

THE OLD KINGDOM EVIDENCE ON THE TOPONYM *ḥntj-š* “LEBANON”

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Abstract: *This article is an overview of evidence on the toponym *ḥntj-š* “Lebanon” and the term *ḥntj-š* “Lebanese wood” in the Old Kingdom texts: 1–2. The inscriptions of *jnj*; 3. The inscription in the tomb of *dꜥw* at Deir el-Gebrawi; 4. The inscription on the stela of *pꜣj* from Naga ed-Deir; 5. A list of cultic items from the archive of the mortuary temple of King Neferefra (mid-5th to 6th Dynasties); 6. The Palermo fragment of the annals from the reign of Shepseskaf. The proposed translation of the toponym *ḥntj-š*: “(terrain) in front of the lake,” where “lake” should be understood as “terrace” or “pool” in a geological sense. The toponym *ḥntj-š* is considered as a reinterpretation of the term *ḥtjw* with the meaning “terrace” designating Lebanon from the most ancient times of Egyptian history.*

Keywords: *Egypt, Old Kingdom, the Levant, international relations, Lebanese wood, lexicography.*

The Egyptian sources from the Middle¹ and New Kingdoms,² as well as the Late³ and Greco-Roman periods,⁴ preserved a variety of information about the land *ḥntj-š*.⁵ The land was rich with numerous resources, primarily *š*-wood.⁶ Despite the doubts of some researchers,⁷ presently the land *ḥntj-š* is identified with Lebanon or a part of its territory where trees with straight trunks grow – a “mast forest” used in the production of strong gates, ships, poles for standards, and much more. The translation of the toponym *ḥntj-š* as “Lebanon” has long been established in science and entered into dictionaries,⁸ and the *š*-wood is most often

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¹ HANNIG 2006, 1913 {23835}; FETTEL 2010, 41.

² FETTEL 2010, 44, 52–54; BARDINET 2008, 56, 235, 275. Selected evidence from the 18th to 20th Dynasties, mainly from the royal texts: 1. *dḥwtj-ms(j)* I: Urk. IV, 55,6; this text passage has now been destroyed, cf. DZIOBEK 1992, 51–52, Tab. 34. 2. *dḥwtj-ms(j)* III: Urk. IV, 169,17; 535,2,13; 777,12; 1242,4. 3. *jmn-ḥtp(.w)* III: Urk. IV, 1730,9; 1732,5; 1795,11. 4. *ḥr-m-ḥb*: Urk. IV, 2134,3,12. 5. *sthj* I: KRI I, 47,10; 193,14–194,4. 6. *rꜥ-ms(j)-s(w)* II: KRI II, 607,12; 610,11(?). 7. *rꜥ-ms(j)-s(w)* III: KRI V, 298,12; 299,16; P. Harris I (3 times): (7.5) *šw ʕw ḥntj-š n bjꜣjt* “large wonderful Lebanese pines”; (30.5) *šw n nꜥr tp ḥntj-š* “mast pines (?) from the tops of Lebanon”; (48.11) *šw ʕw mꜣꜥw m tp ḥntj-š* “real large pines from the tops of Lebanon” (ERICHSSEN 1933, 8, 35, 54; GRANDET 1994, Vol. 2, pls. 7, 30, 48); the expression *tp ḥtjw/ḥntj-š* is sometimes translated as “the best places of the terrace / Lebanon.” 8. *ḥrj-ḥr*: KRI VI, 713,6 = THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY 1979, pls. 21 (in the column near No. 33), 52, 1981, pl. 143C.

³ The 25th Dynasty (Taharqa): stela Copenhagen AEIN 1713 (Kawa VII), l. 3–4 (PM VII, 187; JANSEN-WINKELN 2009, 142); the 30th Dynasty: statue Louvre A 88 (VERCOUTTER 1950, 88–89, pls. 2–3, l. 2; PERDU 2012, 361–362); inscription on a vessel from Saqqara: *sft n ḥntj-š* “Lebanese wood oil” (LAUER and ISKANDER 1955, 178, Fig. 14, pl. 1; TÖPFER 2011, 116–117; TÖPFER 2015, 95, 339, 341).

⁴ WILSON 1997, 740; FETTEL 2010, 49–50; BAUMANN 2018, 353–355, 467, 473; see also LEFEBVRE 1923–1924, I, 102; II, 36, III, pl. 18, l. 26. Toponym *ḥntj-š* mentioned in the inscription Edfou III, 192 (CHASSINAT 1928, 192,7; time of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II) is sometimes associated not with Lebanon but with Africa (GAUTHIER 1925–1931, T. 4, 180–181; VERCOUTTER 1956, 103; OSING 1992b, 280, N.B. 26); however, such an identification is probably erroneous (GIVEON 1971, 189: “la seule contrée jamais connue sous ce nom est le Liban”; MEEKS 2002, 299). In Demotic: bronze tablet BM 57371, l. 33 (SHORE 1979, 144 ff., pl. 4; JOHNSON 2001, H₃, 121).

⁵ Wb. III, 310,12; Wb. Blgst. III, 65; TLA (<http://aaew2.bbaw.de/tla/>), lemma-no. 119290.

⁶ On the resources of the land *ḥntj-š* during the Middle Kingdom: MARCUS 2007, 150–154; ALTENMÜLLER 2015, 25–26, 82–101.

⁷ VANDERSLEYEN 1995, 27.

⁸ Wb. III, 310,12–13; Wb. Blgst. III, 65; SETHE 1906, 356–363; GAUTHIER 1925–1931, T. 4, 180–181; HELCK 1971, 272–273; GUNDLACH 1980, col. 1013–1014; MEEKS 1982, 221 (79.2244); FAULKNER 1991, 194; FRANKE 1994, 178, 190; HANNIG 1997, 609, 2006, 1913 {23835}; EICHLER 1998, 221–222; ANDRÁSSY 2001, 5; GRALLERT 2001, 711 (Index); JOHNSON 2001, H₃, 121; DIEGO ESPINEL 2002, 114; BARDINET 2008, passim; FETTEL 2010, 41, 46; WASTLHUBER 2011, 75, 77, 78, 119.

identified with coniferous trees: Cedar, stone pine, Cilician fir, or pine in general.⁹ Its modification = "šw n n^r tp hntj-š "mast pines (?) from the tops of Lebanon"¹⁰ is also known.

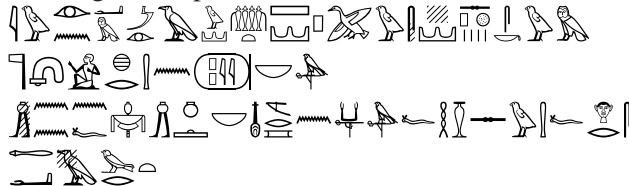
Uncovering the toponym hntj-š "Lebanon" in the third millennium texts remains a considerable problem in a source study. Unlike later evidence, the Old Kingdom texts contain very few references to the region hntj-š. Most of them are attested in ambiguous contexts. Consequently, this evidence has produced major controversies or has not been observed at all. All these sources are further examined here in the order corresponding to the degree of their reliability or visibility.

1–2. The inscriptions of jnj

Recently, several fragments of the inscriptions from the tomb of jnj, a naval commander and a sea traveler who served three kings of the Sixth Dynasty – ppj I, mrj. n-r^c and ppj II – have been published.¹¹ The inscriptions contain new data on the relationship between Egypt and the Levant at the end of the third millennium BC.¹²

Currently, there are two historical inscriptions of jnj available to researchers in which the toponym hntj-š is mentioned.

The large inscription:¹³

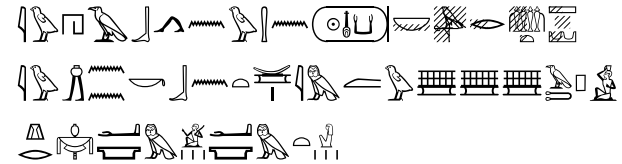


^{x+5}) jw=j jr(j).n=j m3w hntj-š p3ws[t?] zp(w) jfdw sk w(j) m hntj-š hr hm n ppj nb=j ^{x+6})

jn(j).n=j n=f hd jnw nb nfr mrj.n k3=f hz(j) w(j) hm=f hr=s ^{x+7}) 3 wrt

^{x+5}) I reached m3w, hntj-š, p3ws[t?] four times. When I was a sealbearer of the god under the majesty of king ppj, my lord, ^{x+6}) I brought him silver and every good produce that his Ka wished, and his majesty praised me because of that ^{x+7}) exceedingly.

The minor inscription¹⁴:



²) jw=j h3b.n w(j) hm n(j) nfr-k3-r^c nb=j r hntj-š ³) jw=j jn(j).n=j kbnt l jmw w 3tp(.w) ⁴) hr hd 3mw 3mwt

²) When the majesty of king nfr-k3-r^c, my lord, sent me to the land hntj-š, ³) I brought one Byblos-ship and cargo-ships loaded ⁴) with silver, Canaanite men and Canaanite women.

In his inscriptions, jnj mentions hntj-š "Lebanon" twice. So, the existence of this name for Lebanon already in the Old Kingdom could be considered proven. In the "large" inscription, hntj-š "Lebanon" occurs together with the unknown and unidentifiable¹⁵ countries m3w and p3ws[t?]. Thus, hntj-š is considered as a state and not as a geographical region. Despite this, one should hardly consider the hntj-š to be an Egyptian transcription of the local name of a country or region. The etymology of this toponym cannot be traced to the Semitic languages.¹⁶ The Egyptians borrowed a nisbe of their language to designate a forest region in Lebanon, the meaning of which will be discussed below.

⁹ Wb. I, 228,1–6; HANNIG 1997, 159; MEEKS 1980, 73 (77.0751), 1981, 79 (78.0803), 1982, 55 (79.0550); CHARPENTIER 1981, 268; GERMER 1985, 7–8, 2008, 49; BAUM 1988, 303–304; GRANDET 1994, Vol. 2, 37–38 (146); BARDINET 2008, 56; SOWADA 2009, 194–196, 199; BROVARSKI 2016, 67–70; KILANI 2016, 43–52; AYALI-DARSHAN 2017, 186–187.

