The Second Stela of Kamose

Part III

W3D-HPR-Rc di ŋnh d3lr zpw

di.n.i ḫ3swt ḫ3t-33 hr.i irrw m mitt

ni gm.n.tw w3t nt msnb.i ni b3g.n.i hr mš3.i ni it.t(w) hr mh

snd.n.f.n.i iw.i m ḫd ni ŋ3t.n

ni sprt.i r.f m3.n.f hh.i h(3)b.n.f ṣ3c-r kši r ḥ33 nh.f

kh.f.n.i si hr w3t ni di.i spr.s

ṣḥ.f.n di.i it.tw.s n.f ʿnn.ti w3ḥ si ḫr (i)tbb r tp-ihw

k nḥt.i m ḫb(3) ḫ3w.f sdd n.f wpwt.f n3

irt.n.i r p3 w n inpwt n mn ḫwt.f

zb.n.i pḏt.i nḥt ntt ḫr.tti r ḫb(3) dṣḍs
iw.i m s3k3 r tm rdi wn rk.w.i h3.i

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

hi p3 hnt nfr n p3 hk(3) 5nh(.w) (w)d3(.w) s(nb.w) hr mš.f r hš.t.f

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

mnmn.i r z3tw-nwt tri 3ḥt

iw hr nb ḫd(w) t3 m rsfi mryt ṣb.ti w3st m ḫb

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

sntr n imm r ḫnw pr zp 2 r bw dd.tw im

ṣz p bw-nfr mì dd.f p3 ḫpš n z3-imn 5nh(.w)-(w)d3(.w) s(nb.w)

(n)swt w3h W3D-HPR-R ṣ3-r K3-MSW di 5nh

d3ir rsu ṣis3 mḥt it p3 t3 m nḥt di 5nh dd w3s

3w ib.f ḫn¢ k3.f mi r¢ dt nhh

wd ḫm.f n (i)r(i)-p t h3ti-c hri-sšt3 n pr-nswt hr(i)-tp n t3 r ḫr.f hmt(i)-biti
sb3-t3wi h3ti (i)m(i)-r smrw (i)m(i)-r htm(i) wsr-ns3

imi ir.tw irt.n nbt hm.i m nht ħr wd

htp st.f m ipt-st m w3st r nhh ħn† dt

dd.in.f hft hm.f irr.i [hft wd].tw.n […] nb[t r] hzt nt ħr nswt

imi-r htm(i) nši
The Second Stela of Kamose: Part III

Vocabulary

d\textsuperscript{3}r control, punish, subdue, suppress

\textit{m\textsuperscript{hi}} (adjective-verb) concerned; (noun) care

\textit{hh} flame, scorch

\textit{wh\textsuperscript{3}} seek

\textit{nh} protection, defense, aid

\textit{\textquoteleft nn} turn/bring/come back, return

\textit{tp-ihw} Atfih (Aphroditopolis)

\textit{wpwtt} messenger

\textit{inpwtt} Cynopolis

\textit{zbi} send

\textit{pdt} troop of soldiers

\textit{hrti} travel by land, march

\textit{ds\textsuperscript{3}ds} Baharia Oasis

\textit{s\textsuperscript{3}k\textsuperscript{3}} Sako (el-Qes)

\textit{rkw} enmity, opponent, tilting (of balance)

\textit{b\textsuperscript{3}} behind, around

\textit{ski} destroy

\textit{hi} what

\textit{s\textsuperscript{3}ni} question (someone), inquire into (a matter)

\textit{iri} companion

\textit{rmi} weep

\textit{mnmn} moor, move slowly/quickly, move about

\textit{z\textsuperscript{3}tw-nwt} district of Thebes

\textit{hd} (adjective-verb) bright, white

\textit{rsf\textsuperscript{t}} game, abundance

\textit{mr\textsuperscript{yt}} riverbank, shore, quay

\textit{\textquoteright b\textquoteright b} become excited

\textit{w\textsuperscript{3}st} Thebes

\textit{h\textsuperscript{3}b} festival

\textit{by} male, man

\textit{rmyt} tears

\textit{sntr} cense, perfume with/burn incense

\textit{bw} place

\textit{hp\textsuperscript{s}} scimitar

\textit{k\textsuperscript{3}} ka

\textit{(i)r(i)-p\textsuperscript{t}} (hereditary) prince, member of the elite

\textit{h\textsuperscript{3}(i)\textsuperscript{c}} high official, lit. he whose arm is in front

