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

Part III
hr ir sri nb nti iw.f r spr (n)swt

hn³ ntf dit(i.f ) sh³ nfr r smnt ir.i hr rn.i

di ntr im³hy.f tp t³ ph(wi).fi htp.w m zi n k³.f

hr ir sri nb nti sw r stkn ib pn n nb.f

r nhm hsbw r (r)dit.w hr ky sdf m shrw n mt(r)w bin

iw.f n nsrt tk³.s h⁵w.(f ) n ³ht wnm.s ³wt.f

hr nti ir.n hm.i nn n r dr.sn n k³.sn n³ (n) nbw hwt.i

bw.n ntr th r(m)t.f

bw tm.n.f "n(n) drt hd

wpw hr wnn p³ k³wrw n i⁵w-nbw

ir.n.i r t³ hwt M⁵N-M⁵T-R⁵ h(wi) m⁵(r).w(i)

mn h⁵m.tw n.f in r(m)t nb nti m t³ r dr.f

in pt-pdt nb n p³ nbw in rwḏ nb n h³st
A somewhat repetitive text with easy grammar relates that the pharaoh appointed (using the verb *iri*) a new staff of gold-washers. After the lacuna, the adverbial phrase *hr hw.i* “except me” emphasizes the king’s sole role.

Once again, the grammar is repetitive here. We already met the phrase *n mrwt* “in order that,” lit. “for the love of”¹ (with the preposition *m* instead of *n*). In standard Middle Egyptian it is followed by a non-attributive relative form or, less frequently, an infinitive. It is the first case here: *mnti.sn* “they remain.”

As also noted previously, the prepositional phrase *hr.i* “for me” indicates possession, lit. “with (lit. under) me.”

Negated indicative/perfective *sdm.f* of the 3ae-inf. verb *ini* “bring, take” expresses completed action. (Sometimes the negated circumstantial *sdm.n.f*/perfect of *ini* is written with one *n* sign, but as such it usually expresses inability and doesn’t fit here.) In view of what follows, the preposition *m* should mean “from.” It governs the plural noun *k3rw* “troops.”

¹ Gardiner (§181).
Lichtheim fills the long lacuna as: “to put them to this task. They and their dependents are…” After the lacuna, devotion to the task is emphasized using two m of predications. The staff members become msw “the children” of the pharaoh’s house and imidw “the dependents” of his temple.

\[ \text{ir (n)swt nb nti r hpr \ hn^e ntf sw3h irrt.i} \]

ir introduces a long noun phrase with conjunction A hnr B, the subject of the following (equally long) sentence.

The construction in A has occurred previously with a different subject: d3mw nb nti r hpr.

The second part is governed by the independent pronoun ntf “he” and it is modified by the perfective active participle sw3h “who causes to endure” of the causative of the 3-lit. verb w3h “last, remain.” In the imperfective relative form irrt.i2 “those which I made,” my deeds/acts” for short, the plural strokes are added for indicating the plurality of the king’s accomplishments.

\[ \text{r rdit mn [Hnt qAwrw n iaw-nbw m Hwt.i]} \]

iw.f Hr stA bAkw.f r tA Hwt MN-M5T-R^c

The next purpose clause is introduced by an r + infinitive construction and it details the duties of the future kings noted previously. The infinitive itself is the first part of a rdi + prospective /subjunctive sdm.f construction. The second part contains the 2-lit. verb mn “maintain” which already occurred previously. The noun hnt “business, services” (indicated only by the bilateral hnr) here means “appointment,” and the hypothetical filling of the eroded segment of the text once again points to the “troop of gold-washers.”

The only grammatical element that indicates subordination in the next (result) clause is the neuter 3MS suffix pronoun .f. It is used in Late Egyptian referring the general state of affairs, in our case, the entire enterprise. The verb st3 “bring, transport” already

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2 Allen (24.3.2).
appeared. Finally, depending on the interpretation $b3kw$ means “produce, work, revenues, taxes.”

Continuing the sentence, in a second purpose clause the next duty is spelled out with another $r +$ infinitive construction employing the 3ae-inf. verb $nbi$ “melt (metal), cast objects in metal.” The gold sign and the following object $\$m$ “image (of god)” (in plural) clearly points to “guild statues.”

