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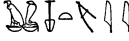
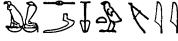





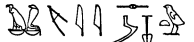

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















NBTY IN OLD-KINGDOM TITLES AND NAMES

By HENRY G. FISCHER

ONE of the recurrent elements in the tituleries of Old-Kingdom queens shows the following variations:

- A.  De Rougé, *Inscriptions*, I, pl. 62.¹
 Borchardt, *Grabd. Kgs. Ne-user-re*, 109, fig. 88.
 Sarcophagus, Cairo J. 54935 (*Mr.s-ḥ* III).
 Tomb chapel of *Mr.s-ḥ* III.²
 False door of Queen *Nbt* (fig. 1).³
- B.  Statue, Boston MFA 30.1456 (*Htp-ḥr.s* II).⁴
- C.  Tomb chapel of *Mr.s-ḥ* III.⁵
 Mariette, *Mastabas*, 183.
- D.  Mariette, *Mastabas*, 225.
- E.  Jéquier, *Pyr. des reines*, pl. 16.
- F.  False door of Queen *Nbt* (fig. 1).

¹ Similar examples of graphic metathesis are presented in the following tabulation which shows the feminine \ominus centred below a pair of signs; some cases also involve the graphic transposition of a tall narrow sign (d-f) or honorific transposition (g), and the feminine \ominus may belong to the first of the two signs above it (as in the present case, and a-c, e-g) or to the second sign (d, h).

a 	b 	c 	d 	e 	f 	g 	h 
b 	c 	d 	e 	f 	g 	h 	i 

The references are as follows: a-b: Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, IV, p. 23; c: Hassan, *Giza*, II, 163, fig. 193; d: Reisner, *Hist Giza Necrop.* I, pl. 65 (b) and CG 1414 (for the normal writing of *iwt(i) nfr*, see Hassan, *Giza*, III, 196, fig. 158; VI, pt. 3, 64, fig. 46; CG 1506); e: Hassan, *Giza*, IV, 193, fig. 141; f: Murray, *Saq. Mast.* I, pl. 20; g: Hassan, *Giza*, III, 32, fig. 31; IV, 131, fig. 74 and 140, fig. 81; Reisner, *Hist. Giza Necrop.* I, pl. 57 (b); h: Hassan, *Giza*, II, 109, fig. 116 and III, fig. 118.

² On the north wall of room C (loc. 25); for this information I am indebted to Dows Dunham and Wm. K. Simpson, who are preparing a final publication of the tomb.

³ Presumably the wife of King Wenis, near whose pyramid her mastaba is located; cf. Zaki Saad, *ASAE* 40 (1941), 683-4, where the title under consideration is not mentioned; my copy (not a facsimile) derives from a photograph taken by Bernard V. Bothmer in 1958, and I am obliged to him for the use of it.

⁴ *BMFA* 34 (1936), 5.

⁵ Reisner, *BMFA* 25 (1927), fig. 5, p. 67; another example, on the west wall of the same principal room, is almost identical, only lacking \ominus (*Illus. London News*, July 9, 1927, p. 69 [3]).

