

VARIATIONS OF REPRESENTATION IN THE DIRECTION OF THE BATTLE OF KADESH

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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 L₁, K₁, and A. Group 2 (G-2) in which the battle proceeds from the left, includes R₁, R₂, K₂, L₃ 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; L₁ and L₃ at Luxor's Temple (Thebes); K₁³ and K₂ at the Karnak Temple (Thebes); R₁ and R₂ 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 textual⁴ 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's⁸ 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: L₁, K₁, 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: R₁, R₂, K₂, L₃ and I. Using similar classification criteria, Spalinger⁹ 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’s¹⁴ discussion of the orientation issue he focused primarily on the Camp. Acknowledging the reversal of direction between the L₁ and the R₁ 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 *Nrn* approach, and the Hittite attack. He concluded that the L₁ and the R₁ 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, Heinz¹⁶ 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 R₂ 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 L₃ 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-Mukadiyah 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 L₁ and I tableaux, and diagonally at both the R₁, and R₂ 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 L₁, the A, and the R₂ 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. Forging the Orontes to the north of Kadesh, and crossing from east to west, Hittite chariotry encounter the Egyptian *Nṣrn* 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 L₁, the R₁, 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 side³⁶ (shown at the top of the tableau in the L₁, the R₁ 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 L₁, R₁ 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 19⁴⁴ 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 charged⁴⁷ 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 L₁ 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 L₁ reliefs.

In the L₁ reliefs⁵² 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 L₁ 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 (L₁, K₁, 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 L_1) 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" Kitchen⁵⁴ comments on the L_1 and the R_1 tableaux: "These two pair are almost-mirror images of each other." On the other hand, Spalinger⁵⁵ 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 4⁵⁶ of the L₁ Camp, and of the combined drawings of R₁ 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 R₁ and I are mirror images of L₁ 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 L₁; for G-2 the most complete examples are R₁, R₂, 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: R₁R, R₂R, K₂R, L₃R, 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 L₁ reliefs can only be compared to partial remnants of A and K₁.⁵⁷ 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 R₁, R₂ and I. The condition of L₃ and K₂ 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 L₁ (G-1) and R₁R and IR (G-2R). The War Council scene is preserved in L₁, R₁ 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 *Nṣrn* 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. R₁R has oxen instead of horses in the upper group of animals.⁵⁹
- f) In the Luxor L₁ 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 R₁R 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 R₁R, 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 R₁R and the L₁ 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, L₁, R₁, with only traces of it in R₂. Comparison is made between A and L₁ in the G-1 group, with R₁R 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 Tableaux⁶¹ 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 L₁ in G-1, and the images of R₁R, R₂R, 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 L₁ 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 L₁ 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 R₁R, and R₂R.⁶²

b) The City of Kadesh

Portions of R₁R and R₂R 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.

