ANCIENT EGYPTIAN CALLIGRAPHERY
A BEGINNER'S GUIDE TO WRITING HIEROGLYPHS

By Henry George Fischer
Curator Emeritus of Egyptian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

FOURTH EDITION

The Metropolitan Museum of Art
New York 1999
Fifth Dynasty hieroglyphs from the tomb of Neferirtenef in the Musée du Cinquantenaire, Brussels
Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy

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Design on title page: [Y3], after Wm. Stevenson Smith, History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom, pl. A (reversed; slab stela of Wepemnefret from Giza, G 2201)
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Preface

In preparing this publication I have once again been able to count on the editorial assistance of Janet Thorpe and on the typographic skill of Bert Clarke, which has been sorely tested by the intricacy of the layout. He has succeeded so well, indeed, that its elegance may belie the fact that this is essentially a random collection of notes, brought together for use in the classroom. Thanks to the unfailing generosity of Lila Acheson Wallace, its price will nonetheless place it within the means of students; and, in defense of its stately appearance, it may fairly be argued that no degree of elegance can do justice to that of Egyptian hieroglyphs when executed at their best.

Preface to the Second Edition

Contrary to expectations, the original edition of 2000 copies has been exhausted after three years. A considerable number of worthwhile marginalia have accumulated even in so short a time, but by no means enough to justify a reorganization of the main text. Only a few changes have been made in this portion of the book, most of the additions being relegated to the Addenda and terminal references, where the pagination has necessarily been revised.

While the simplified hieroglyphic examples have scarcely been modified (only G51, T25 and V18), several additional variants of ancient models have been provided. It has been possible to insert a few of these in the main text (O28, T25, U23, Aa20), and the Addenda may be consulted for the remainder.

At the very last minute an additional simplified hieroglyph has been replaced (G39), following, in part, a criticism of M.-Chr. Van Hamme-Van Hoorebeke in a review that appeared as this edition was in the hands of the printer (BoOr 39 [1982]).

Preface to the Third Edition

Only a single new variant (T25, Fig. c) has been added to the main text, which contains no more than a few other additions (G17, D21, F36, I6) and minor readjustments. Wherever possible, in this section of the book, references have been introduced to the Addenda, which have again been augmented, as have—to a lesser extent—the terminal references. But the Addenda now contain remarks on several signs that are not listed as such in the main text: (A9), (A25), (A53), (A8), (not in Gardiner font), (D41), (F12), (G7), (O22), (R5), (V32), (V37), (W4), (Y3).
Preface to the Fourth Edition

The production of the present edition was very nearly precluded by the loss of the photographic "flats" prepared by the Press of A. Colish, which no longer exists. It is a tribute to Peter Der Manuelian that he has been able to reconstitute them on the computer, and to follow the design of the earlier editions so faithfully.

Nearly all of the relatively few changes in this edition refer to my *Egyptian Studies* III, and most of these are to be found in the Addenda, which contain additional comments on $\varphi$ (D2), $\frac{\varphi}{2}$ (E31), $\frac{\varphi}{3}$ (F29), $\frac{\varphi}{4}$ (N18), $\frac{\varphi}{5}$ (N20), $\frac{\varphi}{6}$ (N37), $\frac{\varphi}{7}$ (W14), $\frac{\varphi}{8}$ (Y5) and $\frac{\varphi}{9}$ (Aa20). And the detailed Old Kingdom example of $\varphi$ (N28), which unaccountably disappeared from the third edition, has been restored.
Abbreviations

Aegyptus: Rivista Italiana di Egittoologia e di Papirologia, Milan
Aly, et al., Le Temple d’Amada IV
ASAE
Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Egypte, Cairo
Beni Hasan
BIFAO
Bulletin de l’Institut français d’Archéologie orientale, Cairo
BiOr
Bibliotheca Orientalis, Leiden
Bissing, Re-Heiligtum
BMMA
Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Borchardt, Grabdenkmal Ne-user-re
L. Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re (Leipzig, 1907)
Borchardt, Grabdenkmal Saih-ur-re
L. Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Saih-ur-re I–II (Leipzig, 1910–1913)
Brunner, Die südlichen Räume
H. Brunner, Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor (Mainz, 1977)
Brunton and Engelbach, Gurob
G. Brunton and R. Engelbach, Gurob (London, 1927)
Cairo CG + number
Calverley, Temple of King Sethos I
Caminos, Buhen
ABBREVIATIONS

Caminos and Fischer, Epigraphy and Palaeography

Cottevieille-Giraudet, Médamoud (1931): Les Monuments du Moyen Empire
Rémy Cottevieille-Giraudet, Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1931): Les Monuments du Moyen Empire (Fouilles de l’Institut français d’Archéologie orientale du Caire 9, Pt. 1 [Cairo, 1953])

Davies, Antefoer
Norman de Garis Davies, The Tomb of Antefoer, Vizier of Sesostris I, and of his Wife Senet (London, 1920)

Deir el Gebraïwi
Norman de Garis Davies, The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebraïwi I–II (London, 1902)

Dittmar, Hieroglyphen-Schreibfibel
Johanna Dittmar, Hieroglyphen-Schreibfibel (Leinfelden-Oberaichen, 1977)

Dunham and Simpson, Mersyankh III
D. Dunham and W. K. Simpson, The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III (Boston, 1974)

Edel, Altägyptische Grammatik
Elmar Edel, Altägyptische Grammatik (Analecta Orientalia 34, 39 [Rome, 1955, 1964])

Edel and Wenig, Jahreszeitenreliefs
E. Edel and S. Wenig, Die Jahreszeitenreliefs aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Ne-user-Re (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Mitteilungen aus der aegyptischen Sammlung 7 [Berlin, 1974])

Egyptian Studies

Fakhry, Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II
Ahmed Fakhry, The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II. The Valley Temple, Pt. I: The Temple Reliefs (Cairo, 1961)

Firth and Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries
C. M. Firth and B. Gunn, Excavations at Saqqara: Teti pyramid Cemeteries I–II (Cairo, 1946)

Firth and Quibell, Step Pyramid
Cecil M. Firth and J. E. Quibell, Excavations at Saqqara. The Step Pyramid I–II (Cairo, 1935)

Fischer, Coptite Nome
H. G. Fischer, Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome, Dynasties VI–XI (Analecta Orientalia 40 [Rome, 1964])
ABBREVIATIONS

Fischer, Dendera
H. G. Fischer, Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1968)

Fischer, “Notes on Sticks and Staves”

Gamer-Wallert, Fische und Fischkulte
Ingrid Gamer-Wallert, Fische und Fischkulte im alten Ägypten (Wiesbaden, 1970)

Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar

GM
Göttinger Miszellen, Göttingen

Habachi, Tell Basta
Labib Habachi, Tell Basta (Supplement to ASAE, Cahier No. 22 [Cairo, 1957])

Hassan, Excavations at Saqqara
Selim Hassan, Excavations at Saqqara 1937–1938 I–III (Cairo, 1975)

Hassan, Giza
Selim Hassan, Excavations at Giza I–X (Oxford–Cairo, 1932–1960)

Hayes, Se’n-Wosret-™ankh
W. C. Hayes, The Texts in the Mastaba of Se’n-Wosret-™ankh at Lisht (New York, 1957)

Hieroglyphs

James, Hieroglyphic Texts I²

James and Apted, Khentika

JAOS
Journal of the American Oriental Society, Baltimore–New Haven

JARCE

JEA
Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London
ABBREVIATIONS

Jéquier, Frises d’objets
G. Jéquier, Les Frises d’objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire (Mémoires publiés par les membres de l’Institut français d’Archéologie orientale 47 [Cairo, 1921])

Jéquier, Monument funéraire de Pepi II
G. Jéquier, Le Monument funéraire de Pepi II, I–III (Cairo, 1936–1940)

JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago

Junker, Gîza

Ken-Amün
Norman de Garis Davies, The Tomb of Ken-Amün at Thebes I–II (New York, 1950)

Këmi
Këmi: Revue de philologie et d’archéologie égyptiennes et coptes, Paris

Kus: Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service, Khartoum

Lacau and Chevrier, Une Chapelle
P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, Une Chapelle de Sésostris Ier à Karnak (plates) (Cairo, 1969)

LD Text II

Lexikon der Ägyptologie

MDAIK Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo, Wiesbaden and Mainz/Rhein

Medinet Habu I
Oriental Institute, Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu I (Chicago, 1930)

Meir

Menkhheperre-ankh
Nina and Norman de Garis Davies, The Tombs of Menkhheperre-ankh, Amenmose and Another (London, 1953)

Meirruka
Oriental Institute, Sakkarah Expedition, The Mastaba of Menirruka I–II (Chicago, 1958)
ABBREVIATIONS

Miscellanea Gregoriana

MMJ Metropolitan Museum Journal, New York

Müller, Felsengräber Hans Wolfgang Müller, Die Felsengräber von Elephantine (Glückstadt, 1940)


Orientalia Orientalia: Commentarii periodici Pontificii Instituti Biblici, Nova Series, Rome


Petrie, Dendereh W. M. F. Petrie, Denderah 1898 and Denderah Extra Plates (London, 1900)

Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh W. M. F. Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh (London, 1907)

Petrie, Kahun, Gurob and Hawara W. M. F. Petrie, Kahun, Gurob and Hawara (London, 1890)

Petrie, Koptos W. M. F. Petrie, Koptos (London, 1896)

Petrie, Medum W. M. F. Petrie, Medum (London, 1892)

Petrie, Tools and Weapons W. M. F. Petrie, Tools and Weapons (London, 1917)

Petrie and Brunton, Sedment W. M. F. Petrie and G. Brunton, Sedment I–II (London, 1924)

Petrie and Quibell, Naqada and Ballas W. M. F. Petrie and J. E. Quibell, Naqada and Ballas (London, 1895)

Petrie et al., Lahun II W. M. F. Petrie et al., Lahun II (London, 1925)

Picture Writing Nina M. Davies, Picture Writing in Ancient Egypt (London, 1958)
ABBREVIATIONS

Private Tombs

Ptahhetep
Norman de Garis Davies, The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep at Saqqara I-II (London, 1900–1901)

Puyemrê
Norman de Garis Davies, The Tomb of Puyemrê I-II (New York, 1922–1923)

Pyr.
Pyramid text reference, in terms of K. Sethe’s arrangement in Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte (Leipzig, 1908–1922)

Ramose
Norman de Garis Davies, The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose (London, 1941)

RdE
Revue d’Egyptologie, Paris

Reisner, History of the Giza Necropolis I

Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak I
Oriental Institute, Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak I: Ramses III’s Temple within the Great Enclosure of Amon, Pt. 1 (Chicago, 1936)

Rekh-ma-Re’
Norman de Garis Davies, The Tomb of Rekh-ma-Re’ at Thebes I-II (New York, 1943)

SAK
Studien zur Alten Ägyptischen Kultur, Hamburg

Saleh, Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes
Mohamed Saleh, Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes (Mainz am Rhein, 1977)

Saqqara Mastabas

Schenkel, Frühmittelägyptische Studien
Wolfgang Schenkel, Frühmittelägyptische Studien (Bonn, 1961)

Sethe, Lesestücke
K. Sethe, Ägyptische Lesestücke, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1928)

Simpson, Kaouh, Khafkhufu I and II

Simpson, Mastabas of Qar and Idu

Simpson Studies
Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson (Boston, 1996)
ABBREVIATIONS

Smith, History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom
Wm. Stevenson Smith, A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom, 2nd ed. (London, 1949)

Theinhardt font
Ferdinand Theinhardt, Verzeichnis der Hieroglyphen-Typen der Reichdruckerei in 25 Klassen geordnet (Berlin, 1937)

Ti
Le Tombeau de Ti, 3 parts (Mémoires publiés par les membres de l’Institut français d’Archéologie orientale 65 (Cairo, 1939–1966)). Pts. 1 by L. Epron, F. Daumas, G. Goyon, P. Montet; Pts. 2 and 3 by Henri Wild

Two Sculptors
Norman de Garis Davies, The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes (New York, 1925)

Tylor and Griffith, Paheri

Urk.

Vandier, Manuel d’archéologie

WZKM
Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vienna

ZÄS
Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Leipzig and Berlin
Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy
Introduction

If my use of the term "calligraphy" may seem pretentious, it nonetheless states my aim, which is to encourage a better standard in writing Egyptian hieroglyphs. This emphasis is rather different from that of Johanna Dittmar’s recent Hieroglyphen-Schreibfibel, which primarily seeks to simplify the signs to the point that they can be easily executed. In either case the result is something of a compromise, for I too have proposed a degree of simplification that may not always correspond to what the ancient Egyptians would have done. That is inevitable, since the ancient scribe would not ordinarily have written hieroglyphs in ink without simplifying them to a still greater degree. Artificial as it is, the style adopted here nonetheless seeks to avoid forms that are alien or grossly inaccurate.

Some may feel, indeed, that the standard set here is too high. It seems preferable, however, to attempt a shaky fidelity to form rather than be satisfied with a sure-handed circumvention. By doing so, we shall at least keep the ancient model in mind, rather than blinding ourselves to it. If one makes such an effort, he will be rewarded by an increased appreciation of Egyptian draftsmanship and will acquire a sensitivity to palaeographic variations that may be of value in establishing date and provenance. And he will also, if sufficiently conscious of what he is drawing, acquire a considerable knowledge of iconography, in view of the fact that Egyptian art and writing are extraordinarily interrelated and complementary.

My selection of signs emphasizes (1) those that most require practice, (2) those whose form particularly requires explanation, (3) those that require additional comment, supplementing the remarks of Sir Alan Gardiner in his Sign List (Egyptian Grammar, third edition, pp. 438–548). The last two objectives are primarily accomplished by the addition of many Old Kingdom examples, and a few of later date, so as to give a somewhat fuller idea of the range of possibilities (and here it should be emphasized that an earlier form may unexpectedly reappear in inscriptions of a subsequent period). At a few points I have also indicated errors of orientation (P3, P5, U24–25) or of accuracy (A49, D78, G27, G47), or have given somewhat different interpretations (A48, A49, D45, E31, F35, G51, M3, N18, S23, S34, T4, T13, U23, Aa31). In some other cases the prescribed simplification of Gardiner’s hieroglyphs calls for the emphasis of a detail such as the long tail of the cormorant (G35) or the long nose of the oxyrhynchus fish (K4). There are also some observations concerning the date when certain forms were introduced.

To facilitate comparison, the facsimiles of hieroglyphs have been drawn to uniform size...
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and reversed, wherever necessary, so that they correspond to the orientation of the Gardiner font: the "shadow line" has also been eliminated from those copies in which it appears. The references to these examples are given at the end, and the reversals are marked with an asterisk (*). In some cases the nature of an implement has been illustrated from scenes of daily life—again nearly always dating to the Old Kingdom—and the references to these are combined with those given for the hieroglyphs.

