

The texts with the name of King Ka

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Summary

This paper deals with those protodynastic texts that (possibly) contain the name of king Ka, dynasty 0.

In all cases where the name of king Ka is identifiable, it stands in some sort of frame. In most cases, this frame resembles a serekh, or in any event brings the image of a serekh to mind.

In most cases, the name of Ka is accompanied by some additional signs, most of which can be identified as hieroglyphs.

The following objectives are with this study pursued:

- to compile a list of protodynastic texts with the name of king Ka which can simply be augmented whenever this proves necessary;
- to identify relevant characteristics of the various types of frame around the royal name, and of the accompanying signs and texts;
- to devise a meaningful classification, based on these characteristics;
- to present a full catalog of all items, based on that classification;
- and to formulate a theory about the development of the serekh during the reign of Ka.

Kaiser's suggestion that the serekhs, incised on ceramic vessels, which show vertical lines above the name may represent the façade of a castle or palace with battlements, is accepted. It is shown that the serekhs in ink, found on unguent jars, represent a further development of this type, in which a horizontal top line is added to the design to serve as a roost for a falcon. The former type is labeled an open battlement serekh, the latter a closed battlement serekh. In addition to this, three specimens are identified in which the royal name is enclosed in a simple rectangle (a phenomenon also known from Narmer), which is labeled a box serekh. It is furthermore suggested that the writing of Ka's name, with only one unobtrusive sign, may have prompted the development of the serekh in the first place (at least as far as southern Egypt is concerned), as a means of highlighting it in texts.

A total of 56 texts are examined. Of these, 13 are found to be problematic: either not a serekh at all, or not a serekh of Ka, or ancient imitations of Ka-serekhs.

The geographical distribution of the non-problematic serekhs is found not to support claims for dominion of Ka over the Delta.

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Preface to the English translation

The original version of this paper was published in 2014, in Dutch, with a short summary in English

For this translation into English, no new materials were taken into account. Although the text has at several points been brushed up a little (and some errors were corrected), it is basically the same paper, going over the same material, arriving at the same conclusions. I feel these conclusions are still relevant, and hope they may reach a larger audience now they are available in English.

(On the principle that no new materials were taken into account for this translation, there is one partial exception. Just after I published the original paper, I received a message from Joris van Wetering, one of the excavators then active at Kafr Hassan Dawood. He informed me that the earthenware shard from Kafr Hassan Dawood which in my Catalog has received the number Ka 053, was shown upside down. This orientation was based on the picture in *Van den Brink 2001*. Van den Brink had however received a picture of this shard which did not show its edges, which would have revealed the shard's position on the jar. As a result, Van den Brink assumed the orientation of the serekh to be the "normal" one, with a name box above a representation of a palace façade. Van Wetering kindly supplied me with a photograph of the shard showing part of the jar's shoulder, and a reconstructed drawing of the whole jar. This shows the serekh 180° rotated. For the current edition of my paper, I have included this drawing (in part), and I have adjusted the text accordingly.)

July, 2023.

1. Introduction

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Kinglist

This study assumes the following order of kings who reigned successively, first over Southern¹ Egypt, later over all of Egypt:

Dynasty 0:

- Iry-Hor
- Ka

Dynasty 1:

- Narmer
- Aha
- Djer
- Djet

The position of a king Scorpion is unclear.

1.1. The list of texts

In 1994, Jochem Kahl published a list of all then known texts from dynasty 0 to dynasty 3². He placed the texts in historical order as much as possible and then provided them with a continuous serial number. The drawback of this method is that new finds cannot be easily inserted in the right place. In my list of texts I therefore prefer to number the texts per king.³ And to make sorting easier with a computer program, I use leading zeros in the numbering. So instead of numbers 1, 2, 3 etc. we get Ka 001, Ka 002 Narmer 001, Narmer 002 etc. Should three positions ever prove insufficient, then an extra leading zero can simply be prefixed.

Kahl gives 51 texts ("Quellen") for the time of Ka: his numbers 25 to 75. According to Kahl, one of these texts dates from the time of Ka, although it certainly does not contain a king's name (his no. 65). Because my list serves a different purpose than his - i.e. to contain just the texts with a king's name instead of all texts from a given period - I do not include this piece in my catalog⁴. That leaves 50 items, on which (possibly) (traces of) the name of king Ka can be seen. These 50 are, in the same order that Kahl put them into, included here under the numbers Ka 001 to Ka 050.

¹ The terms Upper and Lower Egypt will not be used in this paper. These concepts stem from the dynastic period, when their meaning was largely symbolic, although their borders were sharply defined. The kingdoms of the protodynastic period almost certainly did not coincide with those later constructs.

² *Kahl 1994*.

³ An additional advantage is that later, if necessary, the entire series of a particular king can be moved, if it ever turns out that the order of kings is incorrect. Also, a newly found king may simply be inserted.

⁴ Quelle 65 is nevertheless briefly described on page 8 below.

In 1996 and 2001, Edwin van den Brink published two studies on the serekhs of dynasties 0 and 1, engraved in pottery.⁵ Because he ignores other appearances of royal names, such as seal impressions, and texts written in ink on pottery, he arrives at much lower numbers than Kahl. For the name of Ka, Van den Brink discusses 3 copies on intact jars, and 13 on fragments of pottery.⁶ In addition, he shows an image of a charcoal drawing on a shard of pottery from Adaïma⁷, which he also identifies as a serekh of Ka: a total of 17 pieces. Most of these are already mentioned by Kahl: Van den Brink adds 6 new pieces. I have included these under the numbers Ka 051 to Ka 056, in order of publication year. New discoveries can later be added as needed.

The order in which the items with the name of king Ka have been numbered by me is thus mostly random. Alternatively, it would have been possible to compile a catalog first, in which the items were organized into different categories, and then numbered per category. This would however have presented us with a drawback, similar to those just discussed: it would hamper the development of alternative systems of categorization of the material.

In the Catalog (starting page 33 below) all pieces are discussed individually. In a number of cases I conclude that they probably do *not* contain Ka's name, or are imitations (more on that later). In the Catalog I include these as "Problematic cases".

In numerical analyses, the problematic cases will always be disregarded.

A concordance of the Catalog with older lists of texts (Kahl, Van den Brink and others), can be found on page 30 below.

To find a given item in the Catalog, an index is provided on page 34 below.

1.1.1. Imitations, non-serekhs, and too eager interpretations

In my opinion, research into the oldest serekhs is at times hampered by an insufficiently critical attitude towards the material. Anything resembling a serekh is immediately classified as one, and anything in a name box is taken to be yet another king's name. A king's name on an object not only increases its value today, but in all likelihood also did so in ancient times. By providing a wine jar or unguent jar with a serekh, a trader may have been able to negotiate a higher price for his merchandise.

In Abydos, on the hallowed grounds of the Umm el-Qaab royal cemetery, I wouldn't expect an imitation piece bearing the name of a reigning king so easily⁸ – but I would in northern Egypt, at a time when it is not yet integrated into the kingdom. I believe that this largely explains the surprising number of early serekhs found there.

Imitations can be made for commercial reasons, but also out of admiration, or wonder. This may have played a role in southern Palestine, where a large concentration of early serekhs has also been found. The rise of a powerful kingdom far to the south may have sparked the imagination – and have given local potters new inspiration.

We may not be able to identify all imitations. After all, these pieces are indeed thousands of years old, and a good imitation is simply difficult to distinguish from the real thing. But if we look critically at the material, we can still eliminate several specimens. A helpful factor here is that the art of writing was still very new in this period, and – even in Egypt itself – only known to some. In several cases, the imitators betray themselves by using incorrect characters.

⁵ *Van den Brink 1996* and *Van den Brink 2001*.

⁶ *Van den Brink 2001*, p. 51.

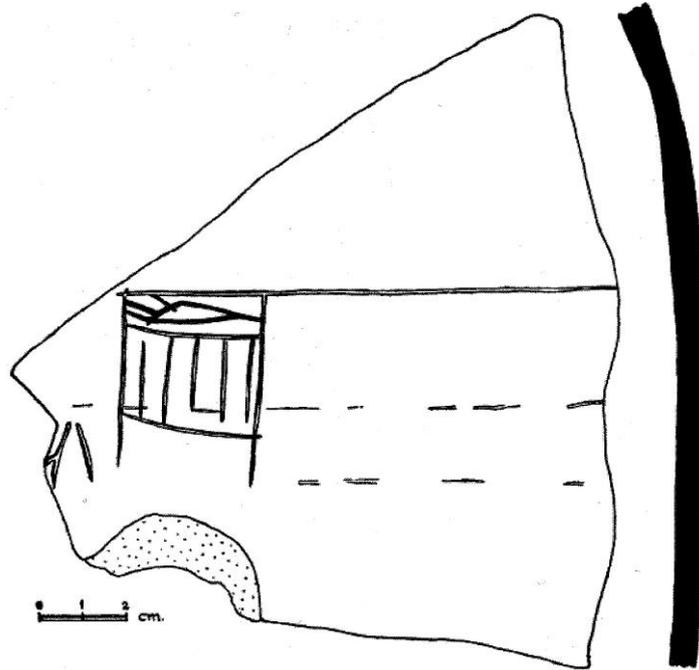
⁷ The site of Adaïma is located in Upper Egypt, on the western bank of the Nile, 8 km south of Esna.

⁸ It does seem possible though that a blank or anonymous serekh, or a serekh with an unknown, "exotic" name, would end up in Abydos. Such a piece could have aroused the interest of the Abydeen rulers – and fetched a correspondingly good price. See for example piece Ka 055 on page 56 below.

A good example of an imitation piece is a pottery shard found by S. Yeivin in 1959 at Tel Gath (later referred to as Tel Erani⁹), in southern Palestine. It is usually attributed to Narmer¹⁰. In *UEQ2* and *Van den Brink 2001*, the following tiny drawing of this “serekh” is shown:



Yeivin's original publication¹¹ contains the following, much clearer drawing:



Here you can clearly see that this serekh is quite atypical. This is what Yeivin says about it:

In 1959 the same layer (...) yielded a sherd from the shoulder of a large pot, covered with a highly burnished red slip and a decorative design of parallel broken lines of incisions round the body. The sherd bears a graffito (apparently incised before firing) of what looks like a bungled (*sic!*) proto-dynastic *srh*-sign with an unintelligible hieroglyphic sign in the narrow rectangle in the upper part of the *srh*.¹²

When I look at the “decorative design of parallel broken lines of incisions”, then this does not strike me as typical Egyptian work. There is also a lot wrong with the serekh itself:

- The outer left and right vertical lines run a good deal below the bottom line: in true Egyptian representations, that simply never happens.
- The five vertical lines in between, in combination with the two short horizontal lines at the bottom, resemble a pattern of blocks or windows, rather than a façade divided into niches.
- The two short horizontal lines just mentioned (which are by the way missing in Kaiser's drawing) are actually part of the “decorative design of parallel broken lines.” So this pattern runs through the serekh.
- The top of the serekh coincides with a continuous horizontal line, making the serekh look like a piece of cloth on a washing line.

An authentic serekh is always a completely self-contained object: without points of contact with, or overlapping with, other objects. Even more than the clumsy design, it is this aspect of merging with the background that clearly shows that this is not the real McCoy. That the spelling of the name is also a bit strange, should then not come as a surprise anymore.

If we define an original piece as one made by an ancient Egyptian who was part - at whatever humble station - of the hierarchy at the top of which the king stood, then this is not an original piece. Assuming that it was intended to resemble an original piece, it is therefore an imitation: probably made on site, by a local (Palestinian) potter.

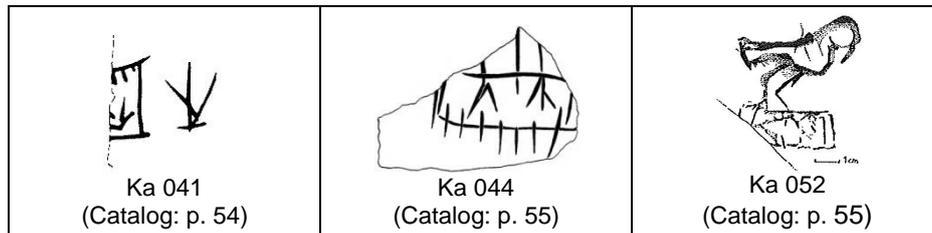
⁹ *BMSAES* 13, p. 29, n. 8.

¹⁰ So i.e. Kaiser (*UEQ2*, p. 263, 41), and Van den Brink (*Van den Brink 2001*, fragment 75).

¹¹ *IES* 10, no. 4, p. 193-203. The drawing is on page 195.

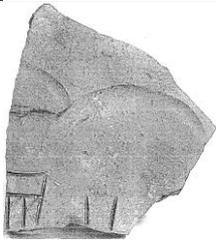
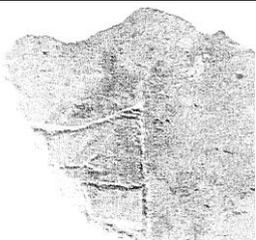
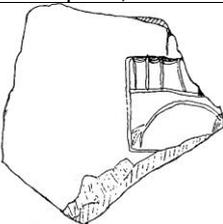
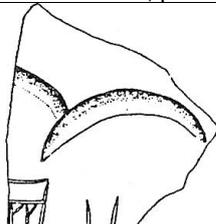
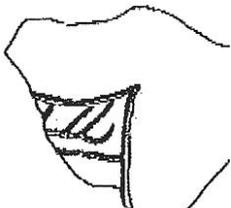
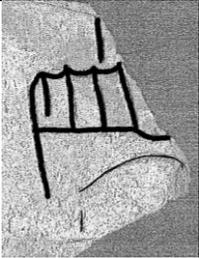
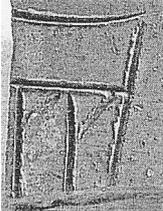
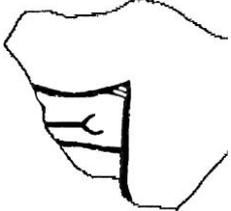
¹² *IES* 10, no. 4, p. 196.

The wish to find a serekh may not only lead to the acceptance of imitation pieces, but sometimes also to seeing serekhs where no serekh can be seen. So with the following three pieces:



See the descriptions in the Catalog below for details.

Another problem is the interpretation of lines on pottery. Not every line has to be original: scratches can easily occur on pottery. In my opinion, accidental damage has been mistaken for parts of the original drawing in three pieces in the Catalog: Ka 054, Ka 055 and Ka 056. This can be established for these pieces because photos are available; in fact, we should have pictures of all the incised pieces.

	Ka 054	Ka 055	Ka 056
Photo	 <i>Forgotten serekhs,</i> p. 75, b	 <i>v.d. Brink 1996, pl. 29b</i>	 <i>Wine Jars, p. 173</i>
Drawing	 <i>Forgotten serekhs,</i> p. 71, 2	 <i>v.d. Brink 1996, p. 145</i>	 <i>v.d. Brink '01, p. 53</i>
Enhanced photo / corrected drawing	 <i>(Enhanced)</i>	 <i>v.d. Brink 1996, pl. 29b</i> (detail)	 (My drawing after <i>Wine Jars</i> , p. 173)
	(Catalog: p. 61)	(Catalog: p. 56)	(Catalog: p. 57)

(The two images of the piece from Tel Erani on page 6 above also illustrate what can go wrong with drawings: omission of context may lead to wrong conclusions. Another case in point is Ka 053, see the Catalog, page 59 below.)

1.1.2. Items, not taken into account

I will not include every piece in the list of texts that has ever been associated with king Ka. Below are a number of pieces on which, in my opinion, it is certain that Ka's name does not appear.

A. Quelle 65

As already referred to in the section on the list of texts (see page 4 above), Kahl mentions one text which he assumes to be from the time of Ka which does not contain a king's name (Quelle 65).

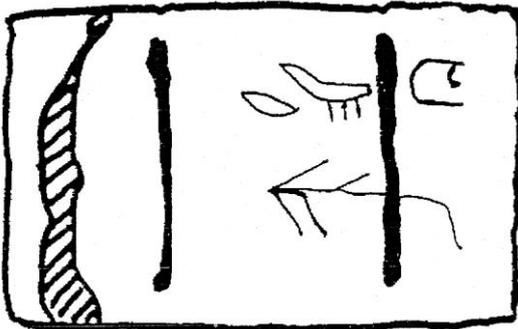


RT II, pl. 13, 90

It concerns a fragment of a seal impression on clay, found by Petrie in Abydos, on Cemetery B. Unfortunately, he does not give any further details about the location. This is Petrie's entire description: "A small piece of sealing cannot be understood, but it may have some connection with King Ka."¹³ The latter probably because of the "hands." But neither Kahl nor Van den Brink see Ka's name in this. (The image reminds me somewhat of the hands at the end of the sun rays of the Aton.)

