

9

The Second Stela of Kamose

Part III



W3D-HPR-R^c di Cnh d3ir zpw



di.n.i h3swt h3t-t3 hr.i irrw m mitt



ni gm.n.tw w3t nt msnb.i ni b3g.n.i hr mSc.i ni it.t(w) hr mh



snd.n.f.n.i iw.i m hd ni Cht.n



ni sprt.i r.f m3.n.f hh.i h(3)b.n.f s3-r kSi r wh3 nh.f



kf.n.i si hr w3t ni di.i spr.s



hC.n di.i it.tw.s n.f Cnn.ti w3h si hr (i)3btt r tp-ihw



k nht.i m ib.f hb(3) hCw.f sdd n.f wpwti.f n3



irt.n.i r p3 w n inpwtt wn m hwt.f



zb.n.i pdt.i nht ntt hrt.(t)i r hb(3) dsds



iw.i m s3k3 r tm rdi wn rkw.i h3.i



hnt.n.i m wsr-ib ib 3w(.w) sk rkw.i nb nti hr t3 w3t



hi p3 hnt nfr n p3 hk(3) nh(.w) (w)d3(.w) s(nb.w) hr msc.f r h3t.f



nn nhw.sn ni sn z(i) iri.f ni rm ib.sn



mnmn.i r z3tw-nwt tri 3ht



iw hr nb hd(.w) t3 m rsfi mryt bcb.ti w3st m h3b



hmwt t3ww iw.w(i) r m3 n.i zt nbt hpt(.ti) snnw.s nn hr hr rmyt



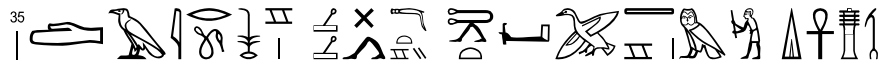
sntr n imn r hnw pr zp 2 r bw dd.tw im



szp bw-nfr mi dd.f p3 hpš n z3-imn nh(.w)-(w)d3(.w) s(nb.w)



(n)swt w3h W3D-HPR-R^c z3-r^c K3-MSW di nh



d3ir rsw s3s3 mht it p3 t3 m nht di nh dd w3s



3w ib.f hn^c k3.f mi r^c dt nh



wd hm.f n (i)r(i)-p^ct h3ti-^c hri-sst3 n pr-nswt hr(i)-tp n t3 r dr.f htmt(i)-biti



sb3-t3wi ḥ3ti (i)m(i)-r smrw (i)m(i)-r ḥtmt(i) wsr-nš3



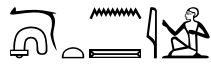
imi ir.tw irt.n nbt ḥm.i m nḥt ḥr wd



ḥtp st.f m ipt-st m w3st r nhḥ ḥn^c dt



dd.in.f ḥft ḥm.f irr.i [ḥft wd].tw.n [...] nb[t r] ḥzt nt ḥr nswt




imi-r ḥtmt(i) nši

Vocabulary

 *d3r* control, punish, subdue, suppress

 *mhi* (adjective-verb) concerned; (noun) care


 *hh* flame, scorch

 *wh3* seek

 *nh* protection, defense, aid

 *nn* turn/bring/come back, return


 *tp-ihw* Atfih (Aphroditopolis)


 *wpwti* messenger


 *inpwt* Cynopolis

 *zbi* send


 *pd* troop of soldiers

 *hrti* travel by land, march

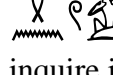
 *dsds* Baharia Oasis

 *s3k3* Sako (el-Qes)


 *rkW* enmity, opponent, tilting (of balance)


 *h3* behind, around

 *ski* destroy

 *hi* what

 *sn* question (someone), inquire into (a matter)

