

THE GREAT SPHINX AND ITS SECRETS

**HISTORICAL STUDIES IN THE LIGHT OF
RECENT EXCAVATIONS**

By the Same Author

In English :

1. EXCAVATIONS AT GIZA, VOL. I (1929-1930).
2. EXCAVATIONS AT GIZA, VOL. II (1930-1931).
3. EXCAVATIONS AT GIZA, VOL. III (1931-1932).
4. EXCAVATIONS AT GIZA, VOL. IV (1932-1933).
5. EXCAVATIONS AT GIZA, VOL. V (1933-1934).
6. EXCAVATIONS AT GIZA, THE SOLAR BOATS, VOL. VI, PART I (1934-1935).
7. EXCAVATIONS AT GIZA, THE OFFERING-LIST IN THE OLD KINGDOM, VOL. VI, PART II.
8. EXCAVATIONS AT GIZA, A DESCRIPTION OF THE MASTABAS AND THEIR CONTENTS, VOL. VI, PART III.
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THE GREAT SPHINX OF GIZA AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

THE GREAT SPHINX AND ITS SECRETS

***HISTORICAL STUDIES IN THE LIGHT OF
RECENT EXCAVATIONS***

BY

Prof. Dr. SELIM HASSAN, Ph.D. (VIENNA)

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To

My Professor HERMANN JUNKER

This Book is cordially dedicated

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PREFACE

OF all the monuments in which Egypt abounds, there is not one which stimulates the imagination to the same extent as the Great Sphinx of Giza, the magnificent man-headed lion which gazes eternally out over the fertile Valley of the Nile, with its face to the rising sun.

Who has not heard of the Sphinx, the monster whose very name has become a bye-word for mystery? Its features, reproduced in a profusion that would have become wearisome in a lesser work of art, have rendered its appearance familiar to the inhabitants of every civilized country.

It has been the theme of poets, painters, musicians, theologians and historians, and yet, in spite of all that, it remained the silent mystery of the ages, the Great Paradox, being at once the best known and the least known of all the monuments in Egypt. In spite of the multitude of writers who have dealt with the subject of the Sphinx, nothing was known concerning it except its outward appearance, measurements, etc. When it was erected, by whom, for what reason, what did it represent, these were questions which remained unanswered, and served to add to its reputation of mysterious silence.

Speaking personally, the Sphinx has always exercised a great and powerful fascination over my mind, and it had always been the dream of my life to excavate this wonderful monument, in the hope that more modern methods of excavation would succeed in revealing the secrets, which the old slip-shod methods had failed to do. Accordingly, when the way was suddenly opened to me in 1936, the reader can imagine with what eagerness I hastened to set to work on this long-coveted site!

Before proceeding any further, I should like to say a few words on the subject of the art of excavation, according to the methods which we applied here on our Giza site. To be very brief, one might say that the art of successful excavating lies in the observance of these few rules :—

(1) Never leave a site until it is cleared down to the level of the natural rock, or in the sites where rock does not exist, until the undisturbed strata of the soil is reached.

(2) Photograph every object as it is found, *in situ*, for preference. Also photograph the work in all its stages, and keep a full diary and register.

(3) Carefully preserve all sculptured fragments, they may in many cases appear to be of no interest, but often other pieces of the same object will come to light, perhaps far from the original fragment, and if all are carefully preserved, they may in many cases be fitted together,

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(4) Accurately copy *all* inscriptions, even fragmentary ones, immediately. These are the archæologist's most precious finds, and must at all costs be carefully preserved.

(5) Be observant. A thin streak of plaster in a confused mass of mud debris will show the direction of a ruined mud-brick wall. A minute scrap of broken pottery will often date a large monument.

(6) Above all, keep an open mind. What may seem to be a proved fact to-day may wear a very different aspect to-morrow.

These are the rules we have always followed in our excavations. Whether they are successful or not, I leave the reader to judge after reading the following pages.

When I began working upon the Sphinx, there were many wise-heads who laughed, and said that I laboured in vain on a site that had been repeatedly plundered and excavated, and which could not possibly produce any new evidence concerning the Sphinx.

And that was true to a great extent. The Sphinx site certainly had been repeatedly re-worked, and yet it had preserved its secret intact, for the simple reason that the Sphinx itself is an uninscribed monument, except for the granite stela against its breast, which is, after all, an addition made when the Sphinx was already considered as an antiquity. All the previous work had been concentrated upon the Sphinx itself, and only a few metres of its immediate surroundings to the north and south of it had been laid bare. I determined to widen the field of investigation, and examine every inch of the ground in the whole amphitheatre of the monument. It seemed at first to be a hopeless task, but by dint of hard work and patience, not to mention the removal of over a quarter of million cubic metres of sand, the task was at length accomplished.

I am happy to say that the effort revealed more than I even dared to hope for; and moreover, most of the monuments discovered opened up an absolutely new field of research concerning the Sphinx Cult.

Therefore, after ten years' residence actually beside the Sphinx, years spent in daily work and study among the monuments of the Old Kingdom, a complete study of all the previous work ever undertaken in connection with the Sphinx, and finally, after the study of the above-mentioned mass of material newly come to light, I think that the time has come to put the facts as we see them, before the world, and present to the reader the Great Sphinx of Giza as he appears under the searchlight of science.

PREFACE

I am deeply indebted to Prof. Hermann Junker and my obligations are great for his help in the work of revising the original draft of this book.

My cordial thanks are due to my assistant Mohsin Bakir, the Asst.-Professor of Egyptology at the University of Alexandria for his collaboration in undertaking the excavations in the Sphinx area; to Fawzi Ibrahim, the Architect of the Antiquities Department, for drawing the plans of the Sphinx, and to Hassan Klewa, the Director of the Government Press, for the courteous assistance he rendered in connection with the Press.

Special mention, with sincere gratitude, should be made of Miss Edith Dorothy and Hassan Munib of the Government Press for accurately reading the proofs, the latter having diligently and patiently prepared the index and produced the book in its technical form.

To the staff of the Government Press, I tender my warm thanks and acknowledge their efficiency, more particularly the Monotype Section, William Abdel-Sayid, the overseer, and Abbas Hassan, the section holder, of the Composing Department, for supervising the execution of the work.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- A.S.* : Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte (le Caire, 1900).
- A.Z.* : Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Leipzig).
- B.I.F.A.O.* : Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire (le Caire).
- Bull. Inst. d'Égypte* : Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien (le Caire).
- C.E.S.B.M.* : Catalogue of the Egyptian Scarabs in the British Museum.
- C.E.S.P.M.* : Catalogue of the Egyptian Scarabs in the Palestine Museum.
- Cat. Gen.* : Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes de Musée du Caire.
- Dic. Nom. Prop.* : Lieblein, Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques (1871).
- H.S.* : Petrie, Historical Studies.
- J.E.A.* : The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (London, 1914).
- J.N.E.S.* : Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Chicago).
- L.D.* : Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien, C.R. Lepsius.
- M.M.A.* : Mémoires publiés par les Membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire.
- P.S.B.A.* : Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology (London).
- Rec. Trav.* : Recueil de Travaux Relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes (Paris, 1870).
- Rev. Bib.* : Revue Biblique.
- Rev. Egy.* : Revue Égyptologique.
- Rev. Anc.* : Revue de l'Égypte ancienne.
- S.C.* : Petrie, Scarabs and Cylinders with names (British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account, 21st year 1915 (London, 1917).
- S.S.S.* : Egyptian Antiquities Scarabs. An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian Seals and Signet Rings (London, 1906).
- Sphinx* : Sphinx, Revue Critique.
- W.b.* : Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache (Leipzig).

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THE GREAT SPHINX AND ITS SECRETS

Historical Studies in the Light of Recent Excavations

I.—INTRODUCTION

AT a distance of about ten kilometres from modern Cairo lies the Great Sphinx of Giza, in the vicinity of the famous Pyramids, the whole group forming one of the chief wonders of the world. But before attempting to describe this gigantic man-headed lion, let us first examine its surrounding zone.

That part of the rocky ridge which constitutes the necropolis of the Pyramids of Giza, is a section of the extreme eastern edge of the Libyan Plateau, a desolate highland of nummulitic limestone rising to a height of about 40 metres above sea-level. It is an exhilarating site, and commands a magnificent view of the green and fertile Nile Valley, with the chain of the Mokattam Hills in the far distance.

So far as we are aware at present, the oldest tomb in this necropolis is a large mastaba of the First Dynasty, lying about a mile and a half to the south-east of the Great Pyramid. This was discovered in 1904 by M. Barsanti, and excavated by M. Daressy on behalf of the Antiquities Department. Its large size and its similarity to the Tomb of King Zet (First Dynasty) at Abydos, together with the remains of carved ivory objects, stone vases, etc., suggest that it must have belonged to some great noble, if not to a member of the royal family (1).

Near to this tomb, but built on a higher level of the southern ridge, is a tomb of the Second Dynasty, which was discovered by Petrie in 1907, and which he was able to date by the presence of five jar-sealings bearing the name of King Neter-mu of the Second Dynasty (2).

Another tomb on the top of the ridge, lying due south of the Great Pyramid, probably dates to the beginning of the Third Dynasty (3).

(1) PETRIE, "Gizeh and Rifeh", p. 2.

(2) *Ibid*, p. 7.

(3) *Ibid*, p. 7.

It would be extremely interesting to know what a season's methodical excavation would reveal in this place, for the site cannot by any means be exhausted. It was abandoned by Petrie, who was hampered by lack of funds at his disposal, and the necessity for finding a site which would give spectacular results for the British School of Archaeology in Egypt, on whose behalf he was excavating at that time. It is interesting to note that this latter tomb of the Third Dynasty contained a set of marbles for which any modern school-boy would be glad to "swap" his most treasured "glass alleys".

Up till that dynasty, the tombs of this district, though large, were built on a very modest scale, when compared with the artificial mountains which the Kings, Zoser, Huni (?) and Siefu had erected at Sakkara, Meydum and Dahshur. When Khufu, the second King of the Fourth Dynasty, decided to build his gigantic Pyramid, which was destined to make those of the Third Dynasty appear like mere mole-heaps, he chose for his site the Giza Plateau, and, as will be seen, he had excellent reasons for so doing.

First, he needed an abundance of good-quality stone in easily accessible quarries, which was not to be found at Sakkara, where the limestone is of very poor quality. This can easily be seen in the Step Pyramid of Zoser, where the fragile blocks crumble almost at a touch. But the limestone of Giza is of good quality, firm and compact and strikingly free from flaws, a fact which enabled it to be cut into the huge blocks so beloved by the architects of the Fourth Dynasty ⁽¹⁾.

As proof of the excellent quality of the local Giza stone, we need only cite the Sphinx itself, the enormous height and bulk of which are cut from a single piece of rock.

Moreover, this good stone lay almost at the base of the monument which Khufu wished to build, the quarries having come to light in our excavations. This discounts the old theories that the stone was brought from great distances by the united service of the whole nation, which was enslaved for the purpose. In reality, the stone merely needed quarrying, the problem of transport being negligible; and as the men only worked on it during the time when the land was under water from the inundation, and as otherwise they would have been unemployed, it seems that we must hail Khufu as a public benefactor, rather than the merciless tyrant he has hitherto been called!

