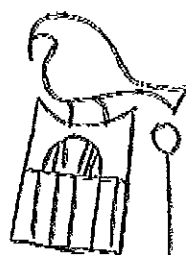
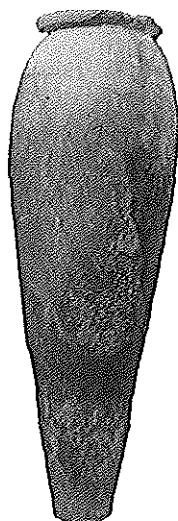
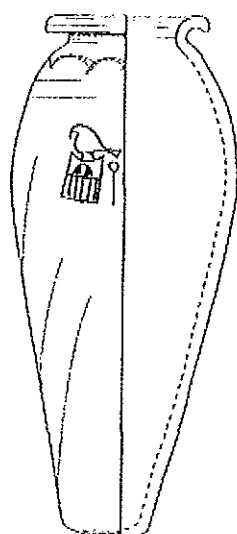
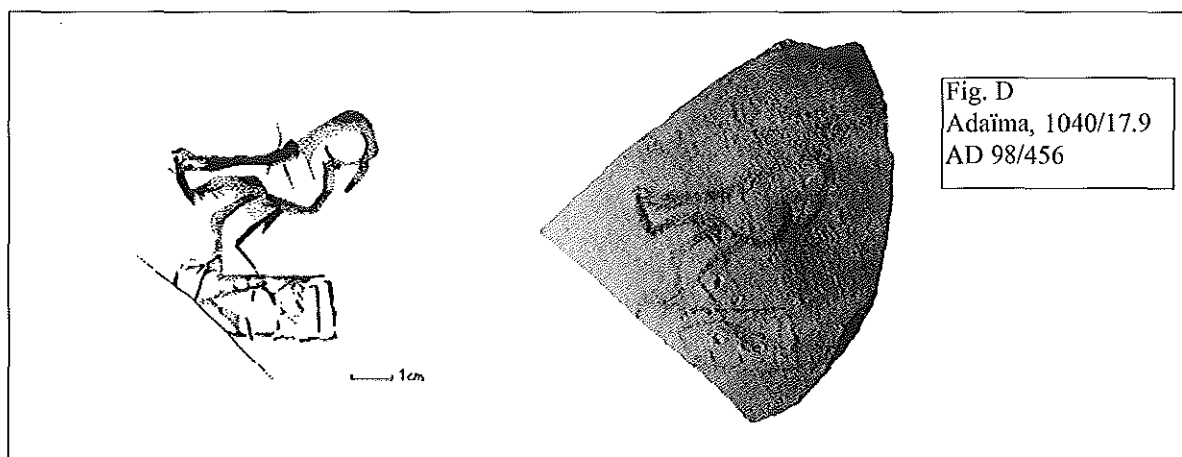


Fig. 28
10.a.1.28 (jar type III)
Helwan, T. 1627. H2
EM00-89 (Cairo)

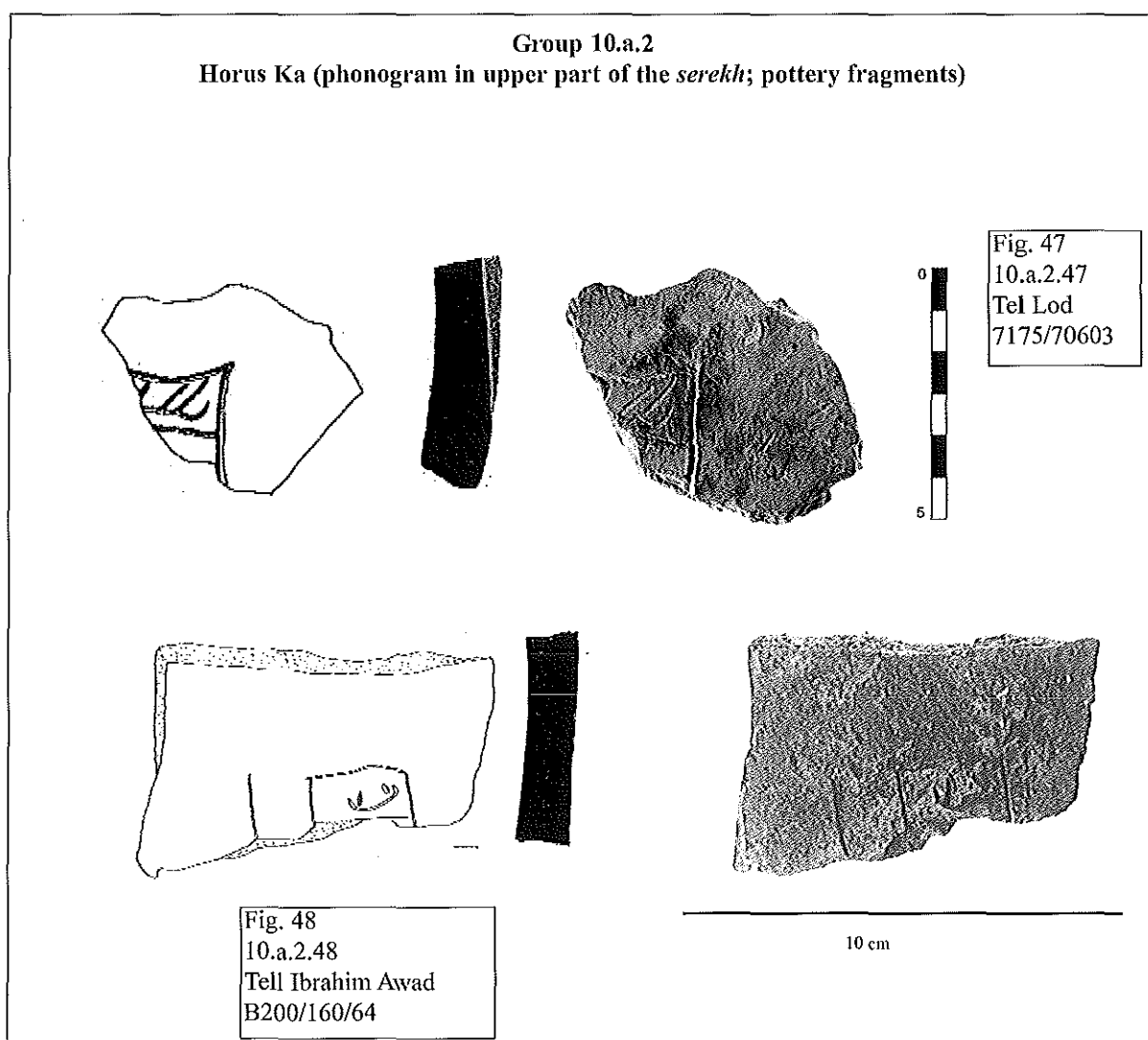
⁶³ An incised *serekh* of (Horus) Ka was recently uncovered in Grave 1008, Kfar Hassan Daoud, in the Wadi Tumilat. The (Type III) jar, with "scalloped decoration around the shoulder (...)" is comparable to a similar one found at Helwan (...)" (Hassan 2000 : 38-39). The name sign is written in the upper part of the *serekh* while the lower part of the *serekh* is divided by three vertical strokes in a niched panelling. It is accompanied by an additional incised sign, a plain circle, about half the size of the *serekh* itself (G.V. Tassie, pers. comm. 2001). Cf. also Jiménez-Serrano 2000: 139, n. 189.

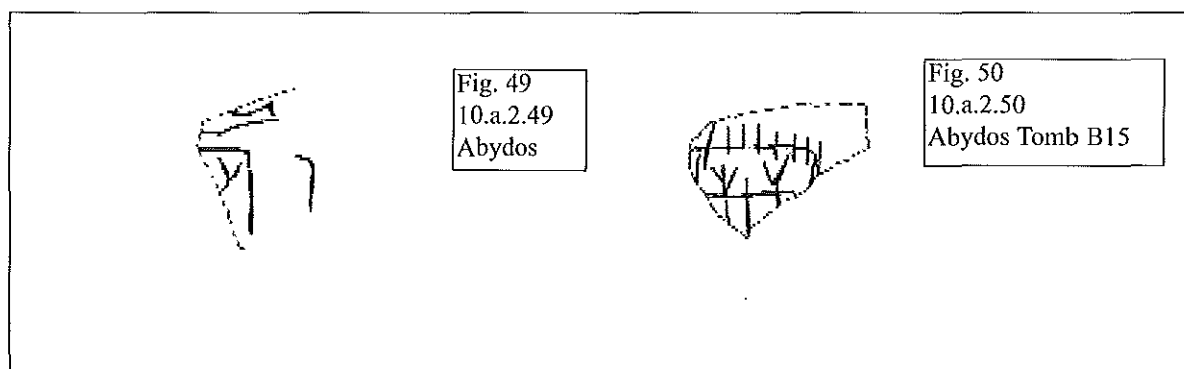
⁶⁴ In van den Brink 1996 : 141 erroneously identified as deriving from T. 1651 H.2; see also below, note 67.



Group 10.a.2 (Horus) Ka. Phonogram in upper part (name compartment)
of the *serekh* (fragments; n=4)

NO	SITE	REG. NO.	ADDITIONAL SIGN(s)
47.	Tel Lod	7175/70603	?
48.	Tell Ibrahim Awad	B200/160/64	+
49.	Abydos		+
50.	Abydos B15		?





10.b.1-2. Here the Ka sign is written in the **lower** compartment of the *serekh* ($n = 6$), which in anonymous *serekhs* [Group 1.b] and other, personalized *serekh*-signs is usually reserved for a varying number of vertical strokes, indicating a paneled palace-façade. They are probably slightly earlier than those belonging to Group 10a.1-2. In four of the six cases this paneling is found in the upper compartment that in personalized *serekhs* is usually reserved for the phonogram or name sign. In the case of n°. 10.b.2.52 there is no formal separation between the upper and lower part of the frame; the horizontal divider stroke is absent.⁶⁵ In two cases the upper compartment has been left blank. Probably two times (one certified, the other very likely) the *serekh* (with paneled/niched upper compartment) is surmounted by a falcon. ⁶⁶ In two other cases the falcons are certifiably absent. A fifth specimen in this subgroup is too fragmentary to state anything more specific. In three cases the pair of hands are pointing upwards, in the remaining two they are pointing down. Additional sign(s) are certifiably present only in one case, and absent in two other cases. Two specimens are too fragmentary to say anything more specific. N°. 10.b.2.55 is topped with "fringes" (perhaps indicating the 'h'-palace), much in the same way as n°. 10.a.2.50 and 10.c.56. N°. 10.b.2.53 is problematic in so far as the two arms and hands of the Ka sign are very close to each other and possibly they are part of a totally different sign. N°. 10.b.2.54 is exceptional in the sense that two additional vertical strokes accompany the Ka sign within the lower part of the *serekh*. Also the high number (13) of short, vertical strokes in the upper compartment is rare. With the exception of the Helwan jar (n°. 10.b.1.28) and fragment n°. 10.b.2.53, all other specimens derive from Tomb B7/9 (Horus Ka's final resting place; see Kaiser and Dreyer 1982) and its immediate environs in Cemetery B, Abydos.

**Group 10.b.1 Horus Ka. Phonogram in lower part (below the name compartment)
of the *serekh* (complete jar ; $n = 1$)**

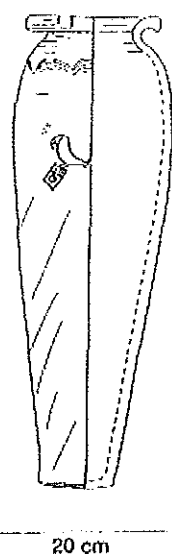
N°. SITE	REG. N°.	JAR / TYPE	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
29. Helwan, T. 1651.H.2	EM00-88	15* ⁶⁷ / III	-

⁶⁵ A similar arrangement of a Ka sign and paneling together inside a *serekh* (surmounted by a falcon facing to the right) without formal horizontal division into a upper and lower compartment is seen on an otherwise unique fragment of carbon-inscribed storage jar fragment uncovered in Adaïma (Fig. D). I am indebted to B. Midant-Reynes for her kind permission to represent the fragment here.

⁶⁶ These two specimens are closest to ink-inscribed *serekhs* of Horus Ka appearing on cylindrical jars. Twenty-five, mainly fragmented, examples have been found, all in Abydos (Petrie 1902 : pl. I-III; Dreyer 1998 : fig. 98, 247 ; cf. Jiménez-Serrano 2000: Appendix IV), 17 of which show a falcon (invariably facing to the right) surmounting the *serekh* (11 of which with the *šm'* sign, four with *nh-hmw* [cf. Kahl 1994 : 101ff.] sign), while the remaining eight are too fragmented to be sure whether the *serekhs* were surmounted by a falcon.

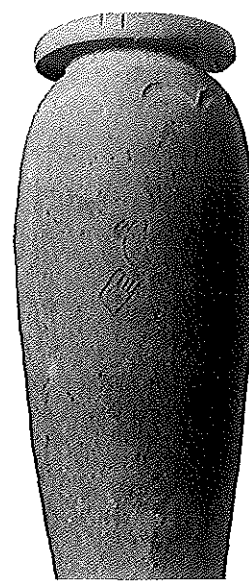
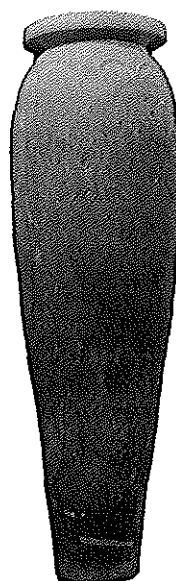
⁶⁷ In van den Brink 1996 : 141 erroneously identified as deriving from T. 1627 H.2 ; see also above, note 63.

Group 10.b.1
Horus Ka (phonogram in lower part of the *serekh*; intact ceramic jar)



5 cm

Fig. 29
 10.b.1.29 (jar type III)
 Helwan T. 1651.H2
 EM00-88 (Cairo)



**Group 10.b.2 (Horus) Ka. Phonogram in lower part (below the name compartment)
 of the *serekh* (fragments; n = 5)**

N°.	SITE	REG. N°.	JAR / TYPE	ADDITIONAL SIGN(s)
51.	Abydos B7 (?)	ROM 901.8.169		?
52.	Abydos B7	M108		+
53.	Abydos B19	M118	16b* / III	+
54.	Abydos B7			?
55.	Abydos B7			-

Group 10.b.2
Horus Ka (phonogram in lower part of the *serekh*; pottery fragments)

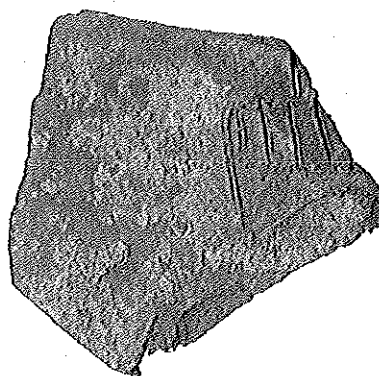
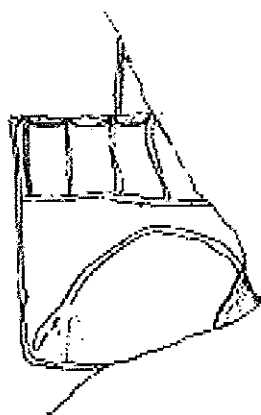
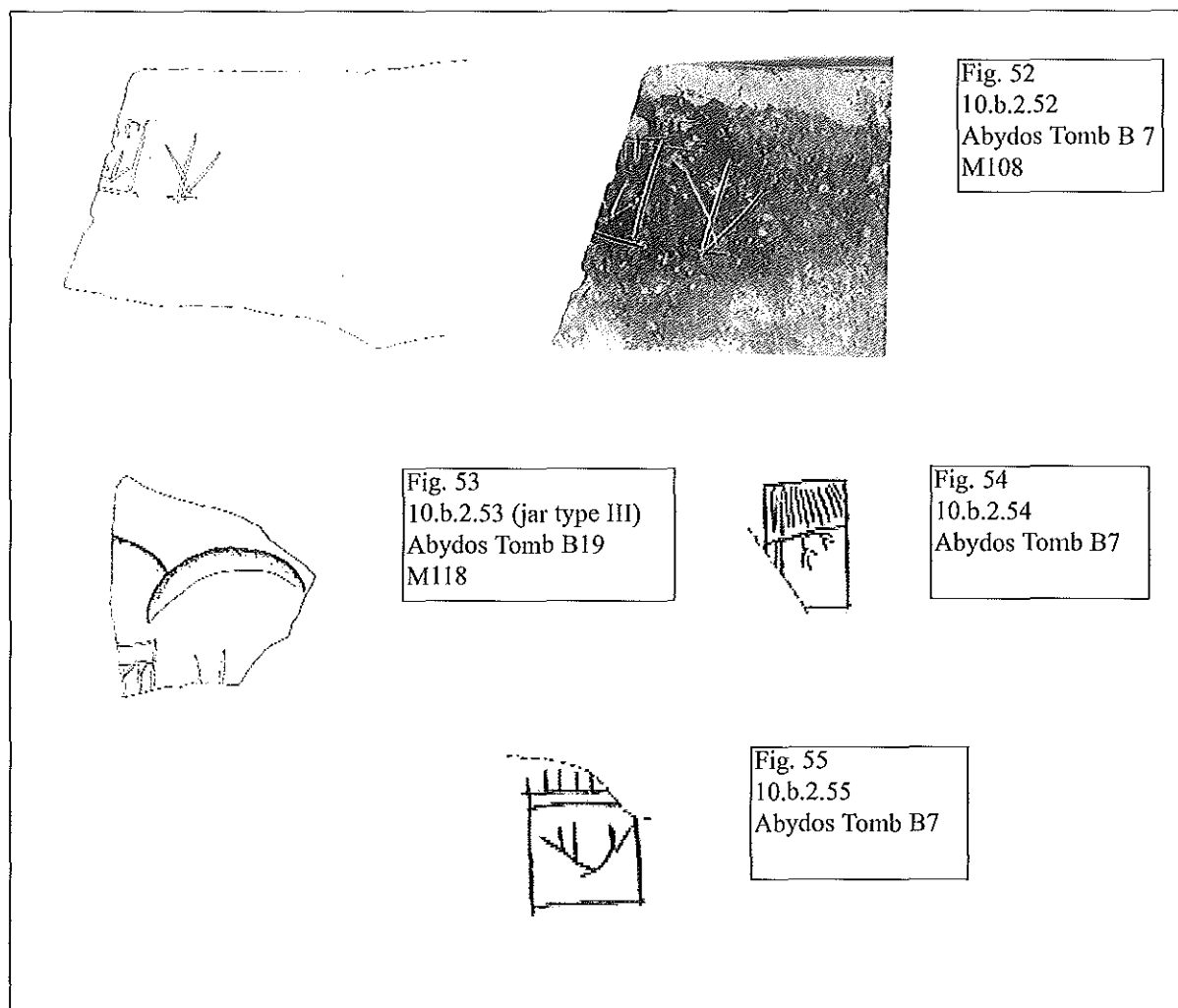


