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MUMMIFICATION PRACTICES AT KELLIS SITE IN EGYPT'S DAKHLEH OASIS

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ABSTRACT

A total of 49 Late Ptolemaic-Roman Period mummies excavated from Kellis-1 cemetery at Ismant el-Kharab in Egypt's Dakhleh Oasis were examined by gross dissection in 1993 and 1998. Of these, 35 were sufficiently intact to reconstruct their mummification methodology. Most of these bodies had been looted at least once in antiquity with consequent damage to their integrity. The bodies of three bundles were found to be completely skeletonized. In the remaining 32, twenty had become mummified spontaneously secondary to environmental conditions. In these, some desiccated viscera were found within the body cavities. The remaining 12 had been mummified anthropogenically. These had been eviscerated, usually via an abdominal incision, and resin had been applied liberally, both internally and externally to these bodies. No evidence of natron desiccation was evident in either group. In many of each group, ancient efforts to reconstruct looted, fragmented bodies were encountered, both with and without the use of resin. Some reconstructions included resin introduction into the body cavities of spontaneously mummified bodies via atypical ports, while others involved the employment of body parts from more than one mummy. As a result, a total of seven distinct patterns of mummification were encountered among these 35 bodies. Familiarity with visceral alteration patterns that occur in spontaneously mummified bodies was key to unraveling the sometimes bizarre procedures inflicted on some of these bodies during postburial looting and mummy reconstruction efforts. The anthropogenic mummification methods were similar to those of contemporary burials in the Nile valley and at the Kharga Oasis.

KEY WORDS

mummification, Kellis, Ismant el-Kharab, Dakhleh Oasis, post looting reconstruction, transnasal craniotomy, resin, Duch

INTRODUCTION

The Geography and Description of the Kellis-1 Cemetery

The Dakhleh Oasis is one of a succession of geological depressions that lead northwestward through Egypt's Western Desert beginning in its southeastern region not too distant from the Nile and ending at Siwa near the northern end of the Libya/Egypt border. Dakhleh is about 400 km west of the Nile at about the latitude of Luxor. The Kellis site at Ismant el-Kharab lies adjacent to the road from Kharga to Mut about 12 km east of Mut at about 25º 31'N, 29º 06'E. During the Roman Period the Kellis site represented an active trading center, surrounded by agricultural industry made possible by irrigation from the then still accessible water table. Kellis and the region relating to it probably supported a

population in excess of 1000 persons. Archaeological evidence has documented human occupation there from the Late Ptolemaic until about A.D. 400 of the Roman Period.

Materials and Methods

Two burial sites have been identified within the Kellis site. A Romano-Byzantine Period cemetery, Kellis-2, consists of largely skeletonized bodies while many of the bodies in the other, Kellis-1, are mummified. Kellis-1 consists of a succession of at least two dozen small tombs cut into the face of a sandstone terrace, 21 of which have been excavated to date. These tombs occupy an area of about two or three square meters and the floor-to-ceiling height only occasionally exceeds about one meter. Two upright stones on each side of a low, narrow adit support a stone lintel, and the entrance opening normally is closed by a coarsely rectangular rock (*Photograph 68*).

The tombs' description and their contained mummies are presented in a separate report (Aufderheide et al., 2004) where all 49 mummies and their individual features are listed. The 15 mummies examined during the 1993-1994 season have been published (Aufderheide et al., 1999). An additional 34 mummies were examined during the 1998-1999 season. Findings from these shed further light on mummification practices at Kellis site during the Roman Period. They explain some of the confusing observations made during the 1993-1994 season, and their significance is discussed herein. Torn wrappings, disarticulated heads and extremities, fragmentation of mummified bodies and commingled, disarticulated bones are all abundant in these tombs and testify to extensive looting in antiquity (*Photograph 69*).

Spontaneous vs. Anthropogenic Mummification

Mummification mechanisms can be grouped into two major classes: spontaneous and anthropogenic. Spontaneous mummification is the product entirely brought about through the action of certain environmental ("natural") conditions extant at the time of burial. In contrast, anthropogenic ("artificial") mummification occurs as a result of some deliberate human actions carried out usually immediately after death that are specifically designed to enhance long-term preservation of soft tissue. In Egypt spontaneous mummification generally occurs by dehydration of the body, thus paralyzing the action of decay enzymes whose effect requires a certain minimum water content. This spontaneous process of desiccation is achieved principally by high summer temperatures.

Features of Spontaneous Mummification. Many of the visceral organs become desiccated so rapidly that much of their structure may be retained. The spleen, an organ composed principally of fragile blood cells, often decays completely. Lungs are most commonly preserved, and in a supine body deflate completely, collapsing and contracting into a flat structure often less than two centimeters thick, lying on the posterior surface of the thoracic cavity's inner lining and conforming to the curvature of the posterior rib cage. Epithelial cells decay rapidly after death. Although the liver is made up almost entirely of glandular cells, its huge size during life (one and one-half kilograms) usually results in a smaller but still prominent structure in a spontaneously mummified body. The blood-filled heart suspended in a fluid-filled pericardial sac dries more slowly and survives the postmortem process only when preservation conditions are ideal. These and other organ changes thus create a pattern of visceral organ preservation in spontaneously mummified

bodies that becomes familiar to those with experience in dissection of such mummies (Aturaliya and Lukasewycz, 1999; Aufderheide, 2003:316-321).

Features of Anthropogenic Mummification. In Egypt anthropogenic mummification evolved via modification of several features over the 3000 years of its history. In the Archaic Period it became evident that mere wrapping of the body often was insufficiently effective to prevent decay. Eventually desiccation of the body was achieved by initial evisceration followed by envelopment of the body in powdered natron, an ore composed of carbonate, bicarbonate and chloride salts of sodium. Body water was removed by the osmotic effect of these chemicals, and prevention of subsequent rehydration was achieved by coating the external and internal body surfaces with a layer of hot resin that hardened upon cooling, providing a water-repellent shell. During later periods of Egyptian history, increasing reliance was placed on more extensive resin application and decreasing use of natron. Egyptian evisceration usually did not remove the heart and often permitted the kidneys to remain in the body as well (Ikram and Dodson, 1998:103-136).

Both spontaneous and anthropogenic mummification methods were identified in the mummies removed from the Kellis-1 cemetery.

FINDINGS AND THEIR INTERPRETATION

Post-Burial Outcomes Identified Among Kellis-1 Mummies

Seven different methods of corpse alterations were identified among the Kellis-1 mummies. Their description follows.

Type 1. These represent completely skeletonized bodies usually presenting as a group of completely disarticulated bones. Many of them were scattered and commingled so extensively in the tombs as to frustrate regrouping into individual bodies. They contained no attached soft tissues. Their disassembly appears to have been the product of artifact-seeking looters in antiquity (*Photographs 70 - 71*).

Type 2. In a few cases an effort had been made by someone to refashion and rewrap these disarticulated bones into something externally resembling a mummy bundle (*Photograph 72*). Mummy 15 is such an example and is detailed in Aufderheide et al. (1999). Of interest here is the fact that the individual bones had been lashed into roughly anatomic position on a wood frame (*Photograph 73*). Furthermore the "body" was composed of body parts from four different individuals (the head and trunk of two different adults and the legs of two different children) (*Photograph 74*).

Type 3. This was simply the desiccated, spontaneously mummified body of an adult female in whom no human effort at soft tissue preservation was apparent (*Photograph 75*).

Type 4. These bodies were identical with those of type 3 with one exception: a very thin layer of black resin had been painted on the external skin surface only (*Photographs 76 & 77*). It is not possible to be certain whether this resin was applied at the time of burial or after looting and rewrapping was carried out (or both).

Type 5. These bodies had originated as type 4 bodies. However, after being looted, reconstruction efforts involved introduction of hot, liquid resin into the body cavities but through atypical resin ports. Normally in New Kingdom mummies of the Nile Valley resin was placed into the body cavities via the same incision that had been made to remove the viscera. The incision was commonly made in the abdomen or, exceptionally, in the perineum. In type 5 Dakhleh bodies, however, the resin had been introduced via a defect in

the back (*Photographs 78 & 79*), in the anterior chest wall or by being poured into the mouth and trachea. Thus these bodies had originally become mummies by spontaneous mummification, were looted and during reconstruction had extensive resin applied internally via atypical portals after which they were rewrapped. The process of resin application techniques had been executed crudely.

Type 6. At time of death these bodies had been prepared with professional finesse to prevent soft tissue decay. Evisceration had been carried out via a left-sided abdominal incision (*Photograph 80*) and in a few via the perineal route, followed by extensive resin application to both the skin surface and to the body cavity lining. The abdomen was filled with rolls of resin-soaked linens (*Photograph 81*). Body orifices were occluded by small fragments of linen saturated in resin. No evidence of natron use was apparent.

Type 7. Bodies in this category were prepared with professional skill precisely as were those of Type 6. These, however, were subsequently fragmented by looters and later were reconstructed and rewrapped. The reconstructions frequently involved splinting the body parts with wooden sticks fashioned from the spine of a palm leaf (*Photograph 82*). Just as in Type 2, occasional mummies of this type were composed of body parts from more than one body.

INTERPRETATION OF MUMMIFICATION FINDINGS

Why did Type 1&2 bodies not mummify?

In Types 1 and 2 the soft tissues decayed completely. This occurred in roughly half the bodies found in these tombs. If no effort is made to preserve soft tissues immediately after death, the race between the decay process and those environmental factors favoring preservation commonly is a close one. Relatively small variations such as temperature, time interval between death and burial, major infection at time of death et al. may tip the balance toward either skeletonization or spontaneous mummification. For example, many of the individuals whose body skeletonized after death may have died during the winter months when temperatures were not high enough to enhance desiccation. Thus these bodies may have been treated no differently after death than were those of Type 3, but environmental conditions determined whether skeletonization or spontaneous mummification became the end product.

What was the function of the externally-applied resin in Type 4 mummies?

A large fraction of the examined Type 4 mummies showed an organ preservation pattern characteristic of spontaneous mummification. Yet, with one exception (Mummy no. 6, *Photograph 75*), the mummies in this classification were all given a thin coat of resin on the skin surface only (Type 4). Resin has no intrinsic desiccating properties. The purpose of its use in mummification has never been defined in ancient papyri or inscriptions, though its employment as incense, cosmetics and perfumes is documented (Newman and Serpico, 2000:480). We can speculate, however, from our knowledge of its features. When applied to a desiccated surface, it was painted or wiped onto the tissue while very hot to permit its application while it was still liquid. The resin's temperature itself at time of application was probably high enough to be bactericidal. Furthermore, Majno (1975:217) carried out laboratory studies which demonstrate that some resins have substantial biological antibacterial properties. In addition, upon cooling, many resins harden into a crystal-like

structure. This feature often led to resin being exploited as an adhesive substance to help retain bandages in position. When applied to the lining of the body cavity following evisceration and washing with palm wine (12% ethanol), resin could contribute preservation further by destroying whatever bacteria survived up to this point. Note, however, while it has no known desiccating properties, a thick layer could help prevent rehydration of already desiccated tissue.

What value, then could the sometimes almost transparent layer of resin have had when painted on the skin surface in Type 4 bodies, since the amount applied was insufficient in this group to penetrate into the deeper tissues? Given its known features, we can suggest only four possibilities:

(1) It could have helped to decrease the number of bacteria on the skin surface;

(2) It may have been a relic practice, effective in protecting a natron-desiccated body from rehydration when applied in generous quantities during the New Kingdom, but in these Type 4 mummies the practice may have persisted near the terminus of Egyptian history as a symbolic, probably religious ritual.

Lucas (1948:324) observed that..."resin was also employed where it served no useful purpose and where, therefore, it probably had a ritual significance...", and goes on to cite an example.

Serpico and White (2001) investigated the chemical nature and the use of black pigment on funerary items. While such "varnish" had multiple, variable components, its base usually consisted of resin, sometimes accompanied by bitumen. This was commonly applied to Egyptian coffins, ushabti and mummies. The Egyptian word *snṯr* was applied to this material which is usually translated as incense, and chemically resin most commonly proved to be *pistacia resin*. They note, however, that when this material is used to line ceramic pots and funerary furniture, it was obviously not intended to be burned, and therefore in these circumstances it is better to use the more literal meaning of that Egyptian word "that which makes divine." Thus, resin applied to the coffins, funerary wooden objects and mummies may have been used to make these items (including the mummies) divine. They cite a scene from a tomb in Thebes interpreted as a priest overseeing the varnishing of a coffin. In brief, these authors' observations suggest that the thin, superficial resin coat of Type 4 mummies may have been designed to assist the deceased to become eligible for inclusion in his "...divine afterlife..."

(3) The sticky, adhesive nature of cooling resin could help to hold in position the broad sheets of wrapping linen that were routinely applied directly to the skin as the first layer of wrappings in the Dakhleh mummies. Lucas (1962:7-8) has also suggested that resin was employed in ancient Egypt for general adhesive purposes.

(4) Resin may have an insect-repellent effect. These mummies certainly were not devoid of insects. We found resin-embedded insects in several cranial cavities and in the thoracic cavity of one. Nevertheless, we found few of the many insect perforations that are so common in the skin of spontaneously-mummified bodies that are not processed in any way and buried without coffins under many circumstances. It is conceivable, though untested, that resin, sometimes mixed with bitumen (as the mummies reported in this article have been shown to be—Maurer et al., 2002), beeswax or other, unknown compounds may have repelled insect destruction,

providing time for the dehydrating environmental factors to effect desiccation. If the preparation and application of such a resin mixture was part of a ritual, its insect-repelling effects may even have been unintentional.

Of these possibilities the last three are most appealing and are not mutually exclusive. The resin applied to the skin certainly did not prevent the spontaneous desiccation type of mummification pattern of the internal organs in Type 4 mummies.

Why was resin introduced into the body cavities via such atypical entry sites of Type 5 bodies?

In several of these, hot resin had been introduced through a defect in the lumbar area of the back. Tissues of the back muscles in this area obviously at some point had been disrupted (during lootings?) and broken into multiple, irregular chunks averaging about 5-6 cm in diameter. These had been replaced and held in position by using resin as an adhesive substance. The remaining defect was employed to pour a large amount of liquid resin into the body cavities. The back opening was then sealed by stuffing a mass of resin-soaked linen into the remaining, gaping defect (*Photograph 78*). This resin pooled within the body cavities over the inner aspect of the sternum (*Photograph 79*) and also the inner aspect of the anterior abdominal wall, providing proof that such several bodies were in a prone position when resin entry occurred. Yet, in one of such bodies (Mummy 110) the intact, desiccated lung was flattened against the posterior inner lining of the thoracic cavity as occurs in spontaneous mummification in a supine body. Clearly this body initially had become mummified spontaneously. At a later time, probably after being unwrapped and damaged while being looted, the body was discovered. Reconstruction attempts were then made that included abundant resin introduction into a body already spontaneously mummified, and that was then rewrapped. The purpose of the resin in these bodies is not clear but may have been similar to that for Type 4 bodies or simply to create a barrier between the exposed tissues and insects.

In other Type 5 bodies resin was introduced through a small defect in the left subclavicular area of the thoracic wall, and in another the hot resin was poured into the open mouth, flowed down into the bronchi and then penetrated the intact, spontaneously desiccated lung tissue and reached the body cavities. No evidence of an evisceration wound (neither abdominal nor perineal in type 5 mummies) could be found, and all Type 5 bodies had some stigmata of the visceral preservation pattern that is characteristic of spontaneous mummification. A numerical evaluation of Type 5 bodies (see below) indicated these seven bodies had been correctly interpreted as Type 5 bodies.

How do the Type 6 and 7 mummy preparation methods at Dakhleh compare with those of the Nile valley?

Detailed survey data on Roman Period mummies of non-elite persons in the Nile valley are not readily available. By combining reports of individual or small groups of such bodies, some generalizations seem possible (Ikram and Dodson, 1998:129-131). Features of these include the following: considerable variations are apparent; evisceration is less frequently carried out; natron desiccation is often absent; resin application internally and externally is present in abundant quantities; portraits painted on wood and included in the

wrappings are found in a small percentage of Roman Period bodies in the Nile Valley; among the elite, great effort was employed to present an attractive (often geometric) wrapping pattern on the superficial layers of the mummy bundle.

Most of these are also features of the Dakhleh mummies Types 6 and 7. All were eviscerated via incisions (mostly abdominal) placed in precisely the same location as those in the Nile valley. None had mummy portraits, though the proportionately small number that did have in the Nile valley negates this as a differentiating feature. Thus, the features relating to professional expertise among the Dakhleh Types 6 and 7 and the Nile valley mummies were indistinguishable, though none of the superficial wrappings demonstrated geometric patterns such as were present in some Nile Valley elite bodies.

The significance of transnasal craniotomy

Transnasal craniotomy (TNC) is the term we use for the defect commonly created by Egyptian embalmers when they inserted a metal rod into the nares (*Photograph 83*) and pushed it upward with force sufficient to break through the cribiform plate of the ethmoid bone into the cranial cavity (Smith, 1902; Sudhoff, 1911) (*Photograph 84*). Herodotus (II. 86) attributes the purpose of this procedure to removal of the brain. This defect is easily identified and has been found in a few Middle Kingdom bodies (Strouhal, 1986), and in most Egyptian mummies after that time. Although Herodotus (Book II:86) described the use of an iron rod with a hook to remove the brain through such a defect, modern experimentation has concluded that the rod may have been employed to macerate the brain by twisting and moving the outer end in a wide, circular manner (Leek, 1969). Experimental work by Garner (1986) has demonstrated that insects can penetrate up to 15 or 30 centimeters of powdered natron to reach soft tissues after death.

With two exceptions (mummy 117 – an isolated adult head, and mummy 132, a Type 6 child aged 4 years) all of the Dakhleh mummies with related heads had evidence of TNC, a frequency of 94%. However, of 36 skulls from skeletonized bodies in these tombs (the majority from tomb 13), only 3 (10%) revealed evidence of TNC. This suggests that the ultimately skeletonized bodies were viewed differently at the time of burial by those responsible for their interment than were the bodies that became either spontaneously or anthropogenically mummified. Whether that difference was based on economic or other factors cannot be established archaeologically for these mummies.

INDIVIDUAL FEATURES OF MUMMIFICATION AT DAKHLEH

Soft Tissue Preservation

We have created a simple system not involving detailed measurements to estimate preservation of skeletal and soft tissues in mummies (Aufderheide, 2003:335). Twenty points are assigned each for the head, both arms, both legs, chest and abdomen. These values total 100 if all bones are present (BP: bone preservation), and also 100 if each of these respective body regions are covered with soft tissue (STP: soft tissue preservation). Then STP/BP = STI (soft tissue index) that expresses the fraction of the skeleton that is covered by soft tissue. These crude values can be estimated in the field by simple inspection, yet they express information at a useful level. The values at Dakhleh were BP = 63.8, STP = 51.7 and STI = 81.0, indicating that a mean of about two-thirds of the skeleton was present, about 80% of which retained its soft tissue. Grouping of the individual values by age

(subadults vs. adults) and by sex revealed no statistically significant differences in soft tissue preservation.

Visceral Organ Preservation

The various body organs (heart, lungs, kidneys, liver, spleen, hair, bladder, intestine, penis or breast, prostate or uterus and ovaries) were assigned 10 points each; if all were preserved the total organ preservation score (OPS) was 100. Of 42 mummies that could be so evaluated, no statistically significant differences were evident in values between the sexes (male 23.8, female 20.0). **Table 1** relates the OPS to mummification styles. As could be expected, the OPS approached zero value in the nearly skeletonized mummification styles (Type 1 & 2), demonstrated mean values in the thirties for spontaneously mummified styles (Types 3, 4 & 5), and low values for the eviscerated, anthropogenically mummified styles (Types 6 & 7). The significance of this table for our examined mummies lies in the value for Type 5. As noted above, assignment of a mummy to this type implied initial spontaneous mummification with extensive internal resin applied later through atypical resin ports during reconstruction following looting. The mean OPS value of mummies we assigned to the Type 5 group is indistinguishable from those of the spontaneously mummified Types 3 & 4, providing assurance that the Type 5 mummies had been correctly classified as spontaneously mummified in spite of the large quantity of resin present in their body cavities that had presumably been applied during reconstruction efforts.

Selection of Mummification Styles

Since few artifacts remained with the mummies in these tombs and since looting with its associated body disarticulation and fragmentation commonly frustrated the assignment of masks, pectorals and other items to specific bodies, little opportunity is available to assess the status of individual mummies. However, chi square tests revealed no statistically significant difference between the 6 of 15 males and the 6 of 12 females chosen for the most elaborate, anthropogenic mummification Types 6 and 7. Chi square tests also reveal that those who interred the Dakhleh bodies did not discriminate in mummification style choices on the basis of age (subadults vs. adults). Finally, whatever criteria operated to influence choice of mummification style, they seemed to be consistent over the time period of the first 21 caves excavated. The numbers assigned to mummification styles are arranged in numerical sequence in relation to increasing complexity of mummification techniques. Simply totaling the mummification type numbers in a group of mummies and determining the group mean value provides a measure of mummification complexity for the group. By grouping mummies into those from tombs 1-12 (mean mummification number value = 4.18 ± 1.78, N=11) and those of tombs 13-21 (mean 5.10 ± 1.51, N=21), we find no statistically significant difference between these two groups. This result would be consistent (though not verifiable) with the suggestion that professional embalmers were not always available at time of death in this remote oasis.

Comparison of Dakhleh & Duch (Kharga) mummies. Until analyses of the recently discovered group of mummies found in the Bahariya Oasis (Hawass, 2000) have been reported, mummification at Dakhleh can be compared with those at other sites remote from the Nile only at the Duch site in Kharga Oasis (Dunand et al., 1992). There 72 graves yielded 562 bodies of which about one-half were mummified. To date these have not been

dissected. However, 50 were selected for radiological study. In most of these the wrappings had already been extensively damaged by looters and so the remaining bandages of these 50 were completely removed. Observations made possible by external inspection and by carefully controlled but plain, portable radiography have been reported (Lichtenberg, 1994). In some mummies this can produce highly useful information. However, in completely desiccated bodies the tissue density differences between the various viscera can be dramatically reduced, sometimes rendering entire organs invisible in plain radiographs (Aufderheide, 2003:379; 383 Fig. 6.48). **Table 2** demonstrates both similarities and differences between the Dakhleh and the Kharga mummies. Both groups were characterized by spontaneously and by anthropogenically mummified bodies that had been looted extensively. Their time periods were similar, though some bodies at Duch were from a much later period. Skull fractures at Duch were also much more common. Resin in the cranial cavity was a common feature of the Duch mummies, though only rarely seen in those at Dakhleh. Several Dakhleh skulls also demonstrated clearly that resin had reached the cranial cavity by being poured into the abdomen, the hot, liquid resin flowing through intervertebral foramina into the spinal canal and then up into the cranium via the foramen magnum. Although much more data will become available if and when the bodies from Kharga are dissected, it can be stated that the mummification patterns at Dakhleh and at Kharga have similar qualitative features but differ quantitatively. In addition, the peculiarities of the reconstructive efforts that are so striking at Dakhleh appear, with one exception, to be absent at Duch.

DISCUSSION

At the Kellis site in Egypt's Dakhleh Oasis during the Greco-Roman Period, the Kellis-1 cemetery indicates that some of the bodies had been placed in the tombs with little or no effort to prevent postmortem decay of the soft tissue, while others underwent evisceration and extensive resin application but no evidence of natron desiccation. A substantial fraction (not yet precisely established) of the former underwent decay to the point of skeletonization and disarticulated dry bones. In the remainder, desiccation occurred as a consequence of environmental conditions sufficiently rapidly to arrest decay. The absence of subsequent rehydration resulted in long-term spontaneous mummification of these bodies (*Photograph 77*). In addition, the eviscerated bodies with both external and internal liberal application of resin at time of burial survived the subsequent postmortem environment very well, demonstrating little evidence of soft tissue loss following the embalming process at time of burial. It is conceivable that the very thick layer of hot resin in direct contact with the soft tissues of types 6 and 7 transferred sufficient heat to those soft tissues to result in protein denaturation (“cooking”), contributing to their preservation.

After inhumation, most of these bodies were extensively altered by subsequent looting. Evidence for this lies in the bodies partially or completely shorn of their linen wrappings. When not completely stripped of the enveloping linen, the crudely torn wrappings usually exposed the face and, in some, also the chest, neck, arms or even legs. This pattern corresponds to the hair, face, neck, pectoral, arm, wrist and ankle body areas that are common sites for body adornment with jewelry. This is further confirmed by the fact that the mummified bodies were often fragmented in a manner to provide access to these areas and to accommodate artifact removal. Thus we often find that the head has been

separated from the body (frequently by twisting it), the arm torn from the shoulder and the hands and feet broken and disarticulated. The individual bones of skeletonized bodies found when looters stripped the wrappings were commonly scattered and commingled in the tombs. That these tombs were looted repeatedly is evident in some reconstructed bodies whose wrappings had been partially removed.

Of great interest is the obvious effort consumed in reconstruction of these looted and damaged bodies. These reconstructive efforts are responsible for the great variety of mummification patterns found in these tombs. Such efforts even included the disarticulated bones of skeletonized bodies, in which the individual bones were lashed to a wooden rack in roughly anatomical position. Those persons effecting such reconstructions apparently were sometimes confused by the commingled state of such bones and so used whatever parts were available to complete their reassembly of the body. This resulted in the production of composite mummies, such as Mummy 15 and some splinted bodies of mummification Type 7 that were made up of body parts from several different mummies. The most difficult to evaluate were the reconstructed spontaneously mummified bodies of Type 5 in which liberal amounts of resin were introduced during reconstruction into the body cavities via atypical resin ports. Familiarity with visceral alteration patterns seen in spontaneously mummified bodies were key to deciphering the procedures inflicted on these bodies subsequent to their original burial.

It is useful to reflect for a moment on the major effort expended in many of these reconstructions. The cost of the wrappings and of the large amount of resin employed in some of these is so substantial that the presence of an intact body presented in an appropriately-wrapped bundle must have had profound meaning to those carrying out these reconstructions. This is particularly emphasized by the fact that it must have been obvious to those repairing these bodies that they had no assurance the reconstructed bodies would not be looted again (in fact, some were). It is also revealing that the relatively crude nature of the reconstructions stands in vivid contrast to the professional expertise with which the anthropogenically mummified bodies of Type 6 were prepared.

In general the inhumations at Kellis-1 could be divided simply into the two groups characterized by spontaneous and by anthropogenic mummification. If, however, we concentrate on the virtual absence of both TNC and resin in the skeletonized bodies, these could be considered an additional category. Several possible explanations could be offered for the differing forms of body preparation before burial. The most obvious of these could be cost. While Dakhleh was an active trading center, there is limited evidence of affluence in this community. Mortuary products were probably even more expensive in this community that was remote from the Nile valley. Certainly property managers such as the author of the Kellis Agricultural Account Book (Bagnall, 1997), those in the clerical hierarchy, and merchant traders could be expected to afford the extensive preparation necessary for anthropogenic mummification that was similar to the most skilled embalming feats of the Nile valley. However, much of the resident population was probably living the life of the fellahin. Thus, expense of the mortuary treatment may well explain the differences in body preparation.

A second possibility may be limited availability of professional mortuary expertise in a relatively small, isolated community like Kellis. The high quality of the Type 6 bodies is evidence of availability of professional embalmers at Kellis on at least some occasions.

However, sudden, unexpected death at Kellis could have occurred when such embalmers were occupied with other deaths in more distant communities, allowing few options other than burial without elaborate preparation. Finally, those buried with no or minimal body preparation may have embraced religious convictions that did not value soft tissue preservation of the body. Differentiation of these possibilities will need to await further studies that might help assess social status of individual burials and a greater database dealing with the character of Kellis' resident population.

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TABLE 1. ORGAN PRESERVATION VS. MUMMIFICATION STYLES.

Mummification Style	Organ Preservation Score (OPS)		N	Body Preservation
	Value	±S.D.		
1	5.0	7.1	2	Skeletonization
2	10.0	0.0	1	Skeletonization
3	30.0	0.0	1	Spontaneous mummification
4	39.2	21.5	12	Spontaneous mummification
5	34.3	5.4	7	Spontaneous mummification
6	7.5	9.6	4	Anthropogenic mummification
7	12.5	8.9	8	Anthropogenic mummification

N = number of mummies, S.D. = one standard deviation.

TABLE 2. COMPARISON OF MUMMIFICATION FEATURES OF DAKHLEH AND KHARGA OASES.

Item	Dakhleh (Kellis)	Kharga (Douch)
Mummies examined	49	51
Time Period	Late Ptolemaic-Roman	Ptolemaic-AD 900
Looting	Extensive	Extensive
Wrappings	Torn	Torn
Evisceration	36%	10%
Atypical resination	19%	2%
Circumcision	38%	15%
TNC	94%	65%
Skull fractures	None	Many

Data for Kharga mummies were extracted from Lichtenberg, 1994.

TABLE 3. VISCERAL INDEX.

VISCERAL INDEX		
Value	**Male**	**Female**
10	Heart	Heart
10	Lungs	Lungs
10	Spleen	Spleen
10	Kidneys	Kidneys
10	Bladder	Bladder
10	Intestine	Intestine
10	Prostate	Uterus
10	Penis	Breasts
10	Hair	Hair

Up to 10 points are assigned for preservation of each of the listed viscera. The visceral index is the sum of the points assigned to each organ (Aufderheide, 2003:332).

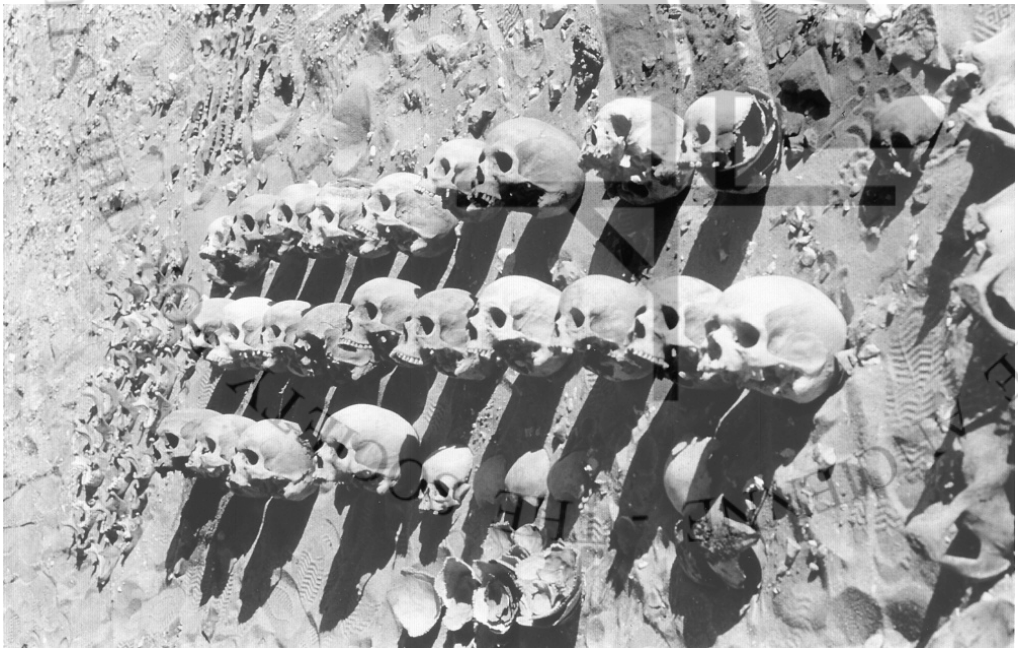
Photograph 68 - Entrance to a Kellis-1 tomb at Ismant el-Kharab in the Dakhleh Oasis.

Photograph 69 - Interior of looted Kellis-1 tomb No. 16 chamber.

The body of a mummy has been stripped of its wrappings. The head of another mummy, torn from its body is visible in the background as are numerous body parts and isolated bones. Photo by and courtesy of Peter Sheldrick.

