Two Boundary Stelae of Senwosret III

"With mutual blood th’ Ausonian soil is dyed,
While on its borders each their claim decide.
As wintry winds, contending in the sky,
With equal force of lungs their titles try:
They rage, they roar; the doubtful rack of heav’n
Stands without motion, and the tide undriv’n:
Each bent to conquer, neither side to yield,
They long suspend the fortune of the field.
Both armies thus perform what courage can;
Foot set to foot, and mingled man to man."

Virgil, The Aeneid, translated by John Dryden

The First Semna Stela of Senwosret III
The Second (Semna/Uronarti) Stela of Senwosret III

*nh hrw ntri hprw nbti ntri mswt (n)swt bit(i) HB-K3-W-R° di *nh

*nh hrw-nbw hpr r° n ht.fmr.f nb t3wi Z(I)-N-WSRT di *nh dd wis dt

hsbt 16 3 prt irt hm.f t3š rsi r hh

iw ir.n.i t3š.i hnt.i itiw.i

iw rdl.n.i hsw hr swdt n.i

ink nswt ddw irrw

k3t ib.i pw hprt m c.i

3dw r ıtt zhmw r m c.r

tm sdr mdt m ib.f

hmt twiw c° hr sf
Two Boundary Stelae of Senwosret III

Vocabulary

\( t^3s \) border, boundary
\( rsw \) south
\( rsi \) southern
\( tm \) not do
\( zni \) pass (hr by)
\( nhsi \) Nubian
\( hrti \) travel by land
\( k3i \) boat (Nubian type)
\( mnmnt \) herd (of cattle)
\( wpw hr \) except
\( zwnt \) price; iri zwnt do trade
\( ikn \) trading post is Nubia (possibly Mirgissa)
\( wpwt \) mission, assignment, message
\( sw3 \) pass (hr by)
\( nhh \) eternity, forever
\( bhdt \) Edfu (town in Delta)
\( hrw \) Horus
\( nbti \) Two Ladies
\( ntri \) divine
\( mswt \) birth

(n)swt bit(i) King of Upper and Lower Egypt
\( r^3 \) Re, Sun (god)
\( z3 \) son
\( mri \) love, desire, want
\( dd \) (adjective-verb) stable, steady
\( wls \) dominion
\( hsbt \) regnal year
\( pri \) go up, emerge, issue
\( prt \) Growing (season)
\( sh \) Inundation (season)
\( smw \) Harvest (season)
\( hh \) name of the Semna fortress
\( hnti \) go forward, sail south
\( itiw \) (fore)fathers, ancestors
\( swd \) hand over, pass on, assign (office)
\( k3i \) think (about), plan
\( 3d \) aggressive, angry, savage
\( zhm \) hasty, impetuous
successful, fortunate
sdr sleep, lie down, spend
the night
mt intend, plan, take thought of
tw3(w) man of inferior status
h stand, attend, go on duty
sf mild, merciful
sfn kindly, merciful
hrwj enemy
sshm strengthen
kni brave, diligent, persevering
hzi wretched, vile, miserable
hm flee, retreat, retire
hm-ht (compound verb) retreat
hm coward
m true, proper, correct
br drive away (hr from)
hr fall
s3 back
w3 fall; w3r fall into condition
§fl respect
sd/sd break
iwms exaggeration
ms indeed
h3k plunder, loot
hnmt well, cistern
hw plunder
ihw cattle
wh3 pluck flowers/plants
ssr corn, grain
sdt fire, flame
hn speech, utterance
b boast
rwd/rwd firm
sr strengthen, maintain
twt image
sd save, protect
ndti protector, savior
wtt beget
fh leave, abandon
h fight
mrwt love
Two Boundary Stelae of Senwosret III

Grammar Points

Both stelae were discovered by Lepsius in 1844 in Semna, the second stela in two broken pieces. The lower part of the second stela was sent to Berlin. After packing, the upper part of the second stela and the first were forgotten. In 1886 the missing pieces were rediscovered by Insinger, and they ended up in Cairo for many years. In 1899 they finally reached Berlin, and the two pieces of the second stela were joined after 55 years of separation.

