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TOPIC-FOCUS ARTICULATION IN BIOGRAPHICAL  
INSCRIPTIONS AND LETTERS OF THE MIDDLE  
KINGDOM (DYNASTIES 11 – 12)

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## CONTENTS

Contents	i
Acknowledgements	iv
<b>Text</b>	
<b>I. Introduction and Objectives</b>	<b>1</b>
<i>I.i. Corpus Definition</i>	2
<i>I.ii. Structure of the work</i>	5
<b>II. Theoretical Framework</b>	<b>7</b>
<i>II.i. Studying the grammar of a dead language</i>	7
<i>II.ii. The Functional Generative Description</i>	8
<i>II.iii. Definition of Topic and Focus</i>	14
<i>II.iv. Encoding of topic and focus</i>	17
<i>II.v. Markedness. Layers of TFA</i>	20
<i>II.vi. The hierarchical nature of TFA</i>	20
<b>III. Topic-Focus Articulation in Egyptology</b>	<b>22</b>
<i>III.i The Second Tenses</i>	22
III.i.i. The prehistory of the second tenses	22
III.i.ii. The discovery – the Polotskian scheme	23
III.i.iii. The chaos – Polotskianising scheme	24
III.i.iv Criticism of the Polotskianising scheme	26
III.i.v The Post-Polotskian scheme	28
<i>III.ii Topic and Focus in theories of Egyptian grammar</i>	30
<b>IV. The current framework</b>	<b>36</b>
<i>IV.i Topicalisation and focalisation strategies</i>	39
<b>V. <math>s\dot{d}m=f</math> and <math>s\dot{d}m.n=f</math> forms versus the Second Tenses</b>	<b>42</b>
<i>V.i The bare <math>s\dot{d}m=f</math> and <math>s\dot{d}m.n=f</math> forms</i>	42
V.i.i The distribution of the bare $s\dot{d}m=f$ and $s\dot{d}m.n=f$ forms	43
<i>V.ii The Second Tenses</i>	45
V.ii.i The Second Tenses in main clauses	47
V.ii.ii The Second tenses functioning as objects of prepositions	51

V.ii.iii	The Second Tenses in the so-called Balanced Sentence	52
<b>VI.</b>	<b>The <i>jw sdm=f</i> and <i>jw sdm.n=f</i> forms</b>	<b>56</b>
VI.i	<i>The meaning of the particle <i>jw</i></i>	56
VI.ii	<i>The history of <i>jw</i></i>	57
VI.iii	<i><i>jw + sdm=f/sdm.n=f</i> in biographical inscriptions</i>	60
VI.iii.i	<i><i>jrj</i>+title and/or function</i>	60
VI.iii.ii	<i><i>jw jr.n(=j) ḥḥ.w ʕ3 m rnp.wt</i> and analogous constructions</i>	64
VI.iii.iii	<i><i>jw (d)dj/wd ḥm=f</i></i>	65
VI.iii.iv	<i><i>jw rdj.n(=j) t n ḥkr ḥbs.w n ḥḥ.y</i> and variations thereof</i>	67
VI.iii.v	<i><i>jw jr.n(=j) mrr.t ʕ3.w ḥzz.t nds.w</i> and variations</i>	68
VI.iii.vi	Other examples of <i>jw sdm.n=f</i> form	69
VI.iii.vii	<i><i>jw gr.t</i></i>	71
VI.iv	<i><i>jw + sDm=f/sDm.n=f</i> in letters</i>	73
<b>VII.</b>	<b>Topicalisation</b>	<b>74</b>
VII.i	<i>Unmarked topicalisation in biographies</i>	76
VII.ii	<i><i>jr</i>-marked topicalisation in biographies</i>	81
VII.iii	<i>Unmarked topicalisation in letters</i>	84
VII.iv	<i><i>jr</i>-marked topicalisation in letters</i>	85
VII.v	<i><i>jr gr.t</i> in letters</i>	88
VII.vii	<i>Complex structures</i>	90
<b>VIII.</b>	<b>Focalisation</b>	<b>91</b>
VIII.i	<i>Focalisation by means of the particle <i>jn</i></i>	91
VIII.i.i	<i><i>jn</i> in biographies</i>	93
VIII.i.ii	<i><i>jn</i> in letters</i>	95
VIII.i.iii	Types of <i>jn</i> -headed Focus in the corpus	95
IX.	 <i><b>mk</b></i>	97
IX.i	<i><i>mk</i> in biographical inscriptions</i>	98
IX.ii	<i><i>mk</i> in letters</i>	99
IX.ii.i	Simple structures	99
IX.ii.ii	Complex structures	107
IX.ii.iii	<i><i>mk gr.t</i></i>	109
<b>X.</b>	<b>Conclusions</b>	<b>111</b>
X.i	<i>Frequency analysis of the basic verb forms in the corpus</i>	111

<i>X.ii Frequency analysis of topicalisation / focalisation strategies</i>	113
<i>X.iii Topic-Focus Articulation and Middle Egyptian Verbal System</i>	114
<i>X.iv Middle Egyptian topicalisation and focalisation strategies</i>	116
<b>Bibliography</b>	118
<b>Corpus</b>	140
A. Biographical Inscriptions	140
Abydos	141
Assuan	212
Beni Hassan	219
Gebelein	232
Thebes	239
Texts from other sites	266
Texts of unknown provenance	282
B. Letters	294
Hekanakhte papers	295
P. Reisner II	316
Illahun Papyri	317
Semnah Despatches	335
Kahun Papyri	340
P. Brooklyn 351146	367
Other letters	373
List of biographical inscriptions according to location	374

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## I. INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of the present study is to provide an explicit and systematic account of topic-focus articulation in Middle Egyptian verbal sentences, explaining in detail some of the phenomena that in part underlie the Middle Egyptian verbal system. Although it will necessarily form a substantial proportion of the work, the verbal system itself is not its main focus, and we will, by necessity, mostly use a very simplified tense/aspect scheme, and will refrain from its deeper analysis. Rather, we shall direct our attention to the expression of sentence topics and foci in Middle Egyptian verbal clauses (although Topic-Focus Articulation is by no means restricted to verbal sentences). We shall also pay some attention to the so-called “thematic progression”, the topic (dis)continuity in discourse, which is not a phenomenon of topic-focus articulation (as the latter operates at sentence/clause level), but directly affects it. The phenomena of topicalisation and focalisation will also be discussed, as well as the role they play in Middle Egyptian Grammar.

The case for the verbal nature of Middle Egyptian verb forms (the Standard Theory versus the recent approaches less at odds with general linguistics<sup>1</sup>) has been argued elsewhere with sufficient precision, successfully invoking current linguistic theory, that the point need not be repeated here. Let it suffice to state that the present author fully subscribes to the account given in Mark Collier’s<sup>2</sup> article on predication, and with some caveats (which will be clarified below) also to that of Thomas Ritter,<sup>3</sup> and considers all the forms of the suffix conjugation as verbal forms, capable of standing on their own. The individual problems connected with these and other accounts of Middle Egyptian verbal system will be explained on relevant places in the text itself.

The concept of “Functional Sentence Perspective” was first defined by the Prague school of linguistics. In the contemporary Prague theory, this notion has been modified and expanded and is now referred to as Topic-Focus Articulation. In the earlier Functional Sentence Perspective framework of Mathesius and Firbas, the sentence is divided into theme

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<sup>1</sup> Or the “Not So Standard Theory”, as Mark Collier put it in 1992 (COLLIER 1992, 17–65). It appears that this theory is getting less “non-standard” than it was a decade ago, although the debate seems to have reached rather a moot point, with adherents of both theories sticking to their respective opinions and neither willing to give way.

<sup>2</sup> See COLLIER (1992 17–65) for the alleged “circumstantial” forms. This excellent article also has the benefit of not being burdened by any specific theory and its terminology, which makes its exposition clear even to readers unfamiliar (or at odds) with Cognitive Grammar, which is Collier’s main background.

<sup>3</sup> RITTER (1995), treats all “transpositions” in terms of the Functional Sentence Perspective, and works thus in a background similar (though not identical) to that used in the present work.

and rheme (MATHESIUS 1929; FIRBAS 1992). This is the framework accepted by some (recent and less recent) Egyptological work. The new concept of Topic-Focus Articulation has been substantially modified, stated more explicitly and integrated within Dependency Grammar. The current study makes use of this latest concept, which shall be explained in sufficient detail in the chapter on theoretical background. We have, however, simplified the concepts for the purposes of the presented study, as well as augmented them with notions from other compatible frameworks<sup>4</sup> when necessary. The present study is thus not an application of a linguistic theory to Middle Egyptian, but an attempt to explain several specific phenomena of the language, for which functional frameworks, and above all the Prague Functional-Generative Description, seem to be the most suitable tools.

### *1.i. Corpus Definition*

The corpus of the present study has been narrowed down to biographical texts and letters of the Middle Kingdom, or, more specifically, of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasties. The motivation of this selection is a complex one. The narrow temporal span has been chosen because of the language, which is thus as pure Middle Egyptian as possible. Language changes constantly, but these changes are adapted to written language in stages, and during Dynasties 11 and 12, written language appears to have been quite constant. Having limited the corpus to this narrow timeline, we have avoided most Old Egyptian residues (present in earlier First Intermediate Period language) as well as Neo-Egyptianisms, which occur in later texts.

Two main text genres are analysed in the present study – biographical texts and letters. The definition of the latter group is rather straightforward, and it only needs to be explained why the whole group of administrative texts has not been taken into account instead. The main reason for concentrating on letters only is the lack of verbal clauses in administrative texts of a general kind, which mostly consist of phrases, tables, accounts, and hardly ever of an actual text of any length. Letters thus represent administrative documents in general.

The former group, biographical texts, needs a more detailed explication. Neither the term “autobiography” nor “autobiographical inscription” is used, since in many of these texts, we cannot be sure that the author of the texts was indeed the tomb/stela owner, and quite a lot of these texts are not even written in the first person. Therefore, the term biography is preferred

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<sup>4</sup> Basically, the “compatible” frameworks are all functional descriptions of language that share the same approach to various language phenomena and search for functional explanations of them.

here; and since it also covers the term “autobiography”, solutions such as the recent (auto)biography (KLOTH 2002) seem redundant.

Since, however, these texts often do not include merely the biographical part, but also a number of other genres, such as offering formulae, royal orders, etc, it is more precise to call them “biographical texts” than merely “biographies”. This term thus covers the biographical part as well as all other components of the often very complex texts, which should, in the opinion of the author, be studied in their entirety.

In the present work, we define “biographical texts” as texts that include (i.e. need not necessarily consist exclusively of) one or more of the following:

- a. description of the life of the inscription owner
- b. description of one or more important event(s) from the life of the inscription owner
- c. tomb consecration text (which can actually be subsumed under b., as building a tomb was an important event in the life of its owner. It is nonetheless included here explicitly, as the connection is not straightforward to the modern reader.
- d. (often self-laudatory) description of the owner’s character

Category (a) includes biographies *par excellence*, while category (b) comprises also such texts as expedition graffiti and the like (it is interesting to note here that these texts formally resemble category (a) and are often accompanied by the same complements, such as self-laudations or offering formulae), category (c) covers texts where the owner describes how, why and under what circumstances he built his tomb, and finally, category (d) includes the so-called “ideal biography” of both the traditional type and the so-called “encomiastic” type (GNIRS 1996, 205–206).

The function of all these variants and their possible combinations is principally to commemorate the text owner, to remind the following generations of his life (which is thus portrayed as virtuous and excellent and often quite devoid of personal details, because the text owners wanted to be remembered as people who corresponded to the ideal of the society) in order for them to make offerings to the deceased and “repeat his name”.

Therefore, texts that include merely a number of offering formulae and/or the Abydos formula and/or the so-called Call to the Living, are (although these texts are very often part of biographical texts) not included under the heading of “biographical texts”,<sup>5</sup> despite the fact

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<sup>5</sup> Texts of this kind are included in LICHTHEIM (1988), where they are classified as “autobiographies”.



that they are mostly accompanied by the (sometimes even extensive) titulary of the inscription owner.

As we have already indicated above, the Middle Kingdom biographical inscription was not a homogeneous text, flowing uninterruptedly from its beginning to its end. To the contrary, it was a text that most often consisted out of several in a sense disconnected parts, which were composed independently and on their own, and “glued” together to form the functional unity of the Egyptian biographical text. These sub-texts, so to say, comprised

- i. the offering formula (cf. LAPP 1986)
- ii. the Abydos formula (cf. BARTA 1968, 47–50; LICHTHEIM 1988, 55–57)
- iii. the Call to the Living<sup>6</sup>
- iv. (occasionally) other text types, such as a hymn or teaching (cf. GNIRS 1996, 217)
- v. (most importantly) one or more types of biographical texts, a-d (see above)

It seems that at least the *jnk*-headed ideal biography may be an individual independent creation, since it differs in grammar and style, and most often appears as a compact block, sometimes even terminated by an “afterthought” construction, which seems to be a clear indicator of sub-text boundary.

The most important consequence of this fact for the study of TFA is that when a text is analysed for the topicality chain or other discourse-TFA phenomena, the individual parts of the text have to be recognised at first, and the development of topicality, focality and other related phenomena can be studied only within the sub-texts, otherwise we are risking to analyse two (independent) texts as one and invent nonexistent phenomena.

Within the present study, we concentrate only on the biographical texts themselves, since the Abydos formula, the offering formula and the Call to the Living are highly standardized formulaic texts, not well suited for grammatical analyses of any kind.

### ***I. ii. Structure of the work***

The present study is divided into two main sections, **Text** and **Corpus**. The first part contains the text of the work proper, illustrated with relevant examples wherever necessary.

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<sup>6</sup> A formulaic text that existed throughout Egyptian history and was not always limited to biographical texts. It called to the passersby and asked them to give offerings or recite offering formulae for the deceased. The standard Call to Living reads “O living ones who shall pass by this tomb travelling up- or downstream, may you say: A thousand .... for the *ka* of the well-provided NN,” with many variations and extensions; cf. MÜLLER (1975, 293–299)


As Topic-Focus articulation is highly dependent on the context and many of its phenomena can only be understood when viewing the text as a whole, the Corpus part, which includes all texts studied in this work, was added.

**Chapter II** of this study will introduce the basics of the Functional Generative description, which represents the background for our theories of topic-focus articulation in Middle Egyptian verbal sentences. It will also deal with theories of topic and focus and their encoding in general linguistic theory. In **Chapter III**, we will look at the history of research related to topic-focus articulation in Egyptology. We will devote an entire section to the study of the topical verb forms (second tenses, or so-called “emphatic” forms). **Chapter IV** introduces the author’s theory of Topic-Focus articulation in Middle Egyptian and its influence on the Egyptian verbal system, as well as the verb forms that encode aspects of topic-focus articulation in their morphology. The following chapters give more theoretical background to the individual forms and phenomena as well as an in-depth analysis of, whenever possible, all examples from the corpus. With the exception of Chapter V, all other chapters dealing with the individual verb forms and phenomena of Middle Egyptian contain separate sections for biographies and letters, as significant differences between these two text genres have been noted early in the course of the work. **Chapter V** deals with the unmarked *sḏm=f* and *sḏm.n=f* forms and the topical *mrr=f* and *sḏm.n=f*. **Chapter VI** deals with the role of the particle *jw* as verb focaliser and with the *jw sḏm=f* and *jw sḏm.n=f* forms. **Chapter VII** and **VIII** discuss topicalisation and focalisation respectively, including particles *jr* and *jn*. **Chapter IX** is an attempt to define the particle *mk* as higher-level focaliser, putting its entire clause into (higher-level) focus. Finally, **Chapter X** recaps the partial conclusions reached in the individual chapters and includes, besides the frequency analysis of the individual forms, also the comparison of the encoding of the phenomena of topic-focus articulation in biographical texts and in letters.

The **Corpus** part includes a to the author’s knowledge, exhaustive set of biographical inscriptions and letters usable for a grammatical study. **Part A**, containing biographical texts, is ordered according to the provenance, **Part B** contains letters, which are ordered according to the collections in which they appear.

## II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### *II.i. Studying the grammar of a dead language*

There are several things one has to bear in mind when studying a dead language. The first one, although apparently straightforward, has often been disregarded in Egyptology, namely, even a dead language is a language like any other, a tool of communication, and the grammar we postulate for it has to be learnable and possible to process with reasonable ease. This holds true for both the spoken language (about which we can only guess in Middle Egyptian) and the written language, the elements of which have to be recognisable (and postulating many different forms under a single writing  is improbable, although, of course, more than one form can be (and probably is) hiding under one and the same writing at times, recognisable from the context).

The second point is more theoretical. It is definitely an advantage to use the findings of contemporary theoretical linguistics for the study of a dead language. Studying the general setup of languages in general and universal rules and tendencies helps us to assess the grammatical rules of a language which has no native speakers to decide on the grammaticality of constructions through native speaker intuitions. But precisely the lack of native speakers makes the use of the methods of generative grammar very limited for dead languages. There is no way to decide whether the constructions generated by the grammar that was constructed by the linguist are grammatical – there are no native speakers and the corpus is limited and biased (to official and often funerary texts in Middle Egyptian).

## *II.ii. The Functional Generative Description*

The present study owes a lot of its principles and theories to the current Prague dependency framework, the Functional Generative Description.<sup>7</sup> The technical aspects (formalisms) of the theory are not relevant for the description of Middle Egyptian and the reader interested in more mathematical methods is directed to the above cited publications. The aspects of the Functional Generative Description that will interest us the most are Topic-Focus Articulation (TFA), namely, its integration into the grammatical description at the tectogrammatical (roughly „deep structure“) level and its interaction with grammatical rules to form the surface structure of the language.<sup>8</sup> The necessary theoretical background is given in this chapter. Elsewhere in the text, I have tried to avoid too much specialised linguistic terminology in order to make the study accessible to Egyptologists without a background in general linguistics.

The Functional Generative Description is an approach to the study of language that stresses two aspects of the description of linguistic phenomena – the functional, and the generative one. While functional frameworks describe language from the point of view of its communicative function,<sup>9</sup> generative frameworks<sup>10</sup> concentrate on the formal aspects of language, often in search of an underlying Universal Grammar. The Functional Generative Description combines, in the author’s opinion effectively, structural and formal methods of linguistic research, and integrates the phenomena of syntax, semantics and pragmatics, often treated as disparate, into a single, albeit multi-leveled, linguistic structure.

Like many contemporary linguistic theories,<sup>11</sup> the Functional Generative Description distinguishes between surface structure and deep or logical structure (called tectogrammatical), connected with the meaning of the sentence. No irregularities of the outer shape of sentences are present at the tectogrammatical level. The definition of the tectogrammatical level approximately corresponds to the Deep Structure of the Chomskyan paradigms<sup>12</sup>, in that no ambiguity or synonymy is permitted (sentences ambiguous at surface

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<sup>7</sup> As defined in SGALL, HAJIČOVÁ & PANEVOVÁ 1986, and HAJIČOVÁ, PARTEE & SGALL 1998.

<sup>8</sup> Besides the Functional-Generative Description, other functional frameworks consider Topic-Focus articulation as belonging to a level corresponding to the “deep structure” and thus being semantically relevant, cf. for example DIK 1989.

<sup>9</sup> The „Bible“ of functional grammars is DIK (1989).

<sup>10</sup> Defined in CHOMSKY (1965) and developed into the Minimalist Programme by CHOMSKY (1995), with numerous theories branching off the Chomskyan line.

<sup>11</sup> For example, CULICOVER & JACKENDOFF (2005) present a framework set in the tradition of Immediate Constituency and count with at least two, but preferably four layers (there called “tiers”): propositional structure, information structure, descriptive tier and referential tier.

<sup>12</sup> CHOMSKY 1965; 1981; 1988.

structure have two different tectogrammatical representations, synonymous constructions (as far as they exist) share a common tectogrammatical representation), but differs from them as well as from the standard notions of logical form in several important aspects (see HAJIČOVÁ, PARTEE & SGALL 1998, 2–3), namely it is based on dependency, not phrase structure; no devices of the metalanguage logic are present within it; and topic-focus articulation forms an integral part of this level, bisecting sentences into a topic and focus part.

The two main frames of which the tectogrammatical structure consists are valency frames and topic-focus articulation, the latter being the main subject of the present work. Let us consider valency frames first. They are the (deep) case frames associated with certain actions or “scenarios” of language – for example, “to hit ” has the valency “to hit **something/someone**”, which we could formalise as *hit* [Act] [Obj], “to give” has the valency “to give **something to someone**”, formalisable as *give* [Act] [Obj] [Addr].<sup>13</sup> In grammatical sentences, valency frames have to be “occupied”, i.e. at least one element of the sentence must correspond to each of the deep cases defined in the valency frame of the verb, i.e. the participants are obligatory.

Interestingly, if the verb has two participants, they are always Actor and Objective, i.e. the other “deep cases” are structured as Objective on the tectogrammatical level. Thus, Actor (“deep subject”) and Objective (“deep object”) can be defined on the tectogrammatical level as follows:

Actor is (i) that item of a verbal frame which is the single inner participant in that frame, or (ii) if the frame of the verb in question includes more than one participant, then Actor is that participant which exhibits the same linguistic structuring (surface representation, distribution) as does the prototypical one-participant verb Actor in (i).

Objective is (i) the item other than Actor in the frames of verbs having two inner participants, and (ii) it is the item (in the verb frames with more than two participants) that has the same linguistic structuring as that of the Objective in (i), where the verb has two participants.<sup>14</sup>

The Actor is most frequently encoded in surface syntax as Subject. The subject-predicate dichotomy is a feature of surface syntax. DEPUYDT (1991, 36–37) and others have attempted to describe Egyptian without the notions of Subject and Predicate, claiming they have no linguistic reality in the language. These theories rest upon a confusion between “Subject”, “Actor” and “Topic” – while these may be, and often indeed are, be expressed by a single element of a sentence, they do not have to coincide and they are by no means synonymous (cf.

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<sup>13</sup> The “deep case” roles defined in the valency frames are Actor (Act), Patient or Objective (Pat, Obj), Addressee (Addr), Origin (Orig), Effect (Eff). Cf. SGALL, HAJIČOVÁ & PANEVOVÁ (1986, 124).

<sup>14</sup> SGALL, HAJIČOVÁ & PANEVOVÁ (1986, 126).

for example the Passive, where the Actor is encoded as Oblique). “Actor”, as we have seen, is a Deep Case role, and belongs to the sphere of valency frames. “Topic” will be defined below, but let it suffice for now that it is a feature of the Topic-Focus Articulation of the sentence. Thus, “Actor” and “Topic” are spelled out at the tectogrammatical (or underlying) sentence level. “Subject”, on the other hand, is an element of surface syntax. Interestingly, while “Actor” is always a single element, neither “Topic” nor “Subject” have to be. The grammatical slot of “Subject” of a matrix clause can be filled by an entire subordinate clause with its own internal Subject-Predicate structure, the role of “Topic” can be assumed by words, phrases, clauses, or even non-constituents (HAJIČOVÁ, PARTEE & SGALL 1998, 210–211).

An adequate description of surface syntax is hardly possible without the notions of (grammatical) subject and predicate, which reflect the grammatical organization of a proposition and are closely related to the structure of valency frames (lexical frames or thematic relations).<sup>15</sup> Note, however<sup>16</sup>, that this does not mean that subject is the same as Agent<sup>17</sup> or that it is applicable only to verbal sentences.<sup>18</sup>

The second part of underlying sentence structure is Topic-Focus Articulation. Topic-Focus articulation is one of the phenomena that has traditionally been assigned „merely“ to the domain of “pragmatics,” but, as it has semantic relevance (affects the truth conditions of the sentence), it is clear that it must belong to the “meaning” level of the description of language, i.e. tectogrammatics, and forms a subpart of the grammar proper.

Within tectogrammatical representations, Topic-Focus articulation is reflected as the “deep word order”. All autosemantic lexical units are organised according to the hierarchy of communicative dynamism.<sup>19</sup> The hierarchy of communicative dynamism<sup>20</sup> is based on the notion of contextual boundness, which can be defined as “referring to activated items in the hearer’s memory, as assumed by the speaker”.<sup>21</sup> There are several ways in which an item can become contextually bound. By far the most obvious is the item being mentioned in preceding co-text. First and second person pronouns, more generally the interlocutors, are by nature contextually bound, activated by the speech situation. There are also culturally activated

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<sup>15</sup> COLLIER (1992).

<sup>16</sup> Against JUNGE (1989, 42).

<sup>17</sup> In the sense of Fillmore’s Cases, see FILLMORE (1969).

<sup>18</sup> Not only verbs have valency frames, see SGALL, HAJIČOVÁ & PANEVOVÁ (1986, 161–165). For similar accounts in other frameworks, see most conveniently COLLIER (1992, 30–50).

<sup>19</sup> This can be imagined as „deep word order“. In egyptology, this notion was discussed by A. Shisha-Halevy - see SHISHA-HALEVY (1986, 72–73), with an application for Coptic.

<sup>20</sup> The “Range of permissible focus” of CHOMSKY (1971).

<sup>21</sup> HAJIČOVÁ, PARTEE & SGALL (1998, 59).

items, such as „Hitler“ in Europe, so that it is contextually bound in even if the sentence „Hitler was an unsuccessful painter.“ is uttered out of the blue. A rather more subtle means of activation is what JACENNIK & DRYER call “indirect reference”,<sup>22</sup> e.g. in terms of part-whole relationship,<sup>23</sup> i.e. by mentioning a “house”, the “door” is automatically activated.<sup>24</sup> Basically, the more contextually bound an item is, the lower it is on the hierarchy of communicative dynamism, and the closer to the left it appears in the tectogrammatical representation. However, communicative dynamism, although clearly the most significant, is not the only principle affecting deep word order. The other principles include systemic ordering<sup>25</sup> and processing.<sup>26</sup>

At the level of tectogrammatical representation, the whole sentence can be divided into two parts - with the topic to the left and focus to the right.<sup>27</sup> In the prototypical case, the dividing item is the verb, which occurs immediately to the right (or also left) of the topic-focus boundary. In the ideal case, all elements in the topic are contextually bound, while all elements in the focus are non-bound, however, mostly there is intervention of contextually bound words into the focus. This intervention means that some contextually bound elements, often pronouns, are dependent on a non-bound element, and thus appear with it in the focus part of the sentence. The most dynamic element of the sentence is its focus proper, the least dynamic one is the topic proper. While Topic<sup>28</sup> has a strong tendency to coincide with the Subject,<sup>29</sup> they are not the same. Topic and focus articulate the information structure of the sentence.<sup>30</sup>

In some familiar terms, topic and focus are defined in terms of the familiar notion of “givenness”, topic representing the “given“ or “old” information, focus the “new”. It follows

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<sup>22</sup> JACENNIK & DRYER (1992, 213–214).

<sup>23</sup> Other instances mentioned by JACENNIK & DRYER (1992, 213) include group-member relationship, separate parts of the same entity, entity-derivative, set-member, participants, agents, “function holders of a process, activity, institution, or organization, typical concomitants, generalization-instantiation, anaphoric expression.

<sup>24</sup> SubTopic in the terminology of Simon Dik, cf. DIK (1989, 323–325).

<sup>25</sup> On Systemic ordering, cf. SGALL, HAJIČOVÁ & PANEVOVÁ (1986, 194–202) and below.

<sup>26</sup> Hawkins (1994, 43–45) specifically states that free word order is determined by the need to recognize syntactic structure rapidly on-line (xii). He attempts to reduce most functional explanation of language to processing phenomena. While a lot of his processing explanations do make sense (e.g. processing explanation of pronoun retention in relative clauses), he is not correct to state that topic-focus articulation does not determine the surface representation of free word order languages at all. There is, moreover, an interesting way to link topic-focus articulation and “processing” in general, perceivers need to process syntactic structure, but also information structure, since language is a means of communication. It could be stated that word order in free word order languages is determined by syntactic and information processing.

<sup>27</sup> For a clear representation, see EYRE (1986, 123). This means that topic and focus are scalars - there are degrees of topicality and focality.

<sup>28</sup> I shall hence, for the sake of brevity, call topic proper „Topic“ and focus proper „Focus“.

<sup>29</sup> Not only in SVO languages, as EYRE (1986) believes. Word order is the result of surface syntax, while topic-focus articulation is a feature of the tectogrammatical representations.

<sup>30</sup> Similarly SHISHA-HALEVY (1986, 70–71).

from what has been said above that the relation of “X says something about Y” applies rather to topic and focus<sup>31</sup> than to subject and predicate (further on topic and focus see below, page 14 – 16).

In most European languages, Topic-Focus Articulation is considered to be expressed in surface structure by the interplay of word order with the position of the intonation center. Although intonation seems to be the „default“ means of encoding TFA in many languages, in some (non-European) languages (for example Chinese or Japanese), TFA is also encoded by morphology (eg. marking on the Topic), and presumably, in these languages intonation is only secondary. Middle Egyptian seems to belong to these languages, since at least some aspects of TFA (non-focality, or topicality, of the verb) are morphologically marked on the verb (the so-called “emphatic” forms or Second Tenses; cf. Chapter V below).<sup>32</sup> The topical status of the verb does not imply any “emphasis” or special stress on the adverbial in focus, just as the verb, when focal, is not emphasized either. Thus, intonation probably played a secondary role and the TFA may be reconstructed by considering the word order, morphological marking and contextual boundness of the individual lexemes.

We have already stated that the deep word order is directed by the scale of communicative dynamism and proceeds from topic to focus. Surface syntax rules operate on the tectogrammatical representations, and by these rules, the deep order of autosemantic items may change significantly. In primarily SVO languages, where the focus proper (the intonation centre) is located at the right end, and the subject (which under normal conditions corresponds to the topic) to the left, surface word order primarily corresponds to the communicative dynamism. In primarily VSO languages, however, the verb occurs in the leftmost, “deep-topic”, position. Thus, the rules of syntax are at odds with the informational structuring of the sentence, and deep and surface word orders are diametrically different. This gives rise to what has been termed as “the internal tension of VSO languages” (cf. CROFT 1991). Many such languages cope with this tension by giving rise to SVO constructions, and the VSO word-order is extremely instable. It is therefore only logical that in a VSO language like Middle Egyptian, topic-fronting constructions play an important role. Various topic-fronting constructions arise whenever the underlying communicative dynamism/topic-focus articulation is strong enough to “overpower” surface syntax (Noun + *sdm=f*).<sup>33</sup> These

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<sup>31</sup> For a similar, but not identical approach, cf. DIK (1978, 130).

<sup>32</sup> The marked verbs are those to the left of the topic-focus boundary, which can, but does not necessarily imply marked Focus status of a circumstantial/adverbial element. The adverbial probably always belongs to the focus, but its marking is a feature of discourse, not syntax/semantics.

<sup>33</sup> I have operated with this notion in my article on Topicalisation (LANDGRÁFOVÁ 2001, 71–80).



constructions, however, are licensed only by strong Topics. Patterns develop that reflect the preferred SVO word-order (the subject-stative construction), without marking either the topic or the focus in any way.

### ***II.iii. Definition of Topic and Focus***

We shall now look in somewhat greater depth at the notions of topic and focus. We have already mentioned that most frameworks use the given/new distinction in order to define these two concepts. We have also mentioned that in terms of the functional-generative description, topic and focus are defined on the basis of the so-called scale of Communicative Dynamism, i.e. on the basis of the degree of their contribution to the information development of the discourse. Similarly VAN KUPPENVELT (1995, 109) sees topicality as the general organizing principle in discourse. More formally, then, it can be said that the topic material is interpreted relative to the ‘current (local) context’, and contributes to establishing a new “local context”; focussed material is then interpreted relative to the updated local context as established by topic material (HAJIČOVÁ, PARTEE & SGALL 1998, 29) .

This means that the notions of topic and focus are defined in relation to each other, and they are interdependent (cf. also MALAISE & WINAND 1999, 667). Each sentence has a focus, some “new” information (with the notable exception of our honoured politicians, we do not generally speak in order to say nothing unless our speech is of a formulaic or formalized character), but not every sentence does necessarily have to have a topic (the so-called thetic sentences, realized in Egyptian as the *pw*-sentences, are defined precisely by their lack of topic).

Topic can be defined as a cluster concept (in accordance with RITTER 1995, 26), with the following characteristics:

- i. “aboutness” (most prominent characteristics)
- ii. known, given information
- iii. “foregrounded in the stock of shared knowledge” (SGALL, HAJIČOVÁ & PANEVOVÁ 1986, 54-59), which includes:
  - high in the hierarchy of “inherent salience”
  - high in the hierarchy of thematicity of semantic sentence constituents
  - culturally-determined factors
- iv. activated

v. determined (which is closely connected with ii., iii. and iv. above)

Aboutness, listed as (i.), is one of the main features used across theories to define topic. DIK (1989, 318) defines topicality as pertaining to what the clause is about. He also believes, unlike the present author, that the function “topic” can only be assigned to terms, however, in the same paragraph he seems to view the sentence as divided into “topical and focal elements”, i.e. to hold a view similar to the one followed in this work.

Numerous definitions of topic mention “known” and “given information” (ii) at a prominent place. While the terms “known” and “given” are self-explanatory, it should be stressed here that in terms of the definition of topic, “known” and “given” information does not mean objectively known and given information, but *known/given for the hearer as assumed by the speaker*. The intended audience is thus very relevant for the definition of the topic, as well as the assumptions of the author/speaker about the state of mind of his intended audience.

The foregrounding of a certain element, as mentioned in (iii.), is a very complex phenomenon. Besides culturally-determined “inherent” salience of certain elements (typically, “God”, “the president/king” in our culture), the foregrounding is connected with a number of various hierarchies. CHAFE (1976, 212) used a combination of various hierarchies to create his scale of salience of linguistic categories. For the study of topic-focus articulation, the table concerning the nature of referents, which CHAFE (1976) lists as Table A, is the most important and we reproduce it below:

**more salient**

human  
animate  
proper  
singular  
concrete  
definite  
referential  
count  
non-third person

**less salient**

nonhuman  
inanimate  
common  
nonsingular  
abstract  
indefinite  
nonreferential  
mass  
third person

An item becomes activated (iv.) when mentioned in the focus part of the sentence and may then be used in the next sentence as topic. When it is not mentioned, it fades away from being activated and after a few sentences, it is no longer likely to be chosen as topic (cf. SGALL, HAJIČOVÁ & PANEVOVÁ 1986, 58–59), or requires special re-activating strategies (DIK

1989; DIK 1997). Also, when one element is mentioned, other related concepts become activated.

RITTER (1995, 26) gives two other aspects, however, one of them, position in the sentence, is actually the means of encoding of topic in surface syntax (we could perhaps reformulate this as “left position in the TR”), and the other, “Reliefgebung” is too vague to be used for definition.

Focus can then be defined as that what the speaker wants to assert concerning the topic, as that part of the sentence that contributes new information. Simon DIK (1989, 326) defines “focal information” communicatively, as “the change that the speaker wishes to bring about in the pragmatic information of the addressee.” Although Dik calls topicality and focality “pragmatic” functions, his definition of pragmatics differs from the common one in that “the assignment of pragmatic function happens at the level of the underlying structure, grammatical rules are applied first over this structure,” i.e. Dik’s “pragmatic” functions belong to the sphere of what we call tectogrammatics, and have semantic relevance.<sup>34</sup>

#### ***II.iv. Encoding of topic and focus***

As far as the means of encoding of topic and focus are concerned, several clear cross-linguistic tendencies can be seen.<sup>35</sup>

- i. The topic tends to coincide with the subject, and tends to be encoded as a NP
- ii. The NP that encodes the Topic or topical elements tends to be determined
- iii. In unmarked sentences, Topic tends to appear in sentence-initial position, reflecting the underlying word order, which is built along the scale of communicative dynamism. More generally, it can be stated that topical elements have a tendency to appear to the left in the sentence, focal element appear to the right.

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<sup>34</sup> A similar view is held by LAMBRECHT (1994, 245), namely, that what he calls “categories of information structure” have to be integrated in grammatical description. For the semantic relevance of topic and focus, cf. below.

<sup>35</sup> We are not considering intonation, which is an important means of encoding topic and focus cross-linguistically (cf. DRESSLER (1974, 92), in any detail here, because of two reasons. One is that we only have written records of Middle Egyptian, and know very little of its intonation. The second and even more important one is that the present author suggests that a semantically relevant distinction such as topic-focus must be perceptible in written, as well as in spoken language, and intonation thus actually forms an auxiliary means of encoding in spoken language, aiding recognition, but can not be the exclusive means of encoding such categories. The other, in our view primary, methods of encoding topic and focus are considered in this study. Considering cross-linguistic evidence, though, we must bear in mind that intonation probably did play a role in the encoding of topic-focus articulation in Middle Egyptian.

iv. Focus tends to be encoded as the contextually non-bound term dependent on the main verb, i.e., under neutral circumstances, if the sentence has non-bound adverbial complements, they form the Focus of the sentence.

Point (i.) follows from the defining traits of Topic. Characteristics like “aboutness” and “activatedness” make it clear why Topic is mostly a noun, and very often the subject. It is easy to talk “about” Jane and have Jane activated, either by Jane having been mentioned in previous co-text, or by her being present to the conversation involved, or by (and this is highly relevant for Middle Egyptian) a PICTURE of her accompanying the text, or else by Jane simply being the speaker’s or addressee’s sister/fiancée/best friend. It is not that straightforward and easy, though it is certainly possible, to talk about “having beaten the soul out of that bastard yesterday”, not in the least because, unlike “Jane”, it involves the activation of several concepts (“beating the soul out of someone”, “that bastard” and “yesterday” at least) simultaneously. The Topic is thus encoded as a noun due to the cognitive and processing optimality of such situation in default contexts, being a noun is, however, by no means a defining or necessary trait of Topics.

The Subject corresponds, more often than not, to the First Actant or *Actor* of the deep cases (or  $\theta$ -roles), i.e. expresses the actor or origin of a process. In passive constructions, it expresses the *Objective*, i.e. the “undergoer” of the process. As such, it again is most likely that which is “talked about” and the “known/given” or “activated” part of the sentence/clause. But again, not all subjects are Topics and not all Topics are Subjects.

Point (ii.) is basically an extension of point (i.), but is connected with the other dominant characteristic of topic, namely, “expressing known, given information”.

Point (iii) is tightly connected with the question of word order. In considering the relationship between word order and topic-focus articulation, the first typological division should be made between those languages in which main clause word order primarily correlates with the underlying topic-focus structuring, and those in which order primarily correlates with grammatical relations or other syntactic factors.<sup>36</sup> In languages of the first type, grammatical relations are encoded primarily by other means than word order, and grammatical rules applied over the underlying tectogrammatical representation thus do not

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<sup>36</sup> Adapted from PAYNE (1992, 1).

distort its ordering, which is retained, with slight modifications, in the surface structure. Languages of the second type encode grammatical relations primarily by word order. Grammatical rules applied over the underlying tectogrammatical representation thus may lead to a rearrangement of the elements and the resulting surface word order may differ significantly from the underlying one. This is most clearly seen in VSO languages. Interestingly enough, such languages are unstable and tend to develop alternative, Subject (i.e. Default Topic) first constructions.<sup>37</sup> Languages where for example grammatical relations are expressed by word order mark topic and focus by other means than surface word order (cf. FIRBAS 1992, 33).

There are several languages, in which the element encoding new information prototypically comes first in the sentence.<sup>38</sup> The available description of the languages in question does not, however, make it clear, whether these focus-first constructions are actually not focalisations of some kind. The researchers who have studied these languages all believe that these languages follow the principle they call “lay the foundations first” (PAYNE 1992, 10), which is strongly reminiscent of our “old/given information first” principle.<sup>39</sup>

Point (iv.) From the definition of focus basically as “new, asserted information” it follows that in a simple (rather infrequent) subject-predicate construction, such as “Jack returned,” the predicate will be the Focus, asserting of the known entity “Jack” the new information that he “returned”. However, sentences/clauses of the type represented here by examples a-c are much more frequent:

- a. *Jack returned victorious.*
- b. *Jack returned after a successful combat.*
- c. *Jack returned, having won the gold medal in sparring.*

These sentences all have the same subject (“Jack”), which is in neutral context and with neutral/default intonation the Topic. In other contexts and with different that default intonation, “Jack” can be focus, cf. example d:

- d. *A: Who returned victorious?*

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<sup>37</sup> As we shall see later, Middle Egyptian, a VSO language, is no exception.

<sup>38</sup> MITHUN (1992, 39): Cayuga, Ngandi and Coos; TOMLIN & RHODES (1992, 133): Ojibwa.

<sup>39</sup> The principle of „laying the foundations“ appears to be the cognitive counterpart of the information structuring principle of „putting given information first“.

*B: Jack returned victorious.*

The verb in examples a-c is, under default conditions, the least dynamic element of the focal part of the sentence. Besides contributing some information, it has another, most important function as the head of the whole sentence. In other words, the verb is, in English, an obligatory part of the sentence. However, as we have seen in above, “Jack returned” is a grammatical English sentence. The adverbial complements “victorious”, “after a successful combat” and “having won the gold medal in sparring” of a-c are thus free or facultative, not required by the grammar. They must be there for a reason, though, and, straightforwardly enough, the reason for their existence is that they contain the information that the sentence conveys. Logically, an item that is not required by the grammar is required communicatively. Therefore, the Focus of the sentence/clause is most frequently (by default) expressed by the free complements (expressed in the form of an adverb, or prepositional phrase, sometimes also by a dependent clause<sup>40</sup>). Languages have strategies to place the Focus on other elements of the sentence, and under special, non-default conditions, free adverbials may focal, or even topical.

DIK (1989, 329) points out that “if a language has special strategies for the expression of focus constituents, these strategies will typically be also used for question words.” This is true of Middle Egyptian with its focussing operator  *jn*, which is also a question word. For the purposes of this study, it is also important to bear in mind that the focussing strategies of a language may differ according to the element on which focus is placed (DIK 1989, 331); this phenomenon is again apparently reflected in Middle Egyptian, cf. chapters VI, VIII and IX below.

## ***II.v. Markedness levels of TFA***

According to SGALL (1974, 59–60), there are at least three markedness levels (his “layers”) of topic-focus articulation:

(a) the basic level, where the hierarchical scale of communicative dynamism is unmarked; determined directly through the relations between the elements of the

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<sup>40</sup> This holds true for dependent clauses as the one in our example c; other types of dependent clauses have their own TFA and convey background information (their topic and focus are less prominent than those of the main clause).

semantic structure. In languages that do not use word order to encode grammatical relations, there is a relationship between the scale of communicative dynamism and word order on this layer.

(b) the second level consists of cases where the encoding of deep cases to sentence constituents gives rise to a marked (unusual) variation of the scale of communicative dynamism.

(c) the third level, sometimes called also the „second instance;“ includes variants influenced by contrast, repetition, etc (mainly questions and emphasis).

Based on characteristic this, we may distinguish default Topic (first argument of the main verb) and non-default Topic (anything else, if not strongly positive in one of the above topicality characteristics). The encoding of default vs. non default Topic varies across languages, but it may be an important factor in distinguishing the various types of Topic.

#### ***II.vi. The hierarchical nature of TFA***

It is not only the sentence that can be divided into the topical and focal part. In fact, topic and focus are hierarchical notions that can be defined both at lower than sentence levels (phrase or clause; cf. HAJIČOVÁ, PARTEE & SGALL 1998, 130). This so-called embedded topic-focus articulation can occur under the following conditions:

(i) When there is an embedded clause in the topic or focus of the sentence (but an embedded clause may also be divided between the topic and focus of the matrix sentence; cf. HAJIČOVÁ, PARTEE & SGALL 1998, 136)

(ii) There are multiple focalisers on the focus side (each focalising within its own level, i.e. creating Fs on several levels)

(iii) There is a focalised element within the topic side (the whole topic part is topic on a higher level, the focalised element is Focus on a lower level)<sup>41</sup>

However, topic-focus articulation is also definable at higher than sentence levels. The most universally accepted example of this phenomenon is the behaviour of topics in texts and the existence of text topics besides sentence topics. However, the phenomenon appears to have a much wider application: Siona (a Columbian Indian language) has particles that

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<sup>41</sup> Such situations occur in Middle Egyptian, they are treated under the heading “complex structures” in the ensuing text.

focalise items in the text, but not in the sentence (WHEELER 1967, 60–77); Middle Egyptian seems to possess a particle that focalizes whole clauses in the text (cf. Chapter IX below).

Depending on the language, differences in degree or subtype of topicality and focality of chunks of information may (co-)condition certain expression rules.

Another way in which the distribution of topical and focal information may be relevant for syntactic choices is that certain constellations may systematically (dis) favour, or actually block, certain semantic or syntactic choices (BOLKESTEIN 1998, 203–204.)



### III. TOPIC-FOCUS ARTICULATION IN EGYPTOLOGY

The history of research of Topic-Focus articulation in Egyptology can be divided into two main parts – the research on the Second Tenses which went on sometimes with awareness of linguistic research on topic and focus, and sometimes without, and to the (generally more recent) works that employ the notions of topic and focus (or theme and rheme) in the general theory of the Egyptian language.

#### *III. i The Second Tenses*

Most of the research connected with Topic and Focus, information structure and similar phenomena has been connected with the subject of the so-called emphatic forms or second tenses. We will therefore take a closer look at the history of research connected with them.<sup>42</sup>

##### *III.i.i. The prehistory of the second tenses*

The *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* forms with their last consonant reduplicated have attracted the attention of grammarians from the very beginning. The first one to have called the *mrr=f* form “emphatic” was Adolf Erman (ERMAN 1928, §297–302, ERMAN 1880, 143–147). He understands “emphatic” not in the Polotskyan sense, but as “forms, that are used where something is said with emphasis”.<sup>43</sup> The scope of the “emphasis” is not defined, however, under his, albeit vague, definition, the term “emphatic” seems justified. He notes the use of the *mrr=f* form in future tense context, as object of verbs and following prepositions. Interestingly for the modern approach to this form, he notes also its use in conditional sentences not introduced by *jr*. For late Egyptian, he confuses several forms that display the prothetic *yod* into a single “emphatic” form (ERMAN 1880, 143–147).

Sethé (1889) follows a similar approach, taking the “emphatic” as one of the modi of the *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* forms.

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<sup>42</sup> A comprehensive overview of research connected in a more general way with information structure (the German term is Funktionelle Satzperspektive) can be found in RITTER (1992, 18–24).

<sup>43</sup> “Die emphatischen Formen werden da gebraucht, wo man etwas mit Nachdruck sagt“ ERMAN (1928, 298).

GARDINER (1927, §440–446) and others<sup>44</sup> understand the *mrr=f* form aspectually as imperfective. However, Gardiner himself says that “there are several uses of this form, where the connection with the concept of imperfective remains uncertain” (GARDINER 1927, §446). The aspectual interpretation depended on the theory that *sdm=f* derived from perfective and imperfective participles in Egyptian.

*III.i.ii. The discovery – the Polotskyan scheme*<sup>45</sup> (Hans Jakob Polotsky until Collected papers)

The second tenses were first defined for Coptic in 1944 by Hans Jakob Polotsky (POLOTSKY 1944). The first form to be defined was the Second Perfect. As the second tenses in the later phases of the Egyptian language form a clear morphological category, the early grammarians were aware of the existence of two different forms of the individual tenses, for example for the perfect  $\alpha\varphi\omega\tau\bar{\eta}$  and  $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\varphi\omega\tau\bar{\eta}$ . Polotsky understood the function of these forms as focalising (the adverbial complement, “Hervorhebung des adverbialen Komplements”). He researched into the history of the language and identified second tenses also for Late and Middle Egyptian. In Middle Egyptian, the first form to have been identified as second tense (“emphatic”) was the reduplicating *mrr=f* form, until then called “imperfective”.

Polotsky identified the function of the second tenses as follows:

Überall, wo es sich um “indikativischen” Gebrauch des *sdm=fs* handelt, ist eine adverbialle Ergänzung vorhanden, die im Rahmen des Satzganzen von solchem Gewicht ist, dass es sogar das Verbum überwiegt und den „Zielpunkt“ darstellt.

He uses the term “emphatic” only with a question mark, noting that “neither the form, nor the sentence is emphatic”. This “emphasising” role of the second tenses has since Polotsky’s work been the majority view in Egyptology, in more modern terminology, the role of the second tenses is seen as “emphasising the adverbial complement” and described as “focalising”.

Polotsky understood his “emphatic” forms as types of relative forms and ascribed nominal character to them. According to Polotsky, who adhered to a strictly structuralist “substitutional” framework, the nominal character of the forms is clear above all after

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<sup>44</sup> Notably LEXA (1923–1924, 40–42), who treats the *sdm=f* in general as “forme verbal nominale” and the reduplicated form as “imperfectif”, admitting, however, that it can have perfective meaning.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. POLOTSKY (1957; 1964; 1965).

prepositions or as subject or object of another verb, i.e. from uses in nominal context, where otherwise a noun would have stood.

Another argument that Polotsky used for the “nominal” character of the emphatic form is the form of the “emphatic” sentence, which, according to Polotsky, directly corresponds to the form of the sentence with adverbial predicate. He based the entire grammar of Egyptian on adverbial sentences, and this inspired numerous later “Polotskianising” works – see section III.i.iii for these.

Polotsky turned his attention also to the *sḏm.n=f* form and realized that the passive *sḏm.n.tw=f* appears exclusively in the contexts of the “emphatic” form. Since *sḏm.n.tw=f* is always “emphatic” and it is a derivation of the *sḏm.n=f*, it follows that the opposition [+EMPHATIC] and [-EMPHATIC] holds also for the *sḏm.n=f* form, despite no morphological differences between the forms. Another argument for the existence of the emphatic *sḏm.n=f* was found by Polotsky in the development of the language:

	<b>Middle Egyptian</b>	<b>Late Egyptian/Demotic</b>	<b>Coptic</b>
[-EMPHATIC]	<i>sḏm.n=f</i>	<i>sḏm=f</i>	ⲁⲚⲪⲟⲱⲧⲙ
[+EMPHATIC]	<i>sḏm.n=f</i>	<i>j.jrj=f sḏm</i>	ⲛⲧⲁⲚⲪⲟⲱⲧⲙ

In a footnote, Polotsky adds the following interesting remark:

There is no positive criterion to determine emphasis borne by a specific adverbial complement. The only possibility is to analyze whether, in the given context, it is the verb or the adverbial complement that contributes more to the predicative content of the sentence. The verb of these sentences is often one of “incomplete predication” and requires an adverbial complement in order to make any sense at all. (POLOTSKY 1957, 110, n. 1)

### III.i.iii. The chaos – Polotskianizing scheme<sup>46</sup>

In POLOTSKY (1976), Polotsky proposes a purely structuralist grammar of Egyptian (often called Substitutional Grammar by opponents). He postulated paradigmatic nominal, adjectival and adverbial forms of the verb to the point of the almost complete disappearance of the verb in its untransformed form. The “emphatic” sentence was reinterpreted as adverbial. This approach seems to be strongly motivated in the translation norm of the

<sup>46</sup> POLOTSKY 1976; JUNGE 1989; SCHENKEL 1978.

“emphatic” sentence as *It is going that he did* and the like. Thus, the Ist and IInd tenses were analysed as follows:

	Subject	Predicate
first tense	<i>jw=f</i>	<i>st=f</i>
second tense	<i>stt=f</i>	<i>m ntr.wt</i>

The particle *jw* became the most important element of first tense forms. The idea of nominal and adverbial verbal forms was developed further by other Egyptologists and became the main thesis of Polotskyanising grammar. In the end, all sentences were considered either as adverbial or as nominal.

This way, Polotsky’s most important discovery – the function of the second tenses – began to fade away. Researchers became more and more involved with (nominal-adverbial) syntax, where the roles of the individual elements were identified only according to their position in the sentence. W. Schenkel (SCHENKEL 1978) saw the difference between “emphatic” and “non-emphatic” forms merely in the absence or presence of *jw*, respectively. According to Schenkel, there is no emphasis involved in the second tenses, they are special in that they are adverbial in nature, and their adverbial predicate bears emphasis naturally.<sup>47</sup>

His and similar frameworks are based on a large misunderstanding, namely, the confusion of predicate (grammatical predicate) and focus (sometimes, rather confusingly, called also “logical predicate”). The opposition subject-predicate is one of (surface) syntax, the opposition topic-focus (logical subject – logical predicate) is one of deep (logical or tectogrammatic) sentence structure. These functions are very often associated with the same lexical units, but they do not have to be; i.e., grammatical subject  $\neq$  topic. This misunderstanding characterizes all Polotskyanising literature.

The result of these theories was the creation of a syntax without the verbal sentence, where a particle, such as *jw*, played the role of the subject of an adverbial sentence and the following verbal form represented an adverbial transformation. The question why would the verb need transforming in order to play the paradigm function of the verb, i.e. predicate (in focus), has never been posed. Moreover, it is in place to note here that general linguistics (as well as the post-polotskyan theories, cf. III.xx.v) consider particles as extra-clausal elements,

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<sup>47</sup> This statement corresponds to the view of the present author, the adverbial complement indeed is “naturally focal”, however, it cannot be called “predicate” nor does the verb lose its “predicative status” in second tense sentences.

which carry semantic or pragmatic nuances of meaning of the sentence, but do not belong into the tight grammatical (surface) structure of the sentence.

It is at this stage, however, that Egyptology began to talk about Topic and Focus. Junge (1986) calls the “emphatic” sentence a “Focussing construction”. He nonetheless considers the “focussing” a dispensable feature of the sentence, which are in his opinion characterised by a nominal subject and adverbial predicate. He believes that as the “logical subject” (topic) and “grammatical subject” (subject) do not coincide in these sentences, the notion of (grammatical) subject is unnecessary.

HOCH (1997) describes the “emphatic” forms as Topic, insists however, without justification, on the nominal character of the second tenses, although he no longer sees the verbal forms in subordinate clauses as adverbial. He defines the focus of the second tenses as marking “focus shift”.

The nominal character of the second tenses is argued in circles. They are nominal, because their distribution (in part) corresponds to that of nouns, but they can serve as objects of prepositions “because they are nominal” (HOCH 1997, 173).

Even the greatest defenders of the so-called Standard Theory, as this framework is known now, had problems with the full implications of this scheme. Thus for example JUNGE (1986, 81) felt compelled to write that

The various forms of the verb, joined together as “circumstantial”, are those, that are able to take an adverbial function. When they, however, express the logical predicate, they are of course “adverbial” only in form,

thus, to use Junge’s own word, “exploding” the correlation between form and meaning, on which the Standard theory is based.

### *III. i.iv Criticism of the Polotskyanising scheme<sup>48</sup>*

The critics of the Polotskyanising scheme at first created no single paradigm of the language, but criticised (most often with the tools of general post-structuralist linguistics) the most important ideas of the Standard Theory. In doing so, however, their approaches to Egyptian grammar greatly varied from one another.

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<sup>48</sup> ALLEN (1991); EYRE (1991); HINTZE (1997); LOPRIENO (1991); VERNUS (1991).

ALLEN (1991) points out that while there are nominal forms of the verb, Egyptian can use also non-nominal forms in nominal context. As far as the other (non-nominal) forms of the verb are concerned, they are capable of both adverbial and independent use, and thus the existence of adverbial forms is dubious. He distinguishes several *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* forms, differentiated in terms of tense and aspect.

According to EYRE (1991), the forms of the suffix conjugation are subject-predicate phrases, which are unable to encode the opposition of Topic-Focus. He sees *jw* as a “formalized Topic”, which is followed by the form of the suffix conjugation as Predicate (where he should say “Focus” to avoid the predicate – focus confusion). He sees the *mrr=f* form not as nominalisation or topicalisation of the verbal form, but as a tense/aspect marking, admitting at the same time, however, that Coptic second tenses are topicalised forms. His analysis of two historically related form types with almost the same distribution as strikingly different in meaning is, however, not very persuasive.

VERNUS (1991, 333-352) has presented the so-far most detailed account of Topic-Focus articulation in Egyptology. His account is based on the theories of the French linguist Claude Hagège (HAGÈGE 1985). Vernus defines Theme (=our Topic) and Rheme (=our Focus) primarily in terms of informativeness, taking their other properties as secondary and derived. Theme is according to Vernus “the element that the speaker regards as the least informative; thence the secondary meaning of the term as that which is given or known, either by the context, or because it is supposed to be present in the world of the speaker and his hearer” and Rheme is “basically the element that the speaker considers the most informative. Thus, it usually corresponds to that which is new or less expected.” (VERNUS 1992, 334)

Vernus adds that “in the unmarked sentence, the Rheme corresponds to the Predicate, and the Theme to the Subject.” This is a very important statement. The latter part, namely, that the default surface subject corresponds to the Topic of the clause is true, due to various structuring and cognitive reasons.<sup>49</sup> However, it is not true that the unmarked Focus corresponds to the predicate of the sentence. This works with very simple Subject-Predicate constructions (“Jack is reading.”). If, however, facultative elements are expressed in surface structure, it is these that form the focus of the sentence. For example, in “Daniel and Jack fought restlessly”, the verb is focal, but the Focus of the sentence may be “fought restlessly” or even “restlessly”. As the sentence “Daniel and Jack fought” is fully grammatical, the only

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<sup>49</sup> For details cf. KEENAN (1976), for the cognitive background cf. CARON (1995, 116–123).

reason for “restlessly” to be expressed at all is that it is informationally loaded, thus expressing the new, important information, i.e. sentence Focus.

Thus, due to this confusion, Vernus considers the typical unmarked sentences, where the Rheme corresponds to the circumstantial, as marked. His other marked sentence types, where the Theme corresponds to anything but the subject and the Rheme corresponds to the subject, do nonetheless represent genuine marked sentences.

Within this framework, Vernus proposes a functional categorization of marked sentence types. For the purposes of the present work, we shall study only his marked verbal clauses (VERNUS 1991, 339–342):

Clause/sentence type	Function
Cleft Sentence	To focalize the Subject
Second Tenses	To focalize one or more adverbials
Construction with <i>wnn</i>	To focalize one or more adverbials
The <i>n ... js</i> negation <sup>50</sup>	To focalize one or more adverbials

Vernus further identifies three kinds of focus in Egyptian (his term is rheme). The first is adversative focus: *n wd=j jr.t jsf.t jn jb.w=sn hꜣ dd.t.n=j* [CT VII 464 b] “I did not command doing wrong. Their hearts transgressed what I have said.” The second is restrictive: *dd=tn pꜣ ꜥk.w n rtt=j jw=sn hr jr.t kꜣ.t* [Hekanakhte II r 29-30] “Give my people the rations only after they have worked.” Finally, the third kind of focus identified by Vernus is specificative: *jn ꜥꜣꜣ.t smꜣ ꜥnd.t* (Adm. 12, 14) “It is the majority that kills the minority.”

While the overall scheme designed by VERNUS (1991) is untenable (confusion about default focus, one function shared by too many different forms), it represented a very important step towards the correct understanding of the phenomena of topic-focus articulation in the Egyptian language.

HINTZE (1997) analyses the origin of the verb-subjugation theories (term of COLLIER 1992) and traces them back to the theories of the sameness of possessive and verbal suffix pronouns and those of the nominal origin of the suffix conjugation. He then dismisses the first point by the (in general linguistics common) approach of reading house-you and go-you rather than house-your and go(-ing)-your. He goes on to persuasively dismiss the two theories of the nominal origin of the suffix conjugation.

<sup>50</sup> For the *n...js* negation as negating the Focus, cf. LOPRIENO (1991).

Hintze sees in the second tenses a syntactic means of emphasizing an adverbial complement.

### *III. i.v The Post-Polotskyan scheme<sup>51</sup>*

The works of the Post-Polotskyan framework make use of a syntactic-functional description of the verbal forms. They dispose of “adverbial” forms, treating them as “verbal verb forms”, i.e. unmarked verb forms, despite of sometimes, for comprehension’s sake, retaining the term “circumstantial *sdm=f*”. The “nominal” verb forms of the Standard Theory have mostly become “topical” forms, though some theories still retain the concept of nominal verb forms. Egyptian is analysed in terms of (more or less) current linguistic theories – Cognitive linguistics (COLLIER 1992; 1994), Functional linguistics (LOPRIENO 1995), Generative linguistics (REINTGES 1998; 2003), or using their own brand new system (SCHENKEL 1998).

Most of today’s researchers (outside the Standard Theory) seem to agree on the analysis of the Second Tenses as topical verb forms, with the result of the verb appearing first in the clause/sentence and the adverbial complement becoming the main Focus of the sentence/clause:

$$[ \{skdd\}_{Vpred} \{t3\}_{Nsubj} ]^T [ \{hf.t wd=k\}_{AdvKmpl.} ]^F$$

sail(TOP)      land      according-to command-poss2sg

The land sails **according to your command.**

There are two main points of disagreement among researchers of the Post-Polotskyan scheme. The first one concerns the nominal or non-nominal nature of the topicalized verb forms. It is important to note here that “nominal” of these frameworks is not the same as “nominal” of the Standard theory. The verb continues to function as the predicate of its clause and retains most of the typical characteristics of verbs. “Nominal” of the Post-Polotskyan scheme means “able to perform the syntactic function of a noun, or to function as head of a NP”.

Collier proposes the nominal character of the second tense verb forms, unfortunately, he does not go much into detail about his motivation. “Nominalised verbal forms ... deviate

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<sup>51</sup> COLLIER (1992; 1994), LOPRIENO (1995).



from the typical verbal relations in ways which seem to reflect nominal properties and thus are ... candidates for nominalization” (COLLIER 1990, 84)

Loprieno believes that second tense verbal forms can function as heads of NPs, and therefore indirectly at least partially in their nominal character. He sees the clauses with second tense verbs as “verbal clauses embedded as NPs”, i.e. clauses embedded in NP-slots. Since the verb is the head of the clause, and the clause is embedded as a NP, the verb must syntactically be (able to serve as) a noun. While it cannot be doubted that second tense verbs share a certain distribution with NPs (complement of a preposition), they retain their verbal qualities and the ability of these forms to appear in this position does not automatically imply that they must always be “nominal” (similarly REINTGES 1998, 453).

REINTGES (1998, 468–472), who works within the strict formalisms of Generative linguistics, lists several arguments against the nominal nature of the topicalised forms, as well as against the Polotskian transformation theory in general. He states that

In generative grammar, the appearance of clauses in the argument positions of the major syntactic categories (verbs, nouns, prepositions, adjectives) derives from the general format of phrase-structure rules, which require the complement of a lexical head  $X^0$  to be a fully projected syntactic phrase XP, without specifying the categorial label of either the head or its complement. (REINTGES 1998, 468–469)

and further lists several systematic structural differences between clausal arguments and NPs, which basically invalidate the theory of nominal transformations (“transpositions” in Polotskian language). These mostly involve selectional restrictions that certain environments impose on their NPs, but not on the clausal arguments (for more details see REINTGES 1998, 469–471). Reintges thus successfully argues the verbal nature of both the “circumstantial” and “nominal” verb forms.

The second problem of the current frameworks is the question whether the second tense forms really cause the focalisation of the adverbial complement, or whether the “emphasis” lies simply in the fact that the verb is topical and the complement thus remains the only focus of the sentence.

Loprieno writes in a footnote (LOPRIENO 1991, 214, n. 54) that

It should now be *opinio communis* that the presence of a marked form directed in the classical literary language by syntactic presence of an AdvP as a rheme, and sure not always by its actual pragmatic focality”.

In essence, Loprieno is right, but the wording of this sentence complicates the matter slightly. We have already seen that, unless expressly marked otherwise, the (facultative) adverbial complement has a natural tendency to be focal or even Focus. The topical verb form makes the adverbial complement the only focal part of the sentence, i.e. Focus, but the adverbial complement need not be focalised, i.e. marked in any way.

CASSONET (2001) speaks about focussing (“marked rheme”), and searches for the adverbial phrase, which is selected for “emphasis” by the topical form. It is, however, a little suspect that her focussed adverbials are the facultative adverbials at the end of the sentence, which are the main sentence foci by default.

The history of research of the Second Tenses is by no means over. Several important tendencies are beginning to emerge in the last years, however. Egyptologists with a background in General Linguistic (Mark Collier, Chris Reintges) have proposed theories of Middle Egyptian grammar without nominal and adverbial transformations of the verb, and have thus brought Egyptian back among world’s languages. New discussion is also being opened about the nature of the “emphasis” connected with the “emphatic form” (second tense), and some authors (notably LOPRIENO 1995) see this emphasis as a secondary effect of the topical nature of the Second Tense verb.

### *III.ii Topic and Focus in theories of Egyptian grammar*

We will not re-examine the theories that made marginal use of topic and focus to explain the Second Tenses or aspects of the Standard Theory here, enough has already been stated above. At this point, we will rather concentrate on some of the most recent theories of the Egyptian language that have made use of theories of Topic-Focus articulation under its various denominations. These are, unfortunately, rather scarce.

Thomas Ritter<sup>52</sup> (RITTER 1995) begins with the unfortunate premise that topic-focus articulation (his “funktionelle Satzperspektive”, functional sentence perspective) is a pragmatic phenomenon. This disables him to a large extent to see the encoding of TFA in

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<sup>52</sup> Ritter’s work includes a reasonably good overview of the understanding (within pragmatics) of theories of topic and focus in Egyptology until the early 1990s in his work (RITTER 1995, 18–25), the material discussed there will not be repeated here in any detail. Ritter does not consider the application of these theories to Egyptian grammar, this, however, was in the works he discusses (with the exception of LOPRIENO 1988; 1991 and VERNUS 1991) largely limited to the Second Tenses.

Egyptian grammar. For Ritter, topic and focus<sup>53</sup> are immediate constituents of the pragmatic dimension of language analysis. We have already considered Ritter’s definition of topic and focus above on p. 15, suffice it to say that his use of a cluster-concept definition for the terms (RITTER 1995, 25–37) appears to be both useful and corresponding to reality. He then defines “Fokus” (i.e. focus proper in our terminology) as that part of the focus that carries the newest information and marks the “main point” of the utterance (RITTER 1995, 37). That Ritter’s notion of “Rhema” and “Fokus” correspond to our *focus* and *focus proper* is clearly seen from his example 1:

*m tgj.k r ntj m-b3h=f*  
 [tgj=k]<sup>THEMA</sup> [r ntj m-b3h={k}]<sup>FOKUS</sup><sup>RHEMA</sup>  
 Do not look at that which is before **him**,  
 look at that which is before **you**. (Ptahhotep L, 122–123, emphasis Ritter’s)

In our analysis, the second clause would look as follows:

[tgj={k}]<sup>TOPIC PROPER</sup><sup>TOPIC</sup> [r ntj {m-b3h=k}]<sup>FOCUS PROPER</sup><sup>FOCUS</sup>

differing from Ritter’s in identifying topic proper within the topical part of the sentence (topic) and analysing a larger part of the focus as focus proper (contrastive focus in this case). RITTER (1995, 39–42) goes on to identify the various types of focus<sup>54</sup> (as defined by DIK (1989) and treated above in Chapter II) in Egyptian sentences.

In a further section of his work, RITTER (1995, 74–75) makes the important observation that Egyptian shows traces of the universal<sup>55</sup> identified by DIK (1980, 152–159) for VSO languages: the tendency to subject-first constructions, often realized by extraposing the subject and leaving an anaphoric pronoun on its original place in the sentence. RITTER (1995, 75) identified the development of Middle Egyptian from VSO to SVO patterns and sees the (frequent) NP-VSO constructions as topicalisations that form the initial stage of this development, which he characterizes as: VSO > NP VSO > SVS<sub>(anaph.)</sub>O > SVO.

<sup>53</sup> RITTER (1995) uses the terms Thema and Rhema; as his definitions of these terms are very close to the definitions used in the present work for topic and focus, I have “translated” the terms into our terminology in order to avoid confusion.

<sup>54</sup> Completive, contrastive, parallel, counter-presuppositional, replacing, expanding, restrictive and selective (RITTER 1995, 39).

<sup>55</sup> I have briefly discussed this universal in Croft’s terms as “internal tension of VSO languages” in LANDGRÁFOVÁ 2001.

For illustration, table 1 below summarizes Ritter’s account of the development of perfective verb forms:

VSO	NP VSO	SVS <sub>(anaph.)</sub> O	SVO
<i>jrj=f</i>	NP <i>jrj=f</i>		<i>ᵐw=f ḥr jrj.t</i> <i>ᶜḥᶜ.n=f ḥr jrj.t</i>
<i>(ᵐw) jrj.n=f</i> <i>jrj=f</i>	NP <i>jrj=f</i>		
<i>jrj.jn=f</i> <i>jrj.ḥr=f</i>	NP <i>jrj.ḥr=f</i>		<i>wn.jn=f ḥr jrj.t</i>

**Table 1:** The development of perfective verb forms in Egyptian (according to RITTER 1995)

Despite his insightful analysis of the important role that topicality plays in Middle Egyptian verbal system, a lot of Ritter’s analysis is thwarted by the fact that he strictly considers topic and focus to be constituents and that the verb and its complements have always to belong to either (mostly) the topical or the focal part of the sentence, but cannot be divided (RITTER 1995, 81). Most unfortunate is his argument for the verbal nature of the verb forms on the basis of their focality and the connecting of the topicality of verb forms with nominal transpositions. We have already seen (above, section III.i.) that verb topicality does not imply nominal transposition (cf. also REINTGES 1998). In the following section, RITTER (1995, 83–94) analyses the topicality of verb forms in Middle Egyptian and concludes (in keeping with the present theory) that while some verbs that have adverbial adjunct are topical, they need not have to be and the majority actually is not.

The *Grammaire raisonnée* of Michel Malaise and Jean Winand (MALAISE & WINAND 1999, 667–683) includes a chapter on “Thématisation et rhématisation”, it keeps the outdated concepts of “substantival” *mrr=f* and deals only with the marked instances; topicalisation and focalisation. They again limit the application of theories of topic and focus to the domain of pragmatics (their “point de vue énonciatif”).

They distinguish between “thématisation” and “topicalisation” and “rhématisation” and “focalisation”. They define these concepts as follows:

- Thématisation consists of formally marking the theme of a proposition, whether or not it is the natural theme. Topicalisation is then a kind of second-instance thématisation, which reinforces the theme. The result is contrastive.

- Rhématisation serves to formally mark the rheme of a proposition, whether or not it assumes the function of natural rheme. Focalisation serves to reinforce the rhematic element. Again, the result is contrastive.

In Egyptian, they identify thematisation as left- and right dislocation (anteposition and postposition); topicalisation involves marking by the particle *jr* and rearrangement of the sentence. Rhematisation involves above all the so-called independent pronouns, but also the *jn*-marked subject extraposition.

On the general theoretical level, Malaise & Winand unfortunately follow the transpositional standard-theoretical grammar, despite some emendations from theoretical linguistics. The choice of the opposition thématisation – topicalisation instead of, for example, topic marking – topicalisation, is unfortunate, as it implies the same processes in both phenomena (and leads to calling thethetic *pw*-sentence “rhématisation of a proposition” while this is merely a thetic sentence, i.e. which lacks a topic; for an analysis of thetic sentences in Egyptian cf. LOPRIENO 1995, 109–112).

Loprieno’s *Ancient Egyptian: a Linguistic Introduction* (LOPRIENO 1995) is a complex work that analyses ancient Egyptian phonology and grammar in terms of current linguistic theory. In Loprieno’s view, the non-initial verbal sentences of the Standard Theory and some other patterns (i.e. the *jr*-less *sḏm=f* and *sḏm.n=f* forms) are syntactically independent (i.e. they form well-formed Egyptian sentences), but pragmatically dependent (in Loprieno’s words: dependent on the level of discourse), i.e. they cannot stand at the beginning of a new segment of discourse (roughly, paragraph) (LOPRIENO 1995, 163). While the exclusively pragmatic function of the particle *jr* is doubtful, Loprieno’s explanation of the apparent “dependent” nature of the *jr*-less clauses is ingenious and is based on a correct observation: the *jr*-less verb forms can undoubtedly stand in the beginning of a sentence, too often to be explained away as “scribal errors” (cf. the Corpus, as well as chapter V below).

In his chapter on verbal sentences, Loprieno acknowledges their (fully) verbal nature, pointing out to the “extreme functional versatility of the Egyptian VPs when compared with their equivalents in European languages” (LOPRIENO 1995, 183), his view thus being strikingly similar to that of REINTGES 1998 (cf. above, page 30).

Quite exceptionally in Egyptological literature, Loprieno treats the various phenomena of TFA integrally within the grammar, thus noting their semantic relevance (in, for example, the *n ... js* focus negation). We have already discussed the “internal tension of VSO languages” above, Loprieno notes the Topic + *sḏm=f* and Topic + stative patterns as the

standard means of Middle Egyptian to “topicalize any argument of a verbal or pseudoverbal predicate”, i.e. to place the Topic first in the sentence (LOPRIENO 1995, 188).

An important chapter in Loprieno’s work is dedicated to verbal sentences with topicalized predicate (i.e. the Second Tenses),<sup>56</sup> where the entire predicative phrase consisting of the verbal form accompanied by its arguments is topicalised. This construction occurs according to Loprieno’s analysis in three syntactic environments (LOPRIENO 1995, 194–495):

- The topicalised predicate is the theme (our topic) of a focalized adverbial adjunct:

*skdd t3 hft wd=k* (Peas. B1, 298-99; Loprieno’s example 43)

It is by your command (*hft wd=k*) that the land sails (*skdd t3*).

- The topicalised predicate provides a clausal topic dislocated to the left of the main sentence, creating a semantically correlative pattern.

*h33=sn r t3 m hf3w.w h3y=j m k3b.w=sn* (CT III 24a-25b B<sub>2</sub>Bo; Loprieno’s example 44)

If they go down to the earth as snakes (*h33=sn r t3 m hf3w.w*), I shall go down in their coils (*h3y=j m k3b.w=sn*).<sup>57</sup>

- And finally, in headings of chapters, where the entire text of the spell functions in fact

as a focus of the topicalised predicate:

*jrr sj mrr.t=f m hr.t-ntr* (CT III 204a; Loprieno’s example 47)

How a man does (*jrr sj*) what he wishes (*mrr.t=f*) in the necropolis (*m hr.t-ntr*):

Clearly, thus, Loprieno’s analysis of these patterns is in terms of topicalisation, not nominalisation, of the verb forms. Further, he analyses what he still, rather unfortunately, names “adverbialization” of the verb forms as a feature not of morphosyntax, as the same form can assume various functions, but as a phenomenon of tense-aspect dialectics derived from what he had formerly correctly identified as embedding of a (verbal!) VP into an adverbial slot.

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<sup>56</sup> While the Second Tenses have been already discussed above, Loprieno’s analysis is integrated within his system of the Egyptian grammar and would be only uneasily treated separately, the main aspects of his theory of the Second Tenses are therefore treated here.

<sup>57</sup> Here again we can see the association of topicalised patterns and conditionals, cf. Chapter VII below.

#### IV. THE CURRENT FRAMEWORK – A NEW THEORY OF VERB FORMS WITH RESPECT TO TFA

The current framework explores the nature of Middle Egyptian verb forms with respect to TFA, claiming that several forms of the so-called *jüngere Flexion* are based on their respective assignment of TFA roles within the sentence/clause. The individual verb forms explored in the present account are summarized in table 4.1. below.

Verb Form	VF Type	T	t	F	f
<i>sḏm=f</i> , <i>sḏm.n=f</i>	Unmarked verbal form	Usually the subject	Other elements CB	free complements	Verb and its NB arguments
<i>mrr=f</i> , <i>sḏm.n=f ...</i>	Topical verb form	Usually the subject	Verb and its NB arguments	free complements	∅
<i>jw sḏm=f</i> , <i>jw sḏm.n=f</i>	Focal verb form	Usually the subject	Other elements CB	Verb and its NB arguments	free complements

**Table 4.1** – The forms of the *jüngere Flexion*

As the table makes clear, the theory of the verb forms complies with, and is to a large extent based on, the theory of markedness (cf. eg. BATTISTELLA 1996). Markedness is a concept defined on the basis of several distinct features, the most important of which can be summarized as follows: the marked item will typically be more complex, less frequent in use, overtly marked, and will not appear in neutral contexts. In implicational relationship, a marked item is typically the implier member, the unmarked the implied (GREENBERG 1975, 80). Markedness can be defined absolutely, as a relation between two terms, one of them marked, the other unmarked, or as a scalar value, with a hierarchy of terms organised on the scale of markedness. As markedness is defined by a cluster of features, it is difficult to find empirical criteria for determining relative markedness. Statistic frequency, which would appear to be the easiest and most straightforward way of determining markedness, is commonly believed to be unreliable (MÜLLER 1999, 782), probably since frequency is a secondary feature associated with markedness, not a primary defining one. Speaker intuitions appear to be strikingly precise in determining relative markedness (MÜLLER 1999, 782), but for apparent reasons, this criterion is not applicable to Middle Egyptian. MÜLLER (1999) made an attempt to formalize speaker's intuitions, and arrived at a criterion that appears workable. His formalization (for word order variance) is as follows:

A candidate  $\alpha$  is less marked than a candidate  $\beta$  if  $\alpha, \beta$  are in the same candidate set, and  $\alpha$  can have more foci than  $\beta$  (i.e. can occur in more context types), given appropriate stress assignment.

For our purposes, we can reformulate the above as: the more context types a given form can occur in, the less marked it is. Basically, marked forms are those that occur in unmarked, “default” contexts, and can be selected, alongside other, specialized forms, in specific marked contexts.

In terms of markedness theory, the  $s\bar{d}m=f$  and  $s\bar{d}m.n=f$  forms are formally the most likely candidates for verb forms unmarked in terms of TFA distribution. They are treated thus in the present framework as forms unmarked in terms of the distribution of the roles of TFA within the sentence/clause. Thus, a sentence with one of these unmarked verb forms is most likely to exhibit the “default” distribution of TFA roles, with the Topic (T) being coded as the subject, the Focus (F) as the free adverbial complement, and with the verb belonging to the focal part of the sentence/clause (f). The  $s\bar{d}m=f$  form is marked only for person; the  $s\bar{d}m.n=f$  also for tense/aspect as past/perfective.

The  $mrr=f/s\bar{d}m.n=f$  second tense forms, formally marked by reduplication in case of the former, with no apparent marking in written form in the case of the latter, is a marked form, both in terms of formal marking and in terms of its distribution. Its function in terms of TFA is that of marking the verb as topical, i.e. assigning it to the topical part of the sentence/clause. A sentence with one of these forms thus exhibits the following distribution of TFA: the Topic is again coded by the subject, the topical part of the sentence by the verb (which retains the predicate function), the Focus is on the free adverbial complement, which may appear stressed (“emphatic”), as it now is the only focal element of the sentence/clause.

The forms with  $jw$  are formally marked, although their frequency is not an easy matter to be established (a statistics of the occurrence of the individual forms is not easy to make, for it may be the fact that  $jw$  may apply to several subsequent clauses (MALAISE & Winand 1999; for a plausible opposing view cf., however, LOPRIENO 1995, 163), and it is thus not easy to decide which form one is confronted with. (For an attempt of such statistics, cf. below). However, the function of the  $jw$  appears to be to make the verb (and its arguments, which depend on it) the main Focus of the sentence/clause. Thus, in a typical  $jw$ -verb form, the Topic is coded as the subject, the Focus is the verb, and the free complements, if present, form the focal part of the sentence/clause.



The meaning of the *jw*-forms can be seen as “[verb+arguments]-focal”. This means that in sentences which contain the *jw sdm=f* or *jw sdm.n=f* form, the main focus does not lie on the adverbial complement, as in the neutral/verb topical case, but on the main verb and its non-subject arguments and/or obligatory complements (above all the 2<sup>nd</sup> argument, i.e. the DirObj). This means that, for example, a sentence like

*jw dj.n wj hm=f r rd.wj=f m nhn.t* (BM 574, 3-4)

“His Majesty placed me to his feet when I was a child.”

is to be analysed as follows:

Topic	<i>wj</i>
Topical part of the sentence	<i>hm=f</i>
Focus	<i>dj r rd.wj=f</i>
Focal part of the sentence	<i>m nhn.t</i>

**Tab. 4.2** – TFA analysis of *jw dj.n wj hm=f r rd.wj=f m nhn.t*

The main sentence focus lies here on the fact that Khenetemseti was placed to the feet of His Majesty, while the fact that it happened “when he was a child” only gives supplementary (auxiliary) information.

This analysis has several advantages. Firstly, the morphologically marked forms (*jw*-forms, reduplicated forms) are treated as the functionally marked forms of the system, while the morphologically unmarked forms appear as functionally unmarked.

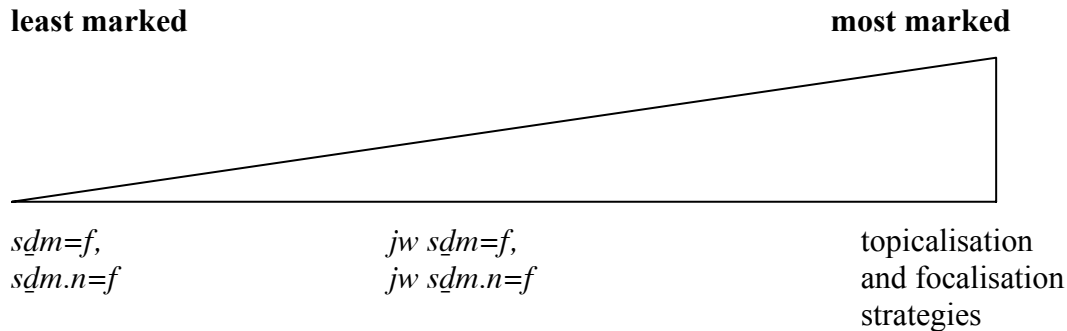
Secondly, the theory can account of the change of the meaning of *jw* from what appears as a marker of syntactic independence (Middle Egyptian) to a marker of syntactic dependence (Late Egyptian) as a consequence of its role as “verb focaliser”, or “verb focus indicator”. Namely, since the *jw*-marked verb and its complements are themselves the main focus, they may be attached to a preceding topical clause to form its focus at a higher level, thus forming a complex sentence:

*(sdm.n=j hr.w=f) jw=f mdw=f*  
 “I hear his voice when he speaks.” (Sin R 25)

Finally, it should be noted that the focaliser and (currently prevalent) assertative particle hypotheses may not be incompatible – in case where focus exists without focalisers, abstract focalisers could be posited (cross-linguistically). Negation acts as a focaliser, the counterpart positive operator could be ASSERT (HAJIČOVÁ, PARTEE & SGALL 1998, 119).

## 4.2. Topicalisation and focalisation strategies

None of the hitherto described forms are considered to involve topicalisation or focalisation in any form. For these functions, Middle Egyptian employs different, highly marked, sentence types. Here we appeal to the scalar nature of markedness, and view the individual strategy types as follows:



These forms display both formal marking and less frequent occurrence in highly specific contexts. The strategies of topicalisation and focalisation are summarized in Table 4.2 below.

<b>strategy</b>	<b>marker</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>t</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>f</b>
Unmarked topicalisation	left-extrapolation	NP	the “would-be default T”	∅	rest of sentence/clause
Marked topicalisation	<i>jr</i>	NP	∅	∅	rest of sentence/clause
Marked focalisation	<i>jn</i>	∅	rest of sentence/clause	NP	∅

**Table 4.3** – topicalisation and focalisation strategies of Middle Egyptian

The table makes clear the distinction between “marked” and “unmarked” topicalisation and focalisation (actually, both are marked patterns, only the former are more marked than the latter). Unmarked topicalisation keeps the division of the sentence into topic, focus and Topic proper and Focus proper within the topic and focus parts respectively. The extraposed Topic usually signals a (discourse) topic switch. The effect of marked Topicalisation is usually contrastive, and may, but need not involve switch of (discourse) topic.

A similar distinction cannot be distinguished for Focalization, for which only the marked pattern is known. Just like it is the case for marked Topicalisation, the effect is contrastive (similarly also LOPRIENO 1995).

The individual verb forms and their functions are described in detail, including the relevant examples, in Chapters V – IX on pp. 42 – 110 below. Chapter X then summarises the results.

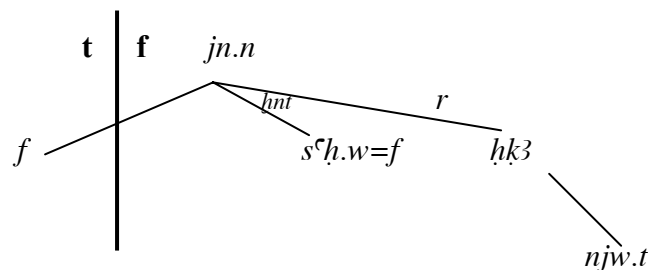
## V. *s**d**m*=*f* AND *s**d**m*.*n*=*f* FORMS VERSUS THE SECOND TENSES

While the description of the *jw*-less forms holds true essentially for both the bare *s**d**m*=*f* and *s**d**m*.*n*=*f*, the discussion is limited mostly to the *s**d**m*.*n*=*f* form, as there are too few examples of *s**d**m*=*f* attested in our corpus. For the second tenses, however, both *s**d**m*=*f* (*mrr*=*f*) and *s**d**m*.*n*=*f* forms are considered, as the *mrr*=*f* is the only form that shows morphological marking and can thus unequivocally be identified as such.

### V.i. The bare *s**d**m*=*f* and *s**d**m*.*n*=*f* forms

The bare *s**d**m*=*f* and *s**d**m*.*n*=*f* forms of Middle Egyptian are considered in the present framework to be forms unmarked in terms of topic-focus articulation and as such they are understood to exhibit the standard, “default” information structure. When no other devices and markers are present (for topicalisation and focalisation strategies, cf. chapters VII and VIII below), the Subject is the Topic, the main verb is part of the focus and the adverbial (the rightmost of the adverbials in case there are more) the Focus. Diagrammatically this can be shown as:

1.



*jn.n=f hnt s<sup>h</sup>.w=f r hk3 njw.t*

He advanced due to his dignity **to the (rank of) the governor of the city**. (Khnumhotpe II, Beni Hassan Tomb 3, 191-192) (F shown in bold; the subject is moved to the post-verbal position in the surface structure due surface rules of Egyptian grammar (VSO requirement).)

I.e., the sentence is “about” Khnumhotpe, and =*f* is the least dynamic part of the sentence. The new information about Khnumhotpe is that he *advanced due to his dignity to the (rank of) the governor of the city*, and, as the whole texts speaks about his career and abilities, the precise position to which he advanced is the most dynamic part of the sentence.

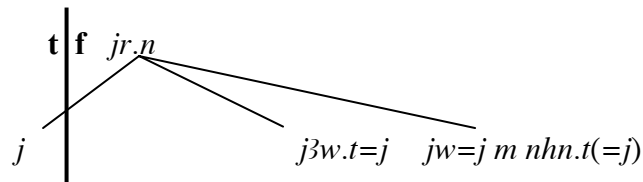
Besides having “default” TFA, sentences with bare *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* and *s<sub>d</sub>m.n=f* are also the most frequent and the most widely distributed of the corpus. For the frequency, cf. tables X.i and X.ii in Chapter X with frequency analyses of all forms examined in this work. The distribution is demonstrated below.<sup>58</sup>

V.i.i The distribution of the bare *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* and *s<sub>d</sub>m.n=f* forms

The *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* and *s<sub>d</sub>m.n=f* forms can be encountered in the following positions in our corpus:

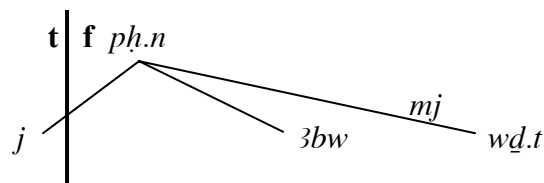
a. main initial clause (independent sentence)

2. *jr.n=j j<sub>3</sub>w.t=j jw=j m nhn.t(=j)*, “I performed my office (**already**) **in my youth**.” (Leiden V4, 12)



b. matrix clause

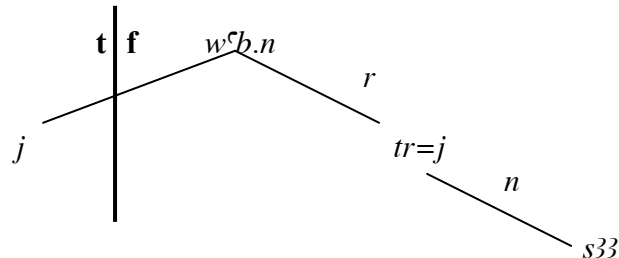
3. *ph.n=j <sub>3</sub>bw mj wd.t*, “I reached Elephantine, **as it was ordered**,” (BM 574, 16)



<sup>58</sup> Unlike it is the case with the other forms examined in this study, I am not giving an exhaustive listing of sentences with bare *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* and *s<sub>d</sub>m.n=f* here. The reason is, besides the great number of these sentences, also the fact that while it is easy to demonstrate a marking, a single outstanding trait, the lack of marking and “default” character cannot be demonstrated for a single sentence, but only for a large group of sentences sharing a single form.

