

Complete Narmer Inscriptions Bibliography

ADAMS, B.G., 1995. *Ancient Nekhen: Garstang in the city of Hierakonpolis*. Surrey.

ALLAN, S., 2014. One palette, two lands: The myth of the unification of Egypt by the Narmer Palette [in:] *Third Australasian Egyptology Conference. July 16 - 18, 2014. Macquarie University Sydney. Program & Abstracts*. Sydney: 10.

ALTENMÜLLER, H., 1975. Flachbildkunst der Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches [in:] VANDERSLEYEN, C. (ed.), *Das Alte Ägypten*. Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 15. Berlin: 273-292, n° 238-239.

ALTENMÜLLER, H., 2010. Sandalenträger und Pantherfellträger im Gefolge des Königs Narmer. *CCdE*, 13-14: 27-43.

AMELINEAU, E., 1908. *Prolégomènes à l'étude de la religion égyptienne. Essai sur la mythologie de l'Égypte*. 2 vols. Paris.

AMIRAN, R., 1968. Note on one sign in the Narmer palette. *JARCE*, 7: 127.

AMIRAN, R., 1970. A new acquisition – an Egyptian First Dynasty jar. *The Israel Museum News*, 4, 2: 88-94.

AMIRAN, R., 1974. An Egyptian jar fragment with the name of Narmer from Arad. *IEJ*, 24, 1: 4-12.

AMIRAN, R., 1976. The Narmer jar fragment from Arad: An addendum. *IEJ*, 26, 1: 45-46.

AMIRAN, R.; ILAN, O. & ARNON, C., 1983. Excavations at Small Tel Malhata: Three Narmer serekhs. *IMJ*, 2: 75-83.

AMIRAN, R., & VAN DEN BRINK, E.C.M., 2001. The Egyptian pottery from Tel Ma'ahaz, Stratum I [in:] WOLFF, S.E. (ed.), *Studies in the archaeology of Israel and neighboring lands in memory of Douglas L. Esse*. ASOR Books 5. SAOC 59. Chicago: 29-58.

ANDELOVIĆ, B., 1995. *Relations between Early Bronze Age I Canaanites and Upper Egyptians*. Belgrade.

ANDRASSY, P., 1991. Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches [in:] ENDESFELDER, E. (ed.), *Probleme der Frühen Gesellschaftsentwicklung im alten Ägypten*. Berlin: 103-154.

ANSELIN, A., 1996. *La cruche et le tilapia. Une lecture africaine de l'Égypte nagadéenne*. Abymes, Guadeloupe.

ANSELIN, A., 2001a. Les hiéroglyphes de l'architecture et l'histoire de l'Égypte antique (quatrième millénaire avant J.-C.) [in:] CERVELLÓ AUTUORI, J. (ed.), *Africa Antigua. El antiguo Egipto, una civilización africana. Actas de la IX Semana de Estudios Africanos del Centre d'Estudis Africans de Barcelona (18 - 22 de marzo de 1996)*. Aula Aegyptiaca Studia 1. Barcelona: 21-40, 269-272.

ANSELIN, A., 2001b. Notes pour une lecture des inscriptions des Colosses de Min de Coptos. *CCdE*, 2: 115-136.

ANSELIN, A., 2005. La rosette et le scorpion. Essai de lecture des deux sémogrames nagadéens. *Apuntes de Egiptologia*, 1: 15-33.

ARNETT, W.S., 1982. *The Predynastic origins of Egyptian hieroglyphs: Evidence for the development of rudimentary forms of hieroglyphs in Upper Egypt in the fourth millennium B. C.* Washington, D.C.

ASTON, B.; HARRELL, J.A. & SHAW, I., 2000. 2. Stone [in:] NICHOLSON, P.T. & SHAW, I. (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*. Cambridge: 57-58.

AUSTIN, D., 1997. Les nombres en Égypte: approche historique [in:] *La mémoire des nombres. Cherbourg, Université de Caen, 27 - 28 mai 1994*. Paris: 1-22.

BAINES, J., 1975. 'Ankh-sign, belt and penis sheath. *SAK*, 3: 1-24.

BAINES, J., 1985. *Fecundity figures: Egyptian personification and the iconography of a genre*. Warminster.

BAINES, J., 1989. Communication and display: The integration of early Egyptian art and writing. *Antiquity*, 63: 471-482.

BAINES, J., 1995. Origins of Egyptian kingship [in:] O'CONNOR, D. & SILVERMAN, D.P. (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian kingship*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 9. Leiden - New York - Köln: 95-156.

BAINES, J., 1997. Temples as symbols, guarantors, and participants in Egyptian civilization [in:] QUIRKE, S. (ed.), *The temple in ancient Egypt*. London: 216-241.

BAINES, J., 2013. Sources of Egyptian temple cosmology: Divine image, king, and ritual performer [in:] RAGAVAN, D. (ed.), *Heaven on earth. Temples, ritual, and cosmic symbolism in the ancient world. Papers from the Oriental Institute Seminar Heaven on Earth, held at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 2 - 3 March 2012*. Oriental Institute Seminars 9. Chicago: 395-424.

BAINES, J., 2014. Civilizations and empires: A perspective on Erligang from early Egypt [in:] STEINKE, K. & CHING, D.C.Y. (eds.), *Art and archaeology of the Erligang civilization*. Princeton: 99-119.

BAKR, M.I., 1988. The new excavations at Ezbet el-Tell, Kufur Nigm; the first season (1984) [in:] VAN DEN BRINK, E.C.M. (ed.), *The archaeology of the Nile Delta: Problems and priorities. Proceedings of the seminar held in Cairo, 19 - 22 October 1986, on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the Netherlands Institute of Archaeology and Arabic Studies in Cairo*. Amsterdam: 49-62.

BAKR, M.I.; ABD EL-MONEIM, M.A. & SELIM, M.O.M., 1996. Protodynastic excavations at Tell Hassan Dawud (Eastern Delta) [in:] KRZYZANIAK, L.; KROEPER, K. & KOBUSIEWICZ, M. (eds.), *Interregional contacts in the later prehistory of northeastern Africa*. Poznan: 277-278.

BAQUÉ MANZANO, L., 1999. La percepción del mundo natural durante el periodo Predinástico egipcio [in:] AUFRÈRE, S. (ed.), *Encyclopedie religieuse de l'univers végétal. Croyances phytoreligieuses de l'Égypte ancienne*. Montpellier: 37-68.

BAQUÉ-MANZANO, L., 2002. Further arguments on the Coptos colossi. *BIFAO*, 102: 17-61.

BAQUE-MANZANO, L., 2004. *Los colosos del dios Min en el templo de Coptos: Etiología conceptual de una gran figura divina (iconografía, iconología y mitología)*. Thesis Aegyptiaca II. Barcelona.

BARD, K.A., 1992. Origins of Egyptian writing [in:] FRIEDMAN, R. & ADAMS, B. (eds.), *The followers of Horus. Studies dedicated to Michael Allen Hoffman (Festschrift Honoree)*. Oxford: 297-306.

BARTA, W., 1982. Bemerkungen zur Bedeutung der *mr*-Hacke. *GM*, 54: 11-16.

BELOVA, G.A. & SHERKOVA, T.A., 2002. *The ancient Egyptian temple at Tell Ibrahim Awad: Excavations and discoveries in the Nile Delta*. Moscow.

BEN-TOR, D., (ed.), 2016. *Pharaoh in Canaan: the untold story*. Jerusalem.

BESTOCK, L., 2009. The development of royal funerary cult at Abydos: Two funerary enclosures from the reign of Aha. Menes 6. Wiesbaden.

BESTOCK, L., 2018. *Violence and power in ancient Egypt. Image and ideology before the New Kingdom*. Routledge Studies in Egyptology. London - New York.

BETRO, M.C., 2003. Die Ursprünge [in:] BETRO, M.C. (ed.), *Heilige Zeichen. 580 Ägyptische Hieroglyphen. Die ganze Welt der pharaonen wird verständlich und lebendig*. Wiesbaden: 11-18.

BICKEL, S., 2006. Die Verknüpfung von Weltbild und Staatsbild. Aspekte von Politik und Religion in Ägypten [in:] KRATZ, R.G. & SPIECKERMANN, H. (eds.), *Götterbilder, Gottesbilder, Weltbilder. Polytheismus und Monotheismus in der Welt der Antike*. Band I: Ägypten, Mesopotamien, Persien, Kleinasien, Syrien, Palästina. Tübingen: 79-99.

BINOCHE et GIQUELLO. Archéologie: collections de deux grands amateurs : vente, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, mercredi 30 mai 2012 à 14h15. <http://www.binocheetgiquello.com/html/fiche.jsp?id=2404555&np=1&lng=fr&npp=20&ordre=1&aff=2&r=>

BOURRIAU, J.D., 1991. Museum acquisitions, 1989. Egyptian antiquities acquired in 1989 by museums in the United Kingdom. *JEA*, 77: 157-164.

BRANDL, B., 1989. Observations on the Early Bronze Age Strata of Tel Erani [in:] de MIROSCHEDJI, P. (ed.), *L'urbanisation de la Palestine a l'age du Bronze ancien: Bilan et perspectives des recherches actuelles: Actes du Colloque d'Emmaus (20-24 octobre 1986)*. Oxford: 357-388.

BRASS, M., 2003. Tracing the origins of the ancient Egyptian cattle cult [in:] EYMA, A.K. & BENNETT, C.J. (eds.), *A Delta-man in Yebu*. Occasional Volume of the Egyptologists' Electronic Forum 1. Parkland, FL: 101-110.

BRAUN, E., 2009. South Levantine Early Bronze Age chronological correlations with Egypt in light of the Narmer serekhs from Tel Erani and Arad: New interpretations. *BMSAES*, 13: 25-48.

BRAUN, E., 2011. South Levantine Early Bronze Age chronological correlations with Egypt in light of the Narmer serekhs from Tel Erani and Arad: new interpretations [in:] FRIEDMAN, R.F. & FISKE, P.N. (eds.), *Egypt at its origins 3. Proceedings of the third international conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt," London, 27th July - 1st August 2008*. OLA 205. Leuven: 975-1001.

BRAUN, E., & VAN DEN BRINK, E.C.M., 2008. Appraising south Levantine-Egyptian interaction: Recent discoveries from Israel and Egypt [in:] MIDANT-REYNES, B. & TRISTANT, Y. (eds.), ROWLAND, J. & HENDRICKX, S. (ass.), *Egypt at its origins 2. Proceedings of the international conference "Origin of the state. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", Toulouse (France), 5th - 8th September 2005*. OLA 172. Leuven: 643-688.

BRIER, B. & HOBBS, A.H., 1983. The Narmer palette. *PLA Report*, 9: 13-16.

CABIEDAS PEREA, L., 2017. Las paletas predinásticas egipcias como problema histórico [in:] BURGOS BERNAL, L.; PEREZ LARGACHA, A. & VIVAS SAINZ, I. (eds.), *Actas V Congreso Ibérico de Egiptología: Cuenca 9-12 de marzo 2015*. Cuenca: 243-256.

CALMETTES, M.-A., 1998. Les palettes égyptiennes prédynastiques. *Archéologia*, 346: fiches suppl.

CAMPAGNO, M., 1996. Caos y Orden. Acerca de dos paletas del Predinástico Tardío. *Aula Orientalis*, 14: 151-161.

CAMPAGNO, M., 2002. *De los jefes-parientes a los reyes-dioses. Surgimiento y consolidación del Estado en el antiguo Egipto*. Aula Aegyptiaca Studia 3. Barcelona.

CAMPAGNO, M., 2005. Le roi et la naissance de l'état égyptien. *Dossiers d'Archéologie*, 307: 74-81.

CAMPAGNO, M., 2008. Ethnicity and changing relationships between Egyptians and south Levantines during the Early Dynastic Period [in:] MIDANT-REYNES, B. & TRISTANT, Y. (eds.), ROWLAND, J. & HENDRICKX, S. (ass.), *Egypt at its origins 2. Proceedings of the international conference "Origin of the state. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt"*, Toulouse (France), 5th - 8th September 2005. OLA 172. Leuven: 689-705.

CAPART, J., 1901. La fête de frapper les Anou. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 43: 249-274.

CERVELLO AUTUORI, J., 1993. Azaiwo, Afyewo, Asoiwo. Reflexiones sobre la realeza divina africana y los orígenes de la monarquía faraónica. *Aula Orientalis*, 11,1: 5-72.

