

Redundant Determinatives in the Old Kingdom









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BATTISCOMBE GUNN has long since made the observation that hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Old Kingdom characteristically omit determinatives if these ideographs are supplied by the accompanying representations.¹ Thus, on a stela or architrave, the two-dimensional figure of the owner may itself be regarded as an enlarged determinative, supplementing the phonetic writing of the name that precedes it. And a statue may similarly be regarded as a three-dimensional enlargement of the determinative belonging to the name inscribed on its base.

It is therefore appropriate, as far as the monuments of this period are concerned, to speak of “redundant determinatives” in describing those exceptional cases where a hieroglyphic determinative is added to a personal name even though the name is directly connected with a representation that performs the same function. As might be expected, a certain number of exceptions do in fact exist. But a rather more surprising feature emerges when the exceptions are tabulated in which men and women are associated. In such cases—and they constitute the majority of the total—the feminine names tend to show the determinative while the masculine names do not. The first and most important category to be considered is statuary, either pairs of statues or group statues, representing the tomb owner and the members of his household.

1. STATUARY

	OWNER	WIFE	SON(S)	DAUGHTER
(1) Figure 1 (two statues)	— (A)	 (B)	 (B)	
(2) Figure 2 ²	—		—	
(3) Figure 3 ³	—			
(4) Figure 4 ⁴			—	
(5) Abubakr, <i>Giza</i> , pls. 20, 21 (two statues) ⁵	—			
(6) Figure 5 ⁶	—			

1. Cecil M. Firth and Battiscombe Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* (Cairo, 1926) p. 171, n. 2. Compare also *PN* II, p. 18, n. 19.










2. A granite statue of the owner (Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 29 B) likewise shows his name without determinative.






3. The correction of the owner's title is presented in Henry G. Fischer, “An Old Kingdom Monogram,” *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 93 (1966) p. 62.

4. For the identification of the two figures see below, pp. 14–15. A statue of the tomb owner and two daughters (Hassan, *Giza* I, p. 116, pl. 74) shows no determinatives.

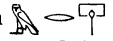

5. A second statue of the owner's wife (pl. 22) lacks the determinative.



6. Limestone statuette of seated couple from tomb G 2231x = G 2178 (Smith, *History of Sculpture and Painting*, p. 74). I am indebted to Dr. William K. Simpson for helping me to locate and copy this


	OWNER	WIFE	SON(S)	DAUGHTER
(7) Figure 7 ⁷	—			
(8) M. G. Fraser, “The Early Tombs at Tehneh,” <i>ASAE</i> 3 (1902) pp. 123– 124 (second example)	—		—	
(9) Figure 8	—			
(10) CG 55	—		—	
(11) CG 100	—		—	
(12) CG 376	—		—	—
(13) Figure 9 ⁸	—		—	
(14) Berlin 8801, Berlin Museum, <i>Ägypt- tische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen I</i> (Leipzig, 1913) pp. 71, 267	—		— (?)	
(15) B. A. Turayev, <i>Statui i Statuetki</i> (Petrograd, 1917) p. 6 and pl. 2 (2)	— (?)		—	

example. The woman, presumably the wife of the man beside whom she is seated, is named *Hwit-R'* (not to be found in *PN*, but compare masc. *Hwi-R'*, in *PN* II, p. 309 [26]). The man's principal title is evidently to be read *šhd ikd(w) hwsī(w)* “Inspector of builders and constructors” and his name is *’Iti*. I do not know of any other occurrence of a title mentioning *hwsī*, but it does not seem possible to read , which would represent a very abnormal writing of *ikdw*. For the combined use of the two virtually synonymous terms for building one may compare a passage in the biography of *Nbbw* (Figure 6), which comes from a nearby tomb (G 2381–2382): “I [founded?] the *ka*-mansions there, they being built and constructed” (Dows Dunham, “The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo,” *JEA* 24 [1938] pl. 2 foll. p. 2). It will be noted that *kd* and *hwsī* are presented in the same sequence and have a common determinative that could be interpreted as either  or  (Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd ed. [Oxford, 1957] Sign List A 35, 34); in Gustave Jéquier, *La pyramide d’Oudjebten* (Cairo, 1928) fig. 16, p. 18, the latter has the form , while another late Old Kingdom inscription shows  (George A. Reisner, “The Dog Which Was Honored by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt,” *BMFA* 34 [1936] p. 96).

7. One might compare this and the following example with architraves like those considered below, in section 3. A masculine name-determinative appears in a somewhat similar context, Has-

To this list one may also add (16) the female servant statues CG 110, 114 (Figure 10), 118, all from  “the funerary estate of the Overseer of the Treasury *Wr-ir.n(i)*,” and more specifically from his tomb. In each case this designation of the tomb owner, without determinative, is followed by the name of the servant, which has the determinative .

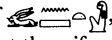



Most of the 16 examples are from the Memphite cemeteries, either Giza (1–6), Saqqara (10–12, 16, and probably 13), or Medum (9); two are known from Tehna, in Middle Egypt (7–8). The earliest of them is no. 9, dating to the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty; the next earliest are 1, 7, 8 (beginning of the Fifth Dynasty); most of the others also belong to the same dynasty, but no. 2 is as late as the Sixth, and nos. 4 and 5 cannot be much earlier. It will be noted that the determinative  follows the names of women throughout the Old Kingdom, but  does not appear in this context before some point well within the Fifth Dynasty.¹⁰

I have found only four group statues that show the determinative after the name of the principal male figure and, with a single exception, the woman's name shows the same feature. In one case (CG 62) the determinative  is given to a man—presumably the

san, *Gtza* III, fig. 127, p. 151, but here the name is preceded by an offering formula, so that this inscription is a much more independent entity than in the case of examples 7 and 8.

8. John D. Cooney, “Three Egyptian Families of the Old Kingdom,” *Bulletin Brooklyn Museum* 13/3 (Spring, 1952) p. 6. The drawing is based on a rubbing made by Edna Russmann. On another family group of the same person (Metropolitan Museum of Art 52.19) the name of the daughter lacks a determinative, as does that of the owner; the wife's name has not survived.

9. Determinatives are also absent from the names on a statue of a male funerary priest belonging to the same group (CG 119) and on one of the statues representing the owner (CG 272), but another statue of his does show a determinative (CG 211).

10. Note also the example of , Junker, *Gtza* I, fig. 63, p. 252. It may also be noted that the wife who has the determinative  in example 1 is given the determinative  on the false door of her son (BM 1223: T. G. H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.*, 2nd ed. [London, 1961] pl. 8, p. 8): for this distinction see Henry G. Fischer, “Four Provincial Administrators at the Memphite Cemeteries,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 74 (1954) p. 28. The early Fourth Dynasty use of the determinative  after the name of Queen *Htp-hr.š* (Reisner and Smith, *Hist. Giza Necrop.* II, fig. 40, pl. 29) may similarly be explained by her status; *Htp-hr.š* II has the same determinative on the coffin of her daughter *Mr-š y-’nh* III (J. d’E 54935).

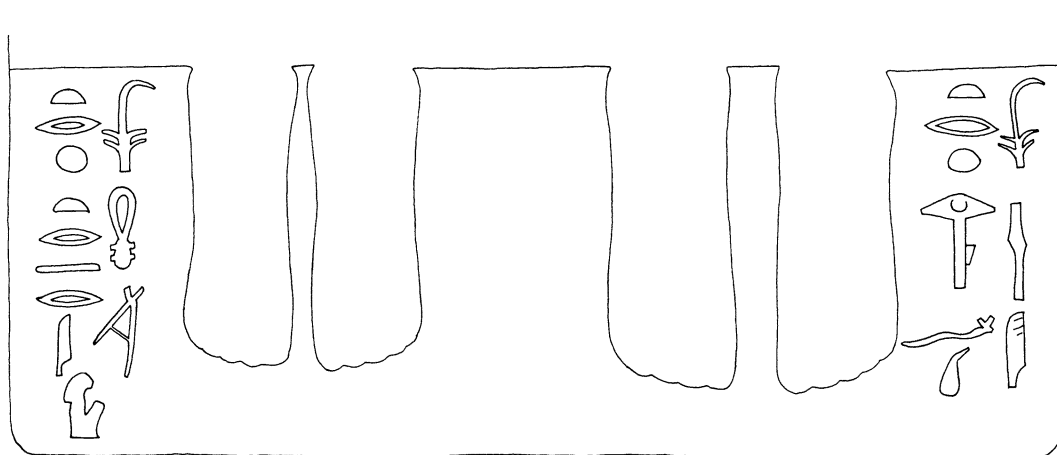


FIGURE 3
Example 3. From Junker, *Giza IX*, fig. 27, p. 68
(corrected)

