

**THE FUNCTION OF “EMBLEMATIC” SCENES OF THE KING’S  
DOMINATION OF FOREIGN ENEMIES AND NARRATIVE  
BATTLE SCENES IN RAMESSES II’S NUBIAN TEMPLES**

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**Abstract**

The decorative programs of all eight Nubian temples constructed during Ramesses II’s reign include relief-carved representations of the pharaoh dominating foreign enemies. Although these images share a common theme, certain differences in the content of these tableaux and their patterns of distribution within the eight temples suggest that they can be classified as two distinct scene types and that each type has a specific form and function. These scene types are: 1) abbreviated, “emblematic” scenes that lack historical specificity and depict the pharaoh smiting foreign enemies or leading bound captives; and 2) complex narrative battle scenes, many of which can be correlated to real historical events. The primary purpose of the present article is to define the formal characteristics and examine the programmatic patterning of images of conquered foreigners in this selected group of temples. In addition, the significance of these patterns and the function of each scene type will be explained by means of a discussion of the cosmological and cosmographic values the ancient Egyptians accorded to their temples.

**Key Words**

emblematic scene, narrative battle scene, cosmology, cosmography, Beit el-Wali, Abu Simbel, Derr, Wadi el-Sebua, Gerf Hussein, Aksha, Amara West

Over the course of five decades, Ramesses II built eight archaeologically known temples in Nubia. Seven of these temples, Beit el-Wali, the Great and Small Temples of Abu Simbel, Derr, Wadi el-Sebua, Gerf Hussein, and Aksha are located in Lower Nubia; and one temple, Amara West, is located below the Third Cataract in Upper Nubia. All of these temples have decorative programs that include relief-carved depictions of the pharaoh dominating foreign enemies. Despite the fact that these scenes share a common theme, there are notable, if sometimes subtle, differences among these images that suggest that they can be classified as distinct types. This article will demonstrate that the scenes of conquered foreigners in this assembly of Nubian temples can be grouped into two main categories—“emblematic” representations of defeated foreigners and full, narrative battle scenes—each of which exhibit significant formal and functional variations and, consequently, have distinct patterns of inclusion and of distribution within the temple.

The primary purpose of this study is to clearly define the formal characteristics and examine the programmatic patterning of the representations of conquered foreigners in this selected group of temples. That the monuments discussed here form a compact body of data—having been built during a single reign and in a specific region—facilitates this aim. To achieve this end, I will first define the characteristics of “emblematic” and “narrative battle scenes”; and I will briefly describe the occurrence (and, where relevant, the subject matter) of one or both scene types in each of the eight temples. I will then demonstrate that

both scene types follow a consistent patterning; show that this patterning is determined by the function of the temple as a microcosmic representation of both the terrestrial world and the greater cosmos; and demonstrate that scenes in which the king defeats foreigners function as a symbolic and ritual defense of the temple. I also wish to show that the symbolic function of the narrative battle scenes have a “real world” dimension that is evoked by the quotation of historical events and relates to the temples’ function as microcosms of the terrestrial world and as mirrors that equate terrestrial events to the maintenance of order in the larger cosmos.

Among the most important sources cited here is A. J. Spalinger’s 1980 *JEA* article.<sup>1</sup> Although Spalinger is primarily concerned with the dating of the Great Temple at Abu Simbel, he discusses all of the narrative battle scenes in Ramesses II’s Nubian temples. He further suggests that many, if not all, of the battle scenes in these temples can be linked to real historical events—military campaigns initiated by Ramesses II or ones in which he participated as a junior partner with his father, Seti I. Spalinger uses these correlations, among other dating criteria, to establish the sequence in which the temples were built. Other valuable sources include S.C. Heinz’s study of New Kingdom scenes of foreign domination<sup>2</sup> and I. Hein’s overview of the architectural features and chronology of the Nubian temples discussed here.<sup>3</sup>

## I. Defining the Categories

### 1) “*Emblematic*” *Scenes of Defeated Foreigners*

I define “emblematic” scenes here as essentially abbreviated representations of the defeat of foreign enemies as they appear in Ramesses II’s Nubian temples. They contain all of the basic visual elements that convey the notion of the foreigners’ defeat rendered in highly standardized, repetitive, and stereotyped patterns. Emblematic scenes have a relatively simple, uncluttered compositional structure; include a limited number of figures in restricted poses; are populated, with the exception of the foreign victim or victims, by beings of the highest social/cosmological order; and lack historical specificity, a notion reinforced by the placement of the figures in geographically and temporally indistinct settings. These scenes also tend to appear on architectural elements that have relatively small, circumscribed surface areas.

Moreover, these tableaux can be divided into two subtypes—those in which the pharaoh directly interacts with the foreigners in the two-dimensional picture plane, and those in which he does not. The first subtype (**Figure 1**) depicts the pharaoh (sometimes accompanied by his *ka*, a lion, or a queen<sup>4</sup>), usually in the presence of a deity (or deities), expressing dominance by smiting a foreign enemy (or enemies) or pulling a group of bound foreign captives on a leash. The second subtype consists of images of bound foreigners or anthropomorphic foreign name rings, which represent subjugated foreign towns, lands, and peoples (**Figure 2**). The king’s dominance is conveyed vis-à-vis the second subtype by the placement of a large relief-carved figure of the king on a higher register—as though he were standing on the reliefs of foreign entities. Alternately, reliefs of bound foreigners are sometimes used as a decorative element on plinths where the king, in the form of a statue or sphinx, is literally on top of the foreigners (**Figure 3**).

## 2) *Narrative Battle Scenes*

One of the most salient characteristics of narrative battle scenes (and associated presentation scenes)<sup>5</sup> in the Nubian temples of Ramesses II is their high degree of compositional complexity (**Figure 4**). These scenes tend to utilize a relatively large number of figures depicted in a wide range of poses, exhibit a greater freedom in the repertoire and arrangement of pictorial elements, and are populated by a more socially diverse group of people than are the emblematic tableaux. In addition to the invariable presence of the king in narrative battle scenes, the repertoire of personnel consists of any (or all) of the following: the king's sons; elite Egyptian officials; common soldiers (both foreign troops and, frequently, Egyptian soldiers, too); foreign leaders; foreign civilians; and various species of animals (the royal lion being the only animal that appears in both emblematic and narrative battle scenes). Royal women and deities, who are present in emblematic smiting scenes, however, are not pictorially included in narrative battle scenes (although associated texts in narrative battle scenes sometimes evoke the names of gods and equate the king with gods).