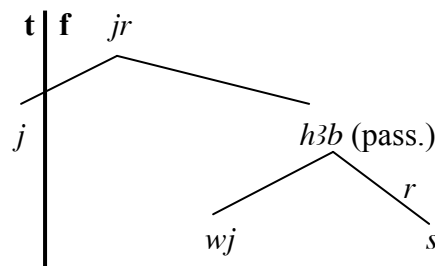
c. non-initial main clause (parataxis)

4.  $w^c b.n=j r tr=j n s33$ , “I became a priest **in my time of knowledge.**” (Leiden V4, 12-13)



d. dependent clause

5. ...  $jr.n(=j) h3b.t(w) wj r=s$  ..., “after I had done **all that because of which I was sent.**” (Leiden V88, 10-11)



It is possible that the simple  $s\dot{d}m.n=f$  form is used in some cases where the verb is topical (this is, however, extremely difficult to determine as the first and second tense  $s\dot{d}m.n=f$  forms are morphologically identical and the second tense can be distinguished, except for some special cases, precisely by its “emphasising”, i.e. verb-topic marking, nature). It can, and often is, used in cases where there are no adverbial complements and the direct object is the Focus, although the  $jw$ -sentence can be used in these cases as well. While the reason for using the  $jw$  is the fact that the verb and/or its arguments receive the main Focus, the reason for not using it is that in these cases, there are no adverbial complements to defocalize, i.e. against which there would be necessity to mark the verb. These are sentences such as the following (for cases with  $jw$ , cf. chapter VI):

6. *šsp.n hm=f nmt.t=j*, “His Majesty accepted **my proceeding**.” (BM 574, 7)

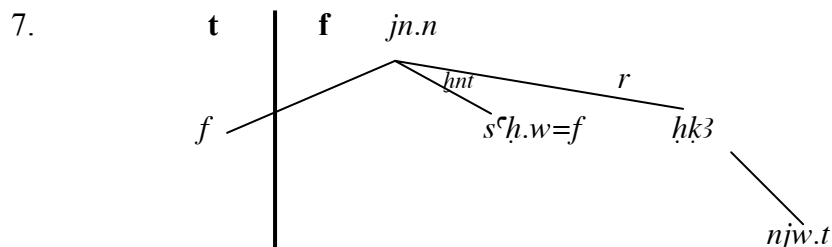
This corresponds to the status of the *sdm.n=f* (and *sdm=f*) as unmarked forms in terms of TFA.

### V. ii. *The second tenses*

The second tenses, or topical forms of Middle Egyptian, do not involve any special “emphasis”, despite the fact that they have long been termed “emphatic forms” (while actually “emphasising” was meant, as their function was perceived as “emphasising the adverbial complement” (cf. for example MALAISE & WINAND 1999, 358–359). The difference between the unmarked form and the second tense form is in the position of the main verb in the information structure. While in sentences with unmarked verb forms, the verb is part of the focus, in sentences with second tense forms, it belongs to the topic. That means that, while in both unmarked and second tense sentences the Focus is the free adverbial, in the case when a second tense verb is used, the free adverbial may become the only element of the focus, a ‘narrow focus’, and as such naturally bears a certain emphasis (HAJIČOVÁ, PARTEE & SGALL 1998, 56, note 28). The emphasis that the second tense forms sometimes (but not always) place on the free adverbial is thus a secondary, not primary effect, and the form is best described as topical (e.g. LOPRIENO 1995, 195–199).

The difference between the unmarked and topical verb forms can be clearly illustrated by tectogrammatical representations, where in the former case, the verb occurs to the left of the topic-focus boundary, and in the latter case to the right thereof.

*sdm=f*:

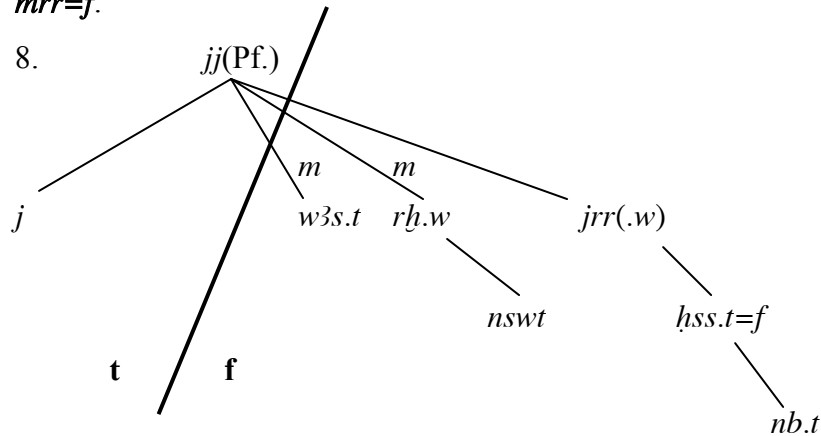


*jn.n=f hnt s^h.w=f r hk3 njw.t*, “He advanced due to his dignity to the (rank of) the governor of the city.” (Khnumhotpe II, Beni Hassan Tomb 3, 191-192)



*mrr=f.*

8.



*jj.n(=j) m w3s.t m rh.w nsw.t jrr.w hss.t=f nb.t (m-s3 d<sup>c</sup>m.w n nfr.w r jr.t rwd(.w) t3 wh3.w m sr mn<sup>h</sup> rh n nb=f jkr sh<sup>r</sup> m m<sup>n</sup>n=s<r> n <sup>c</sup>h)*, “I left Thebes as one whom the king knows, one who does all that the king praises, (with recruits, in order to act as the emissar to the area of the oases, as an efficient official, known to his lord, excellent of counsel, as their leader of the palace.)” (Berlin 1199, 5–6; only the part of the sentence which is not contained in brackets is represented in the diagram)

In a complex sentence such as the above, the effect of the topical form is hardly perceived, as the focus part of the sentence is still very complex and large. While the verb form (actually, the entire VP) does not naturally appear contextually bound to us, the way it is used (not saying “I was an X at Thebes, and then I left Thebes ...”, but beginning directly with the leaving) as well as the fact that the official expected to be known as a Theban official, indicate that the author has taken it for such.<sup>59</sup> None of the adverbial complements of this sentence are stressed or “emphasized” in any special way, in the absence of other evidence, the rightmost adverbial may be taken for the Focus of the sentence.

There are only very few examples of the morphologically distinct *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* form in our corpus. Most of the evidence comes from the IInd tense *s<sub>d</sub>m.n=f* forms of verbs of motion, which can most easily be identified as such. With the allowing of sentence-initial *s<sub>d</sub>m.n=f* form, the topical *s<sub>d</sub>m.n=f* can only be identified though studying the level of contextual boundness of the verb, and only those verb forms whose verb is clearly contextually bound are considered topical. The number of *s<sub>d</sub>m.n=f* forms analysed as topical is thus much lower than those that would be thus analysed under the Standard Theory. While it could at first sight

<sup>59</sup> Let us remember that contextual boundness is not about the actual state of mind of the perceiver, but about the expectation of the speaker/author, who in this case had no idea that Egyptologists would read the text over 3000 years after would write it.

appear that our theory explains the topical *s<sub>d</sub>m.n=f* away whatsoever, this cannot be the case. Firstly, the existence of this form is proven by the existence of the Wechselsatz patterns with *s<sub>d</sub>m.n=fs* (see section **V.ii.iii** below), secondly, some irregular verbs (notably: *rdj*) do show morphological variety between the unmarked and topical *s<sub>d</sub>m.n=f* forms (MALAISE & WINAND 1999, 357). The lower frequency of the topical *s<sub>d</sub>m.n=f* corresponds, moreover, to the infrequent use of the corresponding negation *tm.n=f s<sub>d</sub>m*.

In our corpus, topical verbal forms appear only in biographical inscriptions, not in letters. While this is no proof of the present hypothesis of the topicalized verb forms, it nonetheless corresponds to it in every detail. As marked forms, its distribution of the topicalized *mrr=f* and *s<sub>d</sub>m.n=f* should be limited (in our case, it is limited to one of two text types), and as a form with only secondary emphasis effect, it does not appear in letters which make abundant use of primarily emphasising devices (topicalisations, focalisations, etc.)

The frequency of topical forms in our corpus is summarized in table V.1:

TOPICALIZED VF	Occurrence	% of total clauses
<i>mrr=f</i> bios.	3	> 1
<i>s<sub>d</sub>m.n=f</i> bios.	7	5
letters	0	0

**Table V.1** – Frequency of the topical verb forms

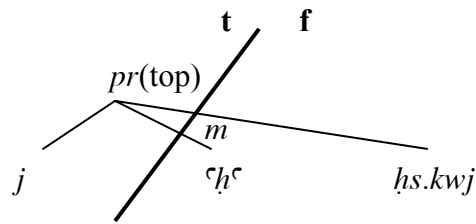
### ***V.ii.i. Second tenses in main clauses***

In biographical inscriptions, the second tenses appear mostly in main clauses. As the *s<sub>d</sub>m.n=f* second tense is not morphologically distinguished from the unmarked *s<sub>d</sub>m.n=f*, only clearly contextually bound verbs were analysed as topical. Unfortunately, only one example of the morphologically distinct (and thus unequivocally topical) *mrr=f* form appears in the biographies:

9. *prr=j hs.kwj m ḥ<sup>c</sup> mr.w(=j) m stp-s3*, “I came out of the palace **as one praised**, love of me being in the palace.” (München Glyptothek 27/GL.WAF 35, 16–17)

Wepwawetaa’s entering of the palace is mentioned in the immediately preceding co-text, and the opposite action, leaving the palace, is thus clearly contextually bound by association (one who enters somewhere is supposed to leave as well). *hs.kwj*, “as one praised” thus remains the

only NB element of the clause, and the Focus. The (highly simplified) tectogrammatical representation of this sentence would be:



Note that while in the surface structure, the *hs.kwj* is not the last adverbial of the clause, it is so in the tectogrammatical representation. This is highly likely for two reasons: while the Systemic Ordering<sup>60</sup> of Middle Egyptian is far from clear, it would appear that in the case of *prj* “to leave”, Directional.1 (where from) is one of the least dynamic complements (for verbs denoting “to leave”, this may actually be true of most languages). Egyptian has, moreover, several surface rules which override the underlying word order by moving weak pronouns and anaphors (to which *.kwj* belongs) towards the left of the sentence.

All other examples contain the topical *s $\underline{d}m.n=f$*  form. Here we only examine the examples of second tense *s $\underline{d}m.n=f$*  forms that can clearly be identified as such. The sentences that have the superficial appearance of a Wechselsatz are treated below in section **V.ii.iii.** alongside the Wechselsatz in order to facilitate the comparison between the two sentence types.

10. *jj.n(=j) grt (r) r3-pr pn r k3 hr hm n nswt-bjty hpr-k3-r<sup>c</sup> mry hnt.y-jmn.tyw nb 3bdw dj.w*  
*nh d.t mj r<sup>c</sup> r nhh*, “I came (to) this temple to work under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperkare, beloved of Khentamenti, lord of Abydos, given life for ever like Re for (all) eternity.” (LA County A.5141.50-876, 15-16)

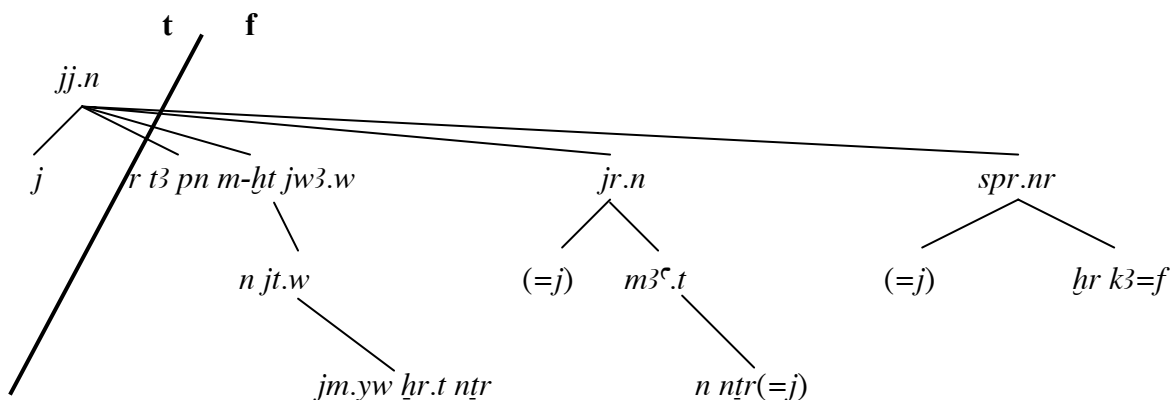
As Shen gives his origin and place of work, *Itj-tawy*, clearly in the preceding sentence, the ‘coming to this temple’, and the stela is located near the temple at Abydos, the coming to the temple is implied, i.e. activated by the co-text (the temple itself being activated by the

<sup>60</sup> Systemic ordering is the fundamental ordering of parts of complementation, of “arguments” and “adjuncts”. Each language has a “default” or unmarked ordering of complements, which is followed unless the contextual boundness of the element that appears to the right in the unmarked order overrides the systemic ordering. For further details cf. SGALL, HAJIČOVÁ & PANEVOVÁ 1986, 194–202 and HAJIČOVÁ, PARTEE & SGALL 1998, 66–69.

external context, i.e. location of the stela). The purpose of Shen’s arrival to Abydos is thus the Focus of the sentence (and, interestingly, the only actual content of the biography).

11. *jj.n(=j) r t3 pn m-ht jw3.w n jt.w jm.yw hr.t ntr jr.n(=j) m3<sup>c</sup>.t n ntr(=j) spr.n(=j) r hr k3=f*,  
 “I came to this land to the oldest of the fathers who are in the necropolis, having done justice for my god, and having petitioned to his Ka.” (Sarenput II, 3–4)

This sentence belongs to the more complex type with embedding of sentences in the adverbial position, here as temporal clauses indicating that the righteous behaviour preceded Sarenput’s death (his arrival to the necropolis). While all three clauses of this complex sentence do have their own TFA, the main information structure of this sentence is that where the topical verb (VP) of the main clause functions as the topic of the complex sentence, and the two adverbial clauses share the role of Focus (for such sentences, cf. LOPRIENO 1995, 195). In these sentences, the form of the embedded clauses is the unmarked *s<sub>dm</sub>.n=f* form (COLLIER 1990; 1992; 1994), its ability to appear in a wide range of sentence patterns again corresponding to its unmarked status.



These complex sentences form the basis of the “Standard Theory”, which sees the Second Tenses as emphasizing and disallows unmarked *s<sub>dm</sub>.n=f* (analysed as “circumstantial” under the Standard Theoretical framework) to stand in the beginning of a sentence unless it has an adverbial complement to “emphasise” (HOCH 1987, 216–220). However, while Egyptian clearly shows a preference for embeddings and higher-level TFA structures, there are clear cases where a non-topical unmarked *s<sub>dm</sub>.n=f* form stands in the beginning of a sentence (see the entire texts in the Corpus).

12. *jw.n=j grt r js pn r rd n ntr ʕ3 wʕr.t ʕ3.t hmhm.t jh m3=j wp-w3.wt m hb.w=f nbw m nmt.wt=f nb.t*, “I came to this tomb at the Terrace of the Great God, a ground great of fame, so that I may see Wepwawet in all his feasts, all his strides ...” (Leiden V3, 5)

I consider the verbs of sentences like this one as contextually bound, as the places described in these texts are pilgrimage sites, and thus the ‘coming’ of the pilgrims was an expected, implied event. The verb can therefore be analysed as topical, with “in order to see Wepwawet...” as the narrow Focus (while seeing Wepwawet is also the main reason why everyone would be coming to this place, the author stresses it in order to emphasize his relationship with the god).

Examples 13 – 16 all come from a single text and immediately follow one another. They will thus be analysed together:

13. *hnt.n=j m s3 h3.ty-ʕ htm.w bjty jm.y-r3 mʕʕ wr n ghs m jdn s jt j3ww hft hs.wt m pr nswt mrw.t=f m stp-s3*, “I sailed south as the son of the count, seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, great commander of the army of the gazelle nome, as a man replaces his old father through the favours in the palace, and the love of him in the royal palace.” (Urk II, 14, 7-8)

14. *hnt.n=j hnʕ jr.y-pʕ.t h3t.y=ʕ s3-nswt n h.t=f jmn.y ʕ.w.s*, “I sailed south together with the noble and prince, son of the king of his own body, Imeny, justified.” (Urk II, 14, 12)

15. *hnt.n=j m hsb 400 m stp.w nb n mʕʕ.w=j jw=j m htp nn nhw=sn*, “I sailed south together with 400 of the choicest recruits of my army and I returned in peace, there being no loss of them.” (Urk II, 14, 12-13)

16. *hnt.n=j m hsb 600 m knj nb n ghs*, “I sailed south with 600 of the bravest recruits of the Gazelle nome.” (Urk II, 14, 14-15)

In these sentences (example 14 is preceded by another sentence with *hnt.kwj* “I fared south”), the verb is clearly contextually bound, as it is mentioned several times in adjoining sentences; it also contributes no new information to the text. The new information, and thus the Focus, is in what role Ameni sailed and with whom. As the secondary emphasis laid on the adverbial complements is rather strong here, perhaps this sequence would best be rendered in written English as:

*I sailed south in order to bring products of the mines and gold to the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkare, may he live eternally. It is as the son of the count, seal-*

*bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, great commander of the army of the gazelle nome that I sailed; as a man (who) replaces his old father through the favours in the palace, and the love of him in the royal palace. It is together with the noble and prince, son of the king of his own body, Imeny, justified, that I sailed. It is together with 400 of the choicest recruits of my army that I sailed, and I returned in peace, there being no loss of them. It is, (moreover), with 600 of the bravest recruits of the Gazelle nome that I sailed.*

The nominalizations are, however, mere devices of translations, and there is no indication that the Egyptian verbs are nominal. The same emphasis may be achieved in spoken language with stress on the Foci.

17. *jr.n=j gr.t m<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.t tn s3h.tj smnh(=j) st=s*, “I made this tomb-chapel **fully consecrated**, embellishing its site.” (Cairo 20539, 6; Cairo 20538, vs. 1-3)

Although example 17 appears on two stelae, it is here considered as one example, as the scribe of 20538 clearly copied whole passages out of 20539 (cf. LEPROHON, ms.; KLOTH & LANDGRÁFOVÁ 2008). As the inscription occurs on a stela within the finished tomb-chapel (or cenotaph?), it is clear that the owner built the chapel, or had it built, the verb (VP), therefore, is contextually bound and contributes no new information to the sentence. It is therefore encoded as topical, leaving the adverbial complement as Focus. Here, the dependent clause is outside the primary TFA of the main clause, though it joins its focus at a higher level.

### ***V.ii.ii. Second tenses functioning as objects of prepositions***

Only a single example has survived in our corpus:

18. *n 3.t n hss w(j) hm=f r k.w hpr.w m njw.t tn ...*, “because His Majesty praised me more than anyone who grew up in this city.” (London UC 14333, 6)

The *mrr=f* form is not the only one attested after prepositions, far more frequent are infinitives, unmarked *sdm=f* can also appear in this function. The single example cannot elucidate the *mrr=f* in this role, some theoretical notes are, however, at place. This function is one of the main arguments for the “nominal” or “nominalised” analysis of the *mrr=f* form (POLOTSKY 1976; HOCH 1987, 213-231). There is, however, no reason to see the *mrr=f* form as nominalized in Middle Egyptian (topicality explains its distribution as well as behaviour); the employment of the topical form in a typically ‘nominal’ position such as after a

preposition may be due to the fact that it shares an essential feature with nouns, topicality. Moreover, as LOPRIENO (1995, 100) notes, many prepositions can serve as conjunctions in Middle Egyptian and thus by far not all employments after preposition need to be taken for “nominal context”.

### ***V.ii.iii. Second tenses in the so-called Balanced Sentence or Wechselsatz***

The so-called Balanced Sentence consists of two juxtaposed topicalized *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* (rarely *s<sub>dm</sub>.n=f*) forms. The effect is the autofocality (cf. SHISHA-HALEVY 1986, 76–80) of the predicative nexus in each of the two portions of the sentence, with a direct temporal or logical dependence of the second predicate upon the first (LOPRIENO 1995, 196–197). Cf., for example, LOPRIENO’S (1995, 197) example 63:

19. *3d.tw r=f dd=f s<sup>3</sup>=f*, “No sooner is he attacked, he turns his back.” (Berlin 1157, 12)

The effect is achieved through construing two clauses without focus. As no sentence can exist without focus, the two are collapsed into one with its own, new information structure, within which the clause to the right is focal and the clause to the left topical. The temporal or logical dependence of the second clause on the first one is the result of the natural affinity of topic-focus patterns with conditionals (HAJIČOVÁ, PARTEE & SGALL 1998, 29<sup>61</sup>): the resulting Topic-Focus structure is very close in meaning to “If he is attacked, he turns his back”.

There are several examples of the Balanced Sentence in our corpus, most of them belonging to the same type, the “I left my house and descended to my tomb” (or: “no sooner had I left my house, I descended to my tomb”) construction, thematizing the “passing from life to death” (on similar constructions, cf. KLOTH 2002, 54–60).

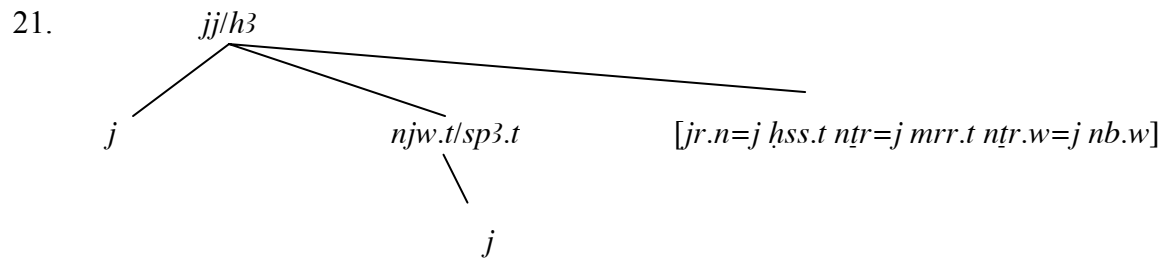
20. *pr.n(=j) m pr(=j) h<sup>3</sup>.n(=j) m js(=j)*, “No sooner had I left my house, I descended to my tomb.” (Brusselles E 4985, 6–8)

Some superficially similar patterns are actually not cases of the Balanced Sentence, but two coordinated clauses with topicalized verb forms sharing one (often complex) focus in the form of adverbial clauses (cf. DORET 1986, 153). They can be schematized<sup>62</sup> as follows:

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<sup>61</sup> “Topic-focus structure produces effects very similar to the effects of explicit if-clauses in construction with adverbs of quantification.”

<sup>62</sup> The diagram is not a legitimate dependency tree, only an illustration of the way the sentences are intertwined.



*jj.n=j m njw.t=j h3.n=j m sp3.t=j jr.n=j hss.t ntr=j mrr.t ntr.w=j nb.w* “I came (here)<sup>63</sup> from my city and descended from my nome, **having done what my god praised and what all my gods loved.**” (Sarenput I, 18–19)

The following examples can be analysed in an analogical way:

22. *pr.n(=j) m pr(=j) h3.n(=j) m js(=j) pr(=j) grg(.w) jw<sup>c</sup>(=j) <sup>c</sup>=f nht*, “I went out of my house and I came to my tomb, **my house being established, the hand of my heir being strong.**” (BM 1671, 11-12)

23. *jj.n(=j) m njw.t(=j) h3b.n(=j) m sp<sup>c</sup>.t(=j) jr.n(=j) mrr.t rmt hss.t ntr.w*, “I came (here) from my city, I descended from my nome, **having done what people love and what gods praise.**” (MMA 5795, 3)

24. *jj.n=j m njw.t=j h3.n(=j) m sp<sup>c</sup>.t(=j) jr.n=j m3<sup>c</sup>.t n ntr špss n hwt 3.t shtp.n(=j) ntr m mrr.t=f*, “I came (here) from my city, I descended from my nome, **having done justice for the august god of the great temple, and having made god satisfied with what he loved.**” (Khetyankh Heni, 2-3)

25. *jj.n=j m njw.t=j h3.n=j m sp3.t=j jr.n=j hss.t ntr=j mrr.t ntr.w=j nb.w*, “I came (here) from my city, I descended from my nome, **after I had done did what my god praised, what all my gods loved.**” (Sarenput I, 18-19)

26. *jj.n=j r njw.t=j h3.n=j m zp3.t=j jr.n=j mrr.t rmt hss.t ntr.w*, “I came (here) from my city, I descended from my nome, **having done what the people love and what gods praise.**” (BM 562, x+12-14)

<sup>63</sup> For this reading, cf. KLOTH 2002, 57.



27. *jj.n(=j) m njw.t(=j) h3.n(=j) jr hr.t-ntr jr.n(=j) mrr.t rmt hss.t ntr*, “I came (here) from my city, I descended to the necropolis **having done what people love and what the god praises.**” (Louvre C174, 3)

28. *pr.n(=j) m pr(=j) r js(=j) sb.n(=j) r jm3h*, “I went out of my house to my tomb, **having reached reverence.**” (Cairo 20506, 6)

29. *pr.n(=j) r sh.t(=j) h3.n(=j) r pr(=j) sk3.n(=j) m htr*, “I ascended to my field, I descended to my house, **having ploughed with a span of cattle.**” (Cairo 20012, 4)

30. *jj.n(=j) m t3=j h3.n=j m sp3.t=j jr.n(=j) mrr.t rmt hss.t ntr.w*. “I came out of my land, I descended from my nome, **having done what people loved and what gods praised.**” (Cairo 20024, 8)

Examples 21 – 30 are analogous to the following example 32, which has a prepositional phrase as the adverbial complement (and Focus) and two coordinated verbs:

31. *pr.n(=j) h3.n(=j) m js(=j)*, “I came out and descended **to my tomb.**” (Djemi, 9)

Here as well as in examples 21 – 30 above, the individual clauses have their own information structure (*\*h3.n=j m sp3.t=j*, “I descended from my nome,” appears to be, on all indications, a well-formed sentence of Middle Egyptian), in which the verbs are topical (i.e. to the left of the topic-focus boundary in the tectogrammatical representation) and the (obligatory) adverbial complements are the narrow Foci. The topical verbs, however, have a special effect at a higher level, where they (as clause heads) form a higher-level information structure with the main clause(s) as topic(s) and dependent adverbial clause(s) as focus/foci. This deviates from the norm, or default state, in which the dependent clauses would form background information to the main clause (the focus of the main clause would be stronger than that of the dependent clause), and thus the resulting sentence is marked and this higher level information structure is perceived as primary. The fact that in our corpus, it is above all sentences expressing the “passing from life to death”, whose main clauses basically say “I died and was buried” and thus are contextually bound and non-dynamic (they occur on tomb steale), corresponds well with their structure and meaning.

Example 33 differs significantly from all the above. It does not contain the topical verb forms, but the unmarked *sḏm=f* forms:

32. *pr(=j) m njw.t(=j) šm(=j) r [sp<sup>c</sup>.t=j]*, “I went out of my city and came to my nome.” (Khnumhotpe I, 3-4)

Here, the verb is clearly not a *mrr=f* form, as *pr* is a 2<sup>nd</sup> geminating verb and would show the form *prr=f* in the *mrr=f*; thus this sentence cannot be a Wechselsatz that is the preferred form of these sentences expressing the “passing from life to death” (moreover, we cannot presume an omitted *r* in the *pr(=j)*, as a *mrr=f* Wechselsatz, which expresses “whenever X, then Y” would not make much sense in this case (“whenever I die, I reach the necropolis” is nonsensical even for an ancient Egyptian). The most logical explanation for this sentence is a coordination of two unmarked *sḏm=f* forms, why these and not *sḏm.n=f* forms are used is unclear. The first verb form in this sentence is, however, very clearly paragraph-initial (compare page 221 of the Corpus, the relevant sentence follows directly after the offering formula). As it can be interpreted neither as a topical form, nor as “circumstantial”, it follows that this is a clear case of an unmarked *sḏm=f* in a paragraph-initial independent position. The fact that in this case, *sḏm=f* and not the (roughly) perfect/past tense *sḏm.n=f* is used shows that our understanding of the tense and aspect system of Middle Egyptian is still imperfect, unless we are dealing here with an exceptional case of perfective *sḏm=f*, common in the biographical inscriptions of the Old Kingdom, which is, however, rather unlikely (for tense and aspect in Middle Egyptian, cf. WINAND 2006; for perfective *sḏm=f* especially pages 226–234).

## VI. THE *jw sdm=f* AND *jw sdm.n=f* FORMS

### *VI.i. The meaning of the particle jw*

The meaning of the *jw*-forms can be seen as “[verb+arguments]-focal”. This means that in sentences which contain the *jw sdm.n=f* form, the main focus does not lie on the adverbial complement, as in the default (unmarked) as well as the verb topical case, but on the main verb and its non-subject arguments and/or obligatory complements (above all the 2<sup>nd</sup> argument, i.e. the DirObj). This means that, for example, a sentence like

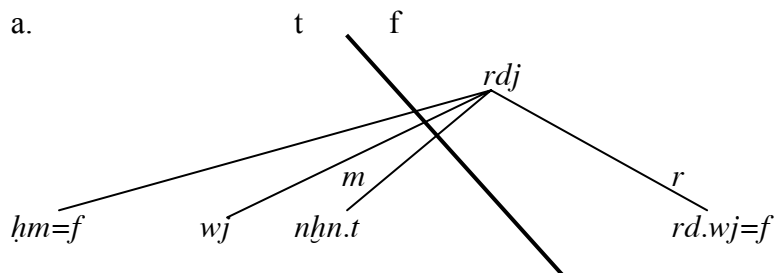
*jw rdj.n wj hm=f r rd.wj=f m nhn.t* [SETHE, 1924, 75, 3-4]

“His Majesty placed me to his feet when I was a child.” is to be analysed as follows:

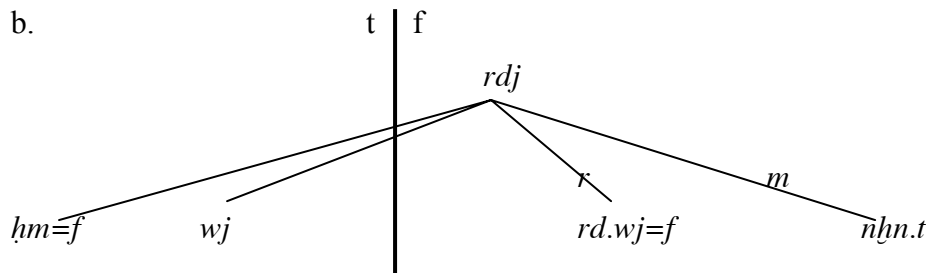
Top	<i>wj</i>
top	<i>hm=f</i>
Foc	<i>rdj r rd.wj=f</i>
foc	<i>m nhn.t</i> (in an unmarked sentence, this rightmost complement would be the Focus, cf. HAJIČOVÁ, PARTEE & SGALL 1998, 58)

The main sentence focus lies here on the fact that Khenetemseti was placed to the feet of His Majesty, while the fact that it happened “when he was a child” only gives supplementary (auxiliary) information. To give the main focus on *m nhn.t*, the sentence would look as follows: *\*rdj.n wj hm=f r rd.wj=f m nhn.t*.

Diagrammatically, the difference between the two sentences can be illustrated as follows:



*jw rdj.n wj hm=f r rd.wj=f m nhn.t*



\**rdj.n wj hm=f r rd.wj=f m nhn.t*

The analysis of the particle *rw* as verb-focaliser has several advantages, the most important of which are listed below:

1. The morphologically marked forms (*rw*-forms, reduplicated forms) are treated as the functionally marked forms of the system, while the morphologically unmarked forms appear as functionally unmarked.
2. The change of the meaning of *rw* from a marker of syntactic independence (Middle Egyptian) to a marker of syntactic dependence (Late Egyptian) is a consequence of its role as “verb focaliser” (cf. below).
3. The focaliser hypothesis need not necessarily be incompatible with the assertative particle hypotheses (currently, in one form or another, the majority view) – in case where focus exists without focalisers, abstract focalisers could be posited (cross-linguistically). Negation acts as a focaliser, and perhaps, a counterpart positive operator, such as ASSERT, can be expected in the positive sentences (HAJIČOVÁ, PARTEE & SGALL 1998, 119).<sup>64</sup>

#### VI.ii. *The history of rw*

Some support for the theory of *rw* as verb(+arguments)-focalizer can be found in the behaviour of *rw* in the history of the Egyptian language. We have two examples of the particle *rw* from the 4<sup>th</sup> dynasty (SCHWEITZER 2005, 136):



*wn t iw nn t3*, “Haste; it is hot!” (DUNHAM & SIMPSON 1974, Fig. 11)

and

<sup>64</sup> A similar equation of assertative particle and focalizer is, without further explanation, presumed in EL-HAMRAWI 2003, 21.



During the rest of the Old Kingdom, there are several noteworthy facts about *iw*. EDEL (1955/1964, 446) notes that, while he can see no change in the meaning of a sentence<sup>67</sup> when an *iw* is added to it, the sentences with *iw* are always independent. *Iw* begins to appear in circumstantial clauses first in the First Intermediate Period, with one exception dating to the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Originally, *iw* can appear in verbal and the so-called pseudo-verbal sentences, other uses appear to be later developments. *Iw sdm.n=f* is further limited only to transitive verbs; intransitive verbs can take *iw* when they are in the stative form (EDEL 1955/1964, 450).

While the *iw sdm=f* form is not particularly frequent, there is an example that can only be explained by assigning *iw* the role of focalizing the verb. The text stands above two figures of women at work and records their conversation:

- A: *wgm mnh(.w) prr m nšs*, “Grind! That which comes in/from the flour is beneficent!”
- B: *iw (w)gm=j r ph.tj(=j)*, “A am grinding according to my strength! (i.e. as much as I can)” (BORCHARDT 1937, 234 and pl. 1534 B)

Here clearly, the focus in the reply of B is **I am grinding**, and the *iw* lends the utterance the necessary intensity by focalizing the verb.

Examples with *iw sdm.n=f* are more frequent, and none of them contradicts the analysis of *iw* as verb focalizer (examples after EDEL 1955/1964, 450):

- iw shtp.n(=j) hmw.tjw*, “I have rewarded the craftsmen”
- iw wd.n hm(=j)*, “My Majesty has ordered”
- iw m3.n hm(=j) md3.t=k tn*, “My majesty has seen this your letter.”

An interesting change can be seen in sentences that are typical for biographical inscriptions of all periods:

- iw rdj.n(=j) mhr.w m jr.t*, “I gave jars of milk.” (SETHE 1933, 254, 15)

<sup>67</sup> „Nach den vorliegenden Beispielen wird durch *iw(=f) sdm=f* eine in der Gegenwart vor sich gehende Handlung zum Ausdruck gebracht, die man, wie die obigen Varianten zeigen, auch durch die einfache Form *sdm=f* hätte ausdrücken können.“



33. *jw jr.n=j smr hr.y b3y nswt m hb-rnp.wt hr hm n hr.w ʕ3-b3.w*, “I acted as a friend and bearer of the king’s feet-washing basin at the Festival of the Years under the Majesty of Horus ʕ3-b3w” (BM 101, 12-14)

In this case, the king under whom Nebipusenwosret lived has already been mentioned, and the most important, information-bearing part of the whole sentence located towards the beginning of Nebipusenwosret’s biography is the short list of functions. Thus, the *jw* focalizes the VP, again consisting of the verb and its direct object, *jrj smr hr.y b3y nswt*.

34. *jw jr.n=j wr md3 smʕ.w hm ntr dw3 m hb-sd hr hm n nswt-bjty*, “I was a Great of Ten of Upper Egypt and morning priest of the Sed Festival under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nymaatre, who lives for ever.” (BM 101, 14-15)

Here again, the focal information is the set of offices that Nebipusenwosret held; when or at which occasion, is only additional auxiliary information and, in case of the name of the king, reminder, as that had already been mentioned before in the very introduction to the text.

35. *jw jr.n(=j) kst.\ m jmn-m-h3.t-jtj-t3.wy dj(.w) ʕnh d.t* “I was a sculptor in Amenemhat-Itj-Tawy, given life for ever ...” (LA County A.5141.50-876, 15)

This sentence is one of the very few in Shen’s text that actually say something about his career, and while his presence at Itj-tawy can be derived from his having served a 12<sup>th</sup> dynasty king (Senwosret I.), the informationally most loaded part of this sentence is the fact that at that court, he served as sculptor, and to focalize that part, *jrj kst.y*, the *jw* is used.

The following two sentences account the military careers of the respective text owners. In both these sentences, the fact that the text owner was a soldier, a member of the military is the main Focus; the adverbial complements only give auxiliary information and are demoted from main focus by the verb focalizing particle *jw*:

36. *jw jr.n(=j) jm.y-r3 mšʕ m njw.t tn*, “I was an overseer of troops in this town.” (Djemi, 1)

37. *jw jr.n (=j) šnʕ.w nswt m h3s.wt hr.wt mj [kd]=sn*, “I was a soldier of the king in all eastern foreign lands.” (Leiden V88, 8-9)

Several sentences have a term of relationship (most often *s3*, “son”) in place of the title or function in a similar phrase. In sentences of this type, the text owner’s relationship to Osiris is stressed, and, as these sentences appear in texts that are otherwise connected with Osiris, it is the relationship that is informatively new, not the name of the god, which can be inferred



from the rest of the text. Apparently “to act as a beloved son of Osiris” had a very special meaning in the mysteries of Osiris, to which all the texts quoted below are connected, meaning that the text owner assumed the role of Horus, the son of Osiris, and thus also the central role within them:

38. *jw jr.n=j s3 mr(.y)=f n wsjr hnt.(y)-jmn.tyw*, “I was as a loving son to Osiris Khentamentiu.” (Berlin 1204, 2-3)

Berlin 1204 is the stela of Iikhernefret, the greater part of which deals with Iikhernefret’s participation in the mysteries of Osiris.

39. *jw jr.n=j s3 mr.y=f (?) m [...] m sš[t3] n nb 3bdw*, “I acted as his beloved son [...] in the mysteries of Osiris.” (Cairo 20539, 7)

40. *jw jr.n=j s3 mry=f m sšm n hwt-nbw, m sšt3 n nb 3bdw*, “I acted as the “Beloved Son” in the Mansion of Gold in the mystery of the Lord of Abydos.” (Cairo 20538, vs. 3)

In all these sentences, the *jw* places the main focus on *jrj s3 mr.y=f*, i.e. the role that the text owner played in the mysteries of Osiris.

41. *jw jr.n=j jt n hrd*, “I was a father to the child.” (Sarenput I, 18-19)

In this case, “father” also denotes rather a function (caring and nourishing) than a real family relationship, and as such, this sentence is well in line with those introduced above. The *jw* focuses the function Sarenput I fulfilled in the society.

The following two sentences are similar to one another:

42. *jw jr.n(=j) nw n nb(=j) w3h-<sup>c</sup>nh s3-r<sup>c</sup> jnj-jtj=f<sup>c</sup> (?) n nb(=j) hr.w nht-nb=tp=nfr (3) s3-r<sup>c</sup> jnj-jtj=f n nb(=j) hrw s<sup>c</sup>nh-jb-t3.wy s3-r<sup>c</sup> mnt.w- htp*, “I was a hunter for my lord, Horus Wahankh, son of Ra Antef the Great, and for my lord Horus Nakht-neb-tep-nefer son of Re Antef, and for my lord, Horus Sankh-ib-tawy, son of Re Mentuhotep.” (BM 1203, 2–3)

43. *jw jr.n(=j) nw n jmnt.t j3bt.t n hw.wt-ntr.w*, “I was a hunter for the West, for the East, and for the temples.” (BM 1203, 3)

This case is rather less straightforward than the preceding examples. Kawer Antef’s text includes four examples of sentences that state that he was a hunter of some kind, and while in the first of them it could successfully be argued that his being a hunter is construed as a

parallel to the other examples mentioned in this section and the function Kawer Antef fulfilled is the informatively most important part of the sentence, this can hardly be maintained for the sentence that immediately follows. Moreover, these two sentences are immediately followed by two others of a similar meaning that use the *jnk* construction: *jnk nw n hr.j-wdb*<sup>68</sup>, “I was a hunter for the administration of provisions” and *jnk nw n knb.t*, “I was a hunter for the Qenbet-council.” (BM 1203, 3–4). How can an *jw* sentence, i.e. a sentence with a verb-focalizer, alternate with a *jnk* construction, originally a *jn* + noun “being” + personal pronoun (SCHWEITZER 2005, 128–129), i.e. a NP-focalizing construction<sup>69</sup>? There are several possible explanations for this sequence of sentences in the biographical inscriptions of Kawer Antef. The most plausible, however, is the explanation based on analogy and the Egyptian preference to write in “thought couplets” (cf. DEPUYDT 1999, 208–210). I.e., the second sentence, *jw jr.n(=j) nw n jmnt.t j3bt.t n hwt-ntr.w*, received its *jw* by analogy with the sentence immediately preceding it, which has the same format, but no adverbial complement (so the presence of the *jw*-focalizer is not wrong, it does not focalize the VP to the disadvantage of an AdvP that would be more informationally-loaded and would thus be a clear candidate for the main focus of the sentence). In the following two sentences, no need for focalizing becomes too obvious and the *jnk*-sentences are used, thus also dividing the four sentences into pairs of equal grammatical structure.

44. *jw jr.n(=j) m s3w m s.t 3.w s3w m s.t nh.wt s3w m s.t [...]*, “I was a guardian of asses, a guardian of goats, a guardian of [...].” (NN, el-Tarif, 4-5)

In this case, the sentence has a multiple direct object, which is, together with the verb the main focus focalized by the *jw*, and represents the functions of the deceased.

<sup>68</sup> SCHENKEL 1965, no. 374, p. 226, note b.

<sup>69</sup> In Middle Egyptian, the *jnk* + NP was an identifying nominal sentence with no focalizing powers, cf. GARDINER 1957, 100–101.

The last example of this section involves a group of three sentences with the same structure:

45. *jw jr.n=j jm.y-r3 šnw.ty m jp jt mh<sup>w</sup>*

*jw jr.n=j jm.y-r3 rmt m h3.w h3.w*

*jw jr.n=j jm.y-r3 k3.w jm.y-r3 c.wt jm.y-r3 sr.w jm.y-r3 rr.wt*

“I was an overseer of the Double granary at the counting of northern barley, I was an overseer of over a thousand people, I was an overseer of bulls, an overseer of small cattle, an overseer of sheep, and an overseer of pigs.” (MMA 12.184, 7-9)

Each of these three sentences corresponds to the type described above, i.e. the particle *jw* focalizes the VP that denotes the function of the text owner, which is logically the most informationally relevant and important part of the sentence.

This example, as well as the two sentences of BM 1203, 2-3, raise, however, a very important question concerning the inheriting of *jw* in a chain of sentences (“factorisation”, MALAISE & WINAND 1999, 494). If it is a rule that the *jw* is inherited over a chain of clauses in the same paragraph (and continuing the same idea), why then is the *jw* not inherited, but mentioned three times in the example above? Is it not rather more likely that the *jw*, as focaliser, needs to appear in the sentence/clause the VP of which it focalizes? Such a concept would correspond to the unmarked status of the *jw*-less *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* and *s<sub>dm</sub>.n=f* forms, making them more frequent. (For different arguments against the factorisation of *jw* cf. LOPRIENO 1995). There is nothing that prevents the *jw*-less forms to be sentence-initial (their tendency not to be derives from the fact that the tense they express is relative rather than absolute as well as from the fact that paragraph-initial sentence tend to express shifts in the narrative and thus use the verb-focal forms), as we have seen in the sections on *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* and *s<sub>dm</sub>.n=f* above, and this analysis explains, besides all the already explained cases, also the “odd” examples of MMA 12.184 and BM 1203.

#### **VI.iii.ii *jw jr.n(=j) c<sup>h</sup>.w c<sup>3</sup> m rnp.wt* and analogous constructions**

The examples of this group are so similar that it is preferable to list them and treat them together, with the exception of a single example that uses a slightly different construction:

46. *jw jr.n(=j) c<sup>h</sup>.w c<sup>3</sup> m rnp.wt hr hn.wt hm.t nswt nfrw-k3y.t*, “I spent a great period of years under the lady, King’s wife, Neferukayet.” (Cairo 20543, 7)

47. *jw jr.n(=j) ḥꜥ.w ʕ3 rnp.wt hr hm n nb(=j)...*, “I spent a great period of years under the majesty of my lord...” (BM 614, 3)

48. *jw jr.n(=j) ḥꜥ.w ʕ3 rnp.wt hr hm n nb(=j) hr.w w3ḥ-ḥnh nsw.t bjty s3-rꜥ jn.t=f jst t3 pn hr st-jb=f hnt.t-r 3b.w ph.t-r t3-wr*, “I spent a period great of years under the majesty of my lord, Horus Wahankh, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of Re, Antef, when this land was under his care from Elephantine to Thinis.” (BM 614, 3-4)

49. *jw jr.n(=j) ḥꜥ.w ʕ3 m rnp.wt hr šms n nb(=j) hr wḥ-ḥnh nswt-bjty s3-rꜥ jntf-ʕ3 ms(.w) (n) nfr.w r s.wt=f nb.t nfr.wt*, “I spent a period great of years following my lord, Horus Wahankh, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of Re Antef the Older, born (of) Neferut.” (Museum Rumjancev 18.17.III.78, 2)

50. *jw jr.n(=j) ḥꜥ.w m rnp.wt m rk hr.w (nh-t-)nb-tp-nfr sj3(=j) jb=f rꜥ nb m mrr.t nb.t k3=f*, “I spent a period of years in the era of Horus Nakht-neb-tep-nefer, making his heart leap every day with everything that his *ka* loved.” (MMA 14.2.6, 3-5)

Examples a–e basically state that the text owner spent a long lifetime under a certain ruler, and the question thus of course is which part of these sentences is informationally more important. This becomes clear once we look at the texts as a whole – the ruler is mentioned several times, often in the very beginning of the text. It is thus the text owner’s long life (the ideal life time for an ancient Egyptian was 110 years) which remains the only new information in the sentence, and again, the *jw* as VP focaliser is well in place here.

The last example of this group is slightly different:

51. *jw jr.n(=j) 3w.w jm=s ḥꜥ.w ʕ3 rnp.wt {r=s}*, “I spent a long lifetime there, a long period of years {...}” (Cairo 20543, 12)

Here too, though, the employment of the verb-focaliser has its good reasons, as the long life of the text owner is the focus just as in the preceding examples.

### VI.iii.iii *jw* (r)*dj/wd hm=f*...

The use of *jw* in the sentences expressing causation and royal orders may appear somewhat unnatural. *Jw* is a verb-focaliser and the focus of these sentences should actually be on the content of the order, not on the order/causation itself. However, sometimes the order or causation indeed is the focus, and in other cases, the focus lies on the content of the order which is expressed as direct object and lies within the scope of *jw* (as is the case in the *jrj*+function sentences treated in VI.iii.i).

52. [*j(w) dj.n hm=f*] *hnt(=j) mj sr nb n hnw=f*, “[His Majesty caused] that I wondered freely like every official of his residence.” (Sarenput I, 4)

This example cannot be taken into consideration as the *j(w) dj.n hm=f* is an emendation of the text by GARDINER (1908, 125), and although it is a very likely restoration, above all the presence of *jw* cannot be taken for certain.

53. *jw wd.n hm=j dj.t(w) hn.t=k r t3 wr 3bdw r jr.t mnw n jt(=j) wsjt hnt.y-jmn.tyw r smnh bs=f št3 m d<sup>c</sup>m dj.n=f jn.t hm=j m hnt t3 st.t m nht m m3<sup>c</sup> hr.w*, “My Majesty commanded that you be caused to fare down to the Thinite Abydos in order to build a monument for my father Osiris Khentamenti, (and) in order to adorn his secret cultic image with electrum, which he has caused My Majesty to bring from Fore Nubia, in true victory.” (Berlin 1204, 16-19)

This sentence is the initial sentence of a royal order reproduced on Iikhernefret’s stela. The sentence is very complex, and it appears that the focalizer *jw* is used to structure the sentence and make its understanding easier – it is above all a royal order to proceed to Abydos, and it is precisely this part of the sentence that is focalised by *jw*, namely *wd dj.t(w) hn.t=k r t3 wr 3bdw*. The rest of the letter contains further specifications of this royal order.

54. *jw rdj.n wj hm n nb=j <sup>c</sup>.w.s. nswt-bjty shtp-jb-r<sup>c</sup> s3 r<sup>c</sup> jmn-m-h3.t <sup>c</sup>n<sup>h</sup> d.t r nh<sup>h</sup> r jw [...]*, “The majesty of my lord LPH, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Sehetepibra, son of Re Amenemhat, living for ever and ever, made me [...]” (Khnumhotpe I, 4-5)

There is, unfortunately, a lacuna towards the end of this sentence, but the following context makes it clear that some kind of royal order involving a journey abroad is meant. With some reservations for the missing end of the sentence, we may consider this example as parallel to the last one, occurring no longer inside a quoted letter, but fully integrated into the biographical text.

55. *jw rdj.n wj hm n hr hkn-m-m3<sup>c</sup>.t nb.ty hkn-m-m-3<sup>c</sup>.t hr nb.w m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw nswt-bjty nb-k3.w=r<sup>c</sup> s3-r3 jmn-m-h3.t dj.w n<sup>h</sup> dd w3s mj r<sup>c</sup> d.t r jr.y p<sup>c</sup>.t jm.y-r3 h3s.wt j3bt.wt hr ..... r jw<sup>c</sup>.t jt=j mw.t=j m mn<sup>c</sup>.t hwf<sup>w</sup>*, “The Majesty of Horus Heken-em-maat, Two ladies Heken-em-maat Golden Horus Justified, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebkaure, Son of Re Imenemhat, given life, stability and power like Re for ever, appointed me as a noble and overseer of the eastern countries ..... to the inheritance of my father and mother in Menat Khufu.” (Khnumhotpe II, 13-19)

This sentence deals with the legitimacy and inheritance of the Khnumhotpe family, which apparently was a very important issue for several generations (cf. WILLEMS 1983-84, 100–102; OMLIN 1962, 28–30). However, the *jw* stresses rather the fact that Khnumhotpe was appointed to certain functions (*jr.y p<sup>c</sup>.t jm.y-r3 h3s.wt j3bt.wt*) than the inheritance factor. It may be of significance here that Menat Khufu was a replacement for the Gazelle Nome, which Khnumhotpe’s family lost to Amenemhat Imeni at this time (OMLIN 1962, 83) and may thus not have been anything to boast about. It is thus the titles of high rank that are focussed in Khnumhotpe’s biography and again, the *jw* is well in place here.

#### VI.iii.iv *j(w) rdj.n(=j) t n hkr hbs.w n h<sup>c</sup>y* and variations thereof

The examples in this section are, as they form a standardized phrase, very similar to one another and will be treated together below.

56. *j(w) rdj.n(=j) t n hkr s<sup>c</sup>s n h3.y*, “I gave bread to the hungry and clothes to the naked.” (London UC 14333, 7)

57. *jw dj.n(=j) t n hkr hbs.w n h3.y*, “I gave bread to the hungry and clothes to the naked.” (BM 1671, 4-5)

58. *jw rdj.n=j t n hkr hbs.w n h3.y*, “I gave bread to the hungry, clothes to the naked.” (Khnumhotpe I, 4)

59. *jw rdj.n=j t n hkr hbs.w n h3.y*, “I gave bread to the hungry, clothes to the naked.” (Khetyankh Heni 3)

60. *jw rdj.n(=j) t n hkr hbs n h3.ty*, “I gave bread to the hungry and clothes to the naked.” (Hannover 2927, 5)

61. *jw rdj.n(=j) t n hkr hbs.w n h3.y*, “I gave bread to the hungry and clothes to the naked.” (Cairo 20506, 4)

62. *jw rdj.n(=j) t n hkr.w hbs n h3y.t, jm3h.w jntf*, “I gave bread to the hungry and clothes to the naked, the revered one, Intef.” (MMA 5795, 3)

63. *jw rdj.n(=j) t n hkr*, “I gave bread to the hungry.” (Cairo 20024, 8)

64. *jw dj.n(=j) t n hkr hbs(.w) n h3.j n-mrwt wnn(=j) jm3h.w hr ntr ʕ3*, “I gave bread to the hungry and clothes to the naked in order that I might be revered before the Great God.” (Turin 1447, 8-9)

65. *jw rdj.n(=j) mw n jb.j*, “I gave water to the thirsty.” (BM 1203, 4-5)

This type of sentence has shifted from the *jw*-less (until the 6<sup>th</sup> dynasty) to the *jw* sentence in the early history of the Egyptian language (cf. above, pp. 59-60). As we have mentioned above, the presence of *jw* may be connected with attempts to stress the veracity of these sentences – which did form part of the standardized inventory of phrases used in biographical inscriptions.

#### VI.iii.v *jw jr.n(=j) mrr.t ʕ3.w hss.t nds.w* and variations

66. *jw jr.n(=j) mrr.t ʕ3.w hss.t nds.w*, “I did what the great ones love and the small ones praise.” (Djemi, 1-2)

67. *jw jr.n(=j) mrr.t ʕ3.w hss.t hnwt.jw kd mrr.w.n sm3.yw=f*, “I did what the great ones love and what the inhabitants of the residence praise, a character beloved by his associates.” (Cracow MNK-XI-999, 4-5)

68. *jw jr.n(=j) mrr.t ʕ3.w ḥss.t nds.w n-mrwt w3ḥ ʕnh(=j) tp t3 (m) ḥr.t-ntr*, “I did what the great ones love and what the small ones praise, in order that my life might endure on earth (and in) the necropolis.” (Brussels E.4985, 4-6)

These sentences were, just like the last group, by the time of the Middle Kingdom, set phrases that were repeated over and over again in tombs. The reason for the appearance of the *jw* may thus be the same as in the last case (stressing the verb and thus the veracity of the entire statement).<sup>70</sup> In example c, the *jw* moreover makes the act of giving the focus of the sentence as opposed to the reward for the beneficial act (*n-mrwt w3ḥ ʕnh(=j) tp t3 (m) ḥr.t-ntr*). In sentences as this one, the use of the particle *jw* is not obligatory, and some text owners seem to have focused the true reason of including these statements in their biographies – the reward in the form of a good and eternal afterlife.

#### VI.iii.vi Other examples of *jw sdm.n=f* form

69. *jw h3.n(=j) r 3bdw ḥry rs[.t]*, “I marched against Abydos, which was under the enemy.” (Djemi, 4)

This sentence is part of a larger section of the text, in which Djemi stresses his military successes in a sequence of *jw*-sentences and *jr*-topicalizations. In this and the following sentence, the *jw* focuses the efforts of Djemi, in this case, his marching against Abydos, the area which was at Djemi’s time the centre of fights (STOCK 1949, 74–76).

70. *jw dj.n(=j) h3=f r pr=f m ḥry-jb njw.t*, “I caused him to go down to his realm from the centre of the city, (there was no one who had the power to march against him.)” (Djemi, 5)

This sentence follows the preceding one in the section of the text, in which Djemi stresses his military successes. It is thus only natural that the *jw* is used in this sentence to focus the *dj h3=f*, overpowering of the enemy.

71. *jw psš=j wr n jwf n ḥms.w r-gs=j* “I allotted a great (portion of) meat to those who sat on my side.” (MMA 12.184, 11)

This is one of the cases that clearly show the use and effect of the verb-focusing particle *jw*. The proposition “I allotted a great portion of meat **to those who sat on my side** would

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<sup>70</sup> These cases show very well how close a verb-focalizer and an assertative particle are to one another. As in English, “I **gave** bread to the hungry” and “I indeed gave bread to the hungry” are essentially the same thing.



actually have negative connotations about the text owner (other biographies of this period often stress the fact that the text owner was “impartial” – cf. the common statement of biographical texts: “I gave to the one I knew not as to the one I knew.”)

72. *jw hpr.n h<sup>c</sup>pj wr rnp.t 25* “In year 25 came a great flood.” (London UC 14333, 8)

*n rdj(=j) h(kr) sp<sup>c</sup>.t(=j) dj.n(=j) n=s rs.y bd.t n rdj(=j) hpr wgg jm=s jw h<sup>c</sup>pj.w ʕ3.w*, “I did not let my nome hunger, giving to it Upper Egyptian corn and barley, I did not let food-lack happen in it when great floods came.”

This sentence appears in the beginning of a new paragraph and introduces the event – the coming of the great flood – that shifts to the topic of the subsequent sentences (quoted here for clarity). This is one of the typical examples when an event is introduced in the focus of a sentence (here as a VP focused by the focalizer *jw*) and then becomes the topic of the following sentences (DIK 1989; SGALL, HAJIČOVÁ & PANEVOVÁ 1974).

73. *jw dj.n tw hm=j r smr=j jw=k m hwnw n rnpt 26*, “My Majesty made you my friend when you were (still) a youngster of 26 years.” (Berlin 1204, 22)

Here the *jw* clearly stresses the *dj r smr*, despite the fact that at first sight, the *jw=k m hwnw n rnpt 26* could be seen as a more likely focus. However, the text continues as follows: *jr.n hm(=j) nw mʕ<sup>c</sup>.n=j tw m jkr shr spd ns pr(j) m h.t sjʕ*, “My Majesty did this (because) I saw that you were excellent of plans and sharp of tongue one who issued from the body as a wise one” (Berlin 1204, 23–24). Clearly, the context points out the *dj r smr* as the informative part of the first sentence. The childhood that the text owner spent in the presence of the king is moreover already treated in the preceding text (Berlin 1204, 21 – 22).

74. *jw grg.n=j pr jt(=j) mh.n(=j) sw m [špss]*, “I furnished the house of my father and filled it with riches.” (Djemi, 8)

This sentence begins a new paragraph in Djemi’s text. After his successes in the military, he describes his virtuous life at home. The *jw* thus focuses the VP *grg pr jt(=j)* and marks the transition to a new major theme of the text.

75. *jw s<sup>c</sup>nh.n(=j) sn.w(j) sn.wt(=j)*, “I fed my brothers and sisters.” (Cracow MNK-XI-999, 8)

This sentence appears in the section of Merer’s text where he lists the positive activities he performed during his life in a series of *jw*-sentences. The function of the focaliser *jw* appears

to be that of stressing the veracity of the statements, as in the case of the type of sentences discussed above under VI.iii.iv.

76. *jw krs.n(=j) nt.j mwt s<sup>c</sup>nh.n(=j) nt.j <sup>c</sup>nh m hn.t nb.t jm m ts.w pn hpr(.w)*, “I buried the dead one and nourished the living one, whenever I alighted in this famine that happened.” (Cracow MNK-XI-999, 9)

This sentence belongs to the series mentioned in the previous example, and the focalizer *jw* is again used to stress the veracity of the statement.

77. *jw htm.n(=j) 3h.wt=sn j3.wt=sn nb.(w).t m njw.t m sh.t*, “I closed all their fields and hills in the city and in the countryside.” (Cracow MNK-XI-999, 10)

The last example in this section uses the *jw* to focus the verb against the adverbial complement. The informational content of the phrase *htm 3h.wt=sn j3.wt=sn nb.(w).t* is much higher than the general phrase *m njw.t m sh.t*; Merer is describing the measures he took against the famine that endangered his district.

### **VI.iii.vii *jw gr.t***

A closer examination of the examples with *jw gr.t* shows that their setup does in no significant way differ from the sentences with a simple *jw*. The analysis of their context shows that, with a single exception, the sentences with *jw gr.t* elaborate on a previously introduced concept, and *gr.t* may thus be best translated as “moreover”:

78. *jw gr.t hn.n(=j) s(t) sm3 ssm=s m nfr.t r tp.t-<sup>c</sup>*, “Moreover, I organised it completely so that its administration was better than before.” (Cairo 20543, 13)

The preceding context already speaks about Rediukhnum’s acquisition of a position in Dendera,<sup>71</sup> and this sentence elaborates more specifically on what was already expressed before. The translation of *gr.t* as “moreover” thus appears appropriate.

<sup>71</sup> *<sup>c</sup>hc.n djn.n=s w(=j) m jwn.t m w3.t wr.t n km.tjw swd.t drf hnt.t m hr.w <sup>c</sup>r.t wr.t ... jw jr.n(=j) 3w.w jm=s <sup>c</sup>hc.w 3 rnp.wt {r=s} n sp jj h.t nb.t jm n 33.t n rh(=j) h.t*, “Then she placed me in Dendera ... foremost inside the great royal palace. I spent a long time there, a long period of years {...} There never came a (bad) thing therein, for I was a knower of things.” (Cairo 20543, 11–13).

79. *jw jgrt htm.n(=j) hr.j-hb.t ttw s3 jnj-jtj=f s3 ni-sw-mntw s3 jnj-jtj=f r jr.t jh.t m w<sup>c</sup>b.t r šd.t hb.t n hm(=j) m 3bd nb smd.t nb n mrw.t nfr rn=j wnn sh3(=j) r mn mjn n mrw.t smnh r3-pr n s<sup>c</sup>h pn mnh*, “I have also hired the lector priest Antef, son of Nesmontu, son of Antef, son of Tjetu to perform the rituals in the embalming place and to read rituals for my Majesty at every monthly ritual and at every half-month ritual, so that my name would be good, and so that the memory of me would last until today, and so that the shrine of this beneficent dignitary could be made excellent.” (BM 1164, 9-10)

This text follows after another sentence concerning the hiring of priests,<sup>72</sup> which is introduced by *jw*, and here again, the *gr.t* links this sentence to the preceding one, and the translation “moreover” is appropriate.

80. *jw grt rdj.n(=j) hbs.w 20 n hm-k3 pn jw rdj.n(=j) hbs 10 n hrj-hb.t pn b3k b3k.t n w<sup>c</sup> nb*, “I have, moreover, given 20 pieces of cloth to the ka-priest and I have given 10 pieces of cloth to the lector priest, and a male slave and a female slave to each one.” (BM 1164, 12-13)

This is yet another sentence concerning the hiring of priests, and the use of *jw gr.t* is stimulated by the same reasons as in the preceding example. The *jw* focalizers focus the VPs and thus lay stress on the rewards that the text owner has arranged for priests and, indirectly, the attention he has given to the securing of his funerary cult.

81. *jw gr.t jr.n sš h.wt m t3-wr 3bdw jt jt=j dr rk hr.w w3h-<sup>c</sup>nh nswt-bjtj s3 r<sup>c</sup> jnj-jtj=f*, “My ancestors had, moreover, served as scribe of the watered fields of the Thinite Abydos<sup>73</sup> since the time of Wahankh, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of re, Antef.” (Leiden V3, 4-5)

This sentence follows immediately after Antef’s titles, which include a scribal function in the Thinite nome, and thus it again elaborates on a previously mentioned concept. The translation “moreover” fits the context well.

<sup>72</sup> *jw htm.n(=j) hm-k3 nht.w s3 nj-sw-wsjr s3 nht.w st mw hpn mhwnw hr w3.t n=f <sup>c</sup>=f hn.t wr hr šns (dw)jw pr.w hr sb.t hr drp jm n tw.t(=j) m hr.t-hrw n.t r<sup>c</sup> nb*, “I hired the ka-priest Nakhtu, son of Ni-su-Usir, son of Nakhtu, to libate and offer drinks, while Mehun stretches his hand to him, and while Khenet-wer is holding the *šns*-bread and the (dw)-*jw* vessels, going out and offering to my statue in the course of every day.” (BM 1164, 7–9)

<sup>73</sup> Lit. “There had, moreover, served as scribe of the watered fields of Thinite Abydos (already) my father and the father of my father...”

82. *jw grt s<sup>n</sup>h.n=j s nb n h3.wt(=j) m hkr.w n rdj(=j) mw.t*, “I, moreover, nourished every man in my vicinity during famine, causing that no one died (lit. I didn’t cause that one died).” (BM 1628, 7-8)

This sentence appears within a paragraph on food and nourishment,<sup>74</sup> and again elaborates an already treated theme.

83. *jw gr.t rdj.n w(j) nb=j m n<sup>r</sup>.t m jmj-r3 hnr.t jm=s sšm wr n nswt ds=f pr h<sup>d</sup> n p3.t hp.t m dd nswt k n jb=f rh-h.wt s*, “My lord appointed me in the Heracleopolitan nome as overseer of prison in it, a great leader on behalf of the king himself; the treasury of old times, whom the king allowed to enter his heart a knower of things.” (MMA 5795, 1-2)

This sentence appears as the first one after the introduction of the name of the king and name and titles of the text owner. This is thus a typical context of *jw* (cf. the examples under VI.iii.iii), and no reason for including the *gr.t* can be found.


#### **VI.iv.** *jw* + *s<sub>d</sub>m=f/s<sub>d</sub>m.n=f* in letters

There are no forms with *jw* in letters. For an explanation of this fact, cf. Chapter X, Conclusions.

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<sup>74</sup> *jnk nb bdt jt dj.n=j bdt jt n hkr.w* „I possessed barley and emmer. I gave barley and emmer to the hungry.”

## VII. TOPICALISATION

Two strategies of NP topicalisation are discernible in ancient Egyptian biographical texts and letters. Both consist of left-dislocation, i.e. extraposing the topicalised NP to the left of its clause. Unmarked topicalisation then consists merely of fronting the topicalised NP, while in marked topicalisation, this extraposed NP is additionally marked by the particle  *jr*, “as for”. In both cases, the extraposed NP is mostly resumed by an anaphoric pronoun in the clause proper.

Tables VII. i and VII. ii, show that marked topicalisation is far more frequent in letters than in biographical inscriptions (32% of total clauses as opposed to mere 4% of total clauses). While the frequency of unmarked topicalisation appears to be the same in both biographies and letters (5% of total clauses), it may be significant that while in biographies the frequency of both marked and unmarked topicalisation is about equal, in letters unmarked topicalisation occurs far less frequently than marked topicalisation. It is also significant that while in biographies, the total frequency of both types of topicalisation does not reach 10% of the total clauses, in letters it is 37%.

BIOGRAPHIES	Occurrence	% of total clauses
<i>jr / jr gr.t</i>	22	4
fronting	24	5

**Tab. VII. i.** Frequency of occurrence of marked and unmarked topicalisation in biographies

LETTERS	Occurrence	% of total clauses
<i>jr</i>	26	32
fronting	4	5

**Tab. VII. ii.** Frequency of occurrence of marked and unmarked topicalisation in letters

This is comprehensible when we take into account the fact that the language of letters is close to oral language which is the domain of frequent topicalisation and focalization strategies and, according to GIVÓN (2001, 934), the exclusive domain of left-dislocation.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>75</sup> While our analysis does not confirm Givón’s restrictive analysis of the distribution of left-dislocation, it is clearly far more frequent in letters than in biographical texts, that is, in the genre that is closer to oral style. Detachment constructions are often considered inappropriate in formal language or substandard. (LAMBRECHT 1984, 181)

In Middle Egyptian as well as cross-linguistically, left-dislocation functions as topic-switcher (GIVÓN 2001, 934). This means that the function of topicalisation is often setting new topics or re-activating old ones, and that left-dislocation can signal both the re-activation of a referent and the opening of a new paragraph (GIVÓN 2001, 934). However, the topicalisation of an NP does not imply any contrastive emphasis laid on it, but only the recognition of its crucial role, of its salience within the flow of discourse in which it occurs, i.e. its status as “given” (LOPRIENO 1988, 41).

Marked-Topic constructions store topics with relatively low accessibility – New Topic, Resumed Topic, topic in contrast or in referential competition (GIVÓN 2001, 741; DIK 1984, 314). They thus may code a not-yet active referent topic in the form of a lexical NP which is placed as a syntactically autonomous position – to the left (or right) of its clause. It appears that this practice is the result of trying to fulfill an important maxim of information structure: *do not introduce a referent at talk about it in the same clause*. Left-dislocation represents a convenient way of complying to it without introducing extra clauses (LAMBRECHT 1984, 181–182).

LOPRIENO (1988, 43–44) identifies the situations in which topicalisation (marked or unmarked) is employed in Egyptian. They are the following:

- the beginning of a narrative sequence (i.e. introducing a New Topic)
- general statements
- X *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* / *s<sub>dm</sub>.n=f*, results in perceptual salience
- cultural givenness
- situational relevance (i.e. resuming a Given Topic)
- figurative emergence

In all these cases, the construction identifies the topic more explicitly than in a normal (unmarked) sequence.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> CINQUE (1997, 95) has identified 3 topic constructions with 3 different functions in Italian:

- i. bringing up or shifting attention to a new or unexpected topic
- ii. item assumed by the speaker to be given information for the addressee
- iii. focussed element in the sentence; explicitly or implicitly contrasted with some other individual or object

Functions (i) and (ii) can be subsumed under the broader term “givenness”. As for function (iii), the existence of contrastive topics has been disputed and the construction is in all likelihood a focalization strategy, coding Contrastive Focus as New Information, despite the fact that objectively, the information may be anything but new to both the speaker and hearer. According to DAHL (1974, 18), subject left-dislocation with anaphoric pronoun represents the “emphatic” or “contrast” topicalisation, and there indeed is such a thing as “contrastive Topic”. This may, however, be the result of the erroneous interpretations of all left-dislocation strategies as Topicalisations.

The aforementioned functions of left-dislocation are of special usefulness in colloquial language, as the utterances are less rigidly structured and some marking is needed for easy identification of referents. In oral language (but not in letters) it is also the case that the reader cannot re-read certain passages of the text in order to ascertain that he has identified the referents correctly.

The situation is slightly different in the case of the constructions of the *as for* type (the Egyptian *jr N* constructions). They are detachment constructions in disguise, employed by written languages. The referent of the detached phrase is usually accessible, the function of the construction can be defined as to promote a referent from accessible to active status on the Topic Acceptability scale. (LAMBRECHT 1984, 182)

It should also be noted that the particle *jr* serves, besides topicalisation, as the *if* in conditional sentences, for example:

*jr tm=tn gm m<sup>c</sup>=f hr=tn šm=tn tp m hrw-nfr ntf dd=tn hr 3h.t kb.t n.t hps.yt*, “If you do not find (it) with him, you should go to Herunefer, (because) it is he who will put you on the (untouched or inundated) land of Khepeshyt.” (Hekanakhte Let. 1, 8-9)

The affinity of conditional sentences and topicalisations may not be merely a question of surface structure. The underlying structure of both sentence types may be represented as a tripartite structure (HAJČOVÁ, PARTEE & SGALL 1998, 27), in which the if-clause and the topic share the same role.<sup>77</sup>

### **VII. i. Unmarked topicalisation in biographies**

Unmarked topicalisation, or left-extraposition of the subject NP, is used for two main reasons, which correspond to the two factors that Simon Dik identified as those most often capable to defeat the principle of domain integrity (DIK 1989, 341).<sup>78</sup> One is processing: extremely long subject NPs are extraposed for clarity, in order to make the sentences containing them easier to process. This is the case above all of the frequent examples in the form [NP] *dd=f*

<sup>77</sup> Tripartite structures of the form OP(restrictor, nuclear scope), where in our case OP = *jr*, restrictor = topic or the if-clause and nuclear scope = focus or then-clause, were introduced into linguistic logic in order to clarify problems connected with quantifiers and anaphora, and they have been proven by HAJČOVÁ, PARTEE & SGALL (1998) to (at least in part) reflect the underlying structure of several different constructions.

<sup>78</sup> “Displacement may be attributed to the defeat of the principle of domain integrity by certain other principles, the most important of which seem to be the principle of pragmatic highlighting and the principle of increasing complexity.”

introducing the biographical text. Even here, however, the extraposed NP serves also, as the Topic, to set the scene for the entire text, and sufficiently activate the inscription owner in the mind of the perceiver so that the suffix pronoun or a zero are sufficient to refer to him throughout the remaining text.

The most frequent use of left dislocation without marking by the particle *jr* is to introduce the owner of the stela in the beginning of the text. The sentence has the following form:

TITLE(S) – NN – *dd(=f)*

These examples are typical for the employment of left dislocation. They introduce a New Topic, i.e. a New Topic that is to become the Discourse Topic (as well as the Topic of most of the sentences of the text, where it is referred to by a weak anaphoric pronoun =*f* or =*j* or even by a zero). This New Topic, the owner of the stela, ranks very high on the accessibility hierarchy, and is therefore also a very likely Topic. Processing, however, is also reflected in the use of left dislocation in these sentences, as the title strings qualifying the stela owner are often exceedingly long. Examples such as (a) below show, however, that contrary to the opinion of HAWKINS (1994; 2004, 51 and *passim*), processing cannot be the only reason for dislocating these NPs.

The examples, running from the least complex to the most complex ones, are as follows:

84. *jm3h.w hk3-jb dd=f ...*, “The praised one, Hekaib, he says: ...” (Hekaib, 1)

85. *jm3h.w nh.w dd=f ...*, “The praised one, Ankhu, he says: ...” (Liège, 1)

86. *b3k=f m3c n s.t-jb=f hr.y sst3 n hkr-nsw.t jm.y hn.t smtj dd=f ...*, “His true and trusted servant, chancellor of the king’s ornament, the chancellor Senti, he says: ...” (BM 574, 2-3)

87. *jr.y p<sup>c</sup>.t htm.w bjtj smr w<sup>c</sup>.ty jm.y-r3 hm.w ntr hnm.w nb kbh.w s3-rnp.wt dd=Ø ...*, “Hereditary noble and local prince, seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, the sole friend, overseer of priests of Khnum, Lord of cataracts, Sarenput, says:...” (Sarenput II, Assuan, 1-2)



88. *jr.y-p<sup>c</sup>t h3t.y-<sup>c</sup>, htm.ty bjty jm.y-r3 gs-pr jdn.w n jm.y-r3 htm shtp-jb-r<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw dd=f ...*, “The hereditary noble and local prince, seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, the Overseer of the Work-centre and Deputy Chief Treasurer, Sehetepibre, justified, he says: ...” (Cairo 20538, vs. 1)

89. *jr.y-p<sup>c</sup>.t h3t.y-<sup>c</sup> htm.w bjty smr w<sup>c</sup>.ty jm.y-r3 hm.w-ntr n.t st.t nb.t 3b.w jm3h.y hr jnp.w s3-rnpw.t jr(.w) n s3.t-tnj dd=Ø ...* “Hereditary noble and prince, seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, the Sole Friend, overseer of the priests of Satet, Lady of Elephantine, one well-provided in front of Anubis, Sarenput, son of Sattjeni, says: ...” (Sarenput I, Assuan, 1-2)

90. *jr.y-p<sup>c</sup>t h3t.y-<sup>c</sup> htm.w-bjty smr w<sup>c</sup>.ty jm.y-jb hrw nb h<sup>c</sup> jrr hss.t=f r<sup>c</sup> nb sš<sup>c</sup> nswt s3-mntw nb jm3h dd=f...*, “Hereditary noble and local chief, seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, the trusted one of Horus, Lord of the Palace, one who does what he praises every day, the scribe of the king Samontu, possessor of provision, he says: ...” (BM 828, 3-4)

91. *jr.y p<sup>c</sup>.t h3t.y-<sup>c</sup> mn tb.t hr jw.w mdd w3.t n.t s3<sup>c</sup> sw rdj.n nb t3.wy f3w=f shnt.n mrw.t=f s.t=f 3tw 3 n njw.t d33 dd=f...*, “Hereditary noble and local prince, stable of foot and reliable of journeys, loyal to the one who advanced him, whose renown the Lord of the Two Lands gave, whose place the love of him advanced, the great officer of the city Djaa, he says: ...” (Manchester 3306, 5-7)

92. *b3k=f m3<sup>c</sup> n s.t-jb=f jrr hss.t=f nb.t m hr.t-hrw n.t r<sup>c</sup> nb jm.y-r3 b.w whm.w šw.t nšm.wt jm.y-r3 3.w m t3 r-dr=f jmn-m-h3.t s3 jnj-jtj=f s3 kmsj dd=f ...*, “His true and trusted servant, who does what he praises in the course of every day, overseer of horn, hoof, feather and scale, overseer of donkeys in the entire land, Amenemhet, son of Antef, son of Kemsu, he says: ...” (Hannover 2927, 2-4)

Another, also quite prototypical, use of left-dislocation in biographical texts, is to resume the name of the owner in the middle of the text. This corresponds to the function of Resuming the Given Topic after it has faded out of activation (Dik 1989, 325–326). Dik describes two situations that may lead to resuming strategies being employed. One involves the interaction of several Topics, which, however, does not happen in the examples cited below, the other is connected to the Topic not being mentioned for some time. Even this is not strictly true for the examples from biographical inscriptions. In the examples cited below, the topicalisation

follows after a long series of epithets of the text owner, where he may be referred to by an anaphoric pronoun or zero. The epithets are, however, very complex and introduce various different ideas into the text, and the activation of the Topic, i.e. the text owner, fades out despite the occasional references. Before his individual achievements and character traits are listed, thus, his name needs to be re-activated and re-established as Topic, and this is the function of left-dislocation in these sentences.

In example (93), the full context is given to show the need to resume the Topic, the context of examples (94) – (98) can be found in the Corpus. Note that in example (94 - context), the long sequence of the context refers to the Topic, after it had been established by the strong 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun *jnk*, by the weak and less-activated 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun *=f*.

93. context, with anaphoric references to the Topic highlighted:

*jnk mh.w-jb n nsw.t m hwt.t-ntr r3 nhn m pr stt nhby m pr nsr hr.y-tp hm.w-ntr htm.w bjty smr w<sup>c</sup>.ty wpw.ty mš<sup>c</sup> n nswt jdn.w jw n=f t3-tm.w mn[...] n=f hnmm.t r s.wt shr.t hft.y nsw.t k[...] sw[...] w [...] š.t [...] hr.y db3.w m hr.t nb kš m sw smj n=f jn.w md3 m b3k.w hk3-h3s.wt sdr(.w) m hn.t hwt.t-ntr r<sup>c</sup> n hb 3 šsp(.w) hnḳ.t m špss dd nswt m h hr.y hknw m dpt ntr hft hr ntr hr bj3.t nb pdt.yw hr mw btš k-jb.w hr-s3 mry.t jm.y-r3 wj3 wr m pr nswt spdd pr.wj hḏ hr.y dmj m t3 st.t n<sup>c</sup> mnj.w hr st-hr=f*

I was one trusted by the king in the temple, the mouth of Nekhen in the temple of Satet, nekheby in the *per-neser* sanctuary, one who is at the fore of the priests, seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, the sole friend, messenger of the king's army, deputy to whom all people come. One for whom the Sun people are established on their places, one who overpowers the enemies of the king, one who enters [...] The bearer of the signet ring of all things of Kush, one to whom are reported the gifts of the *Medja* and the tribute of the rulers of the foreign countries, one who dwells in the temple on the day of the great feast, one who receives beer as a noble one whom the king places in the palace, possessor of praise in the divine boat of in the presence of the god, guardian of every treasure of the foreigners who are rebelling. A trusted one, one who is over the landing place, overseer of the great barge in the palace, one who equips the Two Treasuries, chief of the cities in Nubia, one under whose inspection (ships) fare and land.

93. *h3t.y-<sup>c</sup> jm.y-r3 hm.w ntr s3-rnp.wt dd(=Ø) ...* “The count, overseer of the priests, Sarenput, says: ...” (Sarenput I, 18)

94. *jm.y-r3 šn<sup>c</sup> jmn-m-h3.t nb jm3h dd=f...*, “The overseer of the storehouse, Amenemhat, lord of praise, he says: ...” (BM 567, 18)

95. *jm3h.w jm.y-r3 gnw.ty šn dd=f ...*, “The praised one, overseer of the sculptors Shen, he says: ...” (LA County A.5141.50-876, 9)

96. *jr.y-nfr-h3.t šms.w pr-<sup>c</sup>3 nb-pw-sn-wsr.t dd=f n wn.wt hw.t-ntr n.t 3bd.w h.wt=f n.t nswt-bjtj*, “The keeper of the diadem, attendant of the royal palace Nebipusenusret, he says to the priesthood of the temple of Abydos and of its chapels of King of Upper and Lower Egypt: ...” (BM 101, 18)

97. ... *nswt m3<sup>c</sup> mr.y=f s3-hw.t-hr.w dd=f* ..., “The true [... of] the king, his beloved, Sahathor, he says: ...” (BM 569, 5)

98. *3tw 3 n njw.t [d33] dd* ..., “The chief officer of the city Djaa, (he) says: ...” (Manchester 3306, 9-10)

Other examples of Left Dislocation without marking by the particle *jr* in biographical inscriptions tend to involve establishing a Sub Topic (as defined in DIK 1984, 323-325) or a New Topic that can be inferred from the preceding context. Abrupt changes in Topic are coded by *jr*-marked topicalisations (cf. below). The examples are the following:

99. *š š<sup>c</sup>d ph.n=f jtr.w šb3.w thn.yw wb3 m jnr hq n r3-3w*, “The dug-out lake, it has reached the river, (its) doors, door-jambs and temenos are of the white Turah limestone.” (Louvre C3, 5-7)

The Given Topic in this section of the text is *the monument of my lord*, the lake is a new SubTopic that is established here as such and shortly qualified.

100. *hb nb jr=f jw r<sup>c</sup>(=f) hr.y-tp snb n hnw.t nfr.w-k3y.t nhh d.t*, “Every festival, it was performed when its day came, for the sake of the health of the mistress Neferukayet for all eternity.” (Cairo 20543, 14-15)

The Topic of *festivals* is pre-activated by the offerings that are mentioned in immediately preceding context. There is a change of Topic, but not an abrupt one, the New Topic is not unexpected and unrelated to the preceding context. This sentence heads the second of two related paragraphs dealing with the life and death of the text owner. The first of these paragraphs talks about restoration, the second about situation during the owner’s life.

101. *ht n spr.w m h<sup>c</sup> m mdw s3r.y jr(=j) st r wn m3<sup>c</sup>*, “The case of a petitioner, or reacting to the plea of the needy man, I fulfilled it truly.” (BM 614, 9)

This sentence clearly shows the different functions of the *jr*-marked topicalisation and the unmarked topicalisation. The preceding, *jr*-marked, sentence, heads a new paragraph and a new theme in the text (cf. example 108 below). In the current sentence, a Sub Topic is introduced, one of the actions that is considered beneficent and required by the king.

102. *pr=j htm(.w) snṯ.t=f sm=j m s.t=s*, “My house, its ground plan was sealed, and I was {respected?} on its place.” (Leiden V88, 11-12)

This sentence heads the second of three related paragraphs, the first of which relates the life of the text owner and shift to his son and testament, thus activating the “house”, which is the Topic of the following paragraph as the most important item of the inheritance, and the third paragraph follows stressing the role of the son in maintaining the afterlife of the father.

103. *hm=f h3b=f w(j) sp ʿš3.w r wp.wt nb n mnḥ r mrr.t hm=f jrr mj s.t-jb n.t hm=f*, “His majesty, he sent me numerous times on every beneficent commission concerning that which His Majesty wished to be done according to the desire of His Majesty.” (BM 569, 7-10)

The king was introduced as potential Topic in the Focus of the preceding sentence, where it was activated enough to be established as Topic by simple left-dislocation without the particle *jr*.

104. *jt.t njw.t m snw.t=s dj=f rh njw.t t3š=s r njwt smnḥ wd.w=sn mj p.t*, “(As for) what one city took from its neighbouring (city), he let one city know its border from (another) city; their boundary stelae are made stable like the sky.” (Khnumhotpe II, Beni Hassan Tomb 3, 39-43)

The overall theme of a long passage in Khnumhotpe’s text is restoring order, and while cities are not explicitly mentioned, the Topic of this sentence may be implied by the overall theme of the paragraph.

## **VII. ii. *jr*-marked topicalisation in biographies**

In biographies, the use of *jr*-headed topicalisation signals an abrupt change of topic, i.e. an introduction of a short- or long-term New Topic that is neither a Sub Topic linked to one of the Topics of the immediately preceding context, nor is in any way pre-activated by it. Due to the New, unexpected Topic the *jr*-headed topicalisation introduces, sentences with *jr* mostly stand in the beginning of a new paragraph. *jr*-marked topicalisation can thus (at least in our

corpus) be considered as a strategy to introduce a New Topic (for such strategies, cf. DIK 1984, 315-318; Dik, however, does not mention left-dislocation among these strategies). In order to be introduced by left-dislocation, the Topic NP has to be high on the accessibility scale, however (notice Topics such as *the tomb*, *royal orders*) (cf. LOPRIENO 1988, 44). The Topic introduced by *jr* is usually not maintained in the following text.

Again, the role of processing in stimulating left-dislocation should not be neglected, as the extraposed Topics tend to be rather lengthy (cf. Example 105). It is also true, however, that while a New Topic is likely to be introduced by a full, and sometimes complex, NP, maintained Given Topics tend to be encoded as anaphoric pronouns or zeroes. While it is interesting to note that in our corpus, topics encoded as full NPs are almost always left-dislocated, the very fact that their left-dislocation does not depend on the length and complexity of the NP shows, that topicality phenomena and not processing are the key factors in stimulating left-dislocation in Middle Egyptian.

105. *jr js pn jr.n=j m smj.t n.t t3 dsr m hr.y-jb jt.w km3.w jwf=j s<sup>c</sup>h.w n.w r3 tp.y nb.w mn.w m js.w j3.t p3.w s3<sup>c</sup>.w m jr.t jdb hk.t dr rk gb jr.n(=j) st r smnh s.t(=j) m hr.y-jb=s sp<sup>c</sup>.t=j gr.ty*, “As for this tomb, which I made in the desert of the sacred land, in the midst of the ancestors who had created my flesh, and all the dignitaries of the first day who are lasting as comrades in the office of old since the (time of) the making of the sandbanks of Heqet (and) since the time of Geb, I built it in order to make lasting my place in their midst, my nome being in silence.” (Wepwawetaa Leiden V4, 8-12)

The Topic (*the tomb*) is new (in the preceding context, the text owner is the Topic), long and important. It is no longer maintained as Topic after the end of this sentence and thus is also relatively quickly deactivated.

106. *jr [jm.y-r<sup>c</sup> mš<sup>c</sup>] nb h3.n(=j) r=f jj(=j) m<sup>c</sup>r jm=f n nfr n dd(=j) [jkr?] n shr.w(=j)*, „As for any overseer of troops, against whom I marched, I came faultless [from?] him, because my directives were good and my plans were excellent.” (Djemi, 2-4)

This sentence follows after two initial sentences of the biography, where Djemi is the Topic. Here, a New Topic is introduced (*any overseer of troops*), to become a short-term Topic that is not maintained as Topic in the following text.

107. *jr gr.t ḥ.t nb.t wḏ.n ḥm=f jr(=j) n=f st jw jr.n(=j) st mj wḏ.t.n ḥm=f jr.t*, “As for every thing that His Majesty ordered me to do for him, I did it according to what his Majesty ordered to be done.” (MMA 5795, 8-9)

This sentence follows after a long sequence qualifying the text owner, with the text owner as the Topic. In this sentence, an abrupt change of Topic occurs and a new paragraph begins, dealing with the orders of the king and the text owner’s responses to them. While contrast can be expressed without *gr.t*, the presence of the particle tends to coincide with contrastive meaning.

108. *jr gr.t šm.t nb.t wḏ.t n=f n(=j) ḥḥ(=j) ḥr=s m mʒḥ.t*, “As for every action that he commanded me to do, I fulfilled it truly.” (BM 614, 8-9)

This sentence with *jr*-headed topicalisation signals an abrupt change of topic (from the text owner to orders of the king), and it is followed by another sentence with unmarked topicalisation, where the topic continues the previous idea (101).

109. *jr gr.t jpʒ.t nsw.t nb.t wḏ.t.n n(=j) ḥm n nb=j rdj.t n=f jr.y n=s wp.t m mr.t .n kʒ=f jr.n(=j) n=f st snfr.n(=j) sšm=sn nb*, “As for any king’s department, which His Majesty assigned to me, and for which he made me carry out a commission in keeping with whatever his *ka* desired, I did it for him. I improved all their courses.” (BM 614, 10)

The sentence follows after a series of negative sentences with the inscription owner as the Topic and represents both a change of Topic and a change of the mode of presentation.