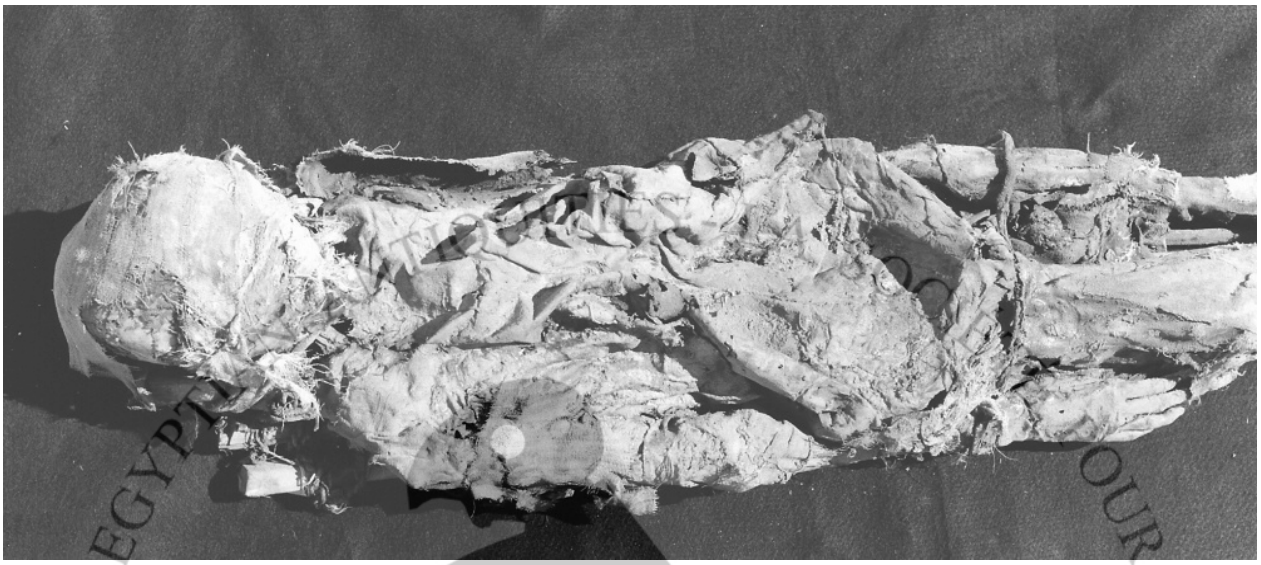
Photograph 70 - Another view of looted tomb 16 at Kellis-1 cemetery.

The wrappings of several mummies have been removed, the head of one disarticulated and discarded, and one of the bodies ravaged. A heap of disarticulated bones and skulls has been piled against the chamber wall. Photo by and courtesy of Peter Sheldrick.

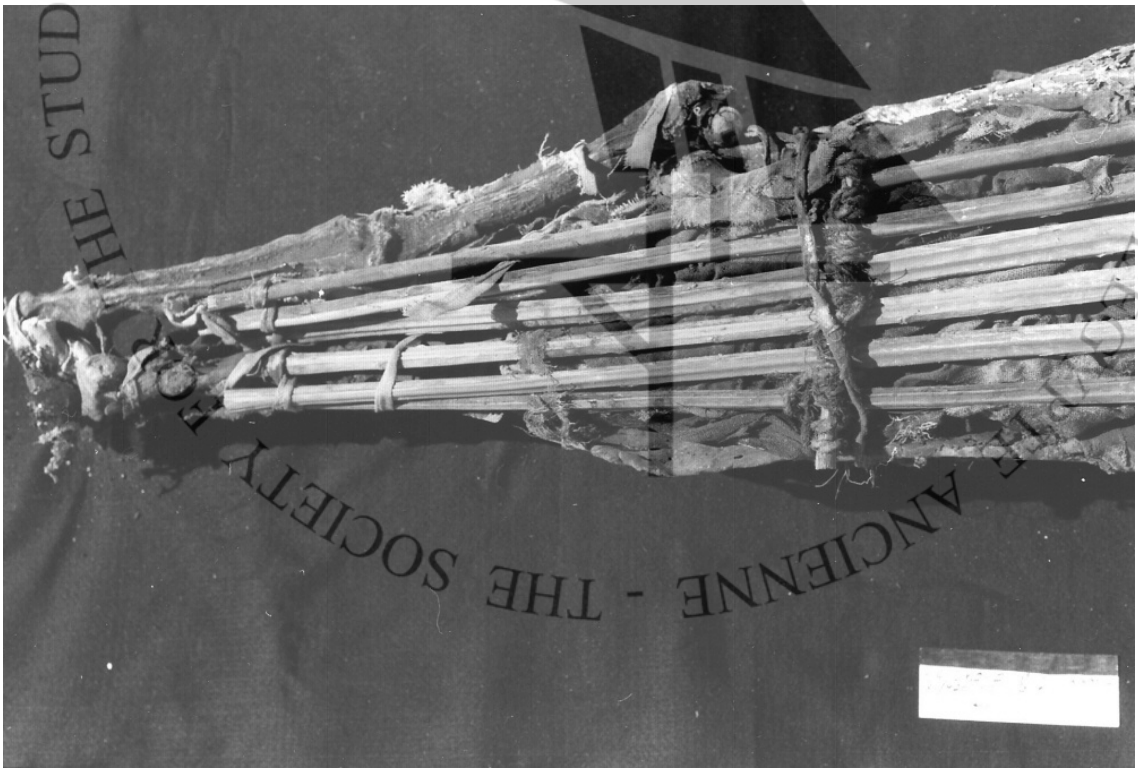


Photograph 71 - Type 1 bodies. Various disarticulated skeletal elements from tomb 13 at Kellis-1 cemetery.

Several dozen skulls and many other skeletal elements devoid of soft tissue found in the chamber of tomb 13 are displayed. Photo by and courtesy of Michael Zlonis.



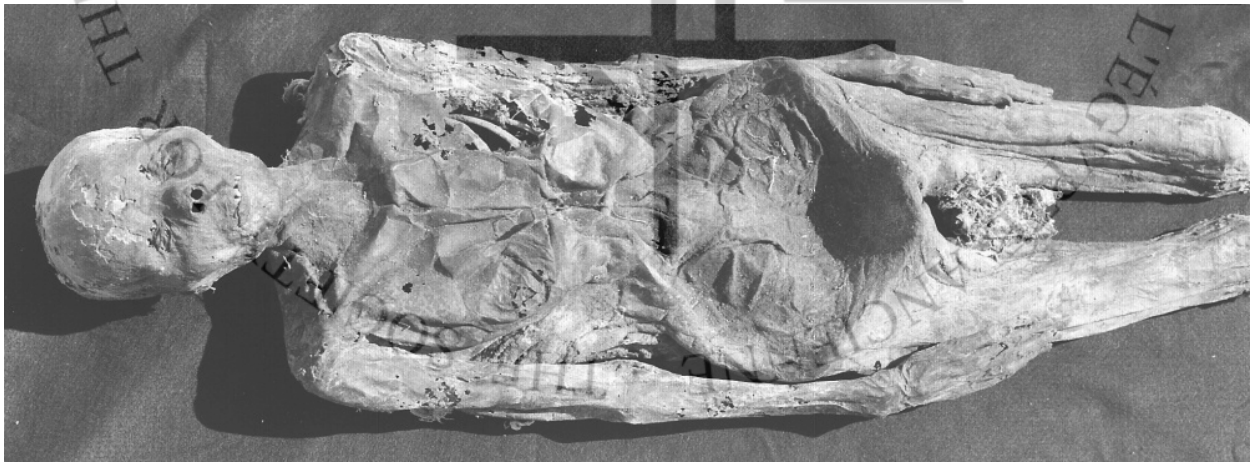
Photograph 72 - Type 2 body. Apparent mummy bundle from Kellis-1 tomb.
The body, partly unwrapped, has been bound to resemble an intact mummy bundle, but see Photographs 73 & 74 below (Mummy No. 15).



Photograph 73 - Type 2 body. Wood rack supporting the skeleton of a composite body.
Posterior view reveals the wood rack composed of palm leaf ribs to which skeletal elements were lashed in anatomic positions. (Mummy No. 15).

Photograph 74 - Type 2 body. The skeletal and soft tissue elements of a composite "mummy." (Mummy No. 15).

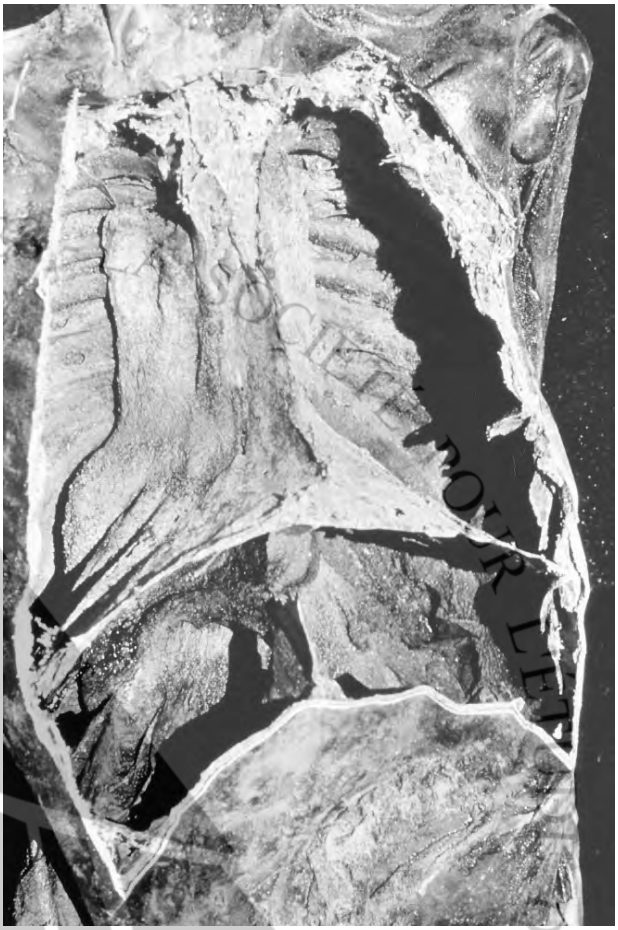
The skull, lashed to the wood rack, was that of a young adult female, the trunk elements were characteristic of an older female while the right leg was made up of the splinted long bones of a three-year-old child and the left leg from the intact, mummified tissues of a six-year-old child. (Mummy No. 15).



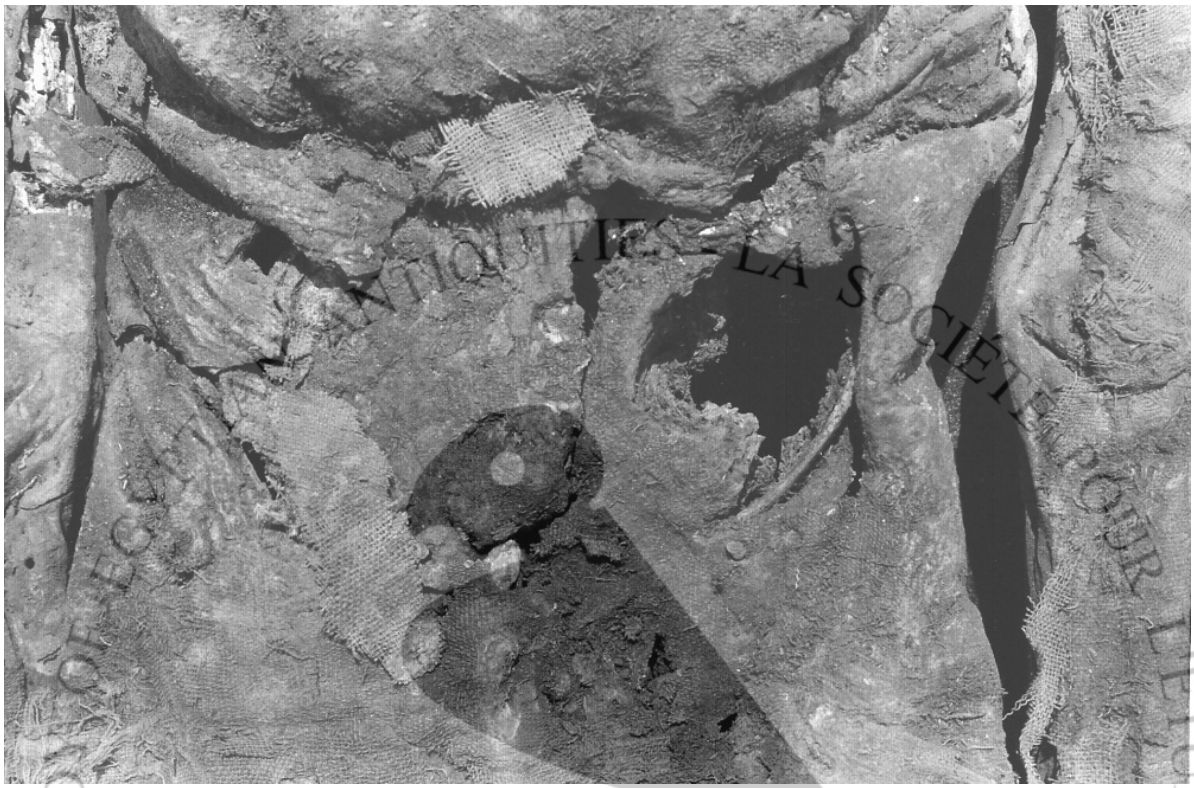
Photograph 75 - Type 3 mummification.

The body is spontaneously mummified without evisceration wounds, without external or internal resin application and with spontaneous preservation (desiccation) pattern of visceral preservation. (Mummy No. 6).

Photograph 76 - Type 4 mummification.
Body features like those of Type 3 (*Photograph 75*), but with a thin layer of only externally applied resin. The resin darkened the skin surface but revealed no evidence of penetration to the viscera that demonstrated a pattern of spontaneous mummification. (Mummy No. 1).



Photograph 77 - Type 4 body.
The anterior chest wall and the upper anterior abdominal walls have been removed, providing visualization of the interior of the body chambers. The diaphragm is intact, dividing the thoracic chamber from the abdominal cavity. The midline structures in the chest include the unopened pericardial sac surrounding the heart. Both lungs have collapsed into flat plates only about 1 to 2 centimeters thick. They occupy the medial halves of the pleural cavities, lying against the posterior aspects of the ribs. Below the diaphragm is the desiccated liver, primarily on the body's right side but its left lobe extends across the midline. (Mummy No. 1).



Photograph 78 - Type 5 body.

The muscles of the back have been broken into multiple separate fragments that are reassembled and held into position by the use of resin and linen. A defect through which liquid resin was poured into the abdominal cavity is demonstrated, though when initially examined this defect had been sealed by stuffing a resin-saturated linen roll into it. (Mummy No. 110).

Photograph 79 - Type 5 body.

The inner aspect of the anterior thoracic wall demonstrates that the resin has pooled there, evidence that the body was in a prone position when the resin was introduced via the defect in the back (*Photograph 78*). (Mummy No. 110).

Photograph 80 - Type 6 body.

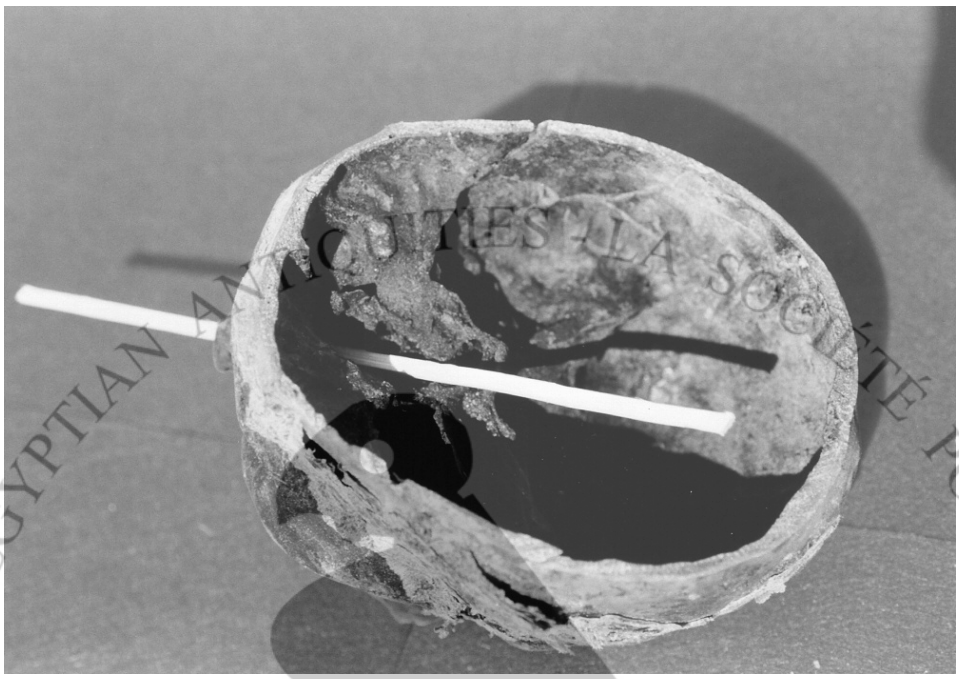
A layer of resin at least 2 cm thick has been removed painstakingly by dissection from the skin surface, revealing an evisceration wound in the left upper quadrant of the abdominal wall. A resin-saturated linen roll (removed for photography) was found stuffed between the lips of the wound. (Mummy No. 3).

Photograph 81 - Type 6 body.

Resin-saturated linen rolls fill the thoracic cavity. No viscera within the cavities nor within the rolls of linen were found. (Mummy No. 3).

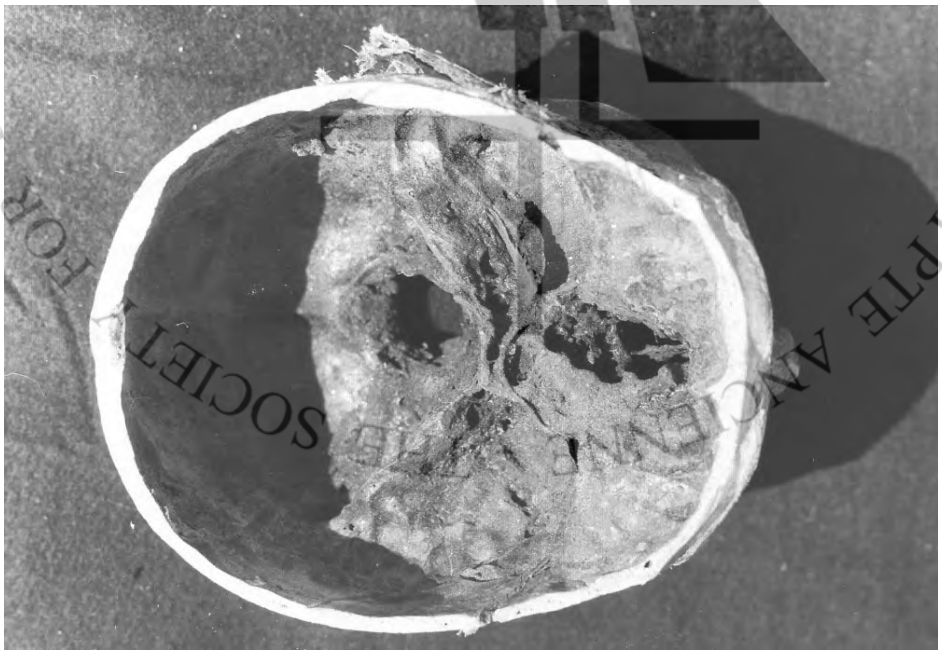
Photograph 82 - Type 7 body.

This type 7 body had been looted and fragmented. Subsequent reconstruction efforts employed wood splints to reproduce the appearance of an intact body, after which it was rewrapped (and, still later, looted again). The head appeared to be much too large to fit the trunk, suggesting that this, too, was a composite body. (Mummy No. 7).



Photograph 83 - Skull demonstrating a transnasal craniotomy channel.

The wood stick inserted into the nares of this skull by the examiner to indicate the passage can be seen to emerge into the cranial cavity via a defect forced through the cribiform plate of the ethmoid bone. (Mummy No. 5).



Photograph 84 - Transnasal craniotomy.

Removal of the calvaria provides an unobstructed view of the region of the perforated left cribiform plate. (Mummy No. 5).

RADIOCARBON DATE RECOVERY FROM BITUMEN-CONTAINING EGYPTIAN EMBALMING RESINS

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Larry CARTMELL

ABSTRACT

Human soft tissue specimens obtained by dissection of Greco-Roman Period mummies buried in the Dakhleh Oasis in Egypt's Western Desert had radiocarbon analytical results many of which were substantially older than accompanying artifacts suggested. Mass spectrometry suggested the presence of hydrocarbons. Gas chromatography/mass spectrometry (GCMS) confirmed that the "resin" applied to these bodies was a mixture of materials containing not only the expected plant sterols of ancient Egyptian embalming resins, but also insoluble carbonized plant material, beeswax and fossil asphalt (bitumen) in four analyzed "resin" samples. Two of these bore a geochemical signature characteristic of Dead Sea asphalt native samples. Efforts to recover the "true" radiocarbon dates by subjecting the tissue samples to extractions by light organic solvents were not reliably successful, probably due to the presence of "radiocarbon-dead" insoluble compounds. Historical evidence indicates that Palestine's Dead Sea bitumen was an item traded to Egypt for embalming purposes especially during the Ptolemaic and later Periods. When using mummified human tissues for radiocarbon dating of mummies from the later periods of ancient Egypt's pharaonic period, possible contamination with such bitumen in amounts sufficient to alter radiocarbon dating tests should be kept in mind. Simple pre-analytical extraction with commonly available light organic solvents may not remove the offending compounds.

KEY WORDS

mummification, resin, radiocarbon dating, GCMS, Dead Sea, asphalt, bitumen, Dakhleh Oasis, Kellis, Ismant el Kharab

INTRODUCTION

Radiocarbon dating is fundamental to the establishment of the chronology for most archaeologically-identified events occurring during the last 40,000 years. In this article we present an initially bewildering range of radiocarbon dates for samples removed from Roman Egyptian mummies. Several of the older dates were in conflict with archaeological artifacts in the tombs associated with these bodies (**Table 1**). Eventually the cause of the aberrant values was traced to the presence of bitumen in ancient Egyptian embalming compounds that had been applied to the sampled mummies. Organic geochemical studies identified the responsible agent as bitumen (asphalt) and even located its source (Palestine's Dead Sea) in several specimens (Maurer et al., 2002). We made an effort to determine whether it is possible to recover the mummies' actual dates by removal of the offending bitumen with readily-available light organic solvents. Accordingly, three specimens whose original dates

were older than expected were extracted with benzene and acetone. In this article we note historical evidence for the use of bitumen by some Egyptian embalmers, describe our identification of the bitumen and explore the reasons for failure of consistent recovery of the specimens' true radiocarbon age by extraction of the specimen using light organic solvents.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The Excavation

The studied mummies were removed from tombs in cemetery No. 1 at the Kellis site (Ismant el Kharab) in the Dakhleh Oasis in Egypt's Western Desert at about 25º32'N and 29º05'E. During the Ptolemaic (310 BC - 30 BC) and especially the Roman Period (30 BC-AD 395) the Dakhleh community at this site more than 350 km west of the Nile enjoyed the status of an active trading center marketing its grain, grapes and other principally agricultural products. Small tombs, approximately 3 x 2 meters and about one meter high were carved into the vertical face of a clay and sandstone terrace. The tomb entrance was flanked by vertical stones supporting a crude lintel, the adit blocked by a sometimes ill-fitting stone. The majority of archaeological artifacts found within these tombs are from the Roman Period but several tombs contained ceramics and cartonnage items with Ptolemaic features. To date 21 tombs have been opened and their contents examined (Aufderheide et al., 1999; Aufderheide et al., in press; Schweitzer, 2002).

The Mummies

More than a hundred mummified bodies were found within these 21 tombs. Of these, a subset of 49 bodies was subjected to thorough external examination, photography and specimen sampling, followed by extensive dissection of the body cavities, cranium and extremities. Detailed study made it possible to reconstruct the history of these bodies some of which were found at excavation to consist of a jumbled mass of body parts. Eventually such examination made it clear that the majority had been buried with little effort directed at soft tissue preservation. Many demonstrated only a thin layer of "resin" painted on the intact skin. These spontaneously-mummified bodies frequently contained intact visceral organs. Others revealed evidence that the tomb had been invaded during antiquity and the heads, arms and legs had been torn from the torso after linen wrappings had been ripped from the body, all apparently done in search of valuables. Later some of these disarticulated bodies had been restored and rewrapped, commonly with the application of "resin" employed partly as an adhesive and partly painted over the body surfaces or poured into the body cavities. During these efforts some reconstructed bodies were found to have been fashioned out of body parts from more than one mummy ("composite mummies"). In a minority (the elite?) the body cavities had been eviscerated shortly after death. In these the entire body externally as well as the eviscerated body cavities were coated with a layer of "resin" up to two or three centimeters in thickness. The "resin" also impregnated most of the linen wrappings. Though the abundant "resin" in these must have presented a formidable problem to the ancient tomb robbers, even some of these had then been disarticulated, an occasional one of which had been restored and subsequently looted and fragmented again.

Thus, even if these bodies were buried initially with no "resin" application, or with only a thin, externally applied "resin" coat, the subsequent violence to which the majority was subjected resulted in the eventual application of "resin" to most bodies. The amount of

"resin" used, though, varied enormously, and was certainly not applied to all parts of the body in a uniform manner (Aufderheide et al., 2001).

The Specimens

In the field, specimens studied later as presented here were acquired by dissection. Source tissues included hair, muscle, visceral organs (most commonly liver) and textiles. In some bodies resin had been applied in quantities large enough so that specimens having the gross appearance of resin without apparent infusion included soft tissue could be collected. All of these specimens, including those taken for radiocarbon study, were wrapped in sterile aluminum foil. Such packages were then placed in labeled plastic bags until analysis. Initial radiocarbon results are listed in **Table 1**.

Gas Chromatoghraphy/Mass Spectrometry Analysis Methodology

The analytical techniques employed in studying the organic geochemistry of mummies were based mostly on methods that are employed in analyzing crude petroleum and sediments. The analysis was performed by light solvent extraction, such as a mixture of dichloromethane and methanol in proportions 99 : 1 (Maurer et al., 2002), or chloroform (Connan & Dessort, 1989). The extraction technique removes part, but not all of the organic matter. High molecular hydrocarbon compounds are usually not extracted, and neither are many of the biologically derived compounds such as fatty acids (in salt form), amino acids (and also peptides and proteins) and carbohydrates. The extract is separated by liquid chromatography into fractions that are then analyzed by various instrumental techniques such as gas-chromatography (GC), gas-chromatography /mass spectrometry (GCMS) and liquid chromatography-mass spectrometry (LCMS). Recently techniques were introduced that require only minute amounts of material and hence are essentially nondestructive. Such methods include thermal desorption-pyrolysis–gas chromatography/mass spectrometry (TDPY/GCMS). Those techniques allow the direct observation of nonvolatile compounds such as fatty acids and glycerides, sugars, resins etc. (Buckley et al., 1999; Buckley & Evershed, 2001).

Bitumen Extraction

Efforts to extract hydrocarbon from such tissues were preceded by an initial study that was carried out to determine whether extraction with benzene would result in retention of carbon from benzene in the specimen in amounts sufficient to alter the radiocarbon date. A specimen of hair from mummy No. 8 was selected because neither the hair nor internal tissues demonstrated grossly recognizable evidence of contamination with resin. Approximately four grams of hair were selected for study and divided into two equal samples. One sample was immersed in 125 ml of reagent grade benzene with manual agitation six times during a 24-hour interval. This was repeated twice more, new reagent being employed every 24 hours. After a final water wash, the specimen was then dried at 40ºC under vacuum. The other half of the specimen was similarly treated except that distilled, deionized water was employed instead of benzene. These specimens were then forwarded to Beta Analytic Radiocarbon Laboratory, Miami for accelerator mass spectrometry (AMS) analysis. At that laboratory both specimens were further treated by their usual acid/alkali/acid procedure, plus an additional acetone extraction after which both

samples were subjected to AMS analysis. Results are indicated in **Table 2**.

Subsequently specimens were selected from three mummies (No. 4: liver; No. 7: resin; No. 9: muscle) whose initial AMS measurements had resulted in values older than their associated archaeological artifacts would suggest. These were treated precisely in the same manner as described above for the benzene-extracted specimen from mummy No. 8. The density of these specimens varied from the rock-hard, high density of the "resin" itself to the friable structure of desiccated muscle or liver. Results of these studies are presented in **Table 3**.

Finally repeat extractions were carried out on the "resin" sample from mummy No. 7 and a sample of liver from mummy No. 9 (the original muscle sample from the latter had been completely consumed at this point so a liver specimen was substituted from the same mummy No.9). However, prior to these final extractions, the specimens were pulverized under liquid nitrogen in a grinding mill (SPEX Certiprep). Results of these additionally processed specimens are also listed in **Table 3**.

RESULTS

Initial Radiocarbon Dates

The initial specimens acquired in the field were forwarded to Geochron Laboratories (Cambridge, MA) for radiocarbon analysis. Measurements were radiometric and the resulting conventional radiocarbon years are listed in **Table 1**. A second set of specimens was analyzed similarly by Beta Analytic Lab, Miami, though at that laboratory the smaller samples were analyzed by AMS technique (**Table 1**). Most of the archaeological artifacts at the Kellis site are of Roman Age (30 BC-AD 395) and only a few of the oldest are from the Ptolemaic period (310 BC-30 BC). Therefore the wide range of the radiocarbon dates, one of whose conventional age is more than 700 years older than the end of the Ptolemaic interval, suggested the possibility of specimen containing "dead" radiocarbon (i.e., no residual radioactive carbon).

Results of Organic-Geochemical Analysis of Mummies

The type of material that the ancient Egyptian embalmers were utilizing in practicing their art are known only from the descriptions by the Greek historians Herodotus (5th century B.C.) and Diodorus of Sicily (1st Century B.C.). The list of ingredients is given below:

Herodotus (5th Century BC)	**Diodorus Siculus (1st century BC)**
Myrrh	Myrrh
Cassia	Cinnamon
Cedar oil	Cedar oil
Gum	Spices
Aromatic spices	Dead Sea bitumen (asphalt)
Natron	

Modern chemical analysis of mummies has been instrumental in identifying more precisely some of the components that were found in mummies. Bitumen (asphalt) that originated in the Dead Sea was reported by many authors (e.g. Rullkotter & Nissenbaum,

1988; Connan & Dessort, 1989; Proefke & Rinehart, 1992; Maurer et al., 2002; Harrell & Lewan, 2002) although Buckely & Evershed (2001) failed to recognize it in 13 mummies that they analyzed. Harrell & Lewan (2002) found in addition to Dead Sea asphalt also material derived from the petroleum seep of Gebel Zeit in the Gulf of Suez. Plant-derived material such as Pistacia resins, tricyclic terpenoids of coniferous trees (either pines or cedars), juniper oil, etc., were found by many investigators (e.g., Connan & Dessort, 1989; Proefke & Rinehart, 1992; Buckley et al., 1999, and Buckley & Evershed, 2001; Colombini et al.2000; Maurer et al., 2002). Beeswax was also discovered in most investigated mummies. Thus, the chemical analysis of mummies strongly supports the information provided by the ancient historians. Most of these substances were also found in the mummy samples presented in this article, including bitumen (some from the Dead Sea), coniferous resins, fatty acids and beeswax as described in detail (Maurer et al., 2002).

Effect of Bitumen Extraction on Subsequent Radiocarbon Dates

Test for residual solvent in specimen after extraction. The only evidence for the application of "resin" to the body of mummy No. 8 were several, vaguely-defined areas of darkened skin over the lower back. The body had not been eviscerated. Scalp hair showed no gross evidence of "resin" application. An abundant sample of hair was divided into two halves. One of these was extracted with light organic solvents as described in the Materials and Methods section; the other half was not. **Table 2** indicates that the radiocarbon dates on both halves were essentially identical, indicating that such an extraction procedure with light organic solvents did not alter the radiocarbon date of a specimen not containing contaminating bitumen.