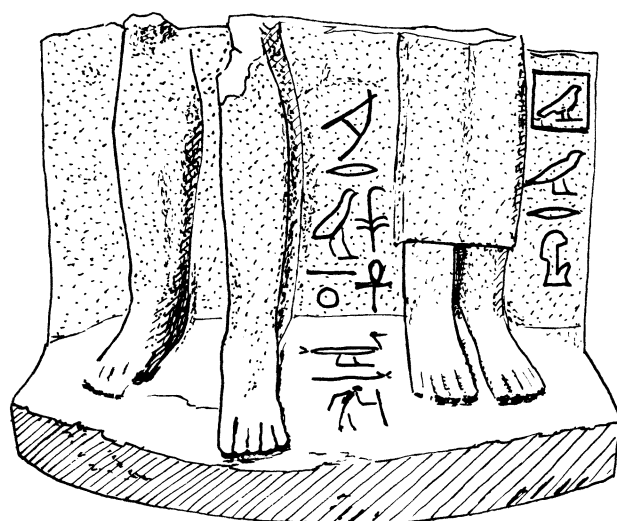
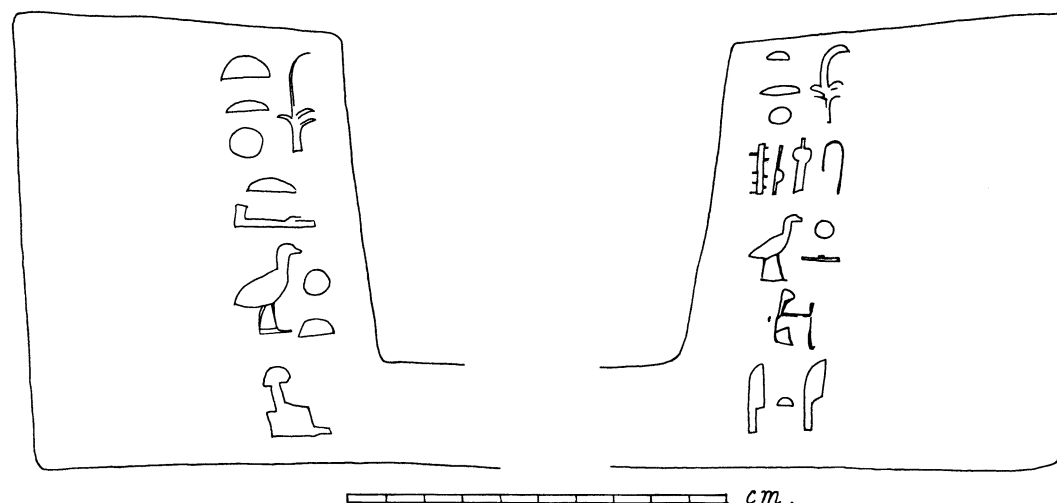


FIGURE 4
Example 4. Drawn from photograph, Hassan,
Giza I, pl. 75

FIGURE 5
Example 6. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 12.1485



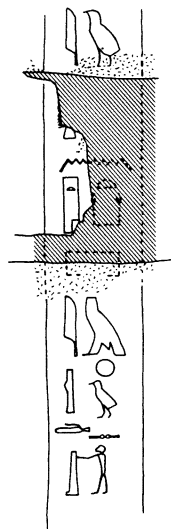


FIGURE 6
Portion of inscription of *Nḥbw*. After Dunham

FIGURE 7
Example 7. From Fraser, *ASAE* 3 (1903) pl. 3

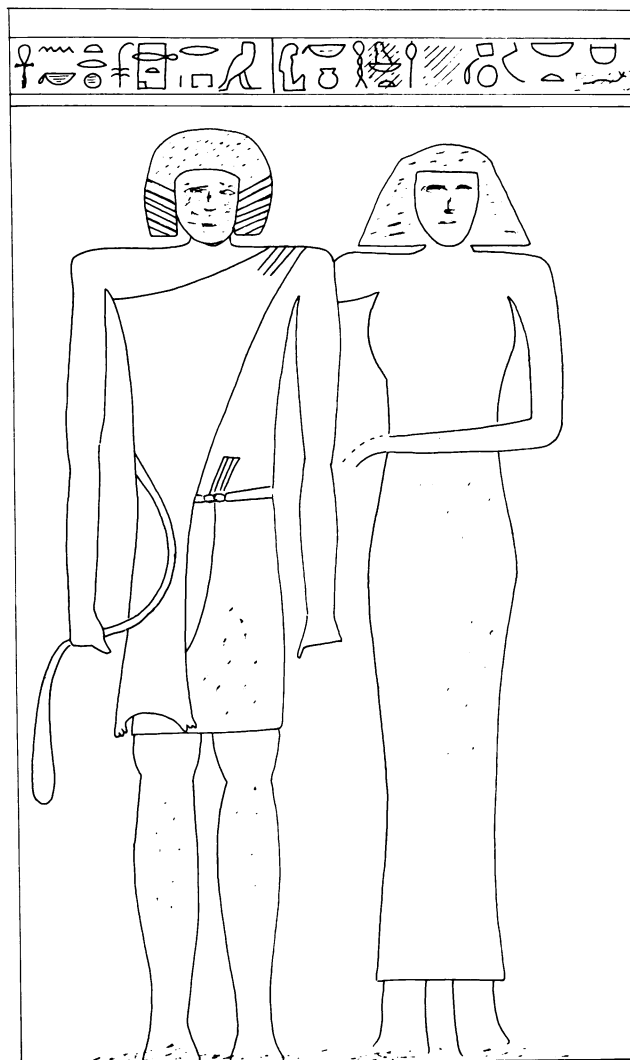
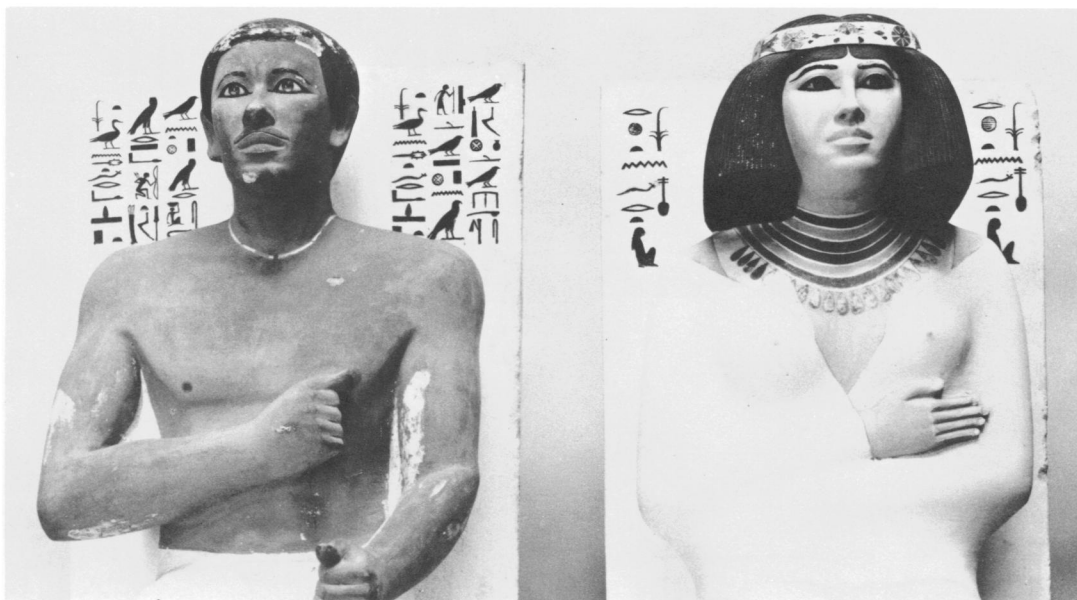


