The Second Stela of Kamose

Part II

ni w3h.i ph(?) hr b3w 100w n 58 w3d

mh(.w) m nbw ḥsbd ḥḏ mfk ḥzmn mn nb mn(w)t st

ḥrw-r b3k sntr ṣd bit

itwrn ssnḏm zpni ḫt sn nb ṣpsi

inw nb nfr n ṭnın if.n.i st r 3w

ni w3h.i nkt ḫw-t-wrt n 5w.s

"3m ḫk ḫhm ib.k ir.f "3m ḫz wn ḫr ḫd

ink nb nn snnw.i 53 ḫmnw r pr-ḥw-t-hrw ḫr ḫrp ḫ ḫw-t-wrt r m irrw 2

w3h.i st m w3 ḫn r(m)t ḫm

ḥb(3).n.i nwwt.sn ḫw bd.i st.sn ḫ ir m ḫw ḫrt n ḫt
hr p3 hdt ir.sn m hw(n) t3 kmt
diw st hr sdm b3s n 3nw bt3.n.sn kmt hwnt.sn

kf`.n.i wp(w)t.f m hrt wh3t hr hntyt r kshi hr št zh3w
gm.n.i hr.s m dd m z3 m ḫk3 hw-twr

ḏ-ws-r` z3 r` ipp UnityEngine hr nt-d hrt nt z3.i ḫk3 ṣ n ḫsì
hr-mi ḫ`k m ḫk3 nn rdît rḥ.i in iw gmḥ.k irt.n kmt r.i

ḥk3 nti m hn.w.s K3-MSW ḫ tḥm (w)ì ḫr i(w)ṭn.i

ni ph.i sw m kì n irt.n.f nbt r.k

stp.f p3 t3 2 r i3d.s piṣ.i tì ḫn` piṣ.k ḫb(3).n.f st

mì ḫd m 3`
m.k sw 3ì m ḫ.i

nn n(i ḫc.(w) n.k ḫr t3 kmt m.k nn di.i n.f w3t r sprt.k

k3 psš.n n3 n dmiw n tì kmt
wn [hnt-\text{-}hn-]nfr hr r\textswt
The Second Stela of Kamose: Part II

Vocabulary

- **split, break open**: ph$\hat{i}$
- **plank**: ph(3)
- **cargo ship, galley**: h$\breve{\text{s}}w$
- **cedar**: $\xi$
- **green, fresh**: $w\breve{\text{d}}$
- **lapis-lazuli**: $h$bd
- **silver**: $H$D
- **turquoise**: mfk$t$
- **bronze**: Hsmn
- **axe**: minb
- **quantity, number**: $tnwt$
- **moringa-oil**: $b$lk
- **incense**: snTr
- **fat, unguents**: *d/ ?d*
- **honey**: bit
- **willow**: itwrn
- **precious wood**: ssn$dm$
- **precious wood**: zpni
- **fine, special, noble**: $spss$ (3ae-gem.), $pspi$ (4-ae-inf.)
- **some, few, little**: nkt
- **empty, lacking, missing, free**: $\hat{s}w$
- **as far as**: SAa-r
- **Eight-town (Hermopolis, the place of worship of the Ogdoad)**: hmnw
- **Per-Hathor (Gebelein)**: pr-hwt-hrw
- **provide, bring (tribute), control**: h$\text{rp}$
- **fall out, be destroyed; (transitive) desolate (a place)**: $w$\$3$
- **burn**: wbd
- **mound**: i$bt$
- **red**: d$\text{sr}$
- **damage**: iAt
- **summon**: bt$\beta$, b$t$
- **abandon, forsake**: Hnwt
- **mistress**: k$f$
- **message, mission, assignment**: wpwt
- **sky, upland**: hrt
- **oasis, oasis region**: w$\hat{j}t$
$\text{sqt}$ document

$zh\text{w}$ writing

$nd-hrt$ greet

$hr\text{~m}i$ why

$gmh$ see, catch sight of

$thm$ drive off, penetrate, perforate

$i\text{wtn}$ ground

$ki$ form, fashion, nature, manner

$stp$ cut up, choose

$i\text{tdt}$ pestilence, affliction, pouring rain

$\text{here}$

$\text{road, path, way}$

$ps\text{~s}$ divide

$\text{joy}$
The Second Stela of Kamose: Part II

Grammar Points

\[ ni \text{ w\text{3h.i p\text{h}(\overline{s}) h\text{r b\text{3w 100w n } \ wellness w\text{3d}}} \]

\[ m\text{h.(w) mn nbw hsbd h\text{d mfk t hzn mn nb tt(w)t st} \]

\[ h\text{rwb-r b\text{3k sntr ct d bit} \]

\[ itwrn ssm\text{dm zpni ht sn nb sps} \]

\[ inw nb nfr n rtw\text{f n.i st r 3w} \]

Negated indicative/perfective \textit{sdm.f}, the negative counterpart of the circumstantial \textit{sdm.n.f}/perfect, starts the passage. As the context suggests, among the many meanings of the verb \textit{w\text{3h}} we need to choose “leave aside, overlook, spare.” The object \textit{p\text{h}(\overline{s}) “plank” is derived from the verb \textit{p\text{h}(\overline{s}) “split, break open.” The hundreds of cargo ships with the sign \text{“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. \textit{w\text{3d 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 static of the transitive verb \textit{m\text{h “fill” with (static) pronominal suffixed subject has passive meaning. It introduces a long list of booty captured from these ships. \}

The phrase \textit{nn t\text{nw}t st “innumerable” is a \textit{nn} A construction, lit. “There is no quantity of it/them.”}
The adjective-verb “fine, special, noble” has two forms: ṣpss (3ae-gem.) and ṣpsi (4-ae-inf.), and the text uses a variant spelling of the latter.

