

SAMEH ISKANDER | OGDEN GOELET

# The Temple of Ramesses II in Abydos

Volume 3: Architectural and Inscriptional Features

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Sameh Iskander  
Ogden Goelet



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## PREFACE

Since its discovery two centuries ago, the temple of Ramesses II “the Great” in Abydos, although there have been studies of some of its chapels, wall scenes, and inscriptions, no attempt has been made to present a comprehensive, full-scale treatment. To fill this major gap, in 2007 we embarked on a project with the ultimate goal to make available a comprehensive, convenient, up-to-date study covering all aspects of the temple and its precinct. This series of volumes was intended to serve as an important contribution to our knowledge of ancient Egyptian temples and their activities, particularly those of the reign of Ramesses II, focusing on his first years. This work will provide as well new perspectives on the role of the Temple of Ramesses II within the context of the sacred site of Abydos, its monuments, and festivals during the Ramesside period and later times.

Our multidisciplinary approach employed an extensive variety of disciplines that included epigraphy, philology, art history, iconography, history, archaeology, and conservation. We knew at the time it would be a formidable effort for a monument of this size but were convinced and motivated by its significance for our knowledge of ancient Egyptian temples and religion during the Ramesside period.

As a first step, we inaugurated an architectural and epigraphic documentation project under the auspices of New York University, Department of Middle Eastern Studies and later by the New York University-Institute of the Study of the Ancient World (NYU-ISAW). This first stage culminated in the publication of our first volume in two parts in 2015, which presented a complete rendering of all the inscriptions preserved on the temple walls in the form of graphic images in the form of digitalized line drawings, each accompanied by a corresponding color photograph of that scene. The publication offers the reader an opportunity to access convenient, updated views of the wall reliefs and architectural details together in one volume. We then embarked on volume 2, which is in effect a continuation of the first volume in the same format, to present certain remaining temple elements not included in the first volume namely the pillars, chapel niches, fragments, and other miscellanies.

We subsequently turned our attention to the next phase, which is the publication of this third volume, an in-depth analysis of the existing data as well as fresh new information obtained in the field that presents a synthesis of four approaches, namely, examining the temple from the viewpoints of architecture, philology, religious history, and archaeology.

Chapter 1 gives the reader a clear understanding of the temple’s site, layout, and its physical features dealing with the broader context of its location and orientation within the sacred landscape of Abydos. This is followed by an examination of the architectural characteristics and construction details of the temple with a discussion of its various building materials in an attempt to appreciate their diverse levels of symbolism. Hypothetical architectural reconstructions of some of the temple’s now-missing details are envisaged, in the hope that this will raise awareness concerning the conservation and restoration needs of this monument.

The aim of chapter 2 is to site the Temple of Ramesses II within the complex religious environment of Abydos and its sacred landscape. The Osiris Festival and the role that the processional barques and images played in the defining ritual of the Abydene region are the main subjects of the chapter. Of course, the nature of Osiris and his iconography are necessarily important elements of this discussion. Since the images of Osiris and those of other deities suffered extensive damage in the Ramesses II temple, it is necessary to draw upon the temple of his father Sety I, which is located nearby. The complex influence that his father’s monument had as a model is often hard to evaluate, as is the degree to which Ramesses intended his temple to assume the more important position within the ritual landscape of Abydos.

As a barque chapel, this temple served as a key staging point for the great Osiris Festival and its important procession, among the most important of all ritual events in the Egyptian religious calendar during the Ramesside period. At the center of all cult service within the temple and the focus of the processions was the *s3m(w)* “divine image,” a term that receives an in-depth philological study within the context of this temple in order to distinguish between its several meanings.

These topics are closely connected to the subject of popular religion, a religious-social phenomenon that has left numerous traces at this temple and furthermore is a characteristic feature of the Ramesside religion. Processional images were the chief means of communication between humanity and the gods, for both the royal, official religion and for popular religion.

An unusual aspect of this temple is its ritual Staircase leading to the roof. There is evidence in the Ramesses temple that the rooftop area had an important role in several rituals performed at the temple, including some mentioned or alluded to in several of the chapels, with special emphasis on the New Year.

