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The Inscriptions of Sety I at Al-Kanais/Wadi Mia

Part II



dd.in hm.f m.k iry.n ntr sprwt.i



[bssw] *n.i mw hr dww*



dr ntrw w3t ksn.ti sndm.ti hft nsyt.i



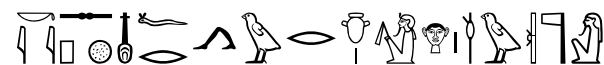
3h i3dwt n mniw



skb wsh t3 nswt m pr-^c



zp nb wn bw rh.tw.f di [...] hr.i



ky zp nfr iw r ib.i hr wd ntr



m r-^c grg nwt iw hnw m hnw.s



špss dmi hr(i) hwt-ntr



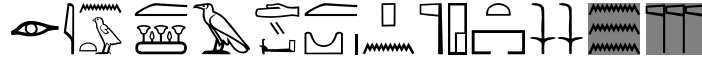
iw.i r kd hnt m st tn hr rn itiw [ntrw]



k3 di.sn mn irrwt.i rwd rn.i phrw hr h^cswt



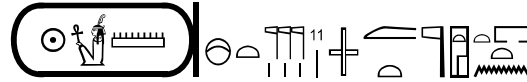
h^c.n wd.n hm.f rdit m hr n hrp n nswt k3wt hn^c.f m hrwt-ntr



ir.in.tw m š3d m dw pn hwt-ntr [nn n ntrw]



imn im.s r^c m hnw.s pth wsir m hwt-^c3t.s hrw ist



MN-M^cT-R^c psdt ntrw imt hwt-ntr tn



ir m-ht mnkw mnnw.s ikr irw zh3w.f



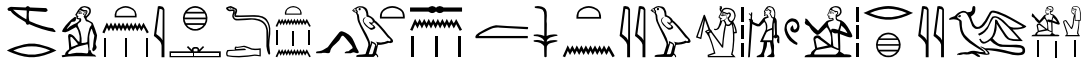
iw.in hm.f r dw3 itiw [ntrw] nbw dd.f i.nd hr.tn ntrw wrw



grgw pt t3 n ib.sn hsy.tn wi r r^c nhh



sddw.tn rn.i dt mi 3h.i mi nfr.i n.tn mi nhs.i hr hrt(.tn)



mr.tn ih dd.tn n iwt.sn m (n)sywt sriw rhyt



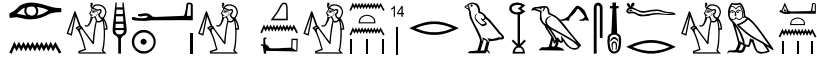
smnti.sn n.i irwt.i hr st hr hwt.i m 3bdw



nfr irr hr r n ntr p3-wnn bw h3.n.sn shrw.f



dd ds.tn iry.tw hr.tn hr nti ntn n3 (n) nbw



ir.n.i ḥ(w).i kn.i n.tn r wh3 snfr.i m di.tn



imi mn n.i mnw.i iw rn.i dd.w hr.sn



ntr nfr nb t3wi MN-M3T-Rḥ z3 rḥ nb ḥ(w) STY mr.n pth di ḥnh dd w3s nhbt ḥdt nhn ḥdt nhn

C



(n)swt-bit(i) MN-M3T-Rḥ z3 rḥ STY mr.n pth dd.f



hr itiw.f (n)sywt nbw bitiw ḥk3w rhyt



i sdm n.i pwt-pdwt t3-mri



k3 sdm n.tn kt-ḥ(t)



i hi k3.tn mi mr.n.i



db3.tw zp.tn m mitt ntn pw mi ntrw



ḥbs.tw nb m psdt ntrw



dd.n.i nn n hr hn n3y.i k3wrw n i(w)-nbw r ḥwt-ntr.i

rdit.w hr st3 n hwt.i [...r pr].i

rdit.w hr st3 n hwt.i [...r pr].i

ir nbw h'w ntrw bn nsi hrwt.tn

ir nbw h'w ntrw bn nsi hrwt.tn

z3w dd.tn ddw.n r' m š3'.f n mdw inm.i m nbw w3b

z3w dd.tn ddw.n r' m š3'.f n mdw inm.i m nbw w3b

hr immn p3 nb hwt-ntr.i r[s...]

