8

The Second Stela of Kamose

Part II

ni wȝḥ.i pḫ(ȝ) ḫr bȝw 100w n ꜥš wȝḏ

mḥ(.w) m nbw ḫsbd ḥḏ mfkt ḥzmn minb nn ṯn(w)t st

ḥrw-r bȝḳ snṯr ꜥḏ bit

itwrn ssnḏm zpni ḫt.sn nb špsi

inw nb nfr n rṯnw if.n.i st r ȝw

ni wȝḥ.i nkt ḥwt-wꜥrt n šw.s

ꜥȝm ȝḳ wḥm ib.k ir.f ꜥȝm ḥz wn ḥr ḏd

ink nb nn snnw.i šȝꜥ r ḫmnw r pr-ḥwt-ḥrw ḥr ḥrp r ḥwt-wꜥrt m irrw 2

wȝḥ.i st m wšȝ nn r(m)ṯ im

ḫb(ȝ).n.i nwwt.sn wbd.i st.sn ir m iȝwt dšrt n ḏt

ḥr pȝ ḥḏt ir.sn m ẖn(w) tȝ kmt

diw st ḥr sḏm iȝꜥš n ꜥȝmw btȝ.n.sn kmt ḥnwt.sn

kfꜥ.n.i wp(w)t.f m ḥrt wḥȝt ḥr ḫntyt r kši ḥr šꜥt zẖȝw

gm.n.i ḥr.s m ḏd m zẖȝ m ꜥḥḳȝ ḥwt-wꜥrt

ꜥȝ-ws-rꜥ zȝ rꜥ ippi ḥr nḏ-ḥrt nt zȝ.i ḥḳȝ n kši

ḥr-mi ꜥḥꜥ.k m ḥḳȝ nn rdit rḫ.i in iw gmḥ.k irt.n kmt r.i

ḥḳȝ nti m ẖnw.s Kȝ-MSW di ꜥnḫ ḥr thm (w)i ḥr i(w)ṯn.i

ni pḥ.i sw mi ḳi n irt.n.f nbt r.k

stp.f pȝ tȝ 2 r iȝd.s pȝy.i tȝ ḥnꜥ pȝy.k ḫb(ȝ).n.f st

mi ḫd m ȝꜥ

m.k sw ꜥȝ m ꜥ.i

nn nt[i ꜥ]ḥꜥ(.w) n.k ḥr tȝ kmt m.k nn di.i n.f wȝt r sprt.k

kȝ psš.n nȝ n dmiw n tȝ kmt

wn [ẖnt-ḥn-]nfr ẖr ršwt

Vocabulary

pẖ3 split, break open

pẖ(3) plank

b3w cargo ship, galley

ꜥš cedar

w3ḏ green, fresh

ḫsbḏ lapis-lazuli

ḥḏ silver

mfk3t turquoise

ḥsmn bronze

minb axe

ṯnwt quantity, number

b3ḳ moringa-oil (made from seeds of the moringa-tree)

snṯr incense

ꜥḏ/ꜥḏ fat, unguents

bit honey

itwrn willow

ssnḏm precious wood

zpni precious wood

špss (3ae-gem.), *špsi* (4-ae-inf.) fine, special, noble

nkt some, few, little

šw empty, lacking, missing, free

3ḳ perish

š3ꜥ-r as far as

ḥmnw Eight-town (Hermopolis, the place of worship of the Ogdoad)

pr-ḥwt-ḥrw Per-Hathor (Gebelein)