As for the Turah limestone for the casing, and the granite for the interior work, this could very easily have been floated up to the very foot of the plateau on rafts, during the inundation.

⁽¹⁾ See the blocks forming the core-masonry of the Temple of the Sphinx, particularly those of the southern wall (see p. 25).

Our excavations in the Causeway of Wnas at Sakkara have revealed reliefs which depict large boats transporting heavy granite columns and cornices from Aswan, and destined for the funerary temples of Wnas. These actual columns came to light in the Mortuary and Valley Temples of that King (*A.S.* Vol. XXXVIII, p. 519).

Secondly, such a monument, as Khufu planned, called for a fitting site to display it to perfection. Here again the Giza Plateau filled the requirements. It was high, it was conveniently within reach of both Memphis and Heliopolis, it was already a recognized necropolis, sanctified by the presence of tombs of the First, Second and Third Dynasties, but was not overcrowded like Sakkara, where the tombs are so numerous as to overlap, and we find mastabas of the Old Kingdom built over those of the Archaic Period. Also in Sakkara the ground is honeycombed by vast subterranean necropoli cut in the rock. It is extremely doubtful if the ground in these places would bear the terrific weight of the Great Pyramid. Our excavations at Sakkara have shown that the Pyramids of Wnas and its temple was built over one of these underground necropoli, but this Pyramid is on a much smaller scale than that of the Great Pyramid (*see my "Report on the Sakkara Excavations near the Pyramids of Wnas and Zoser"*) (1).

Therefore, then, Khufu erected his Pyramid at Giza, and as far as we are aware, this was the first great monument to be erected there.

For the remainder of the Fourth Dynasty, the kings and nobles all built their tombs in the necropolis which took its name from Khufu's Pyramid: "*The Necropolis of the Horizon of Khufu*", an appellation by which it continued to be known during the Old Kingdom (especially the western cemetery).

The northern limit of the necropolis is marked by the Great Pyramid group. The three pyramids are built on a slope of the rock, so that the Second Pyramid lies on a higher level of ground than that of Khufu, while the Third Pyramid was built on a still higher level, and this gives them the appearance of having very little difference in their heights, when seen from the east, although, in reality, the difference in the heights of the Great and Third Pyramids is enormous.

Each Pyramid forms the nucleus of a necropolis consisting of the tombs of the family, nobles and employees of the king who built the parent Pyramid. The necropolis of Khufu lies to the west, east and south of the Great Pyramid. That of Khafra lies to the south and east of the Second Pyramid (Pls. I-IV), with the exception of a few tombs cut in the rock face that forms the western girdle-wall of the Second Pyramid. This necropolis

(1) *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 521.

is partly divided from that of Khufu by means of a shallow trench cut along the northern-side of the causeway of the Second Pyramid, and to which we shall have occasion to refer to later. The western limit of Khafra's necropolis is the cliff lying south of his Pyramid, and east of that of Men-kaw-Ra, and which has been utilized by many members of the royal family, who have cut out their tombs in its face.

To the south-east of Khafra's necropolis lies the Pyramid of Queen Khent-kawes (1), and surrounding it and flanking the Pyramid city on its northern limit is her necropolis (Fig. 1).

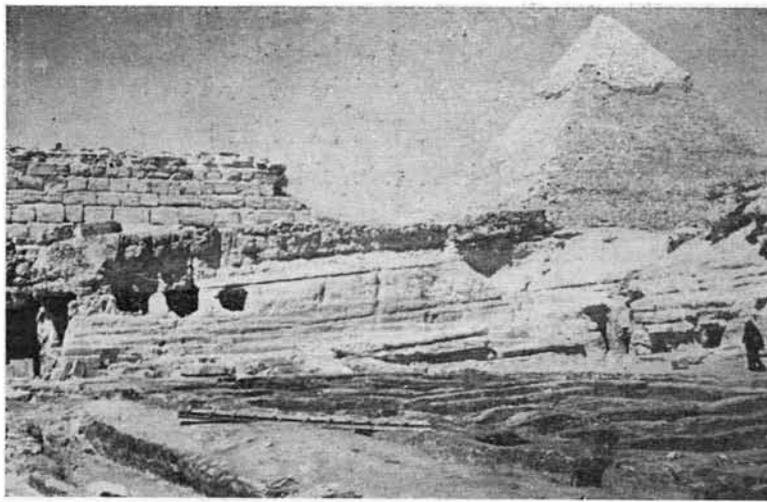


FIG. 1.—THE PYRAMID OF QUEEN KHENT-KAWES (EASTERN FACE)

poli as a whole bore the name of Rostaw, from which the God Osiris probably derived his title of "Lord of Rostaw" (3). But recent excavations have proved that the actual cavity of the Sphinx and its temple was called "*Setepet*", the "Elect" (place of the God). Let us then pause awhile in the "Elect" and examine the Sphinx as it is revealed by the light of past and present excavations.

The Sphinx itself lies at the north-eastern edge of the necropolis, a little to the south-east of the Great Pyramid. Actually it lies in Khufu's territory, but this alone does not prove that he erected it, as all these different parts of the necropolis have their encroaching monuments. Beyond the Sphinx, and again to the east, are the "modern" villages of Nazlit-es-Semman (Pl. V) and Kafr Batran, the former having existed in ancient times under the name of Busiris (2). The necro-

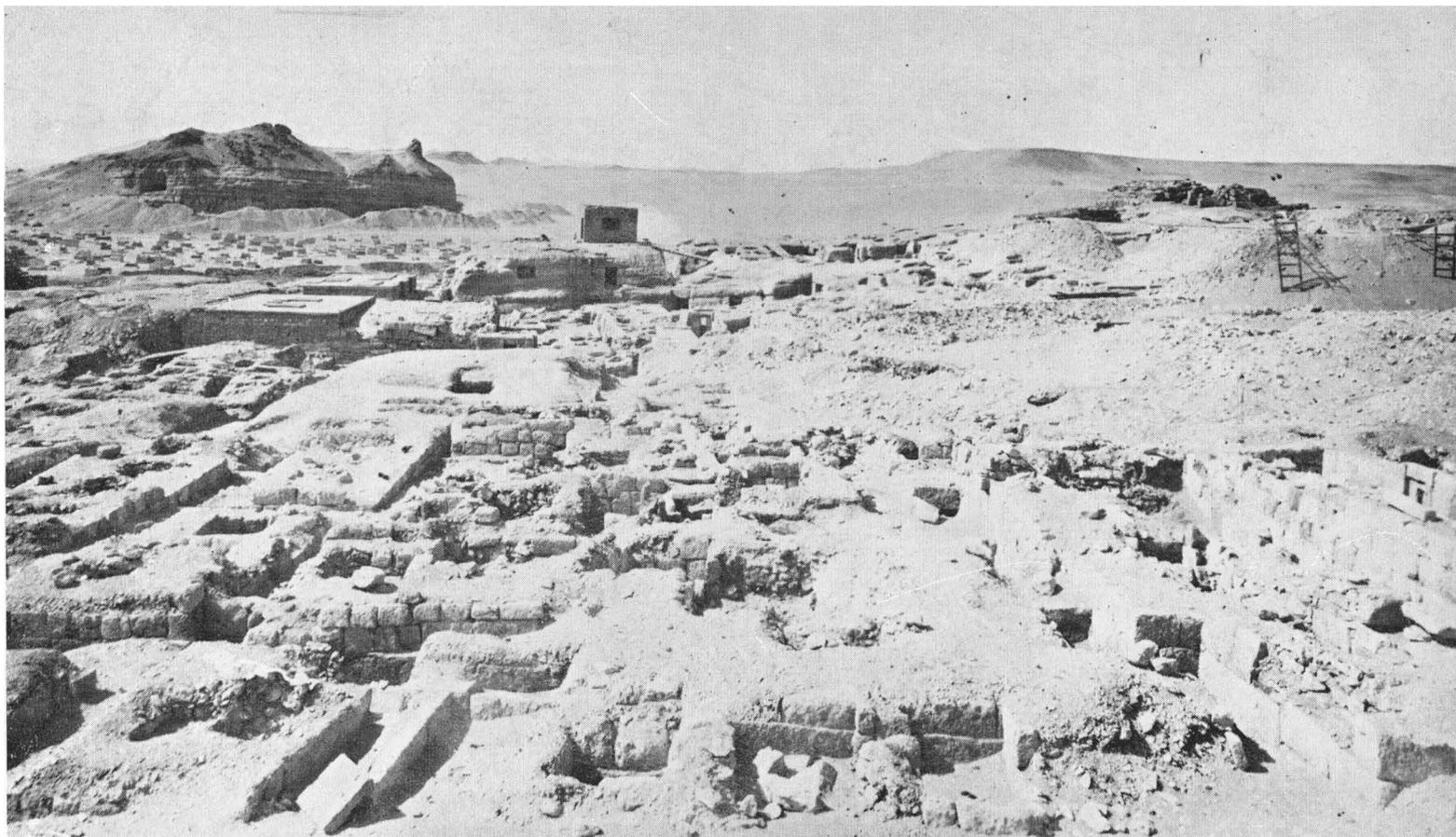
(1) For the history of this Pyramid, see my "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. IV.

(2) See the Græco-Roman inscriptions found near the Sphinx, p. 123.