¹⁰ Wb. II, 208,17; JONES 1988, 170 (81); HANNIG 1997, 395; LESKO and SWITALSKI LESKO 2002–2004, I, 228; cf. CHARPENTIER 1981, 374–375; GRANDET 1994, Vol. 1, 230, 263, 289; Vol. 2, 37 (146), 134 (527) (with translation "troncs de pin parasol"); BARDINET 2008, 299. The word n^r(3) (not "oleander") is probably a loan word from Semitic.

¹¹ MARCOLIN 2006, 282–310, 2010, 49–79; MARCOLIN and DIEGO ESPINEL 2011, 570–615.

¹² For the state of this problem according to written sources as at 1980s see REDFORD 1986, 125–143.

¹³ MARCOLIN and DIEGO ESPINEL 2011, 580–582, 589–593, Fig. 4, pl. 39.

¹⁴ MARCOLIN and DIEGO ESPINEL 2011, 606–608, Fig. 5, pl. 40.

¹⁵ MARCOLIN 2010, 57–60; MARCOLIN and DIEGO ESPINEL 2011, 590–593. Recent works on the localization of these countries are: ROCCATI 2015, 225–229; SCHNEIDER 2015, 440–444; GUNDAKER 2017, 345–346 (read p3ws[t?] as p3wts).

¹⁶ From the recent works on the toponym hntj-š in the inscription jnj: ROCCATI 2015, 227, identifies it with the land "Hundašša" (South Anatolia) ("omitting the initial 'Tar' of 'Tarhundašša'"); SCHNEIDER 2015, 442–444, considers that hntj-š = Šumur, "the most important city in the Eleutheros plain, most likely to be identified with Tell Kazel" (Western coast of Syria); GUNDAKER 2017, 345, translates hntj-š simply "Lebanon."

The toponym *hntj-š* appears only as the name of the tree species “Lebanese wood” in other sources of the Old Kingdom, as will be seen below.

3–4. The Old Kingdom sources on coffins of Lebanese wood

Researchers have currently noted only two references to the compound *hntj-š* with the meaning “Lebanese cedar/pine” in early sources. Their contexts are similar.

3. The inscription in the tomb of *dʿw* in Deir el-Gebrawi:¹⁷



jw rdj.n hm=f jnt hntj-š kʿrsw st-ḥb sft sw 200m ḥ3tjw m šmʿt nfrt n sšr šd(jw) m prwj-ḥdwj n hnw n dʿw pn “his majesty ordered to bring a coffin of Lebanese wood, fragrant ritual oil, wood oil, 200 bandages of high quality cloth and of fine cloth at the expense of means¹⁸ calcu-

lated in two (department offices) of the residence treasury for this *dʿw*.”

4. The inscription on the stela of *p3j* from Naga ed-Deir:¹⁹



jw rdj.n n=j nswt hntj-š kʿrsw “the king gave me a coffin of Lebanese wood.”

The first evidence was noted as far back as 1906 by K. Sethe,²⁰ and P. Kaplony subsequently cited both cases.²¹ The term *hntj-š* in these texts is currently translated either as a title (*hntj-š* “attendant”)²² or as “Lebanese wood.”²³

When translating the term *hntj-š* in both texts as a title, there are obvious difficulties of grammatical order. The phrase from the tomb of *dʿw* can be understood as an infinitive construction²⁴ after *rdj.n hm=f*, but then *hntj-š* – if it is a title – must stand after the word *kʿrsw* “coffin” and be introduced by the particle *jn*.²⁵ In the second case, on the stela of *p3j*, the situation is even more complicated: “supporters of the title” see here the office *hntj-š nswt* “royal *hntj-š*,” but such a title never existed. If not resorting to strained arguments, then the term *hntj-š* can only be understood as the name of the material of which the valuable coffins are made. The material for wooden coffins is not specified in other texts.

¹⁷ DAVIES 1902, Vol. 2, pl. 13; Urk. I, 146; KANAWATI 2013, 56, pls. 34, 68. The reign of *ppj* II.

¹⁸ In Kanawati’s reading (2013, 56): *šmʿt nfrt n rwd šdt m prwj-ḥd* “good Upper Egyptian cloth of the firm type, issued from the two treasuries.” The final phrase in the report of *dʿw* means that the coffin, oil and cloth were provided to this official at the expense of the treasury. In this text, the term *sšr* does not mean “cloth” but “expense,” which almost coincides with the meaning of this word in royal decrees (*sšrw pn* “costs, charges, expenses” incurred by the priests in the form of state supplies or duties) and other sources (cf. HANNIG 2003, 1243). In the inscription of *s3b-n=j*, the word *sšr* means “ransom” (QH 26. SEYFRIED 2005, 314 (III. 1), 317–318; EDEL 2008, I, 49–52, 243–244 (III. 32–33), Tab. 9). For the translation of the cloth names, see FEHLIG 1986, 72–73; SCHEELE 2005, 24–26, 41–42; EDEL 2008, III, 1749.

¹⁹ Naga ed-Deir tomb N.3907; Berkeley LMA 6–1073/19867 (LUTZ 1927, pl. 11(21)+22(43); DUNHAM 1937, 58–59 (46), pl. 15(2)). First Intermediate Period.

²⁰ SETHE 1906, 356–357, N.B. 2: “‘Wald’ (eigentl. Garten)” as designation of Lebanon.

²¹ KAPLONY 1966, 128, N.B. 76bis.

²² DUNHAM 1937, 59; HELCK 1954, 107, N.B.4; FISCHER 1968, 170–171; ROCCATI 1982, 227; BROVARSKI 2018, 95, 401–402; KLOTH 2002, 216, N.B. 243; KANAWATI 2003, 16; EDEL 2008, III, 1749; FETTEL 2010, 37–38, 137–138.

²³ Wb. III, 310,13; SCHOTT 1965, 10; HELCK 1971, 273; ANDRÁSSY 2001, 4–7; HANNIG 2003, 959 {23837}; WINDUS-STAGINSKY 2006, 170; BARDINET 2008, 37, n.171; cf. STRUDWICK 2005, 365: “His majesty had wood of Lebanon brought (for) the coffin.”

²⁴ EDEL 1955–1964, §§ 481, 696–697. É. Doret (Doret 1986, 40, 116 (20)) brought this phrase as an example of the passive subjunctive form *sdm=f* after *rdj*, qualifying different grammatical forms of the verb *jnj* “to bring, to lead” or as an infinitive (*jnt*) either as passive subjunctive form (*jnj.tj=f*) in various contexts. His approach, in my opinion, is absolutely correct.

²⁵ About the construction *rdj.n hm=f jnt/jn(j).t(j)...* “his majesty ordered to bring ...,” see Urk. I, 38,11; 99,10–11 (probably *jn(j).t(j)*, passive subjunctive form *sdm.tj=f*); but: SOLEIMAN and EL-BATAL 2015, 78, pls. 17, 18, 22; SOLEIMAN 2017, 109–110, Fig. 9: *jw gr rdj.n hm=f jnt n(=j) kʿrs(w) m r3-3w m wsh̄t n(j)t ḥt ḥ3sw jn ʿprw wj3* “Besides, his majesty caused to bring for me a coffin from Tura on a barge of imported wood by boat crews.” Cf. also the later examples of the use of the verb *jnj* after *rdj.n (wd) hm=f* “his majesty ordered”: Wadi Hammamat 19,1 (COUYAT and MONTET 1911, 41–42); Urk. VII, 5,18; Urk. IV, 261,2: *jnt/ jn(j).t(w)*; but: P. Westcar 8,24 (BLACKMAN 1988, 11): *jn(j).tw*.

By the way, the coffin of $d^c w$ was discovered by archaeologists, but it has not been published yet, and it is a shame, or we would have learned from the results of the xylological analysis what kind of wood $hntj-s$ represented. So far, only the items found under the coffin have been published, including an oil tablet with inscriptions as well as the mummy of the deceased.²⁶

As it is known, very few cedar coffins of the Old Kingdom have survived until our times. Karin Sowada informs us about two such coffins:²⁷ one of them belonged to a woman from the tomb G 2220b,²⁸ and the other to the official $jd w$ II.²⁹ The coffins of the Queen $jpwt$ I,³⁰ of the “minister of Labor” ($jmj-r3 k3t nbt n(j)t nswt$), of the noble architect $pth-mrj-^c nh-mrj-r^c / pth-sps / jmpj$ ³¹ and also the coffin from the tomb of $htp-s3t/htj$ (G 5150)³² are to be added to her data. Another cedar coffin was found in the tomb LG 21 in Giza.³³ Perhaps it belonged to the overseer of the pyramid town of Cheops ($jmj-r3 njwt 3ht-hwfw$) $jr w-k3-hwfw$.³⁴ Among these coffins, one is particularly noteworthy: the one that belonged to $jd w$ II. The official $jd w$ II was the “scribe of the (department of the) royal chancellery directly” ($z\check{s}$

$^c nswt hftj-hr$)³⁵ and the “chief of the scribes of the (department of the) royal chancellery” ($shd z\check{s}w ^c nswt$). Among others, he held the title $jmj-r3 pr-^c s$ “overseer of the house of the $^c s$ -wood.”³⁶ If we assume that $jd w$ II got the material for the coffin ex officio, then the identification of the $^c s$ -wood with Lebanese cedar obtains further corroboration.³⁷ In any case, even if $^c s$ is considered to be the common designation of coniferous trees, *Cedrus libani* falls under this definition as the main candidate.

Furthermore, we will provide two more unrecognized (so far to my knowledge) examples of the use of the term $hntj-s$ with the meaning “Lebanese wood.”

5. A list of cultic items from the archive of the mortuary temple of king $nfr=f-r^c$ (mid-5th to 6th Dynasties)

The long list of items includes jars, equipment, utensils and tools. At the very end of the list, the following appears:³⁸



²⁶ KANAWATI 2013, 57–78; see also KANAWATI 2006, 71–76.

²⁷ SOWADA 2009, 75–76, 88 (66–67). About finds of cedar coffins of the Predynastic and Early Dynastic Periods: HARTUNG 2001, 315–316. Doubts about the definition of the material of the early coffins from the 1st to 3rd Dynasties just as cedar: WARD 1991, 13; cf. SOWADA 2009, 81 (88). It is also not always clear regarding the material of some coffins of the First Intermediate Period (BROVARSKI 2018, 198, n. 354; 315, n. 450; 324, 438, n. 283; cf. KROENKE 2010, 98, 110–111, 574). About the occurrence of coffins made of cedar: DAVIES 1995, 149–152. The precise definition of the material of the coffin of $jpj-h3-jst=f$ (Chicago, OIM 12072; 9th to 11th Dynasties) as Lebanese cedar: MANNING et al. 2014, 402, 405–406.