\textit{hri-s\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{3}t\textsuperscript{3}}} master of the privy matters, lit. he who is over the secrets

\textit{hri tp} chief, nomarch

\textit{htm} seal

\textit{htm} valuables, treasure
biti king of Lower Egypt

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

dw3 b3wi 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
The unusual epithet following the usual di "nh after the throne name W3D-HPR-Rc of Kamose is just the beginning of the several ways Kamose describes his power as a king. Due to the many meanings of zp, the epithet in question can have several translations.

\( d\text{ir} \) is a variant spelling of \( d\text{r} \) “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.”

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.

\( h\text{ht} \) 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 \( h\text{tt} \) “front, beginning,” the location \( h\text{tt}-t\) 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.”

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 Habachi 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, \( \text{wrh} \) “anoint” gives \( \text{mrht} \) “oil” and \( \text{wnh} \) “clothe (oneself)” gives \( \text{mnht} \) “clothing.” The noun \( \text{msnb} \) can then be viewed as derived from the verb \( \text{sbn} \) “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 the verb in question is not \( \text{sbn} \) but \( \text{snb} \) “overstep” (without graphic transposition), with the suffix pronoun the literal meaning is: “overthrowing/assailing me…”

In the next sentence the negated circumstantial \( \text{sdm.n.f} / \text{perfect} \) adjective-verb \( \text{b3gl} \) “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 \( \text{ni it.t(w) hr mh.i} \) 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 \( \text{mh.i} \) is “my north.” Then \( \text{hr} \) is a preposition, and along with the negated circumstantial \( \text{sdm.n.f} / \text{perfective of iti} \) with impersonal suffix pronoun the whole clause can be interpreted as the one (Apophis) on north of me (Kamose) has not seized/acquired.

On the other hand, it is also tempting to recall the idiom \( \text{iti hr} \) “avert attention,” lit. “take away the face.” Accepting this, the difficulty then lies in understanding the noun (phrase)\( \text{hr} \). Ignoring the irrigated canal determinative and possibly replacing \( \text{hr} \) with \( \text{hr} \), it can be considered as derived from the adjective-verb \( \text{mhi} \) “concerned.” Attached to \( \text{hr} \) as a direct genitive, the whole clause could express the general statement that a con-

\[\text{Op. cit.}\]
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, \( \text{mḫ} \) may have to be augmented to \( \text{mḥt} \) “north” or even \( \text{mḥti} \) “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 \( \text{sdm.n.f}/\text{perfect} \) of the verb \( \text{snḏ} \) “become afraid” and the suffix pronoun \( .f \) is refers to Hyksos ruler. The three circumstantial clauses that follow emphasize the Hyksos ruler’s frightened state of mind when Kamose was sailing northward (\( \text{m ḫḏ} \)) (introduced by a void \( \text{iw} \)), even \( \text{ni ʰḥṯ.n} \) “before we fought,” even \( \text{ni spr.i r.f} \) “before I reached him” (negated \( \text{sdm.f} \) constructions). Note the archaizing presence of \( \text{t} \) instead of \( t \).

\[ \text{m3.n.f hh.i } \text{h(3)b.n.f} \text{šš-r } \text{kši } \text{r wh3 nh.f} \]

\[ \text{kf.n.i si ḫr wṭt ni di.i spr.s} \]

The circumstantial \( \text{sdm.n.f}/\text{perfect} \) of the transitive verbs \( \text{mḏ} \) “see” and \( \text{ḥb} \) “send, send word” emphasize Apophis’ panic to Kamose’s impending arrival. The use of the noun \( \text{ḥḥ} \) “flame, scorch” should be understood only figuratively. The \( r+\text{infinitive} \) construction applied to the verb \( \text{wh3} \) “seek” is used to tell the purpose of sending a messenger.