Narrative battle scenes are not constrained by the strict compositional rules that govern the more hieratic, stylized emblematic tableaux. Figures in narrative battle tableaux frequently overlap, and foreigners are sometimes shown in severely contorted positions. Moreover, the figures in these scenes convey a greater sense of dynamic movement. In addition, narrative battle scenes often depict specific geographical settings (sometimes explicitly representing a named town) for the action, including foreign villages and towns, natural topographical features, and buildings.

## II. The Nubian Temples of Ramesses II

### 1) *Beit el Wali*

The temple of Beit el-Wali<sup>6</sup> (**Figure 5**) is the northernmost (and one of the earliest) of the Nubian temples. It dates to the beginning of Ramesses II's sole reign or to the end of his co-regency with Seti I and appears to have been built as a commemoration of a Nubian battle that took place during the eighth or thirteenth regnal year of Seti I.<sup>7</sup> The battle scenes are located on the lateral (notional<sup>8</sup> north and south) walls of the entrance hall. In accordance with the real geographic location of the peoples and places represented, scenes involving Nubian enemies are located on the (notional) south wall and northern battles are located on the temple's (notional) north wall. The east half of the south wall depicts Ramesses II charging toward a Nubian village in his chariot and mowing down a tumbling wave of Nubians in the process,<sup>9</sup> while the west half represents the outcome of the event—the presentation of Nubian tribute and prisoners to the king.<sup>10</sup>

The five vignettes on the north wall depict the pharaoh engaged in a chariot charge against the Shasu;<sup>11</sup> attacking an anthropomorphized Syrian fortress while two Syrians fall from its battlements<sup>12</sup> (**Figure 6**); executing a Libyan prisoner, who is being bitten on the buttocks by the king's dog,<sup>13</sup> and two tableaux in which the pharaoh receives bound Asiatic prisoners.<sup>14</sup> Spalinger believes that the Shasu and Libyan scenes may have been based on campaigns conducted by Seti I, but that Ramesses II may have played a part (however small) in the Shasu campaign.<sup>15</sup>

Two emblematic smiting scenes appear on the north and south sides of the (notional) east wall of the second hall, where they flank the doorway leading from the entrance hall to

the vestibule. The king dispatches a Nubian before Amun-Re<sup>16</sup> on the south side of the doorway and a Libyan before Re-Horakhty on the north side.<sup>17</sup>

## 2) *Abu Simbel: Great Temple*

The Great Temple of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel (**Figure 7**) was constructed after the Battle of Qadesh, which took place in Ramesses II's fifth regnal year.<sup>18</sup> The temple was completed early in Ramesses II's reign, dating somewhere between the fifth and tenth regnal years.<sup>19</sup>

The narrative battle scenes appear on the lateral walls of the first hall. The entire surface of the notional north wall is devoted to a large-scale representation of the Battle of Qadesh,<sup>20</sup> which occurred during the king's fifth regnal year. This large, complex tableau is divided into two registers by a line of Egyptian and Hittite charioteers meeting head-on in the middle of the wall, and it includes depictions of the fortified Hittite town of Qadesh, the Orontes River, and the king's camp<sup>21</sup> (**Figure 4**). It is one of several representations of this battle (others are at Abydos, the Ramesseum, and Luxor). The Qadesh battle is the best-documented event in the repertoire of Ramesside battle scenes, and the historicity of this event is beyond question (although the event was more of a stalemate than the ultimately resounding—if hard won—Egyptian victory depicted).

The rest of the narrative battle scenes fill the lower register of the (notional) south wall (the upper register is devoted to offering scenes). These scenes are organized into three tableaux in which the king:

- 1) leads a chariot-charge against a Syrian fortified town while accompanied by three of his sons;<sup>22</sup>
- 2) tramples one Libyan underfoot while he prepares to thrust an arrow into a Libyan chief;<sup>23</sup> and
- 3) drives two rows of bound Nubian prisoners forward while he rides in a chariot, accompanied by his lion and an Egyptian archer.<sup>24</sup>

Spalinger believes that the Syrian and Libyan scenes in Abu Simbel can be correlated to military conflicts that occurred during Seti I's first regnal year, while the Nubian scenes relate to the same Nubian conflict depicted at Beit el-Wali, which Spalinger dates to Seti I's eighth regnal year.<sup>25</sup>

Emblematic tableaux occur on both the exterior and interior of the temple. An exterior emblematic smiting scene appears on the north gateway of the enclosure wall in which the king, accompanied by his *ka* and a lion, kills a group that includes Nubian, Hittite, Syrian, and Aegean enemies in front of Amun<sup>26</sup> (**Figure 8**). Emblematic scenes of foreign prisoners also appear on the temple's façade, where they decorate the lateral (north and south) surfaces of all of the bases of the colossi.<sup>27</sup> The plinths of the two south colossi depict Nubian enemies<sup>28</sup> (**Figure 9**), while bound northerners decorate the lateral surfaces of the bases of the two north colossi<sup>29</sup> (**Figure 10**). A row of bound Nubians and northerners also appears on the exterior east wall of the northern Re-Horakhty chapel. Here, a horizontal register of bound captives is directly underneath two back-to-back scenes in which Amun (south) and Re-Horakhty (north) give the king life and jubilees.<sup>30</sup> Nubians are depicted underneath the south scene,<sup>31</sup> while Asiatics,<sup>32</sup> Hittites,<sup>33</sup> and Libyans<sup>34</sup> are depicted underneath the north scene (**Figure 11**).

Emblematic representations also appear inside the temple, on the (notional) east and

west walls of the first hall. The two east wall scenes are emblematic smiting tableaux that flank the entrance doorway. On the north half of the east wall the king smites Libyans before Re-Horakhty,<sup>35</sup> and on the south half of the east wall, the king kills Nubian captives before Amun-Re.<sup>36</sup> The emblematic scenes on the west wall flank the doorway at the rear of the hall. On the south half of the west wall, in an apparent sequel to the adjacent Nubian scene (on the west quadrant of the south wall), the pharaoh presents two rows of bound Nubian captives to Amun-Re, the deified Ramesses II, and Mut.<sup>37</sup> The corresponding scene on the north half of the west wall appears to be aftermath of the Battle of Qadesh. Here, the king presents two rows of bound Hittite captives to Re-Horakhty, the deified Ramesses II, and Iusas.<sup>38</sup>

### 3) *Abu Simbel: Small Temple*

The Small Temple of Abu Simbel<sup>39</sup> (**Figure 12**), dedicated to Queen Nefertari and Hathor of Ibshek, appears to have been built around the same time (or before) the Great Temple.<sup>40</sup> The temple's decorative program has no narrative battle scenes, but it has two emblematic scenes on the interior of the short (notional) east wall of the first hall, flanking the entrance doorway. On the notional south half of this wall, the king, followed by Nefertari, smites a Nubian before Amun-Re (**Figure 1**).<sup>41</sup> The corresponding scene on the notional north half shows the king, also followed by Nefertari, smiting a Libyan captive before Horus of Maha<sup>42</sup> (**Figure 13**).