²⁸ Boston MFA 33.1016 (DER MANUELIAN 2007, 428, 439–445).

²⁹ From the shaft S 790 East of G 5550. Hildesheim, Pelizaeus Museum 2511 (SCHMITZ 1996, 25, Tab. 2–3, 5–7).

³⁰ Since the only mention of the cedar coffin of the Queen $jpwt$ I to which all refer remains a report in FIRTH and GUNN 1926, I, 12, then Karin Sowada reasonably comments: “[T]he basis of the identification is unknown” (SOWADA 2009, 81).

³¹ Boston MFA 13.3085 (<https://www.mfa.org/collections/object/coffin-of-the-architect-impj-140699>; www.gizapyramids.org: A869_NS, D-C7613, B1612_NS, from G 2381). End of the Sixth Dynasty. This official was one of the sons of $nhbw$. Reference to material (cedar): MARKOWITZ et al. 2002, 100, 102.

³² Cairo, JdE 49695 (JUNKER 1934, 178–79, Tab. 14 b, c; KANAWATI 2002, 30, pl. 10c).

³³ HANDOUSSA et al. 2007, 224.

³⁴ PM III, 48–49.


³⁵ The appendix (n) $hft(j)-hr$ “directly” was placed after the title when an official of a certain department was not dealing with the affairs of another department but only with those of his main agency. For example, the “scribe of the royal chancellery” could be responsible for handicrafts, labor or fields but could only be directly (n) $hftj-hr$ employed in the department of the royal chancellery itself. It has long been a popular translation of this appendix as “in the presence, personal” (cf. WARD 1982b, 382–389; JONES 2000, 839 ff.; PIACENTINI 2002, 759, 761, 769). However, it makes no sense, as it is not a secondary loyal epithet but an important clarification of the scribe’s field of activity.

³⁶ About this title and the use of the word $^c s$ in other titles of the Old Kingdom: SCHMITZ 1996, 35–37, 44–45; JONES 2000, 91 (382), 117 (471); BROVARSKI 2016, 70.

³⁷ SOWADA 2009, 195. Cf. SCHMITZ 1996, 35, who translates $pr-^c s$ as “Tannenholzverwaltung” or “Büro für das Tannenholz,” under the pretext that the cedar was called mrw and not $^c s$. H. W. HELCK (1971, 44) translates $pr-^c s$ as “Büro für das Koniferenholz.”

³⁸ POSENER-KRIÉGER et al. 2007, 80–81 (pl. 28b), 244.

³⁹ POSENER-KRIÉGER et al. 2007, 244, and n. 99.

hntj-š hn ʿ3 1 nds(w) 3 “chest of the Lebanese wood: big one – 1, small one(s) – 3,” after which the “total amount” (*dmḏ-zm3*) is summarized: 26 units, and then, under the list, *hntj-š hn 1* () “box of Lebanese wood: 1” is mentioned once again – based on the counting, the one that appears in the list of items. Three small chests were probably used for packing individual items.


As the publishers rightly believe, all the listed items were placed in the “chest” standing in the final, fourth position of the list, i.e. three small chests were eventually kept in one bigger chest.³⁹ However, the expression *hntj-š hn*, which they translate as “land tenant’s chest,” actually means “a chest of Lebanese wood.” Examples of such combinations of material and object can be easily found in other archive documents: *ht hn 2 mḥtmt 3* “wooden: boxes – 2, sealed chests – 3,”⁴⁰ *ht wj3; wʿn hn 4; šndt hn 1* “wooden: ship (2?), (of) juniper: chest – 4, (of) acacia: chest – 1.”⁴¹ The names of the materials of the items are written in red ink, probably to comply with the standard of compiling such lists in the archive accounts, since putting the name of the material before the name of the object was the usual spelling mode and grammatical norm.⁴²

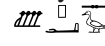
6. The Palermo fragment of the annals from the reign of *šps-s-k3=f*

The partially destroyed column of the Old Kingdom annals in the part that deals with the events of the reign of *šps-s-k3=f* contains the following text:⁴³



[...*hn*] *tj-š šzp st kbḥ(w)-šps-s-k3=f*.

Many researchers who have dealt with this text understood the term *hntj-š* as a title,⁴⁴ but it is not appropriate in that context. Taking into account the lapidary nature of the annals, it just would not make any sense to mention the executors of the operation. If one understood *hntj-š* here as “Lebanese wood,” the whole phrase would take on a completely satisfactory meaning: “[...] Lebanese wood enclosure of the place of the pyramid Coolness of king *šps-s-k3=f*.” Further arguments can be adduced for such an interpretation. It should be noted that the event occurred in the first year of the *šps-s-k3=f* reign when the pyramid had not yet been built. Consequently, we are talking about the very beginning of construction, when the plateau where the pyramid was to be located was enclosed with a fence (*šzp*). The toponym *kbḥ(w)-šps-s-k3=f* with the determinative  is known from a very small number of documents, and the plan for construction of a mastaba instead of a pyramid probably did not change immediately.⁴⁵

The dictionaries have many meanings of the noun *šzp(t)/šzpw*,⁴⁶ and all of them in one way or another go back to the notion of “enclosure, fence” formed from the verb *šzp* with the meaning “to take, to receive, to assume, to accept,” etc. In the story of Sinuhe (Sinuhe B 301–302), the expression  *šzp z3tw=f* is used with the meaning “to fence its (i.e. the pyramid) area.”⁴⁷

The verb *šzp* also served to create a number of philosophical concepts and terms designating objects of art: “[I]mage, contour, statue, form.” Since the Fourth Dynasty, the term *šzp jr ʿnh / šzp ʿnh* “image according to life, living image” is known, which was used as a term for a statue throughout the Egyptian history until the Greco-Roman period.⁴⁸ Moreover, during the New King-

⁴⁰ POSENER-KRIÉGER et al. 2007, 52–53 (pl. 14Ab), 227.

⁴¹ POSENER-KRIÉGER 1991, 302, Fig. 4; POSENER-KRIÉGER et al. 2007, 88–89 (pl. 32B), 249.

⁴² EDEL 1955–1964, § 312 + *Nachträge*; BM EA 1277 (PETRIE 1892, pl. 13; JAMES 1961, 2, pl. 2); Cairo, JdE 43290 (GOEDICKE 1994, 71–84 (Fig. 1), Tab. 9; FISCHER 1996, 267–268).

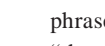
⁴³ Palermo Stone I vso, 2,4 (SCHÄFER 1902, 32, Tab. 2; Urk. I, 239,13–14; WILKINSON 2000, fig. 2).

⁴⁴ SCHOTT 1965, 10; WILKINSON 2000, 149; STRUDWICK 2005, 69. Cf. KAPLONY 1977, 320: “*hnt-š-Land*”; ANDRÁSSY 2001, 3 abstains from interpreting this passage.

⁴⁵ BM EA 1234 (JAMES 1961, 11, pl. 11 (2)); BUDGE 1896, 97 (41); cf. title *jmj-r3 kbḥw-šps-s-k3=f* “overseer of the tomb Coolness of king *šps-s-k3=f*” with the determinative

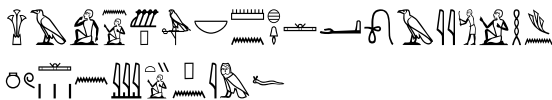
“mastaba” in the tomb of *n(j)-k3w-ḥr* (Giza; Service tomb 1; FAKHRY 1935, 5, Fig. 2; www.gizapyramids.org: A7394_NS).

⁴⁶ Wb. IV, 530–537; HANNIG 1997, 836–837.

⁴⁷ GARDINER 1916, 113–115; KOCH 1990, 80,9–10; cf. ALLEN 2015a, 150–151. In the parallel text of Sinuhe L 2, the phrase  *psš.n=s n s3wt=f* “they shared its walls” is used. The word *s3wt* “walls” should probably be corrected here to *z3tw* “area.” This work was carried out by an “overseer of the carpenters of the pyramid” (*jmj-r3 mdḥw mr*) (Sinuhe B 301–302) or by “masons dressed the pyramid” (*hrtjw-ntr mdḥw n mr*), i.e. by carpenters (Sinuhe L 2). Both titles were invented by Sinuhe – they do not appear in other texts.

dom, it was also reflected in the name of the mortuary temples of kings *dhwtj-ms(j)* II and *jmn-htp(.w)* II – *hwt šzpt-^cnh*⁴⁹ “temple containing life,” in which the building is represented as the same center of life as a statue, a “living image.” The expressions *šzp jr ^cnh / šzp ^cnh* and *twt jr ^cnh / twt ^cnh* have the identical meaning.

The word *šzp* with the meaning “role” (with the determinative “divine falcon on the standard”) can be found in The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant,⁵⁰ namely, in the reflections of the official *nmtj-nht(.w)* looking for a way to rob the hero of the tale, the oasis dweller:



h3j n=j šzp nb mnḥ ^cw3j=j ḥnw n(j) šhtj pn jm=f “I wish I (could take) a successful image⁵¹ so that I might take away this oasis dweller’s belongings.”⁵²

An interesting example of the use of *šzp* with the meaning “image, ideal, manner of behavior, role” regarding an official can also be found in the Instruction of *pṯh-htp(.j)*:⁵³
Ptahhotep 400 (P 12.10):



šhpr šzp=f m hr-jb rmt “Create him an image among people.”⁵⁴

Ptahhotep 400 (L1, k4–11):



[...] *šzp=f* [...] “[...] his image [...].”

⁴⁸ Wb. IV, 534,3, 536; GARDINER 1916, 94–95; FISCHER 1963, 24–28; EATON-KRAUSS 1984, 85–88; OSING 1992a, 75, 78, aj); OCKINGA 1984, 33–39; LEITZ 2002, Vol. 7, 119; see also Urk. IV, 1257,4; KRI II, 596,12). It should be noted that the word *sšp* (literally “glittering”: Pyr. 1178b [hereinafter the Pyramid texts are quoted according to ALLEN 2013, and the spells since PT 704 (Pyr. 2206) – according to FAULKNER 1969], cf. HANNIG 2003, 1319 [33549], later – *sšp/sšp* (HANNIG 2006, 2487 [33549]) designating “sphinx,” initially had no relation to the word *šzp* “statue” but subsequently both words were contaminated.