110. *jr gr.t rmt nb.t sdm.t(y)=sn ḥb pn nt m-m ḥḥ.w jw=sn r ḏḏ mʒḥ.t pw jw ḥrd.w=sn r ḏḏ n ḥrd.w(=sn) mʒḥ.t pw nn grg jm*, “But as for any people, who shall hear this stela among the living ones, may they say: ‘It is true!’ and may their children say to (their) children: ‘It is true, there is no lie therein!’” (MMA 12.184, 15-16)

This passage follows after a long section with the *jnk*-headed biography, with the text owner as the subject and Topic of a series of nominal sentences. The next example, (111), is of the same type – the Topic changes from the text owner to *passers-by* of some kind, and the New Topic is not maintained in the following text. The left-dislocation and *jr*-marking thus signal an abrupt change in Topic and the beginning of a new paragraph, as well as activate the New Topic well enough to serve as Topic despite its being mentioned only once.

111. *jr gr.t sš nb šd.t(y)=f(y) ʿb pn rmt nb spr.t(y)=sn jr=f mn=tn ʿnh msdd=sn mw.t mr tn hnt.y-jmn.tyw; hs=f tn r rd pr=f dd=tn t hnk.t k3. 3pd.w hʿ.w df3.w n nb ʿb pn*

And as for any scribe who shall read this stela, (and) all people who shall pass by it, as you love life and hate death, may Khentamenti love you, may he praise on the steps of his temple, when you say: “bread and beer, bulls and fowl, food and nourishment, to the owner of this stela!” (MMA 12.184, 16-18)

This passage directly follows example (110) and introduces a New Topic which is in contrast with the preceding one.

112. *jr gr.t msbb nb hnʿ(=j) jw dj.n(=j) kh=f, „But as for everyone who dealt (?) with me, I caused him to bow down.” (BM 1617, 10-11)*

This example is analogous to example (106) above. In the preceding context, the text owner is the Topic, here, it abruptly changes to *his opponents*. The Topic is not maintained in the following text and soon fades out of activation.

113. *jr gr.t ʿhʿ.t tn jr.n=j m s.t n.t 3bd.w jw pn n kr jr=f jnb.w š3(.w) n nb r dr s.t 3h.t dr rk wsjr gr.t n.t hr.w n jt.w(=f) b3k.t n=s sb3.w m p.t hnw.t n.t hmm.yt jn.t n=s wr.w m dd.w sn.w jwnw 3h.w htp n nb dr hr=s*

As for this tomb, I built (it) in the desert of Abydos, this island to which one must go, walls ordained by the Lord of all, a beneficent place since the time of Osiris, founded by Horus for (his) forefathers, one for whom the stars of heaven work, lady of the sun folk, to whom come the great ones of Djedu, second in blessedness to the one on because of whom the Lord of the Universe is satisfied. (BM 581, 2-7)

In this sentence, too, *the tomb* is introduced as New Topic that differs from the Topic of the preceding context. The sentence forms a separate paragraph and the Topic is not maintained in the following text.

Examples 105 – 113 show that unlike in the usual case, where the Topic is first introduced (or at least hinted or foreshadowed) in the focus of the preceding sentence and only then serves as Topic, jr-headed topicalisation introduces short-time (or even one-time) Topics that are first introduced in the same sentence in which they serve as Topic. Then they immediately fade out. Examples 107 and 111 show that a kind of contrast may be involved; in this case, the enclitic particle *gr.t* is almost universally employed. The Topic introduced by *jr* thus shares certain properties with Focus (newness, contrastive meaning).

### VII. iii. Unmarked topicalisation in letters

In letters, unmarked topicalisation occurs far less frequently than left-dislocation with *jr*. Only three examples are preserved well enough to be studied in some detail. The reason for the absence of this type of left-dislocation in letters is twofold. We have seen in VII.ii. above that the function of introducing a New Topic that represents an abrupt change from the preceding Topic is fulfilled by *jr*-headed topicalisations. In letters, the Topics change often and very abruptly, and letters also often consist of a series of small paragraphs with different Topics. In these short paragraphs, the second condition that seems to stimulate the presence of *jr*, i.e. short-term activation of the Topic, is fulfilled as well.

114. *n3 h3b.n=k hr=s mk st 3tp(.w)*, “That because of which you had sent, look, it is loaded.” (P. Berlin P 10036, 5-6)

This example nicely pairs topicalisation by left-dislocation and *mk*-focalisation (see below, chapter IX.). The left-dislocated phrase is a Related Topic to the list of items that has been mentioned above, and remains the Topic of the rest of the comprehensible part of the letter.

115. *n3 krh.wt mk jr rh.wt p3 jn.w h<sup>c</sup>.w 110 pw m krh.wt jt.t=k st m h<sup>c</sup> 115*, “(Concerning) the pottery pieces, look, if the due amount of the tax is the total of 110 in pottery pieces, you are taking it as 115 pieces...” (P. Berlin P 10036, 6-9)

This sentence follows on another one with unmarked left-dislocation, and the Topic *pottery pieces* is a Sub Topic of the one introduced in the preceding sentence (*that because of which you had sent*). The Topic *pottery pieces* are maintained in the following text as Given Topic.

116. *jm.y-r3 njw.t t3t.y jm.y-r3 h.wt-<sup>c</sup>3.t 6 jn.t=f-jkr wd n jm.y-r3 pr mntw-wsr s3 sp sn [...]*, “The mayor, vizier and overseer of the six great halls Intefiqer orders to the overseer of the house Mentuwosre, son of ditto [+ a following list of names]” (Pap. Reisner II D, 1)

The left-dislocated Topic of this sentence is the author of the letter, and the sentence thus represents a parallel to the examples where the text owner is introduced by left-dislocation in biographies (examples 84 – 92).



## VII. vi. *jr*-marked topicalisation in letters

As in biographies, *jr*-marked topicalisation in letters introduces a New Topic that is neither mentioned before, nor maintained in the following text. The topicality of the Topic phrase can be established as mutual knowledge of the writer and addressee, or as foregrounded in the stock of shared knowledge (SGALL, HAJIČOVÁ & PANEVOVÁ 1986, 54–57).

117. *jr p3 dd wrš=j hr rmj hr=s*, “As for that which was said, I spend the day crying because of it.” (P. UC 32200, 18-19)

This sentence introduces the New Topic that *which was said*, which is apparently known to both the sender and the receiver, but was not mentioned before in the letter. The Topic is also no longer maintained in the following text.

118. *jr p[3 h]n.w [...].n=f sw dr=f hry[fy sw]*, “As for the pot, he ... it to remove it’, so he said.” (P. UC 32213, 8-9)

This sentence is a direct speech quotation, the pot does not appear in the preceding text, but the text is too fragmentary to be certain. It can be presumed, however, that *the pot* was situationally activated at the time of the utterance of the sentence in its original context.

119. *jr n3 h3b.n=k r=s r-dd dj.tw n=j k.w n [...] p3 phr h3 js pw mj jr.t jr.j js jnk dd.n=sn k.w r tnw rnp.t*, “As for that because of which you have written, saying: ‘Provisions were given to me for [...] this district.’ It is a duty like doing [...], it is I who gives them provisions every year.” (P. Berlin P 1033, 4-5)

The subject of the original letter is not mentioned before in the text, but its activation is clear from the fact that the addressee was the sender of the mentioned letter and supposedly remembers its subject as a matter of importance. In the context of the letter of P. Berlin P 1033, *that because of which you have written* constitutes New Topic, which is maintained in the following text through several Sub Topics. The following example, 120, is similar:

120. *jr h3b=k hr=s hr.w=fy sw h3b*, “As for that because of which you had written, he said, it had been sent [...]” (P. Berlin P 10063, 4)

121. *jr nhw gmy=k hn.t jm hr=k h3b=k hr=s n jm.y-r3 pr hr-m-s3=f*, “As for the lack that you had found there, you should write concerning it to the overseer of the house Haremsaf.” (P. Berlin P 10073, 4-5)

This sentence is a direct speech, quoting what the *h3t.y-<sup>c</sup>* had said to the writer of the letter. The context of the original conversation remains unknown. We may, however, expect that the Topic is a New Topic, situationally activated. The presence of the *jr*-marked topicalisation in direct speech shows, however, the close affiliation of this type of utterances to spoken communication.

122. *jr rmt=j hby.tyw=j n3 k3p.yw=j prr n=j m t3 hw.t-ntr nfr pw rdj.t=f n=j st*, “As for my people, my festive group and the *kap*-group, who came to me from this temple, he did not give them to me.” (P. Berlin P 10074, 7-10)

The letter consists basically of a list of things that were not given to the writer, the Topic *my people* being one of them. They represent a New Topic, as they were not mentioned before, but are activated as it is clear from the context that the writer of the letter expects the addressee to know that there are people who belong to the writer.

123. *jr jwh.t nb.t m 3h.wt=n ntk sk3 s.(t)*, “As for all that is inundated in our fields, it is you who shall plough it.” (Hekanakhte Letter I, 1)

This sentence is the opening sentence of the letter, and the *jr*-marked topicalisation shift attention to the Topic. The Topic is a New Topic – as is any topic in the beginning of a text – but it is activated, as apparently fields and parts thereof are the main concern of both Hekanakhte and his family at home.

124. *jr [w<sup>c</sup> ...] nb n.t str=f hr wh[r.t] nhm hm.wt=f jm.y h3b=f n=j hr hm.wt=f nhm.t jh dj=j dj.t n=f*, “As for any one of you who ... the workshop, and his artisans are taken away, make him send to me concerning his artisans that were taken away, and I will cause (them) to be given to him.” (Pap. Reisner II F, 1-2)

This sentence is the first sentence of the actual content of the letter, and thus its Topic is clearly New Topic. It is accessible due to the fact that it mentions a group of people of which the addressee is also a part.

125. *jr ht nbt* [...] *ʕk.w prr n=j ʕ3 dj=k n=sn st m fk3.w*, “As for every thing [...] the provisions that are delivered to me here, you shall give it to them as a salary.” (P. Berlin P 1033, 5-6)

The text of this letter is very fragmentary, and as the Topic is not preserved in its entirety, it is hard to assess whether it is a New Top or whether it has been mentioned before. In the light of the preceding example, however, it may be presumed that even here, the *jr*-marked topicalisation introduces a New Topic that is high in the accessibility hierarchy.

126. *jr nt ʕk db3 n=f sw*, “As for that which perished, compensate it to him!” (Hekanakhte Letter II, 34)

This sentence follows another topicalisation, beginning with *jr gr.t* and marking the beginning of a new paragraph. The Topic of the preceding sentence is *all possessions of Anup*, of which *all that perished* are a Sub Topic. This is the only example in our corpus where *jr* marks a Sub Topic. It may be related to the fact that here, an even more explicitly marked structure is used to introduce the New Topic, and, in this case, the *jr* is taken as a lower level of marking and may thus introduce a Sub Topic.

### *VII. vii. jr grt in letters*

The difference between *jr gr.t* and the simple *jr* is that *jr gr.t* tends to express gradation and contrast (cf. example 126). Just as the simple *jr*, *jr grt* introduces a New Topic that is high in the accessibility hierarchy and readily available for activation. The context of the individual examples, which are listed below, can be found in the Corpus.

127. *jr gr.t jr.t n nb.t nht s3 hty m pr-h33 mk n hsb=j n=f ʕk.w pr.w 3bd wʕ m j.t mh.w hʕr*, “But as for everything that Nekhet, son of Hety did in *Per-haa*, look, I did not assign to him provisions beyond a single month, namely, a sack of barley.” (Hekanakhte Letter I, 14-15)

128. *jr gr.t n3 dd.n=j n=k r-dd dj n=f jt mh.w hʕr n 3bd dd=k n=f m jt-mh.w hk3.t 8 n 3b.d*, “As for that which I have told you, saying: ‘Give him one khar of barley a month!’, you give him 8 hekat of barley per month.” (Hekanakhte Let. 1, 16)

129. *jr gr.t h3.w nb š.t=j h3.w nb š=j m [rmn.wy] jr.n=j st m mḥw m rdj h3b rmt nb ḥr=f*, “As for all belongings of my property [on both banks], which I have sowed with barley, do not let any man descend on it.” (Hekanakhte Let. 1, Vo, 9-10)

130. *jr gr.t mdw.ty=fy n=k nb šm=k ḥr=f [...]*, “But as for everything he will say to you, you shall come because of him [...].” (Hekanakhte Let. 1, Vo, 10-11)

131. *jr gr.t ḥn.w nb n jnpw n.t m-ᶜ=k dj n=f sw*, “Now as for all possessions of Anup, which is now in your hand, give it to him!” (Hekanakhte Letter II, 34)

132. *jr gr.t w jn.t(y)=f(y) nb p3 ᶜk.w m ḥm.wt ᶜy.w jw.y=f n=j ᶜ3 ḥnᶜ=j ᶜnh=f mj ᶜnh=j*, “As for anyone who shall not accept these provisions, be it woman or man, he should come to me here with me, and live like I live.” (Hekanakhte Letter II, 37-38)

133. *jr gr.t r-s3 šd.t st dd (s)t m pr sš=k ᶜ.w.s. r jw.t(w) r=s*, “Now as for after it has been collected, place it in the house of your scribe, LPH, until somebody comes for it.” (Hekanakhte Letter III)

134. *jr gr.t rdj.t(y)=f(y) n=j db3 m mrḥ.t dd=f n=j hbn.t ḥr jt mḥw 2 ḥr bd.t 3 (vs. 1) r-pw*, “As for him who gives me the due sum in merehet-oil, he shall give to me one hebenet for two khar of barley or 3 khar of emmer.” (Hekanakhte Letter III, 8-vs. 1)

135. *jr gr.t n3 n jmj.w-r3 pr n.t [...] jt.t jmw.w nw ᶜrr.yt n.t pr-ᶜ3 mj rn=f {...} mtn [...p]3 3ḥᶜ.w=tn s3.w [...]*, “But as for the stewards who [shall] take the ships of the quay of the palace, namely: {follows the list}, look, [load?] your ships.” (Pap. Reisner II F, 2-3)

### *VII. vii. Complex structures*

In four cases, a sentence with an extraposed New Topic, which is marked by *jr*, is also focalized as a whole by *mk*. These sentences are analysed in chapter **IX.ii.ii**. Here, they are only mentioned for clarity. The last one, example 139, consists of an *jr*-marked Topic and Focus marked by *mk*, and the whole is focalized by *mk* at a higher level.

136. *mk gr.t jr jr.j m jt mḥw jr jt mḥw ḥꜣr 69 m 3ḥ.t [2,5 ḥ 3] jt mḥw ḥꜣr 9 m 3ḥ.t [1] mk nn s(y) m ꜣf.t ꜣsn.t*, “But look, as for one who sows with Lower Egyptian barley, as for 69 sacks of barley in 7,5 arouras of land, it is 9 sacks of barley in one aroura of land, look, it is not a bad yield!” (Hekanakhte Let. 1, 12-13)

137. *mk gr.t jr p3 mn mk sw w3ḥ.y*, “But look, concerning this cloth, it is set up.” (P. Cairo 91061, 6-7)

138. *mk gr.t jr p3 šnw mk sw sh.t*, “But look, concerning this *shenu*-cloth, it is finished.” (P. Cairo 91061, 7)

139. *mk jr th=k n3 mk jr=j st ḥr=k m j3tw*, “Look, if you transgress this, look, I shall lay it on you as a mutilation (?)” (Hekanakhte Let. 1, 16)

## VIII. FOCALISATION

The analysis of our corpus shows that Middle Egyptian possesses three types of focalisers:

- jn* focalises the NOUN
- jw* focalises the VERB (phrase)
- mk* focalises the CLAUSE

While *jw* and *mk* shift the main focus to their respective sentence elements (and can thus be considered focus-shifting particles rather than particles of focalisation), *jn* marks mostly contrastive focus and represents means of genuine focalisation. Focussing a NP by *jn* involves its fronting, and the main stress being put on it. The higher markedness of constructions with *jn* can be seen also in the frequency of the individual constructions, those with *jn* being by far the least frequent (on the complementary nature of *mk* and *jw*, cf. the conclusions below):

BIOGRAPHIES	Occurrence	% of total clauses
<i>jn</i>	8	2
<i>mk</i>	3	1
<i>jw</i>	123	23

**Tab. VIII.1** The occurrence of focus particles in biographies

LETTERS	Occurrence	% of total clauses
<i>jn</i>	2	2
<i>mk</i>	54	68
<i>jw</i>	1	1

**Tab. VIII.2** The occurrence of focus particles in letters

### VIII.i. Focalisation by means of the particle *jn*

The particle *jn* focalises a noun, more precisely the subject. In the *jn*-construction, the (nominal) subject comes first in the sentence and is introduced by *jn*, the predicate follows and may take several forms: *sdm.n=f* or *sdm=f* and future *sdm.w=f* (EL-HAMRAWI 2004, 39–40, quoting W. SCHENKEL). The same construction exists with pronominal subjects, here,

however, the focaliser *jn* is inherent in the independent pronouns that are used.<sup>79</sup> Focalisation by means of *jn* involves extracting the focalised NP out of its sentence, leaving a trace or anaphoric pronoun at its proper place within the sentence. The whole sentence belongs to the topic and represents the presupposed part to the focus, i.e. the extraposed NP. The negative counterpart to this construction, the focus negation *n ... js*, does not appear in our corpus (but cf. LOPRIENO 1991). The focaliser *jn* is also employed in interrogative constructions as an interrogative particle (cf. especially SILVERMAN 1980). The affinity of focus and interrogative constructions is well known in general linguistics (cf. SGALL, HAJIČOVÁ & PANEVOVÁ 1986, 207–213, 259–261).

Focalisation by *jn* is relatively rare in our corpus, both in biographies and letters it occurs in about 2% of the sentences. This corresponds to the highly marked status of the construction, which involves extraposition as well as marking of the subject NP, which is moreover, against its tendency (the subject is the “default” topic), the Focus and not the Topic of the construction.

<i>JN</i>	Occurrence	% of total clauses
biographies	8	2
letters	2	2

**Tab. VIII.3** Frequency of focalisation by *jn* in the corpus

In Middle Egyptian in general, *jn*-headed Focalisation mostly implies contrast. Often this contrast is explicit and the *jn*-Focalisation follows a question or a negative statement:

*n wd=j jr.t jsf.t jn jb.w=sn hd dd.t.n=j*

I had not ordered evil. It is their hearts that transgressed against that which I had said”

(CT VII, 464b B1L; after MALAISE & WINAND 1999, 678)

where the contrast is not my order, but **their hearts** (i.e. will).

Contrastive focus is, mostly, the only one mentioned in grammars of Middle Egyptian in connection with *jn* (cf. MALAISE & WINAND 1999, 675–683 with further bibliography). In view of our corpus, this view may be rather limited.

<sup>79</sup> For the origin of independent pronouns, cf. SCHWEITZER (2005, 126-129).

### VIII.i.i *jn* in biographies

In biographical inscriptions, *jn*-focalisations often express or imply contrast. The set of alternatives that the focus is contrasted against is very often implied, albeit clearly (cf. the following example, (out of all the possible things), *it was my own heart that advanced my position*. This corresponds to ROOTH's (1985)<sup>80</sup> view of focus always involving a set of alternatives to the focussed elements. While contrast appears to be the underlying notion under all examples of *jn*-headed Focalisation, there are other important aspects to it as well.

140. *jn jb=j shn.t s.t=j*, “It was my own heart that advanced my position.” (Leiden V4, 15-16)

This is a typical example of the *jn*-construction being used for contrastive Focus. In the preceding context, the text owner, Wepwawetaa, states: “the king rewarded me as one who comes and grows”, and here he continues “(but) it was **my own heart** that advanced my position,” claiming that while he was a favourite of the king, he reached his high status all by himself.

141. *jn gr.t nswt bjty hpr-k3-r<sup>c</sup> dj wj m-m smr.w=f n mnḥ.w hr-jb r ḥm=f*, “It was, however, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkare who placed me in the midst of his officials, to the pleasant one(s) in the presence of His Majesty.” (Leiden V4, 17-18)

This is another example of contrastive Focus. In the immediately preceding context, Wepwawetaa claims that “I surpassed the deeds of the ancestors, doing indeed that which the king loved. My office was talked about in the entire land, love of me was in the body of the sovereign,” i.e. that he was to a large extent responsible for his own career. The particle *jn* marks the contrastive Focus of the NP *the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkare*, contrasting the text owner's own abilities with the actions of the king – while Wepwawetaa was able to reach a high position on his own, it was only with the help of the king that he could be accepted among the courtiers.

142. *jn ḥm n nswt-bjty hpr-k3-r<sup>c</sup> s3 r<sup>c</sup> s-n-wsr.t ḥnh dt rdj wj m-m smr.w=f*, “It was the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkare, son of Re Senusret, living forever, who placed me among his courtiers.” (BM 562, x+14-15)

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<sup>80</sup> Quoted in HAJIČOVÁ, PARTEE & SGALL 1998, 23.



This sentence is analogous to the one immediately preceding and involves the same contrastive Focus.

143. *jn jb(=j) shnt s.t(=j) jn kd(=j) rdj (wj) r h3.t*, “It was my (own) heart that promoted my place, it was my (own) character that put me to the fore.” (Cairo 20543, 17)

This example follows after a long section in which the text owner, Rediukhnum, boasts about his excellent qualities. The *jn*-headed NPs are what could be called a gradating Focus, they represent the pinnacle of the self-presentation and a summary thereof. This type of Focus, involving a high degree of stress and a gradation or summing up of what was said before while adding a new aspect to it, is yet another typical usage of focalisation by *jn* in Middle Egyptian. Even here, though, a certain level of contrast is implied: *It was neither the king, nor my superiors, nor my inheritance but my own abilities which made my career.*

144. *jn s3=j s'nh rn(=j) hr wd pn*, “It is my son who has made my name live on this stela.” (Leiden V88, 12-13)

In this example, the son and heir is focussed as the one who made the stela for his father. While again involving contrast, this focus could be considered for a reaffirming focus – *It is indeed my son ...*, as the son had done what was expected from him in Egyptian society.

The same type of reaffirming Focus appears in the following two examples:

145. *jn s3=j shpr.n [...] wj*, “It is my son who kept alive [...]” (Cairo 20712, 9)

146. *jn s3=f s'nh rn=f m pr n nht.y*, “It is his son who perpetuates his name in the house of Nakhty.” (Cairo 20012, 4)

These both focus the fact that the son has appropriately fulfilled his duty to his deceased father.

147. *jn nd=f rdj šfj.t(=j) jd.t=f rdj hrj.t(=j) wn h3s.wt jpf spr.n(=j) r shr hj sp sn n b3w=f mrw.t=f snwh n=f t3.wj ntr.w hr sh.w n h3.w=f*, “The fear of him gave me respect, his influence that spread terror of me, so that those foreign countries which I have reached cried “Hail!” to his might; the love of him binding for him the Two Lands, the gods prospering in his time.” (Cairo B, 7-9)

This is by far the most complex example of *jn*-headed Focalisation from the biographies.

### VIII.i.ii. *jn* in letters

There are only two examples of *jn*-headed focalisation in the corpus of letters, a number that is too small for any conclusions, they are nonetheless analysed below.

148. *hr ntt jn nb ʕ.w.s. jr.j h.t nb.t m hz n b3k jm*, “...because it is the lord, LPH, who can do everything in response to the servant-there.” (UC 32210, 16-17)

This is a single example where the focalisation is not realized on the level of a sentence, but on that of a clause (for the hierarchical nature of topic and focus, cf. above). It is a clear contrastive-exclusive focus: no one but the addressee (“the lord”) can take action in the relevant matters.

149. *jnk h3b hr 3tp.w*, “It is I who has written concerning the loading.” (Pap. Reisner II D, 3)

In this case, the context is unfortunately too fragmentary to determine the nature of Focus involved (cf. the Corpus below). The essentially contrastive nature of similar *jnk*-phrases has been explained by MALAISE & WINAND (1999, 677–678); cf., their example *jnk sp(=j) hnʕ wsjr* “It is I (alone) who stays with Osiris” (MALAISE & WINAND 1999, 678, example 1902).

### VIII.i.iii Types of *jn*-headed Focus in the corpus

Even a quick glance at the analyses above reveals that all identifiable *jn*-headed focalisations involve contrast of some kind, and, as this corresponds to the findings of General Linguistics, contrast can be expected to be involved also in those sentences where the (un)preserved context does not allow us to judge on the nature of the focus present. In several cases the nature of the *jn*-headed Focus is more complex. We have called these cases the **gradating** Focus and the **reaffirming** Focus.

Gradating Focus involves a kind of recapitulation of the preceding statements, a focussed sum of what went on before. Using our example, we could translate gradating Focus with “thus”: ... *Thus it was my (own) heart that promoted my place; thus it was my (own) character that put me to the fore.*

Reaffirming Focus, on the other hand, operates with what is expected. That the son took care of the affairs of his father should not be new information in the context of ancient Egypt at all, it was expected of the son. In the examples quoted above, the sons (for it is most like they who had commissioned the stelae for their fathers) reaffirm that they had indeed

fulfilled their role – it is them, as it should be, who had done it. Reaffirming Focus is thus best translated with “indeed”: *It is indeed my son who has made my name live on this stela, or indeed, it is my son who has made my name live on this stela.*

IX.  *mk*

The particle *mk* is usually understood as a presentative particle that lays stress on the presentation of a fact rather than on the fact itself (EL-HAMRAWI 2003, 85–88). While according to some theories, the clause that follows *mk* is either an adverbial (SATZINGER 1993, 127) or a nominal (DAVID 2000, 118–121) transposition, in this work, we are following the theories of COLLIER (1992, 17–20) and consider the clause that follows *mk* an untransposed verbal (independent) clause.

Our corpus shows several significant facts. Firstly, *mk* appears only sparsely in biographical inscriptions, but is very frequent in letters (cf. Table IX. 1 below).

<i>mk</i>	Occurrence	% of total clauses
LETTERS	54	68
BIOGRAPHIES	2	1

**Table IX.1:** The frequency of *mk* in biographies and letters

Secondly, the clauses headed by the particle *mk* appear to hold special informative importance and, communicatively, to emphasise it (cf. also JUNGE 1983, 553).

It is interesting to note that while *mk* is very frequent in letters and almost nonexistent in biographies (cf. Table IX.1 above), the situation is exactly the reverse for *jw* (cf. Table IX.2 below).

<i>jw</i>	Occurrence	% of total clauses
LETTERS	1	1
BIOGRAPHIES	123	23

**Table IX.2:** The frequency of *jw* in biographies and letters

In the light of these facts it thus seems preferable to consider *mk* as a particle with a similar, but communicatively stronger, function than *jw*. We have already seen in Chapter VI above that *jw* is a focaliser that puts the main focus in the sentence on the verb. It is therefore likely that *mk* too is a focaliser – and such an analysis corresponds both to the common (“gut-feeling”) translations as “lo” or “behold”, stressing (focalising) the utterance, and to the JUNGE’s (1983, 553) theories on *mk* (for sentence-focus see also MICHAELIS & LAMBRECHT 1996, 234). Neither is the idea of a *presentative particle* (EL-HAMRAWI 2003, 85–88,

following SCHENKEL) at odds with the focaliser theory. Unlike *ᵛw*, which places the main focus of the sentence on the verb (or VP), but does not stress the verb in any significant way, *mk* focalises the whole utterance and thus lays stress (emphasis) on it. It is therefore well placed in letters, where it contributes to the structuring of the text, and inappropriate in biographies, where it appears solely within letters that are quoted as part of the biographical text (cf. examples under *IX.i* below). This function of *mk* is clearly documented by the examples below, and also in the fact that all examples of *mk* quoted by EL-HAMRAWI (2003, 85–101), who takes his examples from literary and religious texts, derive from direct speech, where marked focalisation is acceptable (and the norm) in Egyptian, precisely in the manner of marked topicalisation (*ᵛr*, cf. below and also EL-HAMRAWI 2003, 47–67; BORGHOUTS 1986, 54–55).

### *IX.i mk in biographical inscriptions*

With the exception of letters quoted in biographical inscriptions, *mk* does not appear in the sentences of these texts. There are two examples of *mk* in the biographies in our corpus, all coming from royal letters that the text owners considered so important that they quoted them in what appears to be their full form in their biographical inscriptions. While some caution is required in assuming that the letters correspond exactly to the documents received from the king we may safely presume, along with SWEENEY (2001, 3-4), that it would be highly unlikely for the text owner or maker as private individuals to tamper with a text authored by the king. Even these two instances of *mk* thus actually come from letters (a single letter actually, the one quoted in the biography of Amenyseneb).

150. *mk m3(.w) n3 n k3.wt ᵛr.n=k*, “See, the work that you have done has been seen.” (Louvre C 11, 1-2)

151. *mk wd(.w) sw<sup>c</sup>b=k p3 r-pr n 3bdw*, “Look, it is ordered that you clean this temple of Abydos” (Louvre C 11, 5-6)

Example 150 comes from the beginning of the letter of the king, example 151 comes later on. In the first sentence, the king informs Amenyseneb that the work that he had done has been seen, i.e. appreciated (and the focus, the “new information”, of this sentence is precisely that

*the work that you have done has been seen*, i.e. the whole clause following the *mk*). In the second sentence (151), the *mk* focalises a royal order directed at Amenyseneb.

### ***IX.ii mk in letters***

Letters contain a high proportion of sentences introduced by *mk*. For the sake of clarity, they have been divided here into simple structures, in which *mk* introduces a sentence of otherwise default topic-focus articulation and focalises it, and complex ones, in which *mk* is combined with other focalisers and topicalising or focalising strategies. Especially the latter are a special feature of letters, in all likelihood because the proximity of the language of letters to colloquial language (cf. WENTE 1990, 1; for the concept of letters as conversations at a distance, see also SWEENEY 2001, 1–6 and *passim*).<sup>81</sup>

#### **IX.ii.i Simple structures**

Several sentences introduced by *mk* all give the same type of information, namely the mentioning of a previous letter and its purpose:

152. *mk h3b.n jm.y-r3 w hrt rdj.t jn.t(w) n=k p3 nt.y m [=f] m 3 k3*, “Look, the overseer of the district has written concerning letting be brought to you that which is [in his possession?]” (P. Berlin P 10038 A, 15-18)

153. *mk h3b.n=j hr hn=k n jm.y-r3 pr htw* “Look, I have written concerning your task to the overseer of the house Hetu.” (UC 32201, 47-48)

154. *mk h3b.n=j n=k hr=s sp 2*, “Look, I have written to you concerning it two times!” (Hekanakhte Letter II, 35)

Examples 152 – 154 all refer to a letter sent previously, either to the addressee (152 and 153) or to another person. In example 152, the attention of the addressee is directed to a letter that he might not even have been aware of (the letter of the overseer of the district was in all likelihood addressed to the sender). The whole clause thus represents new and important

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<sup>81</sup> See also the general linguistic literature on letters cited by SWEENEY (2001, 2, note 5).

information for the addressee and as such, it is marked by the focaliser *mk*. The context is unfortunately unclear, as the whole P. Berlin P 10038 A is very fragmentary.

In example 153, the sender is informing the addressee about having informed another person about a matter that concerns the addressee. The rest of the letter is a request that the addressee should send a letter to the sender. The *mk* stresses a sentence that stands out of the context and may, on a certain reading, be supporting and strengthening the request.

Example 154 is similar, but instead of a request for letter concerns the (implicit) request to heed the instructions that the addressee has already received two times. The focaliser *mk* marks the sentence as communicatively important and sets it against the remaining text of the letter.

155. *mk jn.tw n=k wḏ pn n nswt ...* “Look, this order of the king has been brought to you ...” (P. Brooklyn 35.1446 - Ins. C., 3)

156. *mk jn.tw n=k wḏ pn n nswt r rdj.t rh=k ntt spr.n smsw-h3y.t jbj-ᶜmw s3 rmny-ᶜnh r ḏd ...* “Look, this royal decree was brought to you in order to let you know that the eldest of the entrance portal Jbi-amu, son of Remeny-ankh, came saying: ...” (P. Brooklyn 35.1446 - Ins. B., 4-7)

Both examples 155 and 156 concern the bringing of a royal decree, encoded as new information and focalised by *mk* to be brought into the attention of the addressee.

157. *mk [nn] ḥbs.w nb*, “Look, there are no clothes.” (UC 32202, 8)

The sentence *\*[nn] ḥbs.w nb* is an ideal candidate for being focalised as a whole by *mk*, as it isthetic. The *mk* thus only adds stress to the already focus-only sentence.

158. *mk ᶜbw 3ḥ.t [4 ḥ 2,5] jt=mḥ.w ḥᶜr 100*, “Look, 10 arouras of land will net 100 sacks of lower Egyptian barley.” (Hekanakhte 1, 13)

This sentence is located in the middle of Hekanakhte’s instructions to Merisu to the point that Merisu should be exact in paying his lease and should not take anything at all away because Hekanakhte knows what the yield of the field is. Precisely this information is focalized by *mk* as the most informatively important part of the sequence. In a sense, the *mk*-sentence even works as a kind of warning. Don’t try to cheat me, **for I know how much my land makes**.

159. *mk dd.n n=j jmj-r3 hw.t-ntr ttj* “Look, the overseer of the temple Teti said to me: ...” (UC 32199, 11)

This sentence introduces a new paragraph and a new theme in the letter. All information contained therein is therefore encoded as “new”, and the sentence is focalised by *mk* in order to bring the addressee’s attention to it. This whole letter is rather cryptical and assumes profound knowledge of the affairs concerned, but this as a feature typical for letters (cf. Sweeney 2001, 3).

160. *mk dd=k jb=k hft hrw nfr*, “Let your heart pursue entertainment!”<sup>82</sup> (P. Cairo 91016, 9-10)

This sentence is part of a sequence of several sentences introduced by *mk gr.t* and essentially announcing the accomplishment of some task. The focalising of this sentence is thus in all likelihood contrastive, opposing the work that is done and the leisure that should follow.

161. *mk nswt ʕ.w.s. dj.w wdʕ jb=k m mjtt*, “It is the king LPH, who lets your heart be informed thus.” (P. Brooklyn 35.1446 - Ins. C., 8)

When *mk* is replaced with *jn* in this sentence, the result is a genuine *jn*-focalisation (i.e. a cleft sentence with a focalised subject, cf. MALAISE & WINAND 1999, 76) – \* *jn nswt ʕ.w.s. dj.w wdʕ jb=k m mjtt*. It appears that in this sentence, *mk* (as another focaliser) has taken over the role of *jn* and focalises the subject phrase of the cleft. It is, however, uncertain why the scope of the focaliser *mk* is limited here to the subject NP (which it clearly appears to be, the usage and context of the sentence correspond directly to that in which the *jn*-focalisation would typically be used), though it is in all likelihood connected with the form of the cleft sentence. This is suggested by the behaviour of *mk* in sentences with extraposed elements – when the whole structure is to be focalised, two particles *mk* are used, one for the extraposed element, one for the clause itself, cf. for example: *mk gr.t jr p3 mn mk sw w3h.y*, “Look, concerning this cloth, it is set up.” (P. Cairo 91061, 7-8)

162. *mk rdj.n=j jn.t(w) n=k p3 šnw*, “Look, I have caused this *shenu*-cloth to be brought to you.” (P. Cairo 91061, 7-8)

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<sup>82</sup> I have not translated “Look, let your heart pursue entertainment”, because such translation is against the norm in English. The use of an exclamation mark indicates the marked status of the sentence here. It is, however, interesting to note that Czech uses an equivalent of “look”, *podívej (se)* to stress an imperative: “Nedělej to!” is a simple imperative, „Podívej, nedělej to!“ is almost a threat.



This sentence is part of a sequence of *mk*-headed constructions. Despite the fact that it does not all represent new information (the *shenu*-cloth has been mentioned before), the whole sentence is focalised and thus presented as new.

163. *mk rdj.n=j wd3 jb=f r=s gr hr=fy sw*, “Look, I have also informed him about it’, so he said.” (UC 32199, 11-12)

The sentence is a direct speech of Teti quoted within the letter. The focaliser *mk* is thus used to put the whole sentence into focus and stress it as important. The sentence is quoted alone and may actually have been uttered “out of the blue”, i.e. with no topic to tie it to. The direct speech quote uses a *mk* focalisation in the same way as the letter itself, thus pointing to the relationship between the language of letters and the colloquial language.

164. *mk rmt dd=sn m dd [...]*, „Look, people say: ‘Do not speak against...’” (P. Berlin P 10025, 11)

The whole letter is written in an apologetic mode, the sender insists that the addressee should not proceed against him in any way, and the proverb that forms the content of the present example is apparently (the second half is lost and the interpretation thus remains uncertain) quoted to support the arguments that one really should not act against the sender. The *mk* thus focalizes the whole sentence (which indeed constitutes all new information) and foregrounds it in the text.

The following two examples are very similar:

165. *mk sdm jr.t*, “Look, what has been done was heard.” (P. Brooklyn 35.1446 - Ins. C., 7)

166. *mk st sdm(.w)*, “Look, it was heard.” (P. Brooklyn 35.1446 - Ins. B., 13)

Both sentences contain affirmations that the information concerning the completion of a certain task was received. In both cases, the fact that the information has been received represents “new” information, and the focalizer *mk* points the sentences out in their respective texts.

The first of couple of sentences introduced above is followed by the following fragment of a sentence:

167. *mk wd.wt jr.w*, “Look, commands regarding it.” (P. Brooklyn 35.1446 - Ins. C., 7)

There is a distinct possibility that the presence of *mk* makes this phrase able to stand alone as a kind of athetic sentence (i.e. that by marking its topic-focus articulation it allows the

phrase to stand alone), but this is a singular example and will probably remain unclear. It is true, though, that such sentence fragments are characteristic of spontaneous colloquial language, and the affinity of the language of letters to the colloquial may also be at play here.

168. *mk snbnj m sbj.t=f m jw.t m hnt r-s3 s<sup>c</sup>k.n=f n3 n [š]n.w*, “Look, Senebni is accompanying him going north after he had registered the fibres.” (UC 32210, 20-22)

This sentence is followed by the statement *swd3-jb pw hr=s*, “It is a communication concerning it”, and thus it is clear that it represents the main information contained in the letter. The focalisation of the sentence by *mk* is thus logical, marking the informative content of the utterance.

169. *mk šsp=n dw3.t bjn.t*, “Look, we shall spend bad time!” (UC 32204, 8-9)

While we have already noticed *mk*-sentences encoding implicit threats, here the threat is explicit. The whole letter UC 32204 is phrased with enmity, and culminates in this last threat, which is focalized by *mk* to intensify the utterance. Again, the particle *mk* marks sentence that contains new information of special importance.

The following example is not a full threat, but a warning:

170. *mtn jp=j st m hnw.t*, “Look, I will count it in the residence.” (Pap. Reisner II E, 4)





The addressee is warned not to misbehave, because everything will be checked and controlled. The use of the particle *mk* focalizes the sentence and thus draws attention to it.

171. *mk sw m tbtb*, “Look, he is moving.” (P. Berlin P 10019, 2)

This example is a case of contrastive focus. The whole sentence seems to be a reaction to what precedes – the writer either wants to make it clear that things are about to be as they should, he is pointing out that the situation is to the contrary of what would be desirable.

172. *mk sw t mrj=j rdj.t(w) n=j ht m jt mhw*, “Look, but I want that things be given to me in barley.” (Hekanakhte Letter III, Vs. 1.)

Yet another example of the use of *mk* to mark contrastive focus. The whole sentence is a contrastive statement opposing that which has been said by the preceding complex sentence, where the speaker allows for other methods of payment, but here he specifically stresses that he prefers barley as “money”.

Several sentences introduced by *mk* encode complaints. The particle assumes another form in these sentences, because it agrees in person with the addressee (   *mṯn* for Hekanakhte's family,   *mṯ* for a female addressee; for this agreement of the particle *mk*, cf. EL-HAMRAWI 2003, 86).

173. *mṯ ksn jrr.t m ḥnw r ḥt nb.t*, “Look, what is being done in the residence is more painful than anything.” (UC 32200, 6-8)

The sentence is a sigh over the injustice of a certain legal proceeding. The whole sentence encodes “new” information, and the focaliser *mk* marks it as focal and gives it the nuance of exclamation. Sighs and complaints are a frequent theme of sentences marked by *mk*.

174. *mṯn dd.tw ḥkr r ḥkr*, “Look, one says: ‘Hunger!’ to the hungry one.” (Hekanakhte Letter II, 27)

This example, as well as the following two (175 and 176), form part of a sequence of five *mk*-headed clauses, which express complaints about the behaviour of the addressees and an appeal on them to be strong a face the situation (famine) well. The *mks* stress each individual sentence within the sequence and direct the reader's (listeners) attention to them. In sentences and sequences such as this one, it is particularly apparent that the letters were not read **by** the addressees, but they were read **to** them (i.e. out loud either by a scribe or by a literate family member) – above all when there was a whole group of addressees, this is very likely.

175. *mṯn n dd.w n=sn p3 ʿk.w m s.t nb.t*, “Look, there is no one who receives such provisions on any place.” (Hekanakhte Letter II, 28)

Cf. example 174 above.

176. *mṯn š3.tw m wnm rmt ʿ3*, “Look, they are beginning to eat people here!” (Hekanakhte Letter II, 27 – 28)

Cf. example 174 above. This clause is more an exclamation than a complaint, and it gives strength to the arguments in the sequence.

177. *mṯn t3 r-dr=f mw.t n ḥkr=tn*, “Look, the entire land is dead, (but) you are not hungry.” (Hekanakhte Letter II, 3)

This is a fine example of the use of *mk* to focalise the entire sentence. The *mk* is used to stress the whole contrastive statement and bring the attention of the addressees to the actual point of the sentence, that is, how well Hekanakhte is caring for them (and yet they are not obedient, hence the implied complaint). The information in both clauses of this sentence is actually “old” – both the famine that plagues Egypt and the fact that considering the conditions, Hekanakhte’s family is extremely well-off, have already been mentioned before. Through the focaliser *mk* they are, however, both presented as new and important information and as such, attention is directed to them.

178. *mṯ wj snb.kwj*, “Look, I am healthy.” (Hekanakhte Letter IV, 2)

This example is an assertion, focalising the healthy state of Hekanakhte, who stresses not only that he is fine, but also that his family should not worry about him.

179. *mṯn jj.n=j mjn3 m hnty.t jr.n=j ḳ.w=ṯn r nfr*, “Look, I have come today in a *khentyt*-ship, I have made your provisions to the best.” (Hekanakhte Letter II, 3-4)

This is another clause of the sequence of five *mk* clauses mentioned above, which this time stresses the fact that despite circumstances, Hekanakhte is caring for his family well.

180. *mṯn jr.n=n ḳ.w=n r kd n ḥḥpj whd mj rn.w*, “Look, we have made our provisions against the character of the flood *whd mj rn.w*<sup>83</sup>” (Hekanakhte Letter II, 4-5)

This example represents the answer to a rhetorical question – *Is the inundation too great?* / and stresses what probably is a known fact, but is presented as new information in order to be brought to the attention of the addressees.

181. *mṯn ph.n=j p3 hrw jm=ṯn ḥr sḥnh=ṯn*, “Look, I have come to you this day in order to feed you.” (Hekanakhte Letter II, 5)

This clause directly follows on the preceding one. It intensifies the preceding statement – *not only have we made provisions, but these include my coming to feed you*. The focalized clause includes new information, not recoverable from the context.

182. *mṯn jr=j šmw ʕ3*, “Look, I shall spend the inundation season here.” (Hekanakhte Letter II, 29)

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<sup>83</sup> The meaning of the end may be “it must be suffered like names” (Goedicke 1984), but it is unclear.

This is another clause of the sequence of five *mk* clauses mentioned above. The whole clause is focal, intensifying the meaning of the preceding sentence: *hold on until I come, and I won't come before the end of the inundation season.*

183. *mṯn pr r-dr=f m mjtt ḥrd.w=j*, “Look, my entire household are like my children.” (Hekanakhte Letter II, 25)

This clause is the first of a longer sequence of *mk*-headed clauses, in which Hekanakhte assures the addressees that he cares for them. In this case, the sentence is focalised both to mark a new paragraph and to mark a contrastive focus (*you are fighting and quarrelling – yet you are like my children*).

184. *mṯn ṯn ḥr wnm ḳ.w=j*, “Look, you are eating my provisions!” (Hekanakhte Letter II, 33)

As a concluding sentence of a series of *mk*-headed clauses in Hekanakhte's Letter II. The sentence is focalized – presented as new information, though the family would probably know. The reason for using the focaliser *mk* is to stress the sentence (for the doubtful result, see below).

185. *mṯn ṯn m p3 wnm r s3=f ḥkr r b3ḥ jr.ty=fy*, “Look, you are like one who eats until he is satisfied and hungers so that his eyes come out.” (Hekanakhte Letter II, 3)

This sentence is the first of the many in Letter II. The exact reason of focalising this sentence remains obscure to me.

Hekanakhte's second letter is filled with *mk*-headed sentences. About half of the sentences used in this text are focalized by *mk* (cf. pp. 301–302 in the corpus). This leads to a slight demarking of the *mk*-headed sentences within the text (on the process of the grammatical demarking of focus constructions, which works similarly but on a much broader scale, cf. DIK 1997, 325). The whole text reads as an appeal to Hekanakhte's household to understand that the conditions are grave and that they should understand that they are living very well compared with other Egyptians and that it is Hekanakhte who cares for them so well. The modern reader thus gets an impression of an overly worried Hekanakhte, who stresses almost every sentence he writes, because they are so important for him, and inadvertently reaches just the opposite effect – the individual sentences lose some of their markedness in the context of other sentences marked the same way. The effect would probably be the same when the letter was read – while the first few *mk*'s probably indeed drew the listeners' attention to the

content of the sentence they headed, after some time, the alertness must have wavered, since in the context of so many *mk*'s, the *mk* ceased to distinguish the focalised sentence from the others.

186. *mṭn rdj.n=j jw.t=f ḥr 3tp st ḥnᶜ jr.t.n=j s 30 n ṭ.t n.t jmw wᶜ jm=ṭn nb m kn.t nb*, “Look, I have caused him to come in order to load it, and also to assign for me thirty men of the *imu*-crew.” (P. Reisner II D, 7-8)

The letter is full of questions and instructions, and this focalized sentence is basically one of two that convey information to the addressee (the other one being an *jnk*-headed NP focalization clause, cf. P. Reisner II D, 3). The sentence is focalized in order to attract attention to it.

### IX.ii.ii Complex structures

Letters, being similar to genuine conversations, are especially prone to multiple markings, which result in structures with a rather complex topic-focus articulation. Both the topic and focus can be marked within a single sentence, and moreover, topics and/or foci of different structural levels can be simultaneously marked as well. While in formal discourse such multiple marking would be unacceptable, letters allow it.

Several of these sentences can be schematized as follows:

$$mk (gr.t) [ jr[top] mk[foc] ]FOC$$

This is the simplest type of the complex structures, involving a topicalized NP marked by *jr* followed by a focus marked by *mk* on the clausal level, the whole being focalized by *mk* on the level of the sentence. The examples are as follows:

187. *mk gr.t jr p3 mn mk sw w3ḥ.y*, “But look, concerning this cloth, it is set up.” (P. Cairo 91061, 6-7)

188. *mk gr.t jr p3 šnw mk sw šḥ.t*, “But look, concerning this *shenu*-cloth, it is finished.” (P. Cairo 91061, 7)

189. *mk jr th=k n3 mk jr=j st hr=k m j3tw*, “Look, if you transgress this, look, I shall lay it on you as a mutilation (?)” (Hekanakhte Letter I, 16)

190. *mk gr.t p3=k pr mk sw rdj n p3 wcb nht 3=f ht=f nb.t*, “But look, your house, look, it has been given to the *wcb*-priest Nakht, its doors, its every thing.” (P. Cairo 91061, 8-9)

This sentence is highly complex and contains two *mk* focalisations within a single sentence. The first *mk* focalises the extraposed NP and its scope includes only the extra-clausal constituent, the second *mk* focalises the sentence from which the NP had been extraposed. The structure can be schematized as follows:

*mk gr.t* [foc] *mk* [foc]

We have already seen above that *mk* can take over the role of *jn* in focalising a NP. Here, however, the rest of the sentence is focalized as well as the NP. The question remains why, if the whole sentence is focal, is the NP extraposed in the first place. This may be explained by processing reasons – the “tail” part (*3=f ht=f nb.t*) would, if it remained within the sentence, result in a long string of NPs, within which it would be difficult to assign the individual grammatical roles. The NP (*p3=k pr*) is extraposed in order to make the referent of the pronoun *=f* in the “tail” readily identifiable.

191. *mk jr kn=sn dw3.t(w) n=k ntr*, “Look, if they are diligent, one shall praise God for you.” (Hekanakhte Letter II, 31)

*mk* [ *jr* [protasis] [apodosis] ]FOC

This is actually a simple *mk*-headed sentence, but the presence of a conditional clause, a form related to *jr*-topicalisation, makes its appearance close to the complex structures. It is one of the vast number of *mk*-headed clauses in Hekanakhte’s Letter II, and belongs to the general tendency of stressing each and every piece of information in this letter.

192. *mk gr.t jr jr.j m jt mhw jr jt mhw hr 69 m 3h.t [2.5 h 3] jt mhw hr 9 m 3h.t [1] mk nn s(y) m cf.t ksn.t*, “But look, as for one who sows with Lower Egyptian barley, as for 69 sacks of barley in 7.5 arouras of land, it is 9 sacks of barley in one aroura of land, look, it is not a bad yield.” (Hekanakhte Letter I, 12-13)

The simplified information structure of this sentence may be schematized as follows:

*mk* [ [*jr*-Top] [*mk*-Foc] ]FOC<sup>84</sup>

The particle *mk* focalizes the whole sentence, within which, at clause level, other constituents are topicalised (by means of *jr*, cf. above, Chapter VII) or focalised. The result is a highly marked structure, which, despite its complex appearance when formalised (cf. note 4), may actually have been easier to process for the addressees. Above all the NP topics may have been extraposed as much for processing reasons as for their topicality (for the use of NP-extrapolation for processing reasons, cf. HAWKINS 1994<sup>85</sup>).

### **IX.ii.iii** *mk gr.t*

*mk gr.t* appears to be the preferred form used in complex structures (cf. IX.ii.ii. above). When used in simple structures such as the following examples, it mostly introduces a new general theme in the letter, or at least a subtheme within the current one. A simple structure introduced by *mk gr.t* thus mostly introduces a new paragraph. This may, but is not always true in the complex structures, but there the increased marking may be explained by the complexity of the sentence itself.

193. *mk gr.t bd.t 2 jt 15 m ḥw.t-h33 m-<sup>c</sup> nnk-sw*, “But look, 2 sacks of emmer and 15 sacks of barley are in *ḥw.t-h33* in the possession of Nenkhesu.” (Hekanakhte Letter III, 6-7)

This sentence introduces a new sequence in the letter, describing where which barley is.<sup>86</sup>

194. *mk gr.t jj.n=j mjn3 m ḥnty.t ḥsb=k n=j kdb n 3ḥ.t [2,5 ḥ 3] m jt-mḥw w<sup>c</sup>.t=f*, “But look, I have come here sailing southwards, you have reckoned for me the rent for the 7,5 arouras of land in lower Egyptian barley (alone?).” (Hekanakhte Letter I, 9-10)

This sentence introduces a new theme in the letter.

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<sup>84</sup> The two internal brackets are simplified for clarity, they should actually read *jr* [...]top and *mk* [...]foc, but this would raise the number of square brackets too high for the diagram to be illustrative. The full diagram would be *mk grt* [ [*jr*[top] [*jr*[top] [foc]]] *mk*[foc]] ]FOC.

<sup>85</sup> While HAWKINS’ position is often far too radical, his study makes it clear that processing does indeed play an important role in NP-extrapolation.

<sup>86</sup> For the justification of the short comments accompanying this and the following examples, cf. the relevant texts in the Corpus.



195. *mk gr.t jn šnw ds 10 rh k3=k bw nfr*, “But look, Shenu brings 10 jugs that your *k3* may know goodness.” (P. Cairo 91016, 11-vs., 1)

This sentence introduces a new theme in the letter.

196. *mk gr.t rdj.n=j jn.t=sn n t3 jt wh3.t st jm=s jw=s ʿnt m hn.t km.t*, “But look, I have caused them to bring the measure in which it is to be measured. It is covered with black skin.” (Hekanakhte Letter III, 5-6)

This example follows in the general lines of the preceding text, but introduces a subtheme – the measure. The measure then becomes the topic of the following short sentence (while this is a somewhat more complex example, since the whole sentence is focalized, the practice of introducing a future new topic in the sentence focus is a known one.

197. *mk gr.t rh.n=j kd n hm.t jt=j*, “Look, but I know the state/character of the wife of my father.” (P. BM 10549, 8-9)

This example represents stressed clause, in which the speaker asserts that he is well aware of the foul motivations of the woman who influences the actions of the receiver. Again, this is a new theme within the letter.

198. *mk grt dd.n n=j snb s3 nb=j*, “Look, Seneb, son of my lord, told me:” (UC 32201, 17)

This example introduces the direct speech of Seneb, i.e. a new theme within the letter. The particle *mk* focalizes the whole and marks it as new and important information.

199. *mk grt rdj.n=j jn.t=f n=k pʿ wh3 n šnr-pʿ.t rdj.n=k ʿ3*, “Look, I have caused him to bring to you a conscript from *šnr-pʿ.t*, whom you have placed here.” (UC 32201, 16)

Also this last example introduces a new theme in the letter.

## X. CONCLUSIONS

### **X.i Frequency analysis of the basic verb forms in the corpus**

It is useful to analyse the frequency and distribution of the basic verb forms treated in the present study in both the biographical texts and letters. Some very interesting similarities and differences appear in these analyses, which shed further light on the nature of these verb forms. It should be noted that the relative frequency of *s $\underline{d}$ m=f* vs. *s $\underline{d}$ m.n=f* is insignificant in terms of Topic-Focus articulation and depends on the temporal/aspectual meaning of the verb forms, the perfective *-n-* forms being more frequent in biographies, the temporally and aspectually unmarked form (relative present tense) being more frequent in letters.

BIOGRAPHIES	Occurrence	% of total clauses
<i>s<math>\underline{d}</math>m.n=f</i>	221	42
<i>jw s<math>\underline{d}</math>m.n=f</i>	108	21
<i>s<math>\underline{d}</math>m=f</i>	93	18
<i>jw s<math>\underline{d}</math>m=f</i>	8	1,5

**Table X.i Frequency of suffix conjugation verb forms with and without *jw* in biographies**

LETTERS	Occurrence	% of total clauses
<i>s<math>\underline{d}</math>m.n=f</i>	15	19
<i>jw s<math>\underline{d}</math>m.n=f</i>	1	1
<i>s<math>\underline{d}</math>m=f</i>	19	24
<i>jw s<math>\underline{d}</math>m=f</i>	0	0

**Table X.ii Frequency of suffix conjugation verb forms with and without *jw* in letters**

The frequency of occurrence of the individual verb forms in both letters and biographical inscriptions confirms our hypothesis that the *jw*-less forms are the (TFA-) unmarked forms of the verbal system, while the forms with *jw* are marked. This is reflected both in the fact that in the biographical texts, the bare *s $\underline{d}$ m.n=f* forms is twice as frequent as the same form with *jw* (the *s $\underline{d}$ m.n=f* being the chief verb form in the main clauses of these texts), and in the almost complete lack (with a single exception) of forms headed by *jw* in the letters. Thus, it is confirmed that in correspondence with the definition of unmarked forms, the *jw*-less forms are both more frequent, and more universal. This universality of the *jw*-less

forms is shown also in another feature of theirs, namely, that they are more evenly distributed over the spectrum of clauses than those with *jw* (the accompanying table shows this on the example of *s $\underline{d}m.n=f$  / jw s $\underline{d}m.n=f$*  forms).

BIOGRAPHIES	Main clause	Matrix clause	NIMS	Dependent clause	Unidentified
<i>s<math>\underline{d}m.n=f</math></i>	159 / 72%	13 / 6%	35 / 16%	6 / 3%	1 / 0,5%
<i>jw s<math>\underline{d}m.n=f</math></i>	89 / 82%	12 / 11%	5 / 5%	1 / 1%	1 / 1%

**Tab. X.iii Distribution of *s $\underline{d}m.n=f$*  and *jw s $\underline{d}m.n=f$*  forms over sentence types**

The low frequency of *jw s $\underline{d}m=f$*  form is the result of two factors. Firstly, in biographies, the *s $\underline{d}m=f$*  form is the main form of the dependent clause (indicating simultaneousness; cf. Table X.iv below). Many of the main sentence *s $\underline{d}m=f$*  forms come from the topicalised patterns at the beginning of the text, namely, *NN*,  *$\underline{d}d=f$* , “NN says”, which would be a twice marked sentence if it contained *jw* as well as the fronting (double marking is rare in biographies but it is, as we shall see below, very frequent in letters).

BIOGRAPHIES	Main sentence	Matrix Sentence	NIMS	Dependent Clause
<i>s<math>\underline{d}m=f</math></i>	51 / 55%	2 / 2%	21 / 23%	19 / 20%

**Tab. X.iv The distribution of the bare *s $\underline{d}m=f$*  form over sentence types**

Secondly, in letters, the *s $\underline{d}m=f$*  form present is in all cases the prospective form, indicating what the addressee should do. The prospective *s $\underline{d}m=f$*  does not take *jw*. Letters moreover use a different focalisation particle, *mk*.

Thus, the overall frequency of the forms of the suffix conjugation with and without *jw*, as well as their surface structure forms, corresponds to the forms with *jw* being marked, and the forms without the *jw* being unmarked, which is in keeping with the present hypothesis of the verb forms, but at odds with the non-verbal hypotheses of the Egyptian language (the so-called Standard Theory and some post-Standard Theory patterns).

## X.ii Frequency analysis of topicalisation / focalisation strategies

The second phenomenon in focus of the present study is the topicalisation and focalisation strategies. The frequency of the individual strategies is summarised in the two tables below (again separately for biographical texts and for letters). The *jr* is a focus-marking, not a focalisation strategy, but it was added in the tables below in order to clarify a certain point that shall be treated in detail in the clarification to the tables.

BIOGRAPHIES	Occurrence	% of total clauses
<i>jr / jr gr.t</i>	22	4
fronting	26	5
<i>jn</i>	9	2
<i>mk</i>	3	1
<i>jw</i>	123	23

**Tab. X.v Frequency of various topicalisation and focalisation strategies in biographies**

LETTERS	Occurrence	% of total clauses
<i>jr</i>	26	32
fronting	4	5
<i>jn</i>	7	9
<i>mk</i>	54	68
<i>jw</i>	1	1

**Tab. X.vi Frequency of various topicalisation and focalisation strategies in letters**

Even a casual look at the two tables above makes it clear that topicalisation and focalisation strategies in general are much more frequent in letters than in the biographical inscriptions. The same holds for the relative frequency of fronting and *jr*-marked fronting. Very interesting is the relative frequency of *mk* and *jw* – *mk* is absent in biographies (as has been noted above, the occurrences of *mk* in biographies actually come from letters quoted in biographies) and *jw* is, with a single occurrence, almost completely absent from letters.

While the greater frequency of more marked forms in letters – i.e. in written documents that are, and the more so in a largely illiterate culture<sup>87</sup> like ancient Egypt – than in other text types has been commented on many times and is quite universal (cf. SWEENEY

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<sup>87</sup> For literacy in ancient Egypt, cf. BAINES & EYRE 1983, 65–96; BAINES 1983, 572–599; BRYAN 1984, 17–32; POPKO 2006, 75–81.

2001, WENTE 1990), the relative frequency of *mk* and *ju* deserves closer attention. In the respective chapters of the present work (VI and IX), *ju* and *mk* have been described as focalisers, or Focus-marking particles. Their role is similar in that they mark their respective scope as Focus, and they differ in the extent and nature of that scope. While the scope of the particle *ju* is the verb and its obligatory complements, the scope of the particle *mk* is the whole clause, and in this respect a sentence with *mk* is more marked than that with *ju*, and thus more appropriate for the text type “letter”.

### X.iii Topic-Focus Articulation and Middle Egyptian Verbal System

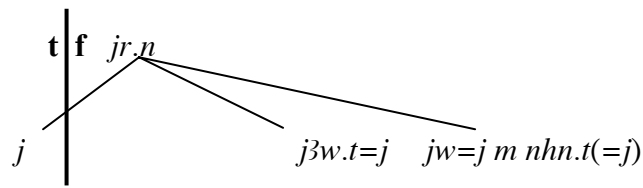
Tab. X.vii below resumes the encoding of Topic-Focus articulation in Middle Egyptian verbal system:

Verb Form	VF Type	T	t	F	f
<i>sḏm=f</i> , <i>sḏm.n=f</i>	Unmarked verbal form	Usually the subject	Other CB elements	free complements	Verb and its NB arguments
<i>mrr=f</i> , <i>sḏm.n=f</i> ...	Topical verb form	Usually the subject	Verb and its NB arguments	free complements	∅
<i>ju sḏm=f</i> , <i>ju</i> <i>sḏm.n=f</i>	Focal verb form	Usually the subject	Other CB elements	Verb and its NB arguments	free complements

**Tab. X.vii Topic-Focus Articulation and Middle Egyptian Verbal System**

The *sḏm=f* and *sḏm.n=f* forms have been shown to be the verb forms unmarked in terms of Topic-Focus Articulation. This is clear from their frequency as well as usage, and our corpus supports this view. A typical unmarked sentence thus has the following form:

200 (= 2). *jr.n=j j3w.t=j jw=j m nhn.t(=j)*



[I]t [do(.pf) office-I [being-I in youth-I]F]f

“I performed my office (already) in my youth.” (Leiden V4, 12)

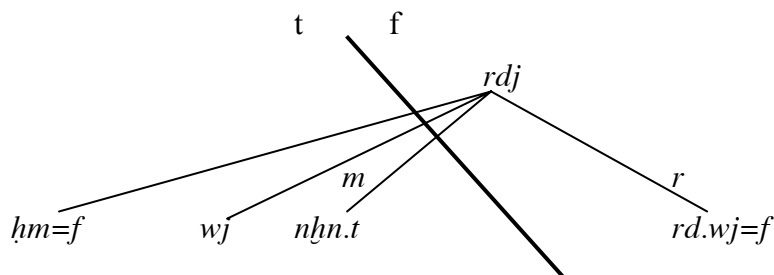
In order to demote the verb in terms of communicative importance to the topic part of the sentence, the *mrr=f* form is used. The adverbial complement thus remains the sole element of the focal part of the sentence and as such receives more stress (“emphasis”), which is, however, a secondary result of the demotion of the verb. The typical structure of a *mrr=f* sentence would be:

201 (=8). *jj.n(=j) m w3s.t m rh.w nsw.t jrr.w hss.t=f nb.t*

[I left Thebes]t [**as one whom the king knows and one who does all that the king praises**]f=F (Berlin 1199, 5–6)

If, on the other hand, the verb is to be promoted in terms of communicative strength to become the Focus proper of the sentence/clause (F), the particle *jw* is used. The role of the focaliser particle *jw* is to shift the F to the main verb and its arguments. The structure of a sentence with *jw* is thus:

202. *jw rdj.n wj hm=f r rd.wj=f m nhn.t*



[Majesty me child]t [place foot-2-he]f=F-he

When I was a child, His Majesty placed me to his feet. [SETHE, 1924, 75, 3–4]

Interestingly, the current framework is to my knowledge the only one that accounts for the difference of examples 200 and 202, which are very similar in meaning and structure and differ only in the presence of the particle *jr*. As also the distribution of such clauses (examples 200 and 202 are by far not the only such pair) shows no discernible divergence, the difference in meaning must be internal, and the focus shift explains this well. “The office” is topical in example 200, as it had been mentioned before, and the communicatively important part of the sentence is that the deceased was able to perform this office at a young age. On the other hand in Example 202, the communicatively important message is that the deceased had grown up **in the care of the king**.

#### **X.iv Middle Egyptian topicalisation and focalisation strategies**

In Middle Egyptian, the two most frequent topicalisation strategies were fronting and fronting marked by the particle *jr*. Table V.viii summarizes the frequency of these strategies in biographies and letters.

TOPICALISATION	Biographies	% of total clauses	Letters	% of total clauses
<i>jr / jr gr.t</i>	22	4	26	32
fronting	24	5	4	5

**Tab. X.viii Frequency of topicalisation strategies in biographies and letters**

Topicalisation by fronting has three main functions in Middle Egyptian:

- To establish a New Topic that will be the Discourse Topic in the following passage
- To resume a Discourse Topic that had faded out of memory
- To establish a Sub Topic

The frequency of topicalisation by fronting is the same in biographies as in letters.

*Jr*-marked topicalisation was a strategy to introduce New Topic which is of short-time importance, i.e. does not become Discourse Topic in the following text. In *jr*-marked topicalisation, the Topic is simultaneously established and serves as Topic, and fades out immediately thereafter, the marking is therefore appropriately high. As this Topic can be established “out of the blue” (while bare fronting needs at least contextual pre-activation), *jr*-marked topicalisation shares certain characteristics with Focus – for example, *jr*-marked

topicalisation may often have a contrastive effect. As highly marked constructions, *jr*-marked topicalisations are far more frequent in letters than in biographies.

The main focalisation particle in Middle Egyptian was *jn*. *Jn* was used to focalise a NP, and as the only true focalisation structure, its frequency was the same – low, about 2% – in biographies and in letters. The main effect of *jn*-focalisation is contrastive, but three different types of focus could be identified in the corpus:

- **Contrastive Focus**, stressing the focalised term against either an explicit or implicit set of alternatives
- **Gradating Focus**, involving a kind of recapitulation of the preceding statements, a focussed sum of what went on before.
- **Reaffirming Focus**, operating with what is expected and reaffirms it.

## **X.v Where to go from here**

Having – hopefully at least in part – elucidated the complex role of Topic-Focus Articulation in Middle Egyptian grammar, above all within the still poorly understood verbal system, and having returned the verbal sentence to Middle Egyptian (the latter is more the work of MARK COLLIER, ANTONIO LOPRIENO, CHRIS REINTGES and other scholars than of the present thesis), the next logical step is the investigation of the verbal system itself, in order to disentangle the intricacies that arise from the complex interplay of relative tenses, aspectual relations, and Topic-Focus Articulation that are all apparently encoded by the verbal morphemes. That task, however, is far beyond the scope of the present work.



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## PART II

### THE CORPUS

#### A.

#### BIOGRAPHICAL INSCRIPTIONS

## ABYDOS

The Abydos corpus includes 30 biographical texts, the vast majority of which (27) comes from the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Within the time-span of the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, about a half of the texts come from the reign of or are associated with Senwosret I; the same ratio, about 40% of texts from the time of Senwosret I, holds true for the whole corpus of Middle Kingdom biographical inscriptions in general (D. FRANKE, personal communication).

<b>NO.</b>	<b>OWNER</b>	<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>DATING</b>
1.	Mentuhotpe	Cambridge E.9.1922	late 11 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty
2.	Abkau	Louvre C15	late 11 <sup>th</sup> dynasty
3.	Nakhty	Cairo CG 20012	11 <sup>th</sup> or 12 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty
4.	Nesmontu	Louvre C1	Amenemhet I, Senwosret I
5.	Antef	BM EA 581	Senwosret I
6.	Antef	BM EA 572	Senwosret I
7.	Antef	BM EA 562	Senwosret I
8.	Shen	Los Angeles A. 5141. 50-876	Senwosret I
9.	Djediqu	Berlin 1199	Senwosret I
10.	Montuwosre	MMA 12.184	Senwosret I
11.	Mery	Louvre C3	Senwosret I
12.	Antef	Louvre C 167	Senwosret I
13.	Wepwawetaa	München Glyptothek 27	Senwosret I and Amenemhet II
14.	Wepwawetaa	Leiden V4	Senwosret I and Amenemhet II
15.	Mentuhotep	Cairo CG 20539	Senwosret I and Amenemhet II
16.	Semti	BM EA 574	Amenemhet II
17.	Amenemhet	BM EA 567	Amenemhet II
18.	Antef	Leiden V6	Amenemhet II
19.	Sahathor	BM EA 569	Amenemhet II
20.	Senwosret	Louvre C 170	Senwosret II
21.	Djaa	BM EA 573	Senwosret II
22.	Iikhernefret	Berlin 1204	Senwosret III
23.	Inhuretnakht	BM EA 575	Senwosret III



24.	Khusobek	Manchester 3306	Senwosret III
25.	Nebipusenwosret	BM EA 101	Senwosret III, Amenemhet III
26.	Shetepibre	Cairo CG 20538	Senwosret III, Amenemhet III
27.	Ankhsashetepibre	Liège, Musée Curtius	Middle Kingdom
28.	Sankhenptah	Cairo CG 20153	12 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty (?)
29.	Tany	Cairo CG 20564	12 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty
30.	Senwosret	Louvre C 174	mid-12 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Many of the preserved Abydene stelae were not taken into account for the present study, because they contain only self-presentations in nominal sentences, offering formulae and afterlife wishes.

## 1. Mentuhotpe (Cambridge E.9.1922)

Dating: late 11<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Origin: Abydos

Bibliography: PETRIE 1925, xxii–xxiii; LICHTHEIM 1988, 68–69.

### Text:

(1) *j ʕnh.w tp.yw t3 sw3.t(y)=sn hr js pn mrr.w ʕnh msdd.w hp.t*

O living ones who are on earth, who shall pass by this tomb, who love life and hate death,

*dd=tn s3h wsjr hn.ty-jmn.tyw mnt.w-htp.w*

may you say: “May Osiris Khentamenty transfigure Mentuhotpe.”

(2) *jnk gr.t tp.y m dʕm.w=f shd n ʕpr.w=f*

I was the foremost one of his troops, a leader of his ship’s crew,

*gm.w wsd.t(w)=f jr=f wsb m sp r sp=f*

one who found the right word when he was addressed, who answered immediately in his time,

(3) *kb ssp t r tr=f jdn n=f shr=f mw.t m hn.t*

a cool one who acquired bread in his time, one whose character replaced him a mother at home,

*jtj hr jr gm s3=j*

and a father who would say: “Notice, my son”,

*nfr kd sb3 n bj.t=f mj hrd hpr m-ʕ jtj*

one good of character and taught by his nature as a child who is raised with a father.

(4) *jw sk (w)j grt w3.kwj r nmh*

But behold, I had become an orphan,

*hrp.n=j k3.w*

(yet) I brought forth bulls,

*jr.n=j k3.w*

I raised oxen,

*shpr.n=j ssm=j m wʕ.wt=j*

(and) I made my proceeding in my goats.

*kd.n=j pr*

I built a house,

*sʕd.n(=j) s*

I dug a pond.

*hm-ntr mnt.w-htp.w*

The priest Mentuhotpe.

## 2. Abkau (Louvre C15)

Dating: Late 11<sup>th</sup> dynasty

Origin: Abydos

Bibliography: BOREUX 1932, pl. XVII; GAYET 1886, pl. LIV; PIEHL 1888, 29–31; PORTER & MOSS 1937, 98; SCHENKEL 1965, 295–298; SPIEGEL 1973, 145–150.

### Text:

(1) [*hṯp dj nswt ...*] [*nb t3*] *dṣr* [...]

[An offering which the king gives so that Anubis, lord of the] sacred [land, ... may give an invocation offering to ...]

(2) [...*th*].*n(=j) ḥsb n jr.t špss.kwj*

[... I surpassed] the sum of that which was made. I was rich. [...]

(3) [...]*tn kd.n=j pr m ḥr-jb=s jnb.w=f pḥ.n(=sn) k3.w p.t* [...]

[...] I built a house in its midst; its walls, they reached the height of heaven. [...]

(4) [...] *m njw.t pḥr m šḥ.t*

[... I founded a ...] in the city and a *pḥr*-foundation in the field.

*nn s.t nb.t tm.t.n=j jr mn.w jm=s*

There is no place on which I have not built any monument.

*jw jr.n(=j) mn.w tp m jnr* [...]

I also built a first (quality) monument of stone. [...]

(5) [...*jw*].*n.t r rd n ḥw.t-ḥr*

[... (in) Dende]ra at the terrace of Hathor.

*jnk ḥsk.y whm k3=f špsj w<sup>c</sup> ḥ3.ty-<sup>c</sup> sr.w rḥ ḥ.t n wn [sn-nw]=f* [...]

I was a *ḥsk.y* who repeated his *ka*, one noble and unique, the count of officials, one knowledgeable, who has no equal. [...]

(6) [ ... *jr.n=j m<sup>c</sup>ḥ*]<sup>c</sup>.*t tn r wn.wt n.t šsp 3w.wt jr.t n=j m t3-wr 3bdw t3 dṣr jmnt.t w<sup>c</sup>r.t <sup>c</sup>3.t ḥmḥm.t šḥtp.t jb.w 3ḥ.w r r3 n sb3*

[I built] this [to]mb at the gate of receiving offerings, which were made for me in Abydos in the Thinite nome, in the sacred land, in the west, in the necropolis, loud of cries that pacify the hearts of the transformed spirits at the opening of the door.

(7) [...] *ḥnt.y-(jmn).tyw ḥr=f r ḥb.w=f n.w d.t n mr.wt dw3(=j) nfr.w=f ḥr ḥ3.t wr.w s<sup>c</sup>ḥ.w sn(=j) t3 n wp-w3.wt dndn=f ḥp.t n.t t3-wr*

[...] Khontamenti [showed me] his face on his festival of eternity, so that I would adore his beauty at the fore of the great ones and the officials and so that I might kiss earth for Wepwawet, when the *ḥp.t* of the Thinite nome passes through it.

(8) [ ... *nḥ*].*ḥ ḥ<sup>c</sup>.y m jr.w=f sk wj m šms.w=f r<sup>c</sup> nb*

[ ... eter]nity, shining in his appearance, while I am in his following every day,

*hs(=j) km*  
praising (the god) Kem,

*nhm(=j) ntr*  
following the god,

*m3t(=j) nšm.t n nfr.w=s*  
praising the *neshmet*-barge for its beauty,

*hnp(=j) hp.t m3c.t*  
bringing the *hp.t* of the Maat-barge,

*dj=j j3.w n ntr c3*  
giving praise to the great god.

(9) [ ... m] *htp dj nswt krs.w m cš w3d sš(.w) ht(.w) m h3ty-c pr nfr*  
[ ... as] an offering that the king gives: A sarcophagus of fresh cedar wood, painted and engraved like (that of) the count of the *pr-nfr*,

*wj m nbw n stn hkr(.w) m hsbđ m3c mj jr.t n 3h cpr(.w)*  
(and) an inner coffin of *stn* gold, decorated with true lapis lazuli, like that which is done for the well-provided transfigured spirit.

*j cnh.w tp.yw t3 sr.w n t3-wr h3t.yw-c n.w 3bdw šhd.w (10) hm.w ntr [...]*  
O living ones who are on earth, officials of the Thinite nome, counts of Abydos, high priests, [...]

(11) *cnh(.w) tp t3 m jj dd*  
who live upon earth and in the following, may you say:

*h3 t hnḳ.t k3.w 3pd.w šs mnḥ.t r r3-pr rḥ hnt.y-jmn.tyw wp-w3.wt šw tfn.t dhw.ty hnm.w skr hmn gb nw.t mjn jnj-hwr.t jmn pth mjn njw.ty hrw mh.y hrw rs.y wng.y(t) psd.t n.t ḥḳ.t ḥw.t-hrw rpyt 3s.t sb.yt*

“A thousand of bread, beer, bulls and fowl, alabaster and linen in the temple of Re, Khentamenti, Wepwawet, Shu, Tefnut, Thoth, Khnum, Sokar, Hemen, Geb, Nut, Min, Inhuret, Amon, Ptah, Min of the city, the southern and northern Horus, Wenegyt, the Ennead, Neith, Heqet, Hathor, Repit, Isis, and Sebit

*n jm3h(.w) jm.y-r3 cḥ-k3.w m3c-hrw*  
to the revered one, overseer Abkau, justified.

*jnk wnn mr.y nb=f n s.t-jb=f m hr.t-hrw n.t rḥ nb*  
I was one beloved of his lord, his trusted one in the course of every day.

### 3. Nakhty (Cairo CG 20012)

Dating: 11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Origin: Abydos

Bibliography: LANGE & SCHÄFER 1908, 11–12.

#### Text:

(1) *h̄tp dj nswt dj jnpw tp.y dw=f jm.y-w.t nb t3 dsr pr.t-hrw (n) h̄3 m t h̄nk.t* (2) *h̄3 k3.w 3bpd.w h̄3 sš mn̄h̄.t h̄3 r3 h̄3 mn̄.yt h̄3 h̄tp.t df̄3.w pr.wt m-b3h̄* (3) *n̄tr ʕ3*

An offering which the king gives so that Anubis who is upon his mountain, who is in the embalming place, lord of the sacred land, may give an invocation offering of a thousand of bread and beer, a thousand of alabaster and cloth, a thousand of *r3*-geese, a thousand of *mny.t*-ducks, a thousand of offerings and provisions brought forth in the presence of the great god

*n jm3h̄.w n̄ht.y dd*

to the revered one, Nakhty, who says:

*jnk dd nfr w̄hm nfr jr h̄.t n tp nfr*

I was one who said good, repeated good and acted with success.

(4) *pr.n(=j) r sh̄.t(=j) h̄3.n(=j) r pr(=j)*

I ascended to my field, I descended to my house,

*sk3.n(=j) m h̄tr*

I ploughed with a span of cattle.

*jn s3=f s̄nh̄ rn=f m pr n n̄ht.y*

It is his son who perpetuates his name in the house of Nakhty.

#### 4. Nesmontu (Louvre C1)

Dating: Amenemhet I, Senwosret I

Origin: Abydos

Bibliography: FRANKE 1984, Dossier 282; GAYET 1886, pl. I.; OBSOMER 1993, 124–126; OMLIN 1962, 23; PIEHL 1888, 1–2, pl. I–XIV; PORTER & MOSS 1953, 382; SIMPSON 1974, pl. 14; SETHE 1924, 81–82, VANDERSLEYEN 1995, 60–61.

#### Text:

(1) *rnp.t-sp 24 3bd 4 n šmw sw 2*

Year 24, 4th month of the Inundation season, day 2

(2) *hr hm n hr.w ḥnh whm ms.wt nb.ty whm ms.wt nswt-bjty s-htp-jb-r<sup>c</sup> (3) s3 r3 jmn-m-h3.t ḥnh dt mj r<sup>c</sup>*

under the majesty of the living Horus Wehemmesut, Two Ladies Wehemmesut, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Shetepibre, son of Re Amenemhet, living forever like Re,

*hr.w ḥnh-ms.wt nb.ty ḥnh-ms.wt nswt bjty hpr-k3-r<sup>c</sup> s3 r<sup>c</sup> (4) s-n-wsr.t ḥnh dt mj r<sup>c</sup>*

(and) Horus Ankhmesut, the Two Ladies Ankhmesut, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkare, son of Re Senwosret, living forever like Re.

*b3k=sn m3<sup>c</sup> mrr=sn ḥs.y=sn jrr ḥss.t=sn nb.t m hr.t-hrw n.t r<sup>c</sup> nb [...]*

Their true servant, their beloved and praised by them, who does what they praise in the course of every day,

(5) *rḥ nswt jr.y-p<sup>c</sup>.t h3.ty-<sup>c</sup> ḥtm.w-bjty smr w<sup>c</sup>.ty jm.y-r<sup>c</sup> mš<sup>c</sup> n.y-sw-mntw*

king's confidant, hereditary noble and count, seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, the sole friend, commander of the army Nesmontu,

*hr.y-tp sms.w h3.yt tkn(.w) st*

chief, elder of the portal, one who is close to the throne<sup>88</sup>,

*mt.y m pr nsw*

one precise in the palace,

(6) *ḥ3 shr m jp3-nsw*

great of plans in the royal office,

*jw n=f wr.w m ksw*

one to whom the great ones come bowing,

*h3.tyw-<sup>c</sup> m d.y hr ḥ.t*

and counts lay (themselves) on their belly.

*jnk w<sup>c</sup> k3-n-mn(7)tw*

I was the only “Bull of Montu”,

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<sup>88</sup> 

*tkn.w s.t.*, a rather mysterious title which roughly translates „one who is close to the throne“.

*hss.w nb=f r<sup>c</sup> nb*

whom his lord praises every day.

*sjtn.n=f n(=j) wr.w <sup>c</sup>h m-b3h n jr.t.n=f n(=j)*

He subordinated for me the great ones of the palace in his presence, because of that what he did for me.

*rdj.n=f h3.y=j r j3.t tn n jkr(8).n shr(=j) m jb=f*

He caused me to descend to this office because my plan(s) were excellent in his heart.

*smj.t(w) n(=j) hp.w n t3 pn*

One reported to me the laws of this land,

*n mds(=j) m jb n nb(=j)*

because I was energetic in the heart of my lord.

*jnk mn w<sup>c</sup>r.t*

I was one stable of legs,

*jkr shr*

excellent of counsel,

*hss.w nb=f sm(9).wt=f*

whose actions are praised by his lord.

*d3m.w w3s.t hr mr.t=j*

The troops of Thebes loved me.

*n sp jr.y=j tp-hn.t*

I have never committed a cruel deed.

*wr.w hr hs.t=j*

The great ones praised me,

*<sup>c</sup>3.w m ksw*

the great ones bowed,

*nd(10)s.w jw(.w) m hf3.t*

the small ones were coming prostrated.

*jnk wn.t ts j3w*

I was a support of the old one,

*mn<sup>c</sup>.t h<sup>c</sup>3.w*

a wetnurse of children,

*w<sup>h</sup>m nmh(11).w*

a speaker of orphans,

*h(w)y.t hm.t n hsw m w3s.t*

a warm shelter for the one who was cold in Thebes,

*jw šhr.yw*  
an island of councillors,

*jwt.t mnt=s m šm<sup>c</sup>.w*  
who has no equivalent in Upper Egypt,

*hr.t(12)-tp pd.wt psd*  
she-chief of the Nine Bows.

*jnk w<sup>c</sup> nht n t3 pn*  
I was the sole strong one of this land,

*w<sup>c</sup> <sup>c</sup>.wy tbn šm<sup>c</sup>.wy*  
one fast of arms and agile of legs,

*nds jkr n r3(13)-ht*  
a man excellent in fight.

*tsm.t(w) n=j mš<sup>c</sup> m sh.t*  
The army was made loyal to me through beating (?)

*hd t3 htp n=j dmj ndr.n=j d3d3 n pd.t sšm.n=j (14) <sup>c</sup>h3 n t3.wy*  
At dawn, the settlement surrendered to me, after I had taken the head of the tribe, and after I had conducted the fight for the Two Lands.

*nht.kwj <sup>c</sup>.wy=j hr jr.t dd=j r t3*  
I was strong, my arms conducted my throwing on the ground.

*ssh.n=j hr.yw*  
I destroyed the enemies,

*shr.n(=j) hft.yw n.w nb=j*  
I defeated the enemies of my lord.

*nn k.y dd.t(y)=f(y) mjt.t*  
There is no other who can say the same.

(15) *htp dj nswt dj wsjr nb ddw hn.ty-jmn.tyw ntr <sup>c</sup>3 nb 3bdw pr.t-hrw (n) t hnk.t [h3] k3 3pd h3 šs h3 mnht h3 m htp.wt df3.w (16) [h.t nfr.t] w<sup>c</sup>b.t <sup>c</sup>nh.t ntr jm*  
An offering that the king gives so that Osiris, lord of Busiris, Khentamenty, the great god, lord of Abydos, may give an invocation offering a bread and beer, a thousand of bulls and birds, a thousand of alabaster, a thousand of cloths, a thousand of offerings and provisions, and [a thousand of good and] pure things from which god lives,

*m ts.t n.t rwd <sup>c</sup>3 m-b3h wsjr n k3 n jm3h(.w) jm.y-r3 mš<sup>c</sup> n.y-sw-mntw m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw ms(.w) n hm.w*  
in the ... of the great terrace in the presence of Osiris to the *ka* of the revered one, overseer of the army Nesmontu, justified, born of Khemu.



## 5. Antef, son of Sent (BM EA 581)

Dating: Senwosret I

Origin: Abydos

Bibliography: BUDGE 1912, 23; LICHTHEIM 1975, 120–123; LICHTHEIM 1988, 109–110; LICHTHEIM 1992, 35; SETHE 1924, 80–90; SIMPSON 1974, pl. 12; SPIEGEL 1973, 131–137.

### Text:

(1) *snj t3 n hnty-jmn.tyw m33 nfr.w wp-w3.wt*

Kissing the earth for Khentamenty, seeing the beauty of Wepwawet

(2) *jn jmy-r3 ʕ-hnwty jnj-jtj=f dd=f*

by the overseer of the palace Antef, who says:

*jr gr.t ʕhʕ.t tn jr.n=j (3) m s.t n.t 3bd.w*

As for this tomb, I built (it) in the desert of Abydos,

*jw pn n kr jr=f*

this island to which one must go,

*jnb.w 33(.w) (4) n nb r dr*

walls ordained by the Lord of all,

*s.t 3h.t dr rk wsjr*

a beneficent place since the time of Osiris,

*gr.t n.t hr.w(5) n jt.w(=f)*

founded by Horus for (his) forefathers,

*b3k.t n=s sb3.w m p.t hnw.t n.t hmm.yt*

one for whom the stars of heaven work, lady of the sun folk,

(6) *jn.t n=s wr.w m dd.w sn.w jwnw 3h.w*

to whom come the great ones of Djedu, second in blessedness to

(7) *htp n nb dr hr=s*

the one on because of whom the Lord of the Universe is satisfied.

*pr.t-hrw t hnk.t n jm3h jm.y-r3 ʕn.w jnj-jtj=f jr n sn.t*

An invocation offering of bread, beer to the well equipped, overseer of the palace Antef, born of Senet.

(8) *jnk jr.y dnd sbn.t n hm n mr.t hsf 3d*

I was one silent with the wrathful, and who mixes with the ignorant in order to quench aggression.

(9) *jnk kb šw m h3h hr rh pr.j nw.yt*

I was a calm one, free from impatience, one who foresaw what was going to come,

(10) *jnk mdw.w m s.wt dnd rh ts.n knd.t hr=s(n)*

I am one who calls in the places of wrath, who knows the phrases over which there is anger.

(11) *jnk sfn.w sdm=j rn=j n fd.n wnn.t m jb=j*

I was a mild one when I heard my name;

(12) *jnk 3d.w c<sup>n</sup>.w sfn.w sgr rm.w m hn nfr*

I was an angry one who neutralized the calm, one who quietened the weeping with a beautiful speech.

(13) *jnk hd hr n tw3=f jr 3h.t n mj.ty=f*

I was friendly to the one who appealed, one who did what was needed for his likes.

(14) *jnk mt.y m pr nb=f rh phr m swnf*

I was a precise one in the house of his lord, one who knew to go around making happy,

(15) *jnk hd hr c<sup>w3</sup> dr.t nb df3 sw m hbs hr*

I was a friendly one who extended hand, possessor of food, one free of neglect.

(16) *jnk sms.w n wr.w bnr m3.t n jwt.y n=f*

I was the eldest of the great, date and vegetable for one who did not have.

(17) *jnk sm (n) hkr.w nn jh.wt=f 3w dr.t n=(j) wr.w*

I was vegetable for the hungry who did not have (any)thing, one to whom the great ones extended their hands.

(18) *jnk rh n nt.y n rh=f sb3 s 3h.t=s n=f*

I was one who knew that (as for) the one who does not know, the teaching of men is beneficent for him.

(19) *jnk mt.y n nswt rh dd.t m h3 nb*

I was one precise to the king, one who knew everything that was said in the hall.

(20) *jnk sdm.w sdm m3<sup>c</sup>.t sw3w3 js st hr jb*

I was a judge who listens to justice (i.e., proceeds according to), which passed through his mind.

(21) *jnk bnr n pr nb=f sh3.w hr sp.w=f m<sup>c</sup>r*

I was one pleasant to the house of his lord, one remembered because of the time of his success.

(22) *jnk nfr m hnw h3 w3h jb sw m rrj.t*

I was good in the hall, one friendly, free from piggishness.

(23) *jnk nfr nn sjn hr tm ndr.w s hr.y-tp*

I was good, without over-rushing, one who did not follow a self-standing man

(24) *jnk c<sup>k3</sup> mjt.y jwsw mt.y m3<sup>c</sup> mj dhwt*

I was one exact, the like of a scale, one precise as Thoth.