 *iri* companion

 *rmi* weep

 *mnmn* moor, move slowly/quickly, move about

 *z3tw-nwt* district of Thebes

 *hd* (adjective-verb) bright, white

 *rsfi* game, abundance

 *mryt* riverbank, shore, quay

 *bcb* become excited

 *w3st* Thebes

 *h3b* festival

 *t3y* male, man

 *rmyt* tears

 *sntr* cense, perfume with/burn incense

 *bw* place

 *hpš* scimitar

 *k3* ka

 *(i)r(i)-pct* (hereditary) prince, member of the elite


 *h3t(i)* high official, lit. he whose arm is in front


 *hri-sšt3* master of the privy matters, lit. he who is over the secrets


 *hri tp* chief, nomarch


 *htm* seal


 *htm* valuables, treasure

 *bity* king of Lower Egypt

 *htmt(i)-bity* treasurer/seal bearer
of the king of Lower Egypt

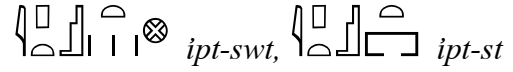
 *dw3 t3wi* star/conductor of the Two
Lands

 *h3ti* leader, lit. who is in front


 *(i)m(i)-r* overseer

 *smr* courtier

 *wd* stela

 *ipt-swt*, *ipt-st*

Karnak, lit. Most Select of Place(s)



 *nhh* eternity, forever,
eternal/continual repetition

Grammar Points



W3D-HPR-R^c di ʿnh d3ir zpw

The unusual epithet following the usual *di ʿnh* after the throne name *W3D-HPR-R^c* of Kamose is just the beginning of the several ways Kamose describes his power as a king. Due to the many meanings of *zpw*, the epithet in question can have several translations.

 *d3ir* is a variant spelling of  *d3r* “control, punish, subdue, suppress” and due to its position in the text it must be an active participle.

Combined with *zpw* translations of the epithet can vary from the mild “he who controls (the controller of) the events” to the more aggressive “punisher of the misdeeds.”



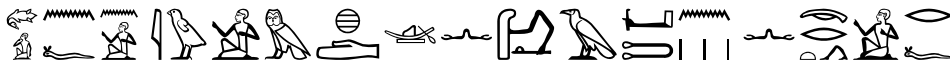
di.n.i h3swt h3t-t3 hr.i irrw m mitt

Since the preposition *hr* indicates possession, the verb + preposition combination *rdi hr*, lit. “put/place under” has the obvious meaning of “taking possession.” The verb *rdi* itself is circumstantial *sdm.n.f*/perfect indicating completed action.

h3st here clearly means “desert land” and not “foreign land” as Kamose is still struggling to unite Egypt proper. Depending on the interpretation of the noun *h3t* “front, beginning,” the location *h3t-t3* can mean “Southland,” lit. “front of the land” (Faulkner), or “border land,” lit. “before the land” (Lichtheim). For *mitt* see the discussion at the beginning of the Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor. The prepositional phrase *m mitt* it can be translated as “likewise, as well.”








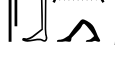
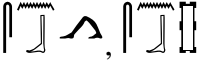
ni gm.n.tw w3t nt msnb.i ni b3g.n.i hr msc.i ni it.t(w) hr mh.i



snd.n.f n.i iw.i m hd ni ʿh3t.n n(i) spr.i r.f


The negated circumstantial *sdm.n.f*/perfect of *gmi* “find” with the impersonal suffix pronoun *tw* and object *w3t* “way, path, road” has passive meaning of inability, lit. “one is un-

able to/cannot find a way.” For the second part of the indirect genitive that follows Habachi¹ notes that a few nouns of Middle Egyptian are formed by prefixing a verb with the so-




called “formative”  *m* (and dropping an initial weak consonant *i* or *w* if needed). For example,  *wrḥ* “anoint” gives  *mrḥt* “oil” and  *wnḥ* “clothe (oneself)” gives  *mnḥt* “clothing.” The noun *msnb* can then be viewed as derived from the verb  *sbn* “fall, slip, go astray” (after a graphic transposition) via prefixing it with the “formative” *m*. With this, it could mean “downfall.” Smith and Smith agree with the *m*-formation but believe that it the verb in question is not *sbn* but  *snb* “overstep” (without graphic transposition), with the suffix pronoun the literal meaning is: “overthrowing/assailing me...”

