

SAMEH ISKANDER | OGDEN GOELET

# The Temple of Ramesses II in Abydos

Volume 3: Architectural and Inscriptional Features



# The Temple of Ramesse II in Abydos

Volume 3:  
Architectural and Inscriptional Features



# The Temple of Rameses II in Abydos

Volume 3:  
Architectural and Inscriptional Features

Sameh Iskander  
Ogden Goelet



Lockwood Press  
Atlanta, Georgia

# The Temple of Ramesses II in Abydos

## Volume 3: Architectural and Inscriptural Features

Copyright © 2021 by Lockwood Press

All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording, or by means of any information storage or retrieval system, except as may be expressly permitted by the 1976 Copyright Act or in writing from the publisher. Requests for permission should be addressed in writing to Lockwood Press, PO Box 133289, Atlanta, GA 30333 USA.

Cover design by Susanne Wilhelm.

Cover photograph by Sameh Iskander.


ISBN: 978-1-948488-78-5 (cloth)

Library of Congress Control Number: 2015930999

This paper meets the requirements of ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992 (Permanence of Paper).

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	ix
List of Figures	xv
Abbreviations	xxi
A Note on Internal Cross References to the Plates	xxiv
<b>CHAPTER 1. ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES</b>	
1.1. General Overview of the Temple Site	1
1.2. Architectural Description	6
1.3. Material Used in the Construction of the Temple	15
1.4. Detailed Architectural Description of the Temple	19
1.5. Chapels	30
1.6. Temple Floor Paving	30
1.7. The Foundation	30
1.8. Hypothetical Reconstruction of the Temple	36
1.9. Modern Restorations of the Temple	41
1.10. Mud-Brick Structures between the Two Pylons	42
1.11. A Short History of the Temple Construction Stages	43
<b>CHAPTER 2. THE RELIGIOUS ENVIRONMENT AND THE TEMPLE DURING THE EARLY RAMESSIDE PERIOD</b>	
2.1. Introduction	49
2.1.1. The Subject Matter of This Chapter	49
2.1.2. The Names of Sety I and Ramesses II	50
2.1.3. Previous Study	52
2.1.4. The Founding of the Temple	54
2.1.5. The History of the Ramesses II Temple during and after the Reign of Ramesses II	58
2.1.6. The Physical and Organizational Layout of the Temple	59
2.2. Names and Representations of Osiris in the Abydene Monuments of Sety I and Ramesses II	62
2.2.1. Introductory Considerations	62
2.2.2. Wenennefer and Other Names of Osiris in Ramesside Abydos	64
2.2.3. Comparative Images and Texts from the Sety I Temple and Sety's Chapel for His Father	66
2.2.4. A Relief in Sety I's Temple for Ramesses I	67
2.2.5. Sety I's Dedicatory Stela in His Temple for Ramesses I	69
2.2.6. Osiris and Wenennefer in Sety I's Nauri Decree	70
2.2.7. Osiris and Wenennefer in Ramesses II's Great Dedicatory Inscription in the Sety I Temple	70
2.2.8. The "Hymn to Abydos" and the Texts of the High Priest of Osiris, Wenennefer	73
2.2.9. Comparative Relief Images from the Sety I Temple and Sety's Chapel for His Father	75
2.2.9.1. The Skin Color of Osiris and Other Gods in the Sety I and Ramesses II Temples	75
2.2.9.2. Images of Osiris in Relief Representation: General Considerations	77
2.2.9.3. Relief Representations of Osiris in the Ramesses II Temple	79
2.2.9.4. Relief Representations of Osiris in the Sety I Temple and Their Implication for the Ramesses II Temple	81

2.2.9.5. A Partial Catalog of Relief Representations of Osiris in the Sety I Temple	81
2.3. The Temple of Ramesses II in the Context of the Nineteenth Dynasty at Abydos	87
2.3.1. Processional Routes and the Abydene Temples	87
2.3.2. Barques and the Ramesses II Temple (I). Their Terminology, Components, Synecdoche, and the Representation of Reality	89
2.3.2.1. Barque Terminology: Some General Considerations	89
2.3.2.2. The Terminology of Ceremonial Boats Prior to the Ramesside Period	89
2.3.2.3. The Terminology of Divine Images and Barques at Ramesside Abydos	91
2.3.2.4. The Terms <i>sšm</i> and <i>sšm-ḥw</i>	92
2.3.2.5. The Meaning of the Epithet  , <i>ḥw</i>	94
2.3.2.6. The Possibility of Separate Processional and Stationary Cult Images	96
2.3.2.7. The Term <i>wts-nfrw</i>	98
2.3.3. The Standard Forms of Processional Barques at Abydos and Elsewhere	100
2.3.3.1. Barque Cabins, Portable Shrines, and Sledges	102
2.3.3.2. The Osiris Fetish or Abydos Emblem	104
2.3.3.3. The Barque-Mounted Form of the Processional Osiris Fetish	109
2.3.3.4. The Dismounted Fetish	110
2.3.3.5. The Processional Barque of Osiris as <i>Khebes-ta</i> “Earth-Hacker”	114
2.3.3.6. Another Possible Processional Barque for <i>Khebes-ta</i> or for a Corn-Osiris	115
2.4. The Presence and Absence of the Aegis	117
2.4.1. The Function of the Aegis in Elite and Popular Religion	117
2.4.2. Platform Transports: Processional Vehicles without a Barque or Aegis	118
2.4.3. A Late Example of a Platform Transport for Osiris in a Private Context	120
2.5. Observations on Barques and Intermediaries	121
2.5.1. Was the Image on the Processional Barque Visible?	123
2.5.1.1. Divine Visibility and Invisibility during the Nineteenth Dynasty	123
2.5.1.2. A Stela from Abydos Recording an Oracle	125
2.5.1.3. Air, Wind, Breath, and Other Invisible Manifestations of the Deity’s Presence	127
2.5.1.4. Visible Images of Deities Carried in Procession	133
2.5.2. Barques and the Ramesses II Temple (II): Processions	134
2.5.2.1. Remarks on the Abydene Processions and Festivals	134
2.5.2.2. The Regular Festivals of Abydos	134
2.5.2.3. A Sketch of the Osiris Festival and Its Importance as a Theme in Autobiographical Texts	135
2.5.2.4. The Prestige of the Osiris Mysteries among the Ramesside Elite	137
2.5.2.5. Other Festivals Mentioned at the Ramesses II Temple	138
2.5.2.6. The <i>wn-ḥr</i> Festival: Part of the Daily Temple Ritual Reconfigured	139
2.5.3. Barques and the Ramesses II Temple (III): Popular Religion and Communication with the Gods; Two Texts of Special Importance	140
2.5.3.1. S3: A Text Excerpt from the South Outer Wall Bandeau Inscription, Finger Gouges, and an Associated Rebus	142
2.5.3.2. The <i>dw3 rhyt</i> Rebus in Court A and Elsewhere	146
2.5.3.3. Court A as a Place for Prayers and Contact with the Deities	146
2.5.3.4. Colossal Royal Statuary on the Outside of the Second Pylon as Intermediaries for Prayer	148
2.6. The Staircase Inscription and Court B: Its Scenes, the Staircase, Rooftop, and Exposure to the Energizing Rays of the Sun	148
2.6.1. Court B as a Transitional Space with Characteristics of Both Court and Chapel	148

# CONTENTS

VII

2.6.2. Remarks on the <i>Soubassement</i> Decoration of Court B	150
2.6.3. Northeast Wall of Court B: An Offering menu for Osiris or Sokar	150
2.6.4. Court B, North Wall; The Procession of the Osiris Fetish	151
2.6.5. Northeast Wall of Chapel B: The Ished-Tree Scene	152
2.6.6. The Entrance to the Staircase and the Symbolism of Staircases	156
2.6.7. The Staircase Inscriptions and the Symbolism of Staircases: Further Insights into the Ritual Life of the Temple and the Question of Popular Access	158
2.6.8. General Remarks on Roofs	164
2.6.9. Hathor, Clothing, the New Year's Festival, and Chapel P	168
2.6.10. Rooftop <i>hnm-jtn</i> and <i>wn-hr</i> Rituals	168
2.6.11. Khoiak and Corn-Mummies	171
2.7. Barques at the Ramesses II Temple: A Localized Lexicography	173
2.7.1. Textual Representations of Barques and Boats	173
2.7.2. Texts Mentioning <i>sšm</i> , <i>sšm-hw</i> , and Various Types of Boats in the Ramesses II Temple	174
<b>CHAPTER 3. DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE INDIVIDUAL CHAPELS</b>	
3.1. Introductory Considerations and Conventions	183
3.1.1. Deliberate Defacement of Signs and Relief Images	183
3.1.2. Presentation and Discussion of the Chapels	184
3.1.3. The Format and Order of the Discussion of Chapels	185
3.2. Doorways as Physical Objects and as Ritual Passageways	187
3.2.1. The Construction and Installation of Wooden Doors in Chapels	187
3.2.2. Doorways and Ritual Purity: Special Doorways on Court A Walls and outside the Portico Chapels	190
3.2.2.1. A Model Example: The Exterior Entrance to Chapel G	193
3.2.2.2. The Royal Exhortation to Those Entering Doorways	195
3.2.2.3. The Side Entrances into the Temple	196
3.2.2.4. Entrances to the Portico Chapels	197
3.2.2.5. The Significance of Inscriptions in the Chapel Doorway Reveals and Their Reliability concerning the Purpose of Chapels	198
3.3. The Portico Chapels	199
3.3.1. Chapel O	200
3.3.2. Chapel N	210
3.3.3. Chapel G	217
3.3.3.1. Notes on Prior Publication and Chapel G's Purposes	217
3.3.3.2. The Narrative Orders of Chapel G	219
3.3.3.3. Exterior Entrance to Chapel G and its Implications for the Design of the Portico Chapels	220
3.3.3.4. Inside Door Thicknesses at the Entrance of Chapel G	220
3.3.3.5. The Scenes and Texts in the Upper Sections of the Inner Walls in Chapel G	222
3.3.3.6. The Litany of Re	233
3.3.4. Chapel H	254
3.4. Court B: Its Decorated Wall Space, Chapel I, and the Staircase	265
3.4.1. Chapel I	265
3.5. Court C Chapels	280
3.5.1. Chapel J	281
3.5.2. Chapel K	291
3.5.3. The "Osiris Suite"	305



3.5.3.1. Chapel L	306
3.5.3.2. Chapel M	322
3.5.3.3. Chapel E	346
3.5.3.4. Chapel D	357
3.5.3.5. Chapel F	368
3.5.3.6. Chapel R	375
3.5.3.7. Chapel S	380
3.5.4. Chapel Q	380
3.5.5. Chapel P	388
3.6. Synoptic Summary: Chapel Dedications and Content Overview	398
3.6.1. Chapel Benches and Their Dimensions	398
3.6.2. The Portico Chapels	399
3.6.3. Court B, Chapel I, and Staircase	400
3.6.4. Court C Chapels, Including the Osiris Suite	401
<b>CHAPTER 4. TEXTUAL AND FIGURAL SECONDARY EPIGRAPHY, <i>by</i> Hana Navrátilová</b>	
4.1. Introduction	407
4.1.1. Graffiti Recording	409
4.1.2. Script and Writing, and Drawing Techniques	411
4.2. Secondary Epigraphy Location, Placement, and Dating in the Temple of Ramesses II	414
4.2.1. Location in Temple Spaces	414
4.2.2. Placement on Walls and the Relationship to Decoration	415
4.2.3. Dating	418
4.3. Catalog of Textual Graffiti and Dipinti	418
4.4. Catalog of Figural Graffiti and Dipinti	444
4.5. Interpreting Secondary Epigraphy at Abydos	466
4.5.1. Temple Graffiti within and without Abydos	466
4.5.2. The Osireion and “Memnonion” of Sety I	467
4.5.3. Secondary Epigraphy in the Temple of Ramesses II: Witness to Temple History	468
Bibliography	473
Subject Index	493
Index of Egyptian Words and Names	500

## 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

commentary of the graffiti presented in chapter 4. Thanks to Prof. David O' Connor for his gracious advice over the years that helped us get the project off the ground. Also, for the generosity of Dr. Dieter Arnold who was always available for issues related to the monument's architecture as well as his valuable comments and responses. Special thanks to Ms. Beth Kushner of the Wilbour Library at the Brooklyn Museum, who has been very supportive in supplying us with scans of research material, Mr. Ayman Damarany, Dr. Katherine Eaton, Dr. Marianne Eaton Krauss, Ms. Biri Fay, Dr. Benedict Davies, Dr. Andreas Effland, Prof. Mary-Ann Pouls Wegner, Dr. Ilona Regulski, Dr. Alexa Rickert, Prof. Anthony Spalinger, Prof. Josef Wegner, Prof. Jennifer Houser Wegner, Dr. Adela Oppenheim, Prof. Ann Macy Roth, Prof. Martina Ullmann, Prof. Peter Brand, and Dr. Heather McCarthy, who acted as our director of epigraphy for several seasons, and to Dr. Mohamed Osman for his scholarly expertise and planning throughout the documentation project. Deep appreciation goes to engineer Sylvia Iskander and her assistant architect Eman Fares for their ceaseless efforts devoted to the architectural research, plans, and insightful hypothetical schematics, as well as to Mr. Fred el Ghanian for his generous support.

Also many thanks must go to our excavation and surveying team headed by the energetic field director Essam Shehab with his vast experience, Mohamed Ahmed (Khateeb), Hussien Rekaby, surveyor Amr Zakaria, epigrapher Ahmed Abdel Latif, as well as conservators Eman Zidan and Ahmed Tarek for their superb restoration work.

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.

We are grateful to Dr. Sue H. D'Auria for organizing and editing this volume with her valuable comments and attention to detail, and also to Dr. Briana Jackson for editing the manuscript with such precision and patience.

Last but not least, many thanks go to Dr. Billie Jean Collins of the Lockwood Press and her dedicated team for their efforts and attention in producing this volume.

Sameh Iskander  
Ogden Goelet



## 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. تُوجت 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 المراكب 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 المراكب 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 وهيروغليفية 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 والكرام 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 إيليويت 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.

وثنمنا جدًا 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 ببلي جين كولينز من دار نشر 'لوكوود بريس' وفريقها المتفاني على الجهود التي بذلوها وعلى الاهتمام الذي أولوه لإصدار هذا المجلد.