(25) *jnk mn rd jkr shr mdd mtn n smnh sw*

I was one stable of leg (standing) excellent of plans, loyal to the one who distinguished him.

(26) *jnk rh sb3 sw rh ndnd r nd.wt=f*

I was one who knew the one who taught him, one who knew (how) to ask for his protection.

(27) *jnk mdw.w m h3 n m3<sup>c</sup>.r spd r3 m hns s.wt jb*

I was one who spoke in the hall of truth, one efficient of speech in distress.

## 6. Antef, son of Senet (BM EA 572)

Dating: Senwosret I

Origin: Abydos

Bibliography: BUDGE 1912, 22; FRANKE 1984, Dossier 138; LICHTHEIM 1988, 106–107; OMLIN, 1962, 61–62; PIEHL 1888, xii-xiii; SIMPSON 1976, ANOC 5.1, pl. 12.

### Text:

1. *h3.t-sp 39 hr hm n hr.w cnh-ms.wt ntr nfr nb t3.wy nsw.t bjty z3 r<sup>c</sup> s-n-wsr.t dj.w cnh d.t*  
Year 39 under the Majesty of Horus Ankhmesut, good god, Lord of the Two lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of Re Senwosret, given life forever.

2. *htp dj nswt dj wsjr nb ddw hnt.y-jmnt.yw ntr c3 nb 3bdw pr.t-hrw (n) h3 k3.w 3pd.w*  
An offering which the king gives, so that Osiris, lord of Busiris, foremost of the westerners, great god, lord of Abydos, may give an invocation offering (of) a thousand of bulls and fowl

3. *n jm3h.w jm.y-r3 c-hnw.ty jnj-jtj=f*  
for the honoured one, chamberlain Antef.

*st wr.w t3 sm<sup>c</sup>.w*  
Usherer of magnates of Upper Egypt,

*rdj m-b3h hr-h.t=sn m (4) 3h n jr.y-p<sup>c</sup>.t t3.ty*  
Who brings the ones who are prostrate to the hall of the prince and vizier.

*rdj m tp n m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw hft sdm h.t*  
Who gives (cases) for justification according to the hearing of affairs,

*c3 snk jnk (5) hr wn.wt=f*  
one mighty of punishment of the one who is slack in his service.

*shd n sn.tw dj hr n hr.yw j3w.wt=sn*  
One who enlightens the querulous and gives advice to the ones who are in their offices

*m hnw sh (6) jr.w*  
in the hall of the cattle-tax.

*dd.w n=f s3 jw.t=f*  
One of whom is said: “Beware of his coming!”

*jn hr.y smd.t=f nb.t*  
By him who is on any of his half-month jobs.

*spd-jb hr c(7)s3 jr.w*  
Attentive to one busy with tasks.

*dw3-ntr=f n km.t*  
and thanked for the completion

*hft sw3h m3.w m wr.wt*  
of the prolonged inspection of the sacred cows

*hft-hr d3d3.t*  
in the presence of the Djadjat council.

*h<sup>c</sup>.t(w) hms.t(w) (8) hr nfr=j*  
One stands and sits by my goodness

*ntt=j m b3k mrr.w*  
for I was a beloved servant.

*dj(.w) n=j ph j3.w ms.w=j nb.w (m) j3w(=j) m (9) pr nswt*  
I was granted to reach old age with all my children (holding) offices in the palace.

*hrp k3.t m t3 šm<sup>c</sup>.w*  
Leader of works in Upper Egypt

*rh ... hp.w nw jr.t*  
who knows the legal course of action,

*sb3.w wd3 z 2*  
learned in judging between two men.

(10) *w<sup>c</sup> mnh jkr nd.t-r3*  
Uniquely skillful, excellent of counsel,

*hnn md.w rh.w r3=sn*  
who respects the words of those who know their speech.

*h3b.n mnh=f hr.y-jb*  
sent because of his being efficient in the mind (of the king),

*s(11)mj=f n sdm.w*  
one who reports to the judges,

*rh phr n wnn.t m jb*  
knowing the turn of that which is in the heart

*hsy n jm.y-r3.w=f nt.y rh.w m pr nb(12)=f*  
Praised by his superiors, who is known in his lord's house

*jr.n jb=f m hr.w=f*  
whose heart conducts his affairs,

*h3 rmn=f n hr.y.w-tp=f*  
who bends his arm to his superiors,

*mrr.w šny.wt nswt*  
who is beloved by the courtiers of the king,

(13) *mt.y rn m rḥ ḥ.t*  
distinguished of name as a knower of things,

*šms ḥr mṯn nn ḏnb*  
one who follows the way without going astray,

*sdm mdw m pr ḥd (14) n Gb*  
who hears the word in the chapel of Geb,

*ḥry št3 n ḥd.t wshṯ*  
privy to the secrets of the judgement hall,

*jm3ḥw jm.y-r3 ḥnw.ty jnj-jtj=f jr.n sn.t*  
the honoured one, the chaberlain Antef, son of Senet.

**7. Antef, son of Senet (BM EA 562)**

Dating: Senwosret I

Origin: Abydos

Bibliography: BUDGE 1912, 24; LICHTHEIM 1988, 108–109; LICHTHEIM 1992, 34; OMLIN 1962, 71–72; PIEHL 1888, xiii–xiv; SIMPSON 1974, ANOC 5.3, pl. 12; SPIEGEL 1973, 131–137.

**Text:**

The top part of the stela is missing.

(x+1) ... *hr ʿb3.w=j*  
... on my stelae.

*jh dd sr.w sw3.t=(x+2)sn (st)*  
May the officials who pass (this) speak,

*jh dj=sn n=j 3h*  
may they give me transfiguration (*3h*),

*ʿnh=j m t3.w n dd rmt*  
so that I may live from the breath that people give,

*sʿnh=s(x+3)n rn=j ntr.w pw m nh.t w3s.t*  
and so that they might keep my name alive, being gods in the hereafter,

*htp b3 dj.n=sn sh3=f*  
and so that the *ba* may be content when they cause it to be remembered.

*smnh.n(=j) w(x+4)j m-ht rnp.wt b3k.n=j m 3h.t=s n=j*  
I made myself excellent after the years in which I have worked for that which is beneficent for me.

*sn kn r jr.n=j n=j (x+5) jnj n dr.w rh m jh.wt*  
He who can may repeat what I did for me, reaching the limits of knowledge of things.

*dj.n=j nfr=j hr pr=j mr.wt=j ht t3 r-dr=f*  
I placed my goodness before my household, the love of me before the entire land.

(x+6) *n kr(=j) s n hr.y-tp=f n dʿr=j nm jrj=f*  
I did not defame a man to his superior in order to seek favour with a potentate.

*rdj.n=j t n hkr hnk.t n jbj*  
I gave bread to the hungry and beer to the thirsty.

(x+7) *d3.n=j gm.n=j jw3*  
I ferried across the one I found boatless.

*ts.n=j nmt.wt hr hd nswt*  
I sped my steps under the command of the king.

*sm3.n=j (x+8) m hsw.w*  
I have united with praises.

*s nmt.y r rmt ʕk3 m sb n sb3 dd.w (x+9) rmt*  
A man righteous towards the people, precise in conduct with the learner, so that people say:

*h3 t3 mh m mjt.yw=f*  
“If only the land was fill with his likes!”

*dd.n=j (x+10) n nw n sn.w=j n pr n d.t=j*  
I said this to those of my brothers of the house of my estate.

*jw krs.n=j j3.w hbs(x+11).n=j h3.y*  
I buried the old, I clothed the naked.

*n jr=j jwjt.w r rmt msdd.t (x+12) ntr pw*  
I did not do evil against people, for it is what god hates.

*jr.n=j m3ʕ.t mr.t n nswt*  
I did maat, beloved by the king.

*jj.n=j r njw.t=j h(x+13)3.n=j m sp3.t=j*  
I came from my city, I descended from my nome,

*jr.n=j mrr.t rmt hss.t (x+14) ntr.w*  
having done what the pepole love and what gods praise.

*jn hm n nswt-bjty hpr-k3-rʕ s3 rʕ s-n-wsr.t ʕnh dt (x+15) rdj wj m-m smr.w=f*  
It was the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkare, son of Re Senusret, living forever, who placed me among his courtiers.

*... jnj-jtj=f s3 sn.t*  
... Antef, son of Sent.



**8. Shen** (Los Angeles A. 5141. 50-876)

Dating: Senwosret I

Origin: Abydos

Bibliography: FAULKNER 1952, 4–5; LICHTHEIM 1988, 90–92.

**Text:**

1. *hr.w ʿnh ms.wt nswt-bjty hpr-k3-rʿ mr.y wsjr ʿnh dt*

Horus Ankhmesut, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperkare, beloved of Osiris, living for ever.

2. *htp dj [nswt] (n) wsjr hn.ty-jmn.tyw nb 3bdw wp-w3.wt nb t3 dsr*

An offering which the King gives (to) Osiris Khentamenti, Lord of Abydos, and Wepwawet, Lord of the sacred land,

3. *tp dw=f dj=f pr.t hrw (n) h3 t hnk.t h3 k3.w 3pd.w h3 s3r h3 h.t nb.t wʿb.t n k3 n jm3h.w jm.y-r3 gnw.ty sn*

who is upon his mountain, so that he may give an invocation offering of a thousand of loaves of bread and jars of beer, a thousand of bulls and fowl, a thousand of pieces of cloth, a thousand of every pure thing to the ka of the praised one, the overseer of sculptors, Shen,

4. *m3ʿ hrw hnt.t s.t=f m r-pr n pr.w njw.t n.t nhh*

justified, whose place is foremost among the rooms of the houses of the city of eternity.

5. *dj=f wʿr.t mnh.t hnt.t ntr.w m-ʿ hr.w r s.t nb.t tp.t.n ntr pn hr=s st wr*

May he be given a true necropolis, foremost of gods every place for which this god breathes, a great place

6. *ns.wt n.t gb h3p.t st3.w m 3bd.w sn-nw.t pr jnpw ps(7)d rʿ hr=f r=s*

of the thrones of Geb, a hidden secret one of Abydos, second of the house of Anubis to which Re turned his face,

*dj=f m ʿnh m jmn.t s3w-jb=f jm=s jj n(=f) htp r*

may he be given life in the west with which his heart is pleased, may offerings be brought to him to

(8) *ʿhʿ.t tn jr.t.n(=f) m 3h.t jmnt.t 3bdw r s.t nhh n.t d.t r rd n ntr*

the tomb that he built in the western horizon of Abydos as a palace of eternity and everlastingness at the terrace of the god.

(9) *jm3h.w jm.y-r3 gnw.ty sn dd=f*

The praised one, overseer of the sculptors, Shen says:

*j ʿnh.w tp.yw t3 mrr.w ʿnh (10) msdd.w hp.t*

O living ones who are on earth, who love life and hate passing away,

*šms=tn wp-w3.wt r nm.t=f nb.t*

may you follow Wepwawet on his every course,

*htp.t(w) jb=tn m ʿnh.w tp t3*  
may your heart be satisfied with food on earth,

(11) *wd=tn r rdj.t(w) n(=j) pr.t-hr.w m 3bd 1/2 3bd hh rnp.wt pr.t tp.t ʿ3.t jw(.t) ntr*  
may you order that an invocation offering be given to (me) on the monthly and the half-monthly festival, on the festival of millions of years, on the first great procession, on the coming of the god,

(12) *w3g rkh skr tp.y-rnp.t s3d pr.t nb h3kr nb sdr.t*  
on the wag festival, on the rekeh and Seker festivals, on the New year's festival, on the *sadj* festival, on the (occasion of) every procession, on the haker festival, on the laying down festival,

(13) *j=tn nw.wt hb.w rnp.wt hr.w nb.w hb.w nfr n pr wsjr jm3h.w sn ms n (14) djr.t*  
the beautiful festivals of the house of Osiris, the praised one Shen, born of Diret,

*r dd h3 t hnk.t h3 k3.w 3pd.w h3 šsr h3 h.t nb.t wʿb.t pr.t m-b3h ntr ʿ3*  
saying: A thousand of (loaves of) bread and (jars of) beer, a thousand of bulls and fowl, a thousand of (pieces of) linen, a thousand of every pure thing that appeared in front of the great god

*n jm3h.w jm.y-r3 gnw.ty sn ms n (15) jj.t*  
for the praised one, overseer of sculptors, Shen, born of Iit.

*jw jr.n(=j) ks.ty m jmn-m-h3.t jt.y-t3.w dj(.w) ʿnh d.t*  
I was a sculptor in Amenemhat-itj-tawy, given life forever,

*jj.n(=j) gr.t (r) r3-pr pn r k3*  
I came (to) this temple to work

(16) *hr hm n nswt-bjty hpr-k3-rʿ mr.y hnt.y-jmn.tyw nb 3bdw dj.w ʿnh d.t mj rʿ r nhh*  
under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperkare, beloved of Khentamenti, lord of Abydos, given life for ever like Re for (all) eternity.

## 9. Djediqu (Berlin 1199)

Dating: Senwosret I

Origin: Abydos

Bibliography: FISCHER 1957, 223–225; LICHTHEIM 1988, 93–94; OMLIN 1962, 60; ROEDER 1913, 164–145; SCHÄFER 1905, 124.

### Text:

*rnp.t-sp 34 hr hm n nswt-bjty hpr-k3-r<sup>c</sup> ntr nfr nb t3.wy nb jr.t (2) jh.t mr.y ntr.w nb.w s3 r<sup>c</sup> sn-wsr.t n<sup>c</sup>h.w dt r nhh*

Year 34 under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkare, good god, Lord of the Two Lands, lord of ritual practice, beloved of all gods, son of Re Senwosret, who lives for ever and ever.

*htp dj nswt (dj) wsjr nb dd.w hnt.y-jmn.tyw ntr 3 nb 3bd.w*

An offering which the king gives so that Osiris, Lord of Busiris, and Khentamenti, Great God, Lord of Abydos, may give

*(4) pr.t hr.w (n) t 3pd.w h3 m sšr h.t nb.t nft(.t) w<sup>c</sup>b(.t) n<sup>c</sup>h ntr jm*

A voice offering (of) bread, fowl, a thousand of linen, and all good and pure things through which god lives,

*n jm3h(.w) (5) hr ntr 3 nb p.t n jm.y-r3 pr dd-jkw*

to the revered one in front of the great god, lord of the sky, to the overseer of the house, Djediqu.

*jj.n(=j) m w3s.t m rh.w nswt (6) jrr(.w) hss.t=f nb.t*

As one whom the king knows, one who does all that the king praises did I leave Thebes,

*m-s3 d<sup>c</sup>m.w n nfr.w r jr.t rwd(.w) t3 wh3.w*

with recruits, in order to act as the emissar to the area of the oases,

*m sr mn<sup>c</sup>h rh n nb=f jkr shr*

as an efficient official, known to his lord, excellent of counsel,

*m mtn=s<r> n n<sup>c</sup>h*

as their leader of the palace.

*3h<sup>c</sup>.n jr.n(=j) m<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.t tn r rwd n ntr 3*

Then I built this tomb at the Terrace of the Great God

*n mr.wt wn(=j) m šms.w=f*

so that I could be in his suite,

*mš<sup>c</sup> jm.yw-h.t hm=f hr 3w.t h.t n k3=j m k.w(10)=f hn<sup>c</sup> tp hsmn.w*

and the soldiers who belong to His Majesty brought offerings to my ka, from his provisions and the ... *hsmn*-loaves.

*mj jr.tw n wpw.ty nswt jj hr srwd t3š hm=f*

Like one does for the emissar of the king, who strengthens the boundaries of His Majesty.

**10. Montuwasre (MMA 12.184)**

Dating: Senwosret I

Origin: Abydos

Bibliography: HAYES 1953, 299–300; LICHTHEIM 1988, 104–105; SETHE 1924, pl. I.

**Text:**

(1) *h3.t-sp 17 hr hm n nh-ms.wt ntr nfr hpr-k3-r<sup>c</sup> nh-dt*

Year 17 under the Majesty of Horus Ankhmesut, the good god Kheperkare, who lives for ever.

(2) *htp dj nswt wsjr ntr<sup>c</sup>3 nb 3bdw dj=f pr.t-hr.w (n) k3.w 3pd.w šsr h.t nb.t nfr.t w<sup>c</sup>b.t nh ntr jm*

An offering which the king gives so that Osiris, the great god, lord of Abydos, may give an invocation offering of bulls and fowl, linen, and all good and pure things from which the god lives

(3) *n k3 n jm3h.y jm.y-r3 pr Mntw-wsr ms n<sup>c</sup>b-b3.w dd-f*

to the ka of the praised overseer of the house, Montu-weser, born of Abbau, who says:

(4) *jnk (5) m3.w r jnd krs mt.y dd h.t n nt.y (6) n nsw*

I was a ... for the childless, one who buried the dead, one who gave things to the one who was poor,

*jnk sn kn m pr nswt h<sup>c</sup>b.y (7) n mds bj.t*

I was a brother to the strong one in the royal palace, a messenger of an energetic character.

*jw jr.n=j jm.y-r3 šnw.ty m jp jt mh<sup>w</sup>*

I was an overseer of the Double granary at the count of northern barley,

(8) *jw jr.n=j jm.y-r3 rmt m-h3.w h3.w*

I was an overseer of over a thousand people,

*jw jr.n=j jm.y-r3 k3.w (9) jm.y-r3<sup>c</sup>w.t jm.y-r3 sr.w jm.y-r3 rr.wt*

I was an overseer of bulls, an overseer of small cattle, an overseer of sheep, an overseer of pigs.

*hrp.n=j hbs.w r (10) pr-hd*

I delivered clothing to the treasury,

*jw jp m-<sup>c</sup>=j m pr nswt nhmn(.w)=j dw3-ntr n=j*

the accounting being in my charge, and I was acclaimed and thanked.

*jnk hd hr h3.wt wnm.t nn 3h.w n dd=j n=f*

I was a friendly one of food and nourishment, there was no sad one to whom I would not give,

(11) *jw psš=j wr n jwf n hms.w r-gs=j*

I allotted a great portion of meat to those who sat on my side.

*jnk mrr.y h3w=f sdm.y n 3b.t=f*

I was one beloved of his neighbourhood, one fitting in his family.

*n hbs=j hr r nt.y m b3k.w*

I did not turn my face away from the one who worked.

*jnk jt n nmh.w sm n hr.t n sdr s hkr r dmj=j*

I was a father to the poor one, one who took care of a widow; none went to sleep hungry in my village.

*n jsk=j s m mhn.t n dsj=j s n wsr r=f*

I did not hinder a man in the bargue, I did not speak ill of anyone by his superior,

*n hr=j hr n ndw.yt*

I did not rely on calumny.

*jnk mdw r r- sr.w šw=j m dd p3w*

I was one who spoke according to the art of the officials, one free of saying p3s.

*jnk sdm.w r-wn m3c tm nm n nb šdb*

I was a rightful judge, who was not partial to the briber.

*jnk hd.y nfr špss nn hy m ht nb.t*

I was one rich in goodness and nobility; I did not lack anything.

*jnk nb k3.w c3.w=f nb c3.w c3 sr.w*

I was a possessor of bulls, rich in small cattle, a possessor of donkeys, rich in sheep.

*jnk wr m bd.t špss m hbs m hw n hd.y=j nb*

I was one great of emmer, noble of clothes, without lack in any riches.

*jnk nfr hc.w wr h3.w*

I was one perfect of whips, one great of vineyards.

*jr gr.t rmt nb.t sdm.t(y)=sn cb pn nt m-m nh.w*

But as for any people, who shall hear this stela among the living ones,

*jw=sn r dd m3c.t pw*

may they say: "It is true!"

*jw hrd.w=sn r dd n hrd.w(=sn) m3c.t pw nn grg jm*

and may their children say to (their) children: "It is true, there is no lie therein!"

*jr grt sš nb šd.t(y)=f(y) cb pn rmt nb spr.t(y)=sn jr=f mn=tn nh msdd=sn mw.t*

And as for any scribe who shall read this stela, (and) all people who shall pass by it, as you love life and hate death,

*mr tn hnt.y-jmn.tyw hs=f tn r rd pr=f dd=tn t hnk.t k3. 3pd.w hc.w df3.w n nb cb pn*

may Khentamenti love you, may he praise on the steps of his temple, when you say: "bread and beer, bulls and fowl, food and nourishment, to the owner of this stele!"

## 11. Mery (Louvre C3)

Dating: Senwosret I

Origin: Abydos

**Bibliography:** FRANKE 1984, Dossier 276; GAYET 1886, pl. IV–V; OBSOMER 1995, 76–80; OMLIN 1962, 50–51; PIEHL 1888, 3–5, pl. II, 1.2-1.3, pl. IV 1.1.

### Text:

*rnp.t sp 9 3bd 2 n 3h.t sn 20*

Year 9, second month of the *akhet* season, day 20

*hr hm n hr.w nh-ms.wt nb.ty nh-ms.wt nswt-bjty hpr-k3-r<sup>c</sup> (3) nh.w d.t mj r<sup>c</sup>*  
under the Majesty of Horus Ankhmesut, the Two Ladies Ankhmesut, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkare, may he live for ever like Re.

*b3k=f m3<sup>c</sup> n s.t-jb=f jrr hss.t=f nb.t m hr.t-hrw n.t r<sup>c</sup> nb jm3h.w*

His true and trusted servant, who does all that he praises in the course of every day, one praised

*nb jm3h (4) htm.w hr.y-<sup>c</sup> mr.y ms n mnh.w*

possessor of praise, the assistant seal-bearer Mery, born of Menkhu,

*dd*

says:

*jnk b3k mdd w3.t 3-kd.w bnr mr.wt*

I am a loyal servant, one great of character, sweet of love.

*(5) h3b.n w(j) nb=j m wpw.ty n 3.t n mdd-w3.t(=j)*

My Lord sent me as an envoy, because of (my) loyalty,

*r hrp n=f s.t n.t nhh, wr.t rn r r3-st3w, hnt.t m-hr (6) s.wt nb.t, whm.t mnht ntr.w*

to lead the works on his place of eternity, more reknown than Rosetau, foremost among all places, which equals the efficiency of gods.

*jw jnb.w=s dmj n p.t*

Its walls reach the sky.

*š š<sup>c</sup>d ph.n=f jtr.w šb3.w thn.yw (7) wb3 m jnr hd n r3-3w*

The dug-out lake, it has reached the river, (its) doors, door-jambs and temenos are of the white Turah limestone.

*wsjr hnt.y-jmn.tyw (hr) h<sup>c</sup> m mnw.w n.w nb(=j)*

Osiris Khentamenti rejoices over the monuments of my lord.

*jnk ds m h3.wt jb 3w m hrp.t=j*

I myself am in joy, my heart happy over what I have directed.

*hṭp dj nswt (dj) wsjr nb ḏḏw hnt.y-jmn.tyw ntr ʿ3 nb 3bdw wp-w3.wt hnt.y 3bdw*

An offering, which the king gives, so that Osiris, Lord of Busiris, one who is foremost of the westerners, great godm lord of Abydos, and Wepwawet, who is at the fore of Abydos, may give,

*dj hk.t hnʿ hnmw ntr.w 3bd.w pr.t-hrw h3 m h.t nfr(.t) wʿb(.t)*

(and so that) Heket and Khnum and the gods of Abydos may give an invocation offering of good and pure thing(s)

*n k3 n jm3h.w htm.w hr.y-ʿ mr.y ms(.w) n mnh.wt m3ʿ hrw*

to the *ka* of the assistant seal-bearer Mery, born of Menkhut, justified.

[Abydos Formula]

## 12. Antef (Louvre C 167)

Dating: Senwosret I

Origin: Abydos

Bibliography: LICHTHEIM 1992, 33; MOSS 1932, 310–311, pl. 47–48; SIMPSON 1974, ANOC 4, pl. 10–11.

### Text:

(1) *rn̄p.t-sp 25 hr hm n nswt-bjty h̄pr-k3-r̄ n̄tr n̄fr nb t3.wy nb jr.t jh̄.t mr.y n̄tr.w nb.w s3 r̄ s-n-wsr.t dj(.w) n̄h̄ dd w3s snb mj r̄ dt*

Year 25 under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkare, the good god, lord of the Two Lands, lord of ritual practices, beloved of all gods, son of re Senwosret, given life, stability, power and health like Re forever.

(2) *htp dj nswt dj wsjr nb ddw h̄nt.y-jmn.tyw n̄tr ̄3 nb 3bdw pr.t-hrw (n) h̄3 m šs mn̄h̄.t h̄.t nb.t n̄fr.t w̄b̄.t n̄h̄.t n̄tr jm n jm3h̄.w hr n̄tr ̄3 nb p.t jm.y-r3 pr jnj-jtj=f [m3̄-hrw?]*

An offering which the king gives so that Osiris, lord of Busiris, Chontamenti, great god, lord of Abydos, may give an invocation offering (of) a thousand of alabaster and linen (and of) every good and pure thing with which the great god lives to the one revered in front of the great god, lord of heaven, the steward Antef, [justified?].

(3) *jr.y-p̄.t h̄t̄.y-̄ h̄tm.w bjty smr w̄.ty jm.y-r3 ̄b̄.w wh̄m.t šw.t n̄šm.wt jm.y-r3 šnw.ty jm.y-r3 sš.wy s3b ̄d mr smj.wt hr.y m t3 ̄3 dj (?) mh̄ jb nswt m sp3.wt rs.wt mh̄(.wt) jm.y-r3 (?) pr.w n̄tr.w*

Hereditary noble and count, seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, the sole companion (of the king), overseer of horned and hoofed cattle, of things feathery and scaly, overseer of the double granary, overseer of the two bird-lakes, judge and local administrator of the deserts, foremost in the land of ?, trusted one of the king in the southern and northern nomes, overseer of temples,

(4) *sdf3 h̄3.wt s̄h̄.w h̄rp ̄k̄.w h̄b̄.jt jm3 m r3-pr.w n̄tr.w šm3(.w) mh̄(.w) hrj-tp snb nswt r nh̄h̄ jrj m3.w n rmt̄.w p3.t n*

one who fills the altars of dignitaries, leader of the food of festivals, friendly in the shrines of gods of the south and north, guardian (?) of the health of the king forever, one who does *m3.w* for the people of old,

(5) *mn̄.t nb̄.t dd h̄bs.w wd ̄k̄.w n smd.t jmj.t pr nswt dd wr.w hr tj3.w=s̄n wp mr.wt s3h̄.w*  
all *mn̄.t*, who gives clothes, who directs provisions to the personnel of the house of the king, who places the great in their counsel, who divides the subjects (from) the dignitaries,

(6) *dd hr̄.t sb̄.t jj̄.t mr.y m3̄ nb=f hs̄.y=f n s̄.t-jb=f jrr h̄ss̄.t=f nb̄.t m hr̄.t-hrw n̄.t r̄ nb̄ jm̄h̄.w jm̄.y-r3 pr jnj-jtj=f ms̄(.w) n s3̄.t-jmn̄ m3̄-hrw dd=f*

who gives (under coming and going), one truly beloved of his lord, his praised and trusted one, who dies what he praises in the course of every day, the revered one, steward Antef, born of Sitamon, justified, who says:



(7) *jnk b3k mr.y nb=f dd m3<sup>c</sup>.t nn sw3-hr hr=f hrp jb wnw.t 3s.t grg hr m jr.t jh.t m-k3b hnmm.t rdj h3 hr dd(8).t n=f s<sup>c</sup>*

I was a servant beloved of his lord, one who spoke truth without neglecting (upon him?), fast in giving orders, careful in performing rituals in the midst of the people of Heliopolis, who gives the complaints that the countryside is telling him.

*r<sup>c</sup>k=f m h.t nb.t sdm jrj=f mj dd.t smnh mj nt.t jb r sdm.w hn.w s<sup>c</sup>.wjr.w whm jb jkr ts.w dmd r srf*

One who is experienced in all things. One who does listening as well as speaking, made beneficent like that which is the wish of the judges of the surrounding land. One who repeats the wish, excellent of utterances, who calms the warm-blooded,

(9) *šw m hn.w m3<sup>c</sup>.t jwt.yw wn jb r whd.w sfnw s n mtr k<sup>c</sup> jb mnh šsr.w*

free of controlling, just, those who are without robbery more that the tolerant and the mild, man of precision, exact of heart, beneficent of actions.

*jw jr.n=j j3.wt(=j)*

I performed my offices,

*jw snfr.(10)n=j sn-nw m kd w<sup>c</sup> n mnh(=j) r b3k nb*

I embellished the second together, because I was more beneficent than any servant.

*jm.y-r3 s3 hr.y n hrp nb=j sw.t dd tp n b3k.w hrp.w htp.w-ntr.w hft dd=f wr pn<sup>c</sup>.w*

Overseer of the troop, one over the leaders. It is, however, my lord, who appoints the leader of servants and keepers of offerings according to what he says, the great one of (?)<sup>89</sup>

(11) (?) *mt.t nb.t sj3 sbk m hr-jb wr.w 3ms r r3 njw.t nb jm3h jm.y-r3 pr jnj-jtj=f ms n s3.t-jmn m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw hm.t=f mr.t=f s3.t-hwt-hr m3<sup>c</sup>.t-hrw*

one who (?) everything precisely, one knowledgeable, clever among the great ones, who pays attention to the words of the city, possessor of reverence, overseer of the house, Antef, born of Sitamon, justified. His beloved wife, Sathathor, justified.

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<sup>89</sup> *wr pn<sup>c</sup>.w* „der Grosse des ?“ (HANNIG 2006, 890).

### 13. Wepwawetaa (München Glyptothek 27)

Dating: Senwosret I and Amenemhet II

Origin: Abydos

Bibliography: BARTA 1987, 63–76; DYKOFF & PÖRTNER 1904, 2–7, pl. I; FRANKE 1984, Dossier 205; LICHTHEIM 1988, 77–79; SETHE, 1927, 73–74; SIMPSON 1974, ANOC 20.2, pl. 30; SPIEGEL 1973, 99.

#### Text:

(12) *htp dj nswt wsjr nb d̄dw hnt.y-jmn.tyw ntr ʕ nb 3bdw*

An offering which the king gives, and Osiris, lord of Djedu, and Khentamenti, great god, lord of Abydos,

*dj=f pr.t-hrw t hnk̄.t k3.w 3pd.w šsr* (13) *ht nb.t nfr(.t) wʕb(.t)*

may he give an invocation offering of bread and beer, bulls and birds, clothes, all good and pure things,

*t n hsb hnk̄.t h3m.t*

bread ratios and beer offering,

*d̄sr.t wsr.t*

of *d̄sr.t* beer,

(14) *k3.w rhs.w sntr hr s̄d.t 3pd.w*

slaughtered bulls, incense on flame, fowl,

*htp.t df3.w* (15) *stp.t hps̄.w bnr.t*

offerings of choice food haunches, dates,

*hd̄.t h̄s3.t nw pr.t hr* (16) *st̄ htp ʕ h3m.t jh̄.t n hw̄.t-ntr*

milk of the heavenly cow that issues to be poured on the great altar, the food offerings of the temple,

*tss̄.t hr h̄ʕw̄.t šps̄.t m-b3h* (17) *hnt.y-jmn.tyw m w3g dh̄wt.t h3kr*

laden on the noble offering table in the presence of Khenti-imentiu on the wag festival, on the Thoth festival, on the heker festival,

*pr.t tp̄.t pr.t ʕ3.t wp̄.t rnp̄.t* (18) *d̄3̄.t ntr rk̄h̄ tp̄.y rnp̄.t 3bd 1/2 3bd hb skr s̄3d̄*

on the first procession, on the large procession, on the first day of the year, the boat journey of the god, on the rekeh festival, on the first day of the year, the month and half month festival, the festival of Sokar and the *sadj* festival,

(19) *pr.t m̄jn s̄dr̄.t pkr̄ t̄nw nb rnp̄.wt 5 hrw m hb nw pr wsjr*

the coming of Min, the waking on the night of peqer, on the festival, 5 years, on the festival of the temple of Osiris,

(20) *mrr̄.w 3h̄.w wnm k̄k̄ jm*

of which the akhu like to eat,

*n k3 n h<sup>c</sup>t.y-<sup>c</sup> jm.y-r3 hm.w-ntr wp-w3.wt-<sup>c</sup>3 dd=f*  
to the ka of the count and overseer of priests Wepwawetaa, who says:

*j h<sup>c</sup>tyw-<sup>c</sup> (21) shd.w hm.w ntr jm.yw hnt*  
O counts, overseers of priests, those who are in the front,

*dd=tn h3 t hnk.t k3.w 3pd.w šsr r r-pr n r<sup>c</sup>*  
may you say: a thousand of bread and beer, bulls and fowl, cloths of the chapel of Re,

*hnt(22).y jmn.tyw wp-w3.wt šw tfnwt dhwtj hnmw hmn (23) gb nwt ts jnw3 jmn pth tnty hr.wy*  
(24) *wng.yt p3.t nt hk.t hwt-hr jnp 3st nb.t-hw.t*  
in front of Khentameti, .... and Nebthet,

(74,1) *n k3 n h3t.y-<sup>c</sup> jm.y-r3 hm.w ntr wp-w3.wt <sup>c</sup>3*  
to the ka of the count and overseer of the priests Wepwawetaa.

*jm.y-hnt <sup>c</sup>3 m 3bdw hnt j3.wt m (2) hw.t-ntr*  
great chamberlain in Abydos, foremost of the office in the temple,

*nfr m hrw m pr nb=f*  
good among those of the house of his lord

*jwn w<sup>c</sup> sb3 šsm.w m3<sup>c</sup>*  
the sole pillar, the teacher who performs *m3<sup>c</sup>.t*

*sf.t m (3) hw.t-ntr nfr m hr.t-hrw n.t r<sup>c</sup> nb*  
the slaughterer in the temple in the course of every day,

*jmj-r<sup>c</sup> hm.w ntr Wp-w3.wt-<sup>c</sup>3*  
the overseer of priests, Wepwawetaa.

*m sb.t n=f<sup>c</sup>.wy hr htp.wt (4) m b3h ntr <sup>c</sup>3*  
May hands be extended to him with offerings in the presence of the great god.

*m-ht htp k3=f jm*  
so that his ka may be satisfied therewith.

*s3h sw wr.w nw dd.w šny (5) jmyt 3bdw*  
May the great ones of Djedu and the workers who are in Abydos enlighten him.

*wp=f w3.wt mrr.t=f m htp sp sn*  
May he open the roads as he pleases, in peace!

*sk3 sw jm.yw t3-wr (6) w<sup>c</sup>b.w n.w ntr <sup>c</sup>3*  
May those who are in Thinis praise him, the wab priests of the great god.

*rdj.t(w) n=f<sup>c</sup>.wy m nšm.t hr w3.wt jmn.twt*  
May hands be given to him in the *neshemet* barge on the ways of the west

*dsr(7)=f hp.w mskt.t skd=f (m) m<sup>c</sup>nd.t*  
May he steer the oar in the *mesketet* barge, may he fare in the *mandjet* barge,

*sd3=f hn<sup>c</sup> ntr 3 (8) m d3.t ntr r r3-pkr*

may he fare together with the great god in the divine barque to Ra-peqer,

*nsm.t wr.t r mnt.t jw=s m hb nw hr.t (9) ntr*

when the great neshemet barque shall go out, faring to the festivals of the necropolis.

*s3h sw k3 jmn.ty hkn hn<sup>c</sup>=f m hp.w=f*

May the bull of the west enlighten him, when he joins him at his oars.

*sdm(10)=f hnw m r3 n t3-wr*

May he hear praise from the mouth of Thinis

*h3kr grh n sdr.t m sdr.yt (11) n.t hr sn*

on the haker festival of the waking in the night watch of Horus of Shen.

*dndn=f w3.wt nfr.(w)t hr pg3 3h.t jmnt.t*

May he walk on the beautiful roads of the entrance to the western horizon,

(12) *jm.y-r3 hm.w-ntr wp-w3.wt-3 dd=f*

the overseer of priests Wepwawetaa, who says:

*js<sub>t</sub> wj hd=j r nd-rh.t (13) r hnw pf wr n hm=f*

When I sailed downstream in order to give greeting to that great residence of His Majesty,

*htm.w nt.y m pr nswt nh.w (14) nt r rry.t hr m33 st3=j r pr nsw.t*

while the seal-bearers of the royal palace, the living ones who belong to the guard watched me proceed to the palace,

*jr.kwj m (15) k nn dd=f*

I was made one who enters without being named.

*jw3 sft hr 33b=j*

A bull was slaughtered for my feast,

*st(16)3.w n=j w<sup>c</sup>r.wt*

feet were moved for me.

*prr=j hs.kwj m h<sup>c</sup>*

As a praised one I went out of the palace,

*mr.w=j m (17) stp-s3*

the love of me being in the palace.

*jw nd.t(w) n=j j3w.t m h<sup>c</sup> m dd*

An office was given to me in the palace, namely:

*jm.y-r3 hm.w ntr (18) jm.y-hnt 3 m 3bdw*

overseer of priests, and great chamberlain in Abydos.

*shnt.(w) hms.t=j nb.t r jt.w=j (19) hpr.w hr h3.t*

My every office was advanced more than (that of) my forefathers who came to life before.

*dj.n hm=f sft=j jw3.w m hw.t ntr n.t wsjr hnt.y-jmn(20).tyw m t3-wr 3bdw*

His Majesty allowed that I slaughter bulls in the temple of Osiris Khentiamentiu in Thinis and Abydos.

*pr.n n=j hr msk3.w jr.y m 3<sup>c</sup>.t n hs(21)s wj hm=f r h<sup>c</sup>t.y-<sup>c</sup> nb hpr jm=s dr p<sup>c</sup>.t=s*

(Income) came to me from their skins, because His Majesty praised me more than any count, who occurred there since its ancient times.

*rdj(.w) tw.wt(=j) (22) m hw.t ntr m šms n ntr 3*

My statues were placed in the temple as a follower of the great god,

*smn(.w) n=sn w<sup>c</sup>b.yt*

offerings were established for them,

*smnh(.w) p3(23).t=sn m sš*

and their offering ratios were recorded in writing.

#### 14. Wepwawetaa (Leiden V4)

Dating: Senwosret I and Amenemhet II

Origin: Abydos

Bibliography: SIMPSON 1974, ANOC 20.1, pl. 30; SETHE 1927, 72–73; SPIEGEL 1973, 125; LICHTHEIM 1988, 75–77.

#### Text:

(72, 3) *jr.y p<sup>c</sup>.t h3t.y-<sup>c</sup> htm.w bjty smr w<sup>c</sup>.ty sm hrp šnd.t nb.t r3 nhn hm ntr m3<sup>c</sup>.t*

Hereditary noble and local prince, seal bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, the sole friend, sem-priest, the leader of all aprons, mouth of Nekhen, priest of Ma'at,

(4) *jm.y-r3 ... ntr w<sup>c</sup>b 3 n wsjr jm.y-r3 sšr.w m pr wr*

overseer of ... great wab-priest of Osiris, overseer of clothes in the great house,

(5) *hnt.y s.t m <sup>c</sup>.t šps.t hr.y-sšt3 n m33.t w<sup>c</sup>*

foremost of place in the noble place, chief of secrets of unique seeing,

*jm.y (6) hnt 3 m 3bdw hr.y sgr m w<sup>c</sup>w hbs rmn m s.wt (7) jmn.ty m m33 nfr.w=f*

great leader in Abydos, provider of silence in private, silent one in the places of the hidden one who sees his beauty (?)

*sjp.n=f ntt jwtt n jkr n (8) mnh=f hr.y-jb jr.y p<sup>c</sup>.t.t h3.ty-<sup>c</sup> jm.y-r3 hm.w ntr wp-w3w.t 3*

who inspects that which is and that which is not, one excellent in the presence (of the king), hereditary noble and local prince, overseer of priests Wepwawetaa,

*dd=f*

says:

*jr js (9) pn jr.n=j m smj.t n.t t3 dsr m hr.y-jb jt.w km3.w jwf=j*

As for this tomb, which I made in the desert of the sacred land, in the midst of the ancestors who had created my flesh,

*s<sup>c</sup>h.w n.w (10) r3 tp.y nb.w mn.w m js.w j3.t*

and all the dignitaries of the first day who are lasting as comrades in the office

*p3.w š3<sup>c</sup>.w m jr.t jdb (11) hk.t dr rk gb*

of old since the (time of) the making of the sandbanks of Heqet (and) since the time of Geb,

*jr.n(=j) st r smnh s.t(=j) m hr.y-jb=s sp<sup>c</sup>.t=j (12) gr.ty*

I built it in order to make lasting my place in their midst, my nome being in silence.

*jr.n=j j3.t jw=j m nhn.t(=j)*

I performed (my) office (already) while I was in (my) youth,

*w<sup>c</sup>b.n=j r tr=j (13) n s33*

I became a priest in my time of knowledge.

*ts.n=j nmt.t hr wd nswt sm3(14).n=j m hs.w*

I was diligent under (according to) the commands of the king, I was united with the praised ones.

*rdj.n n=j nswt m jw=f 3=f*

The king rewarded me as one who comes and grows.

(15) *ms.n.tw=j m s3=f jr=f*

I was born as one who is wise in his doing.

*jn jb=j shn.t s.t=j*

It was my own heart that advanced my position.

*sn(16).n=j r jr.t jt(.w=j)*

I surpassed the deeds of my ancestors,

*jr.n=j m m3<sup>c</sup>.t mr.t.n nsw.t*

doing indeed that which the king loved.

*j3.t=j dm.ty (17) m t3 r-dr=f*

My office was talked about in the entire land,

*mr.t=j m ht.n.t jt.y*

love of me being in the body of the sovereign.

*jn gr.t nswt bjty (18) hpr-k3-r<sup>c</sup> dj wj m-m smr.w=f n mnh.w hr-jb r hm=f*

It was, however, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkare who placed me in the midst of his officials, to the pleasant one(s) in the presence of His Majesty.

*k.(19)n=j r pr=j r pr jt=j*

I entered my house, the house of my father,

*hms=j m st=j m hw.t-ntr*

and I was seated on my place in the temple.

(20) *hd.n=j hnt.n=j m hn.w*

I fared down and up from the residence,

*rh.n(=j) jr=j h3.w hr mdw(21).wt*

(for) I knew how to exceed words in deeds.

*n jr=j jw.t r rmt msdd.t ntr pw*

I did not do evil against people, (for) it is what god hates.

*krs.n=j (22) j3 n njw.t*

I buried the old one of the city,

*sm.n=j nt.y n sm.t=f*

I helped the one whom one did not help.

*jnk gr.w m-(23)m sr.w*

I was a silent one in the midst of the officials,

*dd.w r=f s3.w jw.t=f*

one of whom it is said: "Beware of his coming!"

*jr.n jb=f mhr.w=f*

one whose heart performed his affairs,

*h3b(.w) n mnh(73, 1)=f hr.y-jb*

sent on account his being pleasant for the heart of His Majesty.

*ssbk.n nsw.t hnt t3 (2) mh jb=f hn.t rh.yt=f*

one whom the king honoured in front of the land, his trusted one before his subjects

*mtj m3<sup>c</sup> r-gs rmt*

one indeed praised besides the people,

*sr j3.w (3) tss mrr ntr.w ...*

an official industrious of utterances beloved of the gods of Thinis.

*htp dj nswt (dj) wsjr nb dd.w ntr 3 nb 3b(4)dw*

An offering which the king gives, so that Osiris, lord of Djedu, the great god, lord of Abydos may give,

*dj jnpw tp dw=f jm.y-w.t nb t3 dsr*

and (so that) Anubis who is atop his mountain, Imiut. lord of the sacred land, may give,

*dj hk.t hn<sup>c</sup> hnmw*

and Heqet together with Khnum,

*ntr.w n.w jdb hw*

the gods of the sandbanks of Hu,

*dj=sn*

may they give

*pr.t hr.w t hn<sup>c</sup>.t h3 k3.w 3pd.w h3 sn.w m pr.t tp.t m pr.t 3.t m w3g m dhwt.t m rk<sup>h</sup> m tp.y rnp.t m hb wr nb jr m r-pr pn*

an invocation offering of bread and beer, a thousand of bulls and fowl and cloths on the first coming forth, on the great coming forth, on the wag festival, on the festival of Thoth, on the rekeh festival, on the festival of the first day of the year, on every great festival performed in this temple,

*m sb3 n=f mhwnw rmn=f hr-h3.t s<sup>c</sup>h.w*

May Mehenu extend his hand to him in front of the dignitaries,

*shnt wsjr s.t=j r wr.w*

may Osiris advance my place in front of the great ones.



*jnk wnt s n 3w.t n=f<sup>c</sup>*

I was indeed a man for whom the hand was extended,

*jnk s3 sr wr n ... 3 m pr=f*

I was a son of a great official ..., great in his tomb,

*wr m sh.t=f wr w<sup>c</sup>b.yt m hw.t-ntr*

one great in his field, great of purity in the temple,

*jt.w nb.w dr tp rmn*

all fathers of before,

*ms.w ... n.t jm.yw-h3.t s<sup>c</sup>h.w nw r<sup>c</sup> tp.y*

the children ... who came before and officials of the first day,

*jm3h.w h3t.y-<sup>c</sup> jm.y-r3 hm.w-ntr Wp-w3.wt-3 nb jm3h*

the praised one, the count and overseer of priests Wepwawetaa, possessor of praise.

## 15. Mentuhotep (Cairo 20539)

Dating: Senwosret I and Amenemehet II

Origin: Abydos

Bibliography: BRUGSCH 1877, 132; DARESSY 1888, 144–149; FRANKE 1984, Dossier 262; LANGE & SCHÄFER 1908, 150–158; LICHTHEIM 1992, 35; MARIETTE 1880a, no. 617; MARIETTE 1880b, 23; OMLIN 1962, 63–65.

### Text:

#### verso

(1) *ḥnh ḥr.w ḥnh ms.wt nb.ty ḥnh-ms.wt nswt-bjty ḥpr-k3-rḥ nṯr nfr nb t3.wy s3 rḥ s-n-wsr.t dj.w ḥnh ḏḏ w3s snb 3w-jb=f mj rḥ ḏt*

The living Horus Ankhmesut, Two ladies Ankhmesut, Lord of Upper and Lower Egypt Ankhmesut, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkare, good god, lord of the two lands, son of Re Senusret, given life, stability, power, health and joy like Re forever.

(2) *jr.y-pḥt t3t.y s3b r3 ḥnh ḥm nṯr m3ḥ.t ḏḏ ḥp.w=s ḥn.t j3w.w smn js.w t3ḥ*

Prince, vizier and judge, speaker of Nekhen, priest of Maat who paces its laws before the offices and makes the boundary stelae last,

*wpp ḥrp r sn-nw=f jm.y jr.wt shrr t3 r-ḏr=f*

who judges between the leader and his likes from among the culprits, who appeases the entire land.

*s n m3ḥ.t (3) ḥnt.y t3.wy*

A man of justice at the fore of the two lands,

*mty m3ḥ mj ḏḥwty*

truly accurate like Thoth,

*sn-nw=f m shr.t t3.wy*

his second in appeasing the Two Lands

*jr.y-pḥt m wp.t nb bjk.wy*

prince on every mission of the Two Hawks district,

*ḥr.y-tp n wd3-mdw*

foremost in judging,

*ḏḏ ḥt r s.t jr.t*

who places a thing to its proper place,

*ḥtm.w-bjty jm.y-r3 mnt.w-ḥtp*

seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, overseer of the seal Mentuhotep.

(4) *jr.y-pḥt ḥḥt.y-ḥ jm.y-r3 k3.t nb n nswt*

Hereditary noble and local prince, overseer of all royal works,

*srwd p3.jw dd t3 pn hr m dj rh.w=f mj wd ntr jr sw*  
who makes prosper the ancient gods who made this land, according to the command of the  
god who made him,

*nh m3r nhm.tw sw*  
who protects the wretched (from) the one who robbed him.

(5) *dd pr sn.wy htp m pr.w n r3=f*  
One because of whose speech the two brothers go out satisfied,

*sš n dhw.ty hr ns=f*  
scribe of Thoth on his tongue.

*ck3 r th mj.ty mh3.t*  
one more accurate than a plummet(indeed) the equal of a balance.

*sn-nw n nswt m nd-hr rn(=f)*  
second of the king in greeting his name.

*w3h-jb (6) r sdm.t mdw.t*  
one patient in listening to (legal) cases,

*mj.ty ntr m wnw.t=f*  
one like god in his task,

*mnh-jb hmw.w m db3.w=f*  
loyal, expert in his fingers,

*jr.j j3.t mj jrj=s*  
onw who performs (his) office as appropriate (?)

*mh-jb n nswt hnt.y t3.wy*  
one trusted of the king, who is at the fore of the Two lands,

*mr.y=f m-m smr.w*  
his beloved among the courtiers.

(7) *shn-jrj=f m-m sr.w*  
A mighty one among the officials,

*hnt.y s.t r sm3 s.t hr.w*  
one at the fore of the place of Horus

*s n w<sup>c</sup>.w wb3 n=f jb*  
a unique man to whom the heart opens,

*jr.y-p<sup>c</sup>.t r dnb.w wsh.t*  
a noble of the turning point of the broad court.

*gm md.wt n.t h<sup>c</sup>*  
apt in speech in the palace

*rh jm.y h.t nb.t*

who knows what is in everyone.

(8) *dd s r wn=f m3<sup>c</sup>*

Who places a man to (his) righteousness,

*gm h.wt g33.w wr=s*

who finds things when there is great lack of them

*rdj gr mr n dd sw m3<sup>c</sup>.t n jj hr=s*

who gives lies to the one who lies, and ma'at to the one who came because of it

*w3h-jb jw.ty sn-nw(=f)*

the patient one without his equal

*nfr sdm (9) jkr dd*

good at listening and excellent at speaking.

*sr wh3 tss.t*

A magistrate who can unravel what is knotted,

*tnn nb.f hnt hhw*

one whom his lord promoted before millions

*s mnh rh.n=f rn=f*

a beneficent man who knows his name,

*tw.t m3<sup>c</sup> n mr.wt*

the very image of love,

*šw m jrt jsf.t*

one free from wrong-doing.

(10) *jw.t n=f šnj.t*

One to whom the shenyt-courtiers come,

*sjdd.y sbj hr nswt*

one who calms the rebel for the sake of the king,

*sdm m<sup>c</sup>b3.yt*

one who listens to the Council of Thirty,

*dd 3wr=f m h3s.tyw*

who places his violence among foreigners,

*sgrh n=f hr.jw-š<sup>c</sup>*

who calms for him the bedouin,

*shtp (11) st.wt hr jr.wt=sn*

and appeases the Nubians in their deeds.

*šhm-jrj=f m jdb.wy*

A potentate on the Two banks,

*hr.y-tp n km.t dšr.t*

leader of the Black Land and of the Red Land.

*dd wd.w n šm<sup>c</sup>.w jp r3 jd n t3-mh.y*

who gives orders to Upper Egypt and controls the terrace of Lower Egypt

*šmw bw nb (12) m šw=f*

to whose light everyone comes

*jm.y jr.ty n rh.y*

one who is in the eyes of the *rekhyt*-people,

*dd k3.w šhnt j3w.w*

who gives kas and promotes offices

*nb šhr.w 3 mr.wt*

lord of counsel, great of love,

*sn-nw n nswt m wsh.t 3.t*

second to the king in the great broad hall,

*jmj-r3 htm.t mntw-htp dd=f*

overseer of the seal Mentuhotep, he says:

(13) *jnk smr mr.y nb=f*

I was a courtier beloved of his lord,

*jrr hss.t ntr.t=f*

one who did what his goddess praises

*m hr.t-hr.w n.t r<sup>c</sup> nb*

in the course of every day.

*jr.y-p<sup>c</sup>.t h3t.y<sup>c</sup>*

hereditary noble and local prince,

*sm hrp šnd.t nb.t*

Sem-priest and leader of all kilts,

*hnt.y šms.w hr.w jnpw*

one at the fore of the followers of Horus and Anup,

*hm ntr hr.y-wdb mntw-htp*

priest and provision master Mentuhotep.

(14) *jr.y-p<sup>c</sup>.t m s.wt dsr.w*

A noble on the sacred places,

*md.w r hr.w=f m pr bjty hr sgr n šn.wt*  
the speech of whose voice in the royal palace silences the courtiers,

*w<sup>c</sup> n nswt jwt.y sn-nw=f*  
a unique one for the king, without his second

*s<sup>c</sup>r m3<sup>c</sup>(.t) (15) r <sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>*  
who lifts Maat to the palace,

*w<sup>h</sup>m.w <sup>c</sup>3 n bw nfr*  
a great herald of goodness,

*w<sup>c</sup> wr s<sup>c</sup>nh rh.yt*  
a great one who makes the rekhyt-people live,

*j.y n=f wr.w m ksw*  
to whom the great ones come in bowing.

*jrj rw.ty (16) nswt jr.j nhn*  
Guardian of the gate of the king, gueardian of Nekhen,

*hm-ntr m3<sup>c</sup>.t*  
priest of Maat,

*jwn dšr.t jm.y-r3 smj.wt jmnt.wt*  
a pillar of the desert, overseer of the western deserts,

*hrp wr.w sm3.w mh.w*  
leader of the great ones of Upper and Lower Egypt

*mdw rh.yt jwn mw.t(=f)*  
speaker of the rekhyt-people, pillar of his mother,

*mr.j ntr.t hm-ntr bjk.wy*  
one beloved of the goddess, priest of the two hawks.

(17) *hr.y-sšt3 n pr <sup>c</sup>nh*  
One who is over the secrets of the House of life,

*h<sup>c</sup> stt jm.y-r3 wsh.t*  
*h<sup>c</sup> stt<sup>90</sup>*, overseer of the broad court.

*hm-ntr hr.w kft.j*  
Priest of Horus of Crete,

*hr.y-tp <sup>c</sup>3 n hkr.t nswt*  
a great leader of the royal diadem,

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<sup>90</sup> HANNIG (2006, 1847) gives „obsolete title“ for *h<sup>c</sup>(.y)*, with very few attestations in the Middle Kingdom. The meaning of *stt* in this connection is unclear.

*sm3.y n h<sup>c</sup> ntr wr n pt*  
who unites with the body of the great god of heaven,

*w<sup>c</sup> wr šnp.tyw*  
one great of the *šnp.tyw*<sup>91</sup> people.

(18) *jm.y-r3 šnw.ty*  
Overseer of the Two Granaries,

*jm.y-r3 pr.wy h<sub>d</sub> jm.y-r3 pr.wy nwb*  
Overseer of the Two houses of silver, overseer of the two houses of gold,

*jm.y-r3 sš n nswt n hft-hr*  
overseer of the royal scribes in the presence,

*htm.w-bjty smr-w<sup>c</sup>.ty*  
seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, unique friend,

*hr.y-sšt3 n mdw-ntr*  
one who is over the secrets of the words of god,

*jm.y-r3 ? mntw-htp dd=f*  
overseer of ? Mentuhotep says:

(19) *j h<sup>c</sup>t.y-<sup>c</sup> nb j jpw.ty-nswt nb šhm-jrj=f nb smr nb n pr nswt*  
O every count, every messenger of the king, every potentate, every courtier of the royal palace,

[...] *n mrr=f r* [...] *hm=f m hw.t-ntr n.t ntr pn*  
[...] his Majesty in the temple of this god,

(20) *m mrr=tn w3h tp t3 hs=tn mnt m r3 nswt hrd.w=tn hr ns.w=tn*  
as you wish to endure upon earth , praised ? in the mouth of the king, your children being on your places,

*dd sr.w=tnw m<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.t=tn m* (21) *st stn r nhh*  
say: “ may this *mahat* be ? in the place of ? forever.”

*jnk 3h jkr rh r3=f*  
(for) I am an excellent spirit who knows his speech,

*jw rh=j 3h.t m hr.t-ntr*  
and I know how to become a spirit in the necropolis.

*jr gr.t sh3.ty=fy rn=j nfr wnn=j m* (22) *šdj=f r-gs ntr 3 nb pt ntr 3 nb 3bdw*  
As for anyone, who shall make my name remembered in good, I will be his protector on the side of the great god, lord of heaven. on the side of the great god, lord of Abydos.

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<sup>91</sup> The meaning of the word  *šnp.tyw* is unclear.

*jnk hrp k3.t m hw.t-ntr*  
I was leader of works in the temple,

*kd=f š3d š hs n hnm.wt m wd hm n nb*  
who built, dug a lake and *hs*<sup>92</sup> at the order of the Majesty of the lord.

(23) *jr.y-p<sup>c</sup>.t h3t.y-<sup>c</sup> htm.w-bjt.y smr w<sup>c</sup>.ty*  
Hereditary noble and local prince, seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, the unique friend,

*jm.y-r3 gs.w-pr jm.y-r3 sš n šhmh-jb*  
overseer of the shrines, overseer of the nests of joy,

*jm.y-r3 pr.wy nwb jm.y-r3 pr-wy hd jm.y-r3 htm mntw-htpms n <sup>c</sup>-s-n-k3 m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*  
overseer of the two houses of gold, overseer of the two houses of silver, overseer of the seal,  
Mentuhotpe, born of Asenka, justified.

## Recto

1) - king – badly preserved

(2) *wd nswt n jr.y-p<sup>c</sup>.t* – destroyed – *=k m<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.t r rd n ntr <sup>c</sup>3 nb 3bdw smn j3.t=k nb.t hs.wt nb*  
A royal order for the hereditary noble – *destroyed* – a cenotaph/chapel at the terrace of the  
great god, lord of Abydos, so that all your offices and praises may be made lasting

*jr.tw n=k (3) tw.t šps.y nb m [...] m šms.w n ntr <sup>c</sup>3 [...] n=k htp-dj-nswt m jr [///] mr.n=f n jr.y-p<sup>c</sup>.t h3t.y-<sup>c</sup>*  
and so that every noble statue be made for you [...] in the following of the great god [...] for  
you a Htp-dj-nswt offerig [...] ? of the hereditary noble and local prince

*mr.y ntr*  
beloved of the heart of god,

*w<sup>c</sup>-jb n bjty*  
single minded for the King of Lower Egypt,

*smtr n=f*  
one, who bears witness for him,

*jwn šm<sup>c</sup>w n pr-nswt*  
the pillar of Upper Egypt for the palace,

*šms (4) nb=f r nmt.wt=f*  
who accompanies his lord in his journeys

*<sup>c</sup>k-jb=f hnt šn.yt*  
his confidante before the *shenyt*-courtiers,

*h3 nb=f m w<sup>c</sup>.w*  
who attends to his lord alone

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<sup>92</sup> A word of unclear meaning with a determinative that indicates building od digging works.



*m* [destroyed]

*jm.j-jb n nb=f m3<sup>c</sup>*

who is unquestionably in his lord's mind

*dd.w n=f md.t h<sup>c</sup>p.t*

to whom secret matters are told,

*ᶜk jb=f hnt jdb.w*

who enters the heart of his lord in front of the Two Banks,

*s<sup>c</sup>r md.t r hn.w*

who lets the word rise (or whose word rises) to the residence.

*jnk [?] šn<sup>c</sup>*

I was an [?] of granary,

*gm ts*

one apt of phrase;

(5) *sn<sup>c</sup>m ksn.t*

who eases what is difficult,

*ᶜh<sup>c</sup>.w nb=f hr hr.w=f*

? of his lord because of his voice,

*tkn(.w) m3<sup>c</sup>(.t)*

who approaches truth,

*rh hr.t-jb 3h dd hr-jb nb=f*

who knows that which the transfigured spirits desire, who says what his lord wishes,

*wr sn<sup>c</sup> m-hnw pr nswt*

great of fear in the royal palace,

*dns m h.wt mn<sup>c</sup>h dd*

heavy in complaints, beneficent of speech,

*h3p.t hr sšm ᶜh<sup>c</sup>*

one who conceals the goings in the palace,

*htm r3=f hr sdm.t=f*

one whose mouth is sealed at what he hears,

*sr wh<sup>c</sup> (7) tss.t*

an official who solves difficulties,

*jm.y-r3 pr.wy hd pr.wy nb.w*

overseer of the double house of silver and double house of gold,

*jm.y-r3 htm mntw-htp dd=f*  
overseer of the seal Mentuhotep, who says:

*jr.n=j gr.t m<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.t tn s3h.ty smnh st=s*  
I made this cenotaph fully consecrated and its site made efficient.

*rdj.n=j htm.wt db3.w n hm.w-ntr n 3bdw*  
I secured payment through contract to priests of Abydos,

*hrp.n=j k3.t m hw.t-ntr tn hs.wt m jnr n <sup>c</sup>nw*  
I led works in this temple, built of the stone from Turah

(7) *jw jr.n=j s3 mr.j=f (?) m [...] m sš[t3] n nb 3bdw*  
I acted as his beloved son [...] in the mysteries of Osiris.

*jw hrp.n=j k3.t m nšm.t*  
I led works in the sacred barge,

*ms.n(=j) jnj.w=s*  
I constructed its fillets (?),

*jr.n=j h3kr n nb=f pr.t wp-w3.wt, jr(w) n=f hby.wt nb.t šd.n hmw-ntr*  
I perform did the *Haker*-festival for its lord and a procession of Wepwawet, when all the festive offerings had been performed for him, and the *hem netjer*-priests had made the recitations.

*jw dj(8).n=j sb*  
I gave [...]

*wdhw m hsbđ m hsmn m d<sup>c</sup>m hđ wr nn dr=f hsmn nn dr=f*  
offering table with lapis lazuli, natron, electrum, fine silver without end, bronze without end,

*wsh.wt mfk3.t mnfr.t [...] nb [...] m stp.w n h.t nb(.t) [...]*  
broad collars, turquoise, armbands, [...] the choicest of all things.

*rdj.n (wj) ntr m h<sup>c</sup>=f m jw3.t n.t (10) [hr.y] sšt3*  
God placed me in his shine/appearance, to the office of one who is over the secrets

[ too fragmentary to make out the context ]

**16. Semti** (BM EA 574)

Dating: Amenemhet II

Origin: Abydos

Bibliography: LICHTHEIM 1988, 96–98; LICHTHEIM 1992, 36; SETHE 1927, 75; SIMPSON 1974, ANOC 42.2, pl. 61; SPIEGEL 1973.

**Text:**

(2) *hr.w hkn-m-m3<sup>c</sup>.t nsw.t-bjty nb.w-k3.w-r<sup>c</sup> mr.y wsjr hnt.y-jmn.tyw dj.w<sup>c</sup>nh*  
Horus Hekenemmaat, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebkaure, beloved of Osiris  
Khentamenti, given life.

*b3k(3)=f m3<sup>c</sup> n s.t-jb=f*  
His true and trusted servant,

*hrj sst3 n hkr-nsw.t jm.y hnt smtj*  
chancellor of the king's ornament, the chancellor Semti,

*dd=f*  
he says:

*jw dj(4).n wj hm=f r rd.wy=f m nhn.t*  
When I was a child, His Majesty placed me to his feet,

*dm(.w) rn=j hnt mjt.yw=j*  
and my name was pronounced at the fore of (those of) my equals.

(5) *wn.jn hm=f wsd=f wj*  
Then his Majesty praised me,

*d=f bj.t(=j) n.t r<sup>c</sup> nb*  
because he knew (my) character of every day,

*wn.k(wj) (6) rf m jw=f<sup>c</sup>3=f*  
I was one who comes-and-grows.

*hs wj m hrw pn r sf*  
I was more praised today than yesterday,

*hpr.kwj m jr.y-jh.t nsw.t m3<sup>c</sup>*  
I became a true chamberlain of the king.

(7) *šsp.n hm=f nmt.t=j*  
His Majesty accepted my proceeding,

*dj(.w) sr.w r h<sup>c</sup>.w=sn*  
and when officials were placed to their positions,

*nd(.w) n=j j3.t (8) m-b3h=sn*  
I was given an office in their presence

*m hnt.y m hr.j n sšt3 hm ntr n šm<sup>c</sup> mlhw*

as one in front, as one who is over the secrets, priest of the White and the Red crowns,

*hnm.w n (9) hkr.t nswt mss wr.t hk3.w*

Khnum of the Royal Jewel, born of the Great of Magic

*tw3 hd.t m pr-wr*

one who lifts the White crown in the Great House,

*hr.y-tp nhb hm n.t (10) dšr.t m pr nw*

leader of Nekheb, servant of the Red crown in Per-nu

*dmd.w n=f<sup>c</sup> rh.t*

one to whom the hand of Rekhmet is united,

*s3 jw.t=f m db3.w m s(11)h<sup>c</sup>.t hr.w nb<sup>c</sup>h*

one who proceeds with the diadem in the procession of Horus, Lord of the palace.

*mn<sup>c</sup>.t ntr m w<sup>c</sup>.w*

nurse of the god in privacy,

*dj=f jr.t n pr.n=s (12) jm=f*

one who gives offering to the one from whom it had come.

*hrp s3.w m ššm št3*

Leader of Sais in the secret affairs,

*nb snd m hw.wt n.t dšr.t*

lord of fear in the chapels of the Red Crown,

*smr<sup>c</sup>3 (13) m pr nb*

great companion in the House of Gold,

*ms .w ntr m nhp.w*

when god is born at sunrise.

*jj.n=j m hnt hr hm=f*

I traveled south under His Majesty,

*dj=f sjp(.w) (14) jt.w ntr.w*

when he let (the statues) of the fathers, the gods, be controlled,

*dr=j nkn.w*

so that I might remove the damage

*srwd=j ms.wt k3.t=sn m ht n nhh*

and establish the form of their works as a thing of eternity.

*wd.n=j nb.t wd<sup>h</sup>.w=sn d3m hr sd3.t=j*

I ordered that their offering tables be gilded, electrum being under my seal.

(16) *ph.n=j 3bw mj wd.t*  
I reached Elephantine as it was ordered,

*sn=j t3 n nb hnm.w*  
and I kissed earth for the Lord of the creation,

*jj.n=j (17) hr jr.t.n=j hr=s*  
and I returned because of that which I had been doing concerning it.

*hw.n=j mnj.t r 3bdw*  
I landed at Abydos,

*wd.kwj rn=j r bw (18) hr ntr wsjr hnt.y-jmn.tyw nb nhh hk3 jmnt.t*  
and I placed my name to the realm of the god Osiris Khentamenti, Lord of eternity, ruler of the West,

*rww n=f nt.t wn*  
to whom is brought that which is,

*n mr(19)wt 3h(=j) jm m hr-jb sms.w n nb snh*  
in order to be beatified therewith in the midst of the following of the Lord of Life,

*kk=j p3k=f*  
so that I may eat his cake,

*pr=j m r<sup>c</sup> (20) jr b3k=j jr.tyw*  
and so that I may walk into the day, so that my soul may make lamentation.

*rmt.w jm3-jb n m<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.t=j*  
people who are friendly to my tomb,

*d3.t n (21) srh=j*  
(lay) hand(s) on my stela,

*dr-ntt n jr=j d3.t*  
because I did not do destruction.

*hnm.n=j ntr m m3<sup>c</sup>.t*  
I gladdened god with righteousness,

*wn(22)=j jm b3=kwj 3h=kwj m stj hk3 nhh*  
so that I may be there, a *ba* and *akh* in the desert, the mistress of eternity,

*jr=j hnw h3 r nsm.t*  
so that I may act as a steering oar, going down to the neshemet barque,

*sn=j t3 n wp-w3.wt*  
and kiss earth in front of Wepwawet.

*jm.y-hnt smtj m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw nb jm3h*  
The chamberlain Semti, justified, one well provided.

## 17. Amenemhat (BM 567)

Dating: Amenemhat II

Origin: Abydos

Bibliography: BUDGE 1912, no. 5; LICHTHEIM 1988, 114–116); SIMPSON 1974, 13.2, pl. 22; SPIEGEL 1973, 29, 64, 83–84.

### Text:

(1) *rnp.t 13 hr hm n nswt-bjty* (2) *nb-k3.w-r<sup>c</sup> dj.w n<sup>c</sup>h dt r nh<sup>c</sup>*

Year 13 under the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebkaure, given life for ever and ever.

*htp dj nswt dj wsjr nb* (3) *dd.w hn.ty-jmn.tyw nb 3bdw wp-w3w.t hnt.y 3bdw* (4) *hk.t hn<sup>c</sup> hnm.w ntr.w nb 3bdw*

An offering which the king gives and Osiris, lord of Djedu, Khentamenti, lord of Abydos, Wepwawet, lord of Abydos, Heket and Khnum, lord of Abydos,

*dj=sn pr.t-hrw t hn<sup>c</sup>.t k3.w 3pd.w sn.w h.t nb.t nfr.t pr.t m* (5) *b3h ntr<sup>c</sup>*

may they give a thousand of bread and beer, bulls and birds, cloth and all good things coming out in the presence of the Great god.

*m sb.t n=f<sup>c</sup>.wj hr htp m hb n.w hr.t-ntr hn<sup>c</sup> sms.w n wsjr tp-<sup>c</sup> hpr.w hr h3.t*

May hands be extended to him, laden with offerings of the festival of the necropolis, together with the followers of Osiris, the ancestors who were before.

*s3h [s]w* (6) *wr.w n.w dd.w sny.t jm.yt 3bdw*

May the great ones of Djedu and the assembly of Abydos enlighten him,

*wp=f w3.wt mrr.t=f m htp.w* (7) *hn<sup>c</sup> df3*

may he open the roads according to his wish, with the offerings and food.

*sh3 sw jm.yw t3 wr w<sup>c</sup>b.w n.w ntr<sup>c</sup>*

May the ones who are in Thinis and the wab priests of the Great god greet him.

*dj.t(w) n=f<sup>c</sup>.wj m nsm.t hr w3.wt jmnt.wt*

May hands be given to him in the Meshenyt barque on the western roads.

*dsr=f hp.wt m* (8) *mst.t skd=f (m) m<sup>c</sup>nd.t*

May he head the oars of the night bargue; may he fare in the day bargue.

*dd.t(w) n=f jj.w m htp jn wr.w n.w 3bdw*

May it be told to him “welcome!” by the great ones of Abydos.

*sd3=f hn<sup>c</sup> ntr<sup>c</sup>* (9) *d3.t ntr r3-pkr*

May he fare together with the great god in the divine bargue of Rapeqer,

*nsm.t wr.t nmtt=s m hb.w hr.t-ntr*

the great neshemet bargue which fares on the festivals of the necropolis.

*s3h s(10)w k3-jmn.t hkn=f hn<sup>c</sup>=f m hp.wt=f*

May the bull of the west enlighten him when he joins with him over his steering oar,

*sḏm=f hnw m n3 n t3-wr*  
may he hear praise from the mouth of Thinis,

*h3kr grḥ sḏ(11)r.t m sḏry.t n.t hr šn*  
the night of the Hathor festival spent in the Nightwatch of the Horus of Shen.

*dndn=f w3.wt nfr.wt hr šg3.w 3ḥ.t jmnt.t*  
May he travel the beautiful roads of the west.

*s3ḥ sw (12) ḥnm.w ḥk.t tp.y-ᶜ ḥpr hr-ḥ3.t hr mshn.t n.t 3bd.w*  
May Khnum and Heket enlighten him, the ancestors who first came into existence in the resting-place of Abydos,

*pr m r3 n rᶜ ḏs=f m sḏsr 3(13)bd.w*  
who came from the mouth of Re himself when Abydos was sanctified.

*dj=sn n=f ḥtp.t wᶜb.wt ḥnᶜ šms.w n wsjr*  
May they give to him pure offerings together with the followers of Osiris.

*sh3 sw jm.yw t3-wr shn.t wsjr (14) st=f r wr.w jm.yw t3 ḏsr*  
May the ones who are in Thinis greet him; may Osiris promote his place more than (that of) the great ones who are in the sacred land.

*bᶜḥ=f m ḥtp.wt ḏf3.w ḥ3m.t ḥ.t jm n wsjr m w(15)3g m ḥ3t.t m rkḥ m tp.y-rnp.t m ḥb nb.w jn.w n ntr-ᶜ3*  
May he be flooded with offerings, food, beer and things that are there, of Osiris, on the wag festival, on the Batet and Rekeh festivals, on all festivals for the great god.

*m sb n=f mh.wn (16) ᶜ=f hr ḥtp.t n.t ntr-ᶜ3*  
(and) may Mehwen extend to him his hand (laden) with the offerings of the Great God,

*hms=f hr j3.t n. wsjr m ḥ3.t sᶜḥ.w*  
May he sit on the right of Osiris in front of the dignitaries

*spr=f r ntr ᶜ3 (17) šms=f sw m w3.t=f nb.t wᶜb.t*  
May he reach the Great god, may he follow him on his every clean road.

*šsp=f ḥ.wt hr (18) ḥtp.t ᶜ3 m hr.t-hr.w nb*  
May he receive things on his great altar of every day.

*jm.y-r3 šnᶜ jmn-m-ḥ3.t nb jm3ḥ ḏd=f*  
The overseer of the storehouse, Amenemhat, lord of praise, he says:

*jr.n(19)=j hr.t=j m ᶜḥᶜ.t tn hr mshn.t n.t 3bd.w*  
I took care of my needs in this tomb, in the resting place of Abydos

*t3 ḏsr (20) 3ḥ.t jmnt.t wᶜr.t ᶜ3.t hmhm.t*  
the sacred land, the Western horizon, the district great of fame.

*s3ḥ tw (21) ḥnt js.w=sn n mr.wt wsr s3ḥ*  
May you be enlightened in front of their tombs that you might be mighty and effective

*m šms.w n (22) hnt.y-jmn.tyw nb dd.w hk3 3bdw*  
in the following of Khentamenti, Lord of Djedu and ruler of Abydos

*jw n=f ntt jwt.t*  
to whom comes what is and what is not.

(23) *m(hwn) ms.wy hr htp.wt pr.t m=b3h ntr 3 m hr.t-hr.w* (24) *n.t r nb*  
May Mehun extend his hands laden with offerings presented in the presence of the Great god every day.

*j nh.w tp.jw t3 mrr.w nh ms.w kd=sn*  
O living ones who are on earth, who wish their children to love life!

(25) *sn t3 n hn.ty-jmn.tyw*  
Kissing the earth for Khentamenti in the Great Procession,

(26) *rdj j3.t n hw.t-hr.w hr.t-tp s.t nb.t pr(7).w hr.w*  
giving praise for Hathor, Mistress of desert; lady of the holy places,

*jn jmch.w jm.y-r3 sn jmn-m(28)-h3t.*  
by the overseer of the storehouse, Amenemhat.



## 18. Antef (Leiden V6)

Dating: Amenemhet II

Origin: Abydos

Bibliography: BOESER 1909, no. 4, pl. III; LICHTHEIM 1988, 111–113; PIEHL 1888, III xxiiiA–xxivB; SPIEGEL 1973, 125–127.

### Text:

1. *rnp.t-sp 9 hr hm n hr.w hkn-m-m3<sup>c</sup>.t nb.ty hkn-m-m3<sup>c</sup>.t nsw.t-bjty nwb-k3.w-r<sup>c</sup>*  
Year 9 under the Majesty of Horus Hekenemmaat, Two Ladies Hekenemmaat, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nubkaure.

2. *jm3h.w jm.y-r3 hrp jnj-jtj=f dd=f*  
The honoured one, overseer of the districts Antef, says:

*jr.n=j m<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.t tn hr mshn.t n.t 3bdw*  
I made this tomb at the Meskhenet (birthplace) of Abydos,

*t3 dsr n h3s.wyt jmnt.t*  
The sacred land of the western deserts,

*w<sup>c</sup>r.t 3(3).t hmhm.t*  
the district great of fame

*s3h.tw hnt.yw js.w=sn*  
(where) those who are in their tombs are transformed,

*n mry.t wsr(=j) 3h(=j) m šms.w (4) n hnt.y-jmn.tyw nb ddw hk3 3bdw*  
so that I may be strong and transformed in the following of Khentameti, lord of Busiris and Abydos

*jn.w n=f nt.t jwt.t*  
to whom is brought that which is and that which is not.

*mhwn sbj<sup>c</sup>.wy*  
May Mehun extend his hands

(5) *hr htp.t pr.t m-b3h ntr 3 m hr.t n.t r<sup>c</sup> nb*  
with offerings presented in front of the great god in the course of every day.

*j<sup>c</sup>nh.w tp.yw t3 (6) mrr.w<sup>c</sup>nh ms.w=sn*  
O living ones who are upon the earth, who wish their children to live,

*hss tn ntr=tn njw.ty dd=tn*  
may your town god praise you when you say:

(7) *t hnk.t h3 k3.w 3pd.w h3 n jm3h.w jm.y-r3 hrp jn.t=f m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw nb jm3h jr(.w) n rn=f-<sup>c</sup>nh*  
A thousand of bread and beer, a thousand of bulls and fowl, to the overseer of the districts Intef, justified, lord of praise, born of Renefankh.

(8) *htp dj nswt (n) wsjr nb ddw hnt.y-jmn.tyw ntr ʕ3 nb* (9) *3bdw m sw.t=f nb.t nfr.t wʕb.t dj=f*  
An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris, lord of Busiris, Khentamenti, great god, lord of Abydos in all his good and pure places, so that he may give

*pr.t-hrw (n) h3 k3.w h3 3pd.w* (10) *h3 šsr h3 mnḥ.t h3 jḥ.t nb.t ʕnh ntr jm*  
an invocation offering of a thousand of bulls, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of linen, a thousand of clothing, a thousand of all things from which the god lives

*n k3 n jm3ḥ.w jm.y-r3 hrp* (11) *jn.t=f m3ʕ-hrw nb jm3ḥ jr(.w) n rn=f-ʕnh m3ʕ.t-hrw nb.t jm3ḥ*  
to the *ka* of the overseer of the districts Intef, justified, lord of praise, born of Renefankh, justified, lady of praise.

(12) *ḏd.t n jm.y-r3 hrp jn.t=f*  
Said by the overseer of the districts Intef:

*jnk rḥ sb3 sw r rḥ*  
I am one who knows who taught himself to know,

*ndnd.w r dj* (13) *nd.tw m-ʕ=f*  
one who consults in order to make (others) consult with him,

*ḥd ḥbs.w ptr m33 ḥb m*(14)-*m sn.w=f*  
One white of clothes, who sees festival among his brothers,

*w3d sk3.w nfr ʕbb*  
one fresh of harvest, good of crops,

*wsh jb šw m ḥns-*(15)*jb*  
one broad-hearted, free of meanness,

*ḥd msw.t nfr ḥsmn.w nb ḏf3.w*  
one white of evening bread, good of every meal and food,

*šw m ḥbs-hr*  
free from mercilessness.

*pr.t-hrw* (16) *n jm3ḥ.w jm.y-r3 hrp jn.t=f m3ʕ-hrw nb jm3ḥ jr(.w) n rn=f-ʕnh ḥm.t=f mr.t=f*  
*jmm*  
An invocation offering for the praised one, the overseer of the districts Intef, justified, lord of praise, born of Renefankh, (and for) his beloved wife, Imem.

## 19. Sahathor (BM EA 569)

Dating: Amenemhet II

Origin: Abydos

Bibliography: BIRCH 1874, 112–114; BREASTED 1906, 273–274; BUDGE 1909, 215 and pl. XXIV; BUDGE 1912, pl. XIX-XX; PIEHL 1888, xviii–xix; VANDERSLEYEN 1995, 79.

### Text:

1. *hṭp dj nswt dj wsjr nb ḏdw ntr ʿ3 nb 3bdw pr.t-ḥrw (n) k3.w 3pd.w šsr sntr mrḥt*

An offering that the king gives so that Osiris, Lord of Busiris, lord of Abydos, may give an invocation offering (of) oxen and birds, linen, incense, merehet-oil

2. *m w3g nb m ḏḥwty m pr dw3 nb m w3ḥ-ḥ*

on the every wag festival, on every Thoth's festival, on every (festival of the) morning house, on every "Aufstellen des Feuerbeckens".

*j ʿnh.w tp.yw t3 (3) sn hr js pn hr.t ntr m ḥd m ḥsf.t ḏd=tn jw(=tn) wʿb*

O you living, who are upon earth [who shall pass] by this stela going downstream and approaching, may you say, being pure:

*ḥ3 m t (4) ḥ3 ḥnk.t ḥ3 k3.w 3pd.w gḥs.w ḥ.t nb(.t) ʿnh ntr jm n k3 n jm3ḥ.w ḥtm.w hr.y-ʿ s3-ḥw.t-ḥr m3ʿ-ḥrw*

"A thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, a thousand of oxen, birds and gazelles and all things from which the god lives to the *ka* of the assistant seal-bearer Sahathor, justified."

5. ... *nswt m3ʿ mr.y=f s3-ḥw.t-ḥr.w ḏd=f*

The true [ ... of] the king, his beloved, Sahathor, he says:

6. *jnk mr.y nb=f m3ʿ nswt bjty nwb-k3.w-rʿ ʿnh dt*

I was one indeed beloved by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nubkaure, who lives forever.

7. *ḥm=f ḥ3b-f w(j) sp ʿš3.w (8) r wp.wt nb n mnḥ (9) r mrr.t ḥm=f jrr mj s.t-jb n.t (10) ḥm=f*

His majesty, he sent me numerous times on every beneficent commission concerning that which His Majesty desired to be done according to the desire of His Majesty.

*wḏ.n ḥm=f (11) rdj.t(w) sb.t(w=j) r jmnw-ḥrp ʿnh dt (12) r ḥrp k3.t m tw.t=f 16 (13) n rwd.t n ḥḥ ḥpr ḥm (14) n hrw 3bd 2 n*

His Majesty commanded that I be sent to the pyramid *Amenu-kherep* (may it live forever) in order to lead the work on his 16 statues of hard stone for millions of years, which happened within a day of two months.

15. *ḥpr mjt.t m-ʿ ḥrp nb*

The like of this had not happened to any leader

16. [ ...] *The line is destroyed.*

17. *jr.n(=j) bjʿ m nḥn.t*

I visited the Sinai as a child,

*d3ir.n=j wr.w r w<sup>c</sup>b.t nbw*  
and I forced the chieftains to wash gold.

18. *jn.n=j mfk3.t ph.n=j t3-stj n nhs.w jj(=j) hr shr (19) m snd n nb t3.wy*  
I brought malachite. I reached Nubia of the *nehesu*, I came overthrowing through the fear of the Lord of the Two lands.

*sm.kw(j) (r) h3 phr.n(=j) jw.w=f jn.n(=j) sš*  
I came (to) Ha, I went around its islands, bringing its produce.

20. [...] *nb=f mr.j m3<sup>c</sup> n s.t-jb=f dd(.w) nfr.t whm(.w) mrr.t jrr hss.t nb t3.wy*  
[I was one ...] of his lord, one truly beloved and his trusted, who spoke well, who repeated that which is beloved, who did what the Lord of the Two lands praises,

*smj (21) sšm=f nn <sup>c</sup>m-jb s3k šw m ht*  
who reports his actions without forgetting, one controlled, one free of blemish,

22. *mk t3š=f rs hr.t=f rs-tp šw m b3g*  
who protects his boundary, watches his possessions, one awake without lenience,

23. *htm.w hr.y-<sup>c</sup> s3-hw.t-hr m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*  
the assistant seal-bearer Sahathor, justified.

## 20. Senwosret (Louvre C 170)

Dating: Senwosret II

Origin: Abydos

Bibliography: GAYET 1886, pl. XXVII.

### Text:

(1) [rnp.t-sp] 2 hr hr.w sšm.w-t3.wy nbw.ty sh<sup>c</sup>-m3<sup>c</sup>.t hr.w-nbw htp-ntr.w nswt-bjty h<sup>c</sup>-hpr-r<sup>c</sup> s3  
r<sup>c</sup> s-n-wsr.t dj(.w) n<sup>c</sup>h dd w3s dt mj r<sup>c</sup>

[Regnal Year] 2 of (Senwosret II.), given life, stability and health forever like Re.

(2) htp dj nswt wsjr nb ddw hnt.y-jmn.tyw ntr 3 nb 3bdw dj=f pr.t-hrw (n) k3 3pd.w sšr sntr  
An offering that the king gives so that Osiris, lord of Busiris, foremost of the Westerners, the  
Great god, lord of Abydos, may give an invocation offering (of) bulls, birds, linen, incense,

(3) mrh.t h.t nb.t nfr(.t) w<sup>c</sup>b(.t) n<sup>c</sup>h.t ntr jm n k3 n jm3h.w s3.w h.t s-n-wsr.t m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw dd=f  
merchet-oil, and all good and pure things with which the god lives to the ka of the revered  
one, guardian of things Senusret, justified, who says:

jr m<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.t tn jr.t.n=j (4) m 3bdw hr rd.wy ntr 3 nb ntr.w hr rd.t nb htp.t t3 dsr 3h.t jmnt.t  
As for this tomb that I made in Abydos, at the Terrace of the great god at the foot of the lord  
of the resting (in?) the sacred land of the western horizon

(jr.n=j st) n-mrw.t wsr 3h(=j) m šms n ntr 3

(I built it) in order that my transformed spirit may be strong in the suite of the great god,

nt.t jnk (5) mn tbj.t hr jw.w dd=f nfr.t whm mrr.t jr h.t n tp nfr sr wh<sup>c</sup> tss.t jnk s3 sbk rh s.t rd=f  
w3.t n.t (6) smnh sw h.t s-n-wsr.t m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw dj=f i3 n wsjr

because I was stable in coming, who said good and repeated what is beloved, who did things  
rightfully (with success), an official who solves problems, one wise and clever, who knew the  
place of his leg(s) upon the way of reconstruction (?), the guardian of things Senwosret,  
justified, who gives praise to Osiris.

sn t3 n wp-w3.wt m pr.t (7) 3t jn s3 h.t s-n-wsr.t m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw

Kissing of the ground for Wepwawet in the great procession by the guardian of things  
Senwosret, justified.

## 21. Djaa (BM EA 573)

Dating: Senwosret II

Origin: Abydos

Bibliography: BUDGE 1912, 6; LICHTHEIM 1988, 94–95; PORTER & MOSS 1937, 95–96.

### Relevant part of the text:

(11–13) *jr.n(=j) m<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.t tn hr w<sup>c</sup>r.t nb htp.wt m sp<sup>3</sup>.t 3bdw jw=j jm=s m rd.wt ʕ<sup>3</sup> wn.wt h<sup>w</sup>.t-ntr  
ʕ<sup>c</sup>.wy-sn hr htp.wt pr.wt m ntr ʕ<sup>3</sup> n k<sup>3</sup> n s<sup>3</sup> ʕ<sup>c</sup>.t d<sup>33</sup> m<sup>3</sup>ʕ<sup>c</sup>-hrw*

I have built this tomb in the district of the Lord of offerings in the Abydos nome, so that I may be in it at the great terrace, the temple-watch with their hands full with offerings coming from the Great god to the ka of the guardian of the chamber Djaa, justified.

## 22. Iikhernefret (Berlin 1204)

Dating: Senwosret III

Origin: Abydos

Bibliography: ANTHES 1974, 15–99; HELCK 1952, 72–76; LEPROHON 1979, 33–38;  
LICHTHEIM 1988, 98–99; PORTER & MOSS 1937, 97; ROEDER 1913, 169–175; SETHE 1924,  
70–71; SIMPSON 1974, ANOC 1.1, pl. 1.

### Text:

(70.14) *hr-ʕnh ntr hpr.w nb.ty ms.wt-ntr hr nb.w hpr nswt-bjty h<sup>c</sup>-k<sup>3</sup>.w-r<sup>c</sup> s<sup>3</sup> r<sup>c</sup> sn-wsr.t (15)  
dj.w ʕnh mj r<sup>c</sup> d.t*

Living Horus, Netjerkheperu, Two Ladies, Mesut-netjer, Golden Horus Kheper, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Khakaure, son of Re Senwosret, given life for ever like Re.

*w<sup>d</sup> nswt n jr.y-p<sup>c</sup>.t h<sup>3</sup>ty-ʕ htm.w bjty smr w<sup>c</sup>.ty jm.y-r<sup>3</sup> pr.wy nb jm.y r<sup>3</sup> pr.wy (16) h<sup>d</sup> jm.y r<sup>3</sup>  
db<sup>c</sup>.t jj-hr-nfr.t nb jm<sup>3</sup>h*

A royal order to the hereditary noble and local prince, seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, the sole friend, overseer of the two houses of gold, overseer of the two houses of silver, overseer of the treasury Ikhernefert, possessor of praise:

*jw w<sup>d</sup>.n hm=j dj.t(w) hn.t=k r t<sup>3</sup> wr (17) 3bdw*

My Majesty commanded that you be caused to fare down to the Thinite Abydos

*r jr.t mnw n jt(=j) wsjt hnt.y-jmn.tyw*

in order to build a monument for my father Osiris Khentamenti,

*r smnh bs=f št<sup>3</sup> (18) m d<sup>3</sup>m*

(and) in order to adorn his secret cultic image with electrum,

*dj.n=f jn.t hm=j m hnt t3 st.t m nht m m3c hr.w*  
which he has caused My Majesty to bring from Fore Nubia, in true victory.