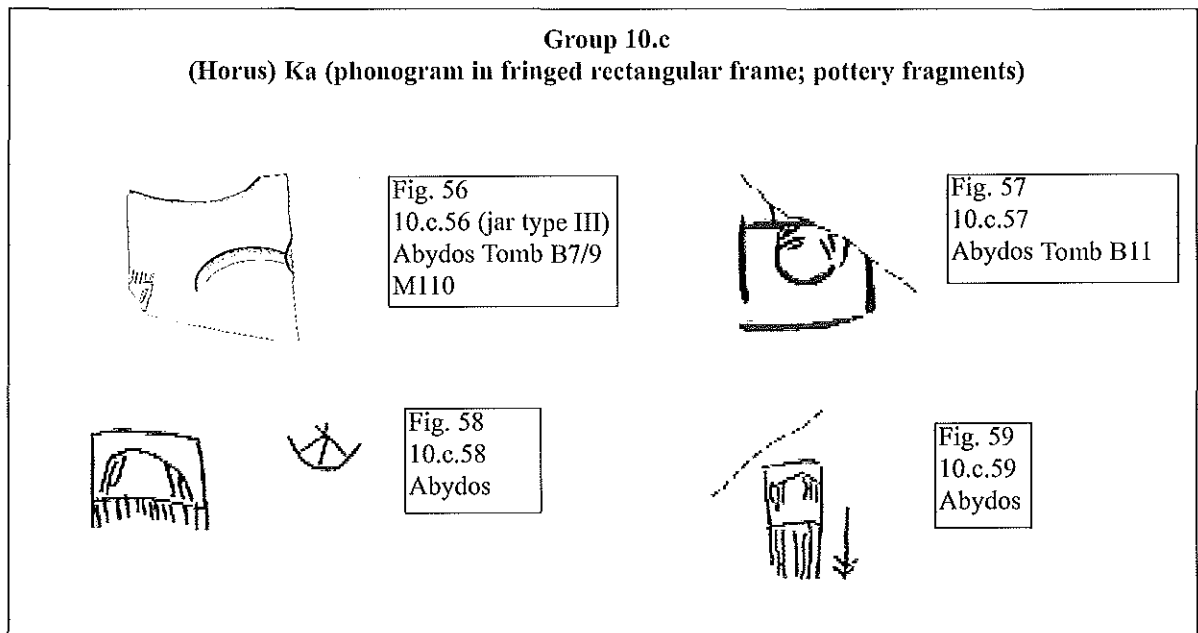
Fig. 51
 10.b.2.51
 Abydos
 ROM 901.8.169



10.c In this group the Ka sign is written in a rectangular frame, either the top or bottom of which is outwardly fringed (n = 4; see also Kaiser 1982 : n. 194a). It thus resemble the later hieroglyph for 'h' "palace". The only fragment of this subgroup typologically certifiable is on a Type III jar. At least two fragments have additional incised signs. All specimens derive from Cemetery B, Abydos.

**Group 10.c (Horus) Ka in (fringed)
rectangular frame (*fragments* ; n = 4)**

N°.	SITE	REG. N°.	JAR / TYPE	ADDITIONAL SIGN(s)
56.	Abydos B7/9	M110	16a* / III	?
57.	Abydos B11			?
58.	Abydos (B?)			+
59.	Abydos (B?)			+



Horus Nar(mer) (Group 11a-d)

Twenty-two incised *serekhs* are attributed to (Horus) Nar(mer). The majority of them come from Lower Egypt and the southern Levant, with only very few fragments deriving from Upper Egypt. This stands in sharp contrast with the distribution of *serekh*-signs attributed to Narmer's predecessors Ka and Iry-Hor, the majority of which derive from their final resting places and immediate environs in Cemetery B, Abydos.

Four of the *serekhs* belonging to Narmer are preserved on complete vessels and 18 as fragments only. They have been divided into four groups (Group 11a-d)⁶⁸ that occur on jars of Types II, III and IV, spanning Nagada III_{b1} through Nagada III_{c2}. This is a very considerable period of time for which a considerable number of "pre-Narmerite" rulers is recorded, (here represented by Groups 2-10; see also van den Brink 1996: Table 5). Notably, Iry-Hor (whose name has been found incised on Type III and IV jars) and Horus Ka (whose *serekhs* has been found incised on Type III jars only) are both buried in Cemetery B, Abydos, and are both 'certified' predecessors of (Horus) Nar(mer). Their names, however, are not found on the rather early Type II jars as is the name of Horus Nar(mer). That (Horus) Nar(mer)'s name is attested in the form of incised *serekh*-signs at both extremes of this time span represented by jars of Types II, III and IV cannot simply be explained in terms of an assumed exceptional long reign of between 30 and 60 years (cf. e.g. Emery 1961).

Assuming that the chrono-typology of the jars as described in van den Brink 1996 is a valid one,⁶⁹ only two satisfactory, but admittedly also totally hypothetical, solutions present themselves. They are not necessarily mutual exclusive.

One intriguing hypothesis assumes the existence of two rulers who went by the name, Nar(mer).⁷⁰ Since the earliest pottery-incised *serekh* of Nar(mer) is found on a Type IIa jar, where his name is given only as *n'r* (atop a plain *serekh*; see n°. 11.a.30), without the attribute *mr* "the fierce one" and sans association with a falcon/Horus, perhaps we should refer to this ruler as king Nar.

⁶⁸ A possible, fifth variation of a falcon-surmounted *serekh*, with paneled upper compartment, and a single sign (*n'r*) in the lower compartment - an arrangement attested for on an ink-inscribed cylindrical jar belonging to Horus Nar(mer) (with additional signs *nh-hmwn*; Dreyer 1998 : 140, fig. 30), is not attested among the known pottery-incised *serekhs* attributable to (Horus) Nar(mer).

⁶⁹ One should bear in mind, though, that in a single instance a *serekh*-incised jar II has indeed been found together with a Type III jar in a single tomb (Turah T. 19.g.1; cf. van den Brink 1996 : 153). If the former jar is not a heirloom, this would indicate a possible, slight overlap of Types II with III jars.

⁷⁰ This would parallel the somewhat earlier homonym of (king?) Scorpion I (buried in Cemetery U, Tomb j, Umm el-Ga'ab, Abydos) and King Scorpion II (attested for mainly by his ceremonial mace head uncovered in secondary context in Hierakonpolis).

Accordingly, the ruler indicated on later records (Type III and IV jars) as *n'r mr*, and frequently associated with a falcon, should be designated as (Horus) Nar(mer), much in the same vein as e.g. medieval homonymous king names like Charles the Great, Charles the Bold etc. (Horus) Nar(mer) can be identified with the king who is buried in Cemetery B, Tomb B17/18 in Abydos.

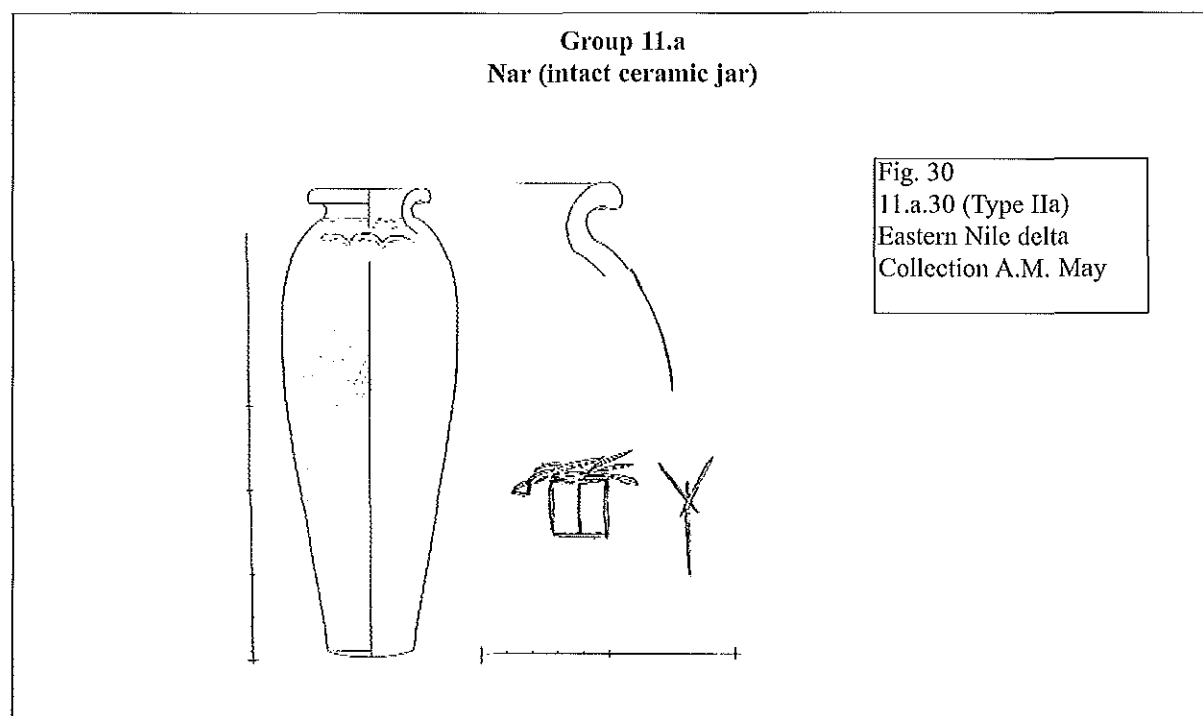
An alternate way to partially explain the dichotomy indicated above would be to assume that at least some of these pre-Narmerite rulers ruled *in tandem* over different and perhaps competing polities, especially in Lower Egypt. One such scenario has been surmised e.g. for the ruler Horus Crocodile in the Fayum region (Group 7 ; Dreyer 1992), and perhaps could apply also to Horus Ni-Neith (Group 5), based on the assumption that the latter's name could imply a northern Lower Egyptian affiliation.

However, for the present we cannot give a definite answer to the question of whether there were one or two kings of that name. Accordingly, the group of pottery-incised *serekhs* attributable to Nar, Horus Nar, Narmer, Horus Narmer will all be treated here as belonging to a single ruler (Horus) Nar(mer), the first king of the First Dynasty.

- 11.a In this group Narmer's name is represented only by its first name component *n'r* written atop a plain *serekh*, incised into a Type IIa jar. A similar arrangement can be seen in Double Falcon n°. 2.a.15, 2.b.1.11 and 2.b.2.16-17 (all on Type II jars) and n°. 6.18 (on a Type III jar). Furthermore, with n°. 2.b.2.16 it shares the vertical division of the plain *serekh* frame into two equal compartments.

Group 11.a Nar written on top of plain *serekh* (1 complete vessel)

N°.	SITE	REG. N°.	JAR / TYPE	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
30.	eastern Delta	Collection A.M. May	29** / IIa	+



- 11.b The name in this group is written with two phonograms (*n'r* and *mr*) within a *serekh* surmounted by a falcon (cf. note 35 for the association of personalized *serekhs* with a falcon). Only three examples belong to this group⁷¹ and all offer somewhat problematic readings. *Serekh* n°. 11.b.1.31 is problematic because the horizontal stroke above the sign of the chisel (*mr*) is a very schematic, abstract rendition of the *n'r* sign. Notwithstanding the high degree of abstractness of some of the *n'r* signs, none approaches a single, horizontal stroke.

⁷¹ This combination is also attested for on Narmer's ceremonial macehead uncovered in the temple at Hierakonpolis (cf. Quibell 1900 : 8, pl. XXVI = Jiménez-Serrano 2000 : tipo 4D35a)

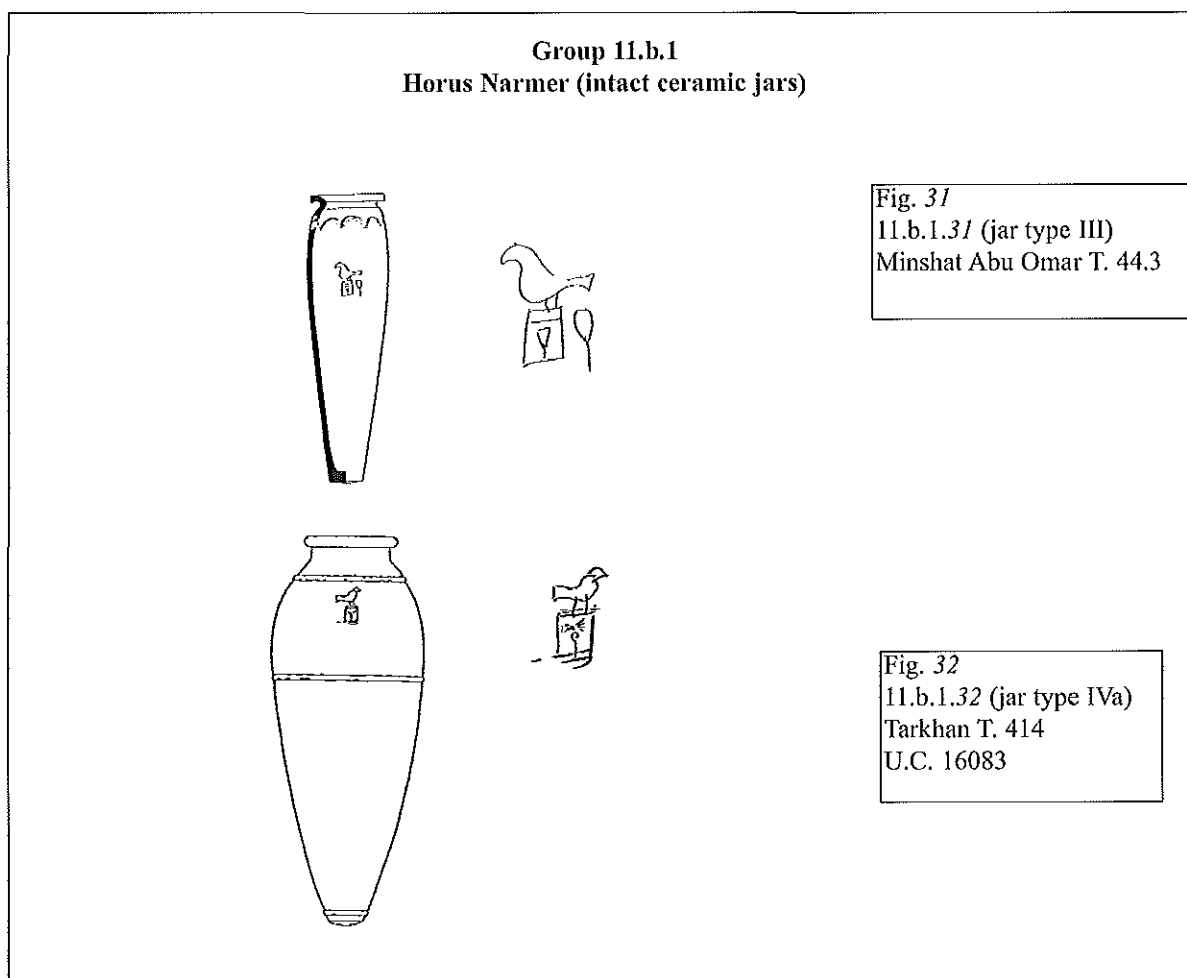
I consider the horizontal stroke at issue to be the lower delineation of an otherwise (empty) "name compartment", while the lower compartment of the *serekh* (usually preserved for a schematic rendition of a palace façade) contains the second element of Horus (Nar)mer's name, the chisel, *mr*. Thus, Horus (Nar)mer would be referred to here only by his attribute "the fierce one".