Effects of light organic solvents extraction of bitumen-containing specimens without pre-extraction processing. Three specimens were selected for benzene extraction (**Table 3**). These were simply placed in benzene in the form in which they had been collected in the field. They varied substantially in tissue density. Table 3 indicates a change in the value for the liver from mummy No. 4 (from a pre-extraction early Ptolemaic date for muscle of 2210 (50) BP to the very late Ptolemaic post-extraction value for a liver sample (no further muscle was available) of 2010 (40) BP. The muscle value for mummy No. 9 and the "resin" sample from mummy No. 7 failed to demonstrate that benzene extraction effected a statistically significant change in radiocarbon dates.

DISCUSSION

The dark brown or black material found on many pharaonic period mummies commonly termed "resin" is usually composed principally of material extracted from botanical sources such as coniferous trees or *Pistacia sp*. Recent studies, however, have indicated that such "resin" products often are mixtures that include nonbotanical material including beeswax, bitumen (asphalt), and other substances (Connan & Dessort, 1989; Maurer et al., 2002; Rullkötter & Nissenbaum, 1988; Colombini et al., 2000; Nissenbaum, 1992; Buckley & Evershed, 2001; Buckley et al., 1999; Harrell & Lewan, 2002). Bitumen particularly is ^{14}C "dead" since it is the product of alteration of Senonian (Upper Cretaceous) rocks that are about 70 million years old. Thus, diluting a botanical resin with the "radiocarbon-dead" bitumen would result in an inappropriately older radiocarbon

measurement for a specimen contaminated by bitumen, as originally pointed out by Proefke & Rinehart (1992) based on an analysis of a single Roman period mummy. It is also appropriate to point out that Venkatesan et al. (1982) showed that the presence of bitumen produced anomalously old ages in two archaeological samples from Syria.

Historical sources indicate that bitumen from Palestine's Dead Sea was exported to Egypt for embalming purposes from at least the early Ptolemaic period (Nissenbaum, 1978; Nissenbaum et al., 1980; Nissenbaum, 1999). Modern chemical analysis has also repeatedly demonstrated the presence of Dead Sea bitumen in apparent "resin" from mummies of Egypt's later periods (Rullkötter & Nissenbaum, 1988; Nissenbaum, 1992, Harrell & Lewan, 2002; Proefke at al., 1992). Such reports are now sufficiently numerous that investigators interested in dating Egyptian mummies from at least the later periods should use caution in sample selection and processing if radiocarbon methods are employed.

Can the true radiocarbon date of a bitumen-contaminated specimen be recovered by pre-analysis extraction of the bitumen from the specimen using commonly-available, light organic solvents such as benzene or acetone? Our experience with these specimens suggests "perhaps, but not always". Specimens from mummy No. 4 indicate a pre-extraction specimen date that was at the extreme oldest end of archaeologically-dated artifacts in the excavated tombs while the post-extraction specimen value was 200 years more recent and fell well within the interval represented by such artifacts. In neither of the other two specimens tested did we obtain a date that demonstrated a statistically significant difference between the pre-extraction and the post-extraction values.

Several other variables operate to defeat the effort to recover the true radiocarbon date of a bitumen-contaminated specimen. The geochemical forces that act upon the organic sediment ultimately producing the product we call bitumen also result in some large organic molecules that are insoluble in light organic solvents (Killops & Killops, 1993). As noted above in the description of our GC/MS analysis, this was also the case in some of the "resin" samples analyzed in our study. In these, hexane-insoluble components in the specimens to be analyzed were separated before analysis by GC/MS (Maurer et al., 2002). Such carbon-containing compounds would not have been removed by the benzene and acetone extraction we carried out, yet probably would have contributed at least some carbon to the AMS analysis. It is also conceivable, though not demonstrated, that when such "resin" mixtures were heated to a high temperature by Egyptian embalmers just before applying them to the corpse, further condensation or other reactions leading to products insoluble in light organic solvents may have been formed. Furthermore, analyses of "resins" from Egyptian mummies have demonstrated a wide range of qualitative and quantitative differences in components contributing to these mixtures.

What we have learned from these studies is that the dark-brown or black material employed by later period Egyptian embalmers often is not a simple botanical resin. More commonly it is an unpredictable mixture of substances that may include bitumen, capable of altering the radiocarbon date of a specimen contaminated by this material. Recovery of the true radiocarbon date of such a contaminated specimen is not achieved reliably by simple extraction of such a specimen by light organic solvents. Probably a more promising approach would be the employment of more complex procedures such as the separation, after extraction, of single compounds that are related to the mummy itself, and not to the resins or by pyrolysis gas chromatography/mass spectrometry to extract from the human soft

tissues some pure component such as cholesterol in the original tissue that has not been altered by postmortem diagenetic effects, and carry out radiocarbon studies on that separated component (Evershed et al., 2002).

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TABLE 1. RADIOCARBON DATES PRIOR TO ORGANIC SOLVENT TREATMENT OF SPECIMENS.

Mummy No.	Specimen	Geochron[1]			Beta Analytic		
		Lab. No.	R/A[2]	Conventional ^{14}C Age (±)[3]	Lab. No.	R/A	Conventional ^{14}C Age (±)
1	Muscle	19942	R	2130 (75)	119805	R	1940 (60)
1	Textile	-	-	-	119803	A	1960 (40)
2	Textile	-	-	-	119811	R	1860 (60)
3	Muscle	20367	R	2075 (60)	-	-	-
4	Muscle	19943	R	2280 (75)	119810	R	2280 (70)
4	Liver	-	-	-	119806	R	2210 (50)
5	Resin	19941	R	2225 (105)	119802	A	2320 (40)
5	Muscle	20366	R	1830 (60)	119809	R	3070 (70)
6	Muscle	19944	R	2020 (75)	-	-	-
7	Textile	19947	R	2695 (75)	119804	A	1950 (40)
7	Resin	-	-	-	120426	A	2580 (50)
7	Eye	19945	R	2335 (155)	-	-	-
7	Muscle	19946	R	2005 (105)	-	-	-
8	Muscle	-	-	-	119808	R	1740 (70)
9	Muscle	20368	R	2245 (60)	-	-	-
10	Muscle	-	-	-	119807	R	1800 (60)
15	Wood	19940	R	2005 (115)	-	-	-
15	Muscle	19937	R	2205 (90)	-	-	-
15	Eye	19938	R	1880 (95)	-	-	-
15	Textile	19939	R	2515 (375)	-	-	-

(1) Laboratory labeled "Geochron" (Lab numbers GX) represent Geochron Laboratories, Cambridge, MA, USA; those labeled Beta represent Beta Analytic, Miami, FL, USA.

(2) R = radiometric technique; A = technique of accelerator mass spectrometry (AMS).

(3) These are ^{13}C-corrected but not calibrated values, representing radiocarbon years BP (i.e., prior to AD 1950). Numbers in parentheses represent one standard deviation.

TABLE 2. TEST FOR POSSIBLE RESIDUAL CARBON CONTRIBUTION BY ORGANIC SOLVENT.

Mummy No.	Specimen	Beta Lab. No.	R/A[1]	Conventional ^{14}C Age (I)[2]
8	Hair-Water Extraction	143632	A	1890 (40)
8	Hair-Benzene Extraction	143633	A	1870 (30)

(1) R = radiometric technique; A = technique by accelerator mass spectrometry (AMS).

(2) Values are RCYBP (radiocarbon years before the present; i.e., prior to AD 1950). Numbers in parentheses represent one standard deviation.

TABLE 3. EFFECT OF ORGANIC SOLVENT PRETREATMENT ON RADIOCARBON VALUES.

Mummy No.	Specimen	Before Extraction			After 4 Organic Solvent Extractions			After pulverization & 7 Solvent Extractions		
		Lab. No.	R/A[1]	Conventional ^{14}C Age (±)[2]	Beta Lab. No.	R/A	Conventional ^{14}C Age (±)	Beta Lab. No.	R/A	Conventional ^{14}C Age (±)
4	Liver	B119806	R	2210 (50)	170565	A	2010 (40)	-	-	-
9	Muscle	GX20368	R	2245 (60)	170567	A	2240 (40)	172213	A	2160 (40)
7	Resin	B120426	A	2580 (50)	170566	A	2660 (40)	172212	A	2660 (40)

(1) R = radiometric technique; A = technique by accelerator mass spectrometry (AMS).

(2) Values are RCYBP (radiocarbon years before the present; i.e., prior to AD 1950). Numbers in parentheses represent one standard deviation.

PROPHETS, INITIATION AND THE EGYPTIAN TEMPLE

John GEE

ABSTRACT

The daily temple liturgy from Karnak distinguishes between rituals which can be performed by a priest (*wꜥb*) and others which must be performed by a prophet (*ḥm-nṯr*). The distinction demarcates which areas of the temple may be entered by which grade of priest. The distinction between the grades of priests is made clear by records of initiation that come from the same time and place and whose phraseology interlocks with the temple liturgy. The same phraseology interlocks with certain passages in the Book of the Dead seen as relating to initiation. This enables us to reconstruct something of the temple initiation and its practical importance to every day life in the temple.

KEY WORDS

temples, initiation, priests, cults, temple ritual, wab-priest, prophet, liturgy

Portions of the daily temple liturgy exist for Karnak,[1] Abydos,[2] Edfu,[3] Denderah,[4] and Deir el Medineh.[5] While the rituals of Karnak and Abydos have always been seen as closely related, a number of rituals appear at the beginning of the Karnak liturgies that do not appear in the Abydos liturgy.[6] Moret thought that the absence could be explained because the rituals "s'opérait dans une autre partie du temple, et avant d'arriver aux sanctuaires."[7] The Edfu and Denderah rituals are streamlined versions of the ones at Karnak and Abydos.[8] The rituals for Amenhotep I from Deir el-Medineh, on the other hand, are very different, even if some of them appear among in the rituals on the third pylon at Karnak.[9] The interrelationships of these rituals has been dealt with elsewhere.[10] Because the liturgies were repeated on a daily basis, they would have been one of the most familiar texts to ancient Egyptian priests, who are usually presumed to be the only literate members of Egyptian society,[11] and thus deserve more careful attention from Egyptologists. In particular, the Karnak ritual, as the only complete ritual with an unambiguous order, rewards close study.

At the beginning of the daily temple liturgy at Karnak, during the ritual of "taking the incense burner,"[12] the officiant says, *ink wꜥb iw=i wꜥb.kwi* "I am a priest and I am pure."[13] Later in the liturgy, during the ritual of "undoing the white cloth,"[14] the officiant says *ink ḥm-nṯr in ny-sw.t wḏ wi r mȝȝ nṯr* "I am a prophet; it is the king who has commanded me to see the god."[15] Two similar assertions are repeated in the ritual for "going out to the throne,"[16] in the first the officiant says *ink ḥm-nṯr sȝ ḥm-nṯr m rȝ-pr pn* "I am a prophet the son of a prophet in this temple"[17] and in the second the officiant also says *ink ḥm-nṯr ii=i r ir<t>=w*[18] *nn ii.n=i is r tm iry qȝ imn-rꜥ-nb-ns.t-tȝ.wy ḥr s.t=f wr.t qȝ psḏ.t ꜥȝ.t ḥr s.t=sn* "I am a prophet, who comes to perform them. I do not come to not perform the exaltation of Amon-Ra lord of the thrones of the two lands on his great throne and the exaltation of the great ennead on their thrones."[19] Both the priest (*wꜥb*) and the prophet (*ḥm-nṯr*) are grades of priest but the distinctions between their various rights and duties has been inadequately explored. The translation of both terms comes from the Rosetta Stone where Egyptian title *ḥm-nṯr* is translated into Greek as προφητης[20] and thus is conventionally translated into English as "prophet," while the Egyptian title *wꜥb* is rendered ιερευς and thus conventionally translated as

"priest."[21] Kees asserted that the priest served on phyle rotation and thus only served part time, while the prophet was a full time position.[22] He also concluded, on the basis of a single papyrus reference,[23] that the prophet was paid on average twenty times what a priest was paid.[24] Gardiner, in his study of the problem, concluded that "all genuine priests were *ipso facto* members of the class of *wꜤbw*, and that out of these the prophets (*ḥmw-nṯr* 'god's servants') were selected"[25] and that "the Egyptian priests were often credited with the attributes of their god, whose spokesmen (προφητης) they accordingly were."[26] A careful analysis of the context of these statements from the daily temple liturgy, however, provides insight into the functional differences between the two grades of priest, at least at Karnak.

Priestly Grades in the Daily Temple Liturgy

Between the ritual of taking the incense burner and the ritual of undoing the white cloth is the ritual of "crossing to the holy place (*bw ḏsr*)."[27] This ritual explicitly mentions a change of location, from wherever the ritual of taking the incense burner occurred to the *bw ḏsr*, the holy place, a "sanctuary or a shrine, ... the place where the god lives"[28] Given that the remainder of the liturgy after crossing to the holy place takes place in the sanctuary with the divine statue, the location of the latter portion of the liturgy can be determined with some confidence. Since all the references to the individual performing the ritual in the sanctuary are to his being a prophet, the sanctuary was the domain of the prophet (*ḥm-nṯr*) and that of the priest (*wꜤb*) somewhere outside.

If the sanctuary is the domain of the prophet, where then is the domain of the priest? If we can reconstruct the path of the priest through the temple we might be able to figure out where he started, as the text does not say where the starting point of the daily liturgy was. Since the daily liturgy is a Third Intermediate Period document, we can start with the assumption that the Ptolemaic portions of Karnak were not standing but that all of the New Kingdom places were. Following the principle of *Wandrelief ist Raumfunktion*,[29] the location of scenes of the daily liturgy in the temple should give an indication of the route used. The appearance of scenes from the daily liturgy on the hypostyle hall in Karnak on the wall of the third pylon,[30] would seem to indicate that during the Third Intermediate Period the daily liturgy moved through the hypostyle hall on its way to the sanctuary. This would mean that the domain of the *wꜤb*-priest was outside the temple or in the hypostyle hall.

At this point, we can take stock of the daily temple liturgy by means of the following table:[31]

Number	Ritual	Translation	Location	Personnel	P.Berlin3055
1	*rꜣ n sḫ stꜣ*	lighting a lamp	[outer court]	[*wꜤb*]	1/2-5
2	*rꜣ n ṯꜣ sḥtpy*	taking the incense burner	[outer court]	*wꜤb*	1/5-8
3	[*rꜣ n*] *wꜣḥ ꜣꜤbw ḥr sḥtpy*	placing the coal on the incense burner	[outer court]	[*wꜤb*]	1/8-2/2
4	*rꜣ n rdit snṯr.w ḥr sḏ.t*	placing the incense on the fire	[outer court]	[*wꜤb*]	2/2-4

Number	Ritual	Translation	Location	Personnel	P.Berlin3055
5	*r3 n nm r bw-ḏsr*	crossing to the holy place	[hypostyle hall]	[*ḥm-nṯr*]	2/4-7
6	*ky r3*	another	[temple]	[*ḥm-nṯr*]	4/7-3/3
7	*r3 n sd i3d.t*	breaking the net	[sanctuary]	[*ḥm-nṯr*]	3/3-5
8	*r3 n sd sin*	breaking the seal	[sanctuary]	[*ḥm-nṯr*]	3/5-8
9	*r3 n sfḫ ḥḏ*	unloosing the white garment	[sanctuary]	*ḥm-nṯr*	3/8-4/3
10	*r3 n wn ḥr*	revelation	[sanctuary]	[*ḥm-nṯr*]	4/3-6
11	*r3 n m33 nṯr*	seeing god	[sanctuary]	[*ḥm-nṯr*]	4/6-7
12	*r3 n sn t3*	kissing the ground	[sanctuary]	[*ḥm-nṯr*]	4/7-9
13	*r3 n rdit ḥr ḫ.t*	placing on the belly	[sanctuary]	[*ḥm-nṯr*]	4/9-5/2
14	*r3 n rdit ḥr ḫ.t n dwn*	placing on the belly and standing up	[sanctuary]	[*ḥm-nṯr*]	5/2-6
15	*r3 n sn t3 iw ḥr m ḫr*	kissing the ground with the face down	[sanctuary]	[*ḥm-nṯr*]	5/6-8
16	*ky*	another	[sanctuary]	[*ḥm-nṯr*]	5/8-8
17	*ky*	another	[sanctuary]	[*ḥm-nṯr*]	6/1-3
18	*r3 n dw3 imn*	praising Amun	[sanctuary]	[*ḥm-nṯr*]	6/3-6
19	*r3 n dw3 imn*	praising Amun	[sanctuary]	[*ḥm-nṯr*]	6/6-7/2

Authority and Authorization

The statements *ink wʿb* "I am a priest"[32] and *ink ḥm-nṯr* "I am a prophet"[33] and *ink ḥm-nṯr s3 ḥm-nṯr m r3-pr pn* "I am a prophet the son of a prophet from this temple"[34] identify the position of the individual and his authority to act in a particular ritual. This is particularly clear in the rite of going out to the throne where the prophet says *ink ḥm-nṯr ii=i r ir=i=w* "I am a prophet, who comes to perform them."[35] The statements of authority use the first person singular independent pronoun although we might expect a different construction, one that indicates "an acquired attribute rather than a permanent 'property'."[36]

A number of other statements of authority occur in the temple liturgy:

ink ḥm ʿnḫ n rʿ "I am the living servant of Re"[37] in the ritual of "taking the incense burner".[38]

ink ḥr ḥry p.t nfr šfy nb nrw ʿ3 šfy q3 šwty ʿ3 m i3bd "I am Horus, who is over heaven,

the beautiful one of dread, lord of awe, great of dread, lofty of feathers, chief in Abydos" in the ritual of "crossing to the holy place".[39]

ỉnk bs nṯr.w "I am an initiate of the gods"[40] in the ritual for "breaking the seal".[41]

ỉnk bȝ mnḫ ꜥnḫ ỉmy ḥw.t-nny-ny-sw.t dd kȝ.w dr ỉsfy "I am the effective living soul who is in Heracleopolis, who gives offerings and who subdues evil" in the ritual labeled "another"[42] meaning another ritual of "kissing the ground with the face down".[43]

ỉnk ḏḥwty sȝ ksw.k "I am Thoth the protector of your bones"[44] in the ritual of "entering the temple".[45]

In some of the statements of authority, the officiant states his earthly offices that allow him to perform the ritual, in others he takes on not only the attributes of his god but his persona as well, thus becoming that god's literal representative in the ritual.[46]

In addition to these statements of authority, there are also statements of authorization. One such authorization statement is *ỉn ny-sw.t wḏ wỉ r mȝȝ nṯr* "it is the king who has commanded me to see the god."[47] which is repeated twice, once in the ritual of "undoing the white cloth,"[48] and another time in the ritual of "seeing god."[49] The authority of the office of prophet alone is insufficient to allow the officiant to perform the ritual, he must be specifically authorized as well.[50] So seeing the god required at least royal authorization.[51] In other cases it could require divine authorization, such as in the autobiography of Rome-Roy: *wdd nṯr ḫpr ḏs=st bsy ỉr.w=f ḥr-ꜥ* "the god who created himself commanded that I be initiated into his forms immediately."[52]

Initiation

The fact that the daily temple liturgy discusses how the officiant is an initiate of the gods[53] before mentioning the position as prophet[54] is significant as the initiation separates the priest from the prophet. In an exceptional case, Thutmosis III discusses his ability to be *m rȝ-pr=f n ḫpr*[*t*] *bs=ỉ r ḥm-nṯr* "in his temple before my initiation as a prophet" because of his status as king's son.[55] Yet Thutmosis's statement case clearly shows that one is initiated as a prophet and that being a prophet was expected for entry into the temple. Bakenkhons illustrates another difference between the priest and higher priesthoods when he says *sbȝ=ỉ r wꜥb m pr ỉmn m sȝ ḫr dr.t ỉt=ỉ . . . šms=ỉ sw m bw mȝꜥ.t bs.kwỉ r ỉt-nṯr mȝ=ỉ ḫpr.w=f nb* "under my father I was instructed to be a priest in the temple of Amun. ... I followed him into the place of truth since I was initiated as a divine father so that I might see all his forms."[56] Thus priests are trained, while divine fathers (*ỉt-nṯr*) are initiated, just like prophets are initiated; some have argued that the two titles "are absolutely equivalent for each other."[57]

Bakenkhons and Rome-Roy specifically mention seeing the forms of god as a purpose of the initiation as does the daily temple liturgy, and several texts from the temple walls themselves. In one of these texts, at the entrance to the hypostyle hall in Medinet Habu, Montu tells the king: *bs=ỉ tw wḥm=ỉ tw r ȝḫ.t mȝ=k nb nṯr.w* "let me initiate you, and announce you into the horizon so that you may see the lord of the gods."[58] On the opposite side of the wall, inside the hypostyle hall, Horus-Khentekhtay tells the king: *bs=ỉ tw r ḥw.t-ꜥȝ.t* [*n ỉt=k*] *ỉmn nb nṯr.w smn=f n=k sḫmty ḥr-tp=k* "let me initiate you into the great temple [of your father] Amun, lord of the gods."[59] Similar scenes are found in the hypostyle hall of the Temple of Khonsu,[60] and outside the entrance to the hypostyle hall.[61] In all cases the king faces inward toward the door and the god faces outward from the door. These scenes and inscriptions suggest that initiation was required for admission into the hypostyle

hall and for proceeding to see the god. The following chart shows the pattern that emerges:

Area	outside the hypostyle hall	inside hypostyle hall
Type of priesthood	*wꜥb* priest	*ḥm-nṯr* prophet
Initiation status	uninitiated	initiated
Rituals	preparatory rituals	sanctuary rituals/ seeing god

The pattern can be confirmed by records of the initiations preserved in the back of the temple of Karnak.

> "Year 29, first month of Shemu, day twenty-six of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, and son of Re, Sheshonq, son of Bastet, beloved of Amon, may he live forever, when the first prophet of Amonrasonter, overseer of Upper Egypt, and chief, Osorkon [son of king] Takelot, beloved of Amun, may he live forever, was in Thebes celebrating the feast of Amon, ... on this day of initiation of him of the curtain, judge, mayor, vizier, and chief of the Ma, Harsiese, ..., to the great and noble throne of Amon, which is heaven, unequaled, unattainable, and incomprehensible."[62]

> "Year 8, first month of Shemu, day nineteen, of the son of Re, Pedubast, the day of initiation of the prophet of Amonrasonter, mayor, vizier, him of the curtain, and judge, mouth of Nekhen and prophet of [Maat ...] good example for sinners, ... Pentefonch, possessor of veneration, ... into the great and noble shrine of Amun by the first prophet of Amon and overseer of Upper Egypt, Harsiese, ... that he might see Amon in this sacred image of his which is more hidden than the gods."[63]

As Pentefonch's initiation makes clear, one purpose of the initiation was to see the god, which is part of the daily temple liturgy. Seeing god also plays a role in the Book of the Dead. The opening rubric of Book of the Dead 125 says that the text is *ḏd.wt ḫft spr r wsḫ.t tn nt mꜣꜥty pḫꜣ N m ḫw.w nb ỉr.n=f mꜣꜣ ḥr.w nṯr.w* "what is said when entering the hall of the truths and purging N from every evil that he has done, so that he might see the faces of the gods."[64] Grieshammer and others have previously connected Book of the Dead 125, most famous for its negative confession, with initiation.[65] The initiation element is most clearly seen in the vignette in the Papyrus of Neferwebenef, where Neferwebenef enters a shrine and emerges with shaved head and dressed in linen.[66] Seeing god and sacred or secret things is also involved in the initiation described in the Coffin Texts:[67] *wn n=k ꜥꜣ.wy p.t sn n=k sbꜣ.w ḥr.t smn.tw ḫkr.w=k r=k ꜥq=k ḥr nṯr ꜥꜣ ỉmy kꜣr=f mꜣ=k rꜥ m ỉrw=f mꜣꜥ* "may the doors of heaven open for you, may the gates of the sky open for you; may your insignia be established on you, so that you may enter to the great god who is in his shrine and see Re in his true form."[68] Since the shrine is equated with heaven,[69] all of this may be seen as Egyptian temple imagery.

The standard initiation sequence, as illustrated in temples, for example, on the exterior of the bark shrine at Karnak is washing, establishing regalia or insignia, and finally induction into the presence of the god in his shrine.[70] Those steps also appear in Book of the Dead 125, where after the first declaration of innocence, the deceased discusses his purity beginning with *ỉw=ỉ wꜥb.kwỉ* "I am pure,"[71] the same phrase that appears after the authority declaration of the priest in the daily

temple liturgy.[72] The donning of regalia and insignia is not described in the texts but the final rubric says that the ritual is to be performed "when he is pure and clean, after he has put on his raiment, is shod with white sandals and anointed with myrrh, and has presented a young bull, fowl, incense, bread and beer, and vegetables."[73] After a second declaration of innocence, the individual passes through the gateway, naming the parts of the gate while passing through to be announced to the god.[74] Thus the general actions described in the text coincide with the general actions depicted in ceremonies depicted on temple walls explicitly described as initiations.

Objections occasionally surface to the use of the English term "initiation" to describe the activities covered by the Egyptian term *bs* because it seems too close to the terms used by classical writers which are seen as misleading. Perhaps, it is suggested, "induction" would be a better term. The use of the term "initiation," however, is common in Egyptological parlance.[75] Two Roman period texts from a temple archive in Thebes[76] are explicitly called initiations (τελετη).[77] The Theban initiations follow the standard initiation sequence with purification,[78] establishing insignia,[79] and the god appearing.[80] These two Roman period texts would have been written by bilingual scribes who knew both Egyptian and Greek[81] and who deliberately chose the Greek term τελετη to describe the activities known from their Egyptian texts as *bs*, which suffices to justify our use of the English term "initiation" not "induction" to describe the same process.

Conclusions

The titles *wʿb* "priest" and *ḥm-nṯr* "prophet" are not equivalent. In addition to previously noted differences of time on duty, and remuneration between the two priestly grades, a careful examination of the daily temple liturgy shows differences in preparation, function, sphere of activity that make the distinction between them significant. The event that makes the difference between the offices is an initiation which consists of washing, establishing insignia, and finally induction into the presence of the god. The initiation provides the prophet with the authority to do more than the priest. To the Egyptians, the most important of the differences in function between the two offices is the opportunity the prophet has to see the god.

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NOTES

1. For the Karnak versions, one for the temple of Amonrasonter (P. Berlin 3055) and one for the temple of Mut (P. Berlin 3014+3053), see *Rituale für den Kultus des Amon und für den Kultus der Mut*, Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin 1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1901); Alexandre Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1902); Ernst Kausen, "Das tägliche Tempelritual," in *Rituale und Beschwörungen II*, Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Band II: Religiöse Texte. Lieferung 3 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1988), 391-405.

2. See Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier*; A. Rosalie David, *Religious Ritual at Abydos (c. 1300 BC)* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1973); idem., *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1981).

3. See Maurice Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*, BdE 20 (Cairo: IFAO, 1959), 59-98.

4. See Émile Chassinat, *Le temple de Dendara I* (Cairo: IFAO, 1934), 1: pl. LI, LXII.

5. Alan H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Third Series, Chester Beatty Gift*, 2 vols. (London: British Museum, 1935), 1: 78-106; 2: pls. 50-61; Ernesta Bacchi, *Il Rituale di Amenhotpe I* (Turin: Museo di Torino, 1942); Harold H. Nelson, "Certain Reliefs at Karnak and Medinet Habu and the Ritual of Amenophis I," *JNES* 8 (1949): 201-232.

6. David, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos*, 77.

7. Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier*, 10.

8. David, *Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos*, 81-82.

9. Nelson, "Certain Reliefs," *JNES* 8:201-232.

10. Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier*; David, *Religious Ritual at Abydos* (1973); David, *Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos* (1981).

11. See John Baines, "Literacy and Ancient Egyptian Society," *Man* 18 (1983): 585; John Ray, "Literacy and language in Egypt in the Late and Persian Periods," in *Literacy and power in the ancient world*, ed. Alan K. Bowman and Greg Woolf (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 64-65 and n. 31.

12. P. Berlin 3055 1/5-6, in *Rituale für den Kultus des Amon und für den Kultus der Mut*, pl. I. Hereafter cited as P. Berlin 3055 followed by column and line numbers.

13. P. Berlin 3055 1/7. The statement in Jean-Marie Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI-XXIIImes dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs à l'initiation des prêtres d'Amon* (Leuven: Departement Oriëntalistiek, 1989), 177: "il apparaît clairement que toutes les opérations constituant le culte journalier étaient accomplies exclusivement par le '*prophète*'" needs to be modified.

14. P. Berlin 3055 3/8.

15. P. Berlin 3055 4/2-3.

16. P. Berlin 3055 10/1.

17. P. Berlin 3055 10/2-3.

18. The expression is written *r ỉr=ỉ=w* which would be unique because (1) the infinitive normally follows *r* for a purpose clause rather than the subjunctive although a parallel can be found in the Book of Breathings Made by Isis §1, in Michael D. Rhodes, *The Hor Book of Breathings* (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 2002), 52, and (2) normally one not two suffix pronouns are attached to a word. I propose that the graphically similar hieratic sign for the seated man has been written for hieratic *-t* because it eliminates both problems.

19. P. Berlin 3055 10/3-5.

20. François Daumas, *Les moyens d'expression du grec et de l'égyptien comparés dans les décrets de Canope et de Memphis* (Cairo: IFAO, 1952), 181-83.

21. Daumas, *Les moyens d'expression* , 180-81.

22. Hermann Kees, "Zur Organisation des Ptahtempels in Karnak und seiner Priesterschaft," *MIO* 3/3 (1955): 336-37.

23. P. Rylands IX 13/6-8, in F. Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester*, 3 vols. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, and London: Bernard Quaritch, and Sherratt and Hughes, 1909), 1: pl. XXXV, 3: 90 and n. 5; Günther Vittmann, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1998), 1: 54, 158-59; 2: 490.

24. Kees, "Zur Organisation," *MIO* 3/3:336. Thus even if a priest were working full time, he would only earn a fifth what a prophet earned.

25. Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947), 1: 49*.

26. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, 1: 52*.

27. P. Berlin 3055 2/4.

28. Penelope Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon* (Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 312; *Wb*. I 45.2; James K. Hoffmeier, *Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt: The Term DSR, with special Reference to Dynasties I-XX* (Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag, 1985), 172-77, 206-207.

29. Dieter Arnold, *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion in ägyptischen Tempeln des Neuen Reiches* (Berlin: Bruno Hessling, 1962), 5.

30. PM^2 2: 45-46.

31. Some disagreement exists in the extent of the daily temple liturgy. The chart uses the short version while the longer version is sometimes used in the article where it might be relevant.

32. P. Berlin 3055 1/7.

33. P. Berlin 3055 4/2, 10/3.

34. P. Berlin 3055 10/2-3.

35. P. Berlin 3055 10/3.

36. Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957), 41 §38.

37. P. Berlin 3055 1/7.

38. P. Berlin 3055 1/5-6.

39. P. Berlin 3055 2/4; Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier*, 21.

40. P. Berlin 3055 3/7. The citation in Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak*, 177 n. 7 needs to be corrected.

41. P. Berlin 3055 3/5.

42. P. Berlin 3055 6/2.

43. P. Berlin 3055 5/6.

44. P. Berlin 3055 8/9.

45. P. Berlin 3055 8/5.

46. Cf. the remarks in Robert K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1993), 248-49 and n. 1142.

47. P. Berlin 3055 4/2-3, 4/6-7.

48. P. Berlin 3055 3/8.

49. P. Berlin 3055 4/6.

50. Erik Hornung, *Idea into Image* (New York: Timken, 1992), 123.

51. Cf. Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak*, 177. Evidence of royal authorization can also be seen in the Persian period practice of having the satrap (as representative of the Persian king in Egypt) approve priestly appointments; P. Berlin 13540, in George R. Hughes, "The So-called Phrendates Correspondence," in *Grammata Demotika*, ed. Heinz-J. Thissen and Karl-Th. Zauzich (Würzberg: Gisela Zauzich Verlag, 1984), 78.