FIGURE 8
Example 9. Cairo Museum, CG 4, 5



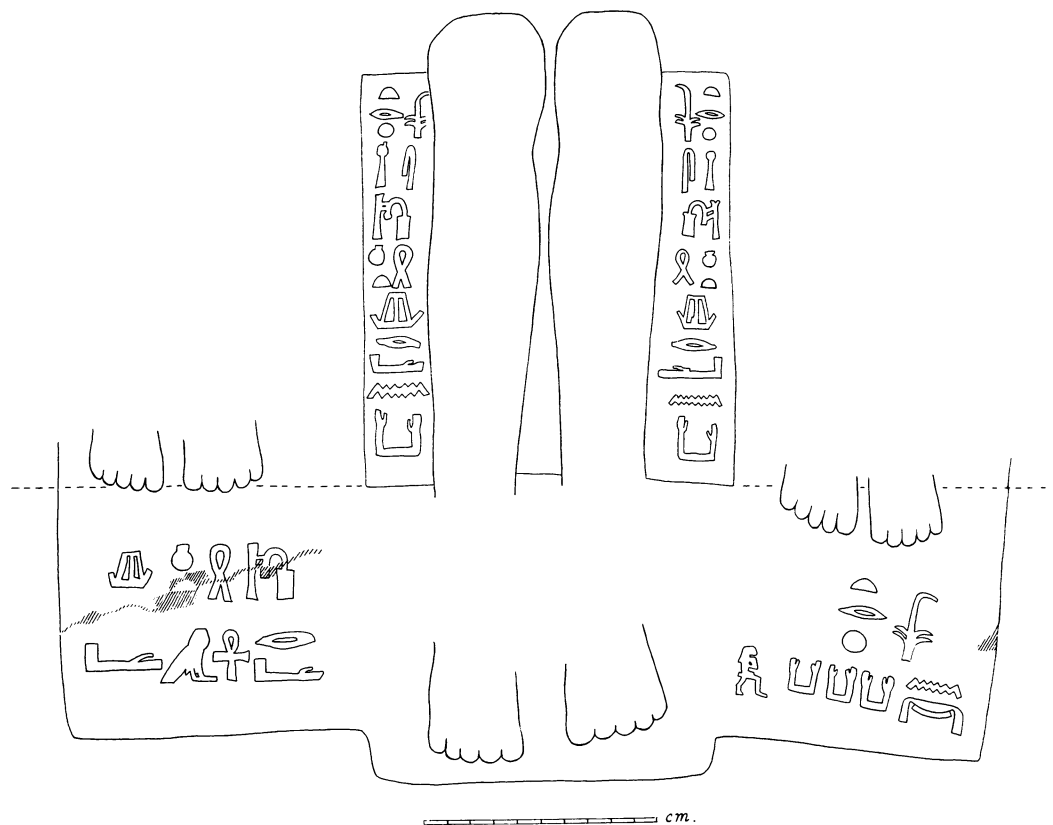


FIGURE 9
Example 13. Brooklyn
Museum, 49.215

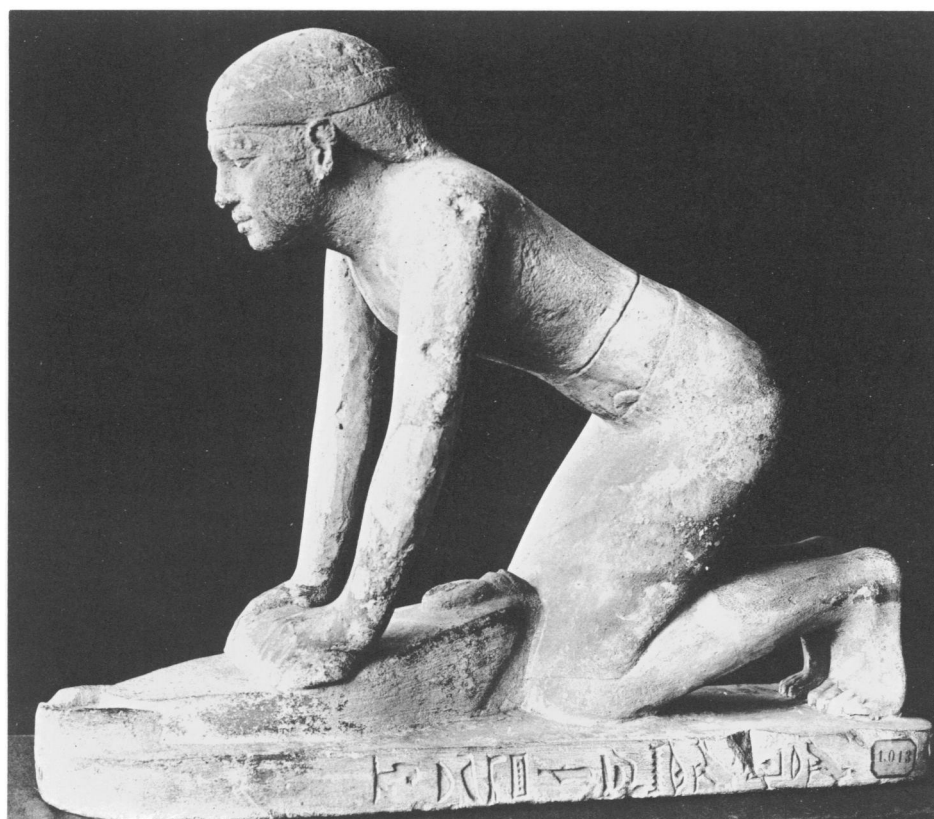


FIGURE 10
Example 16. Cairo
Museum, CG 114



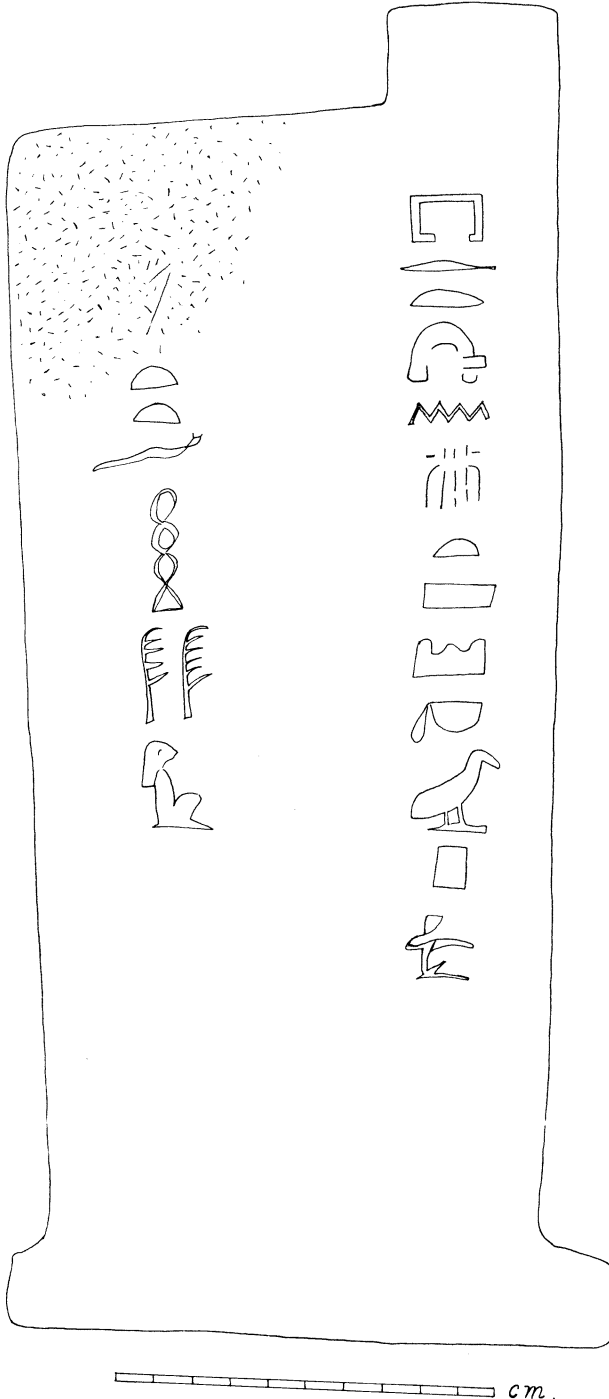



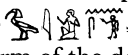



tomb owner—as well as to a woman who is presumably his wife, but is absent from the name of the son that is adjacent to his father's.¹¹ In the second case (Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 42, p. 149), the names of a man and woman have the determinative  and , respectively. It is probably significant that they do not represent the




FIGURE 11

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 21.2602



tomb owner and his wife, but their relationship to him, and to each other, is unspecified. The third statue shows, on the rearward surface of the backpillar, an incised inscription (Figure 11) identifying a man named *K³p* (determinative ) and a woman whose relationship was specified but is now obliterated; her name is *Hy* (determinative ).¹² Since a fragment of a second, seated statue of *K³p* was found near this one, it seems likely that both represent the tomb owner.¹³ The fourth case (CG 44) is the only one that gives the man a determinative (again ) while the name of the woman, his daughter, lacks it. In this case, however, the name of a second female figure, designated “wife,”¹⁴ was never added to her titles, and so it seems possible that the omission of a determinative after the daughter’s name was unintentional. It is also possible that addition of a determinative after the man’s names may have been fostered by the somewhat complex manner in which they are presented:  “*hi*, who is called ‘*Ip*.’” The form of the determinative, as in the two preceding cases, is most unusual; the other male statues that have a name-determinative (nine examples noted, including the aforementioned CG 62)¹⁵ all have the more honorific  rather than the commonplace .