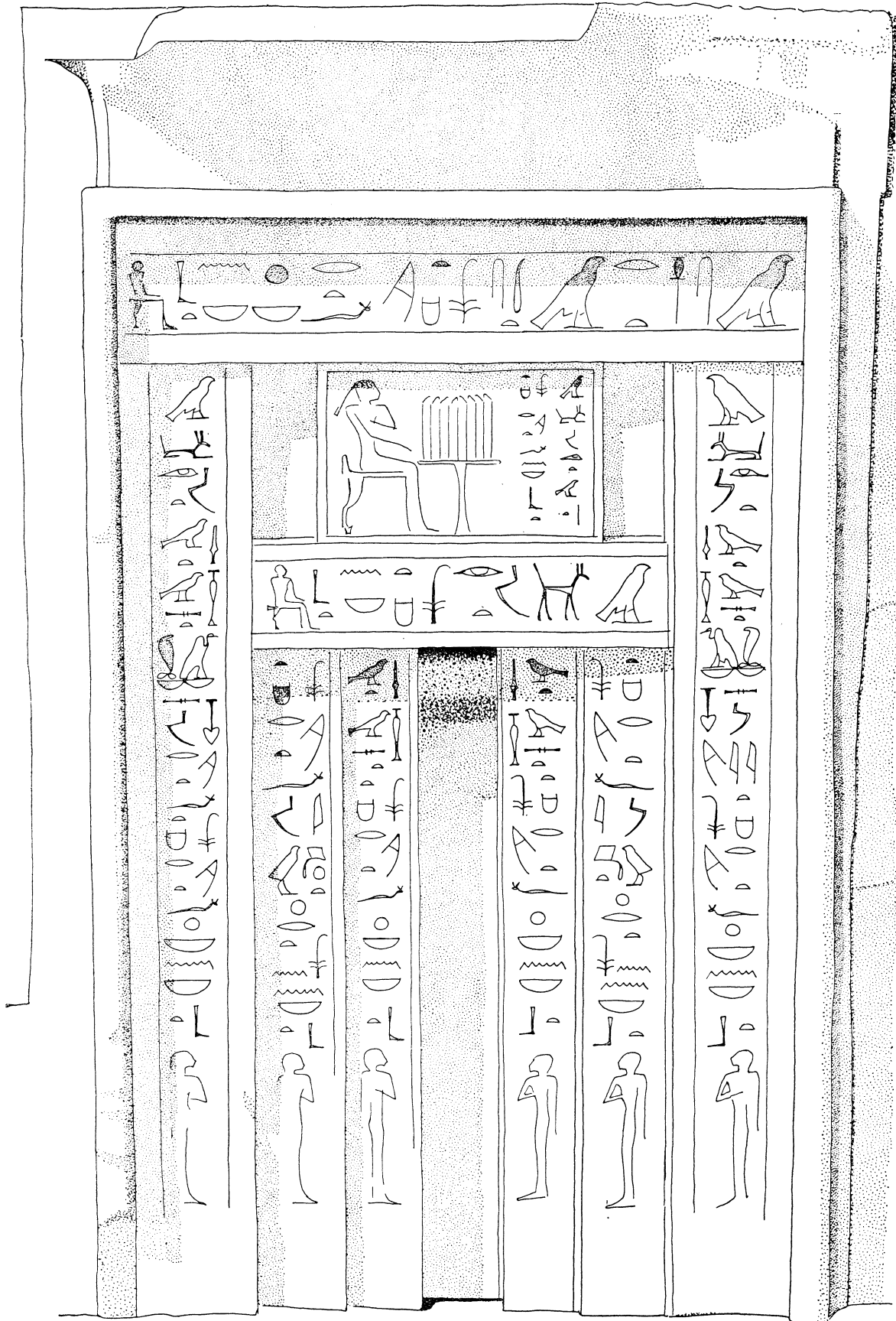

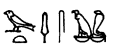




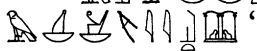
FIG. 1. False Door of Queen Nebet.

- C. *smꜣwt* (*Nbty*) *mry*
- D. same + *nswt*
- E. (*Nbty* [*mry*]) *smꜣwt*


The omission of *mry* in one example (B) is probably not to be regarded as an error, but rather as an admissible variation in which *Nbty* is the equivalent of *mry Nbty*, representing the king himself.¹⁰ Another queenly title, *wrt ḥts* occasionally shows variations with the addition of *Nbwy* or *Nbty*:



-  entrance of chapel of *Mr.s-ḥnh*¹¹
-  west wall, main chamber, of same¹²
-  Hassan, *Giza*, III, 185, fig. 147, and pl. 55.¹³



Although the precise meaning of *ḥts* remains uncertain, it seems likely that a reference to the king is again to be recognized in these cases.¹⁴


The interpretation that has been proposed for the Old-Kingdom examples of *mry Nbty* is borne out by some Middle-Kingdom evidence that is somewhat earlier than the Middle-Kingdom titles quoted earlier. The name of the shrine of Sesostris I at Karnak sometimes appears in the form  'Seat (*wꜣst*) of Horus, the son of the two crowns'¹⁵ and sometimes  'Seat of Horus, beloved of the two crowns'.¹⁶


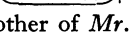


Irrespective of the foregoing considerations, it is clear that *Nbwy* and *Nbty* sometimes literally refer to the 'Two Lords' and 'Two Ladies' who represent an entity that is independent of the king (notably in *Pyr.* 34), while at other times this designation represents the king himself. Particularly in the case of *Nbty*, it might be

¹⁰ Cf. the group , which occurs frequently in archaic inscriptions. Kaplony (*Inschriften der äg Frühzeit*, 612–14) lists the occurrences and concludes, following Helck, that this represents a personal name; on p. 438 he compares other names compounded with *nbwy* (rather than *nbty*).

¹¹ Grdseloff, *ASAE* 42 (1943), 112, finds a parallel for this in Emery, *Hemaka*, 35 and pl. 18 a () and takes *wrt ḥts* to mean 'la grande des princesses (nubiles)' (pp. 114–15). *Wr/wrt* may indeed mean 'the greatest of (a group of persons)', but since *ḥts* may represent a quality ('perfection'?), the first word might also be translated 'great in respect to' (cf. n. 14 below). Grdseloff's further interpretation of *wrt ḥts* as 'educatrice' (p. 118) is difficult to follow despite his ingenious interpretation of  as the determinative of *ts-mdḥ* in *Pyr.* 1214b (p. 120; cf. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur äg. Tracht* 27, n. 3).

¹² Two examples, loc. 12 and 13; the writing  occurs in the vertical inscriptions of this chapel, while the more usual writing  occurs in the horizontal ones.

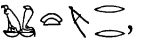
¹³ Although this example is not intact, it does not seem to be ; furthermore *wrt ḥts* occurs repeatedly in the inscriptions of the same person, while *smꜣwt nbty* is absent.



