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## NBTY IN OLD-KINGDOM TITLES AND NAMES

By HENRY G. FISCHER

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

A.	MIN-11	De Rougé, Inscriptions, 1, pl. 62.1
	MIE	Borchardt, Grabd. Kgs. Ne-user-re <sup>c</sup> , 109, fig. 88.
	12 J-611	Sarcophagus, Cairo J. 54935 (Mr.s-'nh III).
	112/11	Tomb chapel of Mr.s-'nh III.2
	MISKI	False door of Queen Nbt (fig. 1).3
В.	1378	Statue, Boston MFA 30.1456 (Ḥtp-ḥr.s II).4
C.	11-12/2612	Tomb chapel of Mr.s-'nh III.5
	11126	Mariette, Mastabas, 183.
D.	1226111	Mariette, Mastabas, 225.
E.	RETEN SE	Jéquier, Pyrs. des reines, pl. 16.
F.	MITA	False door of Queen Nbt (fig. 1).

<sup>1</sup> Similar examples of graphic metathesis are presented in the following tabulation which shows the feminine contred 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 control 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 la	on chat	kan †	e		a Fa	7-3
b b b b		/ <u>)</u> ],	f / //	州一	h 7 2	740

The references are as follows: a-b: Sethe, Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte, IV, p. 23; c: Hassan, Gîza, II, 163, fig. 193; d: Reisner, Hist Giza Necrop. I, pl. 65 (b) and CG 1414 (for the normal writing of iswt(i) nfr, see Hassan, Gîza, III, 196, fig. 158; VI, pt. 3, 64, fig. 46; CG 1506); e: Hassan, Gîza, IV, 193, fig. 141; f: Murray, Saq. Mast. I, pl. 20; g: Hassan, Gîza, III, 32, fig. 31; IV, 131, fig. 74 and 140, fig. 81; Reisner, Hist. Giza Necrop. I, pl. 57 (b); h: Hassan, Gîza, II, 109, fig. 116 and 111, fig. 118.

- <sup>2</sup> 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.
- <sup>3</sup> 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.
- <sup>5</sup> Reisner, BMFA 25 (1927), fig. 5, p. 67; another example, on the west wall of the same principal room, is almost identical, only lacking  $\leftarrow$  (Illus. London News, July 9, 1927, p. 69 [3]).

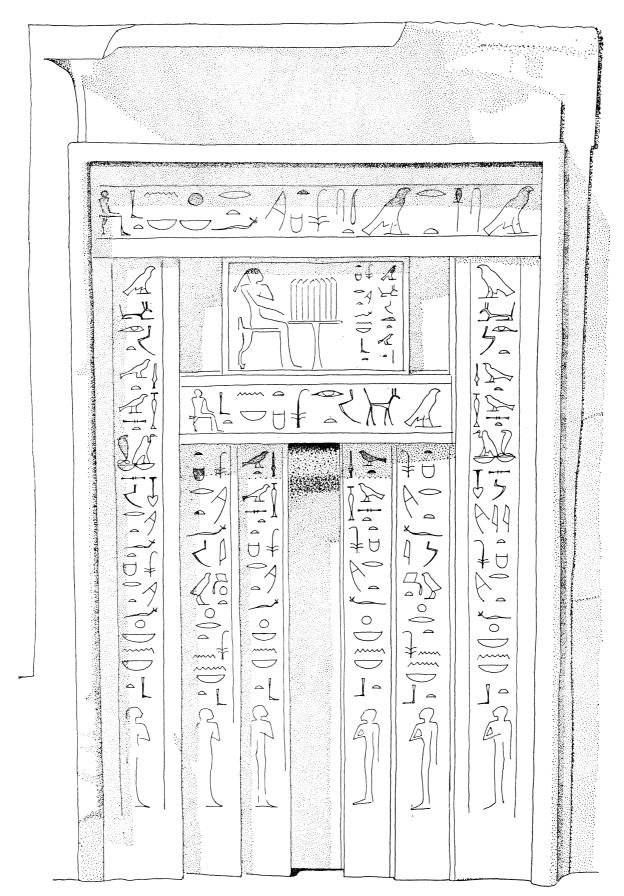


Fig. 1. False Door of Queen Nebet.