CERVELLO AUTUORI, J., 1996a. A proposito degli standardi della prima regalità faraonica [in:] BONGIOANNI, A. & COMBA, E. (eds.), *Bestie o Dei ? L'animale nel simbolismo religioso*. Torino: 77-96.

CERVELLO AUTUORI, J., 1996b. *Egipto y África. Origen de la civilización y la monarquía faraónicas en su contexto africano*. Aula Orientalis-Supplementa 13. Sabadell.

CERVELLÓ AUTUORI, J., 2003. Narmer, Menes, and the seals from Abydos [in:] HAWASS, Z. & PINCH BROCK, L. (eds.), *Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first century. Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000*. Vol. 2: *History, religion*. Cairo: 168-175.

CERVELLÓ AUTUORI, J., 2005. Was King Narmer Menes? *Archéo-Nil*, 15: 31-48.

CERVELLÓ AUTUORI, J., 2008. The Thinite "Royal Lists": Typology and meaning [in:] MIDANT-REYNES, B. & TRISTANT, Y. (eds.), ROWLAND, J. & HENDRICKX, S. (ass.), *Egypt at its origins 2. Proceedings of the international conference "Origin of the state. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt"*, Toulouse (France), 5th - 8th September 2005. OLA 172. Leuven: 887-899.

CHADEFAUD, C., 1982. Egypte pharaonique: de l'expression picturale à l'écriture égyptienne [in:] *Ecritures, systèmes idéographiques et pratiques expressives. Act. Coll. Int. Univ. Paris VII, 1980*. Paris: 81-97.

CHOUKRY, A., 1970. *Egyptian painting and sculpture. Predynastic and Early Dynastic periods*. Brochures culturelles du C.E.D.A.E. Le Caire.

CHRISTIE'S, 2003. *Antiquities, Thursday 11 December 2003*. London.

CIAŁOWICZ, K.M., 1987. *Les têtes de massues des périodes prédynastique et archaïque dans la Vallée du Nil*. Cracow.

CIAŁOWICZ, K.M., 1993. [*La symbolique de représentations du souverain égyptien à l'époque prédynastique.*] [Polish] Uniwersytet Jagiellonski. Rozprawy habilitacyjne UJ nr 258. Krakow.

CIAŁOWICZ, K.M., 1996. [Symbolism of representation of the Egyptian ruler on the turn of the IV/III Mill. BC.] [Polish.] *Sprawozdania z Posiedzen Komisji Naukowych PAN, Oddzial w Krakowie* 40,1: 42-44.

CIAŁOWICZ, K.M., 2000. The first kings of Egypt [in:] ŚLIWA, J.; CIAŁOWICZ, K.M. & OSTROWSKI, J.A. (eds.), *Civilisations du Bassin Méditerranéen: Hommages à Joachim Śliwa*. Cracovie: 61-70.

CIAŁOWICZ, K.M., 2001a. Ceremonial mace heads [in:] REDFORD, D.B. (ed.), *The Oxford encyclopedia of ancient Egypt*. Vol. 1: A-F. Oxford: 256-258.

CIAŁOWICZ, K.M., 2001b. *La naissance d'un royaume: L'Égypte dès la période prédynastique à la fin de la Ière dynastie*. Kraków.

CIAŁOWICZ, K.M., 2011. The Predynastic/Early Dynastic Period at Tell el-Farkha [in:] TEETER, E. (ed.), *Before the pyramids. The origins of Egyptian civilization*. OIMP 33. Chicago: 55-64.

D'ACONIT, G., 1934. *Notes d'archéologie égyptienne*. Cercle Historique et Archéologique de Courtrai. Mémoires. Nouvelle série 13: 45-141.

DARNELL, J.C., 2011. The wadi of the Horus Qa-a: A tableau of royal ritual power in the Theban western desert [in:] FRIEDMAN, R.F. & FISKE, P.N. (eds.), *Egypt at its origins 3. Proceedings of the third international conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt," London, 27th July - 1st August 2008*. OLA 205. Leuven: 1151-1193.

DARNELL, J.C., 2015. The early hieroglyphic annotation in the Nag el-Hamdulab rock art tableaux, and the Following of Horus in the northwest hinterland of Aswan. *Archéo-Nil*, 25: 19-43.

DARNELL, J.C. & DARNELL, D. 1997. Theban Desert Road Survey [in:] SUMNER, W.M. (ed.), *The Oriental Institute Annual Report, 1996-1997*. Chicago: 66-76.

DAUMAS, F. 1965. Le pays et les origins. L'aube Thinite [in:] DAUMAS, F. (ed.), *La civilisation de l'Égypte pharaonique*. Paris: 27-69.

DAVIES, W.V. & FRIEDMAN, R.F., 1998. The Narmer Palette: A forgotten member. *Nekhen News*, 10: 22.

DAVIES, W.V. & FRIEDMAN, R.F., 2002. The Narmer Palette: An overlooked detail [in:] ELDAMATY, M. & TRAD, M. (eds.), *Egyptian museum collections around the world*. Vol. 1. Cairo: 243-246.

DAVIS, W.M., 1986a. *The canonical tradition in ancient Egyptian art*. Dissertation Abstracts International. Section A. The Humanities and Social Sciences 47, 3: 689.

DAVIS, W.M., 1986b. *The canonical tradition in ancient Egyptian art*. Ph.D. thesis. Harvard University. Cambridge, MA.

DAVIS, W.M., 1989. *The canonical tradition in ancient Egyptian art*. Cambridge Studies in New Art History and Criticism. Cambridge. DAVIS, W.M., 1992. *Masking the blow. The scene of representation in late prehistoric Egyptian art*. Berkeley - Los Angeles.

DAVIS, W.M., 1993. Narrativity and the Narmer Palette [in:] HOLLIDAY, P.J. (ed.), *Narrative and event in ancient art*. New York: 14-54.

DAVIS, W.M., 1996. Narrativity and the Narmer Palette [in:] DAVIS, W.M. (ed.), *Replications. Archaeology, art history, psychoanalysis*. University Park, Pennsylvania: 199-231.

DEAN, D.R., 2004. The Narmer palette, again. *KMT*, 15,2: 6.

DĘBOWSKA-LUDWIN, J., 2012. The cemetery [in:] CHŁODNICKI, M., CIAŁOWICZ, K. M., & MACZYŃSKA, A., (eds), *Tell el-Farkha I: excavations 1998-2011*. Poznań-Kraków: 53-75.

DE CREE, F.-J. 1991. 'Mutatis Mutandis': Egyptian relations with Palestine in the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age I-IV. *GM*, 124: 21-42.

DEGREMONT, A., 2009. Aux origines de l'écriture [in:] BOZET, N. (ed.), *Aux origines de pharaon: Exposition conçue par le Musée des Tumulus de Bougon, revue et présentée par le Musée du Malgré-Tout de Treignes*. Guides archéologiques du Malgré-Tout. Treignes: 70-83.

DELANGE, E., 2000. Le couteau dit "du Djebel el-Arak". *Dossiers de l'Archéologie*, 257: 52-59.

DE MIROSCHEDEJI, P. 2000. La Palestine, Gaza et l'Égypte au Bronze ancien [in:] HUMBERT, J.-B. (ed.), *Gaza Méditerranéenne: Histoire et archéologie en Palestine*. Paris: 27-31.

DE MIROSCHEDEJI, P. & SADEK, M., 2000. Tell es-Sakan, un site du Bronze ancien découvert dans la région de Gaza. *Comptes rendus des seances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1: 123-144.

DE MIROSCHEDEJI, P. & SADEK, M., 2001. Gaza et l'Égypte de l'époque prédynastique à l'Ancien Empire: Premiers résultats des fouilles de Tell es-Sakan. *Bulletin de la société française d'égyptologie*, 152: 28-52.

DE MIROSCHEDEJI, P. & SADEQ, M., 2005. The frontier of Egypt in the Early Bronze Age: Preliminary soundings at Tell al-Sakan (Gaza Strip) [in:] CLARKE, J. (ed.) *Archaeological perspectives on the transmission and transformation of culture in the eastern Mediterranean*. Oxford: 155-169.

DE MIROSCHEDEJI, P.; SADEQ, M.; FALTINGS, D.; BOULEZ, V.; NAGGIAR-MOLINER, L.; SYKES, N. & TENGBERG, M., 2001. Les fouilles de Tell es-Sakan (Gaza): Nouvelles données sur les contacts Égypto-Cananéens aux IVe-IIIe millénaires. *Paléorient*, 27,2: 75-104.

DE TRAFFORD, A., 2007. The palace façade motif and the Pyramid Texts as cosmic boundaries in Unis's pyramid chambers. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 17: 271-283.

DÍAZ BLANCO, A., 2016. Iconografía y prácticas funerarias del predinástico Egipcio: ¿Adoración y culto hacia animales sagrados? *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Egiptología*, 25: 165-195.

DONADONI, S., 1985. I nemici decapitati della tavolozza di Narmer [in:] LIVERANI, M.; PALMIERI, A. & PERONI, R. (eds.), *Studi di paletnologia in onore di Salvatore M. Puglisi*. Roma: 501-502.

DREYER, G. 1982. III. Die Feunde [in:] KAISER & DREYER, Umm el-Qaab: Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof, 2. Vorbericht. *MDAIK*, 38: 226-231.

DREYER, G., 1987. Ein Siegel der frühzeitlichen Königsnekropole von Abydos. *MDAIK*, 43: 33-44.

DREYER, G., 1992. Horus Krokodil, ein Gegenkönig der Dynasty 0 [in:] FRIEDMAN, R. & ADAMS, B.G. (eds.), *The followers of Horus: Studies dedicated to Michael Allen Hoffman, 1944-1990*. Oxford: 259-264.

DREYER, G., 1995. Die Datierung der Min-Statuen aus Koptos [in:] STADELMANN, R. & SOUROUZIAN, H. (eds.), *Kunst des Alten Reiches: Symposium im Deutschen Archäologischen Institute Kairo am 29. und 30. Oktober 1991*. SDAIK 28. Mainz am Rhein: 49-56.

DREYER, G., 1998. *Umm El-Qaab I: Das prädynastische Königsgrab U-j und seine frühen Schriftzeugnisse*. AV 86. Mainz am Rhein.

DREYER, G., 1999. Ein Gefäß mit Ritzmarke des Narmer. *MDAIK*, 55: 1-6.

DREYER, G., 2000. Egypt's earliest historical event. *Egyptian Archaeology*, 16: 6-7.

DREYER, G., 2003a. Frühe Schriftzeugnisse aus Ägypten [in:] SEIPEL, W. (ed.), *Der Turmbau zu Babel. Ursprung und Vielfalt von Sprache und Schrift*. Band IIIA: *Schrift*. Wien – Milano: 123-126.

DREYER, G., 2003b. No. 3.2.8: Tongefäß mit Tintenaufschrift des Narmer [in:] SEIPEL, W. (ed.), *Der Turmbau zu Babel. Ursprung und Vielfalt von Sprache und Schrift*. Band IIIB: *Katalog*. Wien – Milano: 101-103.

DREYER, G., 2005. Narmerpalette und Städtepalette die Unterwerfung des Deltas [in:] DAOU, K.; BEDIER, S. & ABD EL-FATAH, S. (eds.), *Studies in honor of Ali Radwan*. Suppl. ASAE 34,1. Cairo: 253-261.

DREYER, G., 2007a. Wer war Menes? [in:] HAWASS, Z. & RICHARDS, J. (eds.), *The archaeology and art of ancient Egypt*. Vol. 1. CASAE 36. Cairo: 221-30.

DREYER, G., 2007b. Frühe Schriftzeugnisse [in:] DREYER, G. & POLZ, D. (eds.), *Begegnung mit der Vergangenheit: 100 Jahre in Ägypten: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo 1907-2007*. Mainz am Rhein: 211-217.

DREYER, G., 2013. Narmer [in:] BAGNALL, R.S.; BRODERSEN, K.; CHAMPION, C.B.; ERSKINE, A.; HUEBNER, S.R. (eds.), *The encyclopedia of ancient history*. Vol. 8. West Sussex: 4698–4699.

DREYER, G., 2016. Dekorierete Kisten aus dem Grab des Narmer. *MDAIK*, 70-71: 91-104.

DREYER, G.; ENGEL, E.-M.; HARTUNG, U.; HIKADE, T.; KÖHLER, E.C. & PUMPENMEIER, F., 1996. Umm el-Qaab: Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof, 7./8. Vorbericht. *MDAIK*, 52: 13-81.