hr immn p3 nb hwt-ntr.i r[s...]

irti.fi hr hwt.f bn mr.sn sd3 m hrwt.sn

irti.fi hr hwt.f bn mr.sn sd3 m hrwt.sn

z3w tn r thn r(m)t.w hr nti r.f st mi dpyw

z3w tn r thn r(m)t.w hr nti r.f st mi dpyw

m [irw] ršt [...] ir thh zp n ky hpr n.f phwi m irr mitt

m [irw] ršt [...] ir thh zp n ky hpr n.f phwi m irr mitt

hd.tw mnw n hd

hd.tw mnw n hd

bw mn zp n grgy

bw mn zp n grgy

nhtw (n)sw(t) [m3't...sh]t

nhtw (n)sw(t) [m3't...sh]t

rdit rh.tn sr.n.i w3w r swd3 tn

rdit rh.tn sr.n.i w3w r swd3 tn

Grammar Points



dd.in hm.f m.k iry.n ntr sprwt.i

In the pharaoh's speech the verb + object combination *iry sprt* "grant wish/request/ petition" is used again with the circumstantial *sdm.n.f*/perfect of *iry*. The *y* ending in *iry* is a Late Egyptian feature and has no grammatical function. (Note that *iry.n* cannot be a relative form because in that case it should be attributive perfect. No such special ending is attested in the perfect except gender and number and except sometimes *w* in New Kingdom texts. In any case, the passage would then be in wrong word order and the correct order should be: **m.k sprwt.i irw.n ntr*, lit. "Look, my requests that (which) the god has granted." *iry* cannot be passive either.) Finally, note the switch from singular to plural in *sprt*.



[*bssw*] *n.i mw hr dww*

The damaged text is conjectured to contain the passive of the 3ae-inf. verb *bsi* "flow forth" (water). With reference to the previous sentence, it can be translated in active voice with subject "god" again: "god made water come forth for me..." The preposition *hr* should clearly mean here "from."



dr ntrw w3t ksn.ti sndm.ti hft nsyt.i

There is a beautiful (ABBA) symmetry (defying the usual word order) in this sentence contrasting the past *dr ntrw* "since (the time of) the gods" and the present *hft nsyt.i* "my kingship/reign." These adverbial phrases embrace two subject-stative constructions sharing the same subject *w3t* "way." The predicates employed are the 3-lit. adjective-verb *ksn* "difficult" and the caus. 3-lit. *sndm* "make pleasant, sweeten." Note the contrast between the intransitive and transitive use of the statives with active and passive meanings.



3h i3dwt n mniw

This is a simple adjectival sentence with predicate *ḥ* “beneficial, profitable.” Note that, as the cattle determinative suggests, the usual meaning of the noun *ḥdt* “tract of land” should be upgraded to “pasture.”



skb wsh ḥ nswt m pr-c

The (second) scroll determinative suggests that the 3-lit. adjective-verb *wsh* “broad, wide” is an adjective functioning here as a noun: “breath.” It is the first part of the direct genitive *wsh ḥ* which Gunn and Gardiner translate as “the breath of the land.” The (ungeminated) caus. 2ae-gem. verb *skbb* “refresh” (oneself) (not the transitive caus. 3-lit. verb *skbh* “refresh”) is passive; a typical construction as the subject is not a personal pronoun. (If it is, the stative would be more suitable.) The following adverb clause can be introduced by “when,” and it contains an adverbial sentence of identity (*m* of predication) in which the noun phrase *pr-c* means “be active.”



zp nb wn bw rh.tw.f di [...] hr.i

Among the many meanings of the noun *zp* we need here “deed” or “act.” It is modified by the perfective active participle *wn* which is used (instead of *nti*) to introduce a relative clause. The particle *bw* is a Late Egyptian negation (usually) replacing the Middle Egyptian *n(i)*. The 2-lit. verb *rh* “learn, know” is in negated indicative/perfective *sdm.f*. In fact, the negated indicative/perfective *ni rh.f* means “he did not learn,” so he doesn’t know, therefore with the impersonal pronoun *tw* it is transformed into passive voice: *ni rh.tw.f* “it has not been known.” The suffix pronoun *.f* refers back to *zp*. The whole phrase has the literal meaning: “every deed/act that existed (it) not (being) known” or simply “every deed/act that has been unknown.”

