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The Second Stela of Kamose

Part II



*ni w3h.i ph(3) hr b3w 100w n ʿš w3d*



*mḥ(.w) m nbw ḥsbd ḥd mḥkt ḥzmn minb nn tn(w)t st*



*ḥrw-r b3k sntr ʿd bit*



*itwrn ssndm zpni ḥt.sn nb špsi*



*inw nb nfr n rtnw if.n.i st r 3w*



*ni w3h.i nkt ḥwt-wʿrt n šw.s*



*ʿ3m 3k whm ib.k ir.f ʿ3m ḥz wn ḥr dd*



*ink nb nn snnw.i š3ʿ r ḥmnw r pr-ḥwt-ḥrw ḥr ḥrp r ḥwt-wʿrt m irrw 2*



*w3h.i st m wš3 nn r(m)t im*



*ḥb(3).n.i nwwt.sn wbd.i st.sn ir m i3wt dšrt n dt*

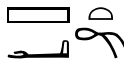


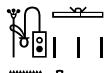



*wn [hnt-hn-]nfr hr ršwt*


## Vocabulary


	<i>ph3</i> split, break open		<i>3k</i> perish
	<i>ph(3)</i> plank		<i>š3<sup>c</sup>-r</i> as far as
	<i>b3w</i> cargo ship, galley		<i>hmnw</i> Eight-town (Hermopolis, the place of worship of the Ogdoad)
	<i>š</i> cedar		<i>pr-hwt-hrw</i> Per-Hathor (Gebelein)
	<i>w3d</i> green, fresh		<i>hrp</i> provide, bring (tribute), control
	<i>hsbd</i> lapis-lazuli		<i>wš</i> (intransitive) fall out, be destroyed; (transitive) desolate (a place)
	<i>hd</i> silver		<i>wš3</i> desolation
	<i>mfk3t</i> turquoise		<i>wbd</i> burn
	<i>hsmn</i> bronze		<i>i3t</i> mound
	<i>minb</i> axe		<i>dšr</i> red
	<i>tnwt</i> quantity, number		<i>hd</i> damage
	<i>b3k</i> moringa-oil (made from seeds of the moringa-tree)		<i>i3š, š</i> summon
	<i>sntr</i> incense		<i>bt3, bt</i> (intransitive) run, overrun; (transitive) abandon, forsake
	<i>d/šd</i> fat, unguents		<i>hnwt</i> mistress
	<i>bit</i> honey		<i>kf</i> capture
	<i>itwrn</i> willow		<i>wpwt</i> message, mission, assignment
	<i>ssndm</i> precious wood		<i>hrt</i> sky, upland
	<i>zpnj</i> precious wood		<i>wh3t</i> oasis, oasis region
	<i>špss</i> (3ae-gem.), <i>špsi</i> (4-ae-inf.) fine, special, noble		
	<i>nkt</i> some, few, little		
	<i>šw</i> empty, lacking, missing, free		


 *šꜥt* document


 *zhꜣw* writing

 *nd-hrt* greet


 *hr mi* why


 *gmḥ* see, catch sight of


 *thm* drive off, penetrate,  
perforate


 *iwtn* ground

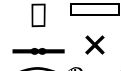
 *ki* form, fashion, nature, manner


 *stp* cut up, choose

 *iꜣdt* pestilence,  
affliction, pouring rain

 *ḥꜣ* here

 *wꜣt* road, path, way

 *psš* divide

 *ršwt* joy

## Grammar Points



*ni w3ḥ.i ph(3) hr b3w 100w n ʿš w3d*



*mḥ(.w) m nbw ḥsbd ḥd mfkt ḥzmn minb nn tn(w)t st*





*hrw-r b3k sntr ʿd bit*




*itwrn ssndm zpni ḥt.sn nb špsi*






*inw nb nfr n rtnw if.n.i st r 3w*

Negated indicative/perfective *sdm.f*, the negative counterpart of the circumstantial *sdm.n.f* /perfect, starts the passage. As the context suggests, among the many meanings of the verb *w3ḥ* we need to choose “leave aside, overlook, spare.” The object *ph(3)* “plank” is derived from the verb  *ph3* “split, break open.” The hundreds of cargo ships with the sign  “hundred” in plural (or exactly 300) may be a forgivable exaggeration, though it may show the extent of the trade between Avaris and the Levant. *w3d* usually means “fresh, green” but here it must stand for “new, unused.” (Compare with the English phrase “fresh glass” used in restaurants meaning “unused.”)

