

ANTHONY SPALINGER

FIVE VIEWS ON EGYPT

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Frank Kammerzell und Gerald Moers
unter Mitwirkung von Kai Widmaier

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Anthony Spalinger

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For Harold Spalinger
25 March 1913 – 26 August 1975

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Datings of the Kadesh Reliefs

Adopting a general historical development of the various Kadesh records is not a difficult matter.¹ On the other hand, any progress in ascertaining a more exact historical and textual interrelationship among the various exemplars has to be dependent upon certain “peculiar” or “unusual” writings present within the inscriptions. Here, we shall following a simple line of attack, one that is dependent upon a “progression” in time. That Abydos can be placed before Abu Simbel and the latter before the various Karnak, Luxor, and Ramesseum exemplars appears self-evident. In addition, the closeness of the two Ramesseum versions (R1, R2) as well as those at Luxor (L1, L3) allow one to posit a relative straightforward analysis of the entire material.² As this has been done earlier, albeit in a tentative fashion, my present analysis will concentrate upon the writings of Ramesses II’s prenomen and nomen within the Kadesh corpus.

Unfortunately, everything chronologically important for research in the temple of Abydos is lost in the Kadesh reliefs.³ It may be significant that the festival calendar itself is not one that included the complete year. Therefore, it does not resemble the one on the south exterior wall at Medinet Habu, for example.⁴ Instead, it presents a series of celebrations for Osiris. Was this because of the importance of the chief Abydene deity or perhaps a result of the delayed work project at Ramesses II’s temple?

Instead, we can proceed to survey the military scenes of Ramesses at Abu Simbel, a grotto edifice which appears to have been decorated – or at least its Kadesh material – soon after the commencement of similar work at Abydos. The northern or Kadesh depictions show the standard practice of including god representations, the Re figure holding the maat feather in the left and woser in the right. Because these changes were not even and, more importantly, were restricted to the main temples of Egypt, I do not

1 Anthony Spalinger, “Remarks on the Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II: The ‘Bulletin’”, in: Hans Goedicke, ed., *Perspectives on the Battle of Kadesh*, Baltimore (1985), pp. 43-75.

2 In this context I can now refer to Irmgard Hein, “Die ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien”, GOF IV/22, Wiesbaden (1991), *passim*, especially pages 107-112. Cf. Anthony Spalinger, “Historical Observations on the Military Reliefs of Abu Simbel and Other Ramesside Temples in Nubia”, *JEA* 66 (1980), pp. 83-99.

3 Yet note P 131 for the Abydos variant which I have labeled, following Liverani, a “free variant”. Seth may have been preferred later and not the Theban war god Montu who is recorded at Abydos. In the relief texts R 23-4 of Abydos has at least two of the major fallen enemies – one of whom is Muwatallis’ brother – recorded by name and JEA designation. The texts are also present in R2 and at Abu Simbel but not at Luxor.

4 Ben J. J. Haring, *Divine Households. Administrative and Economic Aspects of the New Kingdom Royal Memorial Temples in Western Thebes*, Egyptologische Uitgaven 12, Leiden (1997), Chapters I-II.

claim that the alterations followed a consistent pattern, but perhaps we can argue that they began in the Theban region and slowly moved elsewhere.⁵ At Abu Simbel this is perfectly clear, even if we ignore the Kadesh images and inscriptions. On the northern wall of the main hall the expected very early writing of the prenomen occurs with, of course, *stp-n-R^c*. In this case the god Re, standing and holding the maat feather, grasps the standard of woser. In the nomen Re is a seated god as is Amun. These writing are identical to those on the south wall.⁶ In the triumph scenes, which after all are related to the military account, the same occurs, except we can note the more developed form of the nomen *Wsr-m³c^t-R^c stp-n-R^c* on one of the texts on the north side. In that case Maat is sitting on a throne and grasping the woser standard.

The earliest writings of the king's last two names, after Ramesses had ended a standardization of epithets at the close of his first year, are listed immediately below. Let me remark in addition that there is a distinct change from theriomorphic representations to abstract ones. Naturally, I am working with hieroglyphic cases and restricting myself to the developments and changes within one corpus, that of the Kadesh war.

Prenomen

Early

1. Harachty stands and holds a Maat feather in one hand and the woser in another. (Sometimes the Maat feather can not be seen or else is poorly rendered.)
2. Re is represented by the disk on Harachty's head; Maat is the feather.⁷

Middle

1. Re is not a god; he is a sun.
2. As an intermediate stage, Maat is a goddess. She sits on a throne and holds the woser.

Late

1. Re is a disk.
2. Maat sits as a goddess but not on a throne.
3. All three, Re, Maat, and woser are independent figures.

5 See Kenneth A. Kitchen's comments on the southward movement into Nubia of the spelling of the king's name with *-sw* in "Historical Observations on Ramesside Nubia", in: Erika Endesfelder, *et al.*, eds., *Ägypten und Kusch. Fritz Hintze zum 60. Geburtstag*, Berlin (1977), p. 220 and note 7.

6 *KRI* II 206-207.

7 *KRI* II 129.9 (Abu Simbel) is a slip.

