Ramses II. and the Princes in the Karnak Reliefs of Seti I.

By James Henry Breasted.

Fig. 1.

It is one of the well known facts of the reign of Seti I., that his reliefs on the north wall of the great hypostyle hall at Karnak, represent Ramses II. as prince, accompanying his father in battle. This relief together with the statements concerning Ramses' youth in the great Abydos inscription and the Kubbân stela, have led to the conclusion that he assumed important duties of state and was destined for the throne at a very early age. The Karnak relief in question has also been regarded as evidence that the reign of Seti I. was a short one, because if Ramses came to the throne very young, but was nevertheless old enough to be in a battle of Seti's first year, Seti could not have reigned very long afterward. Thus Maspero (Hist. II, 387 n. 5) says: »I had at first supposed his reign (Seti's) to have been a long one merely on the evidence afforded by Manetho's lists, but the presence of Ramses II. as a stripling in the campaign of Seti's 1st year forces us to limit its duration, &c.« The only date in these reliefs of Seti is the »year 1«, which occurs twice: 1st in the text belonging to the capture of *Pi-ḳ-n-ʿ-n-*[1]); 2nd in the return from

[1]) Champ., Not. descr. 86 Champ., Mon. 290 1 Ros., Mon. stor. 18 2 = LD. 126*a*.

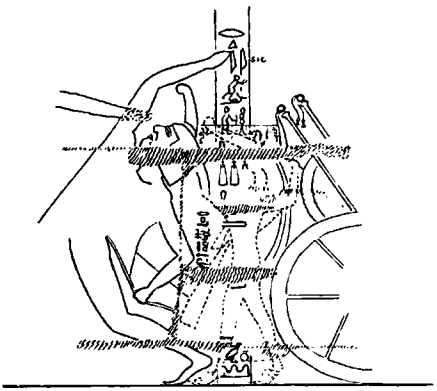


Fig. 2.

Fig. 5.

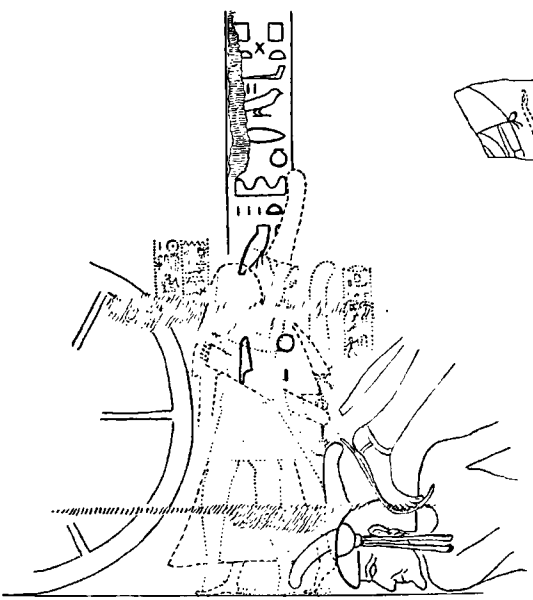


Fig. 3.

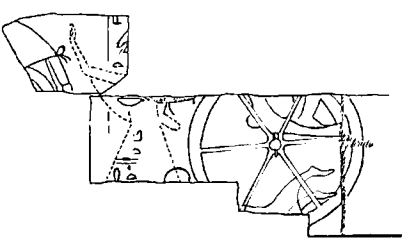


Fig. 4.

the same *Syrian* campaign[1]). Now Ramses appears in the *Libyan* campaign without any date[2]); and it might be questioned whether this campaign was also in the »year 1«[3]). But in the scene[4]) of the presentation of the Libyan prisoners to Amon, we find these words:

»He has desolated *Rtnw*: he has slain their chiefs, causing the *ʿnw* to say: 'See this! He is like a flame when it goes forth and no water is brought'.« Strangely enough the people over whom this text appears are *Libyans*, and one is inclined to think that the artist has simply put over them a few conventional phrases which we are not to construe too literally. Such phrases might be put over the Libyans at any time after the Syrian campaign. It therefore remains uncertain whether the campaign in which prince Ramses is represented as participating took place in the »year 1«.