The stative of the transitive verb  *mḥ* “fill” with (stative) pronominal suffixed subject has passive meaning. It introduces a long list of booty captured from these ships.

The phrase *nn tnwt st* “innumerable” is a *nn A* construction, lit. “There is no quantity of it/them.”

The adjective-verb “fine, special, noble” has two forms:  *šps* (3ae-gem.) and  *špsi* (4-ae-inf.), and the text uses a variant spelling of the latter.


The noun phrase *inw nb nfr n rtnw* can be viewed as the concluding summary of the list or as the topicalized subject of the circumstantial *s<sub>dm</sub>.n.f*/perfect of the (unattested) verb  *if* with possible meaning “seize, carry off, confiscate.” In the latter case it is referred to by the dependent pronoun *st* “them.”




*ni w3h.i nkt hwt-w<sup>c</sup>rt n šw.s*



*3m 3k wh m ib.k ir.f 3m hz wn hr dd*

The negated indicative/perfective *s<sub>dm</sub>.f* of *w3h* “leave” is repeated here but turns the focus from the ships to Avaris. In the first sentence the adjective-verb  *šw* “empty, lacking, missing, free” functions as a noun “emptiness, destitution.” The 3F suffix pronoun is coreferential to the feminine noun Avaris. With these the whole prepositional phrase translated as: *n šw.s* “to her (own) destitution.”

Alternatively, and less likely, this can be thought of a circumstantial clause of causality introduced by the preposition *n* “for, because.” As such it should be followed by the non-attributive relative form of *šw*. This would then be an example for a passive construction: *šw s(i)*: “it was emptied.”

The beginning of the next passage *3m 3k* can be interpreted in two ways. First, as an independent sentence it may be a subject-stative construction *3m 3k(.w)* involving the intransitive verb  *3k* “perish” confirming the fate of Apophis in past tense. Note that at this point of history this statement “The Asiatic has perished!” counts a little more than wishful thinking.

Second, it can be viewed as a noun phrase with *3k* being a perfective active participle “fallen.” The following clause *wh m ib.k ir.f* has been analyzed previously. If *3m 3k* is viewed as a noun phrase then the alternative interpretation *wh3 ib.k* is even more possible here as it (and even the next phrase) is an extension of the long subject: “fallen Asiatic,

wicked of heart, wicked Asiatic.” In either case the noun phrase ʿ3m hz is the subject of the perfective active participle wn of the verb wnn. This latter is the subject of a hr + infinitive construction: “who used to say,” lit. “who existed saying.”



ink nb nn snnw.i š3<sup>c</sup> r hmnw r pr-hwt-hrw hr hrp hwt-w<sup>c</sup>rt m irrw 2





w3h.i st m wš3 nn r(m)t im

Apophis’ boasting starts with a simple AB nominal sentence. It is followed by the negative construction nn A. Since A has a suffix pronoun, it is negation of possession, lit. “my second is not.” As such, it can be translated using the word “without.” Thus, along with nb it gives the typical phrase: “lord without equal.”

The following adverbial phrases detail his control and might over an extensive

domain. The compound preposition  š3<sup>c</sup>-r literally means “beginning

to” but means “as far as.” Habachi<sup>1</sup> interprets the symmetric composition  hr hrp as a

hr + infinitive construction applied to the verb  hrp “provide, bring (tribute),

control” written with a graphic transposition. Although possible, the topmost r seems to be out of pace. J.R. Harris suggested<sup>2</sup> the reading hr.i r hrp “my intention (lit. sight) is to administer/control” which takes into account the topmost r and also fits the context. (An added difficulty is that the sign under hr is too thick for a single stroke and therefore it seems to be a p). In any case, the sentence asserts Apophis’ authority over the noted domain. The two rivers refer to two sizable branches of the Nile Delta flowing by Avaris.

