His Kingship is Eternal:
A Study of Rhetorical Stelae from the Ramesside Period

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Abstract:

"Rhetorical stelae" are a collection of monumental texts dating to the Ramesside Period of New Kingdom Egypt, whose sole purpose, it appears, was to praise and promote the king as both a victorious and pious devotee to the gods, without reference to a particular event or occasion. These stelae were first grouped and classified by K. A. Kitchen in his volumes on Ramesside inscriptions, however they have never attracted scholarly interest, due to their reputation as ahistorical texts. The aim of this study is to provide a comprehensive investigation into these rhetorical stelae, through an analysis of both their content (including textual themes, composition, presentation and iconography) and context (historical and physical settings). This methodology is modelled on the work of A. Spalinger, who applied a literary analysis to a small number of these texts before commenting on their historicity. It is hoped that this undertaking will re-establish the significance of rhetorical stelae as a historical source, by demonstrating the especial role of these monuments in the promotion of the king through proliferation of his name and ideology.

10th October, 2014

I declare that this thesis is a product of my own work and has not been previously submitted for assessment at a tertiary institution.

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I dedicate this work to all those who have helped me along my Egyptological journey thus far. Special thanks goes to Boyo and Susanne for their help and guidance throughout the years, and for providing me with the opportunity to take my passion for Egyptology to *T*ꜣ-*mri.* I would also like to thank my family for their support, but most of all, thanks to Alice, for her constant support and encouragement that enabled me make it this far.

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INTRODUCTION

"His kingship is eternal…"

Rhetorical stela [84] Tell el Balamun

This was the Egyptian belief, if not the desire, regarding the nature of rulership. The image and the name of the king finds itself upon almost every monument of ancient Egypt so that millennia later, the identities and deeds of these ancient kings are still known to us. In the following pages, we will investigate one particular type of monument whose sole purpose, it would appear, was to praise and perpetuate the king.

1. DEFINING RHETORICAL STELAE

The subject of this study is a group of monumental texts, collectively known as rhetorical stelae. The use of the term "rhetorical" to classify these texts became widespread after K. Kitchen's *Ramesside inscriptions: historical and biographical* (KRI),[1] which explicitly identified and collected a number of such stelae, predominately constructed under the reign of Ramesses II.

However, in regards to the classification of the corpus of under investigation, this term "rhetorical" is lacking in definition. This may be due to the fact that there is no further clarification required, and these stelae are called rhetorical simply because they employ rhetoric. They use eloquent language and expressive phraseology to impress a specific idea upon the viewer. Literary devices such as figurative language, embellishment, similes, metaphors and tropes are all employed to present the king as a military victor, retainer of the gods, and an overall efficacious ruler.

These monuments, which are carved in stone, are composed of both iconographical and textual elements. The text upon the face of a stela comprises the titulary of the ruler, followed by a eulogy in praise of the king, while an accompanying scene provides a visual complement to this message. One key feature of rhetorical stelae is their overall sense of timelessness. It is not common for a particular event to be referred to within the content of a rhetorical stela, which further means these texts are not limited to a particular point in time. Their content and meaning will itself endure, exhibiting the message it holds for eternity.

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[1] K. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: historical and biographical*, I, II & V (Oxford, 1975, 1979 & 1983).

2. PURPOSE AND OUTLINE

The purpose of this study is to provide a comprehensive investigation into the nature of rhetorical stelae, their composition, and their function within the context of the Ramesside Period. Following on from the foundations laid through KRI, **Part One** will present the current corpus of known and classified rhetorical stelae, summarising the relevant information and notable features of each. In **Part Two**, the content of the stelae will be discussed through several avenues of enquiry, including textual themes, elements of composition, the significance of the royal name and the accompanying iconography. **Part Three** will turn to the context of the stelae by discussing their historical background and potential dating, followed by an analysis of their physical setting and potential audience. The study will conclude with a synthesis of these points and a return to the question of defining rhetorical stelae.

3. METHODOLOGY

The methodology of the ancient historian can be concisely summarised as the collection and analysis of data. However, the simplicity of this definition does injustice to both the amount of work and the variety of approaches required for the historian to establish a tenable and accurate understanding of the past. The ancient historian's work is problematised by the vast span of time that separates their period of inquiry from the present day, which has lead to the poor and often very fragmentary nature of surviving evidence by which the investigator is limited. This is certainly true for the study of rhetorical stelae, where the corpus is plagued with fragmentary and long-lost sections of texts, to the extent where the very classification of a stela as 'rhetorical' can be questioned.

The initial data collection for this project was a relatively straight forward task, helped by the monumental KRI, as well as the two parallel works by Kitchen: *Ramesside Inscriptions, translated and annotated: translations* (RITA)[2] and *Ramesside Inscriptions, translated and annotated: notes and comments* (RITANC).[3] These volumes provided the foundations of the corpus required for the present study to begin. A survey of the relevant literature presented two more examples of rhetorical stelae, which could be added to this corpus while also highlighting the general dearth of scholarship relating to these texts. It appears that the historian's quest for historical fact, in contrast to the generic and

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[2] K. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, translated and annotated: translations*, I, II & V (Oxford, 1993, 1996 & 2008).

[3] K. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, translated and annotated: notes and comments*, I, II (Oxford, 1993, 1999).

unspecific nature of the rhetorical texts, has resulted in these stelae being somewhat overlooked as being unimportant.

There is one study, however, that aligns itself closely with the present work, in that it involves the literary and historical analysis of a rhetorical stela: A. Spalinger, 'Two Ramesside Rhetorical Poems'.[4] Within this paper, Spalinger first provides a translation of the text in question, followed by a literary and form critical analysis, centering on the text and its structure. It is only once this is completed that the historical analysis of the text can be undertaken, in which Spalinger investigates the historical importance of this text through its context, audience and purpose. In doing so, Spalinger has both created the paradigm for the present study, and tested the methodology that it requires. This project, therefore, will take the methodology that Spalinger utilised through his investigation of a single rhetorical stela, and attempt to apply it to the entire corpus.

The initial step towards this goal was the transliteration and translation of texts within the corpus. Once this was complete, the analysis could begin, which first turned towards the content and composition of the texts, followed by an investigation into the context and historical importance of these stelae. The conclusions of this work will provide the hitherto fullest analysis of these monuments to date.

4. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In their study of unpublished or little-treated material from the Ramesside Period, K. Kitchen & G. Gaballa, promoted a pair of rhetorical stelae that were established by Ramesses II in the second court of the temple of his father, Seti I at Abydos.[5] These stelae, as was recounted, belonged to a "minor literary triumphal tradition", which began in the New Kingdom.[6] However, after providing the translation of the text upon these stelae, the authors state that "[d]etailed comment is needless, as these two stelae contribute no additional data on Ramesses II's activities."[7] This sentiment of insignificance towards this material has since reverberated throughout the literature.

Despite the constructive platform established by KRI, rhetorical stelae have been neglected within scholarship. There have been a small number of individually presented rhetorical

[4] A. Spalinger, 'Two Ramesside Rhetorical Poems', in L. Lesko (ed.) *Egyptological Studies on Honour of Richard A. Parker*, (London, 1986), 136-164.
[5] K. Kitchen & G. Gaballa, 'Ramesside Varia II', *ZÄS*, 96 (1970), 18-20, figs. 4, 5, pls. IV, V.
[6] Kitchen & Gaballa, 'Ramesside Varia II', 27.
[7] Kitchen & Gaballa, 'Ramesside Varia II', 20.

stelae, typically including translations, sometimes a transliteration and a brief commentary or discussion.[8] However, an in depth study that encompasses the entire corpus of known texts does not currently exist.

Rhetorical phraseology is ever-present throughout Egyptian monuments, and as Adolf Erman remarks "… every inscription of a New Kingdom pharaoh contains a hymn in praise of him."[9] These commonly found texts of praise can fall under many different classifications depending on the school of teaching: from the "encomium" of A. Gardiner or H. Goedicke,[10] the "eulogie" (eulogy) of J. Assmann,[11] the "panegyric" or "paean" of Spalinger,[12] and the "rhetoric" of William Murnane.[13] All of these terms can be interchangeably used to describe rhetorical texts in their various forms.

The study of rhetoric, which itself requires further definition, is not widespread within the field of Egyptology. There is evidence of an Egyptian conception of rhetoric known as the "principle of fine speech" in the wisdom teaching of the Middle Kingdom.[14] However, for the purposes of this project, rhetoric refers to a highly stylised piece of literature made up of small, well-articulated linguistic elements. The definition of rhetorical language used in this way is developed by W. Guglielmi, 'Der Gebrauch rhetorischer stilmittel in der ägyptischen literature'.[15] However, the classification of rhetorical stelae as a form of literature is further problematic, as there are varying understandings of what defines Egyptian literature, not to mention the competing approaches on the theory of Egyptian literature.

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[8] For example, three separate stelae are addressed in K. Kitchen, *Poetry of Ancient Egypt,* (Jonsered, 1999), 183-192, 193-196, 221-226; two stelae (with discussion only) are seen in P. Brand, *The Monuments of Seti I: Epigraphic, Historical and Art Historical Analysis,* (Leiden, 2000), 122, 264; and a single stela can be seen in A. J. Peden, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty*, (Jonsered, 1994), 63-68.

[9] A. Erman, *The Ancient Egyptians: A Sourcebook of their Writings,* A. Blackman (trans.) (repr. Gloucester, 1978), 254.

[10] A. Gardiner, 'A pharaonic encomium (II)', *JEA,* 42 (1956), 8-20; H. Goedicke, 'The encomium of Sesostris I', *SAK,* 12 (1985), 5-28.

[11] J. Assmann, 'Eulogie-, Königs' in W. Helck & E. Otto (eds.) *LÄ* II, (Weisbaden, 1977), cols. 40-46.

[12] A. Spalinger, 'Egyptian New Kingdom triumphs: a first blush' in A. Spalinger & J. Armstrong (eds.) *Rituals of triumph in the Mediterranean world,* (Leiden, 2013), 95-22; A. Spalinger, 'Two Ramesside Rhetorical Poems', in L. Lesko (ed.) *Egyptological Studies on Honor of Richard A. Parker,* (London, 1986), 136-164.

[13] W. Murnane, 'Rhetorical History? The Beginning of Thutmose III's First Campaign in Western Asia', *JARCE,* 26 (1989), 183-189.

[14] Further discussion on evidence of the Egyptian 'principle of fine speech' can be found in M.V. Fox, 'Ancient Egyptian Rhetoric', in *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric,* 1 (1983), 9-22.

[15] W. Guglielmi, 'Der Gebrauch rhetorischer Stilmittel in der ägyptischen Literatur', in A. Loprieno (ed.) *Ancient Egyptian literature: history and forms,* (Leiden & New York, 1996), 465-497.

As a corpus of literary texts, rhetorical stelae are considered poetic in form.[16] Scholarly advances within Egyptian literary theory that came about individually by such authors such as G. Fecht[17] and J. L. Foster[18] have recently been summarised and synthesised in G. Burkard's concept of "Sinneinheit".[19] There has also been a turn towards literary analysis of Egyptian texts, which was predominantly sparked by J. Assmann in 1974.[20] Following in Assmann's footsteps, the need for further literary- and form-criticism has been promoted by many,[21] and is progressively being adopted in Egyptological studies.[22] D. Redford, for example, remarks that ancient Egyptian texts need to be allowed to speak for themselves, and only a thorough critical analysis of their content can allow Egyptologists to understand what each preserved artefact reveals about its *Sitz im Leben*.[23] On the other hand, H. Gumbrecht has questioned the need for an Egyptian theory of literature at all, because of the inability to ever properly understand what the intention of a text may have been and the difficulties in drawing modern constructs out of these ancient texts.[24]

Perhaps the correct approach lies somewhere betwixt and between the two schools of thought. A. Loprieno, points out that no text can "speak for itself" without the interpretative foundations of Egyptian literary theory.[25] This literary theory, which is built upon stylistic devices such as the concepts of *parallelismus membrorum*,[26] the thought couplet,[27] or Gebrauch's rhetorical style,[28] which therefore provide the tools to further

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[16] Kitchen, *Poetry of Ancient Egypt*, 183ff.

[17] G. Fecht, 'Die Wiedergewinnung der ältagyptischen Verskunst', *MDAIK* 19 (1963), 54-96

[18] J. Foster, *Thought Couplets and Clause Sequences in a Literary Text: The Maxims of Ptah-Hotep*. (Toronto, 1977).

[19] G. Burkard, 'Metrik, prosodie und formaler aufbau ägyptischer literarischer Texte', in A. Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian literature: history and forms*, (Leiden & New York, 1996), 448-451.

[20] J. Assmann, 'Der literarische Text im Alten Ägypten, Versuch einer Begriffsbestimmung', *OLZ* 69 (1974), 117-126.

[21] For example, see similar calls for literary criticism in: J. K., Hoffmeier, 'The problem of "history" in Egyptian royal inscriptions', in J. Leclant (ed.) *Sesto Congresso internazionale di egittologia: atti*, (Turin, 1992), 297; Murnane, 'Rhetorical History?', 183; A. R. Schulman, 'The great historical inscription of Merneptah at Karnak: a partial reappraisal', *JARCE* 24, (1987), 21; J. van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History,* (New Haven & London, 1983), 138.

[22] Two examples of this direction of work come from D. Redford and A. Spalinger, who have undergone in-depth analyses of historical and militaristic texts respectively, in order to better understand the ancient Egyptian terms for naming these texts: D. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals, and Day-Books. A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History*, (Mississuaga, 1986); A. Spalinger, *Aspects of Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians,* (New Haven & London, 1982), 222-236.

[23] Redford, 'The Historiography of Ancient Egypt', in K. R Weeks (ed.), *Egyptology and the social sciences: five studies*, (Cairo, 1979), 15.

[24] Gumbrecht, H. U., 'Does Egyptology need a "Theory of Literature"?', in A. Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian literature: history and forms*, (Leiden & New York, 1996), 10ff.

[25] A. Loprieno, 'Defining Egyptian literature: ancient texts and modern theories', in L. Loprieno (ed.) *Ancient Egyptian literature: history and forms,* (Leiden & New York, 1996), 43.

[26] J. Assmann, 'Parallelismus membrorum', in W. Helcke & E. Otto (eds.) *LÄ* IV, (Wiesbaden, 1982), cols.900-910.

[27] Foster, 'Thought Couplets and the Standard Theory', 139-163.

[28] Guglielmi, 'Der Gebrauch rhetorischer Stilmittel', 465-497.

elucidate Egyptian literary texts, and for the purposes of this study, better understand rhetorical stelae.

Over forty years have elapsed since the first recognition of these rhetorical stelae as a part of a royal triumphal tradition by Kitchen and Gaballa, and despite a range of smaller publications on individual stelae, a comprehensive study of the entire corpus of rhetorical stelae does not currently exist. Spalinger, and his investigation of the rhetorical stelae of Abu Simbel, has successfully established and applied the methodology that this study requires through the literary and then historical analysis of a rhetorical text, and thus provides the main point of departure for this project to advance.

PART ONE:

CORPUS

1. Corpus of Rhetorical Stelae

1.1 Introduction

The following chapter presents each rhetorical stela in the corpus, presenting various aspects such as provenance, dating, text and scene, where the information is relevant and applicable. Specific elements, such as scenes involving the *ḫpš*-sword, the zigzag pattern of cartouche names, or the occurrence of a speech or building commemoration within the main text have been noted, as these aspects will be particularly relevant for the proceeding discussion. Further information and bibliographical references for each stelae can be found in the summary table in **Appendix I**. Transliterations and translations of certain texts have been included within the discussion where needed. For full transcriptions and translations, see the references provided.

In an attempt to produce an efficient way to identify individual stelae within this corpus, a system of reference has been established based on the appearance of each text within KRI. This system consists of two elements. The first, occurring within square brackets, contains the ordinal number assigned to each text within KRI, RITA and RITANC. The majority of rhetorical stelae were produced under Ramesses II, so unless otherwise stated to belong to a different king, the number within square brackets refers to a text built by Ramesses II. In these other examples, a short-hand way of writing each kings name has been devised, where Seti I is **SI**, Ramesses III is **RIII**, and Ramesses V is **RV**. The second element of this system refers to the location of each stela upon its discovery. Where two or more stelae are found in one location, a numeral follows the place name. Thus, the reference **[6] Beth Shan** designates the stela dated to Ramesses II, numbered 6 in KRI and found at Beth Shan, while **[RIII-19] Medinet Habu I** designates the stela dated to Ramesses III, numbered 19 in KRI and found at Medinet Habu. These references will be highlighted in bold throughout the remaining study. Two rhetorical stelae from the reign of Ramesses II not included in KRI are identified by their place name only: **Karnak** and **Keswe**. In the following tables, each stela has also been provided with a catalogue number (**Cat. No.**) to assist in cross-referencing the following corpus with the summary table in **Appendix I**.

1.2 Seti I

[SI-43] West Silsila	**Cat. No. 1**

Transcription & Translation: KRI I, 80-81; RITA I, 68-70.

Provenance: Now lost and known only from a hand copy published by E. de Rougé.[29]

Dating: Possibly dated to Year 2.[30]

Titulary: Full

Theme: Martial / Cultic

Text: Many phrases used in this text appear in later rhetorical stelae e.g "they give to him valour over the south and victory over the north."[31]

[SI-56] Tyre	**Cat. No. 2**

Transcription & Translation: KRI I, 117; RITA I, 98-99.

Titulary: Horus, Nebty, Golden Horus and Throne names are preserved, it is possible the Birth name once existed and is now lost.

Theme: Martial

Text: Only seven lines of text remain, and many are badly damaged.

Plate 1

1.3 Ramesses II

[6] Beth Shan	**Cat. No. 3**

Transcription & Translation: KRI II 150-151, RITA II 27-29.

Museum Cat. No.: Pennsylvania University Museum no. 29.107.958.

Provenance: Uncovered at Beth Shan in the strata level dated to Ramesses II. Rowe notes that it was located in room within the fort to the west of the northern temple.[32] This stela was found next to an existing stela of Seti I and shared many textual similarities, e.g.

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[29] E. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copies en Égypte pendant la mission scientifique*, (Paris, 1879), pls. 265-67.

[30] After some initial damage, de Rouge's copy begins with two vertical strokes although Kitchen (RITANC II, 69) questions this, as the damaged area does not provide enough space to contain the date.

[31] cf. **[84] Tell el Balamun**, line 7: "that he may provide valour against the south and victory against the north."

[32] A. Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth-Shan*, (Philadelphia, 1930), 33.

"Speaking with his mouth, acting with his arms,"[33] although the Seti stela is not classed as rhetorical.

Dating: Full date: Year 18, month 4 of *pr.t*, day 1.

Titulary: Full

Theme: Martial

Scene: Ramesses II receiving the *ḫpš*-sword from Amun-Re.

Plates 2-3

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[73] Tanis II   **Cat. No. 4**

Transcription &Translation: KRI II 289-291; RITA 118-122.

Provenance: This stela and those following from Tanis were not found in their original location, but appear to have been transported to this location to be reused as building material.[34]

Titulary: Horus, Throne and Birth names.

Theme: Martial

Text: Inscribed on both faces. Cartouche names are arranged upon both sides in a zigzag pattern.

Scene: On Face B, Ramesses II is shown in a double scene, twice receiving the *ḫpš*-sword from a god, while also leading captive foreigners. It is likely Face A depicted a similar scene, although this is now lost.

Plates 4-6

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[74] Tanis III   **Cat. No. 5**

Transcription & Translation: KRI II, 291-292; RITA II, 122-123.

Provenance: As **[73] Tanis II** above.

Titulary: The titulary is not recorded upon the two main faces, but the Horus, Throne and Birth names do occur on each thickness.

Theme: Martial(?) with fragment of speech from king to royal messenger.

Text: Inscribed on both faces, but mostly lost.

Scene: Mostly lost, but traces similar to **[73] Tanis II** showing captives.

Plate 7

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[75] Tanis IV   **Cat. No. 6**

Transcription & Translation: KRI II 292-293; RITA II,123-124.

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[33] KRI II, 150, line 16 cf. KRI I, 12, line 2.
[34] RITANC II, 173; J. Yoyotte, 'Les stèles de Ramsès II à Tanis, première partie', *Kêmi* 10 (1949), 58.

Provenance: As **[73] Tanis II** above.

Titulary: Not preserved.

Theme: Most of the text is now lost, however certain words, such as *mš͈=f* "his army" (KRI II, 293.7), suggest a martial theme.

Text: Inscribed on both faces, both fragmentary. Cartouche names arranged in zigzag pattern.

Plate 8

[76] Tanis V	**Cat. No. 7**

Transcription & Translation: KRI II 294; RITA II, 124-126.

Provenance: As **[73] Tanis II** above. Later relocated to the Cairo Museum.[35]

Titulary: Horus, Throne and Birth names are featured in the main text, with Throne and Birth names preserved on one of the thicknesses.

Theme: Martial

Text: Inscribed on both faces, one completely lost. Cartouche names arranged in zigzag pattern.

Plate 9

[77] Tanis VI	**Cat. No. 8**

Transcription & Translation: KRI II 295; RITA II, 126-127.

Provenance: As **[73] Tanis II** above.

Titulary: Horus, Throne and Birth names are featured in the main text, while the Horus name appears on both thicknesses.

Theme: Martial

Text: Inscribed on two faces, one fragmentary and the other completely lost. Cartouches names arranged in zigzag pattern.

Plate 10

[78] Tanis VII	**Cat. No. 9**

Transcription & Translation: KRI II, 296; RITA II, 127-129.

Inscribed on both faces, one side largely lost.

Provenance: As **[73] Tanis II** above.

Titulary: Initial titulary of main text is not preserved, but the Throne and Birth names appear later within the text.

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[35] Museum inventory number is not known.

Theme: Martial

Text: Cartouche names repeated, but not in zigzag pattern.

Plate 11

| **[79] Tanis VIII** | **Cat. No. 10** |

Transcription & Translation: KRI II, 297; RITA II, 129-130.

Provenance: As **[73] Tanis II** above. Possibly the missing top of **[78] Tanis VII**.[36]

Titulary: Horus name only.

Theme: Martial

Text: Inscribed on both faces, almost completely lost.

Plate 12

| **[80] Tanis VII / VIII fragments** | **Cat. No. 11** |

Translation: KRI II**,** 297-298; RITA II, 130-132.

Provenance: Five fragments in total, possibly belonging to stelae **[78] Tanis VII** and **[79] Tanis VIII**, but too small to be certain.[37]

Theme: Martial(?)

| **[81] Tanis IX** | **Cat. No. 12** |

Transcription & Translation: KRI II, 299-300; RITA II, 132-133.

Provenance: As **[73] Tanis II** above.

Titulary: The main text does not start with titulary of the king, but with the phrase [*ḏd mdw in Ḥ*]*r*(.*w*)-*ȝḫ.ty* "[Words spoken by H]orakhty" (KRI II, 299.7). The full titularly with epithets does, however, appear on the thicknesses.

Theme: Much of the text has been lost, however key words *ḳ*[*n*]*i.t* [*nḫt.w*] "valiant of [victories]" (KRI II, 299.11), together with the presentation of the *ḫpš*-sword scene suggest a martial theme.

Text: Inscribed on two faces. Takes the form of a speech from Horakhty to his "son" (the king). Cartouches repeated every third line.

Plate 13

| **[82] Tanis X** | **Cat. No. 13** |

Transcription & Translation: KRI II, 300; RITA II, 133-134.

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[36] RITANC II, 17.
[37] RITANC II, 178.

Provenance: As **[73] Tanis II** above.

Titulary: Initial titulary is not preserved, however there is evidence of repeating cartouche names that may form a zigzag pattern.

Theme: Too fragmentary to confirm.

Text: Inscribed on two faces but both lost.

Plate 14

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[83] Tanis XI	**Cat. No. 14**

Transcription & Translation: KRI II, 300; RITA II, 134.

Provenance: As **[73] Tanis II** above.

Titulary: According to KRI II, 300, the text begins with the Horus and Nebty names, however these are not seen in the line drawing published in Yoyotte (1954), fig. 4.

Theme: Martial

Scene: In addition to the presentation of the $ḥpš$-sword, Yoyotte further suggests that the other hand of the king is leading bound captives.[38]

Plate 15

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[84] Tell el Balamun	**Cat. No. 15**

Transcription & Translation: KRI II, 301; RITA II, 134-135.

Provenance: Found 3km south of Tell el Balamun, in the northern delta.

Museum Catalogue No.: Cairo JdE 71302

Titulary: Horus, Throne and Birth names.

Theme: Cultic with building commemoration of temple of Amun.

Text: Cartouche names in zigzag pattern.

Plate 16

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[85] Gebel Shaluf I	**Cat. No. 16**

Transcription & Translation: KRI II, 301-302; RITA II, 135-137.

Provenance: 1km south of Wadi Murr in the Eastern Desert. Along with **[86] Gebel Shaluf II,** this stela may have served to mark the route to the Red Sea coast.[39]

Museum Catalogue No.: Ismalia Museum no. 2757

Titulary: Horus, Throne and Birth names featured on Face A, however, Face B is not preserved. Only the Throne and Birth names appear on the thicknesses.

Theme: Martial

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[38] Yoyette, *Kêmi* 13 (1954), 86ff.
[39] RITANC II, 181.

Text: Inscribed on both faces, although both are fragmentary.

Plates 17-18

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[86] Gebel Shaluf II	**Cat. No. 17**

Transcription & Translation: KRI II, 303-304; RITA II, 137-140.

Provenance: Once stood near a small temple to Seth between Wadi Seyal and Wadi Abu Hassa, 7km north of its partner stela **[85] Gebel Shaluf II**.[40]

Museum Catalogue No.: Ismalia Museum no. 2758

Titulary: Horus, Throne and Birth names.

Theme: Martial with speeches by Seth and Anath (western Semitic deity) on thicknesses.

Text: Inscribed on both sides, although most is lost.

Scene: Although the scene is damaged on both sides, the accompanying text on Face A suggests that it portrayed Seth presenting the king with the *ḥpš* sword: [*di.n*(*=i*) *n*]*=k* *ḫꜣs.wt /// n /// ḥpš=k n nḫt.w=k ///* "I have given to you, [all] foreign lands /// your sword for your victories ///" (KRI II, 303.4).

Plates 19-20

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[87] Tell el-Retâba	**Cat. No. 18**

Transcription & Translation: KRI II, 304; RITA II, 140.

Provenance: Within the temple of Atum(?).[41]

Titulary: Not preserved.

Theme: Martial

Text: Cartouche names in zigzag pattern.

Plate 21

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[88] Bubastis	**Cat. No. 19**

Transcription & Translation: KRI II, 305; RITA II, 140-142.

Provenance: Near entrance to first hall, north side.[42]

Museum Catalogue No.: Cairo CGC 34509

Titulary: [Horus], Throne and Birth names only.

Theme: Cultic with speech from Bastet to king.

Text: Cartouche names in zigzag pattern.

Plate 22

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[40] G. Goyon, 'Deux steles de Ramses II au Gebel Chalouf', *Kêmi* 7 (1938), 115-122.
[41] PM IV, 55.
[42] E. Naville, *Bubastis* (1891), 40.

[89] Bubastis II	**Cat. No. 20**

Transcription & Translation: KRI II, 306; RITA II, 142-143.

Provenance: Near entrance to festival hall, east side.[43]

Titulary: Damaged, but the Horus, Throne and Birth names can be restored.

Theme: Martial

Text: Mentions enemies according to cardinal points. Cartouche names in zigzag pattern.

Plate 23

[90] Athribis	**Cat. No. 21**

Transcription & Translation: KRI II, 306-307; RITA II 132-133.

Provenance: Exact find spot unknown.

Titulary: Full titulary, with Throne and Birth names repeated after the Horus, Nebty and Golden Horus names

Dating: Stela has apparently been reused: the names of both Ramesses II and Merenptah appear on thicknesses, with a 30th dynasty text on Face B.

Theme: Cultic

Plate 24

[91] Wadi Sannûr I	**Cat. No. 22**

Transcription & Translation: KRI II, 307-308; RITA II, 144-145.

Provenance: Wadi Sannûr in the Eastern Desert, close to alabaster mine and en route to the Red Sea. This stela and **[92] Wadi Sannûr II** were possibly established as a pair.

Museum Catalogue No.: Cairo CGC 34512

Dating: *ḥ3b-sd* in epithet of Horus name attested from Year 34 onwards.

Titulary: Horus, Throne and Birth names.

Theme: Martial

Scene: Ramesses II smiting foreigners with *ḫpš*-sword.

Plate 25

[92] Wadi Sannûr II	**Cat. No. 23**

Transcription & Translation: KRI II, 308; RITA II, 145-146.

Provenance: As above in **[91] Wadi Sannûr I**.

Museum Catalogue No.: Munich Inventory no. GL.29

Dating: *ḥ3b-sd* in epithet of Horus name attested from Year 34 onwards.

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[43] Naville, *Bubastis*, 39.

Titulary: Horus, Throne, Golden Horus and Birth names.

Theme: Martial with speech by Seth.

Text: Mostly lost.

Scene: Ramesses II smiting foes with battle axe, with Seth standing in attendance.

Plate 26

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[93] Abydos I	**Cat. No. 24**

Transcription & Translation: KRI II, 308-309; RITA II, 146-147.

Provenance: Remains *in situ* in the second court of the temple of Seti I at Abydos in front of south wall.

Titulary: Full

Theme: Cultic

Plate 27

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[94] Abydos II	**Cat. No. 25**

Transcription & Translation: KRI II, 309-310; RITA II, 147-148.

Provenance: As above, but in front of the north wall.

Titulary: Full

Theme: Cultic

Plate 28

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[95] Abydos III	**Cat. No. 26**

Transcription & Translation: KRI II, 310; RITA II, 148-149.

Provenance: Rear room within temple of Ramesses II at Abydos.

Titulary: Full

Theme: Cultic with speech by Ramesses II to his "father" (probably Osiris).

Scene: Emblematic scene with two falcons on *nwb*-signs, offering *ḥ3b-sd*-signs and *w3s*-sceptres to the name of the king.

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[96] Deir el Bahari	**Cat. No. 27**

Transcription & Translation: KRI II, 310-311; RITA II, 149-150.

Provenance: Found discarded in the causeway of the temple of Mentuhotep II.[44]

Museum Catalogue No.: Cairo JdE 66570

Titulary: Horus, Throne and Birth names.

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[44] RITANC II, 187.

Theme: Cultic with building commemoration.

Text: Repeating cartouche names, attempted zigzag pattern (?).

[97] Abu Simbel B.1	**Cat. No. 28**

Transcription & Translation: KRI II, 311-313; RITA II, 150-153.

