CHAPTER IV. THE PASSIVE sDm.t=f/ms.(y)t=f

In the preceding studies the three active sDm.t=f constructions are discussed.¹ A remaining point to be studied is the existence of a passive sDm.t=f, or, in the more cautious formulation used by some scholars, the 'passive counterpart' of the active form. It will be argued that there is every reason to identify this form as belonging to the suffix conjugation and as simply being the passive sDm.t=f.

§ 1. The existence of the passive sDm.t=f/ms.(y)t=f.

Although there is divergence of opinion about the origin and the identity of this 'passive counterpart', it is not contested that, within the limits of Classical Egyptian, a separate verb form exists that is most closely related to the active form.² Several factors contribute to the recognition of its existence. First, there is the occurrence in Classical Egyptian of a -t-affixed form with passive meaning after the negation n, while the construction has the typical 'not yet' notion.³ Second, this passive form is recognizable as different from the active owing to its remarkable morphological feature of facultatively showing a -y-infix before the t in the case of ult.inf. verbs (ms.(y)t=f).⁴ This differentiates it from any other passive formation among the suffix conjugation forms, among which it must be reckoned.⁵

All evidence from the negative construction points, in my opinion, to the understanding that, from a synchronic standpoint, this form is simply the passive sDm.t=f. In certain passages this sDm.t=f/ms.(y)t=f form occurs side by side with active n sDm.t=f, which proves that the constructions have the same distribution.⁶ Furthermore, the use of the negation n before the passive sDm.t=f form is a typical feature of suffix conjugation forms. Finally, the analysis of the intricacies of the 'not yet' notion of active n sDm.t=f deems the passive form to be a finite relative future tense as well.⁷ Therefore, I shall in the following only speak of "the passive sDm.t=f/ms.(y)t=f". When in examples the -y- (or -w-) infixes are put in between brackets, this concerns defectively written forms.

¹ Studies sDm.t=f I (Or sDm.t=f); op. cit. II (r sDm.t=f); op. cit. III (n sDm.t=f).
² For a survey of the state of the art in 1924 on the origin of the construction, active as well as passive, see Gunn, Studies in Eg. Syntax, 174-179. Westendorf, Gebrauch Passivs, 111 follows Gardiner, EG, 318-319 (§404-405) and id., Participal Formations, Rev. ég. N.S. 2/1-2 (1920), 50-51 in identifying a passive participle; cf., however, Gardiner’s more cautious formulation in his EG, 318 (§404 top): "when the construction n sDm.t=f has passive meaning, the verb-form assumes the appearance of the fem. perf. pass. part.". Thus also formulated by Lefebvre, GEC, 213 (§422). Gardiner, EG, 319 (§405 bottom) does not find a contradiction of his own theory in Gunn’s proposition of the complementary infinitive (followed by De Buck, Grammaire élémentaire, 90 (§173)). Further, Edel, AäG, 367 (§730): "Ein Passiv kann von der sDm.t=f-Form nicht gebildet werden; es wird ersetzt durch eine Umschreibung mit dem Nomen actionis auf -wu bei den III. inf. und durch das Nomen actionis auf -t bei den starken Verben, eine Bildungsweise, wie sie auch beim Komplementsinfinitiv begegnet"; see also p. 368 (§732, Anm.) and pp. 370-371 (§736 and §738), particularly his explicit refutation of Gardiner’s identification. Allen, Inflection, 363 (1.5.2A) identifies the passive as a "single inflected form". Note that among the recent, more extensive introductory grammars the passive sDm.t=f/ms.(y)t=f is absent in Borghouts, Egyptisch I.
³ See Gardiner, EG, 318 (§404); Lefebvre, GEC, 213 (§422); De Buck, Grammaire élémentaire, 91 (§176); Edel, AäG, 370-371 (§738); Allen, Inflection, 358-359 (§530).
⁴ There is no evidence that verbs other than ult.inf. verbs can have the -y-infix; contra De Buck, Building Inscr., in: Studia Aegyptiaca, 54-55 (16) and Grandet - Mathieu, Cours d’égyprien II, 143-144 (42.4; "wnmyt=f").
⁵ This passive form is not included in a study on the finite passive formations in Egyptian, which is in preparation by C. Reintges. For an abridged ch. see id., sDm-tw-f, GM 153 (1996), 79-99.
⁶ For the evidence see §4 below [pp. 58-60]. Cf. Edel’s remark, AäG, 371 (§738): "eingerahmt von aktivischen sDm.t=f-Formen".
⁷ Studies sDm.t=f I III (n sDm.t=f), §6-7 [pp. 46-48].
§ 2. The formal similarity between the passive sDm.t=f/ms.(y)t=f and sDm.t(w)=f.

With the passive sDm.t=f and the defectively written ms.(y)t=f one encounters the problem that the verb form can also be identified as a defectively written sDm.t(w)=f. In the construction with the negation n it is only the 'not yet' notion which allows the construction to be distinguished from n sDm.t(w)=f "he has not been heard" when used in circumstantial function. 8

Proceeding from the assumption that on principle the passive sDm.t=f/ms.(y)t=f can also occur after the prepositions/conjunctions r and Dr, the same identification problem arises there. While in the case of the active sDm.t=f the feminine infinitive was the most important rival, it is now the sDm=f forms passivized by the defectively written morpheme .t(w).

In my preceding article on the active r sDm.t=f construction a sharp dichotomy was postulated between its exclusively temporal meaning "until" and the modal "so that" of the Prospective meaning and the feminine infinitive of a transitive verb with expression of the semantic object is once again an alternative candidate for defectively written passives, on the one hand for ms.(y)t=f, with the meaning "until" and, on the other, for ms.(t(w)=f, with "to the purpose/effect of" as the equivalent of "so that". 9 Owing to the combination of possible defective writings and choice in temporal or modal translation, it is impossible to identify the verb forms with certainty. This problem is also relevant to the -t-affixed verb forms after Dr.

§ 3. Passive n sDm.t=f or n sDm.t(w)=f in the Instruction of Amenemhat I?