DREYER, G.; HARTMANN, R.; HARTUNG, U.; HIKADE, T.; KÖPP, H.; LACHER, C.; MÜLLER, V.; NERLICH, A. & ZINK, A., 2003. Umm el-Qaab: Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof, 13./14./15. Vorbericht. *MDAIK*, 59: 67-138.

DREYER, G.; HARTUNG, U.; HIKADE, T.; KÖHLER, E.C.; MÜLLER, V. & PUMPENMEIER, F., 1998. Umm el-Qaab: Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof, 9./10. Vorbericht. *MDAIK*, 54: 77-167.

DREYER, G.; HARTUNG, U. & PUMPENMEIER, F., 1993. Umm el-Qaab: Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof, 5./6. Vorbericht. *MDAIK*, 49: 23-62.

DREYER, G.; VON DEN DRIESCH, A.; ENGEL, E.-M.; HARTMANN, R.; HARTUNG, U.; HIKADE, T.; MÜLLER, V. & PETERS, J., 2000. Umm el-Qaab: Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof, 11./12. Vorbericht. *MDAIK*, 56: 43-129.

DREYER, G. & ZIEGLER, C., 2002. L'époque prédynastique [in:] ZIEGLER, C. (ed.), *Les pharaons*. Milano: 18-27.

DROUZ, X., 2005-2007. Une représentation de prisonniers décapités en provenance de Hiérakonpolis. *BSEG*, 27: 33-42.

DUNHAM, D., 1978. *Zawiyet el-Aryan: The cemeteries adjacent to the Layer Pyramid*. Boston.

EL-AWADY, T., 2008. Boat graves in the Old Kingdom royal funerary complexes [in:] HAWASS, Z.; DAUD, K. & ABD EL-FATAH, S. (eds.), *The realm of the pharaohs. Essays in honor of Tohfa Handoussa*. CASAE, 37. Cairo: 177-200.

ELKINS, J., 1993. Before theory. *Art History*, 16: 647-653.

EL-SHAHAWY, A., 2005. The Predynastic period. The Archaic period [in:] EL-SHAHAWY, A. (ed.), *The Egyptian museum in Cairo. A walk through the alleys of ancient Egypt*. Cairo: 11-31.

EMERY, W.B., 1961. *Archaic Egypt*. Baltimore.

ENDESFELDER, E., 1991. Die Formierung der altägyptischen Klassengesellschaft. Probleme und Beobachtungen [in:] ENDESFELDER, E. (ed.), *Probleme der frühen Gesellschaftsentwicklung im Alten Ägypten*. Berlin: 5-61.

ENDESFELDER, E., 1994. Götter, Herrscher, König. Zur Rolle der Ideologie bei der Formierung des ägyptischen Königtums [in:] GUNDLACH, R. & ROCHHOLZ, M. (ed.), *Ägyptische Tempel. Struktur, Funktion und Programm*. HÄB 37. Hildesheim: 47-54.

EONE, M., 2014. La peau de félin dans les cultures africaines - quelques points de comparaison avec l'Égypte antique. *CCdE*, 18: 119-126.

ERTMAN, E.L., 2012. Details of muzzles and forelegs of bulls on Egyptian Predynastic palettes & use of similar forms in Mesopotamia. *KMT*, 23,3: 69-73.

ETIENNE, M., 1999. A propos des représentations d'enceintes crénelées sur les palettes de l'époque de Nagada III. *Archéo-Nil*, 9: 149-163.

FAIRSERVIS, W.A., 1991. A revised view of the Na'rmr palette. *JARCE*, 28: 1-20.

FAVARD-MEEKS, C., 1992. Face et profil dans l'iconographie égyptienne. *OLP*, 23: 15-36.

FISCHER, H.G., 1958. A fragment of late Predynastic Egyptian relief from the Eastern Delta. *Artibus Asiae*, 21: 64-88.

FISCHER, H.G., 1963. Varia Aegyptiaca. *JARCE*, 2: 15-51.

FISCHER, H.G., 1990. The origin of Egyptian hieroglyphs [in:] SENNER, W.M. (ed.), *The origins of writing*. Lincoln, Nebraska: 59-76.

FORBES, D.C., 2001. The Narmer palette. One of the great monuments of the Early Dynastic period. *KMT*, 12,3: 82-83.

FOUCART, G., 1901. Les deux rois inconnus d'Hierakonpolis. *CRAIBL*, 45e année, n. 2: 228-252.

FRIEDMAN, F.D., 1995. The underground relief panels of king Djoser at the Step Pyramid complex. *JARCE*, 32: 1-42.

FRIEDMAN, F.D., 1996. Notions of cosmos in the Step Pyramid complex [in:] DER MANUELIAN, P. (ed.), *Studies in honor of William Kelly Simpson*. Vol. I. Boston: 337-351.

FRIEDMAN, R.F., 2003. Deciphering the Narmer palette. *Archaeology*, 56,6: 52-53.

FRIEDMAN, R.F., & HENDRICKX, S., DARNELL, J.C. (contr.), 2002. Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 2 [in:] DARNELL, J.C. & DARNELL, D. (eds.) *Theban Desert Road Survey in the Egyptian Western Desert*. Vol. I: *Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 1-45 and Wadi El-Hôl Rock Inscriptions 1-45*. OIP 119. Chicago: 19-24.

GABALLA, G.A., 1976. The Predynastic and Early Dynastic periods [in:] GABALLA, G.A. (ed.), *Narrative in Egyptian art*. Mainz am Rhein: 9-20.

GALASSI, G., 1942. *Tehenu e le origini mediterranea della civiltà egizia*. Roma.

GARDINER, A.H., 1915. The nature and development of the Egyptian hieroglyphic writing. *JEA*, 2: 61-75.

GARSTANG, J., 1905. The tablet of Mena. *ZÄS*, 42: 61-64.

GARSTANG, J., 1907. Excavations at Hierakonpolis, at Esna, and in Nubia. *ASAE*, 8: 132-148.

GATTO, M.C., 2012. Interviewed [in :] PAPPAS, S., Oldest pharaoh carvings, rediscovered in Egypt, may be from reign of Narmer. *Huffington Post*, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/12/10/oldest-pharaoh-carvings_n_2271909.html. December 10, 2012.

GAUTIER, P. & MIDANT-REYNES, B., 1995. La tête de massue du roi Scorpion. *Archéo-Nil*, 5: 87-127.

GERMOND, P., 2004. De l'observation naturaliste à la représentation imagée: Les deux "poissons de la renaissance", symboles de vie et de régénération. *BSEG*, 26: 27-41.

GIDDY, L., 1996. Digging Diary 1995-1996. *Egyptian Archaeology*, 9: 27-30.

GILBERT, G.P., 2004. *Weapons, warriors and warfare in early Egypt*. BAR Int. ser. 1208. Oxford.

GILROY, T.D., 2000. "Forgotten" serekhs in the Royal Ontario Museum. *GM*, 180: 67-76.

GILROY, T.D.; ADAMS, B.G.; HENDRICKX, S. & VAN DEN BRINK, E.C.M., 2001. A checklist of sherds with potmarks from Petrie's excavations in the royal necropolis at Umm el-Ga'ab, Abydos. *GM*, 182: 31-58.

- GODRON, G., 1949. À propos du nom royal [hieroglyphs]. *ASAE*, 49: 217-221.
- GODRON, G., 1957. Notes d'épigraphie thinite. *ASAE*, 54: 194-195.
- GODRON, G., 1991. Recherches sur l'époque thinite. *BiOr*, 48: 13-24.
- GOEDICKE, H., 1993. The seal of the necropolis. *SAK*, 20: 67-80.
- GOLDWASSER, O., 1992. The Narmer palette and the "triumph of metaphor". *Lingua Aegyptia*, 2: 67-85.
- GOLDWASSER, O., 1995. The taming of metaphor - A study on some scenes of the Narmer Palette [in:] GOLDWASSER, O. (ed.), *From icon to metaphor. Studies in semiotics of the hieroglyphs*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 142. Fribourg - Göttingen: 3-25.
- GOPHNA, R., 1970. A Protodynastic Egyptian jar from Rafia. *Haaretz Museum Bulletin*, 12: 53-54.
- GOPHNA, R. 1987. Egyptian trading posts in southern Canaan at the dawn of the Archaic period. [in:] RAINEY, A.F. (ed.), *Egypt, Israel, Sinai: Archaeological and historical relationships in the Biblical period*. Tel Aviv: 13-22.
- GOPHNA, R., 1995. *Excavations at 'En Besor*. Tel Aviv.
- GORDON, A.H. & SCHWABE, C.W., 2004. *The quick and the death. Biomedical theory in ancient Egypt*. Egyptological Memoirs 4. Leiden - Boston.
- GOSLINE, S.L., 1999. Palettes as early evidence of Egyptian writing. *GM*, 169: 65-72.
- GRAFF, G., 2013. Signifying without writing: Graphic systems before the emergence of writing in Predynastic Egypt. *CCdE*, 17: 31-53.
- GRAJETZKI, W., 2006. Tarkhan, Tomb 412. *CCdE*, 9: 59-68.
- GRIMM, A., 1998. No. 187 [in:] DONADONI ROVERI, A.M. & TIRADRITTI, F. (eds.), *Kemet: Alle sorgenti del tempo*. Milano: 226-227.
- GRIMM, A. & SCHOSKE, S., 2000. *Am Beginn der Zeit: Ägypten in der Vor- und Frühzeit*. München.
- GROENEWEGEN-FRANKFORT, H.A., 1951. Egyptian art. The Pre- and Proto-Historic period [in:] GROENEWEGEN-FRANKFORT, H.A. (ed.), *Arrest and movement, an essay on space and time in the representational art of the ancient Near East*. London - Chicago: 15-27.

GULAINÉ, K. & ZAMMIT, J., 2001. Quand l'histoire débute dans le sang [in:] GULAINÉ, K. & ZAMMIT, J. (ed.), *Le sentier de la guerre. Visages de la violence préhistorique*. Paris: 13-18.

GUNDLACH, R., 1994. *Die Zwangsumsiedlung auswärtiger Bevölkerung als Mittel ägyptischer Politik bis zum Ende des mittleren Reiches*. Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei. Band XXVI. Stuttgart.

GUNDLACH, R., 1998. *Der Pharaoh und sein Staat. Die Grundlegung der ägyptischen Königsideologie im 4. und 3. Jahrtausend*. Darmstadt.

HALL, E.S., 1986. Archaic period (3000-2670 B.C.) [in:] HALL, E.S. (ed.), *The pharaoh smites his enemies. A comparative study*. MÄS 44. München - Berlin: 4-7.

HAMBLIN, W.J., 2006. Pre-Dynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt (3500-2687) [in:] HAMBLIN, W.J. (ed.), *Warfare in the ancient Near East to 1600 BC: Holy warriors at the dawn of history*. London: 308-327.

HARRINGTON, N., 2006. MacGregor man and the development of anthropomorphic figures in the late Predynastic period [in:] KROEPER, K.; CHŁODNICKI, M. & KOBUSIEWICZ, M. (eds.), *Archaeology of early northeastern Africa. In memory of Lech Krzyżaniak*. Poznań: 659-670.

HART, G., 1991. Dawn: The emergence of the pharaonic realm [in:] HART, G. (ed.), *Royal persons. Patriarchal monarchy and the feminine principle*. London: 26-68.

HARTWIG, M., 2008. Between Predynastic palettes and Dynastic relief: The case of Cairo JE 46148 & BMA 66.175 [in:] ENGEL, E.-M.; MÜLLER, V. & HARTUNG, U. (eds.), *Zeichen aus dem Sand. Streiflichter aus Ägyptens Geschichte zu Ehren von Günter Dreyer*. Menes 5. Wiesbaden: 195-209.

HARVEY, S.P., 1997. Vase inscribed with the name of Narmer. [in:] SILVERMAN, D.P. (ed.), *Searching for Ancient Egypt: Art, architecture, and artifacts from the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology*. Dallas: 92-93.

HASSAN, F.A., 2000. Kafr Hasan Dawood. *Egyptian Archaeology*, 16: 37-39.

HASSAN, F.A.; TASSIE, G.J.; TUCKER, T.L. & ROWLAND, J.M., 2003. Social dynamics at the late Predynastic to early dynastic site of Kafr Hassan Dawood, East Delta, Egypt. *Archéo-Nil*, 13: 37-46.