There is a lacuna (damaged text) between *di* “let” and *hr.i* “by me,” and one may conjecture the pharaoh’s claim: god let him do every unknown deeds.



ky zp nfr iw(.w) r ib.i hr wd ntr m r-c grg nwt iw hnw m hnw.s

The previous general statement with *zp nb* “every deed” is exemplified here using a subject-stative construction with subject *ky zp nfr* “another good deed” focusing on the pharaoh’s current plan. The stative of the anom. verb *iw* “come” claims that the plan was conceived by the pharaoh himself. Divine influence is acknowledged however, using the adverbial phrase: *hr wd ntr* “by god’s command.” The compound *m r-^c* is usually at the end of a sentence (or a word) to which it refers. It is an adverbial phrase meaning “yet, also.” In the text the construction *ky zp...m r-^c* is like the English phrase “yet another...”

The current plan is now detailed using the infinitive of the 3-lit. verb *grg* “found, establish.” The object is *nwt* “town,” and the adverb clause (introduced by the particle *iw*) asserts the town’s main function. The choice of noun *hnw* is interesting. With the enclosure determinative, its literal meaning is “stopping place” but it can designate general “dwelling” and also “sanctuary/chapel.” Gunn and Gardiner translate this accordingly as “abode.”



špss dmi hr(i) hwt-ntr

This is a simple adjectival sentence with predicate the 3ae-gem. adjective-verb *špss* “fine, noble” functioning as a true adjective. The presence of the double stokes before the scroll determinative is a Late Egyptian writing feature. The prepositional nisbe *hri* “(one) which has,” lit. “(one) which is under,” indicates possession.



iw.i r ḳd hnt m st tn hr rn itiw [ntrw]


The particle *iw* introduces a typical *r* + infinitive construction indicating intentional, planned action that has not happened at the time of speaking. The prepositional phrase *hr rn* appeared previously. Note that the plural *itiw* of *iti* “father” means “forefathers.”



k3 di.sn mn irrwt.i rwd rn.i phrw hr h^cswt

After the particle *k3* the verb form *di* is prospective/subjunctive *s_{dm}.f* (not noun + circumstantial/subject-imperfective *k3.f s_{dm}.f* written as **k3.sn di.sn*)¹ and the suffixed pronoun *.sn* refers to the previously stated forefathers and the gods. The prospective

¹ See Allen (19.6.3) and (20.9.2).

/subjunctive indicates future consequence (and not just a subsequent action). The presence of the pestle and mortar  is interesting. It is usually present as the determinative of the caus. 2-lit verb *smn* “make firm, endure,” but here it is part of the determinative of the 2-lit. verb *mn* “firm, established, enduring,” and the causative is expressed by a *rdi* + prospective/subjunctive construction. Preference to this latter construction for verbs that have causative roots is a later feature of the language, and here the transition is shown by the presence of the pestle determinative.

irrw.t.i “(those) that I have made” is an imperfective relative form of the 3ae-inf. verb *iri* referring to the king’s deeds. The 3-lit adjective-verb *rwd* “firm” is also prospective /subjunctive and finally *phrw* “(those that) go around” is a perfective plural participle and this mildly convoluted composition can be simplified by translating it as “throughout.”



ḥḥ.n wd.n ḥm.f rdit m ḥr n ḥrp n nswt k3wt ḥnḥ.f m hrwt-ntr

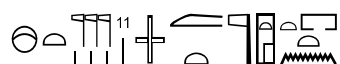
This passage has simple grammar. In a typical situation, the circumstantial *sdm.n.f*/perfect expressing past tense is introduced by *ḥḥ.n* “then.” The phrase *rdi m ḥr* (with the infinitive of the anom. verb *rdi*) means “command, give directions,” and the title *ḥrp n nswt k3wt* stands for the “controller/leader of the royal workers.”

Finally, the phrase *hrt-ntr* “the place where god is,” usually means “necropolis.” The seated man determinative however clearly suggests that this phrase intends to designate the people who work there: the “stone cutters, quarry workers” (and the preposition *m* is not “in” but introduces identity).