ḥrp provide, bring (tribute), control

wš (intransitive) fall out, be destroyed; (transitive) desolate (a place)

wš3 desolation

wbd burn

i3t mound

dšr red

ḥḏ damage

i3ꜥš, ꜥš summon

bt3, bṯ (intransitive) run, overrun; (transitive) abandon, forsake

ḥnwt mistress

kfꜥ capture

wpwt message, mission, assignment

ḥrt sky, upland

wḥ3t oasis, oasis region

šˁt document

zḫꜣw writing

nḏ-ḫrt greet

ḥr mi why

gmḥ see, catch sight of

thm drive off, penetrate, perforate

iwtn ground

ḳi form, fashion, nature, manner

stp cut up, choose

iꜣdt pestilence, affliction, pouring rain

ˁꜣ here

, wꜣt road, path, way

psš divide

ršwt joy

Grammar Points

[hieroglyphs]

ni wȝḥ.i pẖ(ȝ) ẖr bȝw 100w n ꜥš wȝḏ

[hieroglyphs] 14

mḥ(.w) m nbw ḫsbd ḥḏ mfkt ḥzmn minb nn ṯn(w)t st

[hieroglyphs]

ḥrw-r bȝḳ snṯr ꜥd bit

[hieroglyphs] 15

itwrn ssnḏm zpni ẖt.sn nb špsi

[hieroglyphs]

inw nb nfr n rṯnw if.n.i st r ȝw

Negated indicative/perfective *sḏm.f*, the negative counterpart of the circumstantial *sḏm.n.f* /perfect, starts the passage. As the context suggests, among the many meanings of the verb *wȝḥ* we need to choose "leave aside, overlook, spare." The object *pẖ(ȝ)* "plank" is derived

from the verb [hieroglyphs] *pẖȝ* "split, break open." The hundreds of cargo ships with the

sign [hieroglyph] "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. *wȝḏ* usually means "fresh, green" but here is must stand for "new, unused." (Compare with the English phrase "fresh glass" used in restaurants meaning "unused.")

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

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

The adjective-verb "fine, special, noble" has two forms: 𓀀𓏤𓏭𓏤 *špss* (3ae-gem.)

and 𓀀𓏤𓏭 *špsi* (4-ae-inf.), and the text uses a variant spelling of the latter.

The noun phrase *inw nb nfr n rṯnw* can be viewed as the concluding summary of the list or as the topicalized subject of the circumstantial *sḏm.n.f* /perfect of the (unattested)

verb 𓇋𓆑 *if* with possible meaning "seize, carry off, confiscate." In the latter case it is referred to by the dependent pronoun *st* "them."

𓂝𓀀𓏥𓄿𓈖𓏤𓍑𓈖𓏭𓀀𓏤𓅯𓂋

ni wꜣḥ.i nkt ḥwt-wꜥrt n šw.s

𓂝𓄿𓅓𓄿𓎡 𓃀𓏤𓄿𓎡 ¹⁶𓂋𓈖𓏤𓅓𓄿𓎡𓄿𓅯𓈖𓄿𓎡

ꜥꜣm ꜣḳ wh m ib.k ir.f ꜥꜣm ḫz wn ḥr ḏd

The negated indicative/perfective *sḏm.f* of *wꜣḥ* "leave" is repeated here but turns the focus

from the ships to Avaris. In the first sentence the adjective-verb �𓅯 *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 *ꜥꜣm ꜣḳ* can be interpreted in two ways. First, as an independent sentence it may be a subject-stative construction *ꜥꜣm ꜣḳ(.w)* involving the

intransitive verb 𓄿𓎡𓅯 *ꜣḳ* "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 *ꜣḳ* being a perfective active participle "fallen." The following clause *wh m ib.k ir.f* has been analyzed previously. If *ꜥꜣm ꜣḳ* is viewed as a noun phrase then the alternative interpretation *whꜣ 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 ꜥꜣm ẖz is the subject of the perfective active participle wn of the verb wnn. This latter is the subject of a ḥr + infinitive construction: "who used to say," lit. "who existed saying."

ink nb nn snnw.i šꜥ r ẖmnw r pr-ḥwt-ḥrw ḥr ẖrp ḥwt-wꜥrt m irrw 2

wꜣḥ.i st m wšꜣ nn r(m)ṯ 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 is gives the typical phrase: "lord without equal."