The second example, n°. 11.b.1.32 is problematic in as far as the sign below the *n'r*-fish actually more closely resembles a *hḏ*-sign than a chisel (*mr*). The *hḏ* sign is attested at least five times in direct association with incised *serekhs* (cf. note 40). In the present case though this would represent the only example where the *hḏ* sign is written within the *serekh* frame itself (with the exception of the three-fold repeated *hḏ* sign of *serekhs* n°. 8.b.1.21-22 and, perhaps, n°. 8.b.2.28), and not outside of it.

The third, fragmented specimen (n°. 11.b.2.60) unambiguously shows both signs separated from each other by a horizontal divider. Unfortunately, the fragment is broken off near the top of the *serekh*-sign (which has an additional incised sign to the left) and it is impossible to tell whether or not it was originally surmounted by a falcon. The arrangement of a vertical stroke flanking each side of the chisel sign in the lower part of the *serekh*, indicating a palace façade, is strongly reminiscent of the rendition of Narmer's *serekh* appearing at the top of the Narmer palette in between the two Hathor heads (e.g. in particular the one appearing on the *recto*)⁷².

**Group 11.b.1 Horus (Nar)mer; name written in full;
serekh surmounted by a falcon (complete jars; n = 2)**

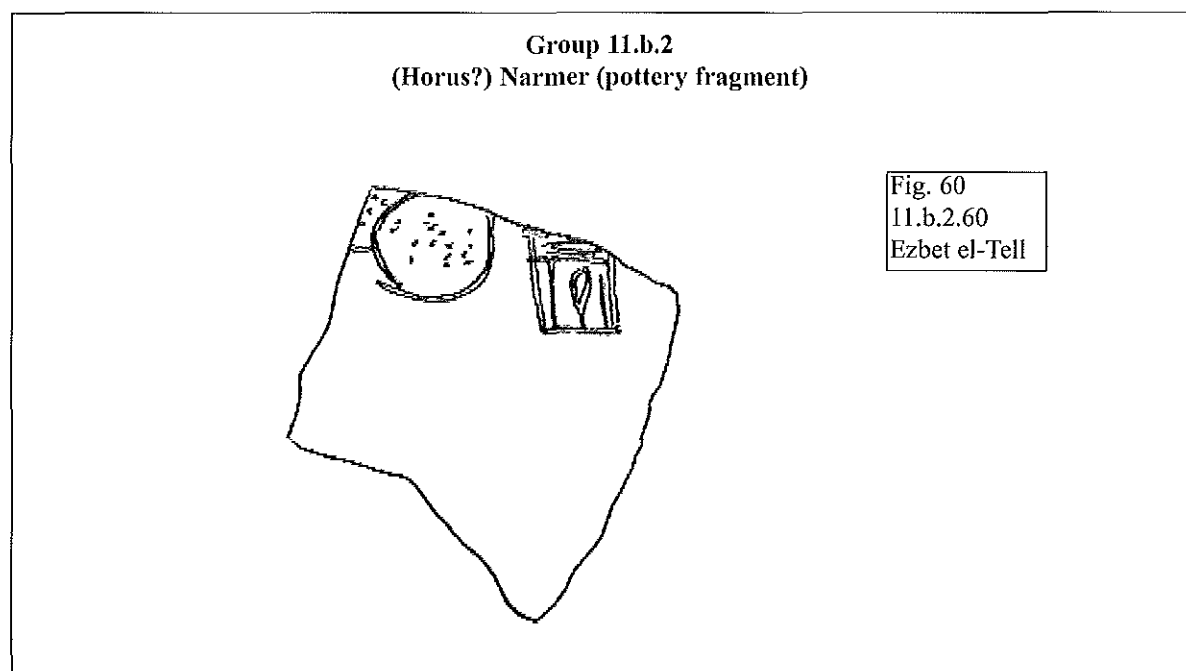
N°.	SITE	REG. N°.	JAR / TYPE	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
31.	Minshat Abu Omar, T. 44	MAO 44.3	20* / III	+ (<i>hḏ</i> ?)
32.	Tarkhan, T. 414	U.C. 16083	23* / IVa	+



⁷² With the difference that a horizontal divider between the two signs is missing, it is in this respect also similar to a *serekh*-sign incised on a small faience plaque, deriving from the Holwan cemetery (Saad 1947 : 165, fig. 13 = Jiménez-Serrano 2000 tipo 4E25a). The plaque is complete (?) and doesn't show a falcon surmounting the *serekh*, possibly due to the diminutive size of the faience piece (or due to the very design of the faience piece ; cf. Jiménez-Serrano 2000 : 140, note 194).

Group 11.b.2 (Horus?) Narmer
name written in full (*fragment* ; n = 1)

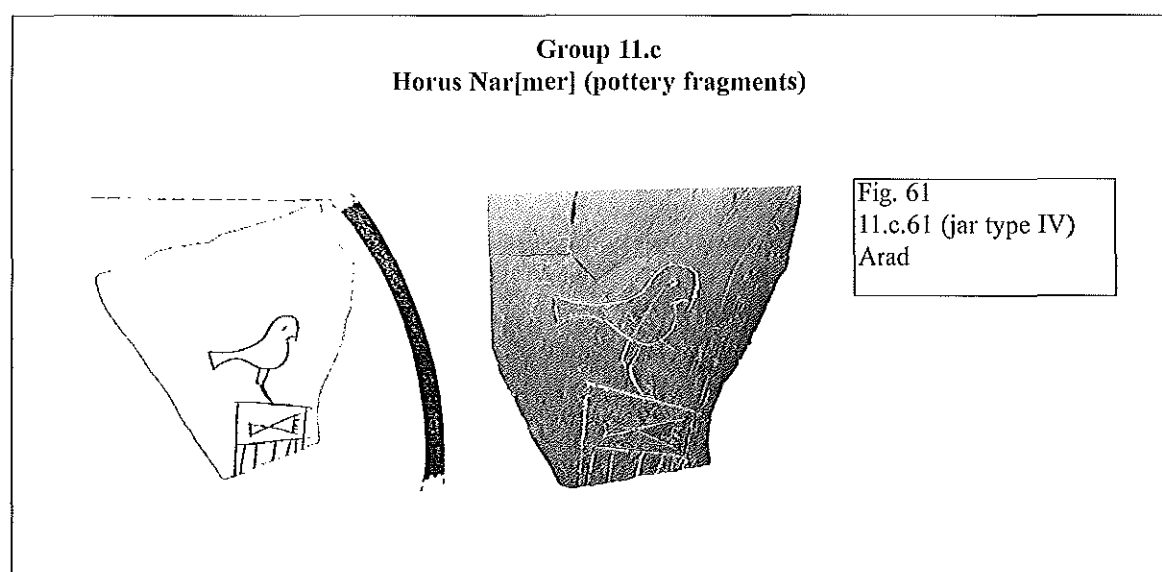
N°.	SITE	REG. N°.	ADDITIONAL SIGN(s)
60.	Ezbet el-Tell		+

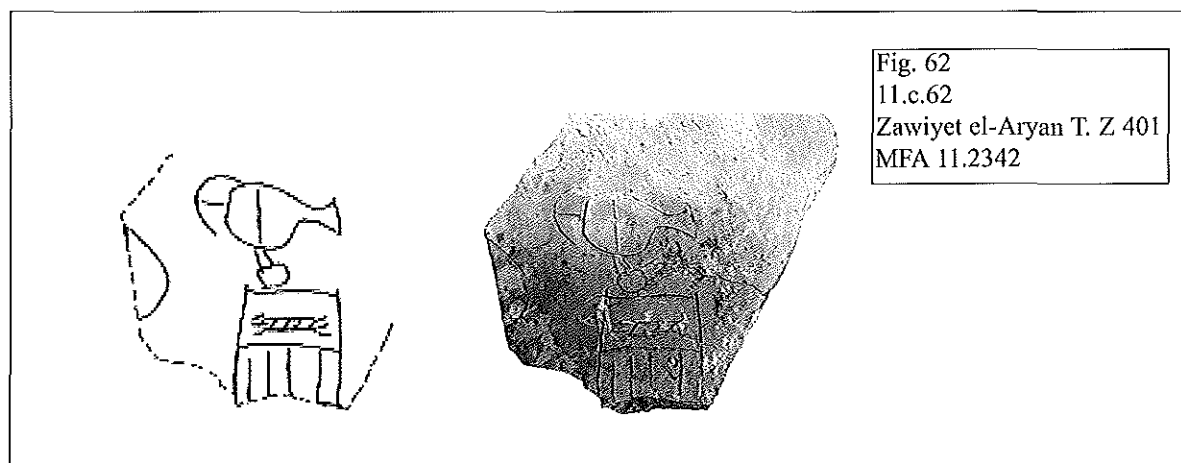


- 11.c *Serekhs* belonging to this group (n = 2) are surmounted by a falcon with Narmer's name represented by a single sign in the upper compartment. For the somewhat problematic 11.c.62, see above, Iry-Hor, note 53.

Group 11.c Horus Nar
serekh surmounted by a falcon (*fragments* ; n = 2)

N°.	SITE	REG. N°.	JAR / TYPE	ADDITIONAL SIGN(s)
61.	Arad		IV	?
62.	Zawiyet el-Aryan, T. Z 401	MFA 11.2342		+

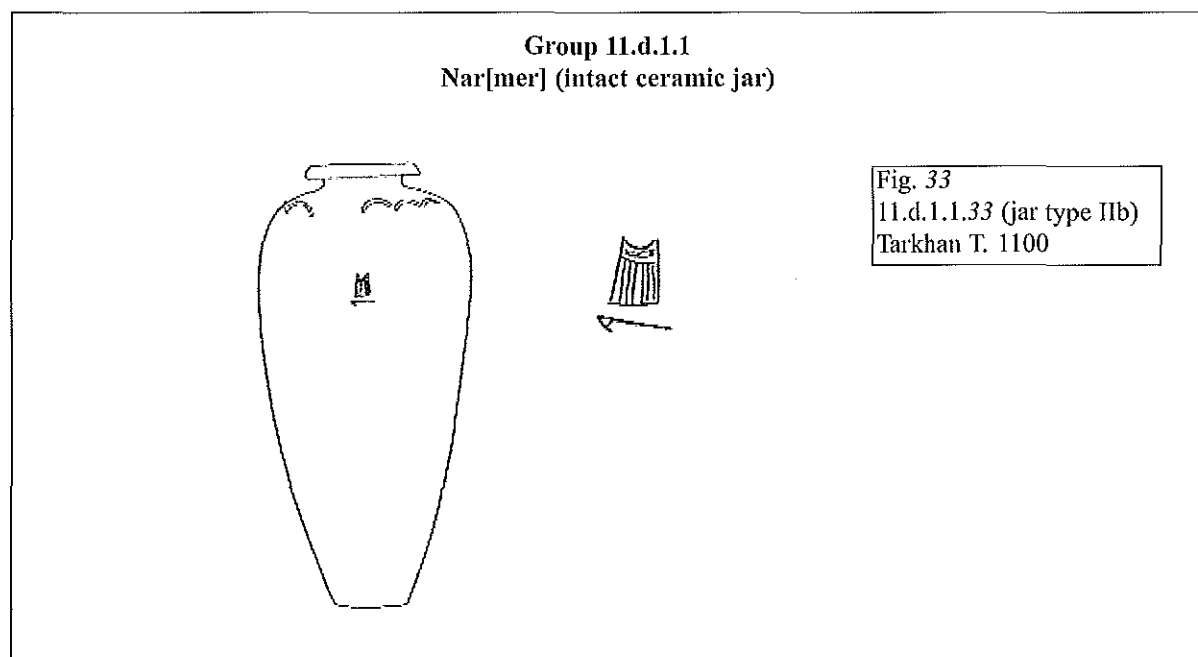




- 11.d. In this group the name of Narmer is represented by a single sign in the upper compartment of the *serekh* not surmounted or juxtaposed with a falcon (n=16). Based on the writing of the name sign (*n'r*), this group has three subdivisions:
- 11.d.1. Three specimens belong to this subgroup, all of which have concave tops. At least one *serekh* is accompanied by an additional sign, which also appears incised below the (Horus) Nar(mer) *serekhs* nos. 11.b.1.32, 11.d.1.1.33 and 11.d.2.74 (cf. Gilroy 2001: 68-69). Although in the past I have been reluctant, for typo-chronological reasons, to accept the reading of no. 11.d.1.1.33 on a Type IIb jar as belonging to Nar(mer; van den Brink 1996: 149, discussion), I am reversing my opinion here. I base my new ideas on the recent publication of another Nar *serekh* appearing on a Type IIa jar (no. 11.a.30), as well as a similarly executed, still rather 'naturalistic' *n'r* sign incised in the upper compartment of a slightly top-curved *serekh* from Tel Lod⁷³ (n°. 11.d.1.2.63).

Group 11.d.1.1 Nar. Single phonogram. No falcon (*complete jar* ; n = 1)

N°.	SITE	REG. N°.	JAR / TYPE	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
33.	Tarkhan, T. 1100		10* / IIb	+



⁷³ This is one of six *serekh* fragments unambiguously attributable to Narmer found in late Early Bronze Age I contexts at Tel Lod (see also van den Brink and Braun 2002). I would like to thank my colleagues Eli Yannai, Ofer Marder and Eliot Braun for their kind permission to discuss and represent these fragments here.

Group 11.d.1.2 Nar. Single phonogram. No falcon (*fragment* ; n = 2)

N°.	SITE	REG. N°.	ADDITIONAL SIGN(s)
63.	Tel Lod	2149/20663	?
64.	Tel Lod	2162/20770	?

Group 11.d.1.2
Nar[mer] (pottery fragments)

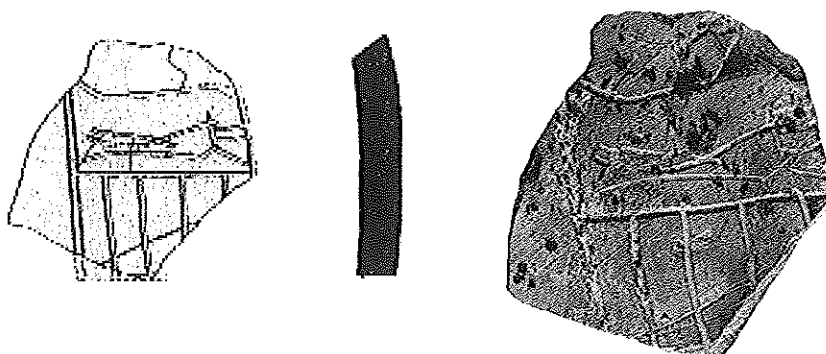


Fig. 63
11.d.1.2.63
Tel Lod
2149/20663

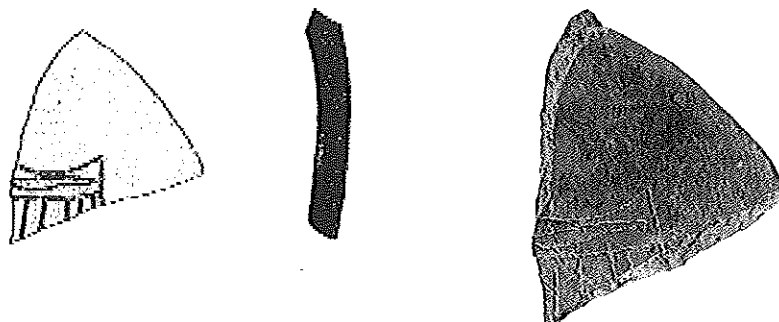
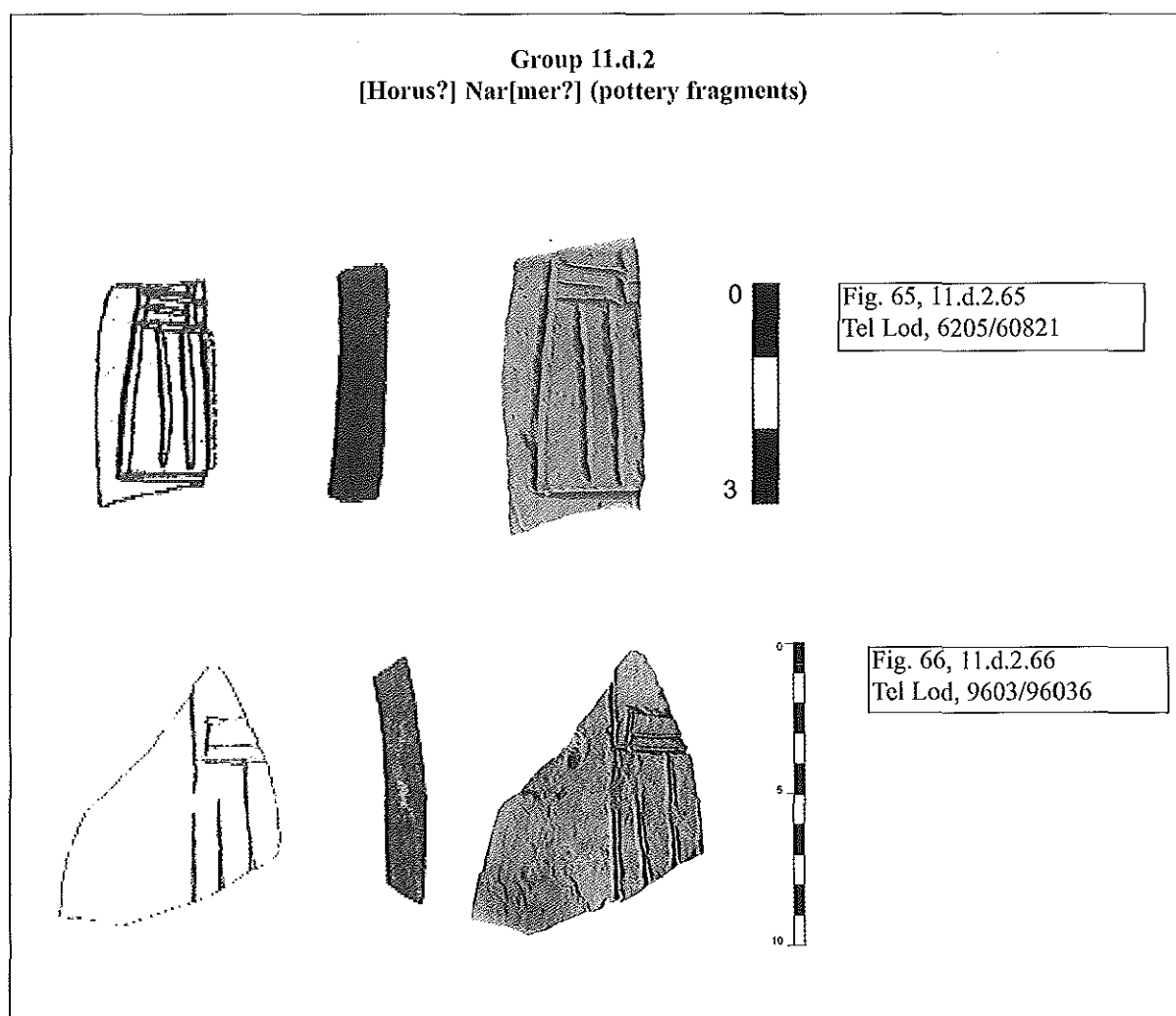