B. Abydos II, plate 8, nr. 181

This is again a piece found by Petrie, published in *Ab. II*. The photograph (plate 8, no. 181) is not good enough for reproduction, but Alejandro Jiménez-Serrano has reproduced it in a drawing as follows:



From: Jiménez-Serrano, *Chronology and local traditions: the representation of power and the royal name in the late predynastic period*. In: *Archéo-Nil* 13, 2003, p. 97.

Petrie's accompanying text reads as follows:

181-183, the backs of two large tiles, and the front of one showing the ribbing. The wide dovetails on the back, intended to key into the wall, have two grooves for copper wires to secure them together. Across the back are signs roughly scored before baking; the royal *su(ten)* sign is on both, showing that they were made for the king; and on 181 are two other signs, apparently at right angles to the *su*, possibly reading as the mouth and hawk. If this is to be read as the Horus Ro¹⁴ it would put these back to the fourth king before Mena,¹⁵ which seems rather too remote; yet the rough style of the signs would agree with that age.¹⁶

So this is the back of a wall tile. Before the tile was fired, something was scratched into the back. Jiménez-Serrano sees herein a king list with successively the names of Iry-Hor, Scorpion and Ka:

However, I follow a different sequence,¹⁷ based on the inscription found by Petrie in the Temenos of Abydos. The inscription is on the back of a large tile, which shows the *nswt*-plant together with three ideograms: a mouth, a scorpion and two arms. The association of the *nswt*-plant and the three hieroglyphs confirms that the signs were royal names. Thus, the succession of the kings before Narmer is as follows: Iry Hor, Scorpion II and Ka.¹⁸

¹³ RT II, p. 30.

¹⁴ Petrie refers to the king now called Iry-Hor.

¹⁵ Menes: in Petrie's view the same as Aha.

¹⁶ *Ab. II*, p. 26.

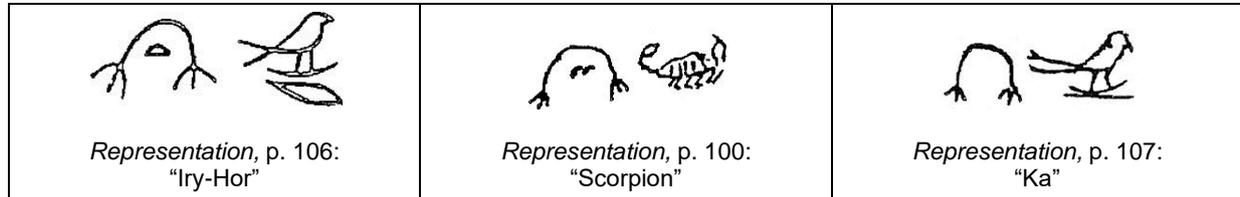
¹⁷ Jiménez-Serrano refers here to the order in which a number of kings of dynasty 0 would have reigned.

¹⁸ *Representation*, p. 97.

The first of the three "ideograms" could indeed be a mouth. In the second one might see a scorpion, if one interprets the raised left part of the animal as its tail¹⁹. But in the third I see not two arms.

C. Vessels from the Main Deposit, Hierakonpolis

In the Main Deposit of Hierakonpolis, a whole series of stone ware has been found, bearing short texts such as the following:



These are small bowls and cups made of calcite (alabaster). For temple ware, they look remarkably simple – not to say rough.

Petrie writes about these pieces:

PL. XXXIV. Dyn. 0. The alabaster dishes outlined here mostly bear inscriptions of the Scorpion king, though some have the Horus Ka.²⁰

Jiménez-Serrano follows Petrie in this, but he also sees examples of Iry-Hor's name. On the three specimens pictured above, he reads successively the names of Iry-Hor, Scorpion, and Ka. He also says of the second piece that it could relate to "the royal Ka" of King Scorpion.²¹

A striking aspect of the Hierakonpolis pieces is that the *k3* sign is drawn hands down, not just on the three depicted items, but in *all* cases, while the name of king Ka is written hands up on *all* serekhs from Abydos.²² Both series involve dozens of pieces, so it is quite unlikely that this could be a sample biased by chance. I therefore believe that none of these pieces from Hierakonpolis bears the name of king Ka.

1.2. The areas of discovery: South and North

There is still considerable uncertainty about the different phases of the political unification of Egypt. The mere fact that an object with the name of, for example, Ka or Narmer has been found in a certain place does not automatically mean that this location was part of the kingdom over which that monarch ruled. After all, these objects may also have ended up there through trade, or as diplomatic gifts – or even made on site: see the section on imitations on page 5 above.

If we consider all finds of king's names (including the aforementioned anonymous serekhs) from dynasty 0, we see on the one hand a large concentration in Abydos in southern Egypt, and on the other hand an important series of finds from the area of the Fayum, up to and including southern Palestine. Everything south of the Fayum region I will refer to as the southern area of discovery; from the Fayum region to the north as the northern area of discovery.

(The sign that denotes Northern Egypt, which was already in use during dynasty 0 (M16), depicts three papyrus plants on a lump of earth. It is certain that this sign in the historical period refers to the Lower Egyptian Delta, but the papyrus plant was originally found all along the Nile River. The reason why this plant was nevertheless seen as characteristic of the Delta must have been the presence there of large papyrus swamps – which were later often depicted on the walls of burial chambers. But the area around Lake Fayum also probably had papyrus swamps - and seen from Abydos or Hiera-

¹⁹ If the second sign would indeed be a scorpion, with its tail to the left, then it would be "looking" right. This would imply a reading direction from right to left, in which case the order of the "king list" would have been the inverse of what Jiménez-Serrano assumes.

²⁰ *Hierakonpolis I*, p. 11.

²¹ *Representation*, p. 100.

²² See more in detail section 1.3.1 "The name's orientation" on page 11 below, and the Recapitulatory Table on page 63.

konpolis, this area was far to the north. It therefore seems to me quite conceivable that during dynasty 0, the sign M16 referred to this region. On the palette from Hierakonpolis named after him, Narmer may be celebrating a victory, not over the Delta, but over the people of the Fayum region.)

The locations where our 56 pieces were found, are geographically distributed as follows:

		Region	Locations	Number of finds	
Northern area:	6	Southern Palestine	Tel Lod	1	Ka 056
		Delta	Tell Ibrahim Awad	1	Ka 051
			Kafr Hassan Dawood Helwan	1 2	Ka 053 Ka 048 + 049
Fayum region	Tarkhan	1	Ka 047		
Southern area:	48	Southern Egypt	Abydos	47	All others
			Adaïma	1	Ka 052
Origin unknown:	2			2	Ka 050 ²³ + 054
Total	56			56	

(Van den Brink follows a similar classification: see his tables 3a, 3b and 3c in *Van den Brink 2001*, p. 85-86).

1.3. The discovery of king Ka

According to Kaiser and Dreyer, tombs B7 and B9 on Umm el-Qaab at Abydos together form a double tomb for king Ka.²⁴ The discovery of these tombs should probably be attributed to Amélineau.²⁵ This French scientist, who went about as a real "treasure hunter" in Abydos, worked there for several years at the end of the 19th century. Yet it was Petrie who first published about these tombs—thus publicizing the discovery of king Ka. At the end of 1899, after the departure of the Mission Amélineau, he set out with great zeal to save what could still be saved.²⁶ Petrie proceeded so energetically that he was able to deliver a complete manuscript, including photos and drawings, to the printer just 18 weeks after the excavations started.²⁷

A drawback of this expediency was that in that first publication (*The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty, Part I*; 1900) only the most important matters could be dealt with – and king Ka was not one of those. It was not until Petrie's second publication on these excavations (*The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties, Part II*; 1901)²⁸ that Ka was mentioned - and even then only cursory. The important ink texts on unguent jars were only dealt with in a third publication, from 1902: *Abydos, Part I*.

Petrie assumed that only B7 belonged to Ka:

RT II, p. 7:

The oldest tomb that we can definitely assign is that marked B7, the tomb of King Ka. (...) The broken pottery mixed with the sand, which filled it, largely consisted of cylinder jars, like the later prehistoric form W80 (see Naqada, pl. xxxii.) and these had many inscriptions on them, written in

²³ Ka 050 could be from Tarkhan: see the discussion of this item in the Catalog on page 62 below, in particular note 118.

²⁴ *UEQ2*, p. 235.

²⁵ See *UEQ2*, note 58 on p. 226, for a reconstruction of Amélineau's activities in this area.

²⁶ See *RT I*, especially p. 1-2, for a clear description of Petrie's feelings about Amélineau and his methods.

²⁷ *RT I*, p. 1.

²⁸ Note that the title has been slightly changed compared to the previous publication. In this work two tombs from the 2nd dynasty are also discussed: those of Peribsen and Khasekhemwy.

ink with a brush, most of which showed the name of Ka in the usual paneled frame. There can therefore be no doubt of the attribution of this tomb.

RT II, p. 5:

The tomb of Ka is certain, as it was still full of cylinder jars, many of which bore his name; and the only other things of his were found some [distance] on either side, at [B] 11 and [B] 15.²⁹

Only in his third publication on these excavations does he deal with the ink texts. The smaller earthenware pots have now been cleaned and the texts copied.

Ab. I, p. 3:

The earliest royal tomb that can yet be placed in the series is that of king Ka, which was described in the last volume (*Royal Tombs*, ii, p. 7). Within the chamber were hundreds of fragments of cylindrical jars, some of them with cross-lined pattern copied from cordage. Such jars are well known in the later prehistoric pottery, and belong to the sequence date 78 in that scale. On many of these jars are inscriptions, roughly written in ink with a brush; and on comparing all of the fragments, I have succeeded in putting together those which are copied in plates i., ii., and iii.

Of the hieroglyphs used, Petrie says:

[They] prove that at that age writing was so familiar that a rapid form of it was freely used to write on dozens of common pottery jars." (*Ab. I*, p. 3).

There is something to argue about here. These are not just "common pottery jars", but pots with incense: valuables for the king. This routine writing style is in fact only attested for members of the staff of the royal treasury, who probably wrote these texts at the time the goods arrived. The routine they display in these texts can well be explained by having to write exactly the same thing hundreds of times over – and thus says nothing about how widespread the use of writing actually was in that period.

1.3.1. The name's orientation

When Petrie first included material from Ka in *RT II*, he presented a number of pieces on his Plate 13 as follows:

				
<i>RT II</i> , pl. 13, w.n.	<i>RT II</i> , pl. 13, "B15"	<i>RT II</i> , pl. 13, "B7"	<i>RT II</i> , pl. 13, 89	<i>RT II</i> , pl. 13, "B11"
Ka 046 (Catalog: p. 39)	Ka 044 (Catalog: p. 55)	Ka 039 (Catalog: p. 53)	Ka 040 (Catalog: p. 36)	Ka 043 (Catalog: p. 37)

By coincidence, these were all fragments in which a certain orientation did not impose itself, so Petrie had to rely on his intuition. In the first, second and third pieces he saw a palace façade, where he believed the vertical lines should be under the name. That still left open the question of which position of the *k3* sign was the correct one. Apparently he took his bearing from the first and second piece, because for the fourth and fifth he also chose the position with the hands pointing down.

The ka arms are turned downward more usually than upward in this name.³⁰

It was only after the publication of *RT II* that he began to study the ink texts. In those texts, a falcon is part of the image in almost every case, so that the orientation here is immediately clear. Now it turned out that in those texts the hands of the *k3*-sign invariably pointed upwards.³¹

²⁹ B11 is not a tomb, but the area between B1/B2 and B7/B9 (*IÄF I*, p. 206). B15 is, with B10 and B19, one of the three burial chambers of the tomb of Aha.

³⁰ *RT II*, p. 30.

³¹ See section 2.2.2 "The closed battlement serekh" on page 17 below.

This forced Petrie to revisit his previous interpretation:

The instances scratched on pottery (R. T. ii, pl. xiii) should probably all be turned, with the *ka* arms upwards, and the panel strokes above them. It is evident that the position of the paneling strokes was changed between the time of Ka and that of Narmer.³²

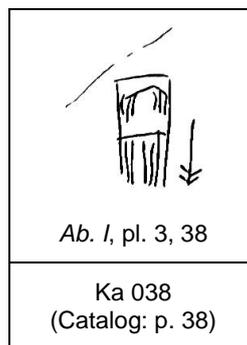
Petrie must now come up with another explanation for the shape of the serekh:

From later instances this paneling certainly is copied from the front of a building, tomb, or palace: so here we must take it as such, and see the space below it, which contains the sign, as equivalent to the doorway of the building.³³

He makes an exception for one piece:

38 shows that in one case, at least, the panel strokes were put below and the arms hang down, as the *suten* sign unquestionably shows which way up this is.³⁴

This concerns this piece, which has also been given number 38 in my Catalog:



Petrie interpreted the added sign on the right as the sign M 23 (*sw*).

In 1963 Kaplony published his standard work "Inschriften der Ägyptische Frühzeit" (*IÄF*), a work that remains indispensable for anyone who studies the texts of the Proto- and Early Dynastic period. He thought that Ka's name should be read as Sekhen. Kahl summarizes Kaplony's argument as follows:

Kaplony las den Königsnamen als *shn* mit der Begründung, dass die geöffneten Arme fast stets der Nischengliederung zugewendet blieben, also das Serech mitsamt dem eingeschriebenen Namen einfach umgedreht werden könne. Weil bei den Horusnamen anderer Könige die

Nischengliederung im unteren Teil des Serech angegeben ist, ist für Kaplony  die ursprüngliche Schreibung des Königsnamens.³⁵

(In English:

Kaplony read the king's name as *shn* on the grounds that the open arms almost always were turned towards the niche structure, so that the serekh together with the inscribed name can simply be turned around. Because in the Horus names of other kings, the niche structure is given in the lower part of the serekh, <sign> is for Kaplony the original spelling of the king's name.)

Starting 1977, the DAIK in Abydos starts with the re-excavation of the tombs on the Umm el-Qaab – including Cemetery B. Kaiser and Dreyer come to the conclusion that there are three double graves in the oldest part of Cemetery B: B1/B2, B7/B9, and B17/B18. They eventually assign these tombs to Iry-Hor, Ka and Narmer respectively.³⁶

The excavations of Kaiser and Dreyer bring much new material to light, also from these three early rulers. Of a new fragment with the name of Ka, found east of B7/B9, Kaiser writes:

Aufgrund der hier durch die Wellenverzierung gesicherten Stellung des *srh* mit Nischengliederung oben und des Strichverlaufes bei Ritzungen, die meistens oben spitz und unten stumpf enden, sind Petries Abbildungen von Ritzmarken *RT II*, Taf. XIII und *Ab. I*, Taf. III, 37 um 180° zu drehen. Frag-

³² *Ab. I*, p. 4.

³³ *Ab. I*, p. 4.

³⁴ *Ab. I*, p. 4.

³⁵ *Kahl 1994*, p. 38.

³⁶ *UEQ2*, p. 235+238.

lich bleibt allein die Orientierung von *Ab. I*, Taf. III, 38, wo weder der Strichverlauf noch das *sw*-ähnliche Zeichen (das als solches aber keineswegs gesichert ist) neben dem *srh* eine Richtungsfestlegung ermöglichen.³⁷

(In English:

Due to the position of the *srh* with niche structure at the top, secured here by the wavy decoration, and the course of the lines in the scratches, which usually have a point at the top and a blunt end at the bottom, Petrie's illustrations of scratch marks *RT II*, Plate XIII and *Ab. I*, Plate III, 37 are to be rotated 180°. Only the orientation of *Ab. I*, Plate III, 38 remains uncertain, where neither the course of the lines nor the *sw*-like sign (which as such is by no means certain) next to the *srh* permit an orientation.)

(The underlining is mine.) So Kaiser adds a new criterion into the matter of sign orientation: the course of the cut, from top (pointed) to bottom (blunt). (Incidentally, Kaiser here “corrects” Petrie, while Petrie himself also wrote in *Ab. I*: “The instances scratched on pottery (R. T. ii, pl. xiii) should probably all be turned.)³⁸

And Kaiser also makes an exception for piece 38 – just like Petrie, albeit with a question mark.

In his study from 1994 mentioned earlier, Kahl gives an overview of the occurring variability with regard to the orientation of signs during dynasty 0-3 in general. This variability is limited, but it does occur:

Wenn auch relativ selten, so sind doch Drehungen der Grapheme um 90° oder um 180° in Quellen belegt, deren korrekte Schreibung außer Zweifel steht.³⁹

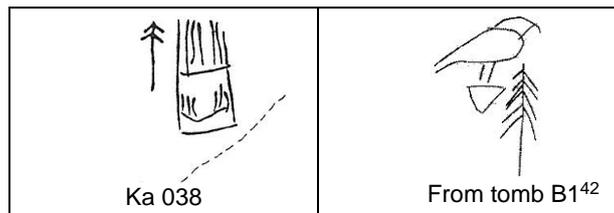
(In English:

Although relatively rare, rotations of the graphemes by 90° or by 180° are documented in sources whose correct spelling is beyond doubt.)

