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THE TITLES OF QUEENSHIP:
PART I, THE EVIDENCE FROM THE OLD KINGDOM.

The queen in ancient Egypt, by the prerogative of her status as king's wife, bore her own group or set of titles, much as the king possessed his five-fold titulary. In the Old Kingdom, however, not every queen held the same titles, and the use of certain titles changed from the Fourth to the Sixth Dynasties. The purpose of this short study will be to present a summary of the titles of queenship known from the Old Kingdom, and to attempt to trace their development and utilization.

All titles applied to queens in the Old Kingdom can be placed in three categories: titles of relationship, titles of religious function and titles of royal position. Unlike some of the titles in the first two categories, no title in the last group was ever applied to a private woman. In the chart (Pl. 2) are listed all the queens from the Old Kingdom whose titles are known. They are listed chronologically by dynasty. All the known titles are then listed across the chart, with an x for each title an individual queen possessed. Variations and unique titles are listed at the end, along with the number of monuments used to supply each queen's titles. It must be kept in mind, of course, that the more monuments known for a queen, and especially if her tomb is preserved, the better the chance of her complete titulary being known.

Several interesting features stand out in the chart. Titles of religious function appear only in the middle of the Fourth Dynasty. Also Queen H'-mrr-nbty I and her daughter Queen H'-mrr-nbty II hold exactly the same titles of priestess. This phenomenon of mother and daughter holding the same titles occurs again with Queen Htp-hr.s II and her daughter Queen Mr.s-'nh III. These women have in common four titles of royal position which are otherwise infrequently known in the Fourth Dynasty.

The title hrp sšmt im3t is only known in four instances in the Fourth Dynasty, and three of these are on monuments which do not belong to the queen, but rather the queen's children. The title rp't is only known for the wives of Pepy II. The title ddt ht nbt ir n.s is known for the first two queens of the Fourth Dynasty, and only appears again for Queen Hnt.k3w.s at the very end of the Fourth Dynasty. This title is an old one, first known for Queen N-m3't-hp at the end of the Second Dynasty. Note that the titles ddt ht nbt ir n.s and m33t Hr Sth are exclusive of each other, and that a woman with the title ddt ht nbt ir n.s is always a mwt-nsw. Also a mwt-nsw is almost always a s3t-ntr and not a s3t-nsw. Therefore ddt ht nbt ir n.s, mwt-nsw, and s3t-ntr seem to be a set of titles which occur together. It may be that here are the titles of a queen as king's mother, rather than as king's wife.

The chart shows a very high correlation between four titles: hmt-nsw, m33t Hr Sth, wrt hts and wrt hst. These would seem to be, then, the four major titles of the queen. The use of the other titles of royal position vary throughout the Old Kingdom. Sm3wt mry nbty is consistently used in the Fifth Dynasty, as smrt Hr is in the Sixth Dynasty, while they occur only sporadically

before. Perhaps these differences are to be explained by personal preference, or else they could indicate rank in queenship. With more evidence it might be possible to determine major or minor wives by their titles. It might also be possible that these titles are functional and explain some duty or aspect of queenship.

- Lisa Kuchman

Appendix I:
Translation of the Titles

1. hmt-nsw "king's wife", often followed by mrt.f, "whom he loves".
2. s3t-nsw "king's daughter"
3. s3t-ntr "god's daughter"
4. mwt-nsw "king's mother"
5. m33t Hr Sth "the one who sees Horus and Seth"
6. wrt hts "great of affection?", WB III, 202. Fischer, JEA, 60, 1974, p. 97, n.11 suggests wrt "great in respect to" and hts "may represent a quality ('perfection'?)". Grdseloff, ASAE, 42, 1943, p. 118 translates "l'educatrice", based on the use of the hts scepter as a determinative of ts mdh. Gauthier, ASAE, 24, 1924, p. 199, "la très aimée".
7. wrt hst "great of praise", WB III, 158.
8. ht Hr "follower of Horus", WB III, 344, perhaps ht short for imy-ht "befindlich hinter", p. 347.
9. sm3wt mry nbty "companion, consort of the one whom the two ladies love". For a complete discussion see Fischer, JEA, 60, 1974, p. 94-99.
10. tist Hr "companion of Horus"? WB V, 242, 11. Gauthier, ASAE, 24, 1924, p. 207, "aurait-il donc fait allusion au privilège qu'avait la reine d'être assise, de trôner aux côtés du pharaon?"
11. ddt ht nbt ir n.s "everything she says is done". Edgerton, JAOS, 60, 1940, p. 483, "for whom whatsoever she asks is done".