In the last sentence the predicate is intentional prospective/subjunctive sdm.f of the verb w3h “leave” (as the destruction of Avaris did not happen for quite some time; actual-

ly, between the regnal years 18 and 22 of the succeeding Ahmose I, the first king of the

18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty). In the adverb clause that follows the noun  wš3 “desolation” is derived from the verb  wš. Used intransitively it means “fall out” (as the

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Smith and Smith, op. cit.



hair determinative suggests), but as a transitive verb it means “desolate (a place).”



*hb(3).n.i nwwt.sn wbd.i st.sn ir m i3wt dšrt n dt*



*hr p3 hdt ir.sn m hn(w) t3 kmt*



*diw st hr sdm i3šš n 3mw bt3.n.sn kmt hnwt.sn*

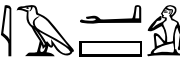

The circumstantial *sdm.n.f*/perfect of the previously used verb *hb3* “destroy, lay waste” governs the main clause. The next clause employs the indicative/perfective *sdm.f* of the verb *wbd* “burn.” The clause introduced by the passive participle *ir(y)* “which have been/were made” of the verb *iri* further details the state of these places after the inferno. As Habachi<sup>3</sup> points out, the feminine plural noun *i3wt dšrt* “red mounds” is also the modern Arabic name of several ruins including Hierakonpolis.

The preposition *hr* “because of, for” introduces the reason of Kamose’s action, and governs a long phrase that follows. In its immediate vicinity, it governs the noun phrase *p3 hdt* in which the feminine *t* after the masculine *hd* “damage” is a scribal error. Reference to the guilty party, the Hyksos, is given by *ir.sn*, the perfective relative form of *iri* (with antecedent *p3 hdt*). The demonstrative pronoun *t3* in front of *kmt* points to “that (part of) Egypt,” where they ruled.

The circumstantial *sdm.n.f*/perfect of the transitively used verb *bt3/bt* “abandon, forsake” has a long topicalized subject. It starts with the masculine plural perfective active participle *diw* “they/those who let” of the verb *di* “let, allow” following the pronominal object *st* “them(selves)” used reflexively.

They are the new target of Kamose’s scorn: the Hyksos allies as well as to those who paid tribute the Hyksos. What they did is given in a *hr* + infinitive construction of the verb *sdm*.

The object of this infinitive is an indirect genitive in which the first part is the infi-

nitive of the verb  *i3šš*, a variant of  *šš* “summon.”

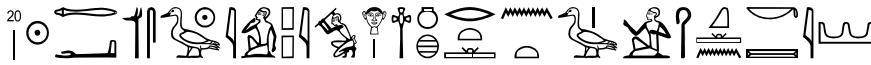
<sup>3</sup> Op. cit.



*kꜣf.n.i wp(w)t.f m ḥrt wh3t ḥr ḥntyt r kši ḥr šꜥt zh3w*





*gm.n.i ḥr.s m dd m zh3 m ḥk3 ḥwt-wꜥrt*



*3-ws-rꜥ z3 rꜥ ippi ḥr nd-ḥrt nt z3.i ḥk3 n kši*

Two sentences using circumstantial *sdm.n.f*/perfect verb forms describe the actual events in the past with simple grammar.

The object of the first verb is *wpwt.f* “his message” (not messenger), and it is referred to the second sentence by the feminine suffix pronoun *.s*.  *kši* is a variant spelling of  *kš* Kush (northern Sudan). The infinitive *ḥntyt* has been discussed in the grammar of the second Semna stela of Senwosret III. The direct genitive *šꜥt zh3w* can be translated as “written dispatch,” lit. “document of writing.”



*m dd* in an Egyptian idiom for “as follows/the following.”

*3-wsr-rꜥ ippi* Auserra Apophis (with *rꜥ* in honorific transposition) is the full name of Apophis. (One may hesitate to call these the cartouche names, the prenomen and the nomen, as it would mean to acknowledge that he was a genuine pharaoh of Egypt.)

The *ḥr* + infinitive construction employing the verb *nd-ḥrt* is the first part of an indirect genitive, lit. “upon greeting of.”