HEAGY, T.C., 2014. Who was Menes? *Archéo-Nil*, 24: 59-92.

HELCK, W., 1953. Gab es einen König Menes? *ZDMG*, 103, n.s. 28: 354-359.

HELCK, W., 1982. Narmer [in:] HELCK, W. & OTTO, E. (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. Vol. 4: *Megiddo-Pyramiden*. Wiesbaden: 348-350.

- HELCK, W., 1984. Schamane und Zauberer [in:] *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub*. Montpellier: 103-108.
- HELCK, W., 1986. Thinitenzeit [in:] HELCK, W. & OTTO, E. (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. Vol. 6: *Stele-Zypresse*. Wiesbaden: 486-493.
- HELCK, W., 1987. *Untersuchungen zur Thinitenzeit*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 45. Wiesbaden.
- HELMS, S. & BETTS, A., 1987. The desert "kites" of the Badiyat Esh-Sham and North Arabia. *Paléorient*, 13: 41-67.
- HENDRICKX, S., 1995. *Analytical bibliography of the Prehistory and the Early Dynastic Period of Egypt and Northern Sudan*. Leuven.
- HENDRICKX, S., 1996. The relative chronology of the Naqada Culture: Problems and possibilities [in:] SPENCER, A.J. (ed.), *Aspects of early Egypt*. London: 36-69.
- HENDRICKX, S., 1996-2015. Bibliography of the Prehistory and the Early Dynastic Period of Egypt and Northern Sudan (Addition). *Archéo-Nil*, 6-25.
- HENDRICKX, S., 1998. Peaux d'animaux comme symboles prédynastiques. A propos de quelques représentations sur les vases White Cross-lined. *CdE*, 73: 203-230.
- HENDRICKX, S., 2001. Arguments for an Upper Egyptian origin of the palace-facade and the serekh during late Predynastic - Early Dynastic times. *GM*, 184: 85-110.
- HENDRICKX, S., 2006. The dog, the *Lycaon pictus* and order over chaos in Predynastic Egypt [in:] KROEPER, K.; CHŁODNICKI, M. & KOBUSIEWICZ, M. (eds.), *Archaeology of early northeastern Africa. In memory of Lech Krzyżaniak*. Poznan: 723-749.
- HENDRICKX, S., 2016. Nag el-Hamdulab au seuil de la Ire dynastie. *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie*, 195-196: 47-65.
- HENDRICKX, S.; DE MEYER, M. & EYCKERMAN, M., 2014. On the origin of the royal false beard and its bovine symbolism [in:] JUCHA, M.; DĘBOWSKA-LUDWIN, J. & KOŁODZIEJCZYK, P. (eds.), *Aegyptus est imago caeli. Studies presented to Krzysztof M. Ciałowicz on his 60th birthday*. Krakow: 129-143.
- HENDRICKX, S., & EYCKERMAN, M., 2012. Visual representation and state development in Egypt. *Archéo-Nil*, 22: 23-72.
- HENDRICKX, S. & FÖRSTER, F., 2010. Early Dynastic art and iconography [in:] LLOYD, A.B. (ed.), *A companion to ancient Egypt*. Vol. II. Chichester: 826-852.

- HENDRICKX, S. & GATTO, M.C., 2009. A rediscovered late Predynastic-Early Dynastic royal scene from Gharb Aswan (Upper Egypt). *Sahara*, 20: 147-150.
- HENDRICKX, S.; SWELIM, N.; RAFFAELE, F.; EYCKERMAN, M. & FRIENDMAN, R.F., 2009. A lost Late Predynastic-Early Dynastic royal scene from Gharb Awan. *Archéo-Nil*, 19: 169-178.
- HENDRICKX, S.; DARNELL, J.C. & GATTO, M.C., 2012. The earliest representation of royal power in Egypt: the rock drawings of Nag el-Hamdulab (Aswan). *Antiquity*, 86: 1068-1083.
- HERTZ, A., 1929. Le nom de njswt de l'Horus Nar-mr. *REA*, 2 : 128-129.
- HERTZ, A., 1931. La Haute et la Basse-Égypte à la fin des temps préhistoriques. *REA*, 3: 81-96.
- HOOKE, S.H., 1958. Recording and writing. Egyptian hieroglyphic [in:] SINGER, S.; HOLMYARD, E.J. & HALL, A.R. (ed.), *A history of technology*. Oxford: 752-757.
- HOPE, C.A., 2007. Egypt and 'Libya' to the end of the Old Kingdom: A view from Dakhleh Oasis [in:] HAWASS, Z. & RICHARDS, J. (eds.), *The archaeology and art of ancient Egypt: Essays in honour of David B. O'Connor, vol. 1*. SASAE 36. Cairo: 399-415.
- HORNUNG, E., 1966. Vom Geschichtsbild der alten Ägypter [in:] HORNUNG, E. (ed.), *Geschichte als Fest. Zwei Vorträge zum Geschichtsbild der Frühen Menschheit*. Darmstadt: 9-29.
- HORNUNG, E., 1971. Die Anfänge [in:] HORNUNG, E. (ed.), *Der Eine und die Vielen*. Darmstadt: 91-101.
- HORNUNG, E., 1989. Geschichte als Fest [in:] HORNUNG, E. (ed.), *Geist der Pharaonenzeit*. Zürich - München: 147-163.
- HÖVELER-MÜLLER, M., 2008. Die Entwicklung der Reliefkunst bis zum Beginn des Alten Reiches. *Kemet*, 17,1: 23-25.
- HSU, S.-W., 2017. Captured, defeated, tied and fallen: Images of enemies in ancient Egypt. *GM*, 252: 71-87.
- IKRAM, S. & ROSSI, C., 2004. A new Early Dynastic serekh from the Kharga Oasis. *JEA*, 90: 211-215.
- ILAN, O., 2002. Egyptian pottery from Small Tel Malhata and the interrelations between the Egyptian 'colony' in southwest Palestine and the 'Canaanite' Arad basin and central highlands [in:] VAN DEN BRINK, E.C.M., & LEVY, T.E. (eds.), *Egypt and the Levant. Interrelations from the 4th through the early 3rd Millennium B.C.E.* London - New York: 306-322.
- IVERSEN, E., 1975. *Canon and proportions in Egyptian art*. 2nd. rev. ed. London.

JÉQUIER, G. "Du Tombeau de Négadah." [in:] DE MORGAN, J. (ed.), *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte. Vol. 2 : Ethnographie préhistorique et tombeau royal de Négadah*. Paris.

JENSEN, V., 2017. Predynastic precursors to the festival of drunkenness: Beer, climate change, cow-goddesses, and the ideology of kingship [in:] ROSATI, G. & GUIDOTTI, M.C. (eds.), *Proceedings of the XI International Congress of Egyptologists. Florence Egyptian Museum, Florence, 23-30 August 2015*. Archaeopress Egyptology 19. Oxford: 296-302.

JESE, F., 1958. Rapport sur les recherches relatives à quelques figurations du sacrifice humain dans l'Égypte pharaonique. *JNES*, 17: 194-203.

JIMÉNEZ-SERRANO, A., 2002. *Royal festivals in the late Predynastic period and the First Dynasty*. Oxford.

JIMÉNEZ-SERRANO, A., 2003. Chronology and local traditions: The representation of power and the royal name in the late Predynastic Period. *Archéo-Nil*, 13: 93-142.

JIMÉNEZ-SERRANO, A., 2007. *Los primeros reyes y la unificación de Egipto*. Jaén.

JIMÉNEZ-SERRANO, A., 2008. The origin of the state and the unification: Two different concepts in the same context [in:] MIDANT-REYNES, B. & TRISTANT, Y. (eds.), *Egypt at its origins 2. Proceedings of the international conference "Origin of the state. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", Toulouse (France), 5th - 8th September 2005*. OLA 172. Leuven: 1119-1137.

JUCHA, M.A., 2010a. The early Egyptian rulers in the Nile Delta: A view from the necropolis at Tell el-Farkha [in:] HUDECZ, A. & PETRIK, M. (eds.), *Commerce and economy in ancient Egypt. Proceedings of the Third International Congress for Young Egyptologists, 25 - 27 September 2009, Budapest*. BAR Int. ser. 2131. Oxford: 81-87.

JUCHA, M.A., 2010b (2008). Pottery from the graves [in:] CHŁODNICKI, M. & CIAŁOWICZ, K.M., Polish Excavations at Tell el-Farkha (Ghazala) in the Nile Delta. Preliminary report 2006-2007. *Archeologia*, LIX: 132-135.

JUCHA, M.A., 2012a. New Protodynastic serekhs from the Nile Delta: The case of finds from Tell el-Farkha. *PAM*, 21, Research 2009: 625-641.

JUCHA, M.A., 2012b. Pottery from the cemetery [in:] CHŁODNICKI, M., CIAŁOWICZ, K. M., & MACZYŃSKA, A., (eds), *Tell el-Farkha I: excavations 1998-2011*. Poznań-Kraków: 77-86.

JUNKER, H., 1912. *Bericht über die Grabungen der Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf dem Friedhof in Turah: Winter 1909-1910*. Wien.

KAHL, J., 1994. *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglypheninschrift in der 0.-3. Dynastie*. Göttinger Orientforschungen IV. Reihe, Ägypten 29. Wiesbaden.

KAHL, J., 2001. Hieroglyphic writing during the Fourth Millennium BC: An analysis of systems. *Archéo-Nil*, 11: 103-135.

KAHL, J., 2006. Dynasties 0-2 [in:] HORNING, E., KRAUSS, R.K. & WARBURTON, D.A. (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian chronology*. Handbuch der Orientalistik, Section 1: The Near and Middle East 83. Leiden: 94-115.

KAISER, W., 1964. Einige Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Frühzeit. III. *ZÄS*, 91: 86-125.

KAISER, W., 1982. VII. Zur Reihe der gesamtägyptischen Könige vor Aha [in:] KAISER & DREYER, Umm el-Qaab: Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof, 2. Vorbericht. *MDAIK*, 38: 260-269.

KAISER, W., 1983. Zu den [hieroglyphs] der älteren Bilddarstellungen und der Bedeutung von rpw.t. *MDAIK*, 39: 261-296.

KAISER, W., 1987. Zum Siegel mit frühen Königsnamen von Umm el-Qaab. *MDAIK*, 43: 115-120.

KAISER, W. & DREYER, G., 1982. Umm el-Qaab: Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof, 2. Vorbericht. *MDAIK*, 38: 211-270.

KAPLONY, P., 1958. Zu den beiden Harpunenzeichen der Narmerpalette. *ZÄS*, 83: 76-78.

KAPLONY, P., 1963. *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*. ÄA 8. 3 vols. Wiesbaden.

KAPLONY, P., 1964. *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit: Supplement*. ÄA 9. Wiesbaden.

KAPLONY, P., 1965a. Bemerkungen zu einigen Steingefäßen mit archaischen Königsnamen. *MDAIK*, 20: 1-46.

KAPLONY, P., 1965b. Eine Schminkepalette von König Skorpion aus Abu Umuri (Untersuchung zur ältesten Horustitulatur). *Orientalia*, 34: 132-167.

KAPLONY, P., 1966. *Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*. ÄA 15. Wiesbaden.

KAPLONY, P., 1968. *Steingefäße mit Inschriften der Frühzeit und des Alten Reichs*. MONA 1. Bruxelles.

KAPLONY, P., 1973. *Beschriftete Kleinfunde in der Sammlung Georges Michaeilidis ergebnisse einer Bestandsaufnahme im Sommer 1968*. Publications de l'Institut Historique-Archéologique Néerlandaise de Stamboul 32. Istanbul.

KAPLONY, P., 2002a. The Bet Yerah jar inscription and the annals of king Dewen - Dewen as 'King Narmer Redivivus' [in:] VAN DEN BRINK, E.C.M., & LEVY, T.E. (eds.), *Egypt and the Levant. Interrelations from the 4th through the early 3rd Millennium B.C.E.* London - New York: 464-486.

KAPLONY, P., 2002b. The 'En Besor seal impressions: revised [in:] Brink, E.C.M. van den & Levy, T.E. (eds.), *Egypt and the Levant: interrelations from the 4th through the early 3rd millennium BCE*. London; New York: 487-498.

