## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EDITORIAL FOREWORD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAYMOND O. FAULKNER: AN APPRECIATION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RAYMOND OLIVER FAULKNER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCAVATIONS IN THE SACRED ANIMAL NECROPOLIS AT NORTH SAQQĀRA, 1972-3: PRELIMINARY REPORT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE PODIUM SITE AT QAṢR IBRĪM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE PITS OF FUSTĀT: PROBLEMS OF CHRONOLOGY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN EARLY AMETHYST VASE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TRIADS OF KING MYCERINUS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NBTY IN OLD-KINGDOM TITLES AND NAMES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLYGAMY IN EGYPT IN THE MIDDLE KINGDOM?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A CONTEMPORARY OF KING SEWAH-EN-REK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN INSCRIBED AXE BELONGING TO THE ASMONEAN MUSEUM, OXFORD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TUTHMOSIS I AND THE BIBÂN EL-MOLŬK: SOME PROBLEMS OF ATTRIBUTION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN SCARABĒ INÉDIT D'HATSHEPΣOUT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A COMMEMORATIVE SCARAB OF AMENOPHIS III</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE DEDICATORY AND BUILDING TEXTS OF RAMESSES II IN LUXOR TEMPLE: I: THE TEXTS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TWO MONUMENTS OF THE TIAS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAKHT-THUTY—SERVITOR OF SACRED BARQUES AND GOLDEN PORTALS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE CHRYSPAHA RELIEF AND ITS CONNECTIONS WITH EGYPTISH ART</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRAGMENT OF A TEMPLE ACCOUNT ROLL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE HISTORY OF PHARAONIC EGYPT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A TEXT OF THE BENEDICITE IN GREEK AND OLD NUBIAN FROM KASR EL-WIZZ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QAṢR IBRĪM, 1972</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF'S ORDER FROM SAQQĀRA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JOHN WINTOUR BALDWIN BARNS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONTENTS

Reviews

W. Hélck and E. Otto, ed., Lexikon der Ägyptologie. Reviewed by Kate Bosse-Griffiths 264

B. Spuler, ed. Handbuch der Orientalistik. Ägyptologie. Literature. E. P. Uphill 265


Julia Samson, Amarna, City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti: Key Pieces from the Petrie Collection. Geoffrey T. Martin 267

J. M. Saleh, Les Antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb. Geoffrey T. Martin 269


S. Wenig, The Woman in Egyptian Art. Mostafa El-Alfi 270

G. Björkman, Kings at Karnak. John Baines 270

H. A. Groenewegen-Frankfort, Arrest and Movement. John Baines 272

E. Edel, Die Felsengräber der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan. II. C. H. S. Spaull 276

H. J. Polotsky, Collected Papers. C. H. S. Spaull 276

K. Zibelius, Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten. C. H. S. Spaull 277


K. A. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical. C. H. S. Spaull 279

F. Filce Leek, The Human Remains from the Tomb of Tutankhamun. David M. Dixon 280

W. K. Simpson, ed. The Literature of Ancient Egypt. J. Gwyn Griffiths 280

M. I. Moursi, Die Hohenpriester des Sonnengottes von der Frühzeit Ägyptens bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches. J. Gwyn Griffiths 281

S. Morenz, tr. A. E. Keep, Egyptian Religion. J. Gwyn Griffiths 281

C. J. Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth. J. Gwyn Griffiths 282

Ph. Derchain, Hathor Quadrifrons. J. Gwyn Griffiths 282

V. F. Vanderlip, The Four Greek Hymns of Isidorus and the Cult of Isis. J. Gwyn Griffiths 284

A. R. David, Religious Ritual at Abydos, c. 1300 B.C. Alan B. Lloyd 285

Anne Burton, Didorus Siculus Book I. A Commentary. Alan B. Lloyd 287

P. M. Fraser, Ptolemaic Alexandria. E. G. Turner 290

E. M. Husselman, ed., Papyri from Karanis. J. R. Rea 292

J. C. Shelton, Papyri from the Michigan Collection. J. R. Rea 294


A. K. Bowman, The Town Councils of Roman Egypt. J. David Thomas 298

Other Books Received. C. H. S. Spaull 301
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. De Rouge, Inscriptions, i, pl. 62.¹
   Sarcophagus, Cairo J. 54935 (Mr.s-'nh III).
   Tomb chapel of Mr.s-'nh III.²
   False door of Queen Nbt (fig. 1).³

B. Statue, Boston MFA 30.1456 (Htp-hr.s II).⁴

C. Tomb chapel of Mr.s-'nh III.⁵

D. Mariette, Mastabas, 183.

E. Jéquier, Pyrs. 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 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 centred 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).