My presentation of the signs begins with the monoconsonantal series—the so-called alphabet—which must be mastered at the outset, and which, for this reason, has been given special attention. The other signs follow the normal sequence of letter and number.

Each item is identified by the Gardiner type (which is much less clearly printed in the third edition of the Egyptian Grammar than in the original letterpress edition), then the Sign List reference, a descriptive phrase, and finally the phonetic value that is most frequently associated with the sign in question.

Before examining the changes and variations in the hieroglyphs, the student should be aware of certain general considerations that affected their form or proportions:

1. The transposition, for aesthetic reasons, of groups such as $\text{ê} > \text{ê} \text{ê}$ in qht "field" is described by Gardiner (Egyptian Grammar, §56), but it should be added that this rearrangement derives from the composition of columnar inscriptions, where a tall thin sign in this position, preceding a bird, was often shortened. The same arrangement was sometimes carried over into horizontal inscriptions, where there was no need for it, but the initial sign was then less apt to be shortened. The increasing use of horizontal lines also affected the proportions of signs in other ways; it is doubtless responsible for the more elongated net-sign $\text{<} (T24)$ which tended to replace the narrower Old Kingdom form $\text{<}.

Thus the relative size of the sign may be affected by the space available, and this consideration is in turn affected by the way the signs are grouped. The same factors may even, in some cases, alter the proportions of a sign; e.g. $\text{T1}$ as compared with $\text{O1}$ (Ti, pl. 99), and cf. also the comments on $\text{O}$ (O4). Occasionally the relatively larger scale of a hieroglyph may serve to emphasize its importance as pointed out in Caminos and Fischer, Epigraphy and Palaeography, pp. 35–36. See also the comments on $\text{<}$ (G36) and $\text{<}$ (R1).

2. The avoidance, in funerary texts located near the body, of human figures or certain animals, was initially responsible for the substitution of $\text{±} (D60)$ for older $\text{±} (A6)$, and of $\text{±} (R14)$ for $\text{±} (R15)$; so also, as Gardiner points out, the use of $\text{±} (S4)$ for $\text{±} (L2)$. For details of the last two cases see Caminos and Fischer, Epigraphy and Palaeography, p. 35 and note 21, p. 47 and note 69. And for $\text{±}$ see Addenda, p. 54 below.

3. A certain degree of meaningless stylization was operative in some cases, such as $\text{≤}$ (D61) and the replacement of $\text{≤}$ (T20) by later $\text{≤}$ (T19). For the latter see Egyptian Studies I, pp. 104–107.

4. Throughout the history of Egyptian hieroglyphs there was a progressive increase in the use of composite forms, such as $\text{≤}$ (P7, Middle Kingdom and later) or $\text{≤}$ (G20, New Kingdom).
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Kingdom onward, but see Addenda). This evolution is described in MMJ 12 (1977) pp. 5–19.

(5) In reversed inscriptions, with the signs facing leftward, some signs occasionally retained their normal rightward orientation (Egyptian Studies II, §38). This phenomenon explains the incorrect orientation of Gardiner’s $\text{P5}$ as well as $\text{Y3}$, which he correctly explains as a non-reversal of what should be $\text{Y4}$. In a very few cases the retention of rightward orientation might affect only part of the sign; e.g. $\text{P5}$ for $\text{P2}$ (T21), as exemplified in Mohamed Saleh, Three Old Kingdom Tombs at Thebes, pls. 14, 18; the same explanation is doubtless to be applied to Gardiner’s $\text{D62}$ (M12), replacing $\text{D61}$, for this too occurs in an inscription facing left (Rekh-ml-Re’ pl. 27 [20]). Some New Kingdom examples of $\text{O42}$ also show partial reversal. Semi-reversed $\text{M10}$ is common in the Old Kingdom and down to Dynasty XI; see Egyptian Studies III, pp. 194–201.

(6) Cursive writing sporadically influenced the forms of hieroglyphs, and not only hieratic (for which cf. Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, p. 439), but also the semi-cursive style of incised hieroglyphs described in Caminos and Fischer, Epigraphy and Palaeography, pp. 40–42. This explains the occasional use of forms such as $\text{M17}$ or $\text{D61}$ (Borchardt, Grabendenkmal Ne-user-re’, pl. 15; Rekh-ml-Re’, pl. 102) for $\text{M28}$; the hieroglyphic style normally reduces a series of projections to a continuous and unbroken contour.

(7) Graphic assimilation tended to be operative only in specific cases (e.g. the nome emblem of U.E. 2, JARCE 2 [1963] p. 49; and cf. the remarks on A47 below). But it sometimes had a more lasting effect, as in the case of $\text{M17}$ or $\text{M28}$, which in the late New Kingdom, sometimes shows the head bent low as in the contemporary $\text{G28}$. For other examples, see the remarks on $\text{O34}$, $\text{T28}$, and the supplementary references for $\text{M26}$; also Addenda: $\text{M28}$, $\text{M22}$.

(8) The forms of signs are affected by changes of technology (e.g. tools and weapons) and of fashion (e.g. clothing and furniture); also, in some cases, by the iconographic context of an inscription; both points are illustrated in Egyptian Studies III, pp. 225, 186 (and Fig. 7) and in Caminos and Fischer, Epigraphy and Palaeography, pp. 34, 37 and n. 37.

Those who wish to make further palaeographic comparisons may find it useful to have a checklist of sources. The following compilations of detailed facsimiles are available, some in color (col.), the remainder in black and white.

ARCHAIC PERIOD


2. This list does not include hieroglyphs of the Eighth Dynasty and the Heracleopolitan Period (Dyns. IX-X) which sometimes provide evidence of provenance as well as date; see Caminos and Fischer, Epigraphy and Palaeography, pp. 30–31.
INTRODUCTION

OLD KINGDOM
N. de G. Davies, Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep at Saggara I: The Chapel of Ptahhetep and the Hieroglyphs (London, 1900) pls. 4–17, 18 (col.).
Margaret A. Murray, Saggara Mastabas I (London, 1903) pls. 37–40.
Margaret A. Murray, Saggara Mastabas II (London, 1937) pls. 6–7.
W. M. F. Petrie, Medum (London, 1892) frontispiece (col.).
Wm. Stevenson Smith, A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom (Oxford, 1936) terminal pls. A, B (col.).
Caroline Ransom Williams, The Decoration of the Tomb of Per-neb (New York, 1932) pls. 1–2 (col.).

MIDDLE KINGDOM
(Aswan) Hans Wolfgang Müller, Die Feldgräber der Fürsten von Elephantine (Glückstadt, 1940) fig. 43.
(Bersha) F. Ll. Griffith, Collection of Hieroglyphs (London, 1898) pls. 7–9 (col.).
(Karnak) Pierre Lacau and Henri Chevrier, Une Chapelle de Sésostris Ier à Karnak, Planches (Cairo, 1969) épigraphie et détails, pls. 1–22.
(Meir) A. M. Blackman, Rock Tombs of Meir II (London, 1915) pls. 17–18.

NEW KINGDOM
(Deir el Bahri) F. Ll. Griffith, Collection of Hieroglyphs, pls. 1–4 (col.).
(El Kab) Ibid., pls. 5–6 (col.).
(Theban tombs) Nina M. Davies, Picture Writing in Ancient Egypt (London, 1958) (col.).

In addition to such compilations one may, of course, find much more material in the various publications of hieroglyphic inscriptions, but these are sometimes lacking in respect to

3. From the mastaba of Ti, for which one should now consult the newer publication in Mémoires de l’Institut français d’Archéologie orientale du Caire (Cairo) Vol. 65, and especially the second and third fascicles, admirably executed by Henri Wild. M. Wild planned to publish an additional fascicle devoted to palaeography, but this project was forestalled by his death.
4. See also the extensive tabulation of colors of Old Kingdom hieroglyphs, pp. 366–382.
5. Note that A47 should be labeled A49, and that the example of D40 is Late Period.
fidelity or detail. For the Archaic Period a good source is Peter Kaplony’s *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit III* (Wiesbaden, 1963). For the Old Kingdom there are Henri Wild’s drawings of the mastaba of Ti (cf. note 3 above); for the Middle Kingdom abundant material may be found in Wm. C. Hayes, *Texts in the Mastaba of Se’n-Wosret-smkah*; and for the New Kingdom one may rely on the numerous epigraphic works of Norman de Garis Davies.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that this introductory guide is designed to supplement Gardiner’s Sign List, and to stimulate the student’s interest in that superb analysis and exposition of the subject. In championing a better standard of Egyptian calligraphy, I am again simply reaffirming a tradition set by Gardiner and his colleagues—notably Battiscombe Gunn and Norman de Garis Davies. The proper way to honor a tradition is to improve upon it, and it is my hope that future teachers and students of ancient Egyptian will be inspired to make a conscious effort in that direction.

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6. This criticism is sometimes applicable, for example, to the drawings in Junker’s *Gîza*. One cannot help wondering about the validity of — (Y1), rather than the expected Old Kingdom form — (Y2), in *Meir V*, pls. 6, 8. Problems of this kind (and others) are also encountered in the damaged texts recorded by Alexander Badawy, *The Tomb of Nefrekh-Peh at Gîza* and the *Tomb of Ankh’u-en at Saqqara* (Berkeley, 1978) figs. 2–14 for — and — (Y1, A51) read — and — (Y2, A50).

7. Although the compilation by no means constitutes a complete corpus, even to the extent of including everything on such publications as W. M. F. Petrie, *Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty* (London, 1910–1913).
The alphabetic (monoconsonantal) signs

**G1  Egyptian Vulture, ḫ**

The outline is most easily controlled if one begins with the head, then draws the front of the bird, continuing with the rearward leg. If this much is correctly executed, it is relatively easy to add the rest. Note the sharp angle at the back of the head, which is explained by the fact that the feathers in that region tend to stand out, particularly if fanned by a breeze. The facsimile shows this detail in an Old Kingdom example, accompanied by the same detail as seen from a living specimen (Figure b).

**M17  Flowering Reed, ḫ**

The upper part widens slightly at the bottom. Old Kingdom examples (and those of later date) often represent the flowering portion as a series of striations; the joints in the stem were rarely indicated in the Old Kingdom (Figure b), but appeared more frequently thereafter.

**D36  Arm, ḫ**

The Old Kingdom form shows the full breadth of the palm. Later the palm tended to be slightly cupped, as in Gardiner’s version. Even in the New Kingdom all the fingers are clearly distinguished in the most detailed examples (e.g. Ram-Åmân, pl. 13), but this is also true of signs such as a (D39). And the most detailed New Kingdom examples often show the hand as in the Old Kingdom (e.g. Ramose, pl. 42).
The most difficult of the bird-hieroglyphs. The shape is easier to control if the angularity of the body is emphasized. If drawn quickly, the head tends to be summarized, and this summarization actually occurs in semi-cursive writing: ∆. The indication of the wing is optional.

As Gardiner notes, this sign was often very short in Dynasty 1 (\(\text{G}_4\)), and even in the Middle Kingdom was often shorter than the full height of the line.

The height is normally greater than the width. Old Kingdom examples often show the detail of matting, and from this period, down to the end of the New Kingdom, it was sometimes stylized as \(\text{Horned Viper, } f\).

Of all the bird-hieroglyphs, this one is the easiest to draw, and it is therefore a good choice for the beginner to practice. The procedure is the same as has been suggested for the Egyptian vulture (\(\text{G}_1\)). The owl is distinguished from all the other birds in that its head is turned to one side, and is viewed full-face. Another distinctive feature is the fact that the hind toe (which is reversible) does not appear. The indication of the wing is optional; so too the summarization of the eyes and beak. Gardiner cites Keimer and Newberry for
discussions, but does not supply the references: Keimer, *Annals of the Faculty of Arts, Ibrahim Pasha University, Cairo*, I (1951) pp. 73–83; Newberry, *JEA* 37 (1951) pp. 72–74.

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**N35 WATER, n.**

The number of angular ripples is variable, but the two ends always slant downward. These terminal strokes may be a little longer than the others.

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**D21 MOUTH, r.**

When carefully executed, this sign often shows a pronounced narrowing at the corners, as in the Old Kingdom example illustrated here, and the top is more curved than the bottom (cf. Davies, *BMMA*, March 1918, Sect. II, p. 18).

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**O4 COURTYARD, h.**

In the Old Kingdom this sign is often taller than it is wide, although it may also resemble the square Gardiner version. This is one of the signs that is most apt to change its proportions, depending on the amount of space available; compare the group (Caminos, *Buhen* II, pls. 18, 23, 35, etc.), (ibid., pl. 47, I, pl. 70), (II, pl. 86).

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**V28 WICK, h.**

The procedure shown here is ultimately easier than drawing a series of loops, one above another, and it is closer to ancient examples. The uppermost loop is often larger than the others. The use of the twisted flax is well illustrated by an Old Kingdom lamp.
The striations should be horizontal, as is usual in examples down to the end of the New Kingdom. The second form (as in the Theinhardt font) occurred only rarely before the Libyan Period; Caminos and Fischer, *Epigraphy and Palaeography*, p. 49, note 78. The third form, with crosshatched detail, is typical of the Archaic Period but recurred occasion-ally in the Old Kingdom (Fischer, *Coptite nome*, p. 20). The interpretation of the sign is disputed by Curto, *Aegyptus* 39 (1959) pp. 226–261.

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**F32** BELLY, h.

The belly and tail of a mammal, viewed from the underside.

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**O34** BOLT, z.

Most Egyptologists use the form shown here, although the ancient Egyptians summarized the protuberances by using a pair of rounded dots rather than two short strokes. The operation of the bolt is shown in Figure c: the protuberances at the center limit the degree to which it can slide back and forth between the two fastenings at the right; when the bolt is pushed leftward, beneath the third fastening, the door is locked. Some Old Kingdom examples (Figure b) seem to show a string placed between the protuberances, but it is doubtful that the bolt was ever secured in this fashion; see Graefe, *MDAIK* 27 (1971) pp. 148 ff. Old Kingdom names sometimes show — in place of — (R22–23), referring to the god Min (*Orientalia* 60 [1991] 296–297).
13 SIGNS ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY

S29 PIECE OF CLOTH, š.

This may be drawn with a single line, beginning at the bottom, but a more controlled result may be obtained by drawing the longer part downward, then adding the remainder. For the interpretation of this sign cf. *MM* 10 (1975) pp. 14–16.

N37 POOL, š.