To judge from some modern translations and commentaries of the following passage, some scholars hold that it contains two passive n sDm.t=f constructions. 10

Instruction of A menenmat I, V a-c/M III. 11 snnw psSw=i m rmT irw n=i q(A?)md{t}=i n ty n sDm.tw=f (n sDm.t(w)=f?) bw aA aHA n mAn.tw=f (n mAn.t(w)=f?). Possibly either "it is my (own) living images and 'share' among man who have made me the fiendish plot(?) against me that had not (yet?) been heard of and a great case of combat as had not (yet?) been seen", or "my (own) living images and 'share' among man are the ones who ....". 12

Before embarking on an attempt to correctly identify the constructions, I would like to state that I concur with Westendorf's conviction that the form sDm.t=f/ms.(y)t=f would suit the Perfective Participle, which is the form suggested by

8 See Gardiner, EG, 318 (§404, Obs.); Lefebvre, GEC, 213 (§422).
9 See Studies sDm.t=f II (r sDm.t=f), §2 [p. 30]. This choice is a familiar problem, notably after rdi: e.g., Sinuhe B, 308 in Hm=i rdi irw=f irw=f "it was His Majesty who caused the doing of it/that it was done". Examples where there is no open choice are relatively few, e.g., Stela of Ikhnaton, 4 (publ. Lesestücke, 70-71): Dam dr=f in.t Hm.i m-xnt 6A-syt "the electum which he had caused My Majesty to bring from Nubia", where in.t must be the Subjunctive Prospective sDm.t=f, because Hm=i is the agent.
10 Ed. Helck, Lehrer Amenemhet, 33-34.
11 The suffix pronoun - in q(A)md{t}=i I take to be intended to be a genitivus objectivus in the sense of a patients, "vicbnm". For snnw see Ockinga, Gottebbildlichkeit, 53-57. For a discussion of q(A)md{t} see Westendorf, op.cit., 39; Gardiner, Instruction of Amenemmes I, in: Mélanges Maspero I, 485. I opt for a derivation from the verb qmd "to devise" (according to Gardiner, Notes Sinuhe, 86 (224)), here of course in an inimical sense, i.e. "to plot". The oblique stroke in the word may stand for the panther's head, with reference to the connotation "outrageous, fiendish"(?). Note that Ockinga, op.cit., 56 considers qmd to be an equivalent of sxA, "remembrance, memory".
12 Whereas Blumenthal, Phraseologie, 159 and id., [Lehrer Amenemhets I.], in: LA III, 968-969 still sticks to the "address to the living", she translates the passage in id, Lehrer des Amenemhet, ZÄS 111 (1984), 94 (V a) as descriptive: "meine lebenden ABBilder und meine Partner (?) unter den M enschen, sie haben mir eine Fehde bereitet, wie man noch nie gehört hat, und einen grossen Kampf, wie man noch nie gesehen hat".
Westendorf. He suggests either taking this active participle irw as a predicate in a Nominal Sentence or to consider psSw as a pseudoparticiple as predicate to the subject sSnw and to take rmT as the antecedent of irw. The problem in the latter solution is that the sitting man sign following the plural strokes in psSw cannot be taken as the suffix pronoun -ii. Since sSnw needs the expression of a relationship with the speaker, psSw=ii, which contains the appropriate suffix pronoun -ii, must be coordinated to it. Furthermore, I do not regard a generic word like rmT as a probable candidate for the antecedent; in the case of general antecedents the participle is normally substantivized, "the one(s) who". This latter argument also counts for a solution not mentioned by Westendorf, i.e. taking rmT as the predicate of an Adverbial Sentence, with the meaning: "my living images and share are (now) people who ...". However, considering the importance of the utterance under discussion, a sentence-initial particle like irw or mk would then seem to be required.

Another suggestion, though one not very probable in a good literary text from the Middle Kingdom, is to take the writing irw as ir=sw, with the suffix pronoun -sw replacing -sn.15

Of all the options for this crux the least inappropriate seem to me to take the active perfective participle irw either as the second member of a Participial Statement without frontal in,16 or as a Bimembral Nominal Sentence with two juxtaposed substantival members (with the first as Comment).17

Because a few lines further on, in sections VIIIb-c, the active n sDm=t=f constructions n sDm.t Snyt and n Hms.t=i are written with only t, it must be assumed that, if we are concerned with passive n sDm=t=f constructions in the passage under discussion, the passivizing morpheme -tw has influenced the writings here. Though Westendorf in his study of the passive feels uncertain about the base of the sDm.t=f form of the verb mAn, and explains the writing with tw as denoting the pronounced t.18 He produces the following example as evidence for this.

CT [79] II 24 f - 25 b/18C. hrw pw qa.n 6m im=mn-xnw Dr=fn n mAn t=Gb Xr rdw=fn 5w m Dr=f "this day on which Atum became high in his realm, when he had not yet seen Geb under his feet and Shu in his realm".

If, however, one proceeds from the correctness of writings as they are given in reliable manuscripts, then I consider it improbable that the text of Pap. Millingen would write the active and passive sDm=t=f—which are always formally identical in the case of non-ult.inf. verbs!—with and without a superfluous w after the t within the space of a few lines.21 Furthermore, if both constructions in sections V-a-c are taken to contain the same verb form, then it must concern passivized n sDm.tw=f constructions. Although the writing of the base mAn does occur with active sDm=t=f, this is not exclusively its base, for which the next example is evidence.

CT [720] VI 348 c. n rx.t Htp=f n grt mAt 5r Xr=t=f "when his going to rest was not yet known, when the Small One has not yet even seen his belongings".22

Since the Indicative sDm=f of mAn may rarely—though undoubtedly—also show the base mAn,22