KAZIMIERCZAK, M., 2016. The pottery from the Early Dynastic cemetery at Tell el-Murra [in:] KAJZER, M; ŁUKASZ, M.; & WACŁAWIK, M (eds.), *Land of fertility I: South-east Mediterranean since the Bronze Age to the Muslim conquest*. Cambridge (UK): 3-20.

KEES, H.A., 1957. Archaisches [hieroglyphs] = [hieroglyphs] 'Erzieher'? *ZÄS*, 82: 58-62.

KEIMER, M.L., 1926. Bemerkungen zur Schiefertafel von Hierakonpolis. *Aegyptus*, 7: 169-188.

KEIMER, M.L., 1929. Bemerkungen und Lese Früchte zur Altägyptischen Naturgeschichte. III. Zum Ausdruck [hieroglyphs] *Kêmi*, 2: 94-100.

KELDER, J., 2013. Narmer, Scorpion and the representation of the early Egyptian court. *Origini*, 35: 143-156.

KEMP, B., 2000. The colossi from the early shrine at Coptos in Egypt. *CAJ*, 10, 2: 211-242.

KIELLAND, E.C., 1955. *Geometry in Egyptian art*. London.

KINNAER, J., 2004. What is really known about the Narmer palette? *KMT*, 15,1: 48-54.

KLEMM, R. & KLEMM, D.D., 1993. *Steine und Steinbrüche im Alten Ägypten*. Berlin.

KÖHLER, E.C., 1998. *Tell el-Fara'in - Buto III: Die Keramik von der späten Naqada-Kultur bis zum frühen Alten Reich (Schichten III bis IV)*. AV 94. Mainz am Rhein.

KÖHLER, E.C., 1999. Re-assessment of a cylinder seal from Helwan. *GM*, 168: 49-56.

KÖHLER, E.C., 2002. History or ideology? New reflections on the Narmer palette and the nature of foreign relations in Pre- and Early Dynastic Egypt [in:] VAN DEN BRINK, E.C.M., & LEVY, T.E. (eds.), *Egypt and the Levant. Interrelations from the 4th through the early 3rd Millennium B.C.E.* London - New York: 499-513.

KÖHLER, E.C., 2013. Early Dynastic Egyptian chronologies [in:] SHORTLAND, ANDREW J., & BRONK RAMSEY, C. (eds.), *Radiocarbon and the chronologies of ancient Egypt*. Oxford: 224-234.

KÖHLER, E.C.; BIRRELL, M.; CASEY, I.V.; HIKADE, T.; SMYTHE, J. & ST. CLAIR, B., 2005. *Helwan I. Excavations in the Early Dynastic cemetery season 1997/1998*. SAGA 24. Heidelberg.

KÖHLER, E.C. & VAN DEN BRINK, E.C.M., 2002. Four jars with incised serekh-signs from Helwan recently retrieved from the Cairo Museum. *GM* 187: 59-75.

KRAUB, R., 1994. Bemerkungen zum Narmer-Pavian (Berlin 22607) und seiner Inschrift. *MDAIK*, 50: 223-230.

KRAUB, R., 2018. Die Narmer-Palette und die Amarna-Stele Berlin 20716 als Flachbilder im Fingerbreiten-Mass [in:] BLÖBAUM, A.I.; EATON-KRAUSS, M. & WÜTHRICH, A. (eds.), *Pérégrinations avec Erhart Graefe. Festschrift zu seinem 75. Geburtstag*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 87. Münster: 285-296.

KROEPER, K., 1986-1987. The ceramic of the Pre/Early Dynastic cemetery of Minshat Abu Omar. *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar*, 8: 73-94.

KROEPER, K., 1988. The excavations of the Munich East-Delta Expedition in Minshat Abu Omar [in:] VAN DEN BRINK, E.C.M. (ed.), *The archaeology of the Nile Delta: Problems and priorities. Proceedings of the seminar held in Cairo, 19 - 22 October 1986, on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the Netherlands Institute of Archaeology and Arabic Studies in Cairo*. Amsterdam: 11-46.

KROEPER, K., & WILDUNG, D., 1994. *Minshat Abu Omar: Ein vor- und frühgeschichtliche Friedhof im Nildelta I: Graber 1-114*. Mainz am Rhein.

KUHN, R., 2011. Überlegungen zur Herkunft und Bedeutung eines Mischwesens in der formativen Phase des alten Ägypten [in:] MORENZ, L.D. & KUHN, R. (eds.), *Vorspann oder formative Phase? Ägypten und der Vordere Orient 3500-2700 v. Chr.* Philippika 48. Wiesbaden: 163-186.

KUHN, R., 2012. Palette [in:] BAGNALL, R.S.; BRODERSEN, K.; CHAMPION, C.B.; ERSKINE, A. & HUEBNER, S.R. (eds.), *The encyclopedia of ancient history*. Chichester: 5007-5009.

KUHN, R., 2013. Prunk-Schminkpaletten aus der formativen Phase Altägyptens. Überlegungen zur Einteilung und Deutung einer Fundkategorie. *Das Altertum*, 58: 115-150.

KÜHN, T., 1994. Die Vereinigung der beiden Länder. Die Siegespalette des Narmer. *Kemet*, 3,2: 17-18.

LACAU, J.P. & LAUER, P., 1959. *La Pyramide à degrés. Vol. 4 : Inscriptions gravées sur les vases*. Excavations at Saqqara/Fouilles à Saqqarah 18. Cairo.

LALOUETTE, C., 1992. Aux origines de l'art égyptien. Les premiers bas-reliefs. Naissance de la statuaire [in:] LALOUETTE, C. (ed.), *L'art et la vie dans l'égypte pharaonique. Peintures et sculptures*. Paris: 101-124.

LANGHE, K. & HIRMER, M., 1967. Thinitenzeit [in:] LANGHE, K. & HIRMER, M. (eds.), *Ägypten. Architektur, Plastik, Malerei in drei Jahrtausenden*. 4th ed., rev. and enl. München: 45-48.

LECLANT, J. & CLERC, G., 1986. Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1984-1985. *Orientalia*, 55: 236-319.

LEVY, T.E.; VAN DEN BRINK, E.C.M.; GOREN, Y. & ALON, D., 1995. New light on king Narmer and the Protodynastic Egyptian presence in Canaan. *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 58,1: 26-35.

LEVY, T.E.; VAN DEN BRINK, E.C.M.; GOREN, Y. & ALON, D., 1997. Egyptian-Canaanite interaction at Nahal Tillah, Israel (ca. 4500-3000 B.C.E.): An interim report on the 1994-1995 excavations. *BASOR*, 307: 1-51.

LEVY, T.E.; ALON, D.; VAN DEN BRINK, E.C.M.; KANSA, E.C. & AND YEKUTIELI, Y., 2001. The Protodynastic/Dynasty 1 Egyptian presence in southern Canaan: A preliminary report on the 1994 excavations at Nahal Tillah, Israel [in:] Wolff, S.R. (ed.), *Studies in the Archaeology of Israel and Neighboring Lands in Memory of Douglas L. Esse*. SAOC 59. Chicago: 411-445.

LIPINSKA, J., 1980. Considerations on the origin of monumental architecture in Egypt. *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 41,2: 61-65.

LOGAN, T.J., 1999. Royal iconography of Dynasty 0 [in:] TEETER, E. & LARSON, J. (eds.), *Gold of praise: Studies on ancient Egypt in honor of Edward F. Wentz*. SAOC 58. Chicago: 261-276.

LÓPEZ MARTINEZ, J.J., 2017. La unificación de Egipto: Una aproximación desde la arqueología [in:] ASOCIACIÓN JÓVENES INVESTIGADORES EN ARQUEOLOGÍA. EXCAVEMOS, *Jornadas de jóvenes investigadores en arqueología*. Libro II: n° 15-37. Madrid.

LOUD, G., 1948. *Megiddo II: seasons of 1935-39*. 2 vols. Oriental Institute Publications 62. Chicago.

LUISELLI, M.M., 2011. The ancient Egyptian scene of 'Pharaoh smiting his enemies': An attempt to visualize cultural memory? [in:] BOMMAS, M. (ed.), *Cultural memory and identity in ancient societies*. London - New York: 10-25.

MACARTHUR, E.V., 2010. The pots and people of Tarkhan. *CCdE*, 13/14: 73-98.

MACARTHUR, E.V., 2011. In search of the sdm=f: The conception and development of hieroglyphic writing through the reign of Aha [in:] FRIEDMAN, R.F. & FISKE, P.N. (eds.), *Egypt at its origins 3. Proceedings of the third international conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt," London, 27th July - 1st August 2008*. OLA 205. Leuven: 1195-1216.

MÁLEK, J., 2003. Predynastic period. Dynasty 0. 1st Dynasty. 2nd Dynasty [in:] MÁLEK, J. (ed.), *Egypt. 4000 years of art*. New York: 14-39.

MÁLEK, J. & FORMAN, W., 1986. *In the shadow of the pyramids: Egypt during the Old Kingdom*. Norman, OK.

MARK, S., 1998. *From Egypt to Mesopotamia. A study of Predynastic trade routes*. London.

MARTIN, G.T., 2011. *Umm el-Qaab VII: Private stelae of the Early Dynastic period from the royal cemetery at Abydos*. AV 123. Wiesbaden.

MASTENBROEK, O., 1976. Schminkpaletten. II. De grote paletten. *De Ibis*, 1: 31-35.

MASTENBROEK, O., 1985. Predynastieke knotshoofden. *De Ibis*, 10: 21-29.

MAWDSLEY, L., 2012. It really is Aha: Re-examining an Early Dynastic ink inscription from Tarkhan [in:] KNOBLAUCH, C.M., & GILL, J.C. (eds.), *Egyptology in Australia and New Zealand 2009. Proceedings of the conference held in Melbourne, September 4th - 6th*. BAR Int. ser. 2355. Oxford: 115-123.

MAYDANA, S.F., 2018. Los animales-símbolos en el Egipto Predinástico y su interpretación [in:] AMES, C.; SAGRISTANI, M.; MORENO, A. & MORENO LEONI, Á.M. (eds.), *Estudios interdisciplinarios de historia antiqua V*. Cordoba: 136-144.

MCNAMARA, L., 2008. The revetted mound at Hierakonpolis and early kingship: A re-interpretation [in:] MIDANT-REYNES, B. & TRISTANT, Y. (eds.), *Egypt at its origins 2. Proceedings of the international conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", Toulouse (France), 5th - 8th September 2005*. OLA 172. Leuven: 901-936.

MELTZER, E.S., 1970. An observation on the hieroglyph *mr*. *JEA*, 56: 193-194.

MELTZER, E.S., 2001-2002. Reaction to Narmer was Menes. *KMT*, 12,4: 3-4.

MENU, B., 1997. L'émergence et la symbolique du pouvoir pharaonique, de la palette de Narmer aux textes des pyramides. *Méditerranées*, 13: 29-40.

MENU, B., 1998. Le corpus constitutionnel de Narmer. *Egypte, Afrique & Orient*, 8: 22-27.

MENU, B., 2001a. Economy: An overview [in:] REDFORD, D.B. (ed.), *The Oxford encyclopedia of ancient Egypt*. Vol. I. Oxford: 422-426.

MENU, B., 2001b. Introduction à l'analyse institutionnelle du régime pharaonique: Maât, la Référence. *Droit et Cultures*, 42,2: 127-145.

MENU, B., 2003a. La mise en place des structures étatiques dans l'Égypte du IV^e millénaire. *BIFAO*, 103: 307-326.

MENU, B., 2003b. Le faucon et le triangle. Politique et environnement dans l'Égypte du 4^e millénaire [in:] GRIMAL, N.; KAMEL, A. & MAY-SHEIKHOESLAMI, C. (eds.), *Hommages Fayza Haikal*. BdE 138. Le Caire: 195-207.

MENU, B., 2004. La formation de l'état [in:] MENU, B. (ed.), *Egypte pharaonique. Nouvelles recherches sur l'histoire juridique économique et sociale de l'ancienne Égypte*. Paris: 17-84.

MENU, B., 2005. Maât, la référence du régime pharaonique [in:] MENU, B. (ed.), *Maât. L'ordre juste du monde*. Paris: 14-27.

MEYER, K.-H., 1974. Kanon, Komposition und "Metrik" der Narmer-Palette. *SAK*, 1: 247-265.

MIDANT-REYNES, B., 2003. *Aux origines de l'Égypte. Du Néolithique à l'émergence de l'Etat*. Paris.