Provenance: Found in fragments south of the causeway in the forecourt of the temple of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel and reconstructed *in situ*.

Titulary: Full

Theme: Martial / Cultic with speech of Amun who mentions the cardinal directions.

Text: Inscribed on both sides, however only one is preserved.

Plate 29

[98] Abu Simbel B.2	**Cat. No. 29**

Transcription & Translation: KRI II, 313-315; RITA II, 153-155.

Provenance: As above, but found and reconstructed north of the causeway.

Titulary: Full

Theme: Cultic

Text: Inscribed on both sides, however only one is preserved.

Plate 30

[99a] Abu Simbel C.20	**Cat. No. 30**

Transcription & Translation: KRI II, 315-320; RITA II, 155-160.

Provenance: *In situ*, cut into the façade of the temple, south of the colossi.

Titulary: Full

Theme: Martial

Text: Cartouche names are repeated with no discernable pattern.

Plate 31

[99b] Abu Simbel C.22	**Cat. No. 31**

Transcription & Translation: KRI II, 315-321; RITA II, 155-160.

Provenance: As above, but to the north of the colossi.

Titulary: Full

Theme: Martial / Cultic with speech from king to his people.

Text: Almost identical to that of **[99a] Abu Simbel C.20**, excepting the long speech.

Plate 32

[100] Buhen	**Cat. No. 32**

Transcription & Translation: KRI II, 321; RITA II, 160-161.

Provenance: Initial find spot unclear, however the mention of Horus of Buhen suggests original context was the Temple of Horus at Buhen.[45]

Museum Catalogue No.: Cairo CGG 34513

Titulary: Full

Theme: Cultic with building commemoration of monument for Horus of Buhen.

[101] Buhen fragments	**Cat. No. 33**

Transcription & Translation: (Two fragments with one designation by Kitchen) KRI II, 322; RITA II, 161.

Museum Catalogue No.: Fragment 1: Pennsylvania University Museum E.10991.

Fragment 2: Unknown location.

Titulary: Not preserved.

Theme: Unknown due to loss of text.

[102] Amarah West	**Cat. No. 34**

Transcription & Translation: KRI II, 323; RITA II, 161-162.

Provenance: Temple of Ramesses II.

Museum Catalogue No.: Brooklyn Museum 39.423.

Titulary: Full

Theme: Cultic with building commemoration.

Scene: Ramesses II receiving crook from Amun-Re and Mut.

Plate 33

[154a] Tanis XII	**Cat. No. 35**

Transcription & Translation: KRI II, 406-407; RITA II, 233.

Provenance: As **[73] Tanis II** above.

Titulary: Full, with repetition of Throne and Birth names after Horus, Nebty and Golden Horus names, like **[90] Athribis**.

Theme: Martial

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[45] RITANC II, 190.

Translation: KRI II, 407-408; RITA II, 233-234.

Provenance: As **[73] Tanis II** above.

Titulary: Full

Theme: Martial

Scene: Mostly lost, with only the figure of a god remaining. The accompanying text suggests, however, that the scene depicted the presentation of the *ḫpš*-sword to the king: [*ḏi.n(=i)*] *n=k ḫpš nḫꜣ ptpt wr.w ḫs Ḫt* "[I have given] to you the *ḫpš*-sword and *nḫꜣ*-flail, that you may trample the chiefs of the vile Hatti" (KRI II, 407.16).

Karnak   **Cat. No. 37**

Transcription & Translation: C. Labarta, 'Une stele de Ramsès II au magasin Cheikh Labib de Karnak', *Karnak* 14 (2013), 429-431, 436.

Provenance: Found reused and discarded between third and fourth pylons.[46]

Dating: Year 37

Titulary: Full, possibly with repeating cartouche names as in **[90] Athribis** and **[154a] Tanis XII**.

Theme: Martial

Plate 34

Keswe   **Cat. No. 38**

Transcription & Translation: K. Kitchen, 'Notes on a Stela from Ramesses II from near Damascus', *GM* 173 (1999), 137-138.

Provenance: Found reused as a roofing slab in Roman tomb at Keswe.[47]

Dating: Year 56, month 4 of *šm.w* day <1>.

Titulary: Full

Theme: Cultic

Plate 35

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[46] C. Labarta, 'Une stèle de Ramsès II au magasin Cheikh Labib à Karnak', *Cahiers de Karnak* 14 (Cairo, 2013), 425-436.

[47] K. Kitchen, 'Notes on a Stela from Ramesses II from near Damascus', *GM* 173 (1999), 133.

1.4 Ramesses III

[RIII-19] Medinet Habu I	**Cat. No. 39**

Transcription & Translation: KRI V, 72-74; RITA V, 55-57.

Provenance: Embedded into outer façade of first pylon of temple at Medinet Habu, south of the gateway.

Dating: Year 12

Titulary: Full

Theme: Martial / Cultic with speech from king to his people.

Plate 36

[RIII-20] Medinet Habu II	**Cat. No. 40**

Transcription & Translation: KRI V, 75-77; RITA V, 58-60.

Provenance: As above, but north of the gateway.

Dating: Year 12

Titulary: Full

Theme: Martial / Cultic with speech form king to his people.

Plate 37

[RIII-25] Karnak / [145] Side Jambs	**Cat. No. 41**

Transcription & Translation: KRI V, 89, 349; RITA V, 67.

Provenance: In front of the fourth pylon at Karnak temple.[48]

Titulary: Not preserved

Theme: Martial

[RIII-26] Deir el Medina	**Cat. No. 42**

Transcription & Translation: KRI V, 90-91; RITA V, 68-71.

Provenance: Rock cut stela, located in Chapel C in so-called 'Sanctuary of Ptah' between Deir el Medina and Valley of the Queens.[49]

Dating: Year 8(?)[50]

Titulary: Full titulary within the main texts as well the margins.

Theme: Martial

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[48] Kitchen & Gaballa, "Ramesside Varia II", *ZÄS* 96 (1970), 21.
[49] PM I, 707.
[50] Kitchen suggests this date based a mention of the Philistines and Turshe, as discussed in, Kitchen, *Poetry of ancient Egypt*, 209.

Scene: At left part of this double scene, Ramesses III receives the *ḥpš*-sword from Amun-Re. On the right, the king suckles from Meretseger.

[RIII-108] Luxor	**Cat. No. 43**

Transcription & Translation: KRI V, 291-292; RITA V, 245-246.

Provenance: Used as a block to support a later statue in the court of Ramesses II.[51]

Titulary: Not preserved

Theme: Cultic with building commemoration.

1.5 Ramesses V

[RV-36] Gebel Silsila	**Cat. No. 44**

Transcription & Translation: KRI VI, 224-225; see also Kitchen, *Poetry of ancient Egypt,* 222-225.

Titulary: Throne and Birth names.

Theme: Cultic.

Text: Stela possibly represents a failed attempt at arranging the cartouche names in zigzag pattern.[52]

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[51] PM II², 312 (68).
[52] K. Kitchen, 'Ramesses II and his Dynasty as Traditionalists and Innovators', in O. El-Aguizy & M. Ali (eds.), *Echoes of Eternity: studies presented to Gaballa Aly Gaballa,* (Wiesbaden, 2010), 113.

PART TWO: CONTENT

1. INTRODUCTION

The following section will examine the content of rhetorical stelae, namely the themes and composition of the main text, the accompanying iconography and the presentation of the name and titulary of the king. The purpose of these stelae, which was to promote the king, was largely achieved through the marriage of these various elements. Through both textual and visual means, these monuments convey to the viewer an overwhelming assessment of the pharaoh, but one carefully crafted and presented.

2. TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

2.1 Description

The main text of a rhetorical stela, which takes up the majority of space upon the stone, offers the most explicit information to the viewer regarding the ideology of kingship and the role that these texts played in promoting it. The text typically consists of two main elements. The first is the titulary of the king, introduced by an initial proclamation, *ꜥnḫ* "Live!", which serves to introduce the one to whom this text is dedicated. The second element is, in essence, a eulogy, which usually takes up the remainder of the text and was initiated by the phrase *ꜥnḫ nṯr nfr* "Live! Good god". In some cases, the eulogy includes or takes the form of a speech either from the king to his people, or between the king and a god. In only one instance (**[81] Tanis IX (Plate13)**) does the text commence directly with the speech, without being first introduced by the titulary. As a whole, the main text upon a rhetorical stela can be classified as a form of independent, or "selbständige" eulogy, in that it does not occur as part of a larger text and does not explicitly commemorate a particular event.[53]

2.2 Theme

Through an analysis of the main text, with the assistance of the associated iconography to be discussed in **Section 4**, we can ascertain the main theme of each rhetorical stela. The stelae in the preceding corpus can be categorised into two major themes: 'martial', in which the king is portrayed as a strong military leader, and 'cultic', in which he is portrayed as beneficiary of the gods.[54]

The following table shows the distribution of rhetorical stelae into these thematic categories.

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[53] See Assmann, 'Eulogie, Königs-', *LÄ*, 40-46; C. Maderna-Sieben, 'Ausgewählte Beispiele ramessidischer Königseulogien', in R. Gundlach & U. Rößler-Köhler (eds.) *Das Königtum der Ramessidenzeit: Voraussetzungen – Verwirklichtung – Vermächtni*, (Wiesbaden, 2003), 80.

[54] See C. Maderna-Sieben, 'Ausgewählte Beispiele ramessidischer Königseulogien', 77.

Martial theme	Cultic theme
[SI-56] Tyre	[SI-43] West Silsila*
[SI-43] West Silsila*	[84] Tell el Balamun
[6] Beth Shan	[88] Bubastis
[73] Tanis II	[90] Athribis
[74] Tanis III	[93] Abydos I
[75] Tanis IV	[94] Abydos II
[76] Tanis V	[95] Abydos III
[77] Tanis VI	[96] Deir el Bahari
[78] Tanis VII	[97] Abu Simbel B.1
[79] Tanis VIII	[98] Abu Simbel B.2
[81] Tanis IX	[99b] Abu Simbel C.22*
[83] Tanis XI	[100] Buhen
[85] Gebel Shaluf I	[102] Amarah West
[86] Gebel Shaluf II	Damascus
[87] Tell el-Retâba	[RIII-19] Medinet Habu I*
[89] Bubastis	[RIII-20] Medinet Habu II*
[91] Wadi Sannûr	[RIII-108] Luxor
[92] Wadi Sannûr II	[RV-36] Gebel Silsila
[99a] Abu Simbel C.20	
[99b] Abu Simbel C.22*	
[154a] Tanis XII	
[154b] Tanis XIII	
Karnak	
[RIII-19] Medinet Habu I*	
[RIII-20] Medinet Habu II*	
[RIII-25] Karnak / [145] Side Jambs	
[RIII-26] Deir el Medina	

*These stelae contain both martial *and* cultic themes so are shown here in both columns.

Four final stelae, **[80] Tanis VII/VIII fragments**, **[82] Tanis X** and the two **[101] Two Buhen fragments** are too fragmentary or badly preserved to determine their theme. References to the most recent translation of each stelae have been provided in **Part One**, however two exemplar texts will be retranslated here, in order to demonstrate the key features of both the martial and cultic themes.

2.2.1 Martial theme
[73] Tanis II, Face A - Plate 5.

As will be discussed in **Section 2.3.1** below, the following translation[55] has been formatted to reflect aspects of parallelism within the text, the alternating arrangement of the cartouche names and their use as stanza dividers.

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[55] The translation of this text is after the transcription of hieroglyphs published in KRI II, 289-290.

(1) [Live! Horus, Strong bull, beloved of Maat
  who tramples every foreign land beneath his two feet, carrying
    off their chiefs.]
   King of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Usermaatre-Setepenre**,
    Son of Re, **Ramesses Meri-amun**, given life forever.
(2) [Victorious ki]ng [who is brave among troops,
  Powerful one, who fights] hundreds of thousands,
Overthrowing with his right arm, slaying with his left arm,
  like Seth in his moment of rage.
(3) [Strong bull] who attacks [every foreign land],
  one who boasts in the victory of his [swo]rd
Protector of Egypt, who subdues the nine bows,
  while every foreign land trembles before him.
He is like (4) a lion when he has tasted combat,
  not knowing the land that stands before him.
King of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Usermaatre Setepenre**,
 Son of Re, **Ramesses Meri-amun**,
  who enters into battle and (5) he does not turn back,
  he is the foremost leader of his troops,
  who is valiant upon the chariotry,
  who seizes his bow,
   shooting on the right with his hand,
   and he does not miss,
  who stands upon (his) ground, powerful of strength,
   (6) strong of arm, with the *ḥḏ*-mace and shield,
   trampling chiefs (under) his sandals.
No-one can take him on in battle,
  every foreign land flees before him,
  his respect is like fire, following after them. (7)
   King of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Usermaatre Setepenre**,
    Son of Re, **Ramesses Meri-amun**, given life,
who plunders the Asiatic lands with his sword,
  bringing their chiefs as prisoners.
(8) Great ruler, rampart for his troops,
  One boasts at the might of his sword,
who is a brave youth in face to face (combat),
  powerful one, strong like Montu.
Protector of the land (9) husband of Egypt,
  one who rescues her from every foreign land,
  his might prevailing [over] them,
[who strikes down] Nubia with valour,
  who slays the nomads of vile Kush,
  (10) by the victories of his sword,
He causes Egypt to exist in joy,
  sweetening the heart of the beloved land.
King of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Usermaatre Setepenre**,
 Son of Re, **Ramesses Meri-Amun**, given life,
  (11) who obliterates the Asiatic chiefs within their land,
  having destroyed the heritage of the Shasu land,
  who cause them exist while bearing their revenue to Egypt
   for eternity.
Tehenu (12) is cast down beneath his feet,
  his might having prevailed over them.
He has captured the western land,

transforming (it) into an army to follow him.
He is like Seth in the moment of his power,
    (13) like Montu on his right hand for fighting.
        King of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Usermaatre Setepenre**,
          Son of Re, **Ramesses Meri-amun**,
His fame has crossed the great green,
    (so that) the isles in the midst are under his fear.
They come (14) to him bearing the tribute of their chiefs,
    [whose renown has prevailed over] their hearts.
(As for) the Sherden, rebellious of mind, whom none could ever
        (successfully) fight,
    (15) they came, being brave, having sailed in] war [ships] from
        the midst of the sea,
        as those whom none could stand (16) against.
[He plundered them by the victories of his sword,
    they being carried off to Egypt].
King of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Usermaatre Setepenre**,
    Son of Re, **Ramesses Meri-amun,** given life like Re.

This text uses specific language, motifs and literary devices to both portray the king as a capable warrior, and demonstrate how this makes him an effective ruler. His physical qualities are emphasised throughout: he is "strong of arm", and a "brave youth" who can engage in "face to face" combat. This characterisation is furthered by frequent references to military equipment, such as the sword, chariotry, bow, mace and shield. The king's relationship with the military is also subtly highlighted: he is "brave among troops", their "leader" and metaphorical "rampart". Through the use of simile, he is likened to both Seth and Montu, gods of physical strength and martial prowess. The king's dominion over "every foreign land" is expressed through the mentions of the various neighbours of Egypt, the lands across "the great green" to north, Nubia and Kush to the south, the Asiatic lands to the east, and the "western land", all subjugated by this ruler. Even the land of the "Sherden", "whom none could stand against" was apparently subdued by him.[56] The benefit of these actions is made clear: the king is Egypt's "protector", "husband" and rescuer, who causes the land to "exist in joy" by ensuring security and the eternal flow of tribute.

2.2.2 Cultic theme
[93] Abydos I - Plate 27
As above, the following translation has been formatted to reflect the internal parallelism of the text, as well as the use of the cartouche names to conclude the entire text (see **Section 2.3.3.2**):[57]

    (1) [Live! Horus:] Strong bull,

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[56] For further discussion on this stela and its possible historicity in regards to the contact with the Sherden, see RITANC II, 173-174 & J. Yoyotte, 'Les stèles de Ramsès II à Tanis: première partie', *Kêmi* 10 (1949), 68-69.
[57] After KRI II, 309.

Beloved of Maat,
Nebty: Protector of Egypt,
who curbs the foreign lands,
(2) Golden Horus: rich in years,
Great of victories,
King of Upper and Lower Egypt, who performs benefactions,
lord of the two lands, lord of performing rituals, **Usermaatre
Setepenre**,
(3) Son of Re, who causes greatness in him who bore him,
great of monuments in the house of his father,
lord of appearances, **Ramesses Meri-amun**,
(4) beloved of Amun-Re, King of the gods,
Osiris, ruler of eternity,
Horus, champion of his father,
Great Isis, mother of the god.
(5) Live! Good god, son of Osiris, whom Isis the great bore to him,
who performs benefactions in the place of truth,
(6) who wakes the horizon-dwellers with his plans, trustworthy of heart,
who makes (7) *maat* with the effectiveness of his monuments for eternity;
who provisions altars and increases offering tables, (8) lords of the sacred lands,
who doubles their offering by ten thousands and thousands for ever and
eternity,
King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands **Usermaatre Setepenre**,
Son of Re, **Ramesses Meri-amun**, given life.

The motifs used in this text portray quite a separate characterisation of the king from that in **[73] Tanis II**. While the martial theme emphasised his worldly dominion as provider for the land of Egypt, the cultic theme shows him as benefactor to the divine world. Immediately, the king is characterised as the divine son, born of Osiris and Isis. In this role, he fulfils the cult of the gods through the establishment of monuments and the provisioning of their altars, increasing their offerings by "ten thousands and thousands". Through these actions, the king ensures the eternal continuation of *maat*.

As evident in the table in **Section 2.2**, the majority of rhetorical stelae present a martial theme as opposed to a cultic theme, however, as we will see in **Section 4**, cultic themed scenes are more common. Those stelae which present both martial and cultic theme texts (**[SI-43] West Silsila**, **[99b] Abu Simbel C.22**, **[RIII-19] Medinet Habu I** and **[RIII-20] Medinet Habu II**) would seem to promote an idealised king, who is protector and provider of both mortal and divine.

2.3 Composition
Just as the language and theme of these texts were carefully chosen in order to present a particular image, their structure and composition could be just as discerning. A. Spalinger writes, "in poetry – or versification – creativity has the licence to override grammar at any point within the composition… and while philological questions must enter any analysis of

prose or poetry as literature, the literary work must be first elucidated as literature."[58] In other words, the creative and literary aspects of composition take precedence over the rules of language, and we must, as readers, approach the text in this way. Conducting a literary analysis, however, is problematic in that our modern understanding of Egyptian literature has only started to develop within the last few decades. While there have been many works that attempt to elucidate the nature of Egyptian poetry, J. Foster's concept of the "thought couplet" as units of independent thought and syntax, together with the concept of parallelism, discussed below, provides the apparatus to breakdown and examine these texts on an elemental level.[59] Understanding each of the elements that combine to form a piece of poetry is the first step in understanding the composition as a whole.

Rhetorical stelae belong to a collection of poetical texts from monuments of the New Kingdom, existing alongside the likes of the Poetical Stela of Thutmose III and the Israel Stela of Merenptah. Although rhetorical stelae stand apart from these more famous works in that they contain little to no commentary on the specific historical setting to which they belong, they do share many common aspects, namely the poetic devices used in their composition. In terms of their structure, K. Kitchen has described texts upon stelae as having three distinct poetical "dimensions".[60] The first dimension, the use of parallelism, is a concept deeply entrenched in many aspects of ancient Egyptian ideology. Parallelism can be found throughout religion, art and texts in the form of numerous common dualities, such as night and day, *maat* and *isfet*, Horus and Seth, or bread and beer.[61] In terms of textual compositions, parallelism refers to the thematic link given to two or more lines or sections of text, which provides particular poetic structure and emphasis. These parallel units serve as the framework for such elaborate poetical compositions as the rhetorical stela. The second dimension is the use of the king's cartouche names, namely the Throne name (*nsw bi.ty*) and Birth name (*s3 Rˁ.w*), to divide or end sections of text (or stanzas). The third dimension of monumental poetry is the physical arrangement of cartouche names within the text, so that they alternate from side to side in a 'zigzag' pattern down the face of the stela.

Guided by these three dimensions, the following section will explore the nature of poetical composition and structure in the texts of the rhetorical stelae. A brief explanation of

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[58] Spalinger, 'Two Ramesside Rhetorical Poems', 144-145.
[59] See Foster, 'Thought couplets and the standard theory', 139-163.
[60] Established specifically in regards to **[76] Tanis V**, but also applicable to other stelae. See K. Kitchen, *Poetry of ancient Egypt,* (Jonsered, 1999), 196.
[61] See Assmann, 'Parallelismus Membrorum', *LÄ* V col. 900-910.

relevant poetical terms requisite for this discussion can be found within the introduction of Kitchen (1999) *Poetry of ancient Egypt*.[62]

2.3.1 Parallelism

[76] Tanis V (Plate 9) provides an archetypal example of the poetical nature of rhetorical stela. It presents a rather concise, yet bellicose praise of the king that is typical of this group of texts, while also incorporating all three dimensions of poetry discussed above. Following Kitchen's approach, this text will be presented in full transliteration below in a style that serves to mimic the layout of the original text (similarly seen in **Section 2.2** above): the main body of text is centred and broken down into parallel units, while the cartouche names of the king, which divide the text into different stanzas, create a zigzag pattern by alternating across each side of the page.[63]

(1) *Ḥr(.w) k3 nḫt mri Rʿ(.w)*
[p]t[p]t [ḫ3s.t] nb(.t) ḫr [tb.wy]=f

[*nsw bi.ty Wsr-m3ʿ.t-Rʿ(.w) Stp-n(.y)-Rʿ(.w)*
s3 Rʿ(.w) Rʿ(.w)-msi-sw Mri-Ỉmn(.w) ḏi ʿnḫ]

(2) *ḥk3 ḳni rs-tp ʿ3 nḫt.w*
iṯi t3.w nb.w m ḳn.t nḫt
ʿ3 pḥty mi Stḫ
wsr ḫpš

(3) *nsw bi.ty Wsr-m3ʿ.t-Rʿ(.w) Stp-n(.y)-Rʿ(.w)*
s3 Rʿ(.w) Rʿ(.w)-msi-sw Mri-Ỉmn(.w) ḏi ʿnḫ

ḥ3ḳ t3 nb m ḫpš=f in.w r Km.t
(4) *ḥwi rsy.w mḥty.w [sm3 wr.w=sn]*
iri ḫ3s.wt bšt.wt m tm wnn
(5) *ʿ3 b3.w sḫm pḥty*
dr Sttyw

nsw bi.ty Wsr-m3ʿ.t-Rʿ(.w) Stp-n(.y)-Rʿ(.w)
s3 Rʿ(.w) Rʿ(.w)-msi-sw Mri-Ỉmn(.w) ḏi ʿnḫ

(6) *ity n swh3 n=f r ḳ3i n(.y) p.t*
[iri] ḥr.yt ʿ3.t m t3 n(.y) Š3sw

(7) *[nsw bi.ty Wsr-M3ʿ.t-Rʿ(.w)] Stp-[n(.y)]-Rʿ(.w)*
s3 Rʿ(.w) Rʿ(.w)-msi-sw Mri-Ỉmn(.w) ḏi ʿnḫ

ḏi wr.w ḥr f3i.t b3k.w=sn r [Km.t r nḥḥ ḏ.t][64]

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[62] Kitchen, *Poetry of ancient Egypt*, xiii-xx.
[63] Kitchen, *Poetry of ancient Egypt*, 194-195. For the original hieroglyphic text and translation, see KRI II, 294 & RITA II, 124-126, respectively.
[64] Reconstructed from a similar passage in **[73] Tanis II**, Face A, KRI II, 289.11: *ḏi wn=sn ḥr f3i.t b3k.w=sn r Km.t r nḥḥ ḏ.t* "who causes them to exist while bearing their revenue to Egypt for eternity."

The alternating cartouche names of the king, as will be further discussed below, stand to divide this stela into five separate stanzas. Each stanza consists of at least one parallel unit of one or more lines (i.e. cola, bicola, tricola etc.). The second and following lines of each parallel unit are marked by indentation.

1st Stanza:

> (1) Horus: Strong bull, beloved of Re,
>> [who tramples] every [foreign land] under his [sandals].
> [King of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Usermaatre Setepenre**,[65]
>> Son of Ra, **Ramesses Meri-Amun**, given life].

The first stanza begins with a bicolon, or a two-line parallel unit, that introduces and qualifies the king through his Horus name in the first line, and epithet in the second. This is followed by another bicolon in the form of the cartouche names of the king, the Throne and Birth names, which serve the dual purpose to further introduce the king as well as separating this stanza from the next.

2ⁿᵈ Stanza:

> (2) Valiant and vigilant ruler, great of victories,
>> who seizes all lands in valour and victory.
> Great in strength like Seth,
>> who is powerful of sword.
> King of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Usermaatre Setepenre**,
>> Son of Ra, **Ramesses Meri-Amun**, given life.

Kitchen structures this stanza as a tricolon, a parallel unit of three lines, with "Great of strength like Seth, who is powerful of arm" forming one line,[66] however it can also be presented as above, in two separate bicola, thus highlighting two different ideals of kingship: victory and strength. Read in this way, these bicola demonstrate the concept of "synthetic parallelism", in that the second line or clause shares the same basic theme of the first, but also adds to it.[67] The cartouche names of the king then divide this stanza from the next.

3ʳᵈ Stanza

> Who plunders every land with his sword, (it) being brought to Egypt,
>> (4)who strikes down southerners and northerners, [killing their chiefs],
>> who reduces rebellious foreign lands into non-existence.
> (5) Great of might, powerful of strength,

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[65] To highlight the position of the cartouche names of the king they are presented in bold, following Kitchen, *Poetry of ancient Egypt*.
[66] Kitchen, *Poetry of ancient Egypt*, 196.
[67] Kitchen, *Poetry of ancient Egypt*, xvi.

who subdues the Asiatics.
King of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Usermaatre Setepenre**,
son of Ra, **Ramesses Meri-Amun**, given life.

Again, the structuring of this stanza is debatable. Above, the text has been transposed as a tricolon followed by a bicolon; however, Kitchen offers one tetracolon, again seeing "Great of might, powerful of strength, who subdues the Asiatics" as a single line.[68] The above presentation, however, gives more emphasis to the description of the strength of the king, both abstract (*b3.w*) and physical (*pḥty*). Using this structure, both units can again be seen as examples of "synthetic parallelism". Each begins with an initial statement, which is then continued and elaborated on in the following line in order to describe the dominion of the king over foreign lands. Furthermore, the first two lines of the tricolon exhibit internal synthetic parallelism, with their second clauses ("(it) being brought to Egypt" and "[killing their chiefs]") further qualifying the preceding. This stanza concludes with the cartouche names of the king.

4ᵗʰ Stanza:

(6) Sovereign who is praised of (lit: to praise of him) to the height of the sky,
[who makes] great slaughter on the land of Shasu.
King of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Usermaatre Setepenre**,
son of Ra, **Ramesses Meri-Amun**, given life.

The fourth stanza consists of a bicolon, this time demonstrating the concept of "complementary parallelism", in which the meaning of the second line or clause is distinct from the first, but serves to complement or supplement it.[69] The king is shown to be both revered and capable of devastation towards his enemies. Again, the stanza closes with the cartouche names.

5ᵗʰ Stanza:

Who causes the chiefs to carry their revenues to [Egypt for eternity].

The final stanza consists of a colon, or single line, which emphasises the benefit of the king's dominion of foreigners to the land of Egypt: eternal revenue.

Parallelism, as shown here, is the fundamental building block of Egyptian poetical texts and is found throughout the corpus of rhetorical stelae. While the separation of the text above into its smaller units does help explain its structure and meaning, one must be wary

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[68] Kitchen, *Poetry of ancient Egypt*, 196.
[69] Kitchen, *Poetry of ancient Egypt*, xvi.

of the element of subjectivity that accompanies interpretation. Both Kitchen's original presentation of the text and the above emendations are valid readings and serve to emphasise different aspects of the text without detrimentally affecting our overall understanding. Moreover, these different interpretations highlight the still developing understanding of ancient Egyptian literature.

2.3.2 Cartouches as textual markers

As will be discussed in **Section 3** below, the frequent use of name and titulary of the pharaoh was ideologically significant for promoting the kingship. However, the names of the king as physical entities could also serve a structural and decorative purpose within a text. As evident in the previous example, and many times throughout the rest of the corpus, the placement of the cartouche names of the king – the Throne name and Birth name – can serve as divisional markers within a text. The use of cartouche names in this way is not confined to the corpus of rhetorical stelae, yet there are differing levels of complexity in their application and scholarly discussion of this practice has been limited to rather cursory remarks. Cartouche names have been noted, for instance by Spalinger, B. Cifola and C. Manassa, as being used to open, close or separate sections within a text,[70] and there is some ambiguity as to whether they should be considered merely as punctuation or integrated into the reading of the text.[71] Such suggestions present a number of hypotheses for the use of cartouche names, which can be explored through use of rhetorical stelae.

2.3.2.1 Cartouches to conclude a text

The cartouche names that appear within the initial titulary of rhetorical stelae serve the primary function of identifying and introducing the king before the eulogy that takes up the majority of the main body of text. However, we have already noted several examples where the cartouche names appear outside of the titulary, embedded in the main text itself. These instances demonstrate the use of cartouche names as structural elements. The first level of investigation considers rhetorical stelae where the cartouche names of the king appear only in the final line of text. This is seen upon **[94] Abydos II (Plate 28)**, **[RIII-19] Medinet Habu (Plate 36)**, **[RIII-20] Medinet Habu (Plate 37)**, and below in the example from **[93] Abydos I (Plate 27)**:[72]

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[70] See B. Cifola, 'Ramesses III and the Sea Peoples: a structural analysis of the Medinet Habu inscriptions', *Orientalia* 57, (1988), 279; C. Manassa, *The Great Karnak inscription of Merneptah: grand strategy in the 13th century BC*, (New Haven, 2003), 136 n. 8; Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military*, 208; A. Spalinger, 'New kingdom eulogies of power: a preliminary analysis', in N. Kloth, K. Martin & E. Pardey (eds.) *Es werde niedergelegt als Schriftstück: Festschrift für Hartwig Altenmüller zum 65. Geburtstag,* (Hamburg, 2003), 418.

[71] Manassa, *The Great Karnak inscription of Merenptah*, 136 n. 8.

[72] After KRI II, 309.6, cf. Plate 27.

(8)… ḳꜣb pꜣw.t=sn m ḏbꜥ.w ḫꜣ.w
        r nḥḥ ḥnꜥ ḏ.t
nsw bi.ty nb tꜣ.wy Wsr-Mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ(.w) Stp-n(.y)-Rꜥ(.w)
        sꜣ Rꜥ(.w) Rꜥ(.w)-ms-sw Mri-Ỉmn(.w) ḏi ꜥnḫ

(8)… who doubles their offerings by ten thousands and thousands,
        for ever and eternity.
King of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Usermaatre Setepenre,**
        Son of Re, **Ramesses Meri-amun**, given life.