For a 180° vertical reversal, he gives only three examples:

- The reversal of the *k3* sign in the title *hm-k3*; this is a monogram-like spelling that is also very common later on.
- A one-time reversal of the sign W22 in a title under Narmer.
- And the possible reversal of the sign *k3* / *shn*, in the name of king Ka.⁴⁰

He then dedicates an extensive analysis to the last example.⁴¹ With regard to the previously mentioned piece Ka 038, he agrees with Kaiser's quoted view, namely that the intended position of the hands cannot be determined. However, a similar piece has been found in tomb B1 (attributed to Iry-Hor):



Since these two pieces date from approximately the same time, and the second piece must clearly be oriented in this way, I think it can be assumed that this also applies to the first piece.⁴³ Which is why I assume that in this specimen the hands also point upwards.

Ultimately, Kahl concludes that there are only two copies in which the name is definitely written with the hands down: Quelle 63 (= Ka 039) and Quelle 74 (= Ka 049):

³⁷ *UEQ2*, p. 229, n. 65. This concerns item Ka 042 in the Catalog.

³⁸ See page 12 above.

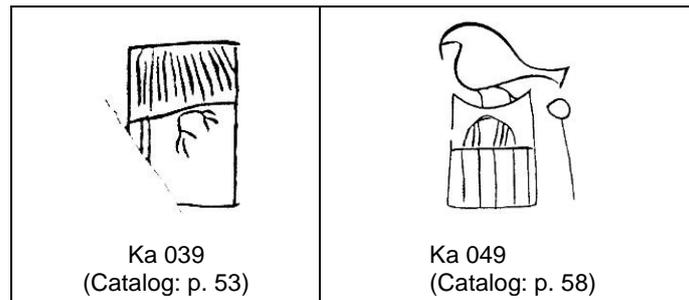
³⁹ *Kahl 1994*, p. 36.

⁴⁰ *Kahl 1994*, p. 37-38.

⁴¹ *Kahl 1994*, p. 38-40.

⁴² *RT I*, pl. 44, 8.

⁴³ Apparently Dreyer has reached the same conclusion: see *U-j*, fig. 56 on page 85.



He considers this an example of variability with regard to the use of the sign *k3*, in other words: it is always the same sign, in the same meaning, but now and then oriented differently. Nevertheless, he continues to give the name of king Ka as: Sechen/Ka.⁴⁴

However: Ka 039 is not a serekh in my opinion, and should probably be rotated 180° (hands facing up), while Ka 049 is an imitation piece (see the discussions of both specimen in the Catalog below for details). My conclusion is therefore that – with the exception of the monogram-like notation of *hm-k3* – vertical reversal of the sign *k3* during dynasty 0-3 is *not* attested.

I have added columns to the Recapitulatory Table (on page 63 below) for the orientation of the *k3* sign. This shows that the hands-down orientation occurs only in pieces that I have classified as problematic cases.

⁴⁴ Kahl 1994, p. 173-176.

2. The serekh

2.1. The serekh, introduction

The kings of ancient Egypt had a titlature consisting of several names, titles and epithets. The oldest part of this titlature is the Horus name, so called because it is preceded or crowned by a depiction of the god Horus in the form of a falcon. Starting with Djet (4th king of the 1st dynasty) the graphical representation of this name has, in essence⁴⁵, been completely fixed. Here is a characteristic example from this king:⁴⁶



From top to bottom we see the following elements:

- a falcon, as a symbol of the god Horus,
- the king's name in a rectangular frame,
- and a schematic representation of a palace façade.⁴⁷

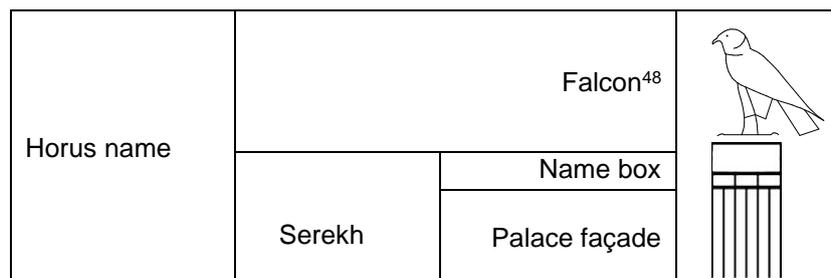
The palace façade makes it clear that this is the name of the king. The depiction of the falcon indicates that the king is under the special protection of - or may even be seen as an incarnation of - the god Horus. The bottom two elements – rectangle and palace façade – are later known as the serekh (*srḥ*).

In 20

writing, a miniature image of this is used as a determinative for this word. In horizontal writing, the determinative is usually rotated a quarter turn:



From this spelling it follows that the word serekh does not also means to include the falcon. The falcon stands on the serekh, but is not part of it. Schematically:



The word *srḥ* literally means: to let know, or: to make known. Or: to proclaim. The serekh is thus a banner or standard for proclaiming the king's name.

Under Djet's immediate predecessors (Djer, Aha, Narmer and Ka), the shaping of the serekh is still in flux. The top of the name box is usually flat (horizontal), but it can also be concave (hollow). The palace façade is sometimes missing: then the name is only in a rectangular name box. Under Ka, there is regularly a series of vertical lines *above* the name box.

⁴⁵ The shape of the falcon, and the shape of the palace facade, always remain somewhat variable.

⁴⁶ *IÄF III*, 32a.

⁴⁷ That this pattern of parallel lines is actually meant to represent a palace façade follows from the beautifully intricate depiction on Djet's funerary stela, found near his tomb in Abydos.

⁴⁸ Occasionally the Seth animal, or falcon and Seth animal.

In this study we will refer to any form of framing of the king's name as a serekh. The later standard form we will call the palace façade serekh, and the form consisting only of a name box as the box serekh. As we shall see, two more serekh forms were in use under Ka.

Functionally, there is no difference between, for example, the palace façade serekh and the box serekh: both serve to accentuate the king's name. The form with a palace façade is simply more monumental than the box type. The falcon *does* however add an extra functional element, namely expressing the special relationship between the king and the god.

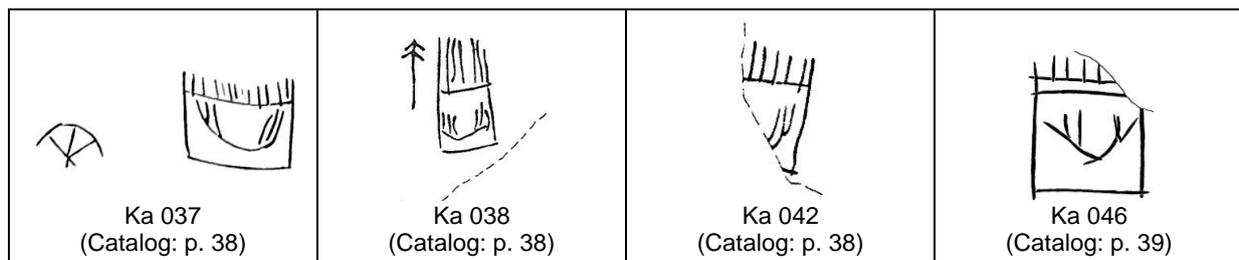
Only from Aha onwards is it established that the serekh is always regarded as part of the Horus name; this is evidenced by the never reappearing of the serekh *without* the Horus falcon.⁴⁹

2.2. The serekhs of Ka

The name of king Ka has been preserved in a remarkable variety of formats. This variety clearly points to a development that is still in flux. We will take a closer look now to those various formats.

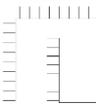
2.2.1. The open battlement serekh

Let us start with the serekhs, incised on pottery, with vertical lines above the name. As we saw, Petrie was very surprised when he finally had to conclude that this was the correct orientation.⁵⁰ Here are the four specimen of this type of serekh:⁵¹



In style, these pieces are clearly related to each other.

In the hieroglyphic script we encounter several signs on which this type of short, vertical lines also occurs, on top of a rectangle. The most important two are O11 and O13:

	
<p>O11 "Palace with battlements"</p>	<p>O13 "Battlemented enclosure"</p>

Kaiser has already pointed to this similarity:

Bemerkenswert für die Entwicklung des Serech – auf die hier und im Folgenden jedoch nicht näher eingegangen werden soll – ist, dass auf diese Weise ein erheblicher Teil der Serech des Ka ohne Falken keinen oberen Querabschluß hat und die aufrechten Striche wie eine Reihe von Zinnen o.ä. wirken.⁵²

⁴⁹ The significance of this should not be underestimated. From Aha onwards the presence of the falcon on the serekh is so inevitable that its earlier occasional absence means, in my opinion, that the connection between king and Horus was then still *in statu nascendi*.

⁵⁰ See page 12 above.

⁵¹ Petrie knew only the items Ka 037, Ka 038 and Ka 046: Ka 042 was only discovered by Kaiser and Dreyer in 1980-1981.

⁵² *UEQ2*, p. 262, n. 194a.

(In English:

Remarkable for the development of the serekh - which will not be discussed in detail here or in the following - is that a considerable part of the serekhs of Ka without falcon has no upper transverse end and the upright strokes resemble a row of battlements or the like.)

It seems to me that Kaiser's assumption that the lines above Ka's name could be battlements is correct. This means that we can see the frame around Ka's name in these cases as the façade of a fortified palace, much like the one shown on O11.⁵³ It seems to me that this fits well with the bellicose character of these times.

2.2.2. The closed battlement serekh

But how then to judge the copies written in ink?

What is striking is that the vertical lines above the name often do *not* extend all the way to the top.

This is the case for the following 18 pieces:⁵⁴

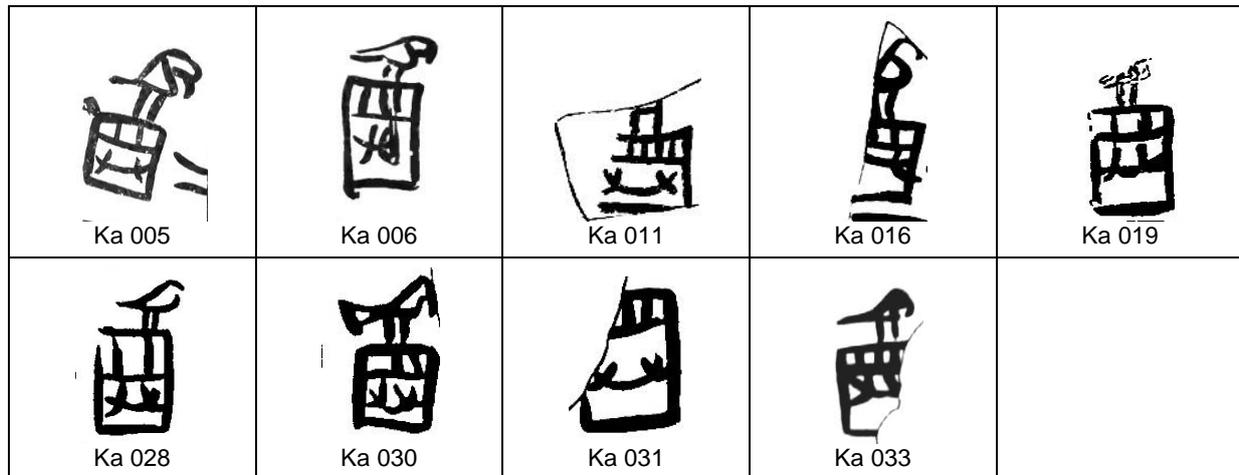
 Ka 001	 Ka 002	 Ka 003	 Ka 004	 Ka 009
 Ka 010	 Ka 015	 Ka 018	 Ka 020	 Ka 021
 Ka 022	 Ka 023	 Ka 024	 Ka 025	 Ka 026
 Ka 034	 Ka 035	 Ka 045		

The fact that the vertical lines above the name do not extend all the way to the top bar suggests to me that the image of the falcon was only secondarily added here to the image of a fortified palace. To prevent it from looking as if the falcon was impaled on the battlements, a horizontal "roost" was created for it.

⁵³ Van den Brink concurs (*Van den Brink 2001*, p. 56).

⁵⁴ For the sake of clarity, I have in a number of cases omitted parts of the image that are not relevant for this assessment. See the Catalog for full images.

It is undoubtedly more difficult *not* to let the vertical lines continue than to simply connect them to the top bar. This adds to the suggestion that the fact that the lines do not continue up was intended. Let us now take a closer look at the 9 instances in which the lines *are* connected to the top bar:



It seems to me that these pieces are drawn less carefully than the others - which would fit the assumption that the lines *not* continuing was always the intention.

The following table gives a total overview of all pieces in ink on pottery:⁵⁵

Number	Vertical lines connected to top bar?	Number	Vertical lines connected to top bar?
Ka 001	No	Ka 005	Yes
Ka 002	No	Ka 006	Yes
Ka 003	No	Ka 011	Yes
Ka 004	No	Ka 016	Yes
Ka 009	No	Ka 019	Yes
Ka 010	No	Ka 028	Yes
Ka 015	No	Ka 030	Yes
Ka 018	No	Ka 031	Yes
Ka 020	No	Ka 033	Yes
Ka 021	No	Ka 007	?
Ka 022	No	Ka 008	?
Ka 023	No	Ka 012	?
Ka 024	No	Ka 013	?
Ka 025	No	Ka 014	?
Ka 026	No	Ka 017	?
Ka 034	No	Ka 027	?
Ka 035	No	Ka 029	?
Ka 045	No	Ka 032	?

18 x No
 9 x Yes
 9 x ?
 —————
 36 total

So in two-thirds of the cases where it is determinable, the lines do *not* extend to the top.

From now on we will distinguish between the open battlement serekh (without top bar) and the closed battlement serekh (with top bar). The 9 cases shown above, in which the vertical lines continue to the top, are less well-executed examples of the closed battlement serekh.

⁵⁵ I have omitted two pieces here, because I consider them to be imitations: the numbers Ka 047 and Ka 050. In both the lines do *not* extend to the top bar.

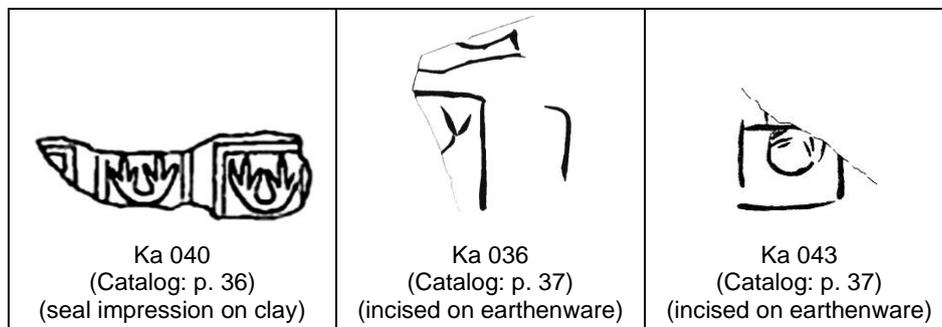
The open battlement serekh thus appears incised, always without a falcon. The closed battlement serekh occurs as ink texts, almost always with falcon.⁵⁶ Like the incised pieces, the pieces with ink texts clearly form a group: these pieces show important stylistic similarities.

Given the later developments, when the falcon on the serekh remains a fixed element, I suppose that the open battlement serekh (without falcon) is the oldest variant, and that the falcon was added later, leading to the formation of the closed battlement serekh.

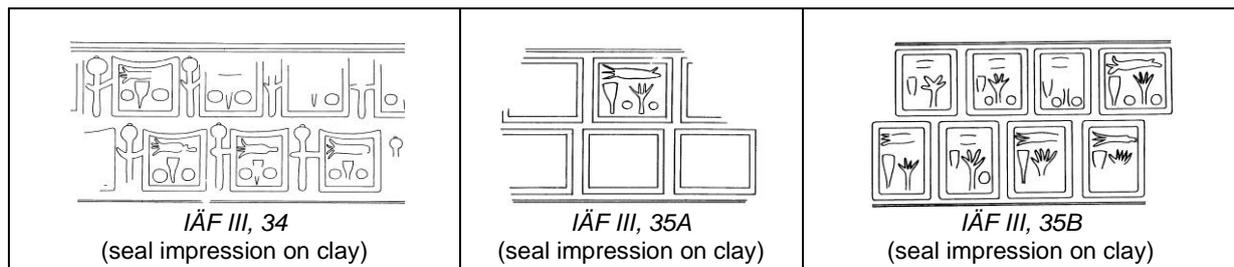
It is striking that the open battlement serekh appears only on large jars, incised during manufacture, while the closed battlement serekh appears only on smaller unguent jars, applied with ink. If the latter category were specifically intended for Ka's tomb (where all of them were in fact found), this could mean that this group dates from the end of his reign, or even from the period immediately after his death, during the funeral ceremonies. This would fit the assumption that the variant with the falcon was a later development.