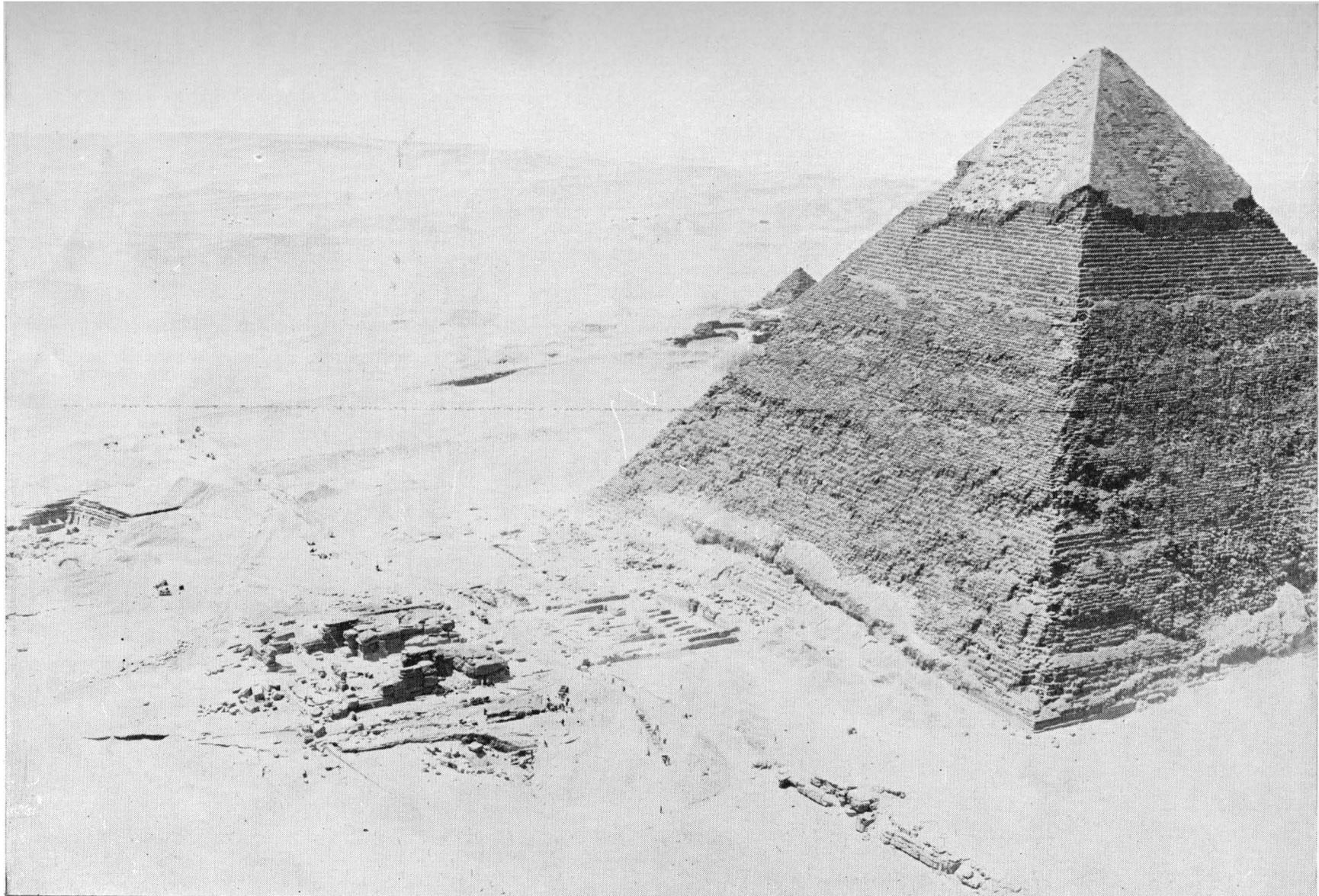
(3) cf. GAUTHIER, "*Dictionnaire Géographique*", Vol. III, pp. 126-127; SETHE, "*Urkunden der 18 Dynastie*" (Translation), p. 71, Note 2.



VIEW OF MORTUARY TEMPLE AND CAUSEWAY OF KHAFRA



CEMETERY OF KHAFRA AND SOUTHERN ROCKY RIDGE



THE SECOND PYRAMID AND ITS TEMPLE



THE NECROPOLIS OF GIZA LOOKING NORTH



THE MODERN VILLAGE OF NAZLIT-ES-SEMMAN

II.—THE EXCAVATION OF THE SPHINX IN ANCIENT TIMES

IT had long been supposed by many archaeologists that the first excavation of the Sphinx took place during the reign of Khufu, but the text of the inscription, brought forward as evidence for this theory, has proved to be a late forgery of the New Kingdom priests, and we can no longer rely on it for historical accuracy (*see p. 111*). As far as the Sphinx is concerned, we may dismiss the evidence of its age as worthless, unless further authentic evidence comes to light to confirm it.

The first historical evidence of the excavation of the Sphinx, of which we really possess material evidence of the truth, occurs in the time of Thothmes IV of the Eighteenth Dynasty, who set forth the story of his undertaking on the Granite Stela against the breast of the statue. Perhaps his father, Amenhotep II, also made some clearance at the time when he erected the temple in which he dedicated his famous stela. Breasted and Erman were inclined to doubt the validity of the Granite Stela, deeming it to be a Saitic restoration, but Spiegelberg overrules this supposition ⁽¹⁾, and explains some of the mistakes and irregularities of the text as being due to careless restoration after the stela had suffered wanton damage by the fanatical orders of Akhenaton.

However, our excavations made in the zone of the Sphinx in 1936-1937 prove conclusively the claims of Thothmes IV.

The measures taken by this Pharaoh for the preservation of the monument were very ingenious, and probably proved effective for some considerable time. After having cleared away the sand actually encumbering the image, he built a mud-brick wall surrounding it, at a distance of about 10 metres from the flanks of the creature. At about an equal distance from this barrier, and on a somewhat higher level of ground, he built another wall, higher and thicker than the first. At a still greater distance, and running south and east, so as to encompass the Temple of Khafra as well, was a third wall of even greater thickness. In some places these walls passed over the tombs of the Old Kingdom, as, for instance, in the case of the Tomb of Weteth-hetep, where the entrance is completely blocked by a part of one of these walls, and only a portion of the drum of the doorway is visible ⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ SPIEGELBERG, " *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*", 1904.

⁽²⁾ See my " *Excavations at Giza*", Vol. II, p. 1.

Therefore, it seems that the architects of Thothmes IV had evolved a system of three great barrages, designed to hold back the sand as a dam holds back water. A considerable portion of these walls is still standing, and three facts prove that they were undoubtedly the work of the architects of Thothmes IV (Fig. 2).



FIG. 2.—THE WALLS OF THOTHMES IV

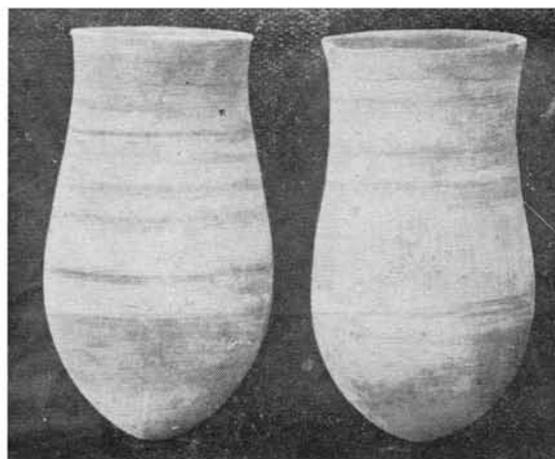


FIG. 3.—EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY POTTERY

First, the pottery, found beside these walls and sometimes actually embedded in their fabric, is of the Eighteenth Dynasty Type (Fig. 3).

Secondly, the stelae set in these walls all belong to the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty types, and the earliest specimens found by us is the magnificent series representing Thothmes IV adoring the local gods.

Thirdly, the most conclusive proof of all is that the bricks of these walls are of the typical Eighteenth Dynasty size and shape, and some of them are stamped with the Cartouche of Thothmes IV (Fig. 4).

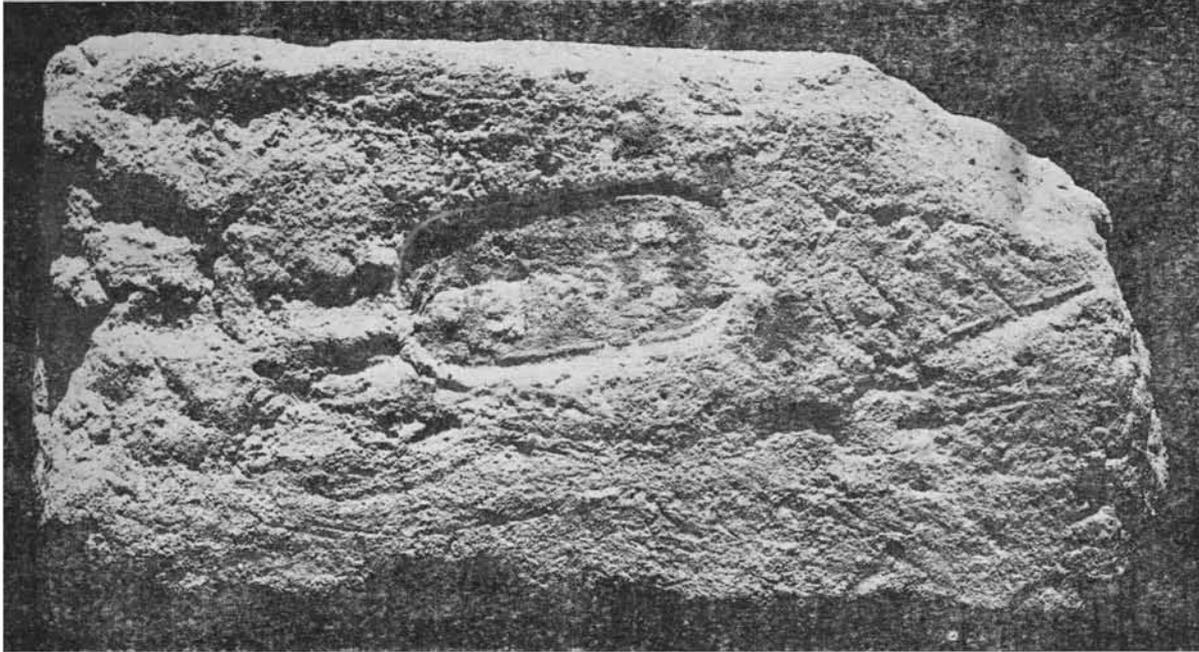


FIG. 4.—A BRICK WITH THE CARTOUCHE OF THOTHMES IV

We must, however, state the fact that while Thothmes should be given the credit for having carried out an ingenious scheme for the preservation of this most interesting monument, yet he cannot escape blame for the scant consideration and reverence which he displayed towards his great predecessor, Khafra; for the very stela, on which he sets forth his devotion to the God Hor-em-akhet, is carved on an architrave stolen from the Valley Temple of Khafra. In fashioning this stela, the mason had merely dressed one side in order to receive the inscriptions, leaving the reverse in its original state, and thus betraying both its origin, and the mentality of its donor. It contrasts Thothmes most unfavourably with his father, Amenhotep II, who venerated the memory of the kings of the Fourth Dynasty (*see* the Stela of Amenhotep II, Pl. XXXVIII).

From a paragraph in a letter of instructions from an official to his subordinate, we learn that Rameses II also carried out repairs on the Sphinx. The letter reads (1):—

“I have heard that thou hast taken eight labourers who were working in the ‘House of Thoth of Rameses Meri-Amon, Life, Health, Prosperity’! Satisfied with Truth in Memphis. Thou shalt deliver them to draw stone for the Sphinx (Hwl) in Memphis.”

(1) Translation: BREASTED, “*Ancient Records*”, Vol. III, p. 224; Text; SPIEGELBERG, “*Rec. Trav.*”, Vol. XVII, p. 158.

Spiegelberg says that there is no doubt that the letter is referring to the Great Sphinx. Unfortunately, it is not exactly clear if the instructions are to quarry stones for the Sphinx itself, or for some building in its neighbourhood, but the former conclusion is the most probable.

We have already seen that Thothmes IV had cleared away the sand from the monument, and so perhaps later, Rameses repaired the eroded portions of the paws with great blocks of Turah limestone, which are still visible beneath the late, final casing of small blocks. The two reparations are quite distinct from one another. Some archaeologists ascribe the first reparation to Thothmes I, which is quite logical.

The most peculiar thing about Rameses in this letter (and undoubtedly one of the most honest actions in his life) was that he had apparently ordered stone to be *quarried*, and not to be "borrowed" from other monuments, as was his usual habit! But perhaps this event occurred in the beginning of his reign, before he had become accustomed to impiety, and filled with the desire of erecting more and more monuments, a desire which later blinded him to the usurpation of the works of his ancestors. It must also be remembered that Rameses came of a family of devotees of the Sphinx, as the monuments left there by his father, Seti I, his son, Mer-en-Ptah, and himself, show. Moreover, his eldest son, Kha-em-Wast, who predeceased him, was buried in the near neighbourhood of the Sphinx.