When found in this position, the cartouche names of the king do not form any explicit link with the preceding text.[73] Instead, it seems to stand simply as a footer, bringing the main body of text to a close. As will be seen in **Section 3.**, the reiteration of the name of the king in rhetorical stela is a key element in promoting and eternalising the ruler. Thus, closing the eulogy with one final mention may serve not only to punctuate the text but to also strengthen its purpose.

2.3.2.2 Cartouches to conclude a stanza

Not only could the cartouche names be used to close the text as whole, but, as demonstrated by **[76] Tanis V** above and **[90] Athribis** below (and **Plate 24**), they could be used at the end of individual stanzas. In regards to the latter, the entire rhetorical text preserved on one side of this stela has been transliterated and translated in full, as it provides the greatest insight into the use of cartouche names to internally divide a text. Here, the cartouche names are introduced following each of the other three names of the king (Horus, Nebty and Golden Horus names), effectively concluding each of these sections and defining these sections as individual stanzas:[74]

Stanza 1:
        (1) ꜥnḫ Ḥr(.w) kꜣ nḫt
                mri Mꜣꜥ.t
        šw n(.y) nsw.yt ḥr wbn m p.t
                st.wt=f m ḥr p.t mi (2) ꜣḫ.ty
        nsw bi.ty Wsr-Mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ(.w) Stp-n(.y)-Rꜥ(.w)
                sꜣ Rꜥ(.w) Rꜥ(.w)-msi-sw Mri-Ỉmn(.w)

        (1) Live! Horus: Strong bull,
                Beloved of Maat,
        Sun of Kingship when shining in the sky,
                his rays are in the sky like (2) the Horizon-dwellers,
        King of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Usermaatre Setepenre**,
                Son of Re, **Ramesses Meri-amun**,

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[73] Cf. the use of king's name as a *part of* the text in **[RIII-108] Luxor**: ḏi=f nḥḥ m nsw tꜣ.wy ḏ.t m ḥḳꜣ ꜣw.t-ib n nsw bi.ty Wsr-Mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ(.w) Mri-Ỉmn(.w)… "He will grant eternity as king of the two lands and everlasting as joyful ruler *to* the King of Upper and Lower Egypt **Usermaatre Setepenre**…"
[74] After KRI II, 307, cf. Plate 24.

Stanza 2:

Nb.ty mki Km.t
  wˤf ḫ3s.wt
ts t3 m (3) *sḫr.w=f mi Ḏḥw.ty*
  iri hp.w nfr.w m t3.w nb.w
nsw bi.ty Wsr-M3ˤ.t-Rˤ(.w) Stp-n(.y)-Rˤ(.w)
  s3 Rˤ(.w) Rˤ(.w)-msi-sw Mri-Ἰmn(.w)

Nebty: Protector of Egypt,
  who subdues foreign lands,
who unites the land with (3) his plans like Thoth,
  making good laws in all lands,
King of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Usermaatre Setepenre**,
  Son of Re, **Ramesses Meri-amun**.

Stanza 3:

(4) *Ḥr(.w)-nbw wsr rnp.wt*
  ˤ3 nḫt.w
ity mnḫ.t sḫr.w ˤš3 mn.w
  di tp-rd.w n imi-rˤ k3.wt mi (5) *nfr-ḥr*
  šs3 m k3.wt nb(.w) mi Ḏḥw.ty
nsw bi.ty Wsr-M3ˤ.t-Rˤ(.w) Stp-n(.y)-Rˤ(.w)
  s3 Rˤ(.w) Rˤ(.w)-msi-sw Mri-Ἰmn(.w) di ˤnḫ

(4) Golden Horus: Rich in years,
  Great of victories.
Sovereign, effective of plans and numerous of monuments,
  who gives instructions to the overseer of the works like the (5)
    beautiful of face,
  being skilled at all works like Thoth,
King of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Usermaatre Setepenre**,
  Son of Re, **Ramesses Meri-amun**, given life.

Stanza 4: (marks the start of the eulogy proper)

(6) *nṯr nfr mry Ḥr(.w)*
  nḏ.t n(.y) Ḫnti-ḫ.ty
ḳm3 n=f dw nb mn.w ḥr rn=f
  ḏd.t m r3=f ḫpr(7)=sn n whn sp=f
nsw bi.ty Wsr-M3ˤ.t-Rˤ(.w) Stp-n(.y)-Rˤ(.w)
  s[3] Rˤ(.w) Rˤ(.w)-ms-sw Mri-Ἰmn(.w)

(6) The good god, beloved of Horus,
  protector of Khenty-khety,
Every mountain has created for him, monuments bearing his name,
  that which is spoken with the mouth, they (7) exist,
  his affairs do not fail,
King of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Usermaatre Setepenre**,
  Son of Re, **Ramesses Meri-amun.**

Stanza 5:

inr nb ḥr sḏm n=f
  ḫti…
Every stone listens to him,
  cut…

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It is clear in the text above that the cartouche names of the king mark the end of each stanza, where the first three stanzas are concerned with the initial three elements of the king's titulary, followed by the start of the eulogy in the fourth stanza.[75] As is customary within the full titulary, the cartouche names of the king should follow after the Horus, Nebty and Golden Horus names. Indeed, this does occur within the third stanza of this text, which opens with the Golden Horus name and closes with the Throne and Birth names of the king. What is most significant about this arrangement is that *only* within this stanza are the cartouche names – those that are considered to form a part of the titulary – concluded with the epithet *ḏi ꜥnḫ*. This could suggest that only these cartouche names were intended to actually address the king and thus to be read as part of the text, namely as part of the titulary. The cartouche names appearing *outside* of the third stanza, in the absence of the *ḏi ꜥnḫ* epithet, appear to only divide the stanzas rather than to physically introduce or mention the king as part of the text. The same is also true for **[RIII-26] Deir el Medina**, where only the cartouche names considered to be a part of the initial titulary were followed by the epithet *ḏi ꜥnḫ*, while throughout the rest of the stela the cartouche names (without the epithet *ḏi ꜥnḫ*) could be considered to only stand as stanza dividers.

A number of other stelae, while not featuring additional cartouche names as dividers within the titularly, do utilise the placement of cartouches as stanza dividers within the main body of text. These include **[6] Beth Shan**, **[78] Tanis VII**, **[81] Tanis IX**, **[98] Abu Simbel B.2, [99a] Abu Simbel C.20** and **[99b] Abu Simbel C.22**. The two final stelae from this list contribute a particularly interesting example in the positioning of the cartouche names. **[99a] Abu Simbel C.20** presents a long eulogy to the king divided into nine separate stanzas by the repetition of the cartouche names throughout the text. **[99b] Abu Simbel C.22** contains the same eulogy (almost verbatim), again divided into nine stanzas before continuing with an additional speech to the king that is not present in **[99a] Abu Simbel C.20**. It is notable that this speech does not contain repeating cartouche names of the king with the exception of the final line of text where Throne and Birth names stand to conclude the composition. This stela therefore provides a remarkable contrast between the prolific use of the repeating cartouche names within the main eulogy of the king, and the absence of the cartouche names outside of this eulogy with the exception of its final punctuating appearance. Considering the frequency of cartouche names throughout this corpus, and the disparity between uses of the cartouche in the eulogy and the speech of king in this example, it appears that the punctuating use of the cartouche names is a characteristic of

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[75] **[154a] Tanis XII** and **Karnak** similarly show a division of initial titulary using the Throne and Birth names of the king found within cartouches.

the eulogies contained within this group of texts. There is no doubt that the appearance and repetition of the king's name held its own significance for this group of texts, but the above examples show that the cartouche names could be employed structurally as well as textually or symbolically.

2.3.3 Cartouches as visual markers

2.3.3.1 Cartouches in a zigzag pattern

Turning now to Kitchen's third dimension of poetry, it should be first noted that the occurrence of cartouche names in zigzag patterns was usually in addition to their use as stanza dividers as previously discussed, thus providing both visual and textual structure to these texts. The zigzag pattern is created by arranging the cartouche names of the king on alternate sides of the stela, as imitated in the transliteration of **[76] Tanis V** above (see also, **Plate 9**). In addition to **[76] Tanis V**, the employment of cartouche names in a zigzag pattern is found upon: **[73] Tanis II**, **[75] Tanis IV**, **[77] Tanis VI**, **[82] Tanis X**,[76] **[84] Tell el Balamun**, **[85] Gebel Shaluf I**, **[86] Gebel Shaluf II**, **[87] Tell el Retaba**, **[88] Bubastis I**, **[89] Bubastis II**, **[91] Wadi Sannûr I** and **Karnak**. These stelae exhibit all three dimensions of poetry, according to Kitchen's definition: the basic composition of the text demonstrates parallelism, the text is divided into different stanzas according to the placement of cartouche names, and these cartouche names have been purposefully placed to produce zigzag pattern down the face of the stela. Adhering to this pattern during the composition, drafting and carving of these texts would have required a high degree of thought and preparation. First attested under Ramesses II,[77] this practice was visually innovative, yet it is not surprising that we find examples to suggest it was not always successfully carried out.

If originally intended to produce the zigzag pattern, the arrangement of text upon **[RIII-26] Deir el Medina** and **[96] Deir el Bahari** (**Figs. 1-2 below**), seem to have gone awry. In the first figure below, while the first four sets of cartouche names seem to have been placed 'correctly', the position of the final set seems to be reversed. In the second figure below, only the first three sets are 'correct'. It is possible, however, that the cartouche names in the final line of each of these stela were not intended as part of the zigzag pattern, but were instead considered to conclude each text, thus making these attempts to create the pattern not as unsuccessful as they initially appear.

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[76] This stela is in a poor state of preservation, however Kitchen notes that it has "trace elements of yet another eulogistic poem, possibly with a 'zigzag' arrangement of cartouches": RITANC II, 179.

[77] K. Kitchen, 'Ramesses II and his Dynasty as Traditionalists and Innovators', in O. El-Aguizy & M. Ali (eds.), *Echoes of Eternity: studies presented to Gaballa Aly Gaballa*, (Wiesbaden, 2010), 113.
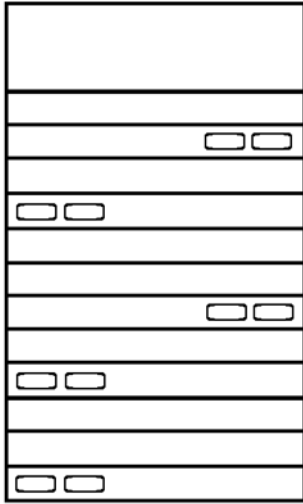
Fig. 1: [RIII-26] Deir el Medina
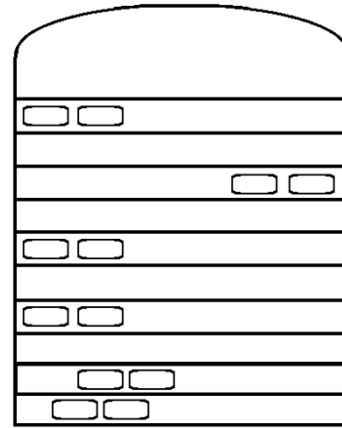
Fig. 2: [96] Deir el Bahari

One more example, **[RV-36] Gebel Silsila** (**Fig. 3**), provides the last known attempt at producing the zigzag pattern, yet it too does not quite achieve the desired effect, with the penultimate set of cartouche names seemingly out of place.[78] In discussing this stela, Kitchen offers an emendation to the text that would have allowed the cartouche names on the seventh line be transposed to the opposite side, thus completing the zigzag pattern.[79]
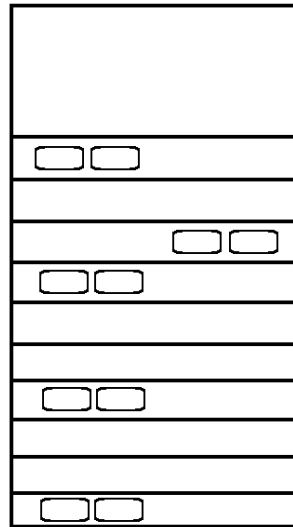
Fig. 3: [RV-36] Gebel Silsila

Regardless of whether the zigzag pattern was intended, these previous examples still exhibit both parallelism and the use of cartouche names to internally divide the text. If the creation of a zigzag pattern *was* attempted, these examples provide a rather unique insight into the complexity of their composition and, as Kitchen terms, "the poetic dexterity" required to successfully create them.[80] Moreover, positioning the cartouches of the king in

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[78] This is the last known use of the cartouche names arranged into a zigzag pattern. See Kitchen, 'Ramses II and his Dynasty as Traditionalists and Innovators', 113.

[79] Kitchen, *Poetry of ancient Egypt*, 226.

[80] Kitchen, *Poetry of ancient Egypt*, 196.

this manner draws the viewer's focus, and demonstrates once again the aim of these stelae in promoting the name of the king.

2.3.3.2 Cartouches as 'decoration'

One rhetorical stela provides evidence for a 'shortcut', of sorts, in incorporating the desired zigzag pattern. **[84] Tell el Balamun (Plate 16)** presents a clear zigzag through four alternating pairs of cartouche names, however a close reading of the text shows that these cartouche names were not employed to divide stanzas, but instead seem to be included simply for their visual appearance. An extract of this text below shows the placement of the cartouche names within a tetracolon:[81]

> (4)… *iri.n=f m mn.w=f n it=f ꞋImn(.w)-Rꜥ(.w) nb smꜣ-bḥd.t*
>   (5) *iri.t n=f ḥw.t-nṯr wr.t*
> *nsw bi.ty Wsr-Mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ(.w) Stp-n(.y)-Rꜥ(.w)*
>   *sꜣ Rꜥ(.w) Rꜥ(.w)-msi-sw Mri-ꞋImn(.w) mi Rꜥ(.w)*
>   (6) *ḥr iwtn tꜣ-ḏsr ḥr sꜣtw tꜣ-nṯr*
>   *iri.t mnḫ m s.t ꜣḫ.wt*

> (4)…He made as a monument for his father Amun-Re, lord of Sema-Behdet,
>   (5) to make a great temple for him,
> King of Upper and Lower Egypt **Usermaatre Setepenre**,
>   Son of Re, **Ramesses Meri-Amun**, like Re,
>   (6) upon sacred ground, upon divine soil,
>   to do what is excellent in the place of glory.

As it appears within this example, establishing the visual zigzag pattern of cartouche names has taken precedence over the placement of this cartouche as stanza divider. Furthermore, the above example lends to the hypothesis that the cartouche names were not to be read as a part of the text, as the names of the king interrupt the flow of two thematically linked lines of text.

2.3.3.3 Further use of the royal name

A final mention must be made of the compositional structure of textual elements on rhetorical stela beyond the main body of text. The cartouche names of the king could appear in the texts on the thickness of a stela, and, like in the main body, seem to be used not merely for the identification of the king but also in the structuring the text.

On **[81] Tanis IX (Plate 13)**, for example, three columns of text are preserved upon the left thickness. The first column, which also forms the first stanza, contains the full titulary of the king, beginning with the Horus name and concluding with the Throne and Birth names as is typical:[82]

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81 After KRI II, 301.7-8.
82 After KRI II, 299.16-300.2, cf. plate 13.

(1) [Ḥr(.w) k3] nḫt mri M3ꜥ.t
Nb.ty mki Km.t wꜥf ḫ3s.wt
Ḥr.w nb.w Wsr rnp.wt ꜥ3 nḫt.w
nsw bi.ty Wsr-M3ꜥ.t-Rꜥ(.w) Stp-n(.y)-Rꜥ(.w)
s3 Rꜥ(.w) Rꜥ(.w)-ms-sw Mri-Ỉmn(.w)

(1) [Horus,] Strong [bull], beloved of Maat,
Nebty, Protector of Egypt who curbs the foreign lands,
Golden Horus, Rich in years, great of victories,
King of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Usermaatre Setepenre**,
Son of Re, **Ramesses Meri-amun**.

The second stanza begins again with the Horus name and closes with the cartouche names, with epithets of the king contained in between:

(*2*) [Ḥr(.w) k3 nḫt mri] Rꜥ(.w)
        pḥty mi Stḫ s3 Nw.t
sḫm-ib m skw
        ptpt ḫ3s.wt
nsw bi.ty Wsr-M3ꜥ.t-Rꜥ(.w) Stp-n(.y)-Rꜥ(.w)
        s3 Rꜥ(.w) Rꜥ(.w)-msi-sw Mri-Ỉmn(.w)

Horus, Strong bull [beloved] of Re,
        Strong like Seth, son of Nut,
Brave in battle,
        who tramples the foreign lands,
King of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Usermaatre Setepenre**,
        Son of Re, **Ramesses Meri-amun**.

While the beginning of the third and final stanza is damaged, it likely begins again with the Horus name, followed by the places that the king holds dominion over, before finishing once more with the cartouche names:

(*3*) [Ḥr(.w) k3 nḫt …
        dr S]tt.yw
        ḥ3k t3 Š3sw
        iri.n ḫt m tm wn
nsw bi.ty Wsr-M3ꜥ.t-Rꜥ(.w)
        s3 Rꜥ(.w) Rꜥ(.w)-ms-sw mri-Ỉmn(.w)

[Horus: Strong bull ///
        who subdues the Asia]tics,
        who plunders the land of Shasu,
        who reduced the Hatti to non-existence,
King of Upper and Lower Egypt, **Usermaatre Setepenre**,
        Son of Re, **Ramesses Meri-amun**.

This text is notable as it utilises the repetition of the Horus name, as well as the cartouche names, to frame the text. The Horus name is enclosed within the serekh symbol, creating a

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conspicuous visual marker in parallel with the cartouche names. Similar use of the cartouche names, though not the Horus name, as a framing element can be seen on the thicknesses of **[85] Gebel Shaluf I (Plates 17-18)**, and **[86] Gebel Shaluf II (Plate 20)**, providing further indication of use of names as a form of visual and textual punctuation within a text.

3. ANALYSIS OF THE NAME

3.1 The power of the word and of the name

To the ancient Egyptians, both the written and spoken word possessed certain meaning and power.[83] In 1925, H. W Obbink identified the functions of words in Egyptian belief as creative (*scheppende*), protective (*bewarende*), consecrative (*zegenende*) and even destructive (*verwoestende*).[84] The ancient Egyptians themselves, acknowledged the function of the word, through the creation myth contained within the Memphite Theology. In this text, Ptah is invoked as the creator god who, by simply thinking and speaking, brings everyone and everything into existence:[85]

(53) *iw wr ꜥꜣ Ptḥ* [*rdi.n ꜥnḫ n nṯr.w nb*].*w kꜣ.w=sn* *sk m ḥꜣ.ty pn ns pn…*	(53) The very great one is Ptah, who has given [life to all of the gods] and their *ka*s through this heart and this tongue…
… (55) *psḏ.t ḥm pw nḥḏ.wt* *sp.t m rꜥ pn mꜣṯ* *rn n(.y) iḫ.t nb.t*	… (55) Indeed the Ennead is the teeth and lips in this mouth, which pronounce the name of everything...

Thought to be originally composed in the Ramesside Period, this text was copied in the 26th dynasty upon a stone slab, now known as the Shabaka Stone.[86] While as an artefact, this text is a testament to the *physical* endurance of the written word, its content demonstrates the *religious* significance of thought, speech and, most importantly for our discussion, the name.

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[83] On the meaning and uses of the word in ancient Egypt, see W. Gugleilmi, 'Wortspiel', *LÄ* VI, col. 1287-1291; F. Junge, 'Grammatik', *LÄ* II, cols. 882-891.

[84] H.W. Obbink, *De magische beteekenis van den naam inzonderheid in het oude Egypte*, (Amsterdam, 1925), 28.

[85] After J.H. Breasted, 'The Philosophy of a Memphite Priest', *ZÄS* 39 (1901), 47. cf. translation in M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature Volume I: The Old and Middle Kingdoms*, (Los Angeles, 1973), 54.

[86] There is much debate surrounding the dating of the composition of the text of the Memphite Theology with arguments for as early as the Old Kingdom (H. Altenmüller, 'Denkmal memphitischer Theologie' in *LÄ* I, col. 1068) or as late as the 26th dynasty (F. Junge, 'Zur Fehldatierung des sog. Denkmals memphitischer Theologie oder der Beitrag der ägyptischen Theologie zur Geistesgeschichte der Spätzeit', *MDAIK* 29 (1973), 195-204.) A full discussion of the dating of this text and the promotion of a Ramesside or post-Amarna composition can be found in B. Ockinga, 'The Memphite Theology – Its Purpose and Date', in A. Woods, A. McFarlane & S. Binder (eds.) *Egyptian culture and society: studies in honour of Naguib Kanawati*, (Cairo, 2010), 99-117.

Names were exceptionally important words for the ancient Egyptians, as they were intimately linked with the identity of an individual in both life and the hereafter.[87] However, names were more than just identifiers, as they could also be composed of words, phrases or even a complete sentence that carried separate meaning. Names of private individuals could be theophoric (relating to the god e.g. *Ḥnm*(.*w*)-*nḫt* "Khnumnakht"[88]) or basilophoric (relating to the king e.g *Ppy-ꜥnḫ* "Pepyankh"[89]), promoting a connection between an individual and the king or god, or the name could simply describe a characteristic of the person. (e.g. *Ḥkꜣ-ib* "Heka-ib"[90]).[91] Names were also given to non-living objects, such as ships, chariots, troops, gates or doorways, buildings and places, and these names could also be composed of theophoric, basilophoric or other common elements. Two notable examples can be found in the corpus of rhetorical stelae. **[6] Beth Shan** refers to Pi-Ramesses as 'his palace of life and dominion, the-house-of-Ramesses-Meriamun-great-of-victory,'[92] while **[102] Amarah West** names the temple at this site 'the house of Ramesses-Meriamun-the-settlement.'[93] Both are examples of basilophoric names, which, by incorporating the name of the king, align themselves with the significance and everlastingness of the royal name. Notably, the Birth name of the king Ramesses Meriamun is in turn theophoric: "Re is the one who bore him, beloved of Amun"[94].

3.2 The royal name and titulary

If the name of a private person or object is capable of carrying a level of meaning, this same concept is amplified in relation to the king. The five separate names within the royal titulary each establish the king's authority and his relationship with the divine.[95] By the time of the New Kingdom, the full royal titulary comprised:[96]

- *Ḥr*(.*w*): The Horus name, identifying the king as the physical embodiment of Horus on Earth;

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[87] For a discussion of the name and its importance see P. Vernus, 'Name' *LÄ* IV, col.320-326; H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Band II: Form, Inhalt und Geschichte der Namen* (Glückstadt, 1949), 2.
[88] H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Band I: Verzeichnis der Namen*, (Glückstadt, 1935), 276 (1).
[89] Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 131 (20). In other examples, such as the name Amenhotep, the name can be seen as both basilophoric and theophoric.
[90] Ranke, *Personennamen I,* 256 (3).
[91] See Vernus, 'Name', *LÄ*, col. 322-323; D. Doxey, 'Names' 'in D. Redford (ed.) *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* II (2001), 490.
[92] After *KRI* II, 151.2: *ꜥḥ=f n*(.*y*) *ꜥnḫ wꜣs pr-Rꜥ*(.*w*)-*msi-sw Mri-ꜣmn*(.*w*) *ꜥꜣ nḫt.w.*
[93] After *KRI* II, 322.13*: pr*(.*w*) *Rꜥ*(.*w*)-*msi-sw mri-ꜣmn*(.*w*) *pꜣ dmi.*
[94] After R. Leprohon, *The great name: ancient Egyptian royal titulary*, (Atlanta, 2013), 115.
[95] See J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, (Mainz, 1999), 1ff.
[96] See further discussions on the meaning and significance of the royal titulary in von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, 6ff; Leprohon, *The great name*, 7ff & S. Quirke, *Who were the Pharaohs? A history of their names with a list of cartouches,* (London, 1990), 9ff.

- *Nb.ty*: The Two Ladies name, which places the king under the protection of Nekhbet and Wadjet;
- *Ḥr(.w) nbw*: The Golden Horus name, perhaps symbolising the king's divinity, as gold was the colour of the flesh of the gods;
- *nsw bi.ty*: The Throne name, or Prenomen, which establishes the king as ruler of both Upper and Lower Egypt;
- *s3 Rᶜ(.w)*: The Birth name, Son of Re name, or Nomen, which was the name of the king from birth and provides a filial connection between him and the solar deity Re.

These titles, *Ḥr(.w)*, *Nb.ty*, *Ḥr(.w) nbw*, *nsw bi.ty* and *s3 Rᶜ(.w)*, would introduce each respective name of the king, which were then followed by an epithet, or epithets, to further elucidate the ruler's qualities, power, and relationship with the terrestrial and divine worlds.[97] With the exception of the birth name, the king's titulary was composed at his coronation and publicised throughout Egypt.[98] However once established, the king's titulary was not definite, but could adapt and develop throughout his lifetime, often depending on where and when the name is found.[99] Ramesses II, for example, adopted the Horus name *k3 nḫt mri.y M3ᶜ.t nb ḥ3b(.w)-sd mi it=f Ptḥ-t3-tnn* "Strong bull, beloved of Maat, lord of Sed-festivals like his father Ptah-Tatennen" only after his first *sed*-festival in Year 30 of his reign. However, the name was not only significant within an individual's lifetime. It was of the utmost importance to commemorate ones name after death to ensure that the deceased could continue to exist in the hereafter. On the royal level, this concern is addressed in pBerlin 3029, containing a dedication of a temple under Senwosret I:[100]

(16)… *sḫ3.tw nfr.w=i*	(16)… My perfection will be
(17) *m pr(.w)=f*	remembered in his building:
rn=i pw ḥw.t…	the temple is my name…
…*n* (18) *mwt.n nsw nis.w ḥr*	…(18) A king who is evoked by his
iš.t=f	possessions is undying.
n rḫ [*k̠3*]*rw*[101] *k3i(.w) n=f*	He who plans for himself does not know
rn=f ḥr=s dm.w	[oblivion(?)], as his name is pronounced
(19) *m r3*	(19) with the mouth {upon it}.
n ḫtm.n ḥr.t d̠.t…	That of eternity does not perish…
(20) *š3b pw ik̠r rn*	The name is excellent sustenance.

[97] Leprohon, *The great name*, 7; & D. Doxey, 'Epithet', in D. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of ancient Egypt*, (Oxford, 2001), 477-478.

[98] Part of the publication of the kings name revealed is in an announcement of the titulary of the newly crowned Thutmose I's (*iri nḫb.t=i m Ḥr(.w)…*) as recorded upon two stelae belonging to a Nubian official found at Quban (PM VII, 84) and Buhen (PM VII, 141). For the hieroglyphic text, see *Urk*, IV, 80-81.

[99] S. Quirke, *Who were the Pharaohs?* 35.

[100] After El-Azim El-Adly, 'Die Berliner Lederhandschrift (pBerlin 3029),' 6-18; L. Stern, 'Urkunde über den Bau des Sonnentempels zu On', *ZÄS* 12 (1874), 85-96; cf. translation Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature Volume I*, 117.

[101] S. El-Azim El-Adly suggests this partially missing word to be *k̠3rw* and translates this as 'oblivion', in S. El-Azim El-Adly 'Die Berliner Lederhandschrift (pBerlin 3029),' *Die Welt des Orients* 15 (1984), 8,10.

This text explicitly demonstrates the notion that by promoting and proliferating the name and invoking it through speech, the owner would be able to endure beyond death, which was the ambition of both private and royal individuals.[102]

For the king, establishing the name was achieved in both the symbolic and physical sense. In coronation scenes of the New Kingdom, Thoth (or sometimes Seshat) is depicted recording the name of the king on the leaves of the *išd*-tree, while granting him multitudes of years and sed-festivals.[103] In doing so, the god establishes and perpetuates the name of the king:[104]

smn.n(=i) rn=k m	I have caused your name to endure as the
nsw bi.ty nb	King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of
t3.wy Wsr-m3ꜥ.t-Rꜥ(.w) Stp-n(.y)-Rꜥ(.w)	the two lands, Usermaatre Setepenre.

while also ensuring an eternity of kingship:[105]

ḏd mdw in Ḏḥw.ty nb	Words spoken by Thoth, lord of the
ḥmn.t sš.n(=i) n=k ḥḥ m	Ogdoad: "I wrote for you millions of
ḥ3b.w-sd rnp.wt=k mi šꜥ(y) n.w	sed-festivals, your years are like sand of
wḏb	the shore."

Thus from the moment of the king's coronation, his name and kingship were symbolically eternalised. Within the physical world, the promotion and preservation of the royal name was achieved through the establishment and dedication of temples and monuments such as rhetorical stelae. As pBerlin 3029 alluded, having the royal titulary visible on monuments throughout the land, inscribed in the enduring medium of stone, not only publicised the king during his lifetime but also memorialised him millennia after his death.

3.3 Use of the royal name and titulary on rhetorical stelae

Turning to the rhetorical stela, it is no surprise given the purpose of these texts, that the name of the king is a key component, not only in the body of text but also as an aesthetic element. The main text of the stelae commonly begins with the simple imperative *ꜥnḫ*, as a

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[102] J. Assmann describes the concept of monuments as a social memory in what he calls the 'immortality function' of a texts, J. Assmann, 'Cultural and literary texts', in G. Moers (ed.) *Definitely: Egyptian Literature: Proceedings of the symposion "Ancient Egyptian Literature: history and forms", Los Angeles, March 24-26, 1995*, (Göttingen, 1999), 7.

[103] A number of such scenes are listed and discussed by W. Helck, 'Ramessidische Inschriften aus Karnak', *ZÄS* 82 (1958), 117-140.

[104] This example comes from the western wall of the outer hypostyle hall at the temple of Seti I at Abydos: J. Capart, *Le Temple de Séti Ier; étude générale* (Brussels, 1912), pl. 5 & Helck, 'Ramessidische Inschriften aus Karnak', 119.

[105] From the southern wall of the hypostyle hall at Karnak: G. Legrain, *Les temples de Karnak*, (Brussels, 1929), 237, fig. 143, Helck, 'Ramessidische Inschriften aus Karnak', 119.

proclamation for the king to "Live!" followed by the royal titulary. From the corpus, it is most common for only the Horus, Throne and Birth names to appear, however, at least 19 rhetorical stelae utilise the full titulary.[106] Quirke remarks that the inclusion of the full titulary is particularly compelling, as it promotes "the aura of coronation".[107] Additionally, the names of the king were repeated in the lintel and margins of rock cut stelae, in vertical columns on the sides of free-standing stelae, and were often recurring throughout the main body of text. We have also seen in **Section 2.3** the use of cartouche names as both a structural and stylistic device. This liberal promotion of the titulary speaks to the importance of the name in general, and the significance of its appearance upon this corpus of stelae.