11. The name of the son in Borchardt’s copy is to be corrected to  compare *PN* I, p. 263 [10].

12. Mentioned by Smith, *History of Sculpture and Painting*, p. 72, and Reisner, *Hist. Giza Necrop.* I, pl. 67 [d]. I am obliged to Dr. Simpson for enabling me to copy the inscription. The man’s titles are evidently to be read *iry sg³wt n pr¹³* (compare Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 83, p. 215, and VII, fig. 50, p. 135) and *hnty f*. In the wife’s inscription Smith reads  as  in [*hmt.fm*]*rt.f*, and that may be the most plausible interpretation, especially since the preceding traces on the much eroded surface suggest the form of .

13. Smith (see preceding note) thinks that this and the first statue, found in the debris of a street, came from the serdab of G 4522, whereas Reisner assumed that they belonged to G 4520, the mastaba of *Hwfw-‘nh*, along with a statue of *Hwfw-‘nh* that was found with them.

14. For this designation, instead of the usual *hmt.f*, see also Junker, *Giza* III, figs. 14, 15, pp. 129, 131.

15. Junker, *Giza* VIII, fig. 4, p. 17 (two other statues lack determinatives); XI, fig. 11, p. 17, fig. 51a, p. 109; Hassan, *Giza* I, p. 115, pl. 70 (no determinative on other statues pls. 72, 74); S. Hassan, “Excavations at Saqqara 1937–1938,” *ASAE* 38 (1938) p. 506; Abd el Hamid Zayed, *Trois études d’égyptologie* (Cairo, 1956) p. 16; CG 67, 211 (no determinative on other statues of the latter, as noted in note 9, above), CG 377 (no determinative on other statues, CG 61, 65, 66, 181).

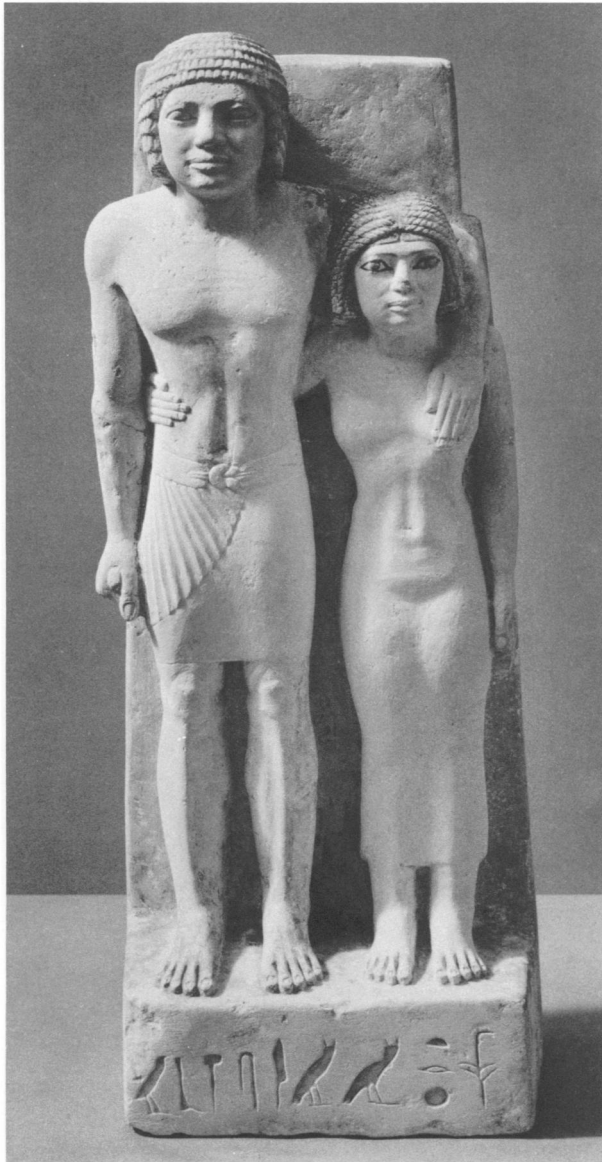


FIGURE 12
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund,
48.111

if the tomb owner is represented, in contrast to the use of with the name of a son in example 1.¹⁶

The majority of group statues, like Old Kingdom statuary in general, show no determinatives whatever; I know of about forty such groups. And a surprising number of statues were evidently not inscribed at all, as though the context of the tomb provided sufficient identification. In the case of a well-preserved polychrome statue such as that of *šhw* (Abubakr, *Giza*, pls.

50–51, pp. 89–90) the omission of an inscription hardly seems fortuitous, and the presence of his wife's name on her own statue (Abubakr, *Giza*, pl. 52, p. 90), although lacking a determinative, may be analogous to the use of the determinative after the wife's name in contrast to its absence after the name of the husband. In another case the statues of the tomb owner and his wife lack inscriptions (Hassan, *Giza* II, pls. 18, 19), whereas the statue of an estate manager named *Pr-nb(.i)* is identified by title and name (Hassan, *Giza* II, pl. 20, p. 61).

A group statue in the Metropolitan Museum inscribed with the names *Mmi* and *šbw* (Figure 12)¹⁷ would seem to contradict the evidence of the preceding examples, since both names evidently belong to the man, leaving the woman (presumably his wife) unnamed.¹⁸ But the fact that he has his arm around her, reversing the usual procedure, suggests that this statue belongs to her burial rather than his; a close analogy is provided by the group statue of Queen Hetep-heres II with her arm around her daughter Meresankh III, from the tomb of the latter.¹⁹ This conclusion is confirmed by a second statue that represents the wife alone, yet again bears her husband's name: ²⁰

Similar considerations are also to be recognized in the case of example 4, which has inaccurately been described as a standing couple representing the tomb owner *Mr-šw-ḥ* and his wife.²¹ The sole inscription

16. One further example shows the determinative following the name 'nh(.i)-m-ḥ-R', Turayev, *Statui i Statuetki*, p. 5 and pl. 3 (4), but the inscription is only given in typescript, and not altogether accurately.

17. MMA 48.111: Nora E. Scott, "Memy-Sabu and his Wife," *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 7 (1948–49) pp. 95–100.

18. Theoretically might designate the woman, since the writing of the title might apply to either sex and the second name is written in signs of lesser height. But *Mmi* does not seem to be attested as a feminine name before the Middle Kingdom (*PN* I, p. 149 [18]) while both *Mmi* and *šbw* are well known for men; the feminine counterparts of these names in Old Kingdom inscriptions are *Mmit* (CG 1586, wife of *Mmi*) and *šbt/šbw* (*PN* I, p. 299 [20–21]).

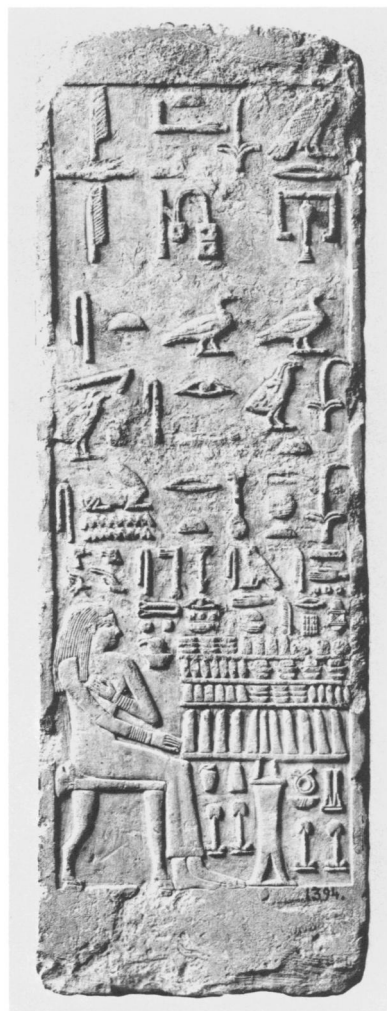
19. Boston MFA 30.1456: Dows Dunham, "A Statuette of Two Egyptian Queens," *BMFA* 34 (1936) pp. 3–5.