52. Louvre C 219 = *KRI* IV 209; Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak*, 180.

53. P. Berlin 3055 3/7.

54. P. Berlin 3055 4/2.

55. *Urk*. IV 157, correct with Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak*, 178.

56. *Urk*. IV 1409; Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak*, 179.

57. G. A. Gaballa, "Nufer, Third Prophet of Amun," *MDAIK* 26 (1970): 52-54 with further bibliography.

58. The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu V*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930-1970), pls. 290-291, 457, 489.

59. The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu V*, pl. 313.

60. The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu II* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1981), pl. 182.

61. The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu I* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1979), pls. 43, 47.

62. Karnak priestly annals, fragment 7, in Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak*, 59-62.

63. Karnak priestly annals, fragment 2, in Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak*, 36-37.

64. BD 125, in Charles Maystre, *Les déclarations d'innocence (Livre des morts, chapitre 125)* (Cairo: IFAO, 1937), 10-11.

65. Reinhard Grieshammer, "Zum 'Sitz im Leben' des negativen Sündenbekenntnisses," in *XVIII. Deutscher Orientalistentag* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1974), 19-25; Reinhold Merkelbach, "Ein ägyptischer Priestereid," *ZPE* 2 (1968): 7-30; Ludwig Koenen, "Die Unschuldsbeteuerungen des Priestereides und die römische Elegie," *ZPE* 2 (1968): 31-38; Jan Assmann, "Death and Initiation in the Funerary Religion of Ancient Egypt," in *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt* (New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar, 1989), 135-59; Robert K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1993), 150 n. 678; John Gee, *The Requirements of Ritual Purity* (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1998), 51-311.

66. Suzanne Ratié, *Le Papyrus de Neferoubenef (Louvre III 93)*, BdE 43 (Cairo: IFAO, 1968), pl. XVII.

67. Jan Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien. Band 1: Totenliturgien in den Sargtexten des Mittleren Reiches* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 2002), 322-24.

68. CT 492 VI 71-72 (all manuscripts from Bersheh); Assmann, *Altägyptischen Totenliturgien*, 323.

69. Karnak priestly annals, fragment 7, in Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak*, 59-62.

70.Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier*, pl. I.

71. BD 125 A, in Maystre, *Les déclarations d'innocence*, 51-55.

72. P. Berlin 3055 1/7.

73. BD 125 c T 2, in Thomas G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 100.

74. BD 125 c S6-8, in Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 99-100.

75. See, for example, Grieshammer, "Zum 'Sitz im Leben' des negativen Sündenbekenntnisses," 19-25; Assmann, "Death and Initiation in the Funerary Religion of Ancient Egypt," 135-59.

76. Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind*, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 168-74; Robert K. Ritner, "Egyptian Magical Practice under the Roman Empire: The Demotic Spells and their Religious Context," in *ANRW* II.1.18.5 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995), 3333-79; William M. Brashear, "The Greek Magical Papyri: An Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibliography (1928-1994)," in *ANRW* II.1.18.5, 3380-684; John Gee, "Abracadabra, Isaac and Jacob," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* 7/1 (1995): 35-46.

77. The texts are PGM IV 475-829, XIII 1-343 and duplicate in lines 343-646, in Karl Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1928-31), 1: 88-101, 2: 87-117; and Reinhold Merkelbach, *Abrasax: Ausgewählte Papyri religiösen und magischen Inhalts: Band 3: Zwei greichisch-ägyptsiche Weihezeremonien (Die Leidener Weltschöpfung, Die Pschai-Aion-Liturgie)* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1992).

78. PGM IV 783-85; XIII 4-6; 347-50.

79. PGM IV 813-24; XIII 38-40; 96-102; 383-86; 650-57.

80. PGM IV 576-728; XIII 210-11; 702-18.

81. See especially the remarks in Ritner, "Egyptian Magical Practice under the Roman Empire," 3358-71.

TAHARQA, KING OF KUSH AND THE ASSYRIANS*

Dan'el KAHN

ABSTRACT

In this article the relationships between Esarhaddon, king of Assyria (681-669 B.C.) and Taharqa, King of Kush (690-664 B.C.) are surveyed. The years between 690-683 are regarded as years of peace, while Kushite intervention in the Levant from 683 and probably until 679 prompted Assyria to react and gain control over the Levant and finally conquer Egypt. This conquest is reflected in the Assyrian Royal Inscriptions and Annals of Esarhaddon. An extraordinary prayer by Taharqa to Amun, previously dated by P. Vernus to 677/6-674/3 B. C., records Taharqa's defeat and the capture of his crown-prince, Ushanhuru in 671 B.C. and Taharqa's request from Amun to guard the life of his sons and concubines and to return things to their previous state of affairs.

KEY WORDS

Taharqa, Esarhaddon, Ushanhuru, Memphis, Prayer, Amun, Assyrian conquest of Egypt

Historical Background[1]

In 721 BC Shabaka ascended the throne of Kush. He conquered Egypt by the beginning of his second year of reign in February 720 BC. In the spring of 720 BC the Kushites fought a pitched battle against the Assyrian army near Raphiah. Shabaka maintained a hostile policy towards Assyria until his death in 706 BC. In 712 Iamani, king of Ashdod, revolted against Assyria and at the arrival of the Assyrian forces he fled to Sargon's opponent, Shabaka. He received asylum from Shabaka until the latter's death, which occurred at the end of 706 BC. Within months after ascending the throne, Shebitku changed his predecessor's hostile policy towards Assyria and, as a gesture of good will, extradited Iamani to Sargon.

The sudden death of Sargon, King of Assyria in battle in the summer of 705 BC ignited a massive revolt throughout the entire Assyrian empire. Shebitku took advantage of this situation and attempted to gain power in the Levant. When Sennacherib, Sargon's heir to the throne of Assyria, was finally able in 701 BC to turn his attention to the revolt in the West, he met Shebitku's forces in battle at Eltekeh. One of the Kushite commanders was Prince Taharqa, who mentioned in his inscriptions that Shebitku recruited him to wage war in the North. The outcome of the battle is not as clear as the Assyrian texts claim it to be. While Sennacherib boasted of a great victory on the Egyptian and Kushite forces, Shebitku adopted expansionistic imperial titles which indicate that the Kushite propaganda also claimed victory.[2] When Taharqa became king of Egypt and Kush, he did not try to hide his presence on the battlefield as one would expect if he were responsible for a bitter defeat.

After Sennacherib's third campaign in 701, he never returned to the West in person.[3] From Assyrian sources, it can be assumed that Assyria ruled firmly in the West at least until 697 BC.[4] Nothing is known about Assyrian activities or intervention in the West after this year.

In the Kingdom of Egypt-and-Kush Taharqa ascended the throne after Shebitku's death in 690 BC. His reign is commonly divided into two periods: His first decade of reign was generally

assumed to be a peaceful one,[5] blessed with intensive commerce or other sort of contact with the Phoenician coast,[6] while the second period was characterized by conflict with Assyria.[7]

A stela from Taharqa's temple at Kawa (Kawa III),[8] which lists Taharqa's benefactions to the temple of Amun at Kawa from year two to ten, recounts that in year eight (683 BC),[9] Taharqa donated to the temple of Amun at Kawa a bronze statue of the king smiting foreign countries, alluding to some hostile activity abroad.[10] In Kawa III, 21pieces of acacia, cedar and juniper wood, which grow in the Levant (particularly in Lebanon), were donated to the temple of Amun. In Kawa VI, 18-21 in Taharqa's year ten (681 BC) cedar and Asiatic bronze were donated to the temple of Amun and gardeners from the *Mnty.w Sṯti.w* were brought from Asia to cultivate his vineyards.[11] These data mark the start of Kushite (commercial or possibly military) activity in the Levant, particularly in Lebanon, between 683-681 BC, the last years of Sennacherib.[12]

Esarhaddon's campaign to the Brook of Egypt

Esarhaddon succeeded Sennacherib in 681 BC. He changed his father's policy and gave urgent priority to the re-affirmation of Assyrian control over Southern Philistia, which was loosened and most probably even lost during Sennacherib's last years.[13] According to the Esarhaddon Chronicle,[14] he conducted a campaign in his second year (679/8)[15] against the city of Arzâ,[16] which is situated on the Brook-of-Egypt.[17] He plundered the town and took captive Asuhili, its king and brought him in fetters to Nineveh.[18]

Eph'al assumes that the "queries" to Shamash, the oracle god, inquiring about the possibility to wage war against the Egyptian army in the vicinity of Ashkelon, should also be connected to Esarhaddon's preparations for a campaign in Southern Philistia during the course of which the city of Arzâ, near the Brook-of-Egypt (*Naḥal Musur*) was captured. If this document really refers to the preparations of an Egyptian campaign, Esarhaddon's fear seems incomprehensible since it would be preferable, as far as he was concerned, to encounter his enemy in Palestine rather than to enter into battle at the approaches of Egypt, immediately after a strenuous march along northern Sinai.[19] The campaign against Arzâ is dated to 679 and it seems most probable that the queries to Shamash concerning Ashkelon were asked before a campaign that was not destined to conquer Egypt and should be related to a campaign in Palestine. The only known campaign to the vicinity of Ashkelon before the attempts to conquer Egypt in 671 BC was conducted in 679 BC and reached the Brook-of-Egypt.

Thus, the Kushite activity or Assyrian fear of Kushite presence in the Levant can be dated between 683-679 BC and Esarhaddon's campaign to the Brook-of-Egypt can be understood as a reaction against a Kushite continuous action against the (South)-Western provinces of the Assyrian Empire.

The consequences of Esarhaddon's campaign were as follows: Esarhaddon re-affirmed Assyrian control over the whole Levant up to Southern Palestine after an Assyrian absence of *ca.* four years; Asuhili, ruler of Arzâ, was deposed as was Sharru-lu-dari, the King of Ashkelon. Mitinti, son of Sidqa, the former king of Ashkelon was appointed in his place,[20] and the Kushite threat was removed.

In Esarhaddon's 4th year (677 BC) he conquered Sidon. Abdi-milkuti, its ruler, escaped by boat. In the following year (676 BC) Esarhaddon caught Abdi-milkuti and had him beheaded.

According to the Heidel Prism Esarhaddon forced 22 unnamed kings of the land of Hatti, of

the coast and of the islands in 676/5BC to participate in building projects at Nineveh.[21] This account is again repeated in Nin. A v 54-vi 1,[22] dated to 673/2,[23] now comprising a full list of their names.

Egypt's alleged control over the Levant and its loss in a prayer by Taharqa

In 1975 Vernus reconstructed, collated and published a text found on a badly damaged series of blocks which adjoined the bark-sanctuary at Karnak on the back of the Annals of Thutmosis III. These blocks were formerly attributed to Shoshenq I or to Osorkon II.[24] According to Vernus, this inscription should be assigned to Taharqa and it reflects the Assyrian advance towards Egypt and Egypt's temporary control over the Levant and its loss. The text is written in a mixture of (late) Middle Egyptian[25] used for the traditional hymns and royal inscriptions and of Literary Late Egyptian embedded with colloquial Late Egyptian showing early traits of the Demotic dialect.[26] The text can be classified as a personal prayer (requesting for god's help after an enemy's invasion or defeat in battle).[27]

Vernus and Spalinger have noted the special tone of the text and the degree of piety, supplication and personal responsibility expressed by the king. The text has no date, but basing their arguments especially on cols. 5 and 16 of the text, Vernus dated the text to the period between years 14 and 17 of Taharqa (677/6-674/3 B. C.), while Spalinger dated the text to 675 BC.[28]

> "O, the one who will not abandon his work when it has only been half realized", (col. 5)
>
> "Let me do it with your tribute (*inw*)[29] of Khor (Syria-Palestine) which has been turned aside from you" (col. 16).

I shall treat this text more thoroughly below and suggest an additional venue.

The Assyrian defeat in Egypt in March 673 BC

The Babylonian Chronicle mentions an expedition to Egypt in the month of Adar of the year 673 BC. From the description of the Kushite meddling in the Levant during the previous decade it becomes clear that the invasion of Egypt was a reaction to this ongoing hostile activity in the Levant. However, the Assyrians did not succeed to overpower the Kushite threat and were defeated in Egypt on the 5th of Adar (March 673 BC).[30] This defeat was not reported in the Esarhaddon Chronicle.[31]

Ashkelon, Tyre and Taharqa are mentioned in a broken section of Esarhaddon's Stela at Nahr el-Kalb.[32] In a fragment from Esarhaddon's annals, describing the events of 671, he states that his armies besieged Ba'al, King of Tyre, because Ba'al trusted Taharqa, his friend, and freed himself from the yoke of Assyria.[33] After Esarhaddon's military setback in March 673 Ashkelon and Tyre (and probably other Philistine and Phoenician cities as Arvad?)[34] rebelled against him. It is possible that the kings of Tyre and Ashkelon were punished for their disloyalty between March 673 and the summer of 671 since they are mentioned in the account of 671. Taharqa, according to Vernus' interpretation of the Taharqa's prayer, lamented the loss of tribute (*inw*) from the land of *Ḫ3rw* (Syria-Palestine).[35] This situation might reflect the period between 679, the campaign to Arzâ, and 673, the Assyrian defeat in Egypt, or the period after the summer of 671 when the Assyrians invaded Egypt and the Egyptians lost their territorial achievement gained in March 673.

701-671: An overview

After Sennacherib's third campaign in 701, in which he quelled the massive revolt in the West, he never returned there in person. From Assyrian sources, it can be assumed that Assyria ruled

firmly in the West at least until 697 and without any contradicting Assyrian or Egyptian evidence this date can be lowered to 684/3 BC.[36] It seems that Sennacherib lost control over the Levant to the Kushites at the close of his rule. As far as we know, this rebellion in the West cannot be compared with the rebellion following Sargon's death. We know only that Tyre, Ashkelon and Arvad, relatively protected cities, showed resistance against the Assyrians. The Kushites just slipped into a power-vacuum created by a temporary Assyrian weakness. When Esarhaddon came to power he anticipated a clash with Kushite and Egyptian forces in Southern Palestine during his first campaign to the Levant, but when his forces arrived at the vicinity of Ashkelon and later on at the Brook of Egypt, there were no Egyptian and Kushite forces in sight. Thus, again, Assyria ruled the West firmly reaching the Egyptian border. In 677 and 676 Esarhaddon quelled a rebellion (backed by Egypt?) in Phoenicia. Esarhaddon decided to deal with the Kushite-Egyptian ongoing threat and marched against Egypt. In March 673 Esarhaddon's army was defeated in Egypt. Consequently, Taharqa gained control over Philistia and Tyre aligned again with the Kushites. By 671 Esarhaddon had recovered from his defeat in 673 on Egyptian soil and tried again to eliminate the Kushite threat.

The Assyrian conquest of Egypt

In late spring of 671 BC Esarhaddon mustered his troops in an attempt to conquer Egypt and defeat Taharqa once and for all. In the summer of 671 BC he invaded Egypt. Three fierce pitched battles were fought on the 3rd, 16th and 18th day of the month of Du'uzu (Tammuz). On the 22nd of the same month Memphis, Taharqa's capital, was conquered and sacked. Taharqa was wounded five times by Esarhaddon's arrows and fled[37], but his son and brothers were captured alive. Esarhaddon entered Memphis in joy and sat on Taharqa's [throne]. Taharqa's gods and goddesses together with all the palace possessions, Taharqa's queen and secondary wives and Ushanhuru, the Nubian crown prince (*mâr ridûtîðu*) were brought out of the city, counted as spoil and taken back to Assyria.[38]

After the cessation of fighting Esarhaddon appointed anew officials and administrators over the captured towns of (Lower) Egypt. Some of these officials had Egyptian names and some had Assyrian names.[39]

Taharqa's prayer concerning the conquest of Egypt

As we have seen, Taharqa's inscription reflects the Egyptian dominion in the Levant (between March 673 and 671) and the loss of it. A closer look at this inscription reveals Taharqa's view of the Assyrian conquest of Egypt in 671 and possibly in 667. I have divided the text into paragraphs that deal with specific subjects.

The text is composed of an introduction (§ 1), 2 sets of 3 similar paragraphs, namely: § 5 (past promises and their realization), § 6 (Taharqa's complaint) and § 7 (Taharqa's request) are respectively similar in content with § 2 (Amun's favors in the past), § 3 (Taharqa's distress) and § 4 (Taharqa's request). § 8 and § 9 are an elaboration and deal with foreign affairs and Taharqa's family's safety. These requests are not mentioned in § 4. These paragraphs deal with the situation in Egypt in the past, in the present and what has to be done to correct the situation in th future. § 10 ends the prayer with a Glorification of Amun and the hope for a better future.

In the following pages I will give the transliteration, translation and comments on the relevant paragraphs.[40]

§ 1. Beginning of king's speech

(3) *ḥ*[*r*].*f n sꜣ.k mrỉ.k nsw bity* ( ) *sꜣ Rᶜ* ( ) *Ỉmn Rᶜ nb nswt tꜣ.wy* [*mry ...*] *ỉ*[*wᶜ*] *n šmᶜw mḥw dỉ ᶜnḫ nb ḏḏ wꜣs nb snb nb ꜣw ỉb nb mỉ rᶜ ḏt* (4) [*...*] *md.t mỉ ᶜꜣ.s*

(3) "…Thus he says, namely, your (i.e., Amun's) son, whom you love, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (empty cartouche), Son of Re (empty cartouche), [beloved of] Amun-Re, Lord of the thrones of the two lands, h[eir] of Upper and Lower Egypt, given all life, stability and all dominion, all health, all happiness like Re forever. (4) […] affair according to its importance."

§ 2. Amun grants Taharqa with the rule over Egypt

dỉ.k n.ỉ šmᶜw mḥw stp.k wỉ m ḫnw.[*sn dỉ*.]*k ḏd.w tꜣ.wy.ỉ ỉs*[41] *ỉ.irỉ Ỉmn ỉr pr ᶜꜣ n p*(*ꜣ*) *nty mrỉ.f sw*

"You gave me Upper and Lower Egypt, you chose me among [them and] you [caused] to be said: '(These are) my two lands, indeed'. It is according to what he desires, that Amun makes a Pharaoh".

Amun granted Taharqa rule over Egypt. He gave him Upper and Lower Egypt[42] and caused the people of the land to recognize his sovereignty. By mentioning the fact that Amun chose Taharqa and bestowed favors upon him in the past, Taharqa intended to stress his divine legitimacy and expected for continuity in Amun's deeds.

§ 3. The actual situation in Egypt: a description of Taharqa's distress

dỉ.k gm.ỉ s ḏd p(*ꜣ*) *ỉ dỉ.k ᶜḳ.f*[43] *p*[*... ...*] *rmṯ ỉ wn bw rḫ.w*[44] *s ḥr.ỉ*

"You caused me to discover this, namely: He, the one, whom you have caused to enter […] men, who did not know it about me".

However, the situation mentioned in § 2 did not last. Amun caused Taharqa to discover that whatever was promised and granted to him in § 2 changed. Amun has given Taharqa the two lands and caused them to acknowledge his rule, but in par. 3 he caused someone to enter (name of place not preserved in the text),[45] with people who did not know what Amun had ordained for Taharqa.[46] According to the theological ideology presented in Taharqa's prayer, it was Amun who caused the enemy to invade Egypt and desecrate places either as part of a plan to glorify Taharqa's accomplishments[47] or because Amun was angry with him.[48]

§ 4. Taharqa's request

(5) *ỉ* [*Ỉmn ... ...*] *ỉ pꜣ nty bw irỉ.f ḫꜣᶜ*[49] *tꜣ ỉ.irỉ.f*[50] *ỉw.s n gs*[51] *ỉ Ỉmn m* [*...*].*k n-ỉm.w ỉw.k* (*r*) *sḏm.w*[52] *n.ỉ mtw.k* [… (6) *... md.t* (*?*)[53] *b*]*ỉn.t m irỉ dỉ.t ᶜḳ.ỉ r md.t ỉw msd.k s p*(*ꜣ*) [*... ...*] *m*

irı di.t irı.i pȝ ntt ms[*d.k s* (7) ... ...] *m di.k ḫr‹i›-r-m* [*in*]*k*[54] (*r*) *ntt ink pȝy.k šri*[55] *iw ntk i* [*wṯt ḫp*]*r.t nbt mn nk.t iw* [... (8) ...] *ḫnw n Ỉmn nȝy*

"Oh, (5) [Amun …]. Oh, You who did not abandon what he has created, while it is half realized. Oh Amun, don't [… …] with them. You shall hear them for me,[56] and you shall [turn back (?) (6) the e]vil (words?). Do not let me enter an affair that you hate. […]. Do not let me do what [you h]ate [… (7) …] from you together with me. I am your little child, while it is you [who begot?] all [that comes into be]ing.[57] There is nothing which […] (8) [… …]. It is the residence of Amun."[58]

Taharqa's request is construed in the imperative mode. Amun is addressed as a god who finishes what he has started. Thus, Taharqa demanded continuity in Amun's deeds. Amun has given Taharqa the rule over Egypt and Taharqa's wish is that the people who did not know Amun and entered his realm would recognize his legitimacy and his divinely decreed sovereignty over Egypt. Taharqa asked Amun to prevent him from doing things, which Amun detests. He claimed that something was taken (?) from Amun's hand together with his.[59] In these sentences Amun is described as an omnipotent creator god, a father who has to take care of his child, Taharqa, and protect him from getting into danger. Furthermore, the close relationship Between Taharqa and Amun stresses the identity of cause between god's affairs and those of the king. Amun acts on behalf of Taharqa.

§ 5. Amun's promises before Taharqa assumed kingship and their realization

sr.k n.i nn iw bw-r-ꜥ.tw.k[60] *di.t ḫꜥ.i* [... (9) ...] *Ḥꜥpy ꜥȝ n pȝy.i hȝw iȝw*[61] *n.i tȝ pt iw.s n* (= *m*) *ꜥḏ iw.s ꜥšȝ* (*10*) [*m ḥw ...*]

"Before you crowned me you have foretold these to me: (9) […] a great inundation in my time. The sky was extended for me, being thick and abundant (10) [with rain]."

Taharqa reflected on past events and reminded Amun of the wonders, which he foretold him before his crowning and bestowed upon him during his reign. In Kawa V Taharqa recorded the wonders that happened in his sixth regnal year. The text mentions an abundant inundation in Upper and Lower Egypt and rainfall in Nubia.[62]

§ 6. Taharqa's complaint: The actual situation in Egypt is not as promised

[... ... *n*]*n ink sw iwn*(*ȝ*)*y*[63]

"[…]It does not belong to me."[64]

Taharqa complained that the areas, which enjoyed abundant rain and inundation [i. e. Egypt and perhaps parts of Nubia (?)[65]], are not in Taharqa's control (anymore).[66] Consequently, Taharqa expected that Amun would come to his aid at the present in the same manner as he did in the past when he proclaimed these wonders and caused them to happen.

§ 7. An elaboration of Taharqa's request to regain control over Egypt and its population

imi st ḫr.i ḏr.w [*iw*] (11) [... ...] *nw r.f* [...*r* Ỉ]*mn ntf pȝ i.iri nf*[*r*] (12) [... *n*]*ḥm wi r šnw nḥm wi r mdt bin.t nb imi ḏd.w r-r.*[*i* ... (13) ...] *t ḥnḳt kȝ.w ȝpd.w iw ḥȝty.i nḏm imi fȝi.i n.k nkt nb n pȝ ntt p*[*ȝ* ... (14) ...] *mri iri*[67] *pȝ nty bw-pw pr ꜥȝ nb iri.f iw.i m di.k n bȝk iw.k* (*r*) *šnꜥ n.i nȝ* [...] (15) [...] *mn pȝ nty iw.f ꜥmḏ.w*

"Place them all under me … (11) [… … which (?) lo]ok at him [with respect (?)] to A]mun. It is he who does well, [... (12)…] save me from pain,[68] save me from every evil word, let them say about [me (?) … (13) …] bread, beer, oxen, birds, my heart being sweet. Cause me to carry to you anything of that which [… (14) …] loves (?). Do what no Pharaoh has (ever) done, while I am with you as servant. You will repel for me the […][69] (15). There is no one who will keep them away."

Taharqa, again, forwarded a request in the imperative mood. He asked Amun, his patron god, to enable him to repel the intruders and regain control over the lost territories of Egypt (and Kush?) and their people, and renew their loyalty towards him. Taharqa also requested to repulse evil for him. One of the reasons for being in an evil state is Amun's disfavor towards Taharqa. Taharqa inquired if the evil state, in which he is, was caused by his neglect of the cult of Amun, and he immediately proposed to offer and bring to Amun anything, which may change the evil state.[70] He asked Amun to act as Pharaoh[71] (evidently, a task too great for Taharqa to perform at the moment) and to show loyalty as Amun's servant.

§ 8. Restoring foreign affairs

i Ỉmn pȝ i.iri.i[72] *n pȝ tȝ nḥsy i.di* [... (16)... ...] *imi iri.i sw n pȝy.k inw n pȝ tȝ n Ḫȝrw Ỉ. ꜥmḏ r-r.k*

"Oh Amun, what I did in the land of Nubia,[73] let [… (16) … …], let me do it with your tribute (*inw*) of Khor (Syria-Palestine) which has been turned aside from you."

Only after asking Amun to help him gain power over the lost parts of Egypt, Taharqa wished to be able to restore the lost tribute of *Ḫȝrw* (Syria-Palestine). This is the first time in the text that Taharqa refers to Egypt's relations with its neighbors. The tribute from the Levant had been lost either between 677 and March 673 as Vernus and Spalinger have postulated,[74] or after 671.

§ 9. Guarding Taharqa's family

i Ỉmn (17) [... ... *nȝy*.(?)]*i ḥmwt imi ꜥnḫ nȝy.i ḫrd.w ꜥmḏ n.i pȝ mwt r.w nḥm wi r-r* [... (18) ... ...] *n r.w mtw.k pnꜥ.w r ḏȝḏȝ.w ḥꜥ.w*[75]

"Oh Amun, (17) [… … m]y wives, let my children live. Keep death away from them for me. Save me from [… (18) … evil words(?)] of their mouths,[76] and turn them over (the evil words?) back on them."[77]

This paragraph embodies an additional key theme enabling us to date this text, whose significance both Spalinger and Vernus overlooked in their treatment of the text.[78] A fragmentary cuneiform tablet (K 8692) informs us about a campaign against a ruler and land that were not preserved in the text. Lines 22-23 provide the key to the problem:

(22) a*šš*â*tîðu mârçšu u mârât*[*išu*] (23) [*ša*] *kîma šâšûma kîma ittê salmu šîrûðu[nu]*

(22) "His wives, his sons and [his] daughters (23) [who]se bodies like his, have skins as black as asphalt (he counted as booty)"[79].

Tablet Bu 91-5-9, 218, obv. 6' lists tribute from Egypt brought back to Nineveh: "[… together with] the offspring of his father's house, sons of earlier kings …".[80] Furthermore, the Senjirli stela preserves a literary account as well as a relief of Esarhaddon holding a king, who is commonly identified with Ba'al king of Tyre, together with the Nubian crown prince Ushanhuru (Ns-ini-Hr.t),[81] a rope piercing his lips.[82] This is clearly a depiction of one of the sons of Taharqa who are mentioned in line 17 of Taharqa's prayer.

Fig. 1: Esarhaddon with Ba'al, king of Tyre (?), and the Kushite Crown prince Ushanhuru (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (ed.), ***Das Vorderasiatische Museum*** **(Mainz 1992) 180, cat. 116.)**

According to the various inscriptions it can be assumed that § 9 deals with the sack of Memphis by the Assyrian king and the capture of Taharqa's women, concubines, relatives, and most important, Taharqa's crown prince Ushanhuru.[83] Taharqa petitions Amun to safeguard his family, which have been taken captive.[84]

§ 10. Glorifying Amun and future hope

> *ḥry i.iri di ʿnḫ pȝy.f bȝk i*[... (19) ...] *iw nb sp sn i Ỉmn mn pȝ nty iw.f wȝḥ n.k sḫn ntk pȝ ntt wȝḥ* [(20) *sḫn ... ...*] *pȝ nty iw.k ḏd n.i m šm n-im.k sp sn iw.i šm tȝ* [... (21) ...] *i Ỉmn mn iri.t bin.t n tȝ md.t i.iri.k pȝ nty* [...]
>
> "It is the master who causes his servant to live [… (19) …] all. Oh Amun, there is no one who gives you orders. It is you that gives (20) [orders …]. That which you say to me: "Go forth, go forth", I shall go forth [… (21)…]. Oh Amun, there is no evildoing in the affair, that you have done which […]."

Taharqa glorified Amun, showed absolute loyalty and hoped for a better future relying on the guidance of Amun. Vernus and Spalinger date this inscription to a period before the Assyrian setback of 673, and thus give an optimistic outlook to this inscription. According to their dating, Taharqa would in a few months repel the Assyrians and delay their conquest of Egypt by two years.

Unfortunately, the pain and despair demonstrated in the beginning of the text would accompany Taharqa until his death. The counterattack, so anxiously anticipated by both scholars (and by Taharqa as well) had already occurred and did not save Egypt from Assyrian conquest. After praying to Amun for delivery, setting up this stela and seeing the Assyrians defy Amun's decree, Taharqa realized that he could not avenge Amun's desecration and his own defeat.[85] He deserted the dynastic family necropolis at El-Kurru and built his tomb, imitating the form of the Osireion at Abydos, at Nuri. Taharqa's tomb is situated East-Northeast from Gebel Barkal. Looking from Gebel Barkal eastwards at the beginning of the New Year, the sun rose directly over the summit of Taharqa's pyramid. This would ensure that Taharqa would be reborn as Osiris, who was slain by Seth, and that his heir the living king, the embodiment of Horus, would avenge his defeat. Unfortunately, but even his dying wish was not carried out by his successors.[86]

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NOTES

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[1] For this reconstruction of the relations between Egypt and Assyria see D. Kahn, "The Inscription of Sargon II at Tang-i Var and the Chronology of Dynasty 25", *Or* 70 (2001) 1-18.

[2] D. Kahn, *Or* 70 (2001) 2, notes 10, 11.

[3] Contra W. H. Shea, "Sennacherib's Second Palestinian Campaign", *JBL* 104 (1985) 401-418; A. K. Grayson, "Assyria's Foreign Policy in Relation to Egypt in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.", *JSSEA* 11 (1981) 87; idem, "Assyria: Sennacherib and Esarhaddon (704-669)", *CAH III/2*, 2nd ed. 1991 109-111.

4 In 699 Padi, King of Ekron, paid taxes to Assyria. See J. N. Postgate, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire* (Studia Pohl, Series Maior; Rome 1969) 21. In 698/7 a legal transaction was carried out between Babylonian deportees in Neo-Assyrian at Tel Hadid: See N. Na'aman - R. Zadok, "Assyrian Deportations to the Province of Samerina in the Light of Two Cuneiform Tablets from Tel Hadid", *Tel Aviv* 27 (2000) 162. In the year 697 BC (eponym of Nabû-dûru-usur) Sennacherib reports in a building inscription from Nineveh that he has deported among others the people of Philistia and of Tyre. See E. Frahm, *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften* (BAfo 26; Horn 1997) 72-3: T 10, lines 27-29.

[5] K. A. Kitchen, The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 BC.), 2nd rev. ed., (Warminster 1996) 388 ff. (henceforth *ThIP*); cf. D. B. Redford, "Taharqa in Western Asia and Libya", *Eretz Israel* 24 (1994) 188*-191*.

[6] A. J. Spalinger, "The Foreign Policy of Egypt Preceding the Assyrian Conquest", *CdE* 53 (1978) 26-28.

[7] Kitchen, *ThIP* 391-393.

[8] M. F. L. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa I, The Inscriptions* 2 vols (texts and plates) (London 1949) [Text] 8 and [plates] pl. 6: Kawa III.