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 (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 \( \text{\textbf{\textit{}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}}} \) to mean ‘beloved’, and this translation is certainly applicable to the later examples which they quote, dating to the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties:

\[
\text{\textbf{\textit{}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}}} \quad \text{Nofret, queen of Sesostris II: } CG \, 382.
\]

\[
\text{\textbf{\textit{}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}}} \quad \text{Hatshepsut: Naville, } Deir \text{ el Bahari, } II, \text{ pl. 48.}\]

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 \( \text{\textbf{\textit{}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}}} \) (var. \( \text{\textbf{\textit{}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}}} \)). 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 \( \text{\textbf{\textit{}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}}} \) or \( \text{\textbf{\textit{}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}}} \). Moreover, one would expect this adjunct, if it originally had such a meaning, to take the form \( \text{\textbf{\textit{}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}}} \), as it does in Mr.s-\( ^{\textit{\textit{\textit{}}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}}} \)’s titulary, following the titles \( \text{\textbf{\textit{}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}}} \) and \( \text{\textbf{\textit{}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}}} \). An exceptional example of *sm\( ^{\textit{\textit{\textit{}}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}}} \) Nbty mrt\( ^{\textit{\textit{\textit{}}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}}} \) (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 *sm\( ^{\textit{\textit{\textit{}}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}}} \) 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\( ^{\textit{\textit{\textit{}}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}}} \). If mrt\( ^{\textit{\textit{\textit{}}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}}} \) were a legitimate variant of \( \text{\textbf{\textit{}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}}} \), and identical in meaning to the latter, one might conversely expect \( \text{\textbf{\textit{}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}}} \) to appear as a variant in some writings of the titles that normally show mrt\( ^{\textit{\textit{\textit{}}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}}} \). The Middle-Kingdom example of \( \text{\textbf{\textit{}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}}} \) 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 \( \text{\textbf{\textit{}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}}} \) ‘aimée du roi’, as he assumes, without the usual honorific transposition; nor does his interpretation of \( \text{\textbf{\textit{}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}}} \) fit variant E, in which one would expect *sm\( ^{\textit{\textit{\textit{}}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}}} \) mryt* rather than *mryt sm\( ^{\textit{\textit{\textit{}}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}}} \). The one solution that most comfortably suits all the Old-Kingdom writings is to take \( \text{\textbf{\textit{}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}}} \) 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 *sm\( ^{\textit{\textit{\textit{}}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}}} \) mry Nbty* may be summarized as follows, with honorific transposition indicated by parentheses and brackets:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{A. (Nbty) } & \text{sm\( ^{\textit{\textit{\textit{}}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}}} \) mry} \\
\text{B. } & \text{sm\( ^{\textit{\textit{\textit{}}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}}} \) Nbty}
\end{align*}
\]

\[6\] Also to be found in Sethe, *Urk.* iv, 225, 2; and cf. 216, 11.

\[7\] As, for example, in \( \text{\textbf{\textit{}}} \text{\textbf{\textit{}}} \), Junker, *Giza*, iv, 42, fig. 11.

\[8\] E.g. Reisner, loc. cit. and (with smrt *Hr*), pp. 76–7, figs. 17–18.

\[9\] For this addition cf. the epithet of a Fourth-Dynasty prince: *im\( \text{\textbf{\textit{}}} \) hr it\( \text{\textbf{\textit{}}} \) f nswt*, ‘revered with his father, the king’ (Hassan, *Giza*, iv, 119, fig. 64).
C. _smrwt (Nbty) mry_
D. same + _nswt_
E. (Nbty [mry]) _smrwt_

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. Another queenly title, _wrt hts_ occasionally shows variations with the addition of _Nbtwy_ or _Nbty_:

- Entrance of chapel of _Mr.s-<_nh_11
- West wall, main chamber, of same_12
- Hassaan, *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.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 _J J J J J J J J J _ ‘Seat (wtst) of Horus, the son of the two crowns’15 and sometimes _J J J J J J J J _ ‘Seat of Horus, beloved of the two crowns’.16

Irrespective of the foregoing considerations, it is clear that _Nbtwy_ 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 hts_ to mean ‘la grande des princesses (nubiles)’ (pp. 114–15). _Wrt/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 _ _ as the determinative of _ts-mdh_ 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 hts_ occurs repeatedly in the inscriptions of the same person, while _smrwt nbty_ is absent.

14 One might also compare two examples which append the name of a specific king: _ (De Rougé, *Inscriptions*, 1, 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: _ _ (followed by _ _ _ _ _ _ ) _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.