The First Semna Stela of Senwosret III

Senwosret III in his 8th regnal year (1862 BC) erected this stela just above the second cataract of the Nile. Mentuhotep, a general of his great-grandfather Senwosret I, already reached this point in the king’s 18th regnal year, but as the stela states, Senwosret III intended to keep and maintain this position firmly.

The stela starts with the noun phrase \( t\ddot{a}s\ rsi \), where \( rsi \) is the adjective “southern” modifying \( t\ddot{a}s \) “boundary.” Just how important this “southern boundary” was to the Egyptians is clear from its foremost position in the text; it precedes the regnal year and the king’s name. The perfective passive participle \( iry \) is easily recognizable. As pointed out by Sethe, the threshing floor determinative makes the difference between \( \text{id } hsb \) “regnal year,” and \( \text{rnp } n\) “ordinary year.” The prepositional phrase \( hr\ hmn\ ) followed by the king’s name is a typical construction: “during the incarnation/reign of.” In Senwosret III’s throne name (prenomen) \( h\text{r-k3w-r} \) the verb form of \( h\text{r}i \) “appear” is an active participle and the whole phrase can be translated as “Apparent one of Re’s life force/spirit.” The well-known participial phrase
di ēnḫ “given life” is passive, and it is probably the abbreviation of di n.f ēnḫ: “to whom life has been given.”

rtm rdi zn sw nhṣi nb

m ḫd m hrt m kṣi

mnmn(t) nbt nt nhṣiw

The object of the preposition r is the negative verb tm followed by the negatival complement of rdi. The preposition expresses purpose and should therefore be translated as: “in order.” The verb form of zni “pass” is prospective/subjunctive sdm.f, and the object sw refers to the border. The three prepositional phrases make the prohibition more specific: In the first two, the verbal nouns ḫd and hrt are derived from the verb ḫdi “sail downstream/north” and hrti “travel by land.” In the adverbial phrase that follows the Nubian type boat kṣi is specified (as opposed to Egyptian type vessels dpt). The prohibition also emphasizes three different kinds of cattle that are displayed as determinatives after the feminine collective noun mnmnt “cattle” for emphasis.

wpw ḫr nhṣi iwt(i).f r irt zwnt m ikn

m wpwt r-pw

wpw ḫr is an Egyptian phrase for “except” doubtless derived from the verb wpi “part, separate.” The pseudoverbal r + infinitive construction clearly indicates purpose (of trading). The suffix pronoun of the prospective participle of iwi “come” refers to the excepted Nubians. The exact location of the trading post ikn “Iken” is
debated; it is possibly Mirgissa. Finally, note that the infrequently used disjunction $r-pw$ is always placed after the second noun or noun phrase.

One would expect here the prospective/subjunctive $sdm.f$ of $iri$ (with the impersonal suffix pronoun $tw$) expressing future command “shall be done” with following object “all good things.” However, the prospective/subjunctive of $iri$ is $ir$ and the presence of the double $t$ contradicts this. Instead one has to accept that the verb form is the infinitive with $tw$ as a dependent pronoun: “all good things shall be done,” lit. “one’s doing all good things.” The second clause starts with $nn$ + infinitive indicating the negation of what follows. The particle “but” is in its typical place here indicating contrast with the previous clause. It is followed by a $rdi$ + prospective/subjunctive $sdm.f$ construction with the infinitive of $rdi$. Heh is the name of the Semna fortress, one of the famous Semna-Kumma double-fortress at the southern end of the second cataract overlooking the Nile. Senwosret III clearly knew that displaying rhetoric of royal power in this stela was apparently not enough to control Nubia. Finally, $r nhh$, more frequently written as $or$, means “to eternity, forever.”

The Second (Semna/Uronarti) Stela of Senwosret III

This stela dates at the 16th regnal year (1854 BC) of Senwosret III. A duplicate was discovered in the island of Uronarti, now one of the treasures of the Archaeological Museum of Khartoum. This duplicate stela was erected only 3 km from the first. The two stelae are practically identical.
“Behdetite,” is an epithet of the winged solar Horus. (The name Behdet is shared by two cities in Egypt, Tell el-Balamun (up until the New Kingdom), the northernmost town in the Delta, and Edfu in Upper Egypt.)

