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## The Middle Kingdom *hnmsw*

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### Abstract

An inscribed Middle Kingdom stela in Cairo, which features three *hnmsw*, offers an occasion to re-examine this term. It is shown to be an extension of the root *hnm*, \*‘‘to treat affectionately, lovingly’’. It can be compared with a Semitic root that is at the base of expressions for ‘‘lust’’ on the one hand, and for ‘‘young person’’ on the other.

Rectangular late Middle Kingdom limestone slab Cairo CG 20208,<sup>1</sup> measuring 19, 5 by 29 cm, commemorates *mntw-wsr*, the members of his family, and *mntj/jn-hr(t)-htp*. The depicted figures are incised in silhouette style.

1) *htp dj nswt wsjr nb ddw ntr 3 nb 3bdw prt-hrw t hnkt k3w 3pdw* 2) *n jm3h(w) hnms.f mntw-wsr<sup>2</sup> jr.n snt<sup>3</sup>* 3) *hmt.f mrt.f jmw<sup>4</sup>* 4) *s3.f mntw-htp<sup>5</sup>* 5) *s3t.f mrt.f bbj-<sup>c</sup>nh<sup>6</sup>*

1) An offering which the king has given and Osiris, lord of Busiris, great God, lord of Abydos, an invocation offering of bread, beer, cattle, and fowl, 2) for the revered one, his *hnms mntw-wsr*, born of *snt*; 3) his wife, his beloved, *jmw*; 4) his son *mntw-htp*; 5) his daughter, his beloved, *bbj-<sup>c</sup>nh*;

6) *prt-hrw t hnkt k3w 3pdw šs mnht n* 7) *k3 n jm3h(w) hnms* 8) *f mntj<sup>7</sup>* 9) *jn-hr(t)-htp<sup>8</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*

6) an invocation offering of bread, beer, cattle, fowl, alabaster, and linen for 7) the *k3* of the revered one, his *hnms* 8) *mntj* 9) *jn-hr(t)-htp*, true of voice.

Both beneficiaries of the offering formula are assigned as ‘his *hnms*’. This indicates the possibility that the slab was an element of a stela-chapel commemorating another person.<sup>9</sup>

Many studies have touched upon the rendering of the lexeme *hnm(s)*.<sup>10</sup> K. Piehl interpreted *hnms(t)* as a kinship term, suggesting, on a supposed genealogy from the stela Cai-

<sup>1</sup> H.O. Lange/H. Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches im Museum von Kairo. No. 20001–20780. I–II, Berlin 1902–1908, I 232–233.

<sup>2</sup> Ranke, PN I, 153/27.

<sup>3</sup> Ranke, PN I, 296/21.

<sup>4</sup> Ranke, PN I, 26/4.

<sup>5</sup> Ranke, PN I, 154/21.

<sup>6</sup> Ranke, PN I, 95/21.

<sup>7</sup> Ranke, PN I, 155/7.

<sup>8</sup> Ranke, PN I, 35/18.

<sup>9</sup> See ANOC 57 (Hermitage 1063; Hermitage 1064; Hermitage 1075), ANOC 52 (Louvre C 16; Louvre C 17; Louvre C 18), and London, BM EA 1679 (H. Satzinger/D. Stefanović, Offerings for the kas of Six Ladies (British Museum stela no. 1679), in: Journal of Classical Studies Matica Srpska 11, 2009 27–34).

<sup>10</sup> Wb III, 294.17–295.7

ro, CG 20457, a meaning 'son of the sister' for it.<sup>11</sup> His hypothesis has never been accepted since it is based on one ambiguous reference only.

The term *hnms(t)* has been sometimes understood as a notion for 'in-law', based on the work of M. Matije.<sup>12</sup> Her argumentation was later followed by D. Meeks,<sup>13</sup> and D. Wildung.<sup>14</sup>

According to O. Berlev, the basic meaning of *hnms(t)* was 'friend'.<sup>15</sup> However, the term also implied a social connotation – in case of the *hnmsw* recorded on the stela Paris Louvre C 17 the term must, as Berlev pointed out, be rendered as 'comrade' denoting that they belong to the same social stratum (that of *hry-pr*). *hnms* in the plural form can refer to people of equal status who belong to a single group.<sup>16</sup>

For H. Willems, a rendering like 'friend' is the most suitable. He argued "that in a small number of texts a *hnms(t)* mentioned indeed appears to be related to ego in some way. Nevertheless, there are also cases where this is impossible or at least improbable. Cases where a relative appears to be called a *hnms(t)* need not contradict this view."<sup>17</sup>