MIDANT-REYNES, B., 2004. La Préhistoire de l'Égypte et l'émergence de la royauté [in:] ZIEGLER, C. (ed.), *Pharaon. Exposition présentée à l'Institut du monde arabe à Paris, du 15 octobre 2004 au 10 avril 2005*. Paris: 18-25.

MILLET, N., 1990. The Narmer macehead and related objects. *JARCE*, 27: 53-59.

MILLET, N., 1991. Figures for "The Narmer macehead and related objects" (from *JARCE*, XXVII). *JARCE*, 28: 223-225.

MITTMANN, S., 1981. Frühägyptische Siegelinschriften und ein *srh*-Emblem des Horus-*ḥ3* aus dem nördlichen Negeb. *Eretz Israel*, 15: 1-9.

MOFTAH, R., 1987. Frühgeschichtliche Anschaulichkeit und Onomasticon. *ASAE*, 66: 125-146.

MONNET-SALEH, J., 1986. Interprétation globale des documents concernant l'unification de l'Égypte. *BIFAO*, 86: 227-238.

MONNET-SALEH, J., 1990. Interprétation globale des documents concernant l'unification de l'Égypte (suite). *BIFAO*, 90: 259-279.

MONNIER, F., 2014. Une iconographie égyptienne de l'architecture défensive. *ENiM*, 7: 173-219.

MORENZ, L.D., 2002a. Die Standarten des Königsgleits. Repräsentanten von Abydos und Hierakonpolis als den beiden herrscherlichen Residenzen? *SAK*, 30: 277-283.

MORENZ, L.D., 2002b. Gegner des Nar-mer aus dem Papyrus-Land: NW und W3-S. *GM*, 189: 81-88.

MORENZ, L.D., 2003. Frühe Schrift und hohe Kultur im Alten Ägypten: Aspekte von Ideologie auf Beischriften der Nar-mer-Palette. *Orientalia*, 72: 183-193.

MORENZ, L.D., 2004. *Bild-Buchstaben und symbolische Zeichen. Die Herausbildung der Schrift in der hohen Kultur Altägyptens*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 205. Fribourg – Göttingen.

MORENZ, L.D., 2005. Genese und Verwendungskontext archaischer Prunk-Objekten aus Ägypten. *GM*, 206: 49-59.

MORENZ, L.D., 2009. Ereignis Reichseinigung und der Fall Buto. Inszenierungen von Deutungshoheit der Sieger und - verlorene - Perspektiven der Verlierer [in:] FITZENREITER, M. (ed.), *Das Ereignis. Geschichtsschreibung zwischen Vorfall und Befund*. IBAES 10. Berlin - London: 199-209.

MORRIS, E.F., 2013. Propaganda and performance at the dawn of the state [in:] HILL, J.A.; JONES, P. & MORALES, A.J. (eds.), *Experiencing power, generating authority. Cosmos, politics, and the ideology of kingship in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia*. Philadelphia: 33-64.

MORRIS, E.F., 2014. (Un)dying loyalty: Meditations on retainer sacrifice in ancient Egypt and elsewhere [in:] CAMPBELL, R. (ed.), *Violence and civilization. Studies of social violence in history and prehistory*. Oxford: 61-93.

MURRAY, M.A., 1930. Proto-Dynastic period [in:] MURRAY, M.A. (ed.), *Egyptian sculpture*. London: 29-44.

MÜLLER, M.S., 1997. Die Entwicklung der Reliefkunst in der 3. Dynastie. *Kemet*, 6,2: 30-33.

MÜLLER, M.S., 2001. Der lange Weg zur Einheit. *Kemet*, 10,4: 17-21.

NAKANO, T., 2000. An undiscovered representation of Egyptian kingship? The diamond motif on kings' belts. *Orient*, 35: 23-34.

NAVAJAS JIMÉNEZ, A.I., 2011. The Predynastic Bos primigenius as a royal image of territory, boundaries and power in an African context [in:] EXELL, K. (ed.), *Egypt in its African context. Proceedings of the conference held at the Manchester Museum, University of Manchester, 2 – 4 October 2009*. BAR Int. ser. 2204. Oxford: 30-42.

NEUREITER, S., 2005. Schamanismus im Alten Ägypten. *SAK*, 33: 281-330.

NEWBERRY, P.E., 1908. The petty-kingdom of the Harpoon and Egypt's earliest Mediterranean port. *LAAA*, 1: 17-22.

NEWBERRY, P.E., 1912. The wooden and ivory labels of the First Dynasty. *Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology*, 34: 279-289.

NEWBERRY, P.E. 1929. Menes – The founder of the Egyptian Monarchy [in:] WINFRED, B. (ed.), *Great ones of ancient Egypt*. London. 35-53.

NIBBI, A., 1986. The lapwing as the symbol for the western foreigner in ancient Egypt [in:] NIBBI, A. (ed.), *Lapwings and Libyans in ancient Egypt*. Oxford: 7-47.

NIBBI, A., 2003. Some remarks on the ancient Egyptian shield. *ZÄS*, 130: 170-181.

NISSIRE, M., 2010. A propos de l'iconographie de la palette de Narmer. *i-Medjat*, 4: 14-15.

O'CONNOR, D., 2002. Context, function and program. Understanding ceremonial slate palettes. *JARCE*, 39: 5-25.

O'CONNOR, D., 2004. Narmer's enigmatic palette. What does it tell us about Egypt's first kings? *Archaeology Odyssey*, 7,5: 16-52.

O'CONNOR, D., 2011. The Narmer palette: A new interpretation [in:] TEETER, E. (ed.), *Before the pyramids. The origins of Egyptian civilization*. OIMP 33. Chicago: 145-152.

OGDON, J.R., 1982. Observations on some priestly titles of the Old Kingdom. *JSSEA*, 12,2: 87-90.

OGDON, J.R., 1983. Studies in Archaic epigraphy. VI. A note on ... and *GM*, 67: 65-69.

OREKHOV, R.A., 1999. [Solar and astral aspects of Hathor's image (from the early iconography and the Pyramid Texts).] [Russian] [in:] *Ancient Egypt: Language - Culture - Consciousness. Moskow, 12 - 13 March 1998*. Moskow: 177-184, 297.

PAPPAS, S., 2012. Oldest pharaoh carvings, rediscovered in Egypt, may be from reign of Narmer (interview of M.C. Gatto). *Huffington Post*, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/12/10/oldest-pharaoh-carvings_n_2271909.html. December 10, 2012.

PARK, R., 1998. A tale of two brothers and the pomegranate. *DE*, 42: 121-129.

PARK, R., 2010. King Narmer's catfish, a biological battery. *Ancient Egypt*, 11,1: 34-38.

PARTRIDGE, R.B., 2002. *Fighting pharaohs. Weapons and warfare in ancient Egypt*. Manchester.

PATCH, D.C. 1995. A "Lower Egyptian" costume: Its origins, development and meaning. *JARCE*, 32: 93-116.

PATCH, D.C., 2012. *Dawn of Egyptian art*. New York.

PÄTZNICK, J.-P. 2009. Encore et toujours l'Horus « Nâr-mer » ? Vers une nouvelle approche de la lecture et de l'interprétation de ce nom d'Horus. *Cahiers Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne*, 2: 307-324.

PEDEN, A.J., 2001. The graffiti of pharaonic Egypt: Scope and roles of informal writings (c. 3100-332 B.C.). *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 17. Leiden; Boston.

PEDEN, A. J., 2002. Review of: DARNELL, JOHN COLEMAN. Theban Desert Road Survey in the Egyptian Western Desert, vol. 1: Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 1-45 and Wadi el-Hol Rock Inscriptions 1-45. Oriental Institute Publications, 119. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2002. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 124, no. 1: 139-140.

PEREZ LARGACHA, A., 1992. La paleta de Narmer [in:] PEREZ LARGACHA, A. (ed.), *De Narmer a Ciro*. Aegyptiaca Complutensia 1. Alcala de Henares: 27-37.

PEREZ LARGACHA, A., 1993. *El nacimiento del estado en Egipto*. Aegyptiaca Complutensia 2. Alcala de Henares.

PEREZ LARGACHA, A., 2000. La legitimacion del poder a través del arte predinastico [in:] MOLINERO POLO, M.A. & SOLA ANTEQUERA, D. (eds.), *Arte y sociedad del Egipto antiguo*. Madrid: 139-155.

PEREZ LARGACHA, A., 2012. La paleta de Narmer y el vaso Uruk. Ejemplos de la memoria cultural en los procesos formativos del estado en Egipto y Uruk. *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Egiptología*, 21: 53-68.

PETRIE, W. M.F., 1896. *Koptos*. London.

PETRIE, W.M.F., 1900. *Royal tombs of the First Dynasty*. Part 1. EEF 18. London.

PETRIE, W.M.F., 1901. *Royal tombs of earliest Dynasties*. Part 2. EEF 21. London.

PETRIE, W.M.F., 1902. *Abydos*. Part 1. EEF 22. London.

PETRIE, W.M.F., 1903. *Abydos*. Part 2. EEF 24. London.

PETRIE, W.M.F., 1914. *Tarkhan II*. BSAE 26. London.

PETRIE, W.M.F., 1923. *A history of Egypt I: From the earliest kings to the XVIth Dynasty*. London.

PETRIE, W.M.F., 1925. *Tombs of the courtiers and Oxyrhynchos*. BSAE 37. London.

PETRIE, W.M.F., 1953. Ceremonial slate palettes. BSAE 66 (A). London.

PETRIE, W.M.F.; WAINWRIGHT, G. & GARDINER, A.H., 1913. *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*. BSAE 23. London.

PHILLIPS, J.P., 2002. In the beginning [in:] PHILLIPS, J.P. (ed.), *The columns of Egypt*. Manchester: 27-36.

PIQUETTE, K.E., 2017. The work of art: Reconstructing the chaînes opératoires of ceremonial palette carving with the aid of RTI [in:] *Origins 6 International conference on Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt. Vienna, September 2017. Abstract book*. Vienna: 40-41.

PODGORSKI, T., 1992. Some remarks on the evolution of royal triumphal dress [in:] SLIWA, J. (ed.), *Studies in ancient art and civilization 2*. Prace archeologiczne 51. Krakow: 27-34.

- POMERANTSEVA, N.A., 1991. The geometrical basis of proportional canon in ancient Egyptian art. *DE*, 20: 45-70.
- QUACK, J.F., 1989. Die Datierung der Siegelabdrucke von Tel En Beor. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 105: 18-26.
- QUIBELL, J.E., 1898. Slate palette from Hierakonpolis. *ZÄS*, 36: 81-84.
- QUIBELL, J.E., 1900. *Hierakonpolis*. Vol. 1. *Plates of discoveries in 1898*. BSAE 4. London.
- QUIBELL, J.E., and GREEN, F.W., 1902. *Hierakonpolis*. Vol. 2. BSAE 5. London.
- RAFFAELE, F., 2003. Dynasty 0. [in:] BICKEL, S. & LOPRIENO, A. (eds.), *Basel Egyptology Prize: Junior research in Egyptian history, archaeology, and philology*. *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 17. Basel: 99-144.
- RAFFAELE, F.,
'Dynasty 0 'Serekhs'. <http://xoomer.virgilio.it/francescoraf/hesyra/Dyn0serekhs.htm>. Accessed August 15, 2017.
- RANKE, H., 1925. Eine Bemerkung zur "Narmer"-Palette. *Studia Orientalia*, 1: 167-175.
- RANKE, H., 1950. *Chefs-d'oeuvre de l'art égyptien*. Bâle: n° 1-7.
- RATHKE-KONRAD, K., 1995. Schminkpaletten. *Kemet*, 4,4: 61-62.
- REGULSKI, I. 2010. *A Palaeographic Study of Early Writing in Egypt*. OLA 195. Leuven.
- REGULSKI, I., Database of Early Dynastic inscriptions. <https://www4.ivv1.uni-muenster.de/litw3/Aegyptologie/index06.htm>
- RICE., M., 1990. *Egypt's making*. London and New York.
- RIDLY, R.T., 1973. *The unification of Egypt, as seen through a study of the major knife-handles, palettes and mace heads*. Deception Bay.
- ROIK, E., 1993. Frühzeit: Narmerpalette. Thinitenzeit: Bisherige Bearbeitungen der Königsfigur auf der Narmerpalette. Das Nbj-Mass im Proportionskanon auf der Narmerpalette [in:] ROIK, E. (ed.), *Das Langenmasssystem im Alten Ägypten*. Hamburg: 148-160.
- ROSSI, A., 2017. The origin of technical drawing in the Narmer palette. *Nexus Network Journal*, 19: 27-43.
- ROUSSEAU, J., 1993. La conception de la palette de Narmer. *Archéo-Nil*, 5: 3-18.