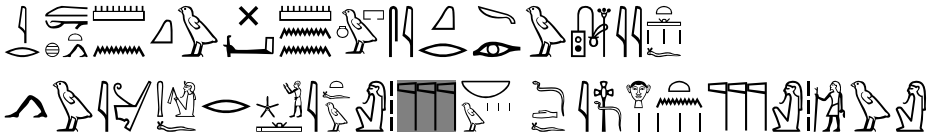
ir.in.tw m š3d m dw pn ḥwt-ntr [nn n ntrw]

The *sdm.in.f* verb form with *iri* “made” indicates subsequent action and the impersonal suffix pronoun *tw* converts the active into passive voice. The 3-lit verb *š3d* means “dig (out),” so that the literal meaning is: “then one made by digging.” The rest of the sentence is clear.



imn im.s r^c m hnw.s pth wsir m hwt-^c3t.s hrw ist MN-M³T-R^c
psdt ntrw imt hwt-ntr tn

The divinities dwelling in the temple are listed here. Amun, Re, Horus, Isis and the pharaoh himself have generic whereabouts but Ptah and (appropriately) Osiris are placed in *hwt-^c3t* “the great hall.”



ir m-ht mnkw mnnw.s ikr irw zh₃w.f
iw.in hm.fr dw₃ itiw ntrw nbw dd.f i.nd hr.tn ntrw wrw

The construction *ir m-ht ...sdm.in.f* has already appeared twice in this text. As discussed previously, the initial particle *ir* introduces an adverb clause and topicalizes.

It appears that *mnkw* “has been completed” and *irw* “has been made” are both passive *sdm.f*, a rare construction.² The first has subject *mnnw* “monument, fortress.” It has a suffix pronoun *.s* referring to the Ennead and a modifier *ikr* “excellent, superior.” The second’s subject is , a variant spelling of *zh₃w* “inscriptions, writings,” and the suffix pronoun *.f* refers to the monument.

dd.f “he says” is circumstantial/imperfective *sdm.f*. The phrase *i.nd hr* + suffix pronoun means “hail to,” and it is imperative derived from the 2-lit verb *nd* “inquire.” (As noted above, *i.* is a typical prefix for 2-lit verbs in the imperative.) As the complement *w*

(in graphic transposition) shows is for *wr* “great, chief.”



grgw pt t₃ n ib.sn hsy.tn wi r r-^c nh_h

The previous noun phrase *ntrw wrw* “great gods” is modified here by the perfective participle of the 3-lit. verb *grg* “found, establish” in which the plural strokes indicate the plural of the governing noun. The preposition *n* indicates goal: *ib*, which itself is not heart but “desire,” and with a bit of stretch “joy, pleasure.” (A good comparison is the phrase *n ib n* “for the sake of”).

The 3ae-inf. verb *hzi* “bless, favor” is prospective/subjunctive *sdm.f* with final

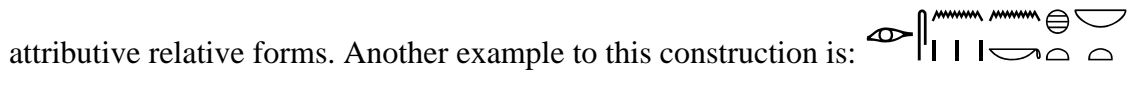
² Gardiner (§423.3).

double reef which is typical for this verb-class. The compound preposition *r r-^c* “beside, near” occurred previously. Compare this with the phrase *r-^c nb-r-dr³* “beside the lord of the universe.”⁴

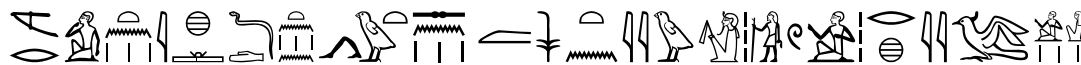

sdd.tn rn.i dt mi 3h.i mi nfr.i n.tn mi nhs.i hr hrt(.tn)

The caus. 2-lit. verb *sdd* ‘make permanent, perpetuate’ is prospective/subjunctive *sdm.f* and the writing (the extra *w*) reflects Late Egyptian style.