A further examination of the princes in these reliefs reveals some curious and important facts to which I believe attention has never been called. At the extreme right (west) end of the reliefs in the second scene[6]) of the Libyan war is the famous figure of Seti I. with uplifted spear, fighting on foot and hurling backward the Libyan chief (see photograph, fig. 1). Behind this chief stands an Egyptian prince (fig. 2, broken lines) facing toward the left and watching or possibly taking part in the conflict. Behind Seti stands prince Ramses (fig. 3, dotted lines) facing toward the right and likewise watching the conflict. Fig. 2 cannot also be Ramses for he could not appear twice in the

[1]) Champ., Not. descr. 91—94 Champ., Mon. 292 = Ros., Mon. stor. 50—51 = LD. 128*a. b* Brugsch, Rec. 48*d*—49*a. b* = Burton, Exc. hierog. 36.

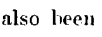
[2]) At a considerable distance on the other (west) side of the door.

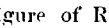
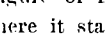
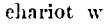
[3]) Meyer reached this conclusion, because of the presence of Ramses in the battle with the Libyans; for he speaks of a campaign »den er (Seti), wie es scheint, in seinen späten Jahren gegen den libyschen Stamm der Tehenu westlich von Ägypten ausführte und auf dem ihn sein junger Sohn Ramses begleitet hat« (Gesch. 284—285). So also Wiedemann, Gesch. 418.

[4]) Champ., Not. descr. 100—101 = Champ., Mon. 299 = Ros., Mon. stor. 56 = Brugsch, Rec. 47*a. b. c. d*—48*a. b.*

[5]) The text is a collation of all the publications, no one of which is correct.

[6]) Champ., Not. descr. 98—99; Champ., Mon. 297 2; Ros., Mon. stor. 54 2.

same scene. Its accompanying inscription[1]) is as follows:  »Prince, first bodily son of the king .....«, in which unfortunately the name is wanting; where it could have stood before its disappearance is a question, for the skirt of the prince projects under the titles, and the name must therefore have been pushed to the left under the Libyan chief's elbow[2]). The historical conclusion, here is important: the  of Seti I. was not his successor Ramses, that is, that Ramses II. had an older brother, who did not reach the throne. This conclusion has also been reached but not demonstrated by Wiedemann[3]), for he by no means proved that the  was not Ramses, but merely *assumed* his identity with another prince on this wall (fig. 4), who is certainly not Ramses.

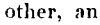
But a further examination of this figure discloses a fact which was overlooked by Wiedemann, viz.: that this figure of Ramses' elder brother (fig. 2) is not original and does not belong where it stands. The first glance shows that the contracted space between the chariot wheel (belonging to the next scene to the right) and the leg of the falling Libyan is too narrow for another figure, and the artist has barely been able to squeeze the prince in. Thus he is as much in one scene as the other, an anomalous arrangement! He stands with fan upraised in his right hand as if to smite the falling Libyan. The fan runs directly across the vertical line of text! It is difficult to say where the right arm is; it seems to have been raised and it may be that he was seizing his father's foe, as his father is doing. Passing through the fan, the large column of text extends down through the prince's head and body! In his head is  »Troglodytes« continuing the sentence above: »who fells his enemies, who smites the Troglodytes«; then  , the remains of in  sic! which follows the same context elsewhere on this wall[4]): and finally at the bottom  [5]), of course the remnant of  »Libya«, against which this campaign was directed. It is clear therefore that

[1]) It is very faint and has been overlooked in Champ., Mon. 297 2, and in Ros., Mon. stor. 54 2; the only publication containing it is Champ., Not. descr. 99. Every sign is traceable in the photograph from which fig. 1 was made.

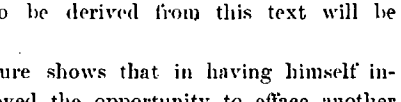
[2]) There is now no trace of it there, owing to a large fissure in the stone (see fig. 1). I am unfortunately obliged to work from photographs as I did not study these reliefs when at Karnak, and the figures of the princes are now nearly covered with débris again.

[3]) A. Wiedemann, A Forgotten Prince, PSBA. XII. 258—261.

[4]) Champ., Mon. 294, inscription over the king.

