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- 3- Please do not employ multiple typeface styles or sizes.
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- 5- Please use parentheses () and not square brackets.
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- 8- The numbers of dynasties must be spelled out, e.g. ‘Eighteenth Dynasty’ and not ‘18th Dynasty’ or ‘Dynasty 18’. Similarly, numbers of centuries should be spelled out, e.g. ‘fifth century BCE’, ‘second century CE’. BCE and CE should be in capitals.

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- 3- No capital letter is given to the article (al) but the word it determines, except at the beginning of a sentence where the article also must have a capital letter: *Al-Gabarti*.
- 4- Arabic diacritics are not transcribed: *laylat al qadr* and not *laylatu l-qadri*.
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- Accepted forms of standard reference works may also be applied. Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, should be cited as PM (not italicized).

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- Cite subsequently as Ray, *JEA* 85, 190.

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- Cite subsequently as Mathieson, in Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports VI*, 218-220.

A.B. Lloyd, "The Late Period, 664-323 BC" in B.G. Trigger, B.J. Kemp, D. O'Connor and A.B. Lloyd, *Ancient Egypt. A Social History* (Cambridge, 1983), 279-346.

- Cite subsequently as Lloyd, in Trigger, *et al.*, *Ancient Egypt. A Social History*, 279-346.

Monographs

E. Strouhal, *Life in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1992), 35-38.

- Cite subsequently as Strouhal, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 35-38.

D.M. Bailey, *Excavations at el-Ashmunein, V. Pottery, Lamps and Glass of the Late Roman and Early Arab periods* (London, 1998), 140.

- Cite subsequently as Bailey, *Excavations at el-Ashmunein*, V. 140.

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W.M.F. Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities, BSAE* 12 (London, 1906), 37, pl.38.A, no.26.

- Cite subsequently as Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, 37, pl. 38.A, no. 26.

Dissertations

Josef W. Wegner, *The Mortuary Complex of Senwosret III: A Study of Middle Kingdom State Activity and the Cult of Osiris at Abydos* (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1996), 45-55.

- Cite subsequently as Wegner, *The Mortuary Complex of Senwosret III*, 45-55.

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Introduction

Abgadiyat is a peer reviewed journal issued by the BA Center for Calligraphy Studies. It is dedicated to publishing the recent outcome of the documentation, study, research, conservation, and interpretation of writings. The journal is concerned with the study of the evolution, appearance, and dissemination of ancient, as well as modern, scripts throughout the world. *Abgadiyat* also focuses on paleographic, calligraphic, and epigraphic studies.

Abgadiyat works toward achieving the most important goals of the Center for Calligraphy Studies, which include increasing the number of rare specialists among writings and inscriptions that need to be studied and spreading awareness of writings and inscriptions among non-specialists.

This issue, specifically, is considered to be one of the most important issues ever published. The research topics are very diverse.

One of the goals of the Bibliotheca Alexandrina is to encourage and support young researchers in all research and practical fields. Thus, the journal has received research investigations from a number of young researchers after the approval of the peer review, where their papers included research from the linguistic, historical, and artistic perspectives, leading to a balance in all the axes of practical research.

The ninth issue of *Abgadiyat* overflows with valuable research concerning inscriptions of the ancient Egyptian language, such as “The Battle of Qadesh in Ramesses II’s Memory: A Brief Note” and “Canons of the Lent”. This issue might present a serious, practical study to continue the path the Center for Calligraphy Studies began twelve years ago.

It is worth mentioning that the Center for Calligraphy Studies has updated the official *Abgadiyat* website. Researchers can now upload their articles online. The website is displayed in both Arabic and English. The website also has all the previous issues published by the center.