3.4 The name as rhetoric

Apart from the visual prominence of titulary, the texts themselves upon the rhetorical stelae further emphasise the importance of the royal name. For instance, on **[94] Abydos II (Plate 28)**, within a series of epithets, Ramesses II is referred to as:[108]

(8)… *ꜥꜣ rn ḏsr nḫb.t*	(8) Great in name, sacred of titulary,[109]
mi Ḥr(.w) msi.n ꜣs.t	like Horus, born of Isis.

This demonstrates that, alongside other epithets such as "effective champion like Horus",[110] and "sovereign who lives in maat",[111] having a potent name and titulary was a desirable aspect of kingship. **[RV-36] Gebel Silsila**, dating from the reign of Ramesses V, offers further insight into the importance of the name of the king. Notably, in all instances within the text of this stela, the word *rn* "name", in relation to the king is rendered with the cartouche logogram (Gardiner's V10). The significance of the name is further demonstrated in the body of text itself. In the fourth stanza, the king is said to establish monuments for the gods *in his name*, thus promoting his personal relationship with the divine and his role in fulfilling their cults:[112]

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[106] More examples may have existed, however a number of stelae do not have the first lines surviving. The full titulary appears on **[SI-43] West Silsila**, **[6] Beth Shan**, **[90] Athribis** (which includes repetition of the Throne and Birth names in between each of the other elements), **[93] Abydos I**, **[94] Abydos II**, **[95] Abydos III**, **[97] Abu Simbel B.1**, **[98] Abu Simbel B.2**, **[99a] Abu Simbel C.20**, **[99b] Abu Simbel C.22**, **[100] Buhen**, **[102] Amarah West**, **[154a] Tanis XII**, **[154b] Tanis XIII**, **Karnak**, **Keswe**, **[RIII-19] Medinet Habu I**, **[RIII-20] Medinet Habu II**, **[RIII-26] Deir el Medina.**

[107] S. Quirke, *Who were the pharaohs?* 18.

[108] After *KRI* II, 309.16.

[109] These epithets appear together elsewhere within the time of Ramesses II, upon the Abu Simbel Marriage Stela, see *KRI* II, 235.10.

[110] **[94] Abydos II**, after *KRI* II, 309.15.

[111] **[94] Abydos II**, after *KRI* II, 309.16.

[112] After *KRI* VI, 225.8.

(5) *k3.w m ww=f*	(5) Provisions (come) from all of his
nb nn r-ʿ=sn	districts, without their limit,
mḫ=f pr.w nṯr.w <m>[113]	he fills the temples of the gods <with>
mn.w ḥr rn=f smnḫ(.w)	monuments in his name, they being
r ḏ.t mi Rʿ(.w) m	distinguished for eternity, like Re in the
p.t	sky.

This passage provides textual evidence for the practice discussed above, namely that the king could both promote and perpetuate his name through the creation of monuments inscribed with his titulary. The fifth stanza within the text of this stela conveys the reception that the king receives after completing his royal actions: [114]

(8) *ḏi=f p3 t3 m ḳd=f mi*	(8) He places the land in its (proper) state
wnn=f šri.w ʿ3.w	as it (always) existed, as those small and
ḥr nh{3}<m> smsm (9) rn=f	great rejoice and praise (9) his name.

In exalting the name of the king, either through speech or perhaps even writing, those who rejoice and praise his name, are not only praising Ramesses V, but also the ideology of kingship that is encompassed under the auspices of the royal titulary. Even if this praise did not occur in reality - Ramesses V only reigned for 4 years - the recording of this stela gave its content a level of validity, in that the physical presence of the text itself would ensure that the message upon it endures.

Finally, in the third stanza of this stela we find a direct appreciation of the power held by the name of the king:[115]

(3) *ini n=w Ḥʿpi*	(3) Hapy has brought for them (4) his
(4) *tpḥt=f ḥr wḏb rn=f*	cavern upon the repetition of his name.

The concept conveyed is that the gods are satisfied because Hapy has provided sustenance through the utterance of the king's name. The word *wḏb* here, though usually translated along the lines of "reversion", is translated by Kitchen as "occurrence". Although, perhaps "repetition" would be more appropriate: the name of the king is being constantly evoked and repeated throughout Egyptian monuments, and thus will continue to bring about the inundation annually. In this way, the promotion of the name of the king is essential for the maintenance of cosmic processes and the upholding of *maat*.

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[113] This emendation here, and those in the following passages are suggested by Kitchen, *Poetry of Ancient Egypt*, 222-226.
[114] After *KRI* VI, 225.11.
[115] After *KRI* VI, 225.3-4.

The name was undoubtedly a powerful concept in ancient Egyptian belief. Promulgation of a name allowed one both to be known in life and to exist in the hereafter. The royal name in particular was an essential component of kingship. It encapsulated the ideal qualities of the ruler, as well as his more personal attributes and achievements. In regards to rhetorical stela, whose sole purpose was to promote the king, the inclusion and reiteration of the royal name was a key element, both visually and in their content. By carving these texts in stone and placing them throughout Egypt and beyond, the king was ensuring that not only his name and the memory of him would endure, but also that the power his name wielded would continue to be effective.

4. ICONOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

The scenes that appear upon rhetorical stelae usually provide a visual representation that aligns itself with the theme of the text below. For example, where the text consists of a speech of a deity to the king or vice versa, the king is seen interacting with this deity in the accompanying scene.[116] This chapter will investigate the scenes depicted upon rhetorical stelae in order to identify and discuss the themes presented and to consider the question of whether the depictions that accompany the texts are similarly rhetorical.

As with the main text, the scenes that appear upon stelae can present martial or cultic themes, with the martial consisting of two categories itself: the presentation of the sword and the smiting scene:

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[116] As seen in the speech of the King to Re-Horakhty in **[81] Tanis IX (Plate 13)**, the speech from Seth in **[92] Wadi Sannûr II (Plate 26)**, the address of the king and the reply of Amun in **[97] Abu Simbel B1 (Plate 29).**

Martial Theme		Cultic Theme
Presentation of the Sword	**Smiting Scene**	**Interaction with the gods**
[6] Beth Shan	[91] Wadi Sannur I	[76] Tanis V
[73] Tanis II	[92] Wadi Sannur II	[77] Tanis VI
[74] Tanis III[117]		[79] Tanis VIII
[81] Tanis XI		[82] Tanis X
[83] Tanis XI		[84] Tell el Balamun
[86] Gebel Shaluf		[85] Gebel Shaluf
[154a] Tanis XII		[90] Athribis
[154b] Tanis XIII		[93] Abydos I
Keswe[118]		[94] Abydos II
[RIII-26] Deir el Medina		[96] Deir el Bahari
		[97] Abu Simbel B.1
		[98] Abu Simbel B.2
		[99a] Abu Simbel C.20
		[99b] Abu Simbel C.22
		[100] Buhen
		[101] Two Buhen stelae
		[RIII-19] Medinet Habu I
		[RIII-20] Medinet Habu II
		[RV-36] Gebel Silsila

There are two further stelae within this corpus that stand apart from these groups. The first is **[95] Abydos III**, where the depiction at the top of the stela contains only an emblematic grouping of two falcons, each seated on a *nwb*-sign, presenting *ḥȝb-sd*-symbols (jubilees), *wȝs*-sceptres (dominion) and the *šn*-ring (eternity) towards a cartouche containing the Throne name of Ramesses II, Usermaatre Setepenre. The second stela, **[102] Amarah West (Plate 33)**, shows Amun-Re presenting a *ḥḳȝ*-crook to Ramesses II. The remaining

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[117] The presentation of the xpS-sword is not preserved upon this stela, however the surviving portions of the scene, which include the king presenting enemies before the deities, are almost identical to **[73] Tanis II (Plate 4)**, suggesting that the presentation of the sword is similarly taking place upon **[74] Tanis III.**

[118] Yoyotte suggests that, although fragmentary, the scene within this stela is a presentation of the xpS-sword, in; J. Yoyotte, 'Le stele de Ramsès II à Keswé II à et sa signification historique', *Bulletin de la Société Français d'Egyptologie* 144 (1999), 46.

13 stelae within the corpus have no surviving scene or are not sufficiently preserved to identify the contents.[119]

4.1 Description

4.1.1 Martial scenes

4.1.1.1 Presentation of the *ḫpš*-sword

The first scene to be discussed depicts the king with one hand raised, ready to receive the *ḫpš*-sword from a deity, as seen on **[73] Tanis II (Plate 4)**. In all examples that contain this scene within the corpus of rhetorical stelae, it is suitably linked with the martial theme of the text below. While found as an isolated motif on these stelae and in a number of other locations,[120] the presentation of the *ḫpš*-sword is included as part of the records of war upon the walls of Medinet Habu, the mortuary temple of Ramesses III. Within this context, the presentation of the *ḫpš*-sword was considered a specific event during the narrative flow of the military campaigns and therefore likely represent is existed in reality.

From the records at Medinet Habu, it appears that there were two occasions during a military campaign at which the presentation of the *ḫpš*-sword could occur. In the portrayal of the campaign against the Libyans, a scene depicting Amun-Re presenting the *ḫpš*-sword to Ramesses III is shown prior to the commencement of battle, as an act that commissions the king to undertake this war.[121] This scene is thus succeeded by representations of the king leaving the temple and then mounting his chariot to embark for battle.[122] However, a contrasting view of this scene is found within the depiction of the campaign against the Sea People, where the presentation of the sword occurs at the conclusion of battle.[123] In this case, Ramesses III is shown presenting his foreign captives to Amun-Re, who in return offers him the *ḫpš*-sword to execute them. Similar scenes to that at Medinet Habu are found within the corpus of rhetorical stelae upon **[73] Tanis II (Plate 4)** and presumably

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[119] These are: **[SI-43] West Silsila**, **[SI-56] Tyre**, **[75] Tanis IV**, **[78] Tanis VII**, **[80] Tanis VII/VIII fragments**, **[87] Tell el Retaba**, **[88] Bubastis**, **[89] Bubastis**, **Karnak**, **[RIII-25 Karnak + 146 Jambs]**, and **[RIII-108 Luxor]**.

[120] For example, the presentation of the xpS-sword appears twice on the first pylon of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (The Epigraphic Survey, *Later historical records of Ramesses III – Medinet Habu* II, (Chicago, 1932), pls.101-102), as well as upon the Isreal Stela of Merneptah (CG 34025) and the Arthribis Stela of Merneptah (Cairo JE 5068). See R. Schulman, 'Take for yourself the sword', in B. M. Bryan, & D. Lorton (eds.) *Essay in Egyptology in honour of Hans Goedicke*, (San Antonio, 1994), 271-277, for further private and royal examples of this scene, along with brief descriptions.

[121] *Earlier historical records of Ramesses III*, pl.13.

[122] *Earlier historical records of Ramesses III*, pls.14-15.

[123] *Earlier historical records of Ramesses III*, pl.44; Schulman, 'Take for yourself the sword', 267.

upon **[74] Tanis III**[124] and **[154a] Tanis XII**.[125] In these examples, Ramesses II is shown leading captives into the presence of a deity who simultaneously presents the *ḫpš*-sword to the king. The inclusion of foreign captives within these stelae implies the representation of a triumph scene, where the king is returning from a victorious military campaign, as seen in the latter example at Medinet Habu.

Excepting **[73] Tanis II, [74] Tanis III** and **[154a] Tanis XII**, it is difficult to contextualise the presentation of the *ḫpš*-sword shown on rhetorical stelae. The text accompanying the scenes upon the stelae provide little assistance in further decoding their meaning, aside from examples where the depiction is not completely preserved and traces of surviving texts can provide information about the scene.[126] The textual detail within a scene is usually limited to the names and epithets of the king and deities as well as basic performative statements, such as: "All protection and life surround him like Re forever." In the case of **[6] Beth Shan (Plate 2)**, however, the speech of the deity within the scene elaborates on the event taking place:[127]

(1) *ḏd mdw in ʾImn(.w)-Rꜥ(.w)* *nb p.t* (2) *ḏi.n(=i) n=k* *nḫt.w* (3) *Ḥr(.w) pḥ.ty* *sꜣ* (4) [*Nw.t*] *ḏ.t* *ḏd mdw ḏi.n=i n=k* *tꜣš.w=k r mri.n=k* *r ḏr.w sḫn.wt n.t p.t* *šsp* (5) *n=k ḫpš r* *ḫꜣs.wt nb ḥsk̲=k* *tp(.w) bšt(.w) r=k* *iw=k Ḥr(.w) ḥr tꜣ.wy*	(1) Words spoken by Amun-Re, lord of the sky: (2) "I have given to you the victories (3) of Horus and the power of the son of (4) [Nut] forever". Words spoken: "I have given to you your borders, according to your wishes, to the limits of the pillars of the sky. Take (5) for yourself the sword against all foreign lands, so that you may cut off the heads of those who rebel against you, as you are Horus who is upon the two lands."

Even without the presence of bound foreigners it is evident that this scene, like those on **[73] Tanis II**, **[74] Tanis III** and **[154a] Tanis XII**, takes place *after* the completion of a battle through the use of the present perfect *ḏi.n(=i)* indicating that the "victories of

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[124] This stela, again, is assumed to have the presentation of the xpS-sword scene based on the preserved likeness of the scene to **[73] Tanis II**.

[125] All that remains within the scene of this stela are captives on the right hand side, so it is assumed that like **[74] Tanis III**, the presentation of the *ḫpš*-sword once appeared.

[126] For example, the entire scene is lost upon **[154a] Tanis XII**, but one surviving line of accompanying text reveals that the presentation of the sword would have appeared. KRI II, 407.16: [*ḏi.n(=i)*] *n=k ḫpš ptpt wr.w ḫs #t* –"[I have given] to you the sword, so that you may trample the chiefs of the vile Hatti."

[127] After KRI II, 150-151.

Horus" and the borders to the "limits of the pillars of sky" have already been granted.[128] From here, the king is urged to take up the *ḥpš*-sword through the use of the imperative *šsp*, followed by the subjunctive (or perhaps perfective) *ḥsk=k* in the final clause of consequence: "Take for yourself the sword against the foreign lands so that you may cut off the heads of those who rebel against you…". Furthermore, these words of Amun formed one of two welcome speeches that became a part of the triumphal tradition of New Kingdom Pharaohs, marking their return from a victorious campaign abroad.[129] It is clear, therefore, that at least in the previous four stelae, the scene is representative of the triumphal return of the king. The Amada Stela of Amenhotep II provides a first-hand account of a triumphal return of the king describing the execution of enemies:[130]

iyi.n=f ḥm=f m ꜣw.t-ib n it=f ꜣmn(.w) smꜣ.n=f pꜣ wr.w 7 m ḥḏ=f ḏs=f wnn.w m w n(.y) Tḫsy … r rḏi.t mꜣꜣ=tw nḫt.w [ḥm=f] r nḥḥ ḥnꜥ ḏ.t m tꜣ.w nb.w ḫꜣs.wt [nb] n.w tꜣ Nḥsi	When his majesty came, with joy, to his father Amun he slew seven princes with his own mace who had been in the district of Takhsy[131]… in order to cause to be seen the victory of [his majesty] for ever and ever in all flat lands and [all] hill countries of the land of Nubia.

Although this text does not mention the presentation of a weapon, it reveals that the foreigners from the land of Takhsy were taken into the presence of Amun to be executed. This portrayal of the royal triumph, as shown in the Amada stela, is identical to that represented within the scenes of **[73] Tanis II, [74] Tanis III** and **[154a] Tanis XII,** where the ultimate goal of the representation is to promote the victorious king.

While it is possible to determine the context of the presentation of the *ḥpš*-sword motifs shown on these previous four rhetorical stelae, without further visual or textual clues, the remaining stelae cannot be so easily classified. As the records from Medinet Habu demonstrate, it is possible for the presentation of the *ḥpš*-sword to take place before and after a military campaign, and therefore represents different concepts: either the

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[128] Schulman, R., 'Take for yourself the sword', 270;

[129] As first discussed by Kitchen & Gaballa, 'Ramesside Varia II', 23-28; with brief discussions also found in J. Osing, 'Zur 'Poetischen Stele' Thutmosis' III', in J. Assmann & E. Blumenthal (eds.) *Literatur und Politik im pharaonischen und ptolemäischen Ägypten* (Cairo, 1999), 77; and A. Spalinger, 'Chauvinism in the First Intermediate Period', in H. Vymazalová & M. Barta (eds.) *Chronology and archaeology in ancient* 257.

[130] After *Urk* IV, 1297-1298.

[131] Takhi refers to the land of Qadesh on the Orontes River. R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptischen – Deutsch (2800-950 v. Chr.),* (Mainz, 2006), 1204.

commissioning of the war before its initiation, or the triumphal return of war after its completion,[132] or quite possibly, the conflation of two events.[133]

4.1.1.2 Smiting scenes

Scenes that depict the king in a dominating stance ready to smite prostrate foreigners have been an integral element of royal iconography since the earliest phases of Egyptian history and are commonplace throughout the New Kingdom.[134] The above extract from the Amada Stela furthers the link between the triumphal return of the king from his military campaign and the smiting of his captives. Having returned to the temple to present his captives and being presented with a weapon by the god, the king would now display his power and dominion over these foreigners by executing them.[135] Two scenes from the first pylon at Medinet Habu show the king smiting captives while the god is presenting the *ḫpš*-sword to the king, while the deity also presents more foreigners before the king in the form of crenelated name rings to be slain.[136] In this instance, one must hearken back to an understanding of an event that occurred at the outset of war.[137] Not only is the king being presented with the *ḫpš*- sword to use against his enemies, but the god is also offering the foreign places that the king will set forth and conquer.[138]

There are two examples of a smiting scene in the corpus of rhetorical stelae: **[91] Wadi Sannûr I (Plate 25)** and **[92] Wadi Sannûr II (Plate 26)**, but neither are explicitly related to the commissioning of war or the triumphal return from war. As shown above, these scenes do, either way, have foundation in an actual event. These two examples further reveal that the smiting can take place without any divine presence (**[91] Wadi Sannûr**) or in the company of a deity such as Seth (**[92] Wadi Sannûr II**).

4.1.2 Cultic scenes

The majority of rhetorical stelae with preserved decoration carry a scene showing the king making an offering to a god or gods. The deities that appear within these scenes are often dependent on the location of the stela,[139] and various items are being offered, including

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[132] Schulman, 'Take for yourself the sword', 267.

[133] Schulman, 'Take for yourself the sword', 268.

[134] Discussions of these scenes and their use can be found in Schäfer H., 'Das Niederschlagen der Feinde. Zur Geschichte eines ägyptischen Sinnbildes, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 54 (1957), 168-176; E.S Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies: A Comparative Study,* (Berlin, 1986).

[135] Schulman, R., *Ceremonial Execution and Public Reward: some historical scenes on New Kingdom private stelae* (Göttingen, 1988), 61.

[136] *Earlier historical records of Ramesses III – Medinet Habu II,* pl.101-102.

[137] Schulman, 'Take for yourself the sword', 268.

[138] Schulman, 'Take for yourself the sword', 268.

[139] For example: Amun-Re of Djeseru found upon the **[96] Deir el Bahari** stela; Horus of Meha found upon the **[99a] Abu Simbel C.20** stela; Horus of Buhen found upon the **[100] Buhen** stela; or the appearance of Sobek upon the **[RV-36] Gebel Silsila** stela.

wine, incense, *maat* and more. As was discussed within **Section 2.2**, the majority of stelae within this corpus have a martial theme, however the opposite is true for iconography with more occurrences of cultic representations within the scenes of these stelae. This may at first seem illogical, but we must remember that the king's interaction with the gods was a vital element in the preparation and success of a military campaign, and positive interaction between the king and the gods would thus ensure victory. Notably, stelae located at the temples of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel **[97] Abu Simbel B.1**, **[98] Abu Simbel B.2**, **[99a] Abu Simbel C.20 [99b]**, **Abu Simbel C.22**, and Ramesses III at Medinet Habu **[RIII-19] Medinet Habu I** and **[RIII-20] Medinet Habu II**, which all contain cultic scenes, are embedded into much larger compositions already portraying the might and dominance of the king, through motifs such as the presentation of the *ḫpš*-sword, smiting of captives and emblematically subjugated foreign place names. This is shown in **Fig. 4** below, where the two rhetorical stelae at Medinet Habu that flank the gateway of the first pylon, as indicated by the two red arrows, are literally surrounded by martial motifs.
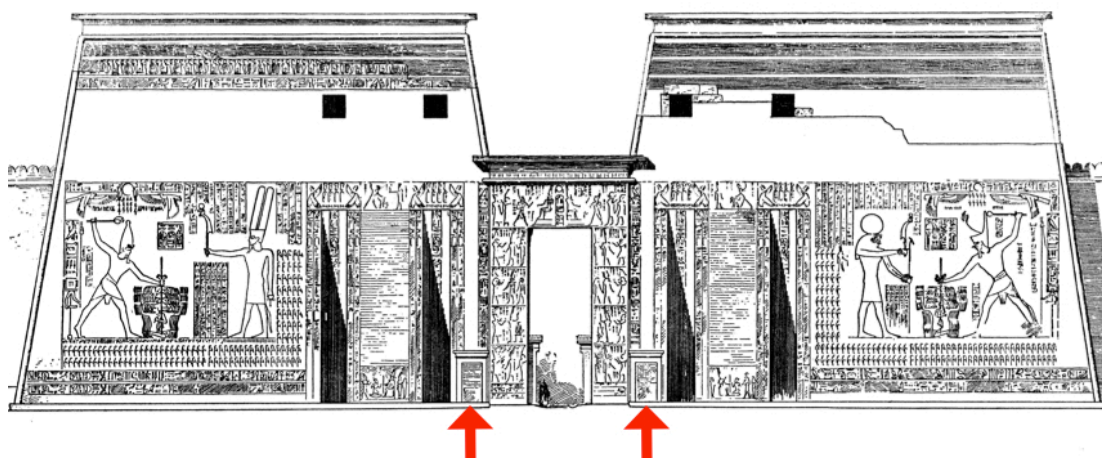
Fig. 4: Façade of the temple of Medinet Habu.
Source: U. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu I – General Plans and Views*, (Chicago, 1934), pl. 22.

In this way, the rhetorical stelae are also associated with these martial motifs, allowing the space immediately above the body of text to be reserved for more intimate scenes of offering between the king and the gods. By submitting these offerings, it is therefore possible that the king was implicitly ensuring a victorious campaign, by perpetuating his own power and kingship through divine support.

4.2 Discussion

The scenes that have been investigated above are all well attested within the royal iconography of the New Kingdom. When these scenes occur upon the walls of temples, such as the war scenes of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, it may be easy to assume that

they are, or were at some stage, based on a particular event that took place at a particular time. An investigation in to the presentation of these scenes upon *private* stelae has led R. Schulman to suggest that these too are based on actual events.[140] In further developing Schulman's hypothesis, he suggested that it may be possible to see a verbalisation of the text accompanying the scene, i.e. "Take for yourself the sword…", "I have given to you…", or even the main body of the text upon a stela to be a part of the ceremony or ritual.[141] However it is difficult to form the same conclusions for rhetorical stelae, which by definition do not usually reflect any historical reality.

While we have treated these scenes through most of the above discussion as portraying, or at least being based on, real events, it must also be considered that the scenes upon rhetorical stelae could have existed on a more abstract or timeless level. In this way, the scenes may not represent any event that occurred in a particular time or place but instead serve a more symbolic purpose, such as containing apotropaic qualities.[142] The martial scenes in particular are elsewhere known as "emblematic" war scenes, representing the dominance of the king as a ruler who has power, dominion and victory over foreigners.[143] For example, when the king is shown physically receiving the *ḫpš*-sword, he is also receiving a symbolic assurance of victories and continued dominion abroad.[144] By being recorded on these stelae, such "emblematic" war scenes represent the king's continual maintenance of order over the chaotic world, in an act that is timeless and repeated for eternity.[145] Scenes where the king is shown making an offering to the gods can be similarly understood, where the offering is continual, as is what he gains in return, be it prosperity, jubilees or eternal kingship.

Furthermore, several stelae present aspects that can *only* be interpreted emblematically. **[6] Beth Shan (Plate 3)** contains a number of place names at the base of the stelae where each name has been written within a ring or wall from which protrudes the upper half of a bound figure. These place names are positioned at the base of the stela, symbolically representing the king's dominance over these regions. This is reinforced by the

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[140] For his discussion regarding the presentation of the xpS-sword, see: Schulman, 'Take for yourself the sword', 269-270. For his discussion regarding smiting scenes, see: Schulman, *Ceremonial Execution and Public Reward*, 5, 48-49.

[141] Schulman, 'Take for yourself the sword', 270.

[142] A. Spalinger, 'Egyptian New Kingdom Triumphs: a First Blush', 40.

[143] H. L., McCarthy, 'The function of the "Emblematic" scenes of the king's domination of foreign enemies and narrative battle scenes in Ramesses II's Nubian Temples', *The Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 30 (20030), 69.

[144] As discussed briefly by Spalinger, 'Chauvinism in the First Intermediate Period', 255.

[145] McCarthy, 'The function of the "Emblematic" scenes', 69.

accompanying vertical column of text: "All flat lands and all hill-countries are under [his two feet]."[146] As previously mentioned, the scene on **[95] Abydos III** depicts two falcons of gold, offering jubilees, dominion and eternity to the name of the king, and can thus be considered simply as a more symbolic version of the other offering scenes that occur commonly within this corpus. Lastly, at the bottom of **[103] Amarah West (Plate 33)**, four *rḫy.t*-birds are shown, sitting upon baskets with anthropomorphic arms raised in adoration towards the two cartouche names of Ramesses II in the centre. It is possible to read this grouping of signs as: "All people worship Usermaatre Setepenre."[147] This final emblematic representation reinforces the underlying message found throughout these stelae, which was to extol the greatness the king.

5. CONCLUSION

Based on the content of the text alone, it has already been said that the corpus of rhetorical stelae have not been attractive sources to Egyptologists. At a superficial level, they present little information to assist in piecing together the puzzles of history. Yet, text need not be studied for content alone. Following Spalinger's remarks in **Section 2.3**, the composition, structure and, one might add, visual appearance of these rhetorical stelae serve an entirely different avenue of enquiry.

Utilising the three poetical dimensions outlined by Kitchen, we have been able to analyse the corpus of rhetorical stelae in this way. Firstly, applying the concept of parallelism, we have been able to explore the smallest units of the composition, how the text is structured and how various aspects of the king can be emphasised through specific groupings of clauses. Secondly, by investigating the various positioning of the cartouche names of the king across a number of texts, different usages of these markers have come to light, namely the framing of the text as a whole or the internal division of stanzas. It may be that the ideological value of using the cartouches of the king in this way was to proliferate his name, but what of the textual values of these markers? Were they read as part of the text or considered as punctuation only? While both may have been true, in investigating the third dimension, the cartouche names as visual elements of the text, it seems that in some cases at least, they served merely an aesthetic purpose. If they were not intended to be read, the inclusion and distribution of cartouche names throughout the corpus of rhetorical stelae could be seen as a non-essential addition to the text. Yet it seems more likely that the

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[146] Refer to plate 3.
[147] Refer to plate 33: *dwȝ rḫy.t nb(.t) Wsr-Mȝꜥ.t-Rꜥ(.w) Stp-n(.y)-Rꜥ(.w)*

opposite is true. The royal titulary held ideological significance in itself, being composed of carefully selected elements, in order to convey the identity and attributes of the ruler. The name of the king was not only important for recognition in life, but to ensure memorial after death and the continuation of the mortuary cult. Incorporating the king's name obviously served an important role in the effectiveness of the rhetorical stela: it was utilised on textual, function, symbolic and thematic levels, and its frequent repetition is most striking to the viewer.

Indeed, while the text itself provided an extensive and detailed eulogy of the king, such information may not always have been accessible to the average person. The illiterate audience could have only extracted meaning through the iconographical elements of these stelae. Like the main text, the scenes decorating these stela could convey either cultic or martial themes, and in many cases they served as a visual accompaniment to the content of the text. While it has been considered that the scenes displayed upon these stelae may have had their foundations in actual events that occurred at given times and places, it has been similarly shown that these scenes could be understood through a more abstract interpretation, which is more in line with the established understanding of rhetorical stelae. Furthermore, both physical and abstract understandings of these scenes need not be mutually exclusive: it is possible that the depictions could portray an actual event that took place, while also symbolically perpetuating the significance of this event, thus ensuring the future prosperity of the king as a warrior and efficient ruler for the rest of eternity. Regardless of whether these scenes represent a real or symbolic event, these scenes provided the same message as the text, but through a visual medium that was comprehensible to any viewer. Through the advantages of both text and image, the rhetorical stelae served to portray the king in two ways: as a victorious military leader and as a pious devotee of the gods. Together, in serving both the earthly and divine realms, these roles of the king were equally essential for the continuation of *maat*.

PART THREE: CONTEXT

1. INTRODUCTION

While the content of rhetorical stelae was more explicitly responsible for promoting the king, their context, both historical and physical, also played a part. The following section will explore the impact that chronological and geographical setting had on both the installation and reception of rhetorical stelae.

2. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The corpus of rhetorical stelae belongs exclusively to the Ramesside Period, a time well established as one of imperial expansion and prolific building programs, particularly during the 66-year reign of Ramesses II. Indeed, from the start of the New Kingdom, Egypt had established its widespread dominance within the ancient world through several far-reaching campaigns, including those of Thutmose III, who advanced Egypt's borders as far as the Euphrates in the north and the Fourth Cataract in the south. Standing on the shoulders of the 18th dynasty warrior pharaohs, the Ramesside kings continued to pursue military victory and made great use of monumental architecture in order to promote this. As B. J. Kemp describes, "[i]deology needs architecture for its fullest expression. By its potential for a dwarfing scale architecture compels respect in the individual and becomes the dominating horizon for crowds. Together with its style and detailing it creates a mood".[148] The Ramesside kings took advantage of both the physical and emotional palette of their temple complexes to employ a number of architectural and ideological innovations. The monumental war records introduced at Karnak by Seti I, for instance, became a tradition that would continue until Graeco-Roman times.[149] Ramesses II, in particular, excelled in establishing buildings and structures in his name throughout his long reign, in order to commemorate events such as the Battle of Kadesh, the Hittite treaty and diplomatic marriages.[150]

Rhetorical stelae are not exactly colossal (the largest known dimensions are 3.9x3.5x0.2m for **[74] Tanis III**), nor strictly found in temple contexts, yet their existence and apparent purpose exemplifies the ideological importance of publicising the name, image and deeds of the king through monuments. These stelae formed part of the propaganda of the pharaoh, both as a military leader and as one who appeases the gods, asserting his position

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[148] B. J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a civilisation* (London, 2006), 248.
[149] Kitchen, 'Ramesses II and his dynasty as traditionalists and innovators', 108, 112.
[150] Kitchen, 'Ramesses II and his dynasty as traditionalists and innovators', 110.

as a suitable and beneficent ruler.[151] The first rhetorical stelae were produced under Seti I, and this corpus grew exponentially in the following reign of Ramesses II, before gradually leaving the archaeological record from the time of Ramesses III to Ramesses V. However, their eulogistic format, as described in **Part Two, Section 2.1**, has a much earlier history of development.