سامح إسكندر  
أوجدن جوليت

## LIST OF FIGURES

### CHAPTER 1

Figure 1.1	Aerial photograph showing the Temples of Ramesses II and Sety I within Abydos and their western orientation.	3
Figure 1.2	Aerial photograph showing the orientation of the temple axis toward the Hekereshi hill.	4
Figure 1.3	Photograph taken from the temple's enclosure wall looking east at the village of el-Araba el-Madfuna.	5
Figure 1.4	Photograph of the temple taken during the 1925–1926 season of EES excavations at Abydos.	5
Figure 1.5	Recent aerial Google Earth photo of the temple.	6
Figure 1.6	Temple plan with dimensions in cubits and corresponding metrical measurements, with scale and Fibonacci series points.	7
Figure 1.7	Grid layout.	8
Figure 1.8	Temple layout based on two isosceles triangles with 1:2 and 1:4 ratios.	10
Figure 1.9	Temple layout based on 8:5 triangles.	11
Figure 1.10	Temple plan based on 3-4-5 triangles.	12
Figure 1.11	Scissorlike triangles.	13
Figure 1.12	Temple module.	14
Figure 1.13	Photograph of limestone stone blocks of the Exterior North Wall.	16
Figure 1.14	Cross section showing the temple West Wall and Western Enclosure Wall.	20
Figure 1.15	Photograph of the temple West Wall and Western Enclosure Wall.	20
Figure 1.16	Hypothetical location of the Nebhepetre canal and its access from the Ramesses II Temple and Osiris Temple	22
Figure 1.17	Photograph and schematic of the torus molding of the northeast corner of the pylon.	23
Figure 1.18	Plan of the temple showing pillars with designated numbers.	23
Figure 1.19	Plan of the temple showing location of finger gouges.	24
Figure 1.20	Photograph of Court A looking toward local west.	25
Figure 1.21	Photograph of Court A looking toward local east.	25
Figure 1.22	Pillar 11, east.	26
Figure 1.23	Pillar 11, north.	26
Figure 1.24	Remaining line of ramp in Court B flanking steps to stairwell.	27
Figure 1.25	View of staircase to roof and remaining details of the missing steps and their side ramp leading down to the floor of Court B.	27
Figure 1.26	Extant top section of the staircase in Court B and part of the fallen roof slab behind.	28
Figure 1.27	3D rendering of the hypothetical reconstruction of the staircase leading to the temple roof.	28
Figure 1.28	A hypothetical plan and cross section of the stairs leading to the roof.	29
Figure 1.29	View of the West Wall north roof drainage recess.	31
Figure 1.30	View of the West Wall south roof drainage recess.	31
Figure 1.31	Photograph of the northwest corner foundation.	32
Figure 1.32	Photograph of the northeast corner foundation.	32
Figure 1.33	Two schematics of the northwest corner foundation.	33
Figure 1.34	Two schematics of the northeast corner foundation.	33
Figure 1.35	Photograph of the southeast corner foundation.	33
Figure 1.36	Two schematics of the southeast corner foundation.	34
Figure 1.37	Photograph of the southwest corner foundation.	34
Figure 1.38	Two schematics of the southwest corner foundation.	34



Figure 1.39	Photograph of the west face of the southwest corner and a closeup of the cartouches.	35
Figure 1.40	Photograph of the south face of the southwest corner and a closeup of the cartouches.	35
Figure 1.41	Schematic of one of the pylon flagpole recesses.	36
Figure 1.42	Photograph of the lintel above the pylon door (currently in situ).	37
Figure 1.43	Hypothetical reconstruction of the pylon.	38
Figure 1.44	Pillar 26 south with dimension from lower buttock to feet.	38
Figure 1.45	Hypothetical approximate reconstruction of the Osiride statues in Court A.	39
Figure 1.46	Hypothetical reconstruction of the temple longitudinal cross section.	40
Figure 1.47	3D Hypothetical reconstruction of the temple looking local northeast.	40
Figure 1.48	3D Hypothetical structural reconstruction of the temple, indicating the layout of the architraves.	40
Figure 1.49	Photograph of restored alabaster statue placed recently in front of the door of chapel D.	41
Figure 1.50	Photograph of back pillar of the statue shown in figure 1.49.	41
Figure 1.51	Photograph of the five-figure statue presently placed in Chapel D.	42
Figure 1.52	General layout of the temple showing the location of the mud-brick wall remains.	43
Figure 1.53	Survey of the mud-brick walls located east of the First Pylon.	44
Figure 1.54	Photograph of the mud-brick wall of Wall 1E.	45
Figure 1.55	Line drawing of the mud-brick of Wall 1E.	45
Figure 1.56	Photograph of the mud-brick wall of Wall 2N.	45
Figure 1.57	Line drawing of the mud-brick wall of Wall 2N.	45
Figure 1.58	Photograph of the mud-brick wall 29E showing remains of plaster.	46
Figure 1.59	Line drawing of Wall 29E.	46
Figure 1.60	Plan of the temple showing location of variant throne names.	47

## CHAPTER 2

Figure 2.1	Site survey of the Temples of Ramesses II and Sety I in Abydos.	55
Figure 2.2	Inscribed foundation block at the southwest corner compared with names on decorative frieze on the lintel of the Inner Door in Chapel J (J3; vol. 1.2:328).	56
Figure 2.3	Temples of Sety I, Ramesses I, and Ramesses II at Abydos, with probable Nineteenth Dynasty processional routes on the notional north-south axis and the notional east-west axis along the desert wadi used for the Osiris festival.	57
Figure 2.4	Plan of the Temple of Ramesses II with Chapel and Court Names (Porter-Moss designations in Roman numerals).	60
Figure 2.5	Sight lines in the “sacred landscape” of Abydos. Map from Effland-Effland, “Ritual Landscape und Sacred Space,” Abb. 9.	61
Figure 2.6	The posthumous engendering of Horus by Osiris-Wenennefer. Photograph by Prof. M.-A. Pouls Wegner.	83
Figure 2.7	The royal processional barque on its stand at the Sety I Temple. Note the presence of the <i>hw</i> -fan at the far right of the stand. Calverley, Broome, and Gardiner, <i>Sethos II</i> , pl. 35.	101
Figure 2.8	A processional barque showing the fictive sledge component embedded in the carrying poles along with the dowel-projections at the base. Karlshausen, <i>Iconographie de la barque processionnelle</i> , pl. 20.	103
Figure 2.9	A portable shrine modified with rectangular projections beneath carrying poles as support when at rest, but depicted as having sledge runnels alone in the banner inscription above (P3a, detail; vol. 1.2:422). Courtesy of The Department of Egyptian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.	104
Figure 2.10	Sety I and Ramesses I present offerings to the Osiris Fetish. Winlock, <i>Bas-reliefs</i> , pl. I. Courtesy of The Department of Egyptian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.	105

Figure 2.11	The Osiris Fetish with <i>Aker</i> -platform in the Sety I Temple. Calverley, Broome, and Gardiner, <i>Sethos</i> I, pl. 10.	107
Figure 2.12	Relief in Court B depicting the Osiris Fetish in procession (B9b; vol. 1.1:240).	108
Figure 2.13	Barque-mounted form of the Osiris Fetish with a human face. Calverley, Broome, and Gardiner, <i>Sethos</i> I, pl. 6.	109
Figure 2.14	Sety I and Isis attend to the dismounted Osiris Fetish. Calverley, Broome, and Gardiner, <i>Sethos</i> III, pl. 6.	111
Figure 2.15	A transparent view of the leg of Osiris in a “reliquary.” Davies, <i>Hibis</i> 3, pl. 4 (I). Courtesy of The Department of Egyptian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.	112
Figure 2.16	Lunette of the stela of Iuna (BM 1332) depicting the Abydos Fetish traveling by boat on water. After Glanville, “Papyrus British Museum 10056,” Taf. II.	113
Figure 2.17	The Abydos Fetish concealed in a cabin shrine on a barge. Stela of Houyou, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon (H 1379). Grataloup-Gabolde, <i>Les reserves de Pharaon</i> , 65.	114
Figure 2.18	<i>Khebes-ta</i> barque in Min Chapel at the Ramesses II Temple (K6b; vol. 1.2:353).	115
Figure 2.19	Lion-footed funerary-bed barque of Sokar-Osiris in the East Hall of the Sety Temple’s Osiris Suite. Calverley, Broome, and Gardiner, <i>Sethos</i> III, pl. 63.	117
Figure 2.20	Sety I offering incense to a Thoth-standard affixed to a platform transport. Calverley, Broome, and Gardiner, <i>Sethos</i> III, pl. 7.	119
Figure 2.21	Funerary(?) procession with effigy of Osiris on a platform transport. Detail of Cairo Stela TN 30/5/24/1 of <i>dd-jn-ḥrt-jw.f-ḥnh</i> from Mariette, <i>Abydos</i> II, pl. 58 (reversed)	120
Figure 2.22	Detail showing the small oracle barque on the stela of Paser (Cairo JdE 43649). Legrain, “Miracle d’Ahmès I,” Taf. XVI.	125
Figure 2.23	Text excerpt at S3; vol. 1.1:90.	142
Figure 2.24	Doorway at the southeast corner of the Exterior Wall showing finger gouges and the location of the test sounding.	143
Figure 2.25	Ostrakon found below ground level outside the Southeast Doorway.	143
Figure 2.26	Plan of temple showing locations of finger gouges.	145
Figure 2.27	Right: isometric reconstruction of temple with location of the Staircase; left: plan of current condition.	149
Figure 2.28	The end of the partially cryptographic inscription on the East Wall of the Staircase (Bs3; vol. 1.1:247).	158
Figure 2.29	Detail showing the representation of a processional barque in the Staircase Inscription on the west side (Bs1; vol. 1.1:247).	161
Figure 2.30	Three text excerpts in Chapel G; vol. 1.2:300 mentioning boats and barques.	174
Figure 2.31	Excerpt from the text at E4 showing the word <i>sšm</i> with a barque determinative.	176
Figure 2.32	Excerpt from the bandeau text at A2 showing the word <i>sšm.f</i> .	176
Figure 2.33	Excerpt from the text at A5 showing a processional barque ( <i>sšm</i> ).	177
Figure 2.34	Excerpt from the text at B7 showing a boat without a steering oar.	178
Figure 2.35	Excerpt from the text at S14 showing the phrase <i>sšm.f-ḥw</i> .	178
Figure 2.36	Excerpt from the text at S3 showing the phrase <i>sšm-ḥw</i> .	179
Figure 2.37	Excerpt from the text at O1 showing the phrase <i>sšm-ḥw</i> .	180
Figure 2.38	Excerpt from the text at I1 showing the phrase <i>sšm.f šps(j)</i> .	180
 <b>CHAPTER 3</b>		
Figure 3.1	Restored pivot hole in Chapel I.	188
Figure 3.2	The dimensions of Chapel I and its doorway.	188
Figure 3.3	Hinge arrangement of Middle Kingdom Egyptian doors. Courtesy of The Department of Egyptian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.	189

Figure 3.4	Wooden door from a Middle Kingdom tomb at Deir el-Bahri (MMA 23.3.174). Egyptian Expedition Photograph M4C 333. Courtesy of The Department of Egyptian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.	189
Figure 3.5	Cairo door from Deir el-Bahri, photograph.	190
Figure 3.6	Cairo door from Deir el-Bahri, line drawing.	191
Figure 3.7	A reconstruction of the doorway in Chapel I, showing the view from within the room. The horizontal incised inscriptions (the “shadow door”) would be concealed by the door when opened, whereas the vertical inscriptions on the opposite side would be in full view.	192
Figure 3.8	Chapel G Doorway Texts and Scenes (A17; vol. 1.1:198).	193
Figure 3.9	Plan of the Portico and the Portico Chapels.	199
Figure 3.10	View of the West Wall of Chapel O.	201
Figure 3.11	Min-Horus standing in a <i>pr-nw</i> -shrine. Calverley, Broome, and Gardiner, <i>Sethos III</i> , pl. 14.	209
Figure 3.12	View of Chapel N looking west. The Staircase and pillars of Court B are visible in the rear.	211
Figure 3.13	Fragments of the King-List from Chapel N (BM EA 117).	215
Figure 3.14	Royal names 52–47 on the Abydos King-list of Sety I (orientation reversed for ease of comparison with the Chapel N fragments).	215
Figure 3.15	View of the West Wall of Chapel G.	218
Figure 3.16	View of the West Wall of Chapel H.	255
Figure 3.17	Key Plan of the Court B Area and Chapel I.	266
Figure 3.18	View of the West Wall of Chapel I.	267
Figure 3.19	Overpainted image on left side of the doorway to Chapel I.	268
Figure 3.20	Reconstruction of the West Wall of Chapel I (I6; vol. 1.2:32).	278
Figure 3.21	Louvre blocks from Chapel I.	278
Figure 3.22	Court C Chapels.	280
Figure 3.23	View of the West and North Walls of Chapel J.	282
Figure 3.24	View of the only remaining sandstone roof slab in the entire temple above Chapel K, surrounded by modern reinforced precast concrete roofing slabs.	292
Figure 3.25	View of the North Wall of Chapel K.	292
Figure 3.26	The “Osiris Suite” at the Western End of the Temple.	305
Figure 3.27	View of the entrance doors of Chapels L, K, and J from Court B, looking local northeast.	307
Figure 3.28	View of the three entrance doors to Chapels J, K, and L in Court C, looking local northwest.	307
Figure 3.29	View of the North Wall of Chapel L.	308
Figure 3.30	View of the west door in Chapel L leading into Chapel M.	308
Figure 3.31	Three ornamental writings of the phrase <i>ntrw</i> . A. L1. B. Mariette, <i>Abydos I</i> , pl. 41(e). C. Mariette, <i>Abydos I</i> , pl. 41(d).	313
Figure 3.32	View of the West Wall with niches in Chapel M.	325
Figure 3.33	Wall Position CM0.	325
Figure 3.34	Preserved wall space on North and South Walls of Chapel M.	327
Figure 3.35	Preserved wall space on East and West Walls of Chapel M.	327
Figure 3.36	Chapel M key plan.	328
Figure 3.37	Details of wall space and restorations in Chapel M.	328
Figure 3.38	Remounted Fetish in M2.	329
Figure 3.39	Remounted Fetish in D2.	329
Figure 3.40	Niche 7 showing hinge post holes.	334
Figure 3.41	South Wall of Chapel M.	335
Figure 3.42	Architrave Block on floor of Chapel M.	346

## FIGURES

XIX

Figure 3.43	View of the West Wall of Chapel E.	347
Figure 3.44	Chapel D dimensions.	358
Figure 3.45	View of Chapel D from its doorway.	358
Figure 3.46	View of the West Wall of Chapel D.	359
Figure 3.47	View of the North Wall of Chapel D.	359
Figure 3.48	Fragment of Chapel D granite roof currently placed on high ground at the west of the temple.	360
Figure 3.49	Line drawing schematic of Chapel D granite roof fragments.	360
Figure 3.50	Epigraphic presentation of reassembled ceiling blocks from Chapel D.	360
Figure 3.51	View of the partially restored South Wall of Chapel D and the granodiorite statue in its current location. (L to R) Ramesses II, Horus, Osiris, Isis, Sety I.	367
Figure 3.52	View of the West Wall of Chapel F.	369
Figure 3.53	View of the South Wall of Chapel R.	376
Figure 3.54	View of the West Wall of Chapel S.	381
Figure 3.55	Chapel S key plan.	381
Figure 3.56	Cross section of Chapel S South.	381
Figure 3.57	Architectural elevation rendering of the North and South Walls of Chapel S.	382
Figure 3.58	Architectural elevation rendering of the West and East Walls of Chapel S.	382
Figure 3.59	View of the South Wall of Chapel Q.	383
Figure 3.60	Detail of benches in Chapel Q.	384
Figure 3.61	Left inside door thicknesses for Chapel Q (corresponding to position Q2).	385
Figure 3.62	View of the South Wall of Chapel P.	389
Figure 3.63	Table of bench dimensions in the chapels.	405
Figure 3.64	A schematic presentation of a typical chapel's bench.	406

## CHAPTER 4

Figure 4.1	Digital color enhancement on J5-g.	411
Figure 4.2	Graffiti general location plan, temple interior.	416
Figure 4.3	Graffiti location plan, temple exterior.	416
Figure 4.4	Winlock's reconstruction of the Abydene emblem. After Winlock, <i>Bas-reliefs</i> , 17, fig. 1.	452
Figure 4.5	<i>H</i> z-vase with cover, ca. 1350–1295 BCE. Faience, 8 1/16 x Diam. 2 3/16 in. (20.5 x 5.6 cm). The Brooklyn Museum, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund, 48.55a–b.	455





## ABBREVIATIONS

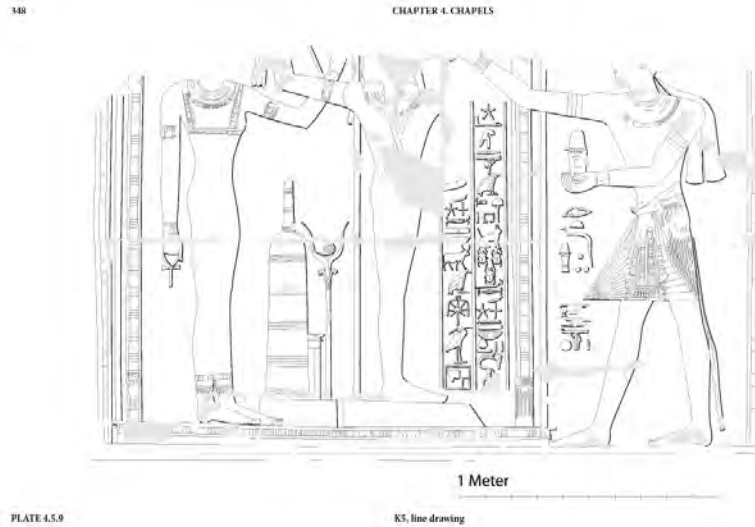
ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
AEL I	Lichtheim, M. <i>Ancient Egyptian Literature I: The Old and Middle Kingdom</i> . Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.
AEL II	Lichtheim, M. <i>Ancient Egyptian Literature II: The New Kingdom</i> . Berkeley: University of California 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.