Why the pharaoh requests the gods to make his name immortal is given in three adverb clauses, each introduced by the preposition *mi* “as.” The 2-lit. adjective-verb *3h* “effective,” the 3-lit. adjective-verb *nfr* “good, beautiful,” and the 4ae-inf. verb *nhsi* “wake, to keep watch, vigil” are all objects of this preposition and as such they are non-

attributive relative forms. Another example to this construction is: 
*ir.sn n.k ht nbt nfrt r-^c nb mi mrr b3k im.*⁵

The final adverbial phrase *hr hrwt* contains the feminine of the nisbe *hri* literally means “what is near, what belongs to” and here it can be translated as “interest, concern, affair.” The suffix pronoun *.tn* is missing as it is clear from the passage.


mr.tn ih dd.tn n iwt.sn m (n)sywt sriw rhyt

The predicate of the short main clause is the prospective/subjunctive *sdm.f* of the 3ae-inf. verb *mri* and *ih* marks the following noun clause as its object. This subordinate clause contains yet another prospective/subjunctive *dd.tn* pointing to future action, lit. “they (the gods) wish that they would speak (to).”

The preposition *n* governs the perfective relative form *iwt.sn* “those who will come” of the anom. verb *iw* and the *m* of predication gives the list: kings, officials, and common people.


smnti.sn n.i irwt.i hr st hr hwt.i m 3bdw

³ [Urk. IV, 62, 6]

⁴ Gardiner (§178).

⁵ Allen (25.3).

The characteristic stem ending *-ti* clearly identifies *smnti.sn* as a prospective participle, lit. “who shall confirm.” Its antecedent is the previous list of people and its object is the perfective relative form *irwt.i* “what I have done.”

In the adverbial phrase *hr st* the preposition should be interpreted as “holding” or “possessing” and the noun as “position, throne, seat.” The location of the royal seat is *3bdw* “Abydos.”



nfr irr hr r n ntr p3-wnn bw h3.n.sn shrw.f

This passage starts with the main clause with adjectival predicate *nfr* and the subject is the imperfective active participle *irr* “who acts.” The prepositional phrase *hr r n ntr* has clear meaning “on the word of god.”

In Late Egyptian the particle *p3-wn/p3-wnn* coordinates independent sentences, and it is usually at the head of an adverb clause that explains or justifies why the previous main clause is true. It plays the same role as “for” in English. As noted previously, *bw* is the Late Egyptian negative particle *ni*. It is used here to negate the circumstantial *sdm.n.f* /perfect of the 3ae-inf. verb *h3i* “fall,” which as the evil bird determinative suggests should mean “fail.” The construction *ni h3.n.sn* expresses negation of ability: “they cannot fail.”

The subject, expressed first by the suffix pronoun *.sn* is made more specific in the attached phrase *shrw.f* “his plans.” The whole adverb clause (justifying why one who acts on god’s words should be good/happy) could have been stated as **ni h3.n shrw.f* “his plans cannot fail.”



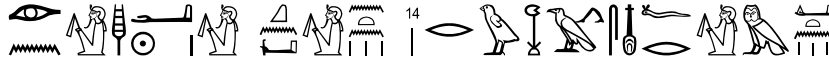
dd ds.tn iry.tw hr.tn hr nti ntn n3 (n) nbw

dd “speak” is imperative and the plural strokes indicate that the exclamation is addressed to several persons (actually gods). There occurs here an interesting use of the reflexive pronoun *ds* “self” along with the 2PL suffix pronoun *.tn*. The phrase *ds.tn* has the literal meaning “you yourselves,” and since the pharaoh asks the gods to speak, it should mean “your word(s).”

The prospective/subjunctive *iry.tw* of *iri* (which, being a weak verb, receives the *y* ending) with the passive converter *tw* continues the imperative: “(and) you will be acted

on.”

The following adverb clause is introduced by *hr nti*, a late form of *hr ntt* “for, because.” It introduces a nominal sentence with subject, a not too frequently appearing 2PL independent pronoun *nttn* (late form of *nttn*).



ir.n.i ḥ(w).i kn.i n.tn r wh3 snfr.i m di.tn

The 3ae-inf. verb *iri* not only means “make, do” but also “pass (time),” and it is circumstantial *sdm.n.f*/perfect to express completed action, not past tense. Its object *ḥw* means “lifetime,” and the following adverb clause the 3ae-inf. adjective-verb *kni* “diligent, brave, persevering” is circumstantial/imperfective *sdm.f*.