Unfortunately, Petrie discovered instances where Rameses II had robbed the Giza monuments! The basement of the western hall of the Temple of Ptah at Memphis was built of red granite casing-stones that must have been taken from the lower courses of the Second Pyramid⁽¹⁾. Evidently Rameses thought that the generosity, which he displayed towards the monuments of Giza in the beginning of his reign, demanded a little repayment in his later years.

We may as well mention here that Rameses II had an Overseer of Works, named May, who seems to have made up in technical skill what he lacked in conscience. He was attached to the Temple of Heliopolis, which he built at his Master's command, using the Pyramid and Mortuary Temple of Khafra as his quarry! As if to prove how little he cared about the vandalism he was committing, he had the audacity to leave two well-cut inscriptions on the actual scene of his crimes. That is to say on the cliff face to the north and west of the Second Pyramid.

The northern inscription, which is the longest, reads: "The Builder of the Temple, 'Rameses-Shines-in-the-House-of-the-Prince' (in Heliopolis), May, the Justified, the son of the Director of the Works, Bakenamon, of Thebes".

⁽¹⁾ PETRIE, "*Memphis*", Vol. I, p. 6.

The western inscription reads : " The Director of the Works of the House of Ra (Heliopolis), May ".

According to Baikie (1), Bakenamon, the father, was doing in Thebes the same evil deeds that his son was performing in the Giza district ; so it seems that they were a hardened pair of sinners in that direction !

Not content with flaunting his name in our faces at his actual scene of labour, May appears to have had the audacity to dedicate a stela to the Sphinx, a fragment of which came to light in our excavations (Fig. 5).

Only the left-hand side of the stela has survived, but enough remains to show that it was originally divided into two registers, the upper one of which bore a representation of the Sphinx couchant upon a flat pedestal. Below was a vertical inscription, of which we have only the mutilated remains of the first three lines.

These lines read : " Adoration to thy Ka, O Ra-Hor-akhty, to the Ka of the Director of the Works of the House of Ra, Chief Artisan in Rameses (II) . . . the Great House of the Prince, May . . . Ra-Hor-em . . . "

From the similarity of the name and the titles to those given in the graffiti beside the Second Pyramid, and the style of the work, I do not think that we need have any hesitation in ascribing this to the obnoxious May.

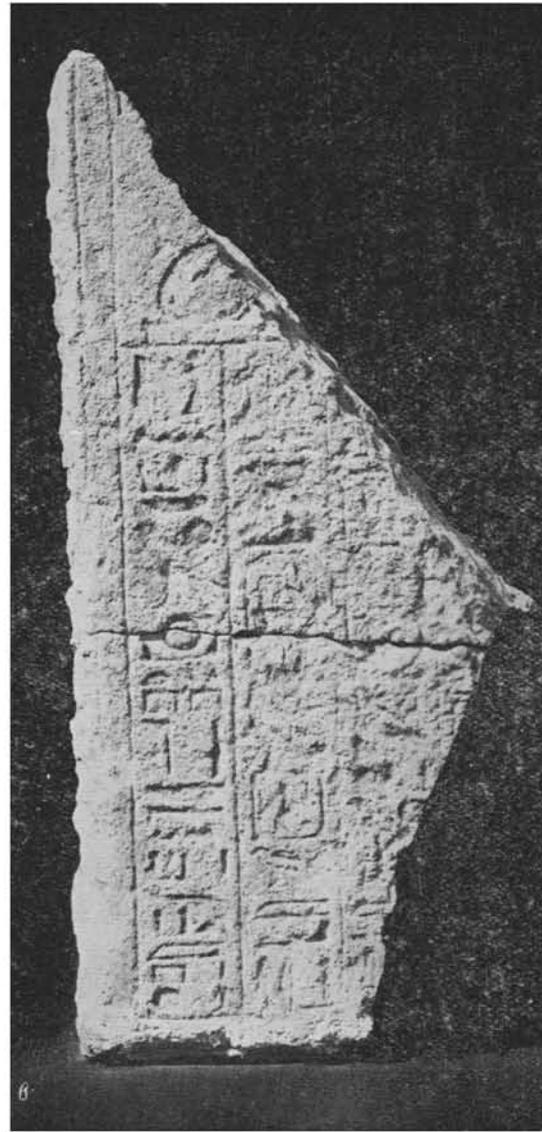


FIG. 5.—THE STELA OF MAY

(1) BAIKIE, " *Egyptian Antiquities in the Nile Valley* ", p. 134.

A large votive ear-tablet, dedicated to the Sphinx under the name of Horus, also appears to belong to May, for it is inscribed: "Made by May".

It is the largest specimen of a votive ear that has so far come to light in our excavations (Figs. 6, 30).

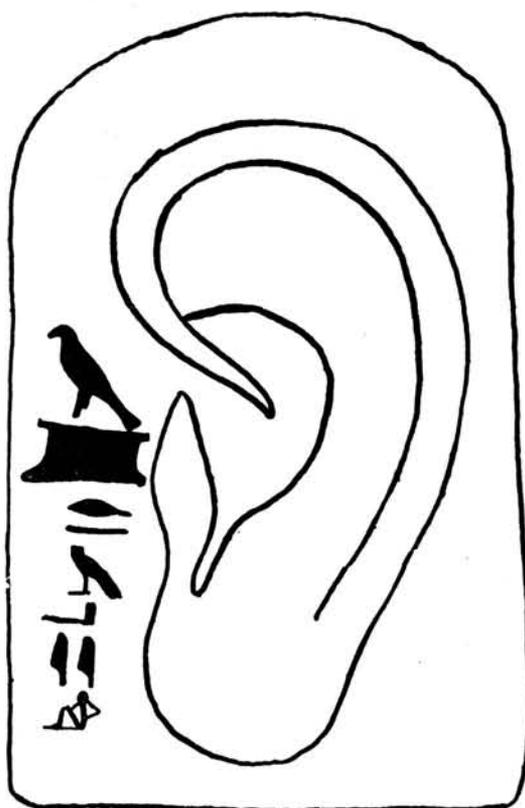


FIG. 6.—THE EAR-TABLET OF MAY

Perhaps after having completed his work of destruction, May thought that he had better come to an understanding with his god; and we can imagine him requesting the Sun-god to look only at the beauty of the temple which he had built for him in Heliopolis, and not to trouble his divine mind about such a trifling matter as to where the stone, from which it was constructed, came from!

We have no record of any clearance having been made around the Sphinx during the Saitic Period, which is very strange, considering the esteem in which the ancient monuments were held at that time, and the fact that we have important monuments of the Saitic Period in the near vicinity to the Sphinx. Perhaps the walls of Thothmes IV still held good, and the guardians of the statue had been able to keep the sands at bay. It is significant that Herodotus who visited Egypt under the Persian

Dominion, and who had so much to say about the Pyramids and their neighbourhood, completely ignores the Sphinx, although we know that its worship was flourishing at that period, and we even have records of its priesthood (*see* p. 119). Perhaps the monument was again under repairs, and so "not at home to visitors". Or perhaps the "Father of History" was unfortunate in his choice of a dragoman, and fell into the hands of one of those unpleasant fellows common to all ages and climes, whose sole ambition is to rush his victims around the monuments as quickly as possible, so that he may be free to seek fresh prey.

The monuments tell us that much work was carried out around the Sphinx during the Græco-Roman Period, not all of which was in the best of taste. As before mentioned, the ugly outer casing of the statue has been attributed to this period, but in justice it must be said that there does not seem to be any reason to blame the Ptolemaic architects for this, as it is probably Roman work. Under Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180) and Septimus Severus (A.D. 193-211),

the pavement of the Sphinx Court was restored ; while under Antoninus (A.D. 138-161) and Verus (A.D. 130-169), the retaining walls had been reinforced. These facts are known to us from inscriptions found in the immediate neighbourhood of the Sphinx (1).

During this period the Sphinx enjoyed a vogue as a popular place of pilgrimage, which probably continued until the break-up of the ancient faith. Thereafter, we hear little of the statue, which remained buried up to its neck in the sand until recent times. But it must always be remembered that some traces of the cult of the Sphinx remained in the country by tradition, and was mentioned by the Arab historians (2).

(1) VYSE, "*Operations carried on at the Pyramids*", Vol. III, p. 119.

(2) See ALI PASHA MUBARAK, "*Khitat Misr*".

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III.—MODERN EXCAVATIONS

THE French engineers of Napoleon's Expedition were supposed to have made a considerable excavation in front of the Sphinx, and had discovered a door, just at the very time when they were compelled to suspend their operations. Some of the Arabs of the neighbourhood, who claimed to have been present at that time, told Mariette that they had seen this door, which, they said, led into the body of the Sphinx. Others went one better, and said that it led up to the Second Pyramid!

What they actually saw was most probably the Granite Stela of Thothmes IV, which, to the untutored mind, may bear some resemblance to a door, and the details were supplied by an active imagination and the hope of a liberal reward.

The story of the door leading up to the Second Pyramid may, however, be a lingering tradition of the covered corridor of the causeway, which certainly did exist, and of which a very small portion of the eastern extremity still remains.

In 1816, Captain Caviglia commenced to excavate the Sphinx, starting his excavations from the north by digging a deep trench towards the shoulder of the statue. He experienced great difficulty as well as danger to the lives of his men and himself, by reason of the loose sand, which threatened at every moment to pour into the trench and bury them all. But by means of wooden planks, he was able to hold back the sand sufficiently to allow him to reach the base of the statue. By this means, he was able to take the measurements of the height of the monument from the pavement to the top of the head. He also noted the double layer of casing on the body, and the remains of the red colour with which it had been painted. The trench which he made was 20 feet wide at the top, but only about 3 feet wide at the bottom, and as it was such a constant source of peril to all concerned, Caviglia decided to abandon operations for the time being.

Later, however, he undertook excavations on a much larger scale, working from the front of the Sphinx. He employed between sixty to one hundred workmen, and worked from the beginning of March until the end of June.

The first discovery of any importance was a fragment of the beard of the Sphinx and the head of the uraeus from its brow. A little later, he brought to light the Granite Stela of Thothmes IV and two limestone stelae of Rameses II in the small temple between the paws. A stone lion was found *in situ* as though guarding the entrance to the temple, also fragments of other lions and the head of a small sphinx. All these objects, as well as the stelae and the

masonry of the temple, were painted red. Clearing eastwards, he soon came to the granite altar between the paws. According to the description of it and the illustration given by Vyse (1) this altar had a superstructure, which is now missing.

Near to it he found some small objects, including a libation tank, an offering-table, and a "stone owl". This latter was either a fragment of inscribed stone bearing the sign  =M, or else a votive hawk, which Caviglia mistook for an owl.

Caviglia mentioned that the granite altar bore traces of fire, when discovered, and suggests that these came from the burnt offerings. On some of the stelae which we discovered in this neighbourhood, worshippers are shown presenting burnt offerings to the Sphinx.