Writings of the prenomen

Early



KRI II 102.6: Abu Simbel;
129.8, 9: Abu Simbel

Middle



KRI II 147.2: Karnak – K1

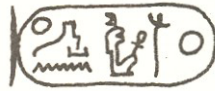


KRI II 141.2: Abu Simbel



KRI II 102.3: Luxor – L2;
146.11: Karnak – K1

Late



KRI II 10.11: Karnak – K1;
129.14: Ramesseum – R1

Second name (nomen)

Here, the progression is not as fixed within the previous movement in time. In other words, these three phases are somewhat independent of the previous ones.

Early

1. Amun is a god.
2. Re is a god.
3. Both gods stand and face each other.

Middle

1. Amun is a god.
2. Re is a god.
3. Both gods are seated.

Later

1. The name "Amun" is spelled out.
2. Re remains a seated god.

Writings of the nomen

Early



KRI II 3.4: Luxor – L2

Middle



KRI II 10.12: Luxor – L1



KRI II 102.6: Abu Simbel



KRI II 141.2: Abu Simbel

Not in Kadesh texts



KRI II 324.11, 325.11 (etc.): Dedicatory Inscription



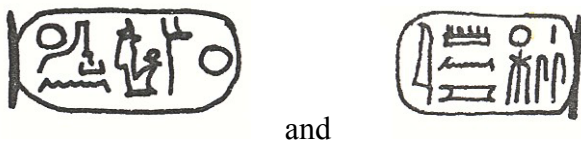
KRI II 360.5: Quban Stela

General comments

The corpus employed for these two charts is that of the Kadesh reliefs and inscriptions. The advantage in using this data is that, for the most part, the textual history is circumscribed within a half-decade or so and the parallels among the versions are simple to analyze. Despite the employ of independently working équipes the development of as well as the differences in the writings are relatively straightforward.⁸ One must keep in mind that this material is solely of a royal nature and, in fact, is of first-rate quality.

There is an increase to abstraction, but Maat becomes a deity. Re, in turn, moves to the disk icon while Amun's name is soon to be spelled out. Note the representation of the two gods – Re and Amun – facing each other. This example is from Abu Simbel. Individual idiosyncrasies of each temple (Abydos, Abu Simbel, Karnak, Luxor, and the Ramesseum) have been overlooked.

There is no “final form” for the nomen in the Kadesh Inscriptions. I have included two early texts for contrast: the year three Quban Inscription and the year one Dedicatory Inscription. Both naturally deal with events predating the Kadesh war of Ramesses. Yet those nomen writings become standard later on in the king's reign. The same may be said with respect to the induction text of the high priest Nebwenenef wherein, although dated to year one of Ramesses (almost immediately after his assumption of power as sole ruler), the writings for the prenomen and nomen are respectfully⁹:



The later developments, but also those early writings that are independent of the Kadesh corpus, show variants determined by other factors: importance of text, royal versus non-royal, provenance (especially with regard to localities outside of Egypt or even provincial sites) and the like.

⁸ Hein, *Die ramesidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien*, pp. 109-112 and following.

⁹ *KRI* II 283.1 and 5. Let us keep in mind that this case as well as the two preceding (Dedicatory Inscription and Quban Stela) are not part of the Kadesh group. Quban, as well, was carved south of Egypt.

From a psychological or religious viewpoint certain aspects in this schema are worth surveying. With regard to the prenomen separation and the rise of Maat are the most outstanding. We can immediately see that the sign for truth, originally a feather, has suddenly become the deity. This increasing emphasis on “Truth” as a goddess is reflected in the growing importance of Maat during the Ramesside Period.¹⁰ At the same time the connected hieroglyphs become independent of one another, and their intimate associations, so well viewed by the grasping arm holding the woser sign, have ceased. It is as if a strict move to atomization has taken place. At the same time the original deity, Re-Harachty (who is not Maat), represented with the falcon’s head and sun disk on head, became a “purer” or more abstract image of the sun disk with Maat depicted as a goddess.

The nomen follows a similar pattern. The deities Re and Amun slowly are transformed into either a mere spelling of the god’s name (Amun) or the abstract sign of the disk for Re. (This last step is very irregular and, in fact, is not present in the Kadesh texts.)¹¹ Lastly, observe that this alteration brought with it an end to any close association between both gods. Originally the two face each other, either standing or sitting; the intimacy abruptly ceases once Amun is presented by the spelling of his name. These marked differences did not progress in an even fashion, as one might expect. Re, for example, is always present in some form, and the epithet *stp-n-Rc*, connected to Seth, may also indirectly link the ruler with the royal capital of Avaris. The changes, surely emanating from the king, may point to a number of subtle differences in thought practices, among which the contemporary reliefs give added emphasis. Hornung, for example, observed that in the standard representations of cult scenes of the presentation for Maat, the Pharaoh now delivers his prenomen, which of course includes the word maat; Assmann is yet a third scholar whose research has encompassed this aspect.¹²

As indicated in the charts above, this would tend to reflect a time slightly after the earlier spelling in which the hieroglyphs clutter up the cartouche less.¹³ In this section of the temple there are various unique writings in which the gods Re and Amun,

10 Kenneth A. Kitchen, “The Titulary of the Ramesside Kings as Expression of their Ideal Kingship”, *ASAE* 71 (1987), p. 140; Erik Hornung, “Maat – Gerechtigkeit für alle? Zur altägyptischen Ethik”, *Eranos* 56 (1987), pp. 385-427 and especially pages 416-417; Miriam Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies*, OBO 120, Göttingen (1992); and Jan Assmann, *Ma’at. Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im alten Ägypten*, Munich (1990).