Prof. Essam Elsaeed
Director, Center for Calligraphy Studies

Battle of Qadesh in Ramesses II's Memory: A Brief Note

معركة قادش في ذاكرة رمسيس الثاني

Amr Omar*

ملخص

أحياناً يتعدى حدث ما حدود الزمان والمكان اللذين وقع فيهما؛ ليستمر حاضراً في ذاكرة الإنسان، لا يغيب عنها بمرور السنوات. وعادة ما ترتبط استمرارية هذا الحدث بأهمية الحدث نفسه، ومدى قوة تأثيره في حياة هذا الإنسان وشخصيته. وهذا الوصف يمكن أن يطلق إلى حد كبير على أحداث معركة "قادش"، وأهميتها لدى الملك "رمسيس الثاني" دون غيرها من أعماله العسكرية الأخرى، والتي حرص على تسجيل أحداثها، كتابةً وتصويراً، على واجهات المعابد الرئيسية في "طيبة" أو في غيرها من المدن المصرية؛ لتكون أحداث تلك المعركة دائماً الماضي الحاضر في الأذهان. كما نُسجت حولها نصوص أدبية تم تداولها بين طبقة الكتبة، في شكل أقرب ما يكون إلى "الملحمة"، التي كان يُتغنى بها في الاحتفالات. وظل صدى تلك الأحداث ماثلاً في الذاكرة، بشكل أو بآخر، حتى فترة متأخرة من حكمه، كما عبّرت عن ذلك النصوص، وهذا ما تحاول هذه الورقة البحثية أن تستعرضه.

Introduction

Albeit less successful,¹ the battle of his fifth regnal year at the gate of Qadesh represents a momentous event that preserved and left behind experiences and memories which Ramesses II scarcely forgot throughout his long life². His own wartime experience was fully documented and briskly incorporated into his massive construction program, which he presumably laid their foundations at least before he marched to Qadesh³. This documentation was, in both textual and iconographic form, decorated on walls of Egypt's major temples at Abydos, Karnak, Luxor, Ramesseum, and Abu Simble. Therefore, it seems very reasonable to suggest that Ramesses II's temples at Memphis and at Pi-Ramesses were perhaps inscribed with senses of this battle as well, if any fully survived.

All these temple versions of battle scenes are complementary⁴ and reflect not what actually happened at Qadesh but Ramesses II's personal perspective of the battle instead. These visual images transferred the battle from the past to be what Ramesses II conceived himself to be in the present: the sole protector of Egypt and its army. Intriguingly, this superb image of the king, which the inscriptions and reliefs of the battle of Qadesh coined, was invariably perpetuated in his later texts that eventually became part of his identity, with some variations in phraseology and iconography⁵. A comprehensive study of these images and phrases unfortunately falls outside the scope of this note, which primarily aims to outline how this significant event was represented in Ramesses II's later texts and its implication.

This legendary figure of Ramesses II and his heroic deeds at the battle were lavishly developed in the form of an 'epical' work,⁶ indented for recitation in royal occasions and festivals.⁷ The preserved hieratic copy of this literary text was incorrectly attributed to the scribe Pentaweret in Egyptology literature,

who was apparently, in the best case, a copyist of one of these versions rather than the text's genuine composer.⁸ Pentaweret's text, according to Anthony Spalinger, was originally transformed from a master version (*Vorlage*), not directly from a temple wall, and was later circulated among wider literate groups in the entire Nile valley throughout the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty at least.⁹

Texts

When Ramesses II looked back at the battle, after signing the peace treaty with Hittites in year twenty-one of his reign, he pictured the Battle of Qadesh and how he brought devastation upon the land of Hatti year upon year with his strong armies.

In the text he immortalized his first Hittite marriage inscription, Ramesses II considered his deeds at the battle of Qadesh a message to remember:

ḥꜥ.n spd.n.f mšꜥ.f tnt-ḥtrj.f

wd.sn r p3 t3 n ḥt

ḥ3k.n.f sw wꜥw ḥr-tp.f ḥft-ḥr mšꜥ.f r-dr.f

jry.f n.f rn nhḥ m-ḥnw.f

nsw-bjt Wsr-m3ꜥt-rꜥ stp.n rꜥ, s3 Rꜥ,

Rꜥ-ms-sw, mry-Jmn, dj-ꜥnh

sh3.sn m nḥtw ḥpš.f

After he (Ramesses II) equipped his army and his chariotry

They (the army) were sent forth to the land of Hatti

He conquered it, entirely on his own, in the presence of his entire army,

so that he made for him(self) an everlasting name within it (army),

(as) King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermare Stepenre,

son of Re, Ramesses, beloved of Amun, given life, so that they (army and Hittite) should remember the triumphs of his strong arm.¹⁰

Another instance occurred on a stela discovered in an Egyptian temple precinct at the site of Beth Shan,¹¹ which shows similar tendency to the phrases used in inscription of the Battle of Qadesh. The stela dates back to the eighteenth regnal year of Ramesses II,¹² and the text runs as follows:

Nhm mšꜥf šdw t-nt-ḥtr:f
iw ḥ3swt nb nšt.ti irr s m tm-wn

“Who rescued his infantry and who saved his chariotry,

“When all the foreign lands were raging, who reduces them (lit. it) to non-existence.”¹³

wn iw:f wꜥw ḥr-tp:f n ky ḥnꜥf

“He was alone, by himself, no-one else was with him.”¹⁴

Interestingly enough, this statement was repeated on one of the official correspondences between Egypt and Hatti. Many years after the battle and after the peace treaty between the two empires was signed, Ramesses II said that he ‘alone’ won the battle of Qadesh and only part of his army with him.¹⁵

One of the major themes in the Battle of Qadesh inscriptions was the heroic role of Ramesses II in defending himself and his army, which echoes invariably in his later texts. For instance,

Bw mnḥ n mšꜥf (m) hrw ḥrwyw

“An effective place for his army on the day of war.”¹⁶

And again, on the inscription of his first Hittite marriage text, which runs as follows:

šdy mšꜥf mk tnt-ḥtrj:f

“The one who saves his army and who defends his chariotry.”¹⁷

Also, on a rhetorical inscription which occurred on an undated stela discovered in Tanis, the King was evoked in the same vein. The inscription reads as follows:

ḥk3 ʕ sbt n mšꜥf

“Great Ruler, a rampart of his army.”¹⁸

This epithet was eventually incorporated into Ramesses II's royal titularies, for instance, the Nbtj-name of Ramesses II was inscribed as:

ḥ3 ḥr ḥpš:f mk mšꜥf

“The one who fights with his sword, the one who protects his army.”¹⁹

More intriguingly, his throne name was written as follows:

mk mšꜥf

“The one who protects his army.”²⁰

The same statement was repeated in Ramesses II's Horus-name, which is partly damaged but Kenneth Kitchen was able to restore it:

...[mk] mšꜥf

“The one who protects his army.”²¹

On the first pillared hall of Ramesses II's temple at Derr, the text reads as follows:

ntr nfr mk mšꜥf

“Perfect god is the one who protects his army.”²²

Outside the temple context, the epithet of the Ramesses II as ‘protector of his army’ occurred again on Pap. Anastasi II, as a part of a hymn to Ramesses II, extolling his military heroism and bravery.

Nb ḥpš mk mšꜥf

“Lord of sword is the one who protects his army.”²³

Remarks

From the abovementioned examples, the echo of the king's memories of the Battle of Qadesh is strongly omnipresent in preserved texts, at least from the mid-second decade of his reign²⁴ onward. These memories occurred in variant contexts and genres (historical, narrative, eulogy), devices (stelae, temple inscriptions, and papyri), and locations (mainly in Egypt but also in Palestine and Nubia).

These texts referred to selected scenes of the battle, notably, the scene of an abrupt disintegration of the Egyptian army, which was deeply engraved in the memory of the young king and didn't remold or fade till the end of his reign. The 'saving the army' situation became part of Ramesses II's identity/ideology as his royal titularies reflect.

Notes

- * I am very much grateful to Professor Fayza Haikal for her valuable discussion, inspiration, and support. My particular thanks go to the BA Calligraphy Center for being far more patient than they should, and *Abgadiyat* anonymous referees for their constructive suggestions. But as always, all mistakes remain mine.
- 1 For a historical survey of Ramesses II after the battle of Qadesh and the significant military achievement he accomplished, cf. D. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times* (Cairo, 1995). 186ff.
 - 2 The bibliography is very extensive, but full publication of this battle can be found in Ch. Kuentz, *La bataille de Qadech : les textes (« Poème de Pentaour » et « Bulletin de Qadech ») et les bas-reliefs*, (Le Caire : Impr. de l'IFAO, 1928); S. Hassan, *Le poème dit de Pentaour et le rapport officiel sur la bataille de Qadesh* (Le Caire : Impr. Nationale, 1929); K. Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions: Historical Bibliographical*, vol. II. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979) 2-147 (henceforth KRI); recently cf. A. Spalinger, 'Divisions in Monumental Texts and Their Images: the Issue of Kadesh and Megiddo.' In: M. Gruber, *et al* (eds.), *All the Wisdom of the East: Studies in Near Eastern Archaeology and History in Honor of Eliezer D. Oren*, (Fribourg, Göttingen, 2012) 373-393, with further bibliography.
 - 3 A. Ophel, 'Lines 98-107 in the Kadesh Poem of Ramesses

II', in: *Pharaonic Egypt: The Bible and Christianity*, edited by S. Israelit-Groll, (Jerusalem, 1985), 146-156, suggested that Ramesses II plausibly referred in these lines of his Battle to Karnak, Luxor, and Ramesseum temples, which were connected to the cult of Amun, where he was already involved in their building projects to a large extent before he left Egypt towards Qadesh.