[9] And not 682 as Spalinger, *CdE* 53 (1978) 26, wrote; Cf. P. W. Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor (P. Tsenhor): les archives privées d'une femme égyptienne du temps de Darius I*er (Leuven 1994) 175.

[10] Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*,[plates] pl. 6: Kawa III, 15.

[11] Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, [plates] pl. 6: Kawa III, col. 21 and [text] 9, n. 73; [plates] pl. 12: Kawa VI, 18-21 and [text] 36, n. 49, 67; [plates] pl. 14: Kawa VII, 4 and [text] 42.

[12] It seems to me that we should prefer to understand the Kushite activity in the Levant as a military one since Taharqa was during the whole of his lifetime hostile towards the Assyrians, who were the masters of every commercial activity in the Levant. However, a commercial Kushite activity in the Levant cannot be ruled out entirely. The information given by Taharqa, that he had contact with the Levant for the first time in 683 contradicts the hypothesis of a

postulated second campaign of Sennacherib to the Levant between 690-686, when king Hezekiah of Judah (727-698 or alternatively 715-686) was, according to the low chronology, still alive and Sennacherib, allegedly, met Taharqa (690-664) already as King of Kush (cf. 2 Kings 19.9) on the battlefield.

[13] H. Tadmor, "Autobiographical Apology in the Royal Assyrian Literature", in: H. Tadmor - M. Weinfeld (eds.), *History, Historiography and Interpretations* (Jerusalem 1983) 42.

[14] A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (TCS V; Locust Valley, New York 1975) (henceforth *ABC*) 125, Chron. 14, 7-8. The Babylonian Chronicle (Grayson, *ABC* 82, Chron. 1 48-50 is unfortunately destroyed at this point and does not preserve the accounts of Esarhaddon's second year).

[15] The sources for the reign of Esarhaddon are difficult to date and are not reliable with regard to details of campaigns and to their chronology. There are considerable differences in the recorded order of events between the Esarhaddon and the Babylonian chronicles and Esarhaddon's prisms. Eph'al has questioned the reliability of the Esarhaddon and Babylonian Chronicles. He challenged the date of the conquest of the town of Arzâ (679 according to the "Esarhaddon Chronicle") and concluded that this event should be dated according to the Esarhaddon Prisms, where this episode immediately follows Abdi-milkuti's and Sanduari's decapitation (which the Chronicles place in Esarhaddon's 5th regnal year, i.e. 676/5 BC). Cf. I. Eph'al, *The Ancient Arabs: Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent 9th-5th Centuries B.C.* (Jerusalem 1982) 45, n. 126, 52-54. Opting for Eph'al's reconstruction and the relative order of events in the prisms, places the conquest of Arzâ close in time after the conquest of Sidon. Esarhaddon advanced along the Phoenician and Philistine coast in a geographic sequence from North to South from Sidon and Tyre to the border of Egypt. In this case, the Kushite presence in the Levant could have lasted for almost a decade. However, Cf. H. Tadmor, "An Assyrian Victory Chant and Related Matters", in: G. Frame (ed.), *From the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea: Studies on the History of Assyria and Babylonia in Honour of A. K. Grayson* (Leiden, 2004) 269-272. Tadmor postulates that Esarhaddon's Annals were ideologically edited and thus are less valid for chronological reconstruction than the Esarhaddon and the Babylonian chronicles. However, note that some events in the Chronicles were also wrongly placed. Tadmor, "Autobiographical Apology", 272.

[16] Cf. J. A. Spalinger, "Esarhaddon and Egypt: An Analysis of the First Invasion of Egypt", *Or* 43 (1974) 299.

[17] For the location of the Brook of Egypt see P. K. Hooker "The Location of the Brook of Egypt", in: M. P. Graham et. al (eds.), *History and Interpretation: Essays in Honour of John H. Hayes* (JSOT Supplement Series 173; 1993) 203-214 with earlier literature cited there.

[18] R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien*, (BAfO 9; Graz 1956) 50.

[19] For the queries to Shamash about Ashkelon see I. Starr, *Queries to the Sungod* (SAA IV; Helsinki 1990) 94-98, nr. 81-83. For Eph'al's analysis see I. Eph'al, "On Warfare and Military Control in the Ancient Near Eastern Empires: A Research Outline", in: H. Tadmor - M. Weinfeld (eds.), *History, Historiography, and Interpretations* (Jerusalem 1983) 98. Eph'al dates these queries to Esarhaddon's campaign against Arzâ which he dated to 676/5. However, the date of 679 for the campaign against Arzâ should be maintained (see Tadmor, *Fs. Grayson* (forthcoming). The queries to Shamash about Esarhaddon's intentions to fight against Taharqa and the queries to Shamash about Esarhaddon's planned campaign against Ashkelon should not be related to the same event and reflect two different campaigns. See Starr, *SAA* IV 94-98: Query nr. 81-83 (Ashkelon); 98-102: nr. 84 (against Taharqa), and possibly nr. 85-87. In nr. 82, lines 2' and rev. 6' the troops of Egy[pt] and the troops of […] are mentioned, while in 84, lines 4, 6, 12, rev. 12, 14-15 "Taharqa, King of Kush and the troops which he has" are mentioned, using a different phrasing. Eph'al, (oral communication) further notes that in *SAA* IV 94, nr. 81, 2-3 the duration of the query about Ashkelon is valid until the 21st day of Sivan, while in *SAA* IV 98, nr. 85, 2-3 the duration of the query about [Egypt?] is valid until the month Tammuz. Since the validity of queries to Shamash does not extend 100 days, it is clear that the queries relating to Ashkelon were written at the earliest in Nisan (cf. Starr, *SAA* IV, p. xvi-xviii). Thus, if they pertain to a known campaign against Egypt, the dates could only fit Esarhaddon's 2nd campaign in 671. This is possible only if Esarhaddon was concerned that the encounter against Kushite and Egyptian forces near Ashkelon would delay his conquest of Egypt well into the inundation season and thus make the Assyrian advancement in Egypt harsher. For dating the queries to Shamash concerning Ashkelon (*SAA* IV 81-83) to 671 BC cf. J. A. Spalinger, *Or* 43 (1974) 301-302.

[20] Eph'al, (oral communication) notes that in Starr, *SAA* IV 83 rev 5 [Sharru-lu-dari s]on of Rukibti is mentioned in a very broken context. In 673 at the latest Mitinti was engaged in building Nineveh together with the kings from Hatti, transpotamien (*eber nâri*) and Cyprus (*Iadnana*). Borger, *Inschriften Asarhaddons* 60 (Ninive A 57). If Mitinti was one of the 22 unnamed kings mentioned in the Heidel Prism (see following note) then Sharru-lu-dari must have been deposed before 676/5 BC. Furthermore, since no other Assyrian campaign to Ashkelon is known between 679 and 673, one can postulate that Sharru-lu-dari was deposed during Esarhaddon's campaign to the Brook of Egypt in 679. For the relations between Sharru-lu-dari, Mitinti, and Sidqa, Kings of Ashkelon, see H. Tadmor, "Philistia under Assyrian Rule", *BA* 29 (1966) 98-99.

[21] A. Heidel, "A New Hexagonal Prism of Esarhaddon" *Sumer* 12 (1956) 28-31: Heidel Prism, iv 54-v 12. Thus, claiming full control over the Levant and the Mediterranean Sea in 676/5.

[22] Borger, *Inschriften Asarhaddons* 60-1; *ANET* 291.

[23] For the date of the text see Borger, *Inschriften Asarhaddons* 64. The date is a year after the Assyrian defeat in Egypt (see below n. 30). One would expect that Esarhaddon's control over the Levant would weaken after such a defeat. Instead, Esarhaddon lists his western vassals by name, thus giving the impression that he did not lose control in the Levant. Ba'al, king of Tyre and

Mitinti, king of Ashkelon, are also listed. It is possible that the elaborated list is reflecting the efficiency of the Assyrian rule even after the severe defeat in Egypt. Furthermore, in 671 the Arabs supported Esarhaddon in his invasion of Egypt. Would they be on the Assyrian side, had the Assyrians lost control over the area? On the other hand, according to Esarhaddon's Nahr el Kalb stela and Frg. F of Esarhaddon's annals (see respectively notes 32, 33 below) a rebellion in Tyre and in Ashkelon was quelled during Esarhaddon's campaign of 671. Thus, at least some of the Levantine kingdoms rebelled sometimes after the Assyrian defeat in Egypt and the elaborated list might have preceded the rebellion or could be understood as a literary compensation for the loss of control over territories in the Levant (cf. the list of Egyptian vassals in Ashurbanipals prism A, i 90-109, long after the Assyrian conquest of Egypt ended. H. –U. Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens, Teil I: Kommentare und Anmerkungen* [ÄAT 27/1; Wiesbaden 1994] 118-119).

[24] P. Vernus, "Inscriptions de la troisième période intermédiaire (I), *BIFAO* 75 (1975) 1-72.

[25] On the terms "Spätmittelägyptisch" or "égyptien de tradition" denoting the artificial language used in the third intermediate period see J. Winand, "Review of Karl Jansen Winkeln, Text und Sprache in der 3. Zwischenzeit. Vorarbeiten zu einer spätmittelägyptisschen Grammatik. (ÄAT 26; Wiesbaden 1994)", *LingAeg* 6 (1999) 224-5.

[26] For the use of grammatical forms from older phases of the language (i. e. Middle Egyptian) combined with the spoken Language (non-literary late Egyptian) and literary late Egyptian in Egyptian Ramesside texts see: O. Goldwasser, "On the Choice of Registers – Studies on the Grammar of Papyrus Anastasi I", in: S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* (Jerusalem 1990) 200-240. For a division of texts into registers (Sprachstuffe) and text-categories in the Third Intermediate Period see: K. Jansen-Winkeln, *Text und Sprache in der 3. Zwischenzeit: Vorarbeiten zu einer spätmittelägyptischen Grammatik* (ÄAT 26; Wiesbaden 1994).

[27] This sort of personal prayer by the king during a setback in battle is known from Ramesses II's accounts of the battle of Kadesh. However in Ramesses' case the god Amun heard his prayer and came to his aid. Cf. K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical II* (Oxford 1979) 34-42. For convenience see the translation in M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. II (Berkeley 1976) 65. For prayers in Ancient Egypt see H. Brunner, Gebet" *LdÄ* II, 452-9. This category of personal prayer is, however, better known from the Bible. The basic (although not always mandatory) components of the personal prayer are: Addressing god repeatedly, usually using epithets of the god as well. The worshiper expresses his relationship with god and his humility towards the greatness of his god. A complaint or a description of the distress is forwarded. Then, a request is made in the interrogative or in the imperative mode. The reason for the request is expressed as an identity of cause between the worshiper's needs and god's affairs. Sometimes a promise by god or earlier actions in favor of the worshiper are recalled. A request from god to show his true nature and potency is also very common. The supplicant then reminds god of a previous favor bestowed on him by god. A promise to continue worshiping god is mentioned at the end. See: M. Greenberg, "Prayer", in: *Encyclopaedia Biblica*

vol. 8 (Jerusalem 1982) 898-904 (Hebrew). All these components of the personal prayer can be found in Taharqa's prayer.

[28] Vernus, *BIFAO* 75, 45-46; Spalinger, *CdE* 53 (1978) 43 narrows this date to 675, preceding the Egyptian counterattack and Assyrian setback of 674/3 (Grayson, *ABC*, Chron. 1 iv. 16). The fifth day in the month of Adar falls actually on March 673.

[29] Wb. I, 91. 12-15 "herbeigebrachte Gaben, Lieferungen, oft im Sinne von Abgaben, Tributgaben, Geschenk". For *inw* see D. A. Warburton, *State and Economy in Ancient Egypt: Fiscal Vocabulary of the New Kingdom* (Fribourg/ Göttingen 1997) 221-226. Cf. M. Liverani, *Prestige and Interest: International Relations in the Near East ca. 1600-1100 B.C.* (Padova 1990) 256-257. Liverani thinks that vassal as well as independent states in Egypt's sphere of influence or control delivered the *inw* to Egypt.

[30] Grayson, *ABC*, Chronicle 1, iv, 16. Cf. H. Tadmor in: *History, Historiography and Interpretations* 42. Tadmor assumes that this battle was fought at the vicinity of Ashkelon, cf. H. Verreth, "The Egyptian Eastern Border Region in Assyrian Sources", *JAOS* 119 (1999) 235. An illusion to the Assyrian defeat in Egypt can be found in the Pedubast cycles where Pemu of Heliopolis caused a foe *ʒslstny*, chief of the land […] to retreat eastwards, after the latter had tried to wrest Egypt from the rule of the Pharaoh Pedubast. See Kitchen, *ThIP* 458.

[31] Grayson, *ABC* 126, Chron. 14, 20. In the Esarhaddon Chronicle a campaign against *ša-amîlç* is mentioned, previously thought to be Sile-*Ṯʒrw* on the Egyptian border. It is now commonly accepted that *ša-amîlç* lay in Southern Babylonia. The report about the failed campaign against Egypt was substituted in the Esarhaddon chronicle with an insignificant campaign in Southern Babylonia, which started approximately at the date, that the battle in Egypt took place. See Spalinger, *Or* 43 (1974) 300-301.

[32] Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons*, 102.

[33] Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons*, 112: Frg. F 12-15.

[34] I. Starr, *SAA* IV, pp. 104-105, nr. 89. For additional possible rebel states in the Levant cf. H. Hirschberg, *Studien zur Geschichte Esarhaddons, König von Assyrien (681-669)*, (Berlin 1932) 61-72.

[35] See Vernus, *BIFAO* 75 (1975) 1-72.

[36] If one accepts the reconstruction of Esarhaddon's chronology as proposed by Eph'al (*The Ancient Arabs*, 45, n. 126, 52-54) it would seem that in the last years of Sennacherib Assyria lost control in Philistia, Phoenicia (and probably in other Levantine Kingdoms as well). Egypt-and-Kush might have controlled the Levant firmly for almost a decade. Esarhaddon had to conquer Tyre and Sidon, which could have been allied with Kush between 683-675. Only then he proceeded to Philistia and arrived at the Brook of Egypt, preparing the invasion to Egypt.

[37] Esarhaddon's fight with Taharqa was described in heroic metaphors, transported to the mythical sphere. H. Tadmor, "World Dominion: The Expanding Horizon of the Assyrian Empire", in: M. Milano et. al., *Landscapes: Territories, Frontiers and Horizons in the Ancient Near East*, (CRRA 44 Padova 1999) 60.

[38] Grayson, *ABC* 85-86, Chron 1 iv 23-28; 127: Chron. 14, 25-26; Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons*, 98-99: Sendjirli Stela 37-50; 101-102: Nahr el-Kalb Stela. Onasch, *Die assyrischen Eroberungen I*, 25-26: K 8692; 31-32: Bu-91-5-9, 218.

[39] Spalinger, *Or* 43 (1974) 303; the new administration in Egypt was organized within a month of the conquest at the latest if the date on prism Nin. S is reliable. However, this date is most certainly an "ideologically motivated pseudo dating" See H. Tadmor, "An Assyrian Victory Chant", 276.

[40] For convenience consult Vernus' collation and excellent lexicographical study of this text in *BIFAO* 75 (1975) 1-72. My grammatical analysis and translation differs only in minor points.

[41] *is* should not be understood as the particle *is* with an emphasizing function. Cf. Vernus, *BIFAO* 75 (1975) 37, n. ae. Vernus translates *is* as 'ainsi que' based on a wrong translation of Piankhy stela 137-8. *ḥ3wtyw is nw smsmw* does not mean "ainsi que l'élite des chevaux" but "(and) the elite (indeed) of the horses". The particle *is* is used as a strengthening of the fact just stated before. This emphasis was necessary after Padiese promised to give Piankhy the best of his horses but hoped Piankhy would be reconciled with inferior horses (Piankhy stela 109-113). This function of *is* can explain the unusual place of the particle after a one-memberal sentence.

[42] By specifying the terms *šmʿw* and *mḥw* Taharqa stressed that his sovereignty included both parts of the country, although these signs might be a special orthography of *t3.wy*. See K. Jansen-Winkeln, *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik der Texte der 3. Zwischenzeit*, (ÄAT 34; Wiesbaden 1996) 12.

[43] Defined past relative form in apposition of a noun with *ʿḳ.f* as a non-initial prospective *sḏm.f* after the verb *rdi*.

[44] A *bw stp.f* literary Late Egyptian formation denoting the negative past or preferably the successor of Middle Egyptian negated aorist *n sḏm.n.f* with a *wn* converter of the past. See: S. Groll, "The Literary and the Non-Literary Verbal Systems in Late Egyptian", *OLP* 6 (1975-6) 243. For the converter *wn* see: J. Èerný-S. I. Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd ed. (Roma 1993) (henceforth *LEG*) 294 ff., 488.

[45] Wb. I 230 ff. One can enter to a place, a palace, temple, a house, a gate but not a district, nome or country.

[46] *rmṯ i wn bw rḫ.w s ḥr.i*. It is not clear whether the individual, designated by the 3rd person masculine singular definite article *p3*, or all the *rmṯ* men did not know (a negated aorist) what Amun has ordained for Taharqa. It seems that the plural strokes (Z1) following the papyrus roll

determinative of the verb *rḫ* (Y1)  points to the latter.

[47] Cf. N. -C. Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ʻankh)y au musée du Caire* (PIFAO 105; Cairo 1981) 101: Piankhy Stela 92-93. *gm.n.i ḫpr nn ḫr.s m wḏ nt ỉmn nn pw ḏd rmṯ* (*93*) [*spȝwt nw Tȝ Mḥw*] *ḥnᶜ spȝ.wt rswt wn.sn n.f m wȝ n rdit.n.sn ỉmn m ib.sn n rḫ.sn wḏ.n.f irỉ.n.f sw r rdỉ.t bȝw.f r rdỉ.t mȝȝ.tw šft.f* "I have discovered that this happened to it (Memphis) according to the command of Amun. This is what people say: '[The nomes of the North?] together with the nomes of the South opened to him (=Tefnakht) beforehand because they did not put Amun in their hearts.' They did not know what he had commanded. He (Amun) did it in order to show his wrath, to let his (Amun's and consequently Piankhy's) splendor be seen…" Tefnakht's military successes were enabled and even commanded by Amun in order to magnify Piankhy's achievements. According to Grimal (ibid. 121 n. 356), however, the dative *n.f* refers to Piankhy and not to Tefnakht as I have suggested.

[48] For a similar concept in the Ancient Near East see Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons*, 13: Bab. A 34-37; cf. Isaiah 10, 5; 36, 10.

[49] *ỉ pȝ nty bw irỉ.f ḫȝᶜ* – L. E. vocative + negative relative simple present tense. J. Èerný-S. I. Groll, *LEG*, 315 ff.

[50] *tȝ ỉ.irỉ.f* – Fem. relative form serving as direct object. It is not clear to which noun this pronoun is referring. It might refer to the situation that Taharqa discovered in Egypt: (4)… *dỉ.k gm.ỉ s* (feminine/neutral dependent pronoun).

[51] *ỉw.s n gs*-circumstantial adverbial first present. The suffix pronoun relates to a feminine noun as in the previous note. The adverb *n* (=*m*) *gs* refers to the realization of Amun's promise to give the two lands to Taharqa. At the moment of composing the prayer this promise was not fully realized.

[52] The plural suffixes *.w* possibly refer to the men who did not know Amun, since there is no other noun in the plural. Amun is requested to hear them, so clearly they have said something.

[53] Cf. l. 12 below for this reconstruction.

[54] The adverb *m dỉ.k* refers back to the hand of Amun, while *ḫr irm* (*?*) *ỉnk* is a bit unusual. One would expect *ḫr mdỉ.ỉ*. Èerný-Groll, *LEG* 142. Vernus, *BIFAO* 75 (1975) 40 notes that it emphasizes a part of the sentence. He does not translate [*m*] *dỉ.k* and translates *ḫr irm ỉnk* as "…avec moi".

[55] Vernus, *BIFAO* 75 (1975) 41. Vernus rightly analyses *ntt* as *r-ntt* marker of initiality followed by a nominal bi-memberal sentence *ỉnk pȝy.k šrỉ*. Cf. Èerný-Groll, *LEG*, 165, 518 ff.

[56] It seems to me that Taharqa requests Amun to hear the (devious) words of the intruders, the only persons designated in the plural, and protect (?) him from them. Similar requests can be found in Psalms. Cf. Psalm 38; 13 ff. The supplicant (allegedly King David) does not hear the

evil words of his enemies. He expects God to react against his enemies.

[57] These two sentences show the close relationship between god and king and the greatness of god. These two elements are common in personal prayers. See: M. Greenberg, *Encyclopaedia Biblica* 903, 904.

[58] […] *ḫnw n Ỉmn nȝy* "It is the residence of Amun". It is possible that this sentence refers to the temple of Amun at Karnak. If this is so, this is of great importance, since the Assyrian troops marched towards Thebes in 667 for a month and ten days. Taharqa heard about the Assyrian advance and escaped to the opposite bank (Onasch, *Die assyrischen Eroberungen I*, 104-105: LET Vs. 34'-36'). Ashurbanipal had to abort that mission because of the revolt of the Delta rulers (Onasch, *Die assyrischen Eroberungen I*, 106-109: LET Vs. 37'-69'). Thebes was finally conquered on Ashurbanipal's second campaign against Egypt in 664, when Tanutamun succeeded Taharqa. See Onasch, *Die assyrischen Eroberungen I*, 108-109: LET Vs 71'-Rs 11. Two additional texts might be dated to 667 after the abortive campaign of Ashurbanipal to Thebes: J. Leclant, *Montuemhat: quatrième prophète d'Amon, prince de la ville* (BdE 35; Cairo 1961) 199, 202-203; Cf. J. Goldberg, "Legends of Iny and 'Les brumes d'une chronologie qu'il est prudent de savoir flottante' ", *JSSEA* 26 (1996) 23. The second text is very fragmentary and is dated by scholars to the early years of Taharqa. See Redford, *Eretz Israel* 24 (1994) in n. 5 above. Numerous forces, horses and chariots of *dmy pn*, identified with Thebes were recruited; Someone defended the domain of Amun after they (the enemies) have descended to the south and caused the king (Taharqa) to rescue (?)… (l. 4: *... dmy pn r irỉ ssmw wr*[*ryt ... ...] r ḫt nb sȝw* [...] *r pr Ỉmn m ḫt hȝ.n.w r rdỉ.t n.ỉ šd ...*). The temple of Amun was as an enclosing wall (l. 5: *Pr Ỉmn m sḫr n ḏr*) Taharqa sailed southwards … … and (then) hastened to where they were, while his enemies were on the roads (l. 7: *irỉ.sn nn r ȝw m ḥr.w ỉw.ỉ ḫr ḫnty ... … m sỉn r bw ḫr.w*). The enemy was finally defeated and they ran away in fear of Taharqa (l. 10: … *wtḥ r ḥȝt.ỉ ỉw.sn snd.ỉ*). The final sentences concern the high inundation of year 6 as is also the case in the prayer of Taharqa discussed in this section. No Libyans or Libyan enclave is mentioned in this section and the mentioning of the inundation dates this text after Taharqa's regnal year 6. This text awaits a more thorough publication by Redford. See Redford, *Eretz Israel* 24 (1994) note 13.

[59] (6) [... ...] *m dỉ.k ḫr ‹i›-r-m* [*in*]*k* . For the preposition *irm* see Èerný-Groll, *LEG*, 107 ff.

[60] Vernus, *BIFAO* 75 (1975) 41. Vernus analyzes this construction as ⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲉⲫⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄.

[61] Vernus, *BIFAO* 75 (1975) 31 has "Donne-moi le ciel" as an imperative. However, *iȝw* can be interpreted as a past indicative *sḏm.f* as *sr.k* in the beginning of the sentence. This enables us to associate both inundation and rainfall with real events that occurred in Taharqa's sixth year of reign. See below.

[62] Macadam, *Temples of Kawa*, pl. 10: Kawa V, 3-4, 6-9. In Kawa V the inundation in Egypt and rainfall in Nubia were not foretold before Taharqa assumed kingship.

[63] There is a long gap. It is not clear what is missing. However it is clear that it negates the former paragraph of things that were promised to Taharqa. This is a negated adjectival sentence in which the independent pronoun expresses possession and refers to what is mentioned previously. Èerný-Groll, *LEG* 13; S. I. Groll, *Non-Verbal Sentence Patterns in Late Egyptian* (London 1967) 111. There is no physical space to restore the negation *bn* in the line, so it is assumed that the classical counterpart *nn* was written instead.

[64] Vernus, *BIFAO* 75 (1975) 31, 43-44 (aab) reconstructs the meaning of the sentence as follows: "fais qu'il n'y ait aucun pays qui ne m'appartienne pas"; Spalinger, *CdE* 53 (1978) 30: "… the lands (??), which do not belong to me, place them under my dominion". It should be noted that in the previous paragraph the subject is the abundant rainfall in Nubia and the inundation in Egypt. No foreign country is mentioned in any of the preceding paragraphs!

[65] Cf. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons* 36: Klch. D; 72: Trb. B; 101: Nahr el-Kalb stela partly reconstructed. The titles of Esarhaddon are *šar šarrânî mât Musur (mât) Paturisu mât Kusi*. In AsBbE 8-9 Esarhaddon claims to have conquered (*akšud*) Egypt, Patros and Kush. There is no evidence that Assyria ever conquered parts of Kush in the days of Esarhaddon, or even went south of Memphis. For a probable Assyrian threat on Thebes in 667 see n**.** 58.

[66] Vernus and Spalinger have misunderstood the importance of this sentence for the dating, and thus, have dated the text before the Assyrian invasion to Egypt. See note 64 above.

[67] It seems to me that *mry* belongs to the previous sentence. The verb *iri* would start a new sentence. There is no suffix pronoun or noun to act as the subject of the sentence, thus even though I would expect the form *i.iri* to act as the Late Egyptian imperative following the sequence of imperatives in this sentence, only *iri* is written. Thus, I conclude that this is the (late) Middle Egyptian imperative form without a prefix. Cf. Jansen-Winkeln, *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik* 73. It should be remembered that this text is written in the literary Late Egyptian style, which incorporates earlier phases of the language. Vernus, *BIFAO* 75 (1975) 31 omits the translation of *mry* and translates *iri* as an infinitive "…faire" without anything in front of it.

[68] Wb. IV, 494.15. If we translate the sentence literally, it might be a further indication of the wounds afflicted to Taharqa during the pitched battles that were conducted during the Assyrian advancement from the Egyptian border to Memphis. Cf. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons* 99: the Sendjirli Stela lines 40-41where Taharqa is allegedly wounded five times by Esarhaddon's arrows. However, the verb *šni* can be translated in a more general sense such as "sorrow, trouble, suffering" and need not indicate a physical wound. Wb. IV, 495.1. For both physical and moral suffering see already Vernus, *BIFAO* 75 (1975) 44, n. (aae).

[69] This sentence can also be analyzed as a Middle Egyptian pseudoverbal construction *iw.f* (*ḫr*) *sḏm* and translated "while you are repelling for me the […]". The plural definite article *nꜣ* and the suffix pronoun *.w* at the end of the sentence might refer to the evil words or, preferably, to the men who did not know Amun, since the verb *šnꜥ* "abweisen", "abhalten" "abwehren" (Wb. IV

504 ff.) mainly refers to people.

[70] Another way to understand Taharqa's wish to bring Amun everything he loves is reciprocity. Amun will cause the population of Egypt to worship Taharqa to his satisfaction, and the king, on his part, will satisfy Amun's needs.

[71] It is not uncommon in hymns to designate the addressed god as king, ruler of the two lands etc. See H. Brunner, "König" *LdÄ* III, 463.

[72] Defined past relative form without antecedent functioning as a substitute for a noun. Èerný-Groll, *LEG* 177. It is possible that this form is wrongly (!) used as a future relative form. It could be suggested that Taharqa is promising Amun to dedicate Temples for Amun in Nubia from the future tribute of *Ḫ3rw* as he did in his first decade in Kawa.

[73] Cf. Vernus, *BIFAO* 75 (1975) 49 ff; Kitchen, *ThIP* 388-391. For the building activities of Taharqa in Nubia see: P. Wolf, *Die archäologischen Quellen der Taharqozeit im nubischen Niltal* (unpublished diss.; Berlin, 1990).

[74] See above n. 28. Cf. Eph'al, *The Ancient Arabs* 45, n. 126. Eph'al dates Esarhaddon's campaign against Arzâ (located at the river of Egypt) to 676/5 BC.

[75] Wb I, 508, 12. Vernus, *BIFAO* 75 (1975) 46-7.

[76] It is not clear whom the 3. pl. suffix pronoun *w* denotes. It probably refers to the persons who harmed the wives and children of the king, the same people that are mentioned in line 4. It is clear that something came out of their mouths, presumably words. Note also that some people (plural) were supposed to be heard by Amun in l. 5. The only people that were mentioned in lines 4-5 are the people who did not recognize Amun.

[77] The tragic events that occurred to Taharqa's family were perceived as a magical incantation uttered by his enemies' (?) mouths (*r.w*) and could be returned to their initiator. For reversing the evil eye and other magical evil forces and sending them back to their place of origin in the ancient Near East see J. N. Ford "Ninety-Nine by the Evil Eye and One from Natural Causes" *UF* 30 (1998) 248-251.

[78] Vernus, *BIFAO* 75 (1975) 46; Spalinger, *CdE* 53 (1978) 31.

[79] W. G. Lambert, "Booty from Egypt? ", *JJS* 33 (1982) 65-66.

[80] Onasch, *Die assyrischen Eroberungen I*, 31.

[81] R. G. Morkot, *The Black Pharaohs: Egypt's Nubian Rulers* (London 2000) 265, n. 20.

[82] H. Schäfer,"Eine Bronzefigur des Taharka", *ZÄS* 33 (1895) pl. VII:4. Note that the Nubian kneeling figure has only one uraeus on his head befitting a member of the royal family and not

two, as was the practice with Kushite royal crowns. I thank Prof. Török for this note.

[83] Whether Ushanhuru was Taharqa's son, or the son of a former king cannot be determined. For the problem of succession in the Kushite kingdom see L. Török, *The Kingdom of Kush: Handbook of the Napatan-Meroitic Civilization* (Leiden 1997) 255-262; Cf. R., Morkot, "Kingship and Kinship in the Empire of Kush", *Meroitica* 15 (1999) 188-229.

[84] A similar motive of guarding the queen and offspring of the king can be found in a text of Osorkon II: H. Jacquet-Gordon, "The Inscriptions on the Philadelphia-Cairo Statue of Osorkon II", *JEA* 46 (1960) 16, lines 11-15, 17, 20, 22-23. In this case too the children of the king died prematurely and it is not clear if his successor Takeloth II was Osorkon II's offspring. See D. A. Aston, "Takeloth II-A King of the 'Theban Twenty-third Dynasty'? ", *JEA* 75 (1989) 139-153.

[85] One would expect that the text would end with Kushite retaliation to the Assyrian actions, as was the case in the description of the battle of Kadesh. However, even though Taharqa regained his rule over Lower Egypt (from the end of 671 BC at the earliest until 667), he never regained control over the Levant and Ushanhuru is never mentioned in Egyptian inscriptions.

[86] T. Kendall, "The 1997 Season of the MFA Boston at Gebel Barkal, Sudan", *NARCE* 173 (1997) 12-13. I thank Dr. Kendall for most kindly sending me an offprint of his article.