2.1 Development of eulogy

The *dependent* eulogy, in comparison to the *independent* eulogy of rhetorical stelae, were a more common form of text, as they could be easily embedded into larger historical texts. Such dependent eulogies are known from the Middle Kingdom through various forms of praise towards Senwosret I,[152] and in turn, these texts find their roots in a biography from the time of Sahure,[153] placing their origin quite early in the scheme of Egyptian history. The progression of royal eulogies can be followed in historical texts from the later Middle Kingdom, with the Semna Stelae of Senwosret III,[154] to the end of the Second Intermediate Period, with the Kamose Stela,[155] and into the New Kingdom, with the Poetical Stela of Thutmose II and the Stela of Amenhotep III from his mortuary temple at Thebes.[156]

There are two examples known to the author of what can be considered *independent* eulogies found on stelae predating the rhetorical texts of the Ramesside Period. The first, the Tombos Boundary Stela of Thutmose I, was found near Third Cataract.[157] The inscription begins with a full date (Year 2, month 2 of *ꜣḥ.t*, day 15), along with a description of the king's ascension to the throne. The remainder of the text is dedicated to the might that the king holds over his foes, especially the Nubians, utilising elaborate imagery and phraseology similar to that seen upon later rhetorical stelae. However, this stela stands apart from these later texts, as it served a direct purpose. It records the date of its construction, marking the specific time at which it was placed as a boundary stela in order to delineate the limits of Egyptian dominance, and to serve as a physical (and textual) reminder of the king's power.

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[151] E. Bleiberg, 'Historical texts as political propaganda during the New Kingdom', *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 7 (1985/6), 5.

[152] There are three examples of royal praise from this time, see Goedicke, 'The Encomium of Sesotris I', 5-28; H. Goedicke, 'The Berlin Leather Roll' (pBerlin 3029)', in Anonymous (ed.) *Festschrift zum 150-jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums*, (Berlin, 1974), 87-104; and The Story of Sinuhe, found in translation within Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: Volume I*, 225-226.

[153] J. Assmann, 'Eulogie', *LÄ* II, 40.

[154] C. Eyre, 'The Semna stelae: quotation, genre, and functions of literature', in S. Israelit-Groll (ed.) *Studies in Egyptology presented to Miriam Lichtheim* I, (Jerusalem, 1990), 148.

[155] J. Assmann, 'Eulogie', in *LÄ*, 40.

[156] The contributions of these last two stelae on later Ramesside texts are discussed in Kitchen & Gaballa, 'Ramesside Varia II', 23-28.

[157] Urk. V, 82-86. See a brief discussion of this stela in Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military*, 45-47, and a translation with commentary in H. Goedicke, 'The Thutmosis I Inscription near Tomâs', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 53, (1996), 161-176.

Perhaps the most pertinent example of *independent* eulogy that predates rhetorical stelae is a little-known limestone stela that praises the Theban king of the 16th dynasty, Sekhemre-Sankhtawy, Neferhotep III.[158] In fact, this stela displays all of the qualities that define the Ramesside rhetorical stela: including a scene of the king interacting with the gods, the main text beginning with the proclamation "Live!", the inclusion of the full titulary, and, finally, a eulogy to the king praising his martial qualities through general statements. There is again a brief allusion to an actual event, in this case, the king provided food during a famine. Another slight difference is the use of the phrase *i-nd ḥr=k* "Greetings to you", as opposed to the later customary "Live! Good god" to introduce the eulogy. Nonetheless, the similarity between this stela and those within the rhetorical corpus is striking.

It is not possible to conclude that the two stelae above directly influenced or lead to the development of rhetorical stelae, however they do highlight an earlier tradition of independent eulogy that existed long before the Ramesside Period.

2.2 Dating rhetorical stelae

Having explored the greater milieu of the development and establishment of Ramesside rhetorical stelae, it is now possible to attempt to narrow down the time of production for specific examples. This can be achieved through both absolute and relative dating methods.

2.2.1 Regnal dating

The appearance of regnal dates upon rhetorical stelae, while uncommon, provides an absolute date for the installation of a small number of these texts. Only five examples from the corpus can be identified:

Ramesses II	Ramesses III
[6] Beth Shan	**[RIII-19] Medinet Habu I**
Year 18, month 4 of *pr.t*, day 1	Year 12
Karnak	**[RIII-20] Medinet Habu II**
Year 37	Year 12
Keswe	
Year 56, month 4 of *šm.w*, day <1>[159]	

When considered within the larger chronology of a particular reign, regnal dates can assist in contextualising the production of certain stelae. The date of Year 18 of Ramesses II upon **[6] Beth Shan**, for instance, is evidence for an Egyptian presence in this area of ancient Palestine, between the Battle of Kadesh in Year 5 and the creation of the Hittite

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[158] P. Vernus, 'La Stèle du roi Sekhemsankhtaouyrê Neferhotep Ikyhernofert et la domination Hyksôs (stèle Caire JE 59635), *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 68 (1982),

[159] There is no indication of the number of days after the word sw: Kitchen, *Poetry of ancient Egypt*, 137.

treaty in Year 21, and this is supported by archaeological evidence.[160] The **Keswe** stela, on the other hand, has been suggested to be linked with the death of the Hittite king Hattusil III.[161] Conversely, information within the main text itself may hint at a possible date of production when it is not explicitly present. For example, Kitchen suggests that the mention of the Philistines and Tursha on **[RIII-26] Deir el Medina** may speak to a date of Year 8.[162]

2.2.2 Palaeography

The majority of rhetorical stela do not feature regnal dating, and this was perhaps an intentional choice in order to present the praise of the king as more timeless in nature. It is possible, however, to use palaeographic elements within hieroglyphic texts to narrow down the time of their construction. In regards to the rhetorical stelae of Ramesses II, the length of his reign saw changes to the writing of his name, which can be used as loose dating criteria.

Specifically, the Birth name of the king was written with the ending *-ss* up until around Year 20-21, before being replaced with the ending *–sw* from Year 21 onwards (see **Fig. 5**).[163]

Fig. 5: Names of Ramesses II

Evidence for the time of this changeover is found in the text of the Hittite treaty, which is firmly dated to the Year 21 of Ramesses II and consistently utilises the *–sw* ending throughout.[164] However, Spalinger has suggested that the beginning of the transitional period should be shifted closer to Year 18, based on the palaeographic evidence of **[6] Beth Shan (Plates 2-3)**, which uses *–ss* on four occasions and *–sw* on three.[165]

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[160] K. Kitchen, 'Notes on a Stela of Ramesses II from near Damascus', *GM* 179 (1999), 133; P. E. McGovern, S. J. Fleming, & C. P. Swann, 'The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan: Glass and Faience Production and Importation in the Late New Kingdom', *BASOR* 290-91 (1993), 2; RITANC II, 28.

[161] See Kitchen, 'Notes on a Stela of Ramesses II from near Damascus', 133-138.

[162] Kitchen, *Poetry of Ancient Egypt*, 209.

[163] As first identified by K. Seele and noted by W. Peck, 'A Ramesside ruler offers incense', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 31 (1972), 15 n. 24; see also K. Kitchen, 'Historical Observations in Ramesside Nubia', in E. Endesfelder, K. Priese, W. Reineke & S. Wenig (eds.) *Ägypten und Kusch: Fritze Hintze zum 60. Geburtstag*, (Berlin, 1977), 220; K. Kitchen, 'Aspects of Ramesside Egypt', in W. Reineke (ed.) *Acts: First International Congress of Egyptology*, (Berlin, 1979), 38; Spalinger, A., 'Historical Observations on the Military Reliefs of Abu Simbel and Other Ramesside Temples in Nubia', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 66 (1980), 95-97.

[164] For the Hittite treaty, see KRI II, 225-232 and discussion in K. Kitchen, 'Aspects of Ramesside Egypt', in W. Reineke (ed.) *Acts: First International Congress of Egyptology*, (Berlin, 1979), 38.

[165] A. Spalinger, 'Historical Observations on the Military Reliefs of Abu Simbel and Other Ramesside Temples in Nubia', *JEA*, 66 (1980), 96-97.

This criterion can be used to establish an approximate date for several rhetorical stelae belonging to the reign of Ramesses II, placing them within the earlier or later reign of this king. The distribution of the *–sw* and *–ss* endings on rhetorical stelae is as follows:

Stelae	*–ss* ending	*–sw* ending	Stelae	*–ss* ending	*–sw* ending
[6] Beth Shan	x	x	**[90] Athribis**		x
[73] Tanis II		x	**[91] Wadi Sannûr**		x
[74] Tanis II		x	**[92] Wadi Sannûr**		x
[75] Tanis IV		x	**[93] Abydos I**		x
[76] Tanis V		x	**[94] Abydos II**		x
[77] Tanis VI		x	**[95] Abydos III**		x
[78] Tanis VII		x	**[96] Deir el Bahari**		x
[79] Tanis VIII		x	**[97] Abu Simbel B.1**	x	
[80] Tanis VII/VIII		x	**[98] Abu Simbel B.2**	x	x
[81] Tanis IX		x		(lintel)	(main)
[82] Tanis X		x	**[99a] Abu Simbel C.20**	x	x
[83] Tanis XI		x	**[99b] Abu Simbel C.22**	x	x
[84] Tell el Balamun		x	**[100] Buhen fragments**	x	
[85] Gebel Shaluf I		x	**[102] Amarah West**		x
[86] Gebel Shaluf II		x	**[154a] Tanis XII**		x
[87] Tell el Retâba		x	**[154b] Tanis XIII**		x
[88] Bubastis I		x	**Karnak**		x
[89] Bubastis II		x	**Keswe**		x

It is immediately apparent that, in addition to **[6] Beth Shan**, evidence of the earlier *–ss* writing can only be seen on five other stelae. Notably, four of these come from Abu Simbel alone, with three showing usage of both names. This suggests that they may have been constructed during the transitional phase of the name change, between Years 18-21. It is further possible that **[97] Abu Simbel B.1**, presenting only the earlier name, may have been the first of these stelae to be established at Abu Simbel. Likewise, **[100] Buhen**, contains only the *–ss* writing of the name, indicating that it was produced at some stage within the first two decades of Ramesses II's reign.

2.2.3 Epithets

A similar investigation can take place through the mention of *ḥзb-sd* in the epithets of Ramesses II, who incorporated references to the *sed*-festival after Year 30 of his reign.[166]

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[166] Such a criterion is not applicable to Ramesses III, whose Nebty name includes a reference to the *sed*-festival, long before he ever performed in one.

Two references to the *sed*-festival can be found in the corpus of rhetorical stelae belonging to this king:[167]

[91] Wadi Sannûr I[168]

    (1) *ꜥnḫ Ḥr.w kꜣ nḫt mri.y Mꜣꜥ.t*
       ity wr ḥꜣb-sd mi Ptḥ-tꜣ-tnn
    (1) Live! Horus, Strong bull, beloved of Maat,
       Sovereign, great of *sed*-festivals like Ptah-tatennen.

 [92] Wadi Sannûr II[169]

    (1) *ꜥnḫ Ḥr(.w) kꜣ nḫt mri.y Mꜣꜥ.t*
       nb ḥꜣb-sd mi it=f Ptḥ-tꜣ-tnn
    (1) Live! Horus, Strong bull, beloved of Maat,
       Lord of Sed-festivals like his father Ptah-tatennen.

Both these epithets, "great of *sed*-festivals" and "lord of *sed*-festivals", are attested from Year 34, although the former is a less common variant.[170] Thus, it is likely that these stelae were established after Ramesses 34th Regnal year, and probably as a pair.

Consequently, if the use of *–ss* ending in the Birth name of Ramesses II can give a *terminus ante quem* of Year 18-21, and the occurrence of term *ḥꜣb-sd* in epithets can give a *terminus post quem* of Year 30, then it would seem that the majority of stelae dedicated to Ramesses II were produced during this ten-year period, in the latter first half of the king's reign. However, it must be noted that the lack of mention of the *sed*-festival in epithets *does not* exclude a stelae from dating to after Year 30. For instance, **Keswe** does not feature this term and has a regnal dating of Year 57. It would be more cautious, then, to suggest that the majority of stelae date simply to after Year 21, clustering in the latter two-thirds of the king's reign. If this is indeed accurate, it may seem surprising that even so far into the rule of Ramesses II he continued to install such laudatory monuments. One would think that his legitimacy and dominion were well and truly established in Egypt, and known abroad, particularly in the period of relative peace following the Hittite treaty.

3. PHYSICAL CONTEXT

As **[6] Beth Shan** demonstrated above, it is not only time that is significant for discussing the purpose of rhetorical stelae, but also its place. The physical context of these stelae can signify both the intended audience and purpose behind the installation of these monuments. The corpus of rhetorical stelae can be categorised into two broad archaeological contexts:

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[167] See further discussion of this dating criterion in relation to the stelae of Wadi Sannûr in W. Barta, 'Zwei ramessidische Stelen aus dem Wadi Sannûr' *MDAIK* 20 (1965), 100-101 & RITANC II, 185.
[168] After KRI II, 308.2.
[169] After KRI II, 308.10.
[170] Barta, "Zwei ramessidische Stelen aus dem Wadi Sannûr", *MDAIK* 20 (1965), 100-101.

temple and secular. This excludes those stelae whose context cannot be established with certainty, as they were either lost,[171] not adequately recorded,[172] or found out of their original context.[173]

3.1 Temple context

As summarised in the following table, the majority of rhetorical stelae were uncovered in a temple context.

Stela	Location
[86] Gebel Shaluf II	Near small temple of Seth
[87] Tell el Retâba	Within temple of Atum(?)
[88] Bubastis	Near entrance to temple of Bastet
[89] Bubastis	At entrance of festival hall in temple of Bastet
[93] Abydos I	Second court at temple of Seti I
[94] Abydos II	Second court at temple of Seti I
[95] Abydos III	Rear room within temple of Ramesses II at Abydos
[97] Abu Simbel B.1	South of causeway of Abu Simbel
[98] Abu Simbel B.2	North of causeway of Abu Simbel
[99a] Abu Simbel C.20	Cut into façade of Abu Simbel
[99b] Abu Simbel C.22	Cut into façade of Abu Simbel
[102] Amarah West	Temple of Ramesses II at Amara West
Karnak	Discarded between third and fourth pylons
[RIII-19] Medinet Habu I	Embedded into first pylon at Medinet Habu
[RIII-20] Medinet Habu II	Embedded into first pylon at Medinet Habu
[RIII-26] Deir el Medina	Chapel C in 'Sanctuary of Ptah' near Deir el Medina
[RV-36] Gebel Silsila	Rock cut among the sandstone quarries*

* The location of this stela within the quarries at Gebel Silsila is not strictly a temple context, but the site as a whole has a long tradition of cultic activity, including private and royal chapels, and festivals for the gods Sobek and Hapy.[174]

Inscriptions within temple contexts served two levels of audience: the wordly, those citizens and officials who visit or work in the temple, and the divine, the gods whose cults the temples maintained. The majority of rhetorical stelae found within a temple context

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[171] **[SI-56] West Silsila**.
[172] **[SI-59] Tyre**, **[84] Tell el Balamun**, **[100] Buhen** and **[101] Buhen fragments.**
[173] **[73] Tanis II-[83] Tanis XI**, **[154a] Tanis XII-[154b] Tanis XIII**; **[96] Deir el Bahari** and **Keswe**.
[174] See entry by R. A. Caminos, "Gebel es-Silsile", in W. Helck & E. Otto, *LÄ* II (1977), cols. 441-447.

were located within the more publically accessible areas, namely the forecourts and façades, at eye-level. Even for those who could not read the text both the accompanying scenes depicting the king in the company of the gods and the prolific appearance of the cartouche names would hold meaning.

Belonging to a temple context did not preclude the stela from conveying a martial theme in its text. The examples above are distributed fairly evenly across both martial and cultic themes, as can be seen in **Part Two, Section 2.1**. However, it is notable that only one of these examples from a temple context (**[RIII-26] Deir el Medina**) employs the motif of the king receiving or using the *ḫpš*-sword in the accompanying scene. As discussed in **Part Two Section 4.1.2**, cultic scenes are more common overall on rhetorical stelae, and may have served a specific function when appearing on rhetorical stela in temple contexts, namely to supplement the dominating martial scenes usually found on the façade and outer temple walls. Kitchen suggests that rhetorical stelae of Ramesses II are "best understood and appreciated as a verbalisation of, and a poetical equivalent to, the dramatic war scenes" of the king.[175]

Indeed, the New Kingdom temple was the key location to promote the role of the king as warrior, in addition to his relationship with the gods; for both of these aspects contributed to overall ideology of kingship and the maintenance of *maat*. The temple was used as the setting for celebrations of military victory and this is perhaps reflected in the content of the rhetorical stelae.

As noted in the Introduction, the text of rhetorical stelae could be partly or wholly in the form of a speech by the king to his people, or between the king and the gods. Three examples are known of the former: **[99b] Abu Simbel C.22**, **[RIII-19] Medinet Habu I** and **[RIII-20] Medinet Habu II**. Spalinger suggests that these texts may be the records of actual speeches given by the king to his officials and militia at these temples, during the celebration of his military successes.[176] If so, these texts, while serving to commemorate the acts of the king for eternity, would not be strictly timeless but instead belong to a particular event within the reign of the king.

In a similar way, the occurrence of speeches between the king and the god could also serve to memorialise the military campaigns of the ruler. **[97] Abu Simbel B.1** contains a speech

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[175] RITANC II, 173.
[176] A. Spalinger, 'Two Ramesside Rhetorical Poems', 162-3.

from Amun-Re that closes with the god turning to each of the cardinal directions in order to "work a wonder" for the king.[177] This motif, which is derived from the Triumphal Hymn of Amenhotep III,[178] accompanied the victorious return of a king from a campaign abroad.[179] As such, a triumphal setting would befit the installation of this stela also.[180]

If certain stelae can potentially be anchored to the celebration of military victory, others may be associated with the commemoration of certain temples or monuments. **[84] Tell el Balamun**, **[96] Deir el Bahari**, **[100] Buhen**, **[102] Amarah West** and **[RIII-108] Luxor**, after concluding the eulogy of the king, continue in prose with the formula *iri.n=f m mnw=f n it=f* "He made as a monument for his father…" to describe the establishment of a specific monuments, such as a stela for Amun-Re "out in front",[181] or "the House of Ramesses-Meriamun, the settlement" (**[102 Amarah West]**)[182]. These stela may be recording an actual event that is hidden within the greater eulogy of the text.

Both the elements of speech and building commemoration seem uncharacteristic for our previous definition of a rhetorical stela. By alluding to or commemorating an actual (though often unspecified) events within the reign of the king, these stelae demonstrate that they are not merely bombastic, but may possess historical significance.

3.2 Secular context

A further four stelae can be more loosely contextualised to secular settings:

Stelae	Location
[6] Beth Shan	Located within a fort of Ramesses II at Beth Shan
[85] Gebel Shaluf I	Found discarded, but considered to have once been a route marker leading to the Red Sea
[91] Wadi Sannûr I	Similarly considered to a route marker, perhaps leading to a nearby alabaster mine
[92] Wadi Sannûr II	As above

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[177] KRI II, 313.4: *di(=i) ḥr(=i) mḥ.yt biȝ.w n=k* …"I turn my face towards the north that I may work a wonder for you…".

[178] Cairo Museum 34025 , a stela originally located in the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III and reused in the mortuary temple of Merenptah: M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. Volume II: The New Kingdom*, (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1976), 43.

[179] See K. Kitchen & G. Gaballa, "Ramesside Varia II", *ZÄS* 96 (1970), 27-28, where it is referred to as being characterised by "I am thy father…". See also A. Spalinger, 'Chauvinism in the First Intermediate Period', in H. Vymazalová & M. Barta (eds.) *Chronology and archaeology in ancient Egypt (the third millennium B.C.)*, (Prague, 2008), 257, which discusses this speech as one version of the king's triumph, alongside the presentation of the sword.

[180] Enemies are also mentioned according to their cardinal direction within **[89] Bubastis II** and **[RIII-26] Deir el Medina**, although in these cases it is not within a speech of Amun-Re.

[181] **[RIII-108] Luxor**: KRI V, 292.7

[182] **[108] Amarah West (Plate 33)**: KRI II, 322.13

As seen in this table, the secular context can be said to refer to a variety of places, including a fort and as markers along certain routes. These stelae were all found outside the Nile corridor, with one **[6] Beth Shan**, located outside of Egypt. The presentation of the *ḥpš*-sword (**[6] Beth Shan (Plate 2)**) and smiting scenes (**[91] Wadi Sannûr I (Plate 25) & [92] Wadi Sannûr II (Plate 26)**) visually conveyed to the viewer the characterisation of the king as a warrior, and more so, one capable of smiting his foreign enemies. The installation of these stelae at the limits of Egypt and beyond sent the message of a powerful and bellicose king, to both Egyptians and foreigners.

4. CONCLUSION

The purpose of rhetorical stelae relied not only on their content, but also on their context: both time and space contributed to the function of these texts. In the greater chronological setting the of the Middle and New Kingdoms, these texts can be seen as both a development and offshoot of the dependent royal eulogies, praising the king but usually doing so without explicit reference to a particular event or occasion. The establishment of the physical objects themselves, however, can be approximately determined through the presence of both absolute and relative dating criteria. A number of texts include a regnal date, while others from the time of Ramesses II feature other criteria, which can assist in narrowing down the time of their creation. This can assist to both further our understanding of their chronological situation and suggest motives for their creation, which, in the absence of references to specific events, can be difficult.

In regards to the physical setting of these stelae, two main contexts were identified: temple and secular. While it would seem that those placed in secular locations, in the extremities of Egypt and beyond, were largely preoccupied with martial themes, those placed in temple settings could portray both martial and cultic elements. This is in accordance with the nature of New Kingdom temple decoration, in which the military prowess of the king was emphasised as a key component of his ideology: defending Egypt and serving the gods came hand-in-hand in maintenance of *maat*.

Yet, in investigating rhetorical stelae from temple contexts, the definition of certain stelae included in the corpus as "rhetorical" was problematised. When considered in their temple contexts, those stelae, which incorporate speeches of the king to his people, or refer to the

commemoration of a building, potentially lose their timelessness. Instead, they can be seen as records of particular events, which occurred in this setting.

Considering rhetorical stelae in their physical setting also allows us to comment on the potential audience. The majority of texts are noticeable for their accessibility and it is clear that they were meant to be viewed, both by the Egyptian people and by foreigners. Both text and image combined to convey a particular characterisation of the king. In temple contexts, this characterisation supplements the larger inscriptions and decorations, and, as Kemp suggests above, may have aimed to target the psychological mood of the viewer while in this sacred space. In secular contexts, specifically at borders and foreign locations, the stelae served as a reminder of the might of the Egyptian king, especially in times when he may not have had the actual opportunity to demonstrate this. As a case study of this idea, we can consider the historical and physical context of the rhetorical stelae of Ramesses II. If it is true that the majority of his stelae date around Year 21 and beyond, by this point he had already proven himself as an effective ruler through both the construction and decoration of temples, military campaigns, and the establishment of peace with the Hittites. Yet he continued to promote his own valour and connection with the gods through the establishment of these monuments, in places such as Beth Shan, Wadi Sannûr and Buhen. It could be said that, in the absence of campaigning, Ramesses II continued to reaffirm his military power through rhetorical themes, timeless in manner.

CONCLUSION

The corpus under investigation in the preceding pages was not one created by the present author, but one which had already been established and (loosely) defined. It comprised texts belonging to a particular period of ancient Egyptian history, which seemed to serve no other purpose than to praise the king, and did so without contributing any extensive historical knowledge. This project has re-established the significance of rhetorical stelae as a historical source. Their textual and visual content was investigated, but not merely through the lens of the historian. Rather, the attempt was made to deconstruct the compositional and thematic aspects of both the texts and images in order to not only show what was being presented, but why and through what means. The stelae revealed themselves to be carefully constructed monuments. Their creators had employed specific literary, structural and visual devices in order to convey certain characterisations of the king. The pinnacle was reached by those stelae, which seamlessly incorporated the cartouche names of the king within the text while also arranging them in a visually striking manner to zigzag down the face of the stela. This feature is representative of the greater harmony of text and image demonstrated by these monuments; a harmony that is not truly appreciated until one steps back again from the content, and considers their *Sitz im Leben*.

Through analysing the historical and physical contexts of the rhetorical stelae, we were able to comment on their development as part of the repertoire of royal propaganda in the New Kingdom. Not only did these stelae find their home comfortably amongst the decoration and inscriptions of temple complexes, but they also served to represent the king in places abroad. A number of relationships were observed between the location of certain stelae and their textual and visual themes. Yet, in placing these monuments in their context, the apparent timelessness of a number of stelae has been called into question. In examining the iconography of the stelae, we have discussed the possibility of scenes reflecting actual events. Likewise, in regards to texts, which incorporate the speech of the king or the commemoration of the building, these too can be read on the level of reality. How do we reconcile these suggestions which the characterisation of rhetorical stelae as timeless or ahistorical?

Perhaps a more rigid definition of a rhetorical stela is warranted, one that can strictly be used to determine what is, and what is not a rhetorical stelae. First and foremost, this definition could be based on the nature of the language used. There is a marked different

between those stelae which genuinely served no purpose other than to praise the king and those which were in fact dedicated to a particular event, but used 'rhetorical' language. Establishing classes to separate stelae based on their degrees of rhetoric could be useful in ensuring that those texts, which may offer historical insight, are not simply grouped into Kitchen's "minor literary triumphal tradition". It is only through examining the established corpus of rhetorical stelae collectively and in a comprehensive manner that such problems could be brought to light.

On the other hand, if certain rhetorical stelae do have their foundation in a real event, by recording this occasion or deed, it is imbued with timelessness. The purpose of rhetorical stelae lay not just in portraying the king as an ideal ruler, as the protector of Egypt and benefactor of the gods, but rather recording this portrayal in stone effectively caused him to be so – for eternity. But this is true of the intent behind most inscriptions and images. The desire to perpetuate oneself, to ensure recognition in life and survival in the afterlife, was embedded in Egyptian ideology. No one was a greater priority in this regard than the king, the curator of cosmic order. The study of rhetorical stelae may not provide us with specific historical or chronological data, however, exploring the various elements that went into their design and installation does allow us to consider the measures taken to ensure that the identity of the king would remain eternal.