14 Westendorf, op. cit., 36.
15 Gardiner, EG, 39 (§34) and 398 (§486, Obs. 2). Possibly, this is meant in Blumenthal's translation given in my note 13 above; however, according to Edel, Personal suffix -w, ZÄS 84 (1954), 19 (A) this use of -w as personal pronoun is not attested before the late XVIIth Dynasty in the sDm form. For a possible very early example of this use of -w in colloquial Middle Egyptian see Hekanakhte Letter II, 27-28; note that James, Hekanakhte Papers, 39 (21) and Allen, Colloquial Middle Egyptian, LingAeg 4 (1994), 5, n. 26 identify the Passive sDm=f.
16 See Vernus, Études VI, RdE 38 (1987) 179-180. Note that the well-known address formula in letters containing a proper name followed by the word Dd can hardly be such a Participial Statement construction without in, given the fact that with females the form is Dd, which only fits a participle in attributive use; see Gardiner, EG, 367 (§450,1) and James, Hekanakhte Letters, 119-120.
17 Edel, AÄG, 487 (§594).
18 Westendorf, Gebrauch Passivs, 112-113.
19 Brunner, cDmtf von mAn, ZÄS 87 (1962), 77-78. Correct his reference "CT II 79b" into "CT [79] II 25b".
20 For a parallel of the same passage with a passive construction see the next section [p. 59].
21 Contra Brunner, op. cit., 78. A possible argument that the writing tw is present here owing to the attached suffix pronouns is countered by the presence of the suffix pronoun in the correctly spelt n Hms.t=i.
22 Certain evidence is Inscr. Wadi Hammamat 110, 6 (publ. Readingbook 78,1): n mAn s(y) ir nb n xHr n rmT Hr=m "while no eye had seen it, while no look of man had fallen upon it". Probable evidence is CT [75] I 334 c, where two versions have the base mAn and all others mAn: n mAn=rmAn=f xprsw=i m Hr=f "he has not seen my form with his face". For this phrase see now Willems, Coffin Hekata, 473 and De Cenival, Écritures mAnA, RdE 29 (1977), 32, 34, 37 (all 6 and 7)). Note that the base mAn is also present in the infinitive + suffix pronoun in A menenmat IV C Mill.; cf. Gardiner, EG, 224, n.1.
there is no morphological argument against identifying the present constructions as passivized
n sDm.tw=f constructions.
Indeed, the translation proposed here, "it is my living images and 'share' among man who
have inflicted on me the fiendish plot against me that had not been heard of (before) and a
great case of fighting as had not been seen (before)", is no less suitable than one with "not yet".°²³
In practical effect, there is little difference.°²⁴

§ 4. A series of passages relating to primeval conception, birth and existence.

A coherent group of examples is formed by passages in the Pyramid Texts, the Coffin Texts
and the Book of the Dead which are concerned with the theme of primeval conception, birth
and existence of the deceased, before the gods etc. existed. Since strings containing active n sDm.t=f
and passive n sDm.t=l f n ms.yt=l f ms.(y)t=l constructions form the best evidence that the active and
passive constructions are syntactically and semantically equivalent, I will deal with these first. The
examples also contain proof that the -y-inf is only optionally written in the case of ult.inf. verbs.

PT [571] §1466d- d. ms.(w) N pn in it=f 6m n xpr.t pt n xpr.t TA n xpr.t rmT n ms.(y)t n Trw n xpr.t m(w)t
"this N has been engendered by his father A tum, when the sky had not yet come into being, when
the earth had not yet come into being, when men had not yet come into being, when the gods
had not yet been born, when death had not yet come into being".°²⁵

CT [80] II 33 g - 34 e/B1C. n gm=n=bw aHs=im n gm=n=bw Hms=im n grg.t lw nw nw(n?)=im=f
n Ts.t 1A Hms=im Hr=f n ir=l=Hr Ntw wn=s Hr tn=im=f n ms.yt X t t(y)t n xpr.t psDw tAw "I could not find a
place where I could stand, I could not find a place where I could sit, when Heliopolis had not
already been founded in order that I could be in it, when Ha had not yet been knitted in order that
I could sit on him, when I had not yet made Nut in order that she could be on my head, when the
first generation had not yet been born, when the primeval Enneads had not yet come into existence".°²⁶

CT [80] II 39 c + f-g/B1C. ir. n 6m smsw m Asxw= ... m wpt=f Gb r Ntw n ms.yt X t t(y)t n xpr.t psDty
pAwty (Shu) whom A tum, the eldest, made through his magic ... at his separating Gb from Nut,
when the first generation had not yet been born, when the two primeval Enneads had not yet come
into being".°²⁷

CT [162] II 400 a - 401 b/B1Bo.°²⁸ xpr.m=n=k n ms.yt rmT n xpr.t n Trw n sxt.t A pdw n ann.t MATtr s At
n Tr dwAy n Ir.yt sAr r ikw nb pt TA "It was when man had not yet been born, when the gods had not yet
come into existence, when the birds had not yet been netted, when the jaws of M ajeret, daughter of
the M orning God, had not yet been bound, when the need of a commander, lord of heaven and
earth, had not yet been made that you came into existence".°²⁹ All the parallels show the -y-inf in
n Ir.yt in 401 b, whereas n ms.yt in 400 a interchanges with n ms.(y)t.

CT [162] II 400 b/f-1 C adds: n spH.t ng(A)w "when the bulls had not yet been lassoed".

CT [334] IV 181 l-o. hkw pw n Xnw n Ts.t swm n sn.(y)t t pw n Trw n mn.t tln Hr abwv n Ts.t Hr n Bat
"on this day of turmoil, when the necks had not yet been knitted, when the heads of the gods had
not yet been cut off, when the sun disk was not yet resting on the pair of horns, when the head
of Bat had not yet been knitted".°³⁰

BD ch. 125A, 2-3/Ani (BM 10,470).°³¹ /y,n=i aA n Xpr.<.t> aS n ms.(y)t Sn dt <n> qmA.w<ct> sAt w is r w

°²³ Thus also Faulkner, in: Literature of Anc. Eg., 194 (1,10): "which has not been heard (before)".
°²⁴ See the discussion of n wnt/wm.t in ex. U r k. I 50,13-14 in Studies sDm.t=f III (n sDm.t=f), Appendix A [pp. 52-53].
°²⁵ Allen, Inflection, 359 (§530).
°²⁶ Bickel, Cosmogonie, 63 (ex. 31) takes wm=f as it stands; then it must indeed be a relative form. I trust that wm=f
was meant, on account of the parallel wn=s Hr tp=f.
°²⁷ For CT II 39 c see Bickel, Cosmogonie, 88-89 (ex. 67); for II 39 f-g op.cit., 183 (ex. 171), where "the Ennead of
the primordial gods" is the translation.
°²⁸ = Gardiner, Participial Formations, Rev. ég. N. S. 2/1-2 (1920), 51 (5); cited Gardiner, EG, 318, n.12 (Ann.
5,234).
°²⁹ J ürgens, Überlieferungsgeschichte, 113 (6-11). For a translation of parts of the passage see Bickel, Cosmogonie,
121 (ex. 99) and 180-181 (ex. 169).
°³⁰ For sni (zn) as a IIIae.inf. verb see Allen, Inflection, 573; thus also Faulkner, Concise Dictionary, 230 and
Hannig, Grosses Handwörterbuch, 713. Wb. IV, 457, 16-19 gives the verb as sni (zn) with feminine infinitive.
°³¹ = Gardiner, Participial Formations, Rev. ég. N. S. 2/1-2 (1920), 30 (3). Publ. Budge, Book of the Dead of Ani I,
pl. 30, 2-3; II, 568. Note that DuQueens, At the Court of Osiris, 7 numbers the spell BD ch. 194; correct his Pap. BM
10047 (Any) into Pap. BM 10047 (Any).
"it was when the pine had not yet come into existence, when the acacia had not yet been born, when the soul and the tamarisks had not yet been created that I have come here." 32