Fig. 64
11.d.1.2.64
Tel Lod
2162/20770

11.d.2 This group is noted for the *n'r* sign written as an oblong or near rectangular sign with three to four whiskers at one of its extremes. Ten fragmented *serekh*-signs belong to this sub-group. Six of them are preserved too incompletely to indicate whether the *serekh*-signs were originally surmounted by a falcon. No. 11.d.2.73 perhaps has a falcon juxtaposed to the right of the *serekh*-sign. In the remaining three cases the presence of a surmounting falcon can be positively excluded. Two *serekhs* have accompanying signs, one of which (no. 11.d.2.74) is virtually identical to no. 11.d.1.1.33; the same sign is found below both *serekhs* and the *n'r* fish is written in both cases in the opposite direction from the additional sign. One *serekh* is almost certainly without an accompanying sign, while the remaining seven of this sub-group are too fragmentary to say anything for certain.

Group 11.d.2 (Horus?) Nar(mer?), written as a rectangle with 3-4 whiskers (*fragments* ; n = 10)

N°.	SITE	REG. N°.	FALCON	ADDITIONAL SIGN(s)
65.	Tel Lod	6205/60821	?	?
66.	Tel Lod	9603/96036	?	?
67.	Tel Lod	4506/45093	?	?
68.	Tel Lod	2256/29078	?	?
69.	Tell es-Sakan	(surface find)	?	?
70.	Tel Halif Terrace	G49-94, L. 14/B. 259	-	-
71.	Tel Halif Terrace	G67-95, L. 58/B.1028	?	?
72.	Tell Ibrahim Awad	B200/150/192; B200/150/165	-	?
73.	Abydos B1/2	M101(left); Petrie 1900: Pl. XLIV: 1 (right)	?	juxtaposed falcon?
74.	Abydos	ROM 901.8.167	-	+



Group 11.d.2
[Horus?] Nar[mer?] (pottery fragments)

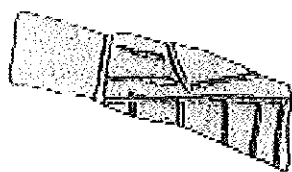


Fig. 67, 11.d.2.67
Tel Lod, 4506/45043

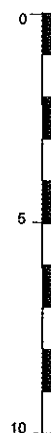
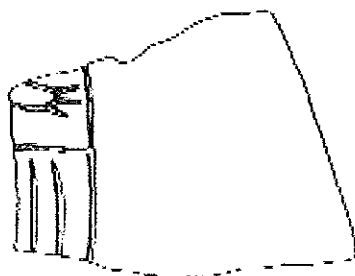


Fig. 68, 11.d.2.68
Tel Lod, 2256/29078

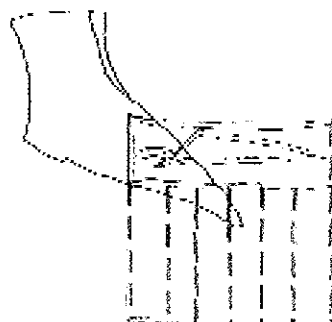
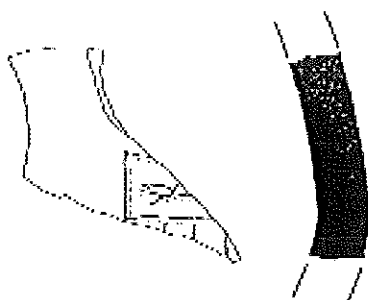


Fig. 69
11.d.2.69
Tell es-Sakan

Group 11.d.2
[Horus?] Nar[mer?] (pottery fragments)

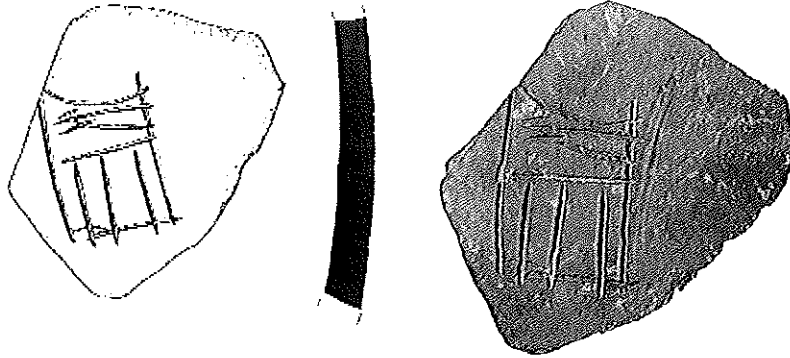


Fig. 70
11.d.2.70
Tel Halif Terrace
G49-94, L. 14/ B. 259

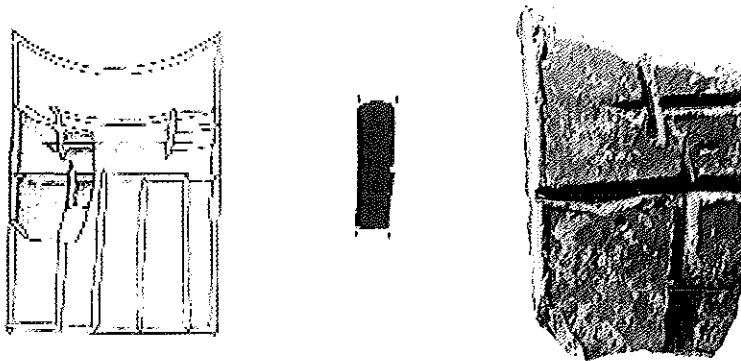
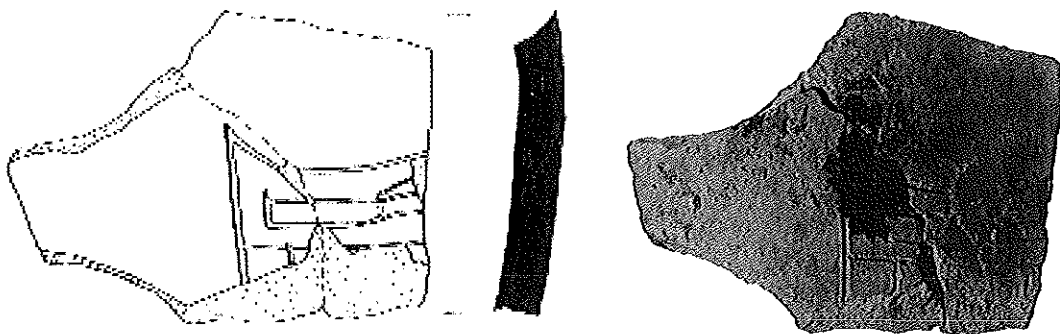


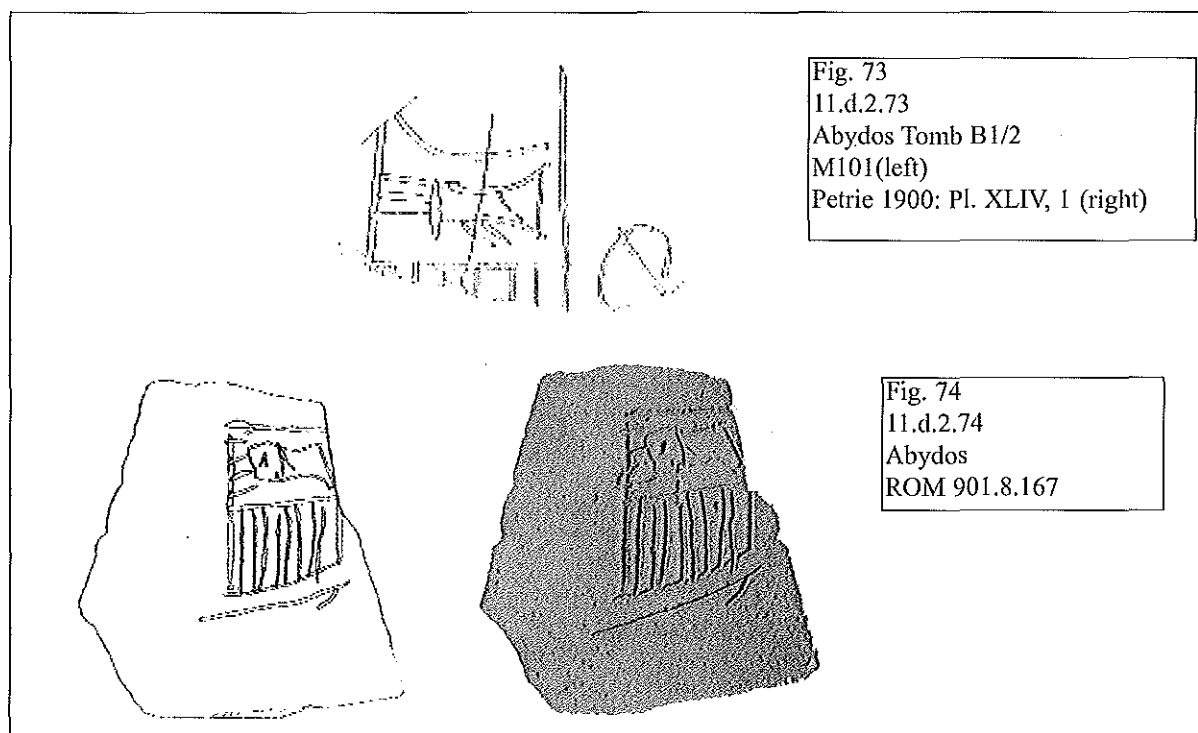
Fig. 71
11.d.2.71
Tel Halif Terrace
G67-95, L. 58/ B. 1028

3 cm



10 cm

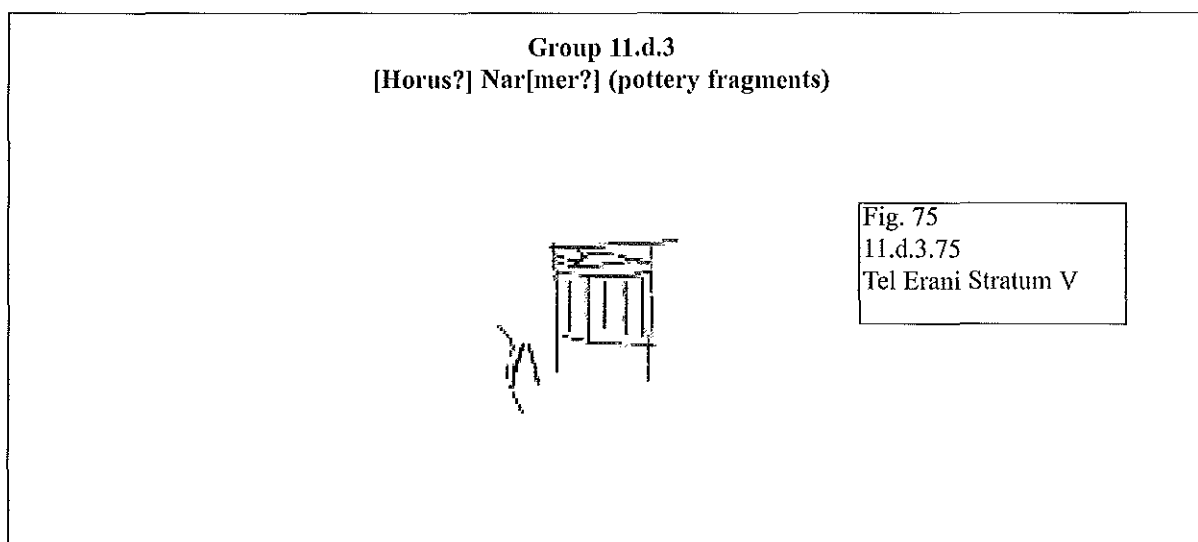
Fig. 72
11.d.2.72
Tell Ibrahim Awad, B200/150/165, 192



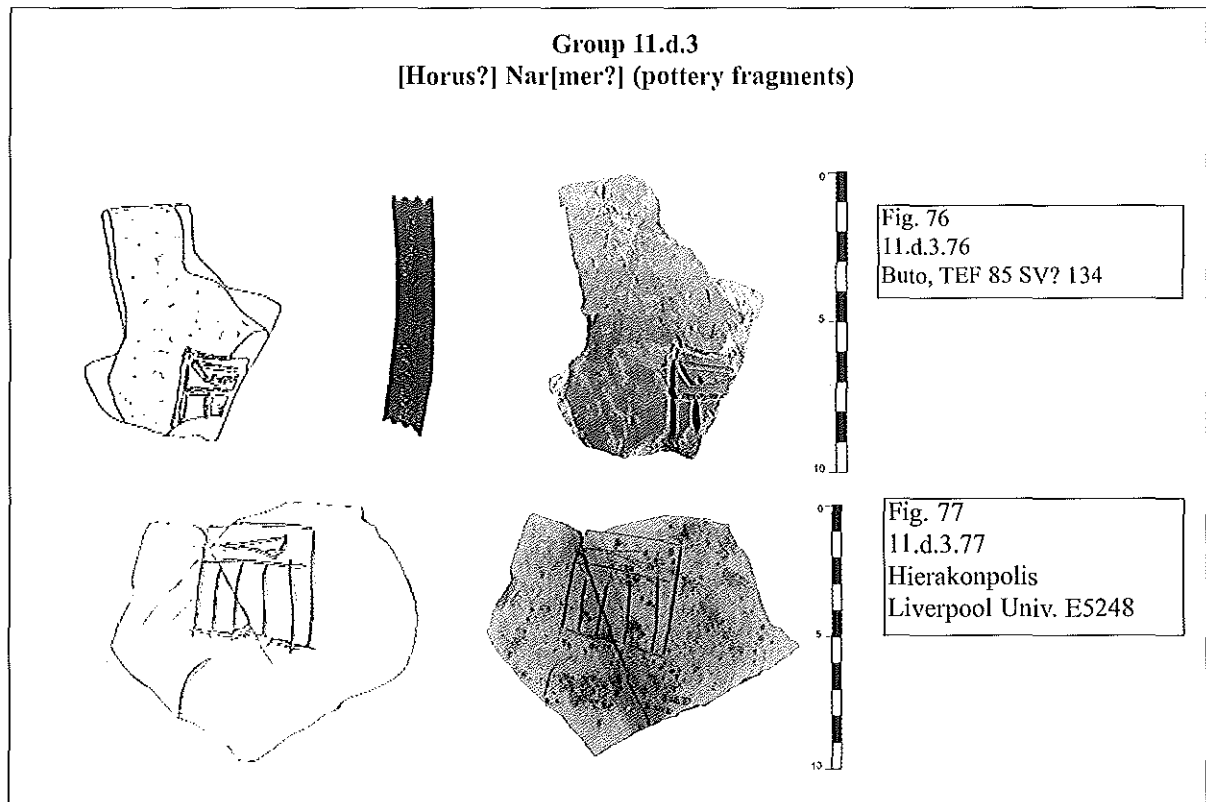
11d.3 Here the *n/r* sign is written as a wedge-shaped sign with or without whiskers at one of its extremes. Three *serekh*-signs belong to this sub-group, at least two of which have an additional incised sign.