In the next sentence the negated circumstantial *sḏm.n.f*/perfect the adjective-verb *b3gi* “weary, lazy” should mean “negligent.” As such it should express a general statement: Kamose is never negligent of his army.

This sentence can be an independent sentence or a subordinate adverb clause of causality expressing the reason why the previous sentence is true.


The sentence *ni it.t(w) ḥr mḥ.i* is short but not without difficulty. First of all, the irrigated canal determinative points to location, and the seated man should be a suffix pronoun, so that a direct interpretation of the noun phrase  *mḥ.i* is “my north.” Then *ḥr* is a preposition, and along with the negated circumstantial *sḏm.n.f*/perfective of *iti* with impersonal suffix pronoun the whole clause can be interpreted as the one (Apopis) on north of me (Kamose) has not seized/acquired.

On the other hand, it is also tempting to recall the idiom *iti ḥr* “avert attention,” lit. “take away the face.” Accepting this, the difficulty then lies in understanding the noun

(phrase) . Ignoring the irrigated canal determinative and possibly replacing  with , it can be considered as derived from the adjective-verb *mḥi* “concerned.” Attached to *ḥr* as a direct genitive, the whole clause could express the general statement that a con-

¹ Op. cit.

cerned man has not averted his attention (from taking care of his army, in Kamose’s case), lit. “the face of a concerned man has not been taken away.”

Finally, emphasizing the irrigated canal determinative,  *mḥ* may have to be augmented to *mḥt* “north” or even *mḥti* “northerner.” With this, the literal meaning is that “the face of the north(ener) has not been averted” from Kamose’s sight.

The last passage presents no grammatical problems. The main clause starts with the circumstantial *sḏm.n.f*/perfect of the verb *snd* “become afraid” and the suffix pronoun *.f* refers to Hyksos ruler. The three circumstantial clauses that follow emphasize the Hyksos ruler’s frightened state of mind when Kamose was sailing northward (*m ḥd*) (introduced by a void *iw*), even *ni ḥ3t.n* “before we fought,” even *ni spr.i r.f* “before I reached him” (negated *sḏmt.f* constructions). Note the archaizing presence of *t* instead of *t*.



m3.n.f hh.i h(3)b.n.f š3r-r kšī r wh3 nh.f



kf.n.i si hr w3t ni di.i spr.s

The circumstantial *sḏm.n.f*/perfect of the transitive verbs *m33* “see” and *h3b* “send, send word” emphasize Apophis’ panic to Kamose’s impending arrival. The use of the noun





hh “flame, scorch” should be understood only figuratively. The *r* + infinitive construction applied to the verb



wh3 “seek” is used to tell the purpose of sending a messenger.

The feminine dependent pronoun *si* obviously refers to *wpwt* “message” as a previous line *kf.n.i wp(w)t.f* is repeated here with the object replaced by *si*.

In the last clause one would have expected the negated indicative/perfective *sḏm.f* (or the circumstantial *sḏm.n.f*/perfect). The indicative/perfective of *rdi* however uses the base stem *rdi*. Thus, this should be negated prospective/subjunctive *sḏm.f* with  interpreted as , and *ni di.f* meaning: “I would not let/allow.” This is the first part of a *rdi sḏm.f* construction with the prospective/subjunctive of the verb *spr* and with suffixed sub-

ject .s, lit. “I would not allow that it may arrive.” This once more emphasizes Kamose’s great catch.



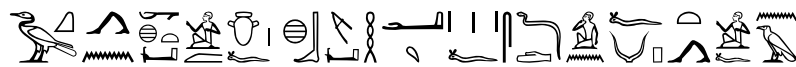
‘h^c.n di.i it.tw.s n.f ‘nn.ti w3h si hr (i)3btt r tp-ihw

A further humiliation for the Hyksos ruler is expressed by the *rdi* + prospective / subjunctive *sdm.f* construction (with *rdi* also prospective/subjunctive) applied to the verb *iti* which, along with the preposition *n*, means “take (back) to.” The subject in question is again *wpwt* referred to by the suffix pronoun *.s*. The passive converter *.tw* makes the sentence clear: “Then I had it (the message) taken back to him...”