### 4) *Derr*

The temple at Derr,<sup>43</sup> (**Figure 14**) which has a north-south axis, was built after the construction of the temples at Abu Simbel<sup>44</sup> perhaps sometime between Ramesses II's fifteenth and twenty-fifth regnal years.<sup>45</sup> The narrative battle scenes are located on the now heavily eroded lateral walls of the first hall, and the scenes on each lateral wall are arranged into two registers. The bottom register of the west (notional south) wall depicts a Nubian conflict,<sup>46</sup> which is similar in both composition and content to the Beit el-Wali Nubian battle scene, and the top register of this wall shows the king returning with prisoners.<sup>47</sup> Spalinger suggests that these scenes can be correlated to a Nubian battle from Ramesses II's fifteenth regnal year.<sup>48</sup> The bottom register of the lateral east (notional north) wall shows a chariot charge against a northern enemy group<sup>49</sup> whose precise ethnic identity is not verifiable due to relief erosion and a lack of inscriptional specificity.<sup>50</sup>

Two emblematic smiting scenes<sup>51</sup> occur on the rear wall of the first hall and flank the doorway to the second hall. The king, in each instance accompanied by his lion and his *ka*, smites an ethnically balanced group of northern and southern enemies (two Nubians, a bearded Asiatic, and another northern type<sup>52</sup>) before Amun-Re on the west (notional south)<sup>53</sup> and Re-Horakhty (**Figure 15**) on the east (notional north).<sup>54</sup> Two emblematic presentation scenes are located on the lateral walls. One scene, located on the bottom register of the (notional) north wall, on the (notional) east end (i.e. nearest the rear wall) shows the king offering captives of indeterminate ethnicity<sup>55</sup> to Re-Horakhty<sup>56</sup> (**Figure 16**). The other scene, located on the (notional) east half of the upper register of the (notional) south wall shows the king presenting a group of prisoners of war<sup>57</sup> to Amun-Re.<sup>58</sup>

### 5) *Wadi el-Sebua*

The temple of Wadi el-Sebua<sup>59</sup> (**Figure 17, 18**) dates to the period between Ramesses II's thirty-eighth and forty-fourth regnal years,<sup>60</sup> which makes it one of the last Nubian temples built during his reign. Setau, Ramesses II's last Viceroy of Nubia<sup>61</sup> was responsible for directing its construction. The program of this temple contains no narrative battle scenes (the first court is decorated instead with offering scenes<sup>62</sup>), but it does contain emblematic scenes. Bound foreigners are depicted on the rear and lateral sides of the bases of the first six sphinxes flanking the axial approach to the temple. Nubian captives are shown on the bases of the three (notional) south sphinxes<sup>63</sup> (**Figure 19**) and northern enemies are shown on those of the three (notional) north sphinxes<sup>64</sup> (**Figure 20**). In addition, the north and south halves of the exterior surface of the pylon fronting the first court contained two (now heavily eroded) emblematic scenes of the king smiting a symbolic group of nine foreigner prisoners (representing all foreign lands) with an axe before Amun-Re on the south side (**Figure 21**) and Re-Horakhty on the north side<sup>65</sup> (**Figure 22**).

### 6) *Gerf Hussein*

The temple at Gerf Hussein (**Figure 23**) was also constructed by Setau and around the same time as (or slightly later than) the temple at Wadi el-Sebua.<sup>66</sup> Like Wadi el-Sebua and the Small Temple at Abu Simbel, Gerf Hussein has no narrative battle scenes. The court at Gerf Hussein was decorated instead with two superposed registers of offering scenes.<sup>67</sup> Its two emblematic smiting scenes are located on the rear wall of the first hall and flank the doorway to the offering hall. The texts of both scenes are badly eroded, and the ethnicity of the captives is not clear. To the south of the doorway, the king smites captives before Horus of Buhen on the south (**Figure 24**) and before Re-Horakhty on the north<sup>68</sup> (**Figure 25**).

### 7) *Aksha*

The temple at Aksha (**Figure 26**) has been dated, at the earliest, to a period between the co-regency of Seti I and Ramesses II and sometime after the fourth year of Ramesses II's sole reign.<sup>69</sup> It has also been dated between Ramesses II's fifth and fifteenth regnal years.<sup>70</sup> This temple has both emblematic and narrative battle scenes, all of which are heavily damaged. An emblematic scene of the king killing a Nubian occurs on an exterior lintel fragment that may belong to the south half of the temple's pylon.<sup>71</sup> Inside the court, a fragment from the north half of the east wall seems to represent the king smiting Asiatic<sup>72</sup> prisoners while followed by a queen.<sup>73</sup> Another emblematic scene on the south half of the east wall shows the king slaying two Nubians.<sup>74</sup> On the south half of the court's west (rear) wall, there are anthropomorphic Nubian name rings adorning the dado (**Figure 27**),<sup>75</sup> while Syrian name rings appear on the dado of the north half<sup>76</sup> (**Figure 28**).

The fragmentary battle scenes occur on the north and south (lateral) walls and all seem to represent Asiatic battles,<sup>77</sup> which Spalinger correlates to campaigns early in Ramesses II's military career.<sup>78</sup> A fortress (possibly the town of Tunip<sup>79</sup>) and a prone Asiatic crushed under the wheel of a chariot are shown on east quadrant of the south wall,<sup>80</sup> directly adjacent to the emblematic Nubian scene. A scene in the middle of the north wall of the first hall shows a prince with foreign prisoners and a battle with Asiatic enemies.