The royal titulary of Senwosret III is given here. His Horus name nTri xprw “Divine of Evolution/Form” is a nfr Hr construction. The Two Ladies (nbt “lady”) are the vulture-goddess nhbt Nekhbet and the cobra-goddess wADt Wadjet; they are the protective deities of Upper and Lower Egypt, respectively. The nfr Hr construction continues with the Two Ladies name: nTri mswt “Divine of Birth.” The participial phrases di anx “given life” and (in the next line) di anx Dd wAs "given life, stability, and dominion” are passive. His Gold Falcon name Hrw-nbw xpr contains the participle of xpr “evolve” so that the name can be rendered as “the Gold falcon which has evolved.” The perfective relative form mry or (for short) is used in the expression mry X “beloved of X.” Here X can be a noun (usually a god’s name) or suffix pronoun. Finally, his Son of Re name (nomen) can be translated as z(i)-n-wsrt, “man of the powerful female one.” Wosret (also Woset or Waset) was a Theban goddess, the earliest female companion of Amun. She may also have been an early form of Hathor.

In the Egyptian calendar there were 3 seasons: 3ḥt “Inundation,” prt “Growing,” and Šmw “Harvest.” Each season was divided into four months. The number 3 refers to the 3rd month of “Growing,” a season which is roughly spread from mid-November to mid-March. So this is Senwosret’s 16th regnal year between mid-January and mid-February. There is evidence that the month of a season as a number was
pronounced as an ordinal, so that “X regnal year and Y month of the season” was probably read as “ḥsbt X 3bd Y-nw n season.” The infinitive of ird “make” after the date is typical in headings, it is narrative, therefore refers to past.

The infinitive of ḫnt “make” after the date is typical in headings, it is narrative, therefore refers to past.

The circumstantial ṣdm.n.f/perfect of ḫnt used to express past tense is introduced by the particle iw. One possibility here is the infinitive of the 4ae-inf. verb ḫnti “go forward, sail south” which has variant writings: ḫnt and ḫnti or ḫntyti. An example to the first spelling is in Kamose’s second stela:

\[\text{pA xnt nfr n} \text{pA Hq(A) anx(.w) (w)DA(.w) s(nb.w) Xr mSa.f r HAt.f} \]

Once again to be discussed later. An example to the second spelling is again in Kamose’s second stela:

\[\text{m Hrt wHAt Hr xntyt r kSi} \]

And in the tomb autobiography of admiral Ahmose:

\[\text{wn.in.f Hr xntyt r xnt-Hn-nfr} \]

Once again to be discussed later. In our present text ḫnt has a suffixed subject and object ṭiw.i “my (fore)fathers/ancestors.” In a typical phrase to emphasize that he has outdone his predecessors, Senwosret III states that he went farther south than his forefathers. At closer inspection it is clear that the first clause (with the circumstantial ṣdm.n.f/perfect of the verb ḫnti as the predicate) contains no new information (having already been stated in the previous clause). So this clause could well be considered as a rhyme of an emphatic sentence, with the following theme ḫnt.i ṭiw.i specifying how the rhyme was done. As such, the verb form ḫnt.i then should be a nonattributive perfective relative form used emphatically (with an emphasized adverb clause). The presence of the suffix pronoun .i adds further evidence this interpretation.

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1 [Kamose Stela 2, 30]
2 [Kamose Stela 2, 19]
3 [Urk. VI, 5.5: 7.1]
4 For a thorough discussion on sentences with emphasized adverb clauses, see Allen (25.10).
In the Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor the herald, after trying to draw the attention of the commander, states *ink šw ḫw*. There ḫw (in a *nfr ḫr* construction) means “excess.” In our case *rdi ḫw ḫr* means “increase,” lit. “do more than.” The passive participle of the caus. 2-lit. verb *swḏ* “hand over” has a *t* ending and can be translated as “what has been handed over/bequeathed.”

*ink nswt ddw irrw***

The main clause is an AB nominal sentence with the independent pronoun *ink* as the subject and *nswt* is the predicate. The subordinate noun clause is also type AB, where *ddw* is the imperfective relative form of *dd*, lit. “what (I) say,” and *irrw* is the imperfective passive participle of *iri*, lit. “what is done.”