In stative 2ae-gem. verbs such as ‘nn “turn/bring/come back, return” (usually) use the base stem. Being transitive, the stative has passive meaning. The 3FS stative suffix once again refers to *wpwt*.

The verb form of *w3h* is infinitive with the dependent pronoun *si* as its object: “leaving it (the message) aside.” The passive construction *w3h si* “it was placed” is possible but not likely as Middle Egyptian uses the stative (*w3h.ti*) with pronominal subjects.

Finally, note the peculiar spelling of the (feminine) nisbe *i3btt* “the East,” here meaning “the east side” to/at *tp-ihw* “Atfih” (Aphroditopolis).



‘k nht.i m ib.f hb(3) h^cw.f sdd n.f wpwti.f n3



irt.n.i r p3 w n inpwtt wn m hwt.f

Apophis’ state of mind and body is described here when he heard what Kamose did to

Cynopolis , the 17th Nome of Upper Egypt. This is north of Cusae, the boundary between the Egyptians and the Asiatics during the Second Intermediate Period, Hyksos territory. Presumably Apophis already heard the news at the time so that the indicative / perfective *sdm.f* of the verb ‘*k* in the Egyptian idiom ‘*k m ib* “astound,” lit. enter/penetrate into the heart’ is used for the Hyksos ruler’s state of mind, and the passive of the verb *hb3* “wreck” detail the state of his body, the object *h^cw.f*.

The circumstantial/imperfective *s_{dm}.f* of the verb *sdd* “relate” is employed in the following circumstantial clause describing concomitant action. The object is the demonstrative pronoun *n3* functioning as a noun and modified by a perfect relative form of *iri*.

Finally, the last (unmarked relative) clause containing the perfective active participle of the verb *wnn* reminds him of his lost possession: “which had been his property,” lit. “which existed under his belongings.”



zb.n.i pdt.i nht ntt hrt.(t)i r hb(3) dsds



iw.i m s3k3 r tm rdi wn rkw.i h3.i



Kamose dispatched a strong force described by the circumstantial *s_{dm}.n.f*/perfect of the verb *zbi* “send, dispatch.” The attached relative clause contains a subject-stative construction in which the preposed subject is the feminine relative adjective *ntt* (referring to the feminine antecedent *pdt*). The verbal predicate is *hrti* “travel by land, march.” Since its stative stem ends with *t*, in the 3FS stative suffix the *t* is omitted. The objective of the force is expressed by the *r* + infinitive construction.

The next adverbial sentence states that Kamose stays in *s3k3* “Sako” (el-Qes) and his own purpose is described by another *r* + infinitive construction. The infinitive in question is actually negated with the negative verb *tm* + negational complement of the verb *rdi*. This is the first part of a *rdi* + prospective/subjunctive *s_{dm}.f* construction employing the base form of *wnn*. The whole sentence is made clear by the object *rkw* “enemy, enmity, malice” and the final prepositional phrase, lit. “not to allow my enemy to exits behind me.”



hnt.n.i m wsr-ib ib 3w(.w) sk rkw.i nb nti hr t3 w3t

Kamose’s final cleanup operations are summarized here with simple grammar.

The scribal error  (the transitive use of) the verb *ski* “destroy” has been emended to the correct biliteral . The verb form *sk* is concomitant circumstantial/imperfective *s_{dm}.f* (with omitted subject).




hi p3 hnt nfr n p3 hk(3) nh(.w) (w)d3(.w) s(nb.w) hr mš^c.f r h3t.f



nn nhw.sn ni šn z(i) iri.f ni rm ib.sn

Once again a simple grammar describes Kamose’s return to the capital. The interjectional




“hi “what!” should be related to the interrogative  ih “what?” but this is its only appearance before the 19th Dynasty. It introduces an adverbial sentence with a long subject, an indirect genitival phrase A n B in which A is the noun phrase p3 hnt nfr with the infinitive of hnti (functioning as a noun) and B is p3 hk3 lph. (The abbreviated phrase



nh(.w)-(w)d3(.w)-s(nb.w) “alive, sound, and healthy” is abbreviated as lph.)