20. As seen from the photograph published in the article cited above, note 17, and the accompanying text. The owner of the statue died in 1962, and I have not been able to trace its present location.

21. Hassan, *Giza* I, caption to pl. 75.

identifying the man is a vertical column of hieroglyphs between the two figures: $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$. One might expect another name to follow, i.e., “*Mr-šw-‘nh*’s eldest son NN,” but there is no trace of any hieroglyphs on the sole remaining space that might have been used for this purpose, beside the right leg of the figure. A second *Mr-šw-‘nh*, who is evidently a son, is shown on the owner’s false door (Hassan, *Giza* I, fig. 182, p. 109), and it seems likely that he is “the eldest” son who is represented in the statue. The unusual inscription is perhaps to be explained by comparison with a stela in the Cairo Museum, CG 1394 (Figure 13), the top half of which is occupied by the dedication of a grandson. It reads: “The overseer of the treasury and scribe of royal archives, *‘Isi*, the son of her daughter; it is he who made this for her.” In this case the terminal posi-

FIGURE 13
Cairo
Museum,
CG 1394



tion of the filiation formula is intended to point downward, as it were, to the grandmother who is represented beneath—*Nfrt-wnn.š*. In the case of *Mr-šw-‘nh*’s statue, the formula “his eldest son” may similarly refer to his father’s burial beneath the serdab, rather than to one of the representations of the latter with which this statue was placed.

The woman who stands beside *Mr-šw-‘nh* is identified as the owner’s daughter on another statue group (Hassan, *Giza* I, pl. 74, p. 116). The beginning of her inscription is lost, but traces of the sign 𓆑 can be detected, and this must apply to a term of relationship that—since it is placed in its normal position, before her name—presumably refers to the adjacent figure. The restoration that is indicated is accordingly $[\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}]$ “his sister.”

2. TWO-DIMENSIONAL REPRESENTATIONS

Old Kingdom representations in relief are, as one might anticipate, even more rarely accompanied by redundant name-determinatives than statues are; if both the determinative and representation are on the same plane, the redundancy is much more apparent. A few examples may nonetheless be cited, and in every case the presence and absence of determinatives conforms to the same pattern as the 16 examples in statuary:

(17) Fourth Dynasty slab stela of $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ (*Nfrt*) (Figure 14).²² Of all the Fourth Dynasty slab stelae this is the only one that shows a determinative at the end of the owner’s identification. Inasmuch as the early Fourth Dynasty example in statuary (example 9) involves virtually the same name, it may be considered whether the determinative has not been suggested by the meaning, “One who is beautiful.”²³ But in that case one would expect to find the same writing on the

22. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, 6–19801. See Reisner, *Hist. Giza Necrop.* I, pl. 18b, p. 190 (G 1207).

23. For ideographs of this sort compare $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ (Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 32, p. 110; XII, p. 122; CG 57123, etc.); $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ (CG 110; compare *PNI*, p. 49 [24]); $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ (CG 1454, 1466); $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ (E. Drioton and J.-Ph. Lauer, “Un groupe de tombes à Saqqarah,” *ASAE* 55 [1958] p. 229); $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ (Gustave Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II III* [Cairo, 1940] fig. 22, p. 37).



FIGURE 14

Example 17. From H. F. Lutz, *Egyptian Tomb Steles* (Leipzig, 1927) pl. 2 (2)

stela of *R'-hṯp* and *Nfrt*, in the tomb from which CG 3 and 4 derive, and there the determinative 𓂏 is lacking (W. M. F. Petrie, *Medum* [London, 1892] pl. 15). Nor do I know of any other evidence for an ideographic connection between 𓂏 and *nfrt* in Old Kingdom personal names.²⁴ Example 23, below, also involves a woman named $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, but this again occurs in the context of masculine names that lack determinatives.

It therefore seems reasonable to conclude that 𓂏 is, in fact, simply a name-determinative.

(18) The false door of *Nfr-k³* and *Ṭtt* (Figure 15)²⁵ is not easy to date; it can hardly be as early as the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, as Curto states (*Gli Scavi*, p. 33), and judging from the form of the determinatives, it would seem to be later than the beginning of Dynasty V. The offering niche may well belong to

24. Compare, for example, Abubakr, *Giza*, fig. 74, pp. 88, 90 (the latter a statue); Hilda F. Petrie and Margaret A. Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels* (London, 1952) pl. 2; Junker, *Gtza IX*, fig. 15, p. 41. The sign 𓂏 does occur as a determinative of the name itself in some Middle Kingdom examples, but all of these cases involve a plural: $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (CG 20219h) *Nfrwt* (? PN I, p. 202 [18] suggests *Nfrt-rhwt* [?]); $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (CG

20086k, 20540f), variant writings of *H³t-ṣṣwt* and $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (CG 20057h), evidently *Ṣwt*. Note also the Middle Kingdom title of a priest of Hathor who was $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (G. Maspero, *Le Musée Égyptien III* [Cairo, 1915] p. 56).

25. Curto, *Gli Scavi*, fig. 22, pl. 2. I am indebted to Professor Curto for providing me with the photograph on which my drawing is based, and to William Pons for rephotographing to correct distortion.

the woman who is seated at the left of the offering table, opposite her husband.²⁶ Her name, *Tt*, has the determinative *ḥ* while his lacks it,²⁷ and their names are written together on the crossbar and drum lintel beneath this scene, “*Nfr-k³* and *Tt*,” again with a

26. As suggested by the reiteration of her name on the crossbar and drum-lintel, and by the prominence of female offering bearers (as well as men). Her position on the dominant left side of the offering scene also fits this conclusion, although this point in itself is not conclusive; compare Abubakr, *Giza*, fig. 95A, p. 109, and the other examples cited in Henry G. Fischer, “A Scribe of the Army in a Saqqara Mastaba,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 18 (1959) p. 272. In the present case, however, it is confirmed by the fact that her figure is somewhat larger than that of her husband.

27. The presence of *ḥ* after the epithet *im³h(t)* is remarkable, although *ḥ* sometimes occurs as a determinative after *im³hw* in other contexts (for example, *Urk.* I, p. 217, line 15; p. 252, line 13; *LD* II, 110[k]). Curto is probably right in taking the next group of signs as a feminine name (pp. 21–22), but the name may be *ḥnwt.sn*, and not *ḥnwt.s*; compare the writing *ḥnwt* || Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 29, p. 106, and compare *PN* I, p. 243 [29], 244 [1] and II, p. 337. Possibly one might read *im³h(t) nt ḥnwt.s*. For *im³hw* + the genitive see *Wb.* I, 82 [7], and for the epithet “revered with her (or his) mistress” see Henry G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Locust Valley, New York, 1968) p. 211, note 820; Norman de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd* (London, 1901) pl. 25; Clarence S. Fisher, *The Minor Cemetery at Giza* (Philadelphia, 1924) p. 143, pl. 48 (1); and the unpublished drum-lintel of *ḥnwt* || Toledo (Ohio) 06.24. In most of these examples, however, the identity of *ḥnwt* is indicated by the context, and no such indication is provided in the present case.