Finally, the predicate of the main clause of the sentence is the prospective/subjunctive $sdm.f$ of $iri$. The subjects are the gods Amun, Re-Harakhti, Ptah, Tatenen (usually spelled as $\$$), Wenen-nefer (Osiris) … They will make the aforementioned kings (coreferenced by the suffix pronoun $.sn$) “endure, prosper” ($rwd$; prospective/subjunctive $sdm.f$ again as the object of $iri$).

A pair of prospective/subjunctive $sdm.f$ verb forms $hk3.sn$ “they shall rule” and $hd.b.sn$ “they shall slay” govern a pair of clauses here. (Gunn and Gardiner note that in place of $d$ the original $t$ is written over as $r$. They are both wrong probably because the original hieratic $d$ had been poorly made.)

The 3PL suffix pronoun $.sn$ refers to the kings who “are happy,” lit. “sweet of heart.”

Finally, $d3rti$ is the vague location “Red Land” (written in false dual) and $\$ti$ is “Nubia.”

|r nbi $\$m$.sn nbw
|ir imn $r^i-hrw-\$hti$ pth $t\$-nn$ w[nn-nfr.w …] rwd.sn|

\[\frac{\text{Continuing the sentence, in a second purpose clause the next duty is spelled out with another } r + \text{ infinitive construction employing the 3ae-inf. verb } nbi \text{ “melt (metal), cast objects in metal.”}}}{\text{The gold sign and the following object } \$m \text{ “image (of god)” (in plural) clearly points to “guild statues.”}}\]

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\[\frac{\text{The 3PL suffix pronoun } $.sn \text{ refers to the kings who “are happy,” lit. “sweet of heart.”}}{\text{Finally, } d3rti \text{ is the vague location “Red Land” (written in false dual) and } \$ti \text{ is “Nubia.”}}\]
The circumstantial/imperfective $sdm.f$ of $wnn$ (which uses the geminated stem) adds extra connotation of continuity to the stative of the intransitive 2-lit. verb $mn$ “endure, set, fixed, remain.” The ordinary subject-stative construction cannot express this connotation. The subject is the plural noun $k3w$ “provisions, food.” As another example:

$\text{\textcircled{3}}$ $wnn.f w^3r(w)$.

Based on context, the caus. 3-lit. verbs $sw3h$ “set, make endure” and $ss3i$ “satisfy” are both prospective/subjunctive $sdm.f$ verb forms. The suffix pronoun $f$ is a generic reference to $k3w.sn$ and $df3w.sn$.

Divine attention is expressed by continued prospective/subjunctive of $sdm$: “Re will hear…” $tm.sn dd$ is negated prospective/subjunctive (with missing suffixed subject $sn$ as it is clear from the context) in which $tm$ is prospective/subjunctive and it is followed by the negatival complement $dd$, lit. “they will not say.” This construction is used in dependent clauses; unfortunately, the lacuna hides the main clause.

The particle $h3$ “if only, I wish” introduces a sentence with adverbial predicate the dative $n.i$, indicating possession: “I wish I had!” lit. “if only for me.” As another example:

$\text{\textcircled{4}}$ $ni dd.i h3 n.i r ht nbt.$

$hr ir (n)swt nb nti r hpr sh\text{\textcircled{1}}nt(i).f s\text{\textcircled{2}}rw.i nb hn^c ntf dd$

$hr ir$ is a double marker for topicalization. The initial particle $hr$ allows the prepositional phrase $ir nswt nb nti r hpr$ to stand at the beginning of a sentence, and the preposition $ir$ also marks topicalization (of the noun phrase that follows). In English this can be reflected by translating $hr ir$ “as for.” The verb $shnn$ is a variant of $shnn$ “demolish” and it may be of caus. 3-lit. class derived from the 3-lit. verb $hnn$ “destroy, disturb.” Here it is clearly a prospective participle “who shall disturb/destroy/subvert.”

The independent pronoun + infinitive construction $ntf dd$ lit. “Him saying” is an infrequent construction in which $ntf$ is the agent of the action expressed by the infinitive.