After much difficulty, and in constant danger from the shifting sands, Caviglia then cleared eastwards along the paws, noting the Greek graffiti inscribed upon them, and continued, still in an easterly direction, for over one hundred feet. Here he came to a spectacular staircase

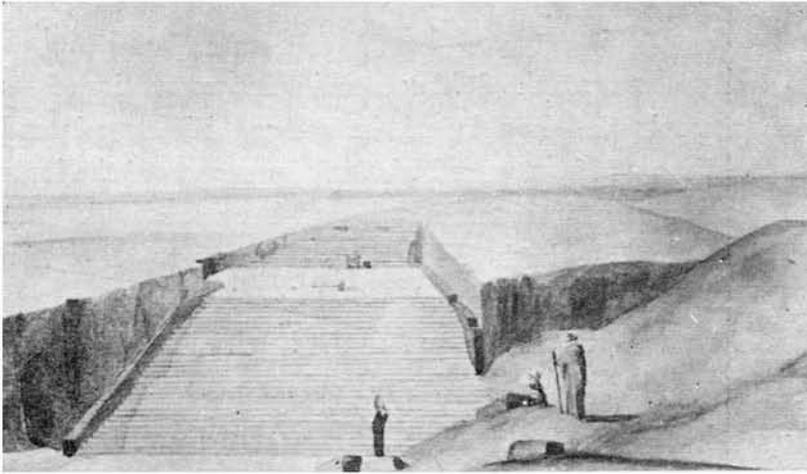


FIG. 7.—STAIRS LEADING TO THE LEVEL OF THE PLAIN

of thirty steps leading to a landing, from which a further flight of thirteen steps ascended to the level of the plain (Fig. 7). This staircase, which was flanked by mud-brick walls, was of very late construction, and even contained stones usurped from other Greek buildings in the neighbourhood. On the landing of the staircase was a small erection that looked like a cross between an auctioneer's rostrum and a

church pulpit, and which boasted of two columns, which, however, did nothing to improve its appearance. On it was inscribed a poem in honour of the Sphinx (*see* p. 122).

Before finally abandoning his task, Caviglia traced the approach to the Sphinx for another 135 feet and stated that it took the form of a ramp, flanked on the south by a mud-brick wall.

From this it will be seen that the temple situated in front of the Sphinx must have been choked with debris, and completely buried at a very remote time. Indeed, it seems to have disappeared before the Eighteenth Dynasty, for when Amenhotep II built his temple

(1) VYSE, "Operations carried on at the Pyramids", Vol. III, Pl. DI.

to the north of the Sphinx, he actually laid his foundations in such a way as to bridge the western end of the northern passage of the Old Kingdom temple, which must have been completely choked up with debris to allow him to do so (*see pp. 149, 150*). Thus, in the Roman Period, they apparently built their staircase and ramp right over the width of the temple, and were probably totally unaware of its existence.

With the exception of the lower part of the granite altar, and the Stela of Thothmes IV, all the monuments discovered by Caviglia have disappeared, some dispersed among the museums of the world, while others are untraced. Howard Vyse sent the two stelae of Rameses II to London, but by some mystery, to which no one seems to know the answer, they are now to be seen in the Louvre (*Fig. 8*) ⁽¹⁾.

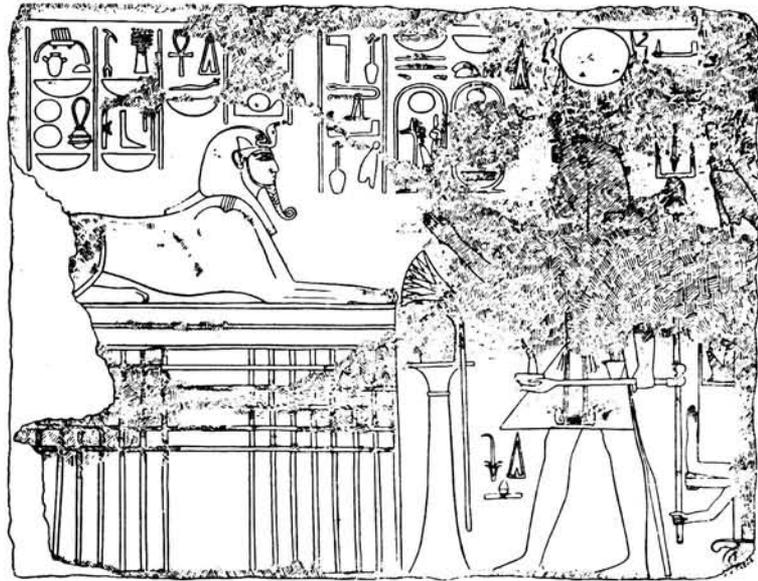


FIG. 8. -THE STELA OF RAMESES II

In the year 1853, Mariette began to examine the Sphinx, but did not make a thorough clearance of the monument, therefore, the conclusions that he reached are mostly erroneous. One of his theories was that the Sphinx was a natural phenomena of Nature, and that all that the sculptor had done was to touch up the head, which, he admits, was skilfully done. He noticed the double layer of casing on the paws, which, he decided, was originally done to hide the faults in the rock. He also noted that the monument had been repaired several times, first under Thothmes IV, and then at intervals, down to the final unsightly restoration made in Græco-Roman times.

According to his opinion, it was this continual adding of coats of masonry that was the cause of the great disproportion between the head, body and paws.

In attempting to solve the riddle of the blind chambers at the sides of the Sphinx, he makes the absurd statement that they were designed to support the curve of the belly! And this notwithstanding the fact that the flanks of the creature lie flat along the ground for their entire length.

⁽¹⁾ See BOREAUX'S Guide, "*Antiquities Egyptiennes*", Vol. I, pp. 62, 63.

Mariette also shared the general opinion that there is a hidden chamber concealed in or under the Sphinx. He denied the fact that the Sphinx rests upon a pedestal in the manner in which it is shown upon the stelae; and moreover, he must have been entirely ignorant of the existence of the Temple of the Sphinx, for he declared that the monument was designed on a large scale and lacked detail, as it was only intended to be viewed from a distance. He also gravely stated that the sand, with which the Sphinx was encumbered when he saw it, was not wind-borne, but had been deposited there artificially; when, by whom and for what reason, he omits to tell us.

Nevertheless, Mariette's work was a step in the right direction, and most of the errors, into which he fell, are due to the fact that he was working in the half dark. It is quite impossible to form an accurate opinion of a monument until both it and its surroundings are cleared from sand and debris right down to the level of the natural rock.

In his report on the excavations which he carried out at the Sphinx, Maspero gives the early history of the statue, so far as it was known to him ⁽¹⁾, and relates the details of its previous excavations, but adds nothing new to the facts published by Caviglia and Mariette.

He then goes on to tell us of the two motives which led him to undertake the task of excavating the Sphinx. First, all the work of the Antiquities Department was being carried out in Upper Egypt, and thus was inaccessible to those tourists who do not travel further than Cairo. He felt that it was only just to provide something of interest for these people, and decided that the best present he could offer them was the spectacle of the Sphinx revealed.

His second reason was, as he puts it: "The Sphinx has not yet told us all his secrets", and he goes on to say that Pliny, on the testimony of an Alexandrian historian, was of the opinion that it contained the tomb of a king called Harmakhis.

The Arab writers were also convinced that the Sphinx covered a subterranean chamber, which they expected to find full of treasure. It was partly this idea which prompted Caviglia to undertake the excavation of the Sphinx, and some aged Arabs of the district showed Maspero a deep hole which Perring had violently forced in the back of the Sphinx, in an attempt to find this supposed hidden chamber. He argued that perhaps one might recognize a grain of truth in the tradition related by Pliny and the Arabs. The monuments, upon which the Great Sphinx is figured, *i.e.* the Stela of Thothmes IV and that of Khufu's Daughter (the Inventory Stela), show the Sphinx couchant upon a pedestal as high as the animal itself, and decorated with the panelling so beloved by the architects of the Old Kingdom. The Egyptian artists did

(1) MASPERO, "*Etudes de Mythologie et Archæologie Egyptiennes*", Vol. I, p. 256.

not change the form of their gods from mere caprice ; therefore, if they represented the Sphinx as being couchant upon a pedestal, it very probably was so (*see* p. 81, Fig. 66). This does not mean to say that it rested upon an isolated cube, free-standing on all sides, like the pedestal of an ordinary statue. It was sufficient that the rock was cut down vertically on three sides, or even on the side that faced the plain only, for the Egyptians to consider it to be seated upon a pedestal as represented on the Stela of Thothmes IV ⁽¹⁾ (*see* Pl. XI).



FIG. 9.—A SMALL COPPER VOTIVE SPHINX (*see* p. 36)

If we admit the existence of the pedestal, the story related by Pliny would not be impossible, and the tomb might exist, not in the body of the Sphinx itself, but in the rectangular mass on which it was couched. Moreover, if the tomb did not exist, Maspero rightly considered that he had the hope of discovering some important fact concerning the Sphinx. He asks that if the Sphinx itself was repeatedly buried in the sand, how much more rapid would be the burial of its pedestal ? Perhaps it had not been visible since the time of Khafra. It was certainly forgotten by the time of Thothmes IV, and he did not descend lower than the paws. Maspero then states that the Sphinx is the most ancient monument in Egypt, and argues that if it had a pedestal in which tombs were cut, they must have been buried at such a remote period, perhaps before the erection of the Pyramids, that some of them might have escaped pillage.

He then pointed out what a new field of investigation this hypothesis opened up, and pleads that the subject be given careful study.

He says : “ Nothing is easier than to put it (the theory) into practice. The clearance made beside the Sphinx leads to bed-rock, upon which the paws of the animal rest. All that is needed is to push some trenches a little distance to the right and left, and especially in front, under the steps of Hadrian (A.D. 117-138). If one encounters only the rock, this hypothesis is false, and one is limited to bringing to light one of the most astonishing works of antiquity. If, on the contrary, one encounters sand at a distance of eight or ten metres below the level of the paws, the pedestal exists, and who knows what one may hope to find ”.

⁽¹⁾ For the real explanation of this pedestal, *see* p. 26 and Pl. XV.

Holding these theories, Maspero has strong reasons for attacking the Sphinx site, but was faced by a great difficulty, namely the shortage of the funds placed at his disposal, which he hesitated to employ on a work which, after all, might not produce any certain results. However, he found a way out of the difficulty by appealing to the generosity of the public, making an appeal on behalf of the Sphinx, as he had previously done in 1884 on behalf of the work at Luxor. The "*Journal de Débats*" took upon itself to open a subscription for this object in France, and M. Renan had waxed eloquent on the interest that the proposed excavations would afford. The sum asked for was 15,000 francs, which seemed to Maspero to be sufficient for the first step. This amount was collected and placed at his disposal within three days.

His plan of campaign was to clear the Sphinx down to the level of the rock, thus restoring the monument to the state in which it was in the middle of the Second Century A.D. The walls were to be repaired in the places where they were damaged, so as to check the encroachment of the sand, and enable the sum of a few hundred francs, spent annually, to keep the monument clean and neat.