In his article 'La titulature des reines des dynasties memphites', ASAE 24 (1924), 207–8, Gauthier, like Erman and Naville before him, takes  $\[ \] \] \$  to mean 'beloved', and this translation is certainly applicable to the later examples which they quote, dating to the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties:

The feminine ending of mryt does not appear in any of the Old-Kingdom examples. however, and this omission is the more remarkable because the feminine t generally does appear in  $\downarrow \sim$  (var.  $\downarrow \gg$ ). If the reading were mryt, the absence of the feminine ending would seem particularly remarkable in the majority of cases where the passive participle is written in full as  $\searrow \emptyset \emptyset$  or  $\nearrow \emptyset \emptyset$ . Moreover, one would expect this adjunct, if it originally had such a meaning, to take the form \$\sum\_{x}\$, as it does in smi(wt) Nbty mrt·f (F) does in fact occur at the end of the Fifth Dynasty, on the false door of Queen Nbt, whereas the opposite side of the same monument shows the normal form sm3(wt) mry Nbty (fig. 1); the most probable explanation is that, on the left side, this title has been assimilated to the following one, hmt-nswt mrt.f. If mrt.f were a legitimate variant of  $\triangleright \emptyset \emptyset$ , and identical in meaning to the latter, one might conversely expect  $\mathbb{N}$  to appear as a variant in some writings of the titles that normally show  $mrt \cdot f$ . The Middle-Kingdom example of  $\lozenge \Downarrow \lozenge$  probably represents a reinterpretation of the older form, which permitted the replacement of Nbty by the king's name in the Middle Kingdom and the similar replacement of Nbty by Hr in the Eighteenth Dynasty, along with the addition of the suffix pronoun to mryt.

The variable sequence of words also raises some objections to Gauthier's interpretation. It does not seem likely that variant D ends with the epithet  $\[ \] \] \]$  'aimée du roi', as he assumes, without the usual honorific transposition; nor does his interpretation of  $\[ \] \] \]$  fit variant E, in which one would expect smswt mryt rather than mryt smswt. The one solution that most comfortably suits all the Old-Kingdom writings is to take  $\[ \] \] \]$  as a masculine participle referring to the king, in which case the translation is 'consort (lit. she who joins) him who is beloved of the Two Ladies' (or less probably) 'consort of the beloved (masc.) Two Ladies'. In the case of variant D one must then append '(scilicet) the king'. The variations in the sequence of smswt mry Nbty may be summarized as follows, with honorific transposition indicated by parentheses and brackets:

```
A. (Nbty) smswt mry
B. smswt Nbty
```

- 6 Also to be found in Sethe, Urk. IV, 225, 2; and cf. 216, 11.
- 8 E.g. Reisner, loc. cit. and (with smrt Hr), pp. 76-7, figs. 17-18.

<sup>9</sup> For this addition cf. the epithet of a Fourth-Dynasty prince: imih hr it f nswt, 'revered with his father, the king' (Hassan, Gîza, IV, 119, fig. 64).

- C. sm3wt (Nbty) mry
- D. same+nswt
- E. (Nbty [mry]) smswt

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.<sup>10</sup> Another queenly title, *wrt hts* occasionally shows variations with the addition of *Nbwy* or *Nbty*:

```
entrance of chapel of Mr.s-^cnh^{11}

west wall, main chamber, of same ^{12}

Hassan, Giza, III, 185, fig. 147, and pl. 55.^{13}
```

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

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  $\mathbb{Z}$   $\mathbb{Z}$ 

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

- <sup>10</sup> 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*).
- and takes wrt hts to mean 'la grande des princesses (nubiles)' (pp. 114-15). Wr/wrt may indeed mean 'the greatest of (a group of persons)', but since hts 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 hts as 'educatrice' (p. 118) is difficult to follow despite his ingenious interpretation of \$\beta\$ as the determinative of \(\frac{ts-mdh}{ts}\) in \(Pyr. 1214b\) (p. 120; cf. Staehelin, \(Untersuchungen zur \(\text{ag}\). \(Tracht 27, n. 3)\).
- 13 Although this example is not intact, it does not seem to be  $\{ \}_{\geq 0}^{\infty}$ ; furthermore wrt hts occurs repeatedly in the inscriptions of the same person, while sm²wt nbty is absent.
- One might also compare two examples which append the name of a specific king: \(\sigma\) (De Rougé, Inscriptions, I, pl. 62). It should be noted, however, that another of Mr. s-(nh's titles shows a variant that appends the name of the god Thoth: \(\sigma\) \(\sigma\) (followed by \(\sigma\) \(\sigma\) wrt-hst \(\Dhwty\) 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 Ier, pls. 10-11.
  - Op. cit. pls. 18, 34; cf. Kees, MDAIK 16 (1958), 194-5.
     1038073

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

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, <sup>18</sup> 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 high and high the compart 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 hei. 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, \( \lambda \in \) (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 \( \subseteq \in \lambda \subseteq \lambda

Nfr-h3t 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:

This question is also raised by the occurrence of M among the epithets of the Twelfth-Dynasty official Wh-htp (Blackman and Apted, Meir, vI, pl. 13); this has been translated 'Two Ladies, or He of the Two Ladies' (ibid. 0, 26).