11 I am very well aware that these different writings are dependent upon the scribal practices of individual workmen’s *équipes*.

12 “Maat – Gerechtigkeit für alle?”, pp. 416-417, and also his “Pharao Ludens”, *Eranos* 51 (1982), pp. 494-496; cf. Emily Teeter, “Observations on the Presentation of the Ramesside Prenomen”, *Varia Aegyptiaca* 2 (1986), pp. 175-184, with her volume, *The Presentation of Maat. Ritual and Legitimacy in Ancient Egypt*, SAOC 57, Chicago (1997); and Assmann, *Ma’at. Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im alten Ägypten*, Chapter VIII.

13 Cf. *KRI* II 208.10.

standing, face each another, perhaps indicating the double connection of the two main deities in his southern temple.¹⁴ All in all, it seems self-evident that the northern wall was carved close in time to the southern. The triumph scenes perhaps were carved somewhat later than the Kadesh, but one can see immediately that the Abydos calendar ought to postdate the work in the south.

At roughly the same time the northern chapel at Abu Simbel was decorated whereas the southern chapel shows work accomplished later.¹⁵ In the latter scenes the king's cartouches can be placed within a post middle phase but have not reached the standard formation that I have categorized as "later". (I.e., see the presence of the *-sw*, but deities still represent Re and Amun.) The terrace reveals a very early stage with Maat, the goddess, sitting on the throne and touching the woser. Re, naturally separate from her, is represented by the disk.¹⁶ The bandeau text is definitely later, but the two colossi appear to have been designated with the cartouches that also occur at the terrace.¹⁷ When we are about to enter the temple, there is a semi-cryptographic writing of Ramesses' name but it and the architrave decorates can be place to the same time-frame as the military scenes; namely, a transference over to the middle phase for the prenomens. Maat is a seated goddess who holds the woser staff but Re is a god.¹⁸ Owing to the special cryptographic writing present here, it is probably best to discount this case.

At this point one can deal with the various Osiride colossi as well as the sanctuary area. By and large the same presentation of the king's two names within the cartouches holds. Yet in the sanctuary itself we can find the standing figure of the solar deity with the sun disk on his head and one of his hands holding the woser symbol. Clearly, this area was probably carved earlier than the zones located more to the front.¹⁹ Indeed, this is what we should expect: the inner portions of a rock cut temple will be, as a rule, decorated before the outer rooms.

Although a reasonable outline of the carving within Abu Simbel is discernable, major difficulties occur when one attempts to place all of the Kadesh accounts together. I had tried to do this earlier from a somewhat limited point of view; here, the argument will be more rigorous.²⁰ I shall first deal with the three major versions at Luxor and work out their internal chronology. It is understood that the Lp exemplar can only be brought into consideration a few times owing to the limited data available.

14 *KRI* II 208.14, 209.1.

15 *KRI* II 747 for the northern chapel and 748-751 for the southern chapel. In particular, note the separation in *stp-n-R^c*.

16 *KRI* II 751-752.

17 *KRI* II 752-753.

18 *KRI* II 754.7.

19 Cf. *KRI* II 760.16.

20 See my "Historical Observations on the Military Reliefs of Abu Simbel and Other Ramesside Temples in Nubia".

(The sign ‘>’ indicates that the version to the left preceded in time that to the right.) It should be further observed that Abu Simbel predates any of the Luxor reliefs.²¹

- 1) Poem The cases are P 1, 24, 35, 39, 304, 305, 338, and 341.
 The historical order is L2 > L1; L3 parallels L2 but this only can be seen in P 24; at the end L2 moves to the later form of L1; P 1 might show the middle phase as Kuentz felt.²²
 L2 mainly shows the middle phase whereas L1 is at the end of the development. L2, however, changes near the end of its account.
 Lp, L1, and L2 present the same later form in P 304, but also note that L1 and L2 are moving to the later phase in the nomen when the text begins to approach the end (e.g., P 305).
- 2) Bulletin The case is B 2. Only L2 is present and it is identical to the middle phase.
- 3) Reliefs The cases are R 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 50, 57, 92, and 95.
 The remaining two of R 98 and 100 are the presentation scenes that are only carved at Abu Simbel.
 In R 6 L1 has not completely moved away from the middle phase as it shows two deities; R 17 shows the expected later phase for L1.

Our preliminary results come to:

L2, L3, and Lp > L1.