Chapter 3 presents a description and analysis of the rooms on the Raised Portico and the interior rooms beyond the Granite Gateway, according to the order in which they are treated in Porter-Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, which follows a counterclockwise path around the temple, beginning with Chapel O at the South side of the Portico Terrace and ending with Chapel P at the southeast corner of the First Hypostyle Hall, or Court B, but employing Mariette's alphabetical nomenclature for these rooms, which number sixteen in all. This chapter comprises the bulk of this volume. The temple's rooms were not all chapels in the sense of being primarily reserved for cult service. Some rooms were primarily intended for storage. There appears to have been an unknown number of spaces for worship and cult activity on the roof, which was accessed by means of the Staircase at the southwest corner of Court B. Although the temple was designed and situated to operate primarily as an elaborate way station for processional barques that were stationed in the chapels on the Raised Portico and the three large chapels at the rear of the temple, some of the subsidiary rooms may have housed smaller cult images. In a few instances, cult statues may have been permanently installed. The chapter translates all texts in each room, describes and analyzes its reliefs explaining the room's purpose within the ritual life of the temple and, more broadly, Abydos.

Chapter 4 catalogs the large corpus of graffiti inscriptions carved or drawn throughout the temple walls, in pictorial format as well as Egyptian in its hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts, Coptic, and Greek arranged according to their type. The translation and analysis of these inscriptions, which are provided by Dr. Hana Navrátilová, offer a fascinating insight into the comments left by ancient visitors to the temple during various periods over a wide expanse of time.

There are still several other topics that are not included in this volume due to a lack of space and because some of the photos and line drawings are not available at this time. We are currently preparing a fourth volume that will include the treatment of the inscriptions on the exterior temple walls, Court A, Court C, Chapel S, pillars, and the free-standing chapel in the First Court designated as "X". We will also present the various discoveries made during our 2019 and 2020 seasons, which included the structure we have designated as the temple-palace outside the South Wall, its contiguous ten mud-brick magazines, the foundation deposits, and our own interpretations and some hypothetical reconstructions of architectural features and associated religious practices. Some of these discoveries provide important insights into the history of the temple during the Ptolemaic and Late-Roman periods.

In the end, this volume could not have been accomplished without the generous contribution of many institutions and individuals. First, we would like to express our deep appreciation for the privilege bestowed on us by the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities and the Supreme Council of Antiquities for granting us the permission to work in Abydos since 2007. The generous cooperation of the members of the Sohag Department of Antiquities under its dynamic General Director Mr. Ashraf Okasha, Mr. Mohamed Naguib Director of the Baliana office, their predecessors and inspectors over the years who were crucial to the production of this work.

The generous academic support of the NYU-ISAW for which we are indebted under the directorship of Prof. Alexander Jones, his predecessor Prof. Roger Bagnal, Dr. Diane Bennet, associate director for administration, Dr. Marc LeBlanc, assistant director for academic affairs for facilitating our work at the Institute, Dr. Tom Elliott and Kristen Soule for support and assistance in connection with IT services and programs, Dr. David Ratzan and Mr. Gabriel McKee for the generous library services.

We would also like to recognize here the generous contributions of the institutions and authors who have generously provided give us with permissions to include their photos and schematics in this publication.

The scholarship and expertise of Dr. Hana Navratilova is greatly appreciated in providing the translation and

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Needless to say, all our fieldwork operations at the site could not have been possible without Ahmed Rageb and his tireless Dig House staff, Rayess Mohamed Ibrahim and his experienced Gufti team together with the energetic Abydos workforce, where no task is impossible, and for all of whom we are indebted.

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Sameh Iskander  
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## تقديم وشكر وتقدير

منذ اكتشاف معبد رمسيس الثاني «العظيم» في أبيدوس قبل قرنين من الزمان لم تُبذل أي محاولة لتقديم دراسة شاملة له على نطاق واسع، وذلك على الرغم من وجود دراسات سابقة تناولت بعض مقاصيره ومناظره الجدارية ونقوشه.