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

<sup>20</sup> Wb. II, 233, 9-10; cf. Faulkner, Concise Dict. 129 and quotations given by Naville, ZÄS 36 (1898), 134. Middle-Kingdom texts sometimes use Widty (det. & CG 20518, 20683; Firth-Gunn, Teti Pyr. Cem. 281; Blackman, Meir, III, 2; & BM 839, Hieroglyphic Texts, II, pl. 7); cf. \(\cappa = \left( \frac{1}{2} \left( \frac{1}{2} \right) \frac{1}{2} \right) \frac{1}{2} \right) \(\frac{1}{2} \right) \\(\frac{1}{2} \right) \\(\frac{1}{2} \right) \\(\frac{1}{2} \right) \\(\frac{1}{2} \right) \\(\fr

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> From Hassan, *Gîza*, 11, 85, fig. 89; the other titles are held by *Rr-wr*: op. cit. 1, 23, fig. 16, and pp. 6, 16, 29.

This point favours the interpretation of  $2^2$  This point favours the interpretation of  $2^2$  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).

 $\mathfrak{G} = \frac{1}{6} \, \widehat{\mathfrak{f}} = \mathcal{J}$  'she who joins the white crown'.23 The frequent use of this title in the Middle and early New Kingdom suggests that it may, by an assimilation of meaning, have caused the old title *smswt mry Nbty* to be reinterpreted as *smswt mryt Nbty* so that it now meant 'beloved one who joins the two crowns', although eventually *Nbty* was taken to embody the king: 'she who joins the *Nbty*, his beloved'.

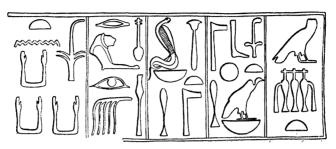


FIG. 2

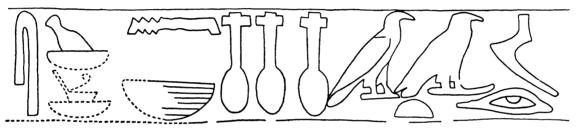


Fig. 3

If this last point is admitted, however, it fails to explain why mry should have been added to the title smswt Nbty in the first place, for this addition can hardly have been intended to eliminate an interpretation that was reinstated by changing mry to mryt. No conclusive answer can be given, but it seems possible that the circumlocution was introduced because smswt Nbty, 'she who joins the Two Ladies', created an ambiguous or misleading impression, requiring an exceptional distinction to be made between Nbty and the king. But it should be emphasized that no such distinction was normally made between the king and the dual entity represented by the two crowns and by the two goddesses associated with them. This point is strikingly illustrated by the epithet shown in fig. 3, which is clearly to be restored as indicated by the dotted lines.<sup>24</sup> Here the two crowns apparently serve as determinative for nb·s in the epithet of a Fifth-Dynasty woman who was in charge of the harîm and of the diversions which it afforded the king: 'One who beholds the beauty of her (double-crowned) lord.'25

- 23 Examples are assembled and discussed by Brunton, ASAE 49 (1949), 99-110.
- Hassan, Giza, II, fig. 228, facing p. 206; the second crown is mistakenly omitted on p. 204, and by myself in  $Z\ddot{A}S$  90 (1963), 39. The restoration of this sign explains why the height of the white crown is so compressed, and its restoration explains a gap that ill suits the spacing of the surrounding inscriptions.
- 25 The pair of crowns also assume this form on at least three cylinder seals of the Old Kingdom, in each case followed by  $\bigcirc$ : Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pl. A (9), with name of Chephren; Walters Art Gallery 57.1748, with name of Saḥurē'; Petrie, *Scarabs*, pl. 9 (5.8, 1), name of Rē'-neferef (not Djedkarē'). The meaning may be 'the two crowns, adornment of the forehead'. In any case it does not seem possible to equate hkr and hkr as Junker proposes in hkr 38.