When this clearance had been attained, he intended to experiment with the trenches, in order to see if the pedestal really existed or not. In the event of finding the pedestal, he intended to raise a further subscription, which, as he put it, would give all Europe the chance of sharing in the honour of the discovery. The 15,000 francs, however, were barely sufficient to clear away such a vast amount of sand, and it was found necessary to modify the procedure usually adopted. Formerly, the debris taken from the monuments, was dumped to right and left of the excavations, but it soon became imperative to transport it as far as possible on to the plain, in order that the waters of the next inundation might carry it away.

Maspero was able to purchase a set of waggons and about 800 metres of rails from El-Daïra el-Sania, at a very cheap rate. Instead of transporting these to Luxor as he had originally intended, he brought them to Giza during the last days of December 1885, and the first trench was opened in the second week of January 1886, beginning at a distance of about 60 metres from the chest of the Sphinx.

As soon as the work was commenced, Maspero's duties as Inspector called him to Upper Egypt, and he was compelled to leave the work in charge of the Reis of the Pyramid Guards, under the supervision of Emil Brugsch Bey, the Keeper of the Museum.

He had no uneasiness in thus leaving the work, for, in his opinion, it was not a task requiring a great amount of archaeological skill, being merely a matter of re-exposing the ground already worked by Caviglia and Mariette. The Reis of Sakkara, Rubi Hamzawi Mohammed Abu Hegazi and Mustafa, were called to collaborate with Atwa Faïd, the Reis of the Pyramids, and they were considered as capable as anyone for removing the sand, provided that an employee of the Museum would pass by every week to examine the rails and waggons.

Brugsch Bey did his work well, but after fifteen days of excavation, without having reached the staircase, he became impatient, and moved the work to beneath the chin of the Sphinx. Results were quickly forthcoming, and most of what Caviglia had seen, the Stela of Thothmes IV, and the little temple between the paws, were again laid bare.

But the modification of Maspero's original plan had mixed results. On one hand, it was disappointing, as it considerably augmented the expenses. On the other hand, it gave great joy to the tourists and the people of Cairo, arousing their interest in what Maspero quaintly terms "a Platonic way", except for one Colonel of the Indian Army, who was ready to put up a relatively large sum of money for the work, through the hands of Mr. Moncrieff. Apart from this instance, no one subscribed.

The fellahin, as well as the people of Cairo, refused, and still do refuse, to believe that the excavations were carried on merely in the interests of science. Twenty stories of hidden treasure, originated by Makrizi and Abdel-Latif El-Boghdadi, were revived among them. According to the most "authentic" account, Maspero was searching for the cup of Solomon, the Son of David, which was buried under the Sphinx. This cup was said to have been cut from a single onyx of great size, and possessed peculiar properties.

Liquid that was poured into it at once began to spin round, and if it turned from right to left, it was a sign of prosperity, but if the liquid turned from left to right, it was an omen of calamity. It was not explained how the Cup of Solomon came to be hidden in the Sphinx. Anyhow, the Afreets (demons) who guarded it were apparently playing a bad joke on Maspero, for he never found this mysterious and most useful cup.

The first part of the programme was then put well under the way of execution, but by the middle of May, the waggons and system of rails were found to be inadequate; therefore, Maspero bought a set of Decauville cars, larger and more solid than those he had previously employed, and said how deeply he regretted not having used these waggons from the start. Their purchase was the last act of his administration, and he was of the opinion that had he possessed them earlier, he could have conducted many of the excavations which he had been compelled to refuse.

The clearance was almost finished when the diggers were sent back to their village in Upper Egypt, as there was no prospect of finding anything new. In concluding, Maspero stated that in his opinion, long months would have to elapse before anything of fresh interest was reached, and the truth or otherwise of his hypothesis could be proved. After he was recalled, the work of excavating the Sphinx was undertaken by Grebaut, but after bringing to light the walls examined by Mariette in 1888, he abandoned the excavations a few weeks before his death; and thus the problem remained practically as Maspero had found it.

From this account it will be seen that Maspero also toyed with the idea of the subterranean chamber and buried treasure. Yet he was the first one to attempt to clear the Sphinx on anything like scientific lines, and it is unfortunate that it was not until the very end of his administration that he hit on a sound method of procedure. But we cannot share his optimism in leaving the work in the charge of his Reises, excellent men though they were. An archæologist has a heavy responsibility to bear, an obligation to the people of the Past and to his own generation, and it is only the faithful fulfilment of those trusts that justifies him in unearthing what the sand has so long covered and preserved.

The next interval between the clearances of the Sphinx was, so far as we know, the shortest one, and in 1925 M. Baraize was entrusted by the Antiquities Department to carry out



FIG. 10.—THE EASTERN PROTECTIVE WALL
BUILT BY M. BARAIZE

excavations there on their behalf. M. Baraize certainly freed the statue from all sides, but instead of clearing the sand away altogether, he erected huge barrage-like walls to hold it back, the demolition of which was one of our most laborious tasks when it became necessary to remove them in 1936-1937. I believe M. Baraize had taken his inspiration from the monuments of the Old Kingdom and built for eternity (Fig. 10).

It was now seen that the Sphinx was in a perilous state, for in addition to the fact that the sand had eaten deeply into the softer parts of the rock, wearing the neck to such a degree of thinness, that there was a strong possibility of the first storm sending the great head crashing to the ground. The senseless and criminal actions of Perring in boring holes in the monument were also a

source of grave danger, lest water collecting in them from the winter rains should split the stone. Therefore, it was decided to effect a restoration which would safeguard the Sphinx, and at the same time be unobtrusive. The results, I think, are admirable. The lappets

of the *nemes* head-dress have been filled in to the original contours with limestone masonry, and thus support the great weight of the head; while the wide cracks which were slashed across the face, and which were yearly increasing in width, were filled in and coloured to match the rest of the "complexion". A hole that existed in the top of the head was also filled in, and the shaft in the back, as well as the cavity lying between the back of the stela and the breast of the Sphinx, were fitted with iron doors, which tightly closed them.

The Sphinx may now be said to be in a safer condition than it has ever been since the last priest made his farewell prayers before it.

During the course of his excavations around the Sphinx and its temple, M. Baraize recovered some interesting objects, including some Græco-Roman stelæ (Figs. 82, 83), a limestone slab, apparently part of a cornice, bearing the cartouches of Rameses II (Fig. 14), some

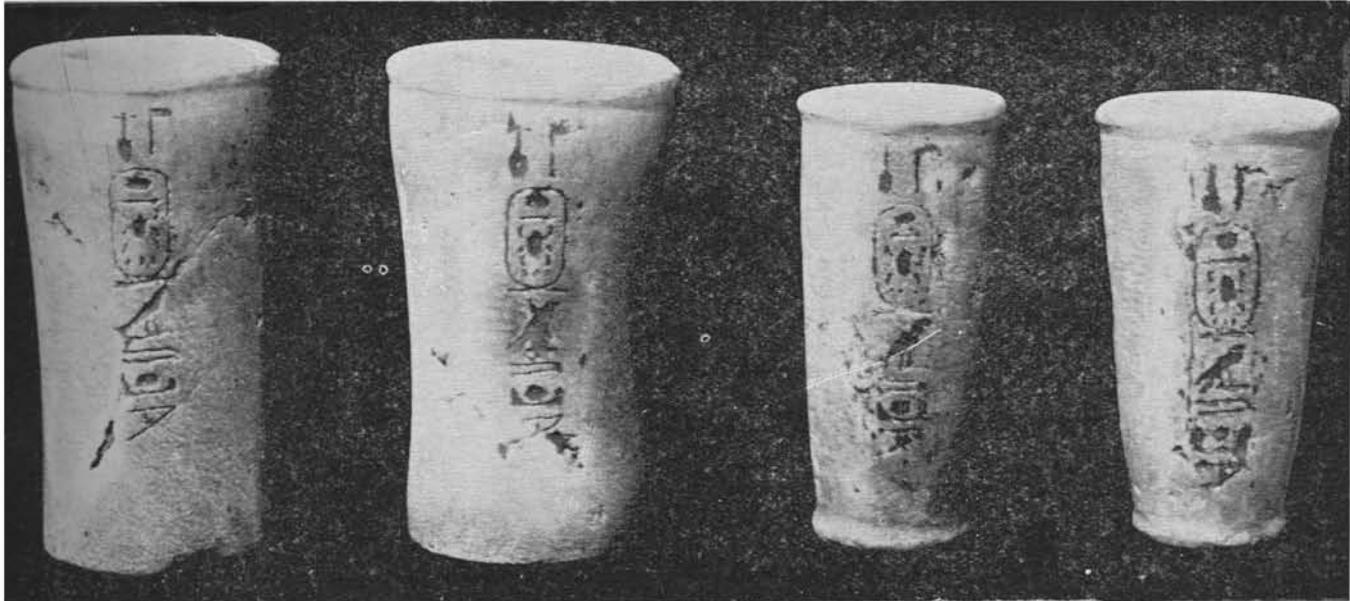


FIG. 11.—ALABASTER MODEL VASES

slabs, and also some foundation deposits from the Temple of Amenhotep II, which at that time was still undiscovered. These foundation deposits consist of a set of alabaster model vases, each bearing an incised inscription inlaid with dark pigment (these inscriptions, which are identical, read: "The Good God, Aa-kheperu-Ra (Amenhotep II), beloved of Hor-em-akhet") (Fig. 11; Pl. VI *a*); an oval piece of alabaster, bearing the same inscription as the vases (Fig. 12); some model implements of copper, and a great quantity of pottery of various forms (Fig. 13; Pls. VI, *b*, *c*, VII). (For other foundation deposits from this temple, see p. 49).