The following purpose clause uses an *r* + infinitive construction with the 3-lit. verb *wh3* “seek.” The object is the relative form of the caus. 3-lit. verb *snfr* “cause/make good/beautiful” and the literal translation “what causes me good” can be simplified to “my well-being.”

Since this comes from the gods, the preposition *m* should mean “from.” It governs the non-attributive relative form *di.tn* “what you give” of *rdi* “give.”



imi mn n.i mnw.i iw rn.i dd.w hr.sn

Once again the pharaoh addresses several gods and this is reflected in the plural strokes in the Late Egyptian writing of the imperative *imi* “make, give.” In a typical construction, the imperative is followed by the 2-lit verb *mn* “firm, established, enduring” in prospective /subjunctive *sdm.f* expressing wish.

The particle *iw* introduces the second sentence with a simple grammar. The predicate is the 3ae-inf. adjective-verb *ddi* “stable, enduring, lasting” appearing in a subject-stative construction.



ntr nfr nb t3wi MN-M3T-Rc z3 r nb ḥw STY mr.n pth di ḥ dd w3s nhbt ḥdt nhn ḥdt nhn

This part of the text ends with repeating the names and typical epithets of the pharaoh.

nhbt is the vulture goddess Nekhbet appearing here with the White Crown *ḥdt* of Upper

Egypt (which she is identified with). She is the protector deity of *nḥn* “Nekhen” (ancient Hierakonpolis, the modern el-Kab)

C



(*n*)swt-bit(*i*) MN-M³T-R^c z³ r^c STY mr.n pth dd.f




hr itiw.f (*n*)sywt nbw bitiw *hk3w rhyt*




i sdm n.i pwt-pdwt t3-mri


The phrase *nsywt nbw* “all the kings of Upper Egypt” is spelled out here separately from *bitiw* “the kings of Lower Egypt” followed by the generic term *hk3* “rulers” in direct genitive with “subjects.”

The interjection *i* “oh!” introduces the pharaoh’s speech in a poem. The 3-lit. verb *sdm* “listen” is imperative and the plural strokes indicate that several people are addressed.

The expected vocative is the plural of the noun phrase  *pt-pdt* “troop commander, captain” or “leader” as it is the first part of a direct genitive with *t3-mri*, lit. “land of the

hoe,” Egypt. Note that *pt-pdt* (in singular) also appears on a statue of  Inebni⁶

when he lists his titles: 

In *t3-mri*, the sign  is just a determinative, typical for words ending with *ri*, and the twin location emphasizes the united Upper and Lower Egypt.



k3 sdm n.tn kt-h(t)

The construction *k3* + subjunctive *sdm.f* is employed here to indicate future consequence: “then others will listen...” The apparent adjective *ky* “other” is in plural *kiwi* but when it stands alone it is written as *kt-h(t)*.

⁶ British Museum; see also [Urk. IV, 465, 3].



i hi k3.tn mi mr.n.i

The previously used interjection *i* is combined here with another: *hi* “hail!” These are direct quotations as indicated by the following parenthetic *k3.tn* “you shall say.”

In the following unmarked noun clause, the preposition *mi* governs the non-attributive perfect relative form of *mri* in a typical construction, lit. “as I desire.”



db3.tw zp.tn m mitt ntn pw mi ntrw

The prospective/subjunctive *sdm.f* of the 3-lit verb *db3/db3* “replace,” here “repay, recompense” expresses future result. Along with the impersonal suffix pronoun as subject and *zp.tn* “your deeds” as object the clause has a clear meaning, lit. “one shall repay...”

The adverbial phrase *m mitt* “likewise” (with *mitt* a feminine nisbe) introduces an A *pw* B nominal sentence with clear meaning: “you are like gods.”



hbs.tw nb m psdt ntrw

The prospective/subjunctive *sdm.f* with the impersonal suffix pronoun *tw* continues using the 3-lit. verb *hbs* “count,” lit. “one shall account.” The object *nb* is the sovereign as the seated king determinative shows.


Finally, as noted previously, *psdt ntrw* is the “gods in the Ennead.”