D. Franke's analysis of the sources relevant for *hnmsw* has been the most comprehensive.<sup>18</sup> Starting with the Old Kingdom attestations of *hnmsw*, when the term played the role of a title,<sup>19</sup> Franke argues that "Hieraus entwickelt sich dann rasch die Bedeutung "Freund" für *hnms*, da diese Aufsichtsperson eben etwas für den Herren Angenehmes tut – zu kontrollieren; dies bedingt gleichzeitig eine besondere Vertrauensstellung zum Herrn".<sup>20</sup> He also notes that from the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, '*hnms*-people' are 'granted' by epithets *nj st jb.f*, and *mrj.f*, previously restricted to the family and household members: *Solche Bezeichnungen tragen in der 13. Dynastie dann häufig Untergebene, die sich als  bezeichnen eines Vorgesetzten oder "Patrons". Wie diese treten auch hnms-Personen als Stelenstifter auf und tragen häufig einen niedrigeren Titel als der, für den sie die Stele stifteten. Häufig sind hnms in der gleichen Berufssparte tätig wie die Bezugsperson. In einigen Fällen lässt sich an den Titeln der hnms ablesen, dass sie mit der Grab- oder Stelenherstellung befasst waren und den Totenkult ausüben. Man hat hnms in die Gruppe der Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen eingeordnet und behauptet, hnms bedeute "Schwester-ohn", "angeheirateter Verwandter (in doppelter Verwandtschaft)", "Schwager" und "Schwägerin". hnms(.t)-Personen können also die verschiedensten Verwandtschaftsgrade haben!"<sup>21</sup>*

<sup>11</sup> K. Piehl, Un mot de parenté jusqu'ici méconnu, in: *Sphinx* 3, 1900, 1–6.

<sup>12</sup> M. Matije, Из истории семьи и рода в Древнем Египте, in: *ВДИ* 49, 1954, 62–66.

<sup>13</sup> D. Meeks, Notes de lexicographie, § 1, in: *RdE* 26, 1974, 56, n. 3.

<sup>14</sup> D. Wildung, Zwei Stelen aus Hatshepsuts Frühzeit, in: *Festschrift zum 150-jährigen Bestehens des Berliner ägyptischen Museums*, Berlin 1974, 259.

<sup>15</sup> O.D. Berlev, Общественные отношения в Египте эпохи Среднего царства, Moscow 1978, 141.

<sup>16</sup> Berlev, *Obschestvenie otnoschenia*, 142.

<sup>17</sup> H. Willems, Egyptian Kinship Terminology of the Middle Kingdom, in: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 139, 1983, 153.

<sup>18</sup> D. Franke, Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich, Hamburg 1983, 355–362.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. D. Jones, An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom, BAR 866 (I–II), London 2000, nos 2515–251.

<sup>20</sup> Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, 355.

<sup>21</sup> Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, 356.

Franke also pointed out that the term *hnms* expresses a form of a psychological and social (hierarchical) relationship, which may extend to relatives and non-relatives.<sup>22</sup>

Another possible aspect of the meaning of the word *hnms* has been proposed by R.B. Parkinson. In his article entitled *Boasting about Hardness: Constructions of Middle Kingdom Masculinity*,<sup>23</sup> Parkinson discusses the questions of the status of masculinity in ancient Egypt, same-sex admirations, and same-sex friendship. As a possible example of social reality experienced by individuals, Parkinson quotes the inscription from the stela Leiden AP. 44<sup>24</sup> where the harpist Neferhotep was commemorated without his family members - the stela having been commissioned by *his friend whom he loved, the brick-carrier Nebsumenu*. Parkinson notes that "we can not recover his sexual subjectivity, and can only wonder about whether Nebsumenu was a 'friend-friend or a euphemism-friend'."<sup>25</sup>

As it has been recognized by Matje and Franke, there are three 'levels' of attestations of the term *hnms* during the Middle Kingdom: didactic literature, coffin texts, and private monuments.<sup>26</sup>

During the Middle Kingdom *hnmsw(t)* are attested, in most cases, on stelae. Rarely, the monuments were commissioned or dedicated by *hnmsw*. The main person on the stela Florence 2500 is *snb.f*, overseer of the treasury, etc., son of *nbt pr jkj*. The monument has been dedicated by *hnms.f mry.f hsy.f n dt jry t wdpw s3-nb ms.n nbt pr jb ir.n hf33*. Furthermore, *s3-nb* is performing the invocation ritual before *snb.f*, who is seated at the table. The modest stela London, UC 14554, commemorates *nht* and was probably dedicated by *hnms.f hk3-nh*. The same feature is attested on stelae Leiden AP. 44, Wien KHM ÄS 186, Cairo GC 70036, CG 20313, and CG 70036.