The second form (as in the Theinhardt font) was rarely used in hieroglyphic inscriptions until the Late Period, but it is known from hieratic of the Old Kingdom and later, and occurred occasionally in semi-cursive hieroglyphs of that date. The detailed Old Kingdom example (Gardiner’s N39) shows vertical ripples of water. See also Addenda.

N29 HILL, ˚.

To draw this sign properly, one must visualize it as a single crest and slope in the hieroglyph for:

mountain ˚ (N26) mountain range ˚ (N25)

It must be conceded, however, that Old Kingdom examples are sometimes more triangular, i.e. less rounded at the top.

V31 BASKET, k.

The handle is drawn in terminating the lower contour. Old Kingdom examples often reduce the basketry pattern to a series of horizontal lines. The checkered detail was added much more rarely in that period, but not infrequently thereafter.
The Old Kingdom form generally shows the bottom edge straight as well as the top one: □ (W12). The later form (very rarely evidenced in the Sixth Dynasty: Fischer, Dendera, p. 89 [g]) shows the bottom curved, as though viewed from above. This implement was used for “seating” round-bottomed pots, as shown in the accompanying figure.

X1  LOAF, t.

Almost a hemisphere.

V13  TETHERING ROPE, t.

Draw the loops first.

D46  HAND, d.

The first alternative is usually preferred by Egyptologists, and something like this was used by the ancient Egyptians in semi-cursive hieroglyphic texts.

I10  COBRA, d.

The back thickens towards the point where the tail curves downward. This effect may also be obtained simply by raising the line of the back at the same point.
Other signs (arranged by category)

A1  SEATED MAN.

Both arms must be flexed, and the rearward arm must meet or overlap the body. The hands (if indicated) are fisted. As in the following signs, even the most simplified forms, such as , do not turn the head into a circle.

A2  MAN WITH HAND TO MOUTH.

Unlike A1, the rearward arm is pendant. These two signs are not always clearly distinguished in inscriptions of the Heracleopolitan Period, and A2 was therefore sometimes replaced by to make the distinction clearer (RdE 28 [1976] pp. 153–154).

A3  MAN SITTING ON HEEL, hmsi.

A7  FATIGUED MAN, wrd.

A12  SOLDIER, msr.

Variants of the Heracleopolitan Period show the figure drawing the bow (JNES 21 [1962] pp. 50–52).

A19  OLD MAN, swrs, q, 1st.

The rearward arm is slightly flexed. For the various readings see Egyptian Studies I, pp. 88–93.
SIGNS ARRANGED BY CATEGORY

A21 COURTIER, sr.

The rearward arm is straight.

A24 MAN STRIKING, ḫwšt.

The stick is normally straight in examples prior to the Middle Kingdom; in Middle Kingdom examples it is usually curved (Fischer, "Notes on Sticks and Staves," p. 12 and note 36). Old Kingdom writings of ḫwšt sometimes show the stick beating the sign ꜜ (V28: MMJ 12 [1977] p. 9 and fig. 4b). See also Addenda (A25).

A40 SEATED GOD.

Make the back of the wig vertical. The beard is slightly curved at the tip. From Dyn. XII onward the figure sometimes held — (S34) as in the case of  (C2); see ZÄS 100 (1973) p. 26, note 55.

A47 HERDSMAN, mnrw, zmr.

In the Old Kingdom example shown here the herdsman carries a staff and goad (for which see Vandier, Manuel d'archéologie VI, pp. 48–49). From the Heracleopolitan Period onward (Fischer, Dendera, p. 133) the sign was used for ḫr ép (ZÄS 105 [1978] p. 55, note 70). The distinction between this and  (A48) is nonexistent, the latter being nothing more than a variant of the same sign. The supposed Old Kingdom prototypes of A48 are actually to be read differently;  is hmt (Junker, Giza XII, pp. 120–122), while  is to be read hst (Fischer, in Simpson Studies 1, pp. 273–274). Old and Middle Kingdom examples occasionally show assimilation of the stick and goad to the feather (_fmt) that is held by the foreigner in A49. Fischer, "Notes on Sticks and Staves," figs. 12, 13; also in a writing of the feast fmt, Beni Hasan I, pl. 24. See also Addenda (A48).
A49  **FOREIGNER HOLDING STICK.**  

Gardiner’s version shows a curved stick, but in the clearer of his two examples (Urk. IV, p. 614) this is actually a throwstick (T14); so also Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pl. 162, and probably Urk. IV, p. 759 (1). The more traditional form of the older periods shows a feather: Clère, *MDAIK* 16 (1958) pp. 40–41, and Fischer, “Notes on Sticks and Staves,” note 41.

A50  **MAN ON CHAIR, ḫps(s).**  

The front legs of the chair are covered by (or fused with) the legs of the man.

A51  **SEATED MAN WITH FLAGELLUM.**  

Contrary to Gardiner, this is not the normal ideograph for ḫps(s); used thus, it is a secondary substitution for ḫps (A50). It was initially used as a name-determinative, applied to kings at the beginning of Dyn. XII, then to nonroyal individuals at the end of the same dynasty (*Lexikon der Ägyptologie* II, col. 516). An early example of A51 for ḫps (temp. Sesostris III) occurs in *Meir* VI, pls. 18–19.

A53  **MUMMY.**  

Not used until the Middle Kingdom.

A55  **MUMMY ON BIER.**  

The Old Kingdom form probably shows, in most cases, a man sleeping, but it is often similar to Gardiner’s version.
SIGNS ARRANGED BY CATEGORY

A56 Seated Man with Stick.

Used in the Old Kingdom as determinative of bḥk, etc.; for examples see MDAIK 16 (1958) pp. 135–137 and fig. 3.

B1 Seated Woman.

The back of the wig should be vertical (as in the case of A40). See also Addenda.

D1 Head, tp.

The style of the wig varies (JAOS 76 [1956] p. 103). The one shown here (longer than in Gardiner’s example) is more common in the Old Kingdom.

D2 Face, hr.

Although the face is that of a man, with a squared-off beard, it is traditionally colored yellow: Smith, *History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, p. 375.

D4 Eye, ḫt(t).

In drawing the upper edge, make the curve steeper at the front. The lower edge is almost horizontal, forming a slight curve. As a rule the pupil is partly covered by the upper lid, and does not stare.

D10 Eye of Horus, wḥḥt.

The vertical element represents the dark patch that appears beneath the eye of the falcon; the spiral is a stylization of the pattern of feathers behind this patch.
SIGNS ARRANGED BY CATEGORY

D20 NOSE, fnd.

A more summary form of D (D19), used in all periods.

D33 ARMS PADDLING, hn(i).

The upper element has been explained as a fire-fan (*ḥmāt); Junker, Giza IX, pp. 44–47. The alternative form (Figure b), in which ꜖ is replaced by ꜒, is fairly common in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, less so in the New Kingdom: MMJ 12 (1977) p. 10, note 51.

D45 ARM HOLDING MKS-STAFF, ḫsr.

Old Kingdom examples show a pair of arms holding the mk-staff, but the Gardiner form may, as he says, show the shorter nbt, which is otherwise similar (Fischer, "Notes on Sticks and Staves," §9). The New Kingdom form was at least occasionally interpreted as a head of lettuce; the example illustrated here (Figure b) dates to the reign of Tuthmosis IV. In such cases the lettuce is colored green. See also Addenda.

D54 LEGS WALKING.

The legs occasionally show a kilt in inscriptions of the Old Kingdom and later (JARCE 4 [1965] p. 50 [a]). A somewhat longer pair of legs sometimes replaces ḫ (W25) in Old Kingdom inscriptions (BiOr 33 [1976] p. 23, note 5). For uses of the reversed legs (D55) see Egyptian Studies II, §§41–42, and for the kilt see also the Addenda.
The relative shortness of this sign in the Gardiner font is difficult to justify. It may be based on examples such as Rekh-mi-Re, pls. 15 (21), 16 (12), but these, and a few other such cases, occur in columnar inscriptions, where the height of the signs is variable. A more valid example, in a horizontal line, is to be seen ibid., pl. 17, but elsewhere, in the same period, the sign is taller: Nina Davies, JEA 47 (1961) pl. 5; Two Sculptors, pl. 15; Payenmê II, pl. 66 (frag. 1); Ken-Amûn, pls. 8 (14), 16; Private Tombs I, pl. 11. For tall examples of the Middle Kingdom see Newberry and Griffith, Bersheh I, pl. 18; Beni Hasan I, pls. 15, 17; Lacau and Chevrier, Une Chapelle, pls. 12 (1), 15, 16, 19, 23. It is true that the leg is often relatively short in Old Kingdom inscriptions, but these inscriptions again show a good deal of variation in the height of other signs; for tall examples see Bissing, Re-Heiligum II, pl. 4; Simpson, Mastabas of Qur and Idu, fig. 29; Mentuhot, pl. 67.

Figure a is the somewhat more naturalistic example cited by Gardiner (early Dynasty IV); Figure b is early Dyn. V (Sahure). For the anomalous form D62 see above, p. 5(5).

The rump of the animal projects so that the tail falls straight downward, free of the hindquarters.

See Addenda below.
The nascent horns are usually omitted in Old Kingdom examples, but are shown in Simpson, Kawab, Khafhufu I and II, figs. 31, 32.

The shrine began to appear beneath Anubis in funerary formulae of the Sixth Dynasty (Pepy I onwards), and more regularly after the Old Kingdom: Fischer, Dendera, p. 84 (14).

The Old Kingdom form commonly shows a very long tail (descending below the baseline).

Old Kingdom examples already show the end of the tail as the feathered end of an arrow, cf. WZKM 57 (1961) p. 60 and note 3.

In beginning the lion, start with $\text{ꜣ}$ (F4), which means "front," then continue to the back ($\text{Ꜣ}$, [F21] meaning "rear") and finally the underside. Note, however, that in $\text{Ꜣ Faulkner}$ the tail curves around the haunch, while in $\text{Ꜣ Faulkner}$ it curls up over the back, as in Archaic representations of the lion.
The animal was originally a kid, for the earlier Old Kingdom examples show nascent horns or none. The horns of the adult goat were added in the Sixth Dynasty (e.g. Fischer, *Dendera*, pl. 30 [b]), but the kid (as well as the goat) reappears in the shrine of Sesostris I at Karnak: Lacau and Chevrier, *Une Chapelle, épigraphie* pl. 6, and in inscriptions of the same period at Saqqara: Firth and Gann, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pls. 83, 85 (a); also a late Dyn. XI ex.: Gardiner, *JEA* 4 (1917) pl. 8, line 5. As Gardiner notes (in connection with s s2o), this sign is sometimes replaced by the seal alone, and notably in funerary texts. Conversely, the seal was occasionally omitted from the goat: Clère, *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, p. 459 and note 27; also Davies, *Antefoken*, pl. 6; *Beni Hasan I*, pl. 33 (center [4]). The goat without a seal is also used, more appropriately, as an ideographic writing of s2o “greed” in *Benti Hasan I*, pl. 9 (so interpreted by Newberry, p. 27); this identifies the problematic determinative in *Prisse I*, 4 and 8 (cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 32 [1946] pl. 14 and note c). See also Addenda.

The eye projects, to allow the animal to see above the water when almost totally submerged. The small ear and rounded nose are equally characteristic. As Gardiner notes, this sign for s replaces an earlier one resembling s2 (F9); the later s2 sign was in use as early as
the beginning of Dyn. XII (Davies, Antefoker, pl. 8; Hayes, Se-n-Wosret-ancab, pl. 5 [310]).

\[ F_5 \] **HEAD OF BUBALIS, Sis(w).**

The long muzzle and lyriform horns are characteristic.

\[ F_7 \] **RAM’S HEAD, ⪝.**

The ends of the horns are turned upward.

\[ F_{12} \] **NECK (OF CANINE), wr(t).**

The long neck should begin at a point midway between the ears. See also Addenda.

\[ F_{21} \] **EAR (OF BULL?), sdm.**

\[ F_{23} \] **FORELEG OF BULL, hps.**

In the earlier periods, down to the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, this form is preferred for hps meaning “strength,” while \( \infty \) (F24) is used to refer to the foreleg as an offering (Egyptian Studies II, §45).

\[ F_{25} \] **HOOF (OF BULL), whm(t).**

Further evidence for the reading is given by Roccati, RdE 25 (1973) pp. 254–255.
F26  SKIN OF GOAT, hn(t).

Represents a headless goat; the body is angular, the short tail erect.

F27, F 28  COW’S SKIN.

The second sign, as Gardiner says, was regularly used for sḫ “dappled” (an exception in Clarence Fisher, *Minor Cemetery at Giza* [Philadelphia, 1924] pl. 51 [2]). The first was often used in Old Kingdom writings of the title ḫnw knmt (*JNES* 18 [1959] p. 267); this may represent the hide of some other animal, and in the same context it is once replaced by f (Urk. I, p. 231).

F29  BULL’S HIDE PIERCED BY ARROW, sti.

In the Old Kingdom the arrow does not reappear beyond the hide, and the tail is drawn more convincingly. So also the Middle Kingdom example in *Hieroglyphs*, pl. 9 (187), but the later form is attested as early as Dyn. XI: *MDAIK* 31 [1975] pls. 21–23. One Middle Kingdom example shows a shield impaled by two arrows (, *Meir* I, pl. 2). See also Addenda.

F30  WATER SKIN, šd(w).

As Griffith notes (*Beni Hasan* III, p. 18, to fig. 46), this shows “the skin of the legs forming straps and the skin of the neck hanging down.” But in the earlier example (a), the water-skin is evidently tied with cords.
SIGNS ARRANGED BY CATEGORY

F34 Heart, ih.

The normal form (a) may be compared to a sectioned sheep’s heart (b). The second form (c) was often (but not always) used as determinative of ḫnty in the Old Kingdom.

F35 Heart and Windpipe, nfr.

Examples of the Archaic Period and Old Kingdom often show a double pair of projections at the top, sometimes slightly separated and sometimes together. The striation of the tracheal cartilage (as in F36) fails to appear even in the most detailed Old Kingdom examples, but was frequently indicated thereafter (Hieroglyphs, pls. [49], q [161]). Probably this detail is a secondary reinterpretation (by assimilation to ḫnty) of what may originally have been the esophagus (the stomach being rḥb, the “mouth of the heart”). It is clear, in any case, that the Old Kingdom scribe regarded the lower element as the heart and not the stomach (contra Vycichl, JEA 39 [1953] pp. 112–113). See also Addenda below.

F36 Lungs and Windpipe, zmr.

In this case both the shape and the striation of the trachea are apparent from the beginning, in contrast to F35.

F39 Backbone and Spinal Cord, imḥ.