## SUBJECT INDEX

---

- Abdelrahiem, Mohamed 54, 251, 358, 362, 364, 367  
Abydene triad 49, 62, 69, 71, 136, 144, 149, 185, 198, 266, 270, 280, 318, 347, 348, 354, 361, 362, 366, 372, 384, 385, 386, 402, 403  
Abydos Emblem. *See* Osiris Fetish Ahmose I 2, 87, 125–27, 217, 223, 250, 256–57, 400  
Ahmose-Nefertari 126–27, 250  
*Aker*-platform 68, 74, 97, 106–10, 112, 114, 118, 120, 151–52, 173, 179, 295, 305, 326, 328, 330, 361, 363, 364, 400, 403  
Akhenaten 62, 123, 129–30, 164, 169, 388  
Akhmim 15, 300  
Allen, James 65  
Amarna period 1, 62, 66, 123, 129, 130, 162, 164, 391  
Amenemhat I 168  
Amenemhat III 100  
Amenhotep I 18, 127, 250, 380  
Amenhotep III 21, 168, 263, 388  
*ꜣms*-scepter 200–201, 203  
Amun 51–52, 64, 72, 76, 78, 79, 81, 88, 96, 97–98, 117, 123, 128, 131–32, 155, 156, 159, 168, 208, 209, 220, 230, 262, 264, 276, 304, 333, 334, 337, 338, 345, 346, 372, 375, 387, 391, 394, 396, 399, 400, 401, 405, 408, 449  
Amun-Kamutef 79, 80, 94, 119  
Amun-Re 56, 57, 63, 79, 82, 84, 180, 202, 262, 284, 285, 299–300, 316, 320, 338, 339, 345, 354, 392, 394, 395, 399  
*ankh* 78, 85, 208, 226, 227, 261, 262, 269, 274, 275, 279, 281, 282, 286, 288, 289, 290, 303, 305, 318, 319, 320, 322, 336, 338–43, 353, 356, 363, 372, 374, 385, 404, 465  
Arnold, Dieter 15, 16, 21, 37, 42, 53  
Anubis 100, 273, 283, 323, 349, 371, 373–75, 390, 398, 405, 456, 462  
Assiut 65, 411  
Assmann, Jan 59, 65, 123, 141, 167  
Aten 123, 129–30, 164, 169, 229, 230, 233, 246, 279  
Atum 72, 122, 155, 234, 239, 246, 315, 316, 318, 319, 355, 372  
  
Baines, John 54, 76, 128–29, 337  
Banebdjedet 106, 114, 363  
Bankes, William John 52  
barque(s) 49, 94, 98, 100, 121–23, 156–57, 160, 167, 204, 294  
  aegis 86, 96, 100, 117–18, 223, 296, 355  
  and intermediaries 121–34  
  and popular religion 140–48  
  and synecdoche 101–2, 121  
  cabin-shrine 86, 91, 94–98, 102–4, 123, 126, 130, 133, 174, 175, 177, 204, 207, 223, 262  
  chapel(s) 49, 56, 59, 64, 67, 69, 70, 72, 81, 91, 101, 110, 185, 204, 205, 208, 260, 309. *See also* individual chapels  
  construction 93, 122  
  determinative(s) 69, 88, 92–93, 99, 113, 162, 164, 173–77, 224, 226  
  festival 59, 88  
  form of the Osiris Fetish 85  
  *Henu*-barque 95, 102, 118  
  in Chapel E 98, 346, 350–53, 355, 403  
  in Chapel F 368, 372–73, 403–4  
  in Chapel G 127, 164, 217–18, 224, 226–27, 399–400  
  in Chapel K 74, 172–73, 296, 303–5  
  in Chapel N 210–11, 399  
  in Chapel O 81, 89, 134, 200, 202–4, 213, 296, 399  
  *Khebes-ta* barque 114–16, 172–73, 296, 303–5, 402  
  *Neshmet*-barque 58, 86, 90, 96, 109, 110, 112, 113, 122, 136, 138  
  Night-barque of Re 175, 219, 229  
  processional 49, 64, 66, 72, 81, 88, 89–118, 121–27, 130, 133, 134–40, 142, 144, 147, 152, 161, 162, 164, 172, 173–81, 185, 199–200, 202–7, 213, 218, 222–24, 226, 262, 303, 351, 355, 361, 373, 375, 393, 404  
  of Ahmose 127, 217, 223  
  of Horus 361, 368, 372–73, 403–4  
  of Isis 98, 346, 350–52, 355, 361, 403  
  of Min 91, 295–96, 304  
  of Osiris 66, 83, 110, 114–16, 295  
  oracle 92, 95, 124–27, 162  
  *Sektet*-barque. *See* Night-barque  
  shrine 90, 93, 96, 97, 102–4, 116, 118, 172, 204, 205–7, 223, 296, 303–4, 350, 353, 373, 398, 400, 402, 403  
  sledge 89, 98, 102–4, 106, 109, 110, 118, 121, 174–75, 200, 218, 223, 225–29, 230, 262–63, 317, 322  
  stand 92–93, 96, 97, 98, 101–2, 109, 110, 113, 116, 127, 133, 162, 164, 172, 175, 179, 202, 204, 205, 206, 207, 210, 213, 224, 226, 262, 303, 351–52, 355–56, 393, 402, 403  
  standard form 100–117, 295  
  station 2, 56, 59, 68, 97, 134, 137, 185, 333  
  terminology 89–116, 122–23, 135–36  
  textual representation 173–181  
  visibility of cult statue in shrine 94–96, 123–24, 133–34  
*Bau* 159, 175, 213, 217, 227–28, 230, 310, 317, 318, 400, 402  
Behedite 269, 274, 281, 285, 293, 294, 311, 313, 323, 337, 338  
Bell, Lanny 49, 95, 96, 117, 146, 147, 161, 164, 203, 230  
Beinlich, Horst 172  
Beni Mansour 1  
Benjamin, Walter 123  
Book of the Dead 169, 172, 219, 220, 227, 230–33, 234, 250–54, 400, 466  
Brand, Peter 43  
British Museum 52, 112–13, 150, 210, 214–15  
  BM EA 101 65–66  
  BM EA 117 150, 210, 214–15  
  BM EA 1332 113  
  BM EA 10477 251  
Broome, Myrtle 81, 84, 85  
Brunner, Hellmut 131  
Buck, Adriaan de 65  
  
Calverley, Amice 81, 84, 85, 86, 409

- Capart, Jean 153  
 Cauville, Sylvie 172, 313  
 censuring 85, 96, 118, 133, 172, 299, 351, 355, 316  
 Černý, Jaroslav 409, 468  
 Chassinat, Émile 172  
 Clère, Jacques Jean 73, 107  
 Coffin Texts 127, 442  
 Conclave of the Gods 70, 74, 105, 128, 138, 176, 177, 178, 183, 217, 221, 228, 230, 288, 306, 312, 334, 335, 345–46, 353, 374, 392, 399, 402–3  
 Cooney, John 53  
 Coppens, Filip 168  
 Coptic  
   dipinti/graffiti 410, 411, 413, 424, 428–29, 446, 466–67  
   period 418, 445, 464, 466, 471  
 corn mummy 75, 110, 115–16, 158, 166, 171–73, 279, 304  
 crown(s)  
   *Atef* 85, 86, 97, 106, 116, 164, 175, 176, 177, 227, 230, 318, 319  
   Blue 77, 96, 264, 279, 280, 290, 295, 296, 305, 319, 322, 391, 462–63  
   *hdt* 87  
   Double (*Pshent*) 290, 298, 318, 322, 426, 456, 459–60, 462  
   Red 150, 194, 197, 213, 289, 314, 394, 448, 459  
   White 66, 150, 194, 197, 200, 213, 286, 319, 344, 370, 394, 450–51, 453, 460–61  
 Crum, Walter E. 467  
 Cruz-Uribe, Eugene 413  
 cryptography 50, 154, 158, 159, 297–300, 401. *See also*  
   enigmatic inscription(s)
- Daressy, Georges 41  
 Darnell, John Coleman 298, 301–2  
 David, Rosalie 170  
 Davies, Benedict 125  
 Davis, Whitney 38  
 Daily Offering Ritual 287, 301, 316  
 Daily Temple Ritual 97, 139–40, 170–71, 321, 333, 338, 347, 350, 354, 357, 369, 380  
*Deba-Djemedj* 234–38  
 Deir el-Bahri 188–90, 191, 263, 412, 413, 430, 431, 433, 437, 438, 466  
 Deir el-Medina 95, 125–26, 128, 131–32, 141  
 Dendera 91, 99, 115, 122, 157, 160, 166, 168–72, 388  
 dipinti 207, 255, 289, 355, 407–72. For detailed categories see  
   graffiti  
 divine  
   incarnation (*hmw*) 69–70, 74, 93, 126, 173–74, 261, 264, 287  
   presence, manifestations of 49, 66–67, 73, 74, 81, 92–93, 95–96, 98–101, 114, 117–18, 121, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127–33, 140–41, 142, 147, 164, 169, 236, 375, 444  
   skin color 75–77, 171  
   visibility/invisibility 92, 112, 117–18, 123–25, 127–33, 375  
*djed*-pillar 53, 68, 85, 97, 319, 339, 340, 341, 344, 345, 346, 376  
 Djer, tomb of 2, 17, 83, 136, 379  
 Duamutef 456
- Eaton, Katherine 87–88, 106, 110  
 Edfu 39, 466  
 Effland, Andreas 379, 380  
 Egypt Exploration Society 2–5  
 El-Noubi, Mansour 54  
 El-Sabban, S. 53  
 El-Sawi, Ahmed 53  
 El-Shal, Omaïma 313, 315, 316, 318  
 enigmatic inscription(s) 159, 297–302, 401. *See also*  
   cryptography  
 ennead. *See* Conclave of the Gods  
 Esna 16, 115, 169–70, 388
- Falk, David 175  
 festival(s)  
   Beautiful Feast of the Valley 98, 141  
   calendar(s) 54, 88, 134–35, 139, 146, 333–34  
   *Heb-sed* 30, 79, 99, 153, 169, 171, 209, 224, 230, 239, 246, 295, 310, 314, 319  
   Khoiak 58, 66, 75, 110, 114–15, 121, 122, 134, 136, 158, 165, 166, 171–73, 279, 304, 333, 361  
   New Year's 140, 148, 165–69, 265, 279, 316, 320, 333, 388–98, 401, 405  
   *hnm-jtn*-ritual 165–67, 168–71, 230, 388–98, 401, 405  
   Opet 98, 141, 449  
   *w'gj* 135, 138, 173, 177, 217–18, 221–22, 391, 399  
   *wn-hr* 138, 139–40, 166, 168–71, 332–34  
 Finnestad, Ragnhild Bjerre 141  
 Fischer, Henry G. 299–300  
 Franke, Detlef 102, 135  
 Frankfort, Henri 5, 433, 467  
 Froot, Elizabeth 65
- Gardiner, Alan 65, 81, 84, 85, 302, 324, 442, 459  
 Garstang, John 467  
 Gebeb 66, 74, 79, 334, 340–41, 345, 400  
 Gebel Silsila 17  
 Gerf Hussein 24  
 Gillen, Todd 96  
 graffiti 142, 143, 184, 186, 197, 198, 201, 207, 208, 255, 275, 277, 280, 289, 290, 351, 355, 356, 362, 407–72  
   dating 413–14, 418, 445–46  
   figural 444–66, 468–70  
   formal 407, 410, 412, 419, 425–27, 446, 450–53, 460–61, 466–70  
   interpretation 466–471  
   Khonsu Temple roof 412, , 415, 422, 430, 433, 436, 445, 448  
   location 414–15, 417–18, 466–67  
   placement on walls 415–18, 445, 468  
   recording 409–11  
   script 411–14  
   textual 418–44, 469–70  
 Grébaut, Eugene 41  
 Greco-Roman period 99, 165, 167–68, 169, 170, 173, 424, 444, 445, 468, 471  
 Griffin, Kenneth 54  
 Gunn, Battiscombe G. 467–68