List of Abbreviations

ASAE	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BSÉG	Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie
GM	Göttinger Miszellen
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JSSEA	Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities
Karnak	Cahiers de Karnak
Kêmi	Kêmi: revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes et coptes
KRI	K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside inscriptions: historical and biographical*, I, II & V (Oxford, 1975, 1979 & 1983).
LÄ	Lexikon der Ägyptolgie
LingAeg	Lingua Aegyptia: Journal of Egyptian Language Studies
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
PM	B. Porter & R. L. B. Moss, *Topographical bibliography of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, reliefs, and paintings* (Oxford, 1927-1939).
RITA	K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside inscriptions, translated & annotated, translations*, I, II & V (Oxford, 1993, 1996 & 2008).
RITANC	K.A Kitchen, *Ramesside inscriptions, translated and annotated: notes and comments*, I, II (Oxford, 1993, 1999)
SAK	Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für Ältagyptischen Sprache und Altertumskunde

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APPENDICES

	Stela	Dating	Titulary	Theme	Zigzag	Scene	Bibliography	Plate
Seti I								
1	**[SI-43] West Silsila** **Provenance:** Lost **Mus. Cat. No.:** N/A **Dimensions:** Unknown **Material:** Unknown	Year 2(?)	Full	Martial / Cultic		Unknown	Brand (2000), 264 KRI I, 80-81 RITA, I, 68-70 RITANC I, 68-69 de Rougé (1876), 265-7	
2	**[SI-56] Tyre** **Provenance:** Tyre **Mus. Cat. No.:** N/A **Dimensions:** Unknown **Material:** Limestone **Plate:** 1		Horus, Nebty, Golden Horus and Throne names preserved. Space for Birth name, but now lost.	Martial		Not preserved	Brand (2000), 122 Chétab (1969-71), 32, pl. VIII:3 KRI I, 117 RITA I, 98-99	**1**
Ramesses II								
3	**[6] Beth Shan** **Provenance:** Fort, west of the northern temple **Mus. Cat. No.:** Penn. Univ. Mus. 29.107.958 **Dimensions:** H: 2.67m, W: 0.99m, Th: 0.37m **Material:** Basalt **Plates:** 2-3	**Regnal date:** Year 18, month 4 of *pr.t*, day 1 **Writing of name of RII:** –*sw* ending –*ss* ending	Full	Martial	**X**	Amun-Re (left) presents *ḫpš*-sword to RII (right) with Behedety above	Černý (1958), 75-82 KRI II, 150-151 PM VII, 379 RITA II, 27-29 RITANC II, 60-63 Rowe (1930), 24, 33-36, pl. 46	**2-3**
4	**[73] Tanis II** **Provenance:** Found in Tanis, but not in original context **Mus. Cat. No.:** N/A **Dimensions:** H: 3.05m, W: 1.80m, Th: 0.60m **Material:** Pink granite **Plates:** 4-6	**Writing of name:** –*sw* ending	Horus, Throne and Birth names	Martial		**Face A** Double scene probably similar to Face B **Face B** Left side: Atum (right) offers *ḫpš*-sword to RII leading Libyan captives Right side: Re-Horakhty (left) offers *ḫpš*-sword to RII leading Syrian(?) captives	KRI II, 289-291 Petrie (1889), pl.III :79, II :78 PM IV, 21 (164 & 202) RITA II, 118-122, §73 RITANC II, 173-175 de Rougé (1877), pls. 67-70 Yoyotte (1949), 58-74, pls. VI-VIII	**4-6**

#	Object	Writing of name	Names		Faces	X	References	Plate
5	**[74] Tanis III** **Provenance:** As above **Mus. Cat. No.:** N/A **Dimensions:** H : 3.9m, W : 3.5m, Th: 0.2m **Material:** Pink granite **Plate:** 7	**Writing of name:** –*sw* ending	Horus, Throne and Birth names on each thickness	Martial(?) with speech	**Face A** Left: RII (left) leads captives before Ptah (right); Right: RII (right) leads captives before Seth (left) **Face B** Left: RII (left) leads captives before Atum (right); Right: RII (right) leads captives to Re-Horakhty (left)		KRI II, 291–292 Montet (1993), pls. 33-34. Petrie (1888), 26, pl. III :(79) RITA II, 122-123 RIT ANC II, 175 Yoyotte (1950), 47-52, figs. 1-2, pl. 5	7
6	**[75] Tanis IV** **Provenance:** As above **Museum Cat. No:** N/A **Dimensions:** Unknown **Material:** Pink granite **Plate:** 8	**Writing of name:** –*sw* ending	Not preserved	Martial(?)	Not preserved	X	KRI II 292-293 Petrie (1888), 25, pl. II:73 PM IV, 21 (194) RITA II, 123-124 RIT ANC II 175-176 Yoyotte (1950), 52-54, pl. VI	8
7	**[76] Tanis V** **Provenance:** As above **Mus. Cat. No.:** Cairo Museum, number unknown **Dimensions:** H: 1.98m, W: 1.40m, Th: 0.48m **Material:** Pink granite **Plate:** 9	**Writing of name:** –*sw* ending	Horus, Throne and Birth names in main text; Throne and Birth names also preserved on one of the thicknesses	Martial	**Face A** Left: RII (left) offers to [Atum] (right); Right: RII (right) offers to Re-Horakhty **Face B** Left: RII (left) offers to Seth (right); Right: RII (right) censes before Geb (left) **Face C** Left: RII (left) before Seth; Right: RII (right) censes before Geb	X	Kitchen (1999), 193-196 KRI, II, 294 Petrie (1888), 27, pl. III (81) Petrie (1889), 18 PM IV, 21 (Objects 242-243) RITA, II, 124-6 RIT ANC, II, 176, §283-4 de Rougé (1877), pl. 67 Yoyotte (1950), 54-62, pl. VII	9
8	**[77] Tanis VI** **Provenance:** As above **Mus. Cat. No.:** N/A **Dimensions:** Current H: 1.75m (original dimensions unknown) **Material:** Pink granite **Plate:** 10	**Writing of name:** –*sw* ending	Horus, Throne and Birth names in main text; Horus name on thicknesses	Martial	**Face A** Left: RII (left) offers to Atum (right); Right: RII (right) offers to Geb (left) **Face B** Left: RII (left) offers to Seth(?) (right); Right: RII (right) offers to Re-Horakhty(?) (left)	X	KRI II, 295 Petrie (1888), pl. III (82) PM IV 21 (214) RITA II 126-127 Yoyotte (1952), 77-80, pl. V	10

No.	Object	Writing of name	Titulary	Category		Description	References	No.
9	**[78] Tanis VII** **Provenance:** As above **Mus. Cat. No.:** N/A **Dimensions:** H: 2.1m, W: 1.55, Th: 0.45m **Material:** Pink granite **Plate:** 11	**Writing of name:** –*sw* ending	Initial titulary not preserved, but Throne and Birth names appear within text	Martial		Not preserved	KRI II, 296 Petrie (1888), pl. II (75-77) PM IV, 21 (190/215) RITA II, 127-129 RITANC II, 177 Yoyotte (1952), 81-84, pl. VI	11
10	**[79] Tanis VIII** **Provenance:** As above, possibly top of **[78]** Tanis VII **Dimensions:** H: 2.1m, W : 1.65m **Material:** Pink granite **Plate :** 12	**Writing of name:** –*sw* ending	Horus name	Martial		**Face A** Left: RII (left) offers to [god] (right) Right: Not preserved **Face B** Left: RII (left) offers to [god] (right) Right: RII (right) offers to [god] (left)	KRI II, 297 Petrie (1888), pl. 2 (69 & 71) PM IV, 21 (211) RITA II, 129 RITANC II, 178 Yoyotte (1952), 82, 84-87, figs. 3-4	12
11	**[80] Tanis VII/VIII fragments** **Provenance:** As above, possibly belonging to **[78] Tanis VII** and **[79] Tanis VIII** **Mus. Cat. No.:** N/A **Dimensions:** Various **Material:** Pink granite	**Writing of name:** –*sw* ending	Not preserved	Martial(?)		Not preserved	KRI II, 297-298 Petrie (1888), pl. 2 (70, 72, 74) Yoyotte (1952), 87-90, figs. 5-8	13
12	**[81] Tanis IX** **Provenance:** As in **[73] Tanis II** **Dimensions:** H: 2.30m, W: 0.95, Th: 0.53m **Material:** Pink granite **Plate:** 13	**Writing of name:** –*sw* ending	No initial titulary in main text, begins directly with speech; full titulary + epithets on thicknesses	Martial(?), entirely speech, mostly lost	X	**Face A** [Horakhty] and goddess (Hathor or Iussas?) (right) presents *ḫpš*-sword to RII (left) **Face B** Not preserved	KRI II, 299-300 RITA II, 132-133 RITANC II, 178-179 Yoyotte (1954), 77-81, figs. 1-2	13
13	**[82] Tanis X** **Provenance:** As above **Mus. Cat. No.:** N/A **Dimensions:** Current H: ~1.5m (originally	**Writing of name:** –*sw* ending	Not preserved	Unknown		**Face A** Right: Only Horus remains (left) Left: Not preserved **Face B** Not preserved	KRI II, 300 RITA II, 133-134 RITANC II, 179 Yoyette (1954), 81-83, fig. 3	14

No.	Provenance / Material	Writing of name	Names	Type		Scene	References	Plate
	~3.0m), W: 1.90m **Material:** Pink granite **Plate:** 14							
14	[83] **Tanis XI** **Provenance:** As above **Mus. Cat. No.:** N/A **Dimensions:** H: 2.80m, W: 1.75m, Th: 0.70m **Material:** Pink granite **Plate:** 15	**Writing of name:** –sw ending	Horus and Nebty names(?)	Martial		Left: [God (right) presents ḥpš-sword] to RII with Seth behind (left) Right: [God (left) presents ḥpš-sword] to RII with [god] behind (right)	KRI II, 300 Petrie (1888), pl. III RITA II, 134 RITANC II, 179-180 Yoyotte (1954), 84-86, fig. 4	15
15	[84] **Tell el Balamun** **Provenance:** Tell el Balamun, northern delta **Mus. Cat. No.:** Cairo JdE 71302 **Dimensions:** H: 1.68m, W: 0.85m, Th: 0.41m **Material:** Sandstone **Plate:** 16	**Writing of name:** –sw ending	Horus, Throne and Birth names	Cultic with building commemoration	X	RII (left) censes before Amun, Mut and Khons (right)	Farag (1939), 127-132, pl. 12 KRI II, 301 RITA II, 134-135 RITANC II, 180-181	16
16	[85] **Gebel Shaluf I** **Provenance:** Wadi Murr, Eastern Desert **Mus. Cat. No.:** Ismalia Mus. no. 2757 **Dimensions:** Unknown **Material:** Pink granite **Plate:** 17-18	**Writing of name:** –sw ending	**Face A** Horus, Throne and Birth names **Face B** Not preserved **Thicknesses** Throne and Birth names	Martial		**Face A** RII (left) offers to Sopdu (right) **Face B** Not preserved	Goyon (1938), 115-122 KRI II, 301-302 RITA II, 135-137 RITANC II, 181	17-18
17	[86] **Gebel Shaluf II** **Provenance:** Near temple of Seth, between Wadi Seyal and Wadi Abu, Eastern Desert **Mus. Cat. No.:** Ismalia Mus. 2758 **Dimensions:** Unknown **Material:** Pink granite	**Writing of name:** –sw ending	Horus, Throne and Birth names	Martial with speech		**Face A** Seth (right) presenting ḥpš-sword to [RII] (left)	Goyon (1938), 115-122 KRI II, 303-304 RITA II, 137-140	19-20

No.	Object	Writing of name	Names	Type		Scene	References	Plate
	Plate: 19-20							
18	**[87] Tell el Retâba** Provenance: Temple of Atum(?) Mus. Cat. No.: N/A Dimensions: Unknown Material: Pink granite Plate: 21	**Writing of name:** –*sw* ending	Not preserved	Martial	X	Not preserved	KRI II, 304 Petrie (1906), pls. 28, 32 PM IV, 55 RITA II, 140 RITANC II, 182	21
19	**[88] Bubastis I** Provenance: Entrance to first hall, north side Mus. Cat. No.: CGC 34509 Dimensions: Unknown Material: Black granite Plate: 22	**Writing of name:** –*sw* ending	[Horus], Throne and Birth names	Cultic with speech	X	Not preserved	KRI II, 305 Naville (1891), 40-41 PM IV, 28 RITA II, 140-142	22
20	**[89] Bubastis II** Provenance: Entrance to festival hall, east side Mus. Cat. No.: N/A Dimensions: Unknown Material: Pink granite Plate: 23	**Writing of name:** –*sw* ending	Horus, Throne and Birth names	Martial	X	Not preserved	KRI II, 306 Naville (1891), pl. 36E PM IV, 28 RITA II, 142-143 RITANC II, 183-184	23
21	**[90] Athribis** Provenance: Unknown Mus. Cat. No.: N/A Dimensions: H: 1.09m, W: 1.10m, Th: 0.22m Material: Unknown Plate : 24	**Writing of name:** –*sw* ending	Full with repetition of Throne and Birth names after Horus, Nebty and Golden Horus names	Cultic with building commemoration		Left : RII (left) offers to [Hor-khenty-khety] (right) Right: RII (right) offers to RII (left)	KRI II, 306-307 Rowe –LAAA (1938), 123-137, pl. 34-35 Rowe – ASAE (1938), 522-532, pl. 98	24
22	**[91] Wadi Sannûr** Provenance: Wadi Sannûr, Eastern Desert Mus. Cat. No.: CGC 34512 Dimensions: Unknown	**Writing of name:** –*sw* ending **Other:**	Horus, Throne and Birth names	Martial		RII (left) smites foes (right) with *ḫpš*-sword	Barta (1965), 98-101, pl. 34 Brunton (1936), 201 KRI II, 307-308 PM VII, 339 RITA II, 145	25

No.	Provenance / Material	Writing of name	Names	Type		Description	References	Plate
	Material: Unknown **Plate:** 25	*hꜣb-sd* in epithet = after Year 34					RITANC II, 184	
23	**[92] Wadi Sannûr** **Provenance:** As above **Mus. Cat. No.:** Munich Inv. no. GL.29 **Dimensions:** Unknown **Material:** Pink limestone **Plate:** 26	**Writing of name:** –*sw* ending **Other:** *hꜣb-sd* in epithet = after Year 34	Horus, Throne, Golden Horus and Birth names	Martial with speech		RII (right) smites foes with battle axe before Seth (left)	Barta (1965), 98-101, pl. 34B KRI II, 308 PM VII, 339 RITA II, 145-146 RITANC II, 185	26
24	**[93] Abydos I** **Provenance:** Temple of Seti I, second court, south wall, *in situ* **Mus. Cat. No.:** N/A **Dimensions:** Unknown **Material:** Sandstone **Plate:** 27	**Writing of name:** –*sw* ending	Full	Cultic		RII (left) offers to Osiris, Isis and two others	Kitchen & Gaballa (1970), 20, pl. 5 KRI II, 308-309 Mariette (1880) 416 -No. 1125 PM VI, 3 (31) RITA II, 146-7 RITANC II, 186	27
25	**[94] Abydos II** **Provenance:** Temple of Seti, second court, north wall, *in situ* **Mus. Cat. No.:** N/A **Dimensions:** Unknown **Material:** Sandstone **Plate:** 28	**Writing of name:** –*sw* ending	Full	Cultic		RII (right) offers to Osiris, Isis and two others (left)	Kitchen & Gaballa (1969), 18, pl. 4 KRI II, 309-310 PM VI, 3 (32) RITA II, 147-148 RITANC II, 186	28
26	**[95] Abydos III** **Provenance:** Temple of RII, rear room **Mus. Cat. No.:** N/A **Dimensions:** Unknown **Material:** Unknown	**Writing of name:** –*sw* ending	Full	Cultic with speech		Emblematic scene with two falcons on *nwb*-sign, offering *hꜣb-sd*-signs and *wꜣs*-sceptres to name of king	KRI II, 310 RITA II, 148-149 RITANC II, 186	29
27	**[96] Deir el Bahari** **Provenance:** Discarded on causeway of temple of	**Writing of name:** –*sw* ending	Horus, Throne and Birth names	Cultic with building commemoration	Attempt(?)	Left : RII (left) offers to Amun-Re (right) Right: RII (right) offers to Amun-Re	BMMA 30 (1935), II, 10-12, figs. 8-9 KRI II, 310-311	

No.	Object	Writing of name		Type	Description	References	
	Mentuhotep II **Mus. Cat. No.:** Cairo JdE 66570 **Dimensions:** Unknown **Material:** Black granite				of Djeseru (left)	RITA II, 149-150 RITANC II, 187-188	
28	**[97] Abu Simbel B.1** **Provenance:** Forecourt, south of causeway, *in situ* **Mus. Cat. No.:** N/A **Dimensions:** Unknown **Material:** Unknown **Plate:** 29	**Writing of name:** –*ss* ending	Full	Martial / Cultic with speech	**North Face** RII (left) offers to Amun-Re, Ptah and Weret-Hekau (right) **South Face** RII (left) before [god] (right)	Donadoni & Černý (1960) B.1-2, KRI II, 311-313 PM VII, 98 (6) RITA II, 150-153 RITANC II, 188 Wreszinski (1927), pl. 69	
29	**[98] Abu Simbel B.2** **Provenance:** Temple forecourt, north of causeway, *in situ* **Mus. Cat. No.:** N/A **Dimensions:** Unknown **Material:** Unknown **Plate:** 30	**Writing of name:** –*ss* ending (lintel) –*sw* ending (main)	Full	Cultic	**Face A** RII offers to Amun, Re-Horakhty and Thoth **Face B** Not preserved	Donadoni & Černý (1960) B.1-2. KRI II, 313-315 PM VII, 98 (7) RITA II, 153-155 RITANC II 188-189	30
30	**[99a] Abu Simbel C.20** **Provenance:** Temple façade, south of colossi, *in situ* **Mus. Cat. No.:** N/A **Dimensions:** Unknown **Material:** Sandstone **Plate:** 31	**Writing of name:** –*ss* ending (lintel) –*sw* ending (main)	Full	Martial	RII (left) offers to Amun-Re, Re-Horakhty and Horus of Meha (right)	Donadoni & Černý (1960), C.20 et C.22 KRI II, 315-320 PM VII, 98 (10) RITA II, 155-160 RITANC II, 189 Spalinger (1986), 136-164	31
31	**[99b] Abu Simbel C.22** **Provenance:** Temple façade, north of colossi, *in situ* **Mus. Cat. No.:** N/A **Dimensions:** Unknown **Material:** Sandstone **Plate:** 32	**Writing of name:** –*ss* ending (lintel) –*sw* ending (main)	Full	Martial / Cultic with speech	Left : RII (left) offers to Re-Horakhty (right) Right: RII (right) offers to Re-Horakhty (left)	Donadoni & Černý (1960), C.20 et C.22 KRI II, 315-321 PM VII, 99 (12) RITA II, 155-160 RITANC II, 189 Spalinger (1986), 136-164	32
32	**[100] Buhen**	**Writing of**	Full	Cultic with	RII (left) before Amun-Re and Horus	KRI II, 321	

No.	Provenance / Mus. Cat. No. / Dimensions / Material	Writing of name	Preservation	Category	Description	References	Plate
	Provenance: South Temple of Horus at Buhen(?) Mus. Cat. No.: CGG 34513 Dimensions: Unknown Material: Unknown	name: –ss ending		building commemoration	of Buhen (right)	RITA II, 160-161 RITANC II, 190	
33	[101] Buhen fragments Provenance: Buhen Mus. Cat. No.: Fragment 1: Penn. Univ. Mus. Cat. No. E.10991 Dimensions: Unknown Material: Sandstone	Writing of name: –sw ending	Not preserved	Unknown	Fragment 1 RII (left) offers to [god] (right) Fragment 2 RII (left) offers to Amun of Buhen (right)	KRI II, 322 PM VII, 137 Randall-MacIver & Woodley (1911), 78, 80, pl. 4, 9 RITA II, 161 RITANC II, 190	
34	[102] Amarah West Provenance: Temple of Ramesses II, outer courtyard Mus. Cat. No.: Brook. Mus. no. 39.423 Dimensions: H: 1.685m, W: 0.872m, Th: 0.185m Material: Sandstone Plate: 33	Writing of name: –sw ending	Full	Cultic with building commemoration	Amun-Re with Mut (left) offers crook to RII (right)	Fairman (1939), 139-144 KRI II, 332 PM VII, 159 (1) RITA II, 161-162 RITANC II, 190	33
35	[154a] Tanis XII Provenance: Found in Tanis, but not in original context Mus. Cat. No.: N/A Dimensions: Unknown Material: Limestone	Writing of name: –sw ending	Full with Throne and Birth names repeated after Horus, Nebty and Golden Horus names	Martial	RII (right) leading captives before [god] (left)	KRI II, 407 Montet (1960), 79, pl. 44:1 RITA II, 233 RITANC II, 272	34
36	[154b] Tanis XIII Provenance: As above Mus. Cat. No.: N/A Dimensions: Unknown Material: Limestone	Writing of name: –sw ending	Full	Martial	[RII] (right) before god (left)	KRI II, 407 Montet (1960), 80, pl. 44:2 RITA II, 233-234 RITANC II, 273	
37	Karnak	Regnal date:	Full, possibly	Martial	Not preserved	Labarta (2013), 425-436	

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No.	Provenance	Date	Completeness	Description	Genre	Bibliography	Pl.
	Provenance: Found reused and discarded between third and fourth pylons **Mus. Cat. No.:** N/A **Dimensions:** H: 3.30m, W: 1.36m **Material:** Unknown **Plate:** 34	Year 37 **Writing of name:** –sw ending	with repetition of Throne and Birth names after Horus, Nebty and Golden Horus names				
38	Keswe **Provenance:** Reused as roofing slab in Roman tomb at Keswe **Mus. Cat. No.:** N/A **Dimensions:** H: 0.96m, W: 0.76m, Th: 0.30m **Material:** Basalt **Plate :** 35	**Regnal date:** Year 56, month 4 of *šm.w*, day <1> **Writing of name:** –sw ending	Full	Lower half of three figures remain, all facing left	Cultic	Kitchen (1999), 133-138 Taraqju (1999), 27-43 Yoyotte (1999), 44-58	**35**
Ramesses III							
39	[RIII-19] **Medinet Habu I** **Provenance:** First pylon, south of gateway **Mus. Cat. No.:** N/A **Dimensions:** Unknown **Material:** Unknown **Plate:** 36	Year 12	Full	RII with Thoth (left) offers to Amun-Re, Mut and Khons (right)	Martial / Cultic with speech	Epigraphic Survey (1932), pl. 107 KRI V, 72-74 RITA V, 55-57 Spalinger (1986), 162	**36**
40	[RIII-20] **Medinet Habu II** **Provenance:** First pylon, north of gateway **Mus. Cat. No.:** N/A **Dimensions:** Unknown **Material:** Sandstone **Plate:** 37	Year 12	Full	RII with Aten behind (right) offers to Amun-Re, Mut and Khons (left)	Martial / Cultic with speech	Epigraphic Survey (1932), pl. 108 KRI V, 75-77 RITA V, 58-60 Spalinger (1986), 162	**37**

41	**[RIII-25] Karnak / [145] Side Jambs** Provenance: In front of fourth pylon Mus. Cat. No.: N/A Dimensions: Unknown Material: Unknown	Not preserved		Martial		Not preserved	Kitchen & Gaballa (1970), 21-23, pl. VI. KRI V, 89, 349 RITA V, 67
42	**[RIII-26] Deir el Medina** Provenance: Sanctuary of Ptah (en route to Valley of the Queens), Chapel C Mus. Cat. No.: N/A Dimensions: Unknown Material: Unknown	Year 8(?)	Full titulary in main text and margins	Martial		Left : Amun-Re (right) presents ḫpš-sword to RIII (left) Right: RH (left) behind young RII who suckles from Meretseger (right)	Bruyère (1929), 32, fig. 17, 24-27, pl. 4 Grandet (1993), 75-76 Kitchen & Endesfelder *et al.* (1977), 224-225 Kitchen (1999), 209-214 KRI V, 90-91 L D III, pl. 218c O'Connor (1987), 131-133 Peden (1994), 63-68 PM I:2 707 RITA V, 68-71 Zibelius (1972), 51
43	**[RIII-108] Luxor** Provenance: Court of Ramesses II, reused Mus. Cat. No.: N/A Dimensions: Unknown Material: Unknown	Not preserved		Cultic with building commemoration		Not preserved	Daressy (1894), 55-56 (i-ii) van Dijk (1979), 19-30 KRI V, 291-292 Otto (1963), 93-97 Otto (1964), 140 PM² II, 312 (68) RITA V, 245-246
Ramesses V							
44	**[RV-36] Gebel Silsila** Provenance: Gebel Silsila quarries Mus. Cat. No.: N/A Dimensions: Unknown Material: Unknown		Throne and Birth names	Cultic	Attempt(?)	RV (left) before Amun, Mut, Khons and Sobek (right)	Champollion (1845), 2, pl. 117 Kitchen (1999), 221-226 KRI VI, 224-225 Lepsius, Denkmaeler III, 223b Peden (1991), 335-338

PLATE 1

[SI-56] Tyre

Source: M. Chétab, 'Noms de personnalités égyptiennes découvertes in Liban', *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth,* 22 (1969-71), pl.3:3.

PLATE 2

[6] Beth Shan

Source: J. Černy, 'Stela of Ramesses II from Beisan', Eretz-Israel, 5 (1958), 78.
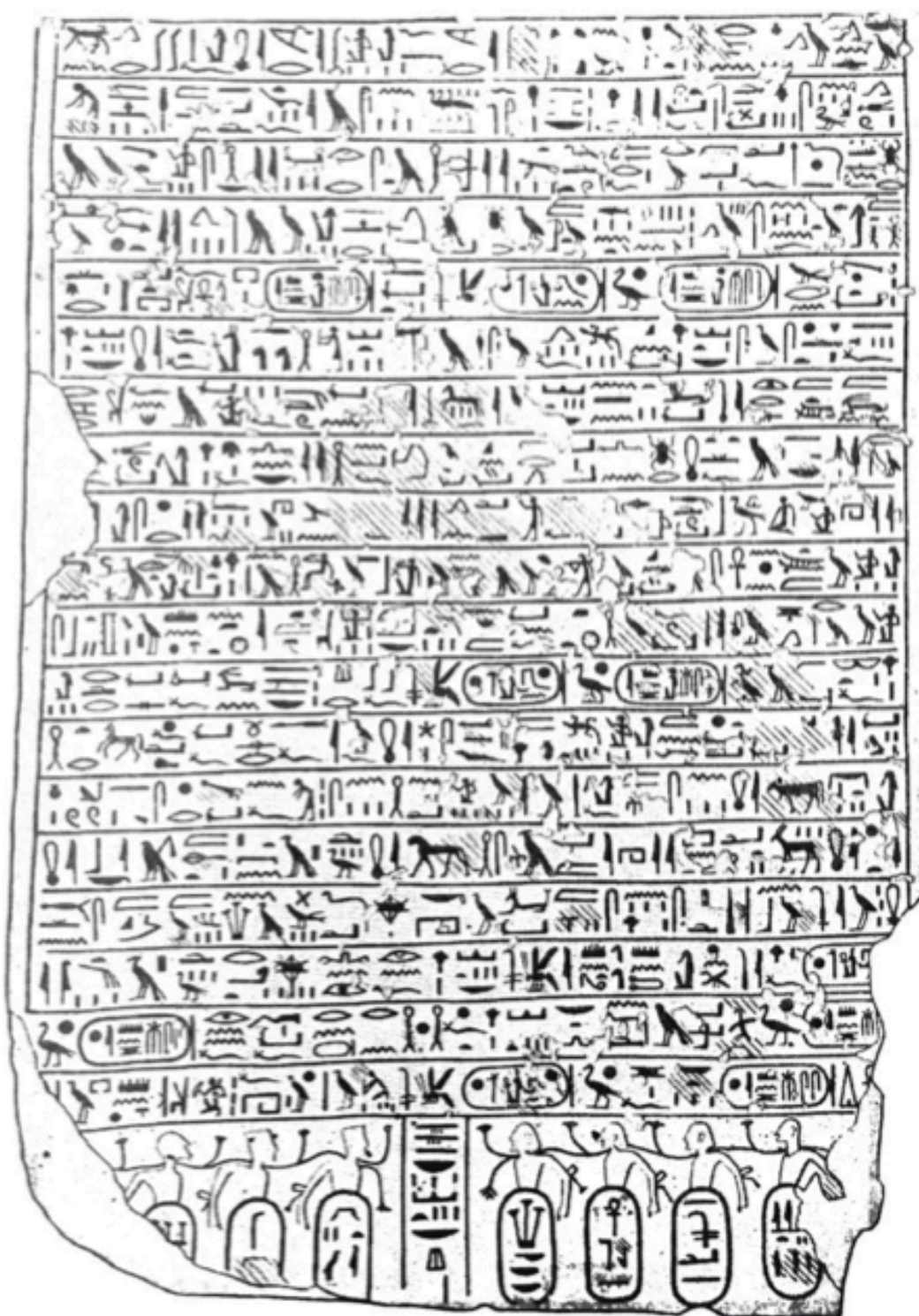
PLATE 3

[6] Beth Shan

Source: J. Černy, 'Stela of Ramesses II from Beisan', *Eretz-Israel*, 5 (1958), 79.

PLATE 4

[73] Tanis II (Face A)

Source: J. Yoyette, 'Les stèles de Ramsès II à Tanis (1ᵉ partie)', *Kêmi* 10 (Paris, 1949), pl.8.

PLATE 5
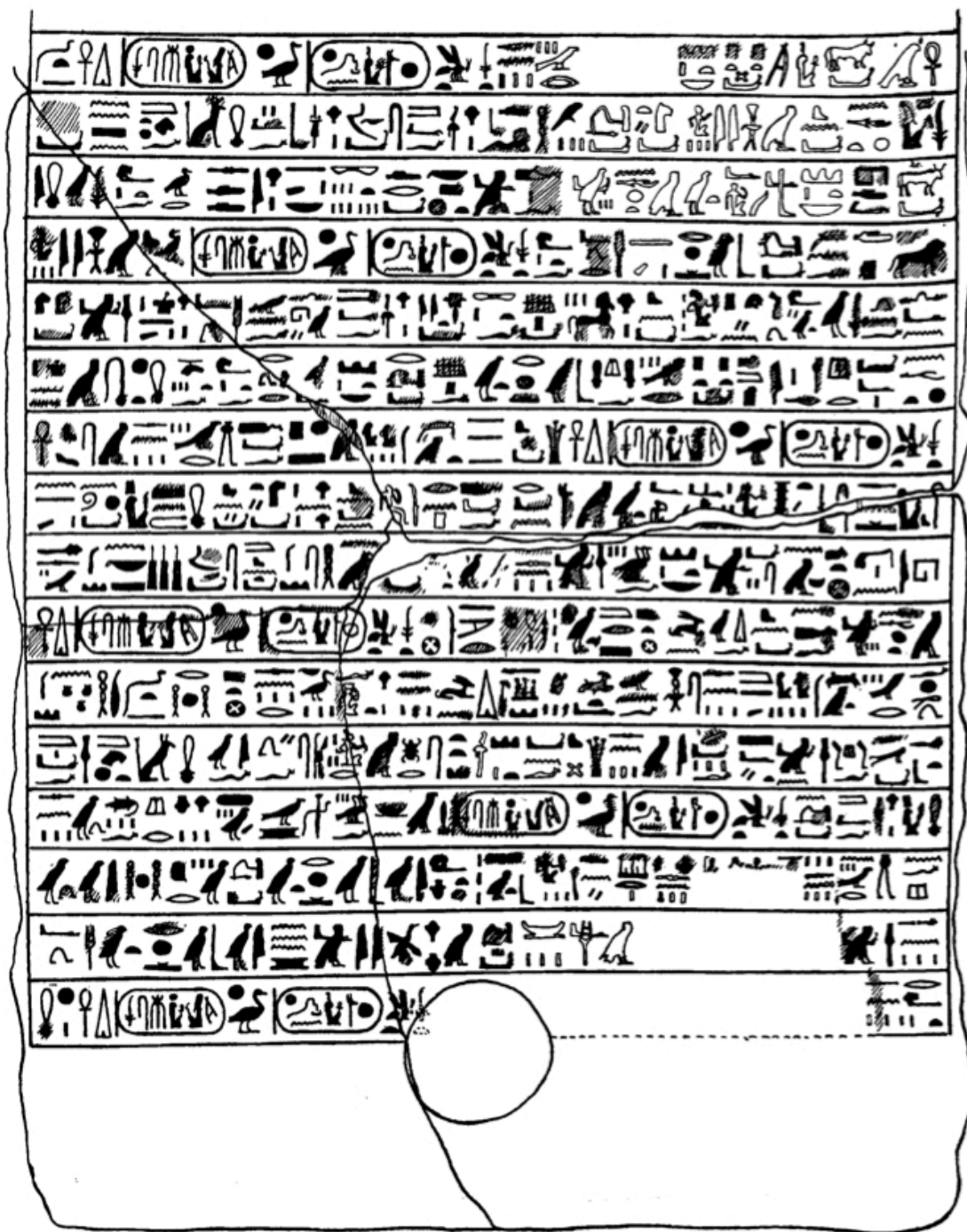
[73] Tanis II (Face A)

Scene: J. Yoyette, 'Les stèles de Ramsès II à Tanis (1ᵉ partie)', *Kêmi* 10 (Paris, 1949), pl.7.
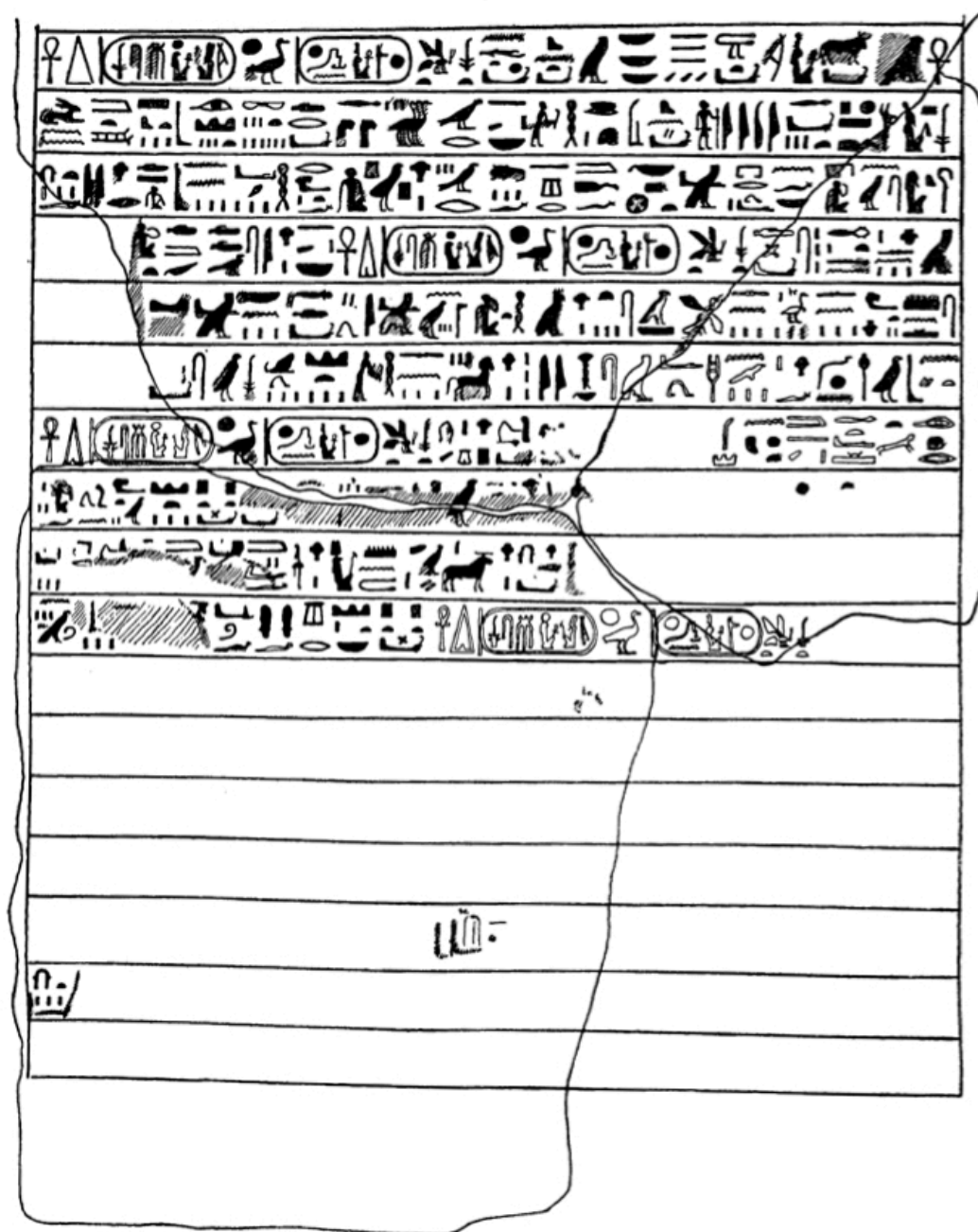
PLATE 6

[74] Tanis II (Face B)

Source: J. Yoyette, 'Les stèles de Ramsès II à Tanis (1ᵉ partie)', *Kêmi* 10 (Paris, 1949), pl.7.