For semi-reversed forms see above, p. 5 (3).
**SIGNS ARRANGED BY CATEGORY**

**F40 BACKBONE AND SPINAL CORD, *nr*(*t)*.**

The two ends hang almost symmetrically downward.

**G4 LONG-LEGGED BUZZARD, *fyw.***

The only significant difference between this bird and G1 is the rounded back of the head. The form 𓆎 (Theinhardt font G5) was used in the Late Period. In the Old Kingdom the phonetic value was sometimes biconsonantal tu: Edel, *Altgärtische Grammatik*, §32; Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, p. 141.

**G5 FALCON, *Hfw.***

The head is round; the back begins higher than in the case of G1 and G4, and the wing more completely envelopes the body. This sign sometimes replaces 𓊕 (G7) as the divine determinative in the Old Kingdom and later (Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 211, note 820), and again in personal names of the Late Period (de Meulenaere, *BiOr* 38 [1981], p. 254); note also 𓊕 for hm.† in a Dyn. XII inscription, Sethe, *Lesestücke*, p. 79 (1).

**G14 VULTURE, *nr*(*t)*, *m(w)t.***

The very hooked beak, the dip in the neck, and the contour of the back are distinctive. Normally the tail should come down to the baseline, although it was occasionally shortened: *Egyptian Studies* I, p. 94 and n. 82.

**G21 SENNAR GUINEA FOWL, *nh.***

Principally distinguished from G1 and G4 by the presence of crests and a wattle. There is a good deal of variation. In earlier examples (Old Kingdom) the crest is more accurately single, and the tail is often shorter; sometimes the wattle becomes 𓊕, thus: 𓊕.
SIGNS ARRANGED BY CATEGORY

G22 **HOOPOE, db.**

G23 **LAPWING, rhyt.**

G24 **LAPWING WITH WINGS TWISTED, rhyt.**

G25 **CRESTED IBIS, db.**

G26 **SACRED IBIS, Dhwty.**

See Addenda below.

G27 **FLAMINGO, dsr.**

Earlier examples generally emphasize the large round head and curved beak, and the same is true of those dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty (Hieroglyphs, pl. 6 [79]; Picture Writing, pl. 4 [4]). The sign in Gardiner's font does not show these details satisfactorily, and the beak is too long.

G28 **BLACK IBIS, gm(t).**

As Keimer remarks (ASAE 30 [1930] p. 23), the Gardiner form is replaced, in the New Kingdom, by one that shows the head bent down, as though “finding” (equivalent to Theinhardt font G46); but this development does not seem to have begun much before the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty (my example is from Calverley, Temple of King Sethos I, II, pl. 10). A further development of the new form, in the reign of Ramesses III, shows a fish in the bill of the ibis, like the Old Kingdom form of G51 (Medinet Habu I, pls. 27 [15, 37], 28 [44], 46 [15, 21]; Reliefs and Inscriptions at...
Karnak I, pl. 42 [E-g]). This replacement seems only to have been sporadic, and did not eliminate the older form. See also Addenda.

G30 THREE JABIRUS, bnc.

The heads may be lined up by drawing the beaks with a single stroke of the pen. The legs may likewise be simplified by drawing them continuously: // Old Kingdom examples of the jabiru show the wattle just beneath the head (so also in the Middle Kingdom: Benv Hasan III, pl. 2 [3]).

G31 HERON, bmv.

G32 HERON ON PERCH, brhi.

G33 EGRET(?), sd£.

G35 CORMORANT, qk.

This fishing bird has a long serpentine neck and a very long tail for swimming under water. Note also that the head slopes upward.

G36 SWALLOW, wr.

The wing may be drawn initially, along with the head, so as to guide all the rest. Since scale is frequently ignored, only the wide tail distinguishes this bird from the sparrow
(G37); and the ancient scribe did not always indicate the difference very clearly. Some Old Kingdom examples are relatively large, however; cf.  and  in Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. 1 (center):  in this period the large tail was sometimes allowed to overlap an adjacent border: MMJ 12 (1977) p. 8, nn. 35, 36.

G37 SPARROW, nds.

G39 PINTAIL DUCK, zi.

Scarcely distinguished from  (G38) except for the slightly different tail, which is only discernible in detailed examples. The neck was sometimes lengthened to goose-like proportions in the New Kingdom.

G40 FLYING DUCK, pt.

G41 ALIGHTING DUCK, bn(i).

G47 DUCKLING, b.

The Old Kingdom duckling is decidedly less vertical than Gardiner’s G47, and that is equally true of most examples down through the early New Kingdom. My model is Rekh-mi-Re-™, pl. 15 (18, 19). Cf. also Picture Writing, pl. 4 (2), from the same tomb.

G49 DUCKS IN POOL, iwn.

To be distinguished from  (G48), zi, as is pointed out by Montet, Kêmi 4 [1981].

**G51** HERON ON FISH, *hm*.

The Gardiner form is known from the late Old Kingdom (e.g. *Deir el Gebrawi I*, pl. 3) and onward, but the Old Kingdom form more usually does not show the bird standing on the fish, and, to judge from Old Kingdom examples, the bird was originally a crested heron; since the crest was in line with the bent neck, it soon disappeared.

**G54** TRUSSED GOOSE, *snu*.

This form is usual in all periods, but examples from the Old Kingdom show some variations.

**H6** OSTRICH FEATHER, *sw(t)*.


**I1** LIZARD, *št*.

The New Kingdom examples (as in Gardiner’s font) represent a gecko; cf. *Picture Writing*, p. 30 and pl. 5 (1).

**I3** CROCODILE, *mzh*.

30
SIGNS ARRANGED BY CATEGORY

I6 CROCODILE HIDE, km.

The Old Kingdom form is more rounded. The Gardiner version became usual in the Middle Kingdom: e.g. Beni Hasan III, pl. 6 (102, 103). But the Old Kingdom form is attested in the reign of Sesostris I: CG 20539 (I b, 11).

I8 TADPOLE, hfn(r).

I13 ERECT COBRA.

K1 BULTI-FISH, in(t).

K2 BARBUS BYNNI, but.

The Old Kingdom version shows the tail curved downward, as in the Mendesian nome emblem, Lower Egypt 16, which represents Schilbe mystus (Ingrid Gamer-Wallert, Fische und Fischkulte, p. 100); the tail became horizontal in the Middle Kingdom (Montet, Kemi 3 [1930] p. 72 and pl. 7 [13, 19]).

K3 MULLET, qfd(w).

The fish characteristically slopes upward.

K4 OXYRHYNCHUS, bθ(t).

As the Greek name indicates, the long snout is distinctive.
K7  **BLOWFISH, det. ḫpr.**

Puffs up when annoyed (ḫpr), becoming a spiny balloon that is proof against the attack of carnivorous fish.

L1  **DUNG BEETLE, ḫpr(r).**

L2  **BEE, ḫt.**

The thorax and abdomen must be drawn separately. The hind leg, under the abdomen, was often omitted.

L7  **SCORPION, ṣḥrt.**

The stylization of this sign, omitting the tail and its venomous sting, is one of those modifications that derives from funerary texts in the burial chamber: Lacau, *ZÄS* 51 (1913) pp. 49-57. See Addenda.

M2  **RUSH, ḫn(ṯ).**

This form is found in all periods, but Old Kingdom examples show a great deal of variety.

M3  **PIECE OF WOOD, ḫt.**

New Kingdom examples resemble a branch, and the sign is usually described thus, but earlier examples depict a trunk with all branches lopped except for the one at the very end.
**M11 LOTUS ON A LONG STALK, *wdn.***

The Old Kingdom forms vary considerably, sometimes showing the open flower, sometimes a bud; in one case the flower is replaced by the head of a goose (*Egyptian Studies II*, p. 129, note 423). A certain amount of variation is also found in examples of the Middle Kingdom.

![Diagram of M11](image1)

**M12 LEAF, STEM, AND RHIZOME, OF LOTUS, *bl.***

Archaic examples again show variation: in some the leaf is upright, in others it is turned forward, as though floating on the water, and in either case the signs may be joined at the base to form a plurality of thousands. Gardiner’s form, with the leaf turned forward, was usual from the Old Kingdom onward, but the upright leaf reappeared sporadically (Figure c) and especially in numbers. Clusters of two or more signs are also known from the Old Kingdom (Figure b), although more rarely. See also Addenda.

![Diagram of M12](image2)

**M13 PAPYRUS STALK, *wdj.***

Archaic examples show projecting leaves at the base of the stalk, as do some dating to the Old Kingdom (illustrated here) and even later.

![Diagram of M13](image3)
SIGNS ARRANGED BY CATEGORY

M15 PAPYRUS THICKET, $\phi$, mk(w).

The base represents the water in which the papyrus is growing. Quite often, from the Old Kingdom onwards, the form is simplified to $\approx$ (M16), which otherwise has the value $\approx$.

M22 RUSH WITH SHOOTS, $\downarrow\uparrow$ nn.

In earlier examples (Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom) the top of the plant is distinctly shorter than it is in $\downarrow$ (M23), and that is sometimes true of examples dating to the early New Kingdom; compare, for example, Menkheperura-tomb, pls. 10 (M22, M23) and 14 (M23), whereas forms like those used by Gardiner appear in Tylor and Griffith, Paheri, pl. 1; Petrie and Quibell, Naqada and Ballas, pl. 77, and often elsewhere. The group $\downarrow\downarrow$ is regularly replaced by $\downarrow\downarrow$ in inscriptions of the Heracleopolitan Period (nomes U.K. 4, 5, 6), and the occasional assimilation of $\downarrow$ to $\downarrow$ is also known from later periods. See also Addenda (M12).

M23 SEDGELIKE PLANT, stat.

In this sign, as in the next, the earliest Old Kingdom examples (a) show the leaves overlapped alternately. Fifth Dynasty forms (b) begin to depart from this arrangement; later (c) the leaves are often joined symmetrically. For details see Fischer, Dendera, p. 17, and JNES 18 (1959) pp. 269–271.

M26 FLOWERING SEDGE (♀), $im'(w)$.

In the New Kingdom the flowering end of this sign was stylized so that it resembles a fleur de lis, and examples such as the one in Figure b (emblematically representing Upper Egypt) are sometimes mistakenly identified as a lily or lotus.
SIGNS ARRANGED BY CATEGORY

M29 SEED POD, $n\text{fm}.

M30 SWEET-TASTING ROOT(?), $bnr.

M32, M31 STYLIZED RHIZOME OF LOTUS, $nl.$

The forms are variable. In the Old Kingdom this sign resembles a leg; the sign $\text{f}$ (D56) is, in fact, likewise read $nl$, but these two signs were consistently differentiated.

M40 BUNDLE OF REEDS, $iz.$

Old Kingdom examples show a considerable amount of variation (see also ZÄS 93 [1966] p. 58, fig. 3). This sign must be carefully distinguished from $\text{ß}$, $\text{ß}$ (Aa28, 29).

N18 BOLT OF CLOTH, $d\text{iw}.$

As a sign for cloth (listed after Gardiner’s S26), this represents rolled up linen, and not "a garment" (MMJ 10 [1975] pp. 14–20). See also Addenda.

N23 IRRIGATION CANAL.

In my Dendera, p. 90 (15), I note that the Old Kingdom determinatives $\rightarrow$ — (N20–22, Aa12) became $\rightarrow$ (N36) in Dyn. VIII, and $\rightarrow$ late in Dyn. XI. But hieratic $\text{z}$ occurred in the Old Kingdom, Berlin Pap. 8869 (Smith, JEA 28 [1942] p. 17, line 11), and hieroglyphic $\rightarrow$ in MorV, pl. 26 (and cf. pl. 22); also LD Text, II, p. 60.
SIGNS ARRANGED BY CATEGORY

N25, N26 MOUNTAINS, ḫst, ḫw.

In Archaic examples the sides are sloping rather than vertical, and this feature persists to some extent in the Old Kingdom (b), and somewhat later.

N28 SUN RISING BEHIND HILL, ḫʾt.

As may be seen from the detailed Old Kingdom example, the outer curve defines the rays of the sun.

N31 ROAD BORDERED BY SHRUBS, wʾt.

In the earlier Old Kingdom inscriptions this sign, as well as ḫʾʾ (N36), is apt to be curved (Petrie, Medum, pls. 9, 12). Thereafter it was usually straight, but the curved forms appeared occasionally, and even in much later periods. The curved example shown here is Dyn. V.

O28 STONE COLUMN, iwm.

In Old Kingdom examples the column is sometimes fluted. The notched top began to appear in the Sixth Dynasty (Fischer, Dendera, p. 84). See also Addenda.

O29 WOODEN COLUMN, ḫʾw.

The capital of this column was usually simplified after the Old Kingdom, as shown in Figure b.
**SIGNS ARRANGED BY CATEGORY**

**O42, O43 FENCE, ëp.**

For variations of the second sign, used in the Old Kingdom, see JARCE 2 (1963) pp. 25–26. New Kingdom examples of ë are frequently reversed, either wholly or in part, and even in inscriptions that show the normal rightward orientation: Rekh-mi-Ré", pls. 68, 92, 94; Caminos, Buhen I, pl. 62 (12); Brunner, Die südlichen Räume, pls. 63, 75. An early variant (Old–Middle Kingdom) shows the sign in an extended hand: ñ (MMJ 12 [1978], fig. 4f on p. 9 and n. 48, p. 10).

**O44 EMBLEM OF MIN TEMPLE, ist.**

Used in all periods, but Old Kingdom examples show some striking variations.

**O49 CROSSROADS, niwt.**

The second form is occasionally found in Old and Middle Kingdom inscriptions, and more frequently in those of the Heracleopolitan Period and Eleventh Dynasty: cf. Fischer, Dendera, pp. 78–79.

**P1 BOAT, dpt, hëw.**

With seat and steering oar. Old Kingdom examples usually omit the oar (Figure a), and a boat with high prow and stern (Figure b) is preferred in titles of that period.
The ship should be moving forward. Gardiner’s reversed form applies only to a few very special cases (Egyptian Studies II, §40).

The forms vary. This one shows a high prow and stern, like the ships in Old Kingdom titles, and it carries a shrine containing the god’s image. See Addenda.

The Old Kingdom form usually has a high prow and stern (as also in the Middle Kingdom: Beni Hasan III, pl. 3 [23]), and the example illustrated here (a) also shows the pattern of the fisherman’s net. The second Old Kingdom example (b) is a less common variant. Another example, from the Middle Kingdom (c), shows a catfish (wh’r) in place of the net.

The Gardiner and Theinhardt fonts wrongly reverse the direction of the sail, which should move forward rather than backward (Egyptian Studies II, §39). Old Kingdom examples show no orientation in either direction, as illustrated here.
SIGNS ARRANGED BY CATEGORY

P6  MAST, "h.c.

