

the interior, where for the first time he comes into contact with the Hittites.

I. FIRST CAMPAIGN

297. Ramses II's first campaign was directed along the Phœnician coast, and extended as far as Beyrut, near which he erected a stela on the Nahr el-Kelb (Dog River) in his fourth year. Another stela, dated "year 2"^a is called uncertain by Lepsius,^b and is probably to be read "year 10;" for the first^c is clearly 4; and there was but one campaign before that of the "year 5,"^d against Kadesh. A third stela is without date. These stelæ^e are so weathered that the records of the campaigns which they doubtless contained, are most totally illegible.^f The location of the stela near the northern boundary of the conquests of Ramses' father, Seti I, is significant. They of course mark the advance boundary of Ramses II's northern conquests.

II. SECOND CAMPAIGN: THE BATTLE OF KADESH^g

298. This battle, in which Ramses meets the Hittites for the first time, forms the culmination of Ramses II's second

^aLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 197, c.

^b*Briefe*, 403.

^cLepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 197, b.

^dWhich is called the second campaign, Record, l. 1.

^ePublished by Bonomi, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 1st ser., II, pl.; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 197; see also Boscawen, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, VII, 331 ff.

^fThese stelæ are cut in the limestone of the hillside, and have so weathered that visitors unaccustomed to reading such inscriptions have declared they contained none. One (Boscawen's No. 1, farthest north) was smoothed off by the French, and a record of the French occupation (1860-61) inscribed upon it. The Egyptian inscription was, of course, totally obliterated (Boscawen, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, VII, 336).

^gThree sources: (1) the so-called "Poem of Pentaur" (referred to above as "Poem"); (2) the Official Record (called "Record"); (3) the Reliefs. The bibliography, etc., will be found with the introduction to each document. In general, see my *Battle of Kadesh*, "Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago," V, 81-127.

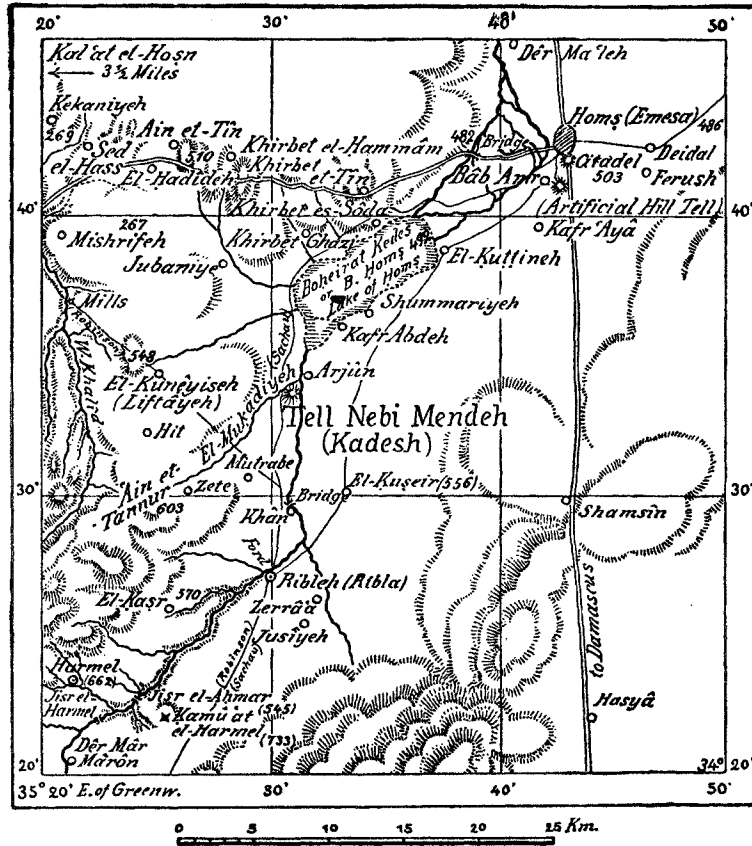


FIG. 7.—Map of the Orontes Valley in the Vicinity of Kadesh, 1:500,000 (after Blanckenhorn)