12. ḥrp sšmt im3t "controller of the affairs of the im3t"?. Discussed by Fischer, Orientalia, 29, 1960, suggests "gynaecum" for im3t. His reading accepted by Reiser, Der koenigliche Harim im alten Aegypten und seine Verwaltung, p. 20-21. Wilson, JNES, 3, 1944, p. 212, "controller of the business of the gracious place." Reisner/Smith, Giza Necropolis II, p. 33, "she who is in charge of the affairs of the im3t (? Harem). Grdseloff, ASAE, 42, 1943, p. 115, "directrice de l'instruction du gynécée". Dunham and Simpson, Mastaba of Mersyankh, read ḥrp sšmtyw šndt "controller of the butchers of the acacia house", following Edel, Das Akazienhaus und seine Rolle in der Begraebnisriten, p. 28.
13. rp't "hereditary noblewoman", not found written with the feminine ending rp't.t, Gardiner, AEO, vol. I, p. 16.
14. smrt Ḥr "companion of Horus"
- 15-18. ḥm-nṯr "prophet". The gods in this case are Thoth, Hathor, Bapefy and Tjasep.

Appendix 2: Monuments Supplying Queens' Titles

- Ḥtp-ḥr.s I: five pieces from her tomb furniture, see Reisner (and Smith), A History of the Giza Necropolis, vol. II.
- Mryt-it.s: Mariette stela from Giza, fragment from chapel of K3-w'b (G 7120), fragment in G 7110, see Smith, JNES, 11, 1952, pp. 113-128.
- Ḥnt.sn: chapel of Ḥwfw-h'.f (G 7140), see Smith, HESPOK, pl. 44b.
- Ḥtp-ḥr.s II: tomb of Mr.s-'nh III (G 7530), see Dunham and Simpson, The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III.
- Mr.s-'nh II: sarcophagus, see Roveri, I Sarcofagi Egizi dalle Origini alla Fine dell' Antico Regno, pl. XXX and XXXI, + p. 116.
- Ḥ'-mrr-nbty I: drum over entrance to Galarza tomb, see Urkunden I, 155.
- Mr.s-'nh III: tomb (G 7530) and tomb of Nb-m-3ḥt, see Dunham and Simpson, The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III, and Hasen, Excavations at Giza, vol. 4, fig. 81.