BD ch. 146, portal 12, 8-10/loiuïya. 33 xpr.n=f n rd.<t> aSt n ms.(y)t SnTd n qmA(m).yt biA Hr xAswt=f

"his name came into existence when the pine had not yet grown, when the acacia had not yet been born, when metal in its mountains had not yet been created".

Pap. Ramessuem X, 1, 4-6. 34 rdi.(w) n=I iwaw [n] ms.yt rmT n wtT.<t> n Trn w HA.T Ts n ms(wy)t "the inheritance had (already) been given to me, when man had not yet been born, when the gods had not yet been begotten, when the spell of birth had not yet descended".

Next, I shall present some examples in which active constructions occur together with passive n sDm.t=f constructions only. Examples of n ms.yt=f and n ms.(y)t=f are absent from this group.

PT [570] §1462d - 1463e/P. 35 Xt tw tp(y)t nt idrw nt mAÂ•xrw mst n xpr.t Dnd mst n xpr.t xrw mst n xpr.t SnTd mst n xpr.t Xnww n qni.t ir tr n sAd.t Xyw 4ts "this first generation of punishment and of justification, which was born when anger had not yet come into being, which was born when noise had not yet come into being, which was born when strife had not yet come into being, which was born when turmoil had not yet come into being, when the eye of Horus had not yet been injured(?), when the testicles of Seth had not yet been pinched off".

CT [79] II 24 f - 25 e/B1Bo. hwr pw qa.n 6m im=f m-Xnwr Nw[t] 5w m Dr(w)=f n m.A.T n=f Gb Xr rdwy=f 5w m-Xnwr Nw n Ts.T Akr Gb n xpr.t MHR-wt n 6m di=f sXn Hr=sny "this day on which Atum became high out of Nun, when Shu was in his realm, when Geb had not yet been seen to him under his feet, while Shu was in Nun, when Akher and Geb had not yet been knit, when Mhet-weret had not yet come into existence for Atum that he might give support on both." 36

CT [720] VI 348 b-c. rdi AhAw n N tr sp-sn(?) m iw n nswr n rny Htp=f n grt m.A.T 5r Xr=t=f "the Standing One has twice(?) given to this N on the island of fire, when his going to rest was not yet known when the Small One has not yet even seen his belongings".

CT [1012] VII 228 o-q. ms.(y)t=f m qddw iw.r.(y)=m knmnt n xpr.t pt TA n <rt>n.nty arty MAT<rt>-t=f sAt Ra "I was born in sleep, I was conceived in darkness, when heaven and earth had not yet come into existence, when the jaws of MaëTjeret, daughter of Re, had not yet been bound".

As the third group, here follow the examples containing only passive n sDm.t=f constructions.

PT [429] §779b. 37 sxmn=f n=M Xt m Mwt=t 6lnt n ms.(y)=T "it was when you were not yet born that you had already become powerful in the womb of your mother Tefnut".

CT [316] IV 101 g-h/S2P. 38 sy (pn?') n mw dwAw <pn=?> n iw n Tr pn n wp.yt Swwt n iy.yt szxw n Trw "what is this morning of the coming of this god, when shadows had not yet been opened, when the plans of the gods had not yet been made?". 39

CT [317] IV 135 b/S1C. 40 xpr.n=f n m ms.yt kAw n iy.yt id(r)wt "it was when bulls had not yet been born and cows had not yet been made that I had (already) come into existence". 41

CT [331] IV 173 i - 174 e/G1T. rd.n=f rdt n ms.yt pt d=t=s n fi=I AAW n whAt TA sqA-y=f wi "it was when the sky had not yet been born that it might give me praise, when the earth had not yet been born."

32 I follow Gardiner's passive translation of the last construction, on account of the presence of the -affix following the stem qmA; thus also Heerma van Voss, Anoeis en de demonen, 3: "eer de aardbodem en de tamarisk geschapen waren" ["before the soil and the tamarisk had been created"]. See, however, Allen, Book of the Dead, 101 for the active sense: "when the ground had not created the tamarisks"; thus also DuQueens, op. cit., 22.


34 = Gardiner, Ramesseum Pap., pl. 43. This must be the reference in Gardiner, EG, 318, n.9,11,16 ("Pap. mag. Ram.").


36 De Buck, Coffin Texts II 25, n.5* considers the order of t and n following n m.A.t in B1Bo to be certain, despite the parallels all having m.A.n=t=f. Then it must concern a passive sDm.t=f.


38 = Gardiner, Participial Formations, Rev. ég. N.S. 2/1-2 (1920), 50 (2); cited Gardiner, EG, 318, n.9 (Lac. TR 80,15). Note that the parallel from Siut quoted there has wdHw instead of Swwt.

39 Bickel, Cosmogonie, 121 (ex. 100) reads here sp nw n iw nTr pn. Source S2C seems to confirm the reading pn. I take this to be a tripartite nominal sentence with nw instead of pw, and pn as misplaced and properly belonging to dwAw.

40 = Gardiner, EG, 318, n.9 (Lac. TR 19,60-1) = Gardiner, Participial Formations, Rev. ég. N.S. 2/1-2 (1920), 50 (1); with regard to the text from Siut quoted there (giving n iy.yt kAw), note the interchange of the verb forms, and further that De Buck’s transcription of S1Chas. has n iy.yt<rt> kAw>t (a misplacement by the scribe of the t in kAw<rt> "bulls"?).