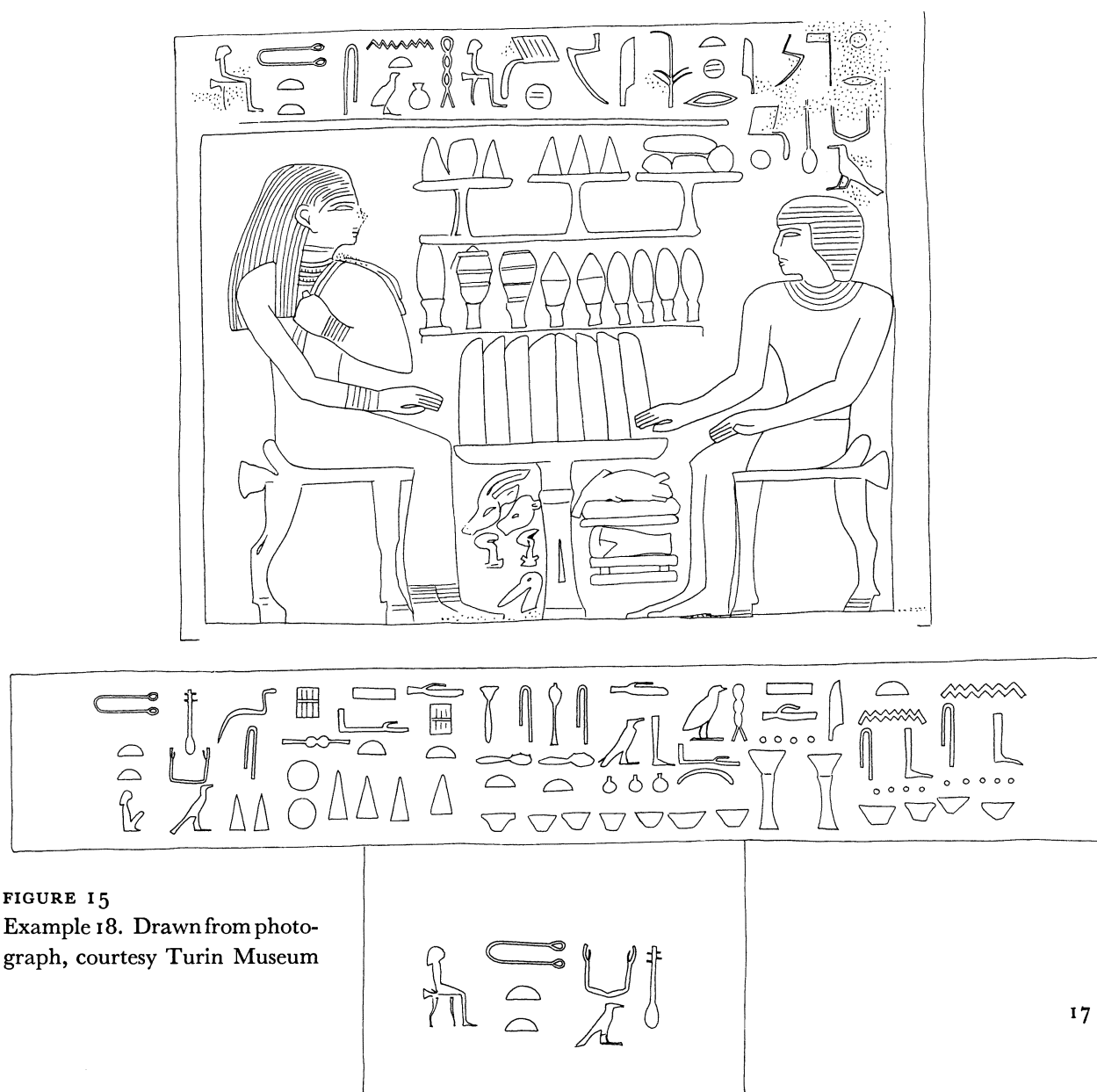


FIGURE 15
Example 18. Drawn from photograph, courtesy Turin Museum

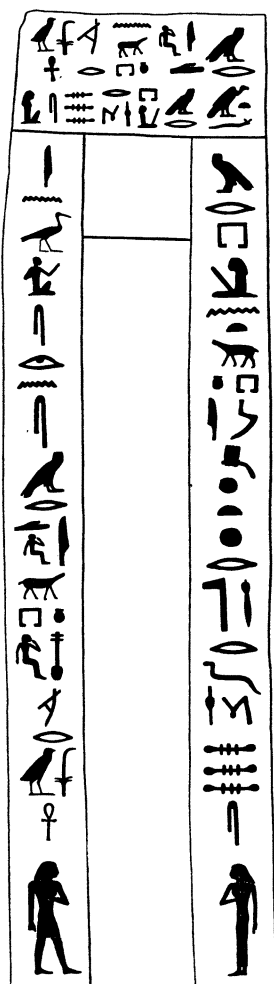
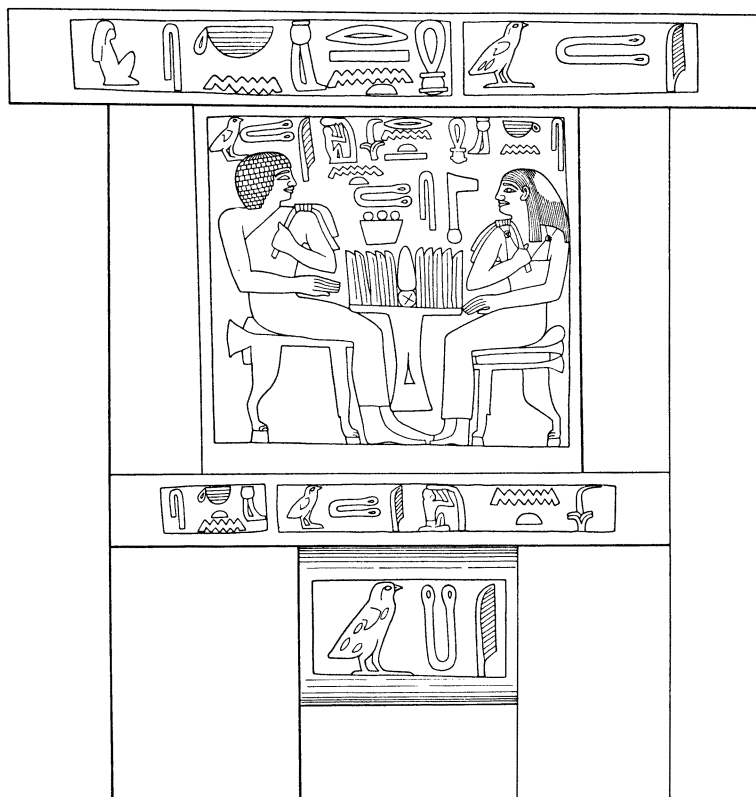




FIGURE 16


Example 19. From Hassan, *Giza* I, fig. 184, p. 112


FIGURE 17

Example 20. From Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 40, p. 145










determinative applied to her name only:  on the crossbar and  on the lintel.

(19) The architrave of a simple false door from the tomb of *Mr-šw-‘nh*, from which example 4 derives, names the owner and his mother, who are represented at the bottom of the jambs, with the determinative () applied to her name only, and not to his (Figure 16).




(20) Of still later date, probably within the Sixth Dynasty, is the false door of *'Itw* (Figure 17), which shows the owner seated opposite his wife. The architrave above this scene gives her name the determinative () and not his, and to this extent it bears out the testimony of the preceding examples.²⁸ Unlike example 18, however, the name-determinative is not actually

redundant because it appears at the end of the architrave that is furthest from the wife, and her name is repeated, without a determinative, above her figure. It may be significant that no determinative is added to her name on the architrave above her own false door (Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 36, p. 139).


28. Note also the false door CG 1462, which similarly shows no representations of the owner and his wife and supplies no determinative to the owner's name, while his wife is identified as  . In this case, however, the sign  probably belongs to the word *st* in *St-nt-Ḥtḥr*; compare the writing of    *S-n-ḥty*, Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 36, p. 117. Another example worth mentioning here is LD II, pls. 10–11; the wife's name shows the determinative  on the architrave above her false door (pl. 10) while, in a similar context (pl. 11), the name of her husband lacks it.

3. OTHER LINTELS AND ARCHITRAVES

There are also a number of cases in which an isolated lintel or architrave shows the same distinction between men and women in the use of name-determinatives. Some of them may have accompanied an offering scene, as in the case of examples 18 and 20, but even so, the determinative could not, strictly speaking, be called “redundant” any more than it could in the example that has just been considered.






(21) Name-determinatives are completely omitted on one of a pair of lintels (Figure 18)²⁹ that bear the names of “the Craftsman *Nfr*, the *Mitri My*, and the Butcher of the Slaughterhouse ‘*Iy-w³t*,” but the second lintel adds a determinative to the name of the woman alone: . The drum lintels that were presumably placed beneath each of these (Figure 19) include the names of *Nfr* and *My* only, and they show the determinatives  and , respectively, in both cases.³⁰

(22) An architrave from Reisner’s excavations at Giza, above the entrance of tomb G 1208 (Figure 20),³¹ is inscribed for: “The Custodian of the King’s Property (?), *W^b*-priest of the King, *Hm-ntr* Priest of Cheops, Inspector of the Boat(s?), Overseer of the Army, Overseer of the Pyramid *³ht-Hwfw*, Leader of

the Phyles, *³hty-htp*, and his wife the Custodian of the King’s Property (?), *Mrt-it.š*.” She alone has the name-determinative: . One might take the owner of this inscription to be “*³hty-htp*’s wife . . . *Mrt-it.š*,” but, in view of the number of titles that precede his name, it seems more likely that the architrave primarily belongs to him.