Old Kingdom examples have a shorter stem at the base.

a  b

R8  PENNANT, EMBLEMATIC OF DIVINITY, nfr.

The top of the pennant is slanted; the bottom, in the Old Kingdom, was usually horizontal, but sometimes also slanted as in Gardiner’s version. The pennant consists of strips of cloth, wound around the pole. In the Archaic Period it took the form: 𓖋, which reappeared occasionally in the Old Kingdom (Fakhry, Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II, fig. 90; cf. Caminos and Fischer, Epigraphy and Palaeography, p. 48 and note 76).

R10 Combination of R8, T28, N29, hst-nfr.

The Old Kingdom examples show many variations; see MMJ 12 (1977) p. 9, fig. 3 (a–i), and so too, to a lesser extent, the forms of later periods.

R11  DD-COLUMN.

Normally the top is quadruple, rarely triple (for the latter see Ancient Egypt in the Metropolitan Museum Journal [New York, 1977] p. 160 and note 13).

R15  FEATHER ON STANDARD, ibt. See Addenda, below.
SIGNS ARRANGED BY CATEGORY

R17, R18 Thinite Nome-emblem, "T-wr.

The emblem of Upper Egyptian Nome 8 shows a good deal of variation; some Old Kingdom forms are displayed in JAOS 74 (1954) p. 34, and some later writings in WZKM 57 (1961) pp. 72–77.

S1 White Crown of Upper Egypt, bbt.

S3 Red Crown of Lower Egypt, n(t).

S23 Flagella and Šn-sign, dm∂.

Originally represented a neckband from which an amulet was suspended, as shown in the Old Kingdom example; for the amulet see Margaret Murray, Ancient Egypt (London 1917) pp. 50–53. The New Kingdom version misinterprets the old sign as a pair of flagella (∧ S45) and the Šn-sign (∨ V9).

S34 Amuletic Bow, "nh.

Originally resembled an elaborate bow, in which the lower part represents the two ends; in Archaic examples these two ends are sometimes widely separated: ∪. For the difference between this sign and ∇ (V39) see MMJ 5 (1972) pp. 11–15. It does not seem possible to explain it as a sandal strap; cf. Jéquier, BIFAO 11 (1914) pp. 132–133.
**S40 Ws-scepter.**

This seems originally to have been a herdsman’s staff: see Fischer, “Some Notes on Sticks and Staves,” §9.

**S43 Walking-stick, mdw.**

The orientation, with knobbed end downward, reflects the way the stick is carried in early representations down through the first two reigns of Dyn. IV: *Egyptian Studies II*, §45.

**T3, T4 Pyriform mace, bd.**

The second form is known from the Archaic Period and was used fairly frequently in the Old Kingdom and later. In most of the earlier cases the loop is near the top, as in Figure b, so that this can hardly be “a strap to pass round hand.”

**T12 Bowstring, ruwl.**

See Addenda.

**T13 Shelter(?), rs.**

The Old Kingdom form often shows a base. The New Kingdom form is similar to that of the ḫd-ḫr”implement, as attested in Pyr. 1245 (c, M), but it seems doubtful that the latter originally had any connection with the sign for rs; cf. Jéquier, *Freses d’objets*, p. 226. The looped tie may have been suggested by that of ę (M36), which began to replace the simpler form ę (M37) in Dyn. XII: Petrie *et al.*, *Lahun II*, pl. 29; *Meir II*, pls. 3, 4.
SIGNS ARRANGED BY CATEGORY

\[ T_{17} \text{ CHARIOT, wrrt.} \]

This shows the earlier New Kingdom type of chariot, with the wheel located beneath the center of gravity rather than (as in the Amarna Period and after) behind it. My model is Picture Writing, pl. 9 (6), also shown in Ken-Amun, pl. 13.

\[ T_{21} \text{ HARPOON, w™.} \]

My own drawing is closer to the earlier examples. The Theinhardt form U37, with two barbs (\( \text{w}: \text{w} \)), began to be used in Dyn. XVIII, and at least as early as the reign of Tuthmosis III.

\[ T_{25} \text{ REED FLOAT, } \text{db}. \]

Fig. d is an unusual example. The tie is normally in front, but there are many exceptions. See also Addenda.

\[ T_{26}, T_{27} \text{ BIRD-TRAP, sht.} \]

The Old Kingdom sometimes used the schematic form T27, which evidently shows the two overlapping halves of the trap, but often a more realistic representation was preferred (b). Figures c and d show the net opened and closed. For details see Vandier, Manuel d’archéologie V, pp. 307–313; also Addenda.
**SIGNS ARRANGED BY CATEGORY**

**T28 CHOPPING BLOCK, hr.**

Some Old Kingdom variations are discussed in *Orientalia* 29 (1960) pp. 172–174. In the second half of Dyn. XVIII the bottom of this sign became rounded, evidently by assimilation to ﾋ (W11) or to the sun-disk in ﾋ (N7): *Ken-Amun*, pl. 13; *Ramose*, pls. 11, 25 39, 40. For the same feature in ﾋ see *Ramose*, pls. 8, 11, 39; *Private Tombs I*, Pl. 59. The latter (pl. 52) also shows ﾋ which subsequently became quite common (MMJ 12 [1978] p. 16, and note 142). See also Addenda, below.

**U1 SICKLE, ml.**

The Old Kingdom hieroglyph shows the flint blades along the cutting edge. For an actual example see Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, pl. 9 (22).

**U6 HOE, mr.**

May show either one or two crosspieces, as explained by the single or double rope in Old Kingdom hieroglyphs. For an actual example see Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, pl. 68 (62).

**U13 PLOUGH, hh, shi.**

Here the blade is directed forward rather than backward, as in the case of the hoe (U6).

**U16 SLEDGE WITH HEAD OF JACKAL, bi.**
**SIGNS ARRANGED BY CATEGORY**

**U20 ADZE (OLD KINGDOM),** *nwt.*

Gardiner’s "somewhat similar sign," used in the Old Kingdom as determinative of "nail," often shows the form illustrated here.

**U21 ADZE, sip.**

A detail from an Old Kingdom scene shows the tool in action, the ancestor of the plane. Note how the metal blade is fastened to the handle. Actual examples may be seen in Petrie and Branton, *Sedment I,* pl. 21 (5–6).

**U22 CHISEL, *mnh.***

Used with a mallet, as shown in the detail from an Old Kingdom scene (Figure b). The Old Kingdom hieroglyph is taller than the New Kingdom version of Gardiner’s font.
As Gardiner notes, the same sign is used for $\ddot{a}$. Old Kingdom examples normally show a projection at the front of the handle, and this was evidently provided to keep the thumb from slipping, as demonstrated by Figure c. The same feature is sometimes found in Middle Kingdom examples: *Hieroglyphs*, pl. 8 (107). In the Eighteenth Dynasty a slightly different form, with a narrow cap at the top (Figure d), became common from the reign of Tuthmosis III onward. An early example of this period (e) shows a wider cap.

Weighted at the top with stones; a piece of flint or sandstone inserted in the fork at the bottom does the drilling (cf. Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid II*, pl. 95 [4]; Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal Ne-user-nef*, fig. 124). The drawing in Figure c shows how the drill was operated, and also explains the jog in the stem (Figure b), which occurs in many examples including those of the New Kingdom (e.g. *Picture Writing*, pl. 8 [10]). Gardiner’s U25 and 24 wrongly show the top slanting backward instead of forward; cf. *Rekh-mâ-Re-re*, pl. 36; *Ken-Aswân*, pl. 13, and the orientation of this detail in Figure c. The second of the Old Kingdom examples has already begun to resemble Gardiner’s New Kingdom form.
U27 (O.K.), U26 (N.K.), Drill for Small Objects, wb.

The figure shows a craftsman drilling a hole in a bead; Gardiner’s U27 is probably taken from the caption of this scene.

U28 (N.K.), U29 (O.K.) Fire-Drill, dl.

A variant often used in the late Old Kingdom, illustrated here, shows the drill penetrating the wood. For an actual example see Brunton and Engelbach, Gurob, pl. 46 (19).

U30 Potter’s Kiln, t.

Old Kingdom examples often distinguish the brick walls of the kiln from the opening at the bottom and from vertical lines at the top, representing glowing heat. Occasionally the top is a rounded heap of glowing coals, as seen in the Old Kingdom example illustrated here (Figure b), as well as at least two examples from the New Kingdom. See Addenda.
U₃₄  **SPINDLE, hsf.**

The Old Kingdom scene illustrated here (a) shows coarse fiber, probably papyrus, being twisted to make rope. In preparing flax thread for cloth (b) the spinner stood, and let the spindle twirl freely in the air to twist the loosely gathered rove.

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U₃₆  **FULLER’S CLUB, hm.**

The earlier examples (Old and Middle Kingdom) are usually broader at the base, and are narrower above this point. Thus the recommended simplification is less inaccurate than it might appear.

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V₂  **BOLT AND STRING, sfc.**

Figure b illustrates an additional New Kingdom example showing the protuberances of the bolt. The Old Kingdom form (a) evidently does not represent a bolt at all, but perhaps a yoke for oxen (Graefe, *MDAIK* 27 [1971] pp. 149–150). See also Addenda.
Easily drawn with a single line. The knot of the lasso is rarely indicated.

If this sign represents the papyrus bandoleer worn by boatmen (Figure d), as is assumed by the authorities whom Gardiner cites, then it most probably is a life preserver, as proposed by Oric Bates in *Harvard African Studies* I (1917) pp. 231–232. It should be noted, however, that the bandoleer is evidently termed $\text{z£}$ (Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 52; Pyr. 2044a) and that V18, unlike the determinative of this word, is not divided at the bottom (a, b). But the determinative of $\text{z£}$ is virtually reduplicated by the Middle Kingdom example of $\text{z£}$ shown in Figure c, and from this period onward the bottom of the $\text{z£}$-sign was usually divided.

An Old Kingdom example clearly shows the structure.
V24 (O.K.), V25 (later)

CORD WOUND ON STICK, wšt.

The cord is sometimes moved higher on the stick, in which case it may easily be confused with \(\hat{}\) (T3). It is doubtless for this reason that the later form \(\hat{}\) was devised; it first came into use toward the end of Dyn. XII (\(\text{JEA} 61 \ [1975]\) p. 246, note 6). One of the earlier examples of V25 (Figure b) still shows the cord at the center, however.

V29 SWAB, sk(i), wšt.

The Old Kingdom forms show a certain amount of variation. Figure c, resembling Gardiner’s V29, soon became the most common of these, but it sometimes has three loops or (rarely) a single loop, instead of two. The three-looped form also occurred fairly frequently in the New Kingdom.

W2, W1 SEALED OIL JAR, bš̲, mrht.

As in the case of \(\hat{}\) and \(\sim\) (Y2, Y1), the later form shows the ends of string beneath the seal. But Old Kingdom examples often omit the seal altogether, and they may also show the veining that is characteristic of alabaster, for which see also \(\text{GM} 122\) (1991) pp. 23–24. Although \(\hat{}\) sometimes continued to appear in the name of Bastet after the Old Kingdom, this usage was by no means as regular as Gardiner indicates. One example, dating to the early Middle Kingdom, has \(\hat{}\) (Petrie, \textit{Koptos}, pl. 10), while another of the same reign has \(\hat{}\) (Lacau and Chévrier, \textit{Une Chapelle}, pl. 42), and the name of the
goddess usually shows \[\text{ú}\] in early New Kingdom writings (e.g. MMJ 9 [1974] p. 31; Moh. Aly et al., Temple d’Amada IV, C24; Habachi, Tell Basta, fig. 26 and pl. 40; so also the example cited by Gardiner: Northampton, Spiegelberg, Newberry, Theban Necropolis, pl. 34 [2]); the same is true of the later New Kingdom.

\[\text{W}_3\] ALABASTER BOWL, \(\text{hb.}\)

The lozenge at the center is a simplification of the variegated layers of the stone, which were exploited as decoration. This veining also appears in \(\text{W}_2\), above, and in \(\text{Aa}_31\), below.

\[\text{W}_{17}, \text{W}_{18}\] (O.K.)

HZ-VASES IN A RACK, \(\text{hn}(t)\).

Begin with the caps of the vases. The form with four jars is more usual in the earlier Old Kingdom inscriptions, but examples with three jars were not uncommon in that period (Junker, Giza IX, p. 149, note 1) as also in the first dynasties. In a very few cases the row of four jars is reduplicated, the tops of the second row rising behind the first. The simplified version of this sign was occasionally used from the Old Kingdom onward (e.g. \textit{ibid.}, fig. 44), but usually assumed a form like \[\text{Clarence Fisher, Minor Cemetery at Giza, pl. 49 [3]; Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh, pl. 7D}\]; in the early New Kingdom simplified forms such as \[\text{became quite common.}\]

\[\text{W}_{24}\] POT, \(\text{nw.}\)

In Old Kingdom examples the rim is rounded, not everted, and so too in the Middle Kingdom (\textit{Hieroglyphs}, pl. 8 [141]), as distinguished from Gardiner’s New Kingdom form.
The first dated occurrence of the later form, showing the ends of the strings projecting from beneath the mud seal, belongs to the first reign of Dyn. XII. The variant showing a single string is most commonly attested from early Dyn. XII, the reigns of Sesostris I to Amenemhet II (Wolfgang Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, §2), but occurred sporadically down through the Second Intermediate Period (*RdE* 24 [1972] p. 70, note 1).

The Old Kingdom form is slightly different, and is differently oriented. It appears in the earlier writing of the prenomen of Nb-hpt-R° Mentuhotep (Naville, *XIIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari I*, pls. 12 [E], 17 [E]), but was replaced by the later form in the Twelfth Dynasty: Blackman, *Meir I*, pl. 11 (= II, pl. 17 [66]); Hayes, *Se’n-Wosret’-ankh*, pl. 7 (391, 393).

The second, later form is generally agreed to represent the cover of a quiver. It is known from the beginning of Dyn. XII onward: Hayes, *Se’n-Wosret’-ankh*, pl. 5 (366), 7 (384, 386), etc.; Newberry and Griffith, *Bersheh I*, pl. 18. The two Old Kingdom variations both occur repeatedly and both favor the interpretation as a “lid” (Iversen, *JEA* 42 [1956] pp. 54–57) rather than a “quiver” (Goedicke, *JEA* 45 [1959] pp. 99–100; the quiver he compares, in an unpublished relief from the Userkaf pyramid temple, is suspended from a sling tied at each end, and shows other differences). Often replaced by hieratic  in early Middle Kingdom inscriptions (*ZÄS* 100 [1973] p. 19 [H]).
Aa20  SIGN FOR  PR.