### 8) *Amara West*

At Amara West (**Figures 29, 30**), the battle and emblematic scenes are located on the interior of the hypostyle hall and on the exterior west side gate. Narrative battle scenes are usually found in the first hall or court of Ramesside temples, but their unusual placement in the hypostyle hall might be explained by the significant changes the temple underwent during its construction. The temple, begun by Seti I, was originally planned with a north-south axis and a southern entrance.<sup>81</sup> Sometime before (or soon after) decoration was begun the layout of the temple was reversed—possibly by Ramesses II, who was chiefly responsible for the decoration—and the entrance was placed in the north.<sup>82</sup>

Emblematic scenes at Amara West take two forms—anthropomorphic name rings and smiting scenes. The name rings of captive Nubian and Syrian settlements (**Figure 2**) encircle the entire hall in a continuous dado-level register.<sup>83</sup> Syrian name rings, which outnumber the Nubian name rings, occur on the dado of the lateral west wall,<sup>84</sup> the east wall,<sup>85</sup> the east half of the rear (south) wall, and the east half of the north wall.<sup>86</sup> Nubian name rings occur on the dado of the west half of the south wall<sup>87</sup> and the west half of the north wall.<sup>88</sup> Fragments of emblematic smiting scenes appear on the east and west halves of the rear (south) wall of the first (peristyle) court and flank the doorway to the second court.<sup>89</sup> The text on the east side refers to Hittite victims, and the text on the west side refers to all foreign lands.<sup>90</sup> Additionally, larger scale emblematic scenes of the king smiting foreigners occur on the south wall flanking the doorway to the vestibule. The west half of the south wall shows the king, followed by a queen, smiting captives before Amun-Re.<sup>91</sup> A pendant (and heavily damaged) scene without a queen is on the east half of the wall.<sup>92</sup> Overall, there is a tendency to depict Nubians on the west half of the temple, and the motif of Syrian defeat is given greater emphasis than are representations of Nubian defeat.

There are certain anomalies in the layout of battle scenes here. The interior (heavily damaged) depiction of battle with Syrians, including a siege of the Arqata fortress, extends from the short west half of the north wall to the south end of the west lateral wall.<sup>93</sup> Oddly, there does not appear to be a corresponding battle scene on the east lateral wall. Instead, the scenes on this wall show the king with deities.<sup>94</sup> An additional anomaly is the placement of a full narrative Nubian battle scene (complete with chariot charge) on either side of the west gate.<sup>95</sup> The chariot charge against the Nubian enemy is shown on the south side of the gate, while the north wall shows the king returning victoriously from battle.<sup>96</sup> Spalinger believes that this scene was added after the completion of the temple and represents the Nubian war in Ramesses II's fifteenth regnal year (as at Derr).<sup>97</sup>

### III. Interpretation

The significance of scenes that depict the domination of foreigners can be directly related to the cosmography of the Egyptian temple. On one level, the temple functions as a microcosmic representation of the larger cosmos as well as the entire terrestrial realm (Egypt and foreign lands)—a notion developed by, among others, D. Arnold,<sup>98</sup> R.B. Finnestad,<sup>99</sup> E. Van Essche-Merchez,<sup>100</sup> and borne out in D. O'Connor's cosmological analyses of Egyptian temples.<sup>101</sup> In the Nubian temples of Ramesses II, one of the ways in which the decorative program evokes and mirrors the terrestrial world is through the placement of northern enemies in the northern quadrants of temples and Nubians in the

southern parts,<sup>102</sup> effectively using the decorative program to create a microcosmic expression (or “map”) of the world the ancient Egyptians knew.

Even when the ethnicity of the enemies shown is not a clear indicator of north and south, other aspects of the decorative program can perform that function and evoke the terrestrial cosmos. For example, in scenes where the king smites a mixed group of northern and southern foreigners before a god on both the notional north and south sides of a temple (e.g. Wadi el-Sebua), the geographical placement of the scene in north or south is indicated by the king’s crown and/or by the deity depicted. In the latter instance, Amun or a Nubian avatar of Horus represents the south and Re-Horakhty represents the north.

Because the macrocosmic and microcosmic realms mirror each other, the pharaoh’s subjugation of foreign foes conceptually replicates and metaphorically represents the gods’ subjugation of chaos in the divine realm.<sup>103</sup> Moreover, it reinforces the notion that Egypt and the pharaoh are entities that embody and ensure order in the terrestrial realm. Emblematic and narrative battle scenes, while sharing the common overarching theme of the suppression of chaos (manifested in the form of foreign enemies) are distinguished from each other in several ways: frequency of inclusion, different patterns of distribution within the temple, and significant formal differences, all of which point to a distinction in function.

### ***1) Inclusion and Exclusion of Battle Scenes***

Emblematic and narrative battle scenes are not always employed together in the Nubian temples of Ramesses II. Emblematic scenes appear to have been an indispensable component in the decorative programs of these temples, while narrative battle scenes seem to have been an optional feature. All eight temples, without exception, have programs that contain emblematic representations; five of the temples (Beit el-Wali, the Great Temple at Abu Simbel, Derr, Amara West, and Aksha) contain both emblematic scenes and narrative battle scenes. The three remaining temples (the Small Temple at Abu Simbel, Wadi el-Sebua, and Gerf Hussein) have emblematic scenes, but no battle or battle-related presentation scenes.

What factor or factors determined the exclusion of narrative battle scenes from three of the Nubian temples? In the case of the Small Temple at Abu Simbel, rules of decorum<sup>104</sup> vis-à-vis the temple’s feminine foci of cult (Hathor of Ibshek and Queen Nefertari) might explain the lack of narrative battle scenes, since it was built during a period when the programs of other Nubian temples (including the temple next door) incorporated battle scenes. This hypothesis, however, does not explain the absence of battle scenes from the temples of Gerf Hussein and Wadi el-Sebua. In these cases, the historical milieu may have influenced the choice to omit battle scenes. Spalinger has convincingly argued that many of the battle scenes represent historical events from the reign of Ramesses II, or that they represent battles that occurred earlier in his military career in which he played a junior role with his father.<sup>105</sup> Gerf Hussein and Wadi el-Sebua, however, are roughly contemporary, and they appear to have been the last two Nubian temples built by Ramesses II (between his thirty-eighth and fiftieth regnal years). The second half of Ramesses II’s reign was a time of relative peace, one in which no major battles were fought.<sup>106</sup> Therefore, the need to represent Egypt’s and the pharaoh’s subjugation of foreign, chaotic force could have been satisfied by the employment of emblematic representations alone without a specific reference to a real historical event.