(23) The lintel over the entrance of another tomb at Giza (Figure 21)³² was inscribed for the “Sealer of the King’s Granary *Nfr-ḥr-n-Pth* (together with) his wife

29. Brussels E. 5268, 5271. These facsimiles were previously published in Henry G. Fischer, “The Butcher *Ph-r-nfr*,” *Orientalia* 29 (1960) p. 171.

30. Brussels E. 5270 (previously reproduced in Fischer, “The Butcher *Ph-r-nfr*,” p. 171) and Field Museum Chicago 31297, reproduced here by permission of Dr. James W. Van Stone, and by the Oriental Institute, who provided the photograph on which this drawing is based. This second lintel completes the writing  as a variant of , the sign  being incompletely preserved on its counterpart in Brussels. This hieroglyph is apparently a phonetic complement; compare , *Wb*. II, pl. 105 (18) and *mr/mi* with determinative , *Wb*. II, pl. 105 (19).

31. Based on a drawing and photograph kindly supplied by Dr. William K. Simpson.

32. From W. M. F. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* (London, 1907) pl. 7A; now in the Manchester Museum, 1617.

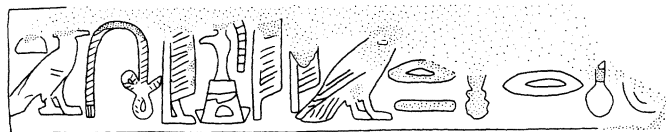


FIGURE 18
Example 21. Brussels, E. 5268
(above) and 5271

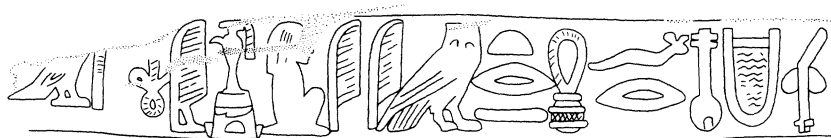
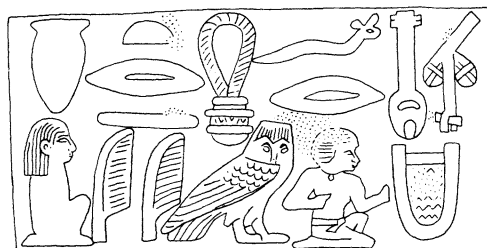
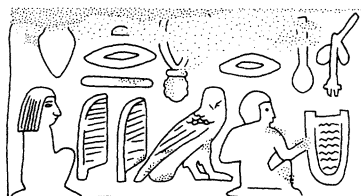


FIGURE 19
Brussels E. 5270 (left)
and Field Museum,
Chicago, 31297



cm.

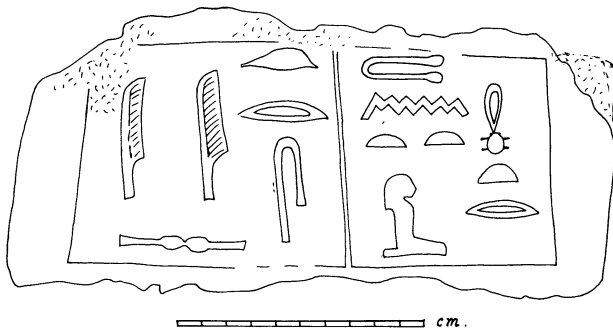


FIGURE 25

Example 28. University College, London, 8453

scale hieroglyphic determinative rarely serves this function.³⁸

(27) A drum-lintel of unknown provenance in Cairo, CG 1751,³⁹ has an offering formula that shows masculine forms (*nb im³h. . . i³w nfr wrt*) and is therefore primarily directed to the first of the two persons mentioned subsequently. His name, lacking a determinative, is 'Iy-nfrit, and his title ($\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$) is obscure. The name that follows belongs to "the *mitrt* *Tntt*," followed by the determinative 𓂏 . She is presumably his wife, but their relationship is not specified.

(28) A small lintel of unknown provenance, University College, London 8453 (Figure 25),⁴⁰ bears the name of the *mitrt* *Tntt*, with the determinative 𓂏 , and, in a separate compartment, a name that is apparently masculine and lacks the determinative. The reading of the latter is problematic, but the final \rightarrow can hardly be anything but s "man" and I can suggest no explanation better than 'Iry-ś(w)-s "The one who is made—he's a man!"⁴¹

It will be noted that all of the examples of known

38. One of the earliest examples, Junker, *Giza* I, fig. 63, p. 252, follows a feminine name and may well be related to the examples under consideration. For masculine examples of later date from Giza see Junker, *Giza* VIII, figs. 32, 60, pp. 75, 128; IX, fig. 72, p. 160; Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 34, p. 37; III, fig. 22, p. 23; VI, pt. 3, fig. 195, p. 199.

39. As described (without illustration) by Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* II, p. 174.

40. The drawing is based on a photograph and tracing kindly supplied by Barbara Adams. I am obliged to Dr. D. M. Dixon for permission to publish it.

41. This would thus be a rare example of the passive participle used as predicate (Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* I, §644), with 𓂏 representing 𓂏 as in two other names, both of which also contain the word 𓂏 (Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* I, §167 dd).

provenance (22–26) are from Giza. I feel doubtful that the date of no. 21 is as early as the Third Dynasty, as I have suggested previously, but I am uncertain how much later it may be. Klaus Baer has suggested that no. 22 is no earlier than the reign of Neferirkare in the Fifth Dynasty (*Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom* [Chicago, 1960] pp. 52 [10], 240). No. 23 is probably even later, as are all the rest.

4. CONCLUSIONS AND SEQUEL

The Old Kingdom evidence that has been presented is, in the first place, sufficient to establish the fact that women's names were frequently given a determinative in situations where a masculine name lacks it. The examples include some cases where the woman is evidently the owner of the monument (18, 19, 26). In no case, however, can it be proven that the monument did not come from the tomb of the man with whom she is associated, and that is certainly true in the case of no. 19 (the owner's mother). Furthermore the distinction is definitely known to occur on the husband's monument in several other instances (for example, 2, 8, 15, 16, 20, 23, 24, 25, 27).

It might be considered, then, whether the distinctive use of the feminine determinative derives from the idea that she is a secondary occupant of her husband's mastaba. But the same determinative is twice given to a daughter when a son lacks it (2, 4), and to a wife when it is omitted from the names of her sons (2, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 23). In the case of no. 23, however, a daughter lacks the determinative as well as a son. The last case is particularly interesting because another man, the builder of the tomb (and in all probability not a kinsman), does have a name-determinative.

Perhaps we should not place too much weight on the cases where the distinction in the use of the determinative is extended to other members of the family, but they suggest that two considerations were simultaneously operative: the first being a tendency to use a feminine determinative to distinguish the female entity from generic Man (𓂏);⁴² the second being a

42. Old Kingdom Egyptian does not always use the group $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ as a determinative of *mt* where the meaning is "men" in the generic sense; this may also be written 𓂏 (*Urk.* I, p. 71, line 3), 𓂏 (Hassan, *Giza* IX, fig. 38, p. 88), or $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (*Urk.* I, p.

tendency to apply a determinative to the names of persons who are not so immediately present as the owner of the tomb.

The second consideration is reinforced by the fact that, in some cases, the statue of the owner was not felt to require any inscription whatever, taking its identity from the context of the tomb in which it was placed. And if, in such a case, the owner was a woman, her statue might omit her own name and show only that of her husband (Figure 12). Similarly the statue of a son, in his father's serdab, might allude to the father without mentioning his name since, here again (example 4), that identity is supplied by the context.⁴³ This study may, in fact, be regarded as a demonstration of the way in which every aspect of the context—archaeological, iconographic, and epigraphic—may affect a hieroglyphic inscription.

After the Old Kingdom, and particularly during the later part of the Eleventh Dynasty, redundant determinatives were more frequently applied to names on tomb stelae. The majority of the examples are from the Theban area—Dendera,⁴⁴ Thebes itself,⁴⁵ and

Gebelein,⁴⁶ but a few cases are known from Naga ed-Deir,⁴⁷ and some of these are earlier than the others.⁴⁸ The later examples are sometimes to be explained by the semicursive character of the inscriptions, which tends to isolate them from the representations which they accompany.⁴⁹ In any case they are exceptional even in the Eleventh Dynasty; they rarely apply the determinative to the wife alone, and not to the owner;⁵⁰ and they do not seem to have had a lasting effect of any significance, once the country was reunited and older traditions were re-established.⁵¹ A particularly conspicuous exception is to be found in Beni Hasan tomb 2, dating to the second reign of Dynasty XII, where the representations of the tomb owner's wife are identified as ,⁵² while the determinative is consistently omitted from the name of the owner himself, even in those cases where he is not depicted.