2.2.3. The box serekh

From southern Egypt (Abydos) three examples are known in which the name of Ka is apparently written in a simple rectangle or square: the box serekh.



(For my reconstruction drawings of Ka 036 and Ka 043, see the Catalog below, on page 38.) It must be said, however, that the evidence for the existence of the box serekh under Ka is sparse: none of the three available examples is complete. Actually, the main argument for assuming the existence of the box serekh for Ka is its existence under Narmer. The following specimens are known from Narmer:



The piece Ka 040 is also a seal impression, and is therefore most similar to the Narmer examples. With Narmer – in the preserved material – only the form without falcon occurs. With Ka, one specimen certainly has the falcon (Ka 036), while at Ka 043 a falcon may have been present. Perhaps the addition of the falcon to the box serekh was an experiment that was later discarded.

⁵⁶ See the Recapitulatory Table on page 63 below. In the category of texts, incised on earthenware before firing, two closed battlement serekhs occur: Ka 048 and Ka 054. However, these are both problematic pieces (see the detailed descriptions in the Catalog.)

2.2.4. The king's name without serekh

During the proto-dynastic period, the king's name is sometimes written without any form of framing. For Scorpion and Iry-Hor this is always the case, for Narmer occasionally. Jiménez-Serrano classifies this group as his Category A: "Ideograms and phonetic signs"⁵⁷. As far as we now know - at least in Abydos - the king's name appears for the first time in a serekh under Ka. As we have already seen, some of Ka's serekhs lack the image of a falcon. This means that the association of the falcon with the king was *not* the reason for the introduction of the serekh. So what was the reason for this then?

The oldest mentions of the sign *k3* occur in texts of Iry-Hor.⁵⁸ From the time of king Ka we only know of the use of this sign in his name. From king Djety to the end of the 1st dynasty, however, we encounter it very frequently as "potmark:" see *RT I*, plates 47 and 48.

We may assume that much more use was made of writing during dynasty 0, than is apparent from the remains that are still available. It therefore seems to me very likely that the sign *k3* was already an "ordinary" sign under king Ka. In that case one may have felt the need to accentuate the sign in some way when it was used to write the king's name, so that it would be immediately clear to every reader: this was the name of the King. Possibly the first attempt to do so consisted of putting a simple frame around the sign. In that case the box serekh may have been the primeval father of all serekhs. The names Scorpion and Iry-Hor needed no such framing, as they were sufficiently recognizable.

Under Narmer, the king's name without any type of frame occurs a few times (e.g. on the front of the Narmer palette), but after Aha this stops altogether.

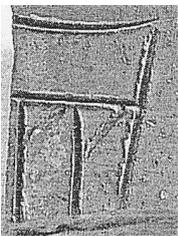
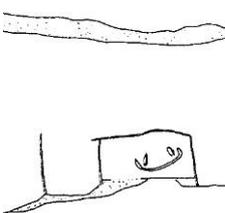
Jiménez-Serrano also sees a number of examples of the use of the king's name "on itself" in the case of Ka. See section 1.1.2 "*Items, not taken into account*" on page 8 above, under B and C, for my comments.

In the material now available I see no examples of the writing of king Ka's name without any type of frame.

2.2.5. The palace façade serekh

The decisive difference between the palace façade serekh on the one hand, and the open and closed battlement serekhs on the other hand is, that in the former the pattern of parallel lines is *under* the name box, instead of above it. When it comes to serekhs, incised on earthenware, the parallel lines are moreover generally wider spaced in the palace façade serekhs than in the open battlement serekhs.

Five serekhs in the Catalog are - or appear to be - a palace façade serekh:

				
Ka 055 (Abydos) (Catalog: p. 56)	Ka 051 (Tell Ibrahim Awad) (Catalog: p. 57)	Ka 056 (Tel Lod) (Catalog: p. 57)	Ka 049 (Helwan) (Catalog: p. 58)	Ka 053 (Kafr Hassan Dawood) (Catalog: p. 59)
Southern area	Northern area			

⁵⁷ *Representation*, p. 97. Jiménez-Serrano also mentions a number of early king lists from Abydos as examples from this category, but this does not seem justified to me. Indeed, in these lists on seal impressions the Horus names of a number of kings of the first dynasty are given, without these appearing in a serekh. However, these are lists of kings who were at that time deceased, and it was probably not considered appropriate to depict them in close connection with the palace. After all, after the king's death, his successor became the new Horus-in-the-palace.

⁵⁸ Depictions: *UEQ2*, p. 234, fig. 10c + 10d. In *Kahl 1994*: Quelle 22-23.

Ka 055 is actually an anonymous serekh, found in B19 (tomb of Aha)⁵⁹.

What is striking about the remaining four pieces is that no two are the same (not even approximately), and that all four come from the north: 3 x the Delta, and 1 x southern Palestine (Tel Lod). It is also striking that the design of Ka 051 and Ka 056 is clearly flawed, and that in Ka 049 the name is upside down. Ka 053 could have been a reasonable palace façade serekh, had it not been upside down in its entirety⁶⁰.

One might be tempted to see a closed battlement serekh in Ka 053, albeit with the name written upside down. It does however not have a falcon – while the very purpose of a closed battlement serekh is, to provide a roost for a falcon (see section 2.2.2 “*The closed battlement serekh*” on page 17 above). Of the 36 items in the Catalog with a closed battlement serekh, only one case unambiguously never carried a falcon⁶¹.

And there is one more problem. In the section about closed battlement serekhs we saw that the lines of the “battlements” only extend to the top bar in less accurately drawn pieces. This item however shows no signs of sloppiness; on the contrary, it is drawn most meticulously. And the lines neatly run to the top.

This means that there are three indications against classifying this as a closed battlement serekh:

- No falcon;
- the “battlements” that extend to the top;
- and the name that is written upside down.

A classification as a palace façade serekh meets only one objection:

- It is upside down in its entirety.

For a carefully drawn (palace façade) serekh, to be upside down on a jar is however incredibly implausible. So either way, this appears to be an imitation piece.

The fact that the four palace façade serekhs with the name of Ka show no similarity with each other makes it clear that these do not come from one centrally controlled organization. This is not in keeping with the normal picture of the generally tightly controlled Egyptian court culture. The serekhs from the other groups – especially the open and closed battlement serekhs – do show the characteristics of a common origin, as if they came from one workshop or school. The variability in design that these four palace façade serekhs exhibit is one more indication that these are imitations.

As argued above, it seems that under Ka there has been an evolution from the box serekh to the open battlement serekh, and from there to the closed battlement serekh. If at any time the court of Ka had wished to try yet another form for the serekh, they would certainly have started with this “at home”, in Abydos. It would have taken a very special coincidence, then, to have palace façade serekhs preserved only in the north.

If the development of a palace façade serekh had been the work of the court of Ka, it would also have been a rather unlikely number of successive steps for the reign of one king.

Various types of serekh with palace façades are known from the proto-dynastic period, including a large group of so-called blank or anonymous serekhs. More than two-thirds of these were found in the northern area of discovery.⁶² This is not proof for a northern origin of this form, but it is remarkable. The fact that only palace façade serekhs of Ka are known from the north seems to me to suggest that in the north imitation pieces were made, with the name of Ka, in a design borrowed from a local (northern) palace façade tradition.⁶³

⁵⁹ See the description of Ka 055 in the Catalog, on page 56 below.

⁶⁰ In the original (2014) version of this paper, this serekh was shown 180° rotated. See the “*Preface to the English translation*” on page 3 above for an explanation of the change to the current presentation.

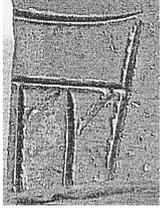
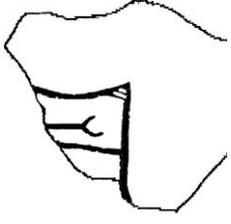
⁶¹ Ka 031. See the Catalog, page 48 below.

⁶² See tables 3a, 3b and 3c in *Van den Brink 2001*, p. 85-86.

⁶³ Just how strong the influence of the palace façade format was in the north, follows from the fact that of the 6 Ka finds there (see the table on page 10 above), no less than 4 were inspired by this design.

2.2.6. A concave top

During the proto- and early dynastic period we regularly encounter serekhs with a concave (hollow) top. In the Ka Catalog this phenomenon is represented 5 times, but none of these are authentic Ka-serekhs:

				
Ka 041 (Catalog: p. 54)	Ka 049 (Catalog: p. 58)	6Ka 050 (Catalog: p. 62)	Ka 055 (Catalog: p. 56)	Ka 056 (Catalog: p. 57)
(not a serekh)	(imitation serekh)	(imitation serekh)	(anonymous serekh)	(imitation serekh)

(See the descriptions in the Catalog for further details.)

A less carefully drawn top can look deceptively similar to a concave top. I assume that in all cases of the (open or closed) battlement serekh the top is intended to be flat / horizontal, with the exception of the example Ka 050 shown above. In this very carefully drawn serekh the concave shape seems specifically intended that way. Ka 050 is however on good grounds classified as an imitation (see the description on page 62 of the Catalog for details).

So although the concave top occurs on undisputed serekhs of Narmer, of Aha, and on anonymous serekhs, it has not been demonstrated to have been intentionally applied in authentic Ka-serekhs.

2.2.7. The direction of view of the falcon

If we ignore the problematic cases, there are 30 specimens in which a falcon is present, or probably was present. The direction of view of 28 falcons can be determined. Only in 2 cases is this direction to the left: on two box serekhs, incised on pottery before firing. The 26 other falcons look to the right, and are on a closed battlement serekh, in ink writing on pottery.

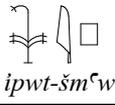
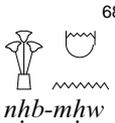
In the ink texts, the serekh is always in a context of writing, which is read from right to left. In that context, it makes sense for the falcon to look to the right. Thus, the left-facing falcon in Ka's pieces is limited to the more emblematic (stand-alone) use of the serekh.

3. The serekh's context

3.1. Taxes from the South and North

Petrie found in tomb B7 the remains of hundreds of pottery jars, many of which bore Ka's name. In most cases the name was accompanied by a short text, in two variants. Such texts are also known from other kings from the Proto- and Early Dynastic period, often in slightly different wordings, but it always comes down to the same thing: the king is mentioned as the owner of goods with two different origins: the South and the North, respectively.

These texts are discussed at length by Kaplony⁶⁴ and by Kahl⁶⁵; I follow Kahl's interpretations here⁶⁶. On the pieces of Ka we encounter the following texts:

Text	Translation	Occurrence
 <i>ipwt-šm'w</i>	"Payments from ⁶⁷ the South"	n = 24 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ka 001 t/m Ka 024
 <i>nhb-mhw</i>	"Provisions from the North"	n = 8 ⁶⁹ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ka 027 t/m Ka 033 • Ka 045

The sign that indicates the South resp. the North is almost always written first (honorific transposition)⁷⁰. The spelling of the texts is so stereotyped that incomplete copies can easily be supplemented.

Although Petrie completely misinterpreted these texts, he made a number of interesting and still useful observations regarding the sign for the South.⁷¹

- The root is regularly added under the plant as a winding line. This is a typically archaic approach.
- In writing the sign for South, a clear distinction is not yet made between M26 ("south") and M23 ("king").
- He also points out that the sign M26/M23 may not so much refer to the south as to "the Kingdom": "Probably the use of this plant for *qema* or south was then in the stage of naming the *kingdom, par excellence*, before any other region to the north had been formally included in it (...)."⁷²

There seems to be a system in the placement of the tax text in relation to the serekh. The southern tax text is always to the right of the serekh, and the northern tax text (with one exception: Ka 029) is always to the left of the serekh. Because the falcon always looks to the right on these pieces, the southern tax text is in front of, and the northern behind, the falcon.⁷³

On four ink texts no tax text is visible (anymore). However, these are all shards, with a fault line running just to the left or right of the serekh. So originally all four may have had a tax text. It is remarkable

⁶⁴ *IÄF I*, p. 292-297.

⁶⁵ *Kahl 1994*, p. 99-104.

⁶⁶ With one exception: both Kahl and Kaplony speak of Upper and Lower Egypt in this context. As already mentioned (note 1 on page 4 above), I doubt whether we can use those terms for the period of Iry-Hor and Ka, and therefore prefer to speak of South and North here.

⁶⁷ Literally "of": direct genitive.

⁶⁸ Actually a variant of M9 instead of N41: see *Kahl 1994*, p. 101-102.

⁶⁹ As with the assessment of the serekhs (see note 55 on page 18 above)) I omit Ka 047 and Ka 050, as I consider them to be imitations. Both have the Northern text, and neither was found at Ka's tomb in Abydos.

⁷⁰ See also *Kahl 1994*, p. 42-43, where a number of Ka-pieces are mentioned as examples, both of the application and non-application of honorific transposition.

⁷¹ For both his erroneous interpretation as his helpful observations, see: *Ab. I*, p. 3.

⁷² *Ab. I*, p. 3.

⁷³ Because the north was a conquered territory, and was therefore not allowed to stand before the king?

that of these four pieces the right side has broken off in three, and the left side in one. This means that 75% of these pieces may have had the southern text and 25% the northern text: exactly the same distribution as for the pieces *with* a tax text.

In 2 or 3 cases the word *ipwt* is spelled differently than usual: with the *p* before the *i*. It is not clear whether this spelling should be seen as faulty or as an alternative.

Summary of details (atypical items only):

	No honorific transposition before <i>šmꜥw</i>	<i>šmꜥw</i> is missing, but can be supplemented	Alternative spelling of <i>ipwt</i>	<i>mhw</i> is missing, but can be supplemented
Ka 001	x			
Ka 003		x		
Ka 008	x			
Ka 010			x	
Ka 018			?	
Ka 021	x			
Ka 023		x	x	
Ka 031				x
Ka 032				x

3.2. Horizontal lines

A phenomenon that often recurs in tax texts – not only with Ka, but also with a number of other kings in the Proto- and Early Dynastic period – is that of three (sometimes fewer) horizontal lines below the serekh. These lines are extensively discussed by Kaplony in *IÄF*.⁷⁴ He considers three possible meanings:

- an abbreviation for a certain type of oil,
- a quantity indication,
- and a designation for “the nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt.” (The latter in response to *IÄF III*, 848, included in the Catalog as Ka 050: see there, on page 62.)

But in the end his conclusion is: “Die Bedeutung der waagrechten Striche ist unklar (...)” (“The meaning of the horizontal lines is unclear”).

Dreyer repeats Kaplony's considerations and arguments, but ultimately thinks that it could be a quality designation.⁷⁵

But perhaps we can read these signs graphically. They are - at least with Ka - always directly *below* the serekh, so the meaning could be that the king - symbolically represented by the serekh - rules *over* the land (1 line), both lands⁷⁶ (2 lines) or all lands (3 lines).

There are (apart from the problematic cases) 36 ink texts of Ka known, of which 32 certainly, and 4 probably had a tax text. The lines appear on these as follows:

⁷⁴ *IÄF II*, note 1600 (p. 1000-1001).

⁷⁵ *UEQ2*: p. 233.

⁷⁶ “Both Lands” during this period should not necessarily be understood as southern and northern Egypt. It could also refer to two other proto-states, or even to both banks of the Nile.

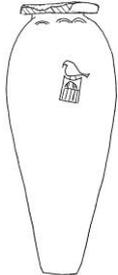
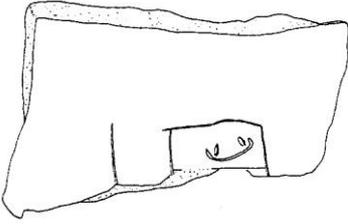
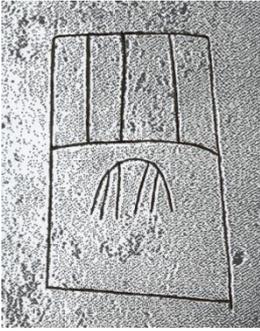
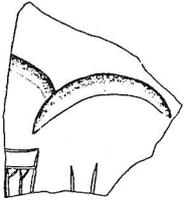
- 0 lines: 2 x
- (at least) 1 line: 15 x
- (at least) 2 lines: 4 x
- 3 lines: 12 x
- Undeterminable: 3 x

The distribution between texts with northern and southern tax texts is completely arbitrary. (For more details, see the Recapitulatory table on page 63 below.)