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 \(\text{\begin{figure}[h] \centering \includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image.png} \caption{Image Description} \label{fig:image} \end{figure}}\), which Ranke translates: 'es glänzt der, den \(nb\cdot tj\) (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 \(hrt\). 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, \(\text{\begin{figure}[h] \centering \includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image.png} \caption{Image Description} \label{fig:image} \end{figure}}\) (\(PN\ I\, 423\ [23]\)), 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 \(\text{\begin{figure}[h] \centering \includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image.png} \caption{Image Description} \label{fig:image} \end{figure}}\) 'his crown is upon him' (\(Pyr.\ 2018b, 2019b,\ and\ cf.\ \(753b, 2196a\)).\(^19\) According to the \textit{Worterbuch}, \(Nbty\) 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' (\(try\ nfr-fot\)) 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 \(\text{\begin{figure}[h] \centering \includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image.png} \caption{Image Description} \label{fig:image} \end{figure}}\) 'priest of the white and red crown of Upper and Lower Egypt' (Firth–Gunn, \textit{Teti Pyr. Cent.}, pl. 82).\(^22\)

\(Nfr-hdt\) 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 \(\text{\begin{figure}[h] \centering \includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image.png} \caption{Image Description} \label{fig:image} \end{figure}}\) among the epithets of the Twelfth-Dynasty official \(Wh-htp\) (Blackman and Apted, \textit{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, \textit{PN} \(1,\ 180\ (12,\ 21),\ 189\ (25,\ 26),\ 190\ (1,\ 2),\ 259\ (1),\ 423\ (22),\ 425\ (30); II, 297 (24), 302 (24) and \text{\begin{figure}[h] \centering \includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image.png} \caption{Image Description} \label{fig:image} \end{figure}}\) Brooklyn 64. 148. 2.

\(^19\) The white crown alone is mentioned in the Old-Kingdom personal name \(\text{\begin{figure}[h] \centering \includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image.png} \caption{Image Description} \label{fig:image} \end{figure}}\) (\(PN\ I,\ 257\ [4]\), Hassan, \textit{Giza}; iv, 117); this is paralleled by the name \(\text{\begin{figure}[h] \centering \includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image.png} \caption{Image Description} \label{fig:image} \end{figure}}\) (\(PN\ I,\ 190\ [1]\)), but that does not mean, of course, that \(Nbty\) necessarily refers to the two crowns in the latter case.

\(^20\) \(Wb.\ ii,\ 233,\ 9–10;\ cf.\ Faulkner, \textit{Concise Dict.}\ 129\) and quotations given by Naville, \textit{ZÄS} 36 (1898), 134. Middle-Kingdom texts sometimes use \(Wdty\) (det. \(\text{\begin{figure}[h] \centering \includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image.png} \caption{Image Description} \label{fig:image} \end{figure}}\) \(CG\ 20518,\ 20683;\ Firth–Gunn, \textit{Teti Pyr. Cem.}\ 281;\ Blackman, \textit{Meir}, iii, 2; \text{\begin{figure}[h] \centering \includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image.png} \caption{Image Description} \label{fig:image} \end{figure}}\) \(BM\ 839,\ \textit{Hieroglyphic Texts},\ ii,\ pl.\ 7);\ cf. \(\text{\begin{figure}[h] \centering \includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image.png} \caption{Image Description} \label{fig:image} \end{figure}}\) 'the white crown serpent (\(hdt\cdot tett\)) which is in El Kab' (\(Pyr.\ 906b\)); also the title \(\text{\begin{figure}[h] \centering \includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image.png} \caption{Image Description} \label{fig:image} \end{figure}}\) which Gunn translates 'Carrier of the \(nws\)-diadem (?) of Uto' (Firth–Gunn, \textit{Teti Pyr. Cem.}\ 134); this recurs (as \(\text{\begin{figure}[h] \centering \includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image.png} \caption{Image Description} \label{fig:image} \end{figure}}\) alone) in the Middle Kingdom (Well, \textit{Rev. d'Ég.} 7 [1950], 185–6); and the \(nws\)-diadem is also mentioned in Jéquier, \textit{Pyrs. des Reines}, pl. 8 (Neit, 43) and \textit{CT} vi, 208d.

\(^21\) From Hassan, \textit{Giza}, ii, 85, fig. 89; the other titles are held by \(\text{\begin{figure}[h] \centering \includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image.png} \caption{Image Description} \label{fig:image} \end{figure}}\) op. cit. 1, 23, fig. 16, and pp. 6, 16, 29.

\(^22\) This point favours the interpretation of \(\text{\begin{figure}[h] \centering \includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image.png} \caption{Image Description} \label{fig:image} \end{figure}}\) 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 (\textit{ZÄS} 90 [1963], 39–40 and pl. 5).
NBTY IN OLD-KINGDOM TITLES AND NAMES

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’.

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. 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 harim and of the diversions which it afforded the king: ‘One who beholds the beauty of her (double-crowned) lord.’

23 Examples are assembled and discussed by Brunton, ASAE 49 (1949), 99-110.
24 Hassan, Giza, 11, fig. 228, facing p. 206; the second crown is mistakenly omitted on p. 204, and by myself in ZAS 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 ḫ-ḥt: Reisner, Mycerinus, pl. A (9), with name of Chephren; Walters Art Gallery 57.1748, with name of Sahurê; Petrie, Scarabs, pl. 9 (5.8, 1), name of Rê-‘neferêf (not Djedkarêf). The meaning may be ‘the two crowns, adornment of the forehead’. In any case it does not seem possible to equate ḫkr and shkr as Junker proposes in Gïza, x, 80.