He also recovered three stelae from a series erected by Thothmes IV, which will be dealt with in detail later, and several other small stelae belonging to private persons (Pls. VIII, IX). Pl. X, *a, b* shows a selection of small objects found by M. Baraize: "*a*" is a fragment of a round-topped stela dedicated to Hor-akhty, "*b*" is a limestone



FIG. 12.—AN OVAL PIECE OF ALABASTER

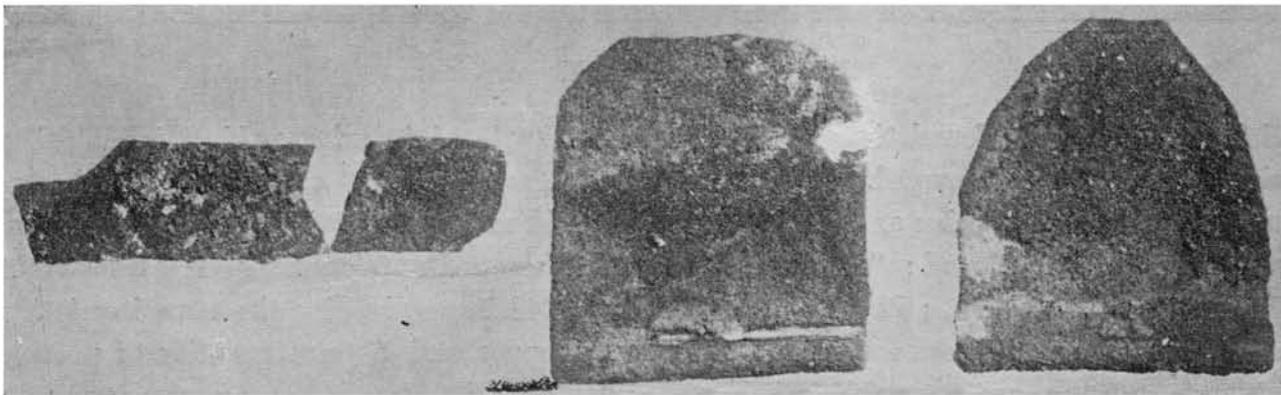


FIG. 13.—MODEL IMPLEMENTS OF COPPER

offering-table, bearing representations of bread, water, lotus-flowers, trussed fowls, etc. (a similar specimen came to light in our excavations); Pl. XI: "a" is a pottery mould in which bread was baked in order to give the loaves the conical shape shown on the monuments; "b" is a slab of limestone bearing a crudely carved figure, apparently of a warrior of the



FIG. 14.—A LIMESTONE SLAB BEARING THE CARTOUCHES
OF RAMESES II

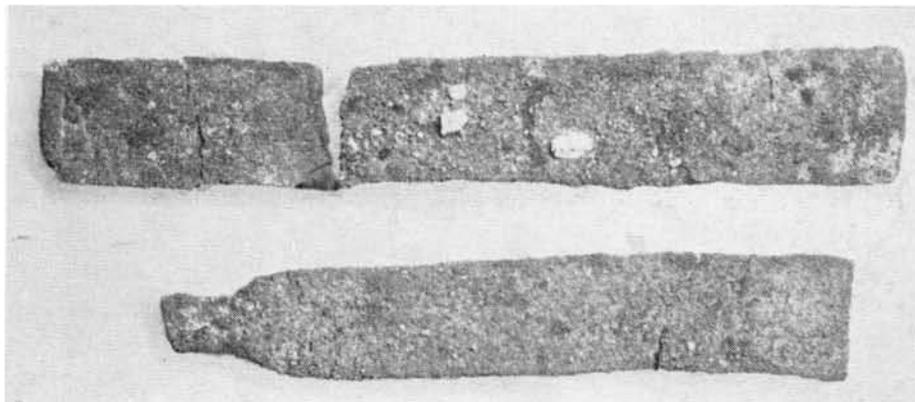
late period. Pl. XIII, *a, b* shows two fragments from a monument of the Græco-Roman Period: "a" is a part of a limestone cornice, while "b" is the capital of a column; Pl. XIV: "a" is the head of a limestone statuette of a king, unfortunately unnamed: it bears traces of red paint upon the face; "b" is a limestone block bearing an incised inscription in Aramaic.

Pl. XII shows a series of miniature votive sphinxes, they are carved from limestone, and are coloured red, which seems to have been the traditional colour of the Sphinx. Another find of importance was the limestone lintel of a doorway of a mud-brick building. It bears an inscription mentioning the Sphinx under the name of Hwrna (*see* p. 100, Fig. 73).

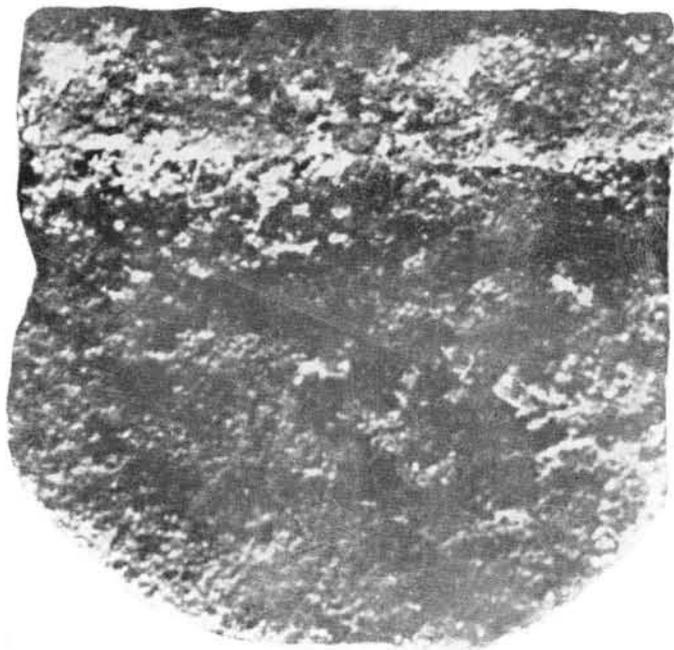
As before mentioned, M. Baraize also partially cleared the great Fourth Dynasty temple lying in front of the Sphinx, which, I think, we are fully justified in calling the Temple of the Sphinx, although it had apparently no direct communication with that monument.