[5]) These last signs (except) are so plain that they were seen and copied by Rosellini, but in his publication (Mon. stor. 54, 2) they are placed so far to the left of the column above that it is impossible to connect the two. — It is also noticeable in the original, that the column above was added after the figure of the Libyan had been sketched, for his hand projects into the column, the two  have been placed on one side to avoid it, and the left hand line of the column has been carefully stopped on each side just before reaching the hand.

at some time after Seti had completed these reliefs his eldest son had himself inserted here, as taking part in Seti's Libyan campaign. It is clear also that some one desired his removal, for his figure has been rudely chiseled away. Champollion speaks of him (Not. descr. II, 99) as a »prince martelé et surchargé avec débris de legende«: (his titles follow), showing that also his accompanying inscription has been hammered out[1]). The person to whom the figure of the eldest son would be most unwelcome and who would therefore be most desirous to remove it, is of course the other prince in the same scene, Ramses. We are certainly correct in attributing the mutilation to him. Moreover it is quite certain that he did this in order to have the figure of *himself* inserted in the same scene, for his own figure (fig. 3, dotted lines) is not original to this scene.

In the first place we notice in fig. 3, as in fig. 2, the narrowness of the space into which the prince's figure has been squeezed, so that his left foot passes through the feather of the fallen Libyan, whom Seti is trampling, and his left hand collides with the other feather. Further, we again notice a column of text extending down through the prince's head into his body:  [2]) (with remains of an uncertain sign before it) in the head and  [3]) in the body. Ramses stands with right hand raised palm outward as usual in salutation, and carrying his fan vertically before him in the left hand. A joint in the masonry has obliterated shoulders and face. The accompanying text, as Wiedemann noticed, is partly in one scene and partly in the next. It is as follows:  »Prince, bodily son of the king, crownprince, his beloved, Ramses«. The historical conclusions to be derived from this text will be taken up later.

A closer inspection of Ramses' figure shows that in having himself inserted here, he at the same time improved the opportunity to efface another figure, which we will call X, over which his own has been cut. The motives

[1]) Above his head is a horizontal line drawn directly across the original column of text. Below and parallel to it, was doubtless another line, now lost in the joint of the masonry. Between these two lines was a line of text, of which slight traces are visible in the photograph extending on each side of the feather and also across the original column of text! What this text contained and what may be its relation to the prince's figure I am unable to conjecture. An examination of the original wall would doubtless throw some light on the question.

[2]) After making the sketches for this article, I notice that Wiedemann remarks (PSBA. XII, 259) regarding Ramses' figure: »his head is drawn through an hieroglyph of the separating line, and the very small signs of his name are partly engraved in one, partly in the second incident, as if the figure had been only inserted at a later time in the already finished bas-relief«. His evidence was regarded as unconclusive for he states further: »It is doubtful if Ramses also assisted« (in this campaign).

[3]) These signs are so clear that they were copied by Rosellini, but in his publication (Mon. stor. 54, 2) he has shifted the column above too far to the right. If Wiedemann had noticed them, they would have settled his »doubtful« case for him.

for this second effacement are undoubtedly the same as for the first, and X was therefore Ramses' elder brother. But, as the elder brother has already been once effaced in this scene, we should expect that this second occurrence of his figure belonged to another scene, and such is clearly the case. Under Ramses' figure appears a second pair of feet striding in the *opposite direction* (the left; see broken lines): *behind* Ramses is the *front* point of a skirt; behind him is a *third arm*: across his figure is a quiver[1]) with the opening *to the left*; above him is a fan[2]), with the tip of the feather turned *to the left*[3]). All these belong of course to the figure X (broken lines), facing to the left. A comparison of X with fig. 5 shows clearly that X was striding in same way after the chariot behind which he is. Especially characteristic are his left foot poised for the next step, the arm hanging down in front and the fan over the shoulder. X therefore belongs to the scene to the left, representing Seti's triumphant return[4]) from the Libyan war, riding in his chariot and driving his prisoners before him[5]). This is what we should expect: before Ramses' interference the figure of his elder brother appeared once in each of the two scenes: the battle with the Libyans and the return. Ramses preferred to figure in the battle and had himself inserted facing the right.