For some of the *hnmsw*, based on their titles, as in the case of the stela Paris, Louvre C17, it may be suggested that they were colleagues of the beneficent of the monuments. On the stela Cairo, GC 20276 commemorating *wdpw pn-nh.f*, his *hnms* was *jrj-t jbw. sš nb-nh3w* was *hnms* of the *šmsw rn-sb* (stela Cairo, GC 20278). *mr pr sbk-nht jr.n hpy* was *hnms* of (?) *mr hntjwš snb* (stela Cairo, CG 20296).<sup>27</sup> Another *hnms*, *rhw*, recorded on the same stela, is without a title. Collegial relationship between the main person on the stela and his *hnms* may be, perhaps, also recognized on stela Cairo, CG 20426 where the *jry-pdt rdj-npth jr.n nbt pr snt* is named as *hnms.f mry.f* of the *3tw 3 n niwt s3-immn*, since both of their titles belong to the same branch of administration. Another example of military *hnms*-colleagues is recorded on the stela Liverpool WM M.13927 where *3tw 3 n njwt nbw* has been labelled as a *hnms* of *nh n njwt sn.f-sn.j*. On the stela of *hmtw nn-rn.f* (Cairo, CG 20524), together with his mother, brothers and several other colleagues, *hnms.f hmtw s3-ptb* is mentioned. The same object records another *hnms*; his name and title are not preserved. The owner of the stela Hermitage 1063 (ANOC 57/1) is *hmtw n t3tj s3-hthr*. The lower register of the monument contains five *hmtw*, three of whom are identified as *hnms.f: rn.f-snb*,

<sup>22</sup> Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, 360.

<sup>23</sup> R. Parkinson, *Boasting about Hardness: Constructions of Middle Kingdom Masculinity*, in: C. Graves-Brown (ed.), *Sex and Gender in Ancient Egypt, "Don your wig for a joyful hour"*, Swansea 2008, 115–142.

<sup>24</sup> W. Ward, *Neferhotep and His Friends: A Glimpse at the Lives of Ordinary Men*, in: *JEA* 63, 1977, 63.

<sup>25</sup> Parkinson, in: *Sex and Gender*, 132.

<sup>26</sup> See Franke's list of attestations (Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, 360–362).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. D. Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich (20.-16. Jahrhundert v. Chr.)*. Dossiers 1-796, ÄA 41, Wiesbaden 1984, no 566.

*rs-snb*, and *rn.f-snb*.<sup>28</sup> The main person on the stela Paris, Louvre C 173 was *mr pr s3-jn-hrt*. Two of his friends are also recorded: *hnms.f mry.f sh3w d3d3t s3-jn-hrt ir.n hpy-<sup>c</sup>nh*, and *hnms.f nbllll*.

On the other hand, on a certain number of objects *hnmsw* are not colleagues of the main person, as their titles refer to sectors of administration different from those held by the beneficiaries, or one of them is without title. For example, the owner of the stela Hermitage 1078 was *jmj-ht s3w-prw nb-swmmw*. His *hnms* is marked as *wb3 n <sup>c</sup>t jwf d3f jr.n ddt-hnmw*.<sup>29</sup> Similarly, the graffito of *imy-r <sup>c</sup>hnwty hrp k3t in-jt.f* records *hnms.f mr.f n st-jb.f h3ty-<sup>c</sup> imy-r hmw-ntr hk3-ib-<sup>c</sup>nh jr n kt-rnkt*.<sup>30</sup> The same pattern has been attested on stelae London, BM 571, Cairo CG 20022, CG 20026, CG 20027, CG 20245, CG 20266, CG 20281, CG 20298, CG 20323, CG 20397, Louvre E 20370, Petrie, Season, no 88, Stockholm NME 29, Rio 627 [2419], Turin 1626/Cat 1534, Vatican 22784. Sometimes, the *hnms* and the beneficiary are both without titles (London, BM 213, Cairo, CG 20131, CG 20568 / ANOC 39, CG 20713, Simpson, Ex. Abydos, p. 40, f. 65).

The images of *hnmsw* (which can also lack the possessive suffix pronoun), or just their names, are sometimes 'isolated' on the monument: on the stela Fitzwilliam E.SS.21 *hnms.f gm jr.n rhty*, is recorded under the chair of the main person whose name and titles are not preserved.<sup>31</sup> *jn-jt.f*, a beloved friend of *imy-r pr s3-<sup>c</sup>imn*, was depicted as being seated on the ground, beneath the offering table, in front of *s3-<sup>c</sup>imn* and his wife.

The *hnms* may also have a very prominent place on the stela: *hnms.f mr.f mntw-htp* and his mother *pwpw* are depicted on the right side of the stela Cairo, GC 20568 (ANOC 39) as sitting in front of an offering table. On the left, there is the main person *nbw-n-ptj* together with his mother. Two more *hnmsw*, *mntw-htp jr.n htpj*, and *s-n-wsrt*, are mentioned in the lower register.

The be someone's *hnms* or to have a *hnms* was of a certain importance, enough to be included in a dedication (Cairo, GC 20057), or within the autobiographical self statement.<sup>32</sup> The owner of the stela London, BM 581 states: *jnk hnms n ndsw – I am a friend of the poor*. Furthermore, line 5 of stela RILN no. 73 specifies: *I am a man enjoying respect among his friends (hnmsw)*. The titleless *jn-jt.s s3 hnmw*, the 'owner' of the stelae RILN nos. 27 and 28a-m, records *jmj rn.f hnmsw.j m snw nw mwt – list of names of my friends as well as of (my) maternal brothers*.<sup>33</sup>

*hnms* is also attested as a personal name: Hammamat no 96,<sup>34</sup> London, UC 14450, and Cairo, CG 20547.