The last development had to have occurred because the palimpsest version on the pylon was erased and L1 placed over it. By the time the carvers reached the work on the relief captions, which we have seen from the Abu Simbel arrangement, were added after the reliefs, the change from middle to end seems to have been effected. This may be noted independently in the progression noted in version L2, but how does this fit with the architectural layout? L2 is located on the east and southeast walls of the temple whereas L3 is on the west walls (plus the transverse wall connecting the Tutankhamun Colonnade with the Court of Amunhotep III). The Poem of L3 was

21 The early attempt of Kurt Sethe, “Die Jahresrechnung unter Ramses II. und der Namenwechsel dieses Königs”, *ZÄS* 62 (1927), pp. 110-114. While pioneering and now very dated, this article deserves recognition.

22 Charles Kuentz, *La bataille de Qadech. Les textes (“Poem de Pentaour” et “Bulletin de Qadech”) et les bas-reliefs* I, MIFAO 55, Cairo (1928), p. 212. I follow him rather than Kitchen who restores the key signs (*KRI* II 3.4) to the late phase.

placed at the location of the forecourt of Amunhotep III, but the Bulletin, now lost, was closer to the front of the temple as it is to be found at the Processional Colonnade.

L2 presents the Poem and Bulletin as independent entities separate from the reliefs; the latter, in any case, were never carved. The former can be found on the east wall of the Luxor forecourt, constructed under Ramesses II, and its winds around the southeast side until ending up at the Bulletin. This area is even closer to the front of the temple than the areas used for version L3. Owing to the fragmentary nature of the latter, it is difficult to say when the workers completed L3 and then moved to L2. The latter, nonetheless, preceded in time the decoration program of Kadesh on the two front faces of the first pylon, L1. Hence, even its earlier palimpsest version (Lp) reveals the change in the writings of the king's names. This is to be expected. Namely, that the program of decoration would move forward. I feel that L2 has to be later than L3 because of the large blank area left on the east side of Tutankhamun's colonnade. Whether more than one team of workers operated at the same time on this temple can be left for subsequent analysis. Perhaps the desire to carve the king's later so-called "Moabite and Edomite wars" led to the abandonment of any further work at Luxor with regard to the Kadesh conflict.²³ On the other hand, L1, which definitely is the latest, may have taken up the activities of men carving the work at L3. It should not be forgotten that only the scenes of L2 are missing, and they would have been carved by a separate group of men than those dealing with "pure" hieroglyphic texts.

As a final point, it seems to be a rule, although one that could be broken, to place the war scenes on native Egyptian temples, on all exterior locations but the south. Luxor, of course, has its axis running somewhat north-south – Kitchen considers it to be west-east – so this rule may not be so hard and fast. But for the following version at the Ramesseum the expected calendar of feasts was placed on the south exterior wall, as we have seen at Medinet Habu and the Abydos temple of Ramesses II.

Combining our knowledge of Abu Simbel, we arrive at:

$$I > L3 \text{ and } L2 > (Lp > L1).$$

Let us now turn to the work at the Ramesseum. Here we have two versions, R1 and R2, with the former located on the exterior of the first pylon. Hence, we should expect it to be the later one. R1 and R2 are, nonetheless, very similar, a conclusion that I drew in an earlier study.²⁴

23 See now Nadav Na'aman, "Did Ramesses II Wage Campaign against the Land of Moab?", *GM* 209 (2006), pp. 63-69 for a major reevaluation of the presumed Trans-Jordanian aspect of these pictorial accounts.

24 "Remarks on the Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II: The 'Bulletin'".

- 1) Poem This is not informative.
- 2) Bulletin R1 and R2 show the later forms, but R1 seems to have the older form of the god Re in the second cartouche. This, I hasten to add, is dependent upon the copy of Lepsius.²⁵ It definitely follows that of the late form, but the presence of the sun for the god in Ramesses' name in R2 also puts this version at a later stage of carving.
- 3) Reliefs R1 shows the late form in the prenomen as does R2 but the latter sometimes presents two seated gods (for Amun and Re) in the nomen; see R 19. Here, R2 > R1 (and R2 is also similar to L1 for R 6). The R1 palimpsest shows the late form in relief text R 20. The R2 palimpsests also shows the late form, but to remind ourselves, the case is the caption of the royal horse span, and I suspect not that worthwhile to use as evidence (see Abu Simbel above).

Our conclusion would be that R1 > R2 on the basis of only one cartouche in the Bulletin as the opening line reveals, if we follow Lepsius (case R1). But the version inside the temple, and that is R2, might on the other hand be considered to be the earlier one. Unfortunately, so much of it has been lost, especially the necessary checks that we could perform with the evidence of the Poem. R 19, for example, reveals what we might suspect: R2 > R1. Was the Bulletin, a self-standing text, carved independently of and later from this interesting rhetorical-eulogistic composition? If so, we would have further proof that the Bulletin and Poem were drawn up and transmitted to temple walls independent of the accompanying pictorial matter. (One cannot but exclude Abu Simbel as it is a grotto temple and thus its architectural and decorative program was considerably different than the work done in the free-standing mortuary temples or Luxor and Karnak.)