## 2) *Patterns of Distribution*

Each scene type has a specific pattern of distribution. Almost all of the emblematic scenes have a heraldic quality. They usually appear on the short walls that flank areas, such as doorways, deemed vulnerable to the intrusion of negative or chaotic supernatural force, and they appear on the bases of statuary that line the central axes of temples. When they show up on lateral walls (e.g. Derr), they occur in the first court and in close proximity to emblematic tableaux on the short, rear walls.

In all the temples with narrative battle and presentation scenes (except the anomalous Amara West), these scenes are located in the first hall or court. This corresponds to the notion that the first court (which is the interior temple space closest to the outside world) represents the terrestrial realm of cosmos in a more explicit and literal way than do the inner parts of the temple, which tend to be decorated with scenes of cultic ritual and the interaction of the king and the gods, and which indicate geographical location in the terrestrial world in ways that are more subtle (to the modern viewer).<sup>107</sup> Further, by placing these scenes in the first hall, the chaotic elements (i.e. foreigners and foreign lands) are kept at a physical remove from the more ritually charged (and vulnerable) temple sanctuary<sup>108</sup> where the cult statue of the temple deity “lives.”<sup>109</sup>

While emblematic scenes in Ramesses II’s Nubian temples tend to equally balance the representation of northern and southern enemies, this is not always the case with full battle scenes. In some temples, the narrative scenes highlight the defeat of one type of foreign enemy. One way this emphasis manifests itself in the devotion of more wall space to the king’s defeat of the “special” enemy. At Beit el-Wali, for example, the relative importance of the Nubian war and its outcome is emphasized by its placement on the entire south wall of the first hall, while battles with three different northern enemy groups are shown on the north wall. Similarly, at Derr, the Nubian battle and its outcome are given particular emphasis by being shown on both registers of the (notional) south wall, while the northern battle is shown only on the bottom register of the (notional) north wall. At Aksha, the extant battle scenes represent a conflict with Asiatic enemies, while the domination of Nubians seems to be expressed solely through the emblematic representations on the south halves of the east and west walls.

When one type of enemy is highlighted, this can lead to the “displacement” of scenes ordinarily found on the (notional or actual) north wall to the (notional or actual) south wall and vice-versa. At Abu Simbel, for example, the Battle of Qadesh is highlighted not only by its layout on the entire (notional) north wall, but also by the way it seems to “displace” scenes involving the Libyan and Syrian conflicts from the north wall to the (notional) south wall, which they then share with the expected scene of Nubian defeat. Another indication of the greater importance of the Hittite battle scene relative to scenes involving other types of enemy groups is that the south wall battle scenes were allotted only the bottom register (offering scenes fill the upper register). This asymmetrical representation of foreigners is meaningful when contrasted with the balanced representation of northerners and southerners (each group on the appropriate north and south walls) in the Great Temple’s emblematic tableaux.

When one keeps in mind that the Hittites were Egypt’s greatest (and newest) foreign military threat at the time that Abu Simbel was built and decorated, it seems reasonable to suggest that contemporary historical circumstances propelled the decision to highlight one

enemy group over others in the depiction of narrative battle scenes. If true, this reinforces a notion already implied by the absence of battle scenes from Wadi el-Sebua and Gerf Hussein, namely, that the two temples were built during a period of relative peace.

The anomalous placement of the Amara West Nubian battle scene on the western exterior doorway appears to be another example of “displacement” and may relate directly to the greater emphasis given to Asiatic campaigns in the temple interior.

### ***3) Formal Differences and the Relative Diversity of the Actors***

Emblematic tableaux and narrative battle scenes have clear formal distinctions and differ in the diversity of the actors included in the scene types. Emblematic smiting and presentation scenes have relatively simple and static compositions. The smiting scenes tend to be heavily framed by both the architectural setting (since they are usually placed on the short walls that flank doorways) and the figure(s) positioned around the king. The weapon-bearing arm that the king swings upward tends to form a diagonal line that is reinforced by the king’s striding legs. The king’s body is the dynamic component that visually links two static, vertical elements (the borders of the scene or the royal woman and deity standing in front of and behind him). Emblematic presentation scenes are even more static. The king, who is the primary actor, pulls foreigners on a leash and presents them to a deity or deities, but the dramatic diagonal line created by the king’s smiting arm is not present. The number and type of actors involved in these scenes is highly restricted; aside from the foreigners, emblematic smiting and presentation scenes can only be populated by the king, a deity (or group of deities), a royal woman, the royal *ka*, or the king’s lion. In two instances (Great Temple of Abu Simbel, Derr), two sexually segregated groups of nine princesses and eight princes are depicted on registers below (but never on the same plane as) emblematic smiting scenes.

The bound foreigners and anthropomorphic name rings that comprise the second subtype of emblematic tableau have very little formal variation. The first group appear as full-figure representations of foreign enemies who are usually bound in such a way that they appear as a series of individual links on a long tether. The anthropomorphic name rings usually appear as ovals with the name of the town or people inscribed inside the oval while the head and torso of the represented foreign group emerges from the top. This second subtype usually appears on the most circumscribed surface areas, namely, statue plinths and, as at Amara West, on a narrow, dado-level horizontal register that encircles a courtyard.

Narrative battle scenes are relatively large compositions that teem with the frenzied activity of humans and animals engaged in warfare and its aftermath, as opposed to the limited number of formalized and standardized poses assumed by the figures in emblematic scenes. That narrative battle scenes are populated by a large cross-section of people adds to their dynamic quality. Unlike the emblematic tableaux, narrative battle scenes are not governed by rigid rules of composition. Figures overlap with great frequency. Foreigners, in particular, are shown running away from the pharaoh in tumbling waves, falling from the battlements of a fortified town, trampled underfoot, crushed under the wheels of a chariot, or running with their heads turned backwards while they flee so they can see the pharaoh coming up behind them. While emblematic scenes usually take place in the presence of one or more deities, and royal women can be included in these tableaux, the narrative battle scenes are a largely male world populated by Egyptians and foreigners of diverse social rank

and by the animals of war and tribute. The only women in the battle scenes are foreigners who are subject to Egyptian attack (e.g. the Nubian village women shown in Beit el-Wali and Derr) (**Figure 31**) or tribute bearers (e.g. Beit el-Wali, south wall).