<sup>28</sup> See A. Bolshakov/S. Quirke, *The Middle Kingdom stelae in the Hermitage, Utrecht/Paris 1999*, 97, m.

<sup>29</sup> Bolshakov/Quirke (*Middle Kingdom stelae*, 81) in the above mentioned case translated *hnms.f* as 'his colleague', but the stela owner (*jmj-ht s3w-prw nb-swmmw*) is from the different branch of administration.

<sup>30</sup> L. Habachi, *Graffito of the Chamberlain and Controller of Works Antef at Sehēl*, in: *JEA* 39, 1953, 50–52, f. 1; see also Id., *Elephantine IV. The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, AV 33, Mainz 1985, 104, no 87. f. 8 for *hnms.f mry.f sh3w n d3d3t rn-snb* (on the fragment of the stela; unknown owner).

<sup>31</sup> G.T. Martin, *Stelae from Egypt and Nubia in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, c. 3000 BC-AD 1150*, Cambridge 2005, no 21.

<sup>32</sup> Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, 356–357.

<sup>33</sup> Z. Žába, *The Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia*, Prague 1974, no 28a–m, p. 57.

<sup>34</sup> See M.M.J. Couyat/P. Montet, *Les Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques de Ouâdi Hammâmât*, Paris 1912.

As a possible kinship designation, *hnms* has been understood as ‘sister’s son’,<sup>35</sup> ‘cousin-in-law’,<sup>36</sup> ‘brother-in-law’.<sup>37</sup> The five *hnmsw* recorded on Cairo, CG 20457 (*hnms.f s3////; hnms.f hry-sšt3 m pr nfr hry-hbt hry-tp m njwt.f sš kdwt m pr nswt jr.n s3t-snfrw; hnms.f mry.f hry-sšt3 m hwt-nbw gnwtj rn.f-<sup>c</sup>nh; hnms.f /////////////// jr.n inn; hnms.f nh-t-k3j jr.n htp-ddt*<sup>38</sup>) were perhaps cousins-in-law of the *t3w n sš<sup>c</sup> n nswt nhtj*, but none of the recorded *snwt* can be recognized as his wife.<sup>39</sup>

A *hnms*t was, according to Matje, a ‘sister-in-law’.<sup>40</sup> Her conclusion was based on the example from the stela Cairo, CG 20025 where *hnms.t.f mrt.f sbk-nht mst.n htpt* can be recognized as a sister-in-law of the main person, since the mother of his wife (*hmt.f*) *snbt* was also *htpt*. On the other hand, the *hnms*t recorded on the stela Field Museum 31672 (... *his friend (fem.) Neferhet, deceased...*), and in Heqanakht papyri (II 39: .... *Don’t keep a friend of Hetepet from her, without her hairdresser or her domestic...*), neither belonged to the family or household. According to J. Allen, the term refers to subordinates rather than social equals, and probably does not denote a family relationship.<sup>41</sup>

*hnmsw* were important enough to be commemorated together with family and household members. The extended family and household members recorded on the stela Paris, Louvre C 173 are specified with the formulation *h3w nb(w) snw nb(w) hnmsw nb(w) dt nbt nt pr m iw(t) r bw ntj im*.<sup>42</sup> Similarly, on the stela Durham N. 1942 is recorded:

6 .n.j b3kwt.j b3kw

7 n.j. nb n h3w

8 pr jt pr mwt

9 *hnmsw.j*

10 *rmtw.j nbt*

6 ... *my maidservants who worked*

7 *for me, all (those members of) the family*

8 *(of) the house of (my) father and the house of (my) mother*

9 *my friends*

10 *all my people*

<sup>35</sup> Piehel, in: Spinx 3, 1900, 1; cf. Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, 356.

<sup>36</sup> Introduced by Matje, based on assumption that term *snt*, during the Middle Kingdom, has been used as a designation of wife (in: VDI 1954, 63–64), cf. Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, 357.

<sup>37</sup> Possibly a brother of the wife of the main person on stela Cairo, CG 20713; cf. Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, 357.

<sup>38</sup> Probably also mentioned in the last register, but with the title *w<sup>c</sup>b*, and not as *hnms*.

<sup>39</sup> Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, 357.

<sup>40</sup> Perhaps on Cairo, CG 20025; cf. Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, 357.

<sup>41</sup> J. Allen, *The Heqanakht papyri*, New York 2002, 44.

<sup>42</sup> Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, 219–220, 257–262. See also the CT 146: *Assembling the family, father, mother, friends (hnmsw), associates, children, women, concubines, servants, workers, anything belonging to a man for him in the realm of the dead*. (A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, Vol. 2: Texts of Spells 76–163, OIP 49, Chicago 1938, 180–205.)