**Group 11.d.3 (Horus?) Nar(mer?), written as a wedge-shaped sign
with or without whiskers (*fragments* ; n = 3)**

N°.	SITE	REG. N°	ADDITIONAL SIGN(s)
75.	Tel Erani, Str. V*		+
76.	Buto, Str.	TEF 85 SV 134	?
77.	Hierakonpolis	School of Archaeology, Liverpool University E5248	+



Group 11.d.3
[Horus?] Nar[mer?] (pottery fragments)



Pro memori

In 1991 an apparently complete jar incised with the *serekh* of Narmer was uncovered by EAO/SCA inspector M.S. el-Hangary in Tomb 913 of the Early Dynastic cemetery at Kafr Hassan Daoud (cf. Bakr et al. 1996: 278; Hassan 2000: 39). Unfortunately no information at the time is available concerning e.g. the type of pottery vessel nor details of the *serekh*-sign.

Pro memori. Narmer (intact ceramic jar ; n = 1)

SITE	EXCAVATED BY	TYPE	SEREKH	REFERENCES
Kafr Hassan Daoud, Tomb 913	M. Salim el-Hangary	?	Narmer	Bakr et al. 1996: 278; Hassan 2000: 39

Unidentifiable personalized *serekh* fragments (Group 12)

This group includes seven very fragmentary incised *serekh*-signs that do have part of a phonogram preserved in the upper (i.e. 'name') compartment. However, the preserved signs are very incomplete and it is not possible to state with certainty which phonograms were intended.

Two such fragments were recently uncovered during a first season of excavations by a Palestinian-French mission in the late Early Bronze Age I layers at Tell es-Sakan,⁷⁴ Area A, the same site where during a preliminary site survey in 1999 a fragmented *serekh* from (Horus) Nar(mer) was picked up from the tell's surface (here no.11.d.2.69; see de Miroschedji 2000: 30; de Miroschedji and Sadek 2000a: 137, Fig. 9).

Dina Faltings' description of the *serekhs* (pers. comm., 2001) are of interest:

[one *serekh*]... "shows the right end of a sign which is none of the known ones. It looks a little bit like a hand or a clumsy *hṭp* sign, but oblique (...) "the other one is again only the right half of the upper part, composed of a clear and a faint part. The only clear thing is a horizontal stroke with a little vertical line at its left 'end', where the sherd is broken off."⁷⁵

A minute *serekh*-sign, scratched into a vessel after firing, was recovered by Ram Gophna at 'En Besor (cf. van den Brink 1995). Another fragment from Tell Halif Terrace was found in 1975 by the late David Alon who kindly provided me with a drawing of the sherd, indicating it to be a fragment of a wine jar of Type IV. Preserved on it is the upper left corner of the *serekh*/name compartment with traces inside of a horizontal stroke that perhaps is all that is left of the original phonogram, *n'r*.

Y. Yekutieli (1998: 204, Fig. 20) recently identified another fragment from north Sinai. It is apparently the upper part of a badly preserved *serekh* surmounted by a falcon facing to the right. The state of preservation of this rim fragment is so poor that it is impossible to tell whether the sign was applied before or after firing of the vessel. The *serekh*-sign was applied not to a 'wine jar', but to a small globular juglet of Egyptian origin (cf. Yekutieli 1998: 286, Pl. 20.21).

Only a small part of the left side of a *serekh* fragment from Buto has been preserved. It shows part of both the schematic palace façade and, above it, the name compartment in which one can see an incompletely preserved vertical stroke, indicating the left end of the original sign or phonogram. Theoretically it could fit a rectangular *n'r* sign of group 11.d, but not enough has been preserved to make this reading certain.

The upper right corner of a *serekh*/name compartment found at Abydos is preserved on a wine jar of Type IV. A single, curving stroke is all that is left of the name. Possibly it belonged to the sign of the arms with two hands, the phonogram *k3*.

Group 12. Unidentifiable, personalized *serekh*-name fragments (n=7)

NO.	SITE	REG. NO.	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
78.	Tell es-Sakhan		
79.	Tell es-Sakhan		
80.	'En Besor		?
81.	Tel Halif Terrace	75-504-253/1	?
82.	North Sinai, site C-64	31262	?
83.	Buto, Stratum VII	TEF 87 T IXB 21/14	?
84.	Abydos	M388	?

⁷⁴ The site was recently discovered under massive sand dunes, in a newly developing area near the Wady Ghazzeah, just south of Gaza city. See de Miroschedji and Sadek 2000b-d.

⁷⁵ This information is a personal communication of D. Faltings (2001), who supervises the excavations in Area A. I am indebted to her for sharing it with me and allowing it to be noted here.

Group 12
Unidentifiable serekh-name fragments

Fig. 80
12.80
'En Besor

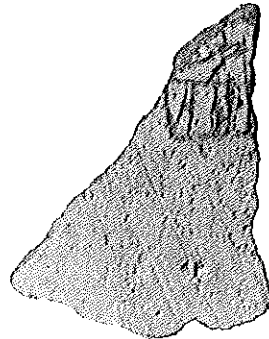
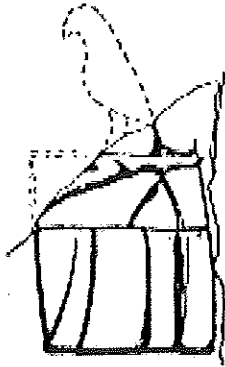


Fig. 81
12.81 (jar type IV)
Tel Halif Terrace
75-504-253/1

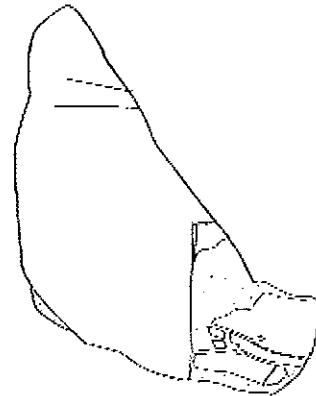


Fig. 82
12.82
Northern Sinai, site C-64 31262

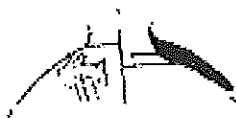


Fig. 83
12.83
Buto Stratum VII
TEF 87 T IXB 21/14 21325

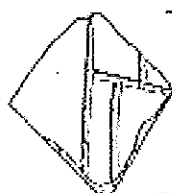


Fig. 84
12.84 (jar type IV)
Abydos
M388



Nondiagnostic serekh fragments (Group 13)

This rather large group includes 32 sherds, incised fragments that apparently belong to *serekhs*. It is usually possible to identify from which part of the *serekh* they derive, but no signs/phonograms are preserved within the *serekh*-frames that would make positive identification with one ruler or another possible. The list is organized by site with a brief description of the object:

Tel Lod

- No. 13.85. The lower left corner of a *serekh*-sign.
- No. 13.86. The upper left corner of a possible *serekh*-sign, with an additional sign above to the left.
- No. 13.87. A very small part of the right side of a *serekh*-sign, showing the right end of the lower (horizontal) delineation of the 'name compartment' cutting the (vertical) right border line of the *serekh* frame.

Khorvat Illin Tahtit

- No. 13.88. A rim and shoulder fragment of a locally made jar of Egyptian morphology, showing the upper left corner of a *serekh* with apparent name compartment with a concave top.
No. 13.89 A body sherd of an Egyptian vessel, showing the left lower corner of a *serekh*-sign.

Tel Ma'ahaz

- No. 13.90. Lower left corner of a *serekh*-sign, with only a fragmentarily preserved additional sign to the right of it.
No. 13.91. Lower right corner of a *serekh*-sign, with below it two harpoon-like signs.

Small Tel Malhata

- No. 13.92. Lower left corner of a *serekh*-sign, upper part not preserved.
No. 13.93. Lower left corner of a *serekh*-sign, upper part not preserved.

Tell es-Sakhan (first season, 2000).

- Nos. 13.94-97. Dina. Faltings (pers. comm. 2001) describes these fragments:
"Only one of them is datable because of its concave top (end of Naqada III), the others show either only the base or a lower corner of the palace-façade."

North Sinai

- No. 13.98. Lower left corner of *serekh*-sign.

Buto

- No. 13.99. Incomplete, lower part of a *serekh*-sign (?), with remains of two additional signs below it.
No. 13.100. Incomplete, lower part of a *serekh*-sign (?).

*Tell el-Farkha*⁷⁶

- No. 13.101. Upper right corner of a *serekh*-sign (?), applied post-firing.

Ezbet el-Tell

- No. 13.102. Complete lower part of *serekh*-sign, upper part not preserved.
No. 13.103. Upper part (?) of a plain (?) *serekh*-sign.

Zawaiyet el-Aryan

- No. 13.104. Upper part (?) of a small, plain (?) *serekh*-sign.
No. 13.105. Part of a plain (?) *serekh*-sign.
No. 13.106. NB. not a *serekh*-sign, but the upper part of an incised ntr sign (cf. van den Brink 1992c: 289, Group XI)

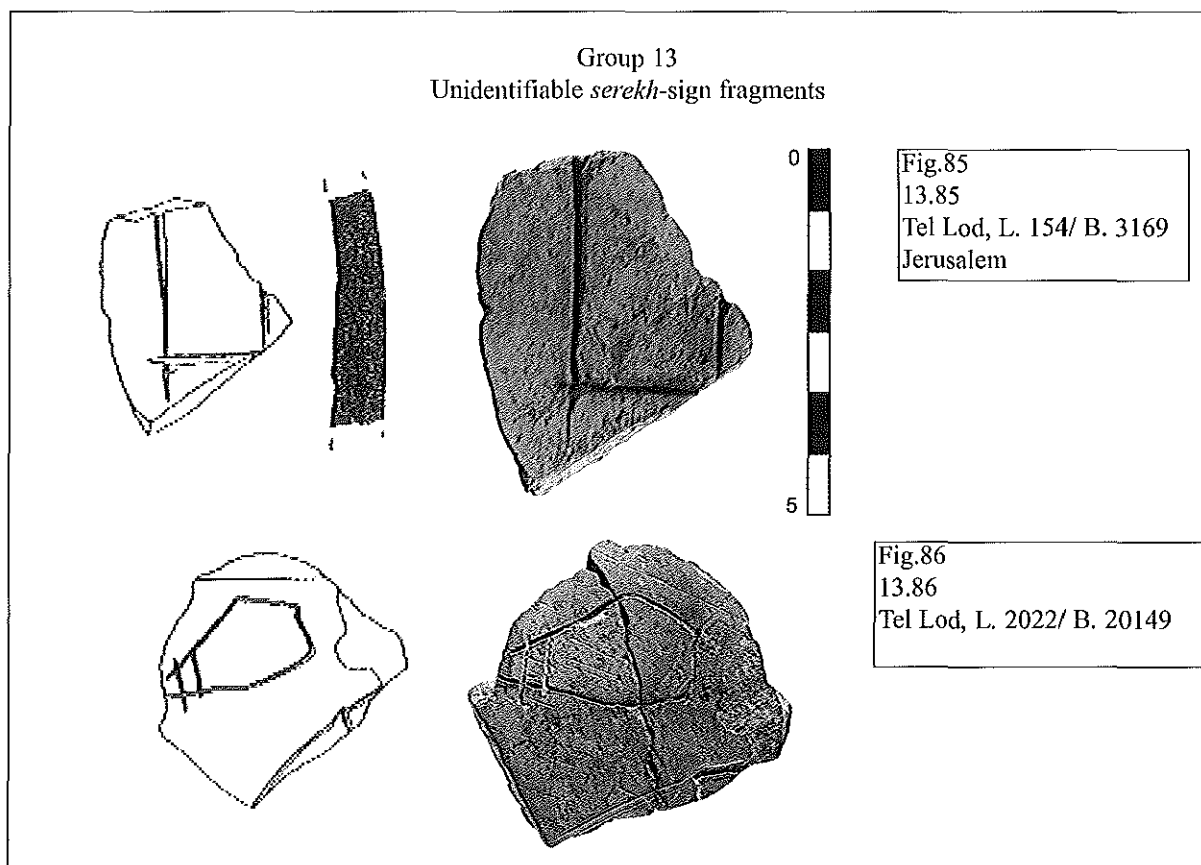
Abydos

- No. 13.107. Lower left corner of *serekh*-sign.
No. 13.108. Lower right corner of *serekh*-sign, with additional mark to the right
No. 13.109. Lower left corner of *serekh*-sign (?), with additional mark, incompletely preserved, left of it.
No. 13.110. Lower part of *serekh*-sign (?) with additional mark, incompletely preserved, to the right.
No. 13.111. Lower left corner of *serekh*-sign, with two incompletely preserved additional signs (one perhaps *k3*?) to its left.
No. 13.112. Upper left part of a rectangular frame with fringes (perhaps from the time of Horus Ka).
No. 13.113. Upper right corner of *serekh*-sign, possibly surmounted by a falcon (1 leg preserved). The *serekh*'s upper compartment, usually preserved for a name/phonogram, here represents a niched palace façade (possibly from the time of Horus Ka).

⁷⁶ This information is based on a personal communication of M. Jucha (2001), who is working on the pottery of Tell el-Farkha. I am indebted to him for sharing it with me and allowing it to be noted here. I am thankful to K. CiaŁowicz and M. ChÓodnicki for their kind permission to represent the fragment here.

Group 13. Unidentifiable *serekh* fragments (n = 29)

N°.	SITE	REG. N°.	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
85.	Tel Lod, Stratum IV	L. 154/ B. 3169	
86.	Tel Lod	2022/20149	
87.	Tel Lod		
88.	Khorvat Illin Tahtit, Stratum IV	1779/L. 220/ B. 894.1	
89.	Khorvat Illin Tahtit, Stratum IV	1779/L. 303/ B.1595.1	
90.	Tel Ma'ahaz	IAA 81129	
91.	Tel Ma'ahaz	IAA 943328	
92.	Small Tel Malhata		
93.	Small Tel Malhata		
94.	Tell es-Sakhan		
95.	Tell es-Sakhan		
96.	Tell es-Sakhan		
97.	Tell es-Sakhan		
98.	North Sinai, site C-103	21290	?
99.	Buto, Stratum IIId	TEF 87 T IX 58/45	
100.	Buto, Stratum V	TEF 88 U III 6/16	
101.	Tell el-Farkha, phase 5	W56c	
102.	Ezbet el-Tell		
103.	Ezbet el-Tell		
104.	Zawiyet el-Aryan	MFA 11.2325a-c	
105.	Zawiyet el-Aryan	MFA 11.2325a-c	
106.	Zawiyet el-Aryan	MFA 11.2325a-c	
107.	Abydos B	ROM 901.8.195	
108.	Abydos	M369	
109.	Abydos, Den Halde SW	M216	
110.	Abydos, B16-3a	M136	
111.	Abydos, near B7/9		
112.	Abydos	M398	
113.	Abydos, B 50 Halde N	M 257	



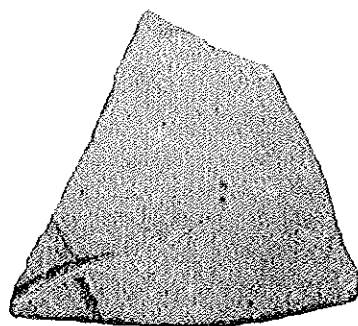


Fig.87
13.87
Tel Lod,
Jerusalem

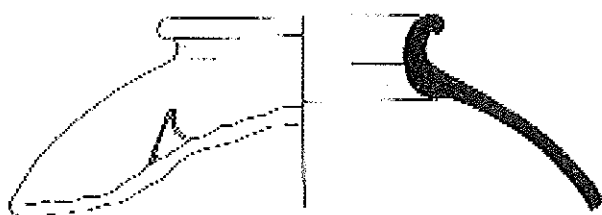


Fig.88
13.88
Khorvat Illin Tahtit, str. IV
1779/220/894/1
Jerusalem

Fig. 89
13.89
Khorvat Illin Tahtit IV Stratum (?),
1779/303/1595/1
Jerusalem

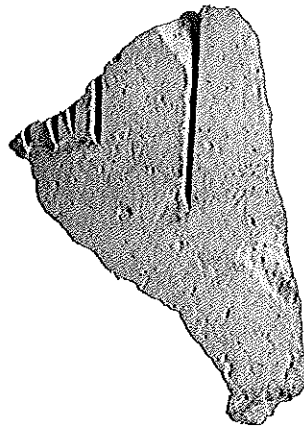


Fig. 90
13.90
Tel Ma'ahaz
IAA 81129

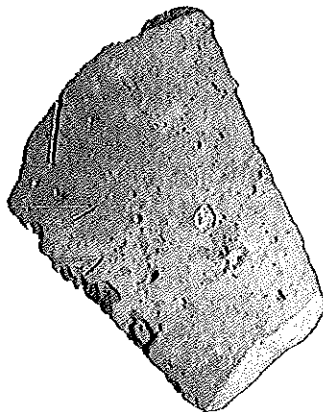


Fig. 91
13.91
Tel Ma'ahaz
IAA 943328

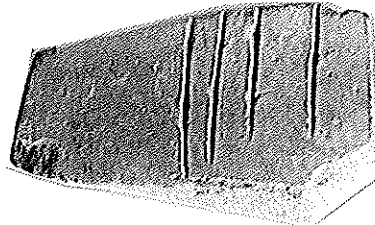
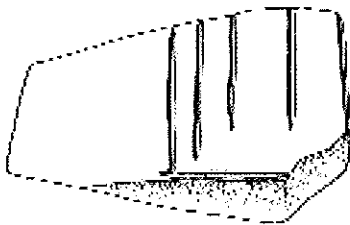