Syrian campaign, and furnishes nearly all we know of the beginning of his Syrian war. It is of especial interest, being the first battle in history of which we may follow the tactics and the disposition of both armies.^a About the end of

^aRev. H. G. Tomkins' study of this battle (*Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, VII, 390 ff.) was unfortunately made without all the data to be gained from the texts, but shows good use of what he had. Failure to observe the sequence of events made any clear outline of movements impossible. Maspero's account of it in his one volume, *Histoire*, is excellent, but this account was altered in his

April, Ramses marched northward from the fortress of Tharu on the Egyptian frontier, with an army of probably about 20,000 men, in four divisions: the division of Amon, which formed the advance, under the immediate command of the Pharaoh; and the divisions^a of Re, of Ptah, and of Sutekh, which followed that of Amon in the order given. Marching through Palestine,^b and along the Phœnician coast road, Ramses passed into Amor, where he formed his van of picked men, on the "*shore in the land of Amor*" (Poem, l. 18). Thereupon he left the coast, perhaps marching up the valley of the Litâny, and reached the last elevation on the east side of the Orontes, where the high valley (the Bukâ^c a) drops to the level of the plain around Kadesh, about a day's march south of it.^c Here he camped (Poem, ll. 11, 12; Record, l. 2), without finding trace of the enemy. He therefore pushed on the next day, and as he reached the ford just south of Shabtuna, later Ribleh,^d a small town, some seven and a half miles south of Kadesh, he was informed by two Shasu-Bedwin, sent out by the Hittite king for this purpose, that the Asiatics had retreated far northward to the district of Aleppo, beyond Tunip (Record, ll. 2-6). With the division of Amon, therefore, Ramses crossed to the west side of the Orontes at Shabtuna (Poem, l. 12), leaving the other three divisions on the east side, dis-

larger history. Meyer is the only later historian who has shown a correct understanding of the general plan of the battle. On the literature of the subject, see my *Battle of Kadesh*, 4, 5.

^aThis word, which I render "*division*," is in Egyptian "*army*" (*mš* c), but it was probably about the size of a modern army division (see p. 153, note).

^bThe route is uncertain in Palestine (see Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 220), but must have been along the coast when he reached southern Phœnicia. It is barely possible, therefore, that Ramses embarked his army, after leaving Tharu, and landed at some Phœnician port.

^c*Battle of Kadesh*, 19-21; see *infra*, Figs. 7 and 8.

^d*Battle of Kadesh*, 21, 22.