*jst (19) jr=k nw m šs m3c n jr.t jh.t m ... jt(=j) wsjr*  
But do it in a truly excellent way of doing things for my father Osiris,

*dr ntt h3b (20) tw hm=j jb=j nht m jr=k jht nb(t) r mh jb n hm=j*  
because My Majesty sent you trusting that you shall do things to please the heart of My Majesty,

*dr ntt jn=k (21) js pw m sb3.ty hm=j*  
(and) because it is as a child of My Majesty that you were sent,

*jw hpr.n=k js m sd.t hm=j sb3.ty w<sup>c</sup> n h<sup>c</sup> (22)=j*  
(since) indeed, you have become a child of my Majesty, the sole child of the palace.

*jw dj.n tw hm=j r smr=j jw=k m hwnw n rnpt 26*  
Indeed, My Majesty made you my friend when you were (still) a youngster of 26 years.

*(23) jr.n hm(=j) nw m3c.n=j tw m jkr shr spd ns*  
My Majesty did this (because) I saw that you were excellent of plans and sharp of tongue

*pr(j) m h.t (24) sj3*  
one who issued from the body as a wise one.

*jw js h3b tw hm=j r jr.t nw*  
My Majesty sent you in order to do this,

*sj3.n hm=j wn.t nn (71.1) jr.t(ty)=f(y) st nb hr-h.w=k*  
because My Majesty knew that there was none who would do it all except you.

*js r=k jw jr n=k mj wd.t.n nb.t hm=j*  
Go! Go and do all according to what my Majesty had ordered!"

*(2) jr.kwj mj wd.t.n nb.t hm=f*  
I did everything according to what his Majesty ordered to me

*m smnh wd.t n nb n jt(=f) wsjr hnt.y-jmn.tyw (3) nb 3bdw hrp-<sup>c3</sup> hr.y-jb t3 wr.*  
executing perfectly all that which the Lord commanded for his father Osiris Khentamenti, Lord of Abydos, great leader in Thinis.

*jw jr.n=j s3 mr(.j)=f n wsjr hnt.y-jmn.tyw*  
I was as a loving son to Osiris Khentamentiu.

*(4) smnh.n=j wj3=f wr n nhh hn<sup>c</sup> dt*  
I made firm his great bargue of all eternity.

*jr.n=j n=f knjw wts (5) nfr.w hnt.y-jmn.tyw m nwb hd hsb<sup>d</sup> ssndm mrw*  
I made for him a naos "Wetjes Neferu Khentamenti" of gold, silver, lapis lazuli, tamarysk and Lebanese cedar

*ms(=j) (6) ntr.w jm.yw hft*  
and made the images of gods who are within,

*jr(=j) k3r.w=sn m3w.t*  
and made their naoi anew.

*dj.n=j [...] wnw.t hw.t-ntr (7) r jr.t s3.t=sn*  
I caused that a temple-watch [be established] in order to protect them,

*dj(=j) rh=sn ntr n.t r nb hb.w tp rnp.wt*  
and I let them know (everyone) the ritual of each day of the festival of the first day of the year.

*jw hrp(8).n=j k3.t m nsm.t*  
I led the works in the neshemet barque,

*jw ms.n=j snt.y*  
I set up a naos.

*jw shkr.n=j sn(9)b.t nb 3bdw m hsbq hn mfk3.t d3m 3tt nbt m hkr.w (10) nw hc.w ntr*  
I decorated the breast of the Lord of Abydos with lapis lazuli and turquoise, electrum and every precious stone as embellishment of the body of the god.

*db3.n=j ntr m hc.w=f m j3.t(=j) n.t hr.y sst3 (11) s3w.ty n.t sm3*  
I adorned the god in his regalia in (my) office of the lord of the books of the land and guardian of high priests.

*jnk wcb- m shkr ntr sm twr db3.w*  
I was with a clean hand who adorn the god, a sem priest with clean fingers.

*jw (12) jr.n=j pr.t wp-w3.wt wd3=f r nd jt(=f)*  
I organised the going out of Wepwawet, when he fared to assist his father,

*hsf.n=j nhs.yw hr nsm(13).t*  
I conquered Nubians on the Neshemet barge,

*shr.n=j hf.tyw wsjr*  
I crushed the enemies of Osiris.

*jw jr.n=j pr.t 3.t*  
I organised a great coming out,

*sms=j ntr (14) jw=f*  
I followed god when he went.

*dj.n=j skd dp.t ntr*  
I caused the divine boat to fare,

*dhwty hr m3c skd.wt*  
with Thot at the head of the fleet.



ꜥpr (15).n=j wj3 ... nb 3bdw m snt.y

I equipped the barque ... of the Lord of Abydos with a naos

smn(=j) h3.w=f nfr.w (16) wd3=f r hrp pkr

and affixed his beautiful regalia that he might proceed to the domain of Peqer.

jw hrp.n=j w3.wt ntr r mꜥhꜥ.t=f hn.t pkr

I led the roads of the god to his tomb at the fore of the Peqer.

(17) jw nd.n=j wnn-nfr rꜥ pf n ꜥhꜥ 3

I avenged Wennefer on that day of the great fight,

shr.n=j hft.yw=f nb(.w) (18) hr ts.w n ndy.t

I crushed all his enemies on the sandbanks of the Nedyt.

dj.n=j wd3=f r hnw wr.t w(19)ts.n=s nfr.w=f

I caused that he entered the great barque which carried his beauty,

s3w=j jb smj.t j3bt.t km3=j hꜥꜥ.wt m smj.t (20) jmn.tt

making glad the hearts of the Eastern desert, making jubilation in the western desert,

m33=s nfr.w nšm.t sm3.n=s t3 r 3bdw

when they saw the beauty of the Neshemet barque landing at Abydos

jnn(21)=s wsjr hnt.y-jmn.tyw nb 3bdw n ꜥhꜥ=f

bringing Osiris Khentiamentiu, Lord of Abydos, to his palace.

šm.n=j ntr r pr=f

I followed the god to his house.

jr(.w) ꜥbw=f (22) swsh(.w) st=f

He was cleansed, his place was widened.

whꜥ=j ts.t m hn.w [...] (23)=f m šnw.t=f

I loosened the knot in ... . [He came to rest] among his followers, his retinue.

### 23. Inhuretnakht (BM EA 575)

Dating: Senwosret III

Origin: Abydos

Bibliography: BUDGE 1912, 18; FRANKE 1984, Dossier no. 151; LICHTHEIM 1988, 121–122; SIMPSON 1976, pl. 62; SPIEGEL, 1973, 120–121;

#### Text:

(1) *rnp.t-sp 7 hr hm n hr.w ntr-hpr.w*

Year 7 under the Majesty of Horus Netjer-kheperu,

(2) *nb.ty ntr ms.wt nswt-bjty h<sup>c</sup>-k3.w-r<sup>c</sup> s3-r<sup>c</sup> s-n-wsr.t dj(.w) <sup>c</sup>nh dt*

Two Ladies Netjer-mesut, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Khakaure, son of Re Senwosret III, given life for even and ever.

(3) *b3k=f m3<sup>c</sup> n s.t-jb=f jrr hss.t=f nb.t m hr.t-hrw n.t r<sup>c</sup> nb*

His true and trusted servant, who does what he praises in the course of every day,

(4) *jm.y-r3 pr hsb jt-mh.y jnj-hrt-nht m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw dd=f*

overseer of the counting-house of Lower Egyptian barley Inhuretnakht, justified, says:

*jr.n=j grt m<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.t tn (5) r rd n ntr <sup>c</sup>3 nb <sup>c</sup>nh hnt.y 3bdw n mr.t sšp(=j) <sup>c</sup>3b.t (6) sntr htp ntr hr wdh n nb ntr.w*

I built this tomb at the Terrace of the great god, lord of life, foremost of Abydos, so that I might receive offerings, incense and god's offerings on the altar of the lord of gods,

*dd.t(w) n=j jw (7) m htp jn wr.w n.w 3bdw*

and so that it might be said to me: "Come in peace" by the great ones of Abydos,

*dj.t(w) n=j <sup>c</sup>.wy m nšm.t (8) m hb.w hr.t-ntr*

and so that hands may be given to me in the barque at every festival of the necropolis,

*sšp(=j) htp.t w<sup>c</sup>b.t{j} pr.t m-b3h (9) ntr <sup>c</sup>3*

and so that I might receive the pure offerings coming forth (i.e. *presented*) before the Great God,

*m-ht htp k3=f jm m w3.wt=f nfr.t w<sup>c</sup>b.t jm.yt t3-dsr sdm[=j (10) hnw*

after his *ka* had satisfied himself therewith on all his beautiful and pure roads that are in the Scared Land, and so that I might hear jubilation

*m r3 n [...] grh nfr h3kr*

from the mouth of the [...] district on the beautiful night of the Haker-festival.

*jm.y-r3 pr hsb jt-mh.y jnj-hrt-nht m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*

Overseer of the counting-house of Lower Egyptian barley Inhuretnakht, justified.

**24. Khusobek** (Manchester 3306)

Dating: Senwosret III

Origin: Abydos, Cemetery E

Bibliography: BAINES 1987, 45 – 61, pl. 1; NEWBERRY 1901, 32 – 33, pl. 4 – 5; PEET 1976, *passim*; SETHE 1924, 82 – 83; SIMPSON 1974, pl. 31, ANOC 69.1; VANDERSLEYEN 1995, 90 – 91.

**Text:**

(1) *h̄tp dj nswt (dj) wsjr nb [3bdw prt-hrw t h̄nkt]* (2) *k3.w 3pd.w šs mn̄h.t sn̄tr mr̄h.t h̄.t nb.t nfr.t*

An offering which the king gives so that Osiris, lord of [Abydos] may give an invocation offering of bread and beer,] bulls and birds, alabaster and linen, incense and oil and every good and pure thing

(3) *n k3 n jr.y p̄t h̄3t.y-̄ dd nfr wh̄m mrr.t* (4) *m hr̄.t-hrw n.t r̄ nb*

to the ka of the hereditary noble and local prince who says what is good and repeats what is beloved in the course of every day,

*3tw ̄3 n njw.t sbk-hw rn=f nfr d̄33 ms n jt3*

the chief officer of the city Khusebek, whose good name is Djaa, born of Ita.

(5) *jr.y p̄t h̄3t.y-̄ mn̄ tb.t hr̄ jw.w mdd w3.t n.t s3̄ sw*

Hereditary noble and local prince, stable of foot and reliable of journeys, loyal to the one who advanced him,

(6) *rdj.n nb t3.wy f3w=f sh̄nt.n mrw.t=f st=f*

whose renown the Lord of the Two Lands gave, whose place the love of him advanced,

*3tw ̄3 n njwt d̄33* (7) *dd=f*

the great officer of the city Djaa says:

*jr.n=j n=j m̄h̄.t tw s3̄h=s sjkr s.t=s hr̄ rd* (8) *n̄tr ̄3 h̄nt.y ̄nh̄ nb 3bdw*

I have made for myself this cenotaph, it being beautified its place being made excellent on the Terrace of the Great God, foremost of life, lord of Abydos,

*hr̄ w̄r̄.t nb.t h̄tp.t hr̄ w̄r̄.t nb.t ̄nh̄*

in the district of the lady of offerings, in the district of the lady of life,

*h̄nm(=j) sn̄tr* (9) *prj h̄nt*

so that I might smell the incense that comes forth

*h[tm].w(=j) m̄ stj-n̄tr*

and so that I might be [provided] with god's fragrance.

*3tw ̄3 n njw.t [d̄33]* (10) *dd*

The chief officer of the city Djaa says:

*msj(=j) [m rnp.t] 27 hr hm n nswt bjty nwb-k3.w-r<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*

I was born [in year] 27 under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nubkaure, justified.

(11) *h<sup>c</sup> hm n nswt bjty h<sup>c</sup>-k3.w-r<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup> hrw m nswt bjty hr s.t hr.w n.t<sup>c</sup> nh.w*

Then the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Khakaure, justified, ascended as king of Upper and Lower Egypt on the throne of Horus of the living.

(12) *rdj.t hm=f jr=j k3.t m<sup>c</sup> h3 m-s3=f r-gs hm=f m s 7 n (19) hnw*

Then the His Majesty caused me (lit. the causing by his majesty that I) to do the work of fighting behind him and at the side of His Majesty together with 7 men of the residence.

*h<sup>c</sup>.n spd.n=j r-gs=f*

And then I was efficient at his side.

*rdj.t hm=f jr=j r šmsw n hk3 (13) rdj(.w) n=j s 60*

Then His Majesty caused me (lit. the causing by his majesty that I) to be appointed the follower of the ruler, and I was given 60 men.

*wđ3 hm=f [m hnt.]yt r šhr (14) jwn.tyw [...]*

Then His Majesty sailed [southward] in order to overthrow the tribesmen of [Nubia].

*h<sup>c</sup>.n sh.n=j nhs.y [m knf] r-gs njw.t=j*

And then I struck the Nubian at the side of (the troops of) my city.

(15) *h<sup>c</sup>.n hd.kwj m šmsw m 6 n hnw*

Then I sailed north in the following, with 6 (men) of the Residence.

*h<sup>c</sup>.n rdj.n=f (wj) r šhd šmsw.w*

Then he appointed me as supervisor of the courtiers.

*rdj(.w) n=j s 100 m f[k3]*

I was given 100 men in reward.

(16) *wđ3 hm=f m hd r šhr mn.tyw sšt*

His Majesty proceeded northward to smite the Asiatics of Asia.

*spr hm=f r h3s.t skmm*

His majesty reached the land called *Sekemem*.

(17) *rdj.t hm=f tp nfr m wđ3 r hnw n<sup>c</sup>. w. s.*

His Majesty made a good start in proceeding from the Residence in LPH.

*h<sup>c</sup>.n skmm hr=s hn<sup>c</sup> rtnw hs.t (18) jw=j hr jr.t ph(.j) n [mš<sup>c</sup>]*

And then Sekemem fell, together with wretched Retjenu, while I was acting as a rear-guard of the army.

*[h<sup>c</sup>.n] nhb<sup>c</sup> nh.w n mš<sup>c</sup> r h3 hn<sup>c</sup> 3m.w*

Then the soldiers of the army engaged in combat with the Asiatics.

ḥ<sup>c</sup>.n (19) sh.n=j ḥ<sup>3</sup>m rdj(=j) ḥ<sup>c</sup>.w jt.w r=f jn ḥ<sup>n</sup> 2 n mš<sup>c</sup> nn tšt(=j) ḥ<sup>r</sup> ḥ<sup>3</sup> ḥ<sup>r</sup>=j ḥ<sup>s</sup>j nn rdj=j  
s<sup>3</sup>=j n ḥ<sup>3</sup>m

Then I struck the Asiatic; I had (his) weapons taken from him by two soldiers without me stopping fighting and confronting (the enemy), without me turning my back to the Asiatic.

ḥ<sup>n</sup> s-n-wsrt (20) dd.n=j m mš<sup>c</sup>.t

As Senwosret lives, I have spoken the truth.

ḥ<sup>c</sup>.n rdj.n=f n=j stš m ḏ<sup>c</sup>m r ḥ<sup>c</sup>.wy=j mtpn.t ḥ<sup>n</sup> [m<sup>d</sup>s] b<sup>3</sup>k.w m ḏ<sup>c</sup>m [...]

Then he gave me a staff of electrum for my hands and a sheath together with a dagger worked in electrum and a [handle].

## 25. Nebipusenwosret (BM EA 101)

Dating: Senwosret III, Amenemhet III

Origin: Abydos

Bibliography: BLACKMAN, 1935, 1-9; BUDGE 1912, 1-2; CLÈRE 1967, 261; FRANKE 1984, Dossier no. 297; GARDINER 1957, 168–169; GOEDICKE 1963, 188–190; LICHTHEIM 1988, 122–124; PORTER & MOSS 1937, 96; SETHE 1924, 89.

### Text:

(1) *ntr nfr ḥ<sup>c</sup>-k3.w-r<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw* (2) *mr.y wsjr wn-nfr nb 3bdw*

The good god Khakaure, justified beloved of Osiris Wennefer, lord of Abydos,

(3) *mr.y wp-w3.wt nb t3 dsr*

beloved of Wepwawet, lord of the sacred land.

(4) *wn ḥr n jrj-nfr-ḥ<sup>c</sup>t šms.w pr-<sup>c</sup>3 nb-pw-sn-wsrt*

May the sight of the keeper of the royal diadem, the attendant of the palace Nebipusenwosret be open

*n m3(5)3=f s.t wsjr m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw=f m-b3ḥ psd.t ntr.w*

so that he may see the place of Osiris, and so that he may be justified in front of the Divine Ennead.

*ḥtp=f (6) m ḥ=f 3w-jb=f d.t*

May he rest in his palace, may his heart be happy for ever.

*ḥtp.kwj ḥr=s jn smjt*

“I am content with it,” says the desert.

(7) *wn ḥr n jrj-nfr-ḥ<sup>c</sup>t šms.w pr-<sup>c</sup>3 nb-pw-sn-wsrt*

May the sight of the keeper of the royal diadem, the attendant of the palace Nebipusenwosret be open

*m3(8)=f nfr.w wp-w3.wt m pr.t=f nfr.t*

so that he may see the beauty of Wepwawet in his beautiful procession,

*jw=f m ḥtp (9) r ḥ=f n ndm-jb wn.wt ḥw.t ntr m ḥ<sup>c</sup>.wt*

when he goes in peace to his palace of pleasure, while the priests of the temple are in joy.

(10) *dd-mdw jn jr.y-nfr-ḥ<sup>c</sup>t šms.w pr-<sup>c</sup>3 nb-pw-sn(11)wsr.t m3<sup>c</sup> ḥrw*

Speech of the Keeper of the royal diadem, attendant of the royal palace Nebipusenwosret, justified:

*ḥpr=j ḥr rd.wy n nswt sb3 (12) ḥr nb ḥ*

I was raised under the feet of the king (as) a child of Horus, lord of the palace.

*jw jr.n=j smr ḥr.j b(13)3j nswt m ḥb-rnp.wt ḥr ḥm n (14) ḥr.w <sup>c</sup>3-b3.w*

I acted as a friend and bearer of the king’s feet-washing basin at the Festival of the Years under the Majesty of Horus 3<sup>c</sup>-b<sup>c</sup>w.

*jw jr.n=j wr md3 sm<sup>c</sup>.w hm ntr (15) dw3 m hb-sd hr hm n nswt-bjty (16) n.y-m3<sup>c</sup>.t-r<sup>c</sup> nh(.w) dt*  
I was a Great of the ten of Upper Egypt and priest of the Dua of the Sed Festival under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nymaatre, who lives for ever.

*hnt b<sup>c</sup> pn m-<sup>c</sup> (17) hr.y-hb.t jb=j*  
This stela faced northwards in charge of the lector priest Ibi.

*hft jj.t wn.wt (18) hw.t-ntr r m3<sup>c</sup> nswt m hb=f nfr dt*  
when the priesthood of the temple came to see the king in his beautiful festival of eternity.

*jr.y-nfr-h3.t sms.w pr-<sup>c</sup>3 nb-pw-sn-wsr.t*  
The keeper of the diadem, attendant of the royal palace Nebipusenusret

*dd=f n wn.wt hw.t-ntr n.t 3bd.w h.wt=f n.t nswt-bjty*  
says to the priesthood of the temple of Abydos and of its chapels of King of Upper and Lower Egypt:

*hwn nswt (20) m nh=tn*  
The king will thrive in your life.

*mn n=tn n mn.w n ntr.w=tn njw.tyw*  
The monuments of your local gods will be lasting for you.

*wnn=tn hr hs.wt n.t jty=tn*  
You will be in the favour of your sovereign.

*swd=tn (21) j3.wt=tn n hrd.w=tn*  
You will pass down your offices to your children.

*wnn ms.w=tn mn hr ns.wt=tn m j3.wt=tn n.t dt*  
Your children will last on your places and in your offices of eternity.

*nn hkr(22)=tn nn jbj=tn*  
You will not hunger, you will not be thirsty.

*jw wd.n ntr<sup>c</sup>3 wnn=tn tp t3 hr hs.wt=f*  
The Great god has ordered that you live on earth under his favours,

*nn sn<sup>c</sup>.tw=tn m (23) s.t ksn.t hr hs.wt n.t ntr.w=tn njw.tyw*  
You shall not be confined in the difficult place {because of} the favours of your local gods.

*dd=tn*  
May you say:

*htp dj nswt (dj) wsjr nb 3bdw ntr<sup>c</sup>3 wnn-nfr*  
An offering which the king gives (so that) Osiris, lord of Abydos, Great God Wennefer, may (give)

*h3 m (24) t hnkt.k3.w 3pd.w*  
A thousand of loaves of bread, jars of beer, bulls, and fowl,

(m) *pr.t-hrw m hb n k3 n jr.y-nfr-h3.t šms.w pr-3 nb-pw-sn-wsr.tn jr(.w) n jt*  
as an invocation offering for the ka of the keeper of the diadem, attendant of the royal palace  
Nebipusenusret, born of *Jt*.

*t3.w n r3 3h n (25) s<sup>c</sup>h nn nw m wrd.t(w) hr=s*  
The breath of the mouth is beneficent for the dead, it is not something of which one gets  
tired.

*wnn=~~tn~~ m jhm.w-sk m dw3 jm.y h3-b3=s*  
You will be among the stars that know not destruction, as a star in Khabas.



## 26. Shetepibre (Cairo CG 20538)

Dating: Sesostris III, Amenemhet III

Origin: Abydos

Bibliography: FRANKE 1984, Dossier 692; GARDINER 1910, 92–97; LANGE & SCHÄFER 1908, 145–150; LEPROHON (*in press*); MARIETTE 1880a, no. 670; MARIETTE 1880b, pl. 24–26; PIEHL 1888, 4–7.

### Text:

(Vc1) *jr.y-p<sup>c</sup>t h3t.y-<sup>c</sup> htm.ty bjty jm.y-r3 gs-pr jdnw n jm.y-r3 htm shtp-jb-r<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw dd=f*  
The hereditary noble and local prince, seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, the Overseer of the Work-centre and Deputy Chief Treasurer, Shetepibre, justified, he says:

*jr.n=j grt m<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>t (Vc2) tn s3h.y smnh st=s rdj.n=j htm.wt db3.w n hm.w-ntr (Vc3) n.w 3bd.w*

I made this cenotaph fully consecrated and its site made efficient, after I had made payment contracts with the *hem netjer*-priests of Abydos.

*jw jr.n=j s3 mr.y.f m ssm n hwt-nbw, m sst3 n nb 3bdw*

I acted as the “Beloved Son” in the Mansion of Gold in the mystery of the Lord of Abydos.

(Vc4) *jw hrp.n=j k3wt m nšmt ms.n=j jnw=s*

I directed the construction of the *neshmet*-barque, and I created its cordage.

*jr.n=j (Vc5) h3kr n nb=f prwt nb (?) wp-w3wt, jr(w) n=f hby.wt nb.t šd.n hmw-ntr*

I performed the *Haker*-festival for its lord and every procession of Wepwawet, when all the festive offerings had been performed for him, and the *hem netjer*-priests had made the recitations.

(Vc6) *db3.n=j ntr m h<sup>c</sup>w.f m j3t=j nt hr.y-sšt3 jr.yt=j nt sm3*

I clothed the god in his regalia in my office of Master-of-Secrets and my function as Stolist.

(Vc7) *jnk <sup>c</sup>b3 <sup>c</sup>w.y<=fy> m shkr ntr sm w<sup>c</sup>b-db<sup>c</sup>.w*

I am one who presented <his> hands in adorning of the god, a *sem*-priest whose fingers are pure.

*jh wn=j m šms n ntr (Vc8) n mr.wt 3h wsr r rd n nb 3bdw*

May I (always) be in the retinue of the god for the sake of being an efficient spirit and a powerful one at the terrace of the Lord of Abydos.

*h3.t-<sup>c</sup> m sb3y.t jr.t.n=f hr (Vc9) ms.w=f*

Here begins the Instruction he made for his children.

*dd=j wr.t dj=j sdm=tn*

Let me say something important, and let me make you hear.

*dj=j rh=tn shr n nhh šsr (Vc10) <sup>c</sup>nh m3<sup>c</sup>w sbj.t <sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>w m htp*

Let me get you to know advice for *neheh*-eternity, a way of living justly and of spending a lifetime in peace.

*dw3.w nsw n-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup> <sup>c</sup>nh(.w) dt m hnw (Vc11) n ht=tn snsn.w hm=f m ibw=tn*  
Adore King Nimaatre, may he live forever, within your innermost beings (lit. “bellies”), and fraternize with His Majesty in your minds.

*sj3 pw jm.y h<sup>c</sup>t.yw jw jr.ty=f(y) d<sup>c</sup>r=sn (Vc12) ht nbt*  
He is Sia who is in the hearts; his eyes search out every innermost self.

*r<sup>c</sup> pw m33.w m st.wt=f shd.w sw t3.wy r jtn*  
He is Re by whose rays one sees, and he is one who brings more light to the Two Lands than the sun disk.

*sw3d.w(y) (Vc13) sw r h<sup>c</sup>py <sup>c</sup>3 mh.n=f t3.wy m nht <sup>c</sup>nh*  
How much more refreshing he is than a high inundation; with might and life has he filled the Two Lands.

*kbb fnd.w sw3=f (Vc14) r nšn htp=f r tpr t3w*  
Nostrils are cool when he starts to rage, but he can (also) be merciful, so as to allow the breathing of air (again).

*dd=f k3w n nt.yw m šms=f sdf3=f mdd (Vc15) mtn=f*  
To those in his following does he give nourishment, as he feeds the one who adheres to his path.

*k3 pw nsw h3w pw r3=f shpr=f pw wnn.ty=fy*  
The king is a life force and his utterance is abundance; whoever will be a somebody is one whom he created.

*hnmw pw n (Vc16) h<sup>c</sup>.w nb.(w) wt.tw shpr rhy.t*  
He is Khnum for all bodies, the begetter who created mankind.

*b3st.t pw hwj t3.wy iw dw3 (Vc17) sw r nhw <sup>c</sup>=f,*  
He is Bastet, who protects the Two Lands. The one who praises him will be sheltered by his arm.

*shmt pw r thj wdt=f jw sf3=f hr šm3.w*  
He is Sakhmet against those who disobey what he has ordered, and the one with whom he disagrees will be burdened with distress.

*(Vc18) <sup>c</sup>h3w hr rn=f twr hr <sup>c</sup>nh=f*  
So fight on behalf of his name and respect his oath.

*šw=tn m sp n bgsw jw mr n nsw r (Vc19) jm3h.y*  
You should be free of (any) occasion of negligence; one beloved of the king will be a well-provided spirit.

*nn js n sbj hr hm=f jw h<sup>c</sup>t=f m km3 n mw*  
There is no tomb for the one who rebels against His Majesty; his corpse shall be thrown into the water.

## 27. Ankhsasehetepibre (Liège, Musée Curtius)

Dating: MK

Origin: Abydos

Bibliography: LICHTHEIM 1988, 103–104; PORTER & MOSS 1937, 101; VAN DER WALLE 1935, 563–574.

### Relevant part of text:

(1) *jm3h.w nḥw dd=f*

The praised one, Ankhu, says:

*jnk knh kn r=f šd.w* (2) *p.t*

I am one who beats the one who is braver than him, ?? of the sky.

*ḥtp(=j) ḥms(=j) m ḥnt pr=j tp n jdḥ.w m dr.t(=j)*

I rest and sit in front of my house, a papyrus ? being in my hand.

(3) *jr.n(=j) ḥꜥ pn ḥft jw.t ḥr šms mn.w wsjr nb 3bdw nb t3 dsr*

I made this stela when I came to revere the monument of Osiris, lord of Abydos, Lord of the sacred land.

## 28. Sankhenptah (Cairo CG 20153)

Dating: 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (?)

Origin: Abydos, Kom es-Sultan

Bibliography: LANGE & SCHÄFER 1908, 180–181; MARIETTE 1880a, no. 757; LIEBLEIN 1871, no 1464.

### Text:

(1) *ḥtp dj nswt* (2) *wsjr ḥnt.y-jmnt.yw ntr 3 nb 3bdw dj=f pr.t-ḥrw* (3) *(n) t ḥnk.t k3.w 3pd.w šs mnḥ.t sntr mrḥ.t n k3 n sḥnḥ-n-ptḥ jr(.w) n* (4) *st-sn dd=f*

An offering which the king gives (to?) Osiris Khentamenti, great god, lord of Abydos, who gives an invocation offering of bread and beer, bulls and fowl, alabaster and cloth, incense and *merehet*-oil to the *ka* of Sankhenptah, born of Setsen, who says:

*jr.n=j n=j mḥꜥ.t tw s3ḥ.ty* (5) *smnh s.t=s r rd.t n ntr 3 ḥnḥ ḥnt.y 3bdw ḥr rd nb.t ḥtp.t ḥr rd nb.t* (6) *df3.w sn=j sntr pr m-ḥnt ḥtm.w m ntr jr.t*

I made this tomb being transformed and its place made excellent at the terrace of the great god, the living one, foremost of Abydos, (and) at the feet of the Lady of Offerings and at the feet of the Lady of Food, so that I might smell the incense coming in front of the *ḥtmw* as ...

(7) *j sr.w jm.yw 3bdw dw3.t(y=sn) ḥw.t-ntr mj-kd=s mrr=tn wp-w3.wt* (8) *ntr=tn ? mr.wt dd=tn ḥtp dj nswt (n) ḥ3 m t ḥnk.t k3.w 3pd.w n k3 n sḥnḥ-n-ptḥ jr(.w) n st-sn*

O officials who are in Abydos, who shall praise the entire temple, as you love Wepwawet, your (beloved?) god, may you say: An offering which the king gives (of) a thousand of bread and beer, bulls and fowl to the *ka* of Sankhenptah, born of Setsen.

**29. Tany (Cairo CG 20564)**

Dating: 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Origin: Abydos, northern necropolis

Bibliography: LANGE & SCHÄFER 1908 II, 199–200; MARIETTE 1880, 170–172; MASPERO 1902, 53.

**Text:**

1. *ḥtp dj nswt dj wsjr ḥnt.y jmn.t ntr ʿ3 nb 3bdw dj jnpw ḥnt.y sh ntr jm.y-w.t nb t3 dsr.t*

An offering that the king gives so that Osiris, lord of the West, Great God, lord of Abydos, may give and so that Anubis, who is at the fore of the divine booth, one who is in the embalming place, lord of the sacred land, may give

2. *ḥ3 m t ḥ3 m ḥnk.t ḥ3 m k3.w 3pd.w ḥ3 m sntr sty-ntr pr ḥr (3.) ḥ3f.t wr.t n.t ḥr.y-ʿḥ3*

a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, a thousand of bulls, a thousand of birds, a thousand of incense, the fruit of god coming from the great desert of Kheri-aha,

*n k3 n jm3ḥ(.t) ḥr ntr ʿ3 nb 3bdw rḥ(.t) nsw(.t) m3ʿ(.t) t3[ny*

to the ka of the praised one in front the great god, lord of Abydos, true king's acquaintance Tany.

4. *j.wʿb.w nb ḥm.w-ntr nb ʿk r ḥw.t-ntr n.t wsjr dd=tn (5) m r3=tn*

All wab-priests and all priests who enter the temple of Osiris, say with your mouths:

*dj nsw.t ḥtp pr.t-ḥrw (n) k3 3pd.w n=s rʿ nb m ḥb nb m wp.t rnp.t nb ḏḥwt.t nb (?)*

May the king give offering, an invocation offering of bulls and birds to her every day of every festival, of every opening of the year festival, of every festival of Djehuti,

*n k3 n (6) jm3ḥ(.t) ḥr ntr ʿ3 nb 3bdw rḥ(.t) nswt m3ʿ(.t) t3n.y dd=s*

to the ka of the praised one in front of the great god, lord of Abydos, true acquaintance of the king Tany, who says:

*jnk nb.t bj.t 7. ḥnt.t rḥy.t jm3ḥ(.t) ḥs(.jt) n nb(=s)*

I was the lady of character, one at the fore of the rekhyt, honoured one, praised by her lord,

*nfr.t pr n r3(=s) špss n nswt (8) ḥr m3ʿ=s*

one whose beautiful speech was delightful for the king because of its justice.

*fk3.n=f(wj) m wdḥ n rʿ nb*

He rewarded me at the table every day,

*ʿk.n=j m ḥs.w (9) pr.n=j(m) mr.w*

I entered in praise and left beloved,

*dj.t(w) n(=s) r3=s jkr sdd ḥ.t jr.t.n=s*

as one to whom one gives because of her excellent speech recounting the things that she had done.

*jm3h(.t) (10) hr hm.t nsw.t wr.t hnm-hd.t rh(.t) nswt m3c(.t) t3n.y nb(.t) jm3h m3c-hrw hr ntr c3  
nb jmnt.t (11) rh(.t) nswt t3n.y*

One revered before the great royal wife, guardian of the White Crown, true acquaintance of the king Tany, Lady of praise, justified before the great god, lord of the west, the king's acquaintance Tany.

*šm=s r 3bdw hrw pf nn mdt.tw*

May she go to Abydos on that day on which one does not speak.

*ck=st 12. r sh-ntr*

May she enter the divine shrine,

*m3n=st št3*

may she see secret things,

*ck=s r nšm.t*

may she enter the divine barque,

*d3.n=s jtr.w (13) m wj3-ntr*

may she cross the river in the divine barque.

*pr rh(.t)-nswt t3n.y m 3h.t n r<sup>c</sup> nh jm hn(.w) r jr.ty=s*

May the acquaintance of the king Tany go forth to he field of Re to live therein. Flowers are for her eyes,

*14. fnd=s msdr.wy=s (j)n nw.t hn(.w) r h<sup>c</sup>.w=s hbs dj.tw (n)=s jn t3t rdj.t(w)*

her nose and her ears from Nut, flowers for her body are clothes to be given to her by Tait.

*15. n=s hbs.w=s (j)n hr.w wr hrw pf jt.n=f wrr.t nb fnd.t nt*

May clothes be also given to her by Horus the great on that day when he seizes the crown,

*16. jr.ty hr gmh rh(.t) nswt m3c(.t) t3n.y nb.t jm3h.t*

(his) eyes seeing the true acquaintance of the king, Tany, lady of praise.

**30. Senwosret** (Louvre C 174)

Dating: mid-12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Origin: Abydos

Bibliography: GAYET 1886, pl. XXX; PIEHL 1888, 8; SIMPSON 1976, ANOC 8, pl. 17.

**Text :**

(1) *h̄tp-dj nswt (dj) wsjr nb jm̄nt.t n̄tr ʿ3 nb 3bdw pr.t-hr.w (n) h̄3 k3.w 3pd.w h̄.t nb.t nfr.t wʿb.t*  
An offering that the king gives so that Osiris, lord of the West, Great God, lord of Abydos, may give an invocation offering (of) a thousand of bulls and birds and all good and pure things

(2) *n jm̄3h̄.w hr jnpw tp.y-dw=f h̄tm.w-bjty smr wʿ.ty jm̄.y-r3 ʿ-hnw.ty s-n-wsr.t m3ʿ hrw* (3) *dd*  
to the revered one in front of Anubis, who is upon his mountain, seal bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, the sole friend of the king, overseer of the residence, Senwosret, justified, who says:

*jj.n(=j) m njw.t(=j) h̄3.n(=j) jr hr.t-n̄tr*  
I came out of my city, I descended to the necropolis,

*jr.n(=j) mrr.t rmt̄ h̄ss.t n̄tr*  
having done what people love and what the god praises.

(5) *jnk s33 m̄dd m̄tn smj nfr n* (6) *h3b sw*  
I was a wise and loyal one, one who reported well to the one who sent him.

*jr.n=j wp.wt* (7) *n nswt fk3.kwj m* (8) *hnw.ty*  
I have accomplished the mission for the king and I was rewarded for it in the residence.

*jm̄3h̄.w kt.t m3ʿ hrw*  
The revered one, *Ketet*, justified,

(9) *jm̄.y-r3 pr.wy h̄d jm̄.y-r3 rs.wy s-n-wsr.t*  
overseer of the double treasury, overseer of the double watch, Senwosret.

## ASWAN

The corpus includes only three texts from Aswan, ranging in date from Senwosret I to Senwosret III and originating from tombs and the sanctuary of Heqaib.

NO.	OWNER	LOCATION	DATING
31.	Sarenput I	Aswan	Senwosret I
32.	Sarenput II	Aswan	Amenemhet II or Senwosret III
33.	Hekaib	Aswan	12 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty

### 31. Sarenput I

Dating: Senwosret I

Origin: The sanctuary of Heqaib at Elephantine, Aswan

Bibliography: GARDINER 1908, 123–140; SETHE 1935, 1–7.

#### Text:

*jr.y-p<sup>c</sup>.t h3t.y-<sup>c</sup> htm.w bjty smr w<sup>c</sup>.ty jm.y-r3 hm.w-ntr n.t st.t nb.t 3b.w*

Hereditary noble and prince, seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, the Sole Friend, overseer of the priests of Satet, Lady of Elephantine,

*jm3h.y hr jnp.w s3-rnpw.t jr(.w) n s3.t-tnj (2) dd*

one honoured in front of Anubis, Sarenput, son of Sattjeni, says:

*j<sup>c</sup>nh.w [tp.y]w t3 sw3.t=sn hr js pn m hd m hsf.t*

“O living ones, who are on earth, who pass along this tomb, fare downstream and approach (nearer),

*m mr=tn ntr.w=tn*

as you love your gods,

*jw=tn dw3-ntr (m) pr.t-hr.w (n.t) t hnk.t k3.w 3pd.w nb.w n k3 n (3) jm3h.w h<sup>c</sup>t.y-<sup>c</sup> s3-rnpw.t dd*

may you indeed perform the praise (of an) invocation offering of bread, beer, all bulls and birds, for the ka of the honoured one, the count Sarenput, who says:

*jnk mh.w-jb n nsw.t m hw.t-ntr*

I was one trusted by the king in the temple (lit. one who fills the heart of the king)

*r3 nhn m pr stt*

the mouth of Nekhen in the temple of Satet

*nhb.y m pr nsr*

nekheby in the per-neser,

*hr.y-tp hm.w-ntr htm.w bjty smr w<sup>c</sup>.ty wpwt.y (4) mš<sup>c</sup> n nswt*  
one who is at the fore of the priests, seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, the sole friend,  
messenger of the king's army,

*jdn.w jw n=f t3-tm.w*  
deputy to whom all people come.

*mn[...] n=f hnmm.t r s.wt shr.t hft.y nsw.t*  
One for whom the Sun people are established on their places, one who overpowers the  
enemies of the king

*ḥk [...] sw [...] w [...] š.t [...]*  
One who enters [...]

(5) *hr.y db3.w m hr.t nb kš m sw*  
The bearer of the signet ring of all things of Kush

*smj n=f jn.w md3 m b3k.w ḥk3-h3s.wt*  
One to whom were reported the gifts of the Medja and the tribute of the rulers of the foreign  
countries,

*sdr(.w) m hn.t hw.t-ntr r<sup>c</sup> n hb ḥ3*  
one who dwells in the temple on the day of the great feast,

*šsp(.w) hnḥ.t m (6) špss dd nswt m ḥh*  
one who receives beer as a noble one whom the king places in the palace

*hr.y ḥknw m dp.t ntr hft hr ntr hr bj3.t nb pd.tyw hr mw btš*  
possessor of praise in the divine boat of in the presence of the god, guardian of every treasure  
of the foreigners who are rebelling (lit. in a floodwave).

*ḥk-jb.w hr-s3 mry.t jm.y-r3 wj3 wr m pr nswt*  
A trusted one, one who is over the landing place, overseer of the great barge in the palace,

(7) *spdd pr.wy ḥd hr.y dmj m t3 st.t*  
one who equips the Two Treasuries, chief of the cities in Nubia,

*n<sup>c</sup> mnjw hr st-hr=f*  
one under whose inspection (ships) fare and land.

*ḥ<sup>c</sup>t.y-<sup>c</sup> jm.y-r3 hm.w-ntr š3-rnp.wt dd*  
Count and overseer of the priests, Sarenput, says:

*jw jr.n=j js m ḥs.t nswt*  
I built a tomb in praise of the king.

*sjkr.n wj (8) hm=f m t3*  
His Majesty made me excellent on earth,

*stn.kwj r ḥk3.w n(j)w sp3.wt*  
I was advanced more than the governors of the nomes.



*jw smn(=j) hp.w n(j)w js.wt*  
Indeed, I have preserved the laws of the ancients,

*dj(.tw) ph=j p.t n wnw.t*  
(and) I was caused to reach the sky in a moment.

*jw dhn(.w) n(=j) hm.wt r k3.t m js=j*  
Artists were assigned to work in my tomb.

*hs(9).n wj hm=f hr=f wr sp 2 ʕš3 sp 2 r=gs knb.t hn.wt t3*  
His majesty praised me for it greatly in front of the council which controls the land,

*ʕpr(.w) m hʕ.w pr-nswt*  
it being equipped with the furniture of the royal palace,

*smnh(.w) m dhb.t nb*  
it being made satisfied with respect to every plea,

*mh(.w) m j3m.t*  
it being filled with ornaments,

*ʕpr m ʕk.w shs m š3.t.n=f (10) nb.t*  
equipped with ratios made according to everything that was ordered for it.

*n rdj(.tw) g3=j r dbh.t m pr hq*  
I was not let to suffer need in the treasury,

*dbh ...*

[...] *hnt=j mj sr nb n hn.w=f*  
[...] I wandered around freely like every official of his residence.

*jnk mnh r-gs nb=f smnh(.w) n jkr=f d[s]=f*  
I was one efficient at the side of his master, one made efficient by his own excellence,

*jnk mtr m-(12)b3h (nswt) šw m grg*  
I was precise in the presence of the king, free of lies,

*dh-rmn hft h3b=f wj hpr=k m snw n snw*  
modest when he sent me. I became a brother to a brother,

*m hmt=nw n hm.wt m t3 pn*  
the third one to the friends in this land.

*jw dj(.w) n=j j3 wr sp sn hs.t r g3 htt*  
I was praised greatly until the throat lacked breath.

*hʕ.kwj m dj.t ph=j p.t*  
I rejoiced over being allowed to reach the sky,

*tkš.n tp=j nw.t*  
my head having reached Nut.

*3h<sup>c</sup>.n=j h.wt sb3.w*  
I scratched the body of the stars.

*jn n[=j] nhm [hd] m dw3*  
The joy of the brightness of the day was brought to me

*hbb[=j] m gn<sup>h</sup>.wt n.t p.t*  
and I danced among the stars of the sky.

*n<sup>j</sup>w.t=j m hb d3m.w=j hr nhm*  
My city was in festival, my soldiers rejoiced.

*s<sup>d</sup>m.t hbb jm*  
... danced ...

(16) *j3.w.w šbn(.w) m hrd.wt j3.w hr hrd.w m h<sup>c</sup>.wt*  
The old mixed with the children; the old ones and the children were in joy.

*ntr.w jm.jw h.t 3b.w sw3h=sn n=j hm=f m nswt*  
The gods to whom belongs Elephantine, may they make (for me) that His Majesty lasts as king,

*ms=sn n=j hm=f m3<sup>c</sup> sp sn*  
may they make (for me) that his Majesty is reborn again,

(17) *whm=f n(=j) h<sup>h</sup> n hb.w-sd*  
that he may repeat (for me) millions of Sed festivals.

*dj=sn n=f nh<sup>h</sup> m nswt*  
May they give him eternity as king,

*hdb=f hr s.wt hr m3<sup>c</sup> sp sn mj mrr=j*  
may he ascend to the thrones of Horus, truly, as I wish!

*jnk (18) b3k=f n s.t-jb=f (x) jr mrr.t nb=f*  
I am his trusted servant, who did what he (his lord) pleased.

*h<sup>c</sup>t.y-<sup>c</sup> jm.y-r3 hm.w ntr s3-rnp.wt dd*  
The count, overseer of the priests, Sarenput, says:

*jj.n=j m njw.t=j (19) h3.n=j m sp3.t=j*  
I went out of my city, I descended from my nome,

*jr.n=j hss.t ntr=j (xiv) mrr.t ntr.w=j nb.w*  
after I had done did what my god praised, what all my gods loved.

(18) *jw jr.n=j jt n hrd*  
I was a father to the child,

*mr.t=j m (19)*  
the love of me

[...] *3.t bnr.t šd.t s.t r w3 [...] t3 pn*  
[...] sweet xx, it was taken from ... this land.

*hr ḥss.w=j nswt m ḥs.t n.t (26) [...]*  
because the king praised me with the praise of [...]

[...]=*j ḥ.wt s r=f*

*jr.n [...] r n jnd*  
[...] for the sad

*n gnf=j spr.w n jm3ḥ.w s3-rnpwt*  
I have not acted refusingly against any petitioner of the equipped one, Sarenput.

(21) [...] *n.t nhḥ [...]*  
for eternity

*dj.n=j t n ḥkr šn n ḥ3.t*  
I gave bread to the hungry, cloth to the naked,

(22) [...] *jr r3 [...] w*

*n d3jr(=j) nds ḥr jš.t=f*  
I did not keep the poor man away from his possessions

[...] *jr f r (23) [...] rmt*

[*hs.y n*] *wr.w hr kd=f*  
One praised by the great ones because of his character,

*ḥ<sup>c</sup>t.y-<sup>c</sup> jm.y-r3 ḥm.w ntr s3-rnp.wt*  
the count, overseer of the priests, Sarenput.

### 32. Sarenput II

Dating: Amenemhet II or Senwosret III

Origin: Aswan

Bibliography: SETHE 1935, 7–9; BUDGE 1887, 26–30.

#### Text:

(1) *jr.y p<sup>c</sup>.t ḥtm.w bjty smr w<sup>c</sup>.ty jm.y-r3 ḥm.w ntr ḥnm.w nb* (2) *kbḥ.w*

Hereditary noble, seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, the sole friend, overseer of priests of Khnum, Lord of cataracts

*s3-rnp.wt dd*

Sarenput, says:

*jj.n(=j) r t3 pn m-ḥt jw3(3).w n jt.w jm.y.w ḥr.t ntr*

I came to this land to the oldest of the fathers who are in the necropolis.

*jr.n(=j) m3<sup>c</sup>.t n ntr(=j)*

having done justice for my god,

*spr.n(=j) r (4) ḥr k3=f*

and having petitioned to his Ka.

*n jr(=j) jw ḥft(=f)*

I did not do evil in his presence.

*n dsj(=j) nb.w (5) dd=f bjn.t*

I did not scandalise anyone, despite his saying evil.

*ḥ<sup>c</sup>.t.y-<sup>c</sup> s3-rnp.wt m3<sup>c</sup> ḥrw jr.n st.t-ḥtp m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw nb.t jm3ḥ*

The governor Sarenput, justified, one well-endowed, born of Setjethetep, justified, one well endowed.

### 33. Hekaib

Dating: 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Origin: Aswan

Bibliography: BOURIANT 1888, 187; DE MORGAN 1894, 151; GARDINER 1908, 130; SETHE 1935, 9.

#### Text:

(1) *jm3h.w hk3-jb*

One praised, Hekaib,

*dd=f*

he says:

*jw jr.n(=j) hrd(=j)*

I spent my childhood.

*jr.n(=j) nds(=j) hntš.n(=j) j<sup>c</sup>.n(=j) jb(=j)*

I spent my youth walking freely, making my heart happy.

*jr.n(=j) 3.t (2) nfr.t hn<sup>c</sup> hm.wt jr.n(=j) st*

I spent good time with women doing it.

*jw pr=j mr(.w) nfr ... j r mjt.j(=j) nb*

My house was beloved, and my ... was better than that of any of my equals.

*jr.n(=j) n(=j) js sš krs.tt(=j) (3) m ht tn hr nfr*

I built for myself an inscribed tomb, my tomb equipment (consisting) of ... beautiful things.

*jr.n(=j) [...] (4) ʿpr mj-ḳd=f [...]*

I made ... fully equipped ...

*[...rmt...] jm3h.w hk3-jb ms n jp.t*

... people .... the honoured Hekaib, born of Ipet.

## BENI HASAN

Three biographical texts of the local nomarchs have been preserved from Beni Hasan, including the longest known Middle Kingdom biography, that of Khnumhotpe II.

No.	OWNER	LOCATION	DATING
34.	Khnumhotpe I	Beni Hasan	Amenemhet I
35.	Khnumhotpe II	Beni Hasan Tomb 3	Amenemhet II
36.	Amenemhet	Beni Hasan Tomb 2	Senwosret I

### 34. Khnumhotpe I (Beni Hasan)

Dating: Amenemhet I

Origin: Beni Hasan

Bibliography: NEWBERRY 1893, 82 – 84, pl. 44 – 46; OMLIN 1962, 28 – 30; SETHE 1935, 11 – 13.

#### Text:

(1) *jr.y p<sup>c</sup>.t h3t.y-<sup>c</sup> htm.w bjty smr w<sup>c</sup>.ty jm3-<sup>c</sup> hr.y-tp <sup>c</sup>3 n m3hd*

The hereditary noble and local prince, seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, the Sole Friend, pleasant of arm, governor of the Oryx nome,

*jm.y js s3.w nhn hr.y-tp nhb*

the courtier, guardian of Nekhen, the governor of Nekheb

*shtp ntr.w psd.t jm.t hr-wr*

one who satisfies the gods of the Ennead who are in the Harwer,

*dd=f hr [...] (2) r drp ntr [...] wr*

who says [...]

*sm jy jm.t sr.w m mrr.t n.t nswt [...] nb*

one who comes and goes among the courtiers on the road of the king [...] all

*jr.y jh.t nswt m3<sup>c</sup> hnm.w-htp nb jm3h*

the true chancellor of the king, Khnumhotpe, lord of praise.

*j <sup>c</sup>nh.w tp.w t3 mrr.w <sup>c</sup>nh ms(3)dd.w m.t*

O the living ones who are on earth, who love life and hate death!

*mrr.w jm3h.y s [...] hr nswt*

who love to be well-equipped [...] in front of the king

*dd.w h3 m t h3 m hnk.t k3.w 3pd.w n h3t.y-<sup>c</sup> hnm-htp*  
may you say: a thousand of bread and a thousand of beer, bulls and birds for the prince  
Khnumhotpe!

*pr(=j) m njw.t(=j) sm(=j) r [sp<sup>c</sup>.t=j]*  
I went out of my city and came to my nome.

*n sp jr.y bjn r=j [...] n s [...] r hnt [...]*  
Never was wrong done to me [...]

*n sn(4)n(=j) n=f hft dd=j jnk nb(=j)*  
I did not neglect for him what I said, I was my (own) lord.

*jw rdj.n=j t n hkr hbs.w n h3.y*  
I gave bread to the hungry, clothes to the naked

*jw jr.n=j h<sup>c</sup>r.t mj nb.t h3.y r<sup>c</sup> nb m3<sup>c</sup>*  
I have made a widow as one who has a husband every day, in truth.

*jw rdj.n wj hm n nb=j <sup>c</sup>.w.s. nswt-bjty (5) sh<sup>c</sup>tp-jb-r<sup>c</sup> s3 r<sup>c</sup> jmn-m-h3.t <sup>c</sup>nh d.t r nh<sup>c</sup> r jw [...]*  
The majesty of my lord LPH, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Sehetepibra, son of Re  
Amenemhat, living for ever and ever, made me [...]

*h3.kwj hn3 hm=f r sm<sup>c</sup> m <sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.w n <sup>c</sup>s 20*  
I sailed south together with his majesty in 20 boats of cedar.

*<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.n=f jw hr sg3 dr.n=f sw m jdb.wy*  
Then His Majesty ascended on a hill, and he drove him off from the two banks (?)

(6) *nh<sup>c</sup>.w d3r(.w) sb stt.yw hr(.w)*  
The Nubians were expelled (lit. forced to leave), the Asians were defeated.

*nt<sup>c</sup>=f t3 <sup>c</sup>m jdb.wy grg.w jr.t jm*  
He nt<sup>c</sup> the land, knowing (?) the two banks, the injustice that was done therein

*rhy.t [...] mn hr <sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.w=sn*  
The commoners standing in their position,

*nsw.yt htp n=s [...] m tp nb=s*  
kingship rested .... on the head of its lord

(7) [...]

*<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.n rdj.n wj hm=f m h3t.y-<sup>c</sup> n mn<sup>c</sup>.t-hwfw*  
Then His Majesty placed me as a governor of Menat-Chufu,

*sh<sup>c</sup>r=j jkr(.w) hr jb hm=f mr.t m [stp-s3?]*  
(because my) counsels were excellent in the heart of His Majesty, beloved in [...]

*<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.n grg.n=j njw.t=j smnh.n=j sp<sup>c</sup>.t=j*  
I founded my city and established my nome.

*ḥḥ.n rdj.n ḥm=f jr.t n ḏd r3 js n ḥsj*  
His Majesty caused that utterances of praise be made,

*ḥ3(8)=...n s [...] wn m n*

*[...] jn.w=s wn m [...].w*  
its ... became ...

*nds.w wn m b3k.w grg [...] n ts*  
free men became servants [...]



### 35. Khnumhotpe II

Dating: Amenemhet II

Origin: Beni Hasan Tomb 3

Bibliography: BREASTED 1906, 279–289; LICHTHEIM 1992, 39, Nr. 37; LLOYD 1992, 21–36; OMLIN 1962, 83–85; SETHE 1935, 25–35.

#### Text:

(1) *jr.y p<sup>c</sup>.t h3t.y-<sup>c</sup> jr.y-jh.wt nswt mrr.w ntr=f jm.y-r3* (2) *h3s.wt j3bt.wt*

The hereditary noble and local prince, one who is over the affairs of the king, one beloved of his god; overseer of the eastern foreign countries,

*s3 nhr.j hnm.w-htp m3<sup>c</sup> hrw* (3) *jr(.w) n s3.t h3t.y-<sup>c</sup> nb.t pr b3k.t m3<sup>c</sup>(.t)-hrw*

Nehri's son Khnumhotpe, justified, born of the daughter of the local prince, the lady Baket, justified.

(4) *jr.n=f m mn.w=f sp=f tp.j m smn(5)h nj.wt=f*

He did (it) as a monument of his, his first time of establishing his city;

*srwd=f rn=f n nhh(6) smnh=f sw n d.t m js=f* (7) *n hr.t=ntr*

(thus) making his name firm for all eternity, establishing it for ever in his tomb of the necropolis,

*srwd=f rn n knb.t* (8) *=f smnh hft j3w.t=sn*

having made firm the name of his council established according to their offices,

(9) *mnh.w jm.yw* (10) *n.w pr=f*

and that of the efficient ones from among those belonging to his house,

*tn.n=f hnt mr(11).t=f*

whom he advanced over his underlings,

*j3w.t nb.t hrp(12).n=f hm.wt nb.t mj hpr(13)=s*

and every office that he led and every group of artists.

*r3=f dd=f*

his mouth says:

*rw rdj.n wj* (14) *hm n hr hkn-m-m3<sup>c</sup>.t nb.ty hkn-m-m(15)3<sup>c</sup>.t hr nb.w m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw nswt-bjty nb-k3.w=r<sup>c</sup> s3-r3* (16) *jmn-m-h3.t dj.w n<sup>c</sup>h dd w3s mj r<sup>c</sup> d.t r* (17) *jr.y p<sup>c</sup>.t jm.y-r3 h3s.wt j3bt.wt* (18) *hr ..... r jw<sup>c</sup>.t* (19) *jt=j mw.t=j m mn<sup>c</sup>.t h<sup>c</sup>wfw*

The Majesty of Horus Heken-em-maat, Two ladies Heken-em-maa.t Golden Horus Maa-kheru, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebkaure, Son of Re Amenemhat, given life, stability and power like Re for ever, appointed me as a noble and overseer of the eastern countries ..... to the inheritance of my father and mother in Menat Khufu.

*smn.n=f* (21) *n=j wd sm<sup>c</sup>*

He established for me a southern boundary stela

*smn(22)h.n=f mh.y mj p.t*

and made the northern one stable like the sky.

*ps(23)š.n=f jtr.w ʕ hr j3.t(24)=f mj jr.yt n j.t=j (25) mw.t=j m tp.t r3 pr.t m r3 n hm n (27)  
hr.w whm ms.wt nb.tj whm ms.wt (28) hr.w nb.w ms.wt nswt-bjty(27) shtp-jb-rʕ s3 rʕ (29) jmn-  
m-h3.t dj(.w) ʕnh dd w3s mj rʕ d.t (30) [hft] dj.t=f sw r jr.y-pʕ.t h3t.y-ʕ jm.y-r3 h3s.wt (31)  
j3bt.wt m mnʕ.t hwfw*

He divided the Nile in the middle as that which was done for my father and mother as an utterance that came out of the mouth of the Majesty of Horus Wehem-mesut, Two Ladies Wehem-mesut, Golden Horus (Wehem)-mesut, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Shetepibre, son of Rer Amenemhat, given life, stability and power like Re forever, as he placed him as a noble and prince and overseer of the eastern foreign countries in Menat-Khufu.

*(32) smn.n=f wʕd šmʕ smnh(.w) (33) mh.y mj p.t*

He established a southern boundary stela while the northern one was made stable like the sky.

*psš.n=f jtr.w ʕ (34) hr j3.t=f gs=f j3b (35) n dw.t-hr r-mn m h3s.t j3b.tt*

He divided the Nile in the middle, its eastern side of the Mount of Horus reaches to the eastern foreign country.

*m jj.t hm=f*

When His Majesty came

*dr=f js(37)f.t*

he drove off evil,

*hʕ.w m tm.w (38) ds=f*

having ascended as Atum himself.

*smnh=f gm(39).t.n=f ws.t*

He made stable that which he had found destroyed:

*jt.t njw.t (40) m snw.t=s dj=f rh njw.t (41) t3š=s r njw.t smn(42)h wd.w=sn (43) mj p.t*

(As for) what one city took from its neighbouring (city), he let one city know its border from (another) city; their boundary stelae are made stable like the sky.

*rh mw=sn r (44) nt.t m sš sjp r (45) nt.t m jsw.t n ʕ3.t n (46) mrr=f m3ʕ.t*

and (he made) their water known according to that which is in writing, assigned according to that which is old, through the greatness of his true love.

*ʕhʕ.n rdj.n=f s(47) r jr.y-pʕ.t h3t.y-ʕ j3m-ʕ hr.y-tp ʕ3 n ghs*

Then he appointed him to (the rank of) the hereditary noble and local prince, one charming of arm, great governor of the Gazelle nome.

*(48) smn.n=f wd.w (49) šmʕ.w m t3š=f r (50) wn.t mh.y=f r jnpw.t*

He established boundary stelae, in the south along its border to the Hare nome, its north (reaching) to the Jackal nome.

*psš(51).n=f jtr.w ʕ hr j3.t(52)=f mw=f 3h.w=f jsr=f (53) s3=f r-mn m h3s.wt jmnt.wt*  
He divided the Nile in the middle, its water, its fields, its tamarisks and its xxx reaching to the western foreign lands.

*(54) rdj.n=f s3=f wr=f nht (55) šps.y m3ʕ hrw nb jm3h r hk3 jw(56)ʕ.t=f m mnʕ.t hwfj (57) m h3.t ʕ3.t (58) n.t jr.y-jh.t nswt m wd.t pr.t r3 n bhm n hr ʕnh mswt (60) nb.ty ʕnh mswt hr nbw ʕnh ms.wt nswt-bjty (61) hpr-k3-rʕ s3 rʕ sn-wsr.t dj(.w) ʕnh (62) dd w3s mj rʕ d.t*  
He placed his uncle Nakht, noble, justified, lord of equipment, to (the rank of) a governor of his inheritance in Menat Khufu, with great praise of the [chamberlain] following the order which issued from the mouth of the Majesty of Horus Ankhmesut, the Two Ladies Ankhmesut Golden Horus Ankhmesut, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkare, son of Re Senusret, given life, stability and power like Re for ever.

*sʕh=j tp (63) n msw.t=j*  
My first dignity of my birth:

*wd(64)3 mw.t=j r jr.t-pʕ.t (65) h3t.t=ʕ m s3.t hk3 šps.y (66) n ghs r hw.t shtp-jb-rʕ (67) dj.w ʕnh dd w3s mj rʕ d.t r hm.t (68) n jr.y-pʕ.t h3t.y-ʕ hk3 njw.t m3.wt m3.t jm.y jb n nswt (70) nn.t rʕ sʕh=f n jm.y-r3 njw.t (71) nhrj m3ʕ-hrw nb jm3h*  
My mother reached (the rank of) countess and princess as the daughter of the noble governor of the Gazelle nome, to the temple of Sehetepibre, given life, stability and power like Re for ever (and that of) the wife of the hereditary noble and local prince, governor of the new cities, (beloved?) of the king, child of the Red Crown (in?) his dignity of the overseer of the city Nehri, justified and praised.

*jn (72) wj nswt bjty nb-k3.w-rʕ dj ʕnh dd w3s (73) mj rʕ d.t m s3 h3t.y-ʕ r jwʕ.t (74) hk3.t jt=j mw.t=j n ʕ3(75).t n mrr=f m3ʕ.t*  
The king of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebkaure, given life, stability and power like Re for ever, brought me as son of the local prince to the inheritance of the governorate of my father and mother, because he loves justice.

*tm (76) pw ds=f nb-k3.w-rʕ dj.w ʕnh (77) dd w3s 3w-jb=f mj rʕ d.t*  
He is Atum himself, Nebkaure, given life, stability and power, joyful like Re forever.

*dj.n=f w(78)j r h3t.y-ʕ m rnpt 19 m (79) mnʕ.t-hwfw*  
In year 19 he appointed as a governor in Menat Khufu.

*ʕhʕ.n smn(80)h.n=j s[t] ʕhʕ=s shpr.w (81) m h.t nb.t*  
The I made it prosper, its possession consisting of everything,

*srwd(82).n=j rn n jt=j smnh.n=j hw.t (83) k3.w jr.y*  
I made stable the name of my father, establishing his temples.

*šms.n=j tw.t(84)=j r hw.t-ntr sm3ʕ.n=j n=sn (85) p3.t=sn t hnk.t kbh.w ... (86) wʕb.t sjp n hm-k3*  
I brought my statues to the temple, having arranged for them their offerings (of) bread, beer, jars for liquid offerings, ... piece of meat, were assigned for the funerary priest

*smnh(87).n=j sw m [3]h.wt mr(88).wt wd.n(89)=j pr.t-hrw (n) t hnk.t k3.w 3pd.° m hb nb (90) n hr.t ntr m tp.y rnp.t wp.t rnp.t rnp.t °3 (91) rnp.t wrt °rk rnp.t hb (92) wr.t m rkh °3 (93) m rkh wr m 4 hr.w (94) rnp.t m šd.t-°s (95) m 3bd 121/2 3bd 12 hb (96) nb n tp t3 nfr tp dw*  
and having equipped him with fields and field workers, having assigned invocation offerings of bread, beer, bulls and birds on (the day of) every festival of the necropolis - on the festival of the first day of the year, great festivals and on the festival of the end of the year, on the great festival, on the great inflammation festival, on the fourth day of the year festival, on the ..., on the festival of the twelfth month, on the half month festival of the twelfth month, on every festival on the good earth and on the mountain.

*jr gr.t (97) hm k3 rmt nb.t (98) hnn.t=sn st n wnn=f n (99) wnn s3=f hr ns.t=f*  
And as for any funerary priest of any person who would break this (arrangement), he shall not live, and his son shall not be on his place.

*wr (100) hs.t=j m stp-s3 r smr w°(101).tj nb*  
My praise in the palace was greater than (that of) any sole friend.

*tn.n=f wj h(102)ntw s°h.w=f*  
He advanced me in front of all his dignitaries.

*dj.kwj (103) hr h3.t wn.w (104) hr-h3.t=j*  
I was placed at the head of those who had been in front of me.

*j°b n (105) knb.t n.t °3(106) r djt hs.t hft.w*  
The council of the land united in order to give praise (correspondingly??)

(107) *dhn=j hftw*  
?

(108) *hs.w hpr.wt (109) m-b3h tp.t r3 n.t nswt d(113)s=f*  
The praise which occurred in the presence of the utterance of the king himself.

*n hpr mjt.t n b3(111)kw p3 n (112) nb sn hs.t (113) st*  
The like had not happened to a servant since the time of their lord {praising it?}

*rh.n=f s.t ns=j*  
He knew the place of my (?)

(114) *nh km3=j*  
... I brought forth (?)

*j(115)w=j m jm3h.y (116) n jr.y-jh.t nswt*  
I was one honoured by the one who is over the affairs of the king

*hs.t(w)=j (117) hr sn.wt=f*  
I was praised in front of his housepeople

*j3(118)m.t=j m-b3h (119) smr.w=f*  
I was favourite among his friends,

*jr.y-p<sup>c</sup>.t h3t.y-<sup>c</sup> s3 nhrj hnm.w-htp nb jm3h*

the hereditary noble and local prince, son of Nehri Khnumhotep, lord of equipment.

*k.t hs.t jr.yt n=j*

Another favour that was done for me:

*(122) dj.tw s3=j ssms.w nh.t jr n hsy.t r hk3 jnp.w(124) r jw<sup>c</sup>.t jt=f mw.t(125)=f shpr(.w) m smr w<sup>c</sup>(126).ty dj.w r h3t.y-<sup>c</sup> n.t t3 sm<sup>c</sup>.w*

One placed my eldest son Nakht, born of Hesy, as a commander of the Jackal nome according to the inheritance of his father and mother, becoming a sole friend appointed as governor of Upper Egypt.

*dj.w n=f tn(128).w s<sup>c</sup>h.w jn hm n (129) hr sk3 t3.wy nb.ty sh<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>.t(130) hr nbw htp-ntr.w nswt bjty h<sup>c</sup>-hpr-r<sup>c</sup> s3 r<sup>c</sup> (131) sn-wsr.t dj.w n<sup>c</sup>h dd w3s mj r<sup>c</sup> d.t*

Promotion to the (rank of a) dignity was given to him by the Majesty of Horus Seka-tawy, Two Ladies Kha-maat, Golden Horus Hetep-netjeru, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Khakheperre, son of Re Senwosret, given life, stability and power like Re for ever.

*jr(132)=f mn.w=f m jnp.w m smnh (133) gm.t.n=f wš*

He built his monuments in the Jackal nome by making stable that which he had found destroyed.

*jt.t .n njw.t n njw.t m-snw=s rdj rh=f(135) t3š=f r hd.t sjp (136) r ntt m js.wt*

That which one city took from its neighbouring (city), he let its boundary be known according to the foundation book, assigned because of the (state of old),

*(137) dj(.w) wd r t3š(138)=f sm<sup>c</sup>*

A stela was placed on its southern boundary,

*smnh(.w) mh.t (139) mj p.t*

the north was made last like the sky

*smn(.w) hr sh.tw (140) n.t hr.w*

the fields of the low fields were established:

*dmd-sm3 r wd 15 smn hr 3(142)h.wt=f mh.t t3š(143)=f r w3sb w3s.t*

A sum of 15 stelae to establish his northern fields, its boundaries (reaching) to the ...

*psš.n=f(144) jtr.w 3 hr j3.t=f(145) gs=f jmn.y n jnpw.t r-mn (146) h3s.wt jmnt.t hft spr (147) jr.y-p<sup>c</sup>.t h3t.y-<sup>c</sup> s3 hnm.w-htp nht (148) m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw nb jm3h r-dd*

He divided the Nile in the middle, its western side of the Jackal nome (reaching) to the western foreign countries, according to the petition of the hereditary noble and local prince, son of Khnumhotpe Nehri, justified, lord of praise, namely:

*n rh mw=j (149) hs.wt wr.t n.t (150) hr nswt*

My issue does not know the great favour of the king!"

*ky (151) m ... m smr w<sup>c</sup>.ty*

another ... as sole friend

(162) *ʕ3 jm.y n smr(153).w*  
great among the courtiers

*ʕs3 jn(154).w pr-nsw.t*  
numerous of gifts of the royal palace

*smr wʕ.ty (155) nn wn hr-hw=f*  
the sole friend, who has no equal

*sdm.w n(156)=f sdm.w*  
to whom judges listen,

*r3 wʕ (157) htm r3.w*  
the unique mouth that makes (other) mouths silent,

*jnn 3h.t (158) n nb šps*  
one who brings offerings to the noble lord,

*r3 ʕ3 h3s.wt s3 n(159)hrj hnm.w-(160)htp jr n nb.t pr hjtj*  
The “entrance of the foreign lands”, son of Nehri, Khnumhotpe born of the Lady of the house Khiti.

(161) *sʕnh.n=j rn n jt.w(162)=j gm.n=j wš(.w) (163) hr sb3*  
I made live the name of my ancestors which I had found destroyed on the doorway.

*rḥ m tjt mtj m šd.t*  
One skilled in orthography, precise of execution,

*nn (165) dj.t ky m ʕb k(166)y*  
There was nothing I’d give to one from the meal of another.

*jsṯ s3=j pw (167) mnḥ srwḏ rn n t(168)p.w-ʕ - s3 nhrj (169) hnm.w-htp m3ʕ-hrw nb jm3ḥ*  
(170) *sʕh tp-m smnḥ(173).n=j hr.t*  
It was my efficient son who made firm the names of the ancestors - Son of Khnumhotpe Nehri, justified, lord of equipment - a dignitary until I reached the tomb.

*sn (172) s r jrr.t jt(173)=f jr.n=f hw.t-k3 jt(=f) (174) m mr-nfr.t m jnr (175) nfr n ʕn.w r srwḏ*  
(176) *rn=f n nhḥ s(177)mnḥ=f sw n ḏ.t*  
When a man approaches the actions of his father, he made a funerary temple of his father in Merneferet, of good Tura limestone, in order to make his name firm for ever, and make him last for all eternity.

*rn=f ʕnh (178) m r3 n pʕ.t ḏḏ(179).w m r3 n ʕnh.w(180) hr js=f n hr.t-nṯr m pr=f (181) mnḥ n nhḥ st(182)=f n.t ḏt hft ḥs.wt n.t hr nswt mr.wt=f m (184) stp-s3*  
his name shall live in the mouths of the noble folk, stable in the mouths of the living because of his tomb in the necropolis, in his excellent house for eternity, his place of everlastingness, under the favours of the king and his love in the palace.

*hk3.n=f njw.t=f m sd.t (185) n hft=f m t3m jr.n=f wp.t nswt*  
I governed my city as a child who was (just) freed of nappies, doing missions of the king.

*šw.ty=f jb(187)3=sn m hnw (188) n kb3.t=f m jr.y-jh.wt nswt (189) st ns=f*

Both his sides run (dance) like a child of his temple, as the one who is over the affairs of the king, the place of his tongue (?)

*nhn k3=f*

A child ...

*s3 sbk-(190)ch nhrj m3c-hrw nb jm3h*

Son of Sebekhankh, Nehri, justified, lord of equipment.

*(191) tn.n=f hnt sch.w=f (192) r hk3 njw.t*

He was advanced due to his dignity to the (rank of) the governor of the city.

*hpr.t h3t.y-c hnm-htp (193) jr(.w) n mn.w n.w n njw.t*

The work of the count Khnumhotpe, made as monuments of the citizens.

*kd(194).n=j wh3 gm(195).n m33*

I built a colonnade which I found in the field,

*schc.n=j (196) sw m wh.w n m3.t (197) sš(.w) m rn=j ds=j*

I made it stand with the columns again, inscribed with my own name.

*(198) sch n=j rn n jt=j hr(199)=sn*

I made the name of my father live on them.

*whm.n=j jr.t=j hr m(200)n.w nb*

I repeated my actions on every monument.

*jr.n=j c3 n mh 6 m (201) cš n ng3 r sb3 (202) tp.y n js c3.w-r3 n mh (203) r k3r n c.t šps.t nt.t nw n js pt*

I made a door of 6 cubits of cedar of ... to the first gate of the tomb, door jambs of the shrine of a noble chamber, that which belongs to this tomb.

*dbh.t (205) htp (n) pr.t hrw t hnk.t k3.w 3pd.w hr mn(206).w nb jr.n=j*

The offerings of the invocation offerings of bread, beer, bulls and birds upon every monument which I built.

*s3p.n=j š (207) kd n=f dd t3.w n wm.t pn*

I put the lake under water, building for it a .... of the wall.

*wr mn.w r (209) nw-n njw.t tn r jt.w (210) hrd.w n njw.t tn*

Great are the monuments that the citizens made for the fathers and children of this city.

*mnh mn(211).w smy.t=s r tp.w (212) ct n šps jr.w hr-h3(213).t=j*

The monuments of its desert are more stable than those of the ancestors and the noble chambers which were made before me.

*jnk sch mn.w*

I am one awarded with monuments,

(214) *sb3.n=j hm.wt nb(215).t n.t ft n.w n njw.t n mr(216)rw mnḥ rn=j ḥr (217) mn.w.n=j*  
I taught every... which the citizens avoid, because my name was known because of what I had built.

*grg(=j) ḥr.t-mw nn mns.t jm=s*  
I founded a basin, there was no lack in it.

*h3(219).n=j jm wj3 kḥs (220) jt ḥr jr.y-p<sup>c</sup>.t ḥ3t.y-<sup>c</sup> s3 nhrj ḥnm.w-(221)ḥtp jr.n b3k.t m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw nb  
jm3ḥ (222) ḥrp js jm.y-r3 sḏ<sup>c</sup>.t b3k.t*  
I descended in the barge under the hereditary noble and local prince, son of Nehri, Khnumhotpe, born of Baqet, justified, lord of equipment; the leader of the tomb, overseer of the treasury, Baqet.



### 36. Amenemhat (Imeni)

Dating: Senwosret I

Origin: Beni Hasan Tomb 2

Bibliography: LICHTHEIM 1988, 135–141; NEWBERRY 1893, Tomb 2; OMLIN 1962, 89–91; SETHE 1935, 13–25.

Text:

(URK VII.I, 14; 1)

*h3.t-sp 43 hr hm n hr.w nḥ ms.wt nsw.t bjty hpr-k3-rḥ nḥ d.t (2) nb.ty nḥ-ms.wt hr.w nb.w nḥ ms.wt s3-rḥ sn-wsr.t nḥ d.t r nḥh*

Year 43 under the Majesty of Horus Ankhmesut, King of Upper and Lower Egypt  
Kheperkare, may he live forever, Two Ladies Ankhmesut, Golden Horus Ankhmesut, Son of  
Re Senwosret, living for ever and ever,

(3) *hf.t rnp.t 24 m ghs m jr.y-pḥ.t h3.ty-ḥ jm3-ḥ jmn.y m3ḥ-hrw*

corresponding to year 24 in the Gazelle nome of the governor and local prince, pleasant of  
arm, Imeny, justified.

(4) *h3.t sp 43 3bd 2 3h.t sw 15*

Year 43, 2nd month of the akhet season, day 15.

*j mrr.w nḥ msdd.w (5) mw.t dd.w h3 m t hnḥ.t m k3.w 3pd.w*

O you who love life and hate death! Say: a thousand of (loaves of) bread, and (jars of) beer, a  
thousand of bulls and birds

(6) *n k3 n jr.y-pḥ.t h3.ty-ḥ jm3-ḥ wpw.t.y 3 n ghs m s3 nḥn hr.y-tp nḥb jm.y-r3 hm.w-ntr jmn.y m3ḥ-hrw*

to the *ka* of the count and local prince, one pleasant of arm, great envoy of the Gazelle nome,  
herald of Nekhen and one at the head of Nekheb, overseer of priests, Ameny, justified.

*šms=j nb=j hf.t (7) hnt=f r shr.t hf.tyw=f m h3s.wt*

I followed my lord when he sailed north in order to overthrow his enemies in the foreign  
lands.

*hnt.n=j m s3 h3.ty-ḥ htm.w bjty jm.y-r3 mšḥ wr n (8) ghs m jdn s jt j3ww hf.t h3.wt m pr nswt mrw.t=f m stp-s3*

I sailed as the son of the count, seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, great commander of  
the army of the gazelle nome, as a man replaces his old father through the favours in the  
palace, and the love of him in the royal palace.

*sn=j k(9)3š m hnt.yt*

I passed Nubia sailing southward,

*jn.n=j dr.w t3*

I reached the limits of earth

*jn.n=j jn.w (n) nb=j*

I brought gifts to my lord

*hs.t=j ph=s p.t*

and my praise, it reached the sky.

*ḥḥ.n (10) ḥm=f wd3 m ḥtp šhr.n=f ḥft.yw=f m k3š ḥs.t*

Then His Majesty fared in peace, and he crushed his enemies in the vile Kush.

*jj.n=j ḥr šms=f m spd-ḥr n (11) ḥpr nhw m mšḥ=j*

I went in his following as an efficient one, and my army suffered no loss.

*ḥnt.kwj r jn.t bj.w n.wb n ḥm n nswt bjty ḥpr-k3-r3 ḥnh d.t r nhḥ*

I sailed south in order to bring products of the mines and gold to the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkare, may he live eternally.

*(12) ḥnt.n=j ḥnḥ jr.y-pḥ.t ḥ3t.y=ḥ s3-nswt n ḥ.t=f jmn.y ḥ.w.s*

I sailed south together with the noble and prince, son of the king of his own body, Imeny, justified.

*ḥnt.n=j m ḥsb 400 m stp.w nb n (13) mšḥ.w=j jw=j m ḥtp nn nhw=sn*

I sailed together with 400 of the choicest recruits of my army and I returned in peace, there being no loss of them.

*jn.n=j nwb š3.t.n=j ḥs.kwj ḥr=s m pr nswt (14) dw3 nḥr n=j s3 nswt*

I brought gold as I was ordered to do, (and) I was praised for it the palace; the king's son thanked me.

*ḥḥ.n=j ḥnt.kwj r sbt bj3 r dmj n gbtyw ḥnḥ jr.y-pḥ.t ḥ3t.y-ḥ jm.y-r3 njw.t t3.ty sn-wsrt ḥ.w.s.*

Then I sailed south to bring the products of the mines from the city of Koptos together with the count and local prince, governor of the city and vizier Senusret, LPH.

*ḥnt.n=j m ḥsb 600 (15) m knj nb n ḥhs*

I sailed with 600 of the bravest recruits of the Gazelle nome.

*jj.kwj m ḥtp mšḥ=j ḥd jr.n=j dd.t n=j nb.t*

I returned in peace, my army (being) intact, after I had done all that had been said to me.

*jnk nb j3m.t w3ḥ mr.t ḥk3 mr.j nj.wt=f*

I was a possessor of charm, one stable of love, governor beloved of his city.

*jr.n=j grt rnp.wt (16) m ḥk3 m ḥhs b3k.w nb n pr-nswt ḥr ḥpr m-ḥ=j*

I spent years as a governor in the gazelle nome, all dues of the royal palace being in my charge.

*ḥḥ.n rdj.n=j (n) jm.y-r3 ts.wt n gs.w-pr nw s3.w nw ḥhs k3.w 3000 m nhbw=sn*

Then I gave overseers of the workers to the work barracks of the herdsmen of the gazelle nome 3000 oxen as their yoke-oxen.

*ḥs(17).kwj ḥr=s m pr-nswt r tnw rnpt n.t jr.w k3*

I was praised for it in the royal palace every year of the cattle count.

*f3.n=j b3k.w=sn nb n pr nswt nn hr.t-<sup>c</sup> r=j m h3=f nb*

I delivered all their taxes to the royal palace, and there were no tax demands against me in any of his offices.

*jw b3k n=j ghs r (18) dr=f m w3h.t*

The entire Gazelle nome worked for me.

*nn s3.t n nds shb.t.n=j*

There is no daughter of a commoner that I ravished,

*nn h3r.t d3r.n=j*

there is no widow that I raped.

*nn jhw.ty hsf=j r=f*

There is no peasant that I have punished,

*nn s3.w sn<sup>c</sup>.n=j*

There is no ... that I imprisoned.

(19) *nn wn jm.y-r3 dr.t jt.n=j rmt=f hr b3k.w*

There was no overseer of (Worfler) whose people I seized from (their) work.

*nn wn m3jr.w n h3.w=j*

There was no wretched one in my time,

*nn hkr n rk=j*

there was no hungry one in my time.

*jw hpr.n rnpt hkr*

(But) time of hunger came.

(20) *h<sup>c</sup>.n sk3.n=j 3h.t nb.t n.t ghs r t3š=f šm<sup>c</sup>.t mh.jt s<sup>c</sup>nh(=j) hr.jw=f jr(=j) šb.w=f n hpr hkr.w jm=f*

I cultivated every field of the entire Gazelle nome to its southern and northern frontier, feeding its inhabitants and making its food reserves, so that no one became hungry therein.

*rdj.n=j n h3r.t mj nb.t h3y*

I gave to the widow as (much as) to the married woman.

(21) *n st=j wr r šr.j m rdj.t.n=j nb.t*

I did not distinguish between the great and the small in all my giving.

*h<sup>c</sup>.n h3pj wr hpr n šd=j hr=<sup>c</sup> n jht.t*

Then high Nile came, and I did not charge the rests of the field taxes.

## GEBELEIN

Three texts from the corpus come from Gebelein, all pre-date the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

NO.	OWNER	LOCATION	DATING
37.	Iti	Cairo CG 20001	11 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty
38.	Djemi	Gebelein	First Intermediate Period
39.	Merer	Cracow MNK-XI-999	First Intermediate Period

### 37. Iti (Cairo CG 20001)

Dating: 11<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Origin: Gebelein

Bibliography: DARESSY 1893, 91; FISCHER 1961, 69–72; LANGE-SCHÄFER 1908, I, 1–2 & IV, pl. i; LICHTHEIM 1975, 88–89; LICHTHEIM 1988, 31–32; SCHENKEL 1969, 57–58; VANDIER 1910, 137–145; VANDIER 1934, 138.

#### Text:

1. *hṭp dj nswt dj jnpw tp-dw=f jm.y-w.t nb t3 dsr pr.t-hrw (n) t hnk.t n jm3h.w htm.w-bjty smr w<sup>c</sup>.ty* (2) *htm.w ntr jtj dd*

An offering which the king gives so that Anubis who-is-upon his mountain, who is in the embalming pace, lord of the sacred land, may give an invocation offering (of) bread and beer to the one revered, seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, the sole friend, seal-bearer of the god Iti, who says:

*jnk nds jkr jrj m hpš=f*

I was an excellent man who acted with his own strong arm.

*jnk jwn ʕ3 (3) m w3s.t nḥb k3.w=f m hnt.yt*

I was a great pillar in the Theban nome, a man of standing<sup>93</sup> in the Southland.

*jw s<sup>c</sup>nḥ.n(=j) (4) jmytrw m rnp.wt ksn.(w)t*

I nourished Imyotru in hard years,

*jw s 400<sup>94</sup> m ss3 jr*

when 400 men despaired of it.

*n (5) jtj(=j) s3.t s n jtj(=j) h3.t=f*

I did not seize a man's daughter, I did not seize his field.

<sup>93</sup> Lit. one whose *kas* were made *nḥb*.

<sup>94</sup> The numeral is written in hieratic.

*jw b3.n=j jdr 10 m ʕnh.wt (6) rmt m ʕw.ty jdr nb*  
I gathered ten herds of goads with men as a keeper of every herd.

*jw jr.n(=j) jh jdr.wy ʕ3.w jdr 1*  
I acquired two herds of cattle and a herd of donkeys.

*jw jr.n(=j) ʕw.t nb*  
I acquired all (kinds of) small cattle.

*jr.n(=j) dp.t 50 ky (7) dp.t 30*  
I made a boat of 50 (cubits) and another boat of 30 (cubits).

*jw dj.n(=j) j.t šmʕ n jwnj n hf3.t m-ht jmytrw sʕnh.t(w) jw w3s.t (8) [m h dj] hntj*  
I gave Upper Egyptian barley to Iuni and Hefat after Imyotru has been nourished, while the Theban nome [fared north] and south.

*n sp dj(=j) h d(j) hnt(j) jmytrw r k.t sp3.t*  
I never let Imyotru fare north and south to another nome.

*jw šm(9)s.n(=j) nb ʕ3 m šms.n(=j) nb nds n jw h.t jm*  
I followed a great lord as I followed a small lord, and there never came a (bad) thing in it.

*jw kd.n(=j) pr (10) jm [...] mh(.w) m špss nb*  
I built a house [...], filled with all precious things,

*dd rmt.w šw m ʕw3.t ky*  
so that people would say: „(He is) free from robbing another.“

(11) *[jr].t.n n=f s3=f smsw [mr.y]=f [jtj]*  
What his eldes and beloved son [Iti made] for him.

### 38. Djemi

Dating: FIP

Origin: Gebelein

Bibliography: ALLEN 1921, 55–62; GOEDICKE 1960, 288–291; SCHENKEL 1965, 116–117.

#### Text:

1. *smr-w<sup>c</sup>.ty jm.y-r3 mš<sup>c</sup> jm.y-r3 <sup>c</sup>.w dmj dd*

The sole friend, the overseer of troops and overseer of interpreters (mercenaries) Djemi says:

*jw jr.n(=j) jm.y-r3 mš<sup>c</sup> m njw.t tn*

I was an overseer of troops in this town.

*jw jr.n(=j) mrr.t 2 <sup>c</sup>3.w hss.t ndm.w*

I did what the great ones love and the small ones praise.

*jr [jm.y-r<sup>c</sup> mš<sup>c</sup>] nb 3 h3.n(=j) r=f jj(=j) m<sup>c</sup>r jm=f*

As for any overseer of troops, against whom I marched, I came faultless [from?] him

*n nfr n dd(=j) [jkr?] 4 n shr.w(=j)*

because my directives were good and my plans were excellent.

*jw h3.n(=j) r 3bdw hr.y rs[.t]*

I marched against Abydos, which was under the enemy.

*5 jw dj.n(=j) h3=f r pr=f m hr.y-jb njw.t*

I caused him to go down to his realm from the centre of the city,

*n shm.w 6 n h3 r=f*

there was noone who had the power to march against him.

*jw b3k(=j) w3w3.tyw n [...] nb 7 hpr m sp3.t tn*

I taxed the people of Wawat for every [chief?] who had been in the area.

*jn.n(=j) g<sup>c</sup>.wt m t3-wr*

I brought taxes from Ta-wer.

*jw hss.kwj 8 hr=s*

(and) I was praised for it.

*jw grg.n=j pr jt(=j) mh.n(=j) sw m [šps]*

I furnished the house of my father and filled it with riches.

*9 jr.n(=j) dp.t n mh 50*

I built a boat of 50 cubits.

*dj.n=j t n hkr.w hbs.w n h3.y*

I gave bread to the hungry and clothes to the naked.

*pr.n(=j) h3.n(=j) m js(=j)*  
I came out and descended to my tomb.

*jr.t.n n=f s3 sms.w mr.y=f hj[...]*  
Made for him by the eldest son , his beloved, Hi...

**39. Merer** (Cracow MNK-XI-999)

Dating: FIP

Origin: Gebelein

Bibliography: ČERNÝ 1961, 6–9; FISCHER 1962, 333–334; SCHENKEL 1965, 62–64.

**Text:**

1. *ḥtp dj nswt (dj) jnpw tp ḏw=f jm.y-w.t nb t3-ḏsr m s.wt=f nb(.t) nfr.t w<sup>c</sup>b.t pr.t-ḥrw n jm3ḥ.w smr-w<sup>c</sup>.ty wdpw*

An offering which the king gives so that Anubis who is upon his mountain, Imiut Lord of the Sacred Land in all his beautiful and clean places (may give) an invocation offering to the praised one, the sole friend, butler and

*jm.y-r3 (2) sft.w n.w pr ḥww mj-kd=f*  
overseer of the slaughterers of the entire house of Khu

*mrr ḏd*

Merer, who says:

*jnk w<sup>c</sup>b r sft drp (3) m ḥw.t-ntr 2*  
I was a pure one to slaughter and to offer in two temples

*ḥr-tp ḥk3*  
on behalf of the ruler.

*jw drp.(n=j) n ḥk3 13*  
I offered for 13 rulers.

*n sp jw.t ḥ.t jm*  
There never happened a wrong in it.