“Hence the enlightened ruler is heedful, and the good general full of caution. This is the way to keep a country at peace and an army intact.”

Sun Tzu, The Art of War, Chapter XII, translated by Lionel Giles.

*k3t* *ib.i pw ḫprt m ṣ.i***

This is an A *pw* B nominal sentence with A containing the imperfective relative form of the verb ḫt “think about, plan” and subject *ib.i*. The B part of the nominal sentence contains the perfective relative form of *ḥptr* lit. “what evolves.” Since they do not refer to anything specific, both relative forms are feminine.

*3dw r ḫt zḥmwr m ṣr***
Adw and zXmw are participles/nouns of agent\(^5\) derived from the adjective-verbs Ad “be aggressive, angry” and zXm “be hasty, impetuous.” The pseudoverbal construction \(r + \) infinitive in the first syntactically adverb clause has the nominal subject Adw and the verbal predicate has the infinitive of iti “take possession (of).” In general in a pseudoverbal construction \(r\) is used to express planned/inevitable action. (In contrast, in a grammatically similar sentence nb wr hr itt\(^6\) “a great lord is taking possession,” \(hr\) is used to express the imperfect.) The grammar in the second clause is identical with that of the first and uses the adjective-verb, or mfr “successful, fortunate.”

\(tm sdr mdt m ib.f\)

In the main clause the negative verb \(tm\) followed by the negatival complement of the verb \(sdr\) is used to form the negated participle “(he) who is not slumbering.” In the circumstantial clause \(mdt m ib.f\) \(mdt\) not only means “word, speech” but also “matter, affair.” The meaning of this sentence is that Senwosret III will not rest (with) a matter on/in his mind/heart (until it is resolved).

\(hmt tw3w \; \epsilon h^c hr sf\)

We have again a pair of causes here describing Senwosret III’s character. \(hmt\) is a perfective active participle derived from the verb \(hmt\) “intend, plan, take thought of” and can therefore be translated as “one who is thoughtful of.” As a verb form it also carries an object, the plural of \(twz(w)\) “inferior.” Similarly, \(\epsilon h^c\) is a perfective active participle derived from \(\epsilon h^c\) “stand, attend,” and can be translated as “steady.” Finally, the \(hr + \) infinitive construction involving the adjective-verb

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\(^5\) See the discussion at the beginning of the Grammar Points in“The Instruction Addressed to Kagemni.”

\(^6\) [Peas. B1, 123-24].
“mild, merciful” emphasizes the imperfect, ongoing action.

The Egyptians love for word-play is clear from the next passage. As before, the first sentence starts with a negated participle using the negative word $tm$. In the negatival complement $sf nw$ of the adjective-verb $sf n$ “kindly, merciful” the $w$ ending is written out, and the phrase can be translated as “(he) who is merciless.” The noun clause $ph sw$ after $hrwy$ contains the active participle of $ph$ “who attacks” and has the object $sw$ “him,” referring to the pharaoh.

In the second sentence, $ph w$ is an active participle (with a $w$ ending possibly indicating that it is used as a noun) “(he) who attacks.” It is followed by $ph.t(w).f$, a circumstantial clause with $ph$ in the passive form of the subjunctive: “(if/when) he is attacked.”

Continuing the description of Senwosret III’s character, the text now uses the participle/noun of agent $gr w$ derived from the adjective-verb $gr$ “silent/quiet/still.” The participle $gr t$ forms a one-word circumstantial clause meaning “(when/if) it is silent/quiet.” Similarly, $w sb w$ is a participle/noun of agent derived from the verb $w sb$ “he who responds.” As above, $md t$ should be promoted from “word” to “matter, affair,” and finally $mi$ $h pr$ (with $h pr$ in the infinitive) is an Egyptian idiom for “properly, (with) correct procedure,” lit. “as evolving.” The feminine suffix pronoun $.s$ attached to the final adverb refers to $md t$.