VARIATIONS OF REPRESENTATION IN THE DIRECTION OF THE BATTLE OF KADESH

Gonzalo M. SANCHEZ

ABSTRACT

Based on the cardinal orientation in which the action develops, the reliefs of the Battle of Kadesh can be classified in two groups: Group 1 (G-1) in which the battle proceeds from the right, includes L_1, K_1, and A. Group 2 (G-2) in which the battle proceeds from the left, includes R_1, R_2, K_2, L_3 and I. Detailed topographical analysis and comparison of G-1 with G-2 reversed images of the Battle of Kadesh reliefs lead to the hypothesis that the Group 1 reliefs are consistent with Ramesses' view of the battlefield from his northern vantage point, and that Group 2 represent the view of the same battlefield from the south. The G-1 reliefs appear to be purposefully exposed to public view, attaining particular importance in relation to Ramesses' kingship during the annual processions of Opet and Osiris. The distribution and orientation of G-2 reliefs suggest association with the god Amun at the Ramesseum. The primary location and orientation of these reliefs were likely dictated by their purposeful dedication to the main protagonists in this battle, Ramesses and Amun.

KEYWORDS

Kadesh, battle reliefs, orientation

Introduction

Considered to be Ancient Egypt's most historiographic enterprise,[1] Ramesses II's Battle of Kadesh was recorded in many Egyptian temples, eight of which have survived to our day in various stages of preservation.[2] Using their accepted designation, these reliefs are: "A" at the Abydos Cenotaph Temple of Ramesses II; L_1 and L_3 at Luxor's Temple (Thebes); K_1[3] and K_2 at the Karnak Temple (Thebes); R_1 and R_2 in Ramesses' Memorial Temple "The Ramesseum," (Thebes); and, "I" at Ramesses II's Abu Simbel Temple (Nubia).

In this monumental work, Pharaoh Ramesses II commissioned full documentation of the most significant military event in his life. In addition to the multiplicity of sites where the battle was documented, recording of the Battle of Kadesh is also unique in its qualitative characteristics. The battle was recorded in both textual[4] and iconographic forms,[5] each providing their respective unique, complimentary information of the battle, maintaining throughout a remarkable unity in the core of the story.[6]

In both forms of expression, textual and iconographic, recording of this battle drastically breaks with Egyptian tradition. The pharaoh, instead of being the main theme and dominating figure, is shown as being vulnerable,[7] his troops in disarray. Ramesses is shown fighting alone and surrounded on all sides by enemy chariots. The composition of reliefs and texts also allows for inclusion of the time dimension. As the battle evolves, the pharaoh's perilous situation is contrasted by the account of his heroic deeds, made possible by the response of Amun (his god and father) to Ramesses' call. In Assmann's[8] opinion, Ramesses' purpose in recording this battle was to document Amun's divine intervention at Kadesh as he experienced it.

Although the recorded story of the Battle of Kadesh is consistent at all sites, there are considerable differences as to where it is placed in the temples, the cardinal orientation of the reliefs, and, most notably, in the direction in which the battle evolves (**Table 1**). Although seemingly confusing, order can be found in the reliefs by focusing on the latter point (**Table 2**), allowing us to classify the reliefs by direction of action. The reliefs in which the battle develops from right to left I will refer to in this article as Group 1 (G-1). These battle reliefs are: L_1, K_1, and A. The reliefs in which the battle proceeds from left to right I will refer to as Group 2 (G-2). These battle reliefs are: R_1, R_2, K_2, L_3 and I. Using similar classification criteria, Spalinger[9] considered those reliefs that I include in Group 1, as "incorrect" and those that I include in Group 2, as "correct."

Direction of Battle

The directional aspect of the Battle of Kadesh Reliefs has been addressed by several authors, but a definitive explanation has not come forth. Breasted attempted to reconcile topographical features of the portrayed battlefield with the events of the evolving battle.[10] He attributed discrepancies to "the primitive nature of Egyptian topographical and architectural drawing."[11] Breasted further comments: "…[it] is of course well known, this is only in accord with the fundamental characteristic of Egyptian drawing: inability to represent things or their parts in proper local relations to each other."[12] In agreement, Gaballa attributed the lack of correspondence in the reliefs' orientation "to no mistake of the artists, but rather to the conventions of the art."[13]

In Spalinger's[14] discussion of the orientation issue he focused primarily on the Camp. Acknowledging the reversal of direction between the L_1 and the R_1 reliefs, he used detailed diagrams of each camp changing their direction. Thus, he attempted to match the Camp's entrances, the flight of princes, the *Nʿrn* approach, and the Hittite attack. He concluded that the L_1 and the R_1 relief versions were not "merely mirror images of each other."

Commenting on the distribution patterns of the reliefs of the Battle of Kadesh proposed by Van Der Way, in continuous walls, and in pylons,[15] and incorporating the concept of temple geography, Heinz[16] notes that the direction of battle is away from the temple's sanctuary, which represents Egypt, and that the victory celebration, when present, is directed towards the sanctuary. For the pylon representations a different geographical concept is proposed, the banishing of the enemy away from the temple's entrance.[17] This theory, however, makes it necessary to drive the enemy (chaos) across the pylon's entrance. Furthermore, it requires yet another explanation for the R_2 pylon.[18] The concept of wall space availability as a factor in the placement and orientation of the Battle of Kadesh reliefs is also discussed by Heinz. However, adaptation of the reliefs to the available space could only apply to the Karnak and the L_3 reliefs, since every other site was largely designed and built under Ramesses' directive.

The temple geography was undoubtedly integrated into the layout of the reliefs of the Battle of Kadesh. It is not, however, sufficient to explain all of the issues related to the multiplicity of the reliefs, the specificity of location, and the variations in direction of action.

The Battle of Kadesh was of major significance to Ramesses II. This battle was depicted as evolving from right-to-left at some temples, and from left-to-right at other temples. The temples of Karnak and Luxor each have two Battle of Kadesh reliefs, the battle evolving in different directions within the same temple. It is unlikely that the choice for placement and the orientation of these battle reliefs would not have followed specific planning. This author's further investigation into this matter

includes: I) the Kadesh record regarding known topographical details of the area, actions and relationships of the combatants from their known locations, with acknowledgment that there are variations in quality of execution, layout of specific texts, and state of preservation even within each of these two groups, and II) the special relationship between Ramesses and the god Amun that evolved during, and as a consequence of, the Battle of Kadesh.

I) Topography of the Kadesh Area in the Kadesh Record

Specific Elements

The Battle of Kadesh took place in the northern Biqa Valley,[19] located between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon mountain ranges, in present-day western Syria.

Kadesh

The City of Kadesh was situated atop the mound known now as Tell Nebi-Mend.[20] This mound is just south of the acute angle formed by the Orontes River and its Mukadiyah branch. Aerial data provide useful information about terrain elevation. There are several depressions seen immediately south of the tell, in the area presumed to be the site of an ancient link between the two rivers, favoring the idea that Kadesh was, at some time, a moated city, similar to the actual depiction of the city of Kadesh in these war reliefs.[21]

The Orontes River (Nahr el-As(s)i)[22]

The Orontes River starts on the east slope of the Lebanon Mountains. Flowing in a northerly course through the Biqa valley, the river passes to the east of the mound of Kadesh. North of the mound the Orontes receives the el-Mukadiyeh stream, which courses west of the Kadesh mound. These rivers surround Tell Nebi-Mend on three sides, north, east and west. Satellite photography (*Photograph 85*, Tell Nebi-Mend and surrounding areas)[23] defines the current riverbed and allows identification of low lying terrain next to the riverbanks, helping us to understand the likely former river course, width changes, etc. A sinusoidal pattern is present at the junction of these rivers, immediately north and east of the mound, suggesting that a pond-like, widened body of water could have formed at the site naturally, or by damming of the Orontes north of Kadesh.

Shown in various configurations on the battle tableaux,[24] the Orontes River traverses horizontally at the L_1 and I tableaux, and diagonally at both the R_1, and R_2 tableaux.[25] In all of the Kadesh battle reliefs, water encircles the city of Kadesh, and the Orontes widens immediately north of the city. At the L_1, the A, and the R_2 reliefs, two main river courses are shown to the east of the city of Kadesh with a narrow strip of land in between. In the reliefs, this narrow tract of land is utilized by Hittite chariot troops attempting to attack Ramesses from behind. Fording the Orontes to the north of Kadesh, and crossing from east to west, Hittite chariotry encounter the Egyptian *Nꜥrn* troops which are following the pharaoh.[26]

The Camp[27]

Built by the Amun division, the Egyptian camp was located to the northwest of Kadesh, to the west of the Orontes River.[28] Depicted as a rectangular enclosure, barricaded by shields, the camp includes the royal tents in its center. Multiple activities take place inside the camp, including

everyday military exercises and chores, Ramesses' meeting with his staff, the interrogation of the Hittite spies, and the Ramesses' Council of War Scene. Sequentially understood, the Hittite attack on the camp and the arrival of the Egyptian *Nʿrn* troops are documented in the L_1, the R_1, and the I versions of the battle reliefs. The *Poem* indicates that Ramesses was in the camp when the news of the Hittite attack broke.[29]

The Hittite Enemy

The Hittite King and his infantry were northeast of Kadesh, behind the city, on the opposite bank of the river from Ramesses.[30] Muwatallis sent his first wave of chariotry to attack the *Re* division as it was marching northwards, towards Kadesh. The Hittite force that collided with the Egyptian troops came over a ford south of Kadesh,[31] north of the Rubla fords. The Hittites cut through the Division of *Re* as it marched unaware,[32] the pharaoh's infantry and chariotry retreating before them.[33] As the attack on *Re* occurred, the Division of Ptah was to their south, in the Labwe woods. The surviving chariots from the Division of *Re* retreated north, towards Ramesses' camp,[34] with the Hittite chariotry right behind them.

The "Conference" Scene belongs in the camp tableaux. Once aware of the spies' deception and of imminent danger, Ramesses sent his messengers and the vizier south to hasten the Division of Ptah.[35] Ramesses was in his Council of War at the camp when the Hittites attacked, breaking into the west side[36] (shown at the top of the tableau in the L_1, the R_1 and the I reliefs). Desperate hand-to-hand combat ensued as the Hittite charioteers were taken down by Egyptian defenders. Members of the Egyptian royal family were sent out of the camp, after advising them to keep clear of the battle. It is not clear if they were told to go, or not to go, out of the camp's west side.[37]

The coming of the Nʿrn

The L_1, R_1 and I reliefs show the moment of arrival of the *Nʿrn* troops to the west of Ramesses' camp, their chariotry and infantry marching in close formation, and engaging the Hittite enemy at the camp's edge.[38] These elite Egyptian troops were made of "the first battle-force out of all the leaders"[39] of Ramesses' army. They had come from the coast of Amurru, reaching the Kadesh area through the Eleutherus Gap and arriving at the camp from the northwest.[40]

Ramesses

At the onset of direct attack against the camp, Ramesses' location and his reaction are specified in the Reliefs: "…but His Majesty stood firm north of the town of Kadesh on the western side of the Orontes."[41] With the enemy "hemming upon him and his followers,"[42] Ramesses initiated his counterattack southwards.[43] The last third of the Bulletin (84-105) presents the King's heroic and desperate attack. The text of Relief 19[44] accompanies the powerful iconography in the main battle tableaux, and provides many details about the enemy forces. These details are echoed in *Poem* 77-91. The pharaoh is surrounded by the enemy;[45] he is always shooting his bow. Fighting alone,[46] he charged[47] into the enemy masses at full gallop, trampling them down. Great numbers of defeated Hittites are shown dead, dying, running, seeking refuge in the city, and falling into the river.[48] In this confusion of bodies, the Egyptian artists identified some enemy celebrities by name.[49] Presumably, the Hittites were retreating south toward the fords from where they had come. Racing towards the Orontes River, their retreat turned into a rout. It is uncertain how far south Ramesses pursued them.[50]

Hittite Chariots[51]

Probably their second chariot attack wave is shown on both sides of the river toward Ramesses. On the east side of the river, they traversed the narrow strip of land between the two rivers (Orontes and the el-Mukadiyeh branch), attempting to attack Ramesses from behind. The Hittites were intercepted by the Egyptian *Nʿrn* troops after they forded the river. The Hittite chariotry depicted on the west side of the Orontes, moved in both directions, some in retreat and some going forward to fight.

Topographical Information in the Two Groups of Battle Reliefs

The Kadesh Battle Reliefs within each group (G-1 and G-2) need to be analyzed for consistency among its individual members. If such consistency is found, then the possibility of the Battle Reliefs in both groups being mirror images of each other can be investigated by reversing the images from the G-2 Battle Reliefs and comparing them to the G-1 group of reliefs.

Group 1- (G-1)

The best and only complete representative of the G-1 Battle of Kadesh Reliefs is the L_1 Relief, located on the exterior north face of the First Pylon at the Luxor Temple. All the topographical features in the sequential events known about the Battle of Kadesh are correctly depicted in the L_1 reliefs.

In the L_1 reliefs[52] we notice:

- The Camp Tableau is on the right side (west) of the pylon, the Battle Tableau is on the left side (east) of the pylon.
- The arrival of the *Nʿrn* to the camp is from the right, shown on the top.
- The Hittites attack in the left upper corner of the camp.
- The Egyptian Princes depart toward the right side of the camp, into the oncoming *Nʿrn* troops.
- The Orontes River is depicted on the Pharaoh's left, then, it spreads in front of him in pond-like shape, blocking direct access to the city.
- Ramesses attacks from the right (known to be from a north/northwest direction), driving the Hittite chariots back, toward the city of Kadesh and into the pond-like widened area of the Orontes River.
- The Egyptian *Nʿrn* troops follow their King in the main battle tableau, attacking the Hittite chariots from the north /northwest.
- Muwatallis and his infantry are on the east side of the river, behind Kadesh.
-The advancing division of Ptah and Ramesses' messenger on horseback are shown at the left upper portion of the relief, corresponding to the area located to the south/ southwest of Kadesh.

Applying all known topographical information about the Battle of Kadesh to the L_1 relief indicates that north is to the right, and south is to the left. Consequently, Ramesses' attack is developing from north-to-south. More precisely, based on the known position of the camp (where his counterattack started) and from available satellite imagery of the terrain, Ramesses' attack proceeded from north-north-west, to south or south-south-east. The direction of Ramesses' attack shown in all the reliefs in the G-1 group (L_1, K_1, and A) correspond to the view Ramesses and his *Nʿrn* troops had of the Kadesh battlefield.

All the G-1 reliefs are placed over external surfaces of the outside temple walls, and are thereby exposed to public view at all times. Public exposure would acquire particular importance

during the annual processions of the Great Festival of Opet for the L_1 and the K_2 Reliefs, and during the Festival of Osiris for the A reliefs at the temple of Ramesses II in Abydos.

Group 2 - (G-2)

In the Battle of Kadesh Reliefs of G-2 the battle action develops from left to right. The location of these reliefs are: 1) R_1, at the Ramesseum Temple, over the inside surface of the First Pylon facing west, 2) R_2, also at the Ramesseum, over the inside surfaces of the second courtyard on the north half of the wall, facing west, 3) K_2, at the Temple of Karnak, on the external surface of the west wall of the processional colonnade, between Pylons VIII-IX/X, 4) L_3, at Luxor Temple, on the external surface of the west wall, of the Tutankhamun and Amenophis III colonnades, and 5) I, at the Temple of Ramesses II in Abu Simbel, on the north wall of the Great Pillared Hall.

Although the sequential events of the battle correlate well with the known facts from the written record, the topographical features in group G-2 cannot be made to correspond with a simple reversal of the north-south axis. Analyzing Ramesses' topographical relationships in the Battle scenes of the L_1 and the I reliefs, Breasted surmised that if north was on the left side in the Abu Simbel tableau, Ramesses would be charging to the south, in the appropriate direction of attack known from the texts. Breasted further reasoned that if north-south ran from left to right, east would be above the river, and west below it. But based on this orientation, the pharaoh would be on the wrong side of the Orontes River, as would apply to all other elements related to east-west known positions and relationships. Transposing the north-south orientation, to put Ramesses west of the river would make the pharaoh's charge toward Kadesh originating from the south, turning completely around other elements, placing them on the wrong side. Such is the case with the position of the Division of Ptah and of Ramesses' emissaries, placing them all to the north of Kadesh, instead of at their proper location to the south of Kadesh.

In his discussion of the camp's orientation, Spalinger found that changing the north-south orientation would work to some extent, but the resulting east-west changes could not be reconciled with the known topographical facts. In agreement with Breasted, Gaballa, and Spalinger, a four point cardinal orientation concordance for the reliefs does not work in the manner in which they applied the method to their G-2 group samples. However, attributing the lack of correspondence in orientation of these reliefs to artistic limitation, is unsatisfactory and calls for further scrutiny.

As previously stated, the G-1 group reliefs (exemplified by L1) exhibit complete correspondence of all known topographical facts in the Battle of Kadesh with all four points of cardinal orientation, and, could represent Ramesses' view of the battlefield from a northern location. Could the G-2 reliefs of this battle represent the view of the battlefield from a southern viewpoint?

The Battle of Kadesh Reliefs groups G-1 and G-2 as Mirror Images

The concept of these two groups being mirror images of each other is not new. Desroches-Noblecourt et al,[53] referring to sectional comparison in their study of the Camp Tableau at Abu Simbel speak of one (I) being a reversal of the other (L_1). In "Reliefs: Scenes and Epigraphs, Battle of Kadesh, year 5" Kitchen[54] comments on the $L_1$and the R_1 tableaux: "These two pair are almost-mirror images of each other." On the other hand, Spalinger[55] working with detailed diagrams of the Camp Tableaux from the $L_1$and the R_1 sites, attempted to match specific points and actions with a reversed image. In doing so, he noted, the north-south relationship could be maintained, but the east-west directions would be inverted, concluding that the L_1 and the R_1 relief versions of the Camp were

not "merely mirror images of each other." Duplicating Spalinger's image reversal, it became apparent that in order to create a "mirror image" in a two dimensional plane, the image needed to be rotated on its horizontal, or on its vertical plane, not merely turned upside down. Following this principle, the manipulation of Spalinger's figure 4[56] of the L_1 Camp, and of the combined drawings of R_1 and I, yields a perfect match, and true mirror images. The same result can be observed by placing a mirror above one of the two Camp drawings, comparing the resulting image to the next, or by using the common technique of rear-projection, and looking at resulting images from both sides. Studied in this manner and with due consideration to variations in size and arrangement of the individual reliefs, the Camp tableaux in R_1 and I are mirror images of L_1 in content and direction.

Extending this hypothesis to all of the Battle of Kadesh Reliefs requires a detailed comparison of the best preserved representatives in both the G-1 and the G-2 groups. Aligning north in the same direction for both groups results in topographical concordance in all of their major elements. For G-1 the most complete example is L_1; for G-2 the most complete examples are R_1, R_2, and I. In the process of comparing, the G-2 reliefs will be reversed and designated as G-2R with "R" (for reversed) added to their accepted abbreviations: R_1R, R_2R, K_2R, L_3R, and IR.

There are some limiting factors in the process of comparison dependent upon the state of preservation of the individual reliefs and the acknowledgment that some variations exist even within a single group of reliefs. On the latter point, in the G-1 battle reliefs, the L_1 reliefs can only be compared to partial remnants of A and K_1.[57] These limitations considered, no major discrepancies were noted among the G-1 reliefs.[58] Comparison among the G-2 reliefs is possible for most of their elements in the R_1, R_2 and I. The condition of L_3 and K_2 reliefs precludes analysis. Although there are variations in the text layout, no major discrepancies were found among the G-2 reliefs.

Comparative Analysis of the Kadesh Battle Record, G-1 and G-2R reliefs

1- Observations related to the topography of elements in the Camp Tableaux

Comparison of the Camp Tableau is possible between L_1 (G-1) and R_1R and IR (G-2R). The War Council scene is preserved in L_1, R_1 and I reliefs. "The Beating of the Spies" Scene varies in its specific placement. The "Booty" Scene is found only in the I relief.

Concurrent points among these reliefs is noted in the following elements:

a) The battle raging inside the camp takes place on the left upper third of the reliefs.

b) The fan-bearers and princes are exiting from left to right, in the upper left half of the tableaux.

c) The Egyptian *Nꜥrn* troops arrive at the camp on the right side, battling the Hittite chariots along the top of the camp.

d) The royal tents are placed symmetrically in a central area, two larger tents above and three smaller below.

e) To the right of the tent enclosure, there are horses, horseless chariots, and Ramesses' pet lion with his keeper all shown in identical locations in these three reliefs. R_1R has oxen instead of horses in the upper group of animals.[59]

f) In the Luxor L_1 and the Abu Simbel I tableaux, behind the upper group of horses, in the upper right-hand corner is a soldier being tended to by (what appears to be) a physician. The

soldier is sitting, resting his right foot on the other man's left thigh.[60] The R_1R relief is missing this particular section.

g) Below these men are three soldiers marching to the right, holding their weapons over their right shoulder. Three soldiers in the same position are seen in R_1R, just below the missing portion referred to above (f).

h) Just below the tents, on the left side, two Egyptian soldiers beat and spear an enemy soldier. These three individuals are in the same exact position in all three reliefs.

i) The same is true for a composition in the R_1R and the L_1 tableaux, of an Egyptian soldier standing over and subduing a kneeling Hittite, both facing left.

j) Along the bottom register in all three reliefs, routine camp activities take place: donkeys being tended, groups of soldiers repairing equipment, etc.

k) The "War Council" Scene, also known as "Conference" Scene is present in A, L_1, R_1, with only traces of it in R_2. Comparison is made between A and L_1 in the G-1 group, with R_1R in the G-2R group. Ramesses sits on his throne, facing to the left (south), the royal chariot and horses at ready, his vizier and staff in attendance.

It is concluded that concordance exists in the topography of all elements in the Camp Tableaux[61] in the G-1 and the G-2R groups of the Battle of Kadesh Reliefs.

2- Observations Related to topography of elements in the Battle Tableaux

It is noted that the Abu Simbel (I) section with the Battle Tableau has fewer soldiers, and is of lesser artistic quality than the others. Also, the *Poem* is absent at Abu Simbel. Many of the enemies' names are inscribed in both Ramesseum reliefs.

The comparison among the Battle Tableaux was carried out between L_1 in G-1, and the images of R_1R, R_2R, and RI in G-2 reliefs. The identification of Ramesses' known position in relation to all the known topographical features makes the cardinal orientation in the L_1 tableaux as: north on the right, south on the left. After their reversal, north will be on the right in the G-2R reliefs.

Concurrence was found in all their major elements. Individual variants are noted:

a) The Pharaoh

Identifying Ramesses' known position in relation to all known topographical features makes the orientation in L_1 relief as North on the right side, South on the left side. The same orientation can be applied to the G-2R reliefs.

Ramesses attacks the enemy at full gallop. Expectedly, his figure is larger than anyone else in the composition.

Ramesses' chariot wheels are positioned just above the river and the king is level with the city of Kadesh in the Luxor and Abu Simbel tableau, but he is below the city at R_1R, and R_2R.[62]

b) The City of Kadesh

Portions of R_1R and R_2R of this section are missing. However, enough remains for comparison. In the R2R relief, the area with the city of Kadesh is damaged from its center to the south.

Towers: There are five towers depicted at L_1[63] and IR. In both, Luxor and Abu Simbel, the fortifications are very similar. The city's name is placed on the central tower at IR, but over the intermediate wall between the taller towers, at L_1.

Counting from the right (north), a sloping wall is seen between the first and second tower at the L_1 and the R_1R Tableaux. A gate is visible in the back of the city at the L_1 and the IR, in identical locations in both depictions. The city's flag flies on the second tower at the L_1 Tableau and on the third tower at the IR Tableau.

Soldiers: The infantry is shown outside the walled city at the L_1 and the R_1R reliefs. Minor differences are apparent in their armaments and ethnic origins. At the R_1R relief, the soldiers appear to be ethnically uniform and are armed with daggers. The infantry seen next to the fortified city at L_1 is composed of various ethnic groups and they are armed with bows, spears, and daggers. Soldiers in the towers have bows at the R_1R and the R_2R reliefs; spears at the IR; spears, knives and bows at the L_1.

There is overall concurrence in the components of the city in all versions. Noted differences appear to be related more to variations in quality of the reliefs and space availability, rather than to discrepancies in the content.

c) The Orontes River and the City's Moat

In all of the tableaux, including those of which only sketches remain, the city is consistently surrounded by water. The moat around Kadesh receives water from the Orontes River, on the northeast, and from the el-Mukadiyeh on the southwest.

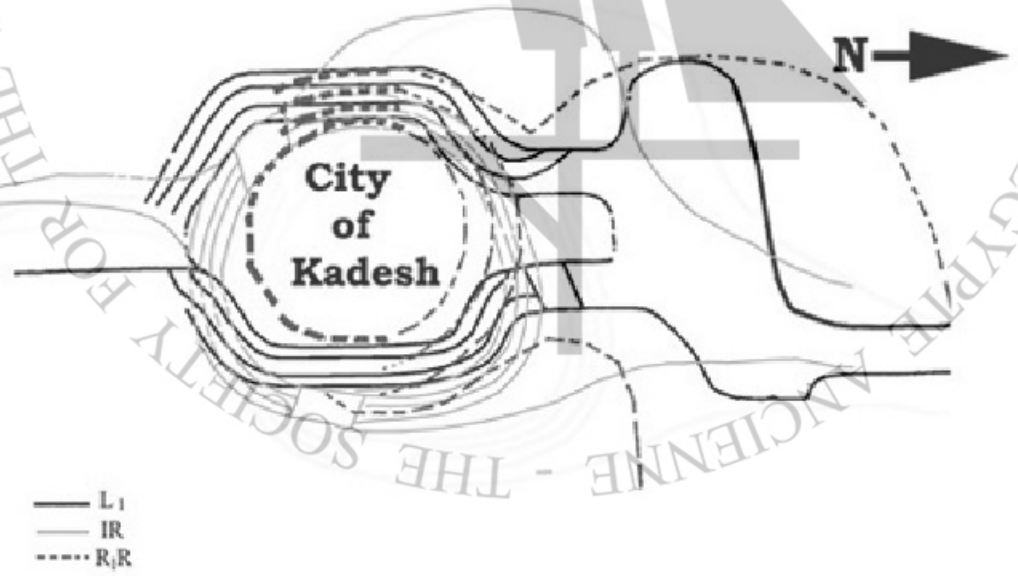

Figure 1. Superposed outlines of the site Kadesh, its moat and the pond-like river expansion to the north. Based upon L_1, I, and R_1 sketches by K.A. Kitchen. (I and R_1 reversed).

The pool-like widening of the river to the north of Kadesh extends diagonally from top to bottom and from left to right (NNE to SSW). Superimposition of sketches from this area in the L1, the IR and the R_1R, consistently show the watery expansion north of Kadesh (*Figure 1*, based on Kitchen sketches[64]). The same finding applies to the other reliefs. Departing from the pool's lowest portion, the Orontes river continues to the right (north). Satellite photography reveals in this location a tightly sinusoidal river course to the northeast of Tell Nebi-Mend (*Photograph 85*). In proportion, the size of this area is at least twice that of the mound. This area, if dammed,[65] would result in a flooded area that would be strikingly similar in shape to the pond-like body of water shown in the same location in all of the tableaux. To the left of the city, a river extends from the moat proceeding from the south, probably what is now called the el-Mukadiyeh branch.

East of the mound of Kadesh there is a strip of land, approximately 200 to 250 meters wide, between the east side of the moat and the Orontes River proper. The A, the L_1, and the R_2R reliefs show a land section through which Hittite chariots are galloping north, fording the Orontes behind the Pharaoh. This land is not shown in the R_1R or the IR reliefs. At the A Reliefs only, the southerly flowing el-Mukadiyeh joins the Orontes River southeast of Kadesh.

d) Sending the Vizier

In the L_1 Battle Tableau, the vizier reaches the incoming division of Ptah on the left upper portion of the relief (the southwest). In the IR tableau, it is a horseman rather than the vizier who reaches the division of Ptah. In both reliefs, these individuals are placed in identical locations within the composition. This scene is not identifiable in the R_1R or the R_2R tableaux.

e) The Nʿrn chariotry

In the L_1 relief, the *Nʿrn* chariotry are attacking the Hittites all along the right (the north end) of the relief. Their infantry and mercenary troops are finishing-off the fallen Hittites. In the R_2R the north end of the relief is missing, in the area where the Egyptian *Nʿrn* would have been.

f) Hittite King, Infantry and Chariotry

In the L-1 tableau, the Hittite King Muwatallis is southeast of the city, moving away from Ramesses. His infantry and chariotry are east of Kadesh, extending from the north to the south of the city. As mentioned above, enemy chariotry is moving east and northeast, as well as north and northwest, toward Ramesses. On the west side of the moated city, a body of infantry is helping soldiers cross the river.

In the R_1R relief, King Muwatallis is located slightly to the northeast of Kadesh, behind the southeastern portion of the pond-like widening of the Orontes River. East of Kadesh, a large body of infantry troops are present, some of whom are holding upside-down the near-drowned Prince of Aleppo, helping him to eliminate aspirated water. A large portion of the relief is damaged here. As in the depiction at Luxor, Hittite chariotry are moving against Ramesses east and west of the river. The area south of Kadesh is presented to a greater extent than at Luxor. Galloping Hittite chariot troops are depicted crossing the river south of Kadesh. More enemy troops are portrayed proceeding along the east side of the river.

In the R_2R reliefs, King Muwatallis is not identifiable. The Hittite infantry is east and slightly north of the city. Soldiers helping the Prince of Aleppo are in the same location as in the R_1R relief. Here the Hittite chariotry is moving against Ramesses on the west and east of the river.

Smaller and less rich in detail, the IR relief section of the Battle Tableau depicts Muwatallis to the southeast of Kadesh, in the same location as in the L_1 relief. The Hittite infantry is distributed along the east side of Kadesh, some chariotry going south with their King. Retreating and attacking Hittite chariotry are shown along the west side of the river; another chariot group is moving behind Ramesses. As in the R_1R relief, the area south of Kadesh is shown. Hittite chariots are fording the river from east to west. The prince of Aleppo Scene is also visible in this surviving section of the Abydos (A) reliefs. Its location corresponds to the same area as in the R_1R relief.

The "Reception" Scene is not uniformly present in all of the Battle of Kadesh reliefs. Of the group G-1, it is found only in the A reliefs; in the G-2 group it is found at the I, the K_2, and the L_3 reliefs. Of these, the A relief is the best detailed. Spalinger notes that the reliefs with the "Reception" Scene are placed on external temple walls, except for the Abu Simbel (I) version. The main components of this scene are: the King in his chariot, reception of the booty of captured Hittites, and the severed enemy hands. There are some differences in the lay-out among the various reliefs, but no differences in content, or in the direction of components.

Generalizing from the above observations in comparing the G-1 and the G-2 Battle of Kadesh Reliefs, with due consideration to variations in size and individual arrangement, it can be concluded: 1) That the differences found among the Kadesh battle reliefs within each group, and those derived from comparison of the two groups, do not substantially affect or change the historical accuracy, or the completeness of the recorded event. 2) That in content and direction, there is concordance in all their major elements. 3) That the G-1 and the G-2 Battle of Kadesh groups can be considered as mirror images, or better expressed, as two viewpoints of the same event, one from the north, the other from the south.

II) Relationship between Ramesses and the God Amun during the Battle of Kadesh

Ramesses gave in the *Poem* his personal perspective of the events which occurred the day of the battle.[66] Finding himself in a desperate situation, he appealed to Amun for help (*Poem* 110-116[67]). His voice reached the god in Upper Egypt (*Poem* 121-122). Amun responded directly to Ramesses and intervened on his behalf (*Poem* 123-127).[68] The pharaoh, armed with the god's strength and courage, went on to the fight, prevailing at Kadesh (*Poem* 128-129, 130-171).[69]

From the exchange between Amun and Ramesses recorded in the *Poem*, the following are relevant to this paper:

a) Ramesses called Amun from a location north of Kadesh.

b) Ramesses' voice "circulated" (re-echoed[70]) throughout "Southern On." The term *Ỉwnw šm.w*, probably refers to an installation in Thebes.[71]

c) Amun called Ramesses from behind, "as (it were) face to face." This statement has been interpreted to mean that although Amun spoke from afar, it sounded to Ramesses as if he and the god were face to face.[72] Declaring "I am the Lord of victory, who loves valor," he points to Amun's identification with Ramesses as his patron in the battle. Egypt's victory at Kadesh was won, in Ramesses' perception, by the actions of Amun and those of himself, fighting together.