ALABASTER MODEL VASES



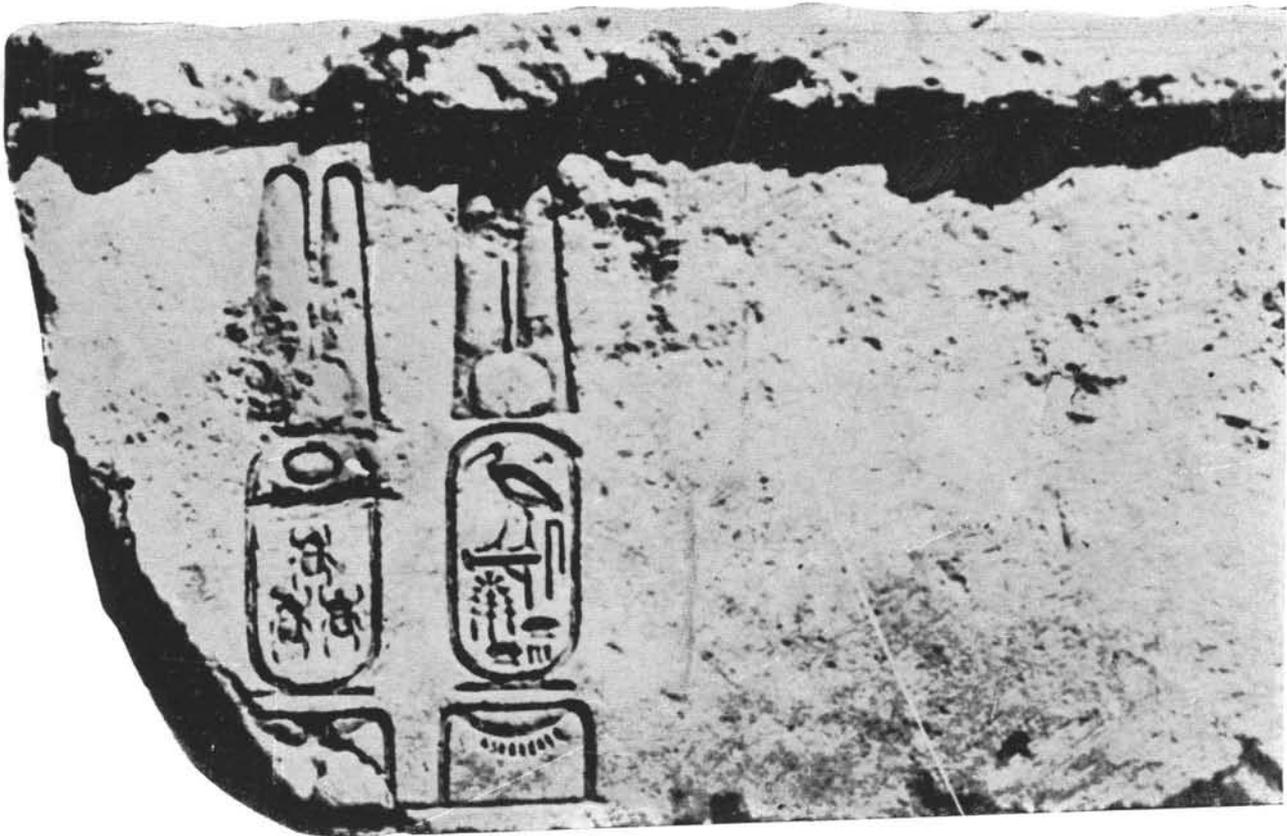
B
MODEL
IMPLEMENTS
OF COPPER



C
A BRONZE AXE-HEAD



POTTERY OF VARIOUS FORMS



A STELA OF THOTHMES IV



A STELA OF A PRIVATE PERSON

A



A FRAGMENTARY ROUND-TOPPED STELA

B



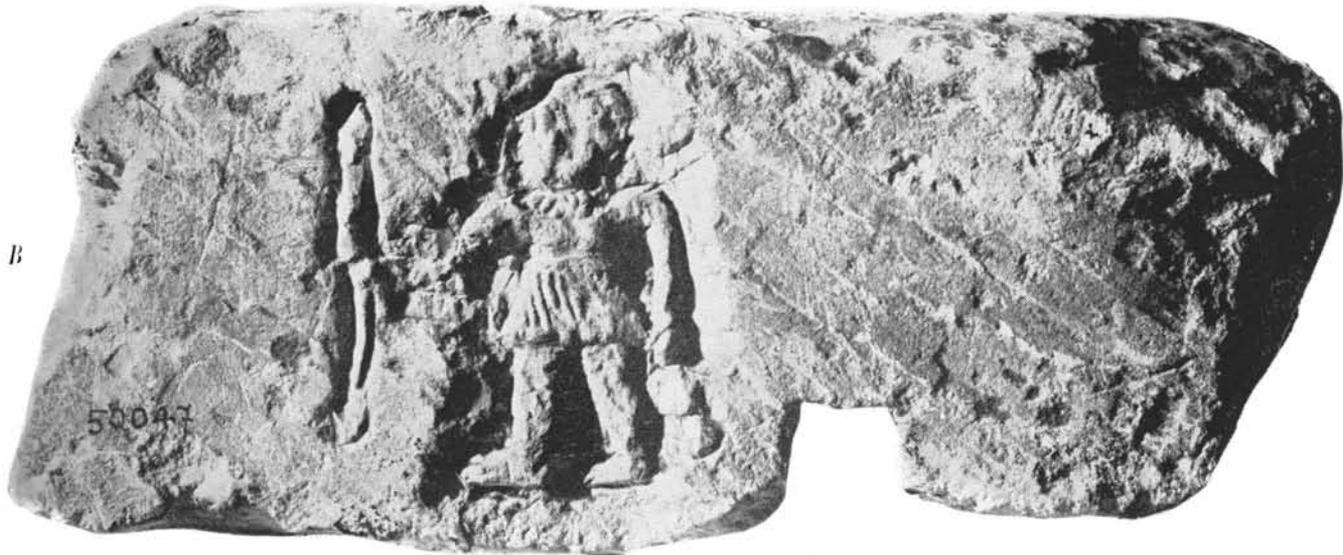
A LIMESTONE OFFERING-TABLE

A

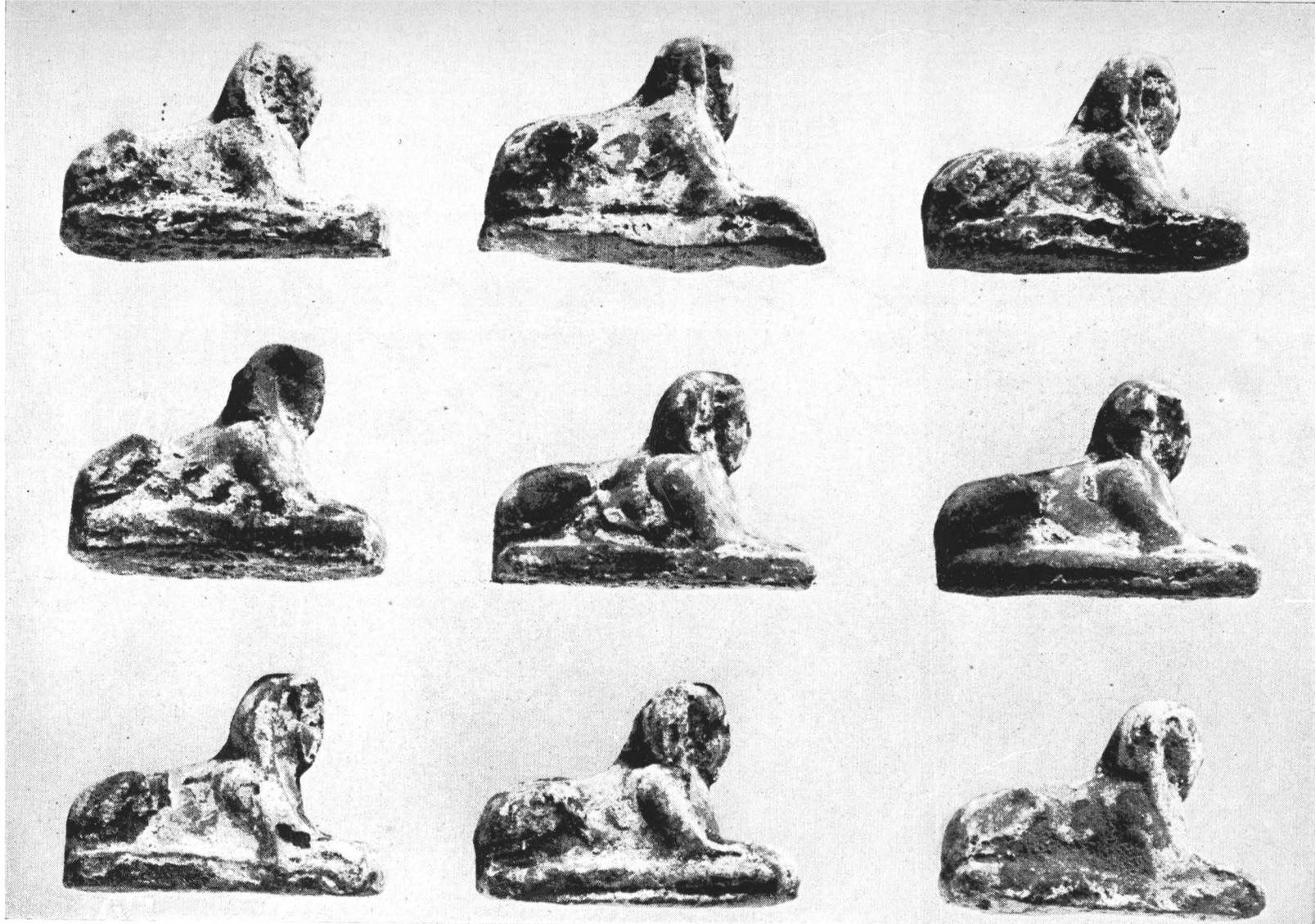
A POTTERY MOULD



B

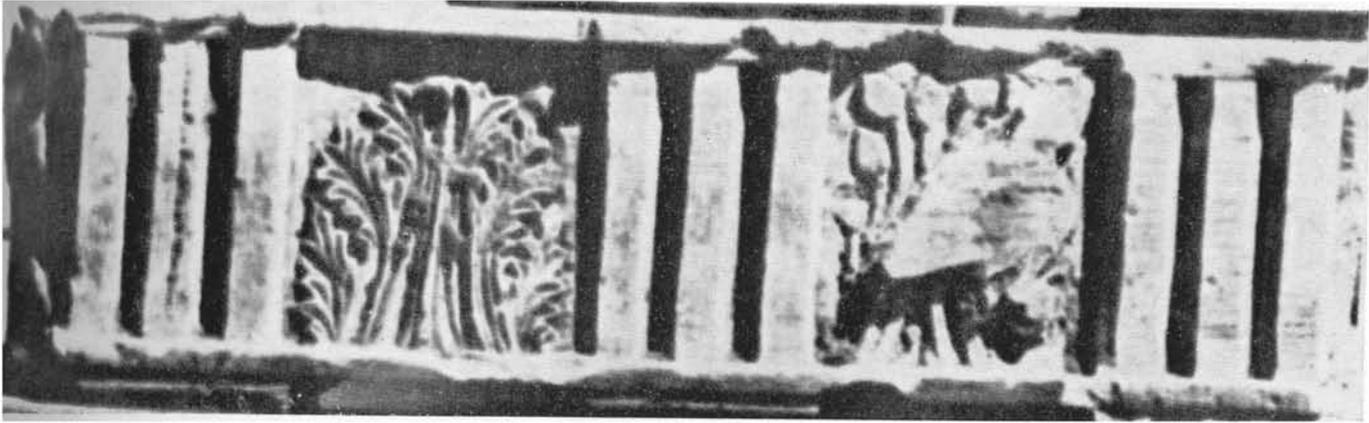


A SLAB OF LIMESTONE



A SERIES OF MINIATURE VOTIVE SPHINXES

A



A PART OF A LIMESTONE CORNICE

B



A CAPITAL OF A COLUMN

A

A HEAD OF A LIMESTONE
STATUETTE OF A KING



B



A LIMESTONE BLOCK

IV.—THE TEMPLE OF THE SPHINX

UNTIL recent years the name "Temple of the Sphinx" was borne by the Valley Temple of Khafra, and had been acquired when the true significance of that building was imperfectly understood. The real Temple of the Sphinx, which together with the cavity in which it lies was called by the Egyptians "*Setepet*" the "Elect", should be the massive construction lying in front of the Sphinx (Pl. XV).

Lying a few paces to the north of the Valley Temple of Khafra, it seems so far as the façade is concerned, to be designed upon the same lines (*see* Plan : Pl. XVI). The two temples are both facing east, each has an entrance in the northern and southern ends of its façade, and these façades are lying in line with each other (*see* Plan : Pl. XVI). Moreover, both temples are constructed of a core of local limestone masonry, and cased inside and outside with blocks of finely dressed granite. The size of some of the blocks, forming the core of the Sphinx Temple, is enormous, rivalling, and indeed, often exceeding three times the size of those used in building the Great Pyramid. Even the fact that these blocks were cut locally, does not lessen our admiration for the skill and organization that manouvered them into position (Pl. XVII).

Beyond the façades, the similarity between the two buildings ends, the interior arrangement of the Sphinx Temple being quite different from that of its neighbour, which proves that it was designed for a different use. It may be mentioned here that this building is the oldest divine temple, as distinct from a royal mortuary temple yet discovered in Egypt.

Immediately inside the doorways, facing the visitor, are two recesses which held stelae, or possibly statues. Throughout all the temple it will be noticed that all the important features are duplicated (*see* Plan : Pl. XVI). For example, we find two entrances, two sets of chambers in the western wall, two outer passages, etc. This duality was designed to harmonize with the conception of the King in his dual role as King of Upper Egypt and King of Lower Egypt.

Throughout the whole period of the Egyptian history, the dual nature of the King and the land was never forgotten. Egypt remained the Two Lands, ruled over by a Monarch who wore the Double Crown.

Immediately inside the entrances are the porter's rooms, and a short, wide passage which turns west and gives access to the great court of the temple. This enormous court measures 46×23 metres and was apparently surrounded by a colonnade. At a distance of about 3 metres from the eastern and western walls are two rows of rectangular pillars, measuring 3·50×1·50 metres. A similar pillar exists at the northern and southern ends of these rows.

In front of each pillar is a rectangular depression cut in the rock floor, sloping somewhat towards the pillars. These were made to accommodate the bases of colossal statues of the King, purposely designed on a large scale in order that they might not be dwarfed by the immensity of the Sphinx, as would have been the case with statues that were merely life-sized. Therefore, the centre of the court was surrounded by ten huge pillars, fronted by colossal statues of the King who built the temple, and who probably sculptured the Sphinx as well (1).

We may assume that the space between the outer walls and these pillars was originally roofed over, while the centre of the court was left open. This arrangement would have afforded a magnificent view of the Sphinx to any person standing in the court.

In the centre of both the eastern and western walls is a large recess measuring about 10 metres wide, and receding back in two stages to a depth of 4·50 metres. The form of these recesses recalls that of a false-door, and they may have contained large stelae. On the other hand, they may have been designed to accommodate statues of the God. But whatever they contained, they are orientated due east and west, as is the axis of the temple, and this suggests that the recesses held something appertaining to the rising and setting sun.

In the floor in front of the eastern recess are the sockets for the reception of two pillars, obelisks, or statues; and a little in advance are the slots for six more pillars. The same arrangement was followed in respect to the western recess. This additional row of pillars was undoubtedly added to facilitate the roofing of the colonnade, which was considerably widened by the presence of the recesses.

The western wall of the temple is cut in the natural rock to a height of 2·50 metres, and supplemented by enormous blocks of limestone in the upper part. This rock-cut part of the wall forms the front edge of the pedestal upon which the Sphinx rests.

Indeed, when the temple was intact, and was surmounted by the usual cornice, the Sphinx must have appeared from the valley, or from the great court, as though it were resting upon a huge pedestal, exactly as it is shown in the stelae. The fact that some of the stelae show representations of doors in the pedestal may be explained by the presence of the door-like niche in the western wall (Pls. XVIII, LVII) (2).

In the thickness of the rock-cut wall, forming the northern side of the outer bay of the western recess, are cut two chambers; they lie side by side and open to the north. The western chamber measures 11·50 × 3·0 metres, and the eastern chamber measures 5·50 × 3·0 metres. A similar arrangement exists on the southern side, where the two chambers open to the south.

(1) On the other hand, the depression in the floor may have been made to facilitate the erection of the pillars.

(2) Compare the Stela of Thothmes IV (Pl. XL) and the Stela of Rameses II, Fig. 8.

The floors of these chambers are depressed in such a way as to suggest that they were paved with some other stone, probably alabaster, as many gigantic slabs of this material may be seen scattered about in various parts of the building.

The presence of a number of large slabs of fine limestone, having one edge curved, suggests that there was a rounded coping to the inside edge of the roof of the colonnade.

At the northern side of the temple is a passage measuring 31.50×3.0 metres, and running east-west. The southern wall of the passage is formed by the northern wall of the great court, while its northern wall is cut in the natural rock. At a distance of about 18.50 metres from its entrance, a channel, one metre wide, crosses the passage obliquely from east to west, passing under the southern wall to the court, and ending in a cutting in the northern wall of the passage. This channel, which has a total length of 10 metres starts as a mere depression in the floor of the northern side of the court, and slopes to a depth of 1.25 metres at its end. It is paved with granite (Fig. 15). The tunnel by which it passes under the wall of the court is plugged with blocks of limestone.