PLATE 7

[74] Tanis III + Thickness
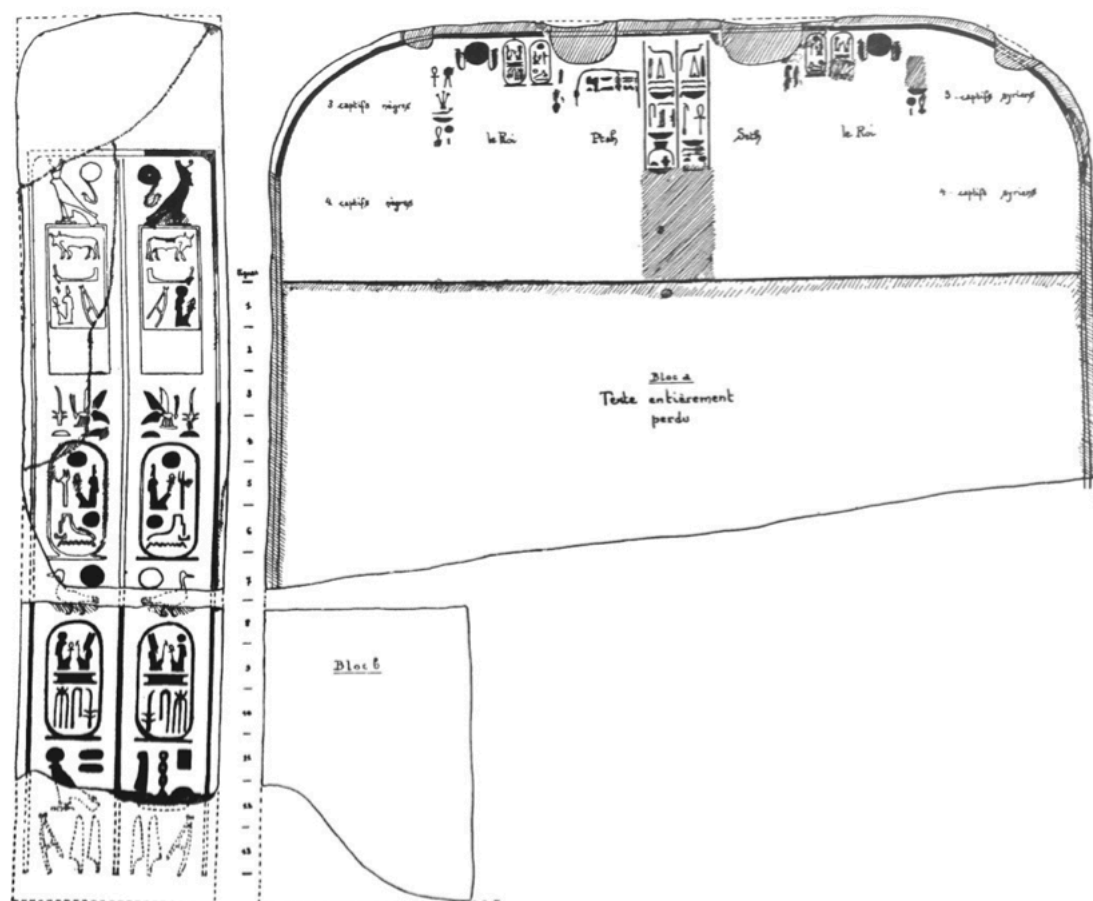
Source: J. Yoyotte, 'Les stèles de Ramsès II à Tanis (2ᵉ partie)', *Kêmi* 11 (1950), pl.5.

PLATE 8

[75] Tanis IV (Face A)

Source: J. Yoyotte, 'Les stèles de Ramsès II à Tanis (2ᵉ partie)', *Kêmi* 11 (1950), pl.6.
(Face B almost completely lost)

PLATE 9

[76] Tanis V (Face C)

Source: J. Yoyette, 'Les stèles de Ramsès II à Tanis (2ᵉ partie)', *Kêmi* 11, pl.7.
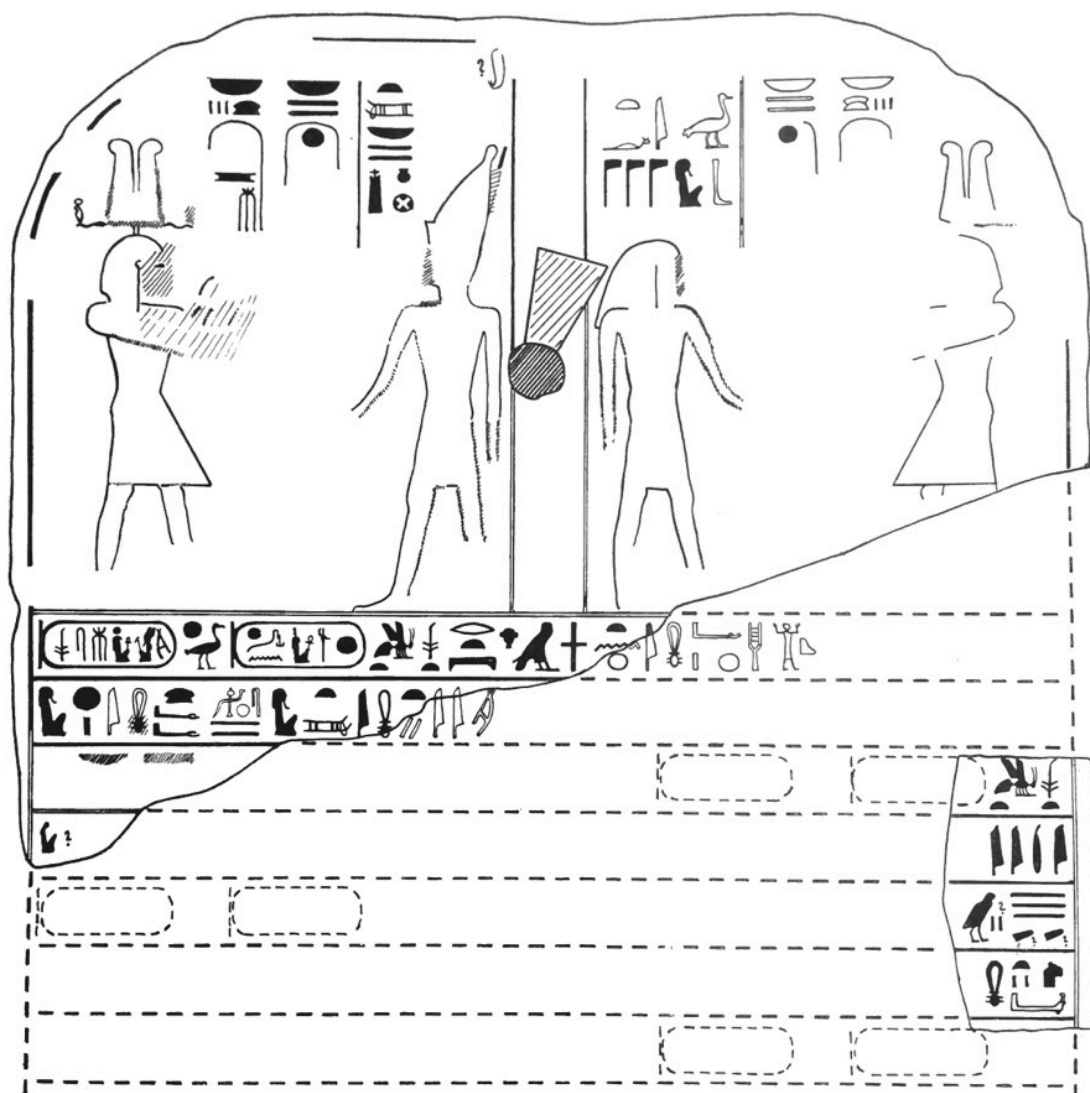
PLATE 10

[77] Tanis VI (Face A)

Source: J. Yoyotte, 'Les stèles de Ramsès II à Tanis (3ᵉ partie)', *Kêmi* 12 (1952), 77-80, pl.5.

PLATE 11
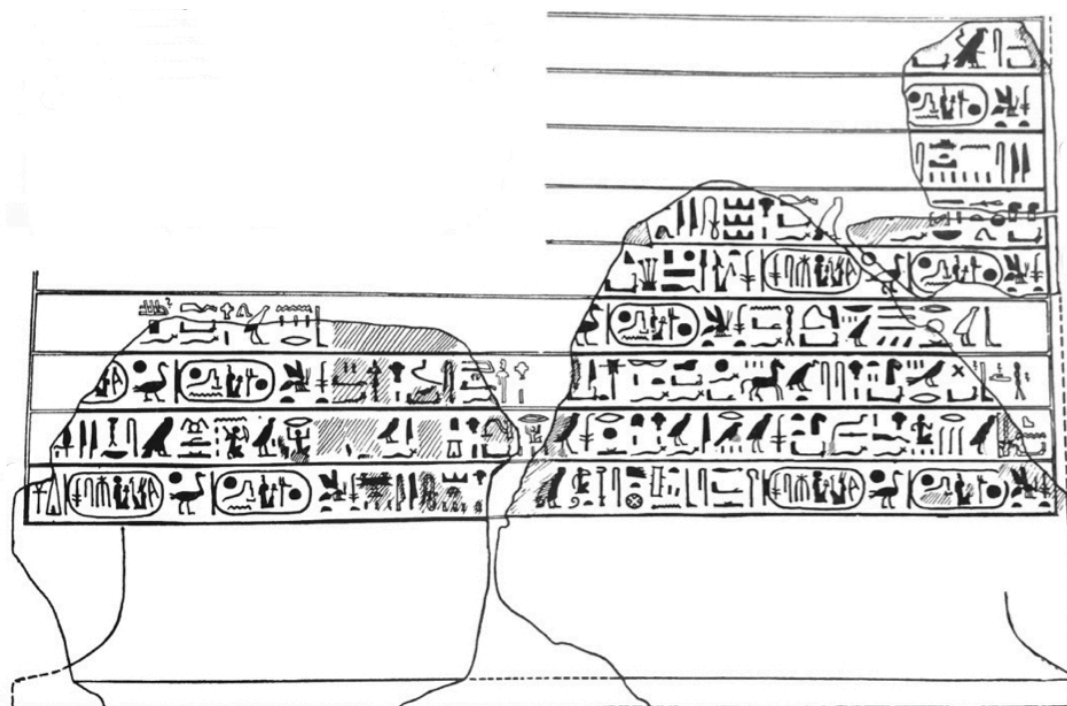
[78] Tanis VII

Source: J. Yoyotte, 'Les stèles de Ramsès II à Tanis (3ᵉ partie)', *Kêmi* 12 (1952), 77-80, pl.6.

PLATE 12

[79] Tanis VIII

Face A:

Face B:
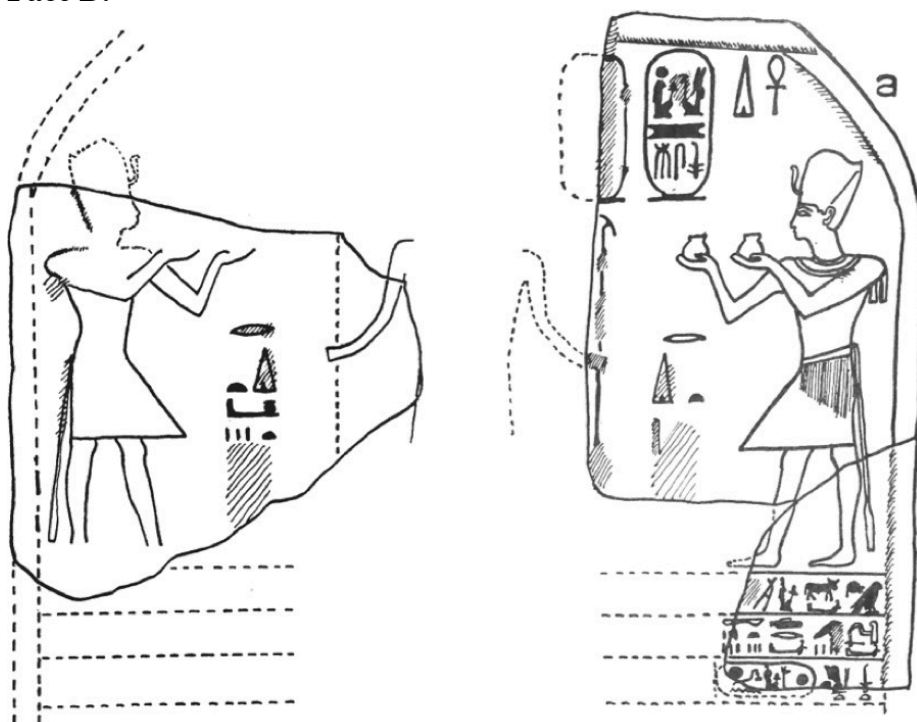
Source: J. Yoyotte, 'Les stèles de Ramsès II à Tanis, (3 partie)', *Kêmi* 12 (1952), 85-6.

PLATE 13

[81] Tanis IX (Front and Thickness)
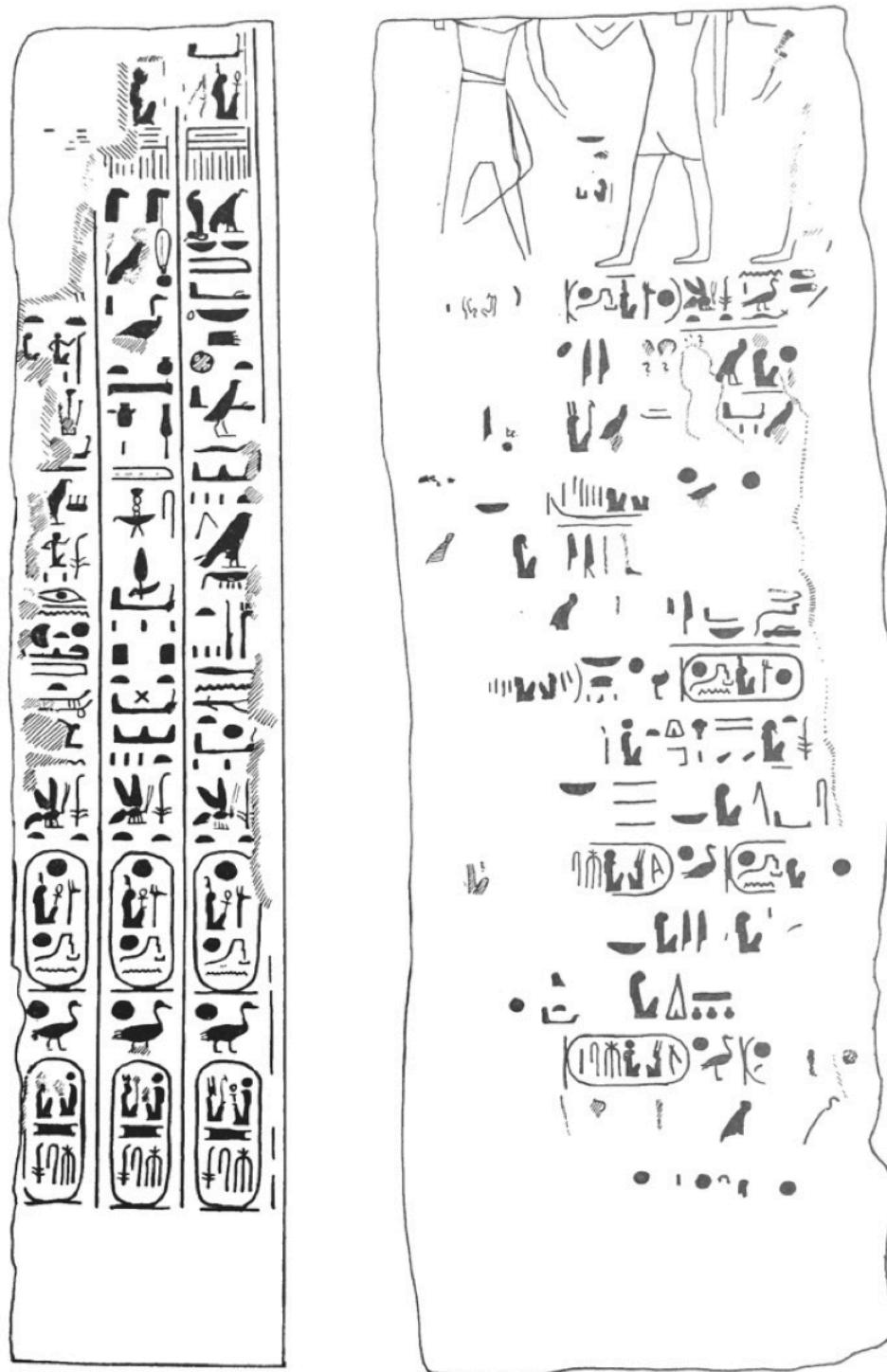
Source: J. Yoyotte, 'Les stèles de Ramsès II à Tanis (4e partie)', *Kêmi* 13 (1954), 78.
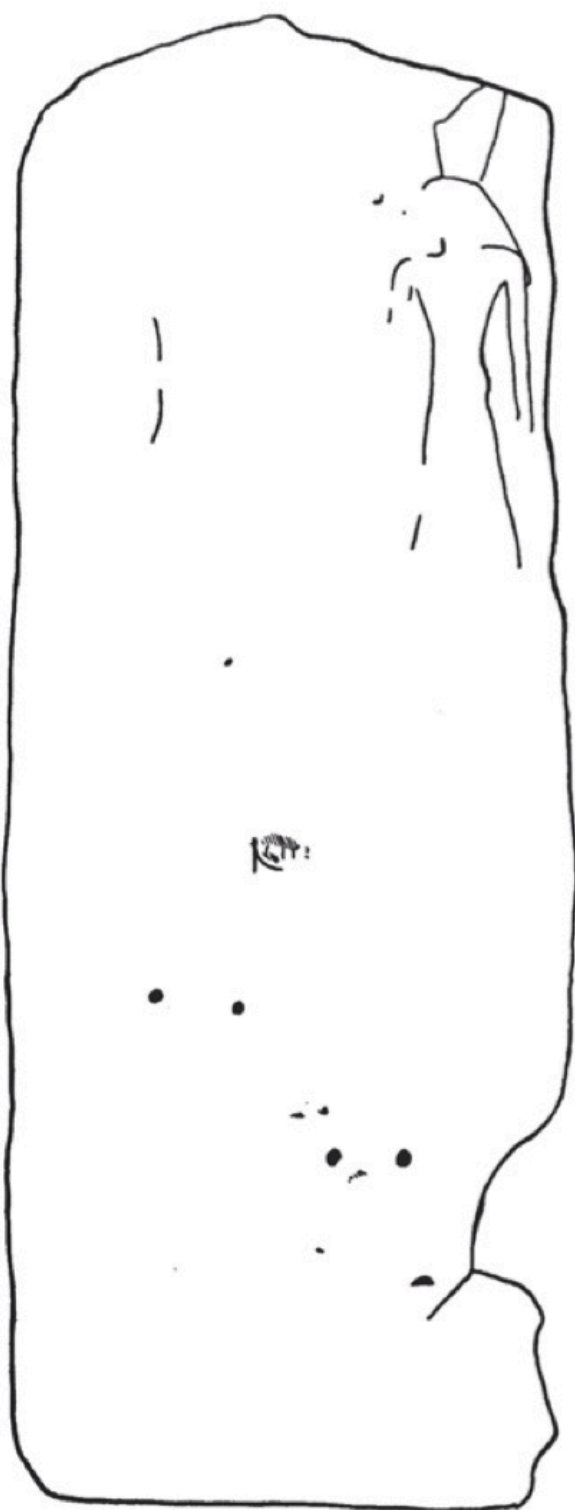
PLATE 14

[82] Tanis X

Source: J. Yoyette, 'Les stèles de Ramsès II à Tanis (4ᵉ partie)', *Kêmi* 13 (1954), 82.

PLATE 15

[83] Tanis XI

Source: J. Yoyette, 'Les stèles de Ramsès II à Tanis (4ᵉ partie)', *Kêmi* 13 (1954), 82.

PLATE 16

[84] Tell el Balamun
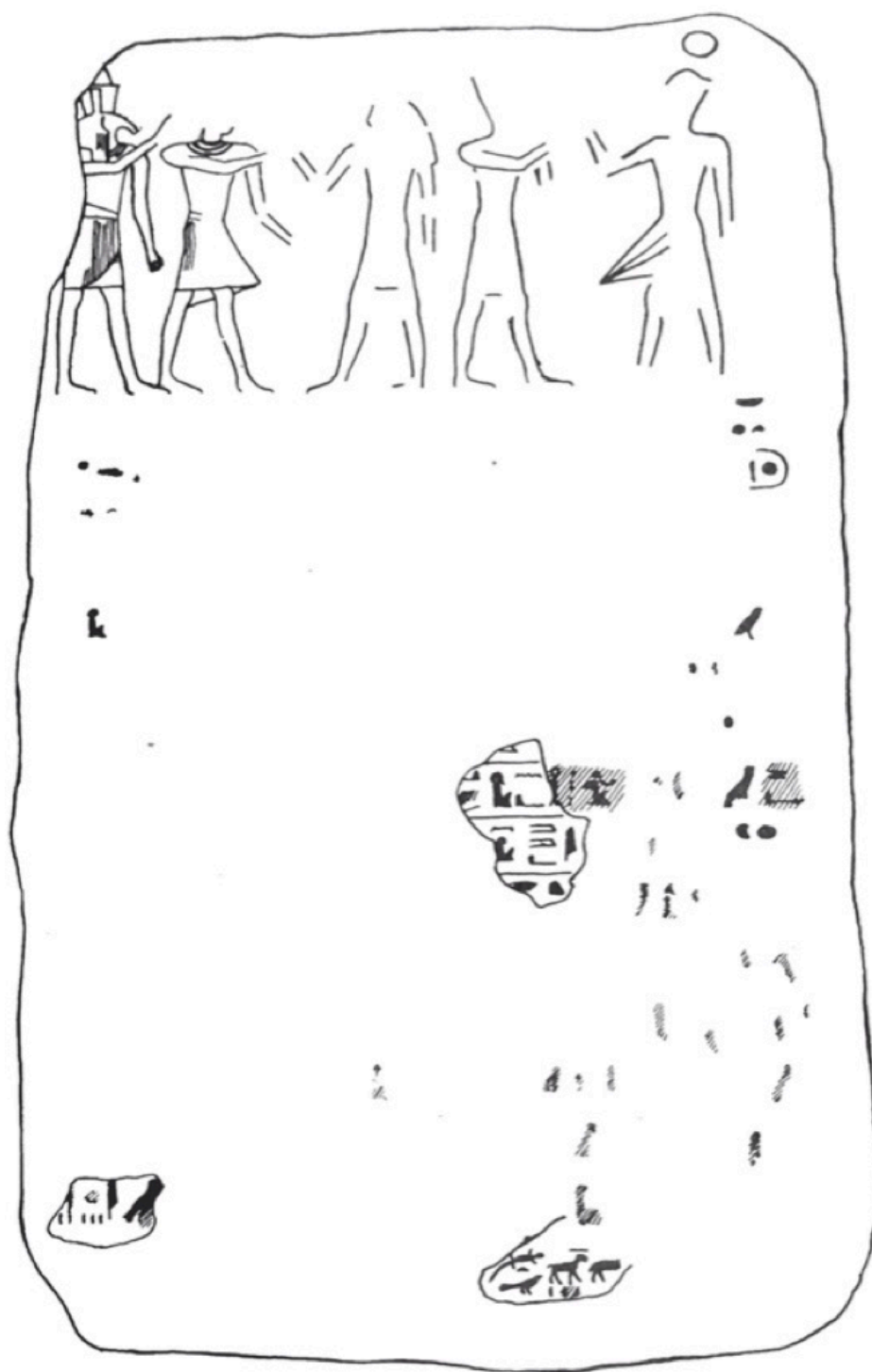
Source: Farag, Naguib 'Une stèle de Ramsès II', *ASAE* 39 (1939), pl.12.