#### IV. Conclusion

Emblematic and narrative battle scenes in the Nubian temples of Ramesses II are outwardly differentiated from each other in two key ways. First, there are significant formal differences between the two categories. Emblematic scenes are abbreviated, shorthand, hieratic, fairly static, and highly standardized depictions of foreign domination, while narrative battle scenes have more complex, dynamic compositions and involve a greater number of figures in a greater variety of poses. Second, each scene type shows significant differences in their patterns of inclusion and distribution. Emblematic scenes are a necessary element in the decorative program of all the Nubian temples, and they tend to act as heraldic devices that flank doorways and central approaches to temples. This stands in contrast to narrative battle scenes, which appear to be an optional scene type—the inclusion of which seems to have depended upon the historical milieu, and, in the case of the Small Temple of Abu Simbel, gender based rules of decorum. When they are included, battle scenes tend to appear in the first hall of temples on the lateral walls.

Another indication that emblematic tableaux and narrative battle scenes each have a diverse character is the difference in the types of beings that inhabit them. Moreover, these variations in form, content, and distribution suggest a functional distinction between the two types. Emblematic scenes are a vital apotropaic and symbolic element of decoration that succinctly portrays the crucial theme of the king's continual maintenance of cosmic order through the subjugation of chaotic force—an act that is timeless, endlessly repeated, and thus set in a temporally and geographically indistinct setting. Full battle scenes (and associated presentation scenes) have an apotropaic function, but also serve as an explicit representation of the terrestrial cosmos in the temple by quoting real historical events set in actual geographical settings—a synthesis of “real” and “ideal” conditions. They thus imbue the suppression of chaos with a “real world” specificity that demonstrates the conceptual interpenetration of the temple, the larger cosmos, and the terrestrial world.

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#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> A.J. Spalinger, “Historical Observations on the Military Reliefs of Abu Simbel and Other Ramesside Temples in Nubia,” *JEA* 66 (1980), pp. 83-99.

<sup>2</sup> S.C. Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches: Eine Bildanalyse* (Vienna, 2001), discusses many of the scenes I address in this paper, but she defines these scenes differently from the approach taken here. For example, she has broken down the scenes that I define as “narrative battle scenes” into subdivisions such as “kampf,” “marsch,” and “präsentation,” scenes. Scenes that I categorize as “emblematic” smiting scenes, Heinz defines as “einzelkampf” scenes. Heinz does not deal with those vignettes that I refer to as “emblematic” scenes of bound foreigners when they appear in relatively obscure locations (e.g. on the surfaces of plinths beneath the sphinxes at Wadi el-Sebua).

<sup>3</sup> I. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien* (Wiesbaden, 1991).

<sup>4</sup> A royal woman accompanies the king in emblematic smiting scenes in three temples: the Small Temple at Abu Simbel, Aksha, and Amara West. Only the figures of the queen in the Small Temple's emblematic smiting scenes are clearly depictions of Nefertari. The figure of the queen depicted in the Aksha and Amara West emblematic smiting scenes may also have represented Nefertari, but the associated inscriptions have been eroded beyond legibility or destroyed.

<sup>5</sup> The presentation scenes, when they occur in conjunction with battle scenes can be envisioned as the "result" of the battle.

<sup>6</sup> Reliefs and texts published in H. Rieke, G.R. Hughes, and E. Wente, *The Beit El-Wali Temple of Ramesses II* (Chicago, 1967).

<sup>7</sup> For the dating of this battle to Seti I's thirteenth regnal year see K. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II, King of Egypt* (Warminster, 1982), pp. 5, 31. For an alternate dating of this battle to Seti I's eighth regnal year see Spalinger, "Military Reliefs," pp. 90-91.

<sup>8</sup> Temple orientation is controlled by a number of conditions and relationships, including natural phenomena such as the direction of the Nile and the cyclical movement of the sun; by local conditions such as the geography and geology of the temple site; and by ritual concerns and relationships with other temples. The "notional" orientation is an "ideal" directional orientation, which is sometimes at variance with the actual physical location and orientation of the temple.

<sup>9</sup> Rieke, Wente, Hughes, *Beit El-Wali*, pls. 7, 8; KRI II, p. 198.

<sup>10</sup> Rieke, Wente, Hughes, *Beit El-Wali*, pls. 7, 9; KRI II, p. 199.

<sup>11</sup> Rieke, Wente, Hughes, *Beit El-Wali*, pls. 10, 13; KRI II, p. 195.

<sup>12</sup> Rieke, Wente, Hughes, *Beit El-Wali*, pls. 10, 12; KRI II, p. 196.

<sup>13</sup> Rieke, Wente, Hughes, *Beit El-Wali*, pls. 10, 14; KRI II, p. 196.

<sup>14</sup> Rieke, Wente, Hughes, *Beit El-Wali*, pls. 10, 11, 15; KRI II, pp. 196-197.

<sup>15</sup> Spalinger, "Military Reliefs," p. 90, envisages the Libyan execution scene as a copy of a vignette from Seti I's Libyan War scene at Karnak.

<sup>16</sup> Rieke, Wente, Hughes, *Beit El-Wali*, pl. 27; KRI II, p. 200.

<sup>17</sup> Rieke, Wente, Hughes, *Beit El-Wali*, pl. 24; KRI II, p. 199.

<sup>18</sup> Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, p. 62.

<sup>19</sup> Spalinger, "Military Reliefs," pp. 91-93; Hein, *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit*, p. 109. L. Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II* (Glückstadt, 1969), p. 8, opines that it may have been completed as late as Ramesses II's thirty-fifth regnal year.

<sup>20</sup> PM VII, p. 103 (40)-(41).

<sup>21</sup> See J. A. Wilson, "The Texts of the Battle of Kadesh," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, XLIII (1927), pp. 266-283. For a discussion of the narrative structure of this scene see H. A. Groenewegen-Frankfort, *Arrest and Movement: An Essay on Space and Time in the Representational Art of the Ancient Near East* (Cambridge and London, 1987), pp. 137-138, figs. 30-32, a, b.

<sup>22</sup> KRI II, p. 206; K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated Translations II: Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1996), p. 67; Heinz, *Feldzugsdarstellungen*, p. 252, fig. I.2.

<sup>23</sup> KRI II, pp. 206-207; RITA II, p. 67; Heinz, *Feldzugsdarstellungen*, p. 252, fig. I.1.