- Haeny, Gerhard 306  
Hathor 104, 160, 166–68, 218, 232, 263–64, 279, 304, 336–37, 345, 353, 387, 388–98, 400, 405, 438  
Hekreshu Hill 2, 4, 56, 58, 59  
Heqet 144, 281, 284, 311, 345, 373–75  
Hibis Temple 112, 128, 155, 159, 254, 258, 409, 413, 419, 466–67, 468  
Hornung, Erik 121, 234, 235, 238, 242, 258, 375  
Horus 42, 49, 57, 62, 63, 65, 66, 68–72, 79, 82–84, 93, 97, 117, 120, 136, 137, 142, 148, 153, 156, 171, 172, 175, 179, 181, 185, 204, 207, 209, 212, 213, 217, 225, 229, 230, 240, 245, 256–61, 263, 264, 270–71, 273, 279, 280, 284, 289, 291, 295, 302, 305–6, 315, 316, 318, 320, 326, 345, 347, 351, 352, 354, 356, 361, 366, 367, 368–75, 379, 386, 394, 395, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 408, 426, 433, 434, 441, 453, 456, 460  
Isis 42, 49, 63, 65, 66, 68, 69, 71–72, 77, 79, 82–84, 97, 98, 100, 110–11, 137, 138, 144, 171, 183, 185, 256, 275, 279, 289, 290, 293, 297, 305, 306, 313, 318, 321, 329–30, 331, 332, 345–57, 361, 364, 366–67, 372, 378, 387, 393, 399, 400, 402, 403, 404, 408, 454, 457  
Horsiese 65, 69, 290, 312, 322, 345, 373, 402, 404  
*hprw* 78, 154, 162, 217, 234–50  
*hq3*-scepter 68, 80, 97, 150, 194, 225, 340  
“Hymn to Abydos” 73–75, 88, 172, 304–5  
*hz*-jar(s) 310, 315, 317, 318, 351, 363, 373, 379, 385, 454–55  
Ikhernofret 112, 121–22, 172  
    stela of. *See* stela(e)  
incense offering 105, 118, 119, 133, 257, 286, 294, 295, 299, 305, 336–37  
Inheret. *See* Onuris  
*Ished*-tree 77, 148, 152–56, 178, 225, 265, 268, 401  
Islamic period 466  
*j3t*-standards 90, 118, 133  
Kadesh reliefs/inscriptions 47, 53, 134, 142, 144, 197, 219  
Karcher, Chris 190, 272  
Karlshausen, Christina 94, 100, 102, 109, 173, 204, 205, 304  
Karnak 97–98, 388, 409, 412, 449, 461, 466, 469  
    Mut temple 24  
    Open Air Museum 18  
    Opet temple 159  
    temple 24, 37, 98, 102, 258, 316, 374, 415, 466  
Kees, Hermann 318  
Khepri 232, 234, 236, 245  
Khnum 169, 342, 346  
Khonsu 64, 78, 79, 93, 396, 461  
Kitchen, Kenneth 43, 53, 139, 187, 217, 272, 333, 347  
Klotz, David 159, 300–302  
Kom el-Sultan 58, 91, 151, 152  
Konrad, Kirsten 54, 64, 263, 288, 309, 386  
Kruchten, Jean-Marie 97  
Kuhlmann, Klaus P. 53, 56, 59, 156, 199, 213, 276, 279, 289, 309, 320, 321, 361, 367–68, 390, 395  
Late period 107, 127, 289, 300, 410, 412, 422, 424, 426, 427, 439, 443, 450, 468  
Leblanc, Christian 79  
Lefebvre, Gustave 30, 53, 468  
Lepsius, Karl Richard 52  
libation 85, 96, 115, 118, 133, 172, 205, 207, 209, 225, 257, 287, 299, 317, 321, 350, 351, 363, 373, 379–80, 385, 391, 396, 402. *See also* *hz*-jar(s); *nmst*-jar(s)  
Lippert, Sandra L. 172–73  
Litany of Re 146, 154, 162, 169, 217, 219, 220, 231, 233–54, 400  
Litany of the Eye of Horus 258, 261, 264, 394  
Lohwasser, Angelika 333  
Lucy Gurna Archive 2  
Lurson, Benoît 54, 296, 297, 299–302  
Luxor Temple 36, 37, 49, 93, 98, 99, 102, 143, 146, 147, 148, 168, 316, 388, 466, 469  
    Triple Bark Shrine 99, 147, 316  
Maat 51, 66, 71, 91, 126, 155, 223, 290, 402, 426  
*maat*-dais 77, 105, 119, 150, 153, 155, 287, 289, 319, 338, 365, 379, 386, 387, 394, 397  
Mariette, Auguste 24, 41, 42, 53, 76, 107, 120, 153, 184, 185, 216, 241, 242, 272, 284, 348, 369, 388  
Masson, Olivier 410, 439–40, 443  
Medinet Habu 24, 37, 39, 54, 141, 409, 412, 421, 438, 446, 465, 466  
Mehit 265, 267, 273, 277, 279–80, 400–401  
Memnonion. *See* Sety I temple  
Menthuhotep II 21, 22, 57, 58, 88, 90, 91, 136, 216, 394  
Menthuhotep IV 124  
Merenptah 73, 131, 408, 467  
*Merit*-singer(s) 226, 227, 316, 317  
Merti 334, 338, 345  
Middle Kingdom 1, 24, 65, 66, 83, 88, 89, 98, 135, 136, 137, 141, 172, 188–89, 218, 297, 301  
    Eleventh Dynasty 58  
    Twelfth Dynasty 65, 89, 135  
    Thirteenth Dynasty 66, 83  
Milne, Joseph Grafton 467  
Mimaut, Jean François 52  
Min 54, 64, 79, 80, 83, 91, 94, 106, 118, 119, 124, 133, 135, 208, 209, 263, 276, 288, 291–305, 337, 338, 339, 345, 346, 396, 402  
    festival 141, 304, 333  
    Min-Amun 106, 133, 316  
    Min-Horus 209  
    Min-Kamutef 94, 119, 263  
    Min-Re 288, 291–305, 355, 361, 402, 408  
Ministry of Antiquities 2, 15, 335, 366  
Monthu 318  
Morenz, Ludwig 299–302  
mud-brick structures 42–43, 44–46  
Murnane, William 53  
Murray, Margaret 467  
Mut 24, 132, 337, 344, 346  
Nauri Decree 63, 64, 70, 81

- Nebhepetre Mentuhotep. *See* Mentuhotep II  
 Nebpehtyre Ahmose. *See* Ahmose I  
 Neferhotep 66, 93, 135, 140  
 Nekhbet 195, 197, 200, 294–95, 314, 336, 441–42  
 Nephthys 82, 100, 246, 364  
 New Kingdom 2, 21, 36, 37, 53, 54, 67, 88, 90, 92, 98, 135, 164,  
 166, 169, 172, 217, 222, 301, 324, 333, 347, 365, 407, 410,  
 414, 421, 425, 426, 431, 433, 435, 440, 442, 443, 446, 466,  
 467, 468, 469  
 Eighteenth Dynasty 2, 16, 63, 88, 112, 122, 125, 127, 136,  
 140, 147, 168, 169, 172, 189, 227, 233, 236, 250, 251, 298,  
 301, 389, 391, 411, 434, 455  
 Nineteenth Dynasty 49, 57, 63, 66, 67, 73, 81, 87–116, 123–  
 25, 135, 137, 140, 163, 168, 170, 227, 236, 407, 438  
 Twentieth Dynasty 141, 163, 236, 407, 411, 418, 422, 471  
*nmst*-jar(s) 287, 316, 317, 319, 321, 363, 373, 379–80, 385  
 Nubia 16, 18, 21, 150, 156, 230, 336  
 Nun 76, 81, 286, 316, 402  
 Nut 154, 340, 346, 356, 390
- Old Kingdom 1, 38, 65, 83, 89, 95, 98, 169, 188, 258, 297, 324,  
 347, 393, 445  
 Onuris 155, 159, 181, 198, 213, 265–80, 379, 400–401, 408,  
 425–27, 436, 444, 467, 468. *See also* Chapel I  
 Opening of the Mouth ritual 90, 258, 261, 264, 316, 347  
 oracle(s) 49, 95, 99, 102, 124–27, 141, 147, 223, 468  
 barque. *See* barque(s): oracle  
 stela of Paser 125–27, 141, 147, 163  
 Osireion 17, 59, 297, 409, 412, 429, 433, 441, 442, 446, 456,  
 467–68, 469  
 Osiris 42, 49, 54, 58, 106–8, 110, 120–21, 122, 125, 145, 150–51,  
 154–55, 158, 166, 168, 171–72, 177, 180, 185, 202–3, 220,  
 230, 254, 256, 261, 264, 273, 275, 284–85, 290, 305, 309–10,  
 312, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 324, 334, 340, 343, 344, 345–46,  
 348, 353, 354, 355, 360–61, 362, 365–67, 372, 375–80, 384,  
 386, 387, 390–91, 394, 399, 400, 401, 402, 404, 408, 433, 448,  
 450–51, 453, 460–61, 467, 468, 470  
 cenotaph of. *See* Osireion  
 corn-Osiris. *See* corn mummy  
 festival 57, 64, 66, 73–74, 89, 108, 110, 112, 135–38, 151–52,  
 206, 222, 326. *See also* festival(s): Khoiak  
 Fetish 67, 68, 69, 73, 87, 91, 95, 97, 102, 104–14, 118, 122,  
 133, 135–38, 148, 151–52, 173, 179, 265, 267, 295, 296,  
 304, 305, 306, 320, 326, 328, 332, 357–68, 379, 393, 400,  
 402, 403, 450–51, 452  
 anointing of 326, 328–33  
 barque-mounted 109–14, 304–5, 330  
*Khebes-ta* “Earth-Hacker” 73–75, 114–16, 172–73, 291–305,  
 402  
 Khentyimentiu 58, 63, 65–73, 75, 80–85, 90, 100, 104–5,  
 106, 107, 109–11, 120, 121, 122, 136, 142, 171, 172, 177,  
 179, 212, 217, 221, 240, 256, 319, 330, 343, 346, 362, 366,  
 387, 390, 399, 400, 405  
 main sanctuary. *See* Ramesses II temple: Chapel D  
 names and representations 62–87, 95, 97, 105, 111, 172, 183,  
 304, 330, 345–46, 396
- mysteries 66, 88, 91, 110, 122, 134–38, 227, 295, 310, 326,  
 326, 329, 333  
 Temple of 1, 21, 22, 57, 58, 62, 68, 87, 88, 91, 108, 122, 135,  
 136, 151, 152, 184  
 triangle 9  
 unwrapped 62, 75–87, 280, 321, 372, 394, 403, 404  
 Wenennefer 15, 63, 64–75, 79, 80–85, 100, 104–5, 110, 113,  
 122, 123, 125, 136–38, 171, 180, 202, 203, 256, 319, 330,  
 379, 387, 399, 400
- Philae 254, 388, 413  
 Pinch, Geraldine 470  
 Plutarch 9  
 Poqer 2, 58, 59, 66, 68, 87, 91, 100, 108, 112, 135, 136, 137–38,  
 151, 152, 206, 222, 328, 361. *See also* Umm el-Qaab  
 Portal Temple 58, 59, 87, 144, 151, 467  
 Porter-Moss, Bertha 60, 184, 418  
 Pouls Wegner, Mary-Ann 83, 144  
 procession 49, 74, 88, 90, 91, 93, 95, 96, 99, 101, 104, 107–8,  
 110, 115, 118–20, 121, 122, 124, 130, 131, 133–36, 139, 140,  
 141, 143, 147, 150, 151–52, 156, 164, 165, 173, 177, 197, 205,  
 217, 234, 254, 265, 267, 275, 276, 277, 296, 326, 333, 361,  
 379, 388, 391, 392, 393, 396, 400, 401, 405, 449, 453. *See also*  
 barque(s); festival(s); Osiris: Fetish  
 by boat 58, 88, 98, 152  
 of Min 119, 133, 135, 296, 333  
 of Wepwawet 90–91, 122, 136  
 Osiride 2, 42, 66, 136, 206  
 “the Great Procession.” *See* festival(s): Khoiak  
 to Poqer 66, 68, 137, 222, 361
- processional  
 barque. *See* barque  
 festival 56, 89, 91, 140, 408  
 image 91, 92, 93, 94, 97, 104, 105–6, 107, 108, 110, 118, 161,  
 162, 163, 170, 176–77, 179, 180, 202, 203, 204, 206, 257,  
 276, 294, 295, 303, 399, 401  
 route 1, 18, 57–58, 59, 62, 70, 73–74, 87–88, 89, 90, 100,  
 108, 117, 136, 140, 145, 146, 167, 193, 263, 280, 304, 306,  
 361, 375  
 statue 72, 90, 92–94, 96–98, 141, 144, 207, 293, 296, 393, 402  
 vehicle 90, 115, 118–21, 173, 206, 226, 263, 296, 400
- Ptah 56, 57, 63, 64, 69, 76, 78, 79, 80, 133, 153–55, 346, 376,  
 396, 408, 415, 461, 470  
 Ptah-Sokar 69, 82, 84, 256, 346  
 Ptolemaic period 59, 115, 120, 127, 140, 157, 160, 165, 169,  
 172, 298, 301, 333, 388, 442, 443  
 Pyramid Texts 107, 127, 157, 169, 258, 261, 442
- Qurna 67, 99, 380
- Ramesses I 67–70, 72, 97, 99, 105, 205, 243  
 temple/shrine 57, 58, 64, 67–70, 81, 87, 97, 105, 151, 330  
 Ramesses II  
 birth name 32, 51–52, 54, 64, 116, 150, 158, 159, 193, 198,  
 203, 204, 212, 215, 220–21, 222, 223, 224, 231, 232, 236,  
 238, 254, 255, 258, 268–69, 271, 272, 273, 274, 282, 293,  
 295, 313, 314, 331, 335, 336, 349, 363, 383, 384, 385, 392