Fig. 92
13.92
Small Tel Malhata

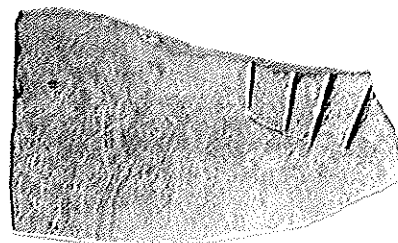


Fig. 93
13.93
Small Tel Malhata

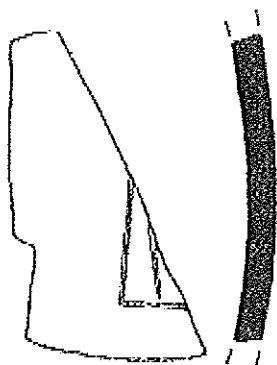


Fig. 98
13.98
North Sinai

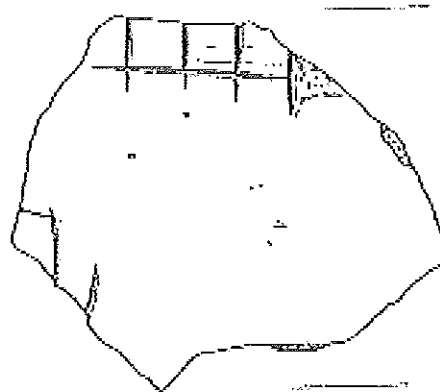


Fig.99
13.99
Buto Stratum IIId
TEF 87 T IX 58/45
22305

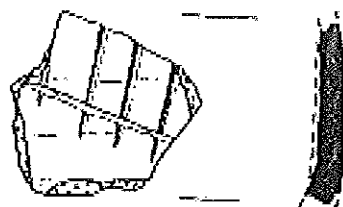


Fig.100
13.100
Buto Stratum V
TEF 88 U III 6/16
21305

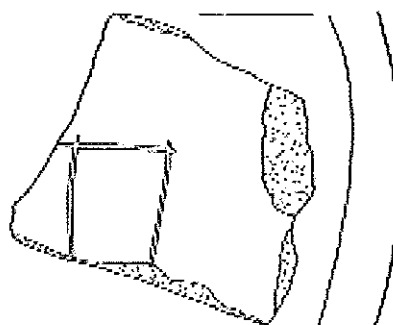


Fig.101
13.101
Tell el-Farkha phase 5
pit W56c

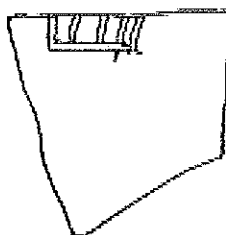


Fig.102
13.102
Ezbet el-Tell

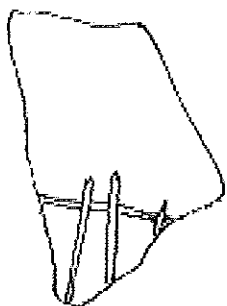


Fig.103
13.103
Ezbet el-Tell

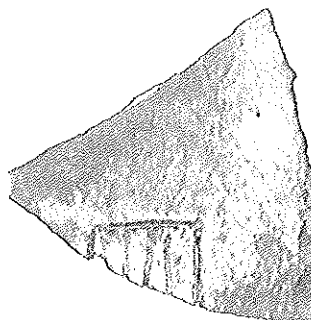


Fig.104
13.104
Zawiyet el-Aryan
MFA 11.2325 (a, b, or c)

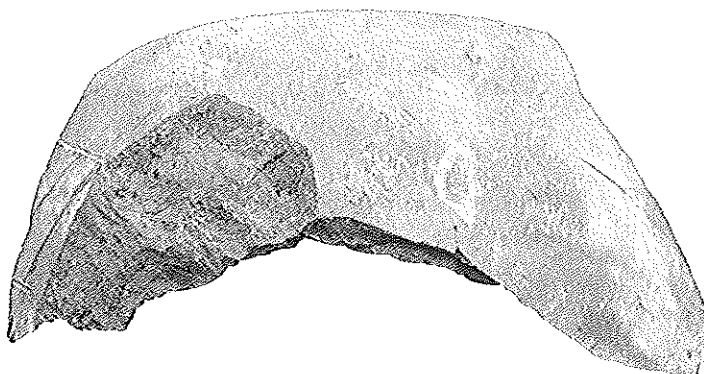


Fig.105
13.105
Zawiyet el-Aryan
MFA 11.2325 (a, b, or c)

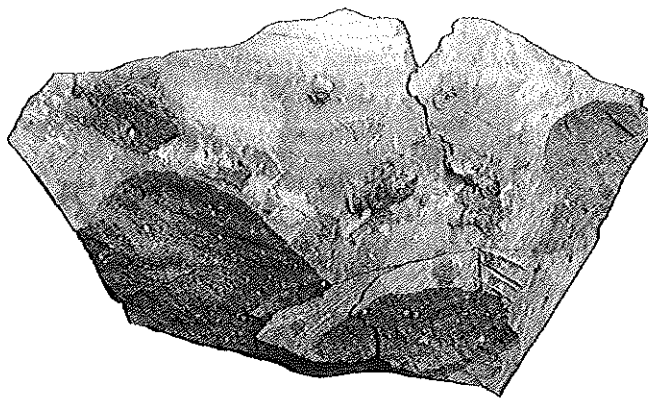


Fig.106
13.106
Zawiyet el-Aryan
MFA 11.2325 (a, b, or c)



Fig.107
13.107
Abydos Tomb B
ROM 901.8.195

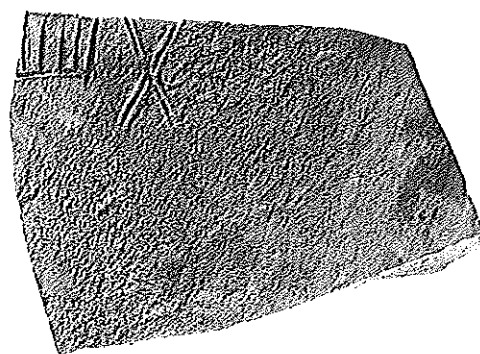


Fig.108
13.108
Abydos
M369

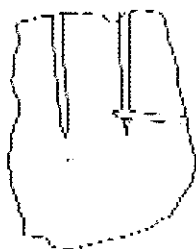


Fig.109
13.109
Abydos, southwest of Tomb of Den
M216

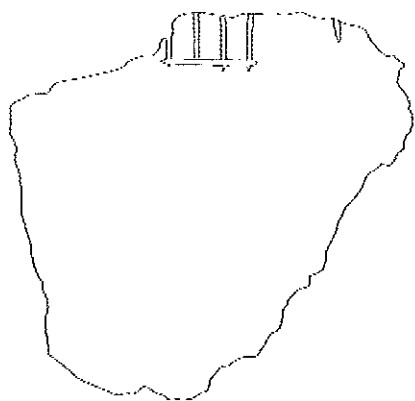


Fig.110
13.110
Abydos, B16-3a
M136

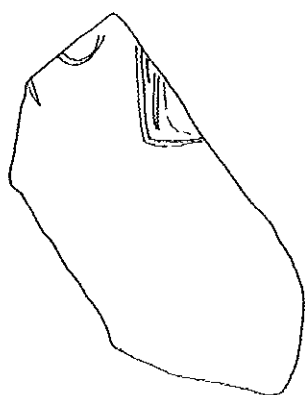


Fig.111
13.111
Abydos near Tomb B7/9

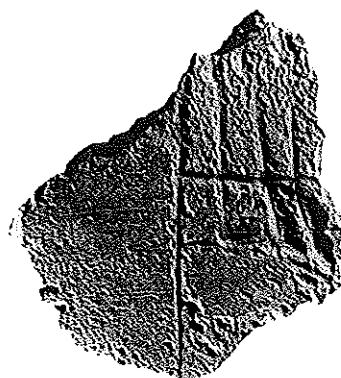


Fig.112
13.112
Abydos
M398

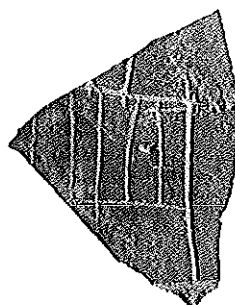
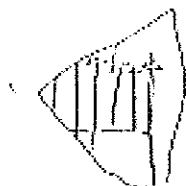


Fig.113
13.113
Abydos north of Tomb B50
M257

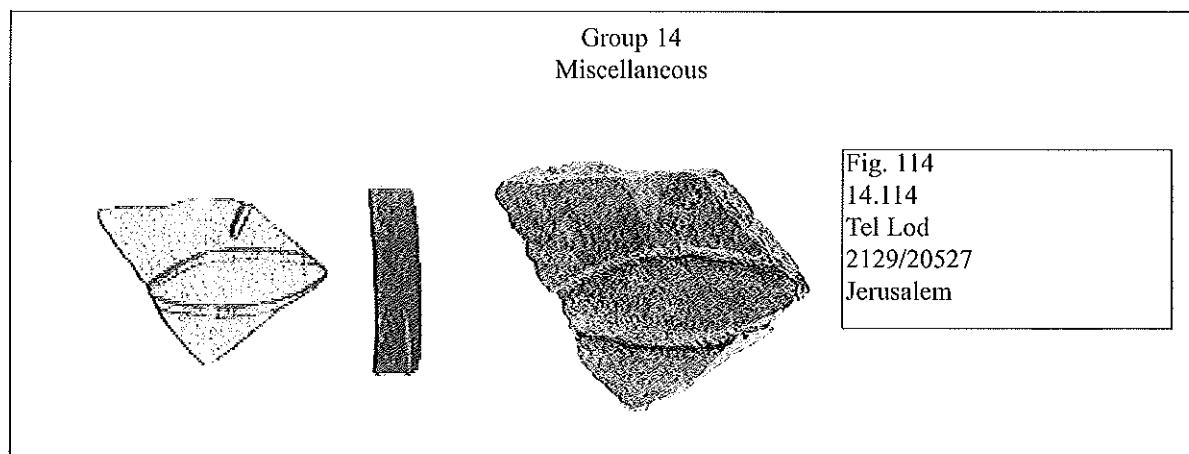
Miscellaneous (Group 14)

This group includes six fragments whose status as possible *serekh*-signs is somewhat in doubt.

- No. 14.114. Since all incised signs recovered from Tel Lod (and presented above) clearly belong to personalized *serekh*-signs, I tend to see in the fragment a mouth- sign (*r*) with a single leg of a falcon above it, thus I read Iry-[Hor]. In support of this reading I note that although the mouth sign does appear as a common (i.e. 'non-royal') potter's mark in Egypt throughout the First Dynasty from the reign of Nar(mer)'s predecessor Horus Aha until that of Horus Qa'a (van den Brink 1992c), the **combination** of the mouth-sign(*r*) with another sign is rare, occurring with only two other signs (cf. van den Brink 1992c: 287, Group IV; 289, Group XI.18). Although the majority of the identifiable incised *serekh*-signs at Tel Lod and other sites in the southern Levant belong to (Horus) Nar(mer), earlier rulers have been identified here as well, e.g. (Horus) Ka (see above, no.10.a.2.47; Braun and van den Brink, 2002) and possibly Double Falcon (no. 2.c.2.19; see Braun and van den Brink 1998: 76, Fig. 3.A2-3, Pl. 1A-B).
- No. 14.115. Although incised into a locally produced, EB Ib vessel, the sherd is included here because the sign is reminiscent of *n'r* sign no. 11.d.1.2.64, even though it appears without a *serekh*.
- No. 14.116. Based on the published drawing and photograph of this fragment it is hard to tell whether it actually concerns a fragment of a *serekh*-sign. If affirmed, it would represent the lower left corner of a *serekh*, with below it an additional, but incompletely preserved sign.
- No. 14.117. What is represented here is possibly the right lower part of an incised sign, explained by some as a Neith standard on a boat, exemplified e.g. in the sign to the right of a plain *serekh* from el-Beda, no. 1.a.2.1.
- No. 114.118-119. Both fragments seem to represent *hwt* signs, rather than *serekh*-signs. Both were applied post-firing. No. 118 was scratched into a jar possibly of Type III (M. Jucha, pers. comm. 2001), no. 119 exceptionally into a small ovoid jar (Köhler 1998b: 71). As for the latter E. Ch. Köhler suggest a reading of *Hr-Hwt*, thus referring to a previously unrecorded Early Dynastic ruler. However, in view of the find context of this sherd in a mining site, her second suggestion, to read the graffito as *Hwt-Hr*, as a reference to Hathor, seems more plausible.

Group 14. Miscellaneous incised fragments (n = 6)

Nº.	SITE	REG. Nº.	TYPE	ADDITIONAL SIGN(S)
114.	Tel Lod	2129/20527		
115.	Tel Lod			
116.	Tel Erani	Gat D60/296/27		
117.	Tel Erani			
118.	Tell el-Farkha, phase 4	W76a	III (?)	
119.	Umm el-Balad		small ovoid jar	



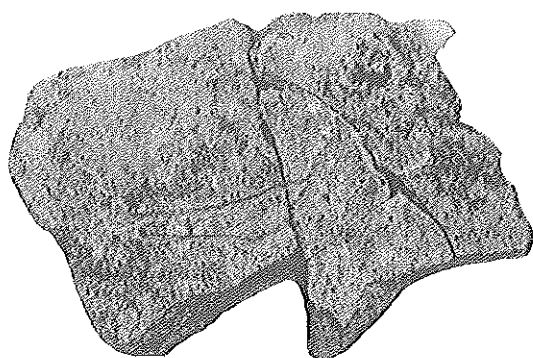


Fig. 115
14.115
Tel Lod
Jerusalem

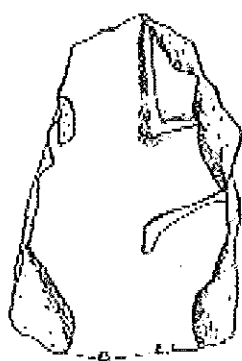


Fig. 116
14.116
Tel Erani
Gat D60/296/27

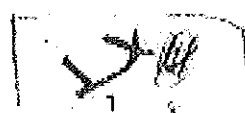


Fig. 117
14.117
Tel Erani

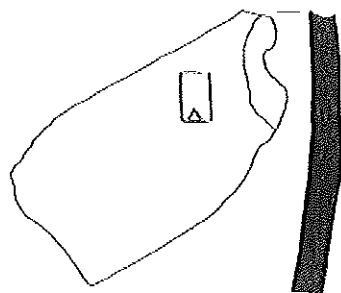


Fig. 118
14.118
Tell el-Farkha phase 4

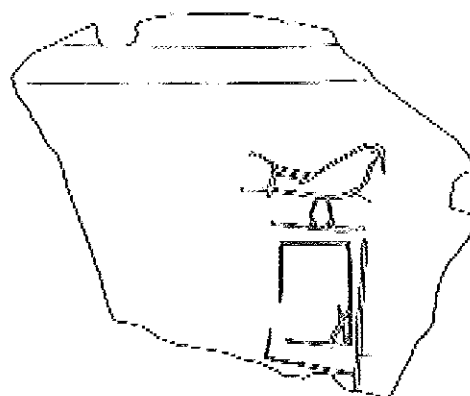


Fig. 119
14.119 (jar type IV)
Umm el-Balad

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I am indebted to the following people and institutions for providing me with information, drawings and/or photographs of various incised serekhs, some of which still remain unpublished: Barbara Adams (University College, London), Ruth Amiran (The Israel Museum), Baruch Brandl (Israel Antiquities Authority, Jerusalem), Osnat Brandl (The Israel Museum), Eliot Braun (Israel Antiquities Authority, Jerusalem), Marek Chlodnicki (Poznan Archaeological Museum, Poznan), Krzysztof M. Cialowicz (Center of Mediterranean Archaeology of the Polish Academy of Science, Krakow), Günter Dreyer (German Archaeological Institute, Cairo), E.M. Engel (German Archaeological Institute, Cairo), D. Falting (German Archaeological Institute, Cairo), Bella Gershovich (The Israel Museum, Jerusalem), Thomas D. Gilroy (University of Toronto), Ram Gophna (Tel Aviv University), Krzysztof A. Grzymski (Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto), Fekhri A. Hassan (University College, London), Ornit. Ilan (The Israel Museum, Jerusalem), Alejandro Jiménez-Serrano (University of Jaén, Spain), Mariusz Jucha, Jochem Kahl (Institute for Egyptology and Coptology, Munster), Eric Kansa (Department of Anthropology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA), E. Christiana Köhler, (Department of Ancient History, Macquarie University, Sydney), Karla Kroeper (Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin), Thomas E. Levy (Department of Anthropology, University of California, San Diego), Ofer Marder (Israel Antiquities Authority, Jerusalem), Béatrix Midant-Reynes (Centre d'Anthropologie, Université Paul Sabatier, Toulouse), Pierre de Miroschedji (Institute for Archaeology and Ethnology, Nanterre), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Eliezer D. Oren (Ben Gurion University of the Negev, Beersheva), Frauke Pumpenmeier (German Archaeological Institute, Cairo), Helmut Satzinger (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung, Wien), Steven R. Snape (School of Archaeology, University of Liverpool), George V. Tassie (University College, London), Luc Watrin (University of Paris I-Sorbonne, Paris), Thomas von der Way (German Archaeological Institute, Cairo), Dietrich Wildung (Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin), Eli Yannai (Israel Antiquities Authority, Jerusalem) and Yuval Yekutieli (Ben Gurion University of the Negev, Beersheva).