Returning victorious to Egypt, the grateful pharaoh went on to record his Battle at Kadesh on a heroic scale. His main themes were his own deeds, and Amun's crucial intervention.[73]

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the cardinal orientation in which the action develops, the reliefs of the Battle of Kadesh can be classified in two groups: Group 1 (G-1) in which the battle proceeds from the right, including the L_1, the K_1, and the A reliefs. Group 2 (G-2) in which the battle proceeds from the left, including the R_1, the R_2, the K_2, the L_3 and the I reliefs.

Detailed topographical analysis and comparison of G-1 with G-2 reversed images of the Battle of Kadesh Reliefs, lead to the hypothesis that the Group 1 reliefs are consistent with Ramesses' view of the battlefield from his northern vantage point, and that Group 2 represents the view of the same battlefield from the south. Remembering the battle,[74] Ramesses represented from his perspective the events which occurred on that day.[75] In the act of praying to the god, Ramesses was sending his own imagery of the Kadesh battlefield to Amun, who, upon receiving the pharaoh's plea, responded to him as it were "face to face."[76] With the battlefield of Kadesh between them, Ramesses to the north, and Amun to the south, each would perceive the ongoing action as proceeding from opposite directions. The G-2 group of the Battle of Kadesh Reliefs would correspond to Amun's view from his southern vantage point. This conclusion leads to a possible explanation of the variants in the placement of both groups of the Kadesh Battle Reliefs, a question raised by Maria Cristina Guidotti[77] regarding Ramesses' motives for representing the Battle of Kadesh in different localities of Egypt.

As it has been pointed out above, the G-1 group of the Battle of Kadesh Reliefs were purposefully placed in locations exposed to public view, at temple sites which would attain particular importance in relation to Ramesses' kingship during the annual processions of Opet and Osiris. The placement and orientation of the G-2 group of the Battle of Kadesh Reliefs appear to be, in turn, associated with the god Amun. Four of the five reliefs in this group (R_1, R_2, K_2, and L3) are located in Thebes, within the Estate of Amun (*Figure 2*). At the Ramesseum these reliefs are placed on internal temple surfaces, the R_1 over the rear of the First Pylon and the R_2 over the rear wall of the second courtyard (the Camp portion on the west wall) north section. The K_2 and L_3 battle reliefs are

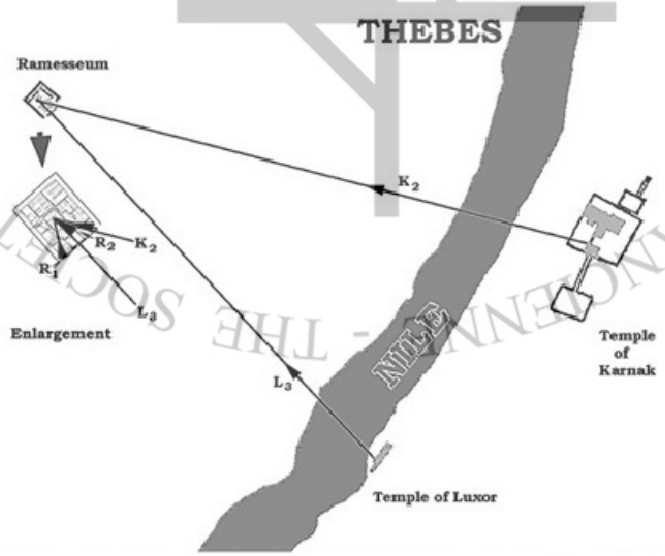

Figure 2 Kadesh Battle reliefs facing Amun's Shrine at the Ramesseum.

placed on external surfaces, on the western walls of their respective temples. Whether these reliefs are placed on internal or external wall surfaces of the Ramesseum, Luxor, and Karnak temples, all of them face west, in the direction of Amun's sanctuary, at the rear of the Ramesseum. The location of the fifth relief in the G-2 group, the I relief, at Abu Simbel is over the north wall of the Great Pillared Hall. Although its placement and orientation relate to the "Geography" of the temple (Heinz), it is also the only available surface in a northerly direction in this temple; it is the direction of the Ramesseum. The Ramesseum is the place of residence for the form of the god "Amun within United in Thebes" with which Ramesses identified.

Assmann[78] noted that the ways in which Ramesses II recorded and documented the Battle of Kadesh and chose the locations for these reliefs were related to the great importance the king attributed to this pivotal event in his life. The primary location and orientation of these reliefs were likely dictated by their purposeful dedication to the main protagonists in this battle, Ramesses and Amun.

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NOTES

1. Jan Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2002), 256. Miriam Lichtheim, "The Kadesh Battle of Ramesses II," In *Ancient Egyptian Literature*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), Vol II, 57-59. Alan Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*. (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1975), 53.

2. Walter Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte II*. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1935), 68-70, 82, 84, 88, 92a, 95, 96a, 101, and pls. 16-19. Desroches-Noblecourt, et. al, *Grand Temple d'Abou-Simbel: Bataille de Kadech.* (Cairo: CEDAE, 1971), 2-3. For the Battle of Kadesh sketch diagrams from all eight sites, see Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions (KRI) II,* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 125-128. Susanna Constanze Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches: Eine Bildanalyse.* (Vienna: Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001). Heinz also includes as representations of the Battle of Kadesh reliefs the palimpsest: Lp, $R1_{p,}$ and $R2_{p}$, 126.

3. Kenneth A. Kitchen *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated, Notes and Comments (RITNAC) II*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), 9. The Temple of Karnak inscriptions are largely lost; they were erased in favor of other wars.

4. Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II,* 47: The textual components of the Battle of Kadesh record are: 1) The so-called "*Poem,*" which particularly stresses: a) minute details about the locations and maneuvers of the armies, b) the personal heroism of the king, and c) Ramesses' personal relationship with the god Amun; 2) The so-called "Bulletin," which gives more details of the events of the day of the battle and it is always inserted as close as possible to the reliefs, particularly to the scene of the camp; 3) Reliefs "R." These are explanatory legends which accompany the images. Kenneth A. Kitchen, "The Battle of Qadesh, Year 5," *The Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated (RITA) II*. (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1993), 37. In addition

to the eight battle reliefs mentioned, there are two papyri versions of the *Poem* in the Raifè (Louvre), Sallier III and Chester Beatty III, verso (both in the British Museum).

5. G. A. Gaballa, *Narrative in Egyptian Art* (DAI. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Phillip von Zabern, 1976), 114-116. The battle reliefs record the different events and aspects of the battle. They are located in various temples, on a number of pylons and walls. The artists have divided the scenes into two independent units called, for convenience, the "Camp" and the "Battle." These two units are considered sequential chronologic events. See also Kitchen, *RITNAC II*, 9.

6. Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 47: "There are some things that lend themselves only to literary expression, while there are other things which clamor loudly for visual representation."

7. Scott Morschauser, "Observations on the Speeches of Ramesses II in the Literary Record of the Battle of Kadesh," In *Perspectives on The Battle of Kadesh*. ed. Hans Goedicke. (Baltimore: Halgo, 1985), 148: "The Kadesh inscriptions do little to minimize the embarrassing circumstances of the battle, and in fact deliberately emphasize the danger from which the king had to extricate himself and his forces." See also Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt*, 267; Kitchen, *RITNAC II*, 48; and Gaballa, *Narrative*, 115.

8. Jan Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2002), 264. See also Morschauser, "Observations on the Speeches," 142.

9. Anthony J. Spalinger, "Notes on the Reliefs of the Battle of Kadesh," In *Perspectives on The Battle of Kadesh*. ed. Hans Goedicke, 8-11, 18f, 27.

10. James Henry Breasted, *The Battle of Kadesh. A Study in the Earliest Known Military Strategy. The Decennial Publications*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1903), 119 -120: "…safe topographical conclusions can hardly be made from the reliefs."

11. Breasted, Idem., *Ancient Records of Egypt* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 148: "Owing to the primitive nature of Egyptian topographical and architectural drawing, these scenes cannot be made to coincide with the data of the inscriptions."

12. Breasted, *The Battle of Kadesh*, 120: "The cause of the contradiction is not far to see. The artist was obliged by his own limitations to begin by lying down the river horizontally along the middle of his horizontal field, this done and the city located, he was ready to put in Ramses and the combatants. When we remember that Ramses hurled his foes down into the river, there is no place to put Ramses except over the river. Otherwise, in such primitive drawing, the enemy before him would have to fall up into the river. Hence whether Ramses is placed on the right or the left of the city, he must necessarily be placed above the river, and his position on that side of it has no topographical significance whatever."

13. Gaballa, *Narrative*, 11: "Now when the artists came to translate these events into reliefs they met with a certain amount of difficulty resulting on the one hand from the difference in nature of expression between art and literature, and on the other from the conventional methods of

Egyptian art in particular."

14. Spalinger, "Notes on the Reliefs of the Battle of Kadesh," In *Perspectives on The Battle of Kadesh*. ed. Hans Goedicke, 8-12, 26.

15. Von der Way discussed by S. Heinz, "Die Kadechslachtdarstellungen Ramses' II," in *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches : eine Bildanalyse*. (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001), 222.

16. Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches*, 127.

17. Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches*, 127.

18. Heinz, *ie Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches*, 127, expulsion of the enemies of Egypt out of the second pylon into the first courtyard through the center opening.

19. Arnulf Kuschke, "Das Terrain der Schlacht bei Qadeš und die Anmarschwege Ramses' II," *ZDVP* 95 (1979): 7-35. The body of information about the Battle of Kadesh topography is comprehensively analyzed by Kitchen in *RINTAC*, 15-21.

20. Alan Gardiner, *AEO*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), Vol. 1, 137.

21. Kitchen. *RINTAC*, 16. Kitchen, *KRI*, 125-128. Desroches-Noblecourt, et.al., *Grand Temple d'Abou Simbel*, 26, pl. IIIb.

22. Maurice Pézard, *Qadesh Mission Archéologique a Tell Nebi Mend 1921-1922*, (Paris: Librarie Orientaliste Paul Geunthner, 1931), 23. Kuschke, Das Terrain der Schlacht, 35. Kitchen, *RITNAC*, 15. Spalinger, Notes on the Reliefs, 20-23.

23. EROS, Entity ID D267 024 S20 1968, Mission Number 1105, frame 2.

24. Kitchen, *KRI*, 125-128.

25. Gaballa, *Narrative*, 117.

26. Luxor, Ramesseum II, and Abu Simbel battle reliefs.

27. A thorough analysis of the Abu Simbel Camp is given by Desroches-Noblecourt, et al. *Grand Temple D'Abou Simbel*, 4-16. Also see Spalinger for all three Tableaux of the Camp, "Notes on the reliefs," In *Perspectives*, 7-15.

28. Bulletin 29-32: "…and his Majesty proceeded northwards and arrived at the northwest of Kadesh. The camp of His Majesty's army was pitched there and His Majesty took his throne of gold to the north of Kadesh, on the west side of the Orontes." Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions*, 29. See also Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, 153.

29. *Poem* 76: "…Then they came to tell it to his Majesty." Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions,* 9.

30. *Poem* 54, 55, 56: "Now the wretched Fallen one of Khatti, together with the many foreign countries which were with him, stood concealed and ready to the north-east of the town of Kadesh." Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 8. *Poem* 71-72: "They had been made to stand concealed behind the town of Kadesh." Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 9.

31. Bulletin 78-79: "…and they had crossed over the ford which is to the south of Kadesh." Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 30. *Poem* 71-72: "…and now they came forth from the south side of Kadesh and broke into the army of *Preꜥ* in its midst…" "The Hittites were quickly upon him. Passing to the south of Kadesh." Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 8.

32. *Poem* 73-74: "as they were marching and did not know nor were prepared to fight." Gardiner *Kadesh Inscriptions,* 8-9, and Bulletin 80: "They entered into the midst of His Majesty's army as they were marching and did not know." Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 30.

33. *Poem* 74-75: "…Thereupon the infantry and chariotry of His Majesty were discomfited before them." Gardiner. *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 8-9. Bulletin 80-83: "…Then the infantry and chariotry of his majesty were discomfited before them whilst going northward to where His Majesty was." Gardiner. *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 30.

34. *Poem76:* "Then they came to tell it to His majesty." Gardiner. *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 9.

35. Bulletin 72: "Then the vizier was commanded to hasten the army of Pharaoh as it marched on the way south of the town of Shabtuna, so as to bring it to where his majesty was." Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 30, Reliefs 12 - 13. Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 37-38.

36. Bulletin 83-84: "Then the host of the Khatti enemy hemmed in the followers of his Majesty who were by his side." Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 30. Relief 11: "They found that the host of Khatti enemies hemmed in the camp of pharaoh on its western side." Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 37.

37. Reliefs 9-10: "[Do not?] go out on the west side of the camp and keep clear of the battle." Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 36. Based on the direction of the incoming *Nꜥrn* Egyptian troops, from the west, the royal family and fan-bearers are exiting the camp towards the west. This would be a sensible move on their part, seeking the protection of their own troops. This situation would favor the interpretation of Relief 9 as: "go to the west."

38. Relief 11: "And the *Nꜥrn* broke into the host of the wretched Fallen one of Khatti as they were entering into the camp of Pharaoh, and, the servants of His Majesty killed them and not allowed one of them to escape…" Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 37.

39. *Poem* 63-65, Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 8.

40. Kitchen, *RITNAC*, 22. See also A.H. Burne, "Some Notes on the Battle of Kadesh," *JEA* 7 (1920), 191.

41. *Poem* 75, Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 9.

42. Bulletin 84, Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 30.

43. Relief 19. The King forces foe back to the Orontes River. Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 39.

44. Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 39.

45. Relief -19 quotes: "2,500 enemy chariots --surrounding the King on all sides." Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 39.

46. *Poem* 80-81: "…Then His Majesty started forth at a gallop, and entered into the host of the fallen ones of Khatti, being alone by himself and none other with him." Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 9.

47. *Poem* 80-90, Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 9. Bulletin 84-103, Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 30. Reliefs 18-19, Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 38-39.

48. Bulletin 105: "Thereupon My Majesty caused the host of the Khatti enemy to plunge upon their faces one upon the other, even as crocodiles plunge, into the water of the Orontes." Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 39. Reliefs 19: "Over King's Horses and Chariot Battle." "The stand which his majesty made while he was camping on the north-west of Kadesh….He charged while he was alone. He found surrounding him 2,500 horses, he slaughtered them …" Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, 153. Also Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 39.

49. R_1 and R_2 Battle reliefs, Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptische Kulturgeschichte II*, pls 96a, 100, 101.

50. Kitchen notes that Relief 20, although damaged and palimpsest, preserves mention of the King "south of Kadesh" in pursuit of his foe, *RITNAC*, 10. Gardiner, however, considers the Relief 20 inscription, as "too damaged to be worth translating." Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 39.

51. *Poem* 147-153: "Then he caused many chiefs to come, each one of them with his chariots, and they were equipped with their weapons of warfare, the chief of Arzawa,..." Spalinger, "Notes on the Reliefs," 20.

52. Wresinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte II*, pls. 82, 84.

53. Desroches Noblecourt, et. al., *Grand Temple D'Abou Simbel. La Battaille de Qadech*, 9: "…celle de Louxor (pylône, massif oust) resemble à celle d'Abou-Simbel, bien que toute la 'Bataille' y soit inversé, les scènes étant tournèes vers la gauche." Related to the arrival of Egyptian reinforcements, 16: "Si l'arrivée des renforts est à Karnak, par suite des destructions, réduite à la frise des charriers, elle est à Abydos, à Louxor (dans ces deux cas, la scène est inversée,…" On the chariots battle, 21: "En effet, soit y à Louxor (pylône, massif est), soit au Ramesséum où la scène est inversèe..."

54. Kitchen, *RITNAC II*, 9.

55. Spalinger, "Notes on the Reliefs," 8-12, 26.

56. Spalinger, "Notes on the Reliefs," figure 4, 11.

57. Kitchen, *KRI II*, 125, 126, 128.

58. This statement implies that every battle relief in Group 1 was studied seeking those indispensable elements that constitute the complete record of the Battle of Kadesh. Some reliefs are practically complete, some are not, but, whatever elements remain in the individual relief concur with the same elements in the other reliefs in the group.

59. Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches*, 139, figures 221, 222, 223.

60. Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches*, 140, figures 224 and 225.

61. Commenting on the same issue, Spalinger considered L_1 and R_1 conference scenes "almost identical." Spalinger, "Notes on the reliefs," 16.

62. Spalinger, "Notes on the Reliefs," 19-20. Ramesses' original placement in R_1 was moved to the bottom left, level with Muwatallis, making the encounter more personal between the two kings.

63. Desroches-Noblecourt, et, al., *Grand Temple D'Abou Simbel. La Battaille de Qadech*, pl. XXVII, considers four towers at Luxor. In it, Luxor's first tower (north) is of less height than the rest, but its base and enlarged top are very similar to the first tower in IR.

64. Kitchen, *KRI II*, 125-128.

65. Kuschke, "Das Terrain der Schlacht bei Qadeš und die Anmarschwege Ramses' II," 35. The author sets forth evidence of artificial damming of the Orontes at various river locations. See also: Kuschke, A. "Archäologischer Survey in der nördlichen Biqa, Herbst 1972." In *Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Reihe B, Geisteswissenschaften; Nr. 11*. (Wiesbaden : Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1976), 112-116.

66. This section of text has been characterized by Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians*. (New Heaven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), 167, as "a portion of the composition in which the scribe depicts Ramesses remembering the battle." Morschauser, "The Speeches of Ramesses II," 143, adds "although the text was composed sometime later, it reflects Ramesses' attitude *during* the Battle of Kadesh" and explains the purely "narrative" aspects of the king's address."

67. "…I called to thee, my father Amun, when I was in the midst of multitudes whom I knew not. All foreign countries were combined against me, I being alone by myself, none other with me…"

68. *Poem* 121-127: *"Lo, make prayers from the ends of foreign countries,*
while my voice circulates in On of Upper Egypt. (Southern On)
I found Amun come when I called him;
he gave me his hand and I rejoiced.
He called from behind me, as (it were) face to face.
"To the fore! I am with thee,
I am thy father, my hand is with thee
I am more useful that hundreds of thousands of men.
I am a lord of victory who loves valour."

69. *Poem* 128-129: *"I am the lord of victory who loves valour.*
I found my heart stout and my breast joyful.
All that I did came to pass. I was like Mont."
Poem 131 to 171:
Ramesses, after major combat, calling Amun his protector and "his hand with me."
Poem 229-234.: Ramesses recalls (in past tense) Amun's help and attributes his success to he god.

70. *Poem* 121. Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 21.

71. *Poem* 121 Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 20-21.

72. Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 21

73. While there was no supernatural intervention, the timely arrival of the *Nʿrn* troops was perceived its equivalent.

74. Morschauser, "The Speeches of Ramesses," 142.

75. Morschauser, "The Speeches of Ramesses II," 142; Spalinger *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptian*, 169.

76. *Poem* 125, Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 21.

77. Maria Cristina Guidotti, "L'Iconografia of the battle of Qadesh." In *La Battaglia di Qadesh, Ramesse II contro gli Ittiti per la Conquista della Siria.* (Firenze, Museo Archeologico nazionale, 2002), 170.

78. Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt*, 267.

TABLE 1

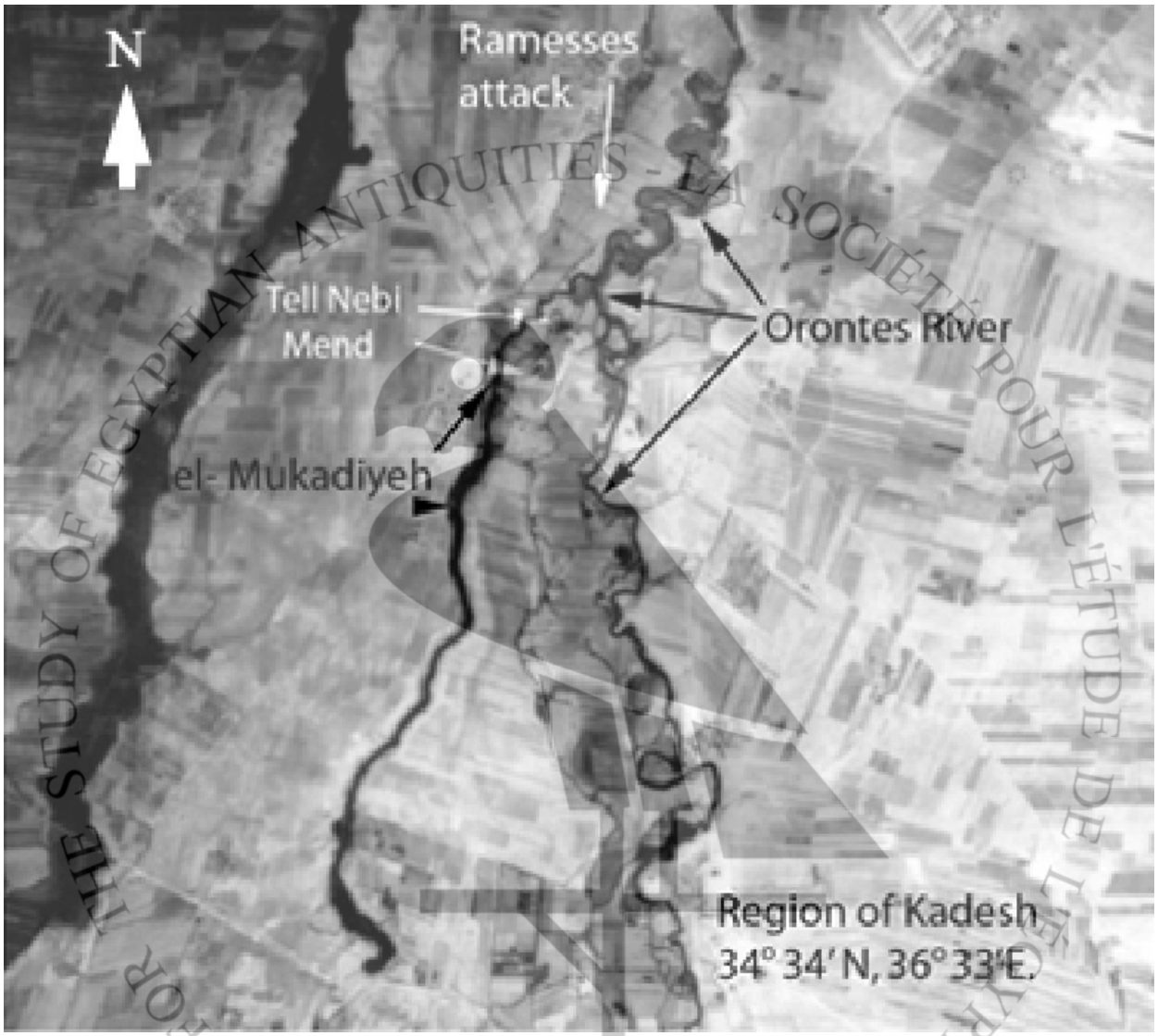
BATTLE OF KADESH RELIEFS AND INSCRIPTIONS

Location	Temple	Placement	Wall	Action →
Abydos	Ramesses II	N & W	Exterior	R to L
Luxor 1	Luxor	N 1st Pylon	Exterior	R to L
Luxor 3	Luxor	W/Colonnade	Exterior	L to R
Karnak 1	Karnak	S/Hypostyle H.	Exterior	R to L
Karnak 2	Karnak	W/S Approach	Exterior	L to R
W.Thebes	Ramesseum I	W 1st Pylon	Interior	L to R
W.Thebes	Ramesseum II	W 1st Pylon	Interior	L to R
Nubia	Abu Simbel	N/E Pillared H.	Interior	L to R

TABLE 2

BATTLE OF KADESH RELIEFS AND INSCRIPTIONS
GROUPED BY DIRECTION OF BATTLE

	Location	Temple	Placement	Wall	Action ←
	Abydos	Ramesses II	N & W	Exterior	R to L
Group 1	Luxor 1	Luxor	N 1st Pylon	Exterior	R to L
	Karnak 1	Karnak	S/Hypostyle H.	Exterior	R to L
					→
	W.Thebes	Ramesseum I	W 1st Pylon	Interior	L to R
	W.Thebes	Ramesseum II	W 1st Pylon	Interior	L to R
Group 2	Luxor 3	Luxor	W/Colonnade	Exterior	L to R
	Karnak 2	Karnak	W/S Approach	Exterior	L to R
	Nubia	Abu Simbel	N/E Pillared H.	Interior	L to R



Photograph 85 - Tell Nebi Mend and Surrounding Areas - EROS Satellite Photograph.

A KHEPESH SWORD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL MUSEUM

Nicholas Edward WERNICK

ABSTRACT

An examination of a khepesh sword in the University of Liverpool Museum. The first section of the article will deal with the measurements and typology of the artifact. Secondly, we will try to determine when this artifact was most likely manufactured by comparing with known examples. The last thing the article will attempt to do is to try to determine the function of this kind of sword within the culture of ancient Egypt.

KEY WORDS

Sword, Weapons, Bronze, Warfare

In this study, we shall look at a *khepesh* or 'scimitar' sword that is presently located in the University of Liverpool's museum. Although the context of the sword is unknown, and was most likely found in a burial during one of Garstang's excavations, the information about it has not been published before.[1] Very little work has been done on an analysis of these swords, so this study will also try to relate this example with known types in order to deduce in all likelihood what context it was found in.

Description

No. # E1530
Object: Khepesh-scimitar sword
Material: Bronze, handle originally inlaid
Provenance: Unknown
Date: New Kingdom, circa 1300 BCE
Measurements: 57.79 cm long X 1.9 cm wide X 1 cm thick (*Photograph 86*).

Length of handle: 12.4 cm.
Length of handle in concave grip: 10.2 cm.
Width of pommel: 2.3 cm.
Length of forte: 12.7 cm.
Length of curved area: 32.7 cm.
Length of beveled-blade area: 17.4 cm.

The Handle

The entire sword is cast in one piece. The handle angles approximately four degrees towards the bottom from the forte (*Photograph 87*). It has upraised ridges 3 mm higher than its recess so it can accommodate inlay (presumably wood or ivory) which has long since deteriorated. In the recess cavity there are three rivet-holes. The rivet closest to the "pommel" is the deepest of the three at 5 mm deep. The middle rivet barely marks the bronze at all at 1mm and the uppermost rivet, located in the middle of the handle, is 2.5 mm deep. The layout of the rivets indicates that the inlay must have relied on glue to fasten it together because these holes would have hardly been secure enough

as they only secure the bottom half of the handle. The pommel is straight on the top and the bottom is hooked to prevent slippage out of the user's hand. It is apparent that from the size of the handle's concave side that it would have been intended to have been wielded with one hand. The ribbed border is missing from the upper right corner (blade facing downwards); it appears that it was never there to begin with. The hand guard is a small squared area that does not appear to have been designed to actually protect the hand, but rather it appears as a suggestion of a guard.

The Forte

The 'forte' is the straight area that extends from the top of the hand guard to the beginning of the curvature of the blade (*photograph 88*). The material is in a squared shape and provides the artifact with the most tensile strength. There appear to be two lines that were cast in the mould process. The line closest to the handle goes straight across horizontally. The upper raised line goes across horizontally as well but just before it meets the top of the forte it turns a right angle and follows the border until the curvature of the blade starts. After that, the bloom of the bronze obscures the line; it is undetermined if the line continued towards the end.

The Blade

The curvature of the blade drops 8cm deep from the forte. A distinct beveled blade area is on the convex side until the distal 5 cm of the curvature where, by a corrosion bloom, the blade becomes too distorted. The blade at the middle is beveled the most on the side when the sword is placed horizontal with the grip on the left-hand side and the blade facing downwards. Ridges that follow the curvature of the blade may suggest that this area was burnished but the bloom distorts any conclusive claim. The end is squared and appears to have been slightly beveled on its top. The lack of a point suggests that this implement was designed for use in slashing motions not stabbing. There are no signs of wear on the blade area.

Typology

In order to place the sword in some kind of context we must first look at other examples from the ancient world to infer how it was used and any cultural significance it might have had. Bonnet notes, quite rightly, that the term 'sickle-shape' sword is inappropriate as the blade is on the convex side whereas a sickle has its blade on the concave side.[2] There are three examples from the Royal Tombs at Byblos. It should be noted that these tombs are notoriously problematic in terms of dating. All three examples are around 56cm long and bear some minor relief decoration. They differ in that they possess a tang to fix into a wooden handle and they have the earlier "crook-blade."[3] All three burials date, awkwardly, to the later part of the Middle Bronze Age I period (2000-1850 BCE). The tanged design must be a precursor to the sword being cast in one entire piece. The overall shape of these earlier swords is about one third of the piece which is composed of the hooked blade. There is an extremely long forte in comparison with the examples from the latter period. Interestingly, example no. 654, from Tomb III at Byblos, is cast entirely of bronze but retains fragments of gold along its surface[4]; surely this was more of a funerary article than a fighting weapon. Another example comes from the site of Shechem but has no context. This example is slightly shorter (45.2 cm long) but does bear a similar form to the MBA I examples from Byblos. When these examples are compared to the Abydos example, located in the Oriental Institute,[5] it is clear that these swords

are the precursors to our artifact in the University of Liverpool collection.

The latter forms of the *khepesh* sword underwent a dramatic change. The blade becomes elongated and now makes up half of the weapon. The sword is cast in one piece. All known examples have these ridges in the handle to accommodate the inlay for the grip. One of the examples from Tutankhamun's tomb had evidence of ivory still in this recess and possesses a more barbed point folding back onto the concaved area.[6] This is the best preserved example known to researchers at this time. When compared to examples from Gezer (Tomb 30)[7] and Ugarit (both are from 13th century contexts),[8] it is clear that these examples are the latter form of the "crooked" examples.

A later example comes from an unknown context but bears a very similar form to the Liverpool example even though it comes from Iraq. This sword is located at the Boston Metropolitan Museum of Art (cat. no.# II.166.I [472]). The level of preservation on this example is remarkable. It is 53.4 cm long and was cast in solid bronze. Like the Liverpool example it has a recess at the handle that is missing its inlay. The handle is slightly curved downwards from the spine. The pommel has a straight top while the concave side has a 'flanged'/'hooked' end to prevent slippage during use. The blade is on the convex side of the curved area and shows no signs of wear. The spine bears an inscription in cuneiform that identifies it as belonging to Adad-nirari I (1307/5-1275/3 BCE).[9] It bears a striking resemblance to the Liverpool example in shape making the initial estimate of its date (1300 BCE) reasonable. However, this example has a more rounded tip. The overall impression we observe from this example is that it was an artifact of symbolic significance.

The presence of these types of swords in the hands of kings and gods has been well-noted throughout the ancient world. The pylons at Karnak display the god Amun handing this type of sword to Seti I and to Ramesses III.[10] The swords in these examples are rather delicate like the physical examples. The handle is always remarkably thin in Amun's hand but it displays a pommel that is flared on both sides. The hand guard is also curiously represented as having a papyriform shape which can be seen in the Tutankhamun example. A reference to a curved sword in literary texts comes from Papyrus Amherst 2.4 where the thieves describe how they found a king's tomb.[11] What is most telling about this particular phrase is that the word *khepesh* is not written with an assumed curved sword figure, but rather a god sign: a falcon perched on top of a standard. Obviously this weapon communicated a symbolic meaning to all those who saw/bore it.[12] This type of sword obviously held some deep meaning connected to higher status that was understandable over a wide geographic area.

Conclusions

The overall composition of the *khepesh*-sword at the University of Liverpool Museum does not represent an actual fighting weapon. The delicate handle does not appear as robust as one would expect from a weapon. Since all known examples come from burials, this item most likely came from one. The most telling feature that these weapons were not actually used is that the corpus of curved swords (including the Liverpool example) do not show any signs of wear at all. Its determinative, in Papyrus Amherst, is a Horus-falcon on top of a standard, not a *khepesh* sword in form. This, added to the fact that it is in the hands of divine personages, we can safely assume that these swords served a spiritual/symbolic nature rather than a utilitarian one.[13]

NOTES

[1] The sword's museum index card does not state a provenance. It mentions only that it was cleaned by electrolysis in the Manchester Museum in 1958. The sword was also treated by the North-West Museum Service in January 1975.