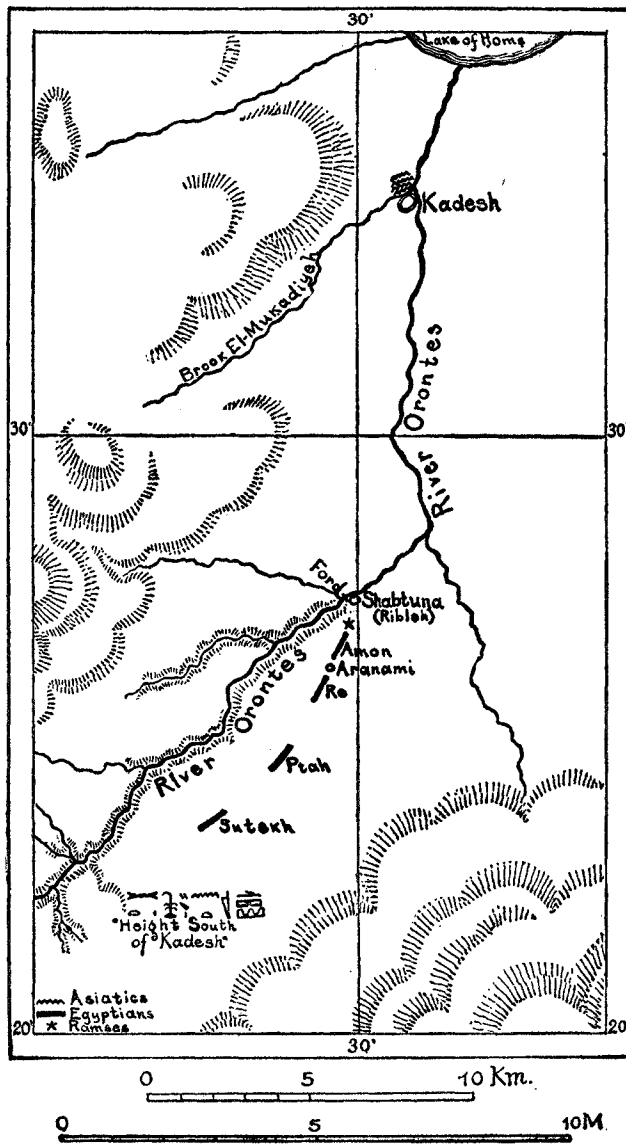


FIG. 8.—March to Kadesh. First Positions

tributed along the road to the south. The division of Re, however, soon crossed at the same ford, with about a mile and a half between its van and the rear of the division of Amon^a (Fig. 9). With these two divisions following him in a long line, Ramses continued rapidly northward, leaving the other two (Ptah and Sutekh) marching slowly south of Shabtuna, till there was a wide gap between the two halves of his army.

299. Meanwhile the Asiatics (Poem, l. 17), with an army of probably 20,000 men, the combined forces of the north Syrian princes, under the Hittite king, together with a large proportion of mercenaries from states in Asia Minor, adjacent or subject to the Hittites^b—all these were concealed on the northwest of Kadesh, hidden from the Egyptians by the city. The Hittite king now uses the city to mask his movements, and as Ramses pushes northward on the west side of Kadesh, the Hittite commander shifts his position rapidly eastward and southward,^c all the time keeping the

^aFrom this point on consult the battle plans (Figs. 9 to 12). They are taken from my *Battle of Kadesh*. The four Egyptian divisions are marked by their names: Amon, Re, Ptah, and Sutekh.

^bPoem, ll. 1, 2, 13-16, and 24; Record, ll. 6, 7. The language of the inscriptions puts the Syrian contingents in the same category with those of Asia Minor, but it is clear that the latter are only mercenaries, called "warriors" (*tw-hy-r*), i. e., professional soldiers, who are in the service of the Hittite king for hire (Poem, l. 16), under their own native commanders, whom the Poem represents as their princes. The Syrians, on the other hand, are real allies of the Hittites, and their kings are really present.

^cNo direct statement of this movement is made in the sources, but after stating that the Hittites are "on the northwest of Kadesh" (Poem, ll. 16, 17), while Ramses is still south of Kadesh, they further state that the Asiatics emerged for the attack "from the southern side of Kadesh" (Poem, l. 20; Record, l. 20), when Ramses is in camp northwest of Kadesh. The Hittites could not have shifted from the northwest of Kadesh to the south of it, along the west side, for here Ramses was marching northward. They must have passed eastward and southward on the east side of the city (Fig. 10), keeping themselves constantly "behind Kadesh," from Ramses' point of view. They could, of course, have passed through Kadesh if the gates were in such positions as to permit. But as they crossed the Orontes