Stela Cairo, CG 20057 mentions *every hnm with whom I eat and drink*. The last part of the sentence is a sort of standard formulation for friendship.<sup>43</sup> On the other hand this may imply that *hnm* is more than an ‘ordinary’ friend – one with whom a person uses to eat and drink is a ‘friend’; in this case *hnm* is a friend by eating and drinking; thus to be *hnm* perhaps means something more.

In the literary texts,<sup>44</sup> the term *hnm* usually points to someone of a noble character, or is a metaphor for a trustworthy person, for someone who is very often in the chain of confidence, right after father and brother.<sup>45</sup> The *hnm* attested in the tomb of Sebeknakht was termed as *sn.f.*<sup>46</sup> However, *sn* is not only attested as a kinship term – its metaphorical use, when *sn* refers to someone who is “equal”, is also recognized.<sup>47</sup> None of the above mentioned scholars,<sup>48</sup> however, has dealt extensively with the third and largest acceptance of the word *hnm*, namely its metaphorical one, e.g. with the transfer of a title/epithet from its literal sense into a more abstract context in which this term takes its most figurative and symbolic meaning – someone producing and giving *hnm*. The term *hnm*, in almost the same way as *sn*, may metaphorically convey a wide range of meanings including *friend*, *colleague*, *confrere*, and perhaps even *lover*.

The semantics and etymology of the lexeme *hnm(s)* perhaps can provide its original meaning. *hnm* “friend” (attested from the late Old Kingdom onward) has a doublet *hnm* “friend” that is possibly younger (attested from the New Kingdom onward). The masculine noun *hnm* has derivatives like the noun *hnm* “friendship” and the verb *hnm* “to make friends” (both from the Middle Kingdom onwards). The feminine noun *hnmst* may be both a “female friend” (Middle Kingdom and later) or a “harlot” (New Kingdom and later).

*hnm* “friend” – without the *-s* – can be compared with several words with the same consonantal skeleton, viz. verbs meaning “to delight” and “to treat with an ointment (med.)” (both from the Middle Kingdom on); “to attend a child” (from the New Kingdom on), with a derivative noun *hnmst* “wet nurse” (Late Period). These lexemes may all be assumed to derive from the same root, with a basic meaning like “to treat affectionately, lovingly”. There is yet another verb *hnm* that may also be adduced, viz. that with the meaning “to breathe in (a pleasant smell)”, with a related noun *hnmw* “smell (usually pleasant)” (both from the Middle Kingdom on). The word *hnm* “kiss” (Late Egyptian, one attestation) is thought to originate in the same root. All these meanings are not too far from that assumed as the original one of the root *hnm*, viz. “to treat affectionately, lovingly”.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. D. Sweeney, Friendship and Frustration: A Study in Papyri Deir el-Medina IV–VI, in: JEA 84, 1998, 101–122.

<sup>44</sup> For the list of sources see Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, 361; *The Tale of Hay* should be excluded.

<sup>45</sup> The same has been attested in the TB 78 (E. Naville, *Das Ägyptische Tottenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie*, Bd. I, Berlin 1886, pl. 89; cf. Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, 361, also for other examples): *Horus is my father*, *Horus is my brother*, *Horus is my hnm*.

<sup>46</sup> Elkab tomb no 10 (J. J. Tylor, *Wall drawings and monuments of El Kab. The tomb of Sebeknekht*, London 1896, pl. VII; cf. Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, 357, n. 3).

<sup>47</sup> J. Revez, *The Metaphorical Use of the Kinship Term sn “Brother”*, in: JARCE 40, 2003, 123–131.

<sup>48</sup> For the most recent discussion see D. Skjalm, *The Notion of Friendship in Ancient Egypt*, in: KMT 22/1, 2011, 43–48.

Universally, the notion “friend” is not an aboriginal one, therefore not one that may be expected to be shared by but distantly related languages. In some languages (Latin and Romance, Celtic, Greek, West Germanic) the word for “friend” is derived from a verb “to love”. In others (North Germanic, Slavic, like Russian *приятель*, etc.), the basic idea is “pleasant.” Another origin is the semantics of “comrade”, or just “the other” (Slavic, like Russian *друг*, etc.).

The Egyptian “friend” *hnms* conforms to the Scandinavian *vän*, etc., and the Slavic *приятель*, etc., insofar as it is obviously derived from a root *\*xnm* “to treat affectionately, lovingly”, and it is not at all far from all the “friends” that are defined by a verb “to love”.

*hnms* must be analysed as *hnm* plus a root extension *-s*<sup>49</sup>. However, this root extension *-s* should not be confounded with another one, found mainly in Demotic and Coptic, that is *-s* for feminine nouns (which replaces, in a way, the remainder of the old feminine ending, *-ə' < \*-at*<sup>50</sup>), and *-f* for masculine nouns.<sup>51</sup> Here are some candidates for a root suffix *-s* in Egyptian; the gender is not feminine.