A noun clause is introduced here with the marker $nt t$ which, in turn, is the object of the preposition $dr$. Together they correspond to the English “since/for.” $ir$ is a marker of the topicalized subject $gr m$ $ht$ $ph$, and this marker can be left un-translated or translated with the usual meaning “as for.” In the topicalized subject $gr$ is an active participle of the adjective-verb $gr$ that we just met, and the infinitive of $ph$ “attack” (used as a noun) is the
object of \( m\ h t \) “in the wake.” (This compound preposition we already met in the Instruction Addressed to Kagemni.) The topicalized subject is followed by an A \( pw \) nominal sentence (with \( pw \) moved forward within an indirect genitive). The causative verb \( ss\ h m \) “strengthen” is in an active participle form with object \( i b\ n\ h r\ w y \). This whole passage points to the advantage of being aggressive and defiant in war.

\[
\text{\textit{knt}\ pw\ \textit{zd}\ \textit{hzt}\ pw\ \textit{hm-ht}}
\]

This is a pair of A \( pw \) B nominal sentences. The A parts are \( \textit{knt} \) “bravery, valor” derived from the adjective-verb \( \textit{kni} \ “brave,” \) and \( \textit{hzt} \) “cowardice” derived from the adjective-verb \( \textit{hzi} \ “wretched, vile, miserable” \) The B parts are \( \textit{zd} \), an abstract noun “aggression” derived from the adjective-verb \( \textit{zd} \ “aggressive, angry, savage,” \) and \( \textit{hm-ht} \ “retreat” \) derived from the verb \( \textit{hm} \ “flee, retire” \).

\[
\text{\textit{hm}\ pw\ \textit{m3}\ pw\ \textit{3rw}\ hr\ t3\ s.f}}
\]

Once again this is an A \( pw \) B nominal sentence. The A part is \( \textit{hm}\ m3\ ), where the noun \( \textit{hm} \ “coward” \) clearly related to the verb \( \textit{hm} \ “flee, retire” \) above. The B part is \( \textit{3rw}\ hr\ t3\ s.f} \), in which \( \textit{3rw} \) is a perfective passive participle derived from the verb \( \textit{3r} \ “drive away” (hr from). Being a strong verb, the passive participle is indicated by the ending \( w \).

“When the general is weak and without authority; when his orders are not clear and distinct; when there are no fixed duties assigned to officers and men, and the ranks are formed in a slovenly haphazard manner, the result is utter disorganization.”

Sun Tzu, The Art of War, Chapter X, translated by Lionel Giles
In the Semna stela only $m$ is shown for $sdm$. As the phonetic complements suggest the quail chick should be emended here to the $n\kappa$-bird. The introductory prepositional phrase $dr\ ntt$ involving the noun clause marker $ntt$ governs a noun clause. There are several interpretations for the closing phrase $hr\ n\ r$. According to Sethe, it stands for “the word of mouth,” Janssen and Gardiner render it as “fall at a word,” and Loprieno translates it as “a verbal attack.” In either case the sentence introduced by $ntt$ is probably emphatic; $sdm$ is a nonattributive relative form in the rheme: “the Nubian listens” (which is a given), and the theme (containing the new information) is $r\ hr\ n\ r$.

This sentence is a typical participial statement introduced by $in$. As such, $in$ should be followed by a noun/noun phrase which in this case is $wsh.f$ with the infinitive of $wsh$ used as a noun and the suffix pronoun as its object: “answering/responding him.” This is followed by the masculine singular imperfective active participle $dd$ of $rdi$ “(one that) gives/makes.” Since it expresses causality, the prospective/subjunctive $sdm.f$ of the verb $hm$ “flee” is used here.

This is a pair of sentences starting with the prospective/subjunctive $sdm.f$ of the verbs $3d$ and the compound verb $hm-ht$ expressing contingency. (Because of the presence of the prospective/subjunctive the introductory word $ir$ is not needed.) The verbal predicates are followed by imperfective relative forms $dd$ and $w3$ of the verbs $rdi$ and $w3$ “fall (r into a condition).” They can be rendered as “he shows his back,” lit. “he gives his back” and “he falls into aggression.”