*n jw3(=j) (4) n psg(=j) m jr.ty n nfr n ḏd n rh n kn ḥ3m n(=j) rmn*  
I did not steel, I did not spit in the eyes of anyone good, who spoke, who knew, who ...  
or who inclined the arm for me.

*jw jr.n(=j) mrr.t ʕ3.w ḥss.t (5) ḥnwt.jw*  
I did what the great ones love and what the inhabitants of the residence praise,

*kd mrr.w.n sm3.yw=f*  
a character beloved by his associates.

*jw ḥnt.n(=j) r ḥ3.t*  
I advanced forward,

*jw sb.n(=j) r jm3ḥ<sup>95</sup>*  
I reached the praised state.

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<sup>95</sup> *sb jm3ḥ* „die Zeit der Seligkeit durchleben“; *sb r* „erreichen etwas: (HANNIG 2006, 2152).



(6) *jw hnn(.n=j) h3.t jt=j*

I followed the example of my father.

*n sp wdy(=j) tp ʕnh n shm-jrj=f<sup>96</sup> n-mrwt nfr rn(=j) m-ʕ rmt nb*

I never attacked a living person of a mighty man, so that my name might be good among all people.

(7) *n dd(=j) grg r ʕnh bw.t jnpw (pw)*

I never said a lie against a living soul, (for it is) an abomination of Anubis.

*jw gr.t snd(=j) hpr m k.t sw.t<sup>97</sup> njw.t tn*

I also feared to become another danger of this city.

*jw jn.n(=j) (8) k3.w jn.n(=j) rmt jn.n(=j) 3h.wt jn.n(=j) hmtj*

I acquired cattle, I acquired people, I acquired land, I acquired copper,

*jw sʕnh.n(=j) sn.w(j) sn.wt(=j)*

and I fed my brothers and sisters.

(9) *jw krs.n(=j) nt.y mwt sʕnh.n(=j) nt.y ʕnh*

I buried the dead one and nourished the living one,

*m hn.t nb.t jm m ts.w<sup>98</sup> pn hpr(.w)*

whenever I alighted in this famine that happened.

(10) *jw htm.n(=j) 3h.wt=sn j3.wt=sn nb.(w).t m njw.t m sh.t*

I closed all their fields and hills in the city and in the countryside,

*n rdj(=j) (11) mh=sn n ky m jr nds jkr*

I did not allow them to inundate for another as a good citizen does

*n nb hwt=f*

so that his family might swim.

(12) *jw hpr.n dj(=j) dj.t(w) jt n njw.t jw d3(.n=j) n=s ʕs3.w sp*

It happened that I caused corn to be given to the city, I transported for it a number of times.

*dj.n(=j) ? n jt hd ? n hmj*

I gave a heap of white barley and a heap of *khem*,

(13) *h3(.w) n s nb m mr.t=f*

measuring for everyone according to his wish.

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<sup>96</sup> Written *wd-jrj=f*; read *shm-jrj=f* by ČERNÝ (1961, 8). Either that or a parallel structure where *shm* is replaced by *wd*.

<sup>97</sup> *sw.t* „drohung, schaden“ (HANNIG 2006, 2131), wheat (ČERNÝ 1961, 8); *swt.y* „groß, mächtig sein“ (HANNIG 2006, 2131). “I also feared to become another danger of this city.” – following Černý in the first part; “The fear of me became another ... for this town” – with *sw.t* a derived meaning from “Drohung” – a warning for the criminals not to act (?) [*jw+N+PsP?*].

<sup>98</sup> *ts.w* famine – ČERNÝ (1961, *n. k*).

## THEBES

The texts of Theban origin form the second largest group of texts in our corpus, after those from Abydos. Unlike in the case of the Abydene texts, most of the texts from Thebes date to the 11<sup>th</sup> Dynasty – the place where their rulers lived, led war, and were buried.

<b>NO.</b>	<b>OWNER</b>	<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>DATING</b>
40.	Megegi	MMA 14.2.6	Antef II
41.	Heny	Museum Rumjancev 18.17.III.78	Antef II
42.	Djari	Brussels E.4985	Antef II
43.	Djari	Cairo JE 41437	Antef II
44.	Tjetji	BM EA 614	Antef II and Antef III
45.	Henwen	Cairo E. 36346	Antef II, Antef III and Mentuhotep I
46.	Antef	BM EA 1203	Mentuhotep II
47.	Antef	Berlin 13272	Mentuhotep II
48.	Antef	BM EA 1164	Mentuhotep II
49.	Antef	MMA 57.95	Mentuhotep II
50.	Meru	Turin 1447	Mentuhotep II
51.	Khety	Cairo B	Late 11 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty
52.	Samontu	Cairo CG 20712	11 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty
53.	NN	?	11 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty
54.	Mentuwasre	Firenze 6365	12 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty

**40. Megegi** (MMA 14.2.6)

Dating: Antef II

Origin: Thebes

Bibliography: CLÈRE & VANDIER 1948, § 22; SCHENKEL 1965, 108–109; STOCK 1949, Taf. XII, Abb. 17; WINLOCK 1943, pl. XXXIV B.

**Text:**

1. *hṭp dj nswt dj wsjr nb ḏdw hnt.y-jmn.tyw nb 3bdw (2) m s.wt=f nb pr.t-hrw (n) ḥ3 t hnk.t ḥ3 k3.w 3pd.w ḥ3 šs mw ḥ3 ḥ.t nb(.t) nfr(.t) w<sup>c</sup>b(.t) (3) n jm3ḥ.w šms.w mgg.j ḏḏ*

An offering that the king gives so that Osiris, Lord of Busiris, and Khentiamentiu, Lord of Abydos on his every place, may give an invocation offering of a thousand of bread and beer, a thousand of bulls and fowl, a thousand of alabaster vessels and pices of cloth, a thousand of every good and pure thing to the honoured follower Megegi, who says:

*jw jr.n(=j) ḥ<sup>c</sup>.w (4) m rnp.wt m rk hr.w (nhṭ-)nb-tp-nfr*

I spent a period of years in the era of Horus Nakht-neb-tep-nefer,

*sj3(=j) jb=f (5) r<sup>c</sup> nb m mrr.t nb.t k3=f*

making his heart leap every day with everything that his *ka* loved.

*jnk mr.y=f nfr.t msd=f ḏw.t jr.y r<sup>c</sup> r-hr.t=f*

I was one who loved good and hated evil, who made the day according to its need.

6. *n ḥb.n(=j) tr hnt r<sup>c</sup> n ḥḏ.n(=j) wnw.t nfr.t*

I did not shorten any time from the day, I did not let any good hour pass.

*jr.n(=j) rnp.wt tp t3*

I spent the years on earth,

*ph.n(=j) w3.wt (7) hr.t-ntr*

I have reached the ways of the necropolis,

*jr.n(=j) krst.t nb.t jr.t n jm3ḥ.w*

and I have made every funerary equipment that is made for the honoured ones.

*jnk sb r<sup>c</sup>=f šms wnw=f m hr.t-hrw n.t r<sup>c</sup> nb*

I am one who follows his day and follows his hour in the course of every day.

**41. Heny** (Museum Rumjancev 18.17.III.78)

Dating: Antef II

Origin: el-Tarif

Bibliography: CLÈRE & VANDIER (1948) §17; SCHENKEL 1965, 101–102; TURAYEV 1912, pl. 3.

**Text:**

(1) *htp dj nswt (dj) jnpw tp dw=f jm.y-w.t nb t3 dsr*

An offering which the king gives so that Anubis upon his mountain, Imyut lord of the sacred land, (may give)

*pr.t-hr.w (n) h3 (n) [?] ht nb(.t) nfr(.t) w<sup>c</sup>b(.t) n htm.w-bjty smr w<sup>c</sup>.ty jm.y-jb n nb=f<sup>c</sup>3 m s.t  
št3.t n.t shmh-jb*

An invocation offering of a thousand of [bread and beer...] and of every good and pure thing to the seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, the solee friend, the trusted one of his lord, great in the secret place of joy,

(2) *jm3h.w hr.y-tp nswt hny dd*

the honoured one, chamberlain Heny, says:

*jw jr.n(=j) h<sup>c</sup>.w<sup>c</sup>3 m rnp.wt hr šms n nb(=j)*

I spent a great period of years following my lord,

*hr w<sup>c</sup>h-<sup>c</sup>nh nswt-bjty s3-r<sup>c</sup> jntf-<sup>c</sup>3 ms(.w) (n) nfr.w r s.wt=f nb.t nfr.wt*

Horus Wahankh, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of Re Antef the Older, born (of) Neferut.

(3) *n sp jw.t h.t jm*

There never happened anything wrong in it,

*n-<sup>c</sup>3.t n rh(=j) ht*

because (I) was knowledgeable of things.

[jnk] *kd mrr.w m pr nb=f*

I was a possessor of a characted beloved in the house of his Lord,

*h3m rn m hr.y-jb=f šw.t=f*

one respected among his/its elders.

*n sd.w(=j) s n hk3*

I did not speak ill of a man to a ruler

*n šd(=j) mdw nb r rw.ty*

and I never divulged anything abroad.

(4) *jnk wnnt b3k jkr n ht=f*

I was indeed a servant excellent in his affairs,

*hr mr.y hḳ3=f ḥs.y=f ḥnt.y s.t (5) m pr nb=f*

A person beloved of his lord, his praised one, one foremost of place in the house of his lord.

*jw šms.n(=j) sw m grḥ m r<sup>c</sup> r s.wt=f nb.w nfr.wt*

I followed him, day and night, to his every good place,

*n ʕ3.t (6) n mrr=f w(j)*

because he loved me.

*jnk b3k n ʕḳ-jb=f m sh št3 n sw<sup>c</sup>*

I was his trusted servant of secret counsels in solitude,

*(7) n sp jr rmt nb m r3(=j) jm smj(=j) n nb ḏs(=j)*

Never did a man act as my mouth there, I reported to the lord myself.

*j ʕnh.w tp.yw t3 (8) mrr.w ʕnh msḏḏ.w ḥp.t sw3.ty=sn ḥr js pn*

O you living ones who are upon the earth, who love life and hate passing, who shall pass along this tomb,

*ḏḏ=tn ḥ3 t ḥnk.t ḥ3 k3.w 3pd.w ḥ3 sšr mnḥ.t ḥ3 ḥ.t nb.t n jm3ḥ.w ḥr.y-tp nsw.t ḥny*

may you say: "A thousand of breas and beer, a thousand of bulls and fowl, a thousand of cloth and clothing, a thousand of every thing for the honoured one, the chamberlain Heny.

**42. Djari** (Brussels E.4985)

Dating: Antef II

Origin: Dra Abu en-Naga

Bibliography: CLÈRE & VANDIER 1948, 14; LICHTHEIM 1988, 40–41; LIMME 1979; PETRIE 1909, pl. ii; PORTER & MOSS 1960, 596; SCHENKEL 1965, 99–101; SCHENKEL 1976, 57.

**Text:**

(1) *htp dj nswt (dj) jnpw tp dw=f nb t3 dsr*

An offering which the king gives, so that Anubis who is upon his mountain, lord of the sacred land, may give

*pr.t hrw n=f h3 m t hnk.t k3.w 3pd.w (2) h.t nb.t nfr.t*

an invocation offering of a thousand of (loaves of) bread and (jars of) beer, bulls and fowl, ... and of every good thing

(n) *h3t.y-<sup>c</sup> smr w<sup>c</sup>.ty jm.y-r3 <sup>c</sup>w.w*

(for) the count, sole companion, overseer of foreigners,

(3) *hk3-hw.t d<sup>c</sup>rj dd*

chaberlain Djari, who says:

*jnk mnk <sup>c</sup>3 n pr-sn rnp.t sn(4)b-jb*

I was a great provider of (my) home in the year of hunger.

*jw smn.n(=j) hm.n(=j) mj rh.n(=j)*

I supported the one I did not know as the one I knew.

*jw jr.n(=j) mrr.t <sup>c</sup>3.w (5) hss.t nds.w*

I did what the great ones love and what the small ones praise,

*n-mrwt w3h <sup>c</sup>nh(=j) tp (6) t3 (m) hr.t-ntr*

in order that my life might endure on earth (and in) the necropolis.

*pr.n(=j) m pr(=j) h3.n(=j) m js(=j)*

I went out of my house, I descended to my tomb,

(8) *n sp jw.t h.t jm*

and there never was a fault therein.

**43. Djari (Cairo JE 41437)**

Dating: Antef II

Origin: Dra Abu en-Naga

Bibliography: CLÈRE & VANDIER 1948, 14; LICHTHEIM 1988, 40–41; LIMME 1979; PETRIE 1909, pl. ii; PORTER & MOSS 1960, 596; SCHENKEL 1965, 99–101; SCHENKEL 1976, 57.

**Text:**

(1) *h̄tp dj nswt wsjr nb ḏdw h̄nt.y-jmn.tyw nb 3bdw*

An offering which the king gives and Osiris, Lord of Djedu, and Khentamenti, Lord of Abydos

*h̄3.tj-<sup>c</sup> smr w<sup>c</sup>.ty h̄k3-h̄w.t jm.y-r3 (2) <sup>c</sup>w.w ḏ<sup>c</sup>rj ḏd*

(to) the count, sole companion, chamberlain, overseer of foreigners Djari, who says:

*jw h̄3b.n (n=j) hr w3h-<sup>c</sup>nh nswt-bjty s3-r<sup>c</sup> jntf ms nfr.w*

Horus Wahankh, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Intef, Son of Re Intef, born of Neferu, sent to me

(3) *m=h̄t <sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.n(=j) h̄n<sup>c</sup> pr h̄ty m jmnt.t tny*

after I had fought with the house of Kheti to the west of Thisis,

*rdj.n=f jw.t (4) wpw.tyw=f*

causing his messengers to come.

*rdj.n h̄k3 3 h̄d(=j) r jr.t wnm.t n.t jt šm<sup>c</sup> n.t t3 pn mj-ḏd=f r 3bw mh.t r ḏ.t*

The Great Ruler caused me to fare down to fetch food consisting of Upper Egyptian barley for this entire land from Elephantine north to the Aphroditopole nome,

*n rh̄ md.t(=j) (5) nfr ḏd=j*

because my words were knowledgeable and my speech was beautiful –

*jnk wdn m-m sr.w 3wh-jb 3.t sh̄.t*

I was one important among the officials, calm at the moment of fight –

*r ḏd jt=k n=j h̄ty jr(.w) kr.w hr sp3.t j h̄k3 nh̄.t*

saying: “Come to me, O Kheti, who makes storm over the nome, O strong ruler!

(6) *jr.n(=j) t3š(=j) r jn.t h̄sj*

I placed my boundary to the Valley of Hesi.”

*h̄<sup>c</sup>t.y-<sup>c</sup> smr-w<sup>c</sup>.ty (7) h̄k3-h̄w.t jm.y-r3 <sup>c</sup>w.w ḏ3rj (8) jkr jm3h̄*

The count, sole companion, chamberlain, overseer of foreigners, Djari, the excellent and praised.

(9) *jnk mr.y n nb njw.t=f h̄s.y.n ntr=f*

I am one beloved of the lord of his city, one praised by his god.

#### 44. Tjetji (BM EA 614)

Dating: Antef II and Antef III

Origin: Thebes

Bibliography: BLACKMAN 1931, 56–57; BUDGE 1911, 49–52; CLÈRE & VANDIER 1948, 15–17; LICHTHEIM 1975, 90–93; LICHTHEIM 1988, 46–48; PORTER & MOSS 1960, 596; SCHENKEL 1965, 103–107.

#### Text:

(1) *hr.w w3h-<sup>c</sup>nh nswt-bjty s3-r<sup>c</sup> jn.t=f ms.w nfr.w <sup>c</sup>nh d.t mj r<sup>c</sup>*

Horus Wahankh, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of Re, Antef, born of Nefru, living for ever like Re.

*b3k=f m3<sup>c</sup> n s.t-jb=f hnt.y s.t m pr nb=f sr <sup>c</sup>3 n jb=f rh h.wt hr jb nb=f šms sw r jwt.t=f nb w<sup>c</sup> jb=f (2) n wn m3<sup>c</sup>*

His true and trusted servant, one foremost of place in the house of his lord, an official great of his heart, a knower of things, who followed him on each journey of his, unique in his heart in true being.

*h3.ty wr.w n.w pr.wy nswt hnt.y htm.y m s.t št3 h3p.t n nb=f r wr.w*

One in front of the great ones of the two royal palaces, foremost of the seal of the secret place which his Lord hides from the great ones.

*shmh(.w)-jb hr.w m mr.t.n=f s(t) jm.y-jb nb=f mr.y=f jm.y-r<sup>c</sup> n htm.t hntt (3) s.t št3.t mrr.t nb=f*

One who pleases the heart of Horus with what he loves, one within his heart, his beloved, overseer of the seal, foremost of the secret place which his lord loves,

*jm.y-r3 htm.t hr.y-tp nswt jm3h.w ttj dd=f*

overseer of the seal, servant of the king, the praised one, Tjetji, says:

*jnk mr.y nb=f hs.y nb=f m hr.t-hrw n.t r<sup>c</sup> nb*

I am one beloved of his lord, his praised one of every day.

*jw jr.n(=j) <sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.w <sup>c</sup>3 rnp.wt hr hm n nb(=j) hr.w w3h-<sup>c</sup>nh nsw.t bjty (4) s3-r<sup>c</sup> jn.t=f*

I spent a period great of years under the majesty of my lord, Horus Wahankh, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of Re, Intef,

*jst t3 pn hr st-jb=f hnt.t-r 3b.w ph.t-r t3-wr*

when this land was under his care from Elephantine to Thinis.

*st wj m b3k=f n d.t=f hr.y tp=f n wn m3<sup>c</sup>*

I was his servant of his body, truly his chamberlain.

*jw s3<sup>c</sup>.n=f w(j) shnt.n=f s.t(=j) dj.n=f w(j) m s.t (5) jb=f m <sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>=f n w<sup>c</sup>.w*

He made me great, he advanced my place, he placed me to his private palace.



*ḥtm.t m-<sup>c</sup>(=j) m stp.w n nfr.t nb.t jnn.t n ḥm n nb=j m šm<sup>c</sup> m t3-mḥ.w m sšr.w nb n šḥmḥ-jb m  
jn.w n t3 pn mj-kd=f n snd=f ḥtḥt t3 pn jnn.t n ḥm n nb(=j) m-<sup>c</sup> ḥk3.w ḥr.w-tp dšr.t n snd=f  
ḥtḥt dšr.t*

The treasury was in my hand and under my seal, consisting of the choicest of all good things which were brought to the majesty of my lord from Upper and Lower Egypt, of every king of pleasing the heart, as a tribute of this entire land for the fear of him throughout this land; which were brought to the majesty of my lord from the chieftains of the desert because of the fear of him pervading the deserts.

*ḥ<sup>c</sup>.n rdj.n=f n(=j) nn rh.n=f jkr st-<sup>c</sup>(=j)*

He gave it to me because he knew my actions were excellent.

*ḥ<sup>c</sup>.n smj.n(=j) n=f st*

Then I reported (on) it to him,

*n sp jw.t ḥ.t nb.t (7) jm n.t ḥsf n ʿ3.t n.t rh(=j) ḥ.t*

and there never happened a bad thing it it worthy of punishment, because I was a knower of things.

*jnk wnn.t jm.y=jb n nb=f [m3<sup>c</sup>] sr ʿ3 n jb=f kb srf m pr nb=f ḥ3m rmn m-m wr.w n wd.n(=j) m-  
s3 dw.w msd.w rmt ḥr=s*

I was one who is truly in the heart of his lord, an official great in his heart, calm in the house of his lord, respectful among the great ones, one who did not follow the evil the sight of which people hate.

*(8) jnk mr=f nfr.t msdd dw.t kd.t mrr.t m pr nb=f jr.w šm.t nb r mdd.w n jb n nb(=f)*

I am one who loves good and hates evil, one whose character is beloved in the house of his lord, one who does every proceeding according to the wishes of his lord.

*jr grt šm.t nb.t wd.t n=f n(=j) ḥ<sup>c</sup>(=j) ḥr=s(9) m m3<sup>c</sup>.t*

As for every action that he commanded me to do, I fulfilled it truly.

*ḥt n spr.w m ḥ<sup>c</sup> m mdw s3r.y jr(=j) st r wn m3<sup>c</sup>*

The case of a petitioner, or reacting to the plea of the needy man, I fulfilled it truly.

*n th.n(=j) ḥsb.w wd.n=f n(=j)*

I did not break the rules ordered by him,

*n rdj.n(=j) k.t m s.t k.t*

I did not place one (thing) in place of another,

*n k3-srf(=j) ḥft wsr*

I was not arrogant in the presence of the strong one.

*(10) n jt(=j) ḥ.t m jw.t r jr šm.t nb.t*

I did not seize a thing in an evil way so as to conduct a matter.

*jr gr.t jp3.t nsw.t nb.t wd.t.n n(=j) ḥm n nb=j rdj.t n=f jr.y n=s wp.t m mr.t .n k3=f jr.n(=j) n=f  
st snfr.n(=j) sšm=sn nb*

As for any king's department, which His Majesty assigned to me, and for which he made me carry out a commission in keeping with whatever his ka desired, I did it for him. I improved all their courses.

*n sp (11) jw.t h.t jm n ʕ3.t n.t rh(=j) h.t*

Never came a bad thing in it, for I was a knower of things.

*jw jr.n(=j) mh3 n njw.t sh.yt r šms nb(=j) jp.t hnʕ wr.w tr nb n sšm h3b*

I constructed a barque for the city, a boat to accompany my lord at the counting together with the great ones any time of convoying or dispatching.

*špss.kwj ʕ3.kwj*

I was noble, I was great.

*ʕpr.n(=j) wj(12) m jš.t ds(=j) rdj.t n n(=j) hm n nb(=j) n ʕ3.t n.t mrr=f w(j) hr w3h ʕnh nsw.t  
bjty s3 rʕ jn.t=f ʕnh d.t mj rʕ r sd3=f m htp r 3h.t=f*

I equipped myself with my own things which the Majesty of my lord gave to me because he loved me - Horus Wahankh, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of Re Antef, living for ever like Re, until he rose in peace to his horizon.

*jh m h3.t s3=f m s.t=f (13) hr.w nh.t nb-tp-nfr nsw.t bjty s3-rʕ jn.t=f ms.w nfr.w ʕnh d.t mj rʕ*

Then his son ascended to his place - Horus Nakht-neb-tep-nefer, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of Re Intef, born of Neferu, living for ever like Re.

*jw šms.n(=j) sw r s.wt nb.t nfr.t n.t shmh-jb*

I followed him in every beautiful place of the pleasing of the heart.

*n sp ts=f h.t jm n ʕ3.t n.t rh(=j) h.t*

Never did he reproach my proceeding therein, because I was knowledgeable of things.

*dj.n=f n(=j) šm.t [nb.t] (14) wn.t m-ʕ(=j) m rk jt=f hr sd3=s hr hm=f*

He assigned me to every function which was in my holding at the time of his father, continuing it under His Majesty.

*n jw h.t nb(.t) jm=s*

Never came anything bad in it.

*jr.n(=j) h3.w nb ʕ3 m hr.y-tp nswt n d.t=f wsr.kwj ʕ3.kwj hr hm=f*

I spent a long time as a servant of the king of his body, being strong and great under his Majesty.

*jnk jr kd=f hs n nb=f m hr.t-hrw n [rʕ nb]*

I was one who acted masterly, one praised by his lord in the course of every day.

*(15) htp dj nswt wsjr nb ddw hnt.y-jmn.tyw nb 3bdw m s.wt=f nb.t*

An offering which the king gives (and) Osiris, Lord of Busiris, and Khentamenti, Lord of Abydos in every his place,

*pr.t-hrw (n) h3 t hnk.t h3 k3.w 3pd.w h3 sšr.w h3 h.t nb.t nfr.t wʕb.t h3m h.t dbh-htp*

(namely) a voice offering of a thousand of bread and beer, a thousand of bulls and fowl, a thousand of linen, a thousand of every good and pure thing, beer and things desired for offerings,

(16) *df3.w n.w 3bdw t w<sup>c</sup>b n pr mntw kbh.w htp.w df3.w*

the food of the Lord of Abydos, pure bread of the house of Montu, libation jar and food offerings

*mrr.w 3h.w <sup>c</sup>nh=j jm n jm.y r3 htm.t hr.y-tp nswt jm3h.w ttj*

that the enlightened ones wish me to live on, for the overseer of the treasury, servant of the king, the praised one Tjetji.

(17) *d3=f bj3 nmj=f hr.t j<sup>c</sup>r=f n ntr <sup>c</sup>3 sm3=f t3 nb m htp r jmnt.t nfr.t*

may he fare the firmament, may he travel through the sky. may he ascend to the great god, may he join every land by resting in the beautiful west

*wn n=f smy.t rmn=s dj jmn.t <sup>c</sup>.wy=s r=f spr=f*

May the desert open her arms for him, may the west give him her arms, may he ascend

(18) *r d3d3.t ntr dd.tw n=f jw m htp jn wr.w n.w 3bdw*

the council of gods. May “welcome” be said to him by the great ones of Abydos.

*dj.t(w) n=f <sup>c</sup>.wj m nsm.t hr w3.wt jmn.twt hp=f nfr m htp r 3h.t*

May hands be given to him in the neshemet barque on the western ways, may he go in good peace to the horizon,

(19) *r bw n.t wsjr jm wp=f w3.wt mrr.t=f r sb.t jm.y t3 dsr*

to the place where Osiris is. May he open the roads as he wishes to the gates which are in the sacred land,

*dj n=f jm.yw b<sup>c</sup>h <sup>c</sup>.w=sn hr w<sup>c</sup>r.t rdj.t htp.wt*

May the supplied ones gave him their hands on the ground that he gives offerings.

*k3=f hn<sup>c</sup>=f htp=f m-b3h=f jm3h.w ttj*

May his *ka* be with him, his offerings in front of him, the honoured one Tjetji.

#### 45. Henwen (Cairo E. 36346)

Dating: Antef II, Antef III, Mentuhotep I

Origin: Qurna

Bibliography: CLERE & VANDIER 1948, § 24; LICHTHEIM 1992, 24; SCHENKEL 1965, 228–230; WINLOCK 1915, 1–37.

#### Text:

(1) *htp dj nswt dj wsjr nb dḏw hnt.y-jmn.tyw [nb 3bd.w m s.wt=f nb.t pr.t-hrw h3 t hnk.t h3 k3 3pd h3 šs mw h3 h.t nb.t nfr.t w<sup>c</sup>b.t n jm3h.y] hr ntr ʿ3 nb p.t hr.y-tp nswt hnwn dḏ*

An offering which the king gives so that Osiris, Lord of Busiris, foremost of the westerners, [Lord of Abydos on all his places, may give an invocation offering (of) a thousand of (loaves of) bread and (jugs of) beer, a thousand of bulls and fowl, a thousand of alabaster vessels and pieces of cloth, and a thousand of every good and pure thing for the honoured] one on front of the great god, lord of heaven, the courtier Hnwn, who says:

*jnk dḏ nfr whm nfr jr.y ht n tp nfr*

I was one who spoke well and acted (repeated) good, who did things in a perfect way.

*jnk mr.y=f nfr.t msd=f (2) dḏw.t jm3h.y n mr.t pg3-jb hḏ jmy.w-h.t kd.t [...]*w

I was one who loved good and hated evil, a honoured and beloved one, one open-hearted, one with shiny viscera, a character [ ... ]

*n h3k(=j) jb n wh(=j) t3 msd.w rmt hr=s*

I was not (listig – prohnany), I did not damage the land, (for which) men are hated.

*jr.n(=j) h3.w nb.w tp t3 mdd(=j) mtḏn (3) n hr.yw-tp=j*

I spent my entire lifetime on earth following the way of my superiors.

*jr(=j) r<sup>c</sup> r hr.t=f*

I spent the day according to its need,

*n wd.n(=j) m-s3 [bw dḏw msd.w rmt hr=s]*

I did not follow [evil, for which men are hated ...

*ʿh<sup>c</sup>.w ʿ3 m rnp.wt šms.n(=j) nswt hm.wt n jw h.t nb.t jm n-ʿ3.t rh(=j) h.t*

I spent] a period of many years serving three kings, and there came no (bad) thing therein, on account of my being knowledgeable of things.

*jw šms.n(=j) (4) hr.w w3h-<sup>c</sup>nh s3-r<sup>c</sup> jntf ʿh<sup>c</sup>.w ʿ3 rnp.wt [...]*w nb.w n jw ht nb j[m]

I followed Horus Wakhankh, son of Re Antef (for) a period of many years [...] all. There never came any (bad) thing therein.

*hr m sd3=f r 3h.t=f r bw n.t ntr.w jm (5) ʿh<sup>c</sup>.n šms.n(=j) s3=f hr.w s<sup>c</sup>nh-jb-t3.wy s3-r<sup>c</sup> mnt.w-htp [...]*

As he then came to his horizon, to the place where gods are, I served his son, Horus Sankh-ibtawy, Son of Re Mentuhotep [...]

(6) *hm-ntr nsr.t w3d.t m hw.t-ntr n [...]*

priest of Nesperet and Wadjet in the temple of [...]

(7) *mdd.n(=j) m3<sup>c</sup>.w n.w n<sup>c</sup>h [...] sh3 [...]*

I followed the righteousness of the living [...] remember [...]

(8) *hpr.w m r3-pr [...] n hss w(j) ntr h.t=f [...] f m hr.w [...]*

happened in the temple [...] because god praised me [...]

(9) *w<sup>c</sup> n m-h<sup>t</sup> [...] rs.j r t3 mh.w*

the only one who turns to/thinks of the future [...] to Upper Egypt and to Lower Egypt.

*jn kd=f rdj mr.wt=f shnt st=f m pr nswt*

It was his character that produced love of him that raised his place in the royal palace.

*jnk nb mr.wt [...]*

I am a possessor of love, [...]

(10) *m [...] js.wt tp t3 m dj s3(=j) jw<sup>c</sup>.w m sh3.j(=j) st sw m sš [...]*

[...] my possession on earth being in the hand of my son, my heir who lets the memory of me live, for he is a scribe [...]

(11) *[...] m sm jb tp t3 tn.t pw r3 rmt nb wnw hn<sup>c</sup>(=j) m pr nb m shr jr.n(=j) n ntr n [...]*

[...] with caring heart on earth, these are the words of all men who were with me in any house and in any task that I fulfilled for god [...]

(12) *[...] tp [t3] m kd ndm n-mr.wt nn jsft pr.t m r3(=j) nn dw.t jr.t.n n.wy(=j)*

[...] on earth as a pleasant character, because there was no evil that came out of my mouth and there was no evil that my arms did.

*jnk jrj kd=f mrr.y rmt [m hr.t-hrw n.t r<sup>c</sup> nb]*

I was one who performed his character, one beloved by people in the course of every day.

#### 46. Antef, son of Ka (BM EA 1203)

Dating: Mentuhotep II

Origin: Thebes

Bibliography: BENNETT 1962, 158 – 159; BUDGE 1911, 53; BUDGE 1909, pl. VII; CLÈRE & VANDIER 1948, § 23; GRDSELOFF, 1948, 60; OMLIN 1962, 7 – 8; SCHENKEL 1965, 226 – 227; WINLOCK 1915, 1 – 37.

#### Text:

1. *htp dj nswt dj wsjr nb ddw ntr ʕ3 nb 3bdw m s.wt=f nb.(w)t nfr.wt w<sup>c</sup>b(.wt) pr.t-hrw h3 t hnk.t h3 (2) h.t nb.t nfr(.t) n jm3h.y jnj-jt.y=f s3 k3 dd*

An offering which the king gives so that Osiris, Lord of Busiris, Great God, Lord of Abydos in all his beautiful and pure places may give an invocation offering of a thousand (loaves of) bread and (jugs of) beer, a thousand of every good and pure thing for the honoured one *Jnj-jtj=f*, son of Ka, who says:

*jw jr.n(=j) nw n nb(=j) w3h-ʕnh s3-r<sup>c</sup> jnj-jtj=f ʕ3 (?) n nb(=j) hr.w nht-nb=tp=nfr (3) s3-r<sup>c</sup> jnj-jtj=f n nb(=j) hrw s<sup>c</sup>nh-jb-t3.wy s3-r<sup>c</sup> mnt.w-htp*

I was a hunter for my lord, Horus Wahankh, son of Ra Antef the Great, and for my lord Horus Nakht-neb-tep-nefer son of Re Antef, and for my lord, Horus Sankh-ib-tawy, son of Re Mentuhotep.

*jw jr.n(=j) nw n jmnt.t j<sup>c</sup>bt.t n hw.wt-ntr.w*

I was a hunter for the West, for the East, and for the temples.

*jnk nw n hr.y-wdb*

I was a hunter for the administration of provisions.<sup>99</sup>

4. *jnk nw n knb.t*

I was a hunter for the Qenbet-council.

*jw d3.n(=j) jw3.y*

I ferried the boatless across.

*jw rdj.n(=j) mw (5) n jb.y*

I gave water to the thirsty.

*jnk wnn.t mr.y hk3=f 3h (6) n njw.t=f rh.w h.t n pr nb=f*

I was indeed one beloved of his lord, one beneficent for his city and knowledgeable for the house of his lord.

7. *jnk sft.y k3 m swr.ywt=f m (8) mr.wt nb.w(=j)*

I was one who bound the bull at his drinking places through the love of my lords.

9. *jnk s nht rh.y r rh.w m nt.t ʕnh.w m nt.t (10) mwt n rh hpr.t=f mjn*

I was a strong man, more knowledgeable than the wise in the things of the living and in the things of the dead, when there is none who knows what happens today.

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<sup>99</sup> SCHENKEL 1965, 226, note b.

11. *n shpr(=j) md.t hn<sup>c</sup>(=j)*  
I did not let any strife arise against me.

*n jt(=j) (12) jh.t s*  
I did not seize a thing of a man.

*jr.n(=j) sw (13) n w3s.t mj-~~kd~~=s (14) m mr.wt nb.w(=j)*  
I have done this for the entire Theban nome, for the sake of my lords.

15. *rnp.t 14 jr.t hq.w pn (16) rnp.t n.t sbj tnj*  
Year 14, the setting up of this stela, the year when Thinis rebelled.

**47. Antef, son of Myt (Berlin 13272)**

Dating: Mentuhotep II

Origin: Thebes

Bibliography: CLÈRE & VANDIER 1948, § 31; DARESSY 1908, 150–151; LANGE 1986, 33–35; OMLIN 1962, 8; ROEDER 1913 I, 154–155; SCHENKEL 1965, 230–231.

**Text:**

(1) *jr.y-p<sup>c</sup>.t h3t.y-<sup>c</sup> sd3w.ty-bjty smr w<sup>c</sup>.ty hr.y-hb.t m r3 hm ntr jnj-jtj=f ms(.w) n my.t*  
Hereditary noble and prince, seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, the sole friend (of the king), lector priest, priest Intef, born of Myt,

(2) *dd*

says:

*h3t.y-<sup>c</sup> m pr-mnt.w jr.y-p<sup>c</sup>.t n p3.t tp(.y) rh htp.t (3) n.t r.w-pr šs3.w m tr n f3.t*  
Prince in Per-Montu, count of the first time, who knows the offerings of the chapel, experienced in the time of bringing offerings

*n bww.n(4)=sn bw.t=sn*  
to those who despise their excrement,

*rh(.w) šsp.t jb=sn ntr nb r jhr tf*  
who knows what their heart takes,

*rh(.w) (5) t=f n p3.t*  
who knows the offering bread

*rh<sup>c</sup>sm.w n j3t.t hnbt.t*  
who knows the demons of the... and ...,

*mj sšm=s(n) nb wb3(.w) gm.n=f hrt<sup>c</sup>ftt*  
as well as all their affairs. One who opens what he had found in the presence of Aftet,

*rh(.w) sb3.t wb3.w m sb3.w(7)=s jnt.f dd*  
who knows the open doorway with their doors, Intef, says:

*gm.n(=j) hw.t-k3 n.t jr.yj-p<sup>c</sup>.t nh.ty-jkr-w3s.t*  
I found the ka-chapel of the noble Nakhty-iqer-waset,

*jnb.w (8) js.w tw(w).t=s nb ng(.w)*  
with all its walls, rooms, and statues destroyed,

*n wn.t wn sh3=st*  
its memory existed no more.

*h<sup>c</sup>.n kd(=j) s(t)*  
Then I rebuilt it,



*jn(=j) ḥ3.w ḥr snṯ=s*

(I) extended its groundplan,

*ḥn.tyw=s jr(.w) m m3.wt*

and (even) its statues were made anew.

(10) *jr(.n=j) n=s sb3.w m jnr,*

I made for it doorways of stone,

*jr.t m mjn n mr.t ḥs.t s.t=f*

which were made anew so that his place (i.e. tomb) be praised

*r kw š<sup>c</sup>ḥ.w šps.w*

more than (that of) any other dignitary or noble.

*jr.n(=j) nn mj kd(=s) n mr.wt nfr rn(=j) tp t3*

I did all that in order that my name be good on earth,

*wn sh3(=j) nfr m ḥr.t-nṯr*

and so that the memory of me be good in the necropolis.

(12) *m3 rmt s(t)*

May people see it,

*m3=sn nfr=s*

may they see its beauty,

*m-ḥt htp k3 m ḥnh*

(even) after my ka had rested in life.

*jnj m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw*

Inj, justified.

#### 48. Antef, son of Myt (BM EA 1164)

Dating: Mentuhotep II

Origin: Thebes

Bibliography: BUDGE 1911, 55; CLERE & VANDIER 1948, § 33; LANGE 1896, 26–33; OMLIN 1962, 8; SCHENKEL 1965, 234–235.

#### Text:

1. *jr.y-p<sup>c</sup>.t h3t.y-<sup>c</sup> htm.w-bjty smr w<sup>c</sup>.ty hr.y-hb.t jm.y-r3 hm.w-ntr jnj-jtj=f ms my.t dd*  
Hereditary noble and local prince, seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, the sole friend (of the king), lector priest, overseer of priests Antef, born of Myt, who says:

*jnk mn-rd mdd shr rh h.t s3 fnh-jb sm wr.w krs tnj.w (2) dd h.t n nhn.w m db3.w=f ds=f*  
I was one stable of stance, flexible of plans, a knower of things, a clever one, one sharp of senses, who sustains the great and buries the weak, one who gave things to children by his own fingers.

*jw jr.n(=j) k3.w <sup>c</sup>nh.wt hbs.w hkr pr-hd bd.t j.t r<sup>c</sup>-jrj jm (3) jr.t(=j) (m) hpš(=j) ds(=j) m jr.t n(=j) nb-hpt-r<sup>c</sup> n.t mrr.w(=f)*  
I provided bulls and goats, clothes, jewelry of the treasury, barley and emmer, all of that which I did with my own arm, and of that, which Nebhepetre did for me (= gave me) out of his love.

*htp dj nswt dj wsjr nb ddw hnt.y-jmn.tyw nb 3bdw pr.t-hrw (n) h3*  
An offering which the king gives so that Osiris, lord of Busiris, foremost of the westerners, lord of Abydos, may give an invocation offering of a thousand of

4. *h3 t hnk.t k3 3pd s3r mnht.h.t nb.t nfr(.t) w<sup>c</sup>b.t t w<sup>c</sup>b n pr-mntw dbh htp.w m pr-wsjr hn<sup>c</sup> hnk.t nb.t [...] hs3t*  
bread and beer, bulls and birds, alabaster vessels and clothes, and all good and pure things, pure bread of Per-montu, and the required offerings of the temple of Osiris together with the *hnk.t* offering of the Lady of Dendera, [...] the divine cow,

5. *šns.wy mhr.wy tp.wr3 n r<sup>c</sup> ds=f kbh ntr nb šps.wt w<sup>c</sup>b.wt tp-rnp.t sn.w p3.wt p.t <sup>c</sup>3b.t*  
the two *šns*-breads, the two *mhr*-jars, the best things opening the mouth of Re himself, the libations of every god in all noble vessels and in all pure vessels, of the first day of the year festival, of the offering of the festival of heaven, every great offering

6. *nb ntr k3.w iw3.w hk3.wt h3s.wt d3.wt 3pd.w r3.w m š3 [...] t hnk.t <sup>c</sup>nd.wy df3.w nb k3.w*  
of the lord of gods, bulls, sheep, goats of foreign lands, birds, geese, bread, two *<sup>c</sup>nd*-bowls of beer of the lord of *kas*,

7. *mrr.t 3h.w wnm jm n jm3h.y jnj-jtj=f ms my.t jkr m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw dd*  
of which the transformed spirits like to eat, to the revered one Antef, born of Mit, excellent, justified, who says:

*jw htm.n(=j) hm-k3 nht.w s3 (8) ny-sw-wsjr s3 nht.w st mw hpn*  
I hired the *ka*-priest Nakhtu, son of Ny-su-Usir, son of Nakhtu, to libate and offer drinks,

*mḥwnw ḥr w3.t n=f ḥn.t wr ḥr šns (ḏw)jw pr.w ḥr sb.t ḥr drp (9) jm n tw.t(=j) m ḥr.t-hrw n.t r<sup>c</sup> nb*

while Mehun stretches his hand to him, and while Khenet-wer is holding the *šns*-bread and the (*ḏw*)-*jw* vessels, going out and offering to my statue in the course of every day.

*jw jgrt ḥtm.n(=j) ḥr.y-ḥb.t ttw s3 jnj-jtj=f s3 ni-sw-mntw s3 jnj-jtj=f*

I have also hired the lector priest Antef, son of Nesmontu, son of Antef, son of Tjetu

10. *r jr.t jh.t m w<sup>c</sup>b.t r šd.t ḥb.t n ḥm(=j) m 3bd nb smd.t nb n mrw.t nfr rn=j*

to perform the rituals in the embalming place and to read rituals for my Majesty at every monthly ritual and at every half-month ritual, so that my name would be good,

11. *wnn šh3(=j) r mn mjn n mrw.t smnh r3-pr n s<sup>c</sup>h pn mnh*

and so that the memory of me would last until today, and so that the shrine of this beneficent dignitary could be made excellent.

12. *jw grt rdj.n(=j) ḥbs.w 20 n ḥm-k3 pn jw rdj.n(=j) ḥbs 10 n ḥr.y-ḥb.t pn b3k (13) b3k.t n w<sup>c</sup> nb*

I have give 20 pieces of cloth to the *ka*-priest and I have given 10 pieces of cloth to the lector priest, and a male slave and a female slave to each one.

*rdj(.w) n=f s3d.t ḥ3.wt m jwh n=tn n p3 (14) rnp.t n mrw.t snh rn(=j) n nhh ḥn<sup>c</sup> dt*

A part of the fields in the irrigated zone was given to them every year, so that my name would last for ever and ever.

*jm3h.w ḥr mntw jnj-jtj=f ms my.t*

One revered in front of Montu, Antef, son of Mit.

#### 49. Antef, son of Tjefi (MMA 57.95)

Dating: Mentuhotep II

Origin: Thebes

Bibliography: FISCHER 1959, 240–242; FISCHER 1960, 258–268, pl. VI.; LICHTHEIM 1988, 49–51; SCHENKEL 1965, 236–238).

#### Text:

(1) *hr.w sm3-t3.wy nb.ty sm3-t3.wy hr.w nb.w k3 šw.ty nswt-bjty nb-hr.w-r<sup>c</sup> s3 r<sup>c</sup> mnt.w-htp.w  
n<sup>c</sup>h d.t mj r3*

Horus Sema-tawy, Two Ladies Sema-tawy, Golden Horus Ka-shuty, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebkherure, son of Re, Mentuhotpe, living forever like Re.

*b3k=f m3<sup>c</sup>n n st-jb=f jm.y-r3 hnr.t n r3 <sup>c</sup>3 wr šm<sup>c</sup>.w mh jb m sdm.t w<sup>c</sup>*

His true trusted servant, the overseer of prison, entrance of the south, one who fills the heart with what only one may hear.

*jw gr.t rdj.n w(j) nb=j m n<sup>c</sup>r.t m (2) jm.y-r3 hnr.t jm=s šsm wr n nswt ds=f*

My lord appointed me in the Heracleopolitan nome as overseer of prison in it, a great leader on behalf of the king himself;

*pr h<sup>d</sup> n p3.t hp.t m dd nswt <sup>c</sup>k n jb=f rh-h.wt s*

the treasury of old times, whom the king allowed to enter his heart a knower of things.

(3) *h(w)d.k(wj) m pr-d.t m rdj.t n(=j) n hm n nb*

I was rich in my funerary foundation from that which the Majesty of my lord gave me.

*jj.n(=j) m njw.t(=j) h3b.n(=j) m sp<sup>c</sup>.t(=j)*

I went out from my city, I descended from my nome.

*jr.n(=j) mrr.t rmt<sup>c</sup> hss.t ntr.w*

I did what people love and what gods praise.

*jw rdj.n(=j) t n hkr.w hbs n h3y.t*

I gave bread to the hungry and clothes to the naked,

*jm3h.w jnj-jtj=tf*

the revered one, Antef.

(4) *htp dj nsw.t wsjr nb dd.w pr.t-hrw t hn<sup>c</sup>.t k3.w 3pd.w*

The offering which the king gives and Osiris, lord of Djedu, the invocation offering of breadbeer, bulls and birds

*n.t jm3h.w hr ntr <sup>c</sup>3 nb p.t jnj-jtj=f ms n tfj*

for the one revered in front of the Great god, lord of the sky, Intef, born of Tjefi,

(5) *tm.n hpr sp th m <sup>c</sup>.wy=f dr h3.t r jr.t jp.wt*

one by whose hand never happened an occasion of wrongdoing since the first sailing south to fulfil a mission.

*js̄t w(j) m hn.w nhn.w*  
I was in the middle of youth,

*m dd nswt s r j3.t=f*  
when the king appoints a man to his office,

*m h33 s m st=f*  
when a man descends to his place.

*jr r-ꜥ3 hr nt.t jwt.t hnt.y j3w.t m pr nsw*  
One acting as a fortress (protecting) everything one at the fore of the offices of the royal palace,

(6) *nb p3.t dr.y tp.w-ꜥ*  
lord of the old time who stems from the time of the ancestors.

*jm.y-jb n nswt m ꜥh=f m shr rhy.t hr=f*  
king's favourite in his palace, one from whom the commoners flee

*jw.w n=f wr.w m ks r rw.ty pr nsw*  
and to whom the great ones come bending to the hall of the palace,

*hk3.w hw.t hrp j3w.tyw wsd.w wr tp.y-ꜥ snw.t*  
the guardian of the palace, leader of officials, whom the great ones greet, one who is in front of the courtiers

*tkn m ꜥh rh h.wt st3 rꜥ mdw snw.t*  
who draw nigh to the palace. One who knows the secret things, on the day that the courtiers speak.

*wr jdt nb šf.yt st3 tw3 smj n nswt m wꜥꜥw*  
great of incense, possessor of dignity, one who reports to the king in private.

*tkn st rꜥ n sꜥš3*  
one whose seat is near him on the day of assembly,

*hmw n=f nswt mdw=f r jr.t ꜥrr.yt hr=f*  
to whom the king reveals his word to be a gateway for it,

(8) *m3ꜥ n st rꜥ n tw.t šm.t=f*  
a true one without transgression.

*jnk wꜥ n nb=f šw m jsf.t*  
I was one unique for his lord, one free from evil,

*dd(.w) mdw.t r wn=s m3ꜥ*  
one who turns speech to be right,

*rh(.w) mdw.t stp tsw m3 w3.t hm.t hn.t*  
One skilled in speech, with chosen utterances, one who sees far and foresees the future

*rh(.w) st rd=f m pr nswt*  
one who knows his place in the palace.

*jr gr.t h.t nb.t wd.n (9) hm=f jr(=j) n=f st*  
And as for every thing that His Majesty ordered me to do for him,

*jw jr.n(=j) st mj wd.t.n hm=f jr.t*  
I indeed did it according to what his Majesty ordered to be done.

*n rdj(=j) kj htp.t m st ky htp.t*  
I did not put one thing in the place of another.

*n sw3(=j) d3r (10) n hm=f*  
I did not disregard the need of His Majesty.

*n hq(=j) sm.t=f nb.t r3(=j) jkr ts(=j) wsr*  
I did not hinder any of his goings, my mouth being excellent, my utterances being powerful.

*jrr.t(=j) nb.t kn(.w) hr.y-jb n nb*  
All that I did was strong for the heart of my lord.

*wstn.kwj (11) m dd jb(=j) mh m r-k3 n nb(=j)*  
I am free in speaking: My heart is full of righteousness for my lord.

*jnk mr.y m3r nb=f hs.y=f n st=f jm3h.y jnj-jtj=f ms n tfj*  
I am one truly beloved of his lord, one praised on his place, the revered one, Antef, born of Tjefi.

**50. Meru** (Turin 1447)

Dating: Mentuhotep II

Origin: Thebes

Bibliography: KLEBS 1922, 22, fig. 14; OMLIN 1962, 9–10; SCHENKEL 1976, 240.

**Text** (of the short biographical part):

(7) ... *htm.w bjty smr w<sup>c</sup>.ty jm.y-r3 htm.t mrw*

... Seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, the sole friend, overseer of the seal Meru.

*jr nfr n wnn m <sup>c</sup>=tn dd=tn m r3=tn (8) m bw nb wn=tn n šms.w n ntr pn*

If there is nothing in your hand, say (it) with your mouth on every place where you are in the following of this god.

*jnk wnt mr.y rmt jm3 (9) n mr.wt=f*

For I was one beloved of people, pleasant to his servants.

*jw dj.n(=j) t n hkr hbs(.w) n h3.y n-mr.wt wnn(=j) jm3h.w hr ntr <sup>c</sup>3*

I have given bread to the hungry and clothes to the naked in order that I might be revered before the Great God.

## 51. Khety (Cairo B)

Dating: late 11th dynasty

Origin: el-Tarif

Bibliography: GARDINER 1917, 33–35; SCHENKEL 1965, 282–283.

### Text:

(1) *htp dj nswt dj wsjr nb dddw ntr ʿ3 nb 3bdw pr.t hrw (n) k3.w 3pd.w n htm.w bjty smr wʿ.ty (2) jm3h.y jm.y-r3 š hty dd*

An offering that the king gives so that Osiris, lord of Busiris, great god, lord of Abydos, may give an invocation offering (of) bulls and birds to the seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, the sole friend (of the king), the revered one, overseer of the workplace Khety, who says:

*jnk htm.w ntr m sjd.t h3s.wt*

I was the treasurer of god in making weak the foreign countries.

*wn.n(=j) m bj3.w (3) m3.n(=j) sw dndn.n(=j) h3s.wt tnh.t*

When I was in the Sinai, I inspected it, travelling through the foreign lands of Tjenehet.

*wn.n(=j) m pr.w n.w mh.ty htm.n(=j) pr.w-hd=f (4) m dw pf n pr hrw n ht mfk3.t [...] mfk3.t jm m ht.t n.t pr (5) sm3*

When I was in the houses of the Northerner, I sealed up his treasuries on that mountain of the house of the Horus of the terrace of turquoise, [having taken] turquoise thence from the mine of the house of Shema.

*wḥm.n(=j) ʿ m k.t ht.t ht.t n.t m[...]t hrt.w r=s m (6) hpr.t n hrw ds=f*

I tried again in another mine, called The Mine of M[...]t, which had been made for Horus himself.

*sb.k(wj) m wp.t n.t nb(=j) pn jr.n(=j) mrr.t.n=f*

I was sent with this task for my lord, and I did as he wished.

*jnk wpw.ty=f mjt.w jb=f sn-nw n (7) h3.t=f*

I am his emissary, equal to his heard, a second to his breast.

*jr.n(=j) n=f mrr.t=f mj jr.yt n ntr ds=f*

I did for him what he pleased, like that which is done for god himself.

*hsf.n(=j) n=f ʿ3m.w hr h3s.wt=sn*

I chased for him Asiatics out of their foreign lands.

*jn nd=f (8) rdj šf.yt(=j) jd.t=f rdj hry.t(=j) wn h3s.wt jpf spr.n(=j) r shr hj sp sn n b3w=f mrr.w.t=f (9) snwh n=f t3.wy ntr.w hr sh.w n h3.w=f*

It was the fear of him that gave me respect, it was his influence that spread terror of me, so that those foreign countries which I have reached cried “Hail!” to his might; the love of him binding for him the Two Lands, the gods prospering in his time.

*jj.n(=j) m htp r ʿhʿ=f*

I came in peace to his palace.



*dj.n(=j) n=f n tp h3s.wt m bj3.w m3 n b3.wt (10) bj3.w psd n jhwjw bj3.w rwd n mn-k3.w mfk3.t  
hrr-wt.t hsbq n tfrr.t (11) m s3hr.t hpt dw.w h.wt w3.w m dw n hstjw r<sup>c</sup>-ntt m b3wk (12) dšrt m  
xxx n.w r3-š33.wt msdm.wt n.(w)t khb.w*

I gave to him of the best of the foreign lands in new metal of Sinai, shining metal of Ihuiu, hard metal from Menkau, turquoise from Hererwetet and lapis lazuli from Tefreret in sahet-mineral from upon the mountains, khet-awa from the mountain of Hestiu, ra-netjetj from Bauq-of the Red Land, in sticks of Roshat and mesedjmut of Kehebu.

**52. Samontu** (Cairo CG 20712)

Dating: 11<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Origin: Thebes (?)

Bibliography: DARESSY 1893, no. 16; LANGE & SCHÄFER 1908, 337.

**Text:**

(1) [... *dd*] *j w<sup>c</sup>b <sup>c</sup>k* [...]  
[ ... says] the wab-priest who enters [...]

*jnk w<sup>c</sup>b n nb jwnw jbh* (2) *n nswt ntr.w*  
I was a wab-priest of the Lord of Heliopolis, a libation priest of the king of gods,

*<sup>c</sup>k(.w) hr sb<sup>3</sup> n w<sup>3</sup>h-rnp.wt*  
who entered the gate of (those who are/being) enduring of years,

*sw<sup>3</sup>d(.w) hp.w n r<sup>3</sup>-pr*  
who embellished the reliefs of the temple,

(3) *sm<sup>c</sup>r(.w) hnw* [...] *shkr* [...] *m r<sup>3</sup>-<sup>c</sup>.wy=fy*  
who purified its interior, [...] embellished [...] in its gate,

*swn(=j)* (4) *hr n jm.yw-hnt=f*  
who gave counsel to its ritualists,

*mh hr* [...] *m w<sup>c</sup>b wsh.w jw.w m hw.t <sup>c</sup>3.t*  
xxx [...] xxx the wide collars coming from the great temple

(5) [...] xxx *hr jr.t jh.t wsr hrw*  
[...] xxx performing rituals with a strong voice.

*sw<sup>c</sup>b(.w) wdh.w n mntw* (6) [...] *nb w<sup>3</sup>s.t*  
who cleaned the altars of Montu [...] lord of Thebes,

*sdf<sup>3</sup>(.w) h<sup>3</sup>y.wt pd.t=f m-<sup>c</sup>(=f)*  
who supplied the offering tables of his ennead by his own hands,

*sb(.w) htp.wt n jm.yw sms.w=f w<sup>c</sup>b* (7) *s<sup>3</sup>-mntw s<sup>3</sup> nni dd=f*  
who sent offerings to the the ones in his procession, the wab-priest Samontu, son of Neni,  
who says:

*jr.n(=j) w<sup>3</sup>b jbh n mntw m w<sup>3</sup>s.t*  
I was a wab-priest and a libation priest of Montu in Thebes.

(8) *šms.n(=j) sw r r<sup>3</sup> [h]b=f wts-nfr.w wj<sup>3</sup>=f*  
I followed him to the speech/opening/gate of his festival, carrying his barge,

*3tp=j* (9) *wj<sup>3</sup> hr jm.y-wrr.t*  
loading the barge on the western side.

*jn s3=j shpr.n [...] wj*  
It is my son who kept alive [...]

*jr.n(=j) hss.t (10) m dr.t s.t=f pw mnh*  
I did what was praised in the service of this his beneficent office(?).

*mr.n=f wn=j m m3dw hr jr.t (11) h.t [...] n=j h=f nb hr jr.t hss.t [k3 (12) k.n=j hr[=s]*  
He wished that I be in Medamud, performing rituals [...] his palace to me because of doing what his *ka* praises and that because of which I had entered.

*jw(=j) m sd.ty st.w n j3.w jrr.t n=j*  
I was a child of xxx

### 53. NN

Dating: 11<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Origin: el-Tarif

Bibliography: PETRIE 1909, 17 and pl. X; WINLOCK 1915, 18.

#### Text:

(1) *htp dj nswt dj jnpw pr.t-hrw n smr w<sup>c</sup>.ty jm.y-r3 hm.w ntr [...]* (2) *mr.y rmt.w jm.y-h3.t n mjt.yw=f*

An offering which the king gives so that Anubis may give an invocation offering to the sole friend, overseer of priests [...], beloved of mankind, one who is at the fore of his equals.

*jw jn.n(=j) tp z 20 htm.w h3.t 3.t (3) wp psš m h.t jt=j*

I have brought a gang of 20 individuals, (having) a right to great fields, besides that of my father's property.

*jw d3.n(=j) (n) pr jmn rnp.wt ksn.(w)t htm.w rhs (4) rdj.t<sup>c</sup> m wp nb n wdh.w r mnj m wp.t rnp.t*

I provided for the temple of Amun in years of scarcity, (having) a right to the sacrificial oxen, paying attention at every festival to the offering tables, until the festival of the opening of the year.

*jw jr.n(=j) m s3w m s.t 3.w (5) s3w m s.t nh.wt s3w m s.t [...]*

I acted as guardian of asses, a guardian of goats, a guardian of [...].

(6) *jw jr(=j) m sfh nw m jr.t n jmn*

I acted as the seventh in the actions for Amun [...]

#### 54. Mentuwasre (Firenze 6365)

Dating: 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Origin: Thebes

Bibliography: KLOTH & LANDGRÁFOVÁ 2008, (*in press*); SCHIAPARELLI 1887, 489–490.

#### Text:

*mntw-wsr s3 sh3=sn dd*

Mentuwasre, son of Sekhasen, says:

*jnk hrp sh jm.y-r3 s.t m pr mntw*

I was the leader of the ration management, inspector of the vestibule of the temple of Montu,

*wrh j3w.w m pr hk3*

one who assigns offices in the palace,  
(or: to whom are assigned offices in the royal palace)

*mdd mtn n njw.t=f*

one loyal to his town.

*jnk nfr š.w k3 nh.wt*

I was one with beautiful lakes and tall sycamores.

*jnk kd pr wsh m njw.t=f*

I was one who constructed a large house in his city,

*š3d js m smy.t=f*

and dug a tomb in his cemetery.

*jr.n=j swr.t n njw.t=j*

I made a drinking place for my city,

*d3.n=j s(t) m dp.t*

and I crossed it in a boat.

*jnk spd hr hrp mr.wt=f r jw r<sup>c</sup> nfr n=j jm=f*

I was one attentive in leading his subordinates, in order that a good day came for me in it.

*dd.n=j st n s3=j m js.t*

That which I have said to my son in the tomb.

## TEXTS FROM OTHER SITES

This part of the corpus include biographical texts from sites where less than three such texts relevant for the present work were discovered – Akhmim, Armant, Dendera, Heliopolis, Kumma, and Wadi el-Hudi. This, however, does not mean that only one or two biographical texts in general were discovered on these sites, as our corpus only includes biographies that contain verbal sentences, which leaves out the often very elaborate self-presentations composed in a series of epithets or in *jnk*-headed nominal sentences.

<b>NO.</b>	<b>OWNER</b>	<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>ORIGIN</b>	<b>DATING</b>
55.	Antef	Cairo CG 20024	Akhmim	Amenemhet I
56.	Mentuhotep	London, UC 14333	Armant	Mentuhotep II
57.	Rediukhnum	Cairo CG 20543	Dendera	Antef II
58.	Khetyankh Heni	Heliopolis	Heliopolis	early 12 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty
59.	Igay-hetep	National Museum Khartoum	Kumma 16-E-2/32	Senwosret III
60.	Samontu	Kumma	Kumma R.I.K. 116	Senwosret III.
61.	Heru	Cairo JE 71901	Wadi el-Hudi	Senwosret I

## Akhmim

### 55. Antef (Cairo CG 20024)

Dating: Amenemhet I

Origin: Akhmim

Bibliography: FRANKE 1984, Dossier 132; LANGE & SCHÄFER 1908, 26–28.

#### Text:

(1) *hṭp dj nswt dj wsjr nb ḏdw ntr ʕ3 nb 3bdw hṭp dj jnpw hk.t hnmw pr.t-hrw (n) h3 m h.t nb.t nfr(.t) pr.t m-b3h ntr ʕ3 n jm3h(.w) jr.y-pʕ.t h3t.y-ʕ jm.y-r3 hm.w-ntr (hr.y-tp) ʕ3 n sp3.t jnj-jtj=f*  
An offering which the king gives so that Osiris, lord of Busiris, great god, lord of Abydos, may give. An offering which Anubis, Heket, Khnum give – an invocation offering (of a thousand of all good things presented in the presence of the great god to the one revered, hereditary noble and count, overseer of priests, great nomarch Antef.

*ms.tw n=f (2) ʕ.wj hr hṭp m hb.w n.w ntr hr.t-ntr*

May hands be given to him with offerings on the festivals of the necropolis.

*sd3=f hnʕ ntr ʕ3 m d3.t ntr n pkr*

May he fare with the great god on the God's journey to Peqer.

*dj.t(w) n=f ʕ.wj m nšm.t hr w3.wt jmn.twt*

May hands be given to him in the neshemet barque on the western ways.

*dsr=f hp.wt m mskt.t*

May he manipulate the tools in the evening bark.

*skd=f m ʕnd.t*

May he fare in the morning bark.

*dd.tw n=f (5) jw m hṭp jn wr.w n.w 3bdw*

May "welcome" be said to him by the great ones of Abydos.

*sdm=f hn.w m r3 n t3-wr h3kr grh sdr.t*

May he hear jubilation from the mouth of (the inhabitants of) Ta wer on the Haker festival and on the night of vigil.

*bʕh=f (6) m hṭp df3.w m h.t n wsjr m w3g dhwt.t hb rkḥ hb tp.y-rnp.t hb wr pr.t ʕ3.t hb.w (7) nb n ntr ʕ3*

May he have excess of offerings and food from the offerings of Osiris at the Wag festival, at the festival of Thoth, at the Rekeh festival, at the festival of the first day of the year, at the great festival, at the great procession, and at all the festivals of the great god

*n k3 (n) jm3h(.w) jr.y-pʕ.t h3.ty-ʕ jm.y-r3 <hm.w> ntr {ʕ3} jm.y-r3 hm.wt hnr.w hr.y-tp ʕ3 m sp3.t jnj-jtj=f ms(.w) (8) n bw.t*

to the ka of the revered one, hereditary noble and count, overseer of priests, overseer of the khemut-crown and the ?, great nomarch Antef, born of But.

*ḏd=f jj.n(=j) m t3=j h3.n=j m sp3.t=j*

He says: I went out of my land, I descended from my nome,

*jr.n(=j) mrr.t rmt̄ ḥss.t ntr.w*

having done what people loved and what gods praised.

*jw rdj.n(=j) t n ḥkr*

I gave bread to the hungry.

## Armant

**56. Mentuhotep** (London, UC 14333)

Dating: Mentuhotep II

Origin: Armant

Bibliography: GOEDICKE 1962, 25–27, pl. 2; GRIFFITH 1896, 195–197; STEWART 1979, 20.

### Text:

(1) *htp dj nswt wsjr nb dd.w ntr ʕ nb 3bdw dj=f*

An offering which the king gives so that Osiris, lord of Djedu, great god, may give

*pr.t-hrw (n) t hnḳ.t k3.w 3pd.w h3 m sšr h.t nb.t nfr.t wʕb.t*

an invocation offering of bread, beer, bulls and fowl, a thousand of pieces of linen (and) every good and pure thing

*n jm3h.w jr.y-pʕ.t h3t.y-ʕ jm.y-r3 hm.w ntr mnt.w-htp jr.w n hp.y m3ʕ hrw*

for the praised one, noble and prince, overseer of priests Mentuhotep, son of Hepy, justified,

(2) *dd=f*

who says:

*jnk mn rd(.wj) mdd w3.t rdj n nb=f mr.wt=f*

I was one stable of feet, loyal, one who gives his love to his lord.

*jnk ʕ n ... št3.t w3h-jb šw m nhrhr*

I was one great of the secret ..., a friendly one, free of nervousity,

*n k3hs hft wsr*

not boastful as a mighty one,

*mr.wt(=f) m h.t n.t smr.w wr.w ʕh hʕ(.w) jm*

whose love was in the body of the great officials of the palace, and him who was enthroned there,

*ʕk hr nb=f wr.w h(r)-ph=f*

one who comes to his lord with the great ones behind him,

(4) *jr.yw-sbh.t h3m.w*

the watchers of the portals bowing,

*r ph(=f) bw nt.y hm(=f) jm*

until he reached the place where his majesty was;

*prr jm jb w3š hs.wt m hr n bw nb*

one who went therefrom with an exalted heart, praised in front of everyone.



*jr.n[hm]=f (5) nn n b3k=f n ʕ3.t n mdd w3.t(=j)*  
His Majesty did this for his servant, because I was loyal.

*jr.n=f w(j) m mh-jb hm=f m jwnw tp.t sp<sup>c</sup>.t=f*  
He made me a trusted one of His Majesty in On at the head of its nome.

*rh(.w=j) hm(.w=j) hr mr.wt(=j) bw nb hr dw3 ntr*  
Those that I knew and those that I knew not loved me, everyone praised god (for me)

(6) *hr nh.t n w3h tp t3 n ʕ3.t n hss w(j) hm=f r k.w hpr.w m njw.t tn*  
and prayed to those who remain on earth, because His Majesty praised me more than anyone who grew up in this city.

*jnk šd nhn krs j3.wy (7) m3irw nb*  
I was one who protected the child and buried the old one (and) every miserable.

*j(w) rdj.n(=j) t n hkr š<sup>c</sup>s n h3.y*  
I gave bread to the hungry and clothes to the naked.

*jnk s3 npr hy n t3y.t*  
I was the son of Neper, the husband of Tayt,

*hpr.n n=f sh3.t(8)-hr j<sup>c</sup>h*  
one for whom Sekhat-hor made cattle exist,

*nb špss m ʕ3.t nb.t mshn.t hnm.w jr(.y) rmt*  
a possessor of richness, consisting of every precious stone from the place of Khnum, the maker of people.

*jw hpr.n h<sup>c</sup>py wr rnp.t 25*  
In year 25 came a great flood.

(9) *n rdj(=j) h(kr) sp<sup>c</sup>.t(=j)*  
I did not let my nome hunger,

*dj.n(=j) n=s rs.y bd.t*  
I gave to it Upper Egyptian corn and barley.

*n rdj(=j) hpr wgg jm=s jwt h<sup>c</sup>py.w ʕ3.w*  
I did not let food-lack happen in it when great floods came.

*snm.n(=j) hrd.w m (10) ʕ.wy(=j)*  
I nourished the child with my hands,

*wrh.n(=j) h<sup>c</sup>r.wt*  
I anointed the widows,

*nn nds m3jr.w nb m h3y(=j)*  
there were no poor ones and no miserable ones in my time.

*ḥ3.n(=j) r rdj.t mr.wt(=j) n-mr.wt nfr rn(=j) m3ḥ-hr.w(=j) (11) m hr.t-ntr*

I strove to create love for me, in order that my name be good and that I may be justified in the necropolis.

*sb3y.t(=j) n hrd.w(=j) m dd*

My instruction to my children is as follows:

*hr.t w3h-jb*

Peace and satisfaction

*tm ḥ3 hnḥ nds*

is (in) not fighting against a weak one.

*nn hr.y k3hs mr.y*

There is no arrogant superior who is beloved.

*hnn jb r dd.t(y)=f(y)*

incline (your) heart to him who shall say

(12) *m3r.w=f r skt=f hr.t n.t h.t=f*

(of) his misery in order to get rid of all that troubles him (lit. clean the state of his body).

*sdm md.w=f dr m3r=f*

Listen to his speech, dispell his misery,

*rdj sj r wn=f m3ḥ*

place a man to his proper place.

*m h3.w gr hrp jb h3m (13) n bw nb*

Moreover, be silent, suppress the heart (and) bow to everyone.

*tm hbs hr r hkr dr.t pw jm3.t mrr.t*

Do not turn (your) face away from hunger, (for) the good-doing hand is a beloved one.

*jnm pw wḥ rmt*

Who is a man?

*nn ḥ3 r rwd (14) r htm.w nb wpt-hr dd*

You should not fight against any inspector or any seal-bearer except for (with) speech.

*hnn jb=k m jw h3w r spr ty r dd.t=f jj.t.n=f hr=s*

Incline your heart when a subordinate approaches you in order to say that because of which he had come,

*smj n hrt nds.w (15) hḥr.wt nmh.w r mjt[t]*

namely a report on the situation of the poor, the widows, as well as the orphans.

*jr n ... sn r ... r snf nt.y w3 r m3jrw*

Act ... in order to let breath the one who is deep in misery;

*wn bjt nfr.t n.t sj nfr ʕ.wj h3.w m jr.t*

The good character of a man is for him more than thousands of acting hands.

*jw sdm(.w) r3 n rmt*

The speech of the people is heard (i.e.: this is what people say):

*mnw pw n sj nfr=f*

His goodness is a monument of a man,

*sh̄m pw bjn bj*

he whose character is evil is forgotten.

*(j)r wnn hpr mj dd*

If it happens as it was said,

*wnn rn(=j) nfr mn(.w) m njw.t n w3s.y mnw(=j) n dt*

my name shall be good and lasting in my city, and my monument shall not perish for ever.

## Dendera

### 57. Rediukhnum (Cairo CG 20543)

Dating: Antef II

Origin: Dendera

Bibliography: LANGE & SCHÄFER 1908, 164–167; LICHTHEIM 1988, 42–44; PETRIE 1900, pl. xv, xvb; SCHENKEL 1965, 112–115; SCHENKEL 1976, 57–58.

#### Text:

(1) *hṯp dj nswt (dj) wsjr nb ḏḏw hnt.y-jmn.tyw nb 3ḏw m [...]*

An offering which the king gives so that Osiris, lord of Busiris, and Khentamenti, Lord of Abydos, may give [...]

(2) [...] *h3 (n) h.t nb.t nfr(.t) n htmw-bjty smr w<sup>c</sup>.ty jm.y-jb n nb.t=f wr.t*

[...] a thousand of every good thing to the seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, a trusted one of his great mistress,

(3) *rḥ ḥ<sup>c</sup>.w=f rwḏ htm nfr ḥbb jkr s.t ḥm šm.t nb.t nb šfy.t*

one who knows his position, stable of seal, perfect of form, one excellent of place, experienced of every course, dignified,

(4) *hḏ hbsw špss ḥ<sup>c</sup>.w ntr.y m33 r sp.t ḥsb n jr.t n<sup>c</sup> jb dmj n sr.w pg3 jb*

white of clothes, noble of body, divine of sight ... , careful of action, pitiful, who mingles with the officials, one open-hearted,

(5) *wḏ jm.yw h.t sbt-hr n spr.ty r ḏḏ=f nt.t m jb=f 3k-jb nb.t=f n ss.t-jb=s dj(.w) n=s m ḥ.t r ḥ3.t*

who commands the troop, friendly to the one who comes in order to say what is in his heart, one who enters the herd of his mistress, her trusted one whom she placed to the palace because

(6) *kḏ=f mrr.w m r3 n rmt hnt.y s.t m pr ḥ3 jm.y-r3 pr jm3h.w rdj.w-hmn.w*

of his character, one beloved in the mouth of the people, foremost of place in the royal palace, the praised one, overseer of the house, Rediu-khnum

*ḏḏ*

who says:

*jnk mr.y nb.t (7) ḥs.y=s m hr.t-hrw n.t r<sup>c</sup> nb*

I was one beloved of the lady, her praised one in the course of every day.

*jw jr.n(=j) ḥ<sup>c</sup>.w ḥ3 m rnp.wt hr hn.wt hm.t nswt nfrw-k3y.t*

I spent a great period of years under the Lady, king's wife, Neferukayet,

*wr.t (8) m k3.w=s hnt.t m sw.t=s ḥ3.t jt.w hnt.t mw.wt ḥy.t p.t n jt.w=s šps.t hnt.t t3 tn*

great of her kas, foremost of her places, great of fathers, foremost of mothers, for whose forefathers the sky was lifted up, a noble one at the fore of this land,

(9) *krh.t hnt sm<sup>c</sup> jst s m s3.t nsw.t m hm.t nswt mr.t=f jw<sup>c</sup>.n=s mw.t=s nb.t ...*

a noble one who was at the fore of Upper Egypt since she was a royal daughter and king's wife, his beloved, who inherited all (possessions) of her mother, lady of ...

(10) *h3.t rmt tp r 3bdw ph.t=s r ns.t m hm.wt m-<sup>c</sup> hk3.w-hw.wt sr.w n.w t3 r-dr=f*

one at the fore of people from Abydos down to the Aphroditopolite nome, with women, estate managers and officials from the entire land.

*hpr.n(=j) hr rd.wy hm.t=s [dr] (11) nhnw.t(=j) n.t tp.-<sup>c</sup>.wy*

I grew up under the feet of Her Majesty since my earliest youth,

*jhr rh=s jkr s.t-<sup>c</sup>(=j) mdd(=j) mtn n sr.w*

because she knew that my actions were excellent and that I was loyal to the way of the officials.

*<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.n djn.n=s w(=j) m jwn.t*

Then she placed me in Dendera

*m w3.t (12) wr.t n km.tyw swd.t drf hnt.t m hr.w <sup>c</sup>r.t wr.t ...*

... foremost inside the great royal palace.

*jw jr.n(=j) 3w.w jm=s <sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.w <sup>c</sup>3 rnp.wt {r=s}*

I spent a long time there, a long period of years {...}

*n sp jj h.t nb.t (13) jm n <sup>c</sup>3.t n rh(=j) h.t*

There never came a (bad) thing therein, for I was a knower of things.

*jw gr.t hn.n(=j) s(t) sm3 ssm=s m nfr.t r tp.t-<sup>c</sup>*

I organised it completely so that its administration was better than before.

*srwd.n(=j) gm.t.n(=j) wst*

I restored what I had found broken,

*ts.n(=j) gm.t.n(=j) fdk(14)*

I set up that which I had found fallen.

*ns.n(=j) gm.t.n(=j) jt.t*

I returned (?) that which I had found taken.

*n th(=j) hb nb gm.n(=j) jr(w) m pr pn*

I did not disturb any ritual that I found being performed in this house.

*sf mn hr jmn.t nb*

Sacrifice was secured for all daily offerings.

*hb nb jr=f jw r<sup>c</sup>(=f) hr.y-tp snb n hnw.t nfrw-k3y.t (15) nhh d.t*

Every festival, it was performed when its day came, for the sake of the health of the mistress Neferukayet for all eternity.

*hr.n(=j) pr m tp nfr*

I managed the estate well.

*s<sup>c</sup>3.n(=j) shb.t=f nb.t*

I enlarged all its courtrooms.

*rdj n(=j) dd n dbh sw*

I gave a gift to the one who demanded it,

*smn=j hm(=j) mj rh.n(=j)*

I nourished the one I did not know as the one I knew,

*n mr.wt (16) nfr rn(=j) m r3 n tp.w t3*

so that my name would be good in the mouth of those who are on earth.

*jnk wnn.t sr <sup>c</sup>3 n jb=f hn bnr n mr.wt*

I was an official great in his heart, a sweet plant of love.

*n th.t(=j) n mh.n(=j) jb*

I was no drunkard, I was not forgetful,

*(17) jn jb(=j) shnt s.t(=j)*

It was my (own) heart that promoted my place,

*jn kd(=j) rdj (wj) r h3.t*

it was my (own) character that put me to the fore.

*jr.n(=j) nw mj kd.w jr.n(=j) jst wj m jm.y-jb nb.t=f*

I did all that I did, for I was a trusted one of his mistress.

*mds wj shpr.n(=j) h3w*

I was energetic, I created wealth,

*(18) <sup>c</sup>pr.n(=j) wnw.t nb.t pr km r hn hr=s*

(and) I furnished all the services by which an estate is managed,

*h3b(=j) ts.t n gm.t.n(=j) hr.w*

so that I could send support to that which I had found fallen.

*dd(.w) js jw 3h wr.t jr s 3h.w n jb=f n nb.t=f hnt.t (19) mn.w=f*

One says: "It is very useful when a man does what is useful for his heart and for his mistress who promoted his monuments."

*jr.n(=j) n=s <sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup> <sup>c</sup>3 m špss nb jr.w m h3.w gm.t.n(=j) jr.n wn nb m st tn*

I did for her a great quantity of all noble things, surpassing that which I had found done by anyone who had been in this place.

*sw3.n(=j) mj.ty nb wn hr hrp m pr pn*

I outdid all my equals who had been leaders in this house.

*jnk rh sw (20) hnt.y rmt nh.t šps n ntr rdj.n=f jkr n shr=f špss <sup>c</sup>3.t n hr.t-<sup>c</sup>=f*

I am one who is known, one foremost of men, strong and noble ... One who was made excellent of plans and greatly noble of his performance.

*hnw.t(=j) m nb.t sm<sup>c</sup> n sn<sup>t</sup> wr.t n.t t3 pn*

My lady is the mistress of Upper Egypt, the greatest one of this land.

*w3h k3=s (21) hr s.t wr.t jr=s hh rnp.wt m<sup>c</sup>nh d.t mj r<sup>c</sup>*

May her ka endure on the great throne, may she make millions of years, living forever like Re.

*pr.t hrw n jm3h.w rdjw-hnm.w m w3g dhwtj hdd.t m hrw m rkh*

An invocation offering for the praised one Rediukhnum, on the wag festival, on the Thoth festival, on the Hedjedet festival, on the festival of Horus, on the Rekeh festival,

*m (22) tp.y-rnp.t m pr.t nb.t 3.t m hb.w nb.w*

on the first day of the year, on every great procession, on every festival.

*m3<sup>c</sup>.t(w) n=f<sup>c</sup>-hr.t htp.wt pr.t m-b3h hw.t-hr*

May offerings be renewed for him that come in front of Hathor,

*s3h sw hn.tyw pr wr w<sup>c</sup>b (23) nw rwd šps*

may the ones who are in the palace dignify him, w<sup>c</sup>b priests of the noble terrace.

*wp=f w3.wt mrr.t=f m htp sp sn*

May he open the ways according to his wish, in peace, in peace!

*jm3h.w rdj.w-hnm.w dd*

The praised one, Rediukhnum, says:

*jnk jr(.y) kd=f mrr.w rmt m hr.t-hrw n.t r<sup>c</sup> nb*

I am one who made his own character, one beloved by the people in the course of every day.

## Heliopolis

### 58. Khetyankh Heni (Heliopolis)

Dating: early 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Origin: Heliopolis

Bibliography: SIMPSON 2001, 15–17.

#### Text:

(1) *htp dj nswt wsjr nb t3-wr pr.t-hrw t3 hn̄k.t k3.w 3pd.w n jm3h(.w) hr n̄tr ʕ3 jm.y-r3 hw.t-n̄tr hty-ʕnh hn̄j*

An offering which the king gives so that Osiris, Lord of the Thinite nome, may give an invocation offering of bread and beer, bulls and birds, to the revered one in front of the great god, overseer of the temple Khetyankh Heni.

(2) *jr.y p̄.t h3t.y-ʕ hr.y tp n t3 r-d̄r=f jm.y-r3 sš hty m3ʕ hrw dd=f*

The hereditary noble and local prince, leader of the whole land, overseer of scribes Khety, justified, says:

*jj.n=j (3) m njw.t=j h3.n(=j) m sp̄.t(=j)*

I came from my city, I descended from my nome,

*jr.n=j m3ʕ.t n n̄tr špss n hwt ʕ3.t*

having done justice for the august god of the great temple,

*sh̄tp.n(=j) n̄tr m mrr.t=f*

and having made god satisfied with what he loved.

*jw rdj.n=j t n h̄kr h̄bs.w n h̄ʕ.y*

I gave bread to the hungry, clothes to the naked.

*dr.n(=j) s3r n hr.y jw*

I drove away affliction from the misfortunate.

*jw (4) nh̄m.n(=j) m3jr m-ʕ wsr r=f*

I rescued the oppressed from one more powerful than him,

*dd=j grg n dd sw m3ʕ.t n j.y hr=s*

I gave lie to one who said it, truth to the one who came with it,

*n mrw.t nfr rn(=j) jm hr n̄tr [ʕ3] nb p.t*

so that my name would be good on account of it in front of the great god, lord of heaven,

*wn rn=j nfr tp t3*

and so that my name be good upon earth.

*nb jm3h hr nswt jm.y-r3 sš hr.y hb.t hr.y-tp hty-ʕnh*

Possessor of praise before the king, overseer of scribes, chief lector priest Khetyankh.



(5) *htp dj nswt dj jnpw nb sp3.t d3=f p.t sm3=f t3 jm3h(.w) jm.y-r3 t3 mhw hnj*

An offering which the king gives so that Anubis, lord of Sepa, may cause him to cross the sky and unite (with) the earth, one revered, overseer of Lower Egypt Heni.

(6) *jr.y-p<sup>c</sup>.t h<sup>c</sup>t.y-<sup>c</sup> wr n nswt 3 n bjty hr.y-tp 3 n hk3-<sup>c</sup>nd-j3b*

The hereditary noble and local prince, great one of the king of Upper Egypt, great of the king of Lower Egypt, nomarch of the eastern Heqa-anedj nome,

*dd hp.w s(7)hnt j3.w jm.y-r3 sdm.t wd<sup>c</sup>.t*

who gives laws and advances offices, overseer of hearing judgments,

*sm.w n=f wr.w [m ks(?) hr rw.ty (?) pr nswt]*

one to whom the great ones come [bowing at the double gate of the palace?]

*mjty nswt m shr.yt t3.wy hs.y=f m hr.t-hrw n.t r<sup>c</sup> nb*

one like the king in pacifying the two lands, praised by him in the course of every day,

*jrr wd.t hm=f nn sn.t-hr jm*

who did what His Majesty ordered without negligence (?) therein,

(8) *hrp jr.yw jh.t nswt wr m j3.t=f 3 m s3h=f hnt.y-s.t 3 mr.wt*

leader of those who are over the affairs of the king, great of his office, great in his dignity, foremost of position, great of love,

*dd sndw [nswt ... .. s]grh n=f hr.yw s<sup>c</sup>*

who places fear of the [king ... ..] who pacifies for him the Bedouin.

*jm3h.w hr ntr 3 nb p.t jm.y-r3 hw.t-ntr hr.y-hb.t hr.y-tp hty-<sup>c</sup>nh*

The revered one in front of the Great God, lord of the sky, overseer of the temple, chief lector priest Khetyankh.

(9) *dbh.t htp t hnk.t*

The demanded offerings of bread and beer;

(9a) *jm3h(.w) hr ntr 3 nb p.t jm.y-r3 sš hty*

one revered in front of the great god, lord of the sky, overseer of scribes Khety;

(9b) *n jm3h(.w) htm.w-bjty jm.y-r3 hw.t-ntr hty*

for the revered one, seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, overseer of the temple, Khety.

(10) *htp dj nswt jnpw tp.y-dw=f jm.y-wt nb t3 dsr krs.t=f nfr m smj.t dd.t-3.t n.t jwnw nb jm3h hr nswt jm.y-r3 hw.t-ntr hty-<sup>c</sup>nh*

An offering which the king gives so that Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the embalming place, lord of the sacred land, may cause that he be buried well in the necropolis of Djedet-aat in Heliopolis. One revered in front of the king, overseer of the temple, Khetiankh.

(11) *htp dj nswt dj wsjr nb ddw hnt.y-jmn.tyw nb 3bdw pr.t-hrw t hnḳ.t k3.w 3pd.w n=f nfr m js=f n hr.t-ntr jm3h(.w) jm.y-r3 hw.t-ntr hty-ḥnh*

An offering which the king gives so that Osiris, lord of Busiris, Khentamenty, lord of Abydos, may give an invocation offering of bread and beer, bulls and birds, for him well in his tomb at the necropolis, the revered one, overseer of the temple Khetyankh.

(12) *jm3h.w hr wsjr nb jmnt.t* (13) *h3t.y-ḥ htm.w-bjty smr wḥ.ty dd wd.w n rs.y* (14) *wp.wt n t3-mhw hr.y-hb [hr.y-tp hty]-ḥnh*

Revered one in front of Osiris, lord of the west, hereditary noble, seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, the unique friend, who gives commands to Upper Egypt and assigns missions to Lower Egypt, the chief lector priest Khetyankh.

(15) *jm3h.wt* (sic!) *n mrw.t dd hp.w* (16) *shnt j3w.w hr.y-tp m-m smr.w* (17) *hḥt.y-ḥ sm hrp šnd.ty nb hr.y-hb.t hr.y-tp hty-ḥnh*

The revered one of love, who dives laws and advances offices, leading one among the officials, the count, sem-priest, master of every kilt, chief lector priest Khetyankh.

## Kumma

**59. Igay-hetep** (Kumma 16-E-2/32 (National Museum Khartoum))

Dating: Senwosret III

Origin: Kumma

Bibliography: HINTZE & REINEKE 1989, 109–110.

**Relevant part of text:**

(5-6)

*jnk nht ꜥ jr wp.t=f*

I was one strong of arm, who fulfilled his task,

*mnḥ hr jb n nb=f*

one beneficent in the heart of his lord,

*mr.y=f m3ꜥ n s.t-jb=f*

his truly beloved and trusted.

*tsj.tw(=f) r smr jw=f m ḥrd*

(He) was raised to companion when he was (still) a child.

**60. Samontu** (Kumma R.I.K. 116)

Dating: Senwosret III.

Origin: Kumma

Bibliography: DUNHAM 1960, 164, pl. 102 D; HINTZE & REINEKE 1989, 146–147; LEPSIUS 1913, 217.

**Relevant part of text:**

(6) *ḥd.n(=j) ḥnꜥ nꜥwt nn 3w* (7) *jm m-ḥnt stj*

I sailed downstream with my troop without a deceased among (it) in the land of Nubia.

*n rdj(=j) s n ḥnr.t* (8) *ḥbs.n(=j) nf3 n sbj.w=f n ḥs.w=f n nsw.t mr=f m3ꜥ.t*

I did send nobody to jail but I destroyed (?ḥb3) and slew these rebels of him (*nf3 n sbj.w=f*) for his praise of the king who wishes the right.

## Wadi el-Hudi

**61. Heru** (Cairo JE 71901)

Dating: Senwosret I

Origin: Wadi el-Hudi

Bibliography: OMLIN 1962, 72–74; ROWE 1939, 188 – 191.

### Relevant part of text:

(12) *jn wj hm n nb ntr pn hr.y-tp t3.wy wd k3.t* (13) *ʕn sw m h3s.t tn*

I was sent by the majesty of the lord, this god, chief of the Two Lands, with an order for his beautiful works in this country.

*ts.t dy m-h.t(=j) r jr.t mrr.t k3=f m hsmn.w pn n t3 stj* (14) *jn.kwj jm r-ʕ3.t wr.t shn.n=j mj r-r3 šn.yt jth hr wns 3tp hr sw.t*

This army was given behind me to do what His Majesty liked in this (mine of the ) copper of the land of Nubia, which material I brought thence in great quantity; and when I had collected it unto the mouth of the Two Granaries, it was dragged on sledges and carried upon stretchers.

## TEXTS OF UNKNOWN PROVENANCE

The last group of texts in our corpus includes texts of unknown or uncertain provenance. Many of these texts have been very incompletely published (for example the biographical text of Antefiqer (no. 62, BM EA 1628), has been published only in the form of a highly erratic drawing by BUDGE (1914, pl 1).

<b>NO.</b>	<b>OWNER</b>	<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>DATING</b>
62.	Hekaib	BM EA 1671	First Intermediate Period
63.	Hetep	Cairo CG 20506	Late 11 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty
64.	Antefiqer	BM EA 1628	Senwosret I
65.	Samontu	BM EA 828	Amenemhet I, Senwosret I and Amenemhet II
66.	Ameny	Louvre C 172	Amenemhet II
67.	Amenemhet	Hannover 2927	Amenemhet II
68.	Bebi	Leiden V 88	Middle Kingdom

**62. Hekaib** (BM EA 1671)

Dating: First Intermediate Period

Origin: Upper Egypt

Bibliography: POLOTSKY 1930, 194–199.