I know of only four Middle Kingdom group-statues that omit the determinative after the owner's name and supply it to the name of his wife. The earliest and clearest example is an Eleventh Dynasty seated couple from Dendera who are named and

49, line 1, and *Kēmi* 15 (1959) pl. 1 [3], following p. 22), and, in addition there is the ideographic use of (*Urk.* I, p. 23, line 6, and often elsewhere), which may represent the same word or *s* (); compare Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* I, §53, and Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Plural and Dual in Old Egyptian* (Brussels, 1929) §30. The writing also occurs occasionally after the Old Kingdom: Jacques Vandier, *Mo'alla* (Cairo, 1950) p. 298; Norman de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker* (London, 1920) pl. 9.

43. Dr. Helmut Nickel informs me that a similar logic was more systematically applied to Viking tombstones; those marking an actual burial are uninscribed, while runic inscriptions identify the cenotaphs of those lost at sea. We must suppose, however, that the wife of *Mmi/Šbw* was named elsewhere in her tomb chapel. The influence of the proprietary context is also to be recognized in the use of Old Kingdom epithets indicating seniority and juniority. In the event that father and son have the same name, a distinguishing epithet may be applied to the son's name () if—as is usually the case—he is shown in his father's tomb chapel. But in one case, where the father is shown in the son's tomb chapel, it is the older man who has the epithet; he is “senior.” And if both are mentioned together in some other context, beyond their own funerary domain, each of them may receive an epithet; in one such example they are given the single name they have in common, which is followed by “senior and junior.” The evidence is presented at the beginning of a forthcoming article, *Egyptian Studies* I: “Epithets of Seniority.”

44. W. M. F. Petrie, *Denderah* (London, 1900) pls. 11 (bottom left, bottom center, and right, second from bottom), 12 (right,

second from bottom); J. d'E. 36423 (wife and daughter only), 44301, 44302 (= CG 20804).

45. J.-J. Clère and J. Vandier, *Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire* (Brussels, 1948) §§ 2 (CG 20003, probably later than the end of Dyn. XI), 14 (Metropolitan Museum 14.2.7), 23 (British Museum 1203—wives only); Naville, *Deir el Bahari: XIth Dyn.* I, pl. 17 G, H; III, pls. 2–3, 9 D. Also CG 20007, which may well come from Thebes.

46. CG 1622, CG 1654 (wife only).

47. Dows Dunham, *Naga ed-Dêr Stelae of the First Intermediate Period* (London, 1937) nos. 45, 49, 70 (man, but not wife), 83 (same), 20 (wife only), 81 (wife only), CG 1648 (husband, not wife).

48. At least two examples (Dunham nos. 20 and 45) are evidently earlier than the end of Dyn. VIII.

49. For example, J. d'E. 44301 (from Dendera); Naville, *Deir el Bahari: XIth Dyn.* III, pls. 2–3, and the labels of some officials shown in an early Twelfth Dynasty tomb (Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 13). An Old Kingdom example may also be cited, Toledo (Ohio) 49.4, where determinatives follow the names of a son and daughter who are represented in relief on the sides of a seated statue.

50. See above, notes 44–47; at Naga ed-Deir the determinative is sometimes applied to the husband alone.

51. Some later examples (besides CG 20003, mentioned above in note 45): CG 1597, 1753, 20518 (some of the captions); MMA 63.154 (captions of three daughters); Brooklyn Museum 37.1347E (captions of one of two men, and wives of both).

52. Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pls. 12, 18.

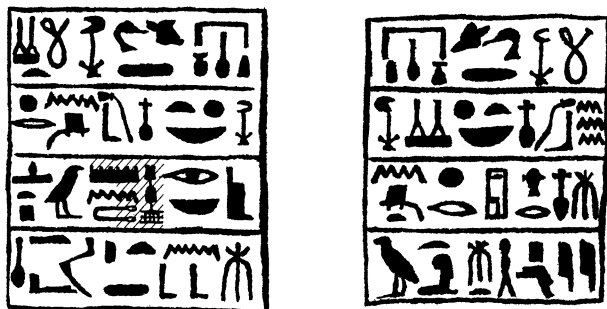


FIGURE 26

From Petrie, *Dendereh*, pl. 15

† Mntw-htp born of Bbt and Nfr-mšwt born of Hpy (Figure 26).⁵³ It is difficult to form any definite conclusion about this period on the basis of such slender evidence, and the number of Middle Kingdom group-statues is so small, in comparison to earlier examples, and so much less adequately published, that no such conclusion may perhaps be possible for some time to come.

SOURCES ABBREVIATED

- Abubakr, Giza—Abdel-Moneim Abubakr, *Excavations at Giza 1949–1950* (Cairo, 1953).
 ASAE—*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte*.
 BMFA—*Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* (Boston).
 CG + number—Monuments in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, numbers referring to *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*:
 CG 1–1294: Ludwig Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten I–IV* (Berlin, 1911–34);
 CG 1295–1808: Ludwig Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I–II* (Berlin, 1937–64);
 CG 20001–20780: H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs I–IV* (Berlin, 1902–25);
 CG 20804: unpublished continuation of CG 20001–20780 by J.-J. Clère.
 CG 42126: Georges Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers I* (Cairo, 1906).
 Curto, *Gli Scavi*—S. Curto, *Gli Scavi Italiani a El-Ghiza* (1903) (Rome, 1963).
 Hassan, Giza—S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza I–X* (Oxford, 1932; Cairo, 1936–60).
 JEA—*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.
 J. d’E. + number—Monuments in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, unpublished unless otherwise noted.

Statuary of the New Kingdom generally shows the determinative after the names of both husband and wife,⁵⁴ although one Eighteenth Dynasty example, probably dating to the reign of Tuthmosis IV, evidently perpetuates the old distinction (Figure 27).⁵⁵ The name of the husband (*Imn-kd*) lacks a determinative while those of his wife (*Nbt-’Iwnt*) and daughter (*Mwt-nfrrt*) in both cases end with *ḥt*. The inscriptions on the backs and sides show no determinatives whatever.⁵⁶

53. Ashmolean Museum E 1971: Petrie, *Dendereh*, pls. 15 (bottom right), 21. The other examples are Munich Glyptothek 99 (Hans Wolfgang Müller and Beatrix Löhr, *Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst* [Munich, 1972] p. 58, pl. 26); Louvre E. 19172 (Jacques Vandier, *Manuel d’archéologie égyptienne*, III. *La Statuaire* [Paris, 1958] pl. 85 [1]); Turayev, *Statui i Statuetki*, pp. 7–8.

54. As exemplified by CG 597, 613, 622, 628, 42126.

55. Metropolitan Museum 25.184.8, height 30 cm, described in W. C. Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt II* (New York, 1959) pp. 158–159.

56. The same distinction appears on at least two other New Kingdom statues, both in the Cairo Museum: CG 772 and 934, but in the first case both names show determinatives in the inscriptions on the back. All three examples are exceptional.

- Junker, Giza—Hermann Junker, *Bericht über die von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien . . . unternommenen Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des Alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Giza I–XII* (Vienna, 1929–55).
 LD—Lepsius, C. R., *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* (Berlin, 1849–59).
 Naville, *Deir el Bahari: XIth Dyn.*—Edouard Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari I–III* (London, 1907–13).
 Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*—Percy E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan Part I* (London, 1893).
 Petrie, *Dendereh*—W. M. F. Petrie, *Dendereh* (London, 1900).
 PN—Hermann Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I–II* (Glückstadt, 1935–[52]).
 Pyr.—Kurt Sethe, *Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte* (Leipzig, 1908, 1910).
 Reisner, *Hist. Giza Necrop.*—George A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis I* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942); Reisner and William Stevenson Smith, II (Cambridge, Mass., 1955).
 Smith, *History of Sculpture and Painting*—William Stevenson Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1946).
 Urk. I—Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reichs* (Leipzig, 1933).
 Wb.—A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache I–V* (Leipzig, 1926–31).



FIGURE 27
Eighteenth Dynasty couple with daughter. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of Mrs. S. W. Straus, 25.184.8