The adverbial predicate emphasizes Kamose’s triumphal march in front of his army.

The following three adverb clauses are all negative constructions. The first is a va-

riant of which we already met at the Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor 



nn nhw n mš^c.n². The last two have verbal predicates, the negated indica-

tive/perfective sdm.f of the verbs šni “question (someone)” and rmi “weep.” They describe the benevolent comradeship among the soldiers.



mnmn.i r z3tw-nwt tri 3ht



iw hr nb hd(.w) t3 m rsfi mryt b^cb.ti w3st m h3b



hmwt 3ww iw.w(i) r m3 n.i zt nbt hpt(.ti) snnw.s nn hr hr rmyt

A change in the narrative, Kamose’s arrival to home, is indicated in the main clause by the narrative infinitive of the verb mnmn which, according to Habachi must mean “moor” or “move slowly/quickly.” This is doubted by Smith and Smith who believe that this verb

² [ShS. 7].

must mean “shake, rattle” caused by the procession of chariots. A good comparison is *t3 hr mnmn*, the shaking of the earth in the Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor.³ The time is the season of Inundation, where is a variant spelling of *tr* “season.”

Although *hd hr* is a clearly understood *nfr hr* construction meaning “cheerful,” lit. “bright of face,” the particle and the word order tells that the next main clause contains a subject-stative construction applied to the adjective-verb *hd* “bright” expressing the state of the people welcoming Kamose.

In fact, the four clauses in this passage split into a pair of subject-stative constructions and a pair of clauses with adverbial predicates intertwined.

In the next sentence a subject-stative construction describes the curious Thebans and an imbedded *r* + infinitive construction expresses their purpose: “to look.” The joy of women seeing their loved ones coming home is expressed by another subject-stative construction in the next (independent) sentence; this time applied to the transitive verb *hpt* “embrace.” The stative suffix is suppressed since the verb stem ends with *t*.

Finally, yet another independent sentence contains a *nn* A negation on existence with the adverbial phrase *hr rmyt* “in tears,” lit. “under tears.”



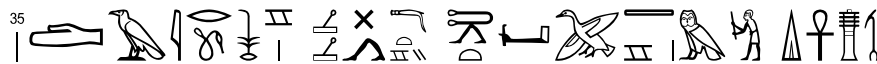
sntr n imn r hnw pr zp 2 r bw dd.tw im



šzp bw-nfr mi dd.f p3 hpš n z3-imn ᵑnh(.w)-(w)d3(.w) s(nb.w)



(n)swt w3h W3D-HPR-Rᵑ z3-rᵑ K3-MSW di ᵑnh



d3ir rsw s3s3 mht it p3 t3 m nht di ᵑnh dd w3s





3w ib.f hnᵑ k3.f mi rᵑ dt nhᵑ



sntr here is not the noun “incense” but the verb “cense, perfume with/burn incense” in in

³ [ShS, 59].

finitive stating that Kamose, after the successful campaign, makes offerings to Amun. The signs indicate that the god have fallen victim to iconoclasm in the Amarna period and have only been partially restored. This points to the fact that the stela was still standing in the time of Akhenaten.⁴

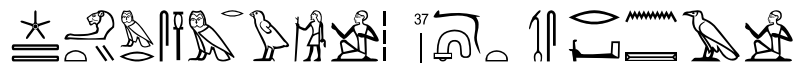
The place at which this is performed is the Holy of the Holies, the sanctuary, indicated by the Egyptian ditto sign *zp* to be applied (only) to *pr*, lit. “the enclosure of the enclosure(s).” (With the exception of magical spells, *zp* 2 applies only to the preceding word.) Concomitant to the action *sntr*, the circumstantial/imperfective *sdm.f* of *dd* “say” is used to introduce the imperative *šzp bw nfr* “Receive good things!”