- Great Dedicatory Inscription 56, 63, 64, 67, 70–73, 101  
Golden Falcon name 261, 274–75, 362, 365–66  
Horus name 64, 155, 198, 203–4, 212, 220, 222, 261, 269, 270, 271, 273, 281, 305, 314, 374, 400  
throne name 32, 46–48, 50–52, 54, 64, 150, 191, 193, 196, 197, 198, 210, 214–15, 220–21, 222, 223, 227, 231, 236, 238, 254, 255, 258, 269, 271, 272, 273, 274, 282, 293, 332, 336, 349, 363, 371, 383  
Ramesses II temple  
19th-Dynasty context 87–117  
alignment 1–2, 4, 6, 18, 30, 56–57, 59, 146, 193, 200, 205, 280, 304, 306, 328, 361  
as barque station. *See* barque(s): station  
“Chamber of Linen.” *See* Chapel P  
chapel(s)  
benches in 30, 61, 108, 166, 181, 265, 272, 275, 276, 281, 286, 289, 291, 299, 306, 309, 319, 326, 328, 329, 330–32, 333, 347, 354, 368, 371, 373, 375, 376, 378, 380, 384, 388, 393, 395–96, 398–99, 401–6  
Chapel D (Osiris Chapel, main sanctuary) 6, 9, 17, 18, 30, 39, 41–42, 48, 57, 62, 67, 107, 108–10, 151, 167, 173, 178–79, 193, 208, 280, 306, 309, 326, 328–29, 330, 347, 352, 355, **357–68**, 369, 403, 415  
Chapel E (Barque Chapel of Isis) 30, 41, 46, 62, 98, 185, 206, 274, 280, 319, 324, **346–57**, 361, 364, 367, 369, 370, 374, 375, 402, 403, 414, 418, 431  
Chapel F (Barque Chapel of Horus) 30, 41, 46, 62, 185, 186, 206, 280, 288, 319, 347, 348, 350, 354, 357, 361, 364, 367, **368–75**, 402, 403  
Chapel G 15, 26, 28, 30, 41, 46, 61, 62, 92, 126, 127, 138, 144, 146, 154, 162, 164, 169, 174, 184, 191, 193–95, 197, 198, 199, 200, 202, 204, 206, 211, **217–54**, 255, 257, 261, 262, 266, 394, 399–400  
Chapel H 15, 26, 28, 30, 41, 46, 61, 62, 144, 184, 197, 199, 202, 204, 206, 217, 226, **254–65**, 266, 400  
Chapel I (Onuris) 28, 30, 41, 46, 62, 150, 155, 156, 180–81, 184, 186, 188, 192, 198, 220, **265–80**, 281, 284, 285, 293, 313, 331, 390, 394, 400–401, 409, 414–15, 418, 426, 433, 465, 470  
Chapel J (Thoth) 30, 41, 46, 56, 62, 184, 186, 211, 274, **281–90**, 293, 307, 311, 313, 322, 401–2, 409, 414, 418, 438, 440, 443, 470  
Chapel K (Min-Re and Osiris as “Earth Hacker”) 30, 41, 46, 54, 61, 62, 74, 112, 114–15, 118, 172–73, 184, 206, 281, 284, 285, **291–305**, 307, 313, 355, 361, 379, 402  
Chapel L 30, 41, 46, 62, 166–67, 171, 185, 186, 226, 227, 279, 280, 281, 284, **306–22**, 326, 328, 332, 334, 346, 347, 348, 354, 361, 368, 369, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 386, 402–3, 404  
Chapel M 21, 41, 46, 62, 108, 110, 111, 140, 166–67, 185, 187, 226, 280–81, 306, 309–10, 312, 318, 321, **322–46**, 347, 348, 354, 361, 363, 364, 368, 369, 376, 380, 402–3, 404  
Chapel N (Ramesses and ancestor kings) 15, 26, 28, 30, 41, 46, 61, 62, 144, 146, 149, 150, 177, 180, 184, 195, 198, 200, 202, 203, 206, **210–16**, 266, 350, 394, 395, 399  
Chapel O (Sety I) 15, 26, 28, 30, 41, 46, 61, 64, 72, 81, 98, 134, 144, 149, 162, 180, 184, 198, 199, **200–210**, 212, 213, 266, 296, 309, 320, 368, 399, 418, 444, 465  
Chapel P (Storage Room for Vestments) 30, 41, 46, 62, 104, 138, 150, 166, 167, 168, 170, 184, 185, 218, 279, 281, 385, 387, **388–98**, 405  
Chapel Q (Storeroom or Treasury) 30, 41, 46, 62, 166, 185, 281, **380–388**, 404–5  
Chapel R 30, 41, 46, 62, 166–67, 185, 280, 281, 306, 309, 361, 367, 368, **375–80**, 404  
Chapel S 21, 41, 46, 53, 62, 108, 140, 166–67, 185, 280–81, 306, 309, 326, 333, 346, 361, 364, 367–68, 375–77, **380–82**, 396, 404  
Portico Chapels 61–62, 144, 149, 155, 167, 184, 193, 194, 195, **197–268**, 319, 399–400. *See also* Chapel G, Chapel H, Chapel N, Chapel O  
construction 6, 9, 15–19, 30–32, 43–48, 50, 51, 53, 54–58, 62, 64, 71, 87, 165, 210, 220, 266–68, 270, 357  
founding 54–58  
building materials 15–19, 41, 53, 347, 357, 368, 415  
stages 43–48, 50, 53, 87, 193, 199, 363  
wooden doors 30, 187–90, 198, 334  
Court A (First Hypostyle Court) 2, 9, 15, 16, 21, 23–26, 30, 37–38, 39, 41, 47, 61–62, 79, 80, 88, 124, 134, **144–48**, 152, 160, 163, 168, 176–77, 187, 188, 193, 196, 197, 199, 216, 222, 234, 257, 263, 265, 333, 361, 368, 375, 412, 414, 417, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 430, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 462, 467, 468, 469, 470  
Court B (First Hypostyle Hall) 17, 26–28, 39, 42, 46, 53, 56, 62, 68, 91, 107–8, 115, 145, **148–73**, 178, 179, 184, 185, 186, 188, 198, 200, 204, 209, 210, 211, 212, 216, 222, 224, 230, **265–80**, 296, 313, 328, 361, 394, 395, 398, 400–401, 414, 417, 427, 454, 455, 457, 463  
Court C (Second Hypostyle Hall) 29, 46, 54, 62, 64, 108, 150, 151, 156, 184–85, 188, 193, 220, 222, 266–68, 270, **280–398**, 401–5, 414, 417–18, 428, 429, 464  
doorways and ritual 187, 190–99  
Exterior Walls 9, 15, 17, 18, 24, 41, 53, 134, 143, 148, 176, 178–79, 202, 212, 347, 369, 410, 446  
Festival Court. *See* Court A  
First Hypostyle Hall. *See* Court B  
First Pylon 2, 6, 9, 15, 18, 19–21, 36, 53  
floor paving 19, 30  
foundation 1, 15, 19, 30–35, 43, 54, 56  
Granodiorite Gateway 17–18, 26, 59, 61–62, 145, 147, 148–50, 166–167, 176, 184, 190–91, 198, 199, 210, 289, 398, 415  
Horus Chapel. *See* Chapel F  
Isis Chapel. *See* Chapel E  
Kadesh battle relief 47, 53, 134, 142, 144, 197, 219  
king list 52, 146, 150, 210, 213–16, 394, 395, 399  
layout 6–15, 17, 36, 43, 59–62  
reconfiguration of 266–68  
Limestone Gateway 15, 19  
main sanctuary. *See* Chapel D  
Min Chapel. *See* Chapel K  
Onuris Chapel. *See* Chapel I



- Osiris Chapel. *See* Chapel D  
 “Osiris Suite” 62, 67, 81, 112, 185, 280, 305–80, 384, 401–6. *See also* Chapels D, E, and F  
 pillars 6, 16, 17, 19, 21–23, 24, 26, 29, 36, 38, 54, 145, 146, 148, 149, 157, 160, 184, 196, 199, 211, 266, 323, 343–45, 380, 404, 420, 455  
 Osiride 38, 62, 79, 145, 199  
 royal statue-pillars 145, 147  
 with finger gouges 21–24, 142–46, 147, 184, 196, 199  
 Raised Portico 15, 16, 17, 21, 26, 39, 41, 47, 59, 61–62, 145, 168, 184, 187, 202  
 reconstruction, hypothetical 28, 36–40, 149, 157, 192  
 restoration, modern 19, 30, 36, 41–42, 76, 157, 217, 254, 265, 277, 281, 291, 309, 328, 335, 346  
 Second Hypostyle Hall. *See* Court C  
 Second Pylon 6, 9, 15, 17–18, 19, 21, 61, 128, 147, 148, 176, 185, 196  
 Staircase Inscription 93, 99, 126, 127, 141, 147, 148, 156–65, 170, 175, 177, 204, 224, 230, 274, 285, 294, 388  
 Ramesses III 412, 467  
 Ramesses IV 408, 415, 422, 423, 434, 445, 446, 447, 449, 450, 467  
 Ramesside religion  
 elite 49, 90, 91, 117–18, 121, 123, 125, 126, 131, 137–38, 140–41, 146, 160, 162, 164, 171, 187, 297, 375  
 division of 59–61, 140–41, 148–49, 184–85, 190–91  
 popular 49, 93, 95, 98, 117–18, 123–25, 126, 140–48, 160, 162, 163, 187, 196. *See also* Ramesses II temple: pillars with finger gouges  
 Raven, Maarten 83  
 Re 51, 63, 72, 73, 92, 93, 116, 122, 129–30, 168, 174, 175, 177, 179, 194, 203, 214, 225, 229, 231, 234–38, 243–50, 254, 258, 273, 386, 401, 451, 453  
 Re-Horakhti 56, 57, 63, 81, 170, 231–32, 289, 293  
 Re-Osiris 86, 106, 169, 171, 205  
 Rickert, Alexa 167  
 Robins, Gay 38  
 Roman period 43, 59, 140, 169, 172  
 rooftop rituals 160, 164–71, 253–54, 333, 391  
*Ruderlauf*. *See* *Vasenlauf*  
 Ryhiner, Marie-Louise 168, 388
- Saite period 112  
 Saqqara 188, 421, 422, 462  
 Seele, Keith C. 53  
 Senwosret I 107  
 Senwosret III 2, 6, 87, 89–90  
 Seshat 288, 302  
 Seth 50, 128, 171, 258, 470  
 Sety I 43, 54, 67, 68, 69, 71–72, 97, 98, 105, 111, 119, 149, 180, 200–210, 213, 234, 243, 258, 285, 304, 309, 310, 312, 315, 319–20, 321, 366, 367, 368, 399, 403, 420, 427, 467–68  
 Chapel for His Father 64, 66–68, 72, 105, 151, 330  
 Dedicatory Stela 69–70  
 name(s) 50, 54, 214–16  
 Sety I temple 1, 3, 9, 16, 21, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 63, 64, 66–69, 70–73, 75–77, 79, 80, 81–87, 88, 90, 91, 93, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101, 107, 108, 109, 110, 112, 113, 116, 117, 120, 126, 133, 134, 136, 137, 139, 143, 144, 145, 150, 153, 154, 156, 165, 167, 168, 170, 173, 175, 180, 202, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 210, 213, 214, 223, 257, 258, 261, 295, 297, 298, 302, 303, 304, 306, 309–10, 318, 319–20, 321, 324, 326–330, 331, 332, 335, 337, 346, 351, 354, 355, 364–65, 372, 374, 379, 386, 387, 391, 394, 408, 410, 415, 418, 440, 443, 446, 463, 468, 470  
 Hall of Barques 93, 165, 173, 207  
 Shezemu 385  
 Shu 127, 130, 131, 159, 239, 246, 273, 293, 441, 442  
 Shunet el-Zebib 6, 89  
 Sirius. *See* Sopdu  
*sm*-priest 90, 151–52, 288, 400  
*šndyt*-kilt 85, 159, 207, 213, 260, 289, 314, 323, 332, 336, 354, 372, 374, 396  
 Sokar 64, 69, 82, 102, 118, 135, 138, 150–51, 158, 171, 172, 400  
 Sokar-Osiris 79, 83, 95, 116–17  
 Sopdu 154, 171, 316  
 Spalinger, Anthony J. 53, 71  
 statue(s) 17–18, 38, 49, 58, 59–61, 64, 84, 85, 86, 89, 94, 95–96, 98, 101–2, 103, 104, 117, 118, 119, 120, 123, 126–27, 130, 133–34, 137, 138, 140, 145, 147, 148, 160, 164, 169, 173, 175, 180, 181, 205, 207, 208, 209–10, 226–27, 228, 230, 260, 262, 263, 272, 276, 280, 288, 296, 304, 334, 350, 354, 357, 358, 361, 366, 374, 386–87, 388, 390, 391, 398, 400–401, 402, 404, 426, 442, 453. *See also* processional statue  
 cult 49, 59, 61, 62, 68, 69, 84–85, 89–91, 92–93, 96–98, 102, 105, 121–23, 126, 130, 133, 139–40, 164–68, 170–71, 172, 180, 181, 185, 206–7, 213, 217–19, 225, 256–57, 261, 264, 271, 272, 273, 275, 286, 289, 299, 324, 329, 333–35, 350, 365, 367, 388, 390–91  
*hntj*-type 102, 134, 205, 276  
 group 18, 41–42, 263, 306, 309, 365, 366–68, 403, 461  
 niche(s) 61, 62, 111, 140, 166, 185, 187, 280, 306, 312, 322, 325, 326, 332, 334–43, 361, 368, 380, 403, 404  
 Osiride (wrapped) 16, 24, 26, 37, 39, 58, 68, 79, 85, 95, 120, 199  
 pillar(s) 145, 147, 199  
 shrine 98–99, 121, 139, 144, 166, 170, 207, 262, 324, 333, 334, 357, 404  
 stela(e) 71, 73–74, 84, 88, 100, 107, 112–13, 122, 124, 127, 130–32, 134, 137, 138, 195, 196, 223, 273, 281, 365, 408  
 Cairo TN 30/5/24/1 120  
 double 204, 208, 362, 365–67, 403  
 Louvre C 286 66  
 Middle Kingdom 65–66, 89, 91, 100, 122, 135, 136, 137  
 New Kingdom 88, 112  
 of Hor-em-wia 263–64  
 of Houyou 114  
 of Ikhnofret 66, 75, 88, 89–91, 121, 135, 137, 138  
 of Iuna 112–13  
 of Iuny 74  
 of Kha 138  
 of Nebipusenwosret 65–66  
 of Nebre 131–32  
 of Neferhotep 89, 135  
 of Paser. *See* oracle(s)

- of Pemu 424  
 of Userhat 74–75  
 of Wennefer 100  
 of Wepwawet-Aa 135  
 “Tempest Stela” 256–57  
 Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) 26, 37, 41, 42, 199, 409
- Tefnut 130, 245, 246, 293  
 Thinite Nome 54, 64, 72, 81, 84, 91, 104, 105, 106, 113, 159–60, 181, 185, 209, 263, 265, 284, 289, 305, 311–12, 401  
 Third Intermediate period 407, 414, 418, 427, 429, 431, 440, 445, 446, 466, 468, 469, 471  
 Thoth 74, 80, 84, 118, 120, 135, 155, 156, 171, 175–76, 207, 209, 213, 217, 225, 226, 227, 229, 230, 254, 257–58, 260, 275, 281–91, 295, 304, 310, 311, 317, 320, 323, 324, 346, 348–49, 357, 361, 371, 392, 393, 399–402, 408, 414, 433, 436, 438, 461, 468  
     standard 102, 118–19, 120, 129  
 Thutmose I 122  
 Thutmose III 299–300, 412, 413, 430, 438  
 Thutmose IV 18  
 Tutankhamun 103  
 Tutu 127, 223, 226, 227
- Ullmann, Martina 43, 54, 203, 208, 209, 210, 211, 213, 309, 319, 321, 334, 365, 367, 368, 390
- Umm el-Qaab 2, 4, 59, 66, 83, 87, 379  
 Underworld Books 108, 234, 332  
 Userhat/Hatiay 73–75, 100, 122
- Vasenlauf* 171, 230, 279, 314–17, 379, 402  
 Votive Zone 58, 73, 100, 136
- Wadi el-Sebou 24  
 Wadjyt 194–95, 197, 200, 280, 305, 336  
*w<sup>c</sup>b*-priest 125, 135, 138, 393, 423, 426, 433  
*Wabet* 160, 167–68, 169–70, 333  
*w<sup>3</sup>dt*-eyes 73, 91, 122  
*w<sup>3</sup>s*-scepter 77, 80, 82, 85, 97, 154, 155, 159, 207, 214, 221, 231, 261, 275, 286, 287, 288, 303, 305, 319, 336, 338, 340–43, 353, 356, 363, 372, 374, 386, 387, 396, 404  
 Wennefer. *See* Osiris  
 Wenut 285, 289  
 Wepwawet 58, 74, 84, 90–91, 120, 122, 135–36, 142, 179, 273, 293, 295, 304, 311, 334, 336, 337, 339, 343, 345–46, 353, 356, 390, 456  
 Western Thebes Ramesseum 24  
 Wiebach-Koepke, Silvia 238  
 Wreszinski, Walter 53, 409, 426  
*wsh*-collar 80, 110, 116, 304, 344
- Zat-Re 205

## INDEX OF EGYPTIAN WORDS AND NAMES

---

Note: Because of the repetitive nature of certain phrases in temple inscriptions, this index does not list occurrences of certain extremely common words and phrases, except where they are unusual or diagnostic as to phraseology or dating. By the same token, only exceptional or unusual royal epithets, titular elements, or name forms are noted. The same principles of exclusion apply to divine epithets, except where these may indicate special cults that suggesting extra-Abydene influences. Similarly, common wish formulae or tag-phrases are not included. As far as the various forms of the royal names and other possibly diagnostic elements of the royal titulary are concerned, the listing is largely restrained, but a fuller accounting will appear in a subsequent volume where the distribution of some key terms can be shown in connection with the plan of the temple.