- jnh* “to surround” (not attested before dyn. 18), *jnh(3)-s*<sup>52</sup> [gender indet.] “husk (of lotus blossom)” (attested from late dyn. 18 onward): agent – what surrounds; or more generally, a noun derived from a verb.
- h3b*, var. *h3m* “to catch fish” (from OK on), *h(3)b-s* [gender indet.], a bird (that catches fish; once attested in Edfu Temple): agent – what catches fish, or more generally, a noun derived from a verb.
- hwn* “to pierce” (from OK to ptol.), *hwn-s* (sic) (MK), id.: verb derived from verb.  
*hwn-s* m., a stinging insect (mosquito, gnat? – MK)<sup>53</sup>: agent – what stings; or more generally, a noun derived from a verb.
- dg3* “to walk” (NK); *dgdg* “to walk over; to trample down”: *dg-s* “to tread; to enter” (MK and Late Egn.): the same, though with intensive meaning; verb derived from verb.  
*dg-s* m. “foot print” (ptol.): kind of abstract noun, or more generally, a noun derived from a verb; late attestation.
- d3i* “to extend (the arm); to turn to; to oppose”, *d3j-s* “to negotiate, parley; to counsel”: semantic connection not too obvious; verb derived from verb.

As can be seen, the words derived with *-s* are most often nouns, whereas the basic root without *-s* is verbal in all cases. The roots in *-s* are rarely verbal, in contrast to the root prefix *s-*, which yields, more often than not, verbs with a clear causative or factitive meaning. This can not, however, be said of the suffix *-s*. In the case in question, there cannot be dis-

<sup>49</sup> E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, I–II, Rome 1955–1964, § 444 Anm.

<sup>50</sup> H. Satzinger, The Etymology of Coptic ‘Ashes’: Chadic or Nostratic?, in: G. Takács (ed.), *Semito-Hamitic Festschrift for A. B. Dolgopolsky and H. Jungrathmayr*, Berlin 2008, 265–271, in particular, p. 265.

<sup>51</sup> J. Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen*, I–II, Mainz 1976, I, 325–332.

<sup>52</sup> The original root is probably *\*nh*, as preserved in CT IV 298b (T1Cb), V 32d (B1C, B2P), VI 123k, for derivative *jnh* “eyebrow”; by the Middle Kingdom *ʿ* avoided the vicinity of *h* by mutating into *j* (cf. J. Osing, *Zum Lautwert von <ʃ> und <ʕ>*, in: SAK 24, 1997, 223–229). The *3* in the New Kingdom spellings of *jnh-s* may be a feature of group-writing.

<sup>53</sup> Doublet *hnms* (Late Egn.), *ϣⲟⲗⲏϥ*, „gnat, mosquito”.

cerned an essential difference in meaning between the simplex root, *hnm*, basically “to treat lovingly”, and the derived root *hnm-s*, “friend”.

Among the other Afroasiatic language families, there are some which usually suffix the causative morpheme \*š, viz. Cushitic<sup>54</sup> (including Omotic) and Chadic, in contrast to Egyptian, Semitic and Berber, who prefix it. As a root suffix of nouns, \*š does not play a great role in Semitic.<sup>55</sup>

When researching the original meaning of the Egyptian root *hnm* one should also look for cognates in related languages. Any genetic etymological comparison must be based on established sound-laws. Here we meet with certain difficulties, as Egyptian is not, by and large, a uniform language. The mainstream idiom has obviously undergone grave phonetic changes in late prehistoric times. However, idioms have obviously survived that preserved the original sounds, as we can find substantial traces of this.<sup>56</sup> Of the three radicals of the root in question, *m* is the least problematic. The matter of *n* is insofar complex as Egyptian *n* may either go back to ancient \*n or to ancient \*l. Egyptian *h*, however, is complex indeed. The *h* of the progressive idiom<sup>57</sup> goes back to the voiced velar sound \*ɣ, which is itself a merger of ancient velar \*ɣ (like Arabic Ghayn)<sup>58</sup> and laryngeal \*ʕ (like Arabic ‘Ayn).<sup>59</sup> In words taken over from the conservative idiom, *h* may be an originally unvoiced velar fricative \*x, this latter being a merger of ancient velar \*x (like Arabic Khâ)<sup>60</sup> and laryngeal \*ħ (like Arabic Ḥâ).<sup>61</sup>

Thus, the phonetic possibilities of Semitic correspondences of Egyptian *hnm(s)* are these:

<sup>54</sup> M. Mous, Cushitic typology, in: Z. Frajzngier/E. Shay (eds.), *The Afroasiatic Languages*, Cambridge 2012, 55: 28.1: “The causative is marked by a suffix –s or –sh preceded by a vowel i which is sometimes analysed as epenthetic...”

<sup>55</sup> Cf. E. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar*, OLA 80, Leuven 2000, 395 (only Hebrew evidence is adduced).