- 4 J. Baines, 'Contextualizing Egyptian Representations of Society and Ethnicity', in: J. Cooper and G. Schwartz (eds.), *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the Twenty-First Century*, (Winona Lake, 1996), 349, with further reference.
- 5 For instance, Beth-Shan Stela, (*KRI* II, 150-51), first Hittite Marriage inscriptions (*KRI* II, 256-57), Tanis Stelae (*KRI* II, 289-300), and his stelae from Abydos and Abu Simble (*KII* II, 309-22).
- 6 I.S-Grumach, 'Kadesh Inscriptions and Königsnovelle,' in: *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, Cambridge, 3-9 September 1995, edited by C.J. Eyre, (Leuven, 1998), 1072-73.
- 7 This hypothesis was first suggested by Selim Hassan, as part of his introduction to the battle of Qadesh inscription in his book on *Al-Adab al-Misri al-Qadim*, (Ancient Egyptian Literature), part II, (Cairo, 1945), 200ff. All his commentaries on this battle ideally would have been included in his second volume of *Le poème dit de Pentaour et le rapport officiel sur la bataille de Qadesh*, but it remains as a manuscript waiting to be published. On performance of such text and others, cf. Ch. Eyre, 'Practice of literature: The Relationship between Content, Form Audience, and Performance.' In *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Theory and Practice*, Edited by R. Enmarch and V.M. Robson. Oxford, University Press, 2013, 126.
- 8 S. Quirk, 'Archive' in: *Ancient Egyptian Literature, History and Forms*, edited by A. Loprieno, (Leiden, 1996), 379ff; A. Loprieno, 'Literature as Mirror of Social Institutions: The Case of the Eloquent Peasant,' *LingAeg* 8 (2000), 183-98.
- 9 The short version of the battle inscription is found in Pap. Chester Beatty III from Deir el-Medina, cf. A. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Third Series: Chester Beatty*, (London, 1935), 23; J. Janssen 'Literacy and Letters at Deir el-Medina', in: R. Demarée and A. Egberts (eds.), *Village Voices: proceedings of the Symposium "Texts from Deir el-Medina and their interpretation"*, Leiden, May 31-June 1, 1991, (Leiden, 1992), 81-94. Pap. Sallier III (British Museum EA 10181) which was purchased from Saqqara, and its supplement Pap. Raifé (Louvre Museum E 4889), cf.

- A. Spalinger, *The Transformation of an Ancient Egyptian Narrative: P. Sallier III and the Battle of Kadesh*, (Wiesbaden, 2002), 327ff.
- 10 After K. Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Translation*, vol. II, (Oxford, 1996), 29, (henceforth, RITA), with some modifications.
- 11 Tell Beth-Shan or Shean can be transliterated and spelled in a variety of different ways, (or Arabic, Tell el-Husn (Mound of the Fortress), is located on important trade routes in the southern part of al-Galilee region in Palestine. The site was first mentioned explicitly in the topographical list of Thutmose III at Karnak (No. 110 Bt-Sr), cf. Sh. Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents*, (Leiden, 1984), 78-79.
- 12 The stela is now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology 29-107-958, and was first published by A. Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth-Shan: with Details of the Egyptian and Other Inscriptions Found on the Site*. Publications of the Palestine section of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania; 1, (Philadelphia, 1930), 33, and then the historical importance of this text, was studied by J. Černý 'Stela of Ramesses II from Beisan', *Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies*, 5 (1958), 75*-82*.
- 13 *KRI* II, 151, 3-4.
- 14 *KRI* II, 151, 4-5.
- 15 A. Archi, "Egyptian and Hittites in Contact", in: *L'Impero Ramesside, convegno Internazionale in onore di Sergio Donadoni*, (Rome, 1999), 11.
- 16 *KRI* II, 151, 14.
- 17 *KRI* II, 235, 8.
- 18 *KRI*, II, 289, 11-12.
- 19 *KRI* II, 605, 15.
- 20 *KRI* II, 633, 10.
- 21 *KRI* II, 645, 10.
- 22 *KRI* II, 739, 1.
- 23 Pap. Anastasi recto 3,4-5; A. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, (Oxford, 1954), 13, 15.
- 24 Ramesses II was twenty-five years old, cf. K. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II* (Warminster, 1982), 43.