41 = Bickel, Cosmogonie, 147 (ex. 127).
revised that it might exalt me that I have grown (in) a growing".\footnote{Willems, Coffin Heqata. 490. Bickel, Cosmogonie, 181-182 (ex. 170).}

Temple Deir el Bahari, pl. 116, 4th night hour, 5.\footnote{Cited Gardiner, EG, 318, n.18 (D. el B., 116, 4th hour). Publ. Naville, Deir el Bahari IV, pl. 116, 4th night hour, col. 5; see also op.cit., p. 11.} wbn.n nsw /// n ir.yt sdb "it was when the fringe(-cloth) had not yet been made that the king had (already) shone".

Finally, I will present some examples in broken contexts.

CT [742] VI 370 m-n. /// TAw snxn n snxn.t=s "//// the fledgelings nursed, when she [the deceased] had not yet been nursed"

PT "P fragment Or E 3".\footnote{See Allen, Inflection, 359 (§530).} /// ny grg.t niwwt "//// when settlements had not yet been founded".

Pap. Ramesseum VII, r. O, col. 2.\footnote{Gardiner, Ramessum Pap., pl. 25.} [n ms.(y)]t wrw n xpr.t srr "when the great ones [had not yet been born], when the Small One had not yet come into being"

§ 5. Two certain examples of passive n fx.t=t-f.

A certain example of the passive sDm.t=f in a royal historical text is the following.

Pap. Berlin 3029 [Berlin Leather Roll I], 9-10.\footnote{Gardiner, Participle Formations, Rev.éq. N.S. 2/1-2 (1920), 30 (6). Publ. De Buck, Building Inscr., in: Studia Aegyptiaca, 48-57.} swsx.n=f wi r nb psSt=i 2 m n sfx n fx.t n=m mTA<m>t=m.\footnote{See Allen, Inflection, 359 (§530).} "it was as a child, when the swaddling clothes/foreskin had not yet been detached for me that he has extolled me to (be) lord of my two parts". De Buck has pointed out that the writing mTA (with the linen determinative V6) must be read mTA<m>t=m "swaddling clothes", for which word as a designation of clothing (with the clothing determinative S28) there is more evidence,\footnote{Gardiner, Ramessum Pap., pl. 25.} and further that the text as it stands can hardly be anything but a case of the passive n sDm.t=f.\footnote{= Gardiner, Participle Formations, Rev.éq. N.S. 2/1-2 (1920), 30 (6). Publ. De Buck, Building Inscr., in: Studia Aegyptiaca, 48-57.} However, a word mTA "phallus", with phallus determinative D52, is known from the New Kingdom.\footnote{De Buck, Building Inscr., in: Studia Aegyptiaca, 54 (16). In Blumenthal's opinion, Phraseologie, 36 (A.4.2), the passage under discussion has mTA "phallus" for mTAm "foreskin".} This reading has the advantage that no emendation of final m is necessary--assuming that mTA may also designate the "foreskin", or rather essentially signifies this word, functioning as a synecdoche--but the use of the linen determinative V6 poses a problem.

A close parallel of this passage must contain another passive n fx.t=t-f, at least if the passage as it stands is taken to be correct.

Urk. VII 34,1.\footnote{Wb. II, 175.5. For another possible New Kingdom occurrence see also Helck, Berufung des Vezirs, in: Äg. Stud. Grapow, 112 (3 line of the inscr.) and 115.} HqA.n=f niwt=f m sDty n fx.t=f m TAm "it was as a youngster, when he had not yet been released from the foreskin that he (already) ruled his city".\footnote{= Gardiner, Participle Formations, Rev.éq. N.S. 2/1-2 (1920), 30 (6). Publ. Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pls. 25-26 (184-186); Readingbook, 67-72 (71,10-11).} If the phallus determinative D52 here is taken to be correct--as I do--then m TAm "from the foreskin" must be read, which word also occurs elsewhere with the same determinative,\footnote{= Gardiner, Participle Formations, Rev.éq. N.S. 2/1-2 (1920), 30 (6). Publ. Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pls. 25-26 (184-186); Readingbook, 67-72 (71,10-11).} and m TAm "swaddling clothes" would be out of the question. However, the presence of the phallus determinative is explained by De Buck as a corruption of the band of linen sign V12 as a determinative of m TAm "swaddling clothes", owing to the resemblance in hieratic and brought about by a hieratic original.\footnote{Lloyd, Inscr. Khnumhotpe II, in: Pyramid Studies Edwards, 24 (2cIX) translates "before he was circumcised", but incorrectly transliterates m sDty=n fx.t(w)=f TAm (p. 34, n.51).} De Buck’s argument of a corruption because of the resemblance of signs in Hieratic can, of course, also be reversed, which would explain the presence of a clothing determinative V6--albeit
one different from V 12-54 in the Berlin Leather Roll passage. This would relate the closely parallel passages from the Berlin Leather Roll and the Khnumhotep inscription to an act of circumcision, of removing the "foreskin" (mTA and TAm). 55 It seems to me that the presence of the cloth determinative V 6 in the Berlin Leather Roll passage can be traced back to a confusion between the derivatives of the well-known verb TAm "to veil" and the rare verb mTA "to wrap". 56 The words mTA and TAm as a designation of "foreskin" may very well be derivatives from either verb.

I follow the translators who interpret the passages as a reference to circumcision, 57 and identify here two passive constructions n fx.t=i.

Finally, I would like to point out that there is no reason to assume a corruption n fx.t n=i for active n fx.t=f in the Berlin Leather Roll, since almost directly following in the text there is another n sDm.t=f construction, which is spelt correctly. 58

Pap. Berlin 3029 [Berlin Leather Roll] I, 11-12. 59 mt.n=f wi m imy-ah m wDHy n pr.t=f m AHy=i "it was as a weanling, when I had not yet come ('brought') forth from my thighs that he had (already) installed me as palace inhabitant". Following Goedicke, I take the expression prí m AHy as a designation for the first emission of semen by an adolescent boy, 60 and not as a reference to the embryonal stage of an unborn child. 61 This was proposed by De Buck, who saw here a mistake "my thighs" for "my [mother's] thighs". Goedicke's translation is nicely in tune with the reference to circumcision, and removes the great difficulty with the age of a wDHy "weanling" being associated with the time before birth.

§ 6. Five more examples of passive n sDm.t=f, n ms.yt=f and n ms.(y)t=f.