The first of the Old Kingdom forms shown here is anomalous, but it suggests that in that period this sign was understood as a kind of sack. An unusual Middle Kingdom variant (d) resembles a tunic. See also Addenda.

Aa27  SIGN FOR  ND.

If the lower part of this sign is effaced, this may be (and sometimes has been) mistaken for  (F35).

Aa29, Aa28, BRICKMAKER’S STRIKER, bd.

A variety of forms occur in Old Kingdom inscriptions. In general this sign is thinner than  (M40), which it tends to resemble, and in Old Kingdom examples the protuberance is usually near the upper or lower end. For the nature of the implement, see Hieroglyphs, p. 49, and Badawy, JNES 15 (1956) pp. 177–179; for further Old Kingdom examples see ZÄS 93 (1966) p. 58, fig. 3 (aa–jj).

Aa31  JAR, Aa30 CHEVAL DE FRÎSE, hkr.

The Old Kingdom form represents an inverted alabaster jar, as Griffith has already noted in Ptahhetep I, p. 37.
Addenda

A9—The form of the basket is somewhat variable in the earlier Old Kingdom examples; it may be very shallow, as in Fig. a (from Junker, Gîza I, pl. 25 [early Dyn. IV, reversed]; cf. LD II, pl. 64a [late Dyn. V]), and may, in addition, bear a single pellet (Junker, Gîza II, figs. 11, 35 [both early Dyn. V]). In one case, dating to the beginning of Dyn. IV (Fig. b, reversed), the basket is deeper but shows a series of pellets: Louvre B1, cf. Christiane Ziegler, Catalogue des stèles… de l’Ancien Empire (Paris 1990) p. 99. In another case it is quite deep and has a single pellet; Cairo CG 1790 (seen from the original).

A25—This was used occasionally as the equivalent of (A47) in the Middle Kingdom, and more often (along with (A24)) throughout the New Kingdom; see Egyptian Studies III, pp. 177–179.

A33—There was little or no use of this sign as the equivalent of (A47) before the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty (temp. A), although an example is known as early as the Twelfth Dynasty; see Egyptian Studies III, loc. cit.

A48—A clear Old Kingdom example of this variant of (A47) is shown in Ptahhetep I, pl. 4 (10). For the context see R. F. E. Paget and A. A. Pirie, Tomb of Ptah-hetep (London, 1898) pl. 31 (top), where a /supervises herdsmen. Conversely (A47) could be used as the determinative of (in) in the New Kingdom (Ramose, pl. 42).

B1—Although the group is normally of equal height, Old Kingdom inscriptions frequently show the woman slightly smaller than the man; e.g. Junker Gîza III, fig. 16 (but not fig. 27); Hassan, Gîza II, fig. 266, III, figs. 104, 156; V, fig. 101; Borchardt, Grabdenkmal Sahu-reII, pl. 20 (but not pl. 19); Bissing, Re-Heiligtum III, pl. 11; Tomb of Myn (MDAIK 21 [1966], pls. 3, 5, 6); Egyptian Studies I, fig. 14, p. 47; James and Apted, Khentika, pls. 5–6 (B16, but not B13; D3, D6, but not D10).

D (not in Gardiner font)—Herman de Meulenaere (BIFAO 81 supplément [1981], pp. 87–89) confirms that the reading of this term for “repast” is to be distinguished from “breakfast” and read or (to my mind less probably) simply . Cf. Pyr. 60a (and 110e–f), in which it is introduced by a paronomastic statement: “unite it (the wdy) to thy mouth.”
ADDENDA

D2—A deformation of this sign evidently explains the sign as a writing of "overlord" at Beni Hasan in Dyn. XII: *Egyptian Studies* III, pp. 190–191.

D41—For the Old Kingdom form as the dual of see *Egyptian Studies* III, pp. 180–186.

D45—Possibly the New Kingdom reinterpretation goes back to an Old Kingdom example such as the one shown here, from Dunham and Simpson, *Meryankh III*, fig. 6 (reversed). In this particular case, however, the object is not green but white, with red detail (Smith, *History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, p. 375).

D54—The form (with kilt) is also to be seen in Old Kingdom hieratic: Paule Posener-Kriéger and Jean-Louis de Cenival, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, Fifth Series, *The Abu Ser Papyri* (London, 1968) Pal. pl. 3. This detail probably explains the flat top of some early Middle Kingdom forms such as (Davies, *Antefo˚er*, pl. 8; K. Dyroff and B. Pörtner, *Aegyptische Grabsteine II: München [Strassburg 1904]*, pl. 1 [1]) and (Metropolitan Museum of Art Neg. M7C 133), which shows the bottom edge of the kilt.

D60—It is generally assumed, and rightly so, that this composite sign goes back to the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom, but note that (1) there the two signs are not united; (2) they appear together in the writing of as and (3) other writings of the same word show variations such as and (the last including the biconsonantal sign in the composite F17). All three variations occur, for example, in Pyr. 127 a, b. The use of in inscriptions aboveground is first attested on Eleventh Dynasty stelae: e.g. J. J. Clère and J. Vandier, *Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire et de la XIème Dynastie* (Brussels, 1948) §§14, 20 (B), 22, 23; in these cases the two elements are still slightly separated, but soon they were more often fused: *ibid.*, §§27 (1), 32 (14), 33 (4). The separation often persisted in Dyn. XII: *Meir III*, pls. 14, 24; Newberry and Griffith, *Bersheh I*, pls. 13, 15; Petrie, *Antaeopolis* (London, 1930) pls. 4, 24; but also joined, pls. 26, 27.

E8—Contrary to Gardiner, *JEA* 17 (1931) p. 246, this form was, on occasion, replaced by as early as the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty: *Rekh-mi-Re*, pl. 86 (right, col. q). And in Dyn. XIX might also be assimilated to the lively movement of the latter (Clère, *RdE* 11 [1957], p. 26).
ADDENDA

E31—Lahun II, pl. 30 (58), cited in the first edition, errs in omitting the seal, as may be seen from the original inscription, now in the Oriental Institute, Chicago; see JEA 68 (1982) p. 46. The Beni Hasan reference, added in the second edition, is corroborated by LD II, pl. 130. For the hornless kid see also Merenra II, pl. 213: this also recurs, as an archaism, in Dyn. XVII: Helen Jacquet-Gordon, Karnak-Nord VI, Le Trésor de Thoutmosis I: La Décoration (Cairo, 1988) p. 237 and pls. 46 (A), 48.

F12—Occasionally assumed the form \( \frac{1}{2} \) in the Middle Kingdom: Egyptian Studies III, pp. 187–190.

F29—For other variants, including \( \frac{3}{4} \), see Egyptian Studies III, pp. 192–194.

F35—Fairman (ZÄS 91 [1964] p. 8), cites Ptolemaic examples of \( \frac{1}{2} \) meaning “throat,” “gullet;” this favors the interpretation of the sign as the esophagus, and provides the origin of the phonetic value \( nfr \).

G7—Although Kaplony gives abundant evidence for this sign as a logogram for \( nfr \) “god” in the Archaic Period (Chronique d’Égypte 41 [1966] p. 90), this usage is more common in Old Kingdom inscriptions than he indicates: a striking example appears in the phrase \( nb \ im\ hr \ nfr \ f \) “possessor of reverence with his god” in Hassan, Giza III, fig. 104:

For other evidence see Abdel-Moneim Abu Bakr, Excavations at Giza 1949–1950 (Cairo, 1953), fig. 47, in \( doi \ nfr \) “praise god” (thank); also MMJ 11 (1976) p. 73, fig. 13 and 74, n. 72, where Old Kingdom examples are cited of the title \( \frac{1}{2} \) “he who is privy to the secret of the god’s words (scil. hieroglyphs)” and \( hr \ nfr \) “necropolis,” for which see also MMJ 12 (1977) p. 9, fig. 3 a–c. The writing of the title occasionally took the same form in the Middle Kingdom: Beni Hasan I, pl. 17; Montet, Kôm 3 (1930) p. 74 (Stft I, 334).

G20—Although this composite form did not become usual until Dyn. XVIII, an example occurs on a stela that may well be as early as Dyn. XIII, and in any case is earlier than the New Kingdom (Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae &c. in the British Museum III [1912], pl. 6 [BM 334]; cf. comments on R15 below). An even earlier example is given in Urk. VII, p. 12
ADDENDA

(17), but this is less complete in the publication from which it is taken (Beni Hasan I, pl. 44, line 8) and the surrounding area is evidently damaged; the horizontal line, interpreted as an arm, is probably accidental.

G26—In examples of the Old Kingdom and later the perch shows distinctive peculiarities. These details are discussed in *Egyptian Studies* III, pp. 201–205, as well as the origin of the writing \( \text{♯} \) (X2), in place of the entire sign, which is known from the end of the Heracleopolitan Period.

G28—The bill seems occasionally to have been elongated downwards to ground-level in some earlier examples, one as early as Dyn. XII (Amenemhet II: Balcz and Bittel, *MDAIK* 3 [1932], fig. 13, facing p. 28), another dated to the beginning of Dyn. XVIII (Tuthmosis I: J. de Morgan et al., *Catalogue des monuments* I [Vienna 1894], p. 85 [13]).

L7—The abbreviated form appears aboveground in at least one Old Kingdom chapel: Hassan, *Giza* II, figs. 17, 22, 25, 27. The much more complete Old Kingdom examples shown here are (a) traced from the Hildesheim chapel of Wm-k£ (cf. Hans Kayser, *Die Mastaba des Uhemka* [Hannover, 1964] pp. 37, 70) and (b) after Drioton, *ASAE* 43 (1943) p. 500, fig. 67 (both reversed). As Jean-Philippe Lauer has reminded me, this form is also to be found in the reliefs of Djoser (e.g. Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, pl. 41). Later the legs were placed on both sides of the body: e.g. *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 7. But the form shown in Fig. a reappears in Adriaan de Buck, *Egyptian Coffin Texts* V (1954) p. 142.

M12, M22—These two signs were very occasionally assimilated in the Old and Middle Kingdom, as is shown in *Egyptian Studies* III, pp. 205–208.

N18—This sign was often used as a generic determinative in the Old Kingdom. As demonstrated in the article that is cited, a three-dimensional version of it was placed in the
fisted hands of statues from the Fourth Dynasty onward (see also Ancient Egypt in the Metropolitan Museum Journal, [1977], p. 184). In my opinion, Albrecht Fehlig, in attempting to explain this in terms of religion and ritual (SAK 13 [1980], 55–94), has unnecessarily complicated a simple matter.

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N20—For variations of this sign and see MDAIK 47 (1991) 132–133.

N37—Contrary to Gardiner’s observations, the replacement of this sign by became common only in Dyn. XI and later. In the Old Kingdom N38 is normally used for grgt “settlement,” stt “aroura,” and rarely spt “nome” (loc. cit.).

(T) O22—The word bh “festival” was originally written with this sign, and evidently down through the reign of Djoser; thus, prior to the Fourth Dynasty, only the context distinguished it from zh “pavilion;” this usage survived to some extent as late as the Middle Kingdom. See Egyptian Studies III, pp. 208–209.

O28—Jean-Philippe Lauer has called my attention to the fact that such columns, in the Djoser pyramid enclosure, were painted red, apparently in imitation of wood. This observation also agrees with the color data for O28 given by Wm. S. Smith in History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting, pp. 367, 379.

P1, P3—The Old Kingdom ship with high prow and stern, used in titles, cannot be proven to have the value hsw, but it is evidently a masc. word, and hsw does have such a determinative in a Middle Kingdom inscription (Abdel Moneim Sayed, Bdl 20 [1977], pl. 16 (b) lines 3, 7). One Old Kingdom title precedes the determinative by phonetic kz (Junker, Giza V, figs. 5 a, 29 a), but this term is not known elsewhere, and, equally exceptionally, it is written in the plural. As in the Middle Kingdom inscription just mentioned, the context of the Old Kingdom titles in question refers, for the most part, to commercial expeditions (mining and trade); cf. Fakhry, ASAE 38 (1938) pp. 40–41; Fischer, Capitale Nome, p. 53. The ship with high prow and stern also, very occasionally, appears as the determinative of words such as s∂£ “travel” (Urk. I, p. 182 [3]), s∂£t “sailing” (ibid., p. 183 (9), ñnt “sail upstream” (ibid., p. 214 [13]). Similar hieroglyphs were also, of course, applied to sacred barks in the Old Kingdom, and hence are the equivalent of New Kingdom ñf (P4); one such example serves as the determinative of dpt-nτr “divine boat” (Hassan, Giza I, fig. 13). For these and other hieroglyphic forms of sacred barks see Anthes, ZÄS 82 (1958) pp. 82–83; Fischer, Dendera, pp. 124–125; also ZÄS 86 (1961) p. 24, where the form resembles ñf (P4, ñf). Conversely,
the high-prowed form of P3 is employed for wḥr in Edel and Wenig, *Jahreszeitenreliefs*, pls. A and 12 (as opposed to pl. 18).

∽ R5—H. Brunner’s study of this sign and its successors (*Nachrichten Göttingen* 1965, No. 3, pp. 79–96) should be noted, although he mistakenly interprets the curved projection as a handle in those Old Kingdom examples where the sign is reversed, rather than a stream of smoke (p. 85)—an error that Gardiner avoids. For the reversal of Old Kingdom ◻ (R6) both rightward and leftward (Ti III, pl. 172) cf. *Egyptian Studies* II, §38 and *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* V, col. 189, fig. 2.

† R15—Gardiner adopts Sethe’s interpretation of this emblem as a “spear decked out as standard,” but Sethe’s evidence actually indicates that the standard bears a feather, viewed from the front; cf. *JNES* 18 (1959) pp. 270–271, fig. 26 (1). For a much more detailed discussion of this question see *Egyptian Studies* III, pp. 210–214. The confusion of ◼ with ◻ began somewhat earlier than Dyn. XVIII, as pointed out by Hayes, *JEA* 33 (1947) p. 8 (p), where the Dyn. XIII example he deals with (◼) evidently combines ◼ and ◻. A similar form combines ◻ and ◼ as (◼), which occurs on a stela that may be equally early (BM 334; see comments on G20 above); this also appears on monuments from Theban Tomb 15, dating to the very beginning of Dyn. XVIII (Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter, *Five Years’ Explorations at Thebes*, pl. 12; Sauneron and Vérité, *Kêmi* 19 [1969], pl. 17).


◊ T25—A curious Old Kingdom variant in known from Giza and Abusir: ◼ or ◻. For details, see *Egyptian Studies* III, pp. 214–216.