My dear colleague Eliot Braun kindly and critically perused the final draft version of this paper.

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Intact Jars

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| Fig. 6, 17, 28, 29 | Courtesy, E. Christiana Köhler, Department of Ancient History, Macquarie University, Sydney. |
| Figs. 7, 9, 10 | Courtesy, Dietrich Wildung and Karla Kroeper, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin. |
| Fig. 13 | Courtesy, Helmut Satzinger, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien. |
| Fig. 27 | Courtesy, Fekhri Hassan (with thanks to George V. Tassie, London), University College, London. |

Fragments

- | | |
|---|--|
| Figs. 3, 29, 62, 104-106 | Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. |
| Figs. A, B, 5, 26, 30-32, 39, 45, 52, 84, 108, 110, 112-113 | Courtesy, Günter Dreyer (with thanks to Frauke Pumpenmeier), German Archaeological Institute, Cairo. |
| Figs. 18, 48, 72 | Photographs by the author. |

- Figs. 19, 89 Photographs by Ts. Sagiv. Courtesy, Eliot Braun /Israel Antiquities Authority, Jerusalem.
- Figs. C, 21 Courtesy, Béatrix Midant-Reynes, Centre d'Anthropologie, Université Paul Sabatier, Toulouse.
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- Figs. 23, 76, Courtesy, Thomas von der Way, German Archaeological Institute, Cairo.
- Figs. 40-43, 51, 74, 107 Courtesy, Krzys A. Grzyski, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto and Tom D. Gilroy, University of Toronto.
- Figs. D, 47, 63-68, 85-88, 114-115 Photographs by Ts. Sagiv. Courtesy, Eli Yannai, Ofer Marder and Eliot Braun/ Israel Antiquities Authority, Jerusalem.
- Figs. 70, 71 Courtesy, Thomas E. Levy, Department of Anthropology, University of California, San Diego (UCSD).
- Fig. 77 Courtesy, Steven R. Snape, School of Archaeology, University of Liverpool (with thanks to Barbara Adams, University College, London).
- Fig. 80, 90 Courtesy, Osnat Brandl, the Israel Museum, Jerusalem and Ram Gophna, Tel Aviv University

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF DRAWINGS

Complete vessels

- | | |
|---|---|
| A-C | After van den Brink 1996 |
| Figs. 1,3-5, 8, 13, 16, 18, 20, 23-24, 32, 33 | After van den Brink 1996 |
| Fig. 6, 17, 28, 29 | Courtesy, E. Christiana Köhler, Department of Ancient History, Macquarie University, Sydney |
| Figs. 7, 12, 31 | K. Kroeper 1988 |
| Fig. 19 | Kroeper and Wildung 1994 |
| Fig. 11, 14, 21-22, 25-26 | Kaiser 1982 |
| Fig. 15 | After Bakr 1988 |
| Fig. 30 | Dreyer 1999 |

Fragments

- | | |
|---|--|
| Fig. 1, 3,6, 7, 11, 14, 16, 20, 33-35, 37-38, 49-50, 54-55, 57-59, 75,107 | Kaiser 1982 |
| Figs. 2, 18, 25, 48, 72 | By the author |
| Fig. 4 | Petrie 1914: Pl. 21,78 |
| Figs. 5, 26, 30-32, 52-53, 56, 73, 109-110, 113 | Courtesy, Günter Dreyer (with thanks to Frauke Pumpenmeier), German Archaeological Institute, Cairo. |

- Figs. 9, 10
 Figs. 8-10, 60, 102, 103
 Fig. 12
 Figs. 13, 39, 44, 111
 Figs A-B
 Fig. C
 Fig. 17
 Figs. 19, 88
 Fig. 22, 92-93
 Figs. 23, 83, 99, 100
 Fig. 24
 Fig. 28
 Fig. 36
 Figs. 40-41, 51, 74
 Figs. 42-43
 Fig. 46
 Figs. 47, 63-68, 85-86, 114
 Fig. 61
 Fig. 62
 Fig. 69
 Figs. 70-71
 Fig. 76
 Fig. 77
 Fig. 80
 Fig. 81
 Figs. 82, 98
 Fig. 89
 Fig. 90
 Fig. 91
 Figs. 101, 118
 Fig. 116
 Fig. 117
 Fig. 119
 Kroeper 2000
 After Bakr 1988
 Petrie 1900: Pl. L VI, 1159
 After unpublished pencil drawings; courtesy, Günter Dreyer
 Dreyer 1990: 59, Abb. 3a-b
 Dreyer 1993
 Oren 1989: fig. 6,1
 Braun and van den Brink 1998
 Amiran et al. 1983; courtesy, O. Illan
 Köhler 1998
 Yeivin 1963: Fig. 2; Pl. XXXIX, 2
 Petrie 1901: Pl. LV, 12
 Petrie 1900: Pl. LII, 731
 Gilroy 2001
 Courtesy, Th. D. Gilroy
 Williams 1986
 Courtesy, E.Braun/Israel Antiquities Authority
 Amiran 1974: Fig. 1; Pl.1
 Dunham 1978: 26; Pl. XVI a
 de Miroschedji and Sadek 2000a : 137, Fig. 9
 Levy et al. 1997
 von der Way 1993
 Garstang 1907
 Schulman 1976 : 25, Fig. 2, Pl. 1,7
 Courtesy; David Alon
 Yekutieli 1998
 Braun et al. 2001
 after Amiran and van den Brink, 2001
 Amiran and van den Brink, 2001 : Pl. 3,12 (left)
 Courtesy, K. Cialowicz, M. Chlodnicki and M. Jucha
 Yeivin 1963 : Fig. 3, Pl. XXXIX, 3
 Yeivin 1968: Pl. Ia, Figs. 2-3
 Köhler 1998

TABLES 1-4

Table 1. Overview of incised *serekh*

GROUP	SEREKH TYPE	C+F ⁷⁷	Jar types ⁷⁸	S. Levant	N. Sinai	Lower Egypt	Upper Egypt	Lower Nubia
1.a	Plain <i>serekhs</i>	8+7	I, IIa, IIc, III, IVa		3	9	3	
1.b	Anonymous <i>serekhs</i> (i.e. with empty name compartment)	2+7	III			5	4	
2.a	Non-punctured pair of falcons facing both to the right on top of plain <i>serekh</i>	0+1					1	
2.b	(Punctured/non-punctured) Double Falcon on top of plain <i>serekh</i>	1+3	IIa			2	2	
2.c	(Punctured) Double Falcon over (punctured) mountain on top of plain <i>serekh</i>	1+3	IIa	1	2		1	
3.a	<i>N.i-Hr</i>	3+2	IIb, III	1		4		
3.b	<i>N.i(-Hr)</i>	0+2		1		1		
4	<i>H3+H-</i>	1+0	IIb			1		
5	Horus <i>N.i Ni.f(?)</i>	1+1	III			1	1	
6	Unreadable <i>serekh</i> name	1+0	III			1		
7	Horus (Crocodile) the Subduer (?)	1+0	III			1		
8.a	(Horus) ?	1+0	III			1		
8.b	(Horus) ?	2+1	III			2	1	
9	Irv-Hor	4+18	III, IVa			1	20	1
10.a	Horus Ka in upper part (name compartment) of the <i>serekh</i>	2+4	III	1		3	2	
10.b	Horus Ka in lower part (below the name compartment) of the <i>serekh</i>	1+5	III			1	5	
10.c	(Horus) Ka in (fringed) box	0+4					4	
11.a	Nar atop a plain <i>serekh</i>	1+0	IIa			1		
11.b	Horus Narmer; name written in full; <i>serekh</i> surmounted by a falcon	2+1	III, IVa			3		
11.c	Horus Nar(mer); <i>serekh</i> surmounted by a falcon	0+2		1		1		
11.d.1	Nar(mer)	1+2	IIb	2		1		
11.d.2	(Horus?) Nar(mer?), written as a rectangle with 3-4 whiskers	0+10		7		1	2	
11.d.3	(Horus?) Nar(mer?), written as a wedge-shaped sign with or without whiskers	0+3		1		1	1	

⁷⁷ C stands for 'complete jar', F for 'fragment'.⁷⁸ Jar types refer to jar Types I-IV as defined in van den Brink 1996.

GROUP	SEREKH TYPE	C+F ⁷⁸	Jar types ⁷⁹	S. Levant	N. Sinai	Lower Egypt	Upper Egypt	Lower Nubia
12	Unidentifiable personalized <i>serekh</i> fragments	0+7	IV	4	1	1	1	
13	Unidentifiable <i>serekh</i> fragments	0+29		13	1	8	7	
14	Miscellaneous	0+6		5	1	1	4	
	SUBTOTAL of incised <i>serekhs</i> fragments	33+118		N=37	N=7	N=51	N=55	N=1

Table 2. Overview of sites yielding serekh-signs according to regions

SITES	Complete vessels	Fragments
SOUTHERN LEVANT		
Tel Lod		12
Palmahim		1
Kh. Illin Tahit		2
Tel Erani		4
Tel Halif Terrace		3
Arad		1
Small Tel Malhata		3
Tel Ma'ahaz		2
'En Besor		1 (postfiring)
Tell es-Sakan		7
SINAI		
Wadi el-Arish	2	-
El-Beda	1	3
north Sinai A/137		1
north Sinai C/64		1
north Sinai C/103		1
LOWER EGYPT		
Buto		5
Minshat Abu Omar	6	-
Eastern Delta	2	
Tell el-Farkha		2 (1 postfiring)
Tell Ibrahim Awad		5
Kafr Hassan Daoud	1 (+ 1 p.m.)	
Zawayet el-Aryan		6
Ezbet el-Tell	1	6
Abu Roash	1	-

⁷⁹ Due to a typo, this fragment in Yekutieli op.cit. is misprinted as #23290 instead of the correct #21290 (Yekutieli, pers. comm. 2001).

SITES	Complete vessels	Fragments
LOWER EGYPT		
Turah	5	-
Heluan	5	-
Tarkhan	3	1
Abusir el-Meleq	2	-
UPPER EGYPT		
Wadi Umm Balad		1 (postfiring)
Abydos	4	47
Adaima		1
Hierakonpolis		1
NUBIA		
Qustul		1 (postfiring)
TOTAL	33 (+ 1 p.m.)	118

Table 3a. Distribution of individual *serekh*-signs (Groups 1-11) according to site, in the southern Levant and north Sinai

Site	Lod	Palmahim	T. Erani	T. Halif	Arad	s. T. Malhata	T es-Sakan	el-Beda	Sinai	W. el-Arish
SEREKH TYPE										
Plain serekhs								1		2
Anonymous serekhs										
'Double Falcon'		1 (?)						3	1	
<i>Nj-Hr</i>			1 (?)			1				
<i>H3.t-Hr</i>										
Horus <i>Nj Nj.t (?)</i>										
Unreadable serekh name										
Horus (Crocodile) the Subduer (?)										
(Horus) ?										
Iry-Hor	1 (?)									
(Horus) Ka	1									
(Horus) Nar(mer)	6 (+1?)		1	1 (+2 ?)	1		1			

Table 3b. Distribution of individual *serekh*-signs (Groups 1-11) according to site in Lower Egypt

Site	Buto	MAO	E. Delta	TIA	KHD	Ez el-T	Abu Roash	Zaw c.A	Turah	Heluan	Tarkhan	Abusir el M
Plain <i>serekhs</i> type		1		1			1	1		2		2
Anonymous <i>serekhs</i>		2				3						
'Double Falcon'				1					1			
<i>N.j-Hr</i>	1			1 (?)		1 (?)			2			
<i>H3.t-Hr</i>										1		
Horus <i>N.j Ni.t (?)</i>										1		
Unreadable <i>serekh</i> name		1										
Horus (Crocodile) the Subduer (?)		1 (?)										
(Horus) ?			1						2			
Iry-Hor												
(Horus) Ka	1			1	1			1 (?)		2		
(Horus) Nar(mer)		1	1	1	(1 p.m.)	1		1			2	

Table 3c. Distribution of individual *serekh*-signs (Groups 1-11) according to site in Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia

Site	Abydos	Adama	Hierakonpolis	Qustul
SEREKH TYPE				
Plain <i>serekhs</i>	3			
Anonymous <i>serekhs</i>	4			
'Double Falcon'	1	1		
<i>N.j-Hr</i>				
<i>H3.t-Hr</i>				
Horus <i>N.j Ni.t (?)</i>	1 (?)			
Unreadable <i>serekh</i> name				
Horus (Crocodile) the Subduer (?)				
(Horus) ?	1 (?)			
Iry-Hor	20			1 (?)
(Horus) Ka	11			
(Horus) Nar(mer)	2		1	

Table 4. Distribution of *serekh*-sign Groups 1-11 according to jar types

GROUP	SEREKH TYPE	JAR TYPES			
		I	II	III	IV
1a.	Plain <i>serekhs</i>	+	+	+	+
1b.	Anonymous <i>serekhs</i>			+	
2.	'Double Falcon'		+		
3.	<i>N.j-Hr</i>		+	+	
4.	<i>H3.t-Hr</i>		+		
5.	Horus <i>N.j N.j.t (?)</i>			+	
6.	Unreadable <i>serekh</i> name			+	
7.	Horus (Crocodile) the Subduer (?)			+	
8.	(Horus) ?			+	
9.	Iry-Hor			+	+
10.	(Horus) Ka			+	
11.	(Horus) Nar(mer)		+	+	+

Appendix A

Fragments

a. Southern Levant

NO.	SITE	REG. NO.	SEREKH	REFERENCES
47.	Tel Lod	7175/70603	Ka	van den Brink and Braun 2002
63.	Tel Lod	2149/20663	Narmer	van den Brink and Braun 2002
64.	Tel Lod	2162/20770	Narmer	van den Brink and Braun 2002
65.	Tel Lod	6205/60821	Narmer	Yannai and Marder 2000; Braun and van den Brink, in prep
66.	Tel Lod	9603/96036	Narmer	van den Brink and Braun 2002
67.	Tel Lod	2256/29078	Narmer	van den Brink and Braun 2002
68.	Tel Lod	2256/29078	Narmer	van den Brink and Braun 2002
85.	Tel Lod, Stratum IVa	L. 154/B. 3169	fragment	van den Brink, in press; Fig. 8.6
86.	Tel Lod	2022/20149		van den Brink and Braun 2002
87.	Tel Lod			van den Brink and Braun 2002
114.	Tel Lod		Iry [Hor]?	van den Brink and Braun 2002
115.	Tel Lod		Nar(mer)?	van den Brink and Braun 2002
19.	Palmahim, str. 2	1617/5041617/522.1	Double Falcon(?)	Braun and van den Brink 1998: Pl. 1a-b, Fig. 3. A1-2; van den Brink 1998: Fig. 2a; Pl. 2a
88.	Kh. Illin Tahit, str. IV	1779/220/894/1	fragment	Braun and van den Brink 1998: Pl. 2, Fig. 3. B1-2; van den Brink 1998: Fig. 3a; Pl. 3a
89.	Kh. Illin Tahit, str. IV (?)	1779/303/1595/1	fragment	Braun et al., 2001: Fig. 4.5.1
24.	Tel Erani	Gat D60/403/3030	N.j-Hr	Yeivin 1963: Fig. 2; Pl. XXXIX. 2
75.	Tel Erani, Str. V		Narmer	Yeivin 1960: 195, Fig. 2, Pl. 24a; NEOHL: 419
116.	Tel Erani	Gat D60/296/27	serekh?	Yeivin 1963: Fig. 3; Pl. XXXIX. 3
117.	Tel Erani		NOT a serekh	Yeivin 1968: Pl. Ia, Figs. 2-3
81.	Tel Halif Terrace	75-504 253/1	Narmer?	Found by D. Aloni; cf. Seger et al. 1990; kept in Joan Alon Center
70.	Tel Halif Terrace, IIb	G49-94, L.14/ B.259	Narmer	Levy et al. 1995; Levy et al. 1997: Fig. 6; van den Brink 1998: Fig. 1a, Pl. 1a
71.	Tel Halif Terrace	G67-95, L.58/ B.1028	Nar(mer) (?)	Levy et al. 1997: Figs. 16b; 17.3a-b; van den Brink 1998: Fig. 1b, Pl. 1b
61.	Arad, Str. IV		Horus Nar(mer)	Amiran 1974: Fig. 1; Pl. 1.
22.	small Tel Malhata		N.j-Hr	Amiran et al. 1983: 81, Fig. 7c; Ilan 2002: Fig. 20.3.1
92.	small Tel Malhata		fragment	Amiran et al. 1983: 81, Fig. 7a; Ilan 2002: Fig. 20.3.2
93.	small Tel Malhata		fragment	Amiran et al. 1983: 81, Fig. 7b; Ilan 2002: Fig. 20.3.3
90.	Tel Ma'ahaz	IAA 81129	fragment	Schulman and Gophna 1981: Fig. 1
91.	Tel Ma'ahaz	IAA 943328	fragment	Amiran and van den Brink, 2001: Pl. 3.12 (left)