Yet these two versions of the Ramesseum were extremely close in presentation. I am referring to cases where only these two accounts coincide and are at the same time independent from the others, especially the Luxor exemplars. On this fragmentary data we can set up R1 and R2 as contemporaries. The inside location of the latter might just predicate a date somewhat after that carved on the pylon, especially as outer walls tended to be decorated before inner ones that were located in the forecourt or frontal zones. Moreover, the location of the inside version occupied two distinct areas. The Poem, owing to somewhat constricted free space in the second court, was relegated to the front of the second pylon in the north sector of the first court. Hence,

25 Richard Lepsius, *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopen* III, Berlin (1849-1859), Pl. 153; see *KRI* II 102 note 4a-a. The reading of the R2 version has been improved by Kitchen in *KRI* II 102 note 5a-a; cf. Charles Kuentz, *La bataille de Qadech* II, MIFAO 55, Cairo (1934), Pl. XVI.

it was physically separated from the war scenes as well as the Bulletin, almost as if the entire layout of the second court was circumscribed. The Bulletin and battle scenes occupy wall space just below the upper level texts and scenes of the Min festival; space had most certainly become a premium.

We can now combine the previous details and set up this schema:

$$I > L3 \text{ and } L2 > (Lp > L1) > R1 \text{ and with } R2$$

possibly a bit later.

This now leaves the Karnak versions, K1, K2.

- 1) Poem K1 shows later form in both cartouches; K2 is earlier in P 305 (middle style). It is interesting that in the final passage of P 341 K1 is the only version ever to employ the two different alphabetic signs of *s* in the name Ramesses. This is true throughout the whole corpus and could be, though this is speculative, an indication of an even later writing.
- 2) Bulletin This text is of no use for our analysis.
- 3) Reliefs R 57 in Episode III has a late form in K2 for the first cartouche, the prenomen, *Wsr-m³ct-R^c stp-n-R^c*. There are no parallels.
- 4) Presentation Scenes (Episode IV)
 These are unique to the Karnak temple, but are paralleled by the early ones in Abu Simbel.²⁶ The forms are old and in fact represent the early middle stage of development, and so will be discussed below.

The carving of K1 should be placed around the time of R1-R2 with K2 somewhat earlier. I set K2 before K1 on the basis of the above data *excluding the material from the presentation scene of Episode IV that is questionable*. The latter are located in an original presentation. All of Parts I and II of the K1 version, located on the exterior southern wall of the great Hypostyle Hall, has been carved over, and this portion of the account had to be old considering its location on the main temple axis.

But it is very clear that some of these scenes were carved extremely early and so may have nothing to do with the Kadesh war. The writings are the very early ones, although not the oldest, but they run up against the writing system in the other reliefs. Moreover, the reference to foreigners does not mention Hittites or anyone associated with Kadesh. (This is unlike the previous schematic presentation scene in which the

²⁶ *KRI* II 146.7-7; this must be treated separately from the other presentation images of Episode IV (*KRI* II 143-6.6).

monarch's twelve sons appear with their "prisoners".²⁷ Then too, why does the king show himself with vases and other valuable items?²⁸ I have no difficulty in assuming that the Pharaoh could have brought such refined and exotic objects back to him from other places in Asia. Nonetheless, it is far fetched to see him devoting his victory celebrations after the Kadesh war with objects culled from peaceful cities as well as a whole raft of non-Hittite captives. In the representations of Asiatics none are Hittites or their Asia Minor allies. Two small captions refer to the land of Hatti, but the prisoners are specified as local potentates (the *wrw*) from Asia.²⁹ Clearly, we ought not to connect the final presentation scene on the southern rear portion of the third pylon – the final part of Episode IV of K1 according to Kitchen – with the extant depiction of sons located just south of the adjunct wall. But why should mere "Asiatics" and their tribute be considered to be part and parcel of his mighty "victory"? We can further remark that *no other records of the Kadesh battle includes two such presentation images*. Indeed, Kuentz must have realized this because he purposely omitted them from his monumental addition, a fact noted by Kitchen.³⁰ Can we thereby date them one year earlier than Kadesh, basing our analysis on the evidence of the Nahr el Kelb Stela?³¹

In contrast, the portion of this presumed section of Kadesh that is carved on the exterior southeast corner of the Hypostyle Hall is more recent. There we have the king again presenting captives to the Theban triad, but here the references include the explicit mention of the kingdom of Hittites, the original twelve sons of Ramesses,³² and the designation of the captives led by Ramesses' sons (title/designation and country included). Moreover, the width of the columns in this register is smaller than that used for the Poem.³³ Underneath is the Poem which has to be connected with this portion of the Kadesh depictions. But even more damning to the position that both presumed sections of Episode IV – southern wall and rear of third pylon – form a unity is that there was no reason for the account to include *two separate presentation scenes*. Because three of the king's sons are mentioned in one Luxor version, a possible parallel

27 I am relying upon some photographs kindly given to me by Prof. K. A. Kitchen. The twelve sons are listed in *KRI II* 143-146 (§§ 63-91). See below for an analysis of this portion of the text.

28 Walter Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte II*, Leipzig (1935), 59 is explicit on this matter; general but very useful is R. A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les temples de Karnak. Contribution à l'étude de la pensée pharaonique II*, Paris (1982), Pl. 94.

29 *KRI II* 147.9 and 12.

30 *KRI II* 146 note 6a.

31 Episode IV is also separate from the palimpsest episodes (I and II) owing to the presence of the eastern transverse (adjunct) wall.