But if the figure of Ramses is a later insertion, that of his brother (X) is equally so: the latter's fan, quiver, and indeed his whole figure cut directly into the original column of text, as the figure of Ramses does. X has had himself inserted here. It is this fact which renders certain the identity of X and Seti's eldest son (fig. 2); both desired to figure in Seti's Libyan war, both were the object of Ramses' hatred and both were effaced by him.

To recapitulate, we find thus far three stages on this wall:

1. An uninterrupted column of text on each side of the battle scene: and no princes in either it or the scene of the return.

2. Seti's eldest son inserts his own figure at the right of the battle scene and at the right of the return.

[1]) The quiver was always carried on the left side, with the opening in front; hence in this case belonging to a person facing the left. Cf. fig. 1.

[2]) The fan was always born with the tip of the feather pointing toward the front, as in Ramses' figure and in fig. 5. The hieroglyphic is also regularly turned the same way, viz. toward the beginning of the text.

[3]) The feet and the quiver were seen and copied by Rosellini and Champollion and appear in their publications (Ros., Mon. stor. 54; Champ., Mon. 297 2), but seem to have remained unnoticed since. Whether Mr. Lefebure saw this figure or not, I am unable to decide; his remarks (PSBA. XII, 447) admit only two figures of the elder brother on this wall, viz. fig. 2 and fig. 5, and yet he speaks of a »substitution«, but without further explanation.

[4]) Champ., Not. descr. II 99—100; Champ., Mon. 298; Ros., Mon. stor. 55; Brugsch, Rec. des Mon. 45 *d. e.*

[5]) Fig. 5 is a similar return from the Syrian war.

3. Prince Ramses effaces the figure of his elder brother in both places, but over that of his brother in the return scene, he inserts his own figure so facing as to belong to the battle scene.

There are evidences of a similar insertion (fig. 4) at the top of this same wall, on a few isolated blocks at the left of the capture of Kadesh[1]). Here we see a figure (fig. 4, broken lines) with uplifted arm like that of Ramses in the battle scene and wearing a quiver. Before this figure are the arms of a captive bound behind his back, showing that the figure follows the king's chariot (as in fig. 5), behind which, however the king leads a line of captives. But this figure is likewise a later insertion, for a column of text extends down through it, and the head of the Syrian, who has fallen beneath the chariot, projects into the skirt. It is impossible to decide whether this figure is that of Ramses or his brother.

Another prince is to be found in these reliefs, for to the east (the left), on the left of the door, in the famous scene of Seti's arrival at the canal on his return from the Syrian campaign of the »year 1«[2]) (fig. 5)[3]). There seems to be no question of insertion here[4]). The inscription above is unfortunately much mutilated. It may be rendered as follows: »Following the king at his going in the countries of *Rtnw*, by the prince, great in pleasing[5]) by ..... real royal scribe, his beloved, ... bodily son of the king, his beloved, [prince of Kush] ..... deceased(?)«. This prince has been identified by Wiedemann, with Seti's eldest son in the Libyan battle scene (fig. 2), but it is difficult to see on what grounds: indeed Wiedemann does not offer any but merely *assumes* the identity. Fortunately enough of the titles remains to show that this prince lacks the designation  »first«, which should appear be-

[1]) Champ., Mon. 295 — Ros., Mon. stor. 53, but these blocks do not appear in any of the publications; both facts and sketch are from a photograph.

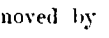
[2]) Champ., Not. descr. II 91—94; Champ., Mon. 292; Ros., Mon. stor. 50—51; LD. 128*a. b*; Brugsch, Rec. Mon. 48*d*—49*a. b*; Burton, Exc. hier. 36.

[3]) It was this figure which served as a model for X in fig. 3.

[4]) I had only one very faded photograph of this scene, and cannot assert this with certainty. There is one slight indication against the authenticity of the figure. Above it is a line of captives; — in every case on this wall, where such an *upper* row of captives appears, there is under it a similar *lower* row (Ros., Mon. stor. 17 2; 48 1; 52; 55; 56; 58 twice; 59; &c.). We might suspect therefore that this figure had replaced the lower row of captives; but I can discover no trace of this in the photograph or any of the publications.