3.3. Other accompanying symbols

The tax texts and the horizontal lines appear only on unguent jars, on which they are applied in ink - presumably by the staff of the royal treasuries, when the goods were received there. The serekhs on larger jars were incised during the manufacturing process. These serekhs are sometimes accompanied by one or more symbols – in the case of Ka, just one symbol at a time. In most cases, these symbols are not directly recognizable as hieroglyphs. Their meaning, despite various theories, is unknown. In the case of Ka, there are 8 pieces, and the accompanying symbols are all 8 different:

Complete picture	Accompanying symbol	Classification in the Catalog
	 Meaning: "(wine from) the south"?	Ka 036 (Catalog: p. 37) Cat. 2: incised on earthenware, before firing Area of discovery: south Box serekh (?)
	 Meaning: ??	Ka 037 (Catalog: p. 38) Cat. 2: incised on earthenware, before firing Area of discovery: south Open battlement serekh
	 Meaning: ??	Ka 038 (Catalog: p. 38) Cat. 2: incised on earthenware, before firing Area of discovery: south Open battlement serekh
	 Meaning: "(wine from) the north"?	Ka 041 (Catalog: p. 54) Cat. 2: incised on earthenware, before firing / problematic case Area of discovery: south <i>Not a serekh, not the name of king Ka</i>

Complete picture		Accompanying symbol	Classification in the Catalog
	 <i>Van den Brink 1996, p. 146</i>	 Meaning: "white (wine)"?	Ka 049 (Catalog: p. 58) Cat. 2: incised on earthenware, before firing / problematic case Area of discovery: north <i>Imitation, palace façade serekh</i>
		 Meaning: ??	Ka 051 (Catalog: p. 57) Cat. 2: incised on earthenware, before firing / problematic case Area of discovery: north <i>Imitation, palace façade serekh (?)</i>
		Accompanying symbol (not shown): "A plain circle, about half the size of the serekh itself." ⁷⁷ Meaning: ??	Ka 053 (Catalog: p. 59) Cat. 2: incised on earthenware, before firing / problematic case Area of discovery: north <i>Imitation, palace façade serekh, shown upside down</i>
		 Meaning: ??	Ka 055 (Catalog: p. 56) Cat. 2: incised on earthenware, before firing / problematic case Area of discovery: south <i>Anonymous palace façade serekh</i>

⁷⁷ Van den Brink 2001, p. 52, n. 63.

4. The categories

We find the early kings' names on various materials, applied with different techniques. It makes sense to distinguish between these forms, as these appear to be related to different uses, in different contexts.

The name of king Ka is mainly found in two formats:

- incised before firing⁷⁸ on large earthenware jars (probably all wine jars);⁷⁹
- and written in ink on smaller earthenware unguent jars.

There is also one seal impression known from Ka.

Because pottery is fragile, the vast majority of texts have been found on shards. Still, some intact pots and jars have also been found. The ink texts are usually heavily faded, and often completely invisible until the shards are immersed in water:

Die meisten Inschriften wurden erst beim Eintauchen der z.T. stark versinterten Scherben in Wasser sichtbar, auch dann waren oft nur noch die Umrisse zu erkennen.⁸⁰

(In English:

Most of the inscriptions only became visible when the partly heavily sintered shards were immersed in water, and even then often only the outlines were recognizable.)

So it is always possible that originally there was more text than we can see now.

In the Catalog the pieces are allocated to the following categories:

- Category 1: seal impressions on clay.
- Category 2: incised on earthenware, before firing.
- Category 3: written in ink on earthenware:
 - 3a: with southern tax text.
 - 3b: with northern tax text.
 - 3c: without (visible) tax text.
- Category 9: other. For Ka this is a text in charcoal on pottery.

Within all categories, a further distinction will be made according to the area of discovery (south or north), and according to type of serekh.

⁷⁸ Occasionally a vessel or shard is found on which a scratched-in text has been applied after firing. These should be regarded as a separate category, because it is not certain that vessel and text are of the same age. (This variant does not appear in Ka's catalog).

⁷⁹ For wine jars in general, with notes on viticulture in the Levant and along the Nile, see *Wine Jars*.

⁸⁰ *UEQ2*, p. 232, n. 69.

5. Conclusions

The Recapitulatory Table on page 63 below summarizes the results of the study. We can infer the following conclusions.

- Of the total group of 56 pieces, 13 have been rejected as problematic cases, or 23%.
- The remaining 43 pieces all come from the Umm el-Qaab in Abydos.

From the information currently available, we cannot therefore conclude that Ka ruled northern Egypt. From the occurrence of locally produced imitation pieces we can however deduce that he was known in northern Egypt and in southern Palestine. This indicates that he was in any event regarded as an important, inspiring monarch.

The 43 pieces from Abydos can be classified as follows:

- one seal impression,
- 6 texts, incised on earthenware before firing,
- and 36 texts, written in ink on earthenware pots.

Classification according to serekh type:

- 3 times a box serekh (1 seal impression, 2 incised),
- 4 times an open battlement serekh (all incised),
- and 36 times a closed battlement serekh (all in ink).

The 36 ink texts can be divided according to tax text as follows:

- 24 with southern tax text,
- 8 with northern tax text,
- and 4 without (visible) tax text.

Classification of regular cases

Cat.	Description	Totals	Box serekh	Open battlement serekh	Closed battlement serekh
1	Seal impressions on clay	$\Sigma=1$	n=1		
2	Incised on earthenware before firing	$\Sigma=6$	n=2	n=4	
3a	Ink on earthenware, with southern tax text	$\Sigma=24$			n=24
3b	Ink on earthenware, with northern tax text	$\Sigma=8$			n=8
3c	Ink on earthenware, without visible tax text	$\Sigma=4$			n=4
	Totals	$\Sigma\Sigma=43$	$\Sigma=3$	$\Sigma=4$	$\Sigma=36$

The 13 problematic cases can be subdivided as follows:

- From Abydos: one anonymous serekh (Ka 055), and 3 pieces that are not a serekh (Ka 039, Ka 041 and Ka 044), one of which perhaps contains the name of Ka (Ka 039).
- From Adaïma: one piece that is not a serekh, and probably has nothing to do with Ka (Ka 052).
- From the northern area of discovery: 6 imitation pieces (Ka 047, Ka 048, Ka 049, Ka 051, Ka 053 and Ka 056).
- Provenance unknown: one imitation piece (Ka 050⁸¹), and one inexplicable piece (Ka 054).

⁸¹ Perhaps from Tarkhan: see the discussion of this piece in the Catalog.

Classification of problematic cases

Origin	Totals	Anonymous serekh	No serekh, possibly the name of Ka	No serekh, not the name of Ka	Imitation piece	Inexplicable
Abydos	$\Sigma=4$	n=1 (Ka 055)	n=1 (Ka 039)	n=2 (Ka 041 + 044)		
Adaïma	$\Sigma=1$			n=1 (Ka 052)		
Northern area of discovery	$\Sigma=6$				n=6 (*)	
Unknown	$\Sigma=2$				n=1 (Ka 050)	n=1 (Ka 054)
Totals	$\Sigma\Sigma =13$	$\Sigma=1$	$\Sigma=1$	$\Sigma=3$	$\Sigma=7$	$\Sigma=1$

*) : Ka 047, 048, 049, 051, 053, 056.

5.1. A theory about the development of the serekh in southern Egypt

The development of the serekh - as far as southern Egypt is concerned - may have been prompted by the spelling of Ka's name: with only one unobtrusive sign. To make it clear that this sign actually was the name of the king, it may have been put in a frame, initially a simple rectangle: the box serekh.

The second shoot on the serekh tree would then be the open battlement serekh. This consists of a name box (= box serekh), crowned with vertical stripes: intended as a representation of the façade of a fortified palace or fortress.

At some point, a falcon is added to both the box serekh and the open battlement serekh: presumably as a symbol for the god Horus. For the battlement serekh this leads to an adjustment in shape: the closed battlement serekh is created by adding a horizontal roost for the falcon.

The palace façade serekhs with the name of Ka found in the northern area of discovery are imitations, made in a local tradition.

An intentional concave top has not been demonstrated on authentic Ka pieces.

Concordance with older lists of texts

Catalog number	<i>Kahl</i> 1994 (Quelle)	<i>Van den</i> <i>Brink</i> '01 (number)	Other lists (P. = page, Pl. = plate)				
			<i>Van den</i> <i>Brink</i> '96	<i>UEQ2</i>	<i>Ab. I</i>	<i>RT II</i>	Other publications
Ka 001	25	--			Pl. 1, 1		
Ka 002	26	--			Pl. 1, 2		
Ka 003	27	--			Pl. 1, 3		
Ka 004	28	--			Pl. 1, 4		
Ka 005	29	--			Pl. 1, 5		
Ka 006	30	--			Pl. 1, 6		
Ka 007	31	--			Pl. 1, 7		
Ka 008	32	--			Pl. 1, 8		
Ka 009	33	--			Pl. 1, 9		
Ka 010	34	--			Pl. 1, 10		
Ka 011	35	--			Pl. 1, 11		
Ka 012	36	--			Pl. 1, 12		
Ka 013	37	--			Pl. 1, 13		
Ka 014	38	--			Pl. 2, 14		
Ka 015	39	--			Pl. 2, 15		
Ka 016	40	--			Pl. 2, 16		
Ka 017	41	--			Pl. 2, 17		
Ka 018	42	--			Pl. 2, 18		
Ka 019	43	--			Pl. 2, 19		
Ka 020	44	--			Pl. 2, 20		
Ka 021	45	--			Pl. 2, 21		
Ka 022	46	--			Pl. 2, 22		
Ka 023	47	--			Pl. 2, 23		
Ka 024	48	--			Pl. 2, 24		
Ka 025	49	--			Pl. 2, 25		
Ka 026	50	--			Pl. 2, 26		
Ka 027	51	--			Pl. 3, 27		
Ka 028	52	--			Pl. 3, 28		
Ka 029	53	--			Pl. 3, 29		
Ka 030	54	--			Pl. 3, 30		
Ka 031	55	--			Pl. 3, 31		
Ka 032	56	--			Pl. 3, 32		
Ka 033	57	--			Pl. 3, 33		
Ka 034	58	--			Pl. 3, 34		
Ka 035	59	--			Pl. 3, 35		
Ka 036	60	49		P. 263, 25	Pl. 3, 36		

Catalog number	Kahl 1994 (Quelle)	Van den Brink '01 (number)	Other lists (P. = page, Pl. = plate)				
			Van den Brink '96	UEQ2	Ab. I	RT II	Other publications
Ka 037	61	58		P. 263, 27	Pl. 3, 37		
Ka 038	62	59		P. 263, 26	Pl. 3, 38		
Ka 039	63	54		P. 263, 33		Pl. 13, "B7"	
Ka 040	64	--				Pl. 13, 89	
Ka 041	66 ⁸²	52		P. 229 P. 263, 32			
Ka 042	67	56	P. 145, 16a + Pl. 29a	P. 263, 30 + Pl. 58d			
Ka 043	68	57		P. 263, 31		Pl. 13, "B11"	
Ka 044	69	50		P. 263, 29		Pl. 13, "B15"	
Ka 045	70	--		Pl. 58a			
Ka 046	71	55		P. 263, 28		Pl. 13, z.n.	
Ka 047	72	--					<i>Tarkhan I</i> , pl. 31, 67
Ka 048	73	²⁹ (intact)	P. 146, 15	P. 263, 24			<i>Helwan</i> , p. 112, fig. 11
Ka 049	74	²⁸ (intact)	P. 146, 16	P. 263, 23			<i>Helwan</i> , p. 112, fig. 12
Ka 050	75	--					<i>IÄF III</i> , 848
Ka 051	--	48					<i>Tell Ibrahim Awad</i> (1992), p. 52
Ka 052	--	Fig. D.					<i>BIFAO 99</i> (1999), p. 451
Ka 053	--	²⁷ (intact) ⁸³					<i>Kafr Hassan Daoud</i> (2000)
Ka 054	--	51					<i>Forgotten Serekhs</i> (2001), p. 71, 2
Ka 055	--	53	P. 145, 16b				
Ka 056	--	47					<i>Wine Jars</i> (2002), p. 173

⁸² According to Kahl, Quelle 65 is from the time of Ka, but it does not contain his name.

⁸³ Van den Brink categorizes this as an intact jar, but it appears to be only a shard.

Literature

In historic order:	Abbreviated as:
W.M.F. PETRIE, <i>The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties. Part II.</i> (1901).	RT II
W.M.F. PETRIE, <i>Abydos. Part I.</i> (1902)	Ab. I
W.M.F. PETRIE, G.A. WAINWRIGHT AND A.H. GARDINER , <i>Tarkhan I and Memphis V.</i> (1913)	Tarkhan I
ZAKI Y. SAAD, <i>Preliminary Report on the Royal Excavations at Helwan, 1943-1944.</i> ASAE, Suppl. 3 (1947), p. 105-112.	Helwan
S. YEIVIN, <i>Early contacts between Canaan and Egypt</i> , in: Israel Exploration Journal, Vol. 10, number 4 (1960), p. 193-203.	IEJ 10, no. 4
PETER KAPLONY, <i>Die Inschriften der Ägyptischen Frühzeit I-II-III</i> (1963)	IÄF I-II-III
W. KAISER & G. DREYER, <i>Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof – 2. Vorbericht.</i> MDAIK 38 (1982), p. 211-269.	UEQ2
EDWIN VAN DEN BRINK, <i>Preliminary report on the excavations at Tell Ibrahim Awad, seasons 1988-1990.</i> In : EDWIN VAN DEN BRINK (Ed.), <i>The Nile Delta in transition ; 4th – 3rd millenium B.C.</i> (1992), p. 43-57.	Tell Ibrahim Awad
JOCHEM KAHL, <i>Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0. – 3. Dynastie</i> (1994)	Kahl 1994
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F.A. HASSAN, <i>Kafr Hassan Daoud.</i> Egyptian Archeology 16 (2000): p. 37-39.	Kafr Hassan Daoud
T.D. GILROY, "Forgotten" serekhs in the Royal Ontario Museum. GM 180 (2001), p. 67-76.	Forgotten Serekhs
EDWIN VAN DEN BRINK, <i>The Pottery-incised Serekh-Signs of Dynasties 0-1. Part II: Fragments and Additional Complete Vessels.</i> Archéo-Nil 11 (2001), p. 23-100.	Van den Brink 2001
EDWIN VAN DEN BRINK and ELIOT BRAUN, <i>Wine Jars with serekhs from early bronze Lod: Appelation Vallée du Nil controlée, but for whom?</i> In: EDWIN VAN DEN BRINK and ELI YANNAI (eds.), <i>In quest of ancient settlements and landscapes : archeological studies in honour of Ram Gophna</i> (2002), p. 167-187.	Wine Jars
F.A. HASSAN, <i>Social dynamics at the late predynastic to early dynastic site of Kafr Hassan Dawood, East Delta, Egypt.</i> Archéo-Nil 13 (2003), p. 37-45.	Hassan 2003
ALEJANDRO JIMÉNEZ-SERRANO, <i>Chronology and local traditions: the representation of power and the royal name in the late predynastic period.</i> Archéo-Nil 13 (2003), p. 93-142.	Representation
ELIOT BRAUN, <i>South Levantine Early Bronze Age chronological correlations with Egypt in light of the Narmer serekhs from Tel Erani and Arad: New interpretations</i> , in: British Museum Studies in ancient Egypt and Sudan 13 (2009), p. 25-48.	BMSAES 13

Catalog (with index)

Introduction

Per item, the information is presented in two or three rows.

The top row shows one or more images. The leftmost image is usually the one I think gives the best picture. The provenance is listed under each image. In a number of cases I have made an enhanced or reconstructed version; in that case the original is also shown.

The rightmost cell of the first row presents the following:

- the Catalog number,
- the category,
- the area of discovery: South or North,
- the type of serekh,
- and the pages in the text, where the item is discussed.

The second row contains the following information (if available):

- the location where it was found (place name, tomb number, registration number),
- the excavator(s),
- museum, with inventory number,
- the list number (“Quelle”) in *Kahl 1994*,
- and the number (of fragment or intact jar) in *Van den Brink 2001*.