- 3wt-jb* joy 336, 352, 353, 356, 373  
*3bdw* Abydos *passim*  
*3m* burn, burn up 249  
*3h* be bright, shining 248  
*3h* glorified spirit of deceased 135, 237, 251, 398  
*3h* effective, beneficial 178, 332  
*3hw* benefactions 221n84  
*3ht 3ht-eye* 241, 242  
*3ht* horizon, lightland 214, 239, 247  
*3hbjt* Chemnis 232  
*3sbl<sup>c</sup>sb* fiery, glowing 252n241, 253  
*3srt* roasted meat 260
- j* particle of address, O, Oh 244  
*j3t* nome or processional standard 90, 118, 133  
*j3w n* praises to, as introduction to prayers 74  
*j3bt 13bt* offering 371  
*j3bt* eastern 233  
*j3mt* grace 245  
*j(3)kby* Mourner 240  
*jj* arrive, come 132  
*jj ntr s3 t3* “the god comes, pay homage” 152  
*jj.t* welcome 229  
*jj ntr s3 t3* the god comes, pay homage 102n252; §3.5.5.4.1; 152  
*j<sup>c</sup>b* unite, present 316  
*j<sup>c</sup>nyw* baboons 228n117  
*j<sup>c</sup>n<sup>c</sup>* baboon 249  
*j<sup>c</sup>h* moon 246  
*j<sup>c</sup>h-ms-nfrit-jrj* Ahmose-Nefertari 250  
*jw<sup>c</sup> jw<sup>c</sup>*-joint of meat 259  
*jw<sup>c</sup>* heir 207, 259, 263, 271  
*jw<sup>f</sup>* flesh 390  
*jwn* pillar 9  
*jwn-mwt.f* Pillar-of-his-Mother 183n3, 209, 257-260, 257, fn 255, 310, 314, 321, 374n541, 399, 400, 402  
*jwn(y)t* colored 233  
*jwh bš3* moistening the *besha*-grain 116n309  
*jwt* decay, corruption 242  
*jb* heart, mind, wish 247, 372, 378-80, 386  
*jb-shaped* jar 378-80
- jb-hrw-m-3bdw* The-Heart-is-Pleased-in-Abydos, name of the Sety I Temple in Abydos 330n473  
*jb3* dance 259  
*jbh* tooth 259  
*jmw* boat 218, 249  
*jmj wt* who is in the embalming chamber/tent 273  
*jmjw-h3t* those who were before, ancestors 395  
*jmjw ht.f* in his train, used in a description of a festival procession 90, 121  
*jmm* imperative bring, cause 436, 437  
*jmnt* west 234  
*jmn* hidden 95, 235, 242, 246  
*jmn* hide as transitive verb 242, 259  
*jmn* god Amun 390  
as recipient of cult service 299  
*nb pt* Lord of the Sky 394  
*jmn-r<sup>c</sup>* god Amun-Re, mentioned outside of royal name 285, 338, 392, 395  
*jmn-mnw-k3-mwt.f* 301n387, 302  
*jmn-htp dsr-k3-r<sup>c</sup>* (Amenhotep I) 250  
*jmnt* west 234, 235  
*jmnt nfrt* perfected west 242  
*jmntjw* Westerners, term for the dead 214  
*jmny* (regular) daily offerings 139  
*jmstj* son of Horus, Imsety 318  
*jnj* bring, bring away, remove 251, 315-6, 347  
*jj jn* come and bring 317  
*jnt-rd* bring (away) the footprint 347, 350, 357, 361, 369, 375, 403  
*jn-hrt* Onuris 271, 436  
*jn-hrt-hrw-tm3<sup>c</sup>* Onuris-Horus-Upraised-of-Arm 181, 271, 401  
*jn-hrt-šw z3 r<sup>c</sup>* Onuris-Su, son of Re 273  
*jn-hrt-šw* god Inheret-Shu 273  
*jnbw* walls 366  
*jn<sup>pw</sup>* Anubis 273, 283n324, 310n408, 323, 349, 371, 373n536, 373-5, 390  
*jmj wt* in the embalming chamber/tent 273  
*nb t3 dsr* Lord of the Sanctified Land 371  
*jnr* stone 178  
*jnr n m3t* granite 368  
*jnq* encircle 397

- jnt, jnt* fetter 243  
*jrj* keeper, guardian (of a doorway) 250, 251  
*jrt* eye  
*jrt hrw* eye of Horus 258, 395  
*jrt hrw hdt* White eye of Horus 259  
*jrj* make, do, act 246, 247  
*jr:n* graffiti 413n60  
*jrt.n.f m mnw.f n jtj.f* That which he made as a monument  
 ..., interpretation and translation of the dedicatory  
 phrase §3.2.2.5  
*jr:w* shape, form, nature, visible/recognizable form of a  
 deity 78, 133n131, 235, 248  
*jrp* wine 340  
*jrtt* milk 264  
*jhmw-wrd* The Unwearing Ones, used of circumpolar  
 starts 228  
*js3s(w)kw* a vegetable 260  
*jst* seat, throne, shrine, place, position 141, 232, 316  
*jst hrw* the throne of Horus 264  
*jst wrt* Great Place, Great Seat, repository sanctuary 15, 17,  
 18, 104n263, 142, 178, 331, 348, 362, 362n517, 366, 368,  
 373  
*jst hrw* throne of Horus 245, 351  
*jst htp* repository, barque chapel, lit. resting place 104n263,  
 400  
*jst nt hnwyt* (barque) way-station, lit. place of  
 alighting 56n36  
*jst Isis passim* 239n274  
*jst wrt* Isis the Great 142, 144, 179, 221, 256, 273, 337, 338,  
 340-45, 352  
*mwt-ntr* mother of the god 142, 144, 179, 221, 256, 274, 339,  
 340-44  
*nbt pt* Lady of the Sky 337, 351  
*hnwt t3wj* Mistress of the Two Lands 337, 351  
*jst, jswt* crew, team 175, 229, 246  
*jsjr* Osiris  
 used with Ramesses's name 219, 244  
*jsjr skr* Osiris-Sokar, variant of usual Sokar-Osiris 116  
*jsjrj-sty-mr:n-ptj* euphemistically altered form of Birth name  
 of Sety I 50  
*jspt* throne 131  
*jtjw* forefathers, ancestors 221n84, 287  
*jtjw nbw hrt-ntr* his (the king's) fathers, lords of the  
 necropolis 221n84  
*jt-ntr* father of the god (priest) 393  
*jtj* sovereign 433  
*jtmw(j)tmw* Atum 239, 246, 315  
*jtjnj* pertaining to the Aten 245  
*jtj* take hold, seize 315  
*jqr* excellent, effective 279  
*jk* hack, carve out 252  
*jkb* mourn 242  
*jgrt* Silent One (f.) 232; the Place/Land of Silence  
*jdt* cow 231  
*jdwt* herd (of cows) 232, 263  
 ˆ limb, member 442  
 ˆ be great 397  
 ˆ doorway 251n236  
 ˆt precious stone 331  
 ˆ(ˆ)y ithyphallic 247  
 ˆb, jˆb cup 337  
 ˆb horn 248  
 ˆbw purification 225, 310n408, 316  
 ˆbw horns 246n202  
 ˆpj traverse, pass by 241, 251  
 ˆpr outfit 241  
 ˆprw gemstones 386n564  
 ˆm swallow, absorb, know 251  
 ˆn do again 434  
 ˆnhw living ones 264, 351  
 ˆr ascend 239  
 ˆr(r)yt doorway 251n236  
 ˆrq-zp.f god Areq-zepef 342n291  
*ms-zp.f* Child/Fashioner of What Remains 342n491  
 ˆh statue shrine, chapel, shrine; chapel as a metaphorical  
 "palace" 323-26, 326n468, 346, 348  
 ˆh (n) ˆnh dd w3s ˆh-palace of Life, Stability, and  
 Dominion 324, 348  
 ˆh špsj Noble ˆh-Shrine 324  
*jmj ˆh* the One Who is in the ˆh-building, epithet of  
 king 326n468  
 ˆhˆ stand up, arise 240, 249  
 ˆhˆ hr wait upon 239  
 ˆh3 ˆ Great Fight 66  
 ˆhm sacred image 122  
 ˆq enter 251, 264  
 ˆq prj entering and exiting as a pair of actions 240, 246, 252  
 ˆq entrance, access 140, 170, 240, 242  
 ˆq nb all those who enter §3.2.2.1-2  
 ˆqt entrance, entering on doorway inscriptions and  
 elsewhere §3.2.2.1-2, 240, 246  
 ˆq tow-rope 229  
 ˆdw guilty one, aggressor 252  
 w3(n)rt n mwhw tow-rope 175  
 w3h endure 225  
 w3h htpt-ntr establish/ set down a divine offering 179  
 w3s be honored, be strong 237, 244  
 w3gj w3gj-festival 131, 135, 137n414, 138, 138nn419-420,  
 167n521, 173, 177, 217n72, 218, 221-22, 399  
 w3d w3d-pillar, papyrus column 341, 398  
 w3d-ˆn Papyrus Column Boat 398  
 w3d healthy green 259  
 w3dt Healthy/Whole Eye of Horus 73, 74n117, 91, 100n240,  
 122  
 wj3 divine boat, sacred vessel 91, 93, 109, 113, 122, 122n332,  
 153, 218, 226, 228, 246  
 used of a processional barque 103  
 general use of boats and barques in the temple  
 inscriptions §2.7  
 wj3 n hˆw boat of one's own?/barque of divine offerings? See  
 hˆw body, flesh  
 wj3 n st3 barque-sledge 228

- w<sup>c</sup>* one, as adjective unique 310n406, 442  
*w<sup>c</sup>3* curse 253  
*w<sup>c</sup>b* be pure, as imperative or stative §3.2.2.1, 316, 364  
*w<sup>c</sup>b 3 n jsjr* Great *w<sup>c</sup>b*-priest of Osiris 135  
*w<sup>c</sup>b wsjr* priest of Osiris 423, 425  
*w<sup>c</sup>b hrt* necropolis priest 393n585  
*w<sup>c</sup>bt* Wabet-chapel or -room 167, §2.6.8.2  
*wb3 hr* open the sight, reveal something 124, 139n425  
*wbn* shine, be shining 161-62, 170, 225, 248  
*wbh* be bright, shining 162  
*wpt* brow 397  
*wpt rnpt* New Year (Festival) 165  
*wp-w3wt* Wepwawet 273, 275, 293, 311, 337, 339, 341, 349, 353, 356, 390  
*nb t3 dsr* 336, 341  
*hrp nswt t3wj* controller and King of the Two Lands 179, 273, 295  
*hrp sm<sup>c</sup>* director of Upper Egypt 339  
*wp-w3wt mh<sup>w</sup> hrp t3wj* Wepwawet of Lower Egypt director of the Two Lands 343  
*wp-w3wt sm<sup>c</sup>* Wep-wawet of Upper Egypt 295  
*wp m3<sup>c</sup>t* Who Reveals the Truth or Rightful Decision, used of oracular god 126n347. Compare *wd<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>t*  
*wn* open 244, 251  
*wn n jtn* opener of the Aten 233  
*wn-hr* "Opening of the Face/Sight" ritual §2.5.2.6, 166, 170-71, 223n90, 332-34  
*wh-hr hb* "Festival Opening of the Face" §2.5.2.6, 333n479  
*wmwt* goddess Wenut 285  
*wmm* eat 253, 258  
*wmn-nfr* Wenennefer, perhaps One Existing in (perpetual) Perfection, as a name of Osiris and as separate divine being 64-65, 74-75, 256  
suggested translations of the name 65  
preceded by *nswt-hjt* Dual King 65  
followed by *m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* true of voice 65  
*wnh* get dressed 398n600  
*wr ntrw* Greatest/Eldes of the Gods, epithet of Osiris 290  
*wrs* to be awake/stay awake, perform a vigil 249n224  
*wh* hey, exclamatory particle 398  
*whm* repeat, do again 246, 442  
*whm-<sup>c</sup>nh* repeating life 72  
*wsr* power 239  
walking *wsr*, Sign-list F78 260n276, 313n421  
*wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup>* User-maat-Re, lit. One Mighty of the Maat of Re, short form of the Throne name of Ramesses II 51  
as form of Throne name on the temple foundation blocks 54  
*wsr-ph<sup>tj</sup>* Mighty of Strength, a Horus name of Ramesses II 158  
*wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup>-stp-n-r<sup>c</sup>* User-maat-Re-Whom-Re-Chose, long form of the Throne name of Ramesses II 50  
*wsh<sup>t</sup> hbyt* festival court 62  
*wts nfrw* that which elevates the beauty (of a divine statue), epithet or name of a processional barque 90, 93, 121, §2.3.2.7, 229  
as independent word for processional barque and as modifier of *ssm(w)-hw* 99  
*wts ntr* raise up/increase the prestige of a god 232  
*wst* throne ? 287n336  
*wd* order 179, 239  
*wd<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>t* epithet of Thoth (?) Who Decides What Is Rightful 288  
*wd<sup>c</sup> mdw* judge, make a (legal) decision 141, 242  
*b3 b3*-spirit *passim*, 237, 239, 242, 244, 247, 247n210, 248, 249, 250, 251  
*b3 r<sup>c</sup> b3*-spirit of Re 237, 239, 244, 245, 247, 248  
*b3w* manifestation, presence of a deity 131, 218, 228, 310, 400, 402  
*b3w p nhn* Bau of Buto and Nekhen 228, 317  
*b3w jmntjw* Western Bau 283  
*b3hy* sink 240  
*b3k* servant 437  
*b3k-(n)-hr* name Bakenhor 435  
*bj3yt, bj3t* marvel, omen, oracular communication 124-5, 131, 139n425  
*bjk nbw* Golden Falcon 261  
*bj<sup>tjw</sup>* ancestral kings, lit. kings of Lower Egypt 213, 216, 260, 400  
*b<sup>c</sup>h* be abundant, be abundantly supplied 260  
*bw* place 248  
*bw m3<sup>c</sup>t* rightness 326n468  
*b(n)b(n)* *benben* 250  
*bsj* initiate 95  
*bzw* secret image 90, 121  
*bsj* flow forth, emerge 242  
*p3-m3j* name Pemu 423  
*p3y* name Pay 427  
*p3yk* name Payk? 419, 435, 439  
*p3-nb-3bdw-nht* name Panebabdjunechet 432-33  
*p3t p3t*-cake 258  
*p<sup>c</sup>t* nobility, elite 146, 163n508, 228  
*pr* house estate 246, 373  
*pr-<sup>c</sup>3* Great House (later Pharaoh), as example of synecdoche 101  
*pr-wr* type of shrine, lit. large, big house 104, 104n263, 112, 138, 181, 206, 217, 218, 221, 271, 284, 293, 373, 392, 401  
*pr-psdt-ntrw* Chapel/Temple of the Divine Conclave 312  
*pr-mnht* Linen Chamber (of the temple) §2.6.9, 167n521, 388, 390, 391n574, 396, 405. *See also hwt-mnht* below  
*pr-md3t* (temple) library 301  
*pr-n-sB* funeral bier 175  
*pr-nw* 209, 214  
*pr-nzr* see *pr-nw* above  
*pr-hd* treasury (of a temple) 166  
*prj* go forth, emerge, come from, exit 240, 243, 315-16  
*prt* exit 246  
*prt 3t* the Great Procession 66  
*prt m hrw* Going out in Daylight 169  
*prt dpt* First Procession 136  
*ph* hindquarters 253  
*pzh* biting 442  
*pzstj* Two Portions (of Egypt) 264  
*pzd/psd* spine, back portion of meat 260