شرع فريقنا في عام 2007 من أجل سد هذه الفجوة الكبيرة في القيام بمشروع يهدف في نهاية المطاف إلى إتاحة دراسة شاملة ومواتية وحديثة تشمل جميع جوانب ومعالم المعبد والمنطقة المحيطة به. فكان القصد من إصدارنا لهذه السلسلة من المجلدات تقديم إسهامات قيّمة فيما يتعلق بمعرفتنا بالمعابد المصرية القديمة والأنشطة التي كانت تجري بها وبخاصة في عهد الملك رمسيس الثاني مع التركيز على سنوات حكمه الأولى. كما سيقدم هذا العمل آراءً جديدة فيما يتعلق بدور معبد رمسيس الثاني في سياق الموقع المقدس لمدينة أبيدوس وآثارها والاحتفالات الدينية التي شهدتها في عصر الملوك الرعامسة وفي العصور اللاحقة.

استعان منهجنا القائم على تعدد التخصصات بمجموعة عريضة من العلوم شملت دراسة النقوش وفضه اللغة وتاريخ الفن ودراسة المناظر والتاريخ والآثار والحفظ والترميم. لقد كنا نعلم أنذاك أننا بصدد بذل جهد هائل لدراسة صرح أثري بهذا الحجم، ولكننا كنا على قناعة تامة وكانت دوافعنا كبيرة بسبب أهميته العظيمة التي ستضيف الكثير إلى علمنا بالمعابد المصرية القديمة وبالمعتقدات الدينية في عصر الملوك الرعامسة.

لقد كان تشيئنا لمشروع توثيق عمارة ونقوش المعبد برعاية قسم دراسات الشرق الأوسط بجامعة نيويورك، ولاحقاً برعاية معهد دراسات العالم القديم بجامعة نيويورك بمثابة الخطوة الأولى. توجت هذه المرحلة الأولى بنشر أول مجلد لنا في جزأين في عام ٢٠١٢، والذي قدّم نسخة كاملة لجميع النقوش والمناظر المسجلة والمحفوظة على جدران المعبد في شكل صور بيانية ورسومات خطية رقمية مصحوبة بصور ملونة لكل منظر. يتيح هذا الإصدار للقارئ فرصة للحصول على آراء مواتية وحديثة بشأن النقوش الجدارية والتفاصيل المعمارية للمعبد معروضة معاً في مجلد واحد. وشرع فريقنا بعد ذلك في إصدار المجلد الثاني الذي يُعد في واقع الأمر تكملةً للمجلد الأول وبنفس النسق، وكان الغرض منه عرض بعض العناصر المعمارية المتبقية للمعبد التي لم ترد في المجلد الأول وهي الأعمدة والمقاصير وبقايا الكتل الحجرية وعناصر أخرى متنوعة.

ثم وجه فريقنا اهتمامه في المرحلة التالية إلى نشر المجلد الثالث الذي بين أيديكم ليشمل تحليلاً متعمقاً للبيانات المتاحة وللمعلومات الجديدة المستمدة من الموقع والذي يجمع بين أربعة مناهج تشمل دراسة المعبد من وجهات نظر العمارة وفضه اللغة والتاريخ الديني وعلم الآثار.

يقدم الفصل الأول للقارئ عرضاً واضحاً لموقع المعبد وتخطيطه وتضاريسه ويتناول السياق الأوسع لموقعه واتجاهه داخل المكان المقدس لمدينة أبيدوس. يعقب هذا تقديم دراسة لخصائص المعبد المعمارية وتفصيله الإنشائية مع مناقشة مواد البناء المختلفة المستخدمة فيه في محاولة لإدراك مستوياتها الرمزية المتنوعة. ومن المتوخى هنا أيضاً القيام بإعادة بناء افتراضية لبعض عناصر المعبد المعمارية المفقودة حالياً على أمل أن يؤدي هذا إلى زيادة الوعي بالحاجة إلى حفظ وترميم هذا الصرح الأثري العظيم.