ROUSSEAU, J., 1994. Les tombes de la préhistoire [in:] ROUSSEAU, J. (ed.), *Mastabas et pyramides d’Egypte ou la mort dénombrée*. Paris: 15-50.

ROUSSEAU, J., 1997. Analyse dimensionnelle de monuments de l’Egypte pré- et protohistorique. *DE*, 38: 83-95.

ROUSSEAU-LIESENS, A., 1967. La palette de Narmer et la pierre de Palerme [in:] ROUSSEAU-LIESENS, A. (ed.), *Les deux Mycènes et le Nil. Supplément*. Bruxelles: 196-208.

RUMMEL, U., 2004. Gewandschliesse oder Schreibgerät? Zu einem ikonographischen Element des Panterfellumhangs in den Darstellungen der Frühzeit. *GM*, 201: 79-86.

RUMMEL, U., 2007. Das Pantherfell als Kleidungsstück im Kult. Bedeutung, Symbolehalt und theologische Verortung einer magischen Insignie. *Imago Aegypti*, 2: 109-152.

RUSSMANN, E.R., 1987. (Letter to the editor). *Scientific American*, 257, 5: 3.

SAAD, Z.Y., 1947. *Royal excavations at Saqqara and Helwan (1941-1945)*. SASAE 3. Le Caire.

SAAD, Z.Y., 1969. *The excavations at Helwan: Art and civilization in the First and Second Egyptian Dynasties*. Norman.

SCHARFF, A., 1929. *Die Altertümer der Vor- und Frühzeit Ägyptens*. Band II: *Bestattung, Kunst, Amulette und Schmuck, Geräte zur Körperpflege, Spiel- und Schreibgeräte, Schnitzereien aus Holz und Elfenbein, Verschiedenes*. MÄS 5. Berlin.

SCHLOTT, A., 1989. Wozu die Ägypter eine Schrift brauchten. Die Zeit um 3000 v. Chr [in:] SCHLOTT, A. (ed.), *Schrift und Schreiber im Alten Ägypten*. München: 95-118.

SCHMIDT, F.A., 1954. Die Anfänge des alten Ägypten. 2. Die Denkmäler des Könige von Hierakonpolis. *Vorzeit-Forschung*, 4: 8-12.

SCHMIDT, F.A., 1955a. Die Anfänge des alten Ägypten. 2. Die Denkmäler des Könige von Hierakonpolis. *Vorzeit-Forschung*, 4: 1-3.

SCHMIDT, F.A., 1955b. Die Anfänge des alten Ägypten. 2. Die Denkmäler des Könige von Hierakonpolis. *Vorzeit-Forschung*, 5: 1-6.

SCHMIDT, F.A., 1955c. Die Anfänge des alten Ägypten. 2. Die Denkmäler des Könige von Hierakonpolis. *Vorzeit-Forschung*, 6/7: 2-3.

SCHNEIDER, T., 1997. Das Schriftzeichen “Rosette” und die Göttin Seschat. *SAK*, 24: 241-267.

SCHOTT, S., 1950. Die Vertreibung der Libyer und der Ursprung der ägyptischen Kultur [in:] JENSEN, A.E. (ed.), *Mythe, Mensch und Umwelt*. Paideuma 4. Bamberg: 139-148.

SCHOTT, S., 1951. *Hieroglyphen, Untersuchungen zum Ursprung der Schrift*. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jg. 1950, Nr. 24. Wiesbaden.

SCHOTT, S., 1959. Das Schriftsystem und seine Durchbildung [in:] KEES, H. (ed.), *Ägyptische Schrift und Sprache*. Handbuch der Orientalistik. Erste Abt. Erster Band. Erster Absch. Leiden: 22-31.

SCHOTT, E., 1969. Die Sockelinschrift des Narmeraffen. *RdÉ*, 21: 77-83.

SCHULMAN, A.R., 1976. The Egyptian seal impressions from 'En Besor. *'Atiqot*, 11: 16-26.

SCHULMAN, A.R., 1988. The unification: A revisionist view [in:] CHERIF, A. (ed.), *Résumés des communications. Congrès International d'Égyptologie (Cinquième)*. Le Caire: 245.

SCHULMAN, A.R., 1989. At the fringe: The historiography and historicity of the relations of Egypt and Canaan in the Early Bronze Age I [in:] DE MIROSCHEDJI, P.R. (ed.), *L'urbanisation de la Palestine à l'âge du bronze ancien*. BAR Int. ser. 527. Oxford: 433-453.

SCHULMAN, A.R., 1991-1992. Narmer and the unification: A revisionist view. *BES*, 11: 79-105.

SCHULMAN, A.R., 1992. Still More Egyptian Seal Impressions from 'En Besor [in:] VAN DEN BRINK, E.C.M. (ed.), *The Nile Delta in transition: 4th - 3rd Millennium B.C.: Proceedings of the seminar held in Cairo, 21-24 October 1990*. Tel Aviv: 395-418.

SCHULMAN, A.R. & GOPHNA, R., 1981. An archaic Egyptian serekh from Tel Ma'ahaz. *IEJ*, 31: 165-167.

SCHULZ, S. & SEIDEL, M., 1997. *Ägypten: Die Welt der Pharaonen*. Köln.

SEGER, J.D., BAUM, B., BOROWSKI, O., COLE, D.P., FORSHEY, H., FUTATO, E., JACOBS, P.F., LAUSTRUP, M., O'CONNOR-SEGER, P., & ZEDER, M., 1990. The Bronze Age settlements at Tell Halif: Phase II excavations, 1983-1987. *BASOR Supplement* 26. Baltimore: 1-32.

SEIPEL, W., 1992. Die Voraussetzungen der ägyptischen Kunst und ihr Regelsystem [in:] SEIPEL, W. (ed.), *Gott - Mensch - Pharaon. Viertausend Jahre Menschenbild in der Skulptur des alten Ägypten*. Wien: 33-41.

SELIGMAN, C.G. & MURRAY, M.A., 1911. Note upon an early Egyptian standard. *Man*, 11: 165-171.

SENK, H., 1952. Remarques sur la palette de Narmer. *CdÉ*, 27: 23-30.

SETHE, K., 1903. *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens*. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Alterumskunde Ägyptens 3. Leipzig.

SHALOMI-HEN, R., 2008. Kings as gods in early Egyptian writing systems. [in:] MIDANT-REYNES, B. & TRISTANT, J. (eds.), ROWLAND, J. & HENDRICKX, S. (ass.), *Egypt at its origins 2, Proceedings of the international conference "Origin of the State, Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt"*, Toulouse (France), 5th-8th September 2005. OLA 182. Leuven-Paris. 1011-1019.

SHERKOVA, T.A., 1989. [Ancient Egyptian ceremonial palettes.] [Russian] *Meroe*, 4: 228-241.

SHIEL, N., 2006. Exploring the divine cow in ancient Egypt [in:] DAY, J.; GREENLAW, C.; HALL, H.; KELLY, A.; MATASSA, L.; MCALLEESE, K.; SAUNDERS, E. & STRITCH, D. (eds.), *SOMA 2004. Symposium on Mediterranean archaeology*. BAR Int. ser. 1514. Oxford: 161-166.

SIEVERTSEN, U., 2008. Ein Buckelkeulenkopf aus dem Elitefriedhof HK6 in Hierakonpolis [in:] ENGEL, E.-M.; MÜLLER, V. & HARTUNG, U. (eds.), *Zeichen aus dem Sand. Streiflichter aus Ägyptens Geschichte zu Ehren von Günter Dreyer*. Menes 5. Wiesbaden: 627-645.

SILPA, F., 2011. La ..., l... et le Carré Logique. *CCdÉ*, 15: 77-82.

SILVERMAN, D.P. (ed.), 1997. *Searching for ancient Egypt: Art, architecture, and artifacts from the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology*. Dallas.

ŚLIWA, J., 1974. Some remarks concerning victorious rulers' representations in Egyptian art. *Forschungen und Berichte*, 16: 97-117.

SMITH, G.E., 1934. *Human history*. 2nd. rev. ed. London: 267-380.

SMITH, H.S. 1992. The making of Egypt: A review of the influence of Susa and Sumer on Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia in the 4th millennium B.C. [in:] FRIEDMAN, R. & ADAMS, B. (eds.), *The followers of Horus: Studies dedicated to Michael Allen Hoffman, 1944-1990*. Oxford: 235-246.

SMITH, W.S., 1967. Two Archaic Egyptian sculptures. *BMFA*, 65: 70-84.

SOTHEBY, WILKINSON & HODGE, 1922. *Catalogue of the MacGregor Collection of Egyptian Antiquities: Which will be sold by auction, by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge*. London.

SPENCER, A.J., 1980. *Catalogue of Egyptian antiquities in the British Museum*. Vol. V: *Early Dynastic objects*. London.

SPIEGELBERG, W., 1898. Zu dem Stein von Hierakonpolis. *OLZ*, 1: 232-238.

STEVENSON, A., 2015. *The Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology: Characters and collections*. London.

- STOCKFISCH, D., 1996. Bemerkungen zur sog. 'libyschen Familie' [in:] SCHADE-BUSCH, M. (ed.), *Wege öffnen. Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach zum 65. Geburtstag*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 35. Wiesbaden: 315-325.
- SUELZLE, B.P., 2006. An evaluation of two recent theories concerning the Narmer Palette. *Eras*, 8.
- TALLET, P., 2015. *La zone minière pharaonique du Sud-Sinai - II: Les inscriptions pré- et protodynastiques du Ouadi 'Ameyra (CCIS nos 273-335)*. Mémoires de l'IFAO 132. Cairo.
- TALLET, P. & LAISNEY, D., 2012. Iry-Hor et Narmer au Sud-Sinai (Ouadi 'Ameyra): Un complément à la chronologie des expéditions minières égyptiennes. *BIFAO*, 112: 381-398.
- TASSIE, G.J.; HASSAN, F.A.; VAN WETERING, J. & CALCOEN, B., 2008. Corpus of potmarks from the Protodynastic to Early Dynastic cemetery at Kafr Hassan Dawood, Wadi Tumilat, East Delta, Egypt [in:] MIDANT-REYNES, B. & TRISTANT, Y. (eds.), *Egypt at its origins 2. Proceedings of the international conference "Origin of the state. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", Toulouse (France), 5th - 8th September 2005*. OLA 172. Leuven: 203-235.
- TASSIE, G.; ROWLAND, J.M.; HASSAN, F.A. & VAN WETERING, J., 2017. More potmarks from the Predynastic to Early Dynastic site of Kafr Hassan Dawood, Wadi Tumilat, east Nile delta, Egypt [in:] MIDANT-REYNES, B. & TRISTANT, Y. (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins 5. Proceedings of the fifth international conference "Origin of the State, Predynastic to Early Dynastic Egypt. Cairo, 13th – 18th April 2014*. OLA (TBD). Leuven: 713-737.
- TEASLY TROPE, B.; QUIRKE, S. & LACOVARA, P., 2005. *Excavating Egypt: Great discoveries from the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology*. Atlanta.
- TEETER, E. (ed.), 2011. *Before the pyramids: The origin of Egyptian civilization*. OIMP 33. Chicago.
- TEFNIN, R., 1993. L'image et son cadre. Réflexions sur la structure du champ figuratif en Egypte prédynastique. *Archéo-Nil*, 3: 7-22.
- THOMAS, N. (ed.), 1996. *American Discovery of Ancient Egypt*. Los Angeles – New York.
- TIRADRITTI, F., 2002. The earliest Egyptian art. The Battlefield palette. The birth of the unitary state. The 1st and 2nd Dynasties [in:] TIRADRITTI, F. (ed.), *Ancient Egypt. Art, architecture and history*. London: 12-19.
- TOMLINSON, A., 1987. Sinai-Thamoud and 'Aad, Archaic palettes and mace heads. *ASAE*, 66: 161-188.
- TOWNSEND, R., 2004. Another Narmer opinion. *KMT*, 15,3: 5.

TRAD, M., 1983. *Archaic Egypt. First and Second Dynasties. 3100-2700 B.C. Cairo Museum, January 1983.* Cairo.