The preposition *mi* governs an unmarked noun clause containing the non-attributive imperfective relative form *dd.f* “he gives” of *rdi* “give” (where the original sign  is emended to ). Here Amun, is indicated only by the suffix pronoun *.f* and the recipient of the scimitar is the victorious son of Amun.

The rest of this passage contains a number of common epithets and phrases for Kamose. The verb forms of *w3h* “endure,” *d3ir* “subdue,” *s3s3* “overthrow,” *iti/iti* “seize” are all active participles. As opposed to the typical subject-stative construction  |  *ib* *3w(.w)* above, in the last clause *3w* is an adjectival predicate.



wḏ ḥm.f n (i)r(i)-p^ct ḥ3ti-^c ḥri-sšt3 n pr-nswt ḥr(i)-tp n t3 r dr.f ḥtmt(i)-biti



sb3-t3wi ḥ3ti (i)m(i)-r smrw (i)m(i)-r ḥtmt(i) wsr-nš3



imi ir.tw irt.n nbt ḥm.i m nḥt ḥr wḏ






ḥtp st.f m ipt-st m w3st r nḥḥ ḥn^c dt

The infinitive of *wḏ* “command” introduces Kamose’s order to set up the stela which we have been analyzing and which is about to end here. (Alternatively, *wḏ* can also be the noun “decree,” the first part of the direct genitive *wḏ ḥm.f*.) The command/decree is di-

⁴ See Smith-Smith, op. cit.

rected to *wsr-nš3* whose name is preceded with a long list of his titles. Although the mid-

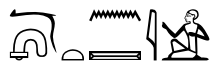
dle part in the name  is badly eroded in this part of the stela, one seems to make out the bottom of . In this case, the name is an alternate spelling of  *nšī*.

The *rdi* + prospective/subjunctive *s_{dm}.f* construction introduces the royal decree in which *rdi* is the imperative *imi*, and the prospective/subjunctive of *iri* with the impersonal suffix pronoun *tw* has passive meaning, lit. “have one put.” The object is introduced with the perfect relative form *irt.n* of *iri*. This relative form itself has a modifier *nbt* and subject: “all that my majesty has done.”

The perfective relative form of *ḥtp* “set, rest” is used to point to the location where the stela will be located. The coreferent of this relative clause is *st.f* with the suffix pronoun referring to the stela, lit. “which its place shall rest.”




dd.in.f ḥft ḥm.f irr.i [ḥft wd].tw.n [...] nb[t r] ḥzt nt ḥr nswt




imi-r ḥtmt(i) nšī

A *s_{dm}.in.f* verb form applied to *dd* introduces Neshi’s speech which is unfortunately in a badly eroded part of the stela. The verb form of *iri* is still visible, and given the context it is the non-attributive imperfective relative form *irr.i* with the (conjectural) emphasized prepositional phrase *ḥft wd.tw.n... nbt* “(it is) according all that was commanded (that) ...” (The lacuna can easily be filled with the (conjectural) dative *n.i*.) A similar example to this

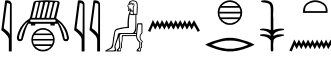
construction is  *skdd t3 ḥft wd.k*⁵.

The rest of the sentence is less obscure. In an indirect genitival construction the clash of the indirect genitive with the preposition *ḥr* (followed by “king”) is well-attested, and the literal meaning “of with” can be emended as “from.” For example, at the end of

the Story of Sinuhe we find  *ḥzwt nt ḥr nswt*⁶ (with honorific

⁵ [Peas. B1, 299].

⁶ [Sin. B. 310].

transposition), and also  *im3hy n hr nswt*⁷. Finally, the insertion of the (conjectural) preposition *r* makes the whole reconstruction now feasible.

⁷ [BH. i. 24, 115-116]