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3 Kahun, pl. 34, 19-21, in Allen (20.17).
4 Urk. IV, 61, 1
5 Gardiner (§123).
t5w r-ht.i  ink sn  mi wn.sn hr.f  zp ksn hr-ib ntrw

The malefactor’s hypothetical speech starts with an adverbial sentence in which the compound preposition r-ht “under the authority of,” lit. “under the staff of” indicates possession.⁶

As noted by Gunn and Gardiner, ink sn, lit. “mine are they” is an Egyptian idiom.⁷

The perfective relative form of wnn used non-attributively allows the following clause (with the adverbial predicate hr.f) to act as the object of the governing preposition mi, lit. “like they were under him,” once again indicating possession. This ends the hypothetical speech.

Divine judgment is expressed in the last A pw nominal sentence (with pw missing):

*zp pw ksn hr-ib ntrw “(It is) an evil deed among the gods.”

m.k tw.tw r wšb.f m iwnw m ntsn d3d3t

The pharaoh’s response, his threat is introduced by the particle m.k “look, behold.” It is a syntactically adverbial sentence with subject tw.tw (the impersonal form of the subject pronoun, characteristic of New Kingdom) followed by an r + infinitive construction pointing to inevitability. Passive voice can be used for the translation: “he is being answered,” lit. “one is answering him.”

iwnw is Heliopolis, the seat of the gods, where punishments are meted out.

The preposition m governs a circumstantial clause of nominal AB type. A is the 3PL independent pronoun ntsn and B is d3d3t “magistrates, assessors.”

[…] ir.sn wšb hr hwt.w

After the lacuna Gardiner uses the literal translation of the verb-object compound iri wšb “make answer.” The verb itself is prospective/subjunctive sdm.f and in the attached prepositional phrase hr should mean “on account, for the sake of.”

dšr sn mi bsw n sdt n snwh.sn h5w.sn tmw sdm n.i

⁶ Gardiner (§178).
The pharaoh’s threat continues with an adjectival sentence. As such it has no inherent tense but here context clearly points to future: dšr sn “they will be red.” Comparison is introduced by the preposition mi and it may be noted that the following descriptive noun phrase bsw n sdt “firebrand” also appears in the poetical stela of Thutmose III.

Although the caus. 3-lit. verb snwx “burn up, boil” (prospective/subjunctive sDm.f again) is not attested to apply to human bodies, hʾw “body, flesh” clearly points to this use. The latter is the first part of the object, a direct genitive with second part tmw sdm, a negated participle “those who do not listen.”

In the syntactically adverbial sentence the subject is the Late Egyptian st “they” and the pseudo-verbal r + infinitive construction (expressing planned and inevitable action) employs the caus. 3-lit. verb sswn “punish, destroy.” (Note that this verb also appears in the Nubian campaign of Admiral Ahmose.) The object is a perfective active participle of the 3ae-inf. verb hdī “destroy, spoil, injure” functioning as a noun and having object shrw.i: “those who spoil my plans.”

As noted previously, the extra w before the suffix pronoun .f (and after a syllable final t) is a Late Egyptian feature. The subject is the previous st and the suffix pronoun itself is the object of the infinitive, lit. “(they) give him.”

The usual meaning of the noun hbt is “place of execution, slaughter-house” which, in view of the following “Duat,” Gardiner translates as “torture-chamber.”

Benevolence and in fact protection is promised by the pharaoh using the verb nḏ “protect.” Here it is at the head of an adverb clause in prospective/subjunctive sdm.f expressing purpose as it has expressed subject.

The imperative of rdi “let” takes part in a rdi + prospective/subjunctive sdm.f construction with the 3-lit. verb nhm in prospective/subjunctive sdm.f.
Gardiner interprets *sw* as the pronominal object and *šw m btį.f* as the subject in which the 3ae-inf. verb *šwi* is in perfective active participle, lit. “one who is free…” The noun *btį* with a seated man determinative means “wrongdoer” and here it should mean “wrongdoing, crime, guilt.” Following the Egyptian word order VsdoSOA Gardiner renders this passage as: “Let one who is free from his guilt rescue him.” This is then a warning directed to an innocent rescuer of the criminal.