TRIGGER, B.G., 1979. The Narmer Palette in cross-cultural perspective [in:] GÖRG, M. & PUSCH, E. (eds.), *Festschrift E. Edel.* Bamberg: 409-419.

VAN DEN BRINK, E.C.M., 1992. Preliminary report on the excavations at Tell Ibrahim Awad, seasons 1988-1990 [in:] VAN DEN BRINK, E.C.M. (ed.), *The Nile Delta in transition: 4th-3rd Millennium B.C., Proceedings of the seminar held in Cairo, 21-24 October 1990.* Tel Aviv: 43-68.

VAN DEN BRINK, E.C.M., 1996. The incised serekh-signs of dynasties 0-1. Part I: Complete vessels [in:] SPENCER, A.J. (ed.), *Aspects of early Egypt.* London: 140-158.

VAN DEN BRINK, E.C.M., 1998. Late Protodynastic – early First Dynasty Egyptian finds in late early Bronze Age I Canaan: An update [in:] EYRE, C.J. (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3 - 9 September 1995.* OLA 82. Leuven: 215-226.

VAN DEN BRINK, E.C.M., 2001. The pottery-incised serekh-signs of Dynasties 0-1. Part II: Fragments and additional complete vessels. *Archéo-Nil*, 11: 24-100.

VAN DEN BRINK, E.C.M., & BRAUN, E., 2002. Wine jars with serekhs from Early Bronze Lod: Appellation vallée du nil contrôlée, but for whom? [in:] VAN DEN BRINK, E.C.M., & YANNAI, E. (eds.), *In quest of ancient settlements and landscapes: Archaeological studies in honour of Ram Gophna.* Tel Aviv: 167-192.

VAN DEN BRINK, E.C.M., & BRAUN, E., 2003. Egyptian elements and influences on the early Bronze Age I of the southern Levant. *Archéo-Nil*, 13: 77-91.

VAN DEN BRINK, E.C. & GOPHNA, R., 2004. Protodynastic Storage Jars from the Area of Sheikh Zuweid, Northern Sinai: Another Entrépot Along the Way(s)-of-Horus? [in:] HENDRICKX, S.; FRIEDMAN, R.F.; CIAŁOWICZ, K.M.; & CHŁODNICKI, M. (eds.). *Egypt at its Origins: Studies in Memory of Barbara Adams: Proceedings of the International Conference "Origin of the State: Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt", Kraków, 28th August - 1st September 2002.* OLA 138. Leuven: 487-506.

VAN DEN BRINK, E.C.M., & LEVY, T.E. 2002. Interaction models, Egypt and the Levantine periphery [in:] VAN DEN BRINK, E.C.M., & LEVY, T.E (eds.), *Egypt and the Levant: Interrelations from the 4th through the early 3rd Millennium BCE.* London: 3-38.

VAN DEN BRINK, E.C.M., & YANNAI, E. (eds.), 2002. In quest of ancient settlements and landscapes: Archaeological studies in honour of Ram Gophna. Tel Aviv.

VANDIER, J., 1952. *Manuel d'archéologie Égyptienne I: Les époques de formation.* Paris.

VAN LEPP, J., 1990. The Predynastic origins of Hathor [in:] *ARCE Annual Meeting. Berkeley 1990. Program & abstracts*. Berkeley: 64-65.

VASQUEZ, J.A.G., 2013. A propósito de la paleta de Narmer. *Boletín de la asociación Española de egiptología*, 22: 199-227.

VASILJEVIC, V., 1991. Der Massenmittelpunkt menschlicher Figur auf den frühen Denkmälern des Alten Ägypten. *Recueil des Travaux de la Faculté de Philosophie (Belgrade), série A: les sciences historiques*, 17: 73-83.

VERNUS, P., 1993. La naissance de l'écriture dans l'égypte ancienne. *Archéo-Nil*, 3: 75-108.

VIKENTIEV, V., 1931. Nâr-Ba-Thai. *JEA*, 17: 67-80.

VINCI, S., 2004. I dieci 'tagliati' o della morte sacrificale al tempo di Narmer. *Ricerche di Egiptologia e di Antichità Copte*, 6: 9-22.

VIOLA, T. & NAVALE, M.T., 1985. Il profilo della tavolozza di Narmer. *Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, 119: 87-90.

VIOLA, T. & NAVALE, M.T., 1986. Il profilo della tavolozza di Narmer. *Memorie dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche. ser. V, vol. 10, fasc. 1-2*: 3-27.

VON BECKERATH, J., 1997. *Chronologie des Pharaonischen Ägypten: Die Zeitbestimmung der ägyptischen Geschichte von der Vorzeit bis 332 v. Chr.* MÄS 46. Mainz.

VON BECKERATH, J., 1999. *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*. 2d ed. Münchnerägyptologische Studien 49. Mainz.

VON DER WAY, T., 1989. Tell el-Fara'in - Buto. *MDAIK*, 45: 275-308.

VON DER WAY, T., 1993. *Untersuchungen zur Spätvor- und Frühgeschichte Unterägyptens*. SAGA 8. Heidelberg.

WARD, W.A. 1969. The supposed Asiatic campaign of Narmer. *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, 45: 205-221.

WARDEN, M., 2000. Recarving the Narmer Palette. *Nekhen News*, 12: 26-27.

WATRIN, L., 2003. Les origines de la monarchie thinite: le roi Scorpion, la dynastie "zero" et l'énigme du royaume du nord. *Bulletin du Groupe de Recherche Européen pour l'Archéologie au Levant*, 1: 20-29.

WEGNER, J.H., 2014. Hidden Treasures: Abydos in the Basement. *Expedition: The Magazine of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology*, 56 (1): 42-51.

- WEIGALL, A.E., 1901. Some Egyptian weights in Prof. Petrie's collection. *PSBA*, 23: 378-395.
- WEILL, R., 1961. *Recherches sur la I^e Dynastie et les temps prépharaoniques. 2e partie*. BdE 38. Cairo.
- WEINSTEIN, J.M., 1984. The significance of Tell Areini for Egyptian-Palestinian relations at the beginning of the Bronze Age. *BASOR*, 256: 61-69.
- WENGROW, D., 2001. Rethinking 'cattle cults' in early Egypt: Towards a Prehistoric perspective on the Narmer Palette. *CAJ*, 11: 91-104.
- WENGROW, D., 2006. *The archaeology of early Egypt: Social transformation in North-East Africa, 10,000 to 2650 BC*. Cambridge.
- WESTENDORF, W., 1966. *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn*. MÄS 10. Berlin: Abb. 14-15; 27; 67.
- WESTENDORF, W., 1968. Die Pantherkatze Mafdet. *ZDMG* 118: 248-256.
- WESTENDORF, W., 1969. Die Anfänge der altägyptischen Hieroglyphen [in:] : GERHARDT, D. (ed.), *Frühe Schriftzeugnisse der Menschheit. Veröf. der Joachim Jungius-Gesellsch. der Wissensch.* Hamburg - Göttingen: 56-87.
- WESTENDORF, W., 1977. Zu Frühformen von Osiris und Isis. *GM* 25: 95-111.
- WESTENDORF, W., 1978. Uräus und Sonnenscheibe. *SAK* 6: 201-226.
- WESTENDORF, W., 2006. Die frühzeitliche Prunkpaletten - Die Deutung ihrer kosmischen Darstellungen und das Weiterleben der Motive in geschichtlicher Zeit [in:] MOERS, G.; BEHLMER, H.; DEMUSS, K. & WIDMAIER, K (eds.), *in.t dr.w Festschrift für Friedrich Junge. Bd. II*. Göttingen: 713-727.
- WHITEHOUSE, H., 2002. A decorated knife handle from the main deposit at Hierakonpolis. *MDAIK*, 58: 425-446.
- WILDUNG, D., 1969. *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewusstsein ihrer Nachwelt, Teil I. Posthume Quellen über die Könige der ersten vier Dynastien*. MÄS 17. Berlin.
- WILDUNG, D., 1981. *Ägypten vor den Pyramiden: Münchener Ausgrabungen in Ägypten*. Mainz am Rhein.
- WILDUNG, D., 1984. Zur Formgeschichte der Landeskronen [in:] WILDUNG, D. (ed.), *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens. Bd. 2: Religion. Zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf*. Göttingen: 967-980.

WILKINSON, T.A.H., 1996. *State formation in Egypt: Chronology and society*. Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology 40. BAR Int. ser. 651. Oxford.

WILKINSON, T.A.H., 1999. *Early Dynastic Egypt*. London – New York.

WILKINSON, T.A.H., 2000. What a king is this: Narmer and the concept of the ruler. *JEA*, 86: 23-32.

WILLIAMS, B.B., 1988. Narmer and the Coptos Colossi. *JARCE*, 25: 35-59.

WILLIAMS, B.B., 1998. The wearer of the leopard skin in the Naqada period [in:] PHILLIPS, J.; BELL, L., WILLIAMS, B.B.; HOCH, J.; LEPROHON, R.J. (eds.), *Ancient Egypt, the Aegean and the Near East. Studies in honour of Martha Rhoads Bell*. Vol. I. San Antonio: 483-496.

WILLOUGHBY, K.L. & TERRY, G.D., 1988. A clue to the origins of the first Egyptians. *The Chronicle of Higher Education* 34, 39: B44.

WINKLER, H.A., 1938. *Rock drawings of southern Upper Egypt I. Sir Robert Mond Desert Expedition Season 1936-1937, Preliminary Report*. EES 26. London.

WINTER, E., 1994. Wer steht hinter Narmer? [in:] BIETAK, M.; HALAUBEK, J.; MUKAROVSKY, H. & SATZINGER, H. (eds.), *Zwischen den beiden Ewigkeiten. Festschrift Gertrud Thausing*. Wien: 279-290.

WRIGHT, M., 1985. Contacts between Egypt and Syro-Palestine during the Protodynastic period. *Biblical Archaeologist* 48: 240-253.

YADIN, Y., 1955. The earliest record of Egypt's military penetration into Asia? *IEJ* 5: 1-16.

YEIVIN, S., 1960. Early contacts between Canaan and Egypt. *IEJ*, 10, 4: 193-203.

YEIVIN, S., 1961. *First preliminary report on the excavations at Tel 'Gat*. Jerusalem.

YEIVIN, S., 1963. Further Evidence of Narmer at "Gat". *Oriens Antiquus*, 2: 205-213.

YEIVIN, S., 1964. The ceremonial slate-palette of king Narmer [in:] ROSEN, H.B. (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology and Linguistics in Honor of H.J. Polotsky*. Jerusalem: 22-53.

YEIVIN, S., 1967. A new Chalcolithic culture at Tel 'Erani and its implications for early Egypto-Canaanite Relations [in:] World Union of Jewish Studies (ed.), *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies*. Jerusalem: 45-48.

YEIVIN, S., & KEMPINSKI, A., 1993. 'Erani, Tel [in:] STERN, E. (ed.), *The new encyclopedia of archaeological excavations in the Holy Land*. Jerusalem: 417-422.

YEKUTIELI, Y., 2008. Symbols in action - the Megiddo graffiti reassessed [in:] MIDANT-REYNES, B. & TRISTANT, Y. (eds.), *Egypt at its origins 2: Proceedings of the international conference "Origin of the state. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt"*, Toulouse (France), 5th - 8th September 2005. OLA 172. Leuven: 807-837.

YURCO, F.J., 1995. Narmer: First king of Upper and Lower Egypt. A reconsideration of his palette and macehead. *JSSEA* 25: 85-95.

YURCO, F.J., 1999. Cult temples prior to the New Kingdom [in:] BARD, K.A. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the archaeology of ancient Egypt*. London: 204-207.

ZIEGLER, C., 1998. The Predynastic period, the Thinite period and the Third Dynasty [in:] TIRADRITTI, F. (ed.), *Egyptian treasures from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo*. Vercelli: 26-49.

ZIEGLER, C. & BOVOT, J.-L., 2001. *Art et archéologie: l'Égypte ancienne*. Manuels de l'Ecole du Louvre. Paris: 54-56, 82-97.

ZIEGLER, C. & DREYER, G., 2004. Les mystérieux rois d'Abydos. *Le Monde de la Bible* 162: 30-35.

ZOFFILI, E., 1992. Darstellungen von Kleidung auf Frühwerken der Ägyptischen Kunst [in:] ZOFFILI, E. (ed.), *Kleidung und Schmuck im alten Ägypten*. Frankfurt - Berlin: 28-35.