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7 See the Bibliography at the end of the Grammar Points.
ni rmT is nt šft st hwrw pw sdw ibw

The first clause is a *ni* A *is* B negated nominal sentence, where A is *rmT* nt *šft* “people of respect” and B is *st* “they.” Notice that particle *is* is moved inside the indirect genitive. The second clause is an (affirmative) A *pw* B nominal sentence. *sdw ibw* is a *nfr hr* construction, where *sdw* “broken” itself is a perfective passive participle derived from the verb *sD/sD* “break.” Note that the Uronarti stela has *iw m3.n st hm.f nn iwms*

*iw* introduces the circumstantial *sdm.n.f/perfect as a past tense of *m3* in the main clause, and the sentence strictly adheres to the Egyptian word order VoS with the object being the dependent form of the 3N personal pronoun *st* “it.” (The Uronarti stela has only *iw m3 st.*) The second clause is of type *nn A*, the negation of existence of A. Here A is *iwms*, an alternative spelling of *iw* “exaggeration.” (This word is derived from the enclitic particle “indeed” preposed with *iw*.) This is an entire clause, as Middle Egyptian negates a single word using a different construction.

*h3k.n.i hmwt.sn in.n.i hrw.sn*

Senwosret III recalls here his exploits in a pair of sentences with circumstantial *sdm.n.f/perfect verbal predicates. The nisbe *hri* with the seated man and woman determinatives means “dependents,” lit. “those who are under.”

*pr r hmwt.sn hwi ihw.sn*

Instead of stative, *pri* with the preposition *r* “go to” and *hwi* “plunder, hit, strike, smite” are both in passive because of their nominal subjects: *hnmt* “well, cistern” and *ihw* “cattle.”
The passive verb forms continue in recalling Senwosret III’s exploits. In the first clause the predicate  \( \text{wH} \) “pluck flowers/plants” can be translated as “cut down.”

The out of place “postule gland” on the back of the \( \text{r} \)-bird was influenced by one of its phonetic values: \( \text{wH} \). (The Uronarti stela has the circumstantial \( \text{sdH}n.f \) /perfect \( \text{wH}n.i. \))

In the second clause the phrase \( \text{rdi sdt m} \) means “set fire to” with omitted object (shared by the previous clause).

\( \text{\text{\'nH n.i itt.i dd.i m m3t}t} \)

This is an oath with a typical initial nonattributive relative form of the verb \( \text{\'nH} \) “live.” (In other texts the “speaking man” determinative \( \text{\`} \) follows this verb for further emphasis.)

In the following main clause an emphatic construction is used with the nonattributive relative form of \( \text{dd} \). What is emphasized here is the phrase \( \text{m m3t}t \): “I speak in truth!” lit. “it is in truth that I speak!”\(^9\) (The Uronarti stela has \( \text{dd.n.i m m3t}t \).)

\( \text{\text{nn Hn im n `b` pr m r.i} } \)

The negative word \( \text{nn} \) negates the adverb clause \( \text{Hn n `b` im} \) in which the prepositional adverb \( \text{im} \) is short enough to be moved forward. From the nouns \( \text{Hn “speech, utterance” and `b` “boast” the Egyptian idiom Hn n `b` “exaggeration” clearly follows.} This is the subject of the adverb clause. Note the intrusive extra \( n \) that the scribe emphasized here for sound retention. Further examples for this are

\( \text{mtn wi}^{10} \) “behold, me” and \( \text{zb.sn wi}^{11} \) “they will send for me.” This whole clause is modified by \( \text{pr} \), the perfective active participle of the verb \( \text{pri} \).

\(^9\) See Allen (25.11.4).
\(^{10}\) [Lac. TR. 78, 3]
\(^{11}\) [Sin. B 171]
The protasis of this conditional sentence is introduced by *ir grt* “as for.” The topicalized subject is modified by the prospective participle of the causative verb *srwd* “strengthen, maintain” which itself is derived from *rwd*, “firm.” *srwdt* can thus be translated as “he who will maintain.” The object *tśpn* is modified by the perfective relative form of *iri*.

In the apodosis the repetition of essentially the same statement gives a clue that after the simple *pw* nominal construction the verbal predicate is emphatic and involves the nonattributive perfective relative form of *msi* “bear.” In English, this emphasis can be brought out by the cleft sentence: “it is from the majesty that he is born of.” That the son is born is a given fact, but it is the son’s deeds following his father’s footsteps what will make Senwosret III to accept him as his own offspring. That this is indeed the case is also clear from a latter part of the text when this passage is put into negative using the *ni..is* bracket, a clear sign of emphasis.