◆ T26 A particularly detailed hieroglyph is to be found in the tomb of *Kas.m.n.f* at Saqqara. The adjacent drawing is from a photograph made by Alexander Badawy; cf. the very inexact version in Pierre Montet, *Scènes de la vie privée* (Strasbourg, 1925) p. 53, fig. 12a. The duck’s head reappears in an ivory model of such a trap (MMA 30.8.221): N. E. Scott, *BMMA* 35 (1940) pp. 163–164, and Wm. C. Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* II (New York, 1959) p. 215. Cf. the detachable decoy in the early N.K. trap shown by Carnarvon and Carter, *op. cit.*, pl. 64 (with p. 70).
ADDENDA

T28—The round-bottomed form also occurs very sporadically (along with the normal form) in the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty: Tylor, *Tomb of Renni*, pl. 5 (in the name R°-n-hrw.f); *Rekh-mi-Re°*, pls. 86, 89; *Private Tombs I*, pls. 4, 6. Also Abydos I, pls. 62, 63 (fragments from the temple of Amenophis I). And at least one Middle Kingdom occurrence may be cited: Munich Gl. W.A.F. 35 (K. Dyooff and B. Pörtner, *op. cit.* , pl. 2).

U30—Some examples of Dyns. IV–V at Giza show the form , with a single pellet on the top: *LD II*, pl. 33; Hassan, *Gîza II*, figs. 213–214, 218, 219; IV, figs. 119, 124; VI/3, fig. 26. This detail may be compared with the single pellet on the basket of ; see the comments on A9 above.

V2—An odd Middle Kingdom variant on Louvre stela C3, line 5 (Wm. K. Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God at Abydos* [New Haven, 1974], pl. 15) assimilates the horizontal element to the arrow of = (F29); cf. the writings of &; & quoted by Raymond Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962) pl. 255.

V32—It is not quite accurate to say, as Gardiner does, that the ties are omitted in examples earlier than Dyn. XVIII. The ties appear in a Dyn. III example (*Hesy-Ra*, Cairo GG 1426), and at least two other Old Kingdom examples are known, one shown here (from Wild, *Ti II*, pl. 124), the other in Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 56. Similar examples are also known from the early Middle Kingdom (Lacau and Chevrier, *Une Chapelle*, terminal pl. XIX; Fischer, *Egyptian Studies II*, fig. 21 [GG 20539]), both from the reign of Sesostris I. But the ties are lacking in line i, b8, of the latter, as Gardiner points out, and also in another inscription of the same reign, quoted by Clère, *ReE* 22 [1970], p. 46; so too in Petrie *Abydos II*, pl. 25, dating to the end of Dyn. XI, and perhaps in Newberry and Griffith, *Bersheh I*, pl. 17, for which see *BoOr* 36 [1979], col. 24). The gradually more frequent addition of this detail was probably reinforced by the pattern set by (W1) and — (Y1) in the Middle Kingdom.


W4—The addition of to (see O22 above) dates from the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, and the two signs only gradually became fused after the Old Kingdom. During the
ADDENDA

Middle Kingdom the forms [\textbullet] and [\textcircled{a}] were occasionally interchanged. See *Egyptian Studies* III, pp. 208–209.

\[\text{\textbullet}\] W14—There are several variants of this sign, the most common of which shows a projecting stopper at the top of the jar (\textbullet) or a flat-topped cap (\textcircled{a}): the first is known from Dyns. IV–XII, more rarely later, while the second is known from Dyns. VIII–XII. Other variants show a spout. For details see *Egyptian Studies* III, pp. 219–222.

\[\text{\textcircled{a}}\] Y3—In the earliest detailed examples, such as the one shown on the title page of this volume, the thin case for the reed pens has a plain cap at either end. But the top of the case soon, as early as the reign of Cheops in Dyn. IV, began to show vertical striations (the example shown here is from Simpson, *Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, fig. 27 [reversed]). In later examples these striations tend to become more everted, finally curling outward on either side. Further details are given in *Egyptian Studies* III, pp. 222–225.

\[a\] Y5—An Eleventh Dyn. variation at Bersha shows legs beneath the gameboard: *Egyptian Studies* III, pp. 225–227.

\[\text{\textcircled{a}}\] Aa20—The Middle Kingdom variant (d) also occurs in A. De Buck, *Egyptian Coffin Texts* I (Chicago, 1935) p. 86 (from Assiut).
Sources of figures and supplementary references

An asterisk (*) indicates that a hieroglyph has been reversed in the figure.

A47 Ti, pl. 124.*
For the goad cf. also Junker, Giza I, pl. 25, and Jéquier, BMEO 19 (1922) 74. In a semi-cursive Dyn. XXVI example (MMA 28.5.48) belonging to the title iy-™t “doorkeeper,” the figure carries a broom, as is represented more distinctly in a representation of the same doorkeeper on a fragment of his coffin. H. E. Winlock, BMMA, Dec. 1928, Sect. II, p. 23 and fig. 47. Excavations at Deir el Bahri 1911–1913 (New York, 1914) p. 114. But even though Winlock may be right in considering the broom as the doorkeeper’s “badge of office,” it is not possible to follow him in concluding that: “It always appears in the hand of the hieroglyphic sign for ‘doorkeeper’ but usually so small as to be unrecognizable” (loc. cit.). In the first place, there is no hieroglyphic sign for “doorkeeper,” iy-™t being only one of the several titles in which iy is used, and, secondly, the sign in question does not appear in the iy titles until after the Sixth Dynasty. Other Dyn. XXVI exx. of iy and iy like the one illustrated, but showing two projections rather than four, may be seen in M. Bietak and E. Reiser-Haslauer, Das Grab des Anch-her (Vienna, 1978) Plans 22, 26 (figs. 42, 52).

A49 Jéquier, Monument funéraire de Pepi II, III, pl. 15.*

A55 Ti, pl. 155.
Some Old Kingdom exx. that are more similar to Gardiner’s version: W. M. F. Petrie, Deshasheh (London, 1898) pl. 7 (identical to A55 and certainly a mummy in this case, since it is the determinative of a circumlocation for “die,” dž n k£; Edel and Wenig, Jahreszeitenreliefs, pl. 11 (determinative of s∂r, but perhaps again a mummy; the head is not distinguishable). Hassan, Giza V, fig. 101. Meir IV, pl. 4 (left, col. 1); cf. Smith, History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom, pp. 308–309 and fig. 167.

D21 Ti, pl. 155.

D33 a Ti, pl. 111.*
b Ptahhetep I, pl. 5.

D36 a Ptahhetep I, pl. 5.
b Beni Hasan III, pl. 4.*
For the later form (b), showing a slightly cupped hand, see also RdE 30 (1978) p. 89 and n. 17.

D45 a Simpson, Kaouba, Khašḫḫu I and II, fig. 24.*
b Private Tombs IV, pl. 4 (and cf. pl. 4).
For a Dyn. XII occurrence of the type shown in Figure a, see Petrie et al., Lahun II, pl. 19. For a more detailed example like Figure b, see L. Kremers, Die Gartenpflanzen in alten Ägypten (Berlin, 1934) p. 167 (40), from Davis, Tomb of Siptah; also Mendekpereramen, pl. 5; Calverley, Temple of King Sethos I, III, pl. 9. The identification as lettuce is borne out by the fact that the same plant is, from the New Kingdom onwards, the “Dürer” lettuce used in Southern France. This lettuce is the same as the “lettuce” of the Ouroboros (edle, “devil”).
Sources and Supplementary References

Kingdom onward, held in the hands of block statues (Vandier, Manuel d’archéologie III, pp. 452 [n. 8], 455 [n. 8], 457 [n. 11], but there termed “épi”). At all events it seems likely that, in such cases, the head of lettuce refers to ° “holy”; cf. N. de G. Davies, Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth (London, 1923) p. 9, n. 6, referring to pl. 14.

D54 James, Hieroglyphic Texts I, pl. 21 (i).*

D61 a From photograph: Goedicke, MDAIK 21 (1966) pl. 5.*
b Borchardt, Gedankenmal Saih-nesu II, pl. 13.

E9 Egyptian Studies II, fig. 84.

E17 Prabhetep I, pl. 6.

E21 Dunham and Simpson, Mersyankh III, fig. 7.*

E31 a b Hassan, Excavations at Saqqara 1937–38 II, pl. 70B (and cf. fig. 29).
b James and Apted, Khentika, pl. 6 (c[10]).

E32 Smith, History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom, pl. 34 (b) (cf. Petrie, Medum, frontispiece and pl. 11).*

E34 a b c Ti, pl. 129.

F29 Ti, pl. 154.*

F30 a Smith, History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom, pl. 34 (b) (cf. Petrie, Medum, frontispiece and pl. 11).*
b Ti, pl. 163.

F32 Smith, History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom, fig. 48.

F34 a Ti, pl. 129.
b After Cottevieille-Giraudet, Médamoud (1931): Les Monuments du Moyen Empire, fig. 27, p. 49.
c Ti, pl. 163.

F35 Ti, pl. 173.

For the striation of the tracheal cartilage after the Old Kingdom see D. Arnold, Der Tempel des Königs...
SOURCES AND SUPPLEMENTARY REFERENCES

Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari II, pl. 16; Lacau and Chevrier, Une Chapelle, épigraphie pl. 8; Cottereau-Giraudet, Médamoud (1931): Les Monuments du Moyen Empire, pl. 29; Hieroglyphs, pl. 9 (184, M.K.), 4 (49, N.K.).

F36 Tī, pl. 111.

G1 a JNES 18 (1959) fig. 26, p. 270.*
b From a photograph.

Old Kingdom examples occasionally show the feathers projecting more separately from the back of the head, as in Tī, pls. 99–101; and again in James, Hieroglyphic Texts II, pl. 17; Junker, Gîza III, fig. 15. More rarely, in the Sixth Dynasty and later, the back of the head may be rounded, as in Tī, pl. 101, James and Apted, Khentika, pl. 5 (but less rounded in pl. 6); see also Fischer, Dendera, p. 8a (7).

G27 Tī, pl. 128.*

G30 (G29) Tī, pl. 106.

G35 Bissing, Re-Heiligtum II, pl. 5.*

G47 Ptahhotep I, pl. 7.

G51 a Fakhry, Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II, fig. 15 (corrected from a photograph).*
b Leiden mastaba of Hīp-hr-hfr (from a photograph; cf. J. Capart, Memphis [Brussels, 1930]) fig. 261.*

Other Old Kingdom exx. like b: A. Vigneau, Encyclopédie photographique de l’art: Le Musée du Louvre I (Paris, 1935) pl. 25: A. Mossa and H. Ahrensmüller, Das Grab des Niaschiboum und Chenshestop (Mainz/Rhein, 1977) pl. 52 and fig. 11 (left); also LH II, pl. 70, as noted by Griffith in Hieroglyphs, p. 22. The crest reappears in an example from the Late Period (Dyn. XXV–XXVI): B. V. Bothmer et al., Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period (Brooklyn, 1960) pl. 14, fig. 34.

G54 a Firth and Gunn, Têt Piédraul Cemeteries, pl. 59.
b Alexander Badawy, Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and Tomb of ‘Ankhm’tahor at Saqqara (Berkeley, 1978) fig. 23.*
c James and Apted, Khentika, pl. 5 (B5).*

Another example of b: J. Capart, Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah (Brussels, 1947), pl. 11.

I6 Meir V, pl. 6.

K2 Tī, pl. 11.

Other exx. with pendant tail: Alexander Badawy, Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and Tomb of ‘Ankhm’tahor at Saqqara, fig. 23; James and Apted, Khentika, pl. 5 (B5); cf. also a Dyn. IX ex.: Petrie, Denderah, pl. 2C (bottom right).

M2 a Meir V, pl. 27.*
b Tī, pl. 155.
c Tī, pl. 181.*
d Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. 40.*
SOURCES AND SUPPLEMENTARY REFERENCES

M3
Tī, pl. 174.*

M11
a From a photograph: Alexandre Piankoff, Pyramid of Unas (Princeton, 1968) pl. 29 (408).*
b Mon, pl. 31.*
c Junker, Gīza X, fig. 64.*
e Beni Hasan I, pl. 24.
Also see: Hassan, Gīza IV, fig. 122.

M12
a Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. 40.
b Borchardt, Gedenkmal Saheb el Nīl, II, pl. 4.
c Mon II, pl. 12.
Other clusters of two or more leaves as in b: Junker, Gīza V, fig. 19; Bissing, Re-Heiligtum III, pl. 30.
Leaves like b and c, but in other contexts (Old Kingdom names): Junker, Gīza II, fig. 20 (Geg/Mpdj);
Gīza V, fig. 8 (N-bj-o). The same in a New Kingdom place name, ḫn W. M. F. Petrie and E. Mackay,
Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar and Shurafa (London, 1915) pl. 7.

M13
From photograph: Reisner, History of the Giza Necropolis I, pl. 20 (b).
Other exx. like the one illustrated: Junker, Gīza V, fig. 15; Jéquier, Monument funéraire de Pepi II, II,
pl. 24; N. de G. Davies, Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith (London, 1932) pl. 39 (17); Tombs of Two
Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth, pl. 26.

M15
Tī, pl. 114.
For Old Kingdom examples of M16 see Junker, Gīza I, pl. 23; II, fig. 34; Hassan, Gīza VI, fig. 190; Borchardt, Gedenkmal Saheb el Nīl, pl. 19, 23 (but not pls. 30, 70), etc.

M17
a Ti, Pl. 111.
b Fischer, Dendera, fig. 57, p. 192.*
For another Old Kingdom example like Fig. b see Hassan, Gīza V, fig. 119. For Middle Kingdom exx. see:
R. Mond and O. H. Meers, Temples of Armant, pl. 97; Beni Hasan I, pl. 28; Firth and Guin, TriPy-
ramid Cemeteries, pl. 54; Petrie et al., Labaww II, pl. 16; Lacau and Chevrier, Une Chapelle, épigraphie
pl. 15, Gétareze-Giraudet, Médamoud (1931); Les Monuments du Moyen Empire, pl. 54. A remarkably
detailed New Kingdom example appears in Ramose, pl. 42.

M22
Tī, pl. 182.*
For the group in the Heracleopolitan Period, see Fischer, Gop碳e Nome, p. 55, and for later exx. of M22
(Second Intermediate Period onward) see J. J. Tyler, Tomb of Sobekhotef (London, 1846)
pl. 1, 5, 11; Tomb of Resi (London, 1960) pl. 9; Ch. Kuentz, Le Fosse sud du massif est du pylone de
Ramses II à Louxor (Cairo, 1971) pls. 5, 8. Also Dyn. XXVI. Clère, RB 24 (1972), 51. MB. II, 303,
observes only that there are examples from the Ptolemaic Period.