⁴⁹ HELCK 1961, 91, 97–98 / 873, 879–880; STADELMANN 1978, 172–173, 1986, col. 710; GABOLDE and GABOLDE 1989, 137, 150. The temple of the Second Dynasty King *hr n(j)-ntr* had the same name (𓂏, *hwt šzpt-^cnh*) (LACAU and LAUER 1959–1961, 48–49 [98–100]; pls. 19 [98]), VI (2–4) with the reading 𓂏 *mnt-^cnh*, which is also present in WEILL 1908, 195–196, and KAHL 2003, 180.

⁵⁰ http://www.britishmuseum.org/collectionimages/AN00438/AN00438024_001_1.jpg; BM EA 10274 rto = P. Butler 527 rto (Bt 25); VOGELSSANG and GARDINER 1908, Tab. 1 (old R 43 = R 7.2).

⁵¹ Cf. Ptahhotep 86 (ŽÁBA 1956, 23); Urk. IV, 521,7; 893,14; 1650,3; 1689,8; 2028,10–11; KRI I, 39,7; KRI III, 204,1; KRI V, 74,8–9, 239,11, 292,3: *ḥḥj zp(w) mnḥ(w)* “to look for the most appropriate means” (or “propitious occasion”). About parallel phrases *zpw mnḥw* “suitable means” = *zpw 3ḥw/3ḥwt* “useful means / (something) efficient,” see GRIMAL 1986, 524.

⁵² PARKINSON 2005, 8: Peasant Bt 25–26, cf. B1 22–23, R 7.2–7.3. Other translations of the expression *šzp mnḥ*: PARKINSON 1997, 59: “effective charm”; KURTH 2003, 66–67: “*der gute Einfall*”; SIMPSON 2003, 27: “charm endowed with power”; QUIRKE 2004a, 152: “powerful figure”; PARKINSON 2012, 41: “effective [amulet]”; ALLEN 2015a, 237: “effective amulet.”

⁵³ Maxim 27 (JÉQUIER 1911, pls. 7, 12; cf. DÉVAUD 1916, 39; ŽÁBA 1956, 48, 153). According to G. Burkard (BURKARD 1977, 14, 241), the word *šzp* with the meaning “statue” in

L1 400 (L1, 11) is a reading error (“*Lesefehler*”), so the following lines in L1 (Ptahhotep 402–403) are an interpolation dependent on it. However, in the text of L1 400, 402 (L1, 11, 13; JÉQUIER 1911, pl. 12), the word *šzp* does not have the determinative “bearded god” 𓂏 (so in transcriptions ŽÁBA 1956, 48; BURKARD 1977, 241: with the reading “statue”); on the contrary, there is a sign “divine falcon on the standard”: 𓂏 (Möller 188B: MÖLLER 1909, 17) as in Peasant Bt 25 𓂏 and R 7.2 (PARKINSON 2005, 8; cf. VOGELSSANG, GARDINER 1908, Tab. 1–1a: In the transcription of R 7.2, the determinative 𓂏 to the word *šzp* is incorrect), therefore, *šzp* here does not mean “statue” but “image, role” (cf. GOEDICKE 1977, 58: *šzp* “model”). In Ptahhotep 400, 408 (P), there is an expression 𓂏 that is often read as *šzp ^c=f* (ŽÁBA 1956, 48, 153; BURKARD 1977, 301; JUNGE 2003, 199, 245–246; in the DÉVAUD 1916 transcription, there is the sign “sun” instead of the sign “hand” in all cases (Ptahhotep 400, 402, 408)). In the version Ptahhotep 400, 408 (P), we are probably dealing with excesses in the text, and the expression *šzp ^c* “take by the hand” should be corrected to read *šzp* “image” according to version L1 400, and the ^c-sign should be recognized as the determinative “hand” (instead of the sign “arm holding stick,” D40), to which is accidentally added a stroke, as if it were a noun (JÉQUIER 1911, pl. 7, 12.10–11). Leaving aside the problem of the original appearance of Maxim 27 (as well as the entire Instruction), we cannot ignore this fragment as a quite meaningful text. Cf. other translations of the word *šzp*: SIMPSON 2003, 141: “approval”; QUIRKE 2004a, 96: “image”; VERNUS 1999, 146, n. 18, 2010, 134–135, 164, n.187: “complaisance”; ALLEN 2015a, 203: “acceptance” (all these researchers refuse to read the ^c-sign as “hand” in version P, and Pascal Vernus specifies that the stroke after the ^c-sign serves as a space filler (“*remplisseur d’espace*”). Finally, the L1 version can be preferred as one of the earliest manuscripts of the Instruction of Ptahhotep (HAGEN 2012, 134, 142).

⁵⁴ In Z. Žába’s edition, the word *jb* “heart” after *hr* is omitted, cf. BURKARD 1977, 301.

Ptahhotep 401–402 (L1, 11–4):



[j]mj hr s3.k [hr] km=f jw šzp r wdt zfn(w)
 “let your wisdom fall into his profit, and then (his)
 manner of behavior will become the declaration of
 a meek one.”

Ptahhotep 408 (P 12.11–12):

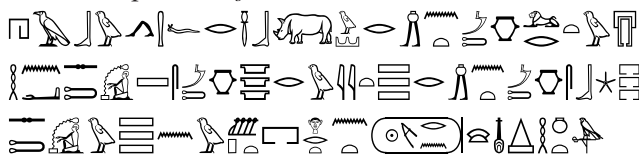


wn šzp=f hr.k r nḥ n(j) pr.k “his attitude
 towards you will become the life of your home.”

In these examples, *šzp* means the course of action that an official chooses depending on the situation. In order to formulate this notion, the Egyptian writers borrowed a term from the field of art – “statue,” because initially it meant “that which takes a shape, ideal representation.”

The word *šzp(t)* in the annals of King *špss-k3=f* is used precisely in its original, archaic meaning. The close word *šzp(t)* with the meaning “pavilion” has been known since the Middle Kingdom.⁵⁵

A parallel from the well-known inscription of *wnj*⁵⁶ helps us to understand the sense of the phrase *šzp st* “enclosure of the place” from the annals of *špss-k3=f*:



h3b w(j) ḥm=f (j)r 3bw (j)r jnt m3t rwjt ḥn^c z3t=s m3t 3w rwjwjt (j)r jnt m3t sb3w z3tw nw šzpt hrt n(j)t ḥnwt ḥ^c(j)-nfr-mr(j).n-r^c “his majesty sent me to Elephantine to bring a granite false door with its altar, granite shutters and jambs, (as well as) to bring granite gates and altars (for) the enclosure of the plateau of the mistress-pyramid Shining goodness of king *mrj.n-r^c*.”⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Wb. IV, 535,10–16; HANNIG 2006, 2487 {33541}. I doubt that the meanings “pavilion” and “to possess (a woman)” in P. Westcar 2.5 (BLACKMAN 1988, 2) could be mixed into one word *šzpt*, according to V. Lepper (LEPPER 2008, 77). This word is *inter alia* noted in the title *jrj-šzpt* “keeper of the pavilion” (WARD 1982a, 66 (550); HANNIG 2006, 347 {3185}; FRANKE 2013, 100–101; cf. QUIRKE 2004b, 70: “keeper of outgoing goods (?)”).

⁵⁶ CG 1435: BORCHARDT 1937, Bl. 30; Urk. I, 107,1–5.

⁵⁷ Differently: WALLET-LEBRUN 1989, 56–58 (in particular, she translates the expression *šzpt hrt* as “*dispositif de blocage*”).

In this text, after *šzpt*, the word *hrt* stands instead of *st*; *hrt* means “plateau”, on which the pyramid and other religious buildings related to it were placed. I tend to equate the word *hrt* with the term *hr* (𓆎𓅓), the interpretation of which is the subject of discussion.⁵⁸ Different values were proposed for it: “Pyramid,” “upper part of the pyramid,” “tomb complex,” or “(Giza) Plateau” in general.

Philippe Collombert drew attention to cases where the word *hr* may merge with the preposition *m*. His comments should be of some interest. Nevertheless, the examples he gave are insufficient to postulate the hypothetical compound *mhr* “pyramid.” The first example he gave from the Sixth Dynasty decree Giza II⁵⁹ can be explained by the layering of the prepositions *nw / m* in the documentary form:⁶⁰



[...] (*j*)r *jrt* ^c*bw nw: m hr=k / ḥwt-ntr=k* “[...] to do the purifications (*i.e. to sacralize property or to convert people into priests*) in your tomb/of your temple.”

Similar examples of errors in the documentary form can be found in the Dahshur decree, 13, 14:⁶¹



... *m ḥwt n(j)t {m} njwtj (j)ptn(j)* “... in the temple {in} of these two pyramid towns”; however, the phrase is possible to read *ḥwt nt(j)t m...* “temple which is in ...”



... *ḥftj wdt.n wd wpt n {m} njwtj (j)ptn(j)* “... in accordance with a decree of assignment ordered for {in} these two pyramid towns.”

Another example⁶² in a destroyed context is also ambiguous:




⁵⁸ JONES 2000, 266–267 (961); HANNIG 2003, 878 {21592}–{21594}; POSENER-KRIÉGER 1976, I, 22–24; GOEDICKE 1979, 142 ff.; POSENER-KRIÉGER 1980, 86–91; KUHLMANN 1982, 223–224; BROVARSKI 2009, 99–114; COLLOMBERT 2010a, 17–22.

⁵⁹ COLLOMBERT 2010a, 18.

⁶⁰ GOEDICKE 1967, 78, III. 6; www.gizapyramids.org: C526_NS; the term *hr=k* also occurs on another fragment of the decree (www.gizapyramids.org: C531_NS).

⁶¹ Berlin N 17500; GOEDICKE 1967, 55–56, III. 5.

⁶² Relief Boston MFA 31.248 + MFA 31.249 (BROVARSKI 2009, 104–109, 112, pl. 1; www.gizapyramids.org: C11803_NS; B7628_NS).