- Pr-snt: tomb (LG 88), see L.D. II, 152 (e).
- Hknw-hdt: tomb of Shm-k3-r', see Hassan, Excavations at Giza, vol. 4, fig. 62.
- H'-mrr-nbty II: Galarza tomb, see Edel, MIO, 2, 1954, p. 183-7 and p. 333-336, and tomb of Hw-n-r', see BMFA, 22, 1934, p. 11, fig. 10.
- Bw-nfr: tomb, see Hassan, Excavations at Giza, vol. 3.
- Rht-r': tomb, see Hassan, Excavations at Giza, vol. 6, part 3.
- Hnt-k3w.s: tomb, see Hassan, Excavations at Giza, vol. 4.
- Nfrrt-h3-nbty: fragment of relief, see Borchardt, Grabdenkmal des Koenigs Sa3he-r', II, pl. 48.
- Rpyt-nbw: inscription on statue base, see Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Koenigs Ne-user-re, fig. 88, p. 109.
- Nbt: false-door, see Fischer, JEA, 60, 1974, p. 95, fig. 1.
- Ipwt: tomb, see Firth and Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries, pl. 55 and p. 13, fig. 7.
- Mry-r'-'nh-n.s: inscription fragment, see Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin, vol. I, p. 72, and Urkunden, I, p. 117.
- Nt: tomb, see Jéquier, Les Pyramides des reines Neit et Apouit.
- Ipwt: tomb, see Jéquier, Les Pyramides des reines Neit et Apouit.
- Wdb-tn: tomb, see Jéquier, La Pyramide D'Oudjebten.
- Ppy-'nh-n.s: sarcophagus and stela, see Jéquier, Les Pyramides des reines Neit et Apouit, fig 30 + 31.
- Nbw-nbty: tomb inscriptions, see Gauthier, Le Livre des Rois, vol. I, p. 193 (from Mariette, Mastabas, p. 255).
- Hwit: tomb inscriptions, see Gauthier, Le Livre des Rois, vol. I, p. 194-5 (from Mariette, Mastabas, p. 207).

Dynasty	Queen	Husband	Titles of Relationship				Titles of Royal Position										Titles of Religious Function				Variations/Others	# of unrelated monuments used
			hm-ntr	s3t-nsw	s3t-ntr	mrt-nsw	m3yt hr sth	wrt hrs	wrt hst	ht hr	sm3yt mwy nbty	tist hr	ddt ht nbt irt n.s	hwp smwt im3t	rt3t	smrt hr	hm-ntr Dnty	hm-ntr hr	hm-ntr B3-ppf	hm-ntr T3-sp(.f)		
4	Htp-hr.s I	Snfrw			X	X				X			X	X								1
4	Mryt-ites	Hwfw	X		?			X		X	X		X	X								2
4	Hrt.sn	Hwfw					X															1
4	Htp-hr.s II	Dd.f-r'	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X			2
4	Mr.s-nh II?	H'.f-r'?	X	X			X	X		X												1
4	H'-mrr-nbty I	H'.f-r'	X	X	X	X	X	X	X								X	X				1
4	Mr.s-nh III	H'.f-r'	X				X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X	wrt hrs nbty	wrt hst Dnty		2
4	Pr-snt	H'.f-r'	X	X				X														1
4	Hcmw-hdt?	H'.f-r'					X													hm-ntr of ?		1
4	H'-mrr-nbty II	Mnk3war'	X	X			X	X	X		X	X		X			X	X	s3t-nsw wrt			2
4	Bwanfr	?	X	?			X	X	X									?	X	wrt hrs nbty	hm-ntr in the cult of Sp3-k3.f	2
4	Rht-r'	?	X	X			X	X	X													2
4/5	Hnt-k3w.s	?			X	X							X								ddt ht nb nfrt irt n.s nsw-bit	1
5	Nfrt-h3-nbty	S3hw-r'	X				X		X		?	X										1
5	Rpyt-nbw	Nwsr-r'	X								X											1
5	Nbt	Wnls	X				X	X	X		X	X				X						1
6	Ipwt	Tty	X	X		X	X	X	X							X					mrt-nsw-bit s3t-nsw-bit	1
6	Mry-r'-nh-nh.s I/II	Ppy I	X		X	X	X	X	X			X				X					wr ht mrt-nsw-bit	2
6	Nt	Ppy II	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X					s3t-nsw-wrt	1
6	Ipwt	Ppy II	X	X			X									X					s3t-nsw-wrt	1
6	Wdb=tn	Ppy II	X					X		X						X					hst ntrw nb	1
6	Ppy-nh-nh.s	Ppy II	X		X	X		X													mrt-nsw-bit	2
6?	Nbw-nbty	?	X				X	X	X		X	X				X						1
6?	Hwt	?	X	X			X	X	X												wr ht	1