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SOURCES AND SUPPLEMENTARY REFERENCES

M23  

a. Petrie, Medum, pl. 12.  
b. Borchhardt, Grabdenkmal Saht-hu-ne II, pl. 29.  
c. Jéquier, Monument funéraire de Pépi II, II, pl. 108.

Middle Kingdom exx. of a and b: Lacau and Chevrier, Une Chapelle, pls. 14–15. Middle Kingdom exx. of c: Coste-ville-Giraudet, Médamoud (1932) Les Monuments du Moyen Empire, pl. 34.

M26  

a. Borchhardt, Grabdenkmal Saht-hu-ne II, pl. 29.  

In an early Old Kingdom example, Junker, Gîza I, pl. 23, the land-sign is detached from the bottom. In the Ramesside period the lower part of this sign is assimilated to the papyrus in (M24* + M13); e.g. Calverley, Temple of King Seti I, IV, pl. 17. This is wrongly identified as “tige de lotus” by G. Lefèbvre, Grammaire de l'égyptien classique (2nd ed., Cairo, 1955) p. 403 (24a).

M31  

Junker, Gîza III, fig. 27.

Other exx.: Jéquier, Monument funéraire de Pépi II, II, pls. 32, 33 (symmetrical, unlike the following); Borchhardt, Grabdenkmal Ne-user-ne, fig. 17; Hassan, Gîza VI, 5, fig. 117; Fakhry, Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II, figs. 63, 67; Edel and Wenig, Jahnschriftenneh, pl. 8.

M40  

a. Petrie, Medum, pl. 9.  
b. From a photograph: J. Capart, Une Rue de tombeaux a Saqqarah II (Brussels, 1907) pl. 105.

c. Reisner, History of the Giza Necropolis I, fig. 257.

N25  

a. Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. 3.  
b. Junker, Gîza III, fig. 27.

N28  

Fakhry, Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II, fig. 235.

N31  

a. Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. 39.  
b. Bissing, Re-Heiligtum II, pl. 18.

Other exx. like b: Fakhry, Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II, figs. 17, 35, 36; Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. 18; James, Hieroglyphic Texts I, pl. 21 (a); and for post-Old Kingdom exx. see Fischer, Dendera, p. 86; Boni Hansen I, pl. 46; M in III, pls. 19, 27; N. de G. Davies, Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith, pl. 44.

N37  

Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. 40.

For semi-cursive exx. of the Thlenhardt form, dating to the end of the Old Kingdom and later, see H. F. Lutz, Egyptian Tomb Stela and Offering Stones (Leipzig, 1927) pl. 14 (26); Jozef Janssen, Jor-jabit, Ex Oriente Lux (Leiden) 12 (1951–52) pl. 31 (N 110); W. M. F. Petrie, AbuRo (London, 1908) pl. 7; Good hieratic exx. in E. Edel, Die Felsengräber der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan II/1/1 (Wiesbaden, 1967) pls. 6, 7, 97–100.

O4  

Ti, pl. 112.

O28  

a. Junker, Gîza I, fig. 31 and pl. 27.  
b. Simpson, K3aw, Kho khufu I and II, fig. 27.
O29  
  a  Ptahhotep I, pl. 12.
  b  Hieroglyphs, pl. 8 (116).

O34  
  a  Ti, pl. 124.
  b  Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. 6.
  c  Detail of Hildesheim 1540 (from a photograph); cf. Junker, Giza III, fig. 34.

O44  
  a  From a photograph: Capart, Memphis, fig. 259 (cf. Junker, Giza I, fig. 23).  
     b  Dunham and Simpson, Merneptah II, fig. 4.
  c  Mer IV, pl. 4 (left, col. 1).  
     d  From a photograph: Petrie, Denderah, pl. 6.

P1  
  a  Mer IV, pl. 16.
  b  H. Petrie and M. Murray, Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels (London, 1932) pl. 2.

P4  
  a  Ti, pl. 125 (facing left, but retaining rightward orientation).
  b  Mereruka, pl. 41.
  c  Montet, Kêmi 3 (1930) p. 52 and pl. 10.

P5  
  From a photograph: T. G. H. James, Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in The Brooklyn Museum I (Brooklyn, 1974) pl. 3 (42).

P6  
  a  Bissing, Re-Heiligtum III, pl. 14 (246).

Q3  
  Borchardt, Gebeleinwil Šahwe-ne II, pl. 30.

R8  
  Saqqarah Mastabas I, pl. 40.*
SOURCES AND SUPPLEMENTARY REFERENCES

S23  
a  
\(T_i\), pl. 20.

b  
Kru-Awum, pl. 38.

Exx. like b (with \(\square\) inverted): ibid., pl. 8 (18); Rebb-su-Re', pl. 88. Davies, JEA 20 (1934) pl. 25: 32 (1946) pl. 6 (6, 34). For the detail of the flagella see also Rebb-su-Re', pl. 27 (23); Calverley, Temple of King Sethos I, III, pl. 16, 36, 46.

S34  
Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. 40.

T4  
a  
Edel and Wenig, Jahreszeitenreliefs, pl. 11.

b  
\(T_i\), pl. 27.

Other exx. like b: Abu Bakr, Giza, fig. 38; James, Hieroglyphic Tomb F, pl. 8 (3, 4), fig. 13; Hassan, Giza IV, fig. 36, VI/3, figs. 104, 106; Martin, Tomb of Hetephe, pl. 21; Egyptian Studies I, figs. 3–4. H. Petrie and M. Murray, Senn Memphite Tomb Chapels, pl. 9.

T13  
a  
From a photograph: James, Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in The Brooklyn Museum I, pl. 5 (42).

b  
\(T_i\), pl. 47.

c  
Junker, Giza IX, fig. 24.

For Fig. c cf. Junker, Giza IV, pls. 3, 4 (frontispiece), 5. Also \(\frac{1}{2}\), on the pattern of \(\frac{1}{2}\) (M24, r3); this occurs on an unpublished block from Reisner’s Giza tomb 2043, in the name Kr.1. For simpler forms of Fig. a see James, loc. cit., (393); Hassan, Giza II, fig. 20.

T21  
\(T_i\), pl. 120.

For the later form, with a double barb, see Monashpernoud, pl. 10; Petrie, pl. 68; Kru-Awum, pl. 61; Rowan, pls. 28, 34; Two Sculptors, pl. 15.

T25  
a  
\(T_i\), pl. 170.

b  
\(T_i\), pl. 5 (photograph).

c  
BMMA 28 (Nov. 1933, Pt. 2), 6, fig. 3; 29 (Nov. 1934, Pt. 2), 27, fig. 20 (same, reign of Sesostris I).

d  
Petrie, Abydos, pl. 65 (reign of Amenophis I).

Fig. a faces left, while Fig. b faces right, with the tie behind; for other such exceptions, see Saqqara Mastaba I, pl. 12; Ptolemy II, pl. 10 (but not vol. I, pl. 17 [391] facing right). Petrie, Koptos, pl. 9 (reign of Sesostris I). Also note that Gardiner’s primary reference for the meaning of \(\phi\) as “Flax” should now be revised to Memnou, pl. 13. For another example like Fig. b, see Ptolemy I, pl. 17 (391), and for other Middle Kingdom examples of Fig. c see E. L. B. Terrace, Egyptian Paintings of the Middle Kingdom (New York, 1968), pl. 17: 25 (same) and Louvre C 34 (Win. K. Simpson, The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos [New Haven, 1973], pl. 43). Old Kingdom examples occur sporadically in the Pyr Texts: 157b (W), 270b (W), 74b (T), 1508b (N), 161a–1615 (N). For a Dyn. XIX example see Rieck, Hughes, Went, Beit al Wali (Chicago, 1967), pl. 20.
SOURCES AND SUPPLEMENTARY REFERENCES

T26, 27

a Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 10.*
b *Deir el Gebrêwi II*, pl. 15.
d Loc. cit.


Other exx. more similar to b: Dunham and Simpson, *Meryamun III*, fig. 4; Borchart, *Grabdenkmale Sinuhe-III*, pl. 20; *Monuments*, pl. 133; also, from the Middle Kingdom, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. 46; and from the New Kingdom, *Rekh-mi-Re-III*, pl. 145.

U1

a *Ptahhetep I*, pl. 15.
b *Loc. cit.*

U6

a *Loc. cit.*
b *Loc. cit.*

U13

Ti, pl. 112.*

U20

Ti, pl. 126.*

U21

Ti, pl. 129.

U22

a Ti, pl. 129.
b Ti, pl. 174.


U25

a *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. 39.
b *Meir V*, pl. 17.*

c From a photograph: J. E. Quibell in *Le Musée Égyptien III*, fasc. I (1909) pl. 22.

The M.K. example of V25 dates to Setosnis III; another relatively early example, dating to the beginning of the following reign, again shows the cord at the center (Louvre C5, Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos* [New Haven, 1974], pl. 3).

U27

a *Deir el Gebrêwi I*, pl. 15.

68
U29  Mereruka, pl. 52.
Other exx. like the one illustrated: James, Hieroglyphic Texts I, pl. 26 (2); James and Apted, Khonsu, pl. 19 (G1); Simpson, Mastabas of Qar and Idu, fig. 35 (top left).

U30  a  Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. 49.8
   b  B. van de Walle, Chapelle de Neferirtenef (Brussels, 1978) pl. 7.
For a New Kingdom ex. of Figure b see Picture Writing, pl. 8 (3); similarly Ramose, pl. 42.

U34  a  Firth and Gunn, Toti Pyramid Cemeteries, p. 36 (newly drawn from a photograph).
   b  Howard Carter in Beni Hasan IV, pl. 15.

U36  Ti, pl. 164.

V2  a  Ti, pl. 174.9
   b  Caminos, Baben II, pl. 35.

V4  Ti, pl. 168.9

V17, 18  a  Borchardt, Grabdenkmal Śau-ner II, pl. 18.
   b  Ptahhotep I, pl. 16.
   c  Lacau and Chevrier, Une Chapelle, épitaphe pl. 19 (28).
   d  Ti, pl. 124.

   Other exx. like a and b: John Garstang, Mahâsna and Bêt Khallâf (London, 1902) pl. 19. A. H. Gardiner, T. E. Peet and J. Černý, Inscriptions of Saqqar I (London, 1923) pl. 4 (3); Mariette, Mastabas de l’Ancien Empire, p. 566; Drioton, ASAE 43 (1943) fig. 67, p. 500; Hassan, Gîza VI, Pt. 3, figs. 143–146; Men V, pls. 16, 18, 19, 21, 33, 34 (all in names); a slightly different form in JNES 16 (1957) pl. 35 (G). Also at least one Middle Kingdom survival of this type: J. de Morgan, Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894–1895 (Vienna, 1903) fig. 128, p. 85.

V23  Ti, pl. 114.9

V24, 25  a  Ti, pl. 152.
   b  Hieroglyphs, pl. 9 (180).9

V28  Firth and Gunn, Toti Pyramid Cemeteries, fig. 37, p. 35.
For the term “wick,” see also Lexikon der Ägyptologie II, pp. 80 f., note 2 and figure.

V29  a  From a photograph: Goedicke, MDAIK 21 (1966) pl. 3.
   b  Hassan, Gîza I, fig. 173.
   c  Ti, pl. 174.
   d  Junker, Gîza V, fig. 26.
   e  Egyptian Studies II, fig. 67 (corrected from photograph).

Further exx. like c: from the Old Kingdom—Simpson, Mastabas of Qar and Idu, fig. 32 (a); from the Middle Kingdom—Men II, pl. 8; from the New Kingdom—Rekh-mi-Re-nsw, pl. 22, 26; Menkhopepamen-W, pls. 24, 44; Ramose, pls. 17, 21; Reussner, Die südlichen Räume, pls. 136–137.
V31
a Tī, pl. 124.*
b Junker, Gīza III, fig. 16.*

Other Old Kingdom exx. like b: H. F. Lutz, Ḥaṣāṣṣet de Textes d’Offrandes et de Stèles (Leipzig, 1927) pl. 1; James, Ḥeroglīφic Texts I, pl. 5 (5). This amount of detail is also shown in Middle Kingdom examples: Lacau and Chévrier, Une Chapelle Épigraphe pl. 19 (6); G. Cottivelli-Giraudet, Mémoires du Monuments du Moyen Empire pl. 40. New Kingdom examples could also be cited.

W2 JNES 18 (1959) p. 129 (= Borchardt, Grabdenkmal Ne-user-re™, pl. 14). For other exx. see Balze, MDAIK 5 (1934) pp. 79-85.

W3 Junker, Gīza II, fig. 18.

In one Old Kingdom example (James, Ḥeroglīφic Texts I, pl. 26 [BM 658]) the shape of the bowl is different, having a shoulder and everted rim ( ).

W11 Adapted from J. E. Quibell, El Kab (London, 1898) pls. 11 (11), 12 (40, 45).

W18 Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. 39.

Other exx. of the double tier of jars: Jean Capart, Recueil de monuments égyptiens II (Brussels, 1905) pl. 54. Borchardt, Grabdenkmal Sahu-re™ II, pl. 8. Martin, Tomb of Hesekhu, pl. 19 (g).

W24 Tī, pl. 120.

Aa1 Early examples of the second form, with diagonal striations, are most apt to occur in semi-cursive writing: e.g. Scott, BMMA 31 (1973) 127, fig. 3 (acc. no. 28.9.5).

Y2 Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. 40.

Aa5 Tī, pl. 169.*

Aa17 a Borchardt, Grabdenkmal Sahu-re™ II, pl. 1.
b Goedicke, JEA 45 (1959) p. 100 (= Hassan, Excavations at Saqqara 1937–38 I, pl. 53B).

Other exx. like a: Tī, pls. 165, 166; R. Macramallah, Fouilles à Saqqara: Mastaba d’Idout (Cairo, 1955) pl. 20. Other exx. like b: Jéquier, Monuments funéraires de Pêp III II, pl. 9. Simpson, Mastabas of Qar and Idu, fig. 33.

Aa20 a Borchardt, Grabdenkmal Ne-user-re™, fig. 49, p. 71 (context same as c below).
b From a photograph: Reisner, History of the Giza Necropolis I, pl. 31 (and cf. fig. 241).
c Borchardt, Grabdenkmal Sahu-re™ II, pl. 52.
d H. W. Müller, Felsgräber, fig. 43.

For the last cf. Gardiner, ZA 45 (1965) pl. 6 (g), 7 (g). This is normalized in U3. VII, p. 2 (16, 19).

Aa27 Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. 9.
Sources and Supplementary References

Aa29

a From a photograph: J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1911–12): Tomb of Hesy* (Cairo, 1903) pl. 32.*

b Borchhardt, *Grabdenkmal Šahu-ne* II, pl. 54.

c Junker, *Gizá VII*, fig. 50.*
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