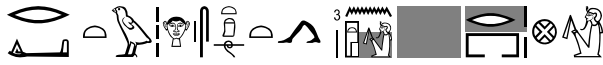


dd.n.i nn n hr hn n3y.i k3wrw n i'w-nbw r hwt-ntr.i


The circumstantial *sdm.n.f*/perfect of *dd* with object *nn n* (*mdw*) introduces the pharaoh’s speech: “I have spoken these (words).” The content is expressed by a *hr* + infinitive construction indicating that *hr hn*, lit. “upon commanding/appointing” was in progress while the pharaoh was making his speech. (Note that the causative *shn* of the 2-lit. verb *hn* “command, appoint” appeared previously.)

n3i + suffix pronoun is a Late Egyptian possessive article related to the late Middle Egyptian construction *n3y.i* (*n*) + plural (in spoken language) also expressing possessive.

k3wr is a variant spelling of  *kwr* or *kr* “miner” and it is written alternatively as a plural and as a masculine collective noun.⁷ Along with the second part of the indirect genitive the phrase *k3wr n iꜥw-nbw* means “miners of washing of gold.” (Due to its ending, the noun *iꜥw* “washing” is not the infinitive of the 3ae-inf. verb *iꜥi* “wash,” though clearly related to it).






rdit.w hr st3 n hwt.i [...r] pr.i

Following the interpretation of Gunn and Gardiner the Late Egyptian 3PL suffix pronoun  *.w* (in place of *.sn*) is the object of the infinitive of *rdi*, lit. “causing them.” (This use of the suffix pronoun is a bit rare as it appears mostly with prepositions and after the particle *iw*.) Lichtheim however reads this as *rdi.tw* and interprets *tw* as the impersonal suffix pronoun (attached to the perfective of *rdi*), thereby having passive meaning: “they are appointed.” (Note that the construction *rdit.tw* is extremely rare, hence unlikely.⁸)

st3 is a variant of the 3-lit verb *st3* “draw, bring, transport.” In the damaged text one can guess that *hwt.i* continues with *m 3bdw* as before and the rest should refer to gold supply, the principal purpose of making a well: “causing them to transport to my temple [in Abydos...gold] to my house.”



ir nbw hꜥw ntrw bn nsi hrwt.tn

The particle *ir* marks the topicalization of the noun phrase *nbw hꜥw ntrw* “gold, the  body/flesh of the gods.” The negative particle *bn* is the Late Egyptian variant of  *nn* used here in place of  *ni*. It introduces an adjectival sentence of possession: *ni* A B with A being the dependent pronoun *si* (contracted with *ni* as *nsi=n(i)-si* “it belongs”) and B is *hrwt.tn* “your concern.” As Lichtheim notes, the meaning of this passage is that gold is exclusively for the use of the gods.



⁷ See the Kubban Stela of Ramesses II, l. 10; also the tomb of Paheri in el-Kab.

⁸ See Gardiner (§306).

z3w dd.tn ddw.n r^c m š3^c.fn mdw inm.i m nbw w3b

Based on its meaning *z3w* “beware, guard” is imperative. In a typical construction it governs a noun clause in which the action is given by the prospective/subjunctive *sdm.f* of *dd*. It can be literally translated as: “beware that you say,” or “beware of saying” (with the suffixed subject pronoun suppressed). Another good example to this construction is from

the Eloquent Peasant:  *z3w s3t.k iti-mh(i) h3r im.*

The (masculine plural) perfect relative form in *ddw.n X* “(those) which X said” is easily recognizable. *š3^c* is a 3-lit. verb “begin” but also a noun “beginning” and the latter is used in an indirect genitive with *mdw* “speech.” The god’s statement is an adverbial sentence of identity with subject *inm* “skin:” “My skin is pure gold.”



hr inm p3 nb hwt-ntr.i r[...]

The particle *hr* (here “for, because”) marks an adverb clause indicating an inevitable result. The subject is clearly readable “Amun, the lord of my temple...” In view of the subsequent passage, Lichtheim suggests the completion of the lacuna with: “...will punish the transgressors.”



irti.fi hr hwt.f bn mr.sn sd3 m hrwt.sn

Yet another adverbial sentence here describes how Re protects his belongings.