The reading by Ed. Brovarsky (*jrt sm m hr* ⚡ *n...* “what the sem-priest did on the principal pyramid for...” instead of *jrt=s m mhr* ⚡ *n...* “*la faire dans la pyramide principale pour...*” by Collombert⁶³) does not lose credibility. But even if the presence of a compound  in the specified contexts is admitted, it cannot be considered anything else but a nisbe from the preposition *m-hr*, i.e. (*j*) *m(j)-hr* “what is above,” and is a variant of the term *hr/hrt* “top” with the meaning “plateau.”⁶⁴ Besides, reading *mhr* is impossible due to the principal spelling incompatibility of the sign *hr* with the prefix *m-* in the word-formation.⁶⁵ So, the comparison of the hypothetical *mhr* with the word *mr* “pyramid” by Collombert has proved to be uncertain.⁶⁶

It seems that the word *hr* with the determinative “pyramid” has a similar meaning to the term *hr(t)* designating the territory of the non-royal temple⁶⁷ or private funerary estate⁶⁸ in the Old Kingdom texts. Its literal meaning is “top” or “surface.”⁶⁹ In the royal cult complex, *hwt-ntr* and *hr* are opposed to each other,⁷⁰ probably as a




center and a periphery. Similarly, *hrt* and *hwt-ntr* were separated in the divine temple area. The term *hr(t)* “tomb complex” has migrated to the Middle Kingdom texts,⁷¹ where it designates the tomb location along with the entire economic organism.


Evidence comparison from the annals of *šps-s-k3=f* and the inscription of *wnj* allows the following conclusion to be drawn. An enclosure of Lebanese wood *hntj-š* surrounded the perimeter of the part of the Saqqara necropolis where the pyramid of *šps-s-k3=f* was to be constructed. The term *hrt* “plateau” in the inscription of *wnj* has the same scope as the word *st* “place” of the annals: Both denote the area allotted for the construction of the pyramid complex.

Egyptian nisbe compound *hntj-š* “which is in front of the lake” and the toponym *hntj-š* “Lebanon”: The problem of correlation

Scholars studying the toponym *hntj-š* wondered about its relationship with the homonymous compounds: The title of the palace and pyramid atten-


⁶³ COLLOMBERT 2010a, 20.

⁶⁴ Cf. a phrase construction in an ambiguous text from pCairo, JdE 52001 C (POSENER-KRIÉGER 1980, 87–90 (Fig. 3), pl. 7c). My reading is:  *dmd n(j) k3t n(j)t (j)m(j)-hr* ⚡ “amount of works (on construction) of the great pyramid.” These works consisted of “brick laying (?)” (, *šht*) and “revetment” (, *šjn*). Cf. BROVARSKI 2009, 104.

⁶⁵ On the possibility of the reading the word “pyramid” with the ideogram  (U23) as *mhr*: QUACK 2003, 113–116. S. Schweitzer opposes their arguments to late evidence of J-F. Quack. In particular, he cites the earliest sign combinations in favor of reading *mr* (SCHWEITZER 2011, 142–144). However, reading the sign U23 as *mhr*, at least from the first millennium BC, is not excluded (Quack’s examples of the writing of the title *smr* “friend, court” as *smhr* are particularly interesting).

⁶⁶ In addition, I should note that the form *msdmt* “black eye-paint” is primary in relation to the word *sdmt*, formed because of mixing with the word *smd(t)* “(eye) edge” and not vice versa (cf. COLLOMBERT 2010a, 21–22).

⁶⁷ Sources: STOCK 1955, Tab. 14, Ill. 4; EDEL 1969, 2, Tab. 2, Ill. 1A: *wdt* ⚡ *m kd m hrt n(j)t r* ⚡ *m nhn-r* ⚡ *mht(j) (j)n nds z3 k3* “beginning construction work on the plateau of the Sun in the temple *nhn-r* from the north side by the subdivision *k3* of the phyle *nds*” (to the reading cf. ROTH 1991, 11 ff. (Fig. 2.1.A), 134); VANDEKERCKHOVE and MÜLLER-WOLLERMANN 2001, 70 (N 78), Tab. 77a; 91 (N 119), Tab. 87c; 104–105 (N 147), Tab. 94a. See also JONES 2000, 640 (2345), 862–863 (3154); HANNIG 2003, 873{48428}, 1227 {48430}.

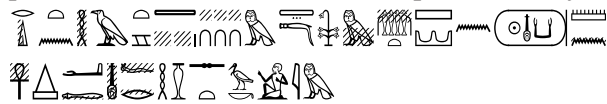
⁶⁸ KANAWATI 1980, 25–26, 37, pls. 8, 10a, Fig. 14. The title *hrp hrt*, noted by H.G. Fischer (FISCHER 2002, 31) on the statue Boston MFA 21.956 (now New York MMA 64.66.1; www.gizapyramids.org: A2286_NS) from the tomb of *b3-b3=f* (G 5230), is missing on this statue. A similar title is attested on another statue of *b3-b3=f* (Boston MFA 21.955a–b), but it is to be read as  *hrp mrt* (www.gizapyramids.org: A2284A_NS, A7053_NS; the same reading: JONES 2000, 718 (2617); according to BAUD 1999, II, 442(55): *hrp [mr]t*; cf. STRUDWICK 1985, 82 (42): *hrp [m]rt*).

⁶⁹ The phrase *šzpt hrt* in the inscription of *wnj* is usually translated as “upper chamber” (Wb. IV, 535,12; GOEDICKE 1979, 144, n. 10; STRUDWICK 2005, 356; and others), but the term *hrt* here is quite comparable with other evidence on the term *hrt* with the meaning “tomb complex,” which was also not determined until the Middle Kingdom. H. Goedicke equally considered the term *hr* to be the antecedent of the late *hrt* “tomb” (GOEDICKE 1979, 149), even though he did not point out the fact that the terms *hr* and *hrt* had already coexisted in the Old Kingdom.

⁷⁰ GOEDICKE 1967, 79, Ill. 6; POSENER-KRIÉGER 1976, I, 23.

⁷¹ HANNIG 2006, 1752 {21595}–{21599}, 2966–2967 {42172}. The titles *w^cb (nj) hrt* “priest of the tomb” (VERNUS 1969, 93–101, 1971, 7–9; WARD 1982a, 82 (679); HANNIG 2006, 638 {6999}; the title is also known from later sources) and *wdpw n(j) hrt hk3* “butler of the ruler’s tomb” (a title of *hnw*: BLACKMAN 1915, pl. 16; another reading: WARD 1982a, 92 (768); HANNIG 2006, 753 {8821}) are to be added to these data. For other sources on *hr(t)* after the Old Kingdom, see Wb. III, 143,13–19.

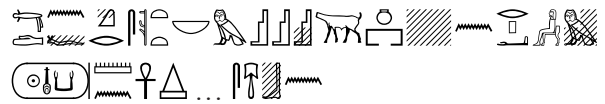
dant *hntj-š* and the term *hntj-š* “garden.” There is no reliable data on the word *hntj-š* “garden” preserved from before the Middle Kingdom. Nevertheless, guided by the fact that the title *hntj-š* and *hntj-š* “garden” are related compounds, many experts believed that *hntj-š* with the meaning “Lebanese wood/Lebanon” goes back to the term *hntj-š* denoting some kind of royal land or domain.⁷² The comparison has been carried out, in particular, on the basis of the inscription *s3b-n=j*.⁷³



rdj.t(j) n=j 3ht st3t x+30m t3-mḥw šm^cw m hntj-š n(j) mn-^cnḥ-nfr-k3-r^c [3] nfr ḥz(j).t(j) b3k jm(j) “x+30 arouras of field in the North and South was given to me as to an attendant of the pyramid Enduring life of king *nfr-k3-r^c*; it was magnificent that the insignificant servant was rewarded.”

Noting, a long time ago, that the interpretation of the nisbe *hntj-š* as a title looks strange in this context, many researchers have adopted a version that *hntj-š* designates a plantation (“land, arable land”) within the pyramid complex of King *ppj* II.⁷⁴ The passage is really difficult to understand, and it is easy to assume that it is about the land, thus, putting it not only out of the appropriate context (dealing with the land grants) but also of the prevailing ideas about *hntjw-š* as personnel attached to the pyramid complex. How, otherwise, could *s3b-n=j* serve as *hntj-š* at the pyramid and get land for it in different areas of Egypt? However, in my opinion, the compound in this case should be understood precisely as the title *hntj-š*. A similar text from the tomb of *mḥw* II combined


with the tomb of *s3b-n=j*⁷⁵ could provide a basis for such an interpretation:



šd(.jw) n=f kṛstt nb(t) m swt ḥnw <hftj šddt> n(j)r(j)-p^c(t) m mn-^cnḥ-nfr-k3-r^c ... s3b-n=j “all burial requirements were allocated for him from the departments (“places”) of the residence, <as it should allocate>⁷⁶ for the prince in the (estate) of the pyramid Enduring life of king *nfr-k3-r^c*... *s3b-n=j*.”

So, in a similar context dealing with the grants to the official, instead of *hntj-š* “cult attendant” of the pyramid stands the noble title *(j)r(j)-p^c(t)* “prince” (in the pyramid estate). This indicates that the provincial grandee (*s3b-n=j*, in this case) receiving land grants in the residence could well consider himself to be an attendant of the king’s cult, the center of which was the pyramid, although he was not officially a holder of the title *hntj-š*. Indeed, according to other sources, the title *hntj-š mn-^cnḥ-nfr-k3-r^c* was not included in the titulary of *s3b-n=j*. The descriptive device used by *s3b-n=j* illustrates that the title *hntj-š* of the pyramid during the 6th Dynasty became a status indicator for an official close to the court, even if he continued to serve in the province.