- <sup>24</sup> KRI II, p. 206-207; PM VII, pp. 102-103, (39)-(40); RITA II, pp. 67-68; Heinz, *Feldzugsdarstellungen*, p. 252, fig. I.3.
- <sup>25</sup> Spalinger, "Military Reliefs," p. 92.
- <sup>26</sup> KRI II, p. 205; RITA II, p. 66.
- <sup>27</sup> While Porter and Moss describe the inner surfaces of the two colossi that flank the doorway, they do not mention that the lateral surfaces of all the colossi bases are also decorated with representations of foreign prisoners. See PM VII, p. 100 (25), (26).
- <sup>28</sup> M. Maher-Taha and G.A. Gaballa (ed.), *Le grand temple d'Abou Simbel I: La façade* (Cairo, 2001), p. 90, pl. LXXIX [D.8a, D.9a]; PM VII, p. 100 (25) only discuss the north surface of the innermost south colossus bases and erroneously describe this base surface as decorated with representations of a bedouin, two Nubians, and a Hittite.
- <sup>29</sup> Maher-Taha and Gaballa, *Le grand temple d'Abou Simbel I*, pp. 104-105, pls. XCII [D.10a, D.11a], XCIII [D.10a, D.11a]; PM VII, p.100 (26), only discuss the south surface of the inner north colossus and refer to the prisoners only as "Asiatics."
- <sup>30</sup> I. Badawy, J. Černý, L. El-Tanbouli, G. Moukhtar, and A. Abdel Hamid Youssef, *Abou Simbel VI: La chapelle de Re-Horakhty* (Cairo, 1989), pls. XIII, XIV (A), XIV (B), XV (A), XV (B).
- <sup>31</sup> Badawy, et. al., *Abou Simbel VI*, pl. XIV (A).
- <sup>32</sup> Badawy, et. al., *Abou Simbel VI*, pl. XIV (B), XV (A).
- <sup>33</sup> Badawy, et. al., *Abou Simbel VI*, pl. XV (A).
- <sup>34</sup> Badawy, et. al., *Abou Simbel VI*, pl. XV (B).
- <sup>35</sup> PM VII, pp. 101-102 (37).
- <sup>36</sup> PM VII, p. 102 (38).
- <sup>37</sup> PM VII, p. 104 (43); KRI II, pp. 207-208; RITA II, p. 68; Heinz, *Feldzugsdarstellungen*, p. 252, fig. I.4.
- <sup>38</sup> PM VII, p. 104 (44).
- <sup>39</sup> Published by C. Desroches-Noblecourt and C. Kuentz, *Le petit temple d'Abou Simbel*. Vols. 1, 2 (Cairo 1968).
- <sup>40</sup> Although Habachi doubts that the Great Temple was built during the first decade of Ramesses II's sole reign, he believes that the Small Temple was constructed and perhaps completed during the early years of this reign. One indicator of this early date is the presence of a stele aligned with the Small Temple's north façade dedicated by Iuny, the Viceroy of Nubia during the last years of Seti I's life and the early years of Ramesses II's reign. For a discussion of the stele, see PM VII, pp. 117-118. For a discussion of Iuny and the orientation of the stele towards the Small Temple, see Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, p. 66. For Habachi's use of the stele as an indicator of the temple's early date, see Habachi, *Deification*, p. 11.
- <sup>41</sup> Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz, *Le petit temple II*, pls. 32 (photo), 33 (line drawing); KRI II, p. 209; RITA II, p. 70.
- <sup>42</sup> Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz, *Le petit temple II*, pls. 35 (photo), 36 (line drawing); KRI II, p. 209; RITA II, pp. 69-70.
- <sup>43</sup> A.M. Blackman, *The Temple of Derr* (Cairo, 1913).
- <sup>44</sup> Spalinger, "Military Reliefs," p. 94.
- <sup>45</sup> See chart in Hein, *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit*, p. 112.
- <sup>46</sup> Blackman, *Derr*, pp. 17-22, pls. 13-20; KRI II, p. 203.

- <sup>47</sup> KRI II, pp. 203-204.
- <sup>48</sup> Spalinger, "Military Reliefs," pp. 94-98.
- <sup>49</sup> Blackman, *Derr*, pp. 5-8, pls. 3-5; KRI II, p. 202.
- <sup>50</sup> Spalinger, "Military Reliefs," p. 93, rules out the Hittites.
- <sup>51</sup> Blackman, *Derr*, pp. 8-17, pls. 6-12.
- <sup>52</sup> Spalinger, "Military Reliefs," p. 94; Blackman, *Derr*, p. 94.
- <sup>53</sup> PM VII, p. 86 (8).
- <sup>54</sup> PM VII, p. 85 (6).
- <sup>55</sup> Blackman, *Derr*, p. 7, notes that the reliefs are too eroded to discern the ethnicity of this group of foreigners.
- <sup>56</sup> PM VII, p. 85 (2)-(3); KRI II, p. 202; RITA II, p. 64.
- <sup>57</sup> Blackman, *Derr*, p. 18, notes that they are not identifiable, but judging from the context, it is reasonable to assume that they represent Nubian prisoners.
- <sup>58</sup> Blackman, *Derr*, p. 18, pls. XIII, XX; PM VII, p. 85 (4)-(5); KRI II, pp. 203-204; RITA II, p. 65.
- <sup>59</sup> H. Gauthier, *Le temple de Ouadi Es-Sebuâ*, Vols. 1,2. Les temples immergés de la Nubie I (Cairo, 1912).
- <sup>60</sup> A stele of Setau, the contemporary Viceroy of Nubia, dates the building of the temple Ramesses II 44<sup>th</sup> regnal year, W. Helck, "Die Große Stele des Vizekönigs *St3w* aus Wadi Es-Sabua," *SAK* 3 (1975), pp. 85-112, especially p. 100. Hein, *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit*, p. 112. R. Gundlach, "Sebua (Wadi es-)," *LÄ* V, pp. 768-769, dates the temple to between regnal years 35-50.
- <sup>61</sup> Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, pp. 136-138.
- <sup>62</sup> PM VII, pp. 58-59, (47)-(54).
- <sup>63</sup> Gauthier, *Ouadi Es-Sebuâ* II, pl. VII.
- <sup>64</sup> Gauthier, *Ouadi Es-Sebuâ*, II, pls. V, VI A, VIII A.
- <sup>65</sup> Gauthier, *Ouadi Es-Sebuâ* I, pp. 59-67, II, pl XIV A; KRI II, pp. 200-202; PM VII, p. 58, (30), (31). PM VII, p. 58 (38)-(39) and p. 59 (61)-(62) erroneously identifies kneeling *rekhyt* figures on the doorjambs of the first pylon and the doorway between the inner court and the vestibule as kneeling foreigners.
- <sup>66</sup> Hein, *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit*, p. 112.
- <sup>67</sup> M.A.L. El-Tanbouli and A.F. Sadek, rev. by C. Kuentz, *Garf Hussein II. La cour et l'entrée du speos* (Cairo, 1974), pls. XXXIX, XLI.
- <sup>68</sup> J. Jacquet and H. El-Achirie, *Garf Hussein I* (Cairo, 1978), plate XVIII a-b; RITA II, pp. 62-63; KRI II, p. 200.
- <sup>69</sup> P. Fuscaldo, "Aksha (Serra West): La datación del sitio," *REE* (1992), pp. 5-34, especially p. 13, suggests that this temple was decorated during the co-regency of Ramesses II and Seti I and was finished sometime after the fourth year of Ramesses II's sole reign with later additions in the decorative program.
- <sup>70</sup> Hein, *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit*, p. 109; Spalinger, "Military Reliefs," p. 95.
- <sup>71</sup> J. Vercoutter, "Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Aksha by the Franco-Argentine Archaeological Expedition, 1961," *KUSH* 10 (1962), pp. 109-117, especially pl. XXXIVc, facing p. 112.
- <sup>72</sup> Fuscaldo, "Aksha," p. 9.