The following adverbial phrases detail his control and might over an extensive domain. The compound preposition *šꜥ-r* literally means "beginning to" but means "as far as." Habachi[1] interprets the symmetric composition *ḥr ẖrp* as a *ḥr* + infinitive construction applied to the verb *ẖrp* "provide, bring (tribute), control" written with a graphic transposition. Although possible, the topmost *r* seems to be out of pace. J.R. Harris suggested[2] the reading *ḥr.i r ẖrp* "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 *ḥr* 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 *sḏm.f* of the verb *wꜣḥ* "leave" (as the destruction of Avaris did not happen for quite some time; actually, between the regnal years 18 and 22 of the succeeding Ahmose I, the first king of the 18th Dynasty). In the adverb clause that follows the noun *wšꜣ* "desolation" is derived from the verb *wš.* Used intransitively it means "fall out" (as the

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[1] Op. cit.
[2] Smith and Smith, op. cit.

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

ḫb(3).n.i nwwt.sn wbd.i st.sn ir m i3wt dšrt n ḏt

ḥr p3 ḥdt ir.sn m ḫn(w) t3 kmt

diw st ḥr sḏm i3ꜥš n ꜥ3mw bt3.n.sn kmt ḥnwt.sn
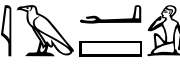
The circumstantial *sḏm.n.f* /perfect of the previously used verb *ḫb3* "destroy, lay waste"
governs the main clause. The next clause employs the indicative/perfective *sḏm.f* of the
verb *wbd* "burn." The clause introduced by the passive participle *ir(y)* "which have
been/were made" of the verb *iri* further details the state of these places after the inferno.
As Habachi[3] points out, the feminine plural noun *i3wt dšrt* "red mounds" is also the mod-
ern Arabic name of several ruins including Hierakonpolis.

The preposition *ḥr* "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
ḥdt* in which the feminine *t* after the masculine *ḥd* "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 ḥdt*). The demonstrative pronoun *t3* in front of *kmt* points to "that (part of)
Egypt," where they ruled.

The circumstantial *sḏm.n.f* /perfect of the transitively used verb *bt3/bṯ* "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 *ḥr* + infinitive construction of the
verb *sḏm*.

The object of this infinitive is an indirect genitive in which the first part is the infi-
nitive of the verb ⟨hieroglyphs⟩ *i3ꜥš,* a variant of ⟨hieroglyphs⟩ *ꜥš* "summon."

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[3] Op. cit.

kf⁽.n.i wp(w)t.f m ḥrt wḫ3t ḥr ḫntyt r kši ḥr š⁽t zḫ3w

gm.n.i ḥr.s m ḏd m zḫ3 m ⁽ḥḳ3 ḥwt-w⁽rt
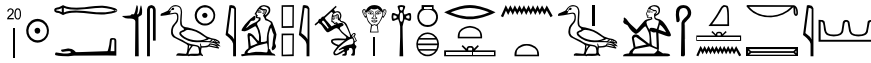
⁽3-ws-r⁽ z3 r⁽ ippi ḥr nḏ-ḫrt nt z3.i ḥḳ3 n kši

Two sentences using circumstantial *sḏm.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.* [hieroglyphs] *kši* is a variant spelling of [hieroglyphs] *kš* Kush (northern Sudan). The infinitive *ḫntyt* has been discussed in the grammar of the second Semna stela of Senwosret III. The direct genitive *š⁽t zḫ3w* can be translated as "written dispatch," lit. "document of writing."

[hieroglyphs] *m ḏd* in an Egyptian idiom for "as follows/the following."

⁽3-wsr-r⁽ ippi Auserra Apophis (with *r⁽* 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 *nḏ-ḫrt* is the first part of an indirect genitive, lit. "upon greeting of."