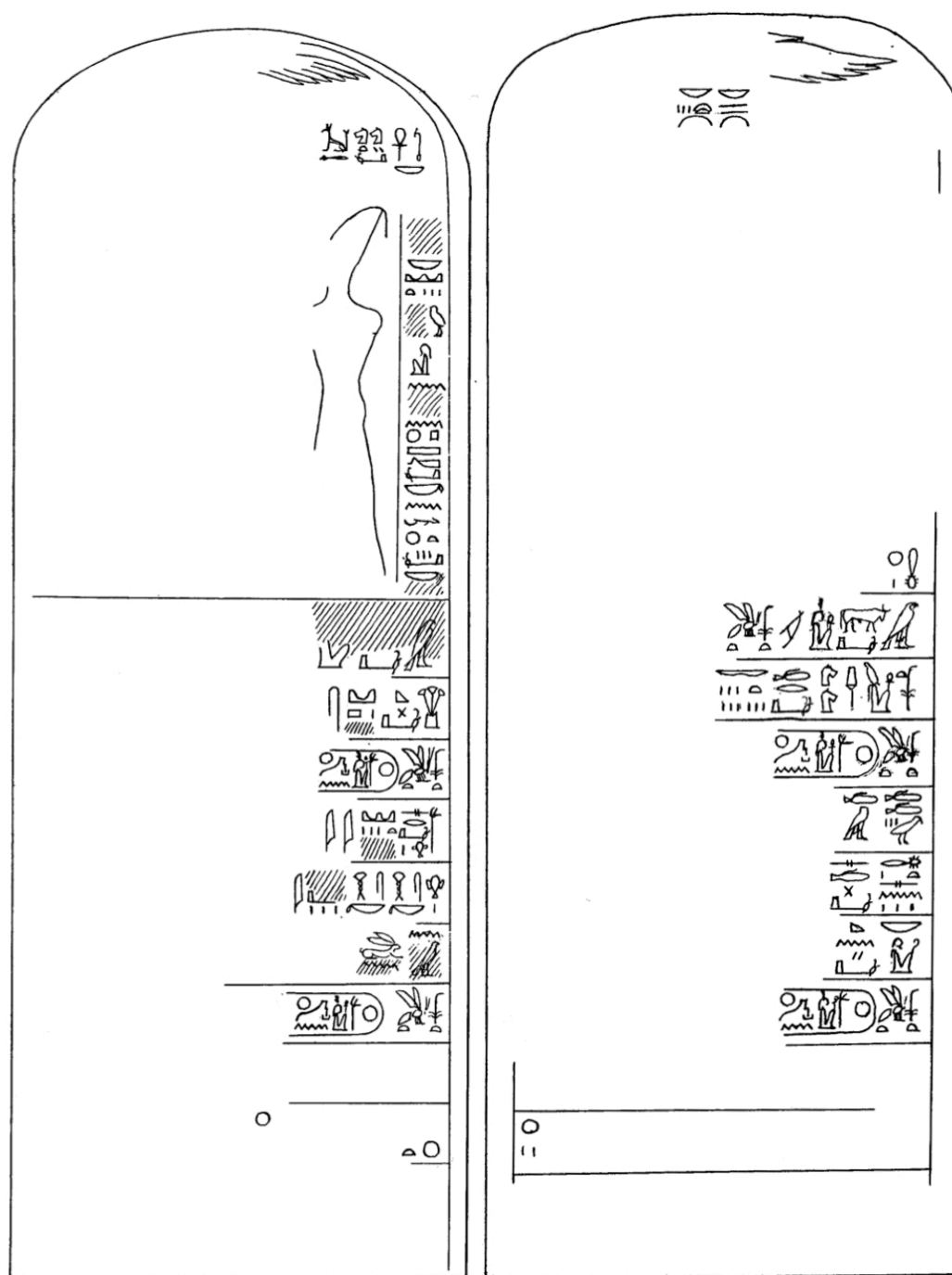PLATE 17

[85] Gebel Shaluf I (Face A + Thickness)
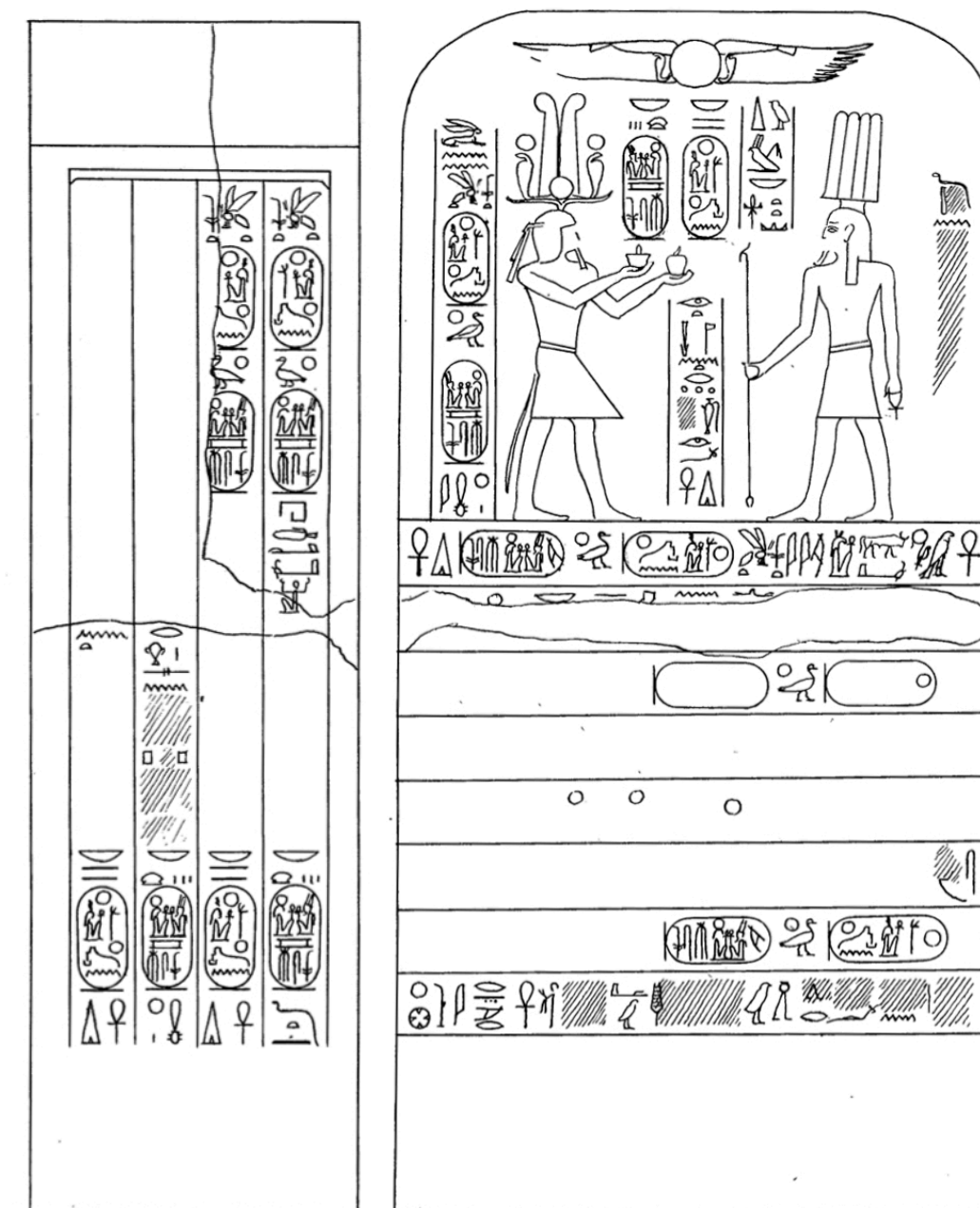
Source: G. Goyon, 'Deux steles de Ramsès II au Gebel Chalouf (Ismalïa nos. 2757 et 2758), *Kêmi* 7 (1938) 115-122.

PLATE 18

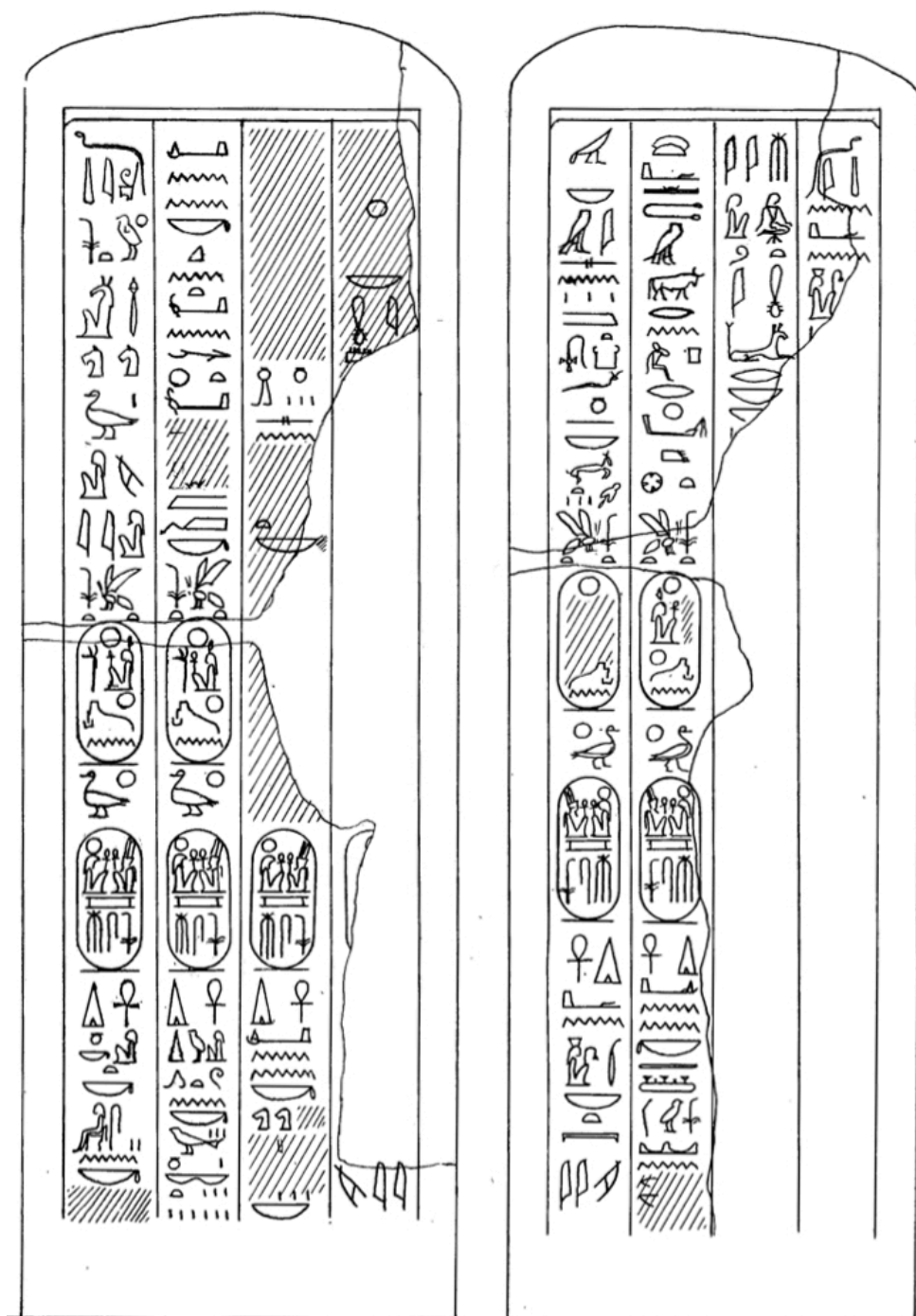**[85] Gebel Shaluf I (Face B + Thickness)**
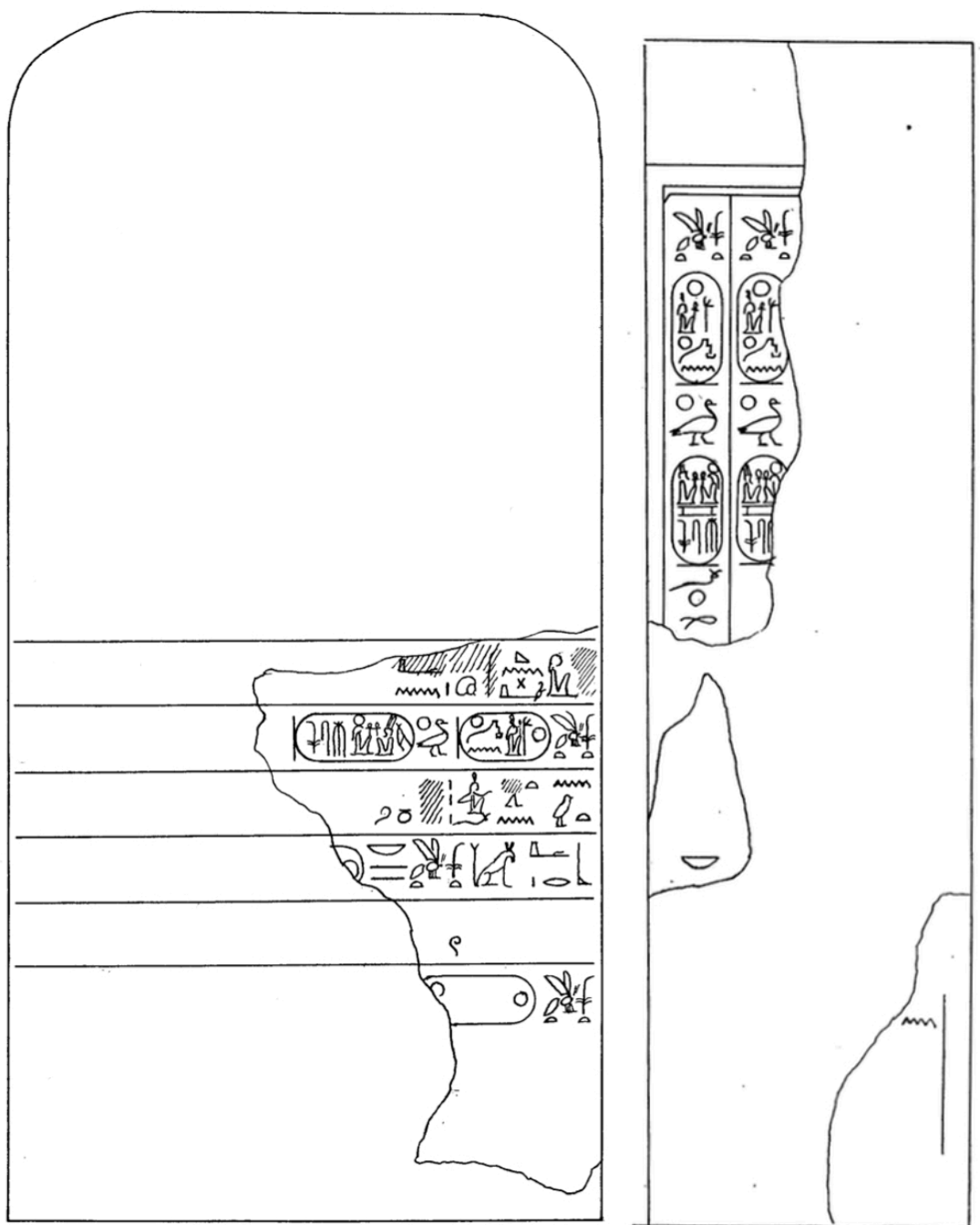
Source: G. Goyon, 'Deux steles de Ramsès II au Gebel Chalouf (Ismalïa nos. 2757 et 2758), *Kêmi* 7 (1938) 115-122.
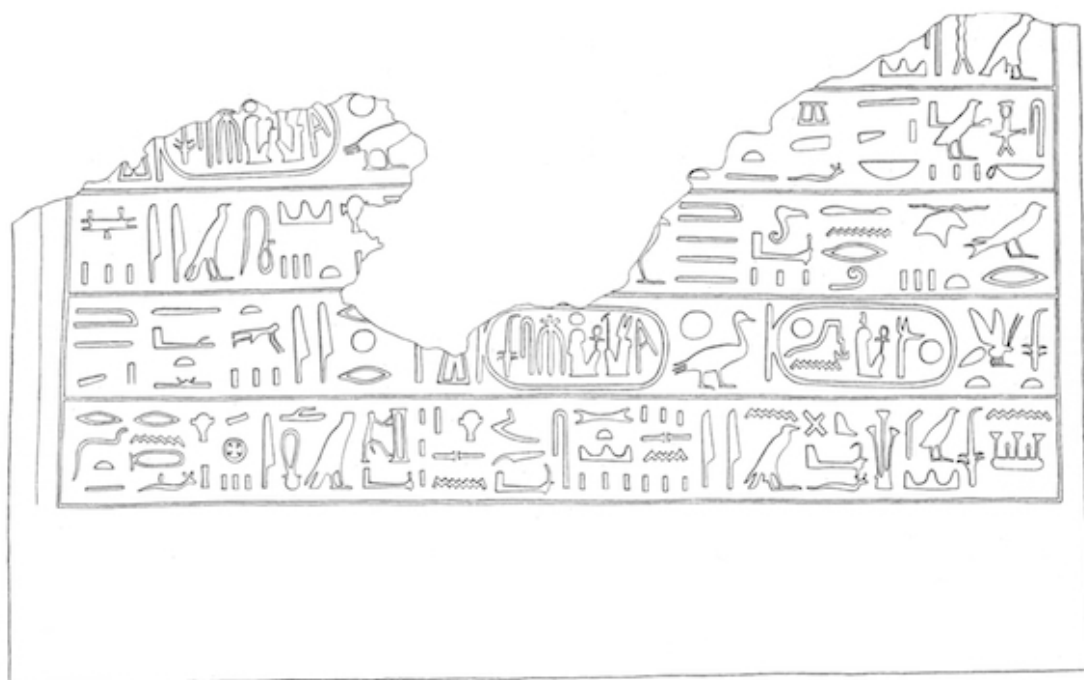
PLATE 19

[86] Gebel Shaluf II (Face A + Face B)

Source: G. Goyon, 'Deux steles de Ramsès II au Gebel Chalouf (Ismalïa nos. 2757 et 2758), *Kêmi* 7 (1938) 115-122.

PLATE 20

[86] Gebel Shaluf II (Thicknesses)

Source: G. Goyon, 'Deux steles de Ramsès II au Gebel Chalouf (Ismalïa nos. 2757 et 2758), *Kêmi* 7 (1938) 115-122.

PLATE 21

[87] Tell el Retaba

Source: W.M.F Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, (1906), pl.28.

PLATE 22

[88] Bubastis I

Source: E. Naville, *Bubastis*, (1891), pl.38.b.

PLATE 23

[89] Bubastis II

Source: E. Naville, *Bubastis* (1891), pl.36E.

PLATE 24

[90] Athribis (Face + Merenptah Thickness.)
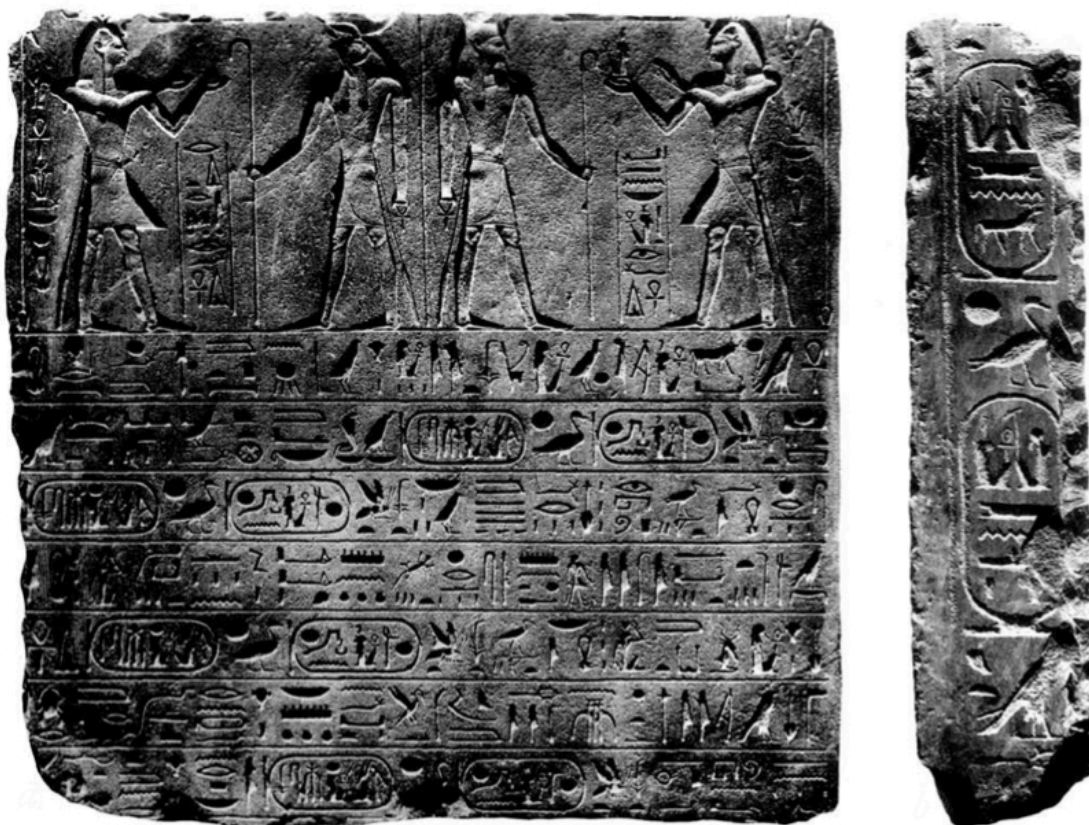
Source: A. Rowe, Preliminary Report on Excavations of the Institute of Archaeology, Liverpool, at Arthribis", *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology (Liverpool)* 25 (1938), pl.34.
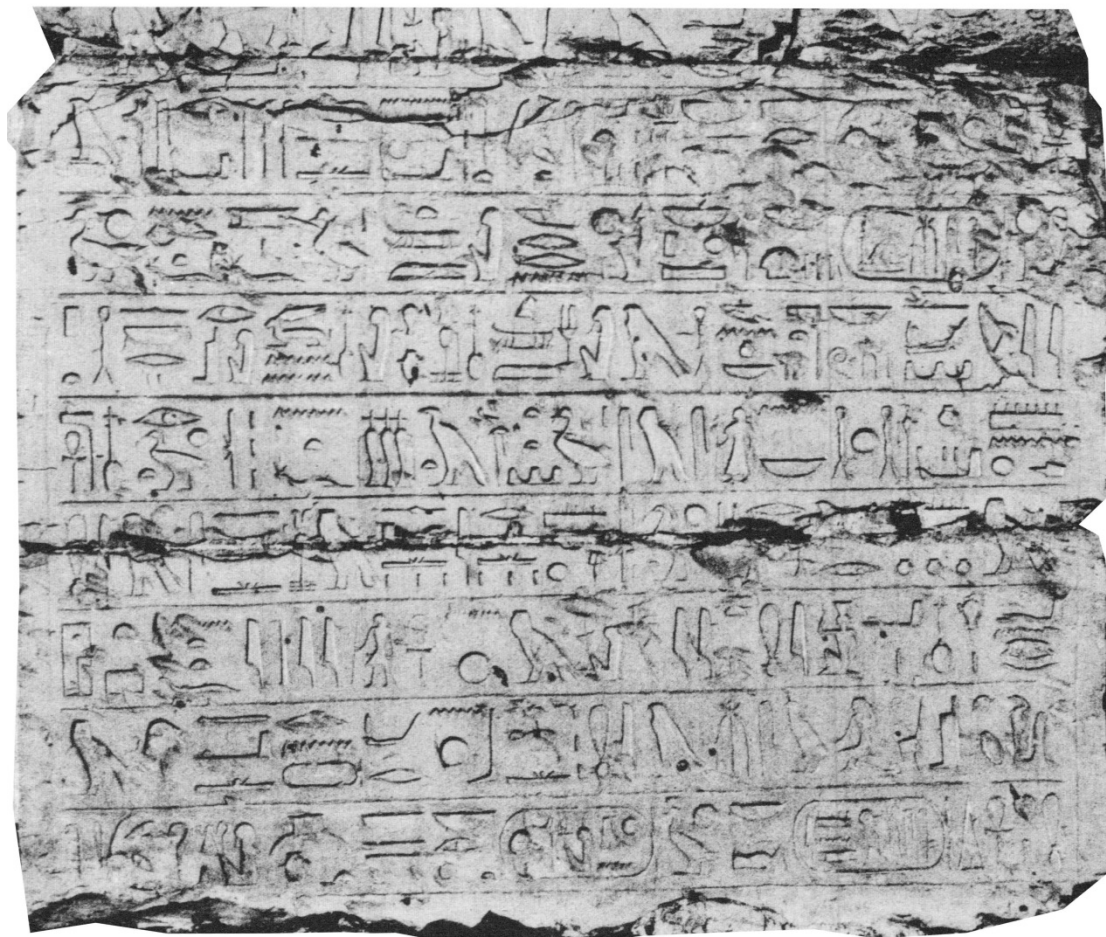
PLATE 25

[91] Wadi Sannûr I

Source: W. Barta, 'Zwei ramessidische Stelen aus dem Wadi Sannûr', *MDAIK* 20 (1965), pl.34a.

PLATE 26

[92] Wadi Sannûr II

Source: W. Barta, 'Zwei ramessidische Stelen aus dem Wadi Sannûr', *MDAIK*, 20 (1965), pl.34b.

PLATE 27

[93] Abydos I

Source: B. Dew (Own photograph)

PLATE 28

[94] Abydos II

Source: K. Kitchen & G. Gaballa, 'Ramesside Varia II, ZÄS 96 (1969), pl.4.

PLATE 29

[97] Abu Simbel B.1

Source: B.Dew (Own photograph)

PLATE 30

[98] Abu Simbel B.2

Source: B.Dew (Own Photograph)

PLATE 31

[99a] Abu Simbel C.20

Source: B.Dew (Own Photograph)

PLATE 32

[99b] Abu Simbel C.22

Source: B.Dew (Own Photograph)

PLATE 33

[102] Amarah West.
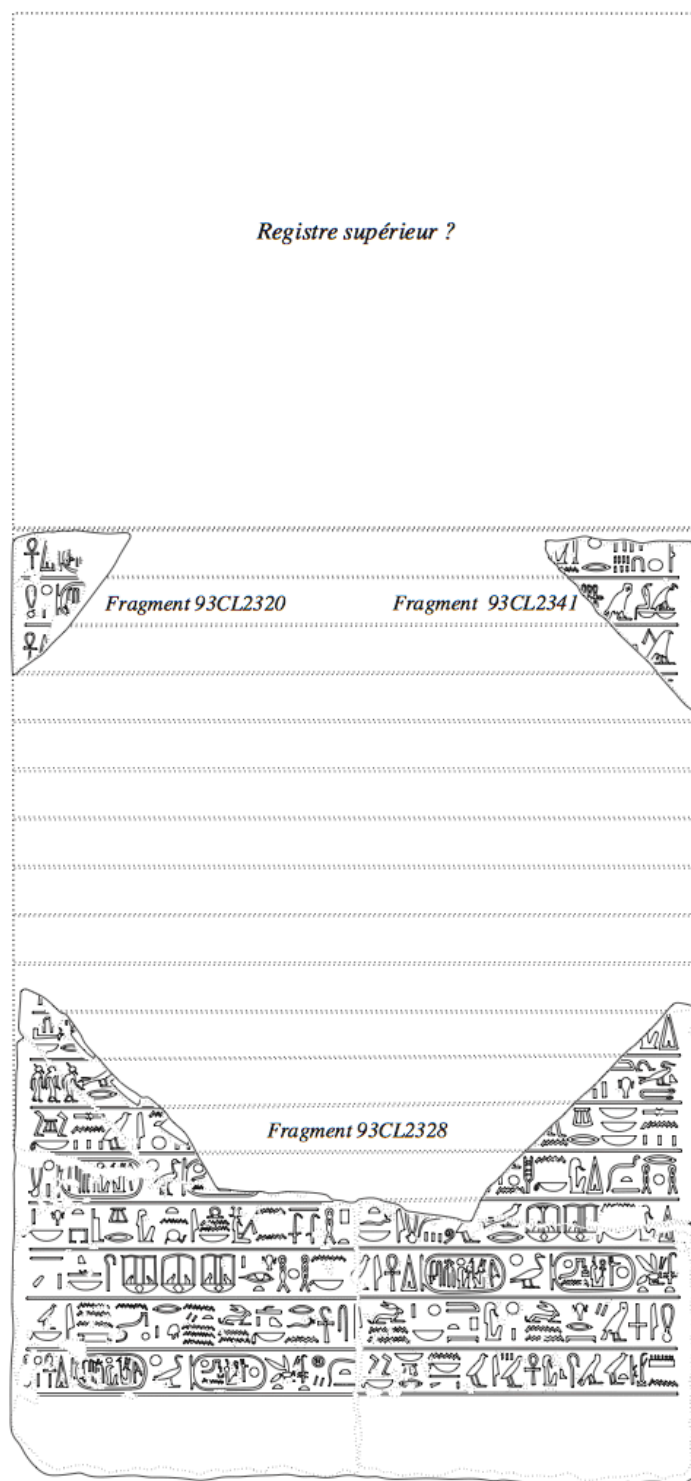

Source: Brooklyn Museum, "Large Stela of Ramesses II, no. 39.423."
<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3449/Large_Stela_of_Ramesses_II> accessed 10/07/14.

PLATE 34

Karnak

Registre supérieur ?

Fragment 93CL2320   *Fragment 93CL2341*

Fragment 93CL2328
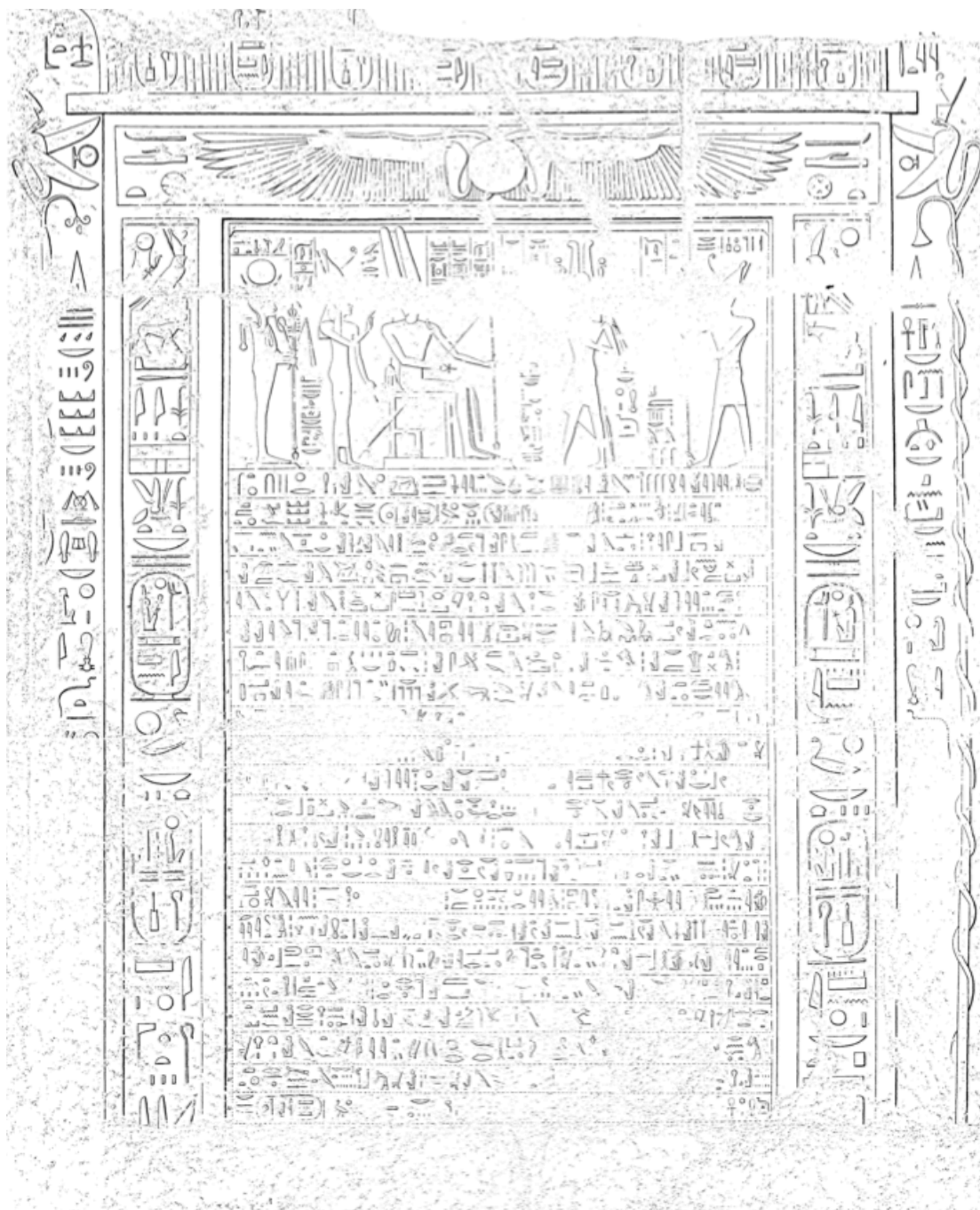
Source: C. Labarta, 'Une stèle de Ramsès II au magasin Cheikh Labib à Karnak', *Karnak* 14 (Cairo, 2013), 436.

PLATE 35

Keswe

Source: A. F. Taraqji, 'Nouvelles découvertes les relations avec l'Égypte à tel Sakka et à Keswé dans la region de Damas', *BSFE*, 144, 42.

PLATE 36

[RIII-19] Medinet Habu I

Source: The Epigraphic Survey, *The later historical record of Ramses III – Medinet Habu II*, (Chicago, 1932), pl.107. (South stela)

PLATE 37

[RIII-20] Medinet Habu II

Source: The Epigraphic Survey, *The later historical record of Ramses III – Medinet Habu II,* (Chicago, 1932), pl.108. (North stela)