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

In the last clause one would have expected the negated indicative/perfective \( \text{sdm.f} \) (or the circumstantial \( \text{sdm.n.f}/\text{perfect} \)). The indicative/perfective of \( \text{rdi} \) however uses the base stem \( \text{rdi} \). Thus, this should be negated prospective/subjunctive \( \text{sdm.f} \) with \( \text{ḥḥ} \) interpreted as \( \text{ḥḥ} \), and \( \text{ni di.f} \) meaning: “I would not let/allow.” This is the first part of a \( \text{rdi sdm.f} \) construction with the prospective/subjunctive of the verb \( \text{spr} \) and with suffixed sub-
ject. s, lit. “I would not allow that it may arrive.” This once more emphasizes Kamose’s great catch.

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-hw “Atfih” (Aphroditopolis).

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 hbw “wreck” detail the state of his body, the object hsw.f.
The circumstantial/imperfective *sdm.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.”

Kamose dispatched a strong force described by the circumstantial *sdm.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 *sAkA* “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* + negatival complement of the verb *rdi*. This is the first part of a *rdi* + prospective/subjunctive *sdm.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.”

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

The scribal error *lk* in (the transitive use of) the verb *ski* “destroy” has been emended to the correct biliteral *sk*. The verb form *sk* is concomitant circumstantial /imperfective *sdm.f* (with omitted subject).
Once again a simple grammar describes Kamose’s return to the capital. The interjectional \textit{xi “what!”} should be related to the interrogative \textit{ih “what?”} but this is its only appearance before the 19\textsuperscript{th} Dynasty. It introduces an adverbial sentence with a long subject, an indirect genitival phrase A \textit{n B} in which A is the noun phrase \textit{pA xnt nfr} with the infinitive of \textit{hnti} (functioning as a noun) and B is \textit{pA HqA lph}. (The abbreviated phrase \textit{anx(.w)-(w)DA(.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 variant of which we already met at the Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor. The last two have verbal predicates, the negated indicative/perfective \textit{sDm.f} of the verbs \textit{sni “question (someone)”} and \textit{rmi “weep.”} They describe the benevolent comradeship among the soldiers.

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

\footnote{[ShS. 7].}
must mean “shake, rattle” caused by the procession of chariots. A good comparison is \( t \) \( hr \) \( mnmn \), the shaking of the earth in the Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor.\(^3\) The time is the season of Inundation, where \( \text{mr} \) \( nfr \) \( Hr \) is a variant spelling of \( \text{mr} \) \( tr \) “season.”

Although \( hq \) \( hr \) 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 \( hq \) “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.”

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

\(iszp \) \( bw-nfr \) \( mi \) \( dd.f \) \( p3 \) \( hpıs \) \( n \) \( zı-imn \) \( ınh.(w)-(w) \) \( dıs.(w) \) \( s(nb.w) \)

\( (n)swt \) \( w3h \) \( W3D-HPR-Rc \) \( ızı-rc \) \( K3-MSW \) \( di \) \( ınh \)

\( dıır \) \( rsıw \) \( sısıs \) \( mıt \) \( it \) \( p3 \) \( b3 \) \( m \) \( nhıt \) \( di \) \( ınh \) \( dd \) \( wıs \)

\( ıwibf \) \( hınırc \) \( k3-f \) \( mi \) \( rı \) \( rı \) \( nhıh \)

\( sntr \) 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 $zp$ *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.

The infinitive of *wd* “command” introduces Kamose’s order to set up the stela which we have been analyzing and which is about to end here. (Alternatively, *wd* can also be the noun “decree,” the first part of the direct genitive *wd hm.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 middle part in the name is badly eroded in this part of the stela, one seems to make out the bottom of nši. In this case, the name is an alternate spelling of nši.

The rdi + prospective/subjunctive sdm.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 htp “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.”

A sdm.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 hft 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 t’ hft wd.k.

The rest of the sentence is less obscure. In an indirect genitival construction the clash of the indirect genitive with the preposition hr (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 hżwt nt hr nswt (with honorific
transposition), and also \textit{im\texttilde{}h\texttilde{}y n hr nswt}. Finally, the insertion of the (conjectural) preposition \textit{r} makes the whole reconstruction now feasible.

\footnote{BH. i. 24, 115-116}