To the right of this is the following:

- the material on which the text appears,
- insofar as classified by Van den Brink: the type of jar (for Ka always type III),
- insofar as classified by Kaiser: the Horizon (for Ka always Horizon B),
- and any tax text, with translation.⁸⁴

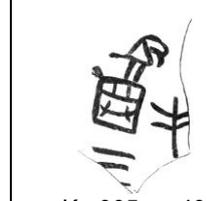
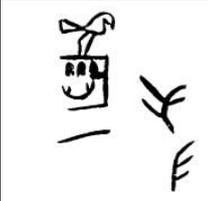
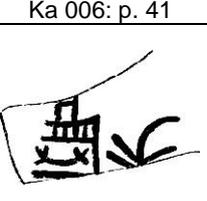
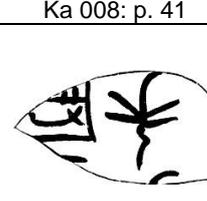
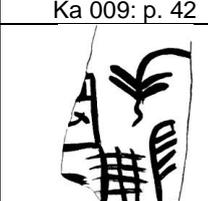
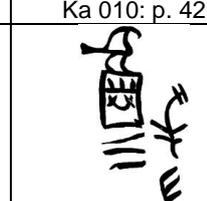
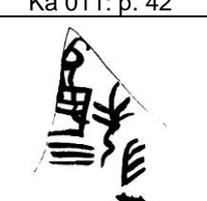
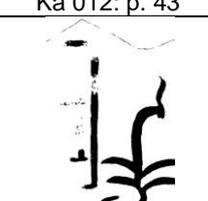
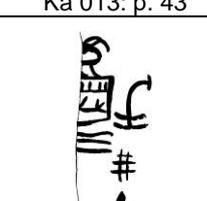
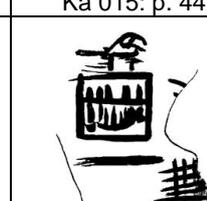
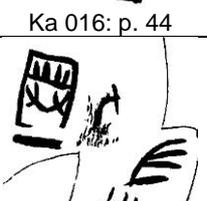
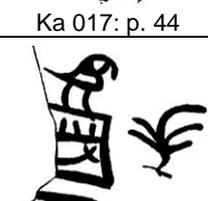
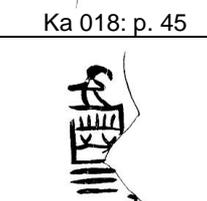
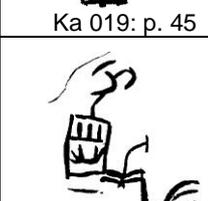
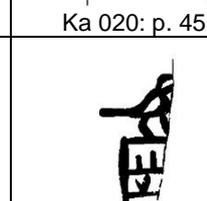
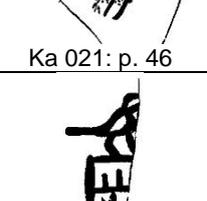
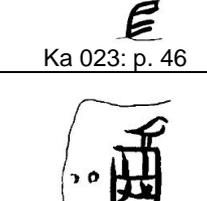
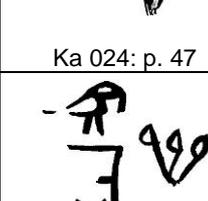
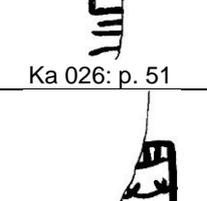
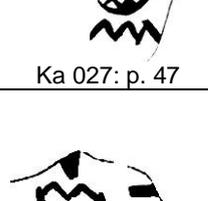
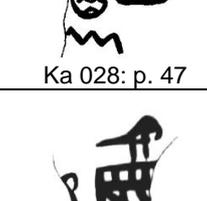
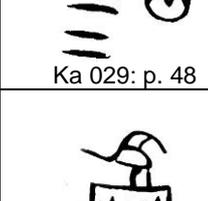
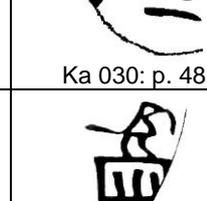
Below this comes, if necessary, a row with any comments that the piece gives cause to.

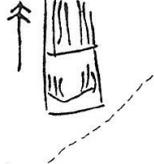
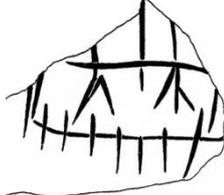
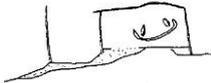
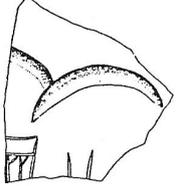
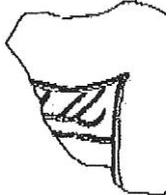
Problematic cases are also included in the Catalog. As problematic, I regard pieces that have been identified by Kahl and/or Van den Brink as texts with the name of king Ka, that I believe are either not so, or that are imitations. The problematic cases are treated last in the Catalog (from page 53 below).

⁸⁴ For the so-called accompanying signs, see section 3.3 “*Other accompanying symbols*” on page 25 above.

Index to the Catalog

(The images shown here are uncorrected images.)

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 Ka 006: p. 41	 Ka 007: p. 41	 Ka 008: p. 41	 Ka 009: p. 42	 Ka 010: p. 42
 Ka 011: p. 42	 Ka 012: p. 43	 Ka 013: p. 43	 Ka 014: p. 43	 Ka 015: p. 44
 Ka 016: p. 44	 Ka 017: p. 44	 Ka 018: p. 45	 Ka 019: p. 45	 Ka 020: p. 45
 Ka 021: p. 46	 Ka 022: p. 46	 Ka 023: p. 46	 Ka 024: p. 47	 Ka 025: p. 51
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 <p>Ka 036: p. 37</p>	 <p>Ka 037: p. 38</p>	 <p>Ka 038: p. 38</p>	 <p>Ka 039: p. 53</p>	 <p>Ka 040: p. 36</p>
 <p>Ka 041: p. 54</p>	 <p>Ka 042: p. 38</p>	 <p>Ka 043: p. 37</p>	 <p>Ka 044: p. 55</p>	 <p>Ka 045: p. 50</p>
 <p>Ka 046: p. 39</p>	 <p>Ka 047: p. 62</p>	 <p>Ka 048: p. 60</p>	 <p>Ka 049: p. 58</p>	 <p>Ka 050: p. 62</p>
 <p>Ka 051: p. 57</p>	 <p>Ka 052: p. 55</p>	 <p>Ka 053: p. 59</p>	 <p>Ka 054: p. 61</p>	 <p>Ka 055: p. 56</p>
 <p>Ka 056: p. 57</p>				

Category 1: seal impression on clay

- **Area of discovery: south**
- **Box serekh**
- **n = 1**

 <p><i>RT II</i>, pl. 13, 89, Rotated 180°</p>	 <p><i>RT II</i>, pl. 13, 89</p>		<p>Ka 040 Cat. 1: seal impression on clay Area of discovery: south Box serekh (?)</p> <p>Discussed on pages: 11, 19</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900. • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 64 		<p>Material: black clay.</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This is the only known seal impression with this king's name. In Petrie's words: "Only a single impression of the seal of King Ka was found."⁸⁵ • Due to the location of the fracture lines, the outline of the frame around the name is not completely visible. • Kahl: possibly the name was in a simple rectangle, as happens also under Narmer.⁸⁶ • Petrie also thought this way: "The earliest sealing found was that of King Ka, which differs much from all of the others in its simplicity. (...) It is on hard black mud, and seems to have consisted of only a row of enclosures containing the name."⁸⁷ • The identification as a box serekh is mainly based on the comparison with the examples of Narmer: see section 2.2.3: "The box serekh" on page 19 above. • Assuming the orientation shown to the left to be correct, it is certain that there was no falcon above the name. 			

⁸⁵ *RT II*, p. 30. On the same page, Petrie describes another fragment of a seal impression he found: "A small piece of sealing cannot be understood, but it may have some connection with King Ka." See for this piece "A. Quelle 65" on page 8 above.

⁸⁶ *Kahl 1994*, p. 38, n. 20. For examples of the box serekh under Narmer, see page 19 above.

⁸⁷ *RT II*, p. 19.

Category 2: incised on earthenware, before firing

- Area of discovery: south
- Box serekh
- n = 2

 <p>(Reconstruction)</p>	 <p><i>Ab. I</i>, pl. 3, 36 <i>UEQ2</i>, p. 263, 25</p>		<p>Ka 036 Cat. 2: incised on earthenware, before firing Area of discovery: south Box serekh (?)</p> <p>Discussed on pages: 19, 25</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 60 • <i>Van den Brink 2001</i>: fragment 49 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Material: earthenware (shard) • Kaiser: Horizon B 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If there had been a palace façade under the name, I would have expected that the lower closure line of the name box would have been considerably higher than in my current reconstruction, and that part of this would therefore still have been visible (for a comparison, see Ka 056 on page 55 below). This means that it is more likely that we are dealing here with a box serekh. • Kaiser has nevertheless assumed that the vertical lines of a palace façade stood under the name.⁸⁸ • The open corners in my reconstruction are based on Ka 043: see the next item below.⁸⁹ 			

 <p>(Reconstruction)</p>	 <p><i>UEQ2</i>, p. 263, 31 <i>vd Brink '01</i>, p. 57, 57</p>	 <p><i>RT II</i>, pl. 13, "B11"</p>	<p>Ka 043 Cat. 2: incised on earthenware, before firing Area of discovery: south Box serekh (?)</p> <p>Discussed on pages: 11, 19</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, B11⁹⁰ • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 68 • <i>Van den Brink 2001</i>: fragment 57 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Material: earthenware (shard) • Kaiser: Horizon B 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is difficult not to see the line that marks the boundary of the shard as part of the pattern. That's why I removed that line and continued the lines of the rectangular frame by way of reconstruction. The result is a box serekh. • Presumably, a falcon stood on the part broken away at the top: the small vertical line at the top left of the rectangle is probably a leg. • The still visible leg is quite far to the left. This means the falcon probably looked left: also compare the previous piece. 			

⁸⁸ *Kahl 1994*, p. 39. With reference to an article by Kaiser in *ZÄS 91*, 1964 (*Kahl 1994*, p. 38, note 19).

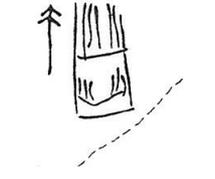
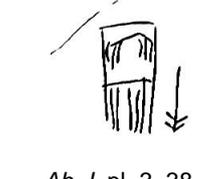
⁸⁹ My reconstruction in the original (2014) version of this paper had closed corners. In hindsight, that seemed unrealistic.

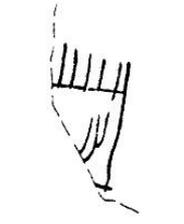
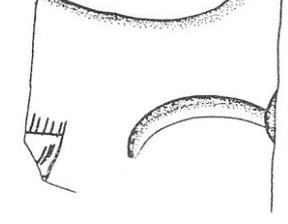
⁹⁰ B11 is not a tomb, but the area between B1/2 (attributed to Iry-Hor), and B7/9 (attributed to Ka) (*JÄF I*, p. 206).

Category 2: incised on earthenware, before firing

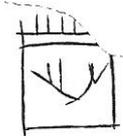
- **Area of discovery: south**
- **Open battlement serekh**
- **n = 4**

 UEQ2, p. 263, 27	 <i>Ab. I, pl. 3, 37</i> <i>vd Brink '01, p. 57, 58</i>		Ka 037 Cat. 2: incised on earthenware, before firing Area of discovery: south Open battlement serekh Discussed on pages: 16, 25
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900. • <i>Kahl 1994: Quelle 61</i> • <i>Van den Brink 2001: fragment 58</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Material: earthenware (shard) • Kaiser: Horizon B 		

 UEQ2, p. 263, 26	 <i>Ab. I, pl. 3, 38</i> <i>vd Brink '01, p. 57, 59</i>		Ka 038 Cat. 2: incised on earthenware, before firing Area of discovery: south Open battlement serekh Discussed on pages: 12, 13, 16, 25
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900. • British Museum: EA35507 • <i>Kahl 1994: Quelle 62</i> • <i>Van den Brink 2001: fragment 59</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Material: earthenware (shard) • Kaiser: Horizon B 		
For the reasons for choosing the orientation shown left, see page 13 above.			

 UEQ2, p. 263, 30	 <i>vd Brink 1996, p. 145, 16a</i>		Ka 042 Cat. 2: incised on earthenware, before firing Area of discovery: south Open battlement serekh Discussed on pages: 16
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, east of tombs B7/B9, reg. nr. M110 • Excavations by Kaiser and Dreyer, 1980-81. • <i>Kahl 1994: Quelle 67</i> • <i>Van den Brink 2001: fragment 56</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Material: earthenware (shard) • Type Van den Brink: III • Kaiser: Horizon B 		
Although this piece is only a shard, both the type of jar and its correct orientation can still be determined by the preserved part of the wavy decoration. ⁹¹			

⁹¹ Likewise: Ka 055, see page 56 below.

 <p>(RT II, pl. 13, rotated 180°)</p>	 <p>UEQ2, p. 263, 28 vd Brink '01, p. 56, 55</p>	 <p>RT II, pl. 13, n.n.</p>	<p>Ka 046 Cat. 2: incised on earthenware, before firing Area of discovery: south Open battlement serekh</p> <p>Discussed on pages: 11, 16</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, cemetery B • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900. • Kahl 1994: Quelle 71 • Van den Brink 2001: fragment 55 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Material: earthenware (shard) • Kaiser: Horizon B 	
<p>Of this type (incised on earthenware, with open battlement serekh), this is the one best executed. It is also the only one with a double edge (parapet?) at the top.</p>			

Category 3a: ink on earthenware, with southern tax text

- Area of discovery: south
- Closed battlement serekh
- n = 24

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 1, 1</p>		<p>Ka 001 Cat. 3a: ink on earthenware, with southern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • Kahl 1994: Quelle 25 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>ipwt-šmꜣw</i> (Payments from the South)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Here it can be clearly seen that the “southern plant” is drawn with the root underneath: a typical archaic approach.⁹² • This is one of the few cases where <i>šmꜣw</i> is not put in front. 		

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 1, 2</p>		<p>Ka 002 Cat. 3a: ink on earthenware, with southern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • Kahl 1994: Quelle 26 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>ipwt-šmꜣw</i> (Payments from the South)</p>
<p>Here again the root, just like with the previous piece.</p>		

⁹² See page 23 above.

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 1, 3</p>			<p>Ka 003 Cat. 3a: ink on earthenware, with southern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 27 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>ipwt-šmꜣw</i> (Payments from the South)</p>	
<p>Although the sign for "South" is not visible, the text can still be reconstructed, because these texts are for North and South each have a fixed format.⁹³</p>			

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 1, 4</p>			<p>Ka 004 Cat. 3a: ink on earthenware, with southern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 28 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>ipwt-šmꜣw</i> (Payments from the South)</p>	

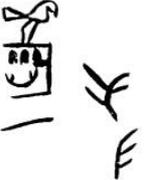
 <p>Ab. I, pl. 1, 5</p>			<p>Ka 005 Cat. 3a: ink on earthenware, with southern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 29 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>[ipwt]-šmꜣw</i> (Payments from the South)</p>	

⁹³ See page 23 above.

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 1, 6</p>			<p>Ka 006 Cat. 3a: ink on earthenware, with southern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 30 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>ipwt-šmꜣw</i> (Payments from the South)</p>	
<p>The “southern plant” with root.</p>			

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 1, 7</p>			<p>Ka 007 Cat. 3a: ink on earthenware, with southern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh (?)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 31 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>ipwt-šmꜣw</i> (Payments from the South)</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is not enough left of the upper part of the serekh to see if it had vertical lines, so it may have been empty. However, in the series of nine less carefully written ink texts on page 18 above, several examples can be found with few and/or poorly spaced lines: this piece would have fit in well. • The name has also been written rather carelessly, and resembles an “x”. 			

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 1, 8</p>			<p>Ka 008 Cat. 3a: ink on earthenware, with southern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh (?)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 32 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>ipwt-šmꜣw</i> (Payments from the South)</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Although nothing can be seen above the “battlements”, it seems likely (by comparison with parallel pieces from the same tomb) that this is a closed battlement serekh. • Again, the root of the “southern plant” can be clearly seen. • One of the few cases where <i>šmꜣw</i> is not put in front. 			

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 1, 9</p>			<p>Ka 009 Cat. 3a: ink on earthenware, with southern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 33 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>i[pwt]-šmꜣw</i> (Payments from the South)</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Only a small part of the horizontal line under the battlements remains on the right-hand side. • The tax text has been written most summarily. 			

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 1, 10</p>			<p>Ka 010 Cat. 3a: ink on earthenware, with southern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 34 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>ipwt-šmꜣw</i> (Payments from the South)</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The "southern plant" with root. • Variant-spelling of <i>ipwt</i>: with the <i>p</i> before the <i>i</i>. 			