- <sup>73</sup> Fuscaldo, "Aksha," pp. 8-9, 21-22, fig 8a. Fuscaldo compares this smiting scene to those in the Small Temple of Abu Simbel.
- <sup>74</sup> PM VII, p. 127 (8); KRI II, p. 210; Fuscaldo, "Aksha," p. 9.
- <sup>75</sup> PM VII, p. 127 (11); KRI II, pp. 211-212; Kitchen, RITA II, pp. 71-72; Fuscaldo, "Aksha," fig. 7.
- <sup>76</sup> PM VII, p. 127 (12); KRI II, pp. 210-211; Kitchen, RITA II, p. 71; Fuscaldo, "Aksha," fig. 6.
- <sup>77</sup> Heinz, *Feldzugsdarstellungen*, pp. 39-40, 256-257.
- <sup>78</sup> Spalinger, "Military Reliefs," pp. 95, 99.
- <sup>79</sup> RITA II, p. 70.
- <sup>80</sup> PM VII, p. 127 (9); Heinz, *Feldzugsdarstellungen*, p. 257, fig. III.6.
- <sup>81</sup> P. Spencer, *Amara West I. The Architectural Report* (London, 1997), p. 27. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, p. 44, ascribes the reversal in orientation to the new Viceroy of Kush, Iuny.
- <sup>82</sup> Spencer, *Amara West I*, p. 27.
- <sup>83</sup> Spencer, *Amara West I*, p. 39 and pls. 34-37.
- <sup>84</sup> Spencer, *Amara West I*, p. 39; PM VII, p. 161 (30)-(31); KRI II, p. 213 (a, c, d).
- <sup>85</sup> KRI II, pp. 214 (a), 215-216. PM VII, p. 161 (24)-(25) has (incorrectly) "Nubians."
- <sup>86</sup> Spencer, *Amara West I*, p. 39; KRI II, p. 217; PM VII, p. 161 (23).
- <sup>87</sup> Spencer, *Amara West I*, p. 40; PM VII, p. 161 (32) (33); KRI II, p. 214 (b).
- <sup>88</sup> Spencer, *Amara West I*, p. 39; KRI II, p. 220. PM VII, p. 161 (29) has (incorrectly) "Asiatics."
- <sup>89</sup> Spencer, *Amara West I*, p. 36, pl. 29c-d; PM VII, p. 159 (13-4); KRI II, pp. 212-213; RITA II, p. 72.
- <sup>90</sup> KRI II, pp. 212-213; RITA II, p. 72.
- <sup>91</sup> PM VII, p. 161, (32)-(33).
- <sup>92</sup> PM VII, p. 161, (26)-(27).
- <sup>93</sup> KRI II, p. 213; RITA II, pp. 72-73.
- <sup>94</sup> PM VII, p. 161 (24)-(25).
- <sup>95</sup> Spencer, *Amara West I*, p. 18, pls. 11-12.
- <sup>96</sup> Spencer, *Amara West I*, p. 18; RITA II, p. 77.
- <sup>97</sup> Spalinger, "Military Reliefs," p. 98.
- <sup>98</sup> D. Arnold, *Wandrelief und Raumbfunktion in ägyptischen Tempeln des Neuen Reiches* (Berlin, 1962).
- <sup>99</sup> R.B. Finnestad, *Image of the World and Symbol of the Creator: On the Cosmological and Iconological Values of the Temple of Edfu* (Wiesbaden, 1985).
- <sup>100</sup> E. Van Essche-Merchez, "Pour une lecture "stratigraphique" des parois du temple de Ramsès III à Médinet Habou," *RdÉ* 45 (1994), pp. 87-116; and "La syntaxe formelle des reliefs et de la grande inscription de l'an 8 de Ramsès III à Médinet Habou," *CdÉ* 67 (1992), pp. 211-239.
- <sup>101</sup> D. O'Connor, "The Interpretation of the Old Pyramid Complex," in H. Guksch and D. Polz (eds.), *Stationen: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens: Rainer Stadelmann Gewidmet* (Mainz, 1998), pp. 135-144; "The Denderah Chapel of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep: A New Perspective," in A. Leahy and J. Tait (eds.), *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of H.S. Smith* (London, 1999), pp. 215-220; and "Egyptian Architecture," in D. Silverman (ed.),

*Searching for Ancient Egypt: Art, Architecture, and Artifacts from the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology* (Ithaca, 1997), pp. 155-161.

<sup>102</sup> Van Essche-Merchez, "Pour une lecture 'stratigraphique,'" especially 114 and 115, fig. 16.

<sup>103</sup> See Finnestad, *Image*, pp. 14-16, for a discussion of the function of the "enemy" mythologem in the temple cosmology of Edfu and the foreign enemy as chaos metaphor.

<sup>104</sup> For a definition of decorum, see J. Baines, *Fecundity Figures: Egyptian Personification and the Iconology of a Genre* (Warminster and Chicago, 1985), pp. 277-305.

<sup>105</sup> Spalinger, "Military Reliefs," pp. 90-92.

<sup>106</sup> A. H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs: An Introduction* (Oxford, 1961), p. 270; Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, p. 206.

<sup>107</sup> For example, the presence of a particular god or goddess can evoke the town where that deity's cult center was located.

<sup>108</sup> Van Essche-Merchez, "Pour une lecture 'stratigraphique,'" especially pp. 100-101 and note 43.

<sup>109</sup> Finnestad, *Image*, pp. 7, 96-110.