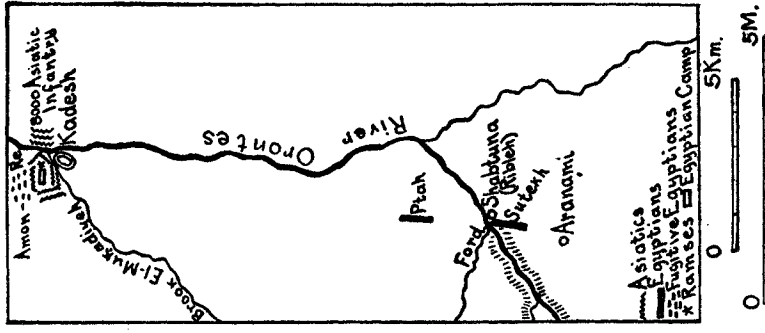


FIG. 12.—Fifth Positions

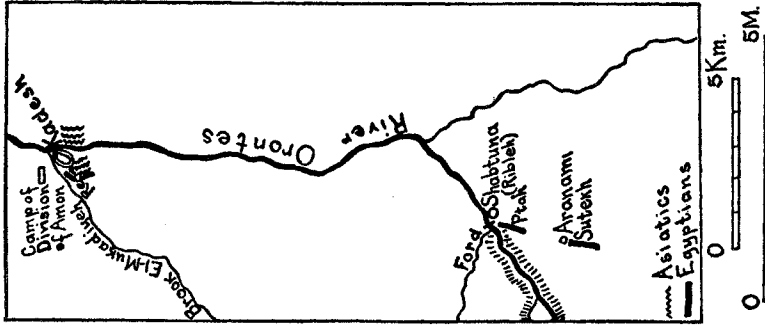


FIG. 11.—Fourth Positions

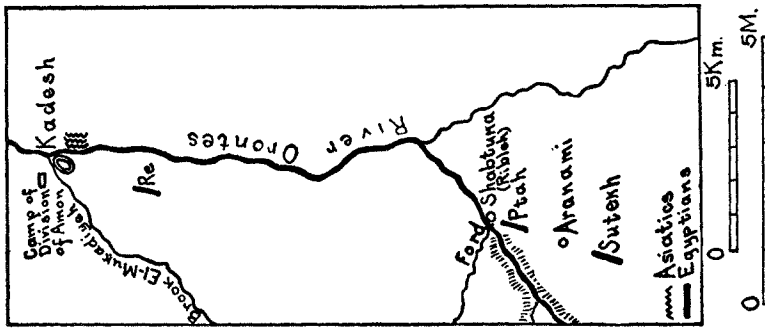


FIG. 10.—Third Positions

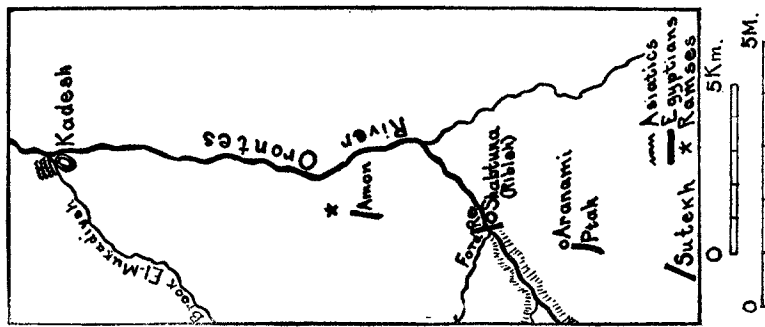


FIG. 9.—Second Positions

city between him and the advance of the Egyptians. To do this, he was obliged to transfer his army across the Orontes. Ramses, now quite unsuspecting, advances alone with only his household troops, and deliberately goes into camp northwest of the city (Poem, ll. 12 and 21; Record, ll. 7, 8; Reliefs, § 336, ll. 3, 4; Fig. 10). Thus the Asiatics, with a strong fortress on their right for refuge in case of defeat, by their remarkably skilful maneuvering, have gained a position on Ramses' right flank, which, properly utilized, means his destruction.

300. As the division of Amon comes up and is settling in camp around the tent of Ramses (Reliefs, § 331), an Egyptian scout brings in two of the enemy's scouts, who are beaten (Reliefs, § 330) into confessing the proximity of the foe (Record, § 321). Thoroughly alarmed, Ramses commands the vizier to order up the troops from the south of Shabtuna (§ 324), and the vizier, besides sending a horseman to hasten them, probably goes also himself in a chariot (Record, § 324; Reliefs, §§ 333 f.). Meanwhile the threatening catastrophe becomes a fact: remaining with his infantry, the king of the Hittites sends his chariotry (Poem, ll. 18, 19) to the attack; they "*came forth from the southern side of Kadesh, and they cut through the division of Re in its middle, while they were marching, without knowing, and without being drawn up for battle*" (Poem, § 311). Totally unprepared, caught thus in marching order, the Egyptians fled northward^a toward Ramses' camp (Record, l. 21), while a messenger was sent to acquaint him with the disaster. But

to make the attack (Record, l. 20), they must have come from the east side of the river; and while on the northwest of Kadesh, they were certainly on the west side; hence the two crossings are certain.

^aThis is evidently the northern half of the division of Re, which thus retreats; the southern half apparently fell back southward on the marching division of Ptah.

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