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 1, 11</p>			<p>Ka 011 Cat. 3a: ink on earthenware, with southern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 35 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>[ipwt]-šmꜣw</i> (Payments from the South)</p>	
<p>The two lines on top of the serekh are undoubtedly the legs of a falcon.</p>			

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 1, 12</p>			<p>Ka 012 Cat. 3a: ink on earthenware, with southern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh (?)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 36 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>ipwt-šmꜥw</i> (Payments from the South)</p>	
<p>Although nothing can be seen above the name, it seems likely (by comparison with parallel pieces from the same tomb) that this is a closed battlement serekh.</p>			

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 1, 13</p>			<p>Ka 013 Cat. 3a: ink on earthenware, with southern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh (?)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 37 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>[ipwt]-šmꜥw</i> (Payments from the South)</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Although nothing can be seen above the battlements, it seems likely (by comparison with parallel pieces from the same tomb) that this is a closed battlement serekh. • The “southern plant” with root. 			

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 2, 14</p>			<p>Ka 014 Cat. 3a: ink on earthenware, with southern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 38 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>ipwt-šmꜥw</i> (Payments from the South)</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whether the one line of the “battlements” extends to the top closure line is just not visible. • The “southern plant” with root. 			

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 2, 15</p>	 <p>BM: EA35508</p>		<p>Ka 015 Cat. 3a: ink on earthenware, with southern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • British Museum: EA35508 • Kahl 1994: Quelle 39 		<p>Material: earthenware (intact jar)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>i[pwt]-šmꜣw</i> (Payments from the South)</p>	

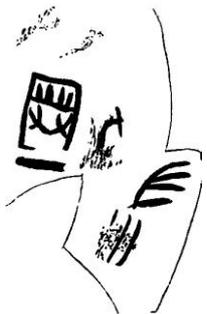
 <p>Ab. I, pl. 2, 16</p>			<p>Ka 016 Cat. 3a: ink on earthenware, with southern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • Kahl 1994: Quelle 40 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>ipwt-šmꜣw</i> (Payments from the South)</p>	
<p>The “southern plant” with root.</p>			

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 2, 17</p>			<p>Ka 017 Cat. 3a: ink on earthenware, with southern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh (?)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • Kahl 1994: Quelle 41 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>i[pwt]-šmꜣw</i> (Payments from the South)</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Almost nothing is left of the serekh itself. Based on parallel pieces from the same tomb, I assume that a closed battlement serekh with the name of Ka stood here. • The “southern plant” with root. 			

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 2, 18</p>			<p>Ka 018</p> <p>Cat. 3a: ink on earthenware, with southern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 42 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: [i]pwt-šm^cw (Payments from the South)</p>	
<p>The sign under the <i>p</i> looks strange; maybe a "slip of the pen"? Possibly it is meant as (or a remnant of) an <i>i</i>: in that case this would be the same variant spelling as in Ka 010 and Ka 023. (But see also Ka 009 on page 42 above, where the sign for the South is somewhat similar to this sign.)</p>			

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 2, 19</p>			<p>Ka 019</p> <p>Cat. 3a: ink on earthenware, with southern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 43 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: ipwt-šm^cw (Payments from the South)</p>	
<p>The "southern plant" with long root.</p>			

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 2, 20</p>			<p>Ka 020</p> <p>Cat. 3a: ink on earthenware, with southern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 44 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: [i]pwt-[šm^cw] (Payments from the South)</p>	
<p>This text looks like someone wiped over it before it dried properly.</p>			

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 2, 21</p>			<p>Ka 021 Cat. 3a: ink on earthenware, with southern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 45 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>ipwt-šmꜥw</i> (Payments from the South)</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The faint spot above the serekh could be the remains of a falcon. • The lower closing line of the serekh has largely disappeared. • This is one of the few cases where <i>šmꜥw</i> is not put in front. 			

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 2, 22</p>			<p>Ka 022 Cat. 3a: ink on earthenware, with southern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 46 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>ipwt-šmꜥw</i> (Payments from the South)</p>	
<p>Only the horizontal lines of the <i>i</i> are still visible: the vertical line on the left has disappeared (faded?)</p>			

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 2, 23</p>			<p>Ka 023 Cat. 3a: ink on earthenware, with southern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 47 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>ipwt-[šmꜥw]</i> (Payments from the South)</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exquisitely drawn serekh. • Variant-spelling of <i>ipwt</i>: with the <i>p</i> before the <i>i</i>. • Although the sign for “South” is not visible, the text can still be reconstructed, because these texts for North and South each have a fixed format.⁹⁴ 			

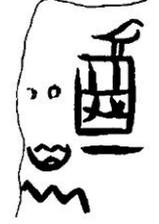
⁹⁴ See page 23 above.

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 2, 24</p>			<p>Ka 024 Cat. 3a: ink on earthenware, with southern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 48 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>i[prt]-šmꜣw</i> (Payments from the South)</p>	

Category 3b: ink on earthenware, with northern tax text

- Area of discovery: south
- Closed battlement serekh
- n = 8

 <p>(<i>Reconstruction</i>)</p>	 <p>Ab. I, pl. 3, 27</p>		<p>Ka 027 Cat. 3b: ink on earthenware, with northern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh (?)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 51 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>nḥb-mḥw</i> (Provisions from the North)</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Since this piece was found in Abydos, in tomb B7, an imitation seems unlikely. • Given the clearly recognizable text "Provisions from the North" there must have been a serekh next to it. • This brings me to the theoretical reconstruction shown above. The now missing parts may have faded away. 			

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 3, 28</p>			<p>Ka 028 Cat. 3b: ink on earthenware, with northern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 52 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>nḥb-mḥw</i> (Provisions from the North)</p>	
<p>Only two circles of the <i>mḥw</i>-sign remain: the rest has probably faded.</p>			

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 3, 29</p>			<p>Ka 029 Cat. 3b: ink on earthenware, with northern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh (?)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 53 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>nḥb-mḥw</i> (Provisions from the North)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Although nothing can be seen in the upper part of the serekh, it seems likely (by comparison with the parallel pieces from the same tomb) that this is a closed battlement serekh. • This is the only instance with a northern tax text, where this text is to the right of the serekh.

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 3, 30</p>			<p>Ka 030 Cat. 3b: ink on earthenware, with northern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900. • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 54 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>[nḥb]-mḥw</i> (Provisions from the North)</p>	

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 3, 31</p>			<p>Ka 031 Cat. 3b: ink on earthenware, with northern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 55 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>nḥb-[mḥw]</i> (Provisions from the North)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This is the only copy with a closed battlement serekh which is positively without a falcon. • Although the sign for "North" is not visible, the text can still be reconstructed because these texts for North and South have a fixed format.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ See page 23 above.

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 3, 32</p>			<p>Ka 032 Cat. 3b: ink on earthenware, with northern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh(?)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 56 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>nḥb</i>-[<i>mḥw</i>] (Provisions from the North)</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This piece is a good example of how a text can sometimes be extensively reconstructed from minimal remains. • Because in similar cases there is always a serekh above the horizontal bars, in this case the king's name must have been on the right - which is also the normal position for specimens with a northern tax text.⁹⁶ • An overview by Helck in <i>Thinitenzeit</i>⁹⁷ shows, that the tax text used here only appears on pieces from Ka, and on two pieces from Tarkhan that are shown in <i>IÄF III</i>⁹⁸. Since these are probably imitation pieces, we don't have to take those into account.⁹⁹ In combination with the location (tomb B7), the spelling of the tax text therefore substantiates the allocation to Ka. So the missing serekh was that of Ka. • Although the serekh is no longer visible, it seems likely (by comparison with parallel pieces from the same tomb) that this was a closed battlement serekh. • Although the sign for "North" is almost invisible, the text can still be reconstructed, because these texts for North and South have a fixed format.¹⁰⁰ 			

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 3, 33</p>			<p>Ka 033 Cat. 3b: ink on earthenware, with northern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 57 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p> <p>Tax text: [<i>nḥb</i>]-<i>mḥw</i> (Provisions from the North)</p>	
<p>The reconstruction of the tax text is based on parallel pieces from the same tomb.</p>			

⁹⁶ See page 23 above.

⁹⁷ *Thinitenzeit*, p. 186.

⁹⁸ *IÄF III*, photograph 1 and 2. This concerns UC 16947 (from tomb 1549) and UC 16071 (from tomb 315).

⁹⁹ One of these pieces is included in the Catalog as Ka 050 (on page 62 below), where the grounds for classifying it as an imitation are discussed. The other one is deemed to be from Aha, and therefore not included here.

¹⁰⁰ See page 23 above.

 <p>UEQ2, pl. 58a</p>			<p>Ka 045 Cat. 3b: ink on earthenware, with northern tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, partly tomb B19, partly between B7 and B10.¹⁰¹ • Excavations by Kaiser and Dreyer, 1980-81 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 70 		<p>Material: earthenware (shards)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>nḥb-mḥw</i> (Provisions from the North)</p>	

¹⁰¹ B7 is attributed to Ka, B19 and B10 to Aha. The distances between B7 and the two other graves are 15 to 20 meters.

Category 3c: ink on earthenware, without visible tax text

- **Area of discovery: south**
- **Closed battlement serekh**
- **n = 4**

(These are all fairly small shards: they may all have had a tax text.)

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 2, 25</p>			<p>Ka 025 Cat. 3c: ink on earthenware, without visible tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 49 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is no tax text visible, but it may have been to the right of the name. • In that case, the southern tax text would be the most likely one (see page 23 above). 			

 <p>Ab. I, pl. 2, 26</p>			<p>Ka 026 Cat. 3c: ink on earthenware, without visible tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 50 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is no tax text visible, but it may have been to the right of the name. • In that case, the southern tax text would be the most likely one (see page 23 above). 			

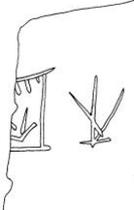
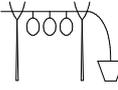
 <p>Ab. I, pl. 3, 34</p>			<p>Ka 034 Cat. 3c: ink on earthenware, without visible tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 58 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is no tax text visible, but it may have been to the left of the name. • In that case, the northern tax text would be the most likely one (see page 23 above). 			

 <p><i>Ab. I, pl. 3, 35</i></p>			<p>Ka 035 Cat. 3c: ink on earthenware, without visible tax text Area of discovery: south Closed battlement serekh</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 59 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is no tax text visible, but it may have been to the right of the name. • In that case, the southern tax text would be the most likely one (see page 23 above). 			

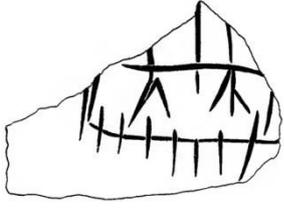
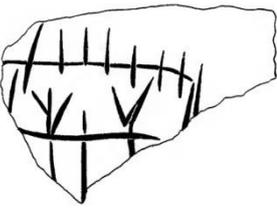
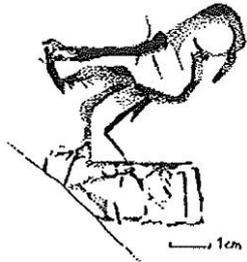
Problematic cases: Group 1

- **Area of discovery: south**
- **n = 5**

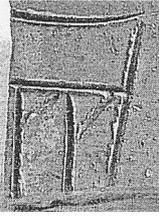
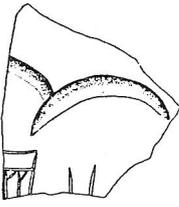
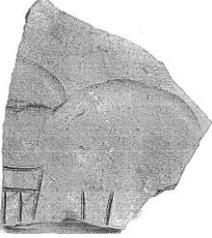
 <p>RT II, pl. 13, "B7"</p>	 <p>UEQ 2, p. 263, 33 vd Brink '01, p. 56, 54</p>		<p>Ka 039 Cat. 2: incised on earthenware, before firing / problematic case Area of discovery: south <i>Not a serekh, possibly the name of king Ka</i></p> <p>Discussed on pages: 11, 14, 14</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7 • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 63 • <i>Van den Brink 2001</i>: fragment 54 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Material: earthenware (shard) • Kaiser: Horizon B 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • My preferred orientation (picture to the left) is based on the assumption that the sign is a <i>k3</i>-sign. Whether the name of king Ka is meant is uncertain. • Here the vertical lines are inside a closed rectangle. This does not agree with the picture of an open or closed battlement serekh. With a closed battlement serekh, we would also expect to see a falcon. • For a palace façade serekh, the vertical lines seem too narrowly spaced. • The arms of the <i>k3</i>-sign are <i>not</i> facing the lines, which is always the case with the open or closed battlement serekh. • The two lines to the side of the <i>k3</i>-sign remind me of a pole or something like that: is this perhaps an image of a shrine, or an enclosure? • All in all, the composition is completely different from the serekhs. • Because it appears to be not a serekh, and the context is unclear, we cannot say for sure whether the <i>k3</i>-sign in this case refers to the name of king Ka. 			

 <p>UEQ2, p. 229</p>	 <p>UEQ2, p. 263, 32</p>	 <p>M 43</p>	<p>Ka 041 Cat. 2: incised on earthenware, before firing / problematic case Area of discovery: south <i>Not a serekh, not the name of king Ka</i></p> <p>Discussed on pages: 7, 22, 25</p>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B7, M108 • Excavations by Kaiser and Dreyer, 1980-81 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 66 • <i>Van den Brink 2001</i>: fragment 52 			 <p>IÄF III, 213 (Adjib)</p>	 <p>IÄF III, 322 (Qaa)</p>	 <p>IÄF III, 748 (Ninetjer)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The left sign reminds me of the hieroglyph M 43: "vine on props". And an image of vines on a wine jar wouldn't be all that strange... • Kahl gives as the earliest appearance of M 43 a seal from the time of Adjib. Under Adjib, Qaa and Ninetjer, M 43 looks different: more stylized (see above). Possibly Ka 041 shows a more naturalistic image of bunches of grapes hanging from an arbor or the like. • The phonetic value of M 43, when used to mean vineyard, is <i>k3n</i>¹⁰². The sign <i>k3</i> (if that's what it really is) within M 43 could then have been added as a phonetic complement. • Sign to the right: if Kaiser is right with the interpretation as <i>mḥw</i>, then an origin could have been written here: "Wine from the vineyard in the North." 					

¹⁰² *Kahl 1994*, p. 580.

 <p>RT II, pl. 13, "B15"</p>	 <p>UEQ2, p. 263, 29 vd Brink '01, p. 54, 50</p>	<p>Ka 044 Cat. 2: incised on earthenware, before firing / problematic case Area of discovery: south <i>Not a serekh, not the name of king Ka</i></p> <p>Discussed on pages: 7, 11</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B15¹⁰³ • Excavations by Petrie, 1899-1900 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 69 • <i>Van den Brink 2001</i>: fragment 50 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Material: earthenware (shard) • Kaiser: Horizon B
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I don't see a <i>k3</i>-sign here. The continuation of the horizontal line beyond the "hands"; one hand with 2 and the other hand with 3 "fingers"; the vertical line between the hands; the exceptional angularity of the whole: none of it fits the picture. • If we want to see a serekh in this, then we have to look at the orientation of Kaiser and Van den Brink (= right). The top vertical lines could then be the lines of an open battlement serekh. But, in comparison with the four certain examples of this type (see page 38 et seq. above), there are two things that are not right: the rounded character of the top of the "façade", and the running down through that top of some " battlements." So like with the "name": it does not fit the pattern. • If Petrie's orientation (= left) is correct, then it could be a picture of birds within an enclosure - perhaps belonging to a temple? 		
 <p>BIFAO 99, p. 451</p>	 <p>v.d. Brink '01, p. 53, Fig. D</p>	<p>Ka 052 Cat. 9: other / problematic case Area of discovery: south <i>Not a serekh, probably not the name of king Ka, ,</i></p> <p>Discussed on pages: 7</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Adaïma, 1040/17.9, AD 98/546. • Excavations by the IFAO at Adaïma, 1998-1999 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle – • <i>Van den Brink 2001</i>: Fig. D (p. 53) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Material: earthenware (shard) • The image is made with charcoal.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This piece does not come from a funerary, but from a habitation context. • Grimal (BIFAO 99, p. 451) speaks of: "la découverte exceptionnelle, cette année, d'un ostracon avec nom d'Horus (nom peu lisible, en cours de détermination: inventaire AD98.546). ("the exceptional discovery, this year, of an ostracon with a Horus name (name difficult to read, being determined: inventory AD98.546)"). • If we want to see a serekh in this, then only a box serekh qualifies. In that case, the rectangle under the bird should be a name box, so it should contain a name. But if there was a writing sign there, then it is by no means certain which sign it was. • The rectangle most closely resembles the image of a brick. • The box serekhs that (possibly) carried a falcon (see page 38 above) had it facing left. The bird in this image faces to the right. • Charcoal is typically an "informal" drawing material. Maybe it's a practice piece. 		