- psdt ntrw* Conclave of the Gods, Divine Conclave 178, 183, 221, 310n408, 374n541  
*psdt.fhis* (Osiris's) Divine Council 392  
*psdt* ⚡ Great Divine Council 346  
*psdt ntrw 3bdw* Divine Conclave of Abydos 221  
*psdt ntrw t3-dsr* Divine Council of the Sanctified Land 105  
*ptr* see 74  
*ptr nfr(w)* as alternate reading of *m33 nfr(w)*. See *m33 nfr(w)*  
*pth* god Ptah 383  
*pth-skr* god Ptah-Sokar 337
- f3j* lift up, carry 160n499, 302  
*fn*t snake? 252n242  
*fq3* reward 277  
*ftn* be elevated ? 248n219
- m33* see 74, 229  
*m33 nfr/nfrw* seeing the beauty 99n237, 100, 170  
*m33 hr.k nfr* see the face (of a king) 229  
*m3n* infinitive of *m33* see 242, 249  
*m3wt* (renewing) rays (of sun) 161-62, 170  
*m3c* guide, direct, set in the right direction 248, 251  
*m3c* real, true 386  
*m3c-hrw* true-of-voice, justified used after the name of  
 Ramesses 219; justification, triumph, as epithet after name  
 of deceased true-of-voice, justified 65, 71, 72, 219, 233, 239,  
 245n198, 252n240, 253, 423  
*m3c* offer 17  
*m(3)hw n m3c-hrw* Wreath of Justification 133  
*m3t* granite 178  
*m3w* ⚡ Great Cat 242  
*m3wtj* cat-headed 241  
*m3jt* likewise 228  
*my(w)t* offspring of a god 84n155  
*m3c-hr*t-chapel, cenotaph 121, 58, 124, 136  
*mwt* mother 301  
*mwt wrt nbt pt* goddess Mut, Lady of the Sky 337  
*mnjt* Menat-counterweight and rattle 277  
*mjnt/mjntj* equivalent, exact likeness 237n148, 244  
*mwt-nswt* king's mother 237  
*mn n.k* accept 258-60  
*mn mn*-pot for honey ? 259  
*mn* last, endure 303  
*mn* written with obelisk (Sign-list O25) 50, 110n292, 319-20  
*mn n.k* accept 258-260  
*mn-ph*tj-r<sup>c</sup> Ramesses I 99n237, 243  
*mn-m3c*t-r<sup>c</sup> perhaps Established One of the Maat of Re, Throne  
 name of Sety I 50, 243  
*mnjt* Mooring Stake, as a personification 58  
*mnjt* mooring stake as pillory 245  
*mnw* god Min 293, 301  
*mnw nb jpw* Min Lord of Ipu (Akhmim) 337, 339  
*mnw-r*<sup>c</sup> Min-Re 291, 293, 299  
*mnw-k3-mwt.f* Min-Kamutef 263  
*mnh* excellent, effective 214, 246, 251, 397  
*mnht* clothing 393  
*mnš* cartouche 153
- mnš* boat type 154  
*mnkwr* ceremonial tail on king's kilt 259n265  
*mr-t3* See *hbs-t3*  
*mr r jrt hnt jm.f* a canal on which to travel by boat procession,  
 as description of the Nebhepetre Mentuhotep processional  
 boat canal 58  
*mr n t3-wr* Thinite canal 112n170  
*mrj* love, wish 248, 395  
*mry* beloved, as epithet following royal names 64  
*mry m3c*t Beloved of Maat, Horus name of Ramesses II 157  
*mrwt* love 245, 247  
*n mrwt* in order that 366  
*mhw* wreath. See *m(3)hw*  
*mht* goddess Mehyt 156, 271, 273  
*z3t r*<sup>c</sup> daughter of Re 273  
*mht-wrt* Great Flood, a personification 249  
*mht*t northern 233  
*msj* fashion, give birth to, used in connection with statues 90,  
 93  
 born, (re)born ? 296  
 used with a processional barque 99n237  
*msj* engenderment, fashioning 310n408  
*ms-zp.f* Child/Fashioner of What Remains. See *rq-zp.f*  
 342n491  
*mswt* manifestation(?) 122n328  
*mshnt* alighting place, birthplace 178  
*mkj* safeguard, protect 95  
*mk3t* bier 249  
*mdw* speak 242, 250  
*mds* be sharp, cutting 252  
*md(t)* *md(t)*-oil (for anointing) 299  
*jrj md* apply ointment as ritual 331, 341  
*sfh md* removal of ointment ritual 328
- n*<sup>c</sup>j travel 239  
*nj* negative particle 243, 252n235, 252n239, 259n267  
*njs* call out 244  
*njkjw* malefactor 245  
*nw* these 244  
*nww* Nun 246  
*nwh* tow-rope 229  
*nwt/njw*t city 295  
*nwt* goddess Nut 340, 356, 390  
*nwt mst ntrw* 340  
*nb-ph*tj-r<sup>c</sup> Ahmose I 250  
*nb m3c*t Lord of Maat  
 as epithet of Osiris 85, 290  
 as epithet of Ptah 155, 205  
*nb nh*h Lord of Everlasting Change 65  
*nb ntrw* Lord of the Gods, epithet of the processional image of  
 Amun of Karnak 97  
*nb-r-dr* All Lord, Lord of All 436  
*nb t3-dsr* Lord of the Sanctified Land, as epithet of Osiris 84  
*nbt 3bdw* Mistress of Abydos 144  
*nbt-r-dw* mistress to the limit, mistress of all 232  
*nbt-hwt* Nephthys 246, 369  
*nfw* breath 239

- nfrw* (visual) beauty, perfection, of a god in procession 74n117, 252  
 use in *wš-nfrw* 99  
*m33 nfr/nfrw* 100  
*nfrwt* beauties, beautiful women 247, 263  
*nfr nfr*-cloth 397n593  
*nmst nmst*-jar 287, 316, 316n434, 321, 363, 373, 379, 380, 385  
*nmst* probably Semitic word *namzitu* or *namsitu* 316n434  
*nd-hr m nmst* greeting with the *nmst*-jar ritual 287, 316, 319, 321, 373, 380.  
*nmt* chopping block 364  
*nmtwt* footsteps 242  
*nmj* turn, turn around 398n596  
*nmj-nswt* Herakleopolis 430  
*nnw* primordial waters 315-17  
*nnw* god Nun 285-86  
*nnw wr jmj hmnnw* Great One in Hermopolis 286  
*nhs* awaken 71n102  
*nhj* pray for 249  
*nhb(t)* lotus-bud scepter 398  
*nhmt-ḥw3t* goddess Nehemet-Awai(t) 285  
*nhh* everlasting change everlasting (re)occurrence 183  
*nh̄t* victory 353  
*nst* seat, throne 178  
*nsyt* kingship 355  
*nswtjw* kings, as a word for ancestral or previous monarchs 69, 213  
*nšmt* Neshmet, the sacred boat of Osiris 113, 221n85  
 as a personification 58  
*nkt* thing 441  
*ntr* god, meaning of Sign-list R8 as flagpole 128-29  
 cryptic writing 313  
*ntr* as verb be divine 246  
*ntr* ̄3 Great God 68  
*ntr nfr* Perfect God, as a royal epithet 65, 70, 116  
*ntr nfr ḥnh* Living Perfect God? 282n323  
*ntr̄t, ntr̄tj* divine eye, (two) divine eyes 241, 246  
*ndbwt* full extent 295n357  
*nd* champion, venge, protect *passim*, 239, 240, 242  
*nd-hr* greet  
*nd-hr m nmst* greeting with the *nmst*-jar 287  
*ndtj* protector (of a deity), royal epithet 70, 71  
*nd-jtj.f* protector of his father, epithet of Horus 66, *passim*  
*ndm* sweet 264, 316  
*ndr* grasp 260  
  
*r* spell, chapter 328  
*r-pr* chapel, temple 201  
*r-ḥms-sw-mry-jmn* and *r-ḥms-s(w)-mry-jmn* as alternate  
 orthographies of the Family name of Ramesses II and their  
 reliability as dating criteria 50  
*r-ḥrw-3htj* god Re-Horakhty 293  
*r-š3ḥ* beginning at, (starting) from 442  
*rmy* weeper, tears 240  
*rmt* (Egyptian) people 146  
*rmn* carry on the shoulders 102  
  
*rn* name, identity 65n480, 203, 244, 397  
*m rn + suffix + n* in (his, etc.) name of, in his identity as 397  
*rnpij, rnpiwj* rejuvenate 231, 246  
*rnpt* year 239  
*rnpiwt* herbage, vegetables 232  
*rnpiwj* rejuvenate 231  
*rnn* nurse, cosset, dandle 297n297  
*rhyt* common people 54, 93, 99, 145-49, 160-63, 163n508, 228, 249, 343-45, 400  
*rs* awake 214  
*rs-hr* alert 253  
*rsj* southern 233  
*rswt* dream 124  
*rkh* burn 247  
  
*h3.k-rj* Haker-festival 135  
*h3y-hnw* song-praises 228n115  
*h3t-ḥ* (m) beginning 420-21, 441, 442  
*h3t sp/zp* Regnal year, date 430  
*hwt* mourn wail 240  
*hn* nod, assent (in oracular procedure) 146  
*hr-jb* happy, joyful 70n96  
*hh* fire 247  
*hdn hdn*-plant 350  
  
*ht-ntr* divine offering 237  
*h3y* shine (upon) 161-62  
*h3t* forefront, brow, head waters 253, 315-16, 420-21  
*h3p* hidden, inaccessible 141  
*hḥ* body, flesh, limbs 214, 241, 246, 249, 442  
*hḥw* as a possible expression for “my own” or “his own”,  
 lit. “my/his body, my/his flesh” 154  
*hḥ* shine 239  
*hḥj* be joyful, rejoice 242  
*hḥḥ* rejoice 245, 247  
*hḥp* hide 242  
*hḥpij* inundation 242, 258  
*hy* hail 237  
*hr-jb* happy, joyful 70n96  
*hwj* brighten, be brilliant 243, 248  
*hw3* rot, corruption 246n202, 253  
*hw33ytj* He who Pertains to Decay 246  
*hw* food, foodstuff 246  
*hwt* temple 69, 203, 229, 260, 398  
*hwt-ḥ3* 84  
*hwt-bjtj* temple/chapel of the *bjtj*-king 301n387  
*hwt-mn-m3ḥt-rḥ* The Temple of Menmaat-Re, name of Sety I's  
 Abydos Temple 50  
*hwt-mnh̄t* Linen Chamber (of temple) 166-67, §2.6.9  
*hwt-nmt* Slaughter Chamber, a personification 364  
*hwt nt h̄hw n rnpiwt* Temple of Millions of Years, supplementary  
 epithet in the name of Ramesses II's Abydos Temple and  
 other temples 55  
*hwt-ntr* temple, chapel 176, 201, 303  
*hwt-hrw* goddess Hathor 336, 353  
*nbt jwnt* Lady of Dendera 353  
*nbt pt* Lady of the Sky 337

- hnwt t3wj* Mistress of the Two Lands 353  
*hnwt r<sup>c</sup>-ms-s(w)-mrj-jmn hnmt t3-wr* The Temple of Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amun-United-with-the-Thinite-Nome, official name of the Ramesses II Abydos temple 54  
*hnwt-k3 ka*-chapel 180, 202, 212, 399  
*hb* festival 302  
*hb*-bowl 153, 401  
*hb n h<sup>c</sup>w* (royal) festival of appearance 175  
*hb.fn w pq(r)* his (Osiris) festival of the Poqer District, as a name for the Khoiak Festival 58n39  
*hb.fn w3gj* his (Khentymentiu) festival of *w3gj* 221  
*hbw nw pt* festival in the regular monthly lunar cycle 138n422  
*hb-sd Heb-sed*-festival 176, 246, 295, 320, 354, 399, 402  
*hpt* oar, steering mechanism 315  
*hpy* son of Horus, Hapy 318  
*hmw* oar 233  
*hm* Incarnation, used as a designation of the king as the earthly manifestation of a god, especially as Horus 69, 142, 179, 287 as a word describing a statue or image as an earthly manifestation of a deity 69, 70, 125, 173  
*hmt wr* chief craftsman 113  
*hmwwt* craftsmanship, crafts 93, 233  
*hmwwt nfrt* finest order of craftsmanship 93  
*hnjt* choir 262  
*hnwt t3wj* Mistress of the Two Lands 270  
*hnt* spoonbill 250  
*hntj* limits 287  
*hnmmt* humanity, lit. sun-people 146, 163n508  
*hnk* offer 226, 290  
*hnk m3<sup>c</sup>t* offer up Maat 90  
*hnk* bestow 250  
*hnkyt* lion-footed bier 116, 116nn309–10  
*hntj* to preside over; as adjective, presiding over *passim*, 239  
*hntj-qrrt.f* Foremost of (his) Cavern 238  
*hr* face, sight 397  
*hr:f-m-h(3)h* His-Face/Head-is-Hasty(?) 364n520  
*hr nfr* handsome face, beneficent gaze 207, 228, 229, 290  
*hr-s3* afterwards 216  
*hrw* god Horus *passim*  
*hrw m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* ? Triumphant Horus 295  
*hrw-nht* Horus-the-Brave 179  
*hrw-nd-jtj.f* Horus, Avenger/Protector of his Father *passim*, 65, 179  
*hrw z3 jst* Horus, son of Isis, Horsiese 65, 290, 312  
*hrj* be distant, be high 248  
*hrj* overseer, one who is superior 419  
*hrj* name Horj 424, 435  
*hrj-jb* in the midst of, in, as epithet affixed to statues, barques, and cults 82n192  
*hrj hmw* overseer of craftsmen 425  
*hrt* sky, firmament 153, 228, 248  
*hh* million(s) 303  
*hhj* seek 221n84  
*hz hz*-vase, libation vase 310, 315, 317, 318, 351, 357, 385  
*hst* goddess Hesat 310  
*hsj/hzj* sing, praise, reward 279  
*hs-tj3w* songs of jubilation 228, 228  
*hsb* count 249  
*hq3* ruler 355  
*hq3 dt* Ruler of Everlasting Sameness 65, 183  
*hq3-ršw* Hekreshu Hill 2n2  
*hq3t* goddess Heqet/Heqat 281–83, 283n325, 342, 373–75  
*nbt 3bdw* Mistress/Lady of Abydos 144n447, 374  
*nbt pt* Lady of the Sky 342  
*nbt t3wj* Lady of the Two Lands 144  
*hnwt t3wj* Mistress of the Two Lands 144  
*hk3* magic, *hk3*-power 238  
*hkn* praise 244  
*hknw* praises 235, 236  
*hty* throat 241  
*htp* rest, sit, reside 101n250, 229, 392  
*htp* be pleased 247, 371, 289, 290, 398  
*m htp/m htpw* safely, in peace 247, 295  
*htp-dj-nswt* royal offering 258  
*htpt-ntr* divine offering 142, 173, 179  
*htpwt* offerings 214, 232  
*htm* provide 259  
*htmyt* place of destruction 251  
*hd* illuminate, brighten 239  
*hdwtj* He of Brightness 248  
*hd* onion 259  
*hdw* white (things), as an analog for teeth 259  
*h3b3s* the Stars, Starry Sky 364  
*h3st* foreign country, hill country 245, 295, 353  
*hw* protect 249  
*hw* protected, used of divine images, especially on processional barques 94–96. *See also s3m(w)-hw* protected images, as a term for the processional barque  
*hwd* be wealthy 303n391  
*h<sup>c</sup>* shine forth, appear 239, 245  
*h<sup>c</sup>* appearance 301  
*hbs-t3* Earth-hacker, a form of Osiris associated with Osiris mummies and Khoiak festival 73–74, 304, 114–15, 171–73, 304n396, 402  
*hpij* travel 242  
*hpr* evolve 247  
*hprj* Khepri 236, 245  
*hprw* form, evolution, development 78, 122, 124n339, 217, 223–27, 234–50, 301  
 your 74 *hprw*-forms (of Re) 244  
*hprr* scarab 246  
*hps* foreleg 259  
*hftj* enemy 235, 241, 247, 249  
*hm* shrine, temple 301  
*hmw* harmful ones 251  
*hmw* resting place, alighting place 301  
*hnp* pour 310, 315, 317  
*hns* traverse 237  
*hntt-h3t* name “Preeminent-of-Front” 397  
*hrw* voice 253  
*hrp* pour, *see hnp* 310  
*hh* neck 386