<sup>56</sup> H. Satzinger, *The two Egyptian idioms and the “emphatic” consonants*, in: *Acts of “5000 Jahre Semito-hamitische Sprachen in Asien und Afrika,”* Berlin 2010 (in printing). Also cf. id., *What happened to the voiced consonants of Egyptian?*, in: *Acts of the X International Congress of Egyptologists*, Rhodes 2008 (in printing.); id., *Scratchy sounds getting smooth: the Egyptian velar fricatives and their palatalization*, in: F.M. Fales/G.G. Grassi (eds.), *CAMSEMUD. Proceedings of the 13th Italian Meeting of Afro-Asiatic Linguistics*, Padova 2010, 239-245.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. footnote 56.

<sup>58</sup> O. Rössler, *Das Ägyptische als semitische Sprache*, in: F. Altheim/Ruth Stiehl (eds.), *Christentum am Roten Meer I*, Berlin/ New York, 1971, 263–326, in particular, §21.

<sup>59</sup> Rössler, in: *Christentum am Roten Meer I*, 263–326, in particular, § 24; G. Takács, *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*, Vol. I, HdO 48/1, Leiden 1998, 305, 326.

<sup>60</sup> Takács, *Etymological Dictionary I*, 157.

<sup>61</sup> Takács, *Etymological Dictionary I*, 309.

Sem. *ʕ	Sem. *y	Sem. *x	Sem. *ḥ
Arabic ʕ- <i>n-m</i> , sundries <sup>62</sup>	Arabic ḡ- <i>n-m</i> “gain” <sup>63</sup>	<i>ḥ-n-m</i> ? <sup>64</sup>	<i>ḥ-n-m</i> ?
Arabic ʕ- <i>l-m</i> (1) “to learn”; (2) “world”; (3) “to cover, hide”; sim. Heb., Aram., Eth.	Arabic ḡ- <i>l-m</i> (1) “young person”; (2) “sexual heat”; Heb., Aram. ʕ- <i>l-m</i>	Arabic <i>ḥ-l-m</i> “to choose” — see below.	Arabic <i>ḥ-l-m</i> (1) “dream” (also Heb. Aram. Eth.); (2) “patience”; (3) “scurf”

Of these six Semitic stems, \*y-l-m is the one that obviously has some semantic agreement with the Egn. Root *hnms*. The question may arise whether there is an etymological relation between Semitic \*y-l-m “lust” (Arabic *ḡalima* (a), inf. *ḡalam-*, *ḡulmat-*, and *iḡalama* (VIII), “to become excited by lust, or appetite”) and \*y-l-m “young male/female (Arabic *ḡulām-*, feminine *ḡulāmat-*; Aramaic *ʕūlaymū*, fem. *ʕūlaymūtā*; Hebrew *ʕēlem* < \**ʕalm-*, feminine *ʕalmāh*). There is some evidence that *ḡulām-*, etc., is originally a human being that has recently reached sexual maturity. In Egyptian, however, a sexual connotation is not very conspicuous; “harlot” is most probably a rather late meaning of *hnms*, “female friend”. Actually, the great etymological data-base of Sergei Starostin (†),<sup>65</sup> in particular the “Afroasiatic etymology” by Alexandr Militarev and Olga Stolbova, knows of a Proto-Afroasiatic root \*ḡulum- “young man, young slave”, with reflexions in Semitic (our items), Central Chadic (\*ḡulum- “young man”, “bridegroom”, “child”), and South Cushitic (\*-ḡwalim- “little children”, “child”).

As a Semitic correspondent of the Egyptian root *hnms*, \*y-l-m is rivaled, to a certain extent, by \*x-l-m. Whereas the meaning of Arabic *ḥannama* (II) and *iḥtanama* (VIII) is “to choose”, *ḥānama* (III) means “to bind oneself in friendship to someone”. The original meaning of this form of the “social stirps” (III) seems to be “to choose each other”. It is obviously related to an otherwise isolated (and by now completely obsolete) noun *ḥilm-*, defined by *Lisān al-ʕArab*<sup>66</sup> as *aṣ-ṣaḍīqu l-ḥāliṣu* (“the true friend”; this noun was already adduced by A. Ember<sup>67</sup> as an etymological correspondence to Egyptian *hnms* “friend”). Its basic meaning is then “the chosen one”, and this is a strong argument against a relation to

<sup>62</sup> To feed on plants; kind of tree; sprout, tendril, thorn: verb *ʕanama* (IV.), noun *ʕanam(at)-*. — Red: adjectives *ʕanamiyy-*, *muʕannam-*. — Toad: *ʕaynūm-*. — Here and in the following, the meaning of Arabic words mostly after A. de Biberstein Kazimorski, *Qāmūs al-luḡatayn al-ʕarabiyyah wa-l-farānsawiyyah*. Dictionnaire arabe-français, Paris 1860.

<sup>63</sup> (Easy) gain, profit, success, booty: verb *ḡanima* (a), nouns *ḡanam-*, *ḡunm-*, *ḡanīm(at)-*, *maḡdḏam-*; *ḡanam-* also “sheep” (collective).