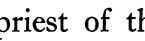
¹⁴ One might also compare two examples which append the name of a specific king: ,  (De Rougé, *Inscriptions*, I, pl. 62). It should be noted, however, that another of *Mr.s-ḥnh*'s titles shows a variant that appends the name of the god Thoth:  (followed by ) *wrt-ḥst Dhwtj* lit. 'great-of-praise(s) of Thoth' or possibly 'greatest of those whom Thoth praises'. This occurs above the entrance (*BMFA* 25 [1927], 77, fig. 18).

¹⁵ Lacau and Chevrier, *Une Chapelle de Sesostris I^{er}*, pls. 10–11.


¹⁶ Op. cit. pls. 18, 34; cf. Kees, *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 194–5.


considered whether a nisbe-form is involved, the writing of which would be indistinguishable from the feminine dual on which it is based.¹⁷

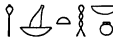
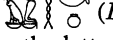
In the case of Old-Kingdom feminine names which are compounded with *Nbty*, the use of this term is ambiguous. If it refers to the female divinities as such, it also alludes to the relationship between these divinities and the king; if it refers to the king, this mode of reference is certainly adopted because it involves a pair of divinities that are female. Probably the second interpretation is more appropriate as a rule,¹⁸ but the first is attested by at least two examples, both of which refer to *Nbty* as an entity other than the king. One is , which Ranke translates: 'es glänzt der, den *nb·tj* (d.i. der König) liebt' (*PN* I, 264 [10]). Since *mrr* is masculine, 'he whom the Two Ladies love' must refer to the king or an unidentified god, either of which might appropriately be the subject of *hri*. In neither case can *Nbty* represent the king, and in this particular context the first alternative is much more likely; indeed, the relative form *mrr Nbty* might be compared with the participial *mry Nbty* in the title mentioned earlier.




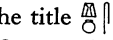
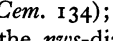
The second name,  (*PN* I, 423 [23]), evidently means 'The Two Ladies are upon her father', and *nbty* must then allude to the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, as in  'his crown is upon him' (*Pyr.* 2018*b*, 2019*b*, and cf. 753*b*, 2196*a*).¹⁹ According to the *Wörterbuch*, *Nbty* is not otherwise known to refer to the double crown prior to the New Kingdom.²⁰ It seems more than coincidental, however, that two Fifth-Dynasty 'keepers of the headdress' (*iry nfr-hst*) are, at the same time, 'priest of Nekhebet, priest of Wedjoyet'. In one example the three titles are presented in series, ending with another closely related title—'director of hairdressers' (fig. 2).²¹ The double priesthood evidently has much the same meaning as the Twelfth-Dynasty title  'priest of the white and red crown of Upper and Lower Egypt' (Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.*, pl. 82).²²

Nfr-hst recalls a term for the crown, *nfr-hdt*, as attested in a title of princesses and queens dating from the Twelfth Dynasty down to the first half of the Eighteenth:


¹⁷ This question is also raised by the occurrence of  among the epithets of the Twelfth-Dynasty official *Wb-htp* (Blackman and Apted, *Meir*, VI, pl. 13); this has been translated 'Two Ladies, or He of the Two Ladies' (*ibid.* 9, 26).

¹⁸ For the numerous cases in which *Nbty* may refer to the king, see Ranke, *PN* I, 180 (12, 21), 189 (25, 26), 190 (1, 2), 259 (1), 423 (22), 425 (30); II, 297 (24), 302 (24) and  Brooklyn 64. 148. 2.

¹⁹ The white crown alone is mentioned in the Old-Kingdom personal name  (*PN* I, 257 [4], Hassan, *Giza*; IV, 117); this is paralleled by the name  (*PN* I, 190 [1]), but that does not mean, of course, that *Nbty* necessarily refers to the two crowns in the latter case.

²⁰ *Wb.* II, 233, 9–10; cf. Faulkner, *Concise Dict.* 129 and quotations given by Naville, *ZÄS* 36 (1898), 134. Middle-Kingdom texts sometimes use *Wdty* (det.  CG 20518, 20683; Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 281; Blackman, *Meir*, III, 2;  BM 839, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, II, pl. 7); cf.  'the white crown serpent (*hdt-wtt*) which is in El Kab' (*Pyr.* 900*b*); also the title  which Gunn translates 'Carrier of the *nws*-diadem (?) of Uto' (Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 134); this recurs (as  alone) in the Middle Kingdom (Weill, *Rev. d'Ég.* 7 [1950], 185–6); and the *nws*-diadem is also mentioned in Jéquier, *Pys. des Reines*, pl. 8 (Neit, 43) and *CT* VI, 208*d*.

²¹ From Hassan, *Giza*, II, 85, fig. 89; the other titles are held by *Rr-wr*: op. cit. I, 23, fig. 16, and pp. 6, 16, 29.

²² This point favours the interpretation of  as 'support of the red (crown)' on the false door of a 'keeper of the royal headdress' who is apparently somewhat later than Dyn. VI (*ZÄS* 90 [1963], 39–40 and pl. 5).