¹⁰³ B15 is, with B10 and B19, one of the three tomb chambers of Aha.

 <p>v.d. Brink 1996, pl. 29b (detail)</p>	 <p>v.d. Brink 1996, p. 145, 16b</p>	 <p>v.d. Brink 1996, pl. 29b</p>	<p>Ka 055 Cat. 2: incised on earthenware, before firing / problematic case Area of discovery: south <i>Anonymous palace façade serekh</i></p> <p>Discussed on pages: 7, 20, 22, 26</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Abydos, tomb B19, reg. nr. M118¹⁰⁴ • Excavations by Kaiser and Dreyer, 1980-81 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: -- • <i>Van den Brink 2001</i>: fragment 53 			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Earthenware: shard • Type Van den Brink: III
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Although this piece is only a shard, both the type of jar and its correct orientation can still be determined by the preserved part of the wavy decoration.¹⁰⁵ • Van den Brink, about this piece: “Ka?” (<i>Van den Brink 2001</i>, p. 91). • In the photo provided by Van den Brink (<i>Van den Brink 1996</i>, pl. 29b) it is clearly visible that the inscription has been made with strong, resolute cuts. The two oblique lines at the top of the two vertical lines in the serekh are quite different: these are very shallow, in fact barely visible, which seems to me to mean that they were not part of the original design, rather they appear to be accidental damage. • If we omit those lines, we get a very recognizable pattern: a serekh without a name. I therefore think that we should classify this piece in the category of the “anonymous serekhs.” • So it is actually not a problematic case: it just does not belong in the collection of Ka pieces. 			

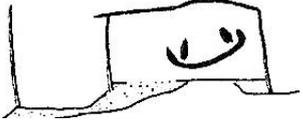
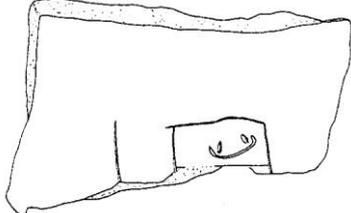
¹⁰⁴ *Van den Brink '96*, p. 157, n. 15: “Unpublished fragment. With kind permission of G. Dreyer.” For B19, see note 101 on page 50 above.

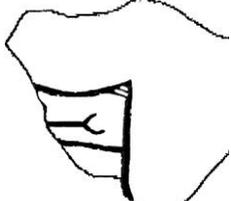
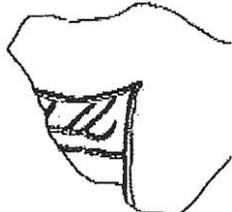
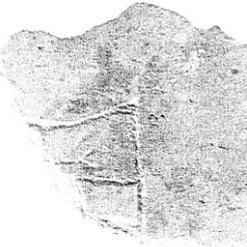
¹⁰⁵ Likewise: Ka 042, see page 38 above.

Problematic cases: Group 2

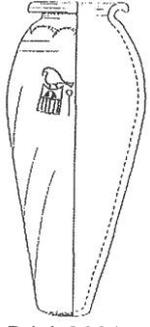
- **Area of discovery: north – with palace façade serekh**
- **n = 4**

For a discussion of this group specifically, see section 2.2.5: “The palace façade serekh” on page 20 above.

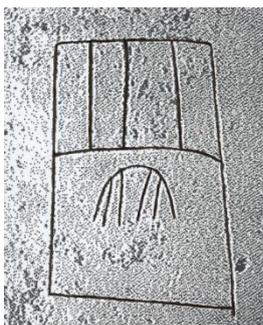
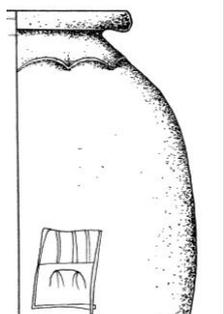
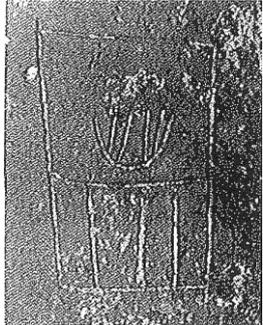
 <p>(Tell Ibrahim Awad, after enhancement, enlarged)</p>	 <p>Tell Ibrahim Awad, p. 52</p>	<p>Ka 051 Cat. 2: incised on earthenware, before firing / problematic case Area of discovery: north <i>Imitation, palace façade serekh (?)</i></p> <p>Discussed on pages: 20, 26</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Tell Ibrahim Awad, B200/160/64 • Excavations by E.C.M. van den Brink, 1988-1990 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: -- • <i>Van den Brink 2001</i>: fragment 48 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The top of the frame around the character is carelessly drawn, and the display of the name is sketchy (compare with the items from category 2, on page 38). • It cannot be a box serekh, because the image originally ran below the bottom horizontal line (see particularly at the right). • So it seems to be intended as a palace facade serekh (see also the next piece). • See further section 2.2.5: <i>The palace façade serekh</i> on page 20 above. 		

 <p>(My drawing after <i>Wine Jars</i>, p. 173)</p>	 <p><i>vd Brink '01</i>, p. 53, 47</p>	 <p><i>Wine Jars</i>, p. 173</p>	<p>Ka 056 Cat. 2: incised on earthenware, before firing / problematic case Area of discovery: north <i>Imitation, palace façade serekh (?)</i></p> <p>Discussed on pages: 7,20, 22</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Tel Lod, 7175/70603 • Excavations by de Israel Antiquities Authority in Tel Lod in 2000, by E. Yannai en O. Marder.¹⁰⁶ • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: -- • <i>Van den Brink 2001</i>: fragment 47 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Material: earthenware (shard). 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Pottery fragment of an imported Egyptian wine jar (...). Partially preserved is a <i>serekh</i>-sign with partial phonogram, incised prior to firing (...). (<i>Wine Jars</i>, p. 173). • It seems to me that Van den Brink wrongly includes some accidental (and very superficial) damage to the shard in his drawing as belonging to the inscription. • The simplified sign as I see it is not entirely convincing as a <i>k3</i>-sign either. • The frame resembles a palace façade serekh without falcon, with concave top. But in the lower part the vertical lines of the palace façade are missing. • See further section 2.2.5: <i>The palace façade serekh</i> on page 20 above. 			

¹⁰⁶ *Wine Jars*, p. 171.

 <p>UEQ2, p. 263, 23 (10° rotated)</p>	 <p>v.d. Brink 2001, p. 52</p>		<p>Ka 049 Cat. 2: incised on earthenware, before firing / problematic case Area of discovery: north <i>Imitation, palace façade serekh</i></p> <p>Discussed on pages: 13,14,20,22,26</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Helwan¹⁰⁷ • From the “Royal excavations” under the direction of Zaki Saad in the area of Helwan, 1943-1944 • Museum: Cairo, EM00-89 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 74 • <i>Van den Brink 2001</i>: jar 28 (intact) 			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Material: earthenware (intact jar) • Type Van den Brink: III • Kaiser: Horizon B
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I have rotated the image from <i>UEQ2</i> 10° to match the position on the jar. • The name is upside down: this reinforces the suspicion that it is an imitation. • See further section 2.2.5: <i>The palace façade serekh</i> on page 20 above. 			

¹⁰⁷ Saad's publication (see the Literature) gives contradictory information about the tomb number from which this piece is said to have originated. The caption to a photo has a different number than the text.

			<p>Ka 053 Cat. 2: incised on earthenware, before firing / problematic case Area of discovery: north <i>Imitation, palace façade serekh, shown upside down (?)</i></p> <p>Discussed on pages: 3, 7, 20, 26</p>
<p>((v.d. Brink '01, p. 52, after enhancement, and rotated 180°)¹⁰⁸</p>	<p>Drawing from the KHD-team¹⁰⁹</p>	<p>v.d. Brink '01, p. 52</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Kafr Hassan Dawood,¹¹⁰ tomb 1008 • Excavations by Fekri A. Hassan at Kafr Hassan Dawood (KHD), from 1995 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: -- • 28 • <i>Van den Brink 2001</i>: jar 27 (intact¹¹¹) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Material: earthenware (intact jar) • Type Van den Brink: III 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • After publication of the original (2014) version of this paper, I received a message from Joris van Wetering, one of the excavators involved in the work done at Kafr Hassan Dawood, that the picture of the serekh in <i>Van den Brink 2001</i> was 180° rotated, and that the image in <i>Hassan 2003</i> is correct.¹¹² • Tomb 1008, where this intact (?) jar was found, was one of the largest and most important protodynastic tombs in KHD.¹¹³ • Accompanying sign (not shown): "A plain circle, about half the size of the serekh itself."¹¹⁴ • See further section 2.2.5: <i>The palace façade serekh</i> on page 20 above. 			

¹⁰⁸ The image processing consisted of an inversion of light and dark, and of enhancing the inscription. The rotation of 180° is based on the drawing, supplied by Joris van Wetering: see the "*Preface to the English translation*" on page 3 above.

¹⁰⁹ Kindly supplied by Joris van Wetering.

¹¹⁰ In the Wadi Tumilat: "a defunct Nile distributary which once served as a corridor between Egypt and Western Asia" (*Hassan 2003*, p. 38). The Wadi Tumilat begins on the eastern side of the Delta, about halfway between Cairo and the Mediterranean Sea, and runs due east to the area of today's Suez Canal.

¹¹¹ Van den Brink categorizes this as an intact jar, but it appears to be only a shard.

¹¹² The accompanying text reads: "...an incised serekh containing the name of King Sekhen (Ka) in the lower compartment" (underlining by me) (*Hassan 2003*, p. 41).

¹¹³ *Hassan 2003*, p. 41.

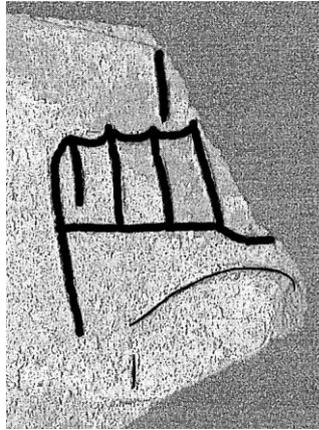
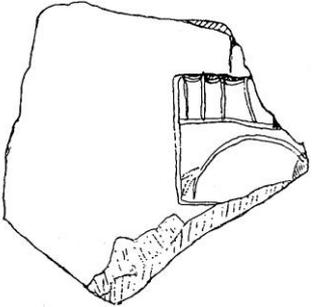
¹¹⁴ *Van den Brink 2001*, p. 52, n. 63.

Problematic cases: Group 3

- **Area of discovery: north or unknown – with closed battlement serekh**
- **n = 4**

 <p><i>UEQ2</i>, p. 263, 24 (40° rotated)</p>	 <p><i>v.d. Brink 1996</i>, p. 146</p>	<p>Ka 048 Cat. 2: incised on earthenware, before firing / problematic case Area of discovery: north <i>Imitation, closed battlement serekh</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Helwan¹¹⁵ • From the “Royal excavations” under the direction of Zaki Saad in the area of Helwan, 1943-1944 • Museum: Cairo, EM00-88 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 73 • <i>Van den Brink 2001</i>: jar 29 (intact) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Material: earthenware (intact jar) • Type Van den Brink: III • Kaiser: Horizon B
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I have rotated the image of <i>UEQ2</i> by 40° to match the angle at which it is on the jar. • It seems certain that the name of king Ka is meant here, but even if I take into account the variability in spelling of different signs in this period, I cannot see an authentic <i>k3</i>-character in this. • Such a drawing could be made by someone who has seen a <i>k3</i>-sign, but does not know what it represents. • Definite examples of the closed battlement serekh only occur in category 3: ink texts on pottery. • This seems to me to be an imitation piece. 		

¹¹⁵ See note 107 on page 58 above.

		<p>Ka 054 Cat. 2: incised on earthenware, before firing / problematic case Area of discovery: unknown (Abydos?) <i>Closed battlement serekh? Imitation?</i></p> <p>Discussed on pages: 7</p>
<p><i>(Enhanced)</i></p>	<p><i>Forgotten serekhs, p. 75, b</i></p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: unknown (Abydos?) • Royal Ontario Museum, ROM 901.8.169 • <i>Kahl 1994: --</i> • <i>Van den Brink 2001: fragment 51</i> 		<p>Material: earthenware (shard)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 2001, Thomas D. Gilroy published an article about a number of "forgotten serekhs" at the Royal Ontario Museum. These previously unpublished serekhs were on pottery shards obtained from the EEF from "a shipment that arrived at the museum in 1907. All of the published marks [from this series] were excavated by W.M.F. Petrie, from the Umm el-Qaab royal cemetery at Abydos, and are included in RT I and RT II." Gilroy therefore assumes that the other pieces, including this one, have the same provenance. The only thing that appears certain, however, is that they came from the EEF. • The sign <i>k3</i>, which looks so clear in the drawing, looks much less so in the photo. The arc and small line in the lower left that Gilroy sees as parts of the name Ka are distinguishable in the photo, but lack the sharpness and depth of the other lines. It seems to me that they are not part of the original design, but are later damages. That would not be strange on a shard like this (see e.g. Ka 055 and Ka 056). • In the photo on the left I've only highlighted in black what I'm sure can be distinguished in the photo. The lines at the bottom, interpreted by Gilroy as a <i>k3</i>-sign, are drawn thinner, in keeping with the superficial character of these lines. • Gilroy notes that the upper vertical line could be a falcon's leg¹¹⁶, but in his drawing this line appears clearly shorter than in the photo. The connection with the "serekh" is also not visible on the photo. When I look at my interpretative drawing, I see no reason to see a falcon's leg in it. • It has something of a closed battlement serekh, but the vertical lines are connected at the top with semicircular, hollow arches: that does not fit the pattern. • Definite examples of the closed battlement serekh only occur in category 3: ink texts on pottery. • The sign <i>k3</i> – if that's what it is – is upside down. • On balance it doesn't look like a serekh, but a (bad) imitation serekh cannot be ruled out. 		

¹¹⁶ *Forgotten serekhs, p. 69.*

 <p><i>Tarkhan I</i>, pl. 31, 67</p>	 <p>UC 16072</p>		<p>Ka 047 Cat. 3b: ink on earthenware, with northern tax text Area of discovery: north <i>Imitation, closed battlement serekh</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: Tarkhan, tomb 261 • Excavations by Petrie, 1911-1912 • Petrie Museum, UC 16072 • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 72 		<p>Material: earthenware (intact jar)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>nḥb-mḥw</i> (Provisions from the North)</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For a brief description of the tomb and its contents, see <i>Tarkhan I</i>, p. 9. • Petrie dates this tomb as: S.D. 78 (<i>Tarkhan I</i>, table, pl. 61). • This piece is a good imitation, but the “floating battlements” show that the maker did not understand the background of this design (see the commentary to the next piece, Ka 050, where the same occurs). 			

 <p><i>IÄF III</i>, 848</p>	 <p><i>IÄF III</i>, 848</p>		<p>Ka 050 Cat. 3b: ink on earthenware, with northern tax text Area of discovery: unknown <i>Imitation, closed battlement serekh</i></p> <p>Discussed on pages: 22, 24</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Location: unknown • Circumstances of discovery: unknown. The piece appears for the first time in a private collection (Kofler-Truniger). • <i>Kahl 1994</i>: Quelle 75 		<p>Material: earthenware (mostly intact jar)</p> <p>Tax text: <i>nḥb-mḥw</i> (Provisions from the North)</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The drawing of this piece looks very careful: no trace of haste or carelessness. • However, there is a lot wrong with the design: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The top of the serekh is emphatically concave. The other examples of the closed battlement serekh (despite some sloppy variants) show that the top of it is supposed to be flat. ○ The n-sign ends on the right with a dash up: this never occurs in authentic texts. ○ At the position where in similar texts there are 3 (sometimes less) horizontal lines, here is something that looks like a fantasy sign.¹¹⁷ ○ And just like with the previous piece (Ka 047), here too “floating battlements.”¹¹⁸ • Precisely because of the careful execution, the conclusion is inescapable: this is an imitation piece. • Kaplony shows a second piece from the Kofler-Truniger collection in <i>IÄF III</i>: his number 849. It is attributed to Aha, but looks even less credible than this piece from “Ka.” • Ka 047 (shown immediately above) may be a sister piece of this one. 			

¹¹⁷ Kaplony interprets this character as N36 (𓏏) and states that it may be used here to mean “nome” (*IÄF II*, note 1600, p. 1001).

¹¹⁸ The occurrence of “floating battlements” on this piece, just like on Ka 047, suggests that both have the same origin, namely Tarkhan.