In the literary texts of the Middle Kingdom there is only one example of passive n sDm.t=f/ms.(y)t=f that Westendorf considered certain. 62

Pap. Westcar, 5,9-11. imi int/in.tw n=i st-Hmw.t=20 m nfr.wt nt Haw=sn m bndwt Hnsktt nty n wp.(y)t=f sn m ms.(w)t "let there be brought to me twenty women as ones beautiful of their bodies, with breasts and braids, who have not yet been opened by birth".

There is only one certain example in the medical texts.

Pap. Edwin Smith, 2,25 - 3,1. 63 biA pw wdHw biAty n pds.t=f m aAt "it is the metal that the

54 See the preceding note.
55 Blumenthal, Phraseologie, 36 (A 4.2), suggests that the name of the circumcision ceremony is fx mTAm "to remove the foreskin", but as far as the evidence on the basis of the determinatives goes this word mTAm refers only to clothing. De Wit, Circumcision, ZÄS 99/1 (1972), 42 considers mTA in the Berlin Leather Roll passage to be a mistake for TAm. Westendorf, [Beschneidung], in: LÄ I, 728: fx (m)TAm (with reference to Wb V 354,21: TAm).
56 Von Deines - Westendorf, [Berufung des Vezirs], in: LÄ I, 48: "umwickeln", with clothing determinative S28; Hannig, Grosses Handwörterbuch, 376. As suggested by Helck, Berufung des Vezirs, in: Äg. Stud. Grapow, 115, this verb may indeed have the same basic meaning as the equally rare verb mTA (written with the man with hand to mouth sign V2 as determinative), which is known from Ptahhotep, 63/Pr. and Sinuhe B, 109, if a basic meaning "to gird" is assumed. This was suggested by Gunn, Studies in Eg. Syntax, 128 (4) for the Ptahhotep passage: "if thy heart gird'st!" against him, he will not equal thee". A foreskin can easily be compared with a girdle. The approximate meaning of "to challenge" in Sinuhe B, 109 may be more exactly "to drive a person into a tight corner", "to corner a person", which may be a metonymic extended meaning of literal "to enclose", "to gird", "to wrap". See also Faulkner, Ptahhotpe and the Disputants, in: Äg. Stud. Grapow, 82 (e).
58 So, for example, Blumenthal, Phraseologie, 35: "bevor ich die Windeln verloren hatte"; Lichtheim, Literature I, 116: "yet wearing swaddling clothes".
61 Thus Blumenthal, Phraseologie, 37 (A 4.4).
62 Westendorf, Gebrauch Passives, 113; see also his n.5 with reference to Gardiner, EG, where the present passage is not referred to on p. 318 (§404), but is mentioned under the active construction on p. 317, n.7 (it may be that Gardiner thought of intransitive "to be open"). Lefebvre, GEC, 213, n.3 opts for n wp.t(w)=sn.
metalworker casts, when it has not yet been flattened with the stone", according to Westendorf. 64

The following examples contain an indisputable active sDm.t=f construction, and then turn to its passive parallel. Ptahhotep, 266-267/L2. 65 m gfn.(w) sw r sk.t=f Xt=f r Dd.t(i)=f iyt=f Hr=s "do not rebuff him until he has emptied [swept] his belly, until he has said what he has come for". The presence of the pronominal object sw makes it impossible to translate m gfn.(w) r here with "do not be defensive against" and to identify here the writings sk.t=f and Dd.t(i)=f as the sDm.ty.fy forms sk.t(y).f(y) and Dd.t(i).f(y), 66 despite the unusual presence of the writing i for a pronounced t in the sDm.t=t form Dd.t(i)=f. The relative form iyt=f Hr=s is the object of the sDm.t=t form Dd.t(i)=f rather than an apposition ("namely, what he has come for") to a Prospective Relative Form Dd.t(i)=f. This makes a translation "(until he has emptied [swept] his belly) of what he wants to say, (namely) what he has come for", most artificial and improbable, though it is grammatically possible.

This passage has close parallels in the London stela of Mentuhotep son of Hepy, of which part of the type of passage on primeval conception dealt with above in § 4. CT [398] V 124 a/M 3C. 70 mk rq sy m wlr t n Sd.yt=s "see now, it is at the wharf. It has not yet been cut out". I take this to be an instance of main clause use of the sDm.t=t construction, here with passive meaning. 71 In this speech situation the reference time is the speaker’s present.

§ 7. Passive r sDm.t=t constructions in Ptahhotep and a related example.

Owing to the identification problems and alternatives of translation I shall start with an example containing an indisputable active r sDm.t=t construction, and then turn to its passive parallel.

Ptahhotep, 266-267/L2. 72 m gfn.(w) sw r sk.t=f Xt=f r Dd.t(i)=f iyt=f Hr=s "do not rebuff him until he has emptied [swept] his belly, until he has said what he has come for". The presence of the pronominal object sw makes it impossible to translate m gfn.(w) r here with "do not be defensive against" and to identify here the writings sk.t=f and Dd.t(i)=f as the sDm.ty.fy forms sk.t(y).f(y) and Dd.t(i).f(y), 73 despite the unusual presence of the writing i for a pronounced t in the sDm.t=t form Dd.t(i)=f. The relative form iyt=f Hr=s is the object of the sDm.t=t form Dd.t(i)=f rather than an apposition ("namely, what he has come for") to a Prospective Relative Form Dd.t(i)=f. This makes a translation "(until he has emptied [swept] his belly) of what he wants to say, (namely) what he has come for", most artificial and improbable, though it is grammatically possible.

This passage has close parallels in the London stela of Mentuhotep son of Hepy, of which part of the type of inscription is a wisdom text. This passage has close parallels in the London stela of Mentuhotep son of Hepy, of which part of the type of inscription is a wisdom text. This passage has close parallels in the London stela of Mentuhotep son of Hepy, of which part of the type of inscription is a wisdom text. This passage has close parallels in the London stela of Mentuhotep son of Hepy, of which part of the type of inscription is a wisdom text. This passage has close parallels in the London stela of Mentuhotep son of Hepy, of which part of the type of inscription is a wisdom text. This passage has close parallels in the London stela of Mentuhotep son of Hepy, of which part of the type of inscription is a wisdom text.
referent in the preceding context. Goedicke and Stewart also regard the writing skt./=f as a sDm.ty.fy form skt.(y).f(y), 77 I do not favour this solution on account of the obvious dependence on the Ptaahhotep text, which precludes taking r skt./=f as containing a sDm.ty.fy form.