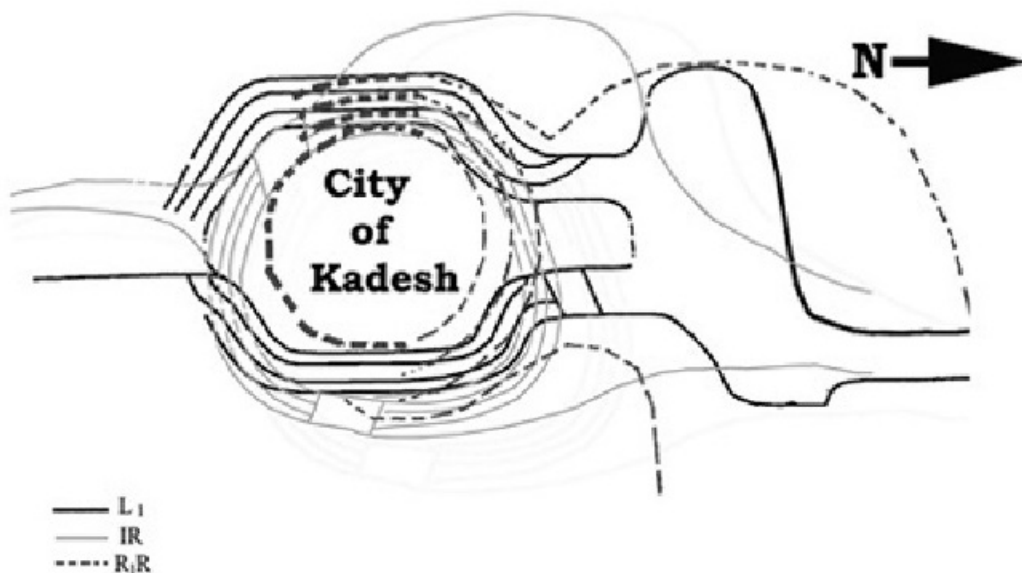


Figure 1. Superposed outlines of the site Kadesh, its moat and the pond-like river expansion to the north. Based upon L_1 , I, and R_1 sketches by K.A. Kitchen. (I and R_1 reversed).

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 R₁R, consistently show the watery expansion north of Kadesh (*Figure 1*, based on Kitchen sketches⁶⁴). 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 L₁, and the R₂R 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 R₁R 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 L₁ 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 R₁R or the R₂R tableaux.

e) The N^crn chariotry

In the L₁ relief the N^crn 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 R₂R the north end of the relief is missing, in the area where the Egyptian N^crn 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 R₁R 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 R₂R 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 R₁R 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 L₁ 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 R₁R 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 R₁R 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 K₂, and the L₃ 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* 110-116⁶⁷). 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-echoed⁷⁰) throughout “Southern On.” The term *ṯwnw 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 Guidotti⁷⁷ 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 L_3) 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

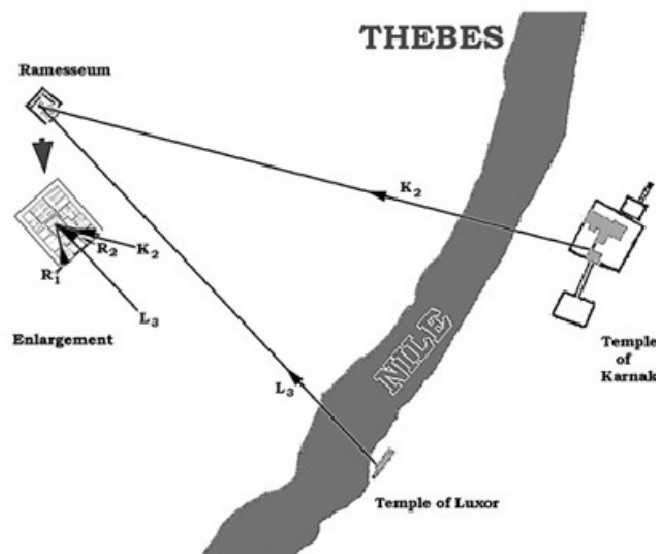


Figure 2 Kadesh Battle reliefs facing Amun's Shrine at the Ramesseum.

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.

Assmann⁷⁸ 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 Österreichischen 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: Librairie 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 Pre^c 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. *Poem 76*: "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 N^{rn} 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 N^{rn} 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. R₁ and R₂ 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 Bataille de Qadech*, 9: "...celle de Louxor (pylône, massif ouest) ressemble à celle d'Abou-Simbel, bien que toute la 'Bataille' y soit inversée, les scènes étant tournées 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 inversée..."

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 Bataille 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 Bija, 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 N^{rn} 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 1 st 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 1 st Pylon	Interior	L to R
W.Thebes	Ramesseum II	W 1 st 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 ←
Group 1	Abydos	Ramesses II	N & W	Exterior	R to L
	Luxor 1	Luxor	N 1 st Pylon	Exterior	R to L
	Karnak 1	Karnak	S/Hypostyle H.	Exterior	R to L
Group 2					→
	W.Thebes	Ramesseum I	W 1 st Pylon	Interior	L to R
	W.Thebes	Ramesseum II	W 1 st Pylon	Interior	L to R
	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