Based on the interpretation of the Old Egyptian compound *hntj-š* as “garden,” a version appeared according to which the title *hntjw-š* means “gardeners.”⁷⁷ However, such an interpretation of the title contradicts the information about this category of attendants known from the Old Kingdom sources. On the other hand, Svetlana I. Hodjash and Oleg D. Berlev cited in confirmation of this inter-

⁷² General considerations and literature: POSENER-KRIÉGER 1976, II, 577–578, n. 1; ANDRÁSSY 2001, 6–13. Reading the phrase Pyr. 518c by Andrassy: *m hntj š=f* “in front of his lake,” by the way, is not correct; it should read  *m hntj jnb=f* “as the one who is in front of his wall” (LEITZ 2002, Vol. 5, 787; see also ALLEN 2015b, 71: “You should capsize to me, (door), as the one at the fore of his wall”). Cf. KAPLONY 1966, 128, N.B. 76bis; KAPLONY 1977, 320: He considered that the toponym *hntj-š* goes back to the domain name (“Königsdomänen”), from which the title *hntj-š* has also been formed.

⁷³ QH 26. SEYFRIED 2005, 314 (III. 1), 317–318; EDEL 2008, I, 51–52, 243–244 (III. 32–33), Tab. 9. Cf. Urk. I, 140, 10.


⁷⁴ Cf. KAPLONY 1977, 320; DORET 1986, 65, n. 681; EDEL 2008, I, 52: “*hnt-š* land.” Differently: JUNKER 1943, 16–17; HELCK 1954, 108; POSENER-KRIÉGER 1976, I, 11; II, 578–

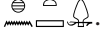
579; GOELET 1982, 565; STRUDWICK 2005, 338; FETTEL 2010, 136–137; STAUDER-PORCHET 2017, 279: the title *hntj-š*.

⁷⁵ QH 26. SEYFRIED 2005, 319–320 (III. 2), 325–327; EDEL 2008, I, 52–53, 56–57, Tab. 8 (no photo, with restorations). Cf. STRUDWICK 2005, 339.


⁷⁶ The reconstruction by E. Edel and K.-J. Seyfried according to parallels from Urk. I, 138,9 = QH 25/26. SEYFRIED 2005, 314 (III. 1), 316, 318; EDEL 2008, I, 50–51, Tab. 9: ... *kṛstt nb(t) prrt m ḥnw hftj prjt n(j)r(j)-[p^c(t)] mrw* “all the burial requirements coming from the residence, as (usually) received by the prince *mrw*,” as well as from the inscription of *nfr-ḥw=j* (MASPERO 1885, 205; SEYFRIED 2005, 327; EDEL 2008, I, 57).

⁷⁷ SCHOTT 1965, 10; HODJASH and BERLEV 1982, 44, n. h); BERLEV and, HODJASH 2004, 65–66, n. b); cf. GARDINER 1908–1909, 129–130; FETTEL 2010, 44, 60, N.B. 623.

pretation a scene from the 11th Dynasty tomb of *d3gj* where the work of the winegrowers is observed by *jmj-r3 hntjw-š* () *sbk-r*^c who, judging by the sign which remains at the top, could be a son of the vizier *d3gj*.⁷⁸ However, this title cannot relate to the scene, since an official was never represented on duty in his own tomb, let alone in his own garden. It is difficult to say whether the title *hntjw-š* denoted “gardeners” in later periods,⁷⁹ although the word *hntj-š* with the meaning “garden” or a kind of fertile land⁸⁰ is known, including among the titles of the New Kingdom.⁸¹





Additional determinatives to the title *hntj-š*, either the sign “tongue of land” (N21) or the sign “irrigation canal” (N23), appear in the Middle Kingdom and remain in the New Kingdom and later texts.⁸² In the New Kingdom, new determinatives are added: The sign “water” pl (N35) and “tree” (M1). The latter appears three times in the standard reports on the deliveries of wood in the Papyrus Harris I just in relation to “Lebanon”: . However, this does not give decisive additional arguments in favor of the juxtaposition


of the toponym *hntj-š* “Lebanon” with the words “garden” or “lake,”⁸³ because during this period, all words with the stem *hntj-š* began to be complemented by new determinatives.


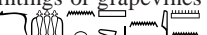
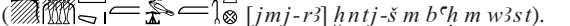
The determinatives that have become standard in later periods for all words with the stem *hntj-š* never follow the title *hntj-š* in the Old Kingdom. At least in the Middle Kingdom, determinatives for the title *hntj-š* ([Ⓢ], [Ⓣ]) do not allow the translation of this title as “gardener.” Of course, it is possible to assume that the Middle Kingdom title *hntj-š* was already substantially different in content from the Old Kingdom one, but there is no real reason to break the ties between them. In particular, a certain *jj ms(j).n snt* titled on a stela as  *jmj-r3 hntjw-š n pth* “overseer of *hntjw-š* of Ptah”⁸⁴ is probably identical to *jmj-r3 nfw(w) n pth* “overseer of the sailors of Ptah” *jj-sn ms(j).n snt*⁸⁵ or was his relative. According to these titles, the functions of *hntjw-š* were close to those of sailors. In that case, the Middle Kingdom *hntjw-š* were performing functions similar to those of the Old Kingdom ones (as known from

⁷⁸ TT 103; DAVIES 1913, 33, pl. 31. Sheikh Abd el-Qurna.

⁷⁹ The New Kingdom title holders: TAYLOR 2001, 41–42 (379–382); AL-AYEDI 2006, 106–107 (349–350); HANNIG 2006, 226, 1913; FETTEL 2010, 41–49; see also DAVIES and LAMING MACADAM 1957, Nos. 211, 475; CARNARVON and CARTER 1912, 15, 18–19, pl. 5; SAUNERON and VÉRITÉ 1969, 270–271, pl. 17; SELIM 2005, 329–333, 338–339, pl. 1, Fig. 1). On the royal title *jmj-r3 hntjw-š* “overseer of *hntjw-š*” of the Greco-Roman period: IBRAHIM 1966, 171; CAUVILLE 2008, 49; FETTEL 2010, 49.

⁸⁰ Wb. III, 310,11, 311,7–8; HUGONOT 1989, 16–17; HANNIG 2006, 1913 {23834}. From the sources given in HANNIG 2006, the compound *hntj-š* can be highly likely understood as “garden” only in CT II 125 h (Sp 111):  *jnk ntr n(j) jp m hntj-š* (with the determinative *h3st* “hill country”) *jgr* “I am the god of accounting in the garden of the Silent One.” The interpretation of CT VI 105c (Sp 516) is extremely difficult, because the compound  *hntj-š*, sometimes translated as “garden,” is preserved only in this version of the Pyramid Texts spell known in various redactions. In the variant of Pyr. 2242d (PT 721; JÉQUIER 1936, pl. 13 (1055+30); FAULKNER 1969, 71), *hntj-š* is replaced by the title *hntj-sbht* (?) “who is in front of the gate (?)” In the later redactions of this spell from various periods, the title *hntj-š* has been replaced by *hntj-nst* “who is in front of the throne,” *hntj-sbht* (?), or the term *hntj(t)* “outer chamber” with the determinative “gate, niche” (, O32) or “gateway” (, O16), which takes its place in this spell, because in CT VI 105c it is related about “restoration” (*srwd*). Reviews of all versions: ASSMANN 2008, 260, 264–

265; BACKES 2016, Vol. 1, 541, 546–547; one of the latest examples of the spell is contained in P. Berlin 3057: BACKES 2016, Vol. 1, 47; Vol. 2, 1178–1179, Tab. XIX,15. End of the 4th – beginning of the 3rd century BC). Parallel texts give also “house” (*pr*) or “gate” (*rwjt*) instead of *hntj(-š)* (ASSMANN 2008, 264–265). Consequently, understanding the word  in CT VI 105c as *hntj-š* “garden” remains problematic.

⁸¹ Stela Berlin 896 (GENERALVERWALTUNG 1913–1924, II, 396):  *k3rj n hntj-š* “gardener”; BAUM 1988, 33, 255, n. 129; cf. ABD ER-RAZIQ 1979, 247; EYRE 1994, 68–69; ANDRÁSSY 2001, 8–11; BARDINET 2008, 38. The grantee *sn-nfr*, a governor of Thebes under pharaoh *jmj-htp(.w)* II, decorated his tomb with mural paintings of grapevines that probably reflected his activity as  *jmj-r3 hntjw-š n jmn* “overseer of gardens (?) of Amun” (TT 96. VIREY 1898, 215. Sheikh Abd el-Qurna). The official *nfr-mnw* (stela Cairo TN.20.3.25.3: SELIM 2005, 329–333, 338–339, pl. 1, Fig. 1) was overseer of the garden in the greenhouse of pharaoh *dhwtj-ms(j)* III in Karnak ( *[jmj-r3] hntj-š m bch m w3st*).

⁸² See, for example, FETTEL 2010, 41, 46, 49–50.

⁸³ Cf. EDER 1995, 177–178: He translates *hntj-š* in the annals of king *jmj-m-h3t* II as “*Baumgarten*” with reference to the biblical parallel in Is. 37:24: “*der Wald seines (des Libanons) Baumgartens*,” according to M. Weippert.

⁸⁴ Leiden L.XI.10/V.91 (BOESER 1909, 8 [26], Tab. 22). 13th Dynasty.

⁸⁵ UC Dublin 1365 (QUIRKE 2000, 233–239, pl. 32). 13th Dynasty.

the Dahshur decree and documents from the temple archives of kings *nfr-jrj-k3-r^c* and *nfr=f-r^c*, the duties of *hntjw-š* included shipping operations). However, before the publication of the Illahun papyri from the Berlin collection and the “Laws of *hntjw-š*” (*hpw hntjw-š*) in particular, it is still difficult to judge their duties from the meager and ambiguous Middle Kingdom prosopographical data.⁸⁶

Only one of the components comprising the *hntj-š* nisbe – the word *š* – had occurred already in the Old Kingdom sources with the meaning “garden,”⁸⁷ although it is quite obvious that it is derived from the word *š* “lake, pond.” Trees were planted around reservoirs, and such a plot was collectively called *š* “garden.”⁸⁸


A particular problem is the interpretation of the compound *š (n) pr-š* found in sources from vari-

ous periods. The Old Kingdom term *š n pr-š* meant “lake at the palace,” including in the title *hntj-š pr-š*; other opinions have not yet been confirmed.⁸⁹ In the Middle Kingdom sources, the *š n pr-š*⁹⁰ term also refers to the lake at the palace as a general designation of the palace territory rather than the “garden.”