On the other hand, Lichtheim interprets the participle as the modifier of *sw* which implies that verb *nhm* must be passive: “Let him who is free of crime be saved.”

\[\textit{hy r}-\textit{m(wi)} ky sbn h\textit{3ti}\]

This passage is short but difficult. The meaning of the noun phrase *ky sbn h\textit{3ti}* is more or less clear: the 3-lit. verb *sbn* “glide away, stray” is a relative form with subject “heart,” so that the literal translation is: “another whose heart is strays,” or Gardiner’s “slippery-hearted.” The subtlety comes in interpreting *hy r*-m. The usual meaning of the word *hy* is “what” but *r*-m has many meanings including “near, beside,” and also (with suppressed dual of the arm) “place, state.” An example to the latter is *r r*-m.wy.\textit{si n sf} “at her place yesterday.” With these a literal rendering may be: “What (place is) beside another whose heart strays!”

\[\textit{m psdǐ shn.sn hñr}.f\]

The preposition *m* introduces a clause of causality that can be translated using “since, for.” According to Gardiner\(^9\), the compound *shn hñr* means “go to law, arraign.” (*shn* with the emotion determinative A2 is related to *hn* “speech, utterance, matter, affair, complaint.”) Within the noun clause *shn* appears in a noun + circumstantial /subject-imperfective *sdm.f* construction.

\[\textit{hr ir sri nb nti iw.f r spr (n)swt}\]

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\(^8\) Davies, Norman de Garis, The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes (PMMA, 5), New York, 1930.

The pharaoh’s threats now turn to promises of rewards (with simple grammar). The entire passage here is a long topicalization marked by ḥr ir as before. The direct relative clause introduced by nti details the twofold duties of each official in apposition connected with ḥn.f. In the first part, they need to spr “appeal to, beseech” him. In the second (more complex) part of the conjunction the suffix pronoun f of the prospective participle (“who will give”) of rdi “give” is suppressed (as it is stated in the first part). The object is the noun phrase sḥ3 nfr “good reminder/ remembrance.” The purpose is expressed by an r + infinitive construction using the infinitive of the caus. 2-lit verb smn “confirm, set, fix.” The object of this latter infinitive is the feminine perfective active relative form irt.i referring to the pharaoh’s manifold deeds (as the plural strokes indicate).

dl nṯr im3ḥy.f tp tḥ(wi).f ḫtp.w m zī n k3.f

Divine rewards are now promised using the prospective/subjunctive sḏm.f of rdi. The promise is the most sought after: the god will cause the recipient im3ḥy “honor” on earth.

In addition: ḫḥwī.f ḫḥp.w “his end becomes peaceful.” The clause introduced by the preposition m “as” contains the perfective active participle of the 2-lit. verb zi “go,” lit. “as the one who goes.”

ḥr ir sṛ nb nti sw r stkn ib pn n nb.f

r nḥm ḫṣbw rḏt.w ḥr ky sḏf m sḥrw n Ṿt(r)w bīn

After the typical beginning of these passages ḫt ir sṛ nb “as for any official,” the relative adjective nti introduces a relative clause with seemingly superfluous subject sw “him” (referring back to sṛ nb) and predicate expressed by an r + infinitive construction. The infinitive is the caus. 3-lit. verb stkn “induce, influence, bring on down” with object ib pn n nb.f “the mind of his lord.” A second r + infinitive construction gives more details of the evildoer: r nḥm ḫḥsw “he is to take away the workmen.” Yet another infinitive continues the description with expressed pronominal subject: rḏt.w “(and) to put them.”
Taking away the resources of the temple is the crux of the evildoing, and it is expressed here in the adverbial adjunct. The noun *sdf* means “service, project, endowment.” In view of the somewhat poetic *mt(r)w bin* “evil witness,” the second part of the final indirect genitive, among the many meanings of *shr* one should choose “manner, fashion, nature.”

The main clause (with adverbial predicate introduced by *iw*) now details the punishment of the evildoer. Symmetry (of this balanced sentence) and the adverbial structure dictate that *n* in front of *nsrt* and *3ht* “flame, fire” are prepositions.