يهدف الفصل الثاني إلى تحديد موضع معبد رمسيس الثاني داخل السياق الديني للمعبد لمدينة أبيدوس وموقعها المقدس. ويعد عيد أوزيريس والدور الذي كانت تقوم به القوارب المستخدمة في المراكب والمناظر في الطقوس الخاصة بمنطقة أبيدوس هي المواضيع الرئيسية التي تناولها هذا الفصل. وبالطبع تمثل طبيعة المعبد أوزيريس والمناظر التي تصوره عناصر مهمة بالضرورة في هذا النقاش. ونظراً لتعرض المناظر التي تجسد المعبد أوزيريس ومعبودات أخرى في معبد رمسيس الثاني لأضرار جسيمة، كان من الضروري الاعتماد على معبد أبيه الملك سيتي الأول الذي يقع في مكان قريب منه. وغالباً ما يُصعب تقييم التأثير المركب الذي أحدثه معبد أبيه كنموذج، وكذلك الدرجة التي أراد رمسيس الثاني بها أن يحتل معبده المكانة الأبرز في الموقع المقدس لأبيدوس حيث تقام أهم الشعائر والطقوس.

كان هذا المعبد بمثابة مقصورة للقارب المقدس ونقطة الانطلاق الرئيسية للمعبد العظيم للمعبد أوزيريس وموكبه الهائل والذي كان يعد أحد أهم الأحداث الطقسية في التقويم الديني المصري في عصر الملوك الرعامسة. كان لفظ «شمر(و)» أي «الصورة المقدسة» في لب جميع الشعائر الدينية المقامة داخل المعبد ومحور الموكب الدينية، وهو مصطلح حظي بدراسة لغوية متعمقة في سياق هذا المعبد للتمييز بين معانيه المتعددة.

ترتبط هذه المواضيع ارتباطاً وثيقاً بموضوع الديانة الشعبية وهي ظاهرة دينية اجتماعية خلفت آثاراً عديدة في هذا المعبد بالإضافة إلى كونها سمة مميزة للديانة في عصر الملوك الرعامسة. كانت مناظر الموكب الوسيلة الرئيسية للتواصل بين البشر والمعبودات في كل من الديانة الملكية الرسمية والديانة الشعبية على حد سواء.

يُعد الدرج الطقسي الذي يؤدي إلى السطح أحد المظاهر غير التقليدية لهذا المعبد. وثمة أدلة في معبد رمسيس الثاني تشير إلى أن منطقة السطح كان لها دور مهم في العديد من الطقوس والشعائر التي أقيمت بالمعبد بما في ذلك بعض الطقوس المذكورة أو التي تم الإشارة إليها في العديد من المقاصير مع التركيز بوجه خاص على «العام الجديد».

يقدم الفصل الثالث وصفاً وتحليلاً للغرف الواقعة في «رواق الأعمدة المرتفع» والغرف الداخلية الواقعة خلف «البوابة الجرانيتية» وفقاً لترتيبها في مؤلف «بورتر-موس، الببليوغرافيا الطبوغرافية» الذي يتبع مساراً عكس اتجاه عقارب الساعة حول المعبد بداية من «المقصورة (O)» في الجانب الجنوبي من «شرفة رواق الأعمدة» حتى «المقصورة (P)» بالركن الجنوبي الشرقي من «صالة الأعمدة الأولى» أو «الفناء (B)»، ولكن مع استعمال التسميات الأبجدية التي وضعها «مارييت» لهذه الغرف والتي يبلغ عددها ست عشرة غرفة. يحتوي الفصل

الثالث على الجزء الأكبر من هذا المجلد. لم تكن كل غرف المعبد مقاصير بمعنى تكريسها في المقام الأول للطقوس والشعائر التعبدية. فكانت بعض الغرف مخصصة بالأساس للتخزين. ويبدو أنه كان هناك عددٌ غير محدد من الأماكن المخصصة للعبادة وللأنشطة التعبدية فوق سطح المعبد الذي كان يتم الوصول إليه عن طريق الدرج الواقع في الركن الجنوبي الغربي من «الفناء (B)». وعلى الرغم من أن المعبد كان قد صُمم ووضع في هذا الموقع ليكون في المقام الأول بمثابة محطة بدعية في الطريق الذي يسلكه موكب القوارب التي كانت تتخذ من المقاصير الواقعة في «رواق الأعمدة المرتفع» وفي المقاصير الكبيرة الثلاث الواقعة في مؤخرة المعبد محطة لها، وربما حوت بعض الغرف الجانبية مناظر تعبدية أصغر. وفي حالات قليلة وضعت بها على الأرجح تماثيل تعبدية بصفة دائمة. كما يقدم هذا الفصل ترجمةً لجميع النصوص المسجلة في كل غرفة ووصفًا وتحليلًا للنقوش والمناظر التي تحويها بهدف شرح الغرض من الغرفة في سياق الحياة الطقسية للمعبد ولأبيدوس على نطاق أوسع.

يسجل الفصل الرابع المجموعة الكبيرة من الجرافيتي المحفورة أو المرسومة على جدران المعبد بالكامل سواء كانت رسومات تصويرية أو كتابات هيروغليفية وهيراظيقية أو قبطية ويونانية مرتبة حسب فنتها. تقدم ترجمة وتحليل هذه الجرافيتي التي نفذتها الدكتورة هنا نافر اتيلوفا معلومات قيّمة للغاية عن التعليقات التي سجلها زائرو المعبد في العصور القديمة على مدى فترة طويلة من الزمن.

لا تزال هناك مواضيع أخرى كثيرة لم ترد في هذا المجلد بسبب حجمه الكبير ولأن بعض الصور والرسومات الخطية غير متوفرة في الوقت الحالي. ويُعد فريقنا حاليًا المجلد الرابع الذي سيتناول النقوش المسجلة على الجدران الخارجية للمعبد وفي «الفناء (A)» و«الفناء (C)» و«المقصورة (S)» والأعمدة والمقصورة القائمة بذاتها في «الفناء الأول» المسماة «X». كما سيرض الاكتشافات المختلفة التي جرت خلال موسمي العمل 2019 و2020 والتي شملت المبنى الذي أطلقنا عليه اسم «قصر المعبد» الواقع خارج «الجدار الجنوبي» ومخازنه العشرة المتجاورة المشيدة بالطوب اللين وودائع الأساس، فضلًا عن تفسيراتنا الخاصة وبعض نماذج إعادة البناء الافتراضية للعناصر المعمارية والممارسات الدينية المرتبطة بها. تُقدم بعض هذه الاكتشافات معلومات مهمة عن تاريخ المعبد في العصر البطلمي والعصر الروماني المتأخر.

ختامًا لم يكن لهذا المجلد أن يكتمل لولا الإسهام السخي من جانب العديد من المؤسسات والأفراد. أولًا نود أن نعرب عن خالص تقديرنا للامتياز الذي منحه لنا وزارة السياحة والآثار والمجلس الأعلى للآثار بالتصريح لنا بالعمل في أبيدوس منذ عام ٢٠٠٢. لقد كان التعاون الوثيق والكريم من جانب أعضاء إدارة تفتيش آثار سوهاج بقيادة مديرها العام النشيط الأستاذ أشرف عكاشة ومدير مكتب تفتيش آثار البلبينا الأستاذ محمد نجيب ومن سبقهم من مفتشي الآثار على مر السنين عاملًا حاسمًا في إنجاز هذا العمل.

نود كذلك أن نعرب عن خالص تقديرنا للدعم الأكاديمي السخي الذي قدمه معهد دراسات العالم القديم بجامعة نيويورك بقيادة الأستاذ الدكتور ألكسندر جونز وسلفه الأستاذ الدكتور روجر باجنال، والدكتورة ديان بينيت مساعد مدير الشؤون الإدارية والدكتور مارك لوبلو مساعد مدير الشؤون الأكاديمية الذين ندين لهم بتيسير أعمالنا بالمعهد؛ كما نتقدم بخالص الشكر والتقدير للدكتور توم إيليوث والسيد كريستن سول على الدعم الذي قدماه لنا فيما يتعلق بخدمات تكنولوجيا المعلومات والبرمجيات، وللدكتور ديفيد راتزان والسيد جابرييل ماكي على الخدمات السخية ذات الصلة بمكتبة المعهد.

نود أيضًا هنا أن نعرب عن تقديرنا للإسهامات العظيمة للمؤسسات والمؤلفين الذين سمحوا لنا بكرم شديد باستخدام صورهم ومخططاتهم في هذا الإصدار.

وثنمّن جدًّا علم وخبرة الدكتورة هنا نافر اتيلوفا فيما يتعلق بترجمة وتحليل الجرافيتي الواردة في الفصل الرابع. والشكر موصول للأستاذ الدكتور ديفيد أوكونور على نصائحه الغالية على مر السنين والتي ساعدتنا على بدء المشروع. كما نتقدم بالشكر والتقدير للدكتور ديتز أرنولد الذي كان متاحًا دائمًا للرد على جميع المسائل المتعلقة بعمارة المعبد وعلى تعليقاته وأرائه القيمة. ونتقدم بشكر خاص للسيدة بيث كوشنر من مكتبة ولبور بمتحف بروكلين التي قدمت لنا دعمًا عظيمًا فيما يتعلق بإمدادنا بالنسخ الضوئية لمواد البحث، والشكر موصول للسيد أيمن دمراني والدكتورة كاترين إيتون والدكتورة ماريان إيتن كراوس والسيدة بيرى فاي والدكتور بينديكت ديفيز والدكتور أندرياس إفلاند والأستاذة الدكتورة ماري-أن بولز فيجنر والدكتورة إلونا ريجولسكي والدكتورة أليكسا ريكيرت والأستاذ الدكتور أنتوني شبالينجر والأستاذ الدكتور جوزيف فيجنر والأستاذة الدكتورة جينيفر هاوسر فيجنر والدكتورة أديلا أوبنهايم والأستاذة الدكتورة أن ماكي روث والأستاذة الدكتورة مارتينا أولمان والأستاذ الدكتور بيتر براند والأستاذة الدكتورة هيدر مكارثي التي عملت مديرًا لدراسة ونسخ النقوش لمواسم عديدة، وللدكتور محمد عثمان على خبرته العلمية وإسهاماته فيما يتعلق بالتخطيط في جميع مراحل مشروع التوثيق. ونتقدم بخالص التقدير للمهندسة سيلفيا إسكندر ومساعدتها المهندسة المعمارية إيمان فارس على جهودهما المتواصلة ذات الصلة بالبحوث المعمارية والتخطيطات والرسومات والصور التوضيحية المختلفة.

كما نتقدم بالشكر الجزيل لفريق العمل المعني بأعمال التنقيب والمسح برئاسة مدير الموقع النشيط عصام شهاب صاحب الخبرات الهائلة ومحمد أحمد (خطيب) وحسين ركابي والمساح عمرو زكريا واختصاصي النقوش أحمد عبد اللطيف ومرممة الآثار إيمان زيدان ومرمم الآثار أحمد طارق على أعمال الترميم الرائعة.

جدير بالذكر هنا أيضًا أن جميع الأعمال الميدانية بالموقع لم تكن لتتحقق لولا أحمد رجب وفريقه الدؤوب من بيت الحفائر، ورئيس العمال محمد إبراهيم وفريقه المحنك من قفط جنبًا إلى جنب مع عمال أبيدوس النشطاء الذين لا تستحيل عليهم مهمة، نحن مدينون لكل فرد منهم.

نحن ممتنون للدكتورة سو. ه. داوريا على تنسيق وتحرير هذا المجلد وعلى تعليقاتها القيّمة واهتمامها بالتفاصيل الدقيقة وأيضًا للدكتورة بريانا جاكسون على تحرير النص بهذه الدقة وهذا الصبر.

أخيرًا وليس أخيرًا نتقدم بجزيل الشكر للدكتورة بيلي جين كولينز من دار نشر 'لوكوود بريس' وفريقها المتفاني على الجهود التي بذلوها وعلى الاهتمام الذي أولوه لإصدار هذا المجلد.

سامح إسكندر  
أوجدن جوليت

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
AEL I	Lichtheim, M. <i>Ancient Egyptian Literature I: The Old and Middle Kingdom</i> . Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.
AEL II	Lichtheim, M. <i>Ancient Egyptian Literature II: The New Kingdom</i> . Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.
AEO	Gardiner, A. H. <i>Ancient Egyptian Onomastica</i> . 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947.
AF	Ägyptologische Forschungen
AH	Aegyptiaca Helvetica
ÄHG	Assmann, J. <i>Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete</i> . 2nd ed. OBO. Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999.
AnLex	Meeks, D. <i>Année Lexicographique: Tomes I–III</i> . 2nd ed. Paris: Cybele, 1980–1982.
ArOr	<i>Archív Orientální</i>
ASAE	<i>Les Annales du Service des Antiquités Égyptiennes</i>
ASE	Archaeological Survey of Egypt
AuT	Konrad, K. <i>Architektur und Theologie: Pharaonische Tempelterminologie unter Berücksichtigung königsideologischer Aspekte</i> . KSG 5. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006.
BÄBA	<i>Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde</i>
BD	Book of the Dead (cited by chapter)
BdÉ	Bibliothèque d'Étude
BES	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i>
BiAe	<i>Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca</i>
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i>
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
BMPES	British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan
BMSAES	<i>British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan</i>
BSAK	Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur Beihefte
BSÉG	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie, Genève</i>
BSFÉ	<i>Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie</i>
CASAE	Cahier Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte
CdÉ	Chronique d'Égypte
CDME	Faulkner, R. O. <i>Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian</i> . Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1962.
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CRAIBL	<i>Comptes rendus (des séances) de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres</i>
CT VII	De Buck, A. <i>The Egyptian Coffin Texts: Texts of Spells 787–1183</i> . OIP 87. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
DAWW	Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien
DE	<i>Discussions in Egyptology</i>
DG	Gauthier, H. <i>Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques</i> . 7 vols. Cairo: Société royale de géographie d'Égypte, 1925–1931.
DLE	Lesko, L. <i>A Dictionary of Late Egyptian</i> . 2nd ed. 2 vols. Providence, RI: B.C. Scribe, 2002.
det.	determinative
EA	<i>Egyptian Archaeology</i>

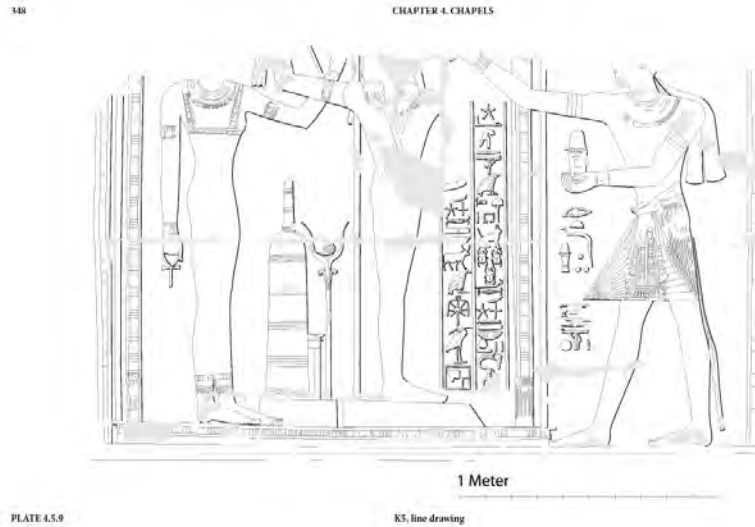
ÉAO	Égypt Afrique & Orient
EEF	Egypt Exploration Fund
ERA	Egyptian Research Account
EU	Egyptologische Uitgaven
GM	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
GN	God's name
GOF	Göttinger Orientforschungen
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HT 8	Edwards, I. E. S. <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.</i> , Part 8. London: British Museum. Dept. of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, 1939.
HT 9	James, T. G. H. <i>The British Museum: Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.</i> Part 9. London: British Museum, 1970.
HT 10	Bierbrier, M. L. <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.</i> , part 10. London: British Museum, 1982.
IBES	Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie
JANER	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of the Near Eastern Studies</i>
JSSEA	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
KN	King's name
KRI	Kitchen, K. A. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> . 8 vols. Oxford: Blackwell, 1969–1990.
KSG	Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen
LÄ	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> . Edited by W. Helck et al. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972–1992.
LD	Lepsius, R. <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Nubien</i> . 12 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1849–1858.
LDT	Lepsius, R. <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Nubien, Text</i> . 5 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1897–1913.
LGG	Leitz, Ch., ed. <i>Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen</i> . OLA 110–116. Leuven: Peeters, 2003.
LingAeg	<i>Lingua Aegyptia: Journal of Egyptian Language Studies</i>
MAA	Marburger altertumskundliche Abhandlungen
MÄS	Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, Berlin.
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo</i>
AnLex	Meeks, D. <i>Année Lexicographique</i> . 2nd ed. 3 vols. Paris: Cybele, 1980–1982.
MIO	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i>
MMJ	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i>
MVCAE	Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt
O.	Ostrakon
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OIC	Oriental Institute Communications
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OIS	Oriental Institute Seminars
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OMRO	<i>Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden</i>
Or	<i>Orientalia</i> , new series
P.	Papyrus

PÄ	Probleme der Ägyptologie
PM	Porter, B., and R. L. B. Moss. <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings</i> . Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1960.
PMMAEE	Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition
PN	Personal (nonroyal) name
Ranke, PN 1	Ranke, H. <i>Die ägyptischen Personennamen</i> , Vol. 1: <i>Verzeichnis der Namen</i> . Glückstadt: Augustin, 1935.
RÄRG	Bonnet, H. <i>Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte</i> . 2nd ed. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1971.
RdÉ	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
RITA	Kitchen, K. A. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated</i> . Oxford: Blackwell, 1996–.
RITANC	Kitchen, K. A., and B. G. Davies. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated Notes and Comments</i> . Oxford: Blackwell, 1996–.
RT	<i>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i> , Paris.
RTI	Reflectance Transformation Imaging
Sign-list	Gardiner, A. H. "List of Hieroglyphic Signs." Pages 438–548 in <i>Egyptian Grammar</i> . 3rd ed. rev. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957.
SAGA	Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens
SAK	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i>
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations
SASAE	Supplément aux Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte
SAT	Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch
SSR	Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion
s.n.	sub numero
s.v.	sub voce
TLA	Thesaurus Lingua Aegyptiae. <a href="http://www.Aaew.Bbaw.de/Tla">www.Aaew.Bbaw.de/Tla</a>
TN	Temple name
TTS	The Theban Tombs Series
UGAÄ	Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens
Urk. IV	Sethe, K. <i>Urkunden des Neuen Reiches, historisch-biographische Urkunden</i> . Fascicles 1–16. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906–1909. Continued by W. Helck, fascicles 17–22. Berlin: Akademie, 1955–1958.
VA	<i>Varia Aegyptiaca</i>
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World
Wb.	Erman, A., and H. Grapow. <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> . 5 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926–1955.
YES	Yale Egyptological Studies
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>



## A NOTE ON INTERNAL CROSS REFERENCES TO THE PLATES

The analyses and descriptions in this book are keyed to illustrations in the two volumes of plates, Iskander and Goelet, *Temple of Ramesses II*, vol. 1, part 1: *Exterior Walls and Courts*, and vol. 1, part 2: *Chapels and the First Pylon*. Internal references to these scenes will thus appear as 1.1 or 1.2:page number. Each section of the temple's walls has an alphanumerical designation that will precede this information in the reference. A scene such as the one illustrated below would be cited as "K5; vol. 1.2:348."



Within the context of the introduction to a section of the commentary of a chapel, a scene will have a more complete title that includes the plate number and is also linked with the table of contents:

3.5.2.6. Rear (North) Wall of Chapel K  
K5; pl. 4.5.9; vol. 1.2:348.