[5])  ,  or  means »please« or »praise«; in three of Brugsch's examples (WB., Suppl. 1017, 1019) it is also followed by  introducing that which pleases, that is: pleasing by .....-. The gen. or (»great of«) is also found in Brugsch's examples as well as in that furnished by Lefébure (PSBA. XII, 417). Wiedemann has invented a title to explain this phrase and renders: »high praiser at (follows the name of a temple)«. He does not furnish any other examples of this title!

tween  and  . It is quite impossible to suppose that it has been omitted in a scene where the prince is so prominent as here. The surviving fragment of the name[1]):  shows that it was not Ramses, hence the most probable conclusion is, that we have here a third son of Seti, whom we call Y[2]). The question of this prince's relations with his two brothers must of course remain unsettled. His figure is the *only one* original to the reliefs on this wall. He is not likely to have had any claim to the throne or his figure would have been removed by Ramses[3]).

Prince Y (fig. 5) and the  (fig. 2) are further both identified by Wiedemann with an officer appearing at the submission of Lebanon[4]). Again no reasons are offered: the identification is simply assumed. The officers name is, strangely enough, omitted; his only title in  ; he has no sidelock. There is not the slightest reason for regarding him as a prince at all, and he does not enter further into the problem of the princes on this wall.

We may here recapitulate the history of our reliefs. They contain five figures of princes: one original and four later insertions: as follows:

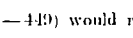
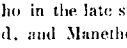
1. Two figures of Seti's eldest son: one (fig. 2) in the Libyan battle scene; and one (fig. 3 broken lines) in the return from that campaign; neither is original: both were effaced by Ramses II.

2. One figure of prince Ramses in the Libyan battle scene; (fig. 3 dotted lines) not original.

3. One figure impossible to identify, in a fragmentary scene connected with the capture of Kadesh: (fig. 4) not original.

4. One figure of an unknown prince (not the eldest son and not Ramses) in the return from the Syrian campaign; (fig. 5) almost certainly original.

The historical results to be drawn from the above facts are not numerous, but are important. It is clear in the first place, that these reliefs offer no evidence whatever that Ramses II. ever took part in any campaign of his father, of whatever year. It is therefore no longer necessary to shorten the reign of Seti in order that Ramses may be sufficiently young at his accession,

[1]) It is uncertain how this name is to be read. Wiedemann (PSBA. XII. 260) conjectures  . Lefebure (ibid. 116—449) would read  believing this prince to be the brother of Ramses identified as Ἀμμεσσῆς, by Manetho in the late stories of the Greeks (Herod. II. 107—108; Diod. I. 57), but the legend is so confused, and Manetho is so uncertain in his distinction of Seti and Ramses, that is seems to me unsafe to make any use of it at all. Wiedemann has later (Rec. XVIII, 121) attempted to identify our name with  for which there is certainly not room.

[2]) It is not impossible that we have here a brother of Seti, though this would be very unusual.

[3]) Lefebure (in PSBA. XII, 446) speaks of the name in this inscription as »martelé«, but I can find no evidence of this in the photograph.

[4]) At the extreme east (left) end around the corner from the north wall, and facing east; reproduced: Champ., Mon. 290 2; Ros., Mon. stor. 16 1; cf. Champ., Not. descr. II 87—88.

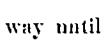
as Maspero considered unavoidable. As far as these reliefs are concerned, Ramses might have been born even after Seti's accession. The fact alone that Ramses was obliged to insert his own figure in his father's battle scenes, in order to appear there at all, of course creates a strong suspicion if not the certainty that he had nothing to do with the events they depict. If further, he really was not old enough to take part in Seti's wars, Seti's reign may have been considerably longer than the nine years usually attributed to him[1]).