The two clauses contain perfective relative forms of the 3-lit. verbs *tk*3 “torch, illumine” and *wnm* “consume.” Since in a balanced sentence the first clause should be dependent on the second, Gardiner chooses the translation *tk*3 “kindle.” Note that the bit convoluted original writing of the noun *3ht* “flame” has been emended.

In the clause of causality (introduced by *hr nti* as before), the object of the circumstantial *sdm.n.f* /perfect *ir.n* is the phrase *nn n r dr.sn n k3.sn n3 (n)* nbw *hw.t.i*

In the second sentence with simple grammar the scribe uses the older form of the verb *bw* “detest, abominate” in place of *bwt*. The perfective active participle *th* “one who neglects” uses the transitive 3ae-inf. verb *thi* “lead astray, mislead, neglect.”

Double negative is used in this passage for emphasis with negated circumstantial *sdm.n.f* /perfect applied to the 2-lit. verb *tm* “fail.” This construction is rare, though Gardiner quotes another example: *st mw ni tm.n.f* nw “the pourer
of water, he never fails to return.”

Interestingly, this line employs the same 2ae-gem. verb ʾnn “turn back, bring back” as the one in the text. Being negated circumstantial sdm.n.f / perfect it expresses negation of ability. As in this example, for emphasis, the ordinary English negation can be stressed saying: “he will never fail.”

In New Kingdom Middle Egyptian tm is followed by the infinitive, and for this verb class it is the (missing) geminated stem. (In Gardiner’s example even the negative complement in this verb class needs the full geminated stem not the w ending.) In the noun phrase drt ḥd meaning “destroyer, spoiler,” ḥd is either the noun “damage, destroy” or an active participle ḥd(t) “hand that destroys” derived from the 3ae-inf. verb ḥdi with the same meaning as the noun. Context therefore requires ʾnn to be rendered as “thwart, frustrate.”

wpw ḫr wnn pḥ kəwrw n ḫw-nbw
ir.n.i ṭ ḫw MN-M3ṭ-T-R ḫw(.wi) mṭ(r).w(i)

The compound wpw ḫr “except,” lit. “separated from” has a few meanings. According to Gardiner if it is followed by a sdm.f verb form then it should be translated as “but.” Lichtheim’s rendering, however, is “in particular.” In the construction wnn + subject + stative, the circumstantial/imperfective sdm.f of wnn adds an ongoing connotation to the stative at the end. The long subject itself has two parts. The first part “the staff of gold-washers” already appeared, and the second part starting with the perfect relative form ir.n.i “(whom) I made” plus the adverbial phrase “for the House of Menmare” serves as a modifier of the first.

The two stative predicates at the end are in apposition. The 3ae-inf. verb ḫwi here means “exempt (from dues)” and the 3-lit. adjective-verb mṭr means “fortunate, successful.”

10 Gardiner (§346, 3) and [Urk. IV, 519].
11 Gardiner (§179)
Negated prospective/subjunctive \( sdm.f \) (with future meaning) starts this passage with the impersonal suffix pronoun \( tw \) and as such it carries passive meaning.

The 3-lit. verb \( h^5 m \) is a variant of \( h^5 m \) “approach.” This verb can be followed by a bare direct object or a direct object governed by either of the prepositions \( m \) or \( n \) (as here). The suffix pronoun \( .f \) refers back to \( sdf \). The pharaoh’s order applies to everyone, especially to the previously occurred \( pt-pdt \ nb n p3 nbw \) and to \( rwd \ nb n h3st \) “every inspector of the desert.”

The preposition \( ir \) has two functions. First, it topicalizes \( p3 nti nb \) “anyone,” the subject of the subsequent three clauses. (The relative adjective \( nti \) functions here as a noun.)

The first relative clause (introduced by the particle \( iw \)) is syntactically adverbial and contains an \( r + \) infinitive construction of the previously employed 3ae-inf. verb \( thi \). The object here is \( rmT \) “people” and the following prepositional adverb \( mi \) quickly clarifies that these are not just any people but lit. “(those) who are in,” that is the staff of gold-washers. The whole sentence so far is as follows: “As for anyone who is to interfere with the people therein.”