**Text:**

(1) *htp dj nswt (dj) wp-w3.wt tp.y-dw=f jmy.wt nb t3 dsr*

An offering which the king gives so that Wepwawet who is upon his mountain, lord of the sacred land, may (give)

*pr.t-hrw hr ntr ʕ nb p.t n jm3h.w smr wʕ.ty hk3-jb*

an invocation offering in front of the great god, lord of heaven, to the honoured one, the only friend Hekaib,

*dd*

who says:

*jnk nds jkr dd (2) m r3=f jr.y m hpš=f hsf=f njw.t=f r=f*

I was an excellent citizen who speaks with his mouth and acts with his arm, who keeps his city away from him.

*jnk šps.y m w3s.t jwn ʕ m hnt.yt*

I was a noble one in Waset, a great pillar in Khentyt.

*jw sw3.n(=j) mjt.y nb m njw.t tn m šps nb*

I surpassed all my equals in this city in any nobility.

*dd (3) rmt m jr.t m hpš šw m ʕw3.t ky*

People spoke about (my) acting with one's arm: "(He is) free from robbing another."

*jw d3.n(=j) (4) njw.t tn r dr=s m jt rs.yt rnp.wt r shr r(=s) shn.w*

I provided this whole city with Upper Egyptian corn for (many) years in order to dispell from it the needs.

*jw dj.n(=j) t n hkr (5) hbs.w n hʕy*

I gave bread to the hungry and clothes to the naked.

*šrh(=j) ʕ.w skbh(=j) n nds.w*

I made the great ones famous, I enabled the small ones to live easily,

(6) *jw dj.n=j tʕb.t n šmʕ jt rs.y n ʕ pn mh.t.y*

I gave a loan of corn to Upper Egypt and Upper Egyptian corn to Lower Egypt.

*jw dj.n(=j) mrh.t n ... m-ht (7) njw.t(=j) htp(.ty)*

I gave *merchet*-oil to El-Kab after my city had been satisfied.

*jw jr.n(=j) dpt n 40 dpt r m-m k3.w d3.t jwj jm šn<sup>c</sup>*

I made a boat of 40 and a barge to transport cattle and to ferry the boatless in the inundation season.

*jw nḥb.n(=j) (8) s3.w m k3.w 200 s3.w m ḥnḥs.wt m ḥ3.w*

I appointed a herdsman for 200 cattle and another for the goats and for the donkeys.

*ḥ3.tyw rmt(=j) (9) ḥ3.tyw nm(j)w=j r mjty(=j) nb*

My people were more numerous and my ships (?) greater than (those of) any of my peers.

*jnk ḥk3-jb n pry.t stḥ jw s nb ḥr ḥtm ḥ3=f*

I was one who controlled his temper in the time of Seth's (?) coming out, when every man was shutting his door.

*(10) jw jp.n ḥk3 j<sup>c</sup>.w(=j) gm=f ḥ3.w(=j) ḥr jš.wt*

The ruler counted my cattle and found that my possessions had grown.

*jr gr.t msbb nb (11) ḥn<sup>c</sup>(=j) jw dj.n(=j) kh=f*

But as for everyone who dealt (?) with me, I caused him to bow down.

*pr.n(=j) m pr(=j) ḥ3.n(=j) m js(=j)*

I went out of my house and I came to my tomb,

*pr(=j) grg*

my house being established,

*(12) jw<sup>c</sup>(=j) ḥ=f nḥt*

the hand of my heir being strong.

*jr.t.n n=f s3=f sms.w mr.y=f jnj grg(.y) pt jt=f*

What his oldest son, his beloved, Ini, the establisher of the house, has done for him.

**63. Hetep** (Cairo CG 20506)

Dating: Late 11<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Origin: Unknown

Bibliography: LANGE & SCHÄFER 1908, 96–97, pl. XXXIV; SCHENKEL 1965, 299–300.

**Text:**

(1) *htp dj nswt dj jnpw tp-dw=f jm.y-wt nb t3 dsr [pr.t-hr.w n t hnk.t ...]* (2) *h.t nb.t nfrw(.t) n jm3h.y hr [ntr ʕ3]* (3) *nb p.t htp jkr m3c-hrw*

And offering that the king gives so that Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in he embalming place, lord of the sacred land, may give [an invocation offering of bread and beer ...] and of all good things to the revered one in front of the great god, lord of heaven, Hetep, excellent and justified.

(4) *smr-wc.ty htm.w htp dd*

The sole friend, seal-bearer Hetep says:

*jw rdj.n(=j) t n hkr hbs.w n h3.y*

I gave bread to the hungry and clothes to the naked.

(5) *jw d3.n(=j) jw.w m mhn.t=j ds=s*

I ferried across the boatless in my own bark.

*jnk jwjw sdr (3) m hnw*

I was a *jwjw* dog, who sleeps in a tent,

*tsm n hnk.yt mr(.y) n hn.wt=f*

a dog for bed beloved of his mistress,

*sk3 (4) m htr hwsj m ʕ3*

one who ploughs with a span and treads with donkeys,

[...]

*jw drp.n(=j) (n) hkr.t nswt wc.t.t (6) jkw n jj h.t jm*

I offered libation to the unique jewel of the king Iku, without a (bad) thing coming to it.

*pr.n(=j) m pr(=j) r js(=j)*

I went out of my house and to my tomb,

*sb.n(=j) r jm3h*

having reached reverence.



#### 64. Antefiqer (BM EA 1628)

Dating: Senwosret II (until FISCHER 1961 dated to the time of Antef II)

Origin: Upper Egypt, probably Theban area (?)

Bibliography: BELL 1971, 15; BUDGE 1914, pl 1; FISCHER 1961, 70; VANDIER 1936, 111.

#### Text:

1. *h̄tp dj nswt dj wsjr nb ddw h̄nt.y-jmn.tyw (2) nb 3bdw*

An offering which the king gives so that Osiris, Lord of Busiris, foremost of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos,

*wp-w3.wt nb t3 dsr jnpw tp.y-dw=f (3) jm.y-wt nb t3 dsr*

and Wepwawet, Lord of the Sacred Land, and Anubis who-is-upon-his-mountain, who is in the embalming place, Lord of the Sacred Land,

*pr.t-h̄rw (n) h̄3 m k3 3pd ghs sr mn.t h̄.t nb.t nfr.t (4.) w<sup>c</sup>b.t*

may give an invocation offering (of) a thousand of oxen and fowl, gazelles, geese, swallows and all things good and pure

*n jm3h̄.y h̄r ntr<sup>c</sup>3 nb p.t jm.y-r3 šn<sup>c</sup> jnj-jtj=f[-jkr] s3 mntw-h̄tp(5)jkr m3<sup>c</sup>-h̄rw*

to the one well-provided in front of the great god, lord of heaven, overseer of the gang of workmen Antefiqer, son of Mentuhotepiqer, justified.

*jnk jm.y-r3 ts.w tp.y s3 jmy-r3 ts.wt h̄r.y-tp jm.y-r3 nb n ts.wt*

I was the first overseer of the gang of workmen, son of the overseer of the gang of workmen at the head of all overseers of the gang of workmen.

*h3 (6).kwj m ts.w jnk jm.y-r3 ts.t mn̄h̄ n mn̄jw nb<sup>c</sup>w.t*

[I] descended with/from my gang of workmen. I was an overseer of the gang of workmen, one beneficent to the herdsman, lord of small cattle.

7. *jnk nb bd.t j.t dj.n=j bd.t j.t n h̄kr jw gr.t*

I was a possessor of emmer and barley, and I gave wheat and barley to the hungry.

*s<sup>c</sup>nh̄.n=j (8) [...] s nb n h3.wt(=j) m h̄kr.w n rdj=j mt j(w)*

I sustained [...] every man from my neighbourhood in the time of hunger, not allowing (them) to die.

*kr̄s.n(=j) (9) mwt m kr̄s.w=j jw h̄bs.n=j sw m h̄bs.w=j*

I buried the dead in my sarcophagi, I clothed him in my clothes.

*jnk (10) <sup>c</sup>š3 k3.w 3pd.w <sup>c</sup>š3 jw.t h3.kwj m [...]w=j*

I was one rich in bulls and birds, rich in small cattle. I descended from my [...].

*jnk (11) nb<sup>c</sup>3.w nb h̄bs.w h̄t3.w š<sup>c</sup>d.n(=j) h̄r jr jnk gr.t mn̄h̄ n njw.t=f (12) wp h̄3 m h̄rw n sh̄*

I was a possessor of donkeys, a possessor of fields and highlands which I dug (i.e. cultivated ?). I was, however, one beneficent to his city, who opens the hall on the day of the meeting of the council.

*jnk ts3w hrw knb.t (13) rḳ(.y) hrw rḳ*

I was a *ts3.w*<sup>100</sup> on the day of the qenbet-council, one who swears one on the day of swearing an oath (?).

*jw wn rmt̄ n.t jt=j mnt̄w-ḥtp m ms.wt (14) n pr m ḥ.t jt=f m ḥ.t mwt=f*

The people of my father Mentuhotep together with the children of the house were in the possession of his father and his mother;

*jw wnn rmt̄=j m mjtt m ḥ.t jt=j m ḥ.t mwt=j m ḥ.wt (15) ds=j jr.t.n(=j) m gbw=j*

likewise my people shall be (those) from the possession of my father and my mother and my own possession which I acquired with my (own) arm.

*pr.t-ḥrw (n) t ḥnk̄.t ḥ3 m šs mnḥ.t ḥ.t nb.t nfr(.t) w<sup>c</sup>b(.t) n jm3ḥ.y jnj-jtj=f-jkr m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw*

An invocation offering of bread and beer, a thousand of alabaster and cloth and of every thing good and pure to the one well-provided, Antefiqer, justified.

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<sup>100</sup> *ts3.w* – WB V/329-21: Substantiv. Ob richtig?

**65. Samontu** (BM EA 828)

Dating: Amenemhet I, Senwosret I and Amenemhet II

Origin: Unknown

Bibliography: BREASTED 1906, 272; BUDGE 1912, XXI; CHAMPOLLION 1844, 697; SHARPE 1834, 83; BRUGSCH 1891, 1250.

**Text:**

1. *rnp.t-sp 3 (2) hr hm n nswt-bjty nwb-k3.w-r<sup>c</sup> dj n<sup>h</sup> mj r<sup>c</sup>*

Year 3 under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nubkaure, given life like Re.

3. *jr.y-p<sup>c</sup>.t h3t.y-<sup>c</sup> htm.w-bjty smr w<sup>c</sup>.ty jm.y-jb hrw nb n<sup>h</sup> jrr hss.t=f (4) r<sup>c</sup> nb sš<sup>c</sup> nswt s3-mntw nb jm3h dd=f*

Hereditary noble and local chief, seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, the trusted one of Horus, Lord of the Palace, one who does what he praises every day, the scribe of the king Samontu, lord of reverence, he says:

*ms=j (5) m rk hm n nswt-bjty shtp-jb-r<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*

I was born in the time of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Shetepibre, justified.

*jnk hrd ts hr hm=f (6) sd3(.w) m htp*

I was a child who tied the knot under His Majesty when he departed in peace.

*nswt-bjty hpr-k3-r<sup>c</sup> n<sup>h</sup> dt*

The king of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkare, who lives for ever.

*dj (wj) hm=f m sš (7) n hnr.t n jdn.w*

His majesty appointed me as assistant (?) scribe of the prison.

*jw hs.n=f w(j) hr=f r<sup>c</sup>3.t wr.t*

He praised me for it greatly.

*dj w(j) hm=f r sš (8) n tm3*

His majesty appointed me as scribe of the district (?).

*hs wj hm=f hr=f r<sup>c</sup>3.t wr.t*

His Majesty praised me for it greatly.

*dj (w)j hm=f m hsb jt (9) m šm<sup>c</sup> mh.w*

His majesty appointed me a grain-registrar of Upper and Lower Egypt.

*hs w(j) hm=f hr=f r<sup>c</sup>3.t wr.t*

His Majesty praised me for it greatly.

*dj w(j) hm=f m sš n hnr.t n3(.t)*

His majesty appointed me a scribe of the great prison,

10. *hs wj hm=f hr=f r<sup>c</sup>3.t wr.t*

and His Majesty praised me for it greatly.

*dj w(j) hm=f m sš ˆ nsw.t jm.y-r3 k3.t (11) m t3 r-dr=f*

His Majesty appointed me a royal scribe and overseer of works in the entire land.

*hs.n w(j) hm=f n gr(g=j)*

His Majesty praised me because I was silent,

*mr.n=f w(j) n dr(=j) srf*

he loved me because I repelled the hot(-blooded).

12. *n] sp whm(=j) md.t nb.t dw.t jm3h.w sš ˆ nswt s3-mntw*

I never repeated any evil word, the revered one, royal scribe Samontu.

13. *htp dj nswt hnt.y-jmn.tyw nb 3bdw dj=f pr.t-hrw t hnk.t k3.w 3pd.w šs mnh.t n jm3h.w sš ˆ nswt s3-mntw*

An offering which the king gives so that Chentamenti, lord of Abydos, may give an invocation offering of bread and beer, bulls and birds, alabaster and cloth to the revered one, royal scribe Samontu.

**66. Ameny** (Louvre C 172)

Dating: Amenemhat II

Origin: Unknown

Bibliography: PIEHL 1888, 16; SHARPE 1837, pl. 82.

**Relevant part of text:**

*h3.t-sp 3 hr hm n nswt-bjty nwb-k3.w-r<sup>c</sup> dj.w <sup>c</sup>n<sup>h</sup> dt*

Year 3 under the majesty of the king Nubkaura, given life for ever.

*jm3h.y htm.w n šms jmn.y dd=f*

The revered one, assistant seal-bearer Ameny says:

*jnk hrp k3.t rs-tp hr hd.t n=f*

“I was leader of works, watchful over that which was ordered to him.

*nb shr kn hrp.t pg3 hr m hr.y-jb mj.tyw=f*

Master of counsel, strong of leadership, one instructed among his comrades.

*rdj.n wj jm.y-r3 k3.t m hrp ntt jw.t.t n mn<sup>h</sup>=j n jkr=j hr jb=f r jr.y <sup>c</sup>.t nb nt.y hr=f*

The overseer of works placed me as a leader of that which is and that which is not, because I was more beneficent and more excellent in his heart than any guardian of magazine who was under him.

*jw hrp.n=j k3.t m r.w n.w ntr.w šm<sup>c</sup> mh.y*

I led works in the temples of gods in Upper and Lower Egypt.

*jnk nb jm3.t ? mr.wt*

I am lord of charm, ? of love.

*jm3h.y hrp k3.t htm.w n šms jmn.y dd=f*

The revered one, leader of works, assistant seal bearer Ameny, who says:

*j rmt.w ...*

O people ...

**67. Amenemhet** (Hannover 2927)

Dating: Amenemhet II

Origin: Unknown

Bibliography: CRAMER 1936, 85–86; WIEDEMANN 1895, 4.

**Text:**

(1) *rnp.t sp 12 hr hm n nswt bjty nbw-k3.w-r<sup>c</sup> nḥ dt nḥh*

Year 12 under the Majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebkaure, living forever and ever.

(2) *b3k=f m3<sup>c</sup> n s.t-jb=f jrr ḥss.t=f nb.t m hr.t-hrw n.t r<sup>c</sup> nb jm.y-r<sup>c</sup> b.w whm.w* (3) *šw.t nšm.wt jm.y-r3<sup>c</sup> 3.w m t3 r-dr=f jmn-m-ḥ3.t s3 jnj-jtj=f s3 kmsj* (4) *dd=f*

His true and trusted servant, who does what he praises in the course of every day, overseer of horn, hoof, feather and scale, overseer of donkeys in the entire land, Amenemhet, son of Antef, son of Kemsu, says:

*jnk jt n nmḥ hy n ḥ3r.t ḥw.yt ḥs(5).y*

I was a father to the orphan, husband to the widow, and windbreak for the cold.

*jw rdj.n=j t n ḥkr ḥbs n ḥ3.ty*

I gave bread to the hungry and clothes to the naked.

(6) *nḥm(=j) s r r3 nm.t*

I saved a man from the mouth of the scaffold.

*mdw=j hr s m ḥm.t=f*

I spoke for a man without him knowing it.

*n ds(7)(=j) s n hr.y-tp=f*

I did not discredit a man to his superior.

*nn wn.w mw.t hr šhr=j*

There were no dead under my lead.

*j nḥ.w tp t3 sw3.ty=(8)sn hr w<sup>c</sup>b.t tn dd=tn*

O living ones on earth, who shall pass by this tomb, may you say:

*ḥ3 t ḥnk.t k3(.w) 3pd(.w) hr wdḥ n ḥnt.y-jmn.tyw nb 3bdw n jm3ḥ(.w) jm.y-r3<sup>c</sup> 3.w jmn-m-ḥ3.t m3<sup>c</sup> hrw nb jm3ḥ*

“A thousand of bread and beer, bulls and birds on the altar of Khentamenty, lord of Abydos, for the one revered, overseer of donkeys Amenemhet, justified, lord of reverence.

**68. Bebi** (Leiden V 88)

Dating: Middle Kingdom

Origin: Unknown

Bibliography: PIEHL 1888, XXV C; BOERSER 1909, 2, pl. X.

**Text:**

(1) *htp dj nswt (dj) wsjr nb ddw hnt.y-jmn.tyw* (2) *nb 3bdw (dj) wp-w3.wt hnt.y t3-dsr*  
And offering which the king gives (so that) Osiris, lord of Djedu, and Khentamenti, lord of Abydos, (may give), (so that) Wepwawet, foremost of the sacred country, may give,

*dj hk.t (3) hn<sup>c</sup> hnm.w ntr.w nb 3bdw*  
(so that) Heket and Khnum, and all gods of Abydos may give

*pr.t-hrw (n) h3 m t hnk.t k3.w 3pd.w h3 m ht nb(.t) nfr(.t)* (4) *pr.t m-b<sup>c</sup>h ntr<sup>c</sup> 3*  
an invocation offering (of) a thousand of bread and beer, bulls and fowl, a thousand of all good things that come forth in front of the great god

*n jm3h(.w) bb m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*  
for the honoured one, Beb, justified.

*mst(w) n=f<sup>c</sup>.wj hr htp.t* (5) *m hb.w n.w hr.t-ntr hn<sup>c</sup> šms.w n wsjr*  
May hands be stretched to him with offerings on the feasts of the necropolis together with the followers of Osiris.

*š3h sw wr.w n.w ddw* (6) *šn.yt jm.yt 3bdw*  
May he be transfigured by the great of Busiris (and) the entourage in Abydos.

*wp=f w3.wt mrr.t=f m htp m htp*  
May he open the ways according to his wish, in peace, in peace.

*sk3 sw jmy.w t3 wr w<sup>c</sup>b.w n.w* (7) *ntr<sup>c</sup> 3*  
May those in Tawer exalt him, the priests of the Great God,

*dj.t(w) n=f<sup>c</sup>.wy m nšm.t hr w3.wt jmn.t*  
May hands be given to him in the *neshmet*-bargue on the ways of the west,

*dd.t(w) n=f jw m htp jn wr.w* (8) *n.w 3bdw*  
May “welcome in peace” be said to him by the great ones of Abydos

*jm3h.w jm.y-r3 šn<sup>c</sup>.w bb*  
the honoured one, overseer of the police Beb

*dd*  
Says:

*jw jr.n(=j) šn<sup>c</sup>.w nswt m h3s.wt hr.wt mj [kd](9)=sn*  
I was a soldier of the king in all eastern foreign lands.

*n sp gm.t(w) sp n b3k jm m wp.t tn*  
Never was found an ill-deed of this servant in this assignment,

*rdj.n.t(w) wd=f jm=s*  
with which he was made to leave,

*n rwd (10) nnk hr jb=f*  
because of my stability in his heart.

*šnt(=j) ngy.t m n3h.w m srwd h.t n nb(=j)*  
I punished the trespasses against law in Nahu, making lasting the affairs of my lord.

*jj.k(wj) m htp r šm<sup>c</sup>*  
I came in peace to Upper Egypt,

*jr.n(=j) h3b.t (11) wj r=s*  
after I had done all because of which I was sent.

*swd.n(=j) wp.t(=j) n s3=j*  
I passed over my assignment to my son

*jwt(=j) <sup>c</sup>nh.k(wj)*  
while I was still alive.

*jr.n=j n=f jm.yt pr m-h3.w jr.t.n jt=j*  
I made for him a testament, exceeding that which was done by my father.

*pr=j htm(.w) (12) snt.t=f sm=j m st=s*  
My house, its ground plan was sealed, and I was {respected?} on its place,

*nn tš.t=s jš.t nb.t m s.t jr(.y)*  
it shall not perish, all things being on their proper place.

*jn s3=j s<sup>c</sup>nh(.y) rn(=j) hr wd pn*  
It is my son who has made my name live on this stela,

(13) *jr n=f n(=j) jw<sup>c</sup>(=j) m s3=j kn*  
which he had made for me, my heir, as my pious son.

*jm.y-r3 mš<sup>c</sup>.w n nswt jm3h.y bbj m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*  
The overseer of the king's soldiers, the praised one, Bebi, justified.



B.

LETTERS

## HEKANAKHTE PAPERS

Dating: Senwosret I, years 5 – 8 (ALLEN 2002, 129)

Origin: Thebes, Tomb of Meseh in the entrance terrace of TT 315 (Ipi)

Bibliography: ALLEN 1994; ALLEN 2002; GOEDICKE 1984; JAMES 1962.

### Letter I, Pl. I-IV.

#### \*\*\* address \*\*\*

1. *r dd jn hm-k3 hk3-nht n mrj-sw*

To be said by the mortuary priest Hekanakhte to Merisu:

#### \*\*\* content \*\*\*

*jr jwh.t nb.t m 3h.wt=n ntk sk3 s(.t)*

As for all that is inundated in our fields, it is you who shall plough it.

*m j<sup>c</sup>n.w rmt=j nb hn<sup>c</sup>=k mk (2) jp=j st r=k*

When any of my people (who are) with you shall complain, I shall hold you responsible for it.

*kn.t sp 2 m sk3 <sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup> tw sp 2*

Be strong, be strong in cultivating! Take care, take care!

*s3w.w pr.t=j s3w.w h.t=j nb(.t)*

Protect my fruit! Protect all my things!

*m(3)=k jp=j st r=k <sup>c</sup>h3 tw sp 2 r h.t=j nb.t*

Look, I shall hold you responsible for it. Take care, take care of all my possessions!

*jr n=k rdj.t h3y nht -s3- hty hn<sup>c</sup> s3-nb-njw.t r pr-h33*

Have Nakht, son of Hety and Sanebniut go down to *pr-h33*,

(4) *sk3=sn n=n 3h.t [2,5 h 2] m kdb*

so that they cultivate for us 5 arouras of land in renting.

*jt=sn kdb=f m p3 mn sh.t <sup>c</sup>3*

They shall take its rent in (the form of) the *mn*-cloth woven here.

*jr gr.t wnn<sup>101</sup> šd (5) n=sn šn<sup>c</sup>.t m db3 n n3 n bd.t n.t m pr-h33 dd=sn st jm gr*

If, however, they have taken the value in exchange for this emmer of Per-haa, they should use it there also;

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<sup>101</sup> According to MALAISE & WINAND 1999, the presence of *wnn* after *jr* marks the following form of the suffix conjugation as an emphatic *mrr=f* form. The apodosis is then condition not by the action of the protasis, but by its circumstances.

*nfr 3 hr=k r p3 (6) mn*  
then it is finished for you concerning this cloth,<sup>102</sup>

*dd.n=j sh.t sw jt=sn sw šn<sup>c</sup>.w m nbsyt*  
I said that it was woven. They shall take it, when it has been valued in Nebesynt.

*kdb=sn 3h.t r šn<sup>c</sup>.t=f*  
and they shall rent a field against its value.

*jr gr.t (7) ndm n=tn sk3 3h.t jm šk3 sw*  
If, however, it is possible for you to cultivate a field there, cultivate it.

*gm=tn 3h.t 3h.t [2,5] m bd.t 3h.t [2,5] m mh.w m 3h.t (8) nfr.t n.t hps.yt*  
You will (divide; in the sense of determine?) the land: 2,5 arouras of land with emmer, 2,5 arouras with lower Egyptian corn, in the good land of Khepesyht.

*m h3.w hr 3h.t n.t rmt nb dbh=tn m<sup>c</sup> h3.w šrj*  
Do not go down to the land of any other man. You should demand from Hau the Younger.

*jr tm=tn gm (9) m<sup>c</sup>=f hr=tn sm=tn tp m hrw-nfr*  
If you do not find (it) with him, you should go to Herunefer,

*ntf dd=tn hr 3h.t kb.t n.t hps.yt*  
(because) it is he who will put you on the (untouched or inundated) land of Khepesyht.

*mk gr.t jj.n=j (10) mjn3 m hnt.yt hsb=k n=j kdb n 3h.t [2,5 h 3] m jt-mhw w<sup>c</sup>.t=f*  
But look, I have come here sailing southwards, you have reckoned for me the rent for the 7,5 arouras of land in lower Egyptian barley (alone?).

*h3=tw sp 2 s3.w (11) sj3.t=k mh.w h3r jm*  
Take care, take care, beware lest you diminish the lower Egyptian corn (by) a single khar of it.

*m jr m jt mh.w n=f-jmy hr nt<sup>t</sup> smr.n=k kdb jr r=j m mh.w r w<sup>c</sup>.t hn<sup>c</sup> (12) pr.t=f*  
Do not (make?) with the lower Egyptian corn of his, because you have made the renting of it unpleasant for me with only lower Egyptian corn and its seed.

*mk gr.t jr jr.j m jt mh.w jr jt mh.w h<sup>c</sup>r 69 m 3h.t [2,5 h 3] jt mh.w h<sup>c</sup>r 9 m 3h.t [1]*  
But look, as for one who sows with Lower Egyptian barley, as for 69 sacks of barley in 7,5 arouras of land, it is 9 sacks of barley in one aroura of land.

*mk (13) nn s(y) m <sup>c</sup>f.t ksn.t*  
Look, it is not a bad yield!

*mk <sup>c</sup>bw 3h.t [4 h 2,5] jt=mh.w h<sup>c</sup>r 100*  
Look, 10 arouras of land equal (???) 100 sacks of lower Egyptian barley.

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<sup>102</sup> GOEDICKE (1984, 43) has: “Nothing with joy is greater than...”

ḥ3 tw sp sn

Take care, take care!

s3w shm (14) jb=k r jt jm n.t j.t mh.w

Avoid [making your own decisions] concerning a single sack (?) thereof of lower Egyptian barley.

mk n rnp.t js n3 n.t b3g jn s hr nb=f hr jt=f hr sn=f

Look, this is not a year when a man should be neglectful concerning his lord, his father or his brother.

jr gr.t jr.t n (15) nb.t nht s3 hty m pr-h33 mk n hsb=j n=f ḥk.w pr.w 3bd wḥ m j.t mh.w ḥr

But as for everything that Nekhet, son of Hety did in pr-h33, look, I did not assign to him provisions beyond a single month, namely, a sack of barley.

(16) hsb=j ky sn.wy m jt mh.w 5 n hr.w=f r tp wp.w

I shall assign another second one, namely 5 [...] of lower Egyptian barley, for his family on the first day of the month.

mk jr th=k n3

look, if you transgress this,

mk jr=j st hr=k m j3tw

Look, I shall lay it on you as a mutilation (?)

jr gr.t n3 dd.n=j n=k r-dd

As for that which I have told you, saying:

dj n=f jt mh.w ḥr n 3bd dd=k n=f m jt-mh.w ḥk3.t 8 n 3b.d

“Give him one khar of barley a month!”, you give him 8 hekat of barley per month.

ḥ3 tw sp sn

Take care, take care.

(Vso, 1) jn jr gr.t p3 rdj.t jw.t n=j s3-hw.t-hr hr jt mh.w js nšw šw.yt wn m ddj s.wt

What about that, letting Sahathor come to me with old, rejected barley of the (time of) lack that was in Djedisut?

(2) n rdj.tw n=j p3 jt mh.w ḥr 10 m jt mh.w m3 nfr

I was not given the 10 sacks of lower Egyptian barley in good new barley.

n hr nfr tw hr wnm jt mh.w nfr jw=j r t3

It is not a good situation, that you are eating good barley, while I am down!

jmw gr.t (3) mnj r dmj=k jr=k m bjn.w nb.w

However, the imu-ship will stay at your quay if you act in all evil

jr wnn rdj.n=k jn.t n=j jt mh.w js

If, however, it shall be the case that you have had sent to me old barley

*r j<sup>c</sup>b.t p3 (4) jt mḥw m3 ḥy ḏd.t=j nfr.w st*  
in order to heap that new barley,

*jr nfr 3 ḥsb=k n=j jt mḥw w<sup>c</sup>.t m jt mḥw m3 nn ḥsb=j n=k s (5) r nḥḥ*  
If you fail to assign to me a single *hekat* of barley in new barley, I will not assign any to you for all eternity!

*j[r]<sup>103</sup> gr.t ḏd.n=j r-ḏd jw snfrw mr*  
As for my having said; “Snofru is sick,”

*ḥ3 tw sp sn r=f*  
Take care, take care of him.

*dj n=f ḥk.w ḥn<sup>c</sup> nḏ ḥr.t (6) snfrw m ḏd ḥnt.y-ḥ.t=j ḥ3 n sp ḥḥ n sp*  
Give him provisions, and greet Snofru, saying: “my ...”, a thousand times, a million times.

*ḥ3 tw sp sn ḥ<sup>c</sup>b n=j*  
Take care, take care, and let me know.

*jr gr.t jwh 3ḥ.t=j sk3=f ḥn<sup>c</sup>=k ḥn<sup>c</sup> jnp.w ḥn<sup>c</sup> s3-ḥw.t-ḥr*  
If, however, my land was inundated, it will be ploughed with you and Inpu and Sa-Hathor.

*ḥ3 tw sp sn r=f*  
Take care, take care about him.

*sbb=k n=j sw r-s3 sk3*  
When you send him to me after ploughing,

*dj (8) jn.t=f n=j swt jt ḥ<sup>c</sup>r 3 ḥn<sup>c</sup> gm.t=k m jt mḥw m swt ḥ3.w ḥk.w=tn r ph.t=tn šmw*  
make that he brings to me 3 *khar* of wheat and that what you have found in barley in excess of your provisions until you will reach the harvest.

*(9) m ḥm jb=k ḥr ḥ3b.t.n=j n=k ḥr=s*  
Do not forget that concerning which I have sent to you!

*mk rnp.t n3 n.t jr s n nb=f*  
Look, a yearly income is that what a man does for his lord,

*jr gr.t ḥ3.w nb š.t=j (10) ḥ3.w nb š=j m [rmn.wy] jr.n=j st m mḥw m rdj ḥ3b rmt nb ḥr=f*  
As for all belongings of my property [on both banks], which I have sowed with barley, do not let any man descend on it.

*jr gr.t mdw.ty(11)=fy n=k nb šm=k ḥr=f [...]*  
But as for everything he will say to you, you shall come because of him [...]

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<sup>103</sup> I reconstruct *r*, to *jr gr.t*, with GOEDICKE (1984, 65), but unlike JAMES (1962), who has *jw*.

*jr=k gr.t p3 š m jt mh̄w m jr. bd.t jm*  
but you shall sow the land with barley, do not sow emmer there.

*jr gr.t jw=f m h̄<sup>c</sup>pj-<sup>c</sup>3 (12) jr=k sw m bd.t*  
If, however, it is in a great inundation, you shall sow it with emmer.

*h̄3 tw sp sn r jnp.w hn̄<sup>c</sup> snfrw*  
Take care, take care concerning Inpu and Sneferu!

*mw.t=k hn̄<sup>c</sup>=sn h̄<sup>c</sup>n̄=k hn̄<sup>c</sup>=sn h̄3 tw sp sn*  
You die with them as you live with them!<sup>104</sup> Take care, take care!

*mk n pr(13)w=f m p3 pr hn̄<sup>c</sup>=k*  
Look, its excess is not in the house with you.

*m h̄<sup>c</sup>b jb=k hr=s*  
Do not forget it!

*jr.n=k gr.t rdj.t t3 b3k.t n.t pr snn hr t3 n pr=j*  
Now what about your having expelled the servant Senen from my house?

*h̄3 tw sp sn*  
Take care, take care!

(14) *hrw nb spr tw s3-hw.t-hr jm=f*  
each day on which Sahathor reaches you.

*mk jr=s r<sup>c</sup> w<sup>c</sup> m pr [...] ntk dd jr=s bw bjn r h̄bsw.t=j*  
Look, if she spends one day in the house [...] it is you who shall let her do evil against my wife!

(15) *mk dd=j wg n=k hr jh̄ h̄(j) jr.t=s r=tn p3 msd s(y)*  
Look, why should I make it uncomfortable for you?<sup>105</sup> What has she done against you that you hate her?

**\*\*\* Concluding greetings \*\*\***

*hn̄<sup>c</sup> nd hr.t mw.t=j jpj h̄3 n zp hh̄ n sp*  
And greet my mother Ipi a thousand and a million of times,

(16) *hn̄<sup>c</sup> nd hr.t htp.t hn̄<sup>c</sup> pr r-dr=f hn̄<sup>c</sup> nfr.t*  
And greet Hetepet with the entire household, and Neferet!

*jn jr gr.t p3 jr.t bjn r h̄bsw.t=j mh̄ tw mh̄.t*  
Now – what is this doing evil against my wife? Stop it!<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Wechselsatz.

<sup>105</sup> HANNIG (2006, 742) gives *wg* as “unangenehm werden”; translation after ALLEN (2002, 16).

<sup>106</sup> *mh̄ tw mh̄.t* lit. “Fill yourself full!”; after ALLEN (2002, 36).

(17) *n jw=k dj.t hn<sup>c</sup>=j m psš.y*  
for you are placed with me as arbirtator.

*gr=k nfr.w(j) st*  
Your silence, how good it is,

*hn<sup>c</sup> rdj.t jn.t sš hr šd.t m n3 n pr h33*  
together with sending a message concerning what was collected among those of *Pr-h33*.

*h3 tw sp sn*  
Take care, take care,

*m m jb=k*  
do not be neglectful.

\*\*\* **Address** \*\*\*

*dd hm-k3 hk3-nht r pr=f n nbsy.t*  
What the mortuary priest Hekanakhte gives to his household in Nebesyt.

## Letter 2

### \*\*\* Initial formula and greetings \*\*\*

(1) *s3 dd n mw.t=f hk3-nht n mw.t=f jpj n htp.t*

It is a son that speaks to his mother, Hekanakhte to his mother Ipi and to Hetepet.

*jw=tn mj jh (j)n c.w.s=tn*

“How are you? Are you OK<sup>107</sup>?”

*m hs.t n.t mntw nb w3s.t*

in the favour of Montu, Lord of Thebes?

(2) *n pr r-dr-f jw=tn mj jh sp sn (j)n c.w.s.=tn*

and to the entire household. How are you, how are you? Are you OK?

*m dj jb=tn m-s3=j mtn wj snb.kwj cnh.kwj*

Do not be concerned with me, look, I am healthy and alive.

(3) *mtn tn m p3 wnm r s3=f hkr r b3h jr.ty=fy*

Look, you are like one who eats until he is satisfied and hungers so that his eyes come out.

*mtn t3 r-dr=f mw.t n hkr=tn*

Look, the entire land is dead, (but) you are not hungry.

*m(4)tn jj.n=j mjn3 m hnt.yt jr.n=j ck.w=tn r nfr*

Look, I have come today in a *khentyt*-ship, I have made your provisions to the best.

*jn gr.t jw hcpi c3 wr.t*

Now, is the inundation too great?

*mtn jr.n=n ck.w=n (5) r kd n hcpi whd mj rn.w*

Look, we have made our provisions against the character of the flood, which all bear.<sup>108</sup>

*mtn ph.n=j p3 hrw jm=tn hr snh=tn*

Look, I have come to you this day in order to feed you.

*h33.t ck.w n s3(6)nb-njw.t m j.t mhww=f wnn=f m-ht=f r rwt=f r pr-h33*

One shall assign provisions to Sanebniut in his barley that was in his possession until he leaves for *pr-h33*.

(7) *s3 n ck.w n pr*

List of provisions for the family:

(8-23 = list)

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<sup>107</sup> This appears to be the closest translation to *c.w.s* – an abbreviation asking about the well-being of the addressee.

<sup>108</sup> *whd mj rn.w* is problematic; for discussion see GOEDICKE (1984, 23–24), his interpretation is, however, highly speculative.



(24) *jr s3.w knd=tn hr n3*  
Beware of fighting about this!

(25) *mtn pr r-dr=f m mjtt hrd.w=j*  
Look, my entire household is like my children,

[nn] (26) *jnk h.t nb(.t) r-dd nfr gs n nh r mw.t m sp w<sup>c</sup>*  
I don't have everything. They say: "Half of life is better than instantaneous death."

(27) *mtn dd.tw hkr r hkr*  
Look, one says: "Hunger!" to the hungry one.

*mtn s3<sup>c</sup>.tw (28) m wnm rmt<sup>c</sup> 3*  
Look, they are beginning to eat people here,

*mtn n dd.w n=sn p3 k.w m s.t nb.t jnn=tn n=tn m jb kn r ph.t(29)=j tn*  
Look, there is no one who receives such provisions on any place. You should come to yourselves with a strong heart until I reach you.

*mtn jr=j smw 3*  
Look, I shall spend the inundation season here.

*r-dd jn hk3-nht n mrj-sw n nht s3 hty hr.y-<sup>c</sup> dd=tn p3 (30) k.w rmt=j*  
A communication by Hekanakhte to Merisu and to Hety's son Nakht and (their) assistant:  
"Give these provisions to my people

*jw=sn hr jr.t k3.t*  
if they work."

*h3=tn sp sn*  
Take care, take care.

*jkn 3h.t=j nb nkrw m nkr b3 m sr.t(31)=tn m k3.t*  
Dig all my land, sieve with a sieve, hack with your nose in the work.

*mk jr kn=sn dw3.t(w) n=k ntr*  
Look, if they are diligent, one shall praise God for you,

*nfr 3 dd=j wg(g) n=tn*  
but I shall not give if they have been weak.

*s3.tw gr.t m rdj.t p3 (32) k.w h3b.n=j n=tn hr=f m wp.t-r<sup>c</sup> hnt-h.t.y-pr.ty<sup>109</sup> n wp.w n m3.wt*  
But start to distribute the provisions (first) after I will have sent to you concerning it on the first of *Khenet-khety-perty* and on each first day of the month.

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<sup>109</sup> HANNIG (2006) does not translate this word, however VERNUS (1978, 384–385) has convincingly shown that it denotes the second month of the lunar calendar. The meaning is "(The god) Khenet-khety *pr.ty*", and while VERNUS (1978, 384) is uncertain about the meaning of *pr.ty* in this phrase, it would appear to be connected with a (hitherto unknown) festival of the god and his "coming out".

*m ʕm n jb=tn (33) hr p3 3h.t [2,5 × 4] nt m s3h*

Do not forget about those 10 arouras of land that is rented/in the neighbourhood,

*rdj.n hnt-h.ty s3 jp hr jkn=f kn.t sp sn*

and which Khenetkhety's son Ip was sent to dig out. Work very hard!

*mtn tn hr wnm ʕk.w=j*

Look, you are eating my provisions!

*(34) jr gr.t hn.w nb n jnpw n.t m-ʕ=k dj n=f sw*

Now as for all possessions of Anup, which is now in your hand, give it to him!

*jr nt ʕk db3 n=f sw*

As for that which perished, compensate it to him!

*m rdj hʕb=j n=k hr=s ky sp*

Do not cause me to write to you concerning it a second time!

*mk h3b.n=j n=k hr=s sp 2*

Look, I have written to you concerning it two times!

*jr gr.t wnn mrj snfrw hr mr.t wnn m-s3 n3 n k3.w hr=k dj=k sw (36) m-s3 jr(y)*

Now if Snofru should still wish to take care for those bulls that are with you, place him to guard (them),

*n mr=f gr.t wnn hnʕ=k hr sk3 hr pr.t hr h3.t n mr=f gr.t jw.t mjnʕ hnʕ=j mr.t=f (37) gr dd=k htp=f hr mr.t=f*

for he did not wish to be with because of the ploughing and coming and going, and he did not wish to be with me today. What else he wants – make him satisfied with what he wants.

*jr gr.t w jn.t(y)=f(y) nb p3 ʕk.w m hm.wt tʕy.w (38) jwy=f n=j ʕ3 hnʕ=j ʕnh=f mj ʕnh=j*

As for anyone who shall not accept these provisions, be it woman or man, he should come to me here with me, and live like I live.

*nn gr.t jj n=j js mjn3*

But there is no one who came to me (until) today.

*dd.n=j n=tn r-dd m šnj (39) hnms.t n.t htp.t hr=s m nš.t=s m pr.t=s*

I have told you: Do not keep Hetepet's friend away from her, her haidresser and assistant.

*ʕh3 tn sp sn r=s*

Take care, take care for her!

*h3 rwd(40)=tn m h.t nb.t mjn3*

May you be strong in every aspect today!

*n gr.t mrj=k s(y) hr=k dj=k jn.t n=j jw.t-n-hb*

If you do not wish her with you, cause that Iutenhab is brought to me.

*ʕnh.n=j s pn dd=j r (41) jp jr.t(y)=f(y) sp nb hr pg3 n hbs.wt jw=f r=j jw=j r=f*  
As this man lives for me – I mean Ip - he who shall commit any ill deed fighting against my wife, he is against me and I am against him.

*mtn hbst=j (42) n3 rh jr.t.n hbs.yt n.t s*  
Look, to my wife (belongs) that which is known to be done for the wife of a man.

*mk jr jr.t(y)=f(y) n=s nb mjt.t jr.t.n=j*  
Look, as for anyone who will act for her, the equivalent is done for me.

*(j)n jw hm wʕ jm tn r (43) whd*  
Would one of you hold back in patience,

*srh.w n=f hm.t=f*  
If his wife was molested to him?

*jh whd=j*  
Then I shall be patient.

*ptr ky n wnn=j hnʕ=tn m h3w.ty wʕ.t*  
How can I be with you as people of one table,

*(44) nn ntr=tn n=j hbsw.t*  
when you do not worship my wife for me?

*(Vs. 1) mtn gr.t rdj.n=j jn.tw n=tn dbn hmty 24 kdb n3 3h.t jn s3-hw.t-hr*  
Look, I have had brought to you 24 copper debens to rent this land by Sahathor.

*dj (2) gr.t sk3 n=n 3h.t m kdb m pr-h33 r-gs h3w m hmty m hbs.w m jt-mhw (3) m h.t nb.t*  
Cause that the rented land in *pr-h33* besides Hau's is ploughed for us for copper, cloths or barley, or for anything,

*wnn swt šd.n=tn šnʕ jm n mrh.t n h.t nb.t*  
but only after you have established the worth there of merehet-oil and of anything else.

*ʕh3 tn sp sn kn.t sp sn*  
Take care, take care, be very strong.

*rs tp=k (4) [...] n=tn gr.t hr 3h.t nfr.t kb.t hpš.yt*  
Take care [...] on the good inundated land of Khepeshty.

**\*\*\* Address \*\*\***

*(5) dd hm-k3 hk3-nh.t (6) r pr=f n nbs.yt*  
What the mortuary priest Hekanakhte gives to his family in Nebesyt.

### Letter 3

#### \*\*\* Address \*\*\*

(1) *b3k n pr dt hm-k3 hk3-nht dd n*

It is the servant of the estate and mortuary priest Hekanakhte who speaks to ...

#### \*\*\* Initial formulae \*\*\*

*jw hr.t=k mj cnh(.w) hh n sp jry n=k hr.y-s=f nb nn-swt ntr.w nb.w nt.w*

May you condition be as that of one alive, a million times! May Heryshef, Lord of Hieraconpolis and all gods who are ... work for you,

(2) *snqm pth rs.y jnb=f jb=k m cnh wr.t j3w.t* (3) *wn jm3h=k nfr hr k3 n hrj-s=f nb n-njswt*  
May Ptah, who is south of his wall, make your heart pleasant greatly, and <good> old age.  
May your reputation be good with Heryshef, lord of Hieraconpolis.

#### \*\*\* Content \*\*\*

*dd b3k jm dj hr sš=k c.w.s.*

What the servant-there says is to be given to your scribe LPH,

(4) *r-ntt dj.n jw.t nht s3 hty hn<sup>c</sup> s3-nb-njw<sup>t</sup> hr n3 jt mhw bd.t n.t<sup>c3</sup>*

namely: (I) have caused Hety's son Nakht and Sanebniut to come because of the barley and emmer that is here,

*jr.t(y)=f(y) sš=k pw c.w.s. r dj.t šd.t*

that your scribe LPH should cause to be collected

*nn rdj.t (5) thth nhy jm*

without letting a little of it get confused,

*mj nfr=k nb snb.t(y) cnh.t(y)*

like you are good, healthy and alive.

*jr gr.t r-s3 šd.t st dd (s)t m pr sš=k c.w.s. r jw.t(w) r=s*

Now as for after it has been collected, place it in the house of your scribe, LPH, until somebody comes for it.

*mk gr.t (6) rdj.n=j jn.t=sn n t3 jt wh3.t st jm=s jw=s nt m hn.t km.t*

But look, I have caused them to bring the measure in which it is to be measured, it is covered with black skin.

*mk gr.t bd.t 2 jt 15 m hw.t-(7)h33 m-c nnk-sw*

But look, 2 sacks of emmer and 15 sacks of barley are in Hut-haa in the possession of Nenkhesu,

*hn<sup>c</sup> jt mhw 13 + 5/10 m-c Jpj hrd m š-sbk ntt m sp3.t-m3.t m-c jpj s3 hr.j*

and 13 + 5/10 sacks of barley in the possession of Ipi the Younger in *She-sebek*, and that which is in *Sepat-mat* in the possession of Heri's son Ipi,

*bd.t ḥꜥr 20 (8) sn=f-dšr*  
and 20 *khar* of emmer of Senefdesher.

*dmd 80 13 + 5/10*  
Total 80 *khar* (of emmer) and 13 + 5/10 *khar* (of barley).

*jr gr.t rdj.t(y)=f(y) n=j db3 m mrḥ.t*  
As for him who gives me the due sum in *merehet*-oil,

*dd=f n=j hbn.t ḥr jt mḥw 2 ḥr bd.t 3 (vs. 1) r-pw*  
he shall give to me one *hebenet* for two *khar* of barley or 3 *khar* of emmer.

*mk sw t mrj=j rdj.t(w) n=j ḥt m jt mḥw*  
Look, but I want that things be given to me in barley.

*ḥnꜥ tm rdj ꜥm jb ḥr nḥt ḥr jw.t(y)=f(y) n=k nb.t ḥr=s*  
And do not be neglectful concerning Nakht and all because of which he shall come to you,

*mk (2) ntf m33 r ḥt nb.t*  
(for) look, he sees more than anyone.

\*\*\* **Address** \*\*\*

(3) *jm.y-r3 t3-mḥw hrw-nfr*  
Overseer of Lower Egypt, Herunefer.

## Letter 4

\*\*\* Address \*\*\*

(1) *s3.t dd.t n mw.t=s s3.t-nb-shwt dd.t n s3t-nb-shw.t*

It is a daughter who speaks to her mother, it is Satbensekhut who speaks to Satnebsekhut

*h3 n smd.t m nd hrt=t m c.w.s.*

A thousand of salutations in greeting to you, in LPH.

(2) *[...]=t jb=t ndm sndm.n hwt-hr jb=t*

[...] you heart pleasant, like Hathor made you heart pleasant.

*m rdj jb=t m-s3(=j)*

Do not worry about me,

*mt wj snb.kwj*

look, I am healthy.

*mt jr jnn.t nb.t n[.]*

Look, as for everything that has been brought to [...],

*[...]r=j m tnw-r<sup>c</sup> jw*

[...] as explanation.

*jw jn.t(w) n=tn mjt.t*

one shall bring the same to you.

*jr hn<sup>c</sup> nd hrt grg m c.w.s.*

And greet Gereg, in LPH.

*mt rdj.n(=j) jw.t s3 [...]*

Look, I have made Sa[...] come [...]

(4) *[...] m rdj c<sup>m</sup> jb n grg hr [...]=f*

[...] And do not let Gereg forget concerning his [...].

*hn<sup>c</sup> nd hrt pr=j r-3w=f m c.w.s.*

And greet my entire family in LPH.

\*\*\* Address \*\*\*

(Vs. 1) *jmj-r3 pr [...]*

The overseer of the house [...]

(2) *grg*

Gereg

## MISCELLANEOUS EARLY MIDDLE KINGDOM LETTERS

### The Meketre Letter

Dating: Nebhepetre Mentuhotpe II.

Origin: Thebes, in or beside the causeway of the tomb of Meketre at Deir el-Bahri (No. 280)

Bibliography: JAMES 1962, 80–83.

#### \*\*\* Address \*\*\*

(1) *b3k n pr d.t whm-ntr.y dd*

The servant of the estate Wehem-netjery says:

#### \*\*\* initial formulae \*\*\*

(2) *jw hr=k mj °nh(.w) hh n sp*

May your state be like that of a living one, a million times.

*jry n=k hr.y-š=f nb nn-njswt mj mrr*

May Heryshef, lord of Hieraconpolis, act for you like for (one) he loves,

(3) *snđm pth rs.y jnb=f jb=k mj °nh wr.t j3w.t [nfr.t]*

may Ptah, who is south of his wall, make your heart happy like one with long life and good old age.

(4) *wn jm3h=k nfr hr k3 n hr.y-š=f nb nn-nswt ntr.w nb.w jr=sn n=k rnpt* (5) *hh m °.w.s. mj mrr b3k jm*

May your reputation be good in front of the *ka* of Heryshef, lord of Hieraconpolis and all gods. May they make for you a million of years in LPH as the servant there wishes.

*dd=j dj rh nb=j °.w.s. ntt hr-° ntr.y-y3m* (6) *jy jnt=f trp 2 m sr.wt hn° pth 100 hn° sr wgs(.w) 100*

I say to let my lord, LPH, know that the assistant Netjery-yam has come, bringing 2 *tjerep*-geese as *sr.wt* and 100 *petekh*-geese and 100 gutted *ser*-geese.

*hn°* (7) *swd3-jb n nb °.w.s. hr rdj.t h3b.t n sš-° sn-mrj-rnpt hr rdj.t n=j n3 n mw*

And a communication to the lord, LPH, about sending the scribe of the documents, Senmerirenpet, concerning giving me the water ...

## P. BM 10549

Dating: early 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Origin: Unknown.

Bibliography: JAMES 1962, 89–92.

### \*\*\* address \*\*\*

(1) *r dd jn jm.y-r3 mš<sup>c</sup> nhsh [...]* *k3y*

Words said by the general Neheseh [... to ...] Kay.

### \*\*\* initial formulae \*\*\*

*jw=k mj jh sp sn n<sup>c</sup>.w.s.=k*

How are you, how are you, of your LPH?

(2) *jw hr.t=k mj<sup>c</sup> nh<sup>c</sup> hh n sp*

You condition is like that of a living one, a million times!

*jry n=k mntw nb w3s.t ntr.w nb.w*

May Montu, lord of Thebes, act for you, and all gods.

(3) *jr=sn n=k rnp.t hh m<sup>c</sup>.w.s. [...]* *mj mrr=j*

May they make for you a million years in LPH. [...] as I wish.

*jn jr p3 h3b n=j jn sn.t*

What about that having written to me by Senet

(4) *r dd n jn.t n=j<sup>c</sup> k.w m [...]*

saying: “Provisions were not brought to me in/from [...]

[...] *n pr=j* (4) *jt h<sup>c</sup>r 10 n=k jn k3y s3[t...]* *snt hn<sup>c</sup> k3y s3 nfr-sš*

[...] to my family and 10 khar of barley to you by Kay’s daughter Senet and Kay’s son Nefer-sesh.

(6) *jn st m t3 wsh.t [...]* *=sn hr=tn jn=tn n=s ky sp*

It shall come by the ship [...] they in front of you. You shall bring it to her another time.

*mk* (7) *jn t m mh.y*

See, it should be fetched in full!

*jn jr gr.t [...]* *hsf.t=k r s3.t=k wnn jr.n=k r sm3=s* (8) *m tm rdj n3 n jt šm<sup>c</sup>*

Now what about acting against your daughter, you would have killed her by not giving this barley

*jn [...]* *pr=j*

to [...] my household.

*mk gr.t rh.n=j kd n* (9) *hm.t jt=j*

Look, but I know the state/character of the wife of my father.



*jn m<sub>2</sub>dd=k jb n hm.t=k m sm<sub>3</sub> pr=j*

Would you follow the wish of your wife by killing my family?

(Vs. 1) *jn wnn jb=j mh r dd rdj.n=j k.w n pr=j*

Will my wish be fulfilled to say "Give me the provisions for my family"

*jw h<sub>3</sub>b.tw n=j r-dd*

One wrote to me, saying:

*nn (2) wn k.w jm*

"There are no provisions there."

*jw.t t<sub>3</sub> wsh.t ph.n=s wj*

Let the ship return after it has reached me.

## P. BM 10567

Dating: early 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Origin: Unknown.

Bibliography: JAMES 1962, 94–97.

### \*\*\* Address \*\*\*

(1) *b3k n pr dt s<sup>c</sup>nh.w-r<sup>c</sup>*

The servant of the estate Sankhure:

### \*\*\* initial formulae \*\*\*

(2) *jw hr.t=k mj <sup>c</sup>nh(.w) [...]*

May your condition be like that of a living (one) [...]

(3) *sn<sup>d</sup>m pth [rsj jnb=f jb=k mj <sup>c</sup>nh ...]*

may Ptah [who is south of his wall] make your heart happy [with life<sup>110</sup> ...]

(4) *wn jm<sup>3</sup>h=k nfr [...]*

may your reputation be good [...]

(5) *sbk hr.w hw.t-hr nb.t [... ntr.w nb.w]* (6) *nt.yw m p.t nt.yw m t3 dj=sn jr nb <sup>c</sup>.w.s. h<sup>h</sup> m <sup>c</sup>.w.s. h<sup>t</sup>-<sup>c</sup> jm r<sup>c</sup> pn mj mrr b3k jm*

[...] Sobek, Hor, Hathor, lady of [...] and all gods] who are in the sky and who are on earth, may they cause that the lord, LPH, spends a million (years) in LPH, starting from this day, like the servant there wishes.

*dd b3k jm swd[3-jb pw n nb <sup>c</sup>.w.s.]*

The servant there says: This is a communication to the lord, LPH

*r (7) ntt h3w nb(.w) n nb <sup>c</sup>.w.s. <sup>c</sup>d wd3*

that all affairs of the lord, LPH, are prosperous and well,

*nn dd.t nb.t nb <sup>c</sup>.w.s. jb m-s3*

without there being anything concerning which the lord, LPH, should be concerned.

*šwd3-jb pw n nb [LPh r ntt rdj.n b3k]* (8) *jm jn.t sš pn r rh sšm nb nfr n nb [<sup>c</sup>.w.s.]*

This is a communication to the lord, LPH that the servant there has had this letter sent in order to learn about all good condition of the lord, LPH.

*šwd[3-jb pw n nb <sup>c</sup>.w.s. hr rdj.t h3b=tw n b3k jm* (9) *hr kd nb nfr n nb <sup>c</sup>.w.s. hr <sup>c</sup>d [...]*

This is a communication to the lord, LPH, concerning letting you write to the servant there about every good character of the lord LPH, about being prosperous [...]

*šwd[3-jb pw [n nb <sup>c</sup>.w.s. hr rdj.t jn](10).t n=j smj n p3 sš jn jw.t=f nb*

This is a communication to the lord, LPH, concerning letting be sent to me an answer to this letter by anyone who may come.

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<sup>110</sup> Or “like that of one living”?

[swd3 jb pw] n nb ʕ.w.s. hr ntt n gm n3 n hrd.w

This is a communication to the lord, LPH, that these children have not found [...];

(11) hr ntt p3 rs.y mh.wt m-ʕ p.t-mr.wt [...] 3

that Upper and Lower Egypt is in the possession of p.t-mr.wt [...] here.

nfr sdm nb ʕ.w.s. snb.w ʕnh.w

May the hearing of the lord, LPH, be good, he being healthy and alive.

## P. Cairo 91061

Dating: late 11<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Origin: Unknown

Bibliography: JAMES 1962, 92–94.

### \*\*\* Address \*\*\*

(1) *b3k n pr d.t sš nht dd n sš ʕ3.w*

It is the servant of the estate, the scribe Nakhte who speaks to the scribe Aau.

### \*\*\* Introductory formulae \*\*\*

(2) *jw hr=k mj ʕnh hḥ n sp*

May your state be like that of a living (one), a million times!

*jry n=k hr.y-š=f (3) sndm pth rs.y jnb=f jb=k m ʕnh*

May Heryshef act for you, may Ptah, who is south of his wall, make your heart pleasant like (that of) one living.

(4) *wn jm3h=k nfr hr k3 hr.y-š=f nb [nn-njsw]*

May your reputation be good in front of Heryshef, lord of [Hieraconpolis].

(5) *dd b3k jm dj rh sš=k ʕ.w.s. r-nt.t rdj.n=j b3k jm jn.t sš pn r rh sšm (6) nb nfr sš=k ʕ.w.s.*

The servant there speaks in order to let your scribe LPH know that I, the servant there have caused this letter to be brought in order to know every good condition of your scribe, LPH.

### \*\*\* content \*\*\*

*mk gr.t jr p3 mn mk sw w3h.(7)y*

But look, concerning this cloth, it is set up.

*mk gr.t jr p3 šnw mk sw sh.t*

But look, concerning this *shenu*-cloth, it is finished.

*mk rdj.n=j (8) jn.t n=k p3 šnw*

Look, I have caused this *shenu*-cloth to be brought to you

*mk gr.t p3=k pr mk sw rdj n p3 w<sup>c</sup>b nht (9) ʕ3=f ht=f nb.t*

But look, your house, look, it has been given<sup>111</sup> to the wab-priest Nakht, its doors, its every thing.

*mk gr.t rdj.n=j jn.t n=k pn ry.t jn(.w) r p<sup>c</sup>.t*

But look, I have sent you ? and colour bought against a cake (?)<sup>112</sup>

*mk (10) dd=k jb=k hft hrw nfr*

Look, let your heart pursue entertainment.

<sup>111</sup> According to JAMES (1962, 93), citing PEET 1932, 124, *rdj* can be used with the meaning “sell”.

<sup>112</sup> Following the translation of JAMES (1962, 93). WENTE (1990) has “Now that I have sent you 7 rings of *p3t*-cakes”.

*jn jr gr.t p3 rdj.t jn.t t(11)nw r3 nn h3b hr tnw jr*

What about that having explanation be sent without writing concerning ... thereof?

*mk gr.t jn šnw ds (vs. 1) 10 rh k3=k bw nfr*

But look, Shenu brings 10 jugs that your *ka* may know goodness.

**\*\*\* Address \*\*\***

*(vs. 2) dd n sš-nht (vs. 3) n sš-ʿ3.w*

What Seshnakht gives to Seshaau.

**P. Kahun. Inv. No. Hierat. 1**

Dating: early Middle Kingdom

Origin: Gebelein (?)

Bibliography: FRANSEN 1978, 25–31.

1. [...] *ʿnh ḥḥ n sp jry n=k mnt.w* [...] [... Your condition is like living a million times. May Montu act for you [...]
2. [...] *-jb=k m ʿnh wr.t* [...] [... make your heart happy with life greatly [...]
3. [...]
4. [...] *sn=k jm* [...] [... your brother here [...]
5. [...] *rh sšm nfr* [...] [... know good condition [...]
6. [...] *ḥr rdj.t šd n3 n jnr.w m* [...] causing these stones to be brought from [...]
7. [...] *s3.t 2 jn.t n=f m* [...] [... the two sat blocks that were brought to him from [...]
8. [...] *rdj.t šn.t nn rdj.t sjnn=f ʿ3* [...] [... being caused to be brought without letting him delay greatly [...]
9. [...] *swd3]-jb pw n sš=k ʿ.w.s. nfr sdm [sš=k]* [...] this is a communication to your scribe, LPH. May the hearing of your scribe be good.

## PAPYRUS REISNER II

Dating: Senwosret I  
Origin: Naga ed-Deir  
Bibliography: SIMPSON 1963

### Papyrus Reisner II, D

*rnp.t-sp 17 3bd 2 3h.t sw 7*

Year 17, second month of the *akhet* season, day 7.

(1) *jm.y-r3 njw.t t3.ty jm.y-r3 h.wt-3.t 6 jn.t=f-jkr wd n jm.y-r3 pr mntw-wsr s3 sp sn [...]*

The mayor, vizier and overseer of the six great halls Intefiqer orders to the overseer of the house Mentuwosre, son of ditto [+ a following list of names],

(2) *[...]n=tn [...]w m h<sup>c</sup>.w wnn w<sup>c</sup> jm=tn nb r dmj=f spd.w*

Each one of you shall be in his quay, prepared [...]

(3) *jnk h3b hr 3tp.w jn gr.t w<sup>c</sup> jm=tn nb [...] jt.t n3 n dnh.w [...]*

It is I who has written concerning the loading. Did, however, any one of you take these oar leaves? [...]

(4) *s3h.w m jm.w=f ds=f nn rdj.t h3*

the sahu in his own *imu*-boat without being allowed to go down to [...]

(5) *hn<sup>c</sup> 33 p3 3r-gm.ty h3b(6).n=j n=tn hr=f*

and supply<sup>113</sup> the *3r-gm.ty* concerning which I have written to you,

*stp.w m stp.w nb n md.t=tn jr=tn gr.t r gmj.t s3 n t3.ty nht*

the choicest of your stall. You shall, however, act until the scribe of the vizier Nakht finds

(7) *md.wt=tn n 3r-gm.ty hr mry.t mtn rdj.n=j jw.t=f hr 3tp st*

your supplies (?) of *3r-gm.ty* on the bank. Look, I have caused him to come in order to load it,

*hn<sup>c</sup> jr.t.n=j (8) s 30 n t.t n.t jmw w<sup>c</sup> jm=tn nb m kn.t nb*

and also to assign for me thirty men of the *imu*-crew,

(9) *jn n s3.w s3b m<sup>c</sup>s.w s3 jnt=f t.t n.t s3-3grtb*

Brought by the official and judge Masu, son of Intef, crew of Sa-agerteb.

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<sup>113</sup> The Late Egyptian *3r<sup>c</sup>r*.

## Papyrus Reisner II, E

*rnp.t-sp 17 3bd 2 (n) 3h.t sw 8*

Year 17, second month of the *akhet* season, day 8.

(1) *jm.y-r3 njw.t t3.ty jm.y-r3 h.wt-3.t 6 jnj-jtj=f-jkr*

The governor, vizier and overseer of the six great halls Intefiker.

(2) *wd n jm.y-r3 pr.w n.w pr-3 nt.w m t<sup>c</sup>w-wr*

An order for the overseer of the houses of the Palace that are in the Thinite nome

(3) *jr.n=tn rdj.t h<sup>c</sup>k.tw=tn hn<sup>c</sup> 3<sup>c</sup>3 tn m s3.t n=j n=tn nb.t hn<sup>c</sup> rdj.t shdy.t(w)*

Let yourselves be shaved and prepare yourselves according to everything that I have counseled you and let be transported down

(4) *r hnw.t hr w<sup>c</sup> jm=tn nb mtn jp=j st m hnw.t*

into the residence for each one of you. Look, I will count it in the residence.

*jrt t3 swt m swt (5) m3.t m ht spr.t pw r=f*

Making the hekat of emmer one hekat of new emmer is a thing to be attained.

*jr=tn h<sup>c</sup>k.tw=f hn<sup>c</sup> 3<sup>c</sup>3 hm.t n.t sn<sup>c</sup> m kn.t [...]*

Shave and prepare the woman of the granary as/in strength [...]

(6) *nt.y w<sup>c</sup> jm=tn nb m-<sup>c</sup>=f jn n s3.w s3b mntw-htp s3 sp sn jn.t=f s3 mntw-htp s3 snb=f t.t n.t s3-<sup>c</sup>grtb*

which every one of you is in charge of. Brought by the official and judge Mentuhotep, son of ditto, Intef son of Mentuhotep, son of Senebef, the crew of Sa-agerteb.



## Papyrus Reisner II, G

(1) [jm.y-r3 njw].t t3.ty jm.y-r3 hw.t-3.t 6 jn.t=f-jkr wd n jm.y.w-r3 pr n.w pr-3 nt.w m tw-wr.t  
The overseer of the city, vizier and overseer of six great halls Intefiqer orders to the stewards  
of the palace who are in *Ta-weret*,

jr [w<sup>c</sup> ...] nb n.t str=f hr wh[r.t] (2) nhm hm.wt=f  
As for any one of you who ... the workshop, and his artisans are taken away,

jmj h3b=f n=j hr hm.wt=f nhm.t jh dj=j dj.t n=f  
make him send to me concerning his artisans that were taken away, and I will cause (them) to  
be given to him.

jr gr.t n3 n jm.yw-r3 pr n.t [...] jt.t jmw.w (3) nw rry.t n.t pr-3  
But as for the stewards who [shall] take the ships of the quay of the palace,

jmj rn=f  
namely: (the list follows)

mtn [...p]3 h<sup>c</sup>.w=tn  
look, [load?] your ships.

s3.w [...]  
Take care [...]

(4) [...] m3<sup>c</sup> [...]  
[...] seeing [...]

(5) s3 [...] h.t hd [...]  
[...] white wood [...]

(6) [...] p3 h<sup>c</sup>.w m hb  
[...] the ships during the festival.

jr hm.ww z nb [...] m h.t hd n.t sn[d].t hr jm=f [...]  
As for the artists, every man [...] of white wood of Acacia upon [...]

(7) [...] mh shr.w sn<sup>cc</sup> h<sup>c</sup>j [...] r-gs hmw.w s nb  
[...] inlaying the wood, polishing the mast [...] in the presence of the artists, every man.

jmj gr.t s3.w=tn r šsp n=tn hd [...](8) jw m h<sup>c</sup>.w  
But cause each of your scribes to [...] to receive for you white [...] which came in the ships.

## ILLAHUN POPYRI

Dating: Senwosret III and Amenemhet III

Origin: Illahun

Bibliography: LUFT 2002

### P. Berlin 10019

#### \*\*\* address \*\*\*

1. *h3t.y-<sup>c</sup> jm.y-r3 hw.t-ntr [nb-]k3.w-r<sup>c</sup> dd n jm.y-r3 pr htp-ntr sbk-nh.t dd*

The count and overseer of the temple Nebkaure says to the overseer of the house of the god's offerings Sebeknahkt:<sup>114</sup>

#### \*\*\* content \*\*\*

<sup>e115</sup> *rh=k hr rdj.t sfh.t jw3y.t n.t jbh.w s3 sn.t mn-hn-s-n-wsr.t*

“A communication to let you know about the releasing of the worker of the libation priest Men-hen-Senusret, son of Senet,

2. *r hsb.t=f*

to (do) his *hsb.t*-work.

*mk sw m tbtb*

(But) look, he is moving.<sup>116</sup>

*dj=k jn.t m (j)w3y(.t) n jm.y-r3 mr.wt hft nt.y 3*

You should make the worker be brought to the overseer of the merut-people,<sup>117</sup> ... .

---

<sup>114</sup> The letter begins with the name of the author, in an *N [hr] sdm* construction, Topicalisation according to WENTE (1990): It is NN who addresses MM(?).

<sup>115</sup> The first sign is an arm, but it seems to be incompatible with either *rh* or *dd*. Perhaps just a subject-less construction, or an omission of an *r* of *r dj rh=k?*

<sup>116</sup> The meaning of *tbtb* is uncertain, MEEKS (1977, 415) gives “remuer”. *m* + infinitive can have ingressive meaning in Middle Egyptian (MALAISE & WINAND 1999).

<sup>117</sup> The translation given in LUFT (1992) for *hft ntj 3* (wenn er hier ist) is unlikely, but the sense is unclear. The presence of the *m* introducing the DirObj is unclear.

An explanation according to the Standard Theory is possible, explaining the *m* by the preceding form being emphatic and needing an adjunct; but it seems strange to want to emphasize a DirObj by first turning it to an adjunct and then emphasizing it by a special form.

## P. Berlin 10023A

1. *ḥ3t.y-ꜥ jm.y-r3 ḥw.t-ntr s-n-wsr.t dd n sš [ḥw.t-ntr] ḥr-m-s3=f dd*

The count and overseer of the temple Senusret says to the scribe of the temple Haremsaf<sup>118</sup>:

ꜥ (r) *rḥ=k r-ntt spr.n n=j s3 ꜥ3 n ḥw.t-ntr s3 sn.t jmn.y*

“A communication to let you know that the guardian of the temple door, son of Senet Imeny, approached me

2. *r-dd jw3.kwj ḥr s3=j k3w.ty n ḥw.t-ntr jm*

saying: “I was robbed off my son, the worker in the temple ...<sup>119</sup>”

*r-dd jw=f m nhw n ḥ3.w*

... saying that he lacked work-forces,

3. *ḥr.w=f sw mk p3y=f s3 km(.w) jr wnn*

this he said. Look, his son ... . If ...<sup>120</sup>

\*\*\* Address \*\*\*

*sš ḥw.t-ntr ḥr-m-s3=f*

The scribe of the temple Haremsaf.

*rnp.t 11 3bd 1 [...] jn n k3w.tj [...] ḥw.t-ntr [...]*

Year 11, fist month [...]. Brought by the porter [...] of the temple [...]

## P. Berlin 10023B

\*\*\* address and formulae \*\*\*

1. *b3k n pr d.t ḥr-m-s3=f dd swd3[-jb]*

The servant of the estate Haremsaf says: A communication [...]

*r-nt.t ḥ3.w nb n nb=j ꜥ.w.s*

that all affairs of my lord, LPH

*ꜥd(.w) wd3(.w) m s.t=sn nb.t*

are prosperous and flourishing<sup>121</sup> on all their places.

---

<sup>118</sup> WENTE (1990, 74) translates similar formulae as topicalisations: “**It is the mayor** and dean of the temple Senwosret **who addresses** the temple scribe Horemsaf.”

<sup>119</sup> A lacuna in the text? But no part of the papyrus is missing and there is no text on it. Wente: “I was seized as a substitute for my son.”

<sup>120</sup> The publication (LUFT 1992) has “ist fertig ?” for *km*, WENTE (1990, 74) gives “has met his labor obligations for me ?” perhaps “he took my son, and **his** son is **finished**” – which would make sense with the *mk*, giving the status of focus to more phrases in the sentence.

<sup>121</sup> Stative qualifying the noun *ḥ3.w*.

\*\*\* content \*\*\*

*swd3[-jb...] [.nb]=j<sup>c</sup>.w.s. hr r[...]*

A communication [to ? ...] my [lord], LPH concerning [...]

*w<sup>c</sup>h jt r htp ntr*

the earth almonds and grain for the god's offering

*hn<sup>c</sup> swd3 (3) jb r-nt.t nfr pw<sup>122</sup> jn p3 [...] htr hn.t [...] s3-b3st.t*

and a communication that the contributions for the procession [...] have not been brought [by?...] Sa-bastet.

*hn<sup>c</sup> swd3-jb hr (4) jn.t 3pd.w r htp-ntr p3 mšrw*

And a communication about sending fowl for the god's offerings this evening.

*hn<sup>c</sup> [swd3-jb] r-ntt rdj.n b3k jm jn.t<sup>c</sup>-hn 2 (5) n hw.t-ntr<sup>c</sup>.t šps.t r snt st m m3.wt*

And [a communication] that the servant there caused 2 hearth fans of the temple, of the noble chamber, to be brought in order to ... them anew,

*swd3-jb pw hr=s*

It is a communication about it,

*swd3-jb (6) [n] nb=j<sup>c</sup>.w.s nfr sdm nb=j<sup>c</sup>.w.s*

a communication [to] my lord, LPH. May the hearing of my Lord, LPH, be good.<sup>123</sup>

**P. Berlin P 10025**

\*\*\* formulae \*\*\*

(1) [...] *m bw=j dd swd3-jb pw n nb=j<sup>c</sup>.w.s. r[-ntt] h3.w nb n nb[=j] <sup>c</sup>.w.s. <sup>c</sup>d [wd3 ...]*

[...] on my place: "This is a communication to my lord, LPH, t[hat] all workers of [my] lord, LPH, are prosperous and well.

(2) [*nswt*] *bjty h<sup>c</sup>-hpr-r<sup>c</sup> [...] mrr b3k jm*

[... king of Upper] and Lower Egypt Khakheperre [...] as this servant wishes.

\*\*\* content \*\*\*

*swd3-jb pw n nb=j<sup>c</sup>.w.s r-ntt dd(.w) n b3k jm jw 3w<sup>c</sup>.n nb=j<sup>c</sup>.w.s [...] (3) hr b3k jm m hnw*

it is a communication to my lord, LPH, that the servant here had been told that my lord, LPH, issued [a directive...?] (under me?) in/out of/because of a loss.

*hn<sup>c</sup> wnn jn nb=j<sup>c</sup>.w.s. hr rdj.t h3b š<sup>c</sup>.wt [r?...] (4) ndnd jr.t k3.t hm-k3 jm*

And my lord continues sending letters in order to ask about the work of the mortuary priest there.

<sup>122</sup> *nfr pw* negation, *nfr* being the perfective participle.

<sup>123</sup> WENTE (1990, 75) It is good if the lord, LPH, takes note.

(j)n jw nb=j <sup>c</sup>w.s. hr h<sub>h</sub>j ntt r jr.t r b3k jm [...] r b3k jm  
Is my lord, LPH, searching what to do against the humble servant [...] against the humble servant?

(j)n jw=j ksn.kwj nb=j <sup>c</sup>w.s jnk šms.w=k  
Am I troubled, my lord? I am your follower.

pty (6) ntt sw r jr.t r b3k jm  
What is it that he is going to do against the humble servant?

n rdj.t sdm b3k jm jrt.n=f m mdw hft b3k [jm]  
The humble servant was not allowed to hear what he had done. Do not speak ill of the [humble] servant.

[...] (7) šms.w=k m sh.t hr=j r hrd n nb=j <sup>c</sup>w.s. spr r=j  
your follower [...] in having ignored the child of my lord which approached me?

n jnk [...] (8) nb=j <sup>c</sup>w.s. hd.n=f jr.yt=f  
I am not [the follower?] of my lord, LPH, who failed on his task.<sup>124</sup>

jw sr r dd jr.n=f n3 h.t  
The official will say: “He has done these things.”

[jw b3k jm] (9) r gm.j š3.t mj hfn.w  
The humble servant shall find a letter like snakes.

jr rf r s3 htp n=j [...]  
If thereafter [the official] is merciful to me,

(10) [...k3]b m ht hrw=k nfr  
[The humble servant shall] enlarge the offerings for your feasts.

nn <sup>c</sup>h3=k r [...]  
You shall not fight against [this humble servant?]

(11) [...] r-3w=s  
[over] the whole [...]

mk rmt dd=sn m dd [...]  
Look, people say: “Do not speak against...”

(12) [...] š3.j=k hr=j m jr.t nkt [...]  
Will you decide over me by doing something [...].

---

<sup>124</sup> If this is the right translation, it is very interesting: negation negates the FOCUS, which in this case is the pronoun *jnk*, therefore – so that it and only it could be negated – the independent pronoun is used in the middle of the sentence. i.e. Not **I** am the one who erred, **ANOTHER** has erred. The error has occurred, but it is not my fault.

(13) [...] *ḥ<sup>c</sup>-ḥpr-r<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw*  
[...] Khakheperre, justified.

*jmj jn.t(w) n=j smj n p3 š<sup>c</sup>.t*  
Let an answer to this letter be brought to me!

(14) [...]=*f ḥn<sup>c</sup> rdj.t h3b n b3k jm ḥr<sup>c</sup>.w.s. nb=j<sup>c</sup>.w.s swd3-jb pw n [nb=j]*  
[...] and have a message be brought to the humble servant concerning the life, prosperity, and health of my lord, LPH. This is a communication for my lord [LPH, ...]

\*\*\* **adress** \*\*\*

*n nb=j<sup>c</sup>.w.s m-<sup>c</sup> jnbw*  
To my lord, LPH, from Imbu.

### **P. Berlin P 10030 A**

(1) *b3k n pr [d.t] jw-snb dd n jm.y-r3 pr km3w [...]*  
The servant of the estate Iuseneb says to the overseer of the house Qemau [...]

(2) *m s.wt=sn [...]*  
on their places [...]

(3) *r-ntt ḥm-k3 n jm.y-r3 mr.w [...]*  
that the mortuary priest of the overseer of the weavers [...]

(4) *jw.t r dd n [...]*  
has come in order to say to [...]

(5) *jw3y.t jny.t m* (6) *šḥm-s-n-wsr.t m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw jn jm.y-r3 pr km3.w*  
“A worker had been brought from Sekhemsenusret, justified, by the overseer of the house Qemau.”<sup>125</sup>

(7) *ḥr=f sw*  
so he said.

*swd3-jb pw n nb=j<sup>c</sup>.w.s.* (8) *r-ntt jn(.w) jw3.t=f*  
This is a communication to my lord, LPH, that his worker had been brought -

(9) *s3.t-d3 pw jr.t p3k.t* (10) *s3.t mn.t rn-snb dd.t(w) n=s km3*  
- it is Sat-dja who shall make finest linen, Menet’s daughter Renseneb, who is called Kema,

(11) *n jm.y-r3 mr.w p3k.t ḥtm.w šms.w*  
for the overseer of the house of fine linen, seal-bearer and follower

---

<sup>125</sup> A quotation: *[jn] jw3y.t jn.yt ...*, with focus on the worker, or, alternatively, *jr jw3y.t jny.t* “as for the worker brought...”; but it must be an independent sentence.

(12) *m rnp.t 38 3bd 4 (n) pr.t sw 6*  
in year 38, on the 4<sup>th</sup> month of the peret season, day 6.

(13) *jh dj.t(w) s3 r t3.y=f* (14) *jw3.yt jn.yt m shm-s-n-wsrt m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*  
His worker that was brought from Sekhemsenusret should be employed,

(15) *wnn jn.tw=s m t3 rnp.t*  
since (?) she had been brought this year.

(16) *jr grt wnn nt.y pw 3 m [...]*  
When, however, that which is here [...]

### **P. Berlin P 10030 B**

(1) *h<sup>c</sup>t.y-<sup>c</sup> jm.y-r3 [...dd n ...hr-m-s3=f]*  
The count and overseer of [... says to ... Haremsaf]

(2) *jdnw n jm.y-r3 htm.w* (3) *s3-h<sup>c</sup>pj*  
(and?) the deputy overseer of the seals Sahapi.

(4) *rdj.n=k jn.t(w)=s* (5) *hr dr sdb* (6) *n p3 htm.w ph-jb*  
You had it be brought in order to eliminate the damage of the seal-bearer Pehib

(7) *nty hr kd n3 n* (8) *wr.wt*  
who keeps on building these sanctuaries,

*hn<sup>c</sup> rdj.t* (9) [...] *p3 jw.t* (10) [...] *d3d3.t r*  
and to make [...] the council, in order to [...]

### **P. Berlin P 10033**

\*\*\* address \*\*\*

(1) *h3t.y-<sup>c</sup> jm.y-r3 hw.t-ntr s-n-wsr.t dd n s3 hw.t-ntr hr-m-s3=f dd*  
The count and overseer of the temple Senusret says to the scribe of the temple Haremsaf:

\*\*\* content \*\*\*

*r<sup>c</sup> h=k r ntt sdm.n=j n3 [mdw ...]*  
“A communication to let you know that I have heard [the affair ...]

*[jmj-r3] pr mty-n-s3 snb(.ty)=fy r dd*  
[... the overseer of the] house and chief of phyles Senebtyfy that

*dj.tw hr=j r ntt r jr.t r s[j]p [...]* *jr wnn sdm [...]*  
my attention was turned to that which is to be done and controlled. As for hear(ing) [...]

(3) [...] *sdm r=s mj hp jr n3* [...] *hk3 jm* [...] *st n k[nb]t*  
listen to it like to a law. As for these [...] the ruler thereof [...] it to the council.

(4) *jr n3 h3b.n=k r=s r-dd*  
As for that because of which you have written, saying:

*dj.tw n=j k.w n* [...] *p3 phr h3 js pw mj jr.t* (5) *jrj js*  
“Provisions were given to me for [...] this district. It is a duty like doing [...]

*jnk dd.n=sn k.w r tnw rnp.t*  
It is I who gives them provisions every year

*jr ht nbt* [...] *k.w prr n=j* *3*  
As for every thing [...] the provisions that are delivered to me here,

(6) *dj=k n=sn st m fk3.w*  
you shall give it to them as a salary.

*jr n3 h3b.n=k hr[=s ...] n shm-s-n-wsr.t*  
As for that because of which you have written, [...] to Sekhem-Senusret.

## P. Berlin P 10036

1. *h3t.y-c jm.y-r-c hw.t-ntr s-n-wsr.t dd n jm.y-r3 pr hr-m-s3=f dd dj rh=k r-ntt sdm.n=j t3* [...]  
The count and overseer of the temple Senusret says to the overseer of the house Haremsaf: To let you know that I have heard the [...] <sup>126</sup>

2. *m h-cw*  
in a cargo ship.

*jmj jn.t* (3) *krh.wt tnf.w ds nw 10* (4) *pg3 nw 10*  
“Have the 10 pottery pieces, vessels and jars, and the 10 bowls

(5) *ntt pw wn hr.w=fy*  
that are there brought,” he said. <sup>127</sup>

*n3 h3b.n=k hr=s* (6) *mk st 3tp(.w)*  
That because of which you had sent, look, it is loaded. <sup>128</sup>

*n3 krh.wt* (7) *mk jr rh.wt p3 jn.w* (8) *k-c.w 110 pw m krh.wt* (9) *jt.t=k st m k-c 115*  
(Concernig) the pottery pieces, look, if the due amount of the tax is the total of 110 in pottery pieces, you are taking it as 115 pieces,

<sup>126</sup> Or *dj(=j) rh=k*, which is rather more easily interpretable? – in the sense of our I would like to let you know that ... The verb *sdm* may not mean “to hear” but “to understand” here.

<sup>127</sup> *hrw=fy* is the common way to close the citation of a letter or a speech. The *fy* is grammatically incomprehensible (GARDINER 1957, § 437).

<sup>128</sup> Unmarked topicalisation of the clause, with the focus of the construction marked by *mk*.



(10) *k3 wn p3 ʿhʿ 5 hr=s* (11) *m swd3*  
and so there is the amount of 5 pieces above it in the dues.

*jh dj[=k j]n.t(w) n=j* (12) *hr rh.wt krh[.wt...]*  
You should send to me concerning the due amount of the pottery pieces [...]

(13) *3tp.t djn.[...]*  
loaded [...] given

(14) *krh.wt nb.t jm=s* [...] *k* [...]  
every pottery piece in it (thereof?) [...]

(15) *rh=j ntt st ʒ3[...]*  
I know that it is [...]

(16) *snqm r-ntt wn=k* [...]  
a recompensation that [...]

(17) *3tp.n.tw n=j* [...]  
that they were transported to me [...]

(18) *hṭp-s-n-wsr.t* [...]  
Hetep-senwosret [...]

(19) *sdbh=k n=s* [...]  
you care for it [...]

(20) *šm jṭ.t* [...]  
come and take [...]

(21) *m sjp* [...]  
in control [...]

(22) *jṭ*  
seize [...]

(23) *šhm-s-n-wsr.t* [...]  
Sekhem-senwosret [...]

(24) *dw3.t ḥw.t-nṯr*  
priests of the temple

### **P. Berlin P 10038 A**

(1) [...n]3 *h3b.n=k hr=s hr n3 n*  
[... concerning] that because of which you have written, concerning the [...]

[...]

(7) [...]  $\epsilon^3 m$   
[...] here in

(8) [...]  $w\dot{h}m.w mk$   
[...] the messenger. See,

(9) [... $h3$ ]  $b.n s\dot{s} sbk-htp$   
[...] whom the scribe Sebekhetep sent.

(10) [...]  $hr dr n=k sdb.w m$   
[...] because of the dispelling of evil for you in

(11) [...]  $m pr nfr<.wy>$   
[...] in the house of embalming

(12)  $h3b=k$   
[...] you send

(13)  $s3-[sp]d .w hr rdj.t$   
[...] Sa-sepdu causes

(14) [...]  $n=k n3 nt.y hn^c=f$   
[...] to you that which is with him

(15) [...]  $mk h3b.n$  (16)  $jm.y-r3 w hrt$  (17)  $rdj.t jn.t(w) n=k p3 nt.y m$  (18) [ $\epsilon=f$ ]  $m \epsilon^3 k3$   
Look, the overseer of the district has written concerning letting be brought to you that which is [in his possession?]

(19) [...]  $sb=k$   
[...] you sent

(20) [...]  $\dot{s}ms.w n pr s3-st \epsilon nh.w$   
[...] the follower of the house, Ankhu, son of Sa-set

(21)  $rdj.n=k n=f p3 hsb$   
to whom you gave the account

(22)  $w\dot{h}m.w jy-t3 m-s3$   
of the administrator Ita after (?)

$jw=f$  (23)  $r hpr 3bd 3 pr.t sw 20$   
It shall happen in the third month of the peret season, on day 20.

(24)  $jw sb.n=k sw nn rdjt$  (25)  $gm=f wd3$   
You sent it without letting him find ...

### P. Berlin P 10038 B

(1) [jm.y-r3] hw.t-ntr s-n-wsrt h<sup>c</sup>-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>-snb dd n jm.y-r3 pr hr-m-s3=f dd

The overseer of the temple Senusret Khakheperreseneb says to the overseer of the house Haremsaf:

*dj rh=k r ntt dj sw.ty htp-hr s3 h<sup>c</sup>-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>-snb [...]*

“To let you know that the retired (?) Hetep-her, son of Khakheperreseneb caused [...]

[...]

(2) *jh dj=k m bnr.t (?) [...]*

May you give sweet (?) [...]

### P. Berlin P 10038 C

(1) *b3k n pr d.t hk3-jt=f dd*

The servant of the estate Hekaitef says:

(2) *swd3-jb pw n nb=j<sup>c</sup>.w.s.*

This is a communication to my lord, LPH,

(3) *r-ntt h3.w nb(.w) n nb=j<sup>c</sup>.w.s.* (4) *d wd3 [m s].t=sn nb.t*

that all people of my lord, LPH, are alive and well on all their places,

(5) *swd3-jb pw n nb=j<sup>c</sup>.w.s.*

This is a communication to my lord, LPH,

(6) *r-ntt h<sup>c</sup> n3 n h3.w n* (7) *3bd 4 pr.t sw 25*

that exists/is missing the excess of the 4<sup>th</sup> month of the peret season, day 25.

*jh dj nb=j<sup>c</sup>.w.s.* (8) *jn.t(w) n=j t3 dmd.yt*

May my lord cause the final account (full sum) be brought to me.

(9) *swd3-jb pw r-ntt b3k jm hr* (10) *rdj.t jn n=j rmt m nhw* (11) *n p3 mn.y* (12) *s3*

This is a communication that the servant here is letting people be brought to me out of lack of many duty-workers.

*sp nfr pw* (13) *dr.tw sdb jm*

It is a good occasion that the evil be driven thereout.

(14) *jw grt mjn nb=j* (15) *hr m33 n3 n sn.w*

Now today my lord sees the files

(16) *nty w<sup>c</sup> h3 w<sup>c</sup>*

which (follow) one after the other,

*jḥ* (17) *h[3]b nb=j<sup>c</sup>.w.s. ḥr* (18) *s[m]j n n3 h3b.y* (19) *b3k jm ḥr=s*  
may my lord LPH send <concerning> an answer to that concerning which the humble servant  
had written.

*jw rdj.n b3k [jm]* (20) *jn.t(w) ḥsb 4 m nh.w* [...]  
The humble servant has had four accounts sent out of lack [of ...]

(21) *šms* [...] *ḥ nfr pw jn* [...]  
follow/ing [...] ?

(22) *n3* [...] *jr grt n3 n* (23) *[nh]w dd.w(=j) r=s*  
the [...]. As for the lack about which I have spoken,

*jw* (23) [...] *b3k.w nt.y(w) ʕ3*  
[...] the servants who are here

(25) [...] *nt st b3k jm*  
[of it] the humble servant.