Senwosret III continues to remind his offsprings what it takes to be accepted by him. The first clause is an A B nominal sentence in which A is *twt zā.i* “true son of mine,” lit. “image/likeness of a son of mine,” and B is *nDti iti.f*. The second noun clause starts with the participle derived from the verbs *srw* discussed above. The object is a direct genitive AB, where A is *tś* and B is *wtt sw*. In the latter, the verb form is yet another participle of *wtt* “beget.” The clumsy translation “who begot him” can be replaced by “his begetter.” It is not known why the scribe changed the determinative to the frog (in both the Semna and Uronarti texts). Note that Senwosret III’s “true son,” actually his
only known son, Amenemhat III, did actually strengthen the Semna border and enlarged a few border fortresses.

The dire consequence of being cast out is spelled out in this contrasting conditional sentence. In the protasis there are two prospective participles: \( fht(i).fi \) of the verb \( fht \) “leave, abandon, displace,” and \( tmt(i).f \) of the negative verb \( tmt \) “not do” (followed by the negatival complement of \( h3 \) “fight”). The apodosis here clearly contrasts the apodosis of the previous conditional sentence: \( z3.i pw ms.t(w).f n hm \). Here the first clause is a negated \( A pw \) nominal sentence with omitted \( pw. ni.is \) brackets \( z3.i \), a negated nominal sentence. In the second noun clause, \( ni.is \) brackets \( ms.t(w).f \). As noted above, it is therefore an emphatic construction; \( is \) signals that the negative construction applies to the whole clause with emphasis on \( n.i \). Once again in English a cleft sentence “it is not from me …” can bring out the emphasis. Finally, note the different relative positions of \( \) and the determinative \( n.r \).

is\( t \) grt rdi.\( n \) hm ir.t(w) pw twt n \( hm \) hr t\( 3.\) pn ir.\( n \) hm

is\( t \) usually introduces an adverbial clause but here, other than from the context, the connection with the previous sentence is not manifest. The following passage contains an A \( pw \) B nominal construction. This is not uncommon, for example

\( ist z3.i pw mnh^{12} \) “behold, he was my beneficent son.” In our case, A is \( rdi.n \) \( hm \) ir\( t \) in which the perfect relative form of the verb \( rdi \) is used (followed by the prospective /subjunctive \( sdm.f \) of \( iri \)), lit. “what the majesty caused one make,” and B is \( twt n \) \( hm \) “an image of the majesty.” The adverbial phrase that follows refers to the border and the grammar therein has already been discussed above.

\(^{12} \) [BH, i. 26, 166-7].
The stela ends with a pair of adverb clauses of purpose. The compound preposition \( n \ m r w t \) means “in order that,” lit. “through love.” In the first instance \( n \ m r w t \) is written instead of \( n \ m r w t \). Grammatically these are direct genitives in which the first part is \( n \ m r w t \) and the second part is a perfective nonattributive relative form (used nominally) of \( r w d \) and \( \hbar \tilde{t} \), respectively. (The prepositional phrase \( h r . f \) at the end refers to the border.) Another example to this construction is the following excerpt of the Abydos stela of Thutmose I\(^{13}\):

\[
ir . n \ h m . i \ n n \ n \ n \ i t ( i ) . i \ w s i r
\]

\[
n \ h \ h \ h . i \ n n r w n b w
\]

\[
n m r w t \ m n \ r n . i
\]

\[
r w d \ m n w . i
\]

\[
m p r \ i t ( i ) . i \ w s i r \ h n t i w \ i m n t i w \ n b \ b d w
\]

\[
n h h h h n \ d t
\]

In the second line: \( n \ h \ h \ h . i \ n n r w n b w \) contains the imperfective relative form of the verb \( m r i \) “love” used nonattributively as the second part of an indirect genitival phrase: “(it is) through the greatness of (that) I love him” (followed by a comparative). The third and fourth lines \( n \ m r w t \ m n \ r n . i \ r w d \ m n w . i \) contain the perfective relative forms of \( m n \) and \( r w d \) “used again nonattributively: “(it is) through the love (that) my name remains and my monuments endure.”

\(^{13}\) [Urk. IV, 100, 1-7].
Bibliography