Once again the Late Egyptian negative particle *bn* is used in place for *nn* and the verb *mri* is prospective/subjunctive *sdm.f* expressing future negation, and the suffixed subject *.sn* refers to the gods. The verb *sd3* “misuse” is probably caus. 2-lit., and it may be related to the noun *d3(y)t* (with the evil bird determinative) “transgression, wrong(doing).”



z3w tn r thn r(m)t.w hr nti r.f.st mi [dpyw]

The pharaoh’s warnings continue with yet another use of the imperative of *z3w*. Its object is the following noun clause with subject the 2PL dependent pronoun *tn*, and pseudo-

⁹ [Peas. B1, 268-269]

verbal predicate using the 3-lit. verb *thn* “injure:” “Beware (that) you injure their people.” (As noted above, a standard Middle Egyptian construction would use *z3w* + prospective *sdm.f*/subjunctive **z3w thn.tn rmt.sn.*) The verb *thn* usually appears with the determinative  with the obvious meaning of injuring the eye. It is doubtless related to the 3ae-inf. verb *thi* which is written (as here) with the determinatives  . (Note again the Late Egyptian 3PL suffix pronoun  .w in place of .sn.)

The phrase *hr nti* (for *hr ntt*) “for, because” introduces another noun clause with adverbial predicate. The particle *r:f* is for emphasis (and can be translated as “indeed”) and the subject *st* “they” is the subject form of the personal pronoun: “because they are indeed like crocodiles.”



m [irw] ršt [...] ir thh zp n ky hpr n.f phwi m irr mitt


The standard way of negating the imperative in the New Kingdom is shown here with a three-part construction: *m* “do not” + the negational complement of *iri* + a verbal noun. The latter is *ršt* “rejoicing” clearly related to the 3ae-inf. verb *rši*, *ršw* “delight, rejoice.”

After the lacuna *ir* once again topicalizes *thh zp n ky* in which *thh* is an imperfective active participle “who damages” (the transitive use of the 3ae-inf. verb *thi* “violate, damage”). The object is an indirect genitive with first part *zp* “deed, act” and second part *ky* “another,” lit. “he who damages the deed of another.”

hpr is used as the passive counterpart of *iri* “do, make.” With the dative and the adverb *phwi* the literal meaning is: “done to him at the end.” Note that Middle Egyptian requires *f* as a reference to the topicalized noun phrase which *hpr* modifies. As another

example:  ¹⁰ *sn irr(w) hn.f*.

Finally, in *m irr mitt* the preposition *m* “as” governs an imperfective passive participle of *iri* used as a noun. Once again, the literal meaning is: “as that which is done

(likewise).” Yet another example to this to this construction is:  ¹¹ *mi irr n ntr*.

¹⁰ Allen, (23.15).

¹¹ [Sh.S. 147]



hd.tw mnw n hd

The will of the pharaoh is spelled out by the passive form of the prospective/subjunctive *sdm.f* (with the impersonal pronoun *tw*) and (the transitive use of) the 3ae-inf. verb *hdi* “destroy, injure.” This verb form is particularly fitting here as the prospective/subjunctive is often used to express voluntary future. The object is an indirect genitive with first part *mnw* “monuments” and in a beautiful symmetry the second part returns to *hd* this time in a perfective active participle “(one) who destroys.”



bw mn zp n grgy

Negated emphatic prospective *sdmw.f*/prospective expressing inevitability starts this simple sentence using the verb *mn* “firm, established, enduring” and subject, an indirect genitive *zp n grgy* “deeds of a liar.” Gunn and Gardiner note that the deeds here must refer to iconoclasm.



nhtw (n)sw(t) [m3ct...sh]t

The damaged text is probably an AB nominal sentence in which A is *nhtw nswt* “strength of the king” and B is *m3ct* “Maat.”



rdit rh.tn sr.n.i w3w r swd3 tn

A *rdi* + prospective/subjunctive *sdm.f* construction with *rdi* in infinitive and the 2-lit. verb *rh* “know” in prospective/subjunctive has the literal meaning “to let you know.”

The following unmarked noun clause employs the perfect of the 2-lit. verb *sr* “foretell, predict.” The adverb *w3w* “(from) afar” is doubtless related to the 3ae-inf. verb *w3i* “far.” Finally an *r* + infinitive construction employing the caus. 3-lit. verb *swd3* “keep safe” expresses purpose: “I foretell (from) afar (so as) to keep you safe.”