*ḥr-mi ḥꜥ.k m ḥk3 nn rdit rh.i in iw gmḥ.k irt.n kmt r.i*

The two questions of Apophis here set the initially reproaching tone of the message. These are good examples for the two kinds of questions with verbal predicate that exist in Middle Egyptian: adjunct and predicate questions. In a predicate question the very action of the verbal predicate is questioned, whereas in an adjunct question the inquiry is directed to some other part of the question.

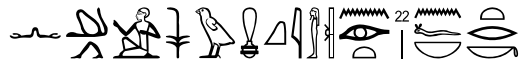
In an adjunct question such as the first one here the interrogative pronoun *mi* is used. It is part of an (uncommonly topicalized) prepositional phrase *hr mi* “why?” lit. “on account of what?” In this construction the verbal predicate is usually a non-attributive relative form which here is *ḥ.k* “you become,” lit. “you stand up.” Imbedded in the question is an *m* of predication, asserting the ruling authority of the Kushite king. (Note that *m* of predication identifies the person by function, “in capacity,” not by essence.)

The reproach is compressed in the following adverb clause containing a *nn* + infinitive construction applied to the verb *rdi* “let,” which can be translated as “not/without letting.” The clause itself contains the *rdi* + prospective/subjunctive *sdm.f* construction with the prospective/ subjunctive of the verb *rh* “know.”

In a predicate question such as the second one, the interrogative particle *in* is employed. Here, it is augmented with the particle *iw* and the following verb form of *gmḥ* “see” is circumstantial/imperfective *sdm.f*. Finally, the perfect relative form of the verb *iri* with subject *kmt* can be translated as “what Egypt has done.”



*ḥk3 nti m ḥnw.s K3-MSW di ḥnh hr thm (w)i hr i(w)tn.i*



*ni ph.i sw mi ki n irt.n.f nbt r.k*



*stp.f p3 t3 2 r i3d(t).s p3y.i t3 ḥnḥ p3y.k ḥb(3).n.f st*

This passage starts with a long but simple topicalized subject, Kamose himself. The imbedded relative clause (marked by the relative adjective *nti*) is most typical as it contains an adverbial predicate, in which the suffix pronoun *.s* refers to Egypt.

The *hr* + infinitive construction with the verb *thm* “drive off, penetrate, perforate” describes Kamose’s action, and the adverbial phrase at the end ironically claims Apophis’ ruling domain in Egypt as his own. Note the irrigated canal determinative that makes *i(w)tn* “land” (and not the sun-disk). This noun is not attested before and is doubtless re-

lated to the noun  *iwtn* “ground.”



(that marks the beginning of a relative clause) is used here as a noun “one who,” and together *nn nti* means “there is none who.” This serves as a preposed subject for the following subject-stative construction. The verb here is *ḥ* and depending on the interpretation of this passage, the literary translation “stand up” can be kept or changed to “expect, wait.”

The negated prospective/subjunctive *s<sub>dm</sub>.f* of the verb *di* “give” with future meaning is imbedded in the phrase *rdi w3t* “let go, set free,” lit. “give the road.”

Finally, note that the object of the preposition *r* is the *s<sub>dmt</sub>.f* verb form meaning “until he has/had heard.” We already met the negative of this verb form in the Story of the

Shipwrecked Sailor *ni iit(.f) nšni ni ḥprt.f.*<sup>4</sup>

*k3 psš.n n3 n dmiw n t3 kmt*

*wn [ḥnt-ḥn-]nfr ḥr ršwt*

The particle *k3* “then” marks the beginning of Apophis’ wish here, as a result of the preceding sentence. As such, the fitting verb form is prospective/subjunctive *s<sub>dm</sub>.n.f*. The plural demonstrative pronoun *n3 n* is used here to refer to those towns of Egypt that are still under Kamose’s rule.

In the last sentence the prospective/subjunctive *s<sub>dm</sub>.f* of *wnn* makes the adverbial predicate function as a future wish *ḥr ršwt* “in joy,” lit. “under joy.” The subject is a place (though it lacks the correct determinative), and one would expect here the two lands, but among the few, the most possible restoration *ḥnt-ḥn-nfr*, is not a well-understood locality.

<sup>4</sup> [ShS. 32].