Ibid., 14. hnn ib=k m iwbA.w r sprty r Dd.t=f iyt.n=f Hrs.3 "incline your heart. Do not be ‘loaded’ (prejudiced?) against a petitioner, until he has said what he has come for". 78 Goedicke and Stewart identify the writing Ddt./=f as a sDm.ty.fy form Dd.ty.f(y). I do not think this is very probable, as one would then expect the future participle to have sprty as the direct and explicit antecedent. A translation with the Prospective Relative Form Ddt(i)=f "do not be prejudiced against a petitioner, against what he has to say, (namely) what he has come for" is not probable either. 79

Let us now return to the Prisse version of Ptaahhotep:

Ptaahhotep, 266-267/Pr. m gnif(w) sw r sk.t Xl=f m kAt.n=f Dd n=k st "do not rebuff him, until his belly is emptied [swept] of what he had in mind to say (it) to you". 80 Since in the version L2 r sk.t=f Xl=f is a certain r sDm.t=f construction, the variant Prisse cannot contain a passive sDm.t=f. There is no reason to assume that the passive form would only occur after the negation n, 81 and there is no need to emend here into r sk.t=f=f Xl=f. 82

Corroboration for the identification as a passive sDm.t=f comes from a similar expression playing on the same theme of patience with petitioners.

Stela Cairo CG 20539, I,b,5-6. 83 wAH-ib r sDm.t mdwt "patient of heart until the words have been heard". 84 Support for this identification as a passive sDm.t=f comes from an example with a similar phraseology, but containing an active sDm.t=f.

Dispute of a Man with his Ba, 51. 85 [wAH] ib=k bA=i sn=i r xpr.t iwaw=i "be patient of heart, my ba, my brother, until my heir has come into being".

Although the following, somewhat unclear passage from Ptaahhotep is translated by some scholars as containing an active phraseology, but containing an active construction, the variant Prisse cannot contain a passive sDm.t=f. There is no need to emend here into r n=f st. 86

Ptahhotep, 453/Pr. im=f siw(.w) r=k r sDm.t ms.(y) t=f "he must/shoul not be making charges against you, until you have been questioned". 87 The preceding passage reads "do not take from the house...

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77 Goedicke, Wisdom Text, JEA 48 (1962), 25 and 32-33, n.(z) and Stewart, Eg. Stelae Petrie Coll. II, 20 (no. 86) opted for sDm.ty.f(y) forms here and in line 14; for the form hnn as infinitive here see Goedicke’s cogent argument in favour of this form based on the use of im Hbs Hr r Hqr in line 13, since the vetitive would have required the imperative m of the verb imi.

78 Thus also Goedicke, op.cit., 27 and 33, n.(aj), and Stewart, op.cit. II, 20. For a remark on the word formation sprty see Van den Boorn, Duties of the Vizier, 205-206 (2).

79 Goedicke, op.cit., 27 and 33, n.(aj): "until he has said what he came for". It is difficult to determine whether the verb hnn is here used transitively or intransitively; see Wb. II, 494,(10)-495,(12); in any case m iwbA.w proves that hnn must be an imperative here. For the construction verb form of an intransitive, mostly adjective verb + ‘specifying’ substantive, see now Jansen-Winkeln, Exozentrische Komposita, ZÄS 121 (1994), 51-75.

80 On the verb gnifg "to rebuff" see Burkard, Textkritische Unt., 15 (266/273): on the divergence in the wording of 267, with the same sense, see op.cit., 199-200; on the reading Dd n=k at instead of the mistaken Dd n=f st in Zäba, Maximes de Ptahhotep, 39 (267/Pr.), see Burkard, op.cit., 296, n.1. Faulkner, in: Literature of Anc. Eg., 166 (maxim 17): "until his belly is emptied of what he has planned to tell you". Lichtheim, Literature I, 68 (17) leaves the matter open in the translation: “don’t stop him from purging his body”. De Buck, Grammaire élémentaire, 91: "ne le (= le suppliant) rebute pas avant que son corps ne soit bâléyé"; as is apparent from his translation, he recognizes a passive sDm.t=f here. See also Jansen, Trad. eg. autobiografie I, 27, with reference to De Buck.

81 E.g., from the remarks of Posener, Enseignement Mérikarê, RdE 7 (1950), 179 and n.7 (with respect to M erikare, E 96-97; see §8) I conclude that he did not consider the possibility of passive sDm.t=f/ms.(y) t=f after the preposition r.

82 Zäba, Maximes de Ptahhotep, 83 (P.266): "avant qu’il ne se souleve", without further commentary in the notes. To judge from his translation "weise ihn nicht ab, bevor er nicht ‘seinen Bauch’ befreit hat von dem, was er beabsichtigte dir zu sagen", Burkard, op.cit., 199 (267) has here emended the version Prisse conform to the version L2.

83 Publ. Lange - Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine II, 152.

84 Jansen, Trad. eg. autobiografie I, 27 considers the verb form to be either a nomen actionis “the hearing” (with reference to Lefebvre, GEC, 209-210 (§§412-414); see also Gunn, Studies in Eg. Syntax, 177 (2)) or a passive sDm.t=f (with reference to De Buck, Grammaire élémentaire, 91 (§176)). For the option of a -t-affixed verbal noun (e.g., the complementary infinitive) here see my note 2 above.

85 See Faulkner, Man Tired of Life, JEA 42 (1956), 21-40.

86 Burkard, Lehre Ptahhotep, in: TUAT. Weisheitsteile II, 213 (§31a): “und der soll dich nicht anklagen, bevor du gehört wurdest”. Lichtheim, Literature, 72: “lest he denounce you before you are heard”. A’s active form: Zäba,
of neighbours, do not get hold of possessions of one who is close to you. The version L1 proceeds with "there is nothing profitable to it". Since the addressee is being advised about his behaviour, the following main clause must have the sense of "you must avoid causing that he would ever be making charges against you (in secret?)". The \( sDm.t=f \) construction, whether of active or of passive meaning, must be translated with "before" or "until", both translations being possible after a negative main clause. The variant L1 has active \( sDm.t=k \) st with object here, "until you have (finally) heard it [the making of charges]. In the parallel Prisse this object is absent, and the translators felt forced to smuggle in "(about) it", justifiably if adhering to the sense suggested by the version L1. This artifice is not necessary in another instance in the Prisse version, Ptahhotep, 126 m \( mDw.w=) \) n=f r \( iAS.t=f \) "do not speak to him, until he calls/invites". Since emendation should be avoided if not absolutely necessary, the problem of the passage can be solved by assuming that it concerns a passive construction. Its sense would then be "you must avoid causing that he would be making charges against you (in secret), until you are (finally and surprisingly) questioned". Thus, "be of irreproachable behaviour, give no reason for bringing about charges against you, while you are unaware of it and will by surprise be taken to be subjected to an inquest". In this connection, I recall Ptahhotep, 419-420 where the meaning "until" invites such an identification is accepted. No doubt, more examples will turn up.