ḥr-mi ⁽ḥ⁽.k m ḥḳ3 nn rdit rḫ.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 *ḥr mi* "why?" lit. "on account of what?" In this construction the verbal predicate is usually a non-attributive relative form which here is *ʿḥʿ.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 *sḏm.f* construction with the prospective/ subjunctive of the verb *rḫ* "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 *sḏm.f*. Finally, the perfect relative form of the verb *iri* with subject *kmt* can be translated as "what Egypt has done."

ḥḳȝ nti m ẖnw.s Kȝ-MSW di ʿnḫ ḥr thm (w)i ḥr i(w)ṯn.i
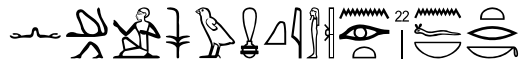
ni pḥ.i sw mi ḳi n irt.n.f nbt r.k

stp.f pȝ tȝ 2 r iȝd(t).s pȝy.i tȝ ḥnʿ pȝy.k ḫb(ȝ).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 *ḥr* + 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)ṯn* "land" (and not the sun-disk). This noun is not attested before and is doubtless related to the noun *iwtn* "ground."

With a negated indicative/perfective *sḏm.f* of the verb *pḥ* "attack" Apophis starts to claim his innocence.

The preposition *mi* governs an unmarked noun clause. It contains an indirect genitival phrase in which the second part is the non-attributive perfect relative form *irt.n.f* of the verb *iri* (used nominally). The literal translation "like the manner of what he has done against you" needs to be polished into better English. In this clause Apophis reminds the Kushite king "what he (Kamose) has done" against the Nubian.

The predicate of the next sentence is the indicative/perfective *sḏm.f* of the verb *stp* "cut up, choose" with object *pꜣ tꜣ 2* "the two lands," this time referring to the ruling domains of Apophis and the Kushite king. Despite the classical translations ("to persecute/afflict"), *r iꜣdt.s* "to its affliction" is a prepositional phrase with *iꜣdt*, a noun.

The object is further detailed in the phrase *pꜣy.i tꜣ ḥnꜥ pꜣy.k* "my land and yours" in which the use of the possessive pronouns is only attested from the Second Intermediate Period onwards.

Apophis finishes his accusations in an independent sentence with verbal predicate, the circumstantial *sḏm.n.f* /perfect of the previously used verb *ḫb(ꜣ)*. The dependent pronoun *st* refers to the two lands.

mi ḫd m ꜣꜥ

Apophis' message suddenly turns positive with the imperative *mi* of *ii* "come" and the negative imperative of the verb *ꜣꜥ* which unfortunately is not attested elsewhere (but conjectured to have the root *ꜣ(y)t*.) The context, especially Apophis' reassuring words that follow allow to guess the meaning "afraid, hold back, blench."

m.k sw ꜥꜣ m ꜥ.i

nn nt[i ꜥ]ḥꜥ(.w) n.k ḥr tꜣ kmt   m.k nn di.i n.f wꜣt r sprt.k

In the first adverbial sentence with a simple grammar Apophis tells the Kushite king that he has a hold on Kamose.

In the next sentence the negative particle *nn* indicates that the relative adjective *nti*

(that marks the beginning of a relative clause) is used here as a noun "one who," and to-gether *nn nti* means "there is none who." This serves as a preposed subject for the following subject-stative construction. The verb here is *ꜥḥꜥ* 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 *sḏm.f* of the verb *di* "give" with future meaning is imbedded in the phrase *rdi wꜣt* "let go, set free," lit. "give the road."

Finally, note that the object of the preposition *r* is the *sḏmt.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 ḫprt.f.* [4]

kꜣ psš.n nꜣ n dmiw n tꜣ kmt

wn [ḫnt-ḥn-]nfr ḥr ršwt

The particle *kꜣ* "then" marks the beginning of Apophis' wish here, as a result of the preceding sentence. As such, the fitting verb form is prospective/subjunctive *sḏm.n.f*. The plural demonstrative pronoun *nꜣ 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 *sḏm.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 *ḫnt-ḥn-nfr,* is not a well-understood locality.

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[4] [ShS. 32].