In the same manner, one should understand the compound *š n pr-š* in the epithet of the Sun god written on the vase with the name of King *wnjs* that was found in Byblos:⁹¹ *mrj r^c hr š pr-š* “beloved by the Sun on the palace lake.”⁹²

The epithet of the god Sobek-Horus, *hntj š pr-š*⁹³, often regarded as a title,⁹⁴ is actually not a title:

ḥnḥ nswt-bjtj sbk-k3-r^c sbk-šdtj hr ḥrj-jb šdt hntj š n pr-š ḥnḥ.tj “(Long) live king of Upper and Lower Egypt *sbk-k3-r^c* beloved of

⁸⁶ To the existing lists (HANNIG 2006, 226, 1913; FETTEL 2010, 41–49) of the *hntjw-š* in the Middle Kingdom sources (after the 11th Dynasty) should be added: 1. pBerlin 10160+10162 rto 34(?), vso 15 (KAPLONY-HECKEL 1971, 101 (233); LUFT 1982, 148–149, Fig. 59–60); 2. Stela CHRISTIE’S 1970, 41 (125); 3. PM III, 422; LECLANT 1975, Tav. 15 (6); 4. Stela CG 20124 (ANONYMOUS 1983, 28; doubtful; perhaps this is part of the name *hntj-htj-htp(.w)*); 5. Relief of *hnmw-htp(.w)* (NOSAN and FEERY 2006, 62–63 (17)); the relief Phoenix Ancient Art 15796 (<https://phoenixancientart.com/work-of-art/fragment-of-a-funeral-relief>) probably belongs to the same wall scene; 6. A block-statue from Saqqara (Gunn MSS.31.61: MALEK 2000, 249–250, Fig. 1); 7. pBerlin 10001A-B rto — 10001B vso, containing Laws of *hntjw-š*, is still not published (KAPLONY-HECKEL 1971, 1 (1)). Several Illahun papyri with lists of *hntjw-š* are also not published (in particular: pBerlin 10106, 10244a, 10264, 10407b, pCairo, JdE 71580 (formerly pBerlin 10005A-B), see KAPLONY-HECKEL 1971, 48 (88), 133 (317), 142 (342), 238–239 (607), 266; QUIRKE 1991, 143–144; DI TEODORO 2018, 25–26). The too late date of the coffin of *ḥnw* (PM III, 685; JEQUIER 1935, 147–155; he holds, in particular, the titles *jmj-r3 hntjw-š pr-š* “overseer of the palace attendants” and *hntj-š m3^c mn-ḥn-nfr-k3-r^c* “true attendant of the pyramid Enduring life of king *nfr-k3-r^c*”) is unlikely, although it is defended by many researchers, cf. RUSSO 2012, 89–91: “[T]he very end of the Eleventh or early Twelfth Dynasties”; MORALES 2017, 33, n. 139; differently: BROVARSKI 1994, 32, n. 56: 9th Dynasty; MATHIEU 2009, 302–303: 8th Dynasty). I adhere to the dating of the coffin of *ḥnw* to the Eleventh Dynasty based on titles and spelling features. In particular, his title *jmj-r3 m3^c* is written with a stroke after *r(3)*: ; I know of twenty-five examples of writing the title *jmj-r3* with a stroke for the period through the 11th Dynasty, and only a few of them can be dated to the 9th to 10th Dynasties (the earliest example is the title *jmj-r3 š* held by *hnmw-z3w=j*: QH 34k. EDEL 2008,

I, 608 (Fig. 4), 610 (Ill. 2); Edel’s dating: “*Ende des Alten Reiches*”; however, the dating to the 7th to 10th Dynasties is most likely). The dating of the monuments of *sk-wšht*, who was *hntj-š dd-swt-z3-r^c-ttj* “attendant of the pyramid Eternal places of the son of the Sun *ttj*” (CG 9625 = Cairo, JdE 55618; ABDALLA 1992, 96, Fig. 2, pl. 19.4), also remains debatable (from the end of the 11th Dynasty up to the reign of *jmnm-m-ḥ3t* I, a recent analysis: BROVARSKI 2009a, 370, 378–388; dating to the 11th Dynasty seems preferable to me). If *šhd hntjw-š (dd-swt-ttj?) jpi-ḥnw/jpj* (Coffin Berlin 7796; GENERALVERWALTUNG 1913–1924, I, 130–132; FIRTH and GUNN 1926, I, 199) was a son of *sk-wšht* (according to ABDALLA 1992, 108–109), his monuments can be dated to the reign of *jmnm-m-ḥ3t* I.

⁸⁷ FISCHER 1968, 155, 160, 1978, 55–56, 1991, 127–133; MOSTAFA 1982, 116, 124 ff.; FALTINGS 1998, 5–12; HANNIG 2003, 1278–1279.

⁸⁸ FISCHER 1968, 160; GRALLERT 2001, 495, 564; FETTEL 2010, 58–72.

⁸⁹ Cf. STADELMANN 1981, 158–159; GOELET 1982, 544 ff.; BERLEV and HODJASH 2004, 66: their opinion that *š* in the title *hntj-š pr-š* was not followed by the determinative of hill country (*ḥ3st*) is incorrect.

⁹⁰ HANNIG 2006, 2417–2418 {32002}; see, in particular, annals of king *jmnm-m-ḥ3t* II from Mit-Rahina (ALTENMÜLLER 2015, 16–18 (2), Tab. 12–13, col. x+5: “„Königsbezirk“ ... „der Grabbau, Tempel, Pyramidenstadt und Palast“ umfasst”; cf. OBSOMER 1995, 596–597: “*le Jardin (?) du Grand Domaine*”).

⁹¹ MONTET 1928–1929, 69–70 (46), pl. 39; CHÉHAB 1969, 8, pl. 1 (3); STADELMANN 1981, 159, Ill. 1.

⁹² About *hntj-š* (var. *hntj-š pr-š*) as an epithet of various deities: LEITZ 2002, Vol. 4, 269; Vol. 5, 864–865; Vol. 7, 596.

⁹³ HABACHI 2001, 33, 168, Tab. 13, 15B (Kat. 9, 10).

⁹⁴ Cf. GOMAA 1986–1987, II, 234–235; FETTEL 2010, 92; similarly: BERLEV and HODJASH 2004, 66.


















































Sobek of Crocodilopolis – Horus who is residing in Fayyum⁹⁵ in front of the palace lake, (long) may she live.”



hrt mrjt-r^c nswt-bjtj nb jrt jht sbk-k3-r^c mr(j).tj sbk-šdtj hr hrj-jb šdt m htp sbk m-hntj š n pr-^c3 “The female Horus *mrjt-r^c*, King of Upper and Lower Egypt – Lord of rituals, *sbk-k3-r^c*, may she beloved of Sobek of Crocodilopolis, Horus who is residing in Fayyum, by the grace of Sobek in front of the palace lake.”


In these examples, the compound *hntj š* cannot be considered as a title. It is a divine epithet in which *hntj* appears as a preposition “in front of, from” (or as a nisbe derivative from it) used in divine epithets instead of the preposition *m* “in, from.” As for the “palace lake” in these texts, it is an allusion to the name of the Fayyum itself – *š*, *t3-š*, *š-rsj* and others.⁹⁶

The latest version of the interpretation of the toponym *hntj-š*, according to which the element *š* means “areal” or “terrace,” connects its emergence with the geological structure of Lebanon.

P. Kaplony emphasized the proximity of the toponym *hntj-š* to the term *htjw*, which has denoted Mount Lebanon since the Early Dynastic times.⁹⁷ The word *htjw* with the meaning “Lebanon” has been long known and entered dictionaries;⁹⁸ it actually means “terrace” and characterizes the features of the landscape where the coniferous trees of Lebanon grew.

It can be assumed that the element *š* in nisbe *hntj-š* is derived from the “staircase” determinative for the word *htjw* (, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ).

resembling the sign *š* (N39) in a detailed variant with cross-hatching.⁹⁹ In reality, the *š* sign represents here the plan of the object reflected in the sign “terrace, porch” (O40: ) that usually served as an ideogram or determinative for the word *htjw* “Lebanon,” other lands with terraced landscape (Sinai, *pwnt*) and their resources, and as a temple porch ().¹⁰⁰ If the sign *š* in the toponym *hntj-š* “Lebanon” is only a result of the formal unification of two completely different signs, then it has no direct relation to reservoirs.

Reading the sign *š* in this toponym is quite definite already for the Old Kingdom texts, but this can be explained by the total loss of its original meaning during the evolution of writing. In addition, the artificial reservoir had steps¹⁰¹ intended both for the descent during the ritual ablutions and for creating the “beaker effect” in the course of determining the water level, i.e. it was a kind of an “inverted terrace” with stepped banks and a “top” (*j3t*), which in the lake, turned into a “bottom.” This is confirmed by some evidence from the Old Kingdom and later on. In particular, an inscription at the bottom of the basin (“lake”) of the offering table of *z3tw* is of interest:  *j3t n(j)t š* “the bottom (midpoint) of the basin”¹⁰². This “lake” is surrounded by a “garden” of sycamore trees-*nhwt* growing in the corners, and seasonal water level marks are recorded on its steps. Despite the symbolic elements, the “lake” was supposed to serve as a basin for the offering drinks.¹⁰³ The word *j3t* is also used with the meaning “bottom” in the story from the Papyrus West-

⁹⁵ About Horus of Crocodilopolis: LEITZ 2002, Vol. 5, 293; ZECCHI 2010, regarding the epithet *hntj š (n) pr-^c3*: 160 (63–64).

⁹⁶ HABACHI 1954, 463; GOMAA 1986–1987, I, 375–392; II, 300; ZECCHI 2001, 292 (Indici). The title *jmj-r3 š* connected with Fayyum is known: pBerlin 10021 (8), (8r); 10096 (1) (LUFT 2006, 15, 44–45, 109–110 (with the translation “Vorstehender des Seelands” and the remark: “*š ist natürlich das Fajjum*”); cf. DI TEODORO 2018, 39–40).

⁹⁷ KAPLONY 1966, 128, N.B. 76bis; BARDINET 2008, 38–39, 51–55, 185–187, 190–191.

⁹⁸ SETHE 1906, 356–358; Wb. III, 349,8; HAYES 1949, 49 (k), pl. 4; FAULKNER 1991, 199; HANNIG 2006, 1955 {24571}.