<sup>64</sup> *ḥanamat-* “respiration problems”.

<sup>65</sup> <http://starling.rinet.ru/cgi-bin/main.cgi?root=config> (7.12.2011).

<sup>66</sup> <http://www.baheth.info>.

<sup>67</sup> A. Ember, *Egypto-Semitic Studies*, Leipzig 1930, § 10a. 34; approved and quoted by W. Vycichl, *Grundlagen der ägyptisch-semitischen Wortvergleichung*, in: MDAIK 16, 1958, 367–405, in particular 375.

the Egyptian *hnm(s)* words, as these completely lack any such connotation. Hence, we are left with Semitic \*y-l-m, meaning “sexually mature,” and “young person”.

Here, a cross check may be due: what Egyptian words/stems/roots could correspond to Semitic \*y-l-m?

These are the Egyptian phonemes that may regularly correspond to those of the Semitic root in question.

	Egyptian	
	Progressive phonetics <sup>68</sup>	Conservative phonetics <sup>69</sup>
Semitic *y	<i>h</i> <sup>70</sup> <i>ḏ</i> <sup>71</sup> <i>j</i> <sup>72</sup>	<i>ʕ</i> <sup>73</sup>
Semitic *l	<i>ʒ n r j</i>	<i>ʒ, n, r</i> <sup>74</sup>
Semitic *m	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>

Possible Egyptian combinations are:

<i>hʒm</i> “to bend (the arm); to bow down”	• <i>ḏʒm</i> “youths; generation”	<i>ʒm</i> (1) “to bind (animals for sacrifice)” <sup>75</sup> ; • <i>ʒm</i> (2) “to be amiable”	<i>ʕm</i> “Asiatic”
• <i>hnm</i> * “to treat lovingly”	<i>ḏnm</i> —	<i>jnm</i> “skin”	<i>ʕnm</i> —
<i>hrm</i> —	<i>drm</i> —	<i>jrm</i> —	<i>ʕrm</i> —
<i>hjm</i> —	<i>ḏjm</i> —	<i>jjm</i> —	

For semantic reasons, *hʒm*, *ʕm*, *ʒm* (1), and *jnm* cannot be considered. However, *ʒm* (2), “to be amiable,” fits to *hnm* \* “to treat lovingly”, as a phonetic doublet; and *ḏʒm* “youths”<sup>76</sup> can be compared with Semitic *ḡulām-* / *ʕūlaymū* / *ʕēlem*, “young person”.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. footnote 56.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. footnote 56.

<sup>70</sup> Rössler, in: Christentum am Roten Meer I, 296f.

<sup>71</sup> On the variation of *h* and *ḏ* cf. H. Goedicke, Alternation of *h* and *ḏ* in Egyptian, in: ZÄS, 80, 1955, 32–34; W. Vycichl, Über den Wechsel der Laute *h* und *ḡ* im Ägyptischen, in: ZÄS 82, 1957, 71–73; E.E. Knudsen, Der Wechsel *h* : *ḏ* im Ägyptischen, in: ZÄS 88, 1962, 33–36.

<sup>72</sup> Rössler, in: Christentum am Roten Meer I, 301, 306.

<sup>73</sup> G. Takács Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian, Vol. II, HdO 48/2, Leiden 1999, 270.

<sup>74</sup> Takács, Etymological Dictionary II, 61, 132, 140.

<sup>75</sup> Afroasiatic \*ylm ~ \*lm, according to Takács, Etymological Dictionary II, 62.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. D. Stefanovic, *ḏʒmw* in the Middle Kingdom, in: Lingua Aegyptia 15, 2007, 217–229.

	<i>Semitic:</i>	<i>Egyptian:</i>
*yulum- “young man, young slave, child”	*y-l-m “young person”	*y-l-m: <i>d3m</i> “offspring; youths; generation”
	*y-l-m “sexually mature”	*y-l-m: (1) <i>hnm</i> * “to treat lovingly” (2) <i>j3m</i> “to be amiable”

In this way we have gained an Egyptian doublet *d3m* with semantics close to Semitic *ḡulām-* / *ʿūlaymū* / *ʿelem*, “young person”; furthermore, a doublet *j3m* “pleasant” for *hnm* “friendly”; their semantics can be seen in relationship to that of Semitic \*y-l-m “sexually mature.”

What the Semitic evidence adds to the picture of Egyptian *hnm(s)* “friend” is a certain sexual connotation which may also be present in the Egyptian, although not having been noted till now. On the other hand it seems conceivable that we have to do with two different roots; one, “young person” (like *d3m*), the other, “love” (like *hnm*), “sexual lust” (like Arabic *ḡulmat-*). From this linguistic background, and based on the level of attestations on the Middle Kingdom private monuments, it may be suggested that the term *hnms(t)* was used as a socially acceptable designation for intimate friendship, with or without sexual connotation.



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