Furthermore, when we consider that we have here a clear example of misrepresentation[2]) by Ramses II. perpetrated with the particular purpose of producing the impression that while a young prince he played a prominent part in state affairs, it becomes equally clear that the statements of the great Abydos inscription and the Kubban stela, in which we see Ramses assuming in childhood a position in government beside his father, are similar misrepresentations having the same purpose in view. The reliefs at Abydos show him as crownprince in company with his father, e. g. before the great list of kings (Mar., Abyd. I pl. 43) and in this scene he bears the crownprincely name and titles in *precisely the same form and words* as in the Karnak insertions above discussed (fig. 3). That these Abydos scenes were cut after Ramses was king is of course evident, but is rendered doubly certain by the fact that in one of them (*ibid.* pl. 44) the crownprince, Ramses, although accompanied by the crownprincely titles, and standing in the presence of his father, bears upon his embroidered apron the two cartouches containing the royal names! (see pl. 46). This is clear evidence that after he was king, he was accustomed to have himself represented as crownprince engaged in important offices in company with his father. This was a favorite theme with most New Empire kings, but it was necessarily carried further by Ramses for the very reason that he was *not* from the beginning destined to such functions, but must for a considerable time have played a subordinate role beside the elder brother whose name and figure he was afterward so careful to efface. This raises an interesting question. Seti's eldest son is almost certain to have lived and retained his right to the throne until just before Ramses' accession. For Sethe's shrewd explanation of the Sed-festivals[3]) shows clearly that the 30 year period began with some ceremony of the crownprince, when he was proclaimed as such. Now Ramses II. celebrated his first Sed-festival in the 30th year of his reign, showing that his acknowledgement as crownprince was practically contemporaneous with his accession. Such a late celebration, as Sethe showed, occurred in the cases of certain kings, »weil sie

[1]) This is rendered more probable by the well known fact that already in Ramses fifth year, his sons accompany him in battle.

[2]) Misrepresentations of Ramses II. are of course common enough; the argument here turns upon the motive of this particular fraud.

[3]) ÄZ. 1898, S. 64—65 Note 3.

entweder nicht vorher zur Thronfolge bestimmt waren (so Neferkere-Phiops und Thutmosis III.) oder noch nicht das zu der Ceremonie erforderliche Alter erreicht hatten (so wohl Ramses II. und Ramses III.)«. In the cases of Neferkere-Phiops and Thutmose III. another brother[1]) stood in the way until the accession. It can hardly be doubted now, that this same reason explains the late celebration of Ramses' Sed-festival[2]). The  of Seti's Karnak reliefs stood in Ramses' way until his very accession[3]). If this elder brother really reached the throne for a brief period, the incident would then exactly repeat the succession: Pepi I.-Metusuphis-Pepi II. Of such an ephemeral reign, no trace has reached us, unless we find it in the Aigyptos-Danaos tale[4]).

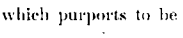
There is no doubt that, a careful examination of Seti's reliefs in the original stone would throw much more light on the relation of the princes' figures and perhaps of the princes themselves. Unfortunately a carefully collated publication of these reliefs does not exist[5]).

[1]) There is of course some uncertainty what the relationship was in the case of T. III., but this does not affect the result as concerns the *ḥb-sd*.

[2]) The only remaining cases of the celebration of the Sed-festival in the 30th year are those of Usertesen I., Ramses III. and Amenhotep III. Is it not probable, that age had nothing to do with a prince's eligibility to be proclaimed crownprince, but that also here some one else stood in the way, who eventually did not succeed to the throne?

[3]) This alone is a demonstration of the untruth of the representations in the Abydos inscription according to which Ramses was crowned while a lad by his father (Abydos inscr. ll. 45—46).

[4]) Such a brief reign, would explain how Seti's eldest son obtained the power and opportunity to insert his own figure in his father's reliefs.

[5]) That of Guieysse (Rec. XI), which purports to be an exhaustive collation of the *texts* by means of photographs is exceedingly incorrect. Errors like the omission of  in  (p. 59) abound, lines are numbered incorrectly and the like. This occasions no wonder if one notes that the texts were not understood, a fact which is clear from such translations as: »il est allé au pays de Tennou et (l'a mis) en affaiblissement« for the line:  (p. 72). The independent value of the old large publications also, is clearly doubtful in places e. g. Champ., Mon. 290 l. l. 7 end shows a lacuna, which naturally appears in Ros., Mon. stor. 47 2: and has been copied in LD. III, 126*a*, and doubtless from the same Ms. source in Champ., Not. descr. II 86; although the cast shows there is no lacuna there. This is apart from the numerous inaccuracies in costume, physiognomy and the like.