⁹⁹ KAPLONY 1963, I, 299: about the word *htjw (š)* “Treppe” (KAPLONY 1963, III, Tab. 144–145 (847B); ENGEL 2017, 316–317 (III. 210.1,2), 320–322 (III. 212.2–5), Tab. 31a–d; the word *htjw* without the sign *š*, with a probable meaning “Lebanon”: KAHL 2003, 365; BARDINET 2008, 187; ENGEL 2017, 336–337 (III. 220), Tab. 35d, 36a). See also Pyr. 496b.

¹⁰⁰ Wb. III, 348–349; HANNIG 2003, 986, 2006, 1955 {24569}, {49728}, {24571}, {24576}.

¹⁰¹ GESSLER-LÖHR 1983, 49, 233–234, 375–376.

¹⁰² The offering table of *z3b jmj-r3 zšw* “judge, overseer of the scribes” *z3tw* (CG 1330: BORCHARDT 1937, Bl. 5; see JUNKER 1952, 187–188; KUENTZ 1981, 246–247; MOSTAFA 1982, 125, Tab. 13; FISCHER 1991, 127–128, n. 6. 6th to 8th Dynasties).

¹⁰³ Various notes on such basins can be also found on other offering tables. We can add to the known offering tables with the “lake”-*š* (see MOSTAFA 1982, 124–127; HUGONOT 1989, 191–194; FISCHER 1991, 127–133; FETTEL 2010, 58 ff.) the offering table of *hk3 hwt, smr-w^ctj, hrj-tp-nswt* “governor of the estate, sole friend and royal attorney” *z3tw* (TAJAN 2002, 8–9, Lot 70; LEGROS 2013, 153–166. End of the First Intermediate Period), with the notes on the basins: *š n hnkt* “basin (lit. “lake”) for beer,” *š n kbh* “basin for cold water.” There is also a note on the offering table of *mst.n=j-j* (Saqqara 78 no-0589: BERGER-EL NAGGAR and LABROUSSE 2005, 21, Fig. 8. Late 6th to 8th Dynasties): *š mw kbh* “lake with cool water.”

car, where the magician *d3d3-m-ḥ* imposes one half of the lake on another (P. Westcar 6,10–11).¹⁰⁴



jst rf jr p3 mw jw=f m mh 12 hr j3t=f dr.jn=f mh 24 r-s3 wdb=f “now, as for the water, it was 12 cubits deep (‘at its bottom’), and it ended up 24 cubits after it was folded.”

In this passage, the word *j3t* “lake bottom” is easier to consider as a variant of the word *j3t* “spine, back” and not *j3t* “top, hill.” However, differences in the meanings of the two words are insignificant and related to the features of the Egyptian perception of space (the center is both the top of the mountain and the bottom of the reservoir).¹⁰⁵ In the same way, similar derivations of

the term *š* “areal”¹⁰⁶ and the Old Egyptian term *š/mr* “working area”¹⁰⁷ from the word *š* “reservoir, pond, lake”¹⁰⁸ can be considered.

The notion of *š* contained the idea of a closed space or “concentration” in general – of people, resources, etc. The names of the “reservoir”-*š* banks used to designate the units of the military and working crew-*ḫ3zt*, involved in the service or work both in the Nile valley and beyond.¹⁰⁹ The term *ḫ3zt* literally means a “formation” of mountain slopes or banks of a lake; in other words, all four sides of a “pool” combined. The Old Egyptian concept of working area was based on two notions: a) Of “lake,” the area intended for work, and its reference points; b) of “ship,” a set of labor forces involved at a certain point. From the point of view of the members of the “crew of the ship” (i.e. sol-

¹⁰⁴ BLACKMAN 1988, 7.

¹⁰⁵ On the meaning of *j3t* “lake bottom, river-bed,” cf. Wb. I, 26,6 (“*Mitte eines Gewässers*”); FISCHER 1968, 160; FISCHER 1978, 51–52; HANNIG 2003, 26 {647}: “*Längsmittle*”; HANNIG 2006, 64 {645}: “*Mitte (Gewässer)*,” etc. In particular, the inscription Siut V, 7 refers to the “old river-beds” (*ḫ3wt j3wt*), which the prince filled with water (*ḥḥpj*) (BRUNNER 1937, 65; cf. ibidem, 11: “*die alten Stätten*”; SCHENKEL 1965, 72: “*die alten Stellen*”; the exact meaning is given in TLA (<http://aaw2.bbaw.de>): DZA 20.113.010: *2die alten Bette*”; on the card DZA 20.113.020 to CG 1330 it is listed: *j3t* “*Boden*”). In the Tod inscription of *zj-nj-wsrt* I (BARBOTIN and CLÈRE 1991, 5, 9, 20, Fig. 2, pl. 13, col. 28), the word *j3t* (with the determinatives “spine” and “irrigation canal”) means “bottom” of the desolate canal, which equaled its banks (*phnj j3t=f m3w=f*; cf. REDFORD 1987, 42: “[I]ts ruin-mound reached the banks”; BARBOTIN and CLÈRE 1991, 9: “*un marécage s’était formé à l’entrée de son canal, dont il avait atteint le milieu et les bords*”; GRALLERT 2001, 211: “*ein Sumpf entsteht am Eingang seines Sees, indem er seine Hügel und seine Ufer erreicht*”).

¹⁰⁶ GARDINER 1908–1909, 129–130; HELCK 1954, 137, N.B. 29, 1975, 95 (with examples from the New Kingdom sources); KAPLONY 1977, 318; STADELMANN 1981, 157; LEHNER 1985, 135–136, 140; ANDRÁSSY 1994, 4–5 (in the title *hntj-š*); cf. GOELET 1982, 545–546, 561–562, 654, n. 34; POSENER-KRIÉGER 1976, II, 578, n. 5. M. Baud refrained from interpreting the element *š* in the title *hntj-š* (BAUD 1996, 14). About the term *r3-š* (lit. “mouth of the lake,” denoting navigable “entrance” from a canal to a lake on the territory of the pyramid complex of Cheops and other kings of the Old Kingdom), see TALLET 2017, 40, 42, 44–48, 52, 74, 80, 83–85, 137–138 (index), 151–154 (with the translation “the entrance to the pool”) with references to further bibliography.

¹⁰⁷ About the term *š*: GESSLER-LÖHR 1983, 20–27; BROVARSKI 2001, 97–98, n. b (with the translation “grounds” or “precinct”); HANNIG 2003, 120 {2275}, 121 {2277}, 1279 {32029}, 2006, 232 {2275}, 2418 {32029} (“*Arbeitsareal*”).

¹⁰⁸ Transliteration of the title as *hntj-šj* is based on the reading the word “lake” as *šj*, that was reconstructed by the Demotic and Coptic parallels (FETTEL 2010, 58, according to J. Osing). Such a reconstruction is, nevertheless, uncertain.

¹⁰⁹ On the Old and Middle Kingdom title *jmj-r3 š/mr (ḥmwṯ, n(j) mšḥ)* “overseer of the body of troops (literally “lake/canal”) (made up of craftsmen or militaries)”: JONES 1988, 113–114 (12); JONES 2000, 139 (541), 180 (682, with other readings), 243–244 (889, 891); HANNIG 2003, 120 {2275}, 121 {2277}, 2006, 232 {2275}; TALLET 2018, 132. The following Old Kingdom evidence should be added to these lists: 1. Title on the sealing GP2743 (LEHNER and WETTERSTROM 2006, 180, Fig. 6f.3 (2743)); 2. Title of *k3=j-ḥpr(j)* (EL-AWADY 2009, 157–158, Fig. 81a); 3. Title of *mrr-nswt* (HAWASS 2005, 84–88); 4. Title of *hnw-z3w=j* (QH 34k. EDEL 2008, I, 608 (Fig. 4), 610 (Ill. 2)); 5. The titles of several military officials in Gebel el-Silsila: *jmj-r3 š rsj* “overseer of the southern lake” *tnntj(?)*, *jmj-r3 š rsj* “overseer of the southern lake” *hnzw-ḥtp(j)*, *hrj-ḥ smntjw(?)* “guide of the prospectors (?)” ...? (photo only, no transcription, no translation, the name is unreadable), *jmj-r3 š* “overseer of the lake” *ḥnh-m-ḥrḥ*, *ḥrp ḥpr š rsj* “director of the crew of the southern lake” *nfr-sšm-pth*, *zš š* “scribe of the lake” *mrw* (Graffito 6: NILSSON et al. 2018, 78). The title of *ḥwj* (GOYON 1957, 55 (21), pl. 8) should be deleted: The last two names should be read as *jmj-jrtj* “pilot” *ḥnh-m-jwnw(?)*, and *jmj-r3 nww* (*ḥḥw*), *shd wj3* “overseer of hunters, captain of the ship” *ḥwj*: http://ancienegypte.fr/ouadi_hammamat/page2.htm (medineh (216).jpg); differently: EICHLER 1993, 57. The early title *ḥrp š(wj)* “overseer of a lake/two lakes” (JONES 2000, 748–749 (2729–2730)) is also known.

onym *hntj-š* perhaps emerged as a result of the reinterpretation of the term *htjw* (with the determinative of lake) with the meaning of “terrace” designating Lebanon from the most ancient times of Egyptian history.

Summing up this overview of sources, it should be noted that the meaning “Lebanese wood” for the term *hntj-š* is known only from the Old Kingdom texts and was lost in Middle Egyptian. From the second millennium BC, the term *hntj-š* remained only as the designation of a forested geographical region in Lebanon. Moreover, in the

Middle Kingdom sources, Lebanon as a land had its own toponym, *rmnn* (*rbrn/rmrn*),¹¹⁴ and the tree species originating from Lebanon were finally specified by the name *š*.

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¹¹⁴ ALLEN 2008, 35–36, pl. 4, 2009, 23–24, Fig. 4; ALTENMÜLLER 2015, 26. Ludwig Morenz (2005, 25–35) attempted to discern the toponym *rmn(n)* “Lebanon” as far back as in the Instruction for Merikare E 82–84 and in the Admonitions 3.6–8, but this is unlikely. By the way, the latter nar-

rative had most probably already appeared in the 13th Dynasty, i.e. later than the earliest mention of *rmnn* “Lebanon” in the Egyptian sources. For doubts about the identity of the place names *rmnn* and *rbrn*, see KILANI 2016, 43–52.

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