32 On this matter, see now Anthony Spalinger, "Epigraphs in the Battle of Kadesh", *Eretz Israel* 27 (2003), pp. 222*-239*. The sons are simply presenting offerings; none of them are explicitly connected with the battle at Kadesh.

33 The difference is obvious from the photographs and can be estimated rather well thanks also to Kuentz, *La bataille de Qadech I*, 21; the average width is 19.07 cm.

to this part of Episode IV can be argued.³⁴ Yet the earlier one, located around the corner, should be regarded as separate from the last panel of twelve king's sons.

In this area the so-called "minor war scenes", originally published by Gaballa, cover a series of unidentified wars that were later superimposed over the Kadesh war.³⁵ Indeed, this whole area, apparently originally devoted to that famous encounter, was reworked at later times by Ramesses as well as his son Merenptah. Why this was done must remain a mystery, unless one wants to argue that the other Karnak version K2 was considered to be the definitive Kadesh production and the depictions and texts of K1 could take second place. A second interpretation could be that the king wished to indicate the role of his first twelve sons within the celebrations of offerings. Hence, the original battle scene located just above the Poem in K1 was erased, and a later secondary representation of official presentation took its place. Note that the direction of movement in the early depictions makes perfect sense. The original work would have moved around the corner for the final role of King before his deities at Karnak.

The presence of the twelve sons in Part IV also poses a conundrum. The elimination of Merenptah, Ramesses II's thirteenth son, from the present is easy.³⁶ In the battle, however, we read of only three of them by name in one version (the ninth, eleventh and twelfth). The temporal frame thus fits, as does the presence of the Poem below. On the other hand, this portion of the reliefs was also carved over an original Kadesh depiction which presented part of the battle. Owing to this, we can thus bring together all the *original* depictions on the southern exterior wall. But as Episodes I and II *seem* to have already been drawn so that one moves to the front, the now erased battle relief located above the Poem seems out of place because it is to the rear.

The version of K1 thus needs additional elucidation. The use of the exterior southern wall of the Hypostyle Hall meant that any additional depictions had to be placed either on the left or the right side of the transverse wall. But I have excluded the evidence on the transverse wall. There, additional Kadesh material was removed that originally presented the arrival of the Na'arn. Thus, the original layout, now mainly destroyed through later superimposition, commenced on the transverse wall and then moved westwards to the front and beyond the doorway. That wall interrupted the flow of the action, and it remains unclear what, precisely, was the organization. (Episode III, the battlefield presentation or spoils, also can be found in the K2 version, for example.) One might want to identify a similar depiction in K1 wherein princes bring their prisoners to Amun the upper register to the rear. This image, however, is a

34 L3; see R 53-5.

35 Gaballa A. Gaballa, "Minor War Scenes of Ramesses II at Karnak", *JEA* 55 (1969), pp. 82-88.

36 Spalinger, "Epigraphs in the Battle of Kadesh". In *KRI II* 145.14 the erasure of Ramesses' twelfth son by Merenptah is definite. Even the term "king's son", *s3w nswt*, with the egg, is written this way only here. Cf. Marjorie M. Fisher, *The Sons of Ramesses II*, *ÄAT* 53, Wiesbaden (2001), pp. 55-56. Note the superimposition of these depictions over an earlier Kadesh accounts

final presentation scene and, as we have observed, belongs to Episode IV. Because the original depiction appears to be a battle, this would imply that above the Poem lay yet another scenic rendition of the great encounter of Ramesses and the Hittites, a most unusual narrative presentation. *A fortiori*, one expects the spoils to be there, and following them, around the corner, is the expected Episode IV. Thus this original arrangement of scenes was not a neat and easy-to-perceive unity, and this is most definitely owing to the “interruption” of the wall that cuts through the entire block of images. The camp was completely split from the depiction of the beating of the spies plus Bulletin, and the intervention of the doorway served as an effective divider.

Owing to the planned set-up it was decided to locate the Poem and the final phase (IV) to the east of the transverse wall. This meant that Episode III was discarded. It might be asked that, given enough blank space on the western side of the transverse wall, why did the master designer avoid using that area? After all, Ramesses later placed his Treaty with the Hittites immediately south and adjacent to the first phase of the Kadesh images. The reason is simple. He wanted to work outwards or from the rear of the temple. So he employed the southern transverse wall, west side, then moved his pictures over to the southern exterior wall of the Hypostyle Hall, and finally ended up as west as he could. This meant, however, that certain key elements were not included in the narrative; they were then placed in their southerly position. Indeed, there was not enough room for Phase III and this section had to be curtailed. But have we found a further reason for not including the corner reliefs in the Kadesh repertoire, Episode IV? If that area had been blank, there would have been more than enough room to follow up the account with Episodes III, IV, and the Poem.

This leads to K2 > K1, or now:

I > L3 and L2 > (Lp > L1) > R1 with R2 possibly
somewhat later

K2 > K1

The architectural set-up of K2 presents the longest of all the monuments except for the circular account at Abydos. Note that the Poem is right at the rear and thus its location is parallel to the other Karnak account K1, L3 at Luxor and the Abydos version. In other words, this lengthy piece of narrative was meant to be read as a summation of the whole event separate from the pictorial ones. See the space between the final door and the west face of the Tenth Pylon. (L2 has radically separated both literary accounts from the pictorial even though the latter were never carved.) K2, nonetheless, presents an impressive spectacle for the viewer, and you do not need to enter Amun’s domain to view the account.