(26) *[swd3]-jb pw n nb=j<sup>c</sup>.w.s.*  
It is a communication to my lord, LPH,

(27) [...] *nb=j<sup>c</sup>.w.s.*  
[...] my lord, LPH.

### **P. Berlin P 10038 D**

(1) *ḥ3t.y-<sup>c</sup> jm.y-r3 ḥw.t-ntr s-n-wsr.t h<sup>c</sup>-ḥpr-r<sup>c</sup>-snb dd n jm.y-r3 pr ḥr-m-s3=f dd*  
The count and overseer of the temple Senwosret Khakheperreseneb says to the overseer of the  
house Haremsaf:

*[dj rh=k] r ntt sdm.n=j n3 h3b.n=k ḥr=s* [...]  
[to let you know] that I have heard that because of which you had written. [...]

### **P. Berlin 10042**

(1) *ḥ3t.y-<sup>c</sup> jm.y-r3 ḥw.t-ntr s-n-wsr.t dd [n sš ḥw.t-ntr ḥr-m-s3=f...]*  
Caount and overseer of the temple Senusret says [to the scribe of the temple Haremsaf...]

(2) *dd.w n=f s-n-wsr.t ḥn<sup>c</sup> mw.t=f s3.t wsr.t* [...]  
(that) Senwosret and his mother, daughter of Wosret told him [...]

(3) *jn.t(w) b3k.w=s n rnp.wt 9 m mt.t ḥn[<sup>c</sup>...]*  
(that) its tax of year 9 was brought ...

(4) *nfr-jmn-m-ḥ3.t-<sup>c</sup>nh-dt-r-nhh jr tm* [...]  
Nefer-Amenemhat-living-for-ever-and-ever. If not [...]

(5) [...] *mk rdj.n=j jw.t hrp* [...]
[...] Look, I have caused the leader [...] to come [...]

(6) [...] *dj.n b3k jm jn n hm-k3 n jm.y-r3 pr*
[...] the servant here caused to be brought to the mortuary priest of the overseer of the house
[...]

**P. Berlin P 10063**

(1) [...] *s3-spd.w dd n jm.y-r3-pr*] *hr-m-s3=f c.w.s. swd3-jb* [*pw n nb=j c.w.s r-ntt*]
[...] sa-sopdu says to the overseer of the house] Haremsaf LPH, [this is] a communication [to
my lord LPH that...]

(2) [...] *3 m* [...]=*sn nb.t swd3-jb pw n nb=j c.w.s. r-ntt rdj*[...]
[...] all their [places]. this is a communication to my lord LPH that given [...]

(3) [*b3*]k [*j*]m *r-dd sdm t3 s'c.t jn.yt n=j m-c nty rdj.n*[...]
the servant here, saying: “The letter that was brought to me by *t3.w-n-s3tw cnh-rn*, who caused
[...], was understood

(4) *d3d3.t ntt jm n jr.t m mjt.t jry*
the council that is there, without doing respectively.

*jr h3b=k hr=s hr.w=fy sw h3b*
As for that because of which you had written, he said, it had been sent [...]

(5) *hr rdj.t dj.tw jb hnt* [...] *n c'h3* [...]=*s sr*
causing that one takes care about [...] not fight [...] the official [...]

**P. Berlin P 10066**

(1) [...]*jmj-r3 hw.t-ntr*] *s-n-wsrt dd n sš* [*hw.t-ntr hr-m-s3=f*] *r dd dj rh=k r-ntt jr.tw t3 hb.yt* [...]
[...]overseer] of the temple Senusret says to the scribe of the temple Haremsaf: “To let you
know that the offering has been done [...]

(2) [...]*3b*]d.t *nb.t jry.t r hsf* [...] *dr sdb*].w *mjtt*<sup>129</sup> *r-s3 htp ntr m htp-ntr=f mk*
and every mothly festival done to dispell [...] and to drive out evil as well after the god had
(been) satisfied with his divine offerings. See, [...]

(3) [...] *nn dd=j m hw.t-ntr m p3 hb jh dr=k n=f sdb.w*
I shall not say in the temple during this festival: “May you drive out the evil for him!”

*jr grt s nb n wn.wt hw.t-ntr*
As for every man of the hour-priesthood of the temple [...]

(4) [...] *htp-ntr jm m-c hr.y-hb.t*
the divine offering there from the lector priest.

<sup>129</sup> *mjtt* zwischen- oder nachgestellt – ebenso, gleichfalls – koordinierend – HANNIG (2006).

*nn k3 tp.t 2 jr m-ht gm.n=f hr tp=f r-s3 p3 hb[...]*

There are not two bulls (there). If thereafter they are found because of their ... after the feast [...]

(5) [...] *d [...jr] grt jr.tw p3 hb m p3 r<sup>c</sup> pry jn t3 wn.wt hw.t-ntr*

[...] If one makes this festival on the ... day. It is the priesthod of the temple that [...]

(6) [...] *hb [...]*

[...] the festival [...]

### **P. Berlin P 10073**

(1) *b3k n pr dt snbnj [dd n jm.y-r3 pr hr-m-s3=f r-dd swd3-jb pw]*

The servant of the estate Senebni [says to the scribe of the temple Haremsaf: this is a communication...]

(2) *r-ntt rdj.n h3t.y<sup>c</sup> jw.t b3k jm m grg.t r snhy (3) p3 mny*

that the count caused the humble servant to come to Girza in order to register the workers.

*rdj.n=f hr n b3k jm (4) r-dd*

He turned to the humble servant saying:

*jr nhw gmy=k hn.t jm (5) hr=k h3b=k<sup>130</sup> hr=s n jm.y-r3 pr hr-m-s3=f*

“As for the lack that you had found there, you should write concerning it to the overseer of the house Haremsaf.”

(6) *jw rdj.n b3k jm jn.tw jm.y-rn=f nhy n (7) [...] s-n-wsr.t m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw m sš*

The humble servant (therefore) caused the list of the lack to be brought to [...] Senusret in writing,

*r-ntt wd3=s r=s (8) [...] jr.y*

that it is good [...].

(9) [...] *htp sbk-htp [...]*

[...]-hetep, Sebekhetep, [...]

(verso, 1) *nh jmn-m-h3.t nh dt r nhh [...]*

As Amenemhat, who lives for ever and ever, lives [...]

(2) *swd3-jb pw hr=s swd3 [jb pw...]*

it is a communication concerning it, this is a communication [...]

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<sup>130</sup> *hr=k h3b=k* is the precursor of the contingent *sdm.hr=f* form, the “obligative”.

(3) *swd3-jb pw n nb=j<sup>c</sup>.w.s. r-ntt [...] jh r [...] hr hn.t*  
This is a communication to my lord, LPH, concerning the [...]

(4) *h3b b3k jm hr swd3-jb hr=s [...] r dj.t<sup>c</sup>*  
your humble servant is writing to communicate on this. [...]

#### **P. Berlin P 10074**

(1) *[...sbk-ht]p dd n jm.y-r3 pr hr-m-s3=f<sup>c</sup>.w.s. swd3-jb pw [...]*  
Sebekhetep says to the overseer of the house Haremsaf, LPH: “This is a communication [...]

(2) *[...]y=fy prr*

(3) *[...] m shm-s-n-wsr.t m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*  
[...] from (or in) Sekhemsenosret, justified

(4) *s3<sup>c</sup> n rnp.t 30 nfr.yt r t3 3.t*  
from year 30 up to this moment.

(5) *h<sup>c</sup>.n=j sm.kwj r jp st*  
Then I went to control it

(6) *m-<sup>c</sup> w<sup>c</sup>b nswt mj k*  
with the royal wab-priest Mik.

*nfr pw (7) rdj.t=f n=j st*  
He did not give it to me.

*jr rmt=j (8) hby.tyw=j n3 k3p.jw=j*  
As for my people, my festive group and the *kap*-group,

(9) *prr n=j m t3 hw.t-ntr*  
who came to me from this temple,

(10) *nfr pw rdj.t=f n=j st*  
he did not give them to me.<sup>131</sup>

*gr (11) hr.w=fy sw*  
“Be silent,” he said it.

*h3b b3k jm (12) hr swd3-jb hr=s*  
(So) the humble servant writes in order to report on it,

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<sup>131</sup> Understood differently by LUFT (1992), (but grammar? – *prr* must be a participle), but in the same way by SCHARFF 1924, 44–48.

*hr rdj.t (13) jn.t n=j p3 w<sup>c</sup>b nswt (14) spr.y hr=f hn<sup>c</sup> rh.t*

In order to cause the wab priest of the king who petitioned concerning it to be brought to me, with the list [...]

[...]

(15+x+1) [...] *b3k jm s[...]r swd3-jb pw hr=s*

[...] the humble servant [...] This is a communication concerning it,

(15+x+2) [*swd3-jb pw*] *n nb=j<sup>c</sup>.w.s nrf sdm nb=j<sup>c</sup>.w.s.*

[This is a communication] to my lord, LPH. May the hearing of my lord, LPH, be good.

### **P. Berlin P 10400 A**

(1) [...] *nb-k3.w-r<sup>c</sup> d[d n...]*

[...] Nebkaure sa[ys to ...]

(2) [...]=*sn r t3 mk h3b* [...]

[...] they to the ground. Look, sent [...]

(3) [...] *r=s jr n3 h3b* [...]

[...] because of it. As for that [because of which you had written ...]

(4) [...*h3b*].*n=k hr=s hr p3 k3 nt.y*

[...because of which] you have [written] concerning the bull which [...]

(5) [...*d3*]*d3.t n s3-<sup>c</sup>3 jr* [...]

[...] the council to the respective guardian.

### **P. Berlin P 10447 A**

(1) [...] *jm md.wt nt sš p*[...]

[...] the message of the letter [...]

(2) [...] *w m mr-sbk m-<sup>c</sup> jm.y-r3 mš<sup>c</sup>* [...]

[...] from Mer-sebek by the general [...]

(3) [...] *n3 h3b hr=s jr nswt-bjty h<sup>c</sup>-[hpr]-r<sup>c</sup>* [...]

[...] that because of which was written

(4) *n p3.t b3k jm m mtr.y p3*

of the offering. The humble servant is a witness of the [...]

(5) *rdj.n b3k jm jw.t šms.w=k m st h*[...]

The humble servant caused your follower to come with it [...]



(6) *r b3k jm jw dd.n b3k jm jr*  
to the humble servant. The humble servant said [...]

(7) [...] *h3t.y-c jm.y-r3 hw.t-ntr s-n-wsr.t* [...]  
the count and overseer of the temple Senwosret [...]

(verso, 1) *nn dr.n=f sdb m s r p3* [...]  
He shall not expell the opposition among the men against the [...]

(2) *hr hsb.tw 30 m km.t rnp.t r ntt ht*  
with the sum of 30 of the payments of the year, that [...]

(3) *jr n3 h3b hr=s hr h<sup>c</sup> n*  
As for the writings concerning this, [...]

## SEMNAH DESPATCHES

Dating: Amenemhet III

Origin: Semna

Bibliography: SMITHER 1945; WENTE 1990, 70–73.

### I.

(1) [h3b].n [...] sent [...]

(2) [...] gm.n st t3y [...] ḥḥ.n [...] m 3bd 4 [pr.t...] [...] she has found the [...] then [...] in the fourth month of the [peret-season ...]

(3) [...]t h3.n=f wnm.t [...] h3b.n=f ḥr=s n b3k jm [...] [...] he came eat? [...] because of which he had sent to the servant-there [...]

(4) [h]3b.n b3k jm [...] p3 ḥ ... n b3k jm m rnp.t 3 3bd 3 (n) pr.t šmw 7 the servant-there sent [...] the track which the servant-there followed (?) in year 3, 3<sup>rd</sup> month of the peret-season, day 7,

(5) ḥr tr n mšr ḥḥ.n [...].w sndm jb=f at the time of dusk. Then [...] inform him.

jw smj.[n=sn n b3k jm] (6) [r]-dd gm.n=n nḥs.t [... šm.t m-]s3 ḥ3.w [...] They reported to the servant-there saying: “We have found the Nubians (?) [...] in charge of two asses [...]

(7) jw n3 n nḥs.wt [...] mnn.w šhm-ḥḥ-k3.w-rḥ m3ḥ ḥrw nḥs.y [...] spr m rnp.t 3 The Nubians [...] the fortress Sekhem-Khakaure. The Nubian [...] came in year 3,

(8) 3bd 4 (n) pr.t šmw 7 [ḥr] tr n m[šrw] r jr.t sw n.t [j]w sw n jn.t.n[=sn...] fourth month (of) the peret-season at dusk time in order to do trade. What they had brought was bought [...]

(9) sw n.t jr jw hnt(=j)<sup>132</sup> r bw jw.n=sn jm rdj(=j)<sup>133</sup> n=sn t ḥnk.t mj [...] trade therewith. I sailed down to the place from which they had come, bread and beer had been given to them like [...]

(10) [m] rnp.t-sp 3 3bd 4 (n) pr.t sw 8 ḥr tr n dw3 swd3-jb pw ḥr=s jw h3.w nb n in year 3, fourth month (of) the peret-season, at the time of dawn. This is a communication about it. All possessions of the

(11) pr-nswt ḥ.w.s. ḥd wd3 jw h3.w nb n nb ḥ.w.s. ḥd wd3 nfr sdm nb ḥ.w.s. palace, LPH, are safe and sound, all possessions of the lord, LPH, are safe and sound. May the hearing of the lord, LPH, be good.

<sup>132</sup> SMITHER (1945) gives (=sn) for “they”, but there are not many parallels for an omission of a third person plural pronoun.

<sup>133</sup> Prospective sdm=f (according to MALAISE & WINAND 1999, the form is the one replaced gradually by r + infinitive).

(12) *jw ky nhs.y 6 spr(.w) r mnnw shm-h<sup>c</sup>-k3.w-r<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw r jr.t sw n.t mj [...] pn*  
Another 6 Nubians came to the fortress Sekhem-khakheperre justified to do business like this [...]

(13) *m 3bd 4 (n) pr.t sw 8 jw sw n.jn.t.n=sn jw hnt(=j) r bw jj.n=sn jm m r<sup>c</sup> pn*  
in the fourth month (of) the *peret*-season, day 8. What they had brought was bought. I sailed down to the place whence they had come on that day.

## II.

(1) [...] *n* [...]

(2) *hr p3<sup>c</sup> hr.wy.fy [...] jn r=s [jw h3b].n b3k [jm ...]*  
on the track, so he said. [...] bring to it. The servant-there has sent [...]

(3) *h3.ty 5 nt[...] p3<sup>c</sup> rdj n=[sn] b3k jm hr [...]*  
5 warriors of [...] the track. The servant-there placed them upon [...]

(4) *h3b b3k jm [...]w=sn r smj.t n [...]*  
the servant-there sent [...] they [...] in order to report to [...]

(5) *b3k jm hr=s r n3<sup>c</sup> [...] m dd mnn.w n mnn.w sw[d3 jb pw hr=s]*  
the servant-there concerning it. [...] as one fortress sends to another fortress. This is a communication concerning it.

(6) *jw h3.w nb n pr-nswt<sup>c</sup>.w.s. d w]d3 jw h3.w nb n nb [w.s. d wd3]*  
All affairs of the royal palace are safe and sound, all affairs of the lord are safe and sound.

(7) *k.t š3.t jn.t n=f m jn.y.t m<sup>c</sup> jm.y-r3 šn.t wr-sbk nty m [...] jkn*  
Another letter that was brought to him, as one brought from the overseer of the hundred Sebekwer who is in [...] Iqen,

(8) *m dd mnnw n mnnw*  
namely, what one fortress sends to another fortress.

(9) *swd3-jb pw n sš=k<sup>c</sup>.w.s. r-ntt p3 h3.ty 2 md3y 70*  
This is a communication to your scribe, LPH, that the 2 warriors and 70 medjayu,

(10) *šm m-s3 p3<sup>c</sup> m 3bd 4 (n) pr.t sw 4 jw r smj.t n=j m r<sup>c</sup> pn*  
who have gone in pursuit on the fourth month (of) the *peret*-season, day 4, came to report to me on this day

(11) *hr tr n mšr jn.n=sn md3.yw [hr<sup>c</sup> hr t<sup>c</sup>]*  
at the time of dusk bringing Medjayu [...]

(12) *r-dd gm.n=n st hr rs.yt p3 d hr hr.w t3 ht šn.t šmw*  
saying: “We found them to the south of the desert edge below the inscription of Shemu,

(13) *mjtt 3 hr.wy=fy st ḥḥ.n wšd.n=j n3 n md3y.w r-dd*  
likewise 3 (women)”, so they said. Then I addressed these Medjayu, saying:

(14) *jj.n=tn tnj ḥḥ.n dd.n=sn jj.n=n hr hn.t-jbhy*  
“Where have you come from?” and then they said “We have come from Khenet-ibehy.

### III.

(1) *t3 [...]*

(2) *3bd 4 (n) pr.t [...] jw r smj.t n [...] dd=f r [...]*  
on the fourth month of the peret-season [...] came in order to report [...] he said

(3) *šm.kwj hr p3 [ḥḥ ...] whḥḥ [...] jn.n sw p3 [...]*  
I went in pursuit [...] investigate (?) [...] he was brought [...]

(4) *...=j ḥḥ.n=j jj.k[wj...hr.wy=fy s]w jw h3b.n=j hr=sn*  
my ... . Then I came [...] so he said. I have sent concerning them

(5) *n mnn.w šd.ty-hr j[w h3.w nb(.w) n] pr [nswt] ḥḥ.w.s. ḥḥ wd3*  
to the fortress Shedti-Hor. All the affairs of the royal palace LPH are safe and sound,

(6) *jw h3.w nb(.w) n s[š=k ḥḥ.w.s. ḥḥ wd3] nfr sdm sš=k ḥḥ.w.s.*  
all affairs of your scribe are safe and sound. May the hearing of your scribe be good.

(7) *k.t šḥ.t jn.t n=f m-ḥ ḥms.w jmn.y nt.y m ḥsf md3.w m ḥḥ mnnw n mnnw*  
Another message that was brought to him from the follower Imeny (who is) in Kheseft-Medjayu, as that what one fortress gives to another.

(8) *swd3-jb pw n nb ḥḥ.w.s. r-ntt ḥ3.ty nhn snw-s3-hr.w-s3-rn-jkr*  
This is a communication to the lord, LPH, that the warrior of Nekhen Senu, son of Heru, son of Reniqer

(9) *ḥḥ.ty n tbw rnsj s3 sn-wsr.t s3 spy*  
and the warrior of Tjebu Rensi son of Senusret son of Sepi

(10) *jw r smj.t n b3k jm m rnp.t-sp 3 3bd 4 (n) pr.t sw 2 hr tr n jḥ.w*  
came in order to report to the servant there on year 3, 4<sup>th</sup> month of the peret season, day 2 at the time of breakfast.

(11) *m wp.wt ḥnh n njw.t sbk-ḥḥ.w s3 mntw-htp s3 sbk-ḥḥ.w s[...] jr.y m [...] ḥḥ [...]*  
with the report of the citizen Sebekkhau, son of Mentu-hotep, son of Sebek-khau [...]

(12) *ntj m jdn n ḥnh n ḥk3-pt m jwy.t nt m ḥ3 r-dd ... pr*  
who represents the citizen Heka-pet in the garrison of Kha, saying: ... came

(13) *r ... ʕd 3w.t [...] mnn.w ḥsf md3.w m rnp.t-sp 3 3bd 3 (n) pr.t sw*  
to ... the desert edge [...] the fortress. Khesef-medjayu on year 3, 3<sup>rd</sup> month of the *peret*  
season, day ... .

(14) *jw r smj.t n=j r-dd gm.n=n ʕ n z 32 ʕ3 3 ḥnd.n=sn*  
came to report to me: “We found the track of 32 men and 3 asses, on which they walked.”

#### IV.

(1) [...] *nt* [...]

(2) [...]...*tj* [...] *sw.t=j ḥr* [...]  
[...] ... [...] my places [...]

(3) [...] *ḥn n jwy.t* [...]  
[...] the garrison protects [...]

(4) *ḥr ʕd jw h[3b].n b3k j[m...]*  
on the desert edge. The servant there sent [...]

(5) *mnn.w swd[3] jb pw [ḥr]=s j[w h3.w nb(.w) n pr-nswt] ʕ.w.s. ʕd [wd3]*  
the fortress. This is a communication about it. All affairs of the royal palace LPH are safe and  
sound.

(6) *mjtj n snn jn=f m jny m mnnw n 3bw m dd mnnw n mnnw*  
A copy of the report that was brought as that which is brought from the fortress of  
Elephantine, as that which one fortress gives to another.

(7) *swd3-jb=k snb.tj ʕnh.ty n-ntt md3y 2 md3y.t 3 ḥr ʕ*  
“To inform you, may you be healthy and live, that two medjayu and three medja-women are

(8) *h3.w ḥr ḥ3s.t m rnp.t 3 3bd 3 (n) pr.t sw 27 dd.n=sn jj.n=n r b3k*  
who came from the desert on the third year, 3<sup>rd</sup> month of the *peret*-season, day 27, saying:  
“We came in order to work

(9) *n pr-ʕ3 ʕ.w.s. wšd ḥr šhr ḥ3s.t ʕḥʕ.n dd.n=sn n sdm=n ḥ.t nb.t*  
for the Pharaoh LPH,” were questioned concerning the state of the foreign countries. Then  
they said: “We did not hear anything.

(10) *jw t3 ḥ3s.t ḥr m(w)t m-ʕ ḥkr ḥr.y=fy st ʕḥʕ.n rdj.n b3k jm hd.t r ḥ3s.t=sn*  
The desert is dying of hunger.” So they said. Then the servant there had (them) driven back to  
their desert

(11) *m hrw pn ʕḥʕ n dd.n wʕ.t m n3 n md3y.t ḥ3 rdj.t n=j*  
on this day. Then one of the *medja*-women said: “Wish I were given

(12) *p3y=j md3.j m ... tn h̄c.n dd.n p3 md3.y jn sw swn*  
my Medja [...] this. Then the Medja said “One who trades brought it.”.

## V.

(3) [*swd3-jb pw n nb*] *̄c.w.s. r-ntt smj n tp.y* [...]  
This is a communication to the lord, LPH, that [...] reported to [...]

(4) *m rnp.t 3 3bd 4 (n) pr.t sw 8 hr tr n dw3 r dd* [...]  
on year three, fourth month of the *peret*-season, day 8 at the time of dawn: [...]

(5) *jw* [...] *m šm.t r m33 gm.n=j* [...]  
[...] came in front of my eyes. I found [...]

(6) *swd3 jb pw hr s jw h3.w nb(.w) n pr-nswt ̄c.w.s. ̄c d wd3*  
This is a communication about it. All affairs of the royal palace LPH are safe and sound.

(7) *jw h3.w nb.w n nb ̄c.w.s. ̄c d wd3 nfr sdm nb ̄c.w.s.*  
All affairs of the lord, LPH, are safe and sound. May the hearing of the lord, LPH, be good.

(8) *jr.t smj n š̄c.t tn hr š̄c.t h3b.t n=f hr nhs* [...]  
The report of this letter has been made in a despatch that has been sent to him concerning the Nubians [...]

(9) *pr r mnnw šhm-h̄c-k3.w-r̄c m3̄c-hrw m 3bd 4 (n) pr.t sw 7 hr tr n mšr.w*  
who reached the fortress of Sekhem-Khakaure justified in the fourth month of the *peret*-season, day 7 at the time of dusk

(10) *sby r bw jj.n=sn jm m 3bd 4 (n) pr.t sw 8 hr tr n dw3*  
and were sent to the place from which they had come on the fourth month of the *peret*-season, day 8 at the time of dawn.

(11) *jr m sš hr š̄c.t h3b.t n s3b r3-nhn s3-mntw nty m jtnw*  
Copied in a letter which was sent to: the judge and mouth of Nekhen Sa-montu who is in Itenu,

(12) *w̄r.tw njw.t jmn.y nt.y m* [...]  
the city-administrator Imeny who is in [...]

(13) *jm.y-r3 pr smsw sn-mr.y-rnp.y [nt.y m ...]*  
the chief overseer of the house Sen-mery-renpy, [who is in ...]

## THE KAHUN PAPYRI

Dating: late Middle Kingdom

Origin: Kahun

Bibliography: GRIFFITH 1898; COLLIER & QUIRKE 2002

### P. Kahun I.7

\*\*\* address \*\*\*

(1) *b3k n pr d.t jj-m-j<sup>c</sup>.t-jb dd*

The servant of the estate Iyemiatib says.<sup>134</sup>

\*\*\* formulae \*\*\*

(2) *swd3-jb pw n nb <sup>c</sup>.w.s. r-nt[t]* (3) *h3.w nb(.w) n nb <sup>c</sup>.w.s.* (4) *<sup>c</sup>d(.w) wd3(.w) m s.wt=sn nb(.w)t*

This is a communication to the lord, LPH, that all possessions of the lord, LPH, are prosperous and flourishing on all their places

*m* (5) *hs.t n.t tmw nb jwn.w hn[<sup>c</sup>] psd.t=f* (6) *r<sup>c</sup> hr-3h.ty spd.w nb j3bt.t* (7) *hn<sup>c</sup> psd.t=f ntr=k njw.ty*

through the favour of Atum lord of Heracleopolis, together with his Ennead, (of) Re-Harakhty and Sopdu, lord of the east, together with his Ennead, and (of) your local god

*mrr tw m* (8) *hr.t-hrw n.t r<sup>c</sup> nb [...]* *jm r* (9) *hrw pn*  
who loves you in the course of every day [...] until today,

*ntr.w nb.w mj [mrr] b3k jm*  
and (of) all gods, like the humble servant wishes.

\*\*\*enquiry after the well-being of the recipient \*\*\*

(10) *swd3-jb pw n nb <sup>c</sup>.w.s. [hr] rdj.t* (11) *h3b.tw n b3k jm hr [<sup>c</sup>.w.s.] nb <sup>c</sup>.w.s.* (12) *hr-[n]tt nfr jb n b3k jm sdm.n=f* (13) *<sup>c</sup>.w.s. nb <sup>c</sup>.w. s.*

This is a communication to the lord, LPH, concerning having someone write to your humble servant on the life, prosperity and health of the lord, LPH, because the heart of the humble servant is happy when he hears that the lord, LPH, is alive, prosperous and healthy.

\*\*\* content of the letter \*\*\*

*swd3-jb [pw n] nb <sup>c</sup>.w.s.* (14) *r-ntt jr.n b3k jm wd.t nb.t nb <sup>c</sup>.w.s.*

This is a communication to the lord, LPH, that the humble servant has done everything that the lord had ordered

---

<sup>134</sup> With *b3k n pr d.t Jj-m-j<sup>c</sup>.t-jb* topicalised without a resumptive, moved to the front. There is no other construction that would grammatically fit.

(15) *m n3 rdy hr jm n b3k jm*

namely, what had been directed therein to the servant there

*m jn.t (16) p3 [...] 40 mj p3 hr*

namely bringing the 40 [...] -people like the ...<sup>135</sup>

(17) *s3w dd nb c.w.s. jw=f gr.w (18) hr dd.t.n=j n=f*

Take care lest the lord, LPH, should say: "He is silent concerning that which I had said to him."

*jr m-ht jw (19) b3k jm r h3w pn m 3bd 3 (n) 3h.t*

If thereafter your humble servant comes because of this labour force on the third month of the akhet season,

(20) *k3 jw=f m-c b3k jm hr [...]ntt (21) dw3 n3*

then it should come to the charge of this servant [...], because that is tomorrow.

*jw b3k jm [...]*

The humble servant [...]

(22) *swd3-jb pw hr=s*

This is a communication about it.

**\*\*\* final greetings \*\*\***

*hn-c nd hr.t (23) srj.w pr r-dr=f*

And greet the children of the whole house!

(24) *swd3-jb pw n nb=j c.w.s. nfr sdm nb c.w.s.*

This is a communication to my lord, LPH. May the hearing of the lord, LPH, be good.

**\*\*\* address \*\*\***

*nb=j c.w.s. jm.y-r3 hw.t-ntr pth-pw-w3h c.w.s*

My lord, LPH, overseer of the temple Ptahpuwah, LPH.

*m-c jj-m-jc.t-jb*

From Iemiatib,

*3bd 1 (n) 3h.t sw 15 jn(.w) n [...] nnj*

First month of the akhet season, day 15. Delivered by the [...] Neni.

---

<sup>135</sup> GRIFFITH (1898, 71) renders *hr* with "face", which gives no sense, WENTE (1992, 85) gives "in accordance with the charge", but can one translate *hr* with "charge"? The signs preceding the people determinative are unclear in hieratic.



## P. Kahun II.2

\*\*\* address \*\*\*

(1) *b3k n pr d.t nnj dd n jm.y-r3 pr jj-jb c.w.s.*

The servant of the estate Neni says to the overseer of the house Iyib, LPH:

\*\*\* formulae \*\*\*

(2) *swd3-jb pw n nb c.w.s. r-nt[t]*

This is a communication to the lord, LPH, that

(3) *h3.w nb(.w) n nb c.w.s. c d(.w) wd3(.w)* (4) *m s.wt=sn nb(.w)t*

all possessions of the lord, LPH, are prosperous and flourishing on all their places,

*m hs.t n.t* (5) *spd.w nb j3bt.t hn c psd.t=f*

through the favour of Sopdu, lord of the east, together with his Ennead,

(6) *ntr.w nb.w mj [mrr] b3k jm*

and (of) all gods, like the humble servant wishes.

\*\*\* content \*\*\*

*swd3-jb pw n nb c.w.s.* (7) *hr rdj.t dj.tw jb hnt pr* (8) *w3h*

This is a communication to the lord concerning having one pay attention to the household of Wah,

*mj t3 swd3.n=j jb=k hr=s*

in accordance with that concerning which I have informed you;

(9) *hr-ntt ntk jrj nfr.t nb.t*

because it is you who can do all (things) necessary.<sup>136</sup>

*k3* (10) *cpr<sup>137</sup>=k p3y=k bw nfr*

Then you shall acquire your well-being.

(11) *mk dd.n n=j jm.y-r3 hw.t-ntr ttj*

Look, the overseer of the temple Teti said to me:<sup>138</sup>

*mk* (12) *rdj.n=j wd3 jb=f r=s gr hr=fy sw*

“Look, I have also informed him about it,” so he said.

(13) *k3 jr.tw hft jry r wn k3 n hk3* (14) *hr hs.t=k*

So it shall be done accordingly, so that the ka of the lord shall praise you.

---

<sup>136</sup> Focalisation of *ntk* by means of cleft sentence.

<sup>137</sup> *cpr* in the sense of “acquire”: MEEKS 181, 68–69.

<sup>138</sup> New, important segment of text, the theme changes and the author wants the addressee to direct his attention to the new theme.

*swd3-jb pw hr=s*

This is a communication concerning it.

\*\*\* **final formula** \*\*\*

(15) *swd3-jb pw n nb=j c.w.s. nf sdm nb c.w.s.*

This is a communication to my lord, LPH. May the hearing of the lord, LPH, be good.

\*\*\* **address** \*\*\*

*nb c.w.s. jm.y-r3 pr jj-jb c.w.s*

The lord, LPH, overseer of the house Jyib, LPH.

*m-c nnj*

from Neni.

## **P. Kahun III.2**

[...]

(1) *nswt bjty m3c-hrw-r c ntr.w nb.w mj mrr b3k jm*

[...] king of Upper and Lower Egypt Maakherure (and?) all gods, as your humble servant wishes.

*swd3-jb pw n nb=j (2) hr-ntt rdj.t jn n=j r3 10 n b3k jm*

This is a communication to my lord concerning sending me 10 geese for your humble servant.

*nfr sdm nb=j c.w.s*

It is good if my lord, LPH, hears.

(3) *b3k n pr dt d3-s dd n rn-snb c.w.s.*

The servant of the estate Djash speaks to Renseneb, LPH:

(4) *m hs.t n.t skr m tp-sdmw mj mrr b3k jm*

“In praise of Sokar in Tepsedjemu, as your humble servant wishes!

(5) *swd3-jb pw n nb=j c.w.s. hr rdj.t jn.t n=j pr.t (6) s3 n b3k jm*

This is a communication to my lord concerning sending me the fruit for your humble servant.

*nfr sdm nb=j c.w.s snb cnh*

It is good if my lord, LPH, hears.

(7) *b3k n pr dt whm-ms.wt dd n hk3-jb c.w.s.*

The servant of the estate Wehemmesut says to Hekaib, LPH:

(8) *swd3-jb pw n nb=j c.w.s. r-ntt h3.w nb n nb=j c.w.s. (9) c d(.w) wd3(.w) m s.t nb.t*

This is a communication to my lord, LPH, that all affairs of my lord, PLH, are prosperous and flourishing wherever they are,

*nn dj.t nb=j<sup>c</sup>.w.s. jb=f m-gs (10) jry wpw-hr snb<sup>c</sup>nh*  
(so that) there is nothing about which my lord, LPH, should be concerned, except for being healthy and alive.

*m hs.t n.t jnpw nb (11) ... mj mrr b3k jm*  
“In the praise of Anubis, lord of ...,<sup>139</sup> as your humble servant wishes.

*swd3-jb pw n nb=j<sup>c</sup>.w.s (12) hr rdj.t jn.t n=j p3jm.w 3tp.w m mh.t n b3k=jm*  
This is a communication to my lord, LPH, about having brought to me ships loaded with northern barley for your humble servant.

*nfr sdm nb=j<sup>c</sup>.w.s snb<sup>c</sup>nh*  
It is good if my lord, LPH, hears.

(13) *b<sup>c</sup>k n pr dt jw=f-r-<sup>c</sup>nh dd n jw=f-r-sp<sup>c</sup>.w.s.*  
The servant of the estate Iuferankh days to Iufersep, LPH:

*m hs.t n.t (14) nswt-bjty shtp-(jb)-r<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw mj mrr b3k jm*  
“in praise of king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Shetepibre, justified, like your humble servant wishes.

*swd3-jb pw n nb=j<sup>c</sup>.w.s. hr rdj.t jn.t n=j*  
This is a communication to my lord, LPH, about having sent to me

(15) [...] *3tp.w* [...] [...] loaded [...]

(16) *b3k n pr dt<sup>c</sup>nh.ty=f(y) dd n snb<sup>c</sup>.w.s.*  
The servant of the estate Ankhtifi says to Seneb, LPH:

*[m h]s.t n.t (17) nswt-bjty NN [m3<sup>c</sup>-hr]w ntr.w nb.w mj mrr b3k jm*  
In praise of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt NN, justified, and all gods, as your humble servant desires!

*šwd3=jb pw n nb=j<sup>c</sup>.w.s. (18) hr dj.t jn.t n=j hsmn [...]*  
This is a communication to my lord, LPH, concerning causing that natron be brought to me [...]

(19) *[b]3k n pr d.t nh[y] dd n snb.t(y)=fy<sup>c</sup>.w.s.*  
The servant of the estate Nehy says to Senebtifi, LPH:

*m [hs.t n.t] (20) shm.t š[...]t mj mrr b3k jm*  
“In the praise of Sakhmet and She[sem]tet, as your humble servant wishes.

*swd3-jb pw n nb=j<sup>c</sup>.w.s. hr rdj.t (21) jn.t n=j {n} pr.t n(.t) wnš.t n b3k [jm]*  
This is a communication to my lord, [LPH], concerning having sent to me the raisin seeds for your humble servant.”

---

<sup>139</sup> WENTE (1992, 80) Shenaut.

(22) *b3k n pr d.t sr dd n [...] c.w.s.*

The servant of the estate Ser says to [...] LPH:

*m hs.t n.t (23) sbk nb hny mj mrr b3k jm*

“In the praise of Sobek, lord of Kheny, like your humble servant wishes.

*swd3-jb pw n nb=j c.w.s. (24) hr rdj.t jn.t n[=j n]h.w n c.g.wt n b3k jm*

This is a communication to my lord, LPH, concerning letting be brought to me some of the roasted corn for your humble servant.

*nfr sdm=k*

It is good if you hear.

(25) *b3k n pr d.t hr-wrr-c dd n jct-mw-[...]jb c.w.s.*

The servant of the estate Harwerer says to Iatmu[...]ib, LPH:

(26) *m hs.t n.t hw.t-hr [nb.t...] mh<sup>c</sup> mj mrr b3k jm*

“In the praise of Hathor, [lady of ...], as your humble servant wishes.

*swd3(27)-jb pw n nb=j c.w.s hr rdj.t jn.t n=j h<sup>c</sup>r 10 n b3k jm*

This is a communication concerning letting be sent to me ten sacks for your humble servant.

*nfr sdm=k*

It is good if you hear.

(28) *b3k n pr d.t jnp.w-hr-hnt dd (n) jm.y-r3 hw.t-ntr (29) r<sup>c</sup> c.w.s.*

The servant of the estate Inpuherkhenet speaks to the overseer of the temple Re, LPH:

*m hs.t n.t sbk nb [...] (30) mj mrr b3k jm*

“In the praise of Sobek, lord of [...], as you humble servant wishes!

*swd3-jb pw n nb=j c.w.s. hr rdj[.t jn.t n=j] (31) nh.w n [...] n b3k jm*

This is a communication to my lord, LPH, concerning letting be brought to me some [...] for your humble servant.

*nfr sdm=k*

It is good if you hear.

## P. Kahun III.3 – UC 32203

### \*\*\* heading \*\*\*

(1) *dd*<sup>140</sup> *nb.t pr jry*

What the lady of the house Iry gives:

### \*\*\* formulae \*\*\*

*swd3 jb pw n nb ʕ.w.s. r-ntt h3.w nb n nb ʕ.w.s. ʕd(.w) wd3(.w) m s.t=sn nb.t*

This is a communication to the lord, LPH, that all possessions of the lord, LPH, are prosperous and flourishing wherever they are,

(2) *m hs.wt*<sup>141</sup> *n.t nswt-bjty hʕ-hpr-rʕ m3ʕ-hrw ntr.w nb.w mj mrr b3k jm*

through the favour of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Khakheperre, justified, and of all gods, like the humble servant wishes.

### \*\*\* content \*\*\*

*swd3 jb pw n nb ʕ.w.s. (3) hr p3y ʕm-jb n nb ʕ.w.s.*

This is a communication to the lord, LPH, concerning the neglectfulness of the lord, LPH.

(*jn*) *jw=tn ʕd [wd3...] sp.ty r t3 hr jn=tn wšb.w*

Are you safe [and sound? ...] have been abandoned concerning your bringing supplies.<sup>142</sup>

(4) [*hr*]<sup>143</sup> *ntt n sdm.n.tw wp.t=tn nb.t*

Because none of your reports have been heard.

*nfr sdm [nb= ʕ.w.s.*

May the hearing of the lord, LPH, be good.

*sw]d3 jb pw n nb ʕ.w.s.*

This is a communication to the lord, LPH,

*hr (5) [b3]k-hm.wt nty ʕ3*

concerning the servant-women who are here

*nn gm.t sh.t [hbs.wt]*

without being able to weave clothes.

[...] *hft=k jn* [...] *hr (6) [...š]nw n sšm*

Your presence [...] by [...] at [...] the guiding threads (?)

---

<sup>140</sup> COLLIER & QUIRKE 2002, 115: “Dispatch of?”

<sup>141</sup> COLLIER & QUIRKE 2002, 115: “through the favour of?”

<sup>142</sup> *wšb* – Nahrung (HANNIG 2006).

<sup>143</sup> COLLIER & QUIRKE 2002, 115: [*jn*] *ntt*.

*jw 3 b3k jm jj ds=fjn ntt b3k jm c<sub>k</sub> r hw.t-ntr m r<sup>c</sup> 20 r [w<sup>c</sup>b ...]*

The humble servant could hardly have come herself because this servant entered the temple on day 20 to [serve as wab-priestess].

(7) *[k3]<sup>144</sup> jn.t st nb c.w.s. m-c=f*

The lord, LPH, could bring it himself

*sp pw rdj.t hr n t3 ktt hr-m-hb*

It was wrong turning oneself to the minor Haremheb

*hr jj.t (8) km3.w*

concerning the arrival of Qemau.

*wnn nb c.w.s. r jr.t r<sup>c</sup> 3*

The lord, LPH, should spend some time here.

*mk [nn] hbs.w nb hr=j r hw.t-ntr*

Look, there are no clothes – my attention is turned to the temple.

(9) *sn.w w3h nn gm.t sh.t st*

The threads have been set up, but they cannot be woven.

**\*\*\* concluding formulae \*\*\***

*swd3-jb pw n nb c.w.s.*

This is a communication to the lord, LPH.

*nfr sdm nb c.w.s.*

May the hearing of the lord, LPH, be good.

## **P. Kahun III. 4 – UC 32205**

**\*\*\* address \*\*\***

(1) *b3k n pr d.t h<sub>mm</sub> dd n jm.y-r3 c-hnw.ty [...]*

The servant of the estate Khemem says to the overseer of the residence [...]

**\*\*\* formulae \*\*\***

(2) *[swd3 jb] pw n nb c.w.s. r ntt*

This is a communication to the lord, LPH, that

(3) *[h3.w nb(.w) n] nb[ c.w.s.] c<sub>d</sub> wd3 (4) m s.t=sn nb.t*

all affairs of the lord, LPH, are prosperous and flourishing on all their places,

*m hs.t [n.t] (5) sbk nb r3-shwy nswt-bjty (6) m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw-r<sup>c</sup> c<sub>nh</sub> dt r nh<sub>h</sub> ntr.w nb.w*

through the favour of Sobek lord of Reshewy, and of king Maa-kheru-re living for ever and ever, and of all gods,

---

<sup>144</sup> After COLLIER & QUIRKE (2002, 117).

(7) *mj mrr b3k [j]m*

like the humble servant wishes.

\*\*\* content\*\*\*

*swd3 jb [pw n] nb c.w.s. (8) r-ntt n h3b.n.tw n b3k jm*

This is a communication to the lord, LPH, that no message is being sent to the humble servant

(9) *hr shr nb nb c.w.s. r jr (10) hs.n nb c.w.s n snb cnh*

concerning the state of the lord, LPH, as anyone who has met the lord in health and life should do,

*jw 3 (11) b3k jm [jn]=f r rh shr nb n nb c.w.s.*

This humble servant was hardly able to come to learn about all plans of the lord, LPH,

(12) *jn ntt jt.tw t3 mct jn (13) s-htp-jb-r<sup>c</sup> m hnt*

because the ship has been taken by Shetepibre going north.

*jw b3k jm (14) w<sup>c</sup>w nfryt-r p3 sms.w n nb c.w.s. jt3*

The humble servant is alone except the retainer of the lord, LPH, Ita,

(15) *jw=f jr [...] w...r h3.w [...]*

who [...]

*d]bh[=f] (16) jmw r d<sup>c</sup> rm.w 10 n nb=j c.w.s.*

He demanded a boat to catch 10 fish for my lord, LPH.

*ch[c.n] (17) jt.n=f rdj.t-wgs 500 jn.n=f st m h3m*

Then he brought 500 gutted fish that he acquired by fishing.

(18) *h3b b3k jm hr swd3 jb hr=s hr rdj.t (19) jp.tw r dmj n pr-hnj jn nb [c.w.s.]*

The humble servant writes in order to inform on it, and about having it counted at the quay of Per-kheny by the lord, LPH.

(20) *jw rdj.n b3k jm jw.t jt3 hr=s r rdj.t rdj (21) hr [...]*

The humble servant has sent Ita because of it in order to have attention paid to [...]

*nb-jr.wt hn<sup>c</sup> rdjt [...]*

Nebirut, and to cause [...]

(23) *[...] n.t jt3 [...]*

of Ita

(24) *[...]wd3 jb pw hr=s [...]*

It is a communication about this.

(25) *[...] r sp3.t [...]*

[...] to the province [...]

(26) *jdñw s-n-wsrt*  
the deputy Senwosret

(27) *jm.y-r3 pr* [...]  
the overseer of the house [...]

(28) *swd3 jb pw n nb=j ˆ.w.s.*  
This is a communication to my lord, LPH,

(29) [...] *h3.w nb=j ˆ.w.s.*  
the affairs of my lord, LPH.

#### **P. Kahun IV. 4 – UC 32197**

##### **\*\*\* formulae \*\*\***

(1) [*swd3-jb pw n nb ˆ.*] *w.s.* [*r-ntt* (2) *h3.w nb n nb ˆ.*] *w.s.* *ˆd(.w)* [*wd3(.w)* (3) *m s.wt=sn nb*].*t*  
[This is a communication to the lord, L]PH, [that all affairs of the lord, L]PH, are prosperous  
[and flourishing wherever they are],

*m hs.t n.t sbk nb* (4) [...] *t nswt-bjty hˆ-hpr-rˆ m3ˆ-hrw ntr.w nb.w*  
through the praise of Sobek lord of [...], of king of Upper and Lower Egypt Khakheperre and  
all gods,

(5) *mj mrr b3k jm*  
as your humble servant wishes.

##### **\*\*\* enquiry about the health \*\*\***

*swd3-jb pw n [nb] ˆ.w.s.* (6) *hr rdj.t h3b.tw n b3k jm [hr ˆnh wd3 snb* (7) *nb] ˆ.w.s.*  
This is a communication to [the lord], LPH, concerning having a message sent to the humble  
servant concerning [the life, prosperity and health of the lord,] LPH,

*hr ntt nfr jb n b3k [jm] sdm.n=f* (8) *ˆnh wdˆ snb nb ˆ.w.s.*  
because the heart of the humble servant is happy when he hears that the lord, LPH, is alive,  
prosperous, and healthy.

##### **\*\*\* content \*\*\***

*swd3-jb p[w] n [nb ˆ.w.s.* (9) *r] ntt jm.y-r3 s.t hr.y sb.w m hd* (10) *r mh.w*  
This is a communication to [the lord, LPH], to the effect that the overseer of the department  
Hori traveled north to Lower Egypt,

*jw b3k jm ˆ3 wˆ.y*  
and the humble servant is here alone.



(11) *h3b b3k jm m swd3-[jb] hr[=s] hr* (12) *rdj.t hs.tw b3k jm m p3 nk.t n hm.t*

The humble servant writes in communication concerning [it], so that the humble servant may be rewarded with a piece of fritte.

(13) *dd.n nb c.w.s. jnk rdj=j jr.tw=f n=k r-s3* (14) *sh.t n3 n d3jw*

The lord, LPH, said: “I, I shall cause that one does it for you after these textiles are woven.”<sup>145</sup>

*swd3-jb pw hr=s*

This is a communication about it.

(15) *mk gr.t sš hr htm.w nh.ty hd* (16) *hn c h[3ty-c ...w]*

Look, the scribe in charge of the seal Nakhti sailed north together with the mayor [...]

*nn rdj h c ty-c šm=j m*

The count did not let me come [...]

(17) [...] *n[3] n sš.w wnn* [...]

these letters that [...]

(18) [...] *wj* [...]

[...] me [...]

(19) [...] *jn=k n=j* [...]

[...] you brought to me the [...]

(20) [...] *hr=s hft jw=k*

[...] because of it when you come

(21) *r sb.t nb.w-sn*

in order to bring Nebusen.

(22) *mk tw hr dd jw* (23) *t3 phr.t* [...] *m mnmn tkn.w* [...]

Look, you now say that the time period approaches its end,

*mk* (24) *grt jr p3 [h3.]w* (25) *jy hr=j*

But look, as for the [...]

*mk nn w3h*(26).*n=j sw m-ntt t3 hm.t* (27) *ng3.ty*

look, I am not bringing it because of that missing fritte.<sup>146</sup>

*swd3-jb* (28) *pw hr=s*

It is a communication concerning it.

<sup>145</sup> An unclear case, but cf. the analogous Kah VI.4, 34-35. I personally? I and none other?

<sup>146</sup> Highly complex information structure: [*mk grt [jr ...]*]<sub>TOP</sub>[*mk ...*]<sub>FOC</sub>FOC.

**\*\*\* concluding formulae \*\*\***

*hn̄ nd hr.t (29) nb.t pr s3t-tp-jhw m̄ nh̄ wd3 snb*

And greet the lady of the house Satepihu in life, prosperity and health,

(30) *jm.y-r3 pr hmw*

and the overseer of the house Khemu,

(31) *nb.t pr bbw*

and the lady of the house Bebu,

(32) *jm.y-r3 rh.tyw s3-dhwty*

and the chief washerman Sadjehuti,

(33) *nb.t [pr] snbj*

and the lady of the house Senebi,

(34) *[swd3]-jb pw hr=s*

It is a communication about it,

(35) *[swd3]-jb pw n nb-j̄ ̄.w.s.*

It is a communication to the lord, LPH,

(36) *nfr sdm nb-j̄ ̄.w.s.*

may the hearing of the lord, LPH, be good.

**P. Kahun LVI.1 – UC 32214**

(1) *b3k n pr d.t nhy-n=j dd n [jm.y-r3?] k3(.t) hw.t-ntr hrj*

The servant of the estate Nehyeni says to the [overseer of the works] of the temple Hori

[formulae]

*swd3-jb r-ntt (9) mjt.t nb̄ ̄.w.s. mnmn r š*

A communication that likewise the lord will be travelling to Sh[...]

(10) *h3b b3k jm hr swd3-jb hr=s*

The servant-there is writing to inform about it,

(11) *dj.tw n=j sm̄ hk3t 20*

so I might be given 20 hekat of barley.

[Too fragmentary to give much sense]

## P. Kahun LVII.1

(1) *b3k n pr d.t p3-nty-n=j dd*

The servant of the estate Panetyeni says:

(2) *swd3-jb pw n nb c.w.s. r-n(tt)* (3) *h3.w nb(.w) n nb c.w.s. c d wd3 m* (4) *s.wt=sn nb.wt*

This is a communication to the lord, LPH, that all the affairs of the lord LPH are prosperous and flourishing on all their places.

[*swd3*]-*jb pw n nb c.w.s.* (5) *r-ntt [...]* *n3 n hbs.w* (6) *t*

This is a communication to the lord, LPH, that [...] the clothes and bread

(7) *km m-c p3 [...]* *sjp n jt*

final account / payment from [...] assigned to It

(8) *r-ht jr.y*

A list thereof:

(9) *sšr.w [...]* *l*

*Sesheru*-linen 1,

(10) *mt šw [...]* *l*

*Metshu* linen, 1,

(11) *sšr.w-šw [...]* *l*

*Sesheru-shu* linen, 1,

(12) *mt km3.w 20*

*Met-kemau* linen 20,

*m šd hr htm n b3k jm*

withdrawn on the seal of the servant-there.

(14) *l n mn-c.t jy*

One to the nurse Iy,

(15) [...] *d k3 dd.n=f jr=f r pr-mn-c.t*

cattle 1, since he spoke of it at the nursing house.

(16) *swd3-jb pw hr=s*

This is a communication about it.

*swd3-jb pw n nb c.w.s.* (17) *r-ntt*

This is a communication to the lord, LPH, that

[...] *m snn n sh3.t n* (18) *p3 [...]*

[...] in a writing of memory of the [...]

*p3y=j nb*

my lord.

*sš snbw (19) r dd [...] n3 n sh3.t nt.y hr=f*

The scribe Senbu saying [...] the memoranda which are on it.

(20) *nfr [...] smj n b3k jm*

It is good [...] the report to the servant-there [...]

[traces]

(verso, 1) [...] *n dr sp 2 mk (2) nn ksn*

[...] apprehend, apprehend. Look, there is no [...]

(3) *šm mw*

come

*mk (4) 3h mntw (5) n j3m (6) r ht nb.t*

Look, Montu is more beneficent to one who offers (to him) than anything.

(7) *swd3-jb pw hr=s*

This is a communication about it,

(8) *swd3-jb pw n nb °.w.s.*

This is a communication to the lord, LPH.

(9) *nfr sdm nb °.w.s.*

It is good if the lord, LPH, hears.

## **P. Kahun LXV.1 – UC 32215**

(1) *jm.y-r3 pr mrj °.w.s. sš [...] °f.ty dd n=k*

The steward Meri, LPH, scribe [...]

*jw=j (2) r rdj.t jw.t [...] m tp.y šmw sw 26*

I will cause [...] to come [...] on the first month of the inundation season, day 26,

*hn° rdj.t jw.t n=j (3) jrt-hr r jn.t [...]*

And cause that Inether comes to me to bring [...]

*[hn° rdj.t] jw.t n=j w°.t n.t kt.wt r jn.t mw*

[and cause] one of the others to come to me to bring water.

(3) *k3 jr m-ht [...] hn° rdj.t jn.t n=j (4) sn.w nb n.t [...]*

Then, when after [...] and have brought to me all the senu-bread which [...]

*[...]=k snb.t °nh.t*

if you please.

(5) *dbh [...] mnk p3y=k (6) bw-nfr*

request [...] complete your goodness.

[...] *n=j n3 n šw.w hn<sup>c</sup> nh.w sn.w*  
[...] to me the straw together with a little *snw*-bread.

(7) *n p3 psy* [...] *p3 dd.n=j n=k*  
to the baker [...] what I told you.

## P. Kahun V.1 – UC 32212

\*\*\* address \*\*\*

(1) *b3k n pr d.t mr-šnt dd*  
The servant of the estate Mershenet says:

\*\*\* content \*\*\*

(2) *swd3-jb pw n nb<sup>c</sup>.w.s.*  
This is a communication to the lord, LPH,

*r ntt* (3) *sdm.n b3k jm mdw.t n.t sš pn*  
that the servant-there heard the message of this letter

*jn.y n* (4) *b3k jm r dd*  
that was brought to the servant-there:

*jr(.w) n3 n<sup>c</sup>nh.w-nsw*  
The king's provisions have been prepared

*m-<sup>c</sup> šsr.w nb* (5) *n htp-s-n-wsr.t m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*  
from all grain-supplies of Hetepsenwosret, justified,

(6) *hw.t n.t s3.t-nswt nfr.w-ptḥ m3<sup>c</sup>(.t)-hrw*  
(from) the temple of the king's daughter Neferuptah, justified,

(7) *tp-jḥ.w*  
and (from) Atfih.<sup>147</sup>

(8) *ntt m w.w*  
What is from the districts

*jr(.w) m jn.w šn<sup>c</sup>.t tn n* (9) *jm.y-r3 3ḥ.wt*  
made as dues of this granary for the overseer of the fields.

*wd<sup>c</sup>=sn ryt jm*  
so they should apportion among them.

---

<sup>147</sup> GRIFFITH (1898, 80) reads *wd.t nb.t*, “all words”, COLLIER & QUIRKE (2002 138–139), give nothing.

(10) *wḏ sš pn jn.y n b3k jm*

This letter which was brought to the servant-there was formally decreed.

\*\*\* **formulae** \*\*\*

*jr mntw nb w3s.t (11) jmn nb w3s.t nb ns.wt t3.wy ntr.w nb.w [...] nb.t nb ʕ.w.s.*

May Montu, lord of Thebes, and Amen, Lord of Thebes, lord of the thrones of the two lands, do all [...] of the lord, LPH.

(12) *swḏ3-jb pw n nb ʕ.w.s.*

This is a communication to the lord, LPH.

*nfr sdm nb ʕ.w.s.*

may the hearing of the lord, LPH, be good.

## **P. Kahun VI.4 (UC 32201)**

\*\*\* **address** \*\*\*

(1) *b3k n pr ḏ.t jry-sw ḏḏ n jm.y-r3 ʕ-hnw.ty s3-k3-jwnw ʕ.w.s.*

The servant of the estate Irysu says to the overseer of the residence Sakaiunu, LPH:

\*\*\* **formulae** \*\*\*

(2) *swḏ3-jb [pw n nb ʕ.w.s. r-ntt h3.w] nb(.w) n nb ʕ.w.s. (3) ʕḏ(.w) wḏ3(.w) m [s.wt]=sn nb(.w)t m [...] =sn nb.t*

This is a communication to the lord, LPH, that all possessions of the lord, LPH, are prosperous and flourishing wherever they are [...]

*m ḥs.t n.t [...] ḥnʕ psḏ.t=f*

through the favour of [...] and his Ennead!

\*\*\* **content** \*\*\*

(4) *swḏ3-jb pw n nb ʕ.w.s.*

This is a communication to the lord, LPH,

*r ntt wj spr.kwj r (5) dmj n ḥw.t-nbs m 3bd 4 (n) šmw sw 5 ḥr tr n (6) dw3*

that I reached the town of Hutnebes on the 4<sup>th</sup> month of the inundation season, day 5, at dawn,

*gm.n=j nb ʕ.w.s. ḥnt=w*

and I found the lord, LPH, having departed south.

*ḏḏ.n n=j (7) ḥrp jmpy jw rdj.n=j n=f ḥsb 3*

The foreman Impy told me: "I have given him three enlistees,

(8) *jm.y-rn=f jr.y*  
the list thereof:

(9) *rn-snb bty*  
Ren-seneb, the matmaker,

(10) *jtj*  
Itef,

(11) *ʕ3m n hw.t-jkr*  
and the Asiatic of Hut-iker.

(12) *h3b pw hr rdj.t rh=k st*  
This is a message to let you know this.

*ʕhʕ.n sb.n=j n=k* (13) *hrp hn-ʕ.t m jmw gm.n=j r dmj n* (14) *hw.t-nbs*  
Then I sent to you the leader Henat with a transport ship that I found at the quay of Hutnebes,

*rdj.n=j jn.t=f n=k ʕtp.w*  
and I caused it to be brought to you loaded.

*rdj.n p3 jmw* (15) *h3 jn b3k.t sw ʕtp(.w)*  
The boat was sent by Baqet loaded,

*jw 3<sup>148</sup> rdj.n=j jn.t(w) n=k kth.t*  
I could hardly have other things be brought to you.

(16) *mk grt rdj.n=j jn.t=f n=k pʕ wh3 n šnr-pʕ.t rdj.n=k ʕ3*  
Look, I have caused him to bring to you a conscript from Shener-pat, whom you have placed here.

(17) *mk grt dd.n n=j snb s3 nb=j*  
Look, Seneb, son of my lord, told me:

*jw rdj.n=j n=f jt mh.w hk3.t 2 bd.t hk3.t 5*  
“I have given him 2 hekat of Lower Egyptian corn and five hekat of barley.”

(18) *rh.t ʕtp.w sjp n hrp hnʕ.t*  
The list of load consigned for the foreman Henat:

(19) *j.t mh.t hk3.t 50 20 d3 m b3k.w jt=f m-ʕ s3w-ʕrr.t snbj*  
... hekat of northern barley, 20 heqat being (the balance due) as the wages of Iotef from the guardian of the portal Senebi.

[20-23 list, unclear]

(24) *rdy.t r w3.w [...] m-h3.w nn*  
Given against dues [...] in addition to this:

---

<sup>148</sup> A – particle of exasperation. Cf. COLLIER-QUIRKE 2002, index.

(25) *j.t mh.t hk3.t 6 × 1/3*  
Lower Egyptian barley, 6.33 hekat.

(26) *rh.t [...] rd.yt n htm.w s3-k3-jwnw*  
The list of [...] -corn given to the treasurer Sikaiunu

(27) *[... hrp hn]c t m jn.t n=f m-c s3-nb s3 rn=f-snb*  
[...] the foreman Henat as that which was brought to him from Saneb's son Renefseneb.

(28) *j.t mh.w hk3.t ? bd.t [hk3.t ...]*  
Lower Egyptian corn, x hekat, barley, x [hekat].

(29) *hn<sup>c</sup> rdj jw.t n=j šms.w snb jn.t=f n=j km.t m n3 n wh3.w k3 dj=j jn.t [...] c3 m*  
And let the follower Seneb be brought to me, so that he may bring me the final account of these conscripts. Then I shall send [...] here.

(30) [...] *st*  
[...] it

(31) *jr gr.t wnn c<sup>h</sup>c* (32) *p3 wh3 11 c3* (33) *r db3.t=sn bw nb nfr*  
If, however, the 11 conscripts are staying here for their loan, all good and well.

(34) *ntk h3b=k hr* (35) *mdw.t m hr=k snb.ty c<sup>h</sup>.ty*  
It is you who<sup>149</sup> shall write about the affairs in your charge, may you be healthy and live,

(36) *mk jn g3w n* (37) *wpw.tjw c3 hn<sup>c</sup>=j*  
Look, there is lack of messengers here with me.

(38) *jw 3 rdj.n=j jw.t=f r* (39) *jn.t n=j smj m phr=k*  
I could hardly have caused him to go to bring to me a report on your opinion.

(40) *n jn.tw m db3.t n.t* (41) *p3 wh3 11*  
Nothing has been brought as reward for the 11 conscripts,

*k3* (42) *h3b=k n=j hr=s*  
so you should write to me about it.

*n* (43) *jn.tw m db3 jr.y*  
One did not bring (anything) as their reward,

(44) *k3=k n=j hr=s gr*  
so should you tell me about it.

(45) *swd3 jb pw hr=s hn<sup>c</sup> rdj.t* (46) *h3b.t(w) n=j hr c<sup>h</sup>.w.s.=k*  
This is a communication about it, and about having one write to me concerning your life, prosperity and health.

---

<sup>149</sup> Unclear. Topicalised? Focalised clefts look different.



(47) *mk h3b.n=j hr hn=k* (48) *n jm.y-r3 pr htw*

Look, I have written concerning your task to the overseer of the house Hetu.

*k3* (49) *wn=k hn<sup>c</sup>=f m s w<sup>c</sup>*

Then you should unite with him as one man.

(50) *swd3-jb pw n nb<sup>c</sup>.w.s. hr=s*

It is a communication to the lord, LPH, concerning it.

(51) *hn<sup>c</sup> rdj.t(w) jn [...]*

and about having one bring [...]

(52) *swd3 jb pw hr=s*

This is a communication about it.

(53) *mk grt wh3 5 n jth jnr.w<sup>c</sup> 3 m jkw hr [...]* *swt jr=k m [...]*

Look now, five conscripts who shall drag stone are here from the quarry of Iku [...] so you shall ]

[...].

**\*\*\* address \*\*\***

*nb=j<sup>c</sup>.w.s. jm.y-r3<sup>c</sup>-hnw.ty s3-k3-jwnw<sup>c</sup>.w.s.*

My lord, LPH, overseer of the residence, Sikaiunu LPH.

*m-<sup>c</sup> jr.y-sw*

from Irisu.

*h3.t-sp 2 3bd 4 (n) smw sw 12*

Year 2, 4<sup>th</sup> month of the inundation season, day 12,

*jn(.w) n hnw*

brought by Henu.

## **P. Kahun VI.5 – UC 32213**

**\*\*\* formulae \*\*\***

(1) *[swd3-jb] pw n nb<sup>c</sup>.w.s.*

This is a communication to the lord, LPH

**\*\*\* content \*\*\***

(4) *[swd3-jb] pw n nb<sup>c</sup>.w.s. hr [rdj.t dj.t(w) jb hnt t3]y=k*

This is [a communication] to the lord, LPH, concerning [having attention turned to yo]ur

(5) *[...] n=j p3 [...]*

[...] to me the [...]

(6) [...] *ḥbsw hr=j m* [...] *jn.n*  
[...] clothes due from me from [...] brought

(7) [...] *m* *k swrd* [...] *st*  
[...] Look, made tired [...] it

(8) [...] *p3 dd r b3k jm*  
[...] that which was said against the servant-here.

*jr p[3 h]n.w* (9) [...] *.n=f sw dr=f hr.y[=fy sw]*  
“As for the pot, he ... it to remove it”, so he said.

*dd.w n=k* (10) [...] *nḥm n js dr s ḥn[w] m*  
You were told [...] finally, a man has removed the pot from

(11) [...] *=f jw3(.w) jn gs* [...] *[...]*  
[...] (when) it has been substituted by half [...]

*mk* (12) [...] *s3-gb jw r rdj.t dj.tw*  
Look, [...] Sige. (I?) shall cause to be given [...]

(13) [...] *jr wnn=f r rdj.t st k[3...] jw jnn sw*  
If he shall give it, then the [...] who shall bring it should come.

(14) [*h3*]*b.tw n b3k jm hr h* [...] *n rdj=f st*  
One should write to the servant-there concerning [...], but he has not given it.

(15) [...] *pw k3 b3k jm jn n=f sw m n3 n pr-ḥd*  
[...] Then the servant-there should bring it to him from that of the treasury.

(16) [...] *jn* *k3=k rdj=f gmj=j st*  
[...] It is] your ka which will make me find it.

*k3 jw=f m-ᶜ=j*<sup>150</sup>  
Then he should come with me.

(17) [*swd3*]-*jb pw hr=s*  
This is a [communication] about it,

*n ksn pw m r3 dd*  
it is not difficult in the mouth to say.

*jw=k* (18) [...] *p3 tm h3b hr nd hr.t=j*  
You [...] one who did not write to greet me

(19) [...] *jw jr.n=f sw [...p]3y=k ᶜrk*  
[...] He did it [...] your basket

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<sup>150</sup> COLLIER & QUIRKE 2002, “then it will be finished with me?”.

(20) [...]w<sup>3</sup>.n=j s [...]thj hrt-hrw  
I have substituted it [...]this day.

(21) [...] r mjn dj k<sup>3</sup>[=k] jw.t=j  
[...] until today. May your ka allow me to come.

nn <sup>c</sup>k=j (22) [p<sup>3</sup>y=s]n pr jw <sup>c</sup>d  
I shall not enter your house

n ms wnn s nb (23) [...]=f  
It is not the case that any man [...]

k<sup>3</sup> hms.w b<sup>3</sup>k jm m (24) [...]s-n-[wsr.t] m<sup>3</sup><sup>c</sup>-hrw  
Then the servant-there will stay in [...]Senwosret, justified.

mk swt n<sup>3</sup> pw dd.y=j  
But look, this is what I should say

(vso. 1) r tnw sp (2) gmm sw b<sup>3</sup>k jm hr jj.t tp j[...]  
every time the servant-there finds him giong [...]

gr (3) p<sup>3</sup> [...] wrš=j (4) hr s[...]  
the [...] so that I might spend the day [...]

(5) kw [...]

(6) rdj.t jn [...] wr  
be caused to bring [...]

(7) jw t [...] jr.n=k (8) n kt [...]=k sy  
the bread [...] which you did for Ket [...]

(9) mk b<sup>3</sup>k j[m...] dj.n=f wn=k (10) hn<sup>c</sup> p[3...] hry.w  
Look, the servant-there [...] he caused that you be with the [...]

(11) k<sup>3</sup> d[d...]=k jn (12) wj k[...]y  
So [...] shall say [...] bring me [...]

\*\*\* greetings \*\*\*

(13) hn<sup>c</sup> nd-hr.t (14) jm.y-r<sup>3</sup> hw.t-ntr [...]w m <sup>c</sup>.w.s.  
And greet the overseer of the temple [...], in LPH,

(15) jm.y-r<sup>3</sup> pr k<sup>c</sup>[-nht] m <sup>c</sup>.w.s.  
and the steward Ka-[nakhte], in LPH.

(16) p<sup>3</sup>=n pr r-dr=f  
and our entire house(hold).

(17) *m msdd=j swt*  
and the one I hate?

(18) *swd3-jb pw hr=s*  
This is a communication concerning it.

(19) *nfr sdm nb c.w.s.*  
May the hearing of the lord, LPH, be good.

## **P. Kahun VI.6 (UC 32202)**

### **\*\*\* address \*\*\***

(1) *b3k n pr d.t jy-jb dd.n jm.y-r3 pr n shtp -b c.w.s.*  
The servant of the estate Iryib says to the overseer of the house Sehetebib, LPH:

### **\*\*\* formulae \*\*\***

(2) [*swd3 jb pw n*] *nb c.w.s. r ntt* (3) [*h3.w*] *nb n nb c.w.s. c(d.w) wd3(.w) m* (4) [*s.wt=sn*] *nb(.w)t*  
[This is a communication to] the lord, LPH, that all [possessions] of the lord, LPH, are prosperous and flourishing on all [their places]

*m hs.t sbk sd.ty* (5) [...]  
through the favour of Sobek the Crocodilopolite and [...]

(6) *nswt-bjty ny-m3c.t-r c nh dt r nhh*  
and of king Nymaatre, living for ever and ever,

(7) *ntr.w nb.w mj mrr b3k jm*  
and of all gods, as the humble servant wishes.

### **\*\*\* content \*\*\***

*swd3-jb pw n nb c.w.s.* (8) *r-ntt sk3 nhw 3h.w n* (9) *b3k jm*  
This is a communication to the lord, LPH, that some fields were ploughed for the humble servant

*m w n htp-s-n-wsr.t m3c-hrw [w]* (10) *t3-wr w hr*  
in the nome of Hetep-Senwosret, in the nome of Ta-wer and in the nome of Horus.

*h[3]b b3k jm [m]* (11) *swd3[-jb] hr=s hr rdj(.tw) dj.tw [...]*  
The humble servant is writing with a communication about it in order to make one give [...]

(12) [...]

(13) [...] *jn.t(w) n=s(n) ck.w m hn.w*  
[...] provisions brought for them from the residence.

(14) [...] =sn hr jmw jt=f st (15) [...]
[...] them so that a transport ship should take it [...]

\*\*\* enquiry after well-being \*\*\*

[s]wd3 jb pw n nb c.w.s. hr rdj.t(w) (16) <hr rdj.t(w)> h3b n b3k jm hr c.w.s. nb c.w.s.
This is a communication to the lord, LPH, about having one send to the humble servant concerning the life, prosperity and health of the lord, LPH.

(17) swd3 jb pw hr=s swd3 jb pw n nb c.w.s. (18) nfr sdm nb c.w.s.
This is a communication concerning it, this is a communication to the lord, LPH. May the hearing of the lord, LPH, be good.

\*\*\* address \*\*\*

nb c.w.s. shtp-jb c.w.s.
My lord, LPH, Sehetepib, LPH.

m-c jj-jb
from Iyib.

P. Kahun VI.8 – UC 32204

\*\*\* content \*\*\*

(1) swd3 jb pw r ntt dd n b3k jm
This is a communication that it has been said to the humble servant:

hw nb c.w.s. spr r nh-s-n-wsr.t m3c-hr.w m (12) 3bd 4 (n) smw sw 10
“The lord, LPH, has arrived to Ankh-senusret, justified, on the fourth month of the inundation season, day 10.”

bjn.wj jy=k c.d.ty wd3.ty
How bad it is that you came safe and sound!

\*\*\* reply \*\*\*

(3) dd=k m bjn.t nb.t m hs.t n.t sbk nb r3-sh.wy
You speak in all evil. In the favour of Sobek lord of Rasehwy,

(4) rdj.tj=fj tw n wh3.t m hs.t n.t k3=f
who shall put you into the cauldron, in the favour of his ka.

jr.n k3 n (5) jm.y-r3 hw.t-ntr n hk.t ppj r=k
The ka of the overseer of the temple of Heqet Pepi has acted against you,

r mn r w3h (6) nhh dt
in order to last and endure for ever.

*bjn sdm=k*

May your hearing be bad!

*skr.t (r=k)*

A plaque upon you!

(7) *mj n=k m3=j (8) tw*

Come, so that I may see you.

*mk šsp=n (19) dw3.t bjn.t*

Look, we will spend bad time!

### **P. Kahun VI.9 – UC 32211**

(1) *swd3-jb pw n nb ʿ.w.s.*

This is a communication to the lord LPH,

*r ntt nb ʿ.w.s. hnt*

that the lord LPH sailed north [...]

(2) [...] *wn jr.w n b3k jm*

[...] which has been done for the servant-there,

*n rh=f st*

he did not know it.

*h3b b3k jm hr [=s...]*

The servant-there sends concerning [...]

(3) [...] *m hrw n ʿk.w*

with a day of provisions,

*mj šms.w nb n nb ʿ.w.s. dd.w n=f*

like every follower of the lord, LPH, to whom (they) are given

*swd3-jb [pw...]*

[This is a] communication [...]

### **P. Kahun VIII.1 – UC 32210**

\*\*\* address \*\*\*

(1) *b3k n pr d.t kmny dd*

The servant of the estate Kemeny says:

[formulae]

**\*\*\* content \*\*\***

(9) *swd3-jb [pw n] nb ʕ.w.s.*

This is a communication to the lord, LPH

(10) [*r ntt r*]*dj.t dj.t(w) jb hnt p3y=k* (11) *hm-nsw wd-h3.w*

concerning causing attention to be paid to your royal servant Wedjkhau,

*m rdj.t* (12) *sš=f*

in presenting his document,

*nn rdj.t bt3=f*

without letting him run (=escape?),

(13) *mj bw nfr jr.w nb ʕ.w.s. snb [ʕnh]*

like the good that the lord does if he pleases.

(14) *hnʕ rdj.t dj.tw jb hnt p3y[=k]* (15) *pr*

and causing attention to be paid to your house,

*mj bw nfr jr.w nb ʕ.w[.s.]* (16) *snb ʕnh*

like the good that the lord, LPH, does when he pleases

*hr ntt jn nb ʕ.w.s. jr.j h.t nb.t* (17) *m hs n b3k jm*

because it is the lord, LPH, who can do everything in response to the servant-there.

*swd3-jb r-ntt* (18) *rdj b3k jm jw.t n3 n pr-hd m-ʕ* (19) *hpr.t[...]*

A communication that the servant-there will cause those of the treasury to come with Khepert[?]

*hft jw=f m hnt*

when he comes sailing north.

(20) *mk snbnj m sbj.t=f m jw.t m* (21) *hnt r-s3 sʕk.n=f n3 n* (22) *š]n.w*

Look, Senebni is accompanying him going north after he had made the fibres enter.<sup>151</sup>

*swd3-jb pw hr=s*

It is a communication concerning it.

**\*\*\* concluding formula \*\*\***

*swd3-jb pw n nb ʕ.w.s.*

It is a communication to the lord, LPH.

*nfr sdm nb ʕ.w.s.*

It is good if the lord, LPH, listens.

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<sup>151</sup> Interpreted by COLLIER & QUIRKE 2002 as “registered”.

## P. Kahun XV.1 – UC 32200

### \*\*\* heading \*\*\*

(1) *dd ppw n nb.t pr sbk-ḥtp ˆ.w.s.t*

What Pepu sends to the lady of the house Sebek-hetep LPH.

*ḥ3.w smd.t nd-ḥr.t m ḥs.t n.t ḥw.t-ḥr nb.t tp-jḥ.w*

Thousands of pearls salutations in greeting through the favour of Hathor, lady of Atfih.

### \*\*\* content \*\*\*

(2) *jr t3 ḥ3b.n=t ḥr=s*

As for that because of which you have written,

(3) [*ḥr-ntt*] *jr.t p3* (4) [*wh*] *mw r p3* (5) *jt3*

concerning that which the messenger did to the thief,

*mt* (6) *rdj.t pw*

look, that is his responsibility.

*mt* (7) *ksn jrr.t m ḥnw* (8) *r ḥt nb.t*

Look, what is being done in the residence is more painful than anything.

(*j*) *n jw wd* (9) *sḏm jt3 jn* (10) *rmt nb.t wpw-ḥr* (11) *jm.y-r3 šnt*

Has it ever been commanded that a thief be judged by any man except an overseer of disputes?

*n gr.t sḏm n* (12) *jm.y-r3 šnt jt3*

But the overseer of disputes can not hear the thief,

(13) *n js ndr.tw m-ˆ=f*

unless he had been apprehended.

(14) *jr gr.t tw3.tw* (15) *ḥr ḏd st r-gs p3 ḥm nswt (?)*

If, however, one decides to say this in the presence of the king's servant,

(16) *mḥ=f sw m kth.w*

he occupies himself with other things.<sup>152</sup>

(17) *nn nt.y r nḥt-ḥr r=f*

there is no one who shall act on account of him.

(18) *jr p3 ḏd wrš=j ḥr* (19) *rmj ḥr=s*

As for that which was said, I spend the day crying because of it.

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<sup>152</sup> WENTE (1990, 84): he shall fill him in with further details.



*n jj.n m? (20) hft pr.t=j m [...]*  
... does not return after I come out from [...].

(21) *(j)n jw tw r gm.t wj k3* (22) *nfr*  
Are you going to find me happy?

*n gm.tw m t3 [...]*  
... shall not be found [...]

\*\*\* **address**\*\*\*

*dd ppw n nb.t pr sbk-htp c.w.s.*  
What Pepu gives to the lady of the house Sebekhotep, LPH.

P. BROOKLYN 35.1446

Dating: Amenemhet III. to early 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Origin: Thebes

Bibliography: HAYES 1955

**Insertion A, Pl. IV.**

(1) *h3.t-sp 36 [...k]y*

Year 36 [...]

(2) *mj.t n mdw.t jny.t m-<sup>c</sup> knb.ty n w s3bw*

A copy of the letter brought by the councillor of the administrative unit Sabu

(3) *dd ntt swd3-jb pw n nb <sup>c</sup>.w.s. r-ntt*

saying that this is a communication to the lord, LPH, that

(4) *sdm.n b3k jm mdw.t jn.yt n b3k jm*

the servant-there has heard the letter that was brought to the servant-there,

(5) *r-dd jr n=k [...] njw.t rs.yt*

saying: "Make [...] of the southern city

(6) *3s j [...] nhtj s3 (7) s<sup>c</sup>-jkr [...m] njw.t*

haste [...] Nakhti, son of Sai-iqer [...in] the city.

(8) *jn.tw m [...]*

who were brought from [...]

## Insertion B, Pl. IV.

(1) *rnp.t-sp 5 3bd 3 pr.t sw 20 [...]*  
Year 5, 3rd month of the peret season, day 20 [...]

(2) *mj.t n wd nswt jn.yt r h3 n (3) wlm.w n njw.t rs.yt*  
Copy of the royal decree that was brought to the office of the herold of the southern city.

(4) *wd nswt n jm.y-r3 t3.ty jm.y-r3 hw.t-wr.t 6 (5) nhw*  
A royal decree for the overseer and vizier, overseer of the six great halls, Ankhu.

*mk jn.tw n=k wd pn n nswt*  
Look, this royal decree was brought to you

(6) *r rdj.t rh=k ntt spr.n smsw-h3y.t Jbj-<sup>c</sup>mw s3 rmny-<sup>c</sup>nh*  
in order to let you know that the eldest of the entrance portal Jbi-amu, son of Remeny-ankh, came

(7) *r dd k3wt m sš.w jr.w m jm3.t*  
saying: a written warning made by grace of

(8) *hs.w nswt m hsb hr.y-h3.t hnt.yw*  
the favours of the king against the accountant in charge of prisoners

(9) *tkk.w m w<sup>c</sup>r.w s<sup>c</sup>nhw (11) p3y*  
who has attacked the fugitive Sankhu, Pay

*m rdj.t jn.tw=f r hnw (12) wšd.tw=f hr p3 tkk jr.n=f*  
in having him brought to the residence and having him questioned concerning the attacking that he did,

(13) *hr.y=fy sw mk st sdm(.w)*  
so he said. Look, it was heard.

(14) *jm jn.tw=f m s3.w sw r (15) hnw*  
Have him brought under guard to the residence,

(160) *jh jr=k r=f*  
then you shall act against him.

(17) *mk nswt <sup>c</sup>.w.s. dw [...]*  
Look, the king, LPH, [...]

## Insertion C, Pl. VI

(1) *rnp.t-sp 6 3bd 3 (n) pr.t sw 3*

Year 6, 3rd month of the peret season, day 3

(2) *mj.t n ky wd-nswt jn.yt r h3 n whmw n njw.t rs.yt*

Copy of another royal decree brought to the office of the herold of the southern city

(3) *wd nswt n jm.y-r3 hw.t wr.wt 6 nhw*

A royal order for the overseer of the six great halls, Anhku:

*mk jn.tw n=k wd pn n nswt*

Look, this order of the king has been brought to you

(4) *r rdj.t rh=k r-ntt spr.n htmw-bjty jm.y-r3 3h.wt n njw.t rsy.t [...] s3 jbj-<sup>c</sup>w*

to let you know that the seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, overseer of the fields of the Southern city Ibi-au has petitioned,

(5) *r dd mt3.w m pr=j m d3.t rmt n hnw m t3.wt r j3.t-sht.yw*

saying: "Insolent ones are in my house, who are taking people of the residence by seizure to Yat-sekhetyu."

(6) *rdj n=j m h3 n <sup>c</sup>.w hnm.w p3y nw3.w m rdj.t dj.tw n=j r hnm.w hr.y=fy sw*

Give to me from the office of ... the Ersatzarbeiter of Pay *nw3.w*, causing that (they) be given to me as replacement worker, so he said.

(7) *mk sdm jr.t mk wd.wt jr.w jw nty m hnw*

Look, what has been done was heard. Look, commands regarding it. When he who is in the residence comes,

*jh dj=k 3w.tw hr (8) jrj jw nty m njw.t rs.y*

then you shall cause that (a directive) be issued concerning those who are in the southern city.

*jh jr=k r=f*

Then you shall act against him.

*mk nswt <sup>c</sup>.w.s. dj.w wd<sup>c</sup> jb=k m mjtt*

Look, it is the king LPH, who lets your heart be informed thus.

## Text A

(1) *m* (2) *3w.t-dr.t* (3) *h3.t-sp tp.y 3bd 2 (n) pr.t sw 6*

As a gift of year one, second month (of) the peret-season, day 6

(4) *hr hm n nswt-bjty (sh̄m-r̄c sw3d-t3.wy) s3-r̄c (sbk-h̄tp) ̄nh dt r nh̄h*

under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Sekhem-re Sewadj-tawy, son of Re Sebekhotpe, who lives for ever and ever.

*s3w* (5) *dd rmt spr.n=f hn [...]*

Beware lest people say: "He has petitioned [...]"

## Text B

(1) [*rnp.t-sp ? 3bd ? sw ?*] *3w.t jr.t.n=j n t3y=j hm.t snb.ty=sy*

A gift that I have made to my wife, this Senebtysy

(2) *tn hn̄c hrd.w jr.y spr s3.t=j tj-hnw.t tn*

and the children thereof. This my daughter Tihenut makes petition

(3) *hn̄c dd sd3 n p3y=j jtj jw hnw n-j-jm.y m-̄c=f*

saying: "My father is committing a wrong, possessions belonging to me are in his hands,

(4) *rdj.n n=j hy rdj n=f h.t jm n hm.t=f snb.t-sy šd.tw n=j hr.y=fy*

which my husband has given to me. He has given this property to his wife Senebtysy. Return them to me," so (s)he said.

(5) *m rdj sdm.tw n=s hr ntt jw hnw rdj.n n=s hy=s*

Do not let (anyone) listen to her, because the possessions that her husband had given to her are

(6) [...] *d3.tw*

(7) [...] *t n=f s3 t3.ty*

[...] for him the son of the vizier

(8) [...] *snb.ty=sy*

[...] Senebtysy

(9) [...] *sr].w*

[...] officials

(10) [...] *snb.ty]=sy*

[...] Senebty]sy

(11) [...]

(12) [...] *rmṯ.w n*  
[...] people

(13) [...]

(14) [...] *hm.t=j snb.ty=sy*  
[...] my wife Senebtysy

(15) [...] *hnᶜ hrd.w*  
[...] and the children

(16) *jr.w* [...] *ḥ3.t-sp 2 3bd 2 pr.t sw 1*  
thereof. [...] Year 2, second month of the peret season, day 1.

(17) *m ḥt=j ntt m-ᶜ=j* [...] *m*  
as (?) my property which is in my possession [...]

(18) *3ḥ.wt=j m rdj.t n=j mw.t[=j...]*  
my fields, as that which my mother gave to me [...]

(19) *m ḥr.wt=j m 3ḥ.wt* [...] *m*  
as my share in fields [...]

(20) *pr ḥrd.w n j.t=j rdj.w n* [...] *n*  
the house of the children of my father which was given to [...]

(21) *pḥr.n=sn jm=f* [...] *ms.w*  
in which they were going around [...] the children,

(22) *hm.t=j snb.ty=sy m mjt.t ms.w=sn m mjt.t*  
my wife Senebtysy likewise, and their children likewise.

(23) *spr=sn n hm.t=j snb.ty=sy jm* [...] *m*  
Let them approach my wife, the said Senebtysy [...]

(24) *r-dd ḥd nb.wn d3.t n jt=n*  
saying: "Silver and gold [...] the balance to our father

(25) *mw.t=n m j3w* [...] *m*  
and mother in [their] old age [...]

(26) *p3y=n jt hnᶜ rdj.t pw tp.w 15*  
our father. And it is the giving of 15 men

(27) *ḥnrt.jw=j m ḥnm.w=j n hm.t=j snb.ty=sy*  
and my prisoners as my replacement workers for my wife Senebtysy,

(28) *m w3ḥ ḥr p3y=j 60 rdj.n=j n=s sp tp.y*  
over those my 60 (men) that I had given her the first time.

(29) *jw jst rdj.n=j n hm.t[=j] tn 3wt jr m ntt hr*

Look, I have given to this my wife a gift done like that which is being

(30) *dj.t n h3 n whm.w n njw.t rs.yt m htm.t hr htm=j*

given to the hall of the herald of the southern city, like a contract upon my seal,

(31) *hn<sup>c</sup> htm n hm.t=j snb.ty=sy [...] hm.t=j snb.ty=sy*

and (that of) my wife Senebtysy [...] my wife Senebtysy.

### **Text C**

(1) *n3 pw rmt=s m 3w.t-dr.t rnp.t-sp 2 3bd 2 sw 8 m h3.w n*

These are the people, being a gift of year 2, 2<sup>nd</sup> month [...], day 8 in the time of

(2) *[hm n nsw.t-bjty] shm.w-r<sup>c</sup> w3d t3.wy [...]*

the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt *Sekhemu-ra Wedja-tawy*

(3) *b3k [...] hn=s [...]*

the servant [...]

## OTHER LETTERS

### Lahun Letter

Dating: Middle Kingdom

Origin: el-Lahun

Bibliography: GRDSELOFF 1949, Pl. V.

1. [...] *dd dj rh=k r ntt h3.w=k nb ʕd*

[...] speaks: (to) let you know that all your affairs are safe.

*mk wj r spr r shm-s-n-wsr.t m3ʕ-hr.w*

Look, I arrived at Sekhemsenswosret, justified

2. [...] *pw jh dj=k gm.y=j p3 pr jr m bw nb nfr*

Then you shall make me find the house made according to the best.

*hnʕ h3b n=j hr (3) shr nb n snb ʕnh n mnʕ.t tj-m3*

And write to me concerning every condition of health and life of the nurse Tima.

*dd=k gr.t spr=j ʕ3 jw p3 pr smʕr(.w)*

You shall cause that I approach here (first) when the house is cleaned.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> *mrr=f* form used here – the verb clause is topical and the whole adverb clause (the stative clause) is the focus.



## **Topic-Focus Articulation in Biographical Inscriptions and Letters of the Middle Kingdom (Dynasties 11 – 12)**

Renata Landgráfová

### *Dissertation Summary*

The dissertation is divided into two main parts – the text and the corpus. The corpus includes biographical texts and letters in transliteration and translation, and within it, biographical texts of the Middle Kingdom have been assembled (and some even translated) for the very first time. Properly analysed, these texts belong to the most important sources on Middle Kingdom history and ancient Egyptian mentality.

The textual part deals, on the basis of examples from the corpus, with the role of Topic-Focus articulation within the still poorly understood verbal system. Topic-focus articulation plays an important role within the verbal system and some morphemes, such as the controversial particle *jw* or the reduplication of the so-called *mrr=f* form, encode special topic-focus articulation functions. Topicalisation and focalisation strategies are also considered and compared with the findings of general linguistics.

### **Aktuální členění v životopisných nápisech a dopisech Střední říše (11. a 12. dynastie)**

#### *Abstrakt disertační práce*

Disertační práce je rozdělena na dvě části – text a korpus. Korpus obsahuje životopisné texty a dopisy v překladu a transliteraci. Životopisné texty Střední říše jsou zde shromážděny (a některé i přeloženy) poprvé v dějinách egyptologie. Tyto texty přitom patří k nejdůležitějším pramenům pro poznání dějin Střední říše a staroegyptské mentality obecně.

Textová část se zabývá, na základě příkladů z korpusu, rolí aktuálního členění v dosud velmi nedostatečně chápaném verbálním systému Střední egyptštiny. Aktuální členění hraje ve slovesném systému Střední egyptštiny velmi důležitou roli a některé slovesné formy mají funkce v informační struktuře zakódovány přímo v morfémech, které je charakterizují – jako například sporné částice *jw* či reduplikace tzv. formy *mrr=f*. Disertační práce se zabývá také problémy topikalizace a fokalizace ve srovnání se závěry obecné lingvistiky.