The noun phrase inw nb nfr n rtw can be viewed as the concluding summary of the list or as the topicalized subject of the circumstantial sDm.n.f/perfect of the (unattested) verb ḫf 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-wrt n šw.s

ṣm ẓk ḡt m ib.k ir.f ṣm ḡn wn ḡr dd

The negated indicative/perfective sDm.f of wḥ “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 ṣm ḡk can be interpreted in two ways. First, as an independent sentence it may be a subject-stative construction ṣm ḡk(.w) involving the intransitive verb ḥk “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 ḡk being a perfective active participle “fallen.” The following clause ḡt m ib.k ir.f has been analyzed previously. If ṣm ḡk is viewed as a noun phrase then the alternative interpretation ḡt 3k 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 “3m 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.”

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 §r-r literally means “beginning to” but means “as far as.” Habachi interprets the symmetric composition hr hrp as a hr + infinitive construction applied to the verb hr “provide, bring (tribute), control” written with a graphic transposition. Although possible, the topmost r seems to be out of pace. J.R. Harris suggested 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; 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 w83 “desolation” is derived from the verb w8. Used intransitively it means “fall out” (as the

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2 Smith and Smith, op. cit.
hair determinative suggests), but as a transitive verb it means “desolate (a place).”

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$^3$ points out, the feminine plural noun $iAwt\;dSrt$ “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 $pA\;hdt$ in which the feminine $t$ after the masculine $hdt$ “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 $pA\;hdt$). The demonstrative pronoun $tA$ in front of $kmt$ points to “that (part of) Egypt,” where they ruled.

The circumstantial $sdm.n.f$/perfect of the transitively used verb $bt\;bT$ “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 infinitive of the verb $iAaS$, a variant of $aS$ “summon.”

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 $s$. $kśi$ is a variant spelling of $kš$ Kush (northern Sudan). The infinitive $hnty$ has been discussed in the grammar of the second Semna stela of Senwosret III. The direct genitive $s^t zh₃w$ can be translated as “written dispatch,” lit. “document of writing.”

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

$ć-wsr-r^n$ $ippi$ Auserra Apophis (with $r^n$ 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 $hr$ + infinitive construction employing the verb $nd-hrt$ is the first part of an indirect genitive, lit. “upon greeting of.”

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 *ḥy.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 *ḥf* “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.”

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ḥk3 nti m ḫnw.s K3-MSW di ḫnh ḫr thm (w)i ḫr i(w)n.i
ni ph.i sw mi k i n i rt.n.f nbt r.k
stp.f p3 t3 ḫ3d(t),s p3y.i t3 ḫn̄ p3y.k ḫb(3),n.f st
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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)tn* “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 *sdm.f* of the verb *ph* “attack” Apophis starts to claim his innocence.

The preposition *mi* governs an unmarked noun clause. It contains an indirect genitive 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 *sdm.f* of the verb *stp* “cut up, choose” with object *p3 t3 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 iAdt.s* “to its affliction” is a prepositional phrase with *iAdt*, a noun.

The object is further detailed in the phrase *p3y.1 t3 hnk* *p3y.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 *sdm.n.f* /perfect of the previously used verb *hb(3)*. The dependent pronoun *st* refers to the two lands.

*mi *h3d m 3*’

Apophis’ message suddenly turns positive with the imperative *mi* of *ii* “come” and the negative imperative of the verb *3*’ which unfortunately is not attested elsewhere (but conjectured to have the root *3(y)3*). The context, especially Apophis’ reassuring words that follow allow to guess the meaning “afraid, hold back, blench.”

*m.k sw 3 m 3.i*

*nn nt[i 3]h3(.w) n.k hr t3 kmt m.k nn di.i n.f w3t 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 together nn nti means “there is none who.” This serves as a preposed subject for the following subject-stative construction. The verb here is ḫ 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 sdm.f of the verb di “give” with future meaning is imbedded in the phrase rdi wꜜt “let go, set free,” lit. “give the road.”

Finally, note that the object of the preposition r is the sdm.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

\begin{align*}
\text{kꜜs n} & \text{nꜜt dmꜜw n tꜜꜜs kmt} \\
\text{wn [hnt-ḥn-]nfr hr rꜜswt}
\end{align*}

The particle kꜜs “then” marks the beginning of Apophis’ wish here, as a result of the preceding sentence. As such, the fitting verb form is prospective/subjunctive sdm.n.f. The plural demonstrative pronoun nꜜs 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 sdm.f of wmn makes the adverbial predicate function as a future wish hr rꜜswt “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 hnt-ḥn-nfr, is not a well-understood locality.

\footnote{[ShS. 32].}