NO	SITE	REG. NO.	SEREKH	REFERENCES
80	En Besor, Str. III	postfiring!	Aha (?)	Schulman 1976: 25, Fig. 2, Pl. I.7; cf. Schulman 1983
69	Tell es-Sakan	Surface find	Narmer	de Miroschedji 2000: 30; de Miroschedji and Sadek 2000a: 137, Fig. 9
78	Tell es-Sakan			D. Faltings, pers. comm. 2001
79	Tell es-Sakan			D. Faltings, pers. comm. 2001
94	Tell es-Sakan			D. Faltings, pers. comm. 2001
95	Tell es-Sakan			D. Faltings, pers. comm. 2001
96	Tell es-Sakan			D. Faltings, pers. comm. 2001
97	Tell es-Sakan			D. Faltings, pers. comm. 2001

b. Sinai

NO.	SITE	REG. NO.	SEREKH	REFERENCES
20.	el-Beda		Double falcon	Clédat 1913; Fig. 4; see also Valbelle and Le Saout 1999: 75 and note 28.
16.	el-Beda		Double falcon	Clédat 1913; Fig. 6; see also Valbelle and Le Saout 1999: 75 and note 28.
1.	el-Beda		plain	Clédat 1913; Fig. 5; see also Valbelle and Le Saout 1999: 75 and note 28.
17.	Sinai A/137	D 5779	Double falcon	Oren 1973: 202, note 10; Oren 1989; Fig. 6.1
82.	Sinai C/64	31262	Horus ?	Yekutieli 1998: 204, Fig. 20
98.	Sinai C/103	21290	fragment	Yekutieli 1998: 204 ⁷⁹

c. Lower Egypt

NO.	SITE	REG. NO.	SEREKH	REFERENCES
23.	Buto, str. IVc	Te F87 T IX56 27	<i>N.j-Hr</i>	von der Way 1989: 286, n. 26; 293, Fig. 11.7 ⁸⁰ ; Köhler 1998: Tafel 66.7
76.	Buto	Te F85 SV? 134	Narmer	von der Way 1993
83.	Buto, str. VII	Te F87 T IXB 21/14	fragment	Köhler 1998a: Tafel 66.6
99.	Buto, str. IIId	Te F87 T IX 58/45	fragment	Köhler 1998a: Tafel 66.4
100.	Buto, str. V	Te F88 U III 6/16	fragment	Köhler 1998a: Tafel 66.3
101.	Tell el-Farkha, phase 5	W56c	fragment	Jucha, in press: Fig. 11
118.	Tell el-Farkha, phase 4	W76a	<i>Hwt sign</i>	Jucha, in press: Fig. 11
2.	Tell Ibrahim Awad	B200/150/186	plain	van den Brink 1988b: 105, Pl. 3.b
18.	Tell Ibrahim Awad	B200/150/97	Double falcon	van den Brink 1992: 52, Fig. 8.1; Leclant and Clerc 1991:
25.	Tell Ibrahim Awad	B200/150/186	<i>N.j-Hr</i> (?)	unpublished
48.	Tell Ibrahim Awad	B200/160/64	Ka	van den Brink 1992: 52, Fig. 8.2

⁸⁰ This fragment is made of fine, alluvial Nile silt (Köhler 1989: 298).

NO.	SITE	REG. NO.	SEREXH	REFERENCES
72.	Tell Ibrahim Awad	B200/150/192; B200/150/165	Narmer	van den Brink 1992: 52, Fig. 8.3
3.	Zawiyet el-Aryan	T. Z 401	plain	Dunham 1978:26; Pl. XVIb 2/2-4
29.	Zawiyet el-Aryan	T. Z 486; MFA 11.2323	Iry-Hor (?)	Dunham 1978:26; Pl. XVIb 2/2-4
62.	Zawiyet el-Aryan	T. Z 401; MFA 11.2342	Horus Narmer	Dunham 1978:26; Pl. XVIa
104.	Zawiyet el-Aryan	MFA 11.2325a	fragment	Dunham 1978:26; Pl. XVIb 2/2-4
105.	Zawiyet el-Aryan	MFA 11.2325b	fragment	
106.	Zawiyet el-Aryan	MFA 11.2325c	fragment	Dunham 1978:26; Pl. XVIb 2/2-4
8.	Ezbet el-Tell		anonymous	Bakr 1988: 55, Pl. 1.b/(5)
9.	Ezbet el-Tell		anonymous	Bakr 1988: 55, Pl. 1.b/(6)
10.	Ezbet el-Tell		anonymous	Bakr 1988: 55, Pl. 1.b/(4)
60.	Ezbet el-Tell		(Horus?) Narmer	Bakr 1988: 55, Pl. 1.b/(2); Leclant 1986: Tab. XI, 6
102.	Ezbet el-Tell		fragment	Bakr 1988: 55, Pl. 1.b/(1)
103.	Ezbet el-Tell		fragment	Bakr 1988: 55, Pl. 1.b/(3)
4.	Tarkhan		plain	Petrie 1914: Pl. 21.78

d. Upper Egypt

NO.	SITE	REG. NO.	SEREXH	REFERENCES
119.	Wadi Umm Balad		<i>Hwt-Hr</i> (not a serekh)	Köhler 1998b: 71; 81, Photo 12a-b
5.	Abydos	M112	plain	unpublished
6.	Abydos B15		plain	Petrie 1901: Pl. LVd. 386
7.	Abydos Os ¹		plain	Petrie 1901: Pl. LVd. 387
11.	Abydos B15	Ashm. E3986	anonymous	Petrie 1901: Pl. LVd. 384
12.	Abydos Z (sic!)		anonymous	Petrie 1900: Pl. LVI, 1159
13.	Abydos U-vy	M473	anonymous	unpublished
14.	Abydos B		anonymous	Petrie 1901: Pl. LVd. 385
15.	Abydos		Double Falcon	E.M. Engel, pers. comm. 2001
26.	Abydos B10	M113	Horus (<i>Nj Nj.t</i>) ?	unpublished
27.	Not used!			
28.	Abydos U (sic)		(Horus) ?	Petrie 1901: Pl. LV, 12
30.	Abydos B1	M102	Iry-Hor	Kaiser and Dreyer 1982: 230, Abb. 8, Tafel 58, e ⁸²
31.	Abydos B1	M103	Iry-Hor	unpublished
32.	Abydos B1	M104	Iry-Hor	unpublished

⁸¹ Kaiser (1982: 264, n. 195a) remarks: "Für eine eventuelle Serekh-Marke noch des Djer, s. Petrie Ab. I, Taf. X, I".

⁸² Kaiser and Dreyer 1982 op.cit. state Tomb B2 as the provenance of this particular Iry-Hor fragment. However, on the photograph and ink drawing of this fragment kindly provided to me by G. Dreyer is stated Tomb B1 as the place of provenance.

NO.	SITE	REG. NO.	SEREGH	REFERENCES
33.	Abydos B1		Iry-Hor	Petrie 1900: Pl. XLIV, 3
34.	Abydos B1		Iry-Hor	Petrie 1900: Pl. XLIV, 8
35.	Abydos B1		Iry-Hor	Petrie 1900: Pl. XLIV, 9
36.	Abydos B1		Iry-Hor (?) ⁸³	Petrie 1900: Pl. LII, 731
37.	Abydos B1		Iry-Hor?	Petrie 1900: Pl. XLIV, 6
38.	Abydos B		Iry-Hor	Petrie 1901: Pl. LV, 5
44.	Abydos B2 (West)	M164	Iry-Hor	unpublished
39.	Abydos, 10m east of U-s	M304	Iry-Hor	unpublished
40.	Abydos (B1?)	ROM 901.8.171	Iry-Hor	Gilroy 2001
41.	Abydos (B1?)	ROM 901.8.172	Iry-Hor	Gilroy 2001
42.	Abydos (B1?)	ROM 901.8.192	Iry-Hor (?)	unpublished; T. Gilroy pers. comm
43.	Abydos (B1?)	ROM 901.8.193	Iry-Hor (?)	unpublished; T. Gilroy pers. comm
45.	Abydos	M410	Iry-Hor (?)	unpublished
49.	Abydos		Horus (Ka ?)	Kaiser 1982: 263, Abb. 14, no. 25
50.	Abydos B15		Ka	Petrie 1901: Pl. XIII
51.	Abydos (B?)	ROM 901.8.169	[Horus] Ka	Gilroy 2001
52.	Abydos B7	M108	Ka?	Kaiser and Dreyer 1982: 229, Abb. 7
53.	Abydos B19	M118	Ka?	van den Brink 1996: Fig. 2.15b
54.	Abydos B7		Ka	Petrie 1901: Pl. XIII
55.	Abydos B7		Ka	Petrie 1901: Pl. XIII
56.	Abydos east of B7/9	M110	Ka	Kaiser and Dreyer 1982: Tafel 58d ; van den Brink 1996: Fig. 2.15a
57.	Abydos B11		Ka	Petrie 1901: Pl. XIII
58.	Abydos (B?)		Ka	Petrie 1901: Pl. XIII + Abb. I: Tafel. III. 37 ??
59.	Abydos (B?)		Ka	Petrie 1901: Ab. I, Taf. III 38??
73.	Abydos B1/2	M101	Narmer	Kaiser and Dreyer 1982: 230, Abb. 14, no. 40; Petrie 1900: Pl. XLIV, 1
74.	Abydos (B ?)	ROM 901.8.167	Narmer	Gilroy 2001
84.	Abydos	M388	fragment	unpublished
107.	Abydos B	ROM 901.8.195	fragment	Petrie 1901: Pl. LVd, 383
108.	Abydos	M369	fragment	unpublished
109.	Abydos, s-w of Den	M216	fragment	unpublished
110.	Abydos, B16-3a	M136	fragment	unpublished
111.	Abydos, near B7/9		fragment	unpublished
112.	Abydos	M398 (Ka?)	fragment	unpublished
113.	Abydos, n. of B50	M257		unpublished

⁸³ I thank J. Kahl for kindly bringing this specimen to my attention.

NO.	SITE	REG. NO.	SEREKH	REFERENCES
21.	Adāima, 1060/175	AD 98/178	Double Falcon	unpublished
77.	Hierakonpolis	Liv. Univ. E5248	Narmer	Garstang 1907: 135, Pl. III, 1; Adams 1995: 123-4.

e. *Nubia*

NO.	SITE	REG. NO.	SEREKH	REFERENCES
46.	Qustul, Tomb L2 ⁸⁴	24268	Iry-Hor	Williams 1986: (147-150), Pls. 76-77.

⁸⁴ This tomb includes a net-painted, cylindrical jar; the fragment itself is Egyptian hard pink (= marl clay); the name of Iry-Hor is applied post-firing.

Appendix B Complete jars

(after van den Brink 1996, plus **additions** indicated in **bold**; arranged in geographic, N-S, E-W order; numbers 1-33 refer to *italic* numbers used)

a. *Sinai*

NO.	SITE	REG. NO.		Type	van den Brink 1996	REFERENCES
1.	Wadi el-Arish	Israel Mus. 69.31.367	plain	I	Pl. 24b-c; Fig. 1.2	Amiran 1970: Pl. 1
5.	Wadi el-Arish	-	plain	IIa	Fig. 1.4	Gophna 1970: 54
12.	el-Beda	Ismailia Mus. 1928	Double Falcon	IIa	Pl. 25a; Fig. 1.5	Clédat 1913: Pl. 13 see also Valbelle and Le Saout 1999: 75 and note 28

b. *Lower Egypt*

NO.	SITE	REG. NO.			Type	van den Brink 1996	REFERENCES
31.	Minshat Abu Omar, T. 44	MAO 44.3		Horus Narmer	III	Pl. 30b-c; Fig. 2.12	Kroeper 1988: Fig. 141
19.	Minshat Abu Omar, T. 160	MAO 160.1		Horus (Crocodile) the Subduer (?)	III	Pl. 28a-b; Fig. 2.11	Kroeper 1988: Fig. 95
7.	Minshat Abu Omar, T. 1210	MAO 1210.21		plain	III	Pl. 26b; Fig. 2.9	Kroeper 1988: Fig. 94
9.	Minshat Abu Omar, T. 1800	MAO 1800.7		Horus 'anonymous'	III		Kroeper 2000: 208, Table 2a
10.	Minshat Abu Omar, T. 1640	MAO 1640.13		Horus 'anonymous'	III		Kroeper 2000: 208, Table 2a
18.	Minshat Abu Omar, T. 520	MAO 520.3		unreadable	III		Kroeper 1988: Fig. 140
20.	East Delta	MMA 61.122		Horus ?	III	Pl. 30a; Fig. 2.13	Fischer 1963: Pl. 6a
30.	East Delta	Collection A.M. May		Nar	IIa		Dreyer 1999: Abb. 1, Tafel 1
15.	Ezbet el-Tell	182		<i>N.j-Hr</i> (?)	III	Fig. 3.18	Leciant and Clerc 1986: Pl. 11.7
27.	Kfar Hassan Daoud, Tomb 1008105/20/10/KH0070			Ka	III		Hassan 2000: 38
<i>p.m.</i>	Kfar Hassan Daoud, Tomb 913				Narmer		Bakr et al. 1996: 278; Hassan 2000: 39
8.	Abu Roash, T. 402			plain	IVa	Table 1:24	Klasens 1959: 41
11.	Turah SS (Ezbet Lüthy)			Double Falcon	IIa	Table 1: 6	Junker 1912: Fig. 57.5
13.	Turah, T. 6.g.9	KHM ÄS 6808		<i>N.j-Hr</i>	IIb	Pl. 25b-d; Fig. 1.6	Junker 1912, 46ff., 63
14.	Turah, T. 9.g.1			<i>N.j-Hr</i>	IIb	Table 1: 8	Junker 1912, 46ff., 63

NO.	SITE	REG. NO.	(Horus) ?	Type	van den Brink 1996	REFERENCES
21.	Turah, T. 5.g.2	KHM AS 6805	(Horus) ?	III	Fig. 2.14a	Junker 1912: Fig. 57.1
22.	Turah, T. 17.7.1.a		(Horus) ?	III	Fig. 2.14b	Junker 1912: Fig. 57.2
2.	Helwan, T. 1371.H2		plain	I		Saad 1969: Pl. 20
28.	Helwan, T. 1627.H2	EM00-89	Horus Ka	III	Fig. 3.16	Saad 1947: Pl. 60 (left); Fig. 11
29.	Helwan, T. 1651.H.2	EM00-88	Horus Ka	III	Fig. 3.17	Saad 1947: Pl. 60 (right); Fig. 12
17.	Helwan, T. 257.H.8	EM00-87	Horus N./ Nj.f[?]	III		Köhler/van den Brink 2002
6.	Helwan	EM00-92	plain	II		Köhler/van den Brink 2002
33.	Tarkhan, T. 1100		Nar(mer)?	IIb	Fig. 2.8	Petrie 1914: Pl. 6: 1100, Pl. 30: 74g
32.	Tarkhan, T. 414	U.C. 16083	Narmer	IVa	Pl. 32a-b, Fig. 3.21	Petrie et al. 1913: Pl. 31: 68; Pl. 56: 76b
16.	Tarkhan, T. 1702	U.C. 16084	H3-t-Hr	IIb	Pl. 26a; Fig. 2.7	Petrie 1914: Pl. 6: 1702; Pl. 30: 74b
3.	Abusir el-Meleg, T. 1021	Berlin 19330	plain	I	Pl. 24a; Fig. 1.3	Scharff 1926: 20
4.	Abusir el-Meleg, T. 1144	Berlin 19331	plain	I	Fig. 1.1	Scharff 1926: 20

c. Upper Egypt

NO.	SITE	REG. NO.		Type	van den Brink 1996	REFERENCES
23.	Abydos, B1		Iry-Hor	III	Fig. 3.19	Petrie 1900: Pl. XL.8
24.	Abydos, B1	U.C. 16089	Iry-Hor	IVa	Pl. 31a-b; Fig. 3.20	Petrie 1900: 4
25.	Abydos, B1	Ashm. E. 847	Iry-Hor	IVa	Petrie 1953: 76	Petrie 1900: Pl. XLIV. 2
26.	Abydos, B1	Ashm. E. 4078	Iry-Hor	IVc	Petrie 1953: 76	Petrie 1900: Pl. XLIV. 5

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