### § 8. A n example of \( r ms.yt=f \) with passive meaning in \( M \) erikare.

The following example is the only known to me where the passive \( sDm.t=f \) shows the -yt-affix in the use after \( r \).

\( M \) erikare, E 96-97. Has a rendering where the passive \( sDm.t=f \) is translated with a -yt-affix instead of the passive meaning. Faulkner, in: Literature of Anc. Eg., 171: "lest he should make a complaint against you until you hear [about it]". Sander-Hansen, Äg. Grammatik, 118 (§444): "dann soll er nicht gegen dich Klage führen, sodass du (unweigerlich) hören musst".

87 Burkard, Textkritische Uнт., 152 (453) considers the deviation to be caused by a "Flüchtigkeitsfehler".
88 Publ. Quack, Stud. Merikare, 185 (E 96-97) = Helck, Merikare, 58 (XXXV[e-h]).
89 Helck, op.cit., 60 ("zur Schande der Asiaten gegenüber Ägypten"). Quack, op.cit., 59 ("so dass die Verabscheuung des Asiaten gegenüber Ägypten ist"), following Seibert, Charakteristik, 80. Faulkner, in: Literature of Anc. Eg., 188: "[until] the detestation of the Asiatics was against Egypt". Cf. Gardiner, New Literary Works, JEA 1 (1914), 31 (§22), who seems to consider the preposition \( r \) preceding \( bw.yt \) a mistake, when translating: "An abomination (??) is the Aamu unto (??) Egypt".
90 So Burkard, Textkritische Uнт., 23 (97).
91 Wb. I, 453 (7) - 454 (7) and Hannig, Grosses Handwörterbuch, 251: "der Abscheu, das Widerliche" etc. Faulkner, Concise Dictionary, 82: "abomination". Meeks, Année Lexicographique 1 (1977), 116 (77.1237); 2 (1978), 125 (78.1309); 3 (1979), 88 (79.0868): "aversion".
92 Thus also Posener, Enseignement Mérîkarê, RdE 7 (1950), 179; followed by Burkard, op.cit., 23 (7).
the Asiatics were disgusted of Egypt 93 or "until the Asiatics abhorred Egypt". 94

Taking the -y-infix seriously, the verb form must be considered as the passive sDm.t=f of an ult.inf. verb. Indeed, the dictionaries consider the verb bwi to be transitive, thus susceptible to the passive conversion. 95

In paraphrase the passage seems to say that Egypt had become something metaphorically equivalent to the religious bwt "something forbidden, taboo" to the Asiatics, 96 because their people were plundered or killed there and their cattle were robbed by the actions of the Egyptian king, who went on doing this until they departed. Thus, these actions were carried out up to the point in time that it caused the Asiatics to become disgusted and to leave. On the basis of the involvement of the king as agent, the Asiatics can be considered to be the grammatical subject/semantic object of a passive ms.yt=f of the transitive verb bwi, which must mean here something like "to make (someone) averse to/disgusted of", 97 "to deter (someone) from" 98 rather than "to be disgusted of". 99

§ 9. An example of passive Dr ms.(y)t=f in the Coffin Texts.

This is the only instance of passive Dr ms.(y)t=f known to me that I now consider to be certain. 100

CT [548] VI 146 c-f. xpr.kA [r]f bnwt m irt 1tm Dr awA.(y)t=i Dr DA.(y)t=i r IAbt Dr ir.(y)t Hb sbiw im=i
"there will be a swelling in the eye of the Destroyer, before I would be snatched away, before I would be crossed over to the east, before the feast of the enemies would be celebrated over me". 101

The situation is that the deceased is on his way to paradise and wants to avoid a fatal second death. As soon as the deceased becomes a victim of the demon, all is definitively over for him, and he is no longer able to strike back. Thus any threat to the demon which tries to avert that fate can only be effective if it is carried out before falling into his clutches.

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93 Posener, op.cit., 179: "de sorte que l'Asiatique ressent de l'aversion pour l'Égypte"; note that in n.7 he proposes seeing this construction as a case of r sDm=f of the verb bwi "exécrer" and explains the t as intrusive from the related, frequent substantive bwt. Brunner, Altäg. Weisheit, 226: "so dass die Asiaten jetzt Abscheu vor Ägypten haben". In this vein also M eeks, Année Lexicographique 1 (1977), 116 (77.1236).

94 Lichtheim, Literature I, 104 (95 ff.). Blumenthal, Lehre Merikare, ZÄS 107 (1980), 15: "verabscheuen".

95 Wb. I, 453 (5-6): "verabscheuen". Faulkner, Concise Dictionary, 82: bw (not bwi) "to detest, to abominate".

96 Hannig, Grosses Handwörterbuch, 250-251: "verabscheuen". M eeks, Année Lexicographique 1 (1977), 116 (77.1236): "détester", "être dégoûté de", the latter meaning with reference to the present passage.

97 Fundamental for the bwt concept is Frandsen, Logical Analysis, in: Crossroad, 145-159 and id., [Tabu], in: LÄ VI, 135-142.

98 Suggested by Burkard, Textkritische Unt., 23 (97).

99 Whereas Grandet - Mathieu, Cours d'égyptien II, 116 translate the present example transitively with "jusqu'à les Asiaticques fussent dégoûtés de l'Égypte", adding the remark "avec la forme wnmyt=f" (for their identification of this form as the passive sDm.t=f of non-ult.inf. verbs, see op.cit., 143 (42.4; see also my note 4 above).

100 The example in Edel, AàG, 370 (§736) does not contain a passive Dr sDm.t=f construction!

101 See Zandee, Death as an Enemy, 161 (B.7.a) about the dangers for the deceased of crossing to the east.