The second relative clause starts with the imperfective active participle \( ddi \) “who puts” (of the verb \( rdi \)) modifying the subject. The object, the dependent pronoun \( st \) “them,” is suppressed (as it has just been stated as a suffix pronoun attached to \( im \)): “who puts them to another place.”

The third and main clause starts with the circumstantial \( sdm.n.f \)/perfect of \( iri \) “make.” This is not the ordinary circumstantial \( sdm.n.f \)/perfect expressing completed action. The second function of \( ir \) comes into play here to make this verb form express the so-called ‘action contrary to fact’. It means that \( ir.n.f \ n3 ntrw \ldots n ćh3 \) “he made the gods… (his) enemies” has not happened but would happen if the previous causes came true. It can therefore be translated as: “he would make…”
We already met the composition \( p^3 \text{wn} \) “as for.” Note the different position of the suffix pronoun in \(*ht.i \text{nb} \) “all my things.” The attached adverbial phrase \( \text{imi-pr} \) is a reverse nisbe construction designating “testament, will.” The prepositional phrase \( hr \text{rdwi.sn} \) “under their feet” is an Egyptian idiom for “belong to them.”

We have met the circumstantial/imperfective \( \text{sdm.f} \) of \( \text{wnn} \) previously with the function to add imperfective connotation to the stative. Here \( \text{wnn} \) is used by itself to express once again the imperfect: \( \text{wnn} + X + hr \text{drt.f} \), lit. “X will (continually) be on his hands.”

We are already familiar with the very long subject \( X \).

The phrase “(to) be on his (own) hand” is an Egyptian idiom expressing independent control. Lichtheim translates this using the English phrase: “free hand.” In view of the context and the following object (\( b^3kw \) “revenue, produce”), the 3-lit. verb \( hr \text{hp} \) “be at the head of, administer, control” (in \( hr + \) infinitive construction) here should mean “deliver.”

A previous construction is repeated here employing the 3ae-inf. verb \( shi \) “be deaf.”

\( \text{wrw} m \) \( s^3 \) \( hr \text{rdw.f} \) \( m \) \( n^3 \) \( \text{wrw nbw} \) \( t^3-dsr \) \( \text{irr.sn wp(t).sn} \) \( \text{hn}^c.f \)

\( \text{ir} \) \( p^3 \) \( nti \) \( nb \) \( \text{iw.f \ hr \ wdl tn \ ir.n.(i)} \) \( \text{wsir} \) \( m \) \( s^3.f \) \( \text{bw} \) \( m \) \( s^3 \) \( \text{hn.f} \)

\( \text{ir} \) \( \text{wrw} \) \( m \) \( s^3 \) \( \text{hrdw.f} \) \( m \) \( n^3 \) \( \text{wrw nbw} \) \( t^3-dsr \) \( \text{irr.sn wp(t).sn} \) \( \text{hn}^c.f \)

\( \text{ir \ n.(i)}^{12} \) “(that) I made” is a perfect relative form modifying its antecedent \( \text{wdl tn} \) “this decree.”

\(^{12}\) A similar passage is: \( \text{ir} \) \( p^3 \) [\( nti] \) \( \text{iw.f mnmn} \) \( \text{wdl tn} \) \( \text{ir.n.(i)} \ldots \) in The Epigraphic Survey: Reliefs and inscriptions at Karnak III: The Bubastite Portal (Chicago, 1954), OIP 74, pl. 19, cols. 52-53.
The adverbial sentence \((iw) \, X \, m \, sA \, Y\) is an Egyptian idiom meaning \(X\) is after \(Y\),” lit. “\(X\) is at the back of \(Y\).”

The preposition \(m\) “with” governing the noun phrase \(n3 \, wrw \, nbw \, t3 \, dsr\) “all the great ones and the lords of the sacred land” is used as a connector and can be translated as “and.” It introduces a subject-imperfective construction with future meaning.

Finally, the verb + object compound \(iri \, wpt\) means “pass/make/execute judgment.”