[2] H. Bonnet, *Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients* (Leipzig, 1926), 85.

[3] G. Philip, *Metal Weapons of the Early and Middle Bronze Ages in Syria-Palestine* (BAR International Series 526, Volume 1; Oxford, 1989), 143.

[4] Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands: In Light of Archaeological Discovery*, (Volume 2; New York and London, 1963), 473.

[5] *A Guide To The Oriental Institute Museum* (The Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago, 1982).

[6] 40 cm long, hilt inlaid with ivory; H. Carter, *Tut-ench-Amun*, Leipzig, 1934, Taf. 43, B.

[7] Bronze, 50 cm long, *Istanbul Museum*; R. A. S. Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer* III, London, 1912, Pl. LXXV, 16.

[8] Bronze, 58 cm long; C. F. A. Schaeffer, "Fouilles de Ras-Shamra, 7e campagne, Rapport sommaire," *Syria* 17 (1936): pl. XVIII, 2.

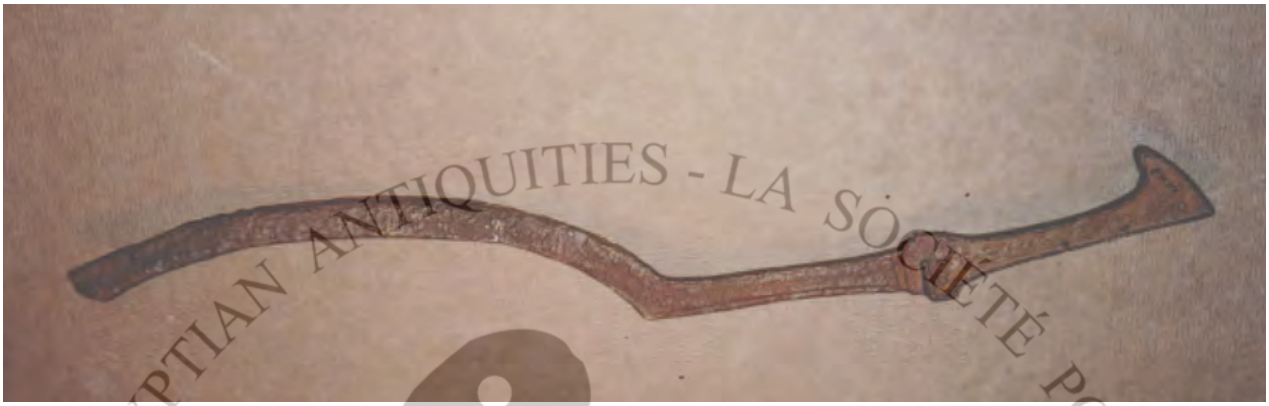
[9] O. W. Muscarella, *Bronze and Iron: Ancient Near Eastern Artifacts in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1988), 340-1.

[10] The Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I* (The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1986) = Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak, 4, pl. 17a.

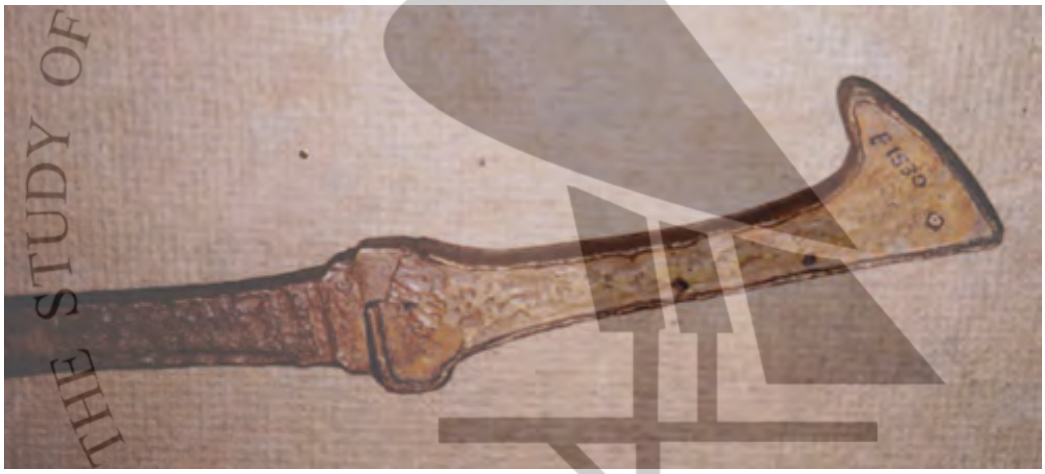
[11] P.E. Newberry, *The Amherst papyri, being an account of the Egyptian papyri in the collection of the Right Hon. Lord Amherst of Hackney, F.S.A., at Didlington Hall, Norfolk* (London, 1899).

[12] The anomaly in asserting whether these swords were used only in grave goods comes from the Medinat Habu wall scenes. The preparation and the outset of the march to meet the Sea Peoples definitely show minor soldiers carrying these weapons. They may have been included in the scenes as a symbolic justification of the power and authority the pharaoh had. However, this aspect of this weapon goes well beyond this paper's intention. I plan to address this question in a further article.

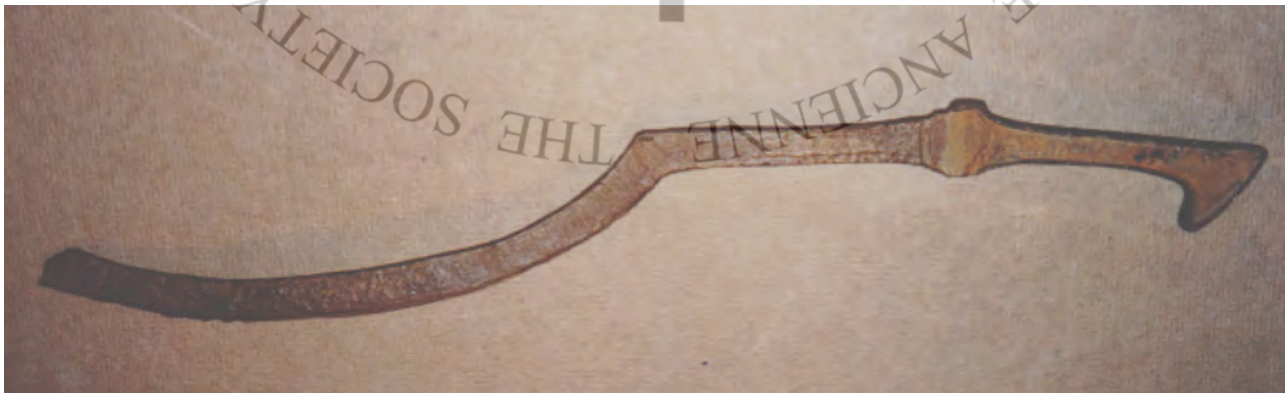
[13] I would like to thank Pat Sweetingham and Steven Snape for allowing me to observe the sword and take photographs of it during December 2003.



Photograph 88



Photograph 87



Photograph 86

BOOK REVIEWS

K. A. GRZYMSKI. *Meroe Reports* I. SSEA Publications 17. Mississauga: Benben Publications, 2003. Pp. vii + 96, figs. 43, pls. 26.

Reviewed by Jacke Phillips.

It is good to see a new excavation report on the site of Meroë appear. Despite the number and range of excavations that have already been conducted there, the site still remains woefully under-reported. Here, the results of three short fieldwork seasons and preliminary museum and library research in 2000-2001 are presented.

The fieldwork consists of some reconnoitering and surface clearance, re-investigating architectural details of the Amun Temple (M260) and its forecourt (M271) and two further buildings (M294-295) within the so-called 'Royal City' behind it; together with the excavation of a mound (M712) some 120 m in front of the temple. An appendix by C. S. Churcher (pp. 49-50) identifies some animal bones brought back to Canada from the M712 excavations, while another consists of P. Shinnie's rough field notes of his 1983-1984 investigation of the Amun Temple (pp. 25-31). Additional research comprises a basic list of objects from Garstang's 1909-1914 excavations now held in the National Museum, Khartoum, and the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, by registration number (pp. 77-84; other such published lists are also cited), and an investigation into the various means of determining the possible population size of the site in Meroitic times (pp. 85-90). The last is a return to the question for Grzymski, who made a less wide-ranging determination a quarter-century ago; whilst no firm conclusions are reached even now, the range of estimates determined by these means underlines the problems involved in tackling the question.

Other library work consists of examining previous publications of the buildings investigated and commenting on differences and discrepancies between these reports, and against the present appearance and details of the site itself. It should be noted that not all inconsistencies described here had been investigated on site for the present volume, but such are so noted in the text. Inconsistencies that were investigated are described in some detail (pp. 5-21), and have been incorporated into a new plan of the Amun Temple (figs. 1-2) without, however, any indication on the plan of the corrections made or new details uncovered. Whilst inconsistencies in buildings M294-295 are also described (pp. 51-53), a new plan of this area is not included in the present volume. Presumably these omissions will appear in due course.

The remaining text reports on the excavation of mound M712, where some five levels/phases of habitation were exposed below a topmost 'modern' overlay, but the text is 'limited to the description of the contexts of the excavated square' (p. 34) and correlation, where possible, to Shinnie and Bradley's habitation 'components' elsewhere at Meroë. All levels are Late Meroitic, as no Post-Meroitic material was found (p. 35), but Grzymski concludes a gradual decline of Meroë began as early as 250 AD (p. 42). A description of each level ensues, together with a list of contexts, but only 'hard' features such as walls are indicated on the phase plans and not all contexts on the two illustrated sections are identified on the plans (figs. 14-20). Inclusion of fill, hearth and other context identifications, or at least an overall Harris matrix, would have been helpful in following the text

description, as would have been some context numbering on the photographs.

It is good (and all too rare) to see the ceramics illustrated both typologically and contextually. Whilst this incurs repetition within the illustrations, it aids the reader to see the range of form types as well as the range of contemporary forms at the same levels. However, it is unfortunate that many of the sherds are not shown in full profile (e.g., fig. 38); use of a drawing comb and diameter chart would easily identify the required diameter for full illustration. But calculating vessel 'rim percentages' is surely a redundant exercise here. This is especially true for 'egg-shell ware' (p. 65), where the different diameters and wide variety of painted, slipped, and stamped decoration on the 119 vessel fragments recovered would negate any point in quoting 'total' rim percentages 'indicating' a stated minimum of 11 'egg-shell ware' vessels. A reference or two to Adams' Meroitic ceramic typology (*Ceramic Industries of Medieval Nubia*, 1986) also would not have been amiss, even if a negative correlation, since this still remains the basic and most accessible typology for the period in all but specialist libraries. One also notes that the one reference cited in Churcher's appendix on the animal remains (p. 49) is missing from the bibliography (Carter and Folley 1980, "A report on the fauna from excavations at Meroe 1967-72," in P. Shinnie and R. Bradley, *The Capital of Kush I* [*Meroitica* 4], 298-312)**.**

Whilst undoubtedly contributing to our understanding of the site of Meroë, one cannot help but consider how much better and how much more informative this volume could have been had just a little more time and effort been taken to complete it properly. Whilst prompt publication is commendable, and far too rare a commodity, too hurried results such as these fall far short of the ideal.

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R. La Guardia. *Achille Vogliano e I Civici dei Documenti nell'Archivio delle Raccolte Archeologiche di Milano*. Biblioteca archeologica. Settore cultura e spettacolo. Edizioni Et: Milan, 1996. Pp. 90.

Reviewed by Eugene Cruz-Uribe.

This small volume represents a useful catalogue of the archives of the archaeological library in Milan. The contents of this archive derive from the work of A. Vogliano and his work with the Italian Mission to Egypt during the 1930s. Thus the excavations of Medinet Madi and Tebtynis in the Fayum were the main focus of the work of Vogliano. This catalogue includes an extensive description of the development of the archive, reflections on the excavations, and the correspondence from Vogliano concerning the work. This section of the volume was compiled by F. Tiradritti.

The next section of the catalogue gives a short bibliography of relevant material and a catalogue listing of all of the material available in the archive listed by the date on which it was produced as well as a short description of the contents. The material accessioned by the archive dates from 1933 until 1952. To liven up the manuscript a dozen black and white photographs of the excavations in the Fayum at Medinet Madi are provided. While some of the photographs have been

published previously, several scenes of workmen and the Italian dig house are new.

With the resumption of excavations in that area of the Fayum, having access to catalogued archives of materials is of the utmost importance for modern excavators. This catalogue will be useful for both students and excavators by providing significant background materials.

Northern Arizona University

Richard B. PARKINSON. *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt. A Dark Side to Perfection.* Athlone Publications in Egyptology and Ancient Near Eastern Studies. New York: Continuum, 2002. Pp. xxii + 393. 123.95$USD.

Reviewed by B. Ouellet.

Dans son introduction, Parkinson signale que ce livre est un complément pragmatique aux anthologies de textes déjà publiées sur la littérature du Moyen Empire et s'inscrit en dehors de toutes écoles d'interprétation. Son ouvrage se divise en trois parties. Dans la première (chap. 1-2), l'auteur effectue un survol des différentes approches du littéraire alors que dans la seconde (chap. 3-7), il délimite les concepts de texte et d'intertexte pour finalement, dans la troisième (chap. 8-11), s'intéresser à l'analyse succincte de certains textes selon le genre.

Parkinson propose d'abord des «stratégies» de lecture pour compenser la distance interprétative de la littérature pharaonique et nous. Après avoir dressé un portrait succinct de l'histoire du Moyen Empire, il remarque que peu de spécialistes proposent une critique littéraire de la littérature classique de cette époque (chap., 1.1). Malgré tout, une brève histoire des études qui y ont été consacrées met en évidence les problèmes les plus fondamentaux soulevés par l'autorité d'un texte, sa datation et ses rapports entre l'historicité et la culture, etc. (chap., 1.2). Une mise en garde s'impose pourtant contre une approche paraphrastique et une critique textuelle trop formelle (chap., 1.3). L'auteur retient toutefois trois grandes théories d'approches méthodologiques (chap., 1.4): celle qui, principalement influencée par Assmann, Loprieno et Moers, considère le texte comme une somme de rapports entre la fictionalité, l'intextualité et la réception qui interagissent dans un processus d'acculturation. La seconde, qui réduit sensiblement le degré d'abstraction du discours, continue la tradition philologique de Posener avec Parant, Blumenthal et Fischer-Elfert, tout en se souciant de la structure du discours et du genre littéraire. Enfin, la troisième approche, avec comme représentant Baines, allie les préoccupations des deux précédentes en favorisant l'aspect original et esthétique de chaque discours en y ajoutant une analyse où la forme et le contexte doivent être considérés. Parkinson, quant à lui, préfère reconstruire et re-contextualiser le discours dans son système de valeurs culturelles à l'aide d'une intropathie qu'il définit comme un dialogue avec le texte (p. 20-21). La définition de la littérature, du genre et le rôle de l'interprétation sont au centre de sa réflexion. Le caractère littéraire d'une œuvre s'exprime à travers un amalgame de caractéristiques différemment appréciées avec le temps, et relevant d'un texte, d'un contexte et d'un milieu de vie souvent fragmentaires (chap., 2.3). Conscient de la possible multivalence d'un texte, Parkinson inscrit donc sa démarche dans un «nouvel historicisme» où s'allie le souci de la «fusion des horizons» de l'herméneutique gadamérienne et la critique socioculturelle. Jusqu'à tout

récemment, l'égyptologie était plus préoccupée d'histoire sociopolitique que de questionnement d'ordre herméneutique (chap., 2.4).

La deuxième partie s'intéresse principalement à la notion de texte et d'intertexte. Le corpus du Moyen Empire, dont les plus anciens manuscrits remontent à la XII^e^ dyn., soulève de nombreuses questions relatives à leur datation. L'étude de la paléographie, de l'orthographe, des allusions historiques, de l'intertextualité, des citations, des caractéristiques linguistiques ou encore des formes littéraires éclairent l'herméneute dans l'identification d'un milieu de rédaction plus précis (3.1). La documentation écrite est pour la civilisation égyptienne le support le plus fiable pour transmettre et conserver sa tradition ancestrale, sa sagesse et sa mémoire culturelle (chap., 3.2). En remettant les textes dans leur réalité intertextuelle on saisit les interactions entre les formes, les genres et les types de discours (chap., 3.3). Le sort et l'évolution des écrits littéraires ne sont pas sans liens avec l'habile performativité de chacun des discours (chap., 4). Cette littérature s'intéresse principalement aux aspects socioéthiques de la vie d'un individu évoluant au sein d'une collectivité. Pour Parkinson, le décorum littéraire se présente tel qu'«un visage caché de la perfection», *c.-à-d.* comme la remise en question des discours normatifs, une sorte de médiation multivalente qui plaît à l'élite de cette époque (chap., 5). Bien qu'une théorie sur la structuration des discours soit à ce jour inexistante, l'analyse des éléments qui rendent cette littérature efficace, s'effectue à travers l'étude de sa rhétorique, de sa stylistique ainsi que de sa poétique tout en tenant compte de l'idéologie maâtienne (chap., 6). Cela dit, l'auteur accorde deux origines aux thématiques en usage dans la littérature de cette période: celle de la «haute culture» — soucieuse du décorum et possédant des connaissances plus approfondies, voire «ésotériques» dans le domaine religieux par exemple, et celle de la «basse culture» — moins protocolaire, mais empreinte d'oralité qui véhicule plutôt des rudiments et un langage séculier (chap., 7). Cette distinction favorise d'ailleurs une perception dichotomique des traditions orale et écrite.

Dans la troisième partie, Parkinson présente succinctement les textes les plus significatifs de la tradition littéraire du Moyen Empire, regroupés selon leur genre: les contes (*Sinouhé*, le *Paysan éloquent*…, chap., 8), les discours et les dialogues (*Neferty, Khakheperrêsoneb, Ipouwer*…, chap., 9) ainsi que les enseignements (*Amenemhat, Merykarê, Ptahhotep*…, chap., 10). C'est avec une grande aisance que l'auteur nous entretient de ces discours. Il ravit ainsi le lecteur qui peut apprécier les extraits les plus représentatifs des œuvres auxquelles s'ajoutent au passage d'intéressantes explications discutant tantôt de l'aspect rhétorique et tantôt l'imagerie des thèmes employés. Malgré tout, le parcours herméneutique de Parkinson laisse perplexe quant aux idées engagées dans ses commentaires qui apparaissent ici et là aléatoirement sans qu'aucune explication ne vienne les étayer dans le domaine de la méthodologie.

Deux appendices complètent l'étude. Le premier présente le corpus des textes littéraires présumés du Moyen Empire (p. 293-321). Quelques textes non publiés comme ceux d'el-Lahun (Pap. UCL 32150A, etc.) sont ajoutés ainsi que d'autres, en raison d'un style archaïsant comme *L'enseignement de Ptahhotep*. Ces textes y sont présentés selon leur genre qu'il s'agit de contes, de discours, de dialogues, ou encore de textes sapientiaux, d'enseignements ou comportant des genres mixtes. Quelquefois, on retrouve une citation de l'œuvre originale, une très brève mention de sa provenance, sa datation et son contenu. Suivent un aperçu bibliographique des traductions et une liste succincte des études pour chacun. Ces informations ne sont pas nécessairement présentées systématiquement et on aurait souhaité qu'y figure aussi la mention de l'état et du lieu de

conservation des documents. Le deuxième appendice concerne le fameux ouvrage scolaire, *Kemit*, dont l'auteur discute la portée, mais sans plus. Une bibliographie fort intéressante suit agrémentée de titres d'ouvrages sur le problème herméneutique auxquels il aurait fallu ajouter des classiques français comme Ricoeur ou Geninasca pour une réflexion intéressante en ce qui concerne l'écart entre l'historicité et la fiction (*cf. La mémoire, l'histoire, l'oubli* (2000), *Du texte à l'action – II* (1986); *Temps et récit* – t. 1-3 (1985-83)).

Cela dit, l'approche herméneutique proposée par l'auteur repose sur un aspect socioéthique qui fait fi d'une herméneutique globalisante. On ne saurait réduire le discours de ces textes aux seuls phénomènes des représentations historiques pour reconstruire le monde du texte. La fictivité tout comme la poétique, par exemple, ne sont que partiellement réductibles et doivent être reconsidérées à l'intérieur d'une tension phénoménologique et ontologique. Le processus herméneutique auquel convie «la fusion des horizons» gadamérienne ne procure que le moment d'une réalité interprétative déterminé par la limite de l'herméneute. Parkinson a décidé momentanément de refermer le cercle herméneutique en suspendant l'autovérification des significations, *c.-à-d.* mettant un terme à sa quête heuristique du monde du texte. En agissant de la sorte, il opte pour une interprétation tendancieuse des textes en opposant une pseudo-véracité historique à la fiction littéraire au risque de leurrer ses lecteurs dans un raisonnement souvent dualiste qui diffère d'une personne à l'autre. Et pour cause, car le concept de fiction ici a un caractère ambigu puisqu'il est employé de manière synonymique avec la notion de fausseté et d'imagination. La littérature de cette époque est davantage le résultat d'une dialectique entre la perspective de la réalité du bien-être d'un individu aux prises avec la conception d'un idéal véhiculé par la collectivité où il évolue.

Malgré cet aspect discutable d'ordre herméneutique, ce livre qui rend compte de la dynamique cachée derrière la littérature égyptienne du Moyen Empire, deviendra certainement un classique. Comme l'écrit si bien Parkinson:

> "Like other forms of discourse, literature is a complex phenomenon and not the result of a single textual impetus, nor can it be circumscribed with a single panhistorical explanation." (2002, p. 63)

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DONALD B. REDFORD. *From Slave to Pharaoh. The Black Experience of Ancient Egypt.* Baltimore/London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004. Pp. x + 218, figs. 38, maps 4. US$ 44.95.

Reviewed by Jacke Phillips.

As the author states at the beginning of his preface, "The present work is not a history of Nubia and the Sudan in antiquity, still less a history of Egypto-Nubian relations up to the seventh century B.C." Whist entirely a truthful statement, it is rather more difficult to state exactly what the

"present work" *is*. The title would suggest something of interest to Afro-centrists, and indeed the earlier chapters present this impression whilst allowing, as the author states later in the preface, "the Egyptian texts to speak for themselves" which is "the first thing we ought to do." The entire volume uses this approach, although it divides itself neatly into two halves of entirely different character, which are dictated by the nature of the Egyptian texts available at different times.

The later chapters, which deal with the later 19th Dynasty onward, are almost entirely a political history of Egypt of the period after Ramesses II to 671 BC. During this time, the Kushite state emerged from (to us) almost total obscurity, conquered a willing Upper and unwilling Lower Egypt to become what is known as Egypt's 25th Dynasty, and then lost it rather dramatically to Assyria. Thus this is, in one sense, exactly what it states on the cover. Yet, in another, the book's title is somewhat misleading, since one strongly suspects it was specifically designed to sell what might be considered by some to be a dry litany of historical events. One also surmises that the over-use of exclamation marks throughout the text and endnotes was intended in part to dispel this notion, but it is merely an irritation.

This is not a criticism of this half of the text itself, which is most assuredly *not* a dry litany, but rather Redford's customary insightful commentary of the intricate moves and counter-moves of the various dramatis personae of the times both in Egypt and its neighbouring states. He delves deeply into the implications behind the surviving contemporary records of events, which were of course not designed to elucidate events for modern historians but to bolster the propaganda of those telling the tale. The Egyptian record of the Battle of Kadesh famously presented an Egyptian victory that modern historians accepted without question until Hittite records revealed an altogether different, and far less vainglorious, story. Redford uses this as a warning not to take such records at face value and employs his considerable skills in analysing what is said – as well as what is not said – in the texts themselves in order to comprehend events as they unfold from text to text. Whilst he presents what can only be described as a 'bird's eye view' of Egyptian history over more than half a millennium, he nonetheless proffers a sense of each historical protagonist's strengths and weaknesses, character traits and flaws, which affected the course of that history. Interweaving the various threads of available evidence – part historical overview, part psychological character assessment, part archaeological commentary, and part literary dissection – the majority of this volume can only deepen our understanding of the complicated fall, rise, and ultimate tumble, of post-New Kingdom Egypt under those who sincerely believed they were the legitimate inheritors of Ramesses II's legacy.

The earlier chapters, dealing with the time of Ramesses II and earlier, are less successful. Redford's careful insights so clearly evident in the second half are not so abundant here, where most available texts are more personal and off-hand, often less vainglorious in nature. Whilst many such texts follow the 'official' view, summed up in the common propagandistic pejorative use of the adjective 'wretched' or 'vile' to describe Kush, Redford makes little of the other side of the coin, wherein those Nubians who became 'egyptianised' were little distinguished from the Egyptians themselves. Many Egyptians also served southern (Nubian) rulers rather than their own and, during the New Kingdom, Egypt's hold over Nubia was not as all-encompassing as the texts themselves (and Redford as well) indicate. Such statements as "…everywhere in the south as far as Hagar el-Merwa the Egyptian empire was supreme" (p. 37) cannot stand up to archaeological scrutiny. Over

the past couple of decades through successive surveys in regions south of the 3rd Cataract, so little evidence of a New Kingdom Egyptian presence can be found beyond the immediate Cataract areas and certain enclaves, and even less indication of an 'egyptianisation' in the rest of the indigenous population, that we must conclude Egyptians rarely if ever ventured there. A similar pattern can be seen in the Middle Kingdom, where the Egyptian presence is almost entirely confined to the forts they constructed. This first half of Redford's volume needs to be viewed in the light of these conclusions,[1] much of which is summarised and discussed by Stuart Tyson Smith.[2]

These points aside, the earlier chapters also make an interesting read and serve well as an introduction to the later chapters. Although not a cohesive product, Redford's volume is an important addition to the literature of Egypt's ancient history.

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Notes

1. S.T. Smith, The University of California Dongola Reach Expedition, West Bank Reconnaisance Survey, *Kush* 18 (1997-1998), 157-72; D. Welsby, *Life on the Desert Edge. Seven thousand Years of Settlement in the Northern Dongola Reach, Sudan* (London, 2001); B.T. Zurawski, *Southern Dongola Reach Survey* I. *Survey and Excavations between Old Dongola and Ez-Zuma* (Warsaw, 2003). Survey areas upstream of the 4th Cataract mostly are as yet unpublished but apparently have had similar results.

2. S.T. Smith, *Wretched Kush. Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire* (London, 2003).

Patricia Spencer. *Amara West* II: *The Cemetery and the Pottery Corpus.* London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 2002. Excavation Memoir 69, edited by Anthony Leahy. Pp. 39, 57 b&w pls., 4 colour pls.

Reviewed by Sabrina Rampersad.

This slim volume is the second of a series of intended works on the Egypt Exploration Society's excavations at Amara West from 1938 to 1950. Spencer has undertaken the challenging task of examining the old excavation results compiled by Fairman, Shinnie, and others more than fifty years ago, for the purpose of producing a more complete publication of the site. As such, many problems can be envisioned in this kind of undertaking, but Spencer's clarity in identifying and describing the shortcomings of the original field records gives readers a good sense of the limitations of the data. Once these are properly understood then it is possible to gauge the value of the Amara West site record. This writer appreciated the fact that the field notes and diaries left by the investigators in the past were annotated at the beginning of the book and quoted liberally throughout

the text. Some of the original pottery drawings are even reproduced on two pages (pls. 56 and 57).

Chapter one, in eleven pages of text and seventeen plates, deals with the corpus of thirty tombs and burials investigated in 1938-39. Although the excavators examined a number of graves at Amara West, no detailed accounts have, until now, been published of their findings. The amount of detail given about each burial varies greatly depending on the completeness of the original field records; however, the combined evidence creates a good general impression of the character of both Napatan and X-Group burial practice at Amara West. The surviving evidence is described textually and graphically in three categories: (1) the graves or tombs themselves; (2) the skeleton(s) inside the graves; and (3) objects interred with the deceased. The categorisation and listing of items found in the burials, insofar as they are known, is efficient and informative. Although it is unfortunate that half of the tombs (fifteen of the thirty) were not described by the excavators, it is to Spencer's credit that these are listed at all in her text. In a work of this nature, knowledge of any missing information is just as important for the reader's understanding of the site as is the available evidence.

Perhaps the most important contribution of this new analysis of the burials is the proper dating of some of the so-called "New Kingdom" tombs to the Napatan period. This was helped by a comparative examination of "strikingly similar" tombs (p. 3) found at Abri, just south of Amara West. The Abri tombs, investigated by the CNRS team in 1972-3, have been dated securely to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.[1] Given a new Napatan date for the main tombs at Amara West, it now seems apparent that the funerary evidence reflects only the post-Egyptian stages of occupation. The Egyptian operation of the fortress in Ramesside times appears to have left no burials behind. It is speculated (p. 3) that the Egyptian officials, who likely formed the bulk of the population at that time, had their remains interred in Egypt rather than in Nubia. Alternatively, as Fairman initially suggested in an unpublished diary, any New Kingdom burial grounds may have been obliterated by the re-use of tombs in the Napatan period. I would add the possibility that New Kingdom burials, if not an entire cemetery, may yet await discovery at Amara West. So little of the known burial places, as we learn in this volume, has been touched by excavation.

Chapter two, in twenty-seven pages of text and forty-three plates, deals with the pottery from two of the four field seasons (1938-39 and 1947-48), a situation resulting from the difficulties in locating all of the ceramic remains excavated so long ago. Spencer seems hopeful, however, that in time more ceramic material will be found for eventual publication. While the cemetery data reflect the Nubian characteristics of Amara West, the ceramics, by contrast, reflect primarily the Egyptian presence. The typing of the Egyptian wares into seventeen classes must surely be considered preliminary, with room for growth in the numbers of items for each type as well as in the number of types known. Most types are consistent with the domestic nature of the site, with bowls and dishes forming a large part of the assemblage. The cross referencing of the seventeen types with Aston's corpus of wares is, of course, splendid, eliminating the need for a separate typology for this site, and allowing for the proper placement of the wares within their occupational sequence at the site. Hampered by an inadequately provenanced field record, this cross referencing was undoubtedly the ideal solution for dating available ceramic material from the late Twentieth Dynasty.

Much room, however, is left for the future work of typing the less abundant Nubian wares. This was not attempted either in the past or in the present, and indeed may not yet be possible, given the comparative paucity of known or rediscovered Nubian material. But a good start is made toward

a typology in the grouping of the Nubian pottery by time period, e.g., Neolithic, Old Kerma, etc. The lists of Nubian wares dating back to the Neolithic period forces the realization that much remains to be learned about the total occupation of Amara West, particularly the pre-Ramesside phases of habitation, which so far have received no proper study. Undoubtedly the site still holds vast potential for the future field investigator interested in its Nubian history and prehistory.

In a more long term and ideal analysis of the ceramic corpus, it would be most desirable to know the relative proportions of Egyptian and Nubian wares at this site, as a means of extrapolating more exact information about the populations inhabiting the site throughout its various stages of occupation. So too might the relative quantification of the ceramic corpus lead to more varied statistical analyses of the entire pottery assemblage.

As a final note, I would add that both the photographs and the drawings presented in the text are of excellent quality, with the four colour plates at the end providing some needed insight on the Nubian pottery. As for the scholarly value of this work, there can be no doubt that it has made available for general readership important information that might otherwise have remained hidden away in archives indefinitely. The site of Amara West, with its diversified assemblage of fortress/town, temple, and cemeteries, is a valuable archaeological resource that must continue to be properly documented for the benefit of both disciplines of Egyptology and Nubiology. This writer looks forward to seeing the remainder of the published record for this site.

University of Toronto

Notes

1. A. Vila, *La Prospection archéologique de la vallée du Nil, au sud de la cataracte de Dal (Nubie Soudanaise),* fascs. 7, 8, and 12. Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique: Paris, 1977-1980.