The location of the Poem, an extremely important factor in the expression of the reliefs and texts, operates in the following manner:

- K1: Outside of the pictorial narrative and placed underneath a later presentation scene. It was originally underneath a battle image and so located *separately but only partially subsequent* to the war depictions.
- K2: Outside of the pictorial narrative and placed after the presentation scene of Episode III. Hence, it is located after the battlefield presentation of the spoils. But here Episode IV is not included. Was it to be added after the Poem (at the south) and never completed? If so, that would have filled up the empty space immediately south of the doorway and ending at the Tenth Pylon.
- L2: Furthest to the front. It is followed by the Bulletin.
- L3: Located after the battlefield spoils. There are some slight queries attached to an accompanying depiction further to the south or rear.³⁷
- R1/2: Located independent of the reliefs. It is to be found in the first court on the north-eastern surface of the second pylon. There is a question whether the Poem it is to be connected to this version or to be joined with the R1 variant. See our comments below.

With regard to the last version, one might note that the southern side contains the Hittite treaty and thus the entire arrangement is parallel to K1. If further proof were

³⁷ Cf. *KRI* II 126.

needed on this matter – one dependent upon space reasons – Phase III is also omitted. (This is why I follow Kitchen’s position that often scenes could be added or omitted almost as one liked.)³⁸ Nevertheless, we must find the causes. In this case Episode III is significantly less important than the first two as well as the fourth. But the fourth act of the drama, namely the role of the king before his deities, was omitted in K2 and L3. On the other hand, the Abu Simbel account provides Episode IV and, owing to space, cuts out the third portion of the narrative. I would also eliminate the pylon depictions of L1 and R1 if only as they are compressed if only because of the need to add the lengthy literary accounts of the Poem and Bulletin. In the first court of the Ramesseum the interior faces of the pylon also eliminate the last two events of the narrative, yet the Poem is also not included. In this case we should view its presence in the same area but on the northeast wall of the second pylon as performing its expected interrelated function with those other war depictions of Kadesh.

Those undated scenes at Karnak that replaced through recarving most of the version of K1 were analyzed earlier in this study. I now wish to reflect more deeply upon the spelling of the king’s names in his two cartouches. What is preserved allows us to locate a rough timeframe of the middle stage. In the second cartouche both Re and Amun remain depicted as seated gods. The nomen seems to prefer, as well, the earlier writing of the goddess Maat who is seated on her throne.³⁹ There are two locations where the *Wsr-m^ct-R^c stp-n-R^c* clearly shows the latest writing.⁴⁰ It is extremely important to keep in mind that both references indicate the name chariot span of the king’s horses, exactly as we have noted in the Kadesh scene at Abu Simbel. The coincidence of three later writings serving the same function may indicate that we are dealing with a full name-title-designation that was official and thus stood aside from these slight alterations of the spellings of Ramesses’ prenomen and nomen.

What is the difference between the original Kadesh version (K1) and these later undated scenes? In this case we are extremely fortunate that there is a temporal sequence which is straightforward: K1 is earlier. Kitchen’s first portion of Episode IV, the unique case of the twelve princes in procession behind their father, cannot help. As we have noted, the second section located around the corner to the south presents the earlier writings.⁴¹ Thus the two names of the Pharaoh confirm the dating that is

38 See my comments in Chapter XI of *The Transformation of an Ancient Egyptian Narrative. P. Sallier III and the Battle of Kadesh*, GOF IV/40, Wiesbaden (2002).

39 *KRI* II 153.1 and 15 are restored; Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, Pl. 56 indicates that they cannot be analyzed as the signs are lost.

40 *KRI* II 157.3 and 159.2; 153.15 might be considered to be *sub judice*. The first is impossible to verify from Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, Pl. 54a as well as from Wilhelm Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, Washington (1910), Pl. 37; the second is in Gaballa, “Minor War Scenes of Ramesses II at Karnak”, 55 and Pl. XX, and fig. 6b page 87. At this point I am also relying upon some photographs of Prof. Kitchen.

41 *KRI* II 146.11 and 147.2.

evident by the palimpsest on the exterior south wall of the Hypostyle Hall. Those original depictions and captions must have presented spellings akin to the final portion on the southern half of the third pylon.

K1 and L1, though close, nonetheless differ at key points, and L2 is somewhat older than L1.⁴² In P 24 (nomen, prenomen) and P 304 (prenomen) the former two are identical: the god's name Amun is spelled out. The reliefs of L1, on the other hand, show on one occasion a preference for the deity (R 6) although the later writing persists elsewhere (R 17). At any rate, Episode IV of K1 is most definitely earlier than any of these Ramesseum and Luxor cases.

Let us now divide the Poem from the scenes of battle (Episodes I-II in particular). Here, we are faced with a scattered result owing to the later reliefs that replaced the Kadesh scenes in K1. But the following may be said. In the Poem the versions of spellings in the first name in K1 are the later ones with the seated figure of Maat, and for the second name Amun is no longer a god. This is best revealed in P 24, 304, 338, and 341. (The Poem of K1 is definitely later than the Poem of L2, for example.)⁴³ But what can we learn from the reliefs? Absolutely nothing because the erasures by the later designers have been so effective that the cartouches no longer can be read. Only the final presentation scene (IV) and the Poem remain as possible proof for a reconstruction of the date of K1. But – and this is the crucial point – the former gives us the middle-range cartouches, completely unlike the Poem. In fact, in the two cases of Episode IV the figure of Maat not merely sits on her throne, she also clasps the waser standard. The Poem therefore appears to have been carved after the presentation scene, an important conclusion if only as the latter does not fit in so well with our expectations concerning such depictions. Previously, we have recognized the oddity of the items given to Amun such as vases and other exotic tributes, a depiction completely at odds with the communality of the standard image. There was also the absence of a Hittite captive in the row of prisoners brought to the godhead by Ramesses. Because its complete independence from relief notations or headings has been amply emphasized in this discussion, the question remains whether or not this scene actually belongs to the Kadesh narrative.

If we concentrate upon the final episode at Karnak in this section of reliefs and also maintain that it was set up for the Kadesh war, then we can place the final portion to a timeframe that is earlier than R1. The writings are virtually identical with L2 but later than Abu Simbel.

42 Two telling cases of L2 > L1 are in P 39 and 338. In the Ramesseum the key differences may be seen in the identical set-up of R 19: R2 > R1. Hence, the rule “earlier in, later out” applies.

43 Owing to this I still wish to separate Episode IV of K1, the southerly depiction located on the rear of the third pylon at Karnak.

I > L3 and L2* >	(Lp > L1) >	R1 with R2 possibly somewhat later
K2 >		K1 Poem
“K1 (IV)”		

* L2 is already undergoing a change.

I believe that this chart accurately represents the basic development of the spellings of the two cartouches within the Kadesh material. It however excludes the later reliefs carved over the original K1 version. There, excluding the two horse teams, the writings fit in a timeframe before the accompanying Poem. Following a more narrow approach, we have repeatedly pointed the reader to the seated Maat goddess holding the woser symbol. Thus we can place them to a later period of the middle phase, if only as two of the horse teams reveal the later spelling.⁴⁴

The reader will observe that this inevitably leads to the conclusion that the original version of K1, or at least the scenes, can be dated to a short interval contemporary with Abu Simbel *irrespective whether we argue that the pylon section of Part IV originally was part of the Kadesh repertoire*. And we can view the changes in a clearer fashion from the king’s so-called “Edomite/Moabite” wars. The preserved section of the forecourt preserved, allows us to for a gradual alteration in spelling. By and large the middle phase is represented but three cartouches reveal the later one.⁴⁵ Noteworthy is the presence of the younger writing with three clear-cut examples referring to the king’s span of horses. I tend to feel, nonetheless, that owing to the latter we should place these depictions somewhat later than K2, but keep in mind that L2 is already undergoing a change.

I have hesitated to claim that L1 was the last of the Kadesh group to be carved. Indeed, one suspects that the decoration of the pylon should have taken precedence over those addition, and later, wars of Ramesses. But the war at Kadesh looms so greatly in his military repertoire, and one suspects that it ought to have had precedence over all other military conflicts in Asia. A fortiori, we would also expect that pylons take precedence over side elements, even if they were often finished late in the

44 There is the strong possibility that horse spans’ names were added later, almost as an after thought. Because the whole phrase, “the stall of *Wsr-m³t-Rp stp-n-R^c*” is an official designation, perhaps the later writing was consistently employed as a title before it later turned up on temple walls.

45 *KRI* II 180.4, 180.15, 181.7, 182.7, and 182.14 join against II 181.5 (horse span), 182.8 (horse span), and 182.15 (horse span). *KRI* II 181.12 (horse span) is restored.

architectural program. By and large, I wish only to note the steady movement forward at Luxor while keeping in mind that L2 was never completed.

Even though the Ramesseum is not in as good a physical condition as Luxor or Karnak, the information assembled here allows us to posit the same development. The towns of year eight are very close to the gateway of the first pylon. But the location was not ideal, to say the least. They are placed within a very constricted space, a situation that was discussed earlier in conjunction with the importance of the royal images of power. The same can be said for those undated Dapur-Satuna scenes, with the text of the valorous king included. At this point we find ourselves in the middle of the Hypostyle Hall and here as well space is at a premium. I believe that this section as well as the aforementioned one, though showing the transference to the late standard writings, reveal the necessity of searching for available space. In other words, the reasons why both are not so close to the front is simple: the other walls had already been decorated. One look at the use of the northern exterior wall shows this to be accurate. (The southern has the calendar of feasts on it.) The R2 version is, frankly speaking, not as well designed in layout as it could have been, and the cause lies in the limitations of space. Yet there were areas remaining, if only because Ramesses commissioned his workmen to carve his Hittite-Egyptian treaty on the south front wall of the second pylon. That area remained blank until his royal command.