- hsf* repel, ward off 251  
*ht* following, train 90, 121, 176, 242, 244, 245  
*htmt-ntr* divine treasury 384, 404  
  
*ht* body 244, 264  
*h3t* corpse 237, 239, 241, 242, 244  
*h3tjw* the Corpse-like Ones 242  
*hnj* sail, with Sign-list P3 as determinative 58  
*hntj* a type of small, base-mounted statue 102, 205, 276n311  
     more public nature in procession 134  
*hnm* unite 178, 232, 242, 245, 289, 392  
*hnm-jtn* Union-with-the-Aten ritual §2.6.8.2, §2.6.10, 279, 391  
*hnm-(m)-t3-wr* United-with-the-Thinite-Nome, epithet in  
     Ramesses II Abydos Temple name 159  
*hnmw* god Khnum 342  
     *hnmw nb qbhw* Khnum Lord of the Cataract 342  
*hr* under, bearing 318  
     *hrjw wh3w* pole-bearers 392  
*hrt* state, condition 398  
*hrt* nether (regions), lit. what is below 239  
*hrp* controller 273  
*hrd* be/become a child 296  
*hkr* adorn 331  
     *hkrw* ornaments, insignia 277  
*ht* inscribe, scratch in 153  
  
*z3* guard, ward off, restrain 398  
*z3b* jackal (used of Anubis) 398  
*z3tw* soil, ground, earthn 106  
*z3f/sf* cut 259  
*zp dpj* First Occasion 178  
*zm3-t3wj sm3-t3wj* Uniting the Two Lands ritual 213, 262, 288,  
     297, 362, 399, 401  
*zn* open 244n188  
*znmh* supplication 91, 147, 149n463, 161  
*znk* suckle 264  
*zhn* pancreas, kidney suet 259  
*zkw* darkness 250  
     *zky* Dark One 239  
     *znk-hr* Dark-faced One 242  
*zh3* write 153, 176  
     *zh3* writing 437  
*zh3w* scribe 432-33  
*zhb, shb* swallow 251  
  
*s3 s3w* guard, protection 251, 324, 387, 442  
*s3w/s3wt* guard, guardian 241  
*s3hw* god and constellation Orion 153, 171n583  
*s3hw* glorifications, prayers 138  
*s3q* gather, pull together 395n591, 397  
*s3d s3d*-festival 135  
*sjp* account, classify 251  
*s3* magnify, in the sense of increasing prestige or status 70,  
     287  
*s3h* wrap, seal 232  
*s3hw* insignia 398  
*s3h3* install, raise up 203  
  
*s3nh* cause to live 146  
*sw3h* cause to endure 245  
*sw3b* purify 316  
*swt swt*-joint of meat 260  
*swtj* be great, be powerful 260n269  
*swtwt* procession 141  
*sb3* door, doorway 251, 366  
*sb3yt s3t* instruction in writing 420-21  
*sb3* star 246  
*sb3q* brighten 242  
*sbjw* rebels 260, 346  
*sbht* doorway, gateway 251  
*sp3* carrying chair 121n325  
*sp3t* nome 295, 398  
*spr* approach, petition 126, 141  
*sprwt* petitions 91, 126, 141, 147, 160-61  
*sphwt nt spr(w)* rack of (spare) ribs 260  
*sflj* seven 302  
     *sflj-bwj* Seven-horned, epithet of goddess Seshat 302  
*sflj* remove, wipe off 328  
     *sflj md* removal of ointment ritual 328  
*sflj* change clothes 391  
*sm* or *s(tm)* priest 90, 151-52, 288, 400  
     *sm n jtj.f sm*-priest of his father 152  
*sm3* unite, join 243  
     *sm3 t3wj/zm3 t3wj* uniting the Two Lands 150, 362, 366, 446,  
     447  
*sm3* partake 173  
*sm3* renew 243  
*sm33 hrw* make the voice true, justify 235-36, 243, 253  
*smj* report, reporter 251  
*smnh* embellish, clothe 207, 395  
*smt* hear 253  
*smdt* second full moon festival 301  
*snt* sister, used of Isis 349, 372  
*sn-bjt* 259n264  
*snj.j ds.j* my alter ego 238n153  
*snwt* second 301-2  
*snb* health 352, 353, 356  
*snbt snbt*-vase 318, 318n445  
*sn3y* boat-cabin (?) 91, 112  
*sntr* incense 316  
     *sntr* cense, offer incense 299  
*srj 3* Great Ram 246  
*srwd* make healthy, cause to prosper 397  
*srq* breathe, cause to breathe 237, 241, 244, 247  
*srqt* goddess Selket 353  
*sh3* cause to jubilate 248  
*shb* cause to celebrate 311  
*shn* enclose 259  
*shnt shnt*-shrine of Min 402  
*sh3tp* please, propitiate, satisfy 318  
*sh3tp jb* propitiate/satisfy the heart 69, 331  
*shd* illuminate 239, 243, 245  
     *shd h3t* illuminate the corpse 239, 243, 245  
     *shd jsjr* may the Osiris be illuminated 169  
*sh3* remembrance 214

- šht* *ḥtpwt* Field of Offerings 232  
*šht* *ḳwnt* ? Field of Dendera ? 232  
*šḥpr* bring into being 242  
*šḥm* power, powerful 233n137, 235, 242, 245  
   *šḥm rn.s* She of a Powerful Name 233  
   *šḥm*-shrine 170  
   *šḥm*-scepter 118n315, 133n390, 288n343  
*šḥmt* Sekhmet 233, 383  
*šḥn* alight 247  
*šḥn* enclose 259  
*šḥkr* adorn 394  
*šḥd* invert, turn upside-down 253  
*šš* open ? 241  
*šš* *ḥnkwt* setting out the bed 116n309  
*ššḥ* secret 95, 122, 247  
   *ššḥ* make secret 247  
*ššm* guide, show the way 233, 241, 264, 351  
   guidance, leadership 287  
*ššm(w)* (static) divine image, processional divine or royal  
   image *passim*, 69, 121-22, 161, 180-81, 239  
   absent in Ikhernofret stela 91  
   hidden or restricted nature of *ššm* 133  
   *ššm* without *-ḥw* as processional barque 176  
   *ššmw* *špsj* noble image 276, 401  
*ššm(w)-ḥw* processional barque, lit. protected (divine)  
   image §§2.3.2.5, 2.5.3.1, 202, 398  
   absent in Ikhernofret stela 91  
   *ššm-ḥw n nswt-bjt* royal processional barque 142, 179  
   lexicography of boats and barques in Temple texts §2.7,  
   §2.7.2  
*sqḥ* make high, elevate 249  
*stḥ* bring 436  
*stḥ/stḥ* drag 218  
*stḥm* wrap up 168, 390  
*stj* (sweet smelling) odor 277n314, 316  
*stwt* shoot down (sunlight, sunrays) 240  
   *dj stwt* to put (down) sunrays 162, 240, 250  
*stwt* rays, sunbeams 129, 162  
*stp-n-r<sup>c</sup>* Whom-Re-Chose, epithetical element in Throne name  
   of Ramesses II 51  
*sthy-mr:n-ptḥ* Sety-Beloved-of-Ptah, Birth name of Sety I 50  
*skḥp* overlay 178, 368  
*sktt* *Sektet*-barque, Night-barque 175, 229  
*sqḥ* barque stand or repository, lit. that which elevates 101  
*sqr* strike 290, 341  
   *sqr t-ḥd* striking/consecrating the white bread 290, 341  
*sqd* slant 253  
*sqd* sail 110n288  
*sdm* (eye)painting 301n387  
*sdḥt-ntr* divine treasury 384n557. *See also* *ḥtmt-ntr*  
*sdḥtj* suckling, youngster 249  
   *sddt* cause to be a suckling 249  
  
*šs* travel (through) 237  
*š<sup>c</sup>t* letter document 421  
*šw* light, air 128  
   as god Shu 239, 246, 272, 293  
  
*šw m* devoid of, lacking 442  
*šwt* shadow, soul 251  
*šwt-r<sup>c</sup>* sunshade chapel 167-68  
*šbjw* *šbjw*-collar 304n395  
*šbw* meal, *šbw*-bread 173, 371  
*špsj* god Shepsy 285  
*špsj* noble 178, 181  
*šm* go, walk 95n216, 153, 398  
   as possible root for *sšm(w)* (sacred) image, statue 95n216  
*šmt* stride, step (nouns) 129  
*šm<sup>c</sup>jt* singer, fem. title 127  
*šms* follow (a god), bring 202, 390  
   *šms* procession 99n237; or as verb, follow (a god) in  
   procession 180, 221  
   *šmsw* *ḥntj-jmntjw* Followers of Khentyimentiu 221  
   *šmsw* *ḥrw* Followers of Horus 217, 229-30  
   *šmsw r<sup>c</sup>* Followers of Re 245  
*šn<sup>c</sup>* repel, repulse, turn back 251  
*šnj* circle 232  
*šnt* conjuration 441-42  
*šntḥyt* goddess Shenayt, the Mourner 313  
*šnwt* entourage 437  
*šnbt* breast, chest 386  
*šzmw* god Shezmu 385  
*šs* alabaster 178, 368  
*šsp/šzp* receive 214, 247, 371  
*šsp* be bright 247  
   *šzpy* He of the Sun Rays 247  
*šḥ* mysterious, inaccessible 235, 240, 241, 250  
*štyt* *Shetayet*-shrine 337  
*šdj* rescue 242  
  
*t ḥd* white bread 259, 341  
*tḥ* flat land, contrasted with *ḥḥst* upland, hill country 245, 353  
*tḥ-wr* Thinite nome 106-7. *See also* *tḥ-wr*  
*tḥ-ḥnn* Uprisen Land 243, 246  
*tḥ-dsr* sanctified land 84-86, 105, 274, 336, 338-41, 371, 274,  
   336  
*tjt* image, used of statue 74-75  
*twḥ-pt* raising the sky ritual 118, 296  
*twy* Tuwy, Ramesses II's mother 243  
*tpḥt/tpḥt* cavern 244n197, 258  
*tfnwt* moisture, as goddess 245, 246, 293  
*tm* be complete, complete (trans.) 249n221  
   *tmm* entire 228  
*trj* esteem 69  
  
*tḥy* male, husband 232  
*tḥw* wind, breeze, breath, air 127  
   as indicator of divine presence or forgiveness 127-33  
   association with Amun 128  
   ideogram (Sign-list P5) 129  
   in enigmatic inscription in Staircase Inscription 159-60  
   later oracular use 127n353  
*tḥw-wr* Thinite nome, variant form of *tḥ-wr* during reign of  
   Ramesses II 72, 106nn268-269, 120, 159n498, 289  
*tḥw ndm n mḥjt* sweet breath of the north wind 128



- Btj* vizier, oracular god addresses as vizier 126  
*Bnnt* shrine in Osiris and Sokar mysteries 138  
*t(3)z* sinews ? 260  
*tb3* sole 442  
*tbjt* sandals 441  
*tpht* cavern 244n197  
*tf* particle 238n150  
*tnj* uplift, elevate 241, 243, 248  
*tnwt* festival 135  
*tzj* bind 397
- q3* high 235, 248  
*q(3)y* elevated 249  
*qj* form, shape 78  
*qbh* libate 299  
*qbh-smw.f* son of Horus, Qebah-senuef 318  
*qbhw* cool waters 232, 244n189, 315, 317  
*qfdn* ape, baboon 332  
*qm3* create 258, 310n408  
*qnt* strength, victory 245, 352  
*qnjw* portable shrine, palanquin, as part of the *Neshmet*-barque 90, 121  
*qrt, qrrt* cavern 235, 242  
*qrtj, qrrtj* cavern dweller, one who is the cavern 244, 246  
*qsw* bones 316, 397  
*qdw* builder 435-36
- k3* bull 231, 232  
*k3 k3*-spirit, will 72, 132, 126n422, 148, 156, 173, 204, 212, 213, 227, 230, 231, 246, 261n277, 264, 318, 326n468, 328n468, 365, 398, 399, 419, 430, 435-36, 470  
*k3-nht* Strong Bull, royal epithet with the Horus name of the king *passim*  
*k3*-chapel 212, 399  
*k3, k3w* food 260  
*k3-hr-k3* Khoiak 66, 171  
*k3p* roofed 361  
*k3rj* naos, shrine 90, 104, 112, 114, 226, 256, 349, 373, 392, 400  
*k3rj špsj* noble shrine/naos 349  
*k3t* work 228  
*kh3* raise the voice, bellow, rage 252  
*kkw* darkness 239, 364  
*ktwt* cauldron 249
- gbb* god Gebeb as the personification of Earth 239, 259n267, 271, 341  
*wsht gbb* the Hall of Gebeb 66  
*jtj ntrw* father of the gods 340  
*gmj* find, find in sense of revelation or sensing a god's presence 132, 432, 434  
*gšj* migratory 244
- dj ʕwj* place hand(s) upon 301n387  
*dw3* + GN praise, pray to a god 144, 244  
*dw3 rhyt* "the commoners praise ..." as element in rebus 145, §2.5.3.2, 343-35  
*dw3-mwt.f* son of Horus, Dua-mutef 318  
*dw3t* Duat, Underworld 240, 243  
*dw3tjw* Duat-dwellers 242, 28  
*dwj* cry out 237  
*dwn* extend 253  
*db3* envelop 241  
*db3-dmd* Deba-demedj 234-36, 237n145  
*dbn* circle 233  
*dbh* petition, beg 146-47, 214, 250  
*dbh-htpt* table of offerings, menu 258, 337n448, 340, 400  
*dpjw-ʕ* ancestor ancestral 287  
*dpj-trw* festivals that occurred once at year 138n422  
*dmj* town, quay, part of city 434  
*dmd* gather up, collect 295  
*dmd* assembled, gathered 214, 386  
*dmd* the United One, an epithet of the sun god 235, 236  
*dnjt/dnj(t) dnjt-* or fifth-day festival 301n387, 302  
*dr* drive away, repel 240, 242  
*dšrt-šnw* red-haired 232  
*ddw* gift, lit. what is given, in the phrase *m ddw* + KN 214  
*m dd.n* + KN as a gift, lit. as that which KN gave 395
- dt* body 398  
*d3t* ferry across 109n285  
*d3d3t* tribunal 242  
*dʕm* fine gold, electrum 366, 373  
*dwj* call out 244  
*dwt* evil 241  
*db3t* sarcophagus 241  
*dbʕ* finger 153  
*df3w* provisions 246, 356  
*dfdf* weep 241  
*dnb* boundary (marker) 315  
*dhwjtj* Thoth 176, 258, 283, 284, 295, 311, 338, 349, 390, 432  
*wdʕ m3ʕt* Who Decides What is Rightful 371  
*b3w jmntjw* Awesome One? of the Westerners 295  
*nb pt* Lord of the sky 338  
*nb mdw-ntr* Lord of the Divine Word 348  
*nb hmnw* Lord of Hermopolis 284, 338  
*dr* limit 398  
*drt* hand 260  
*dsr* maintain sanctity 242  
*dd* endure 246  
*ddw* statements 436  
*dd-jʕh* name Djedioh 422  
*dd-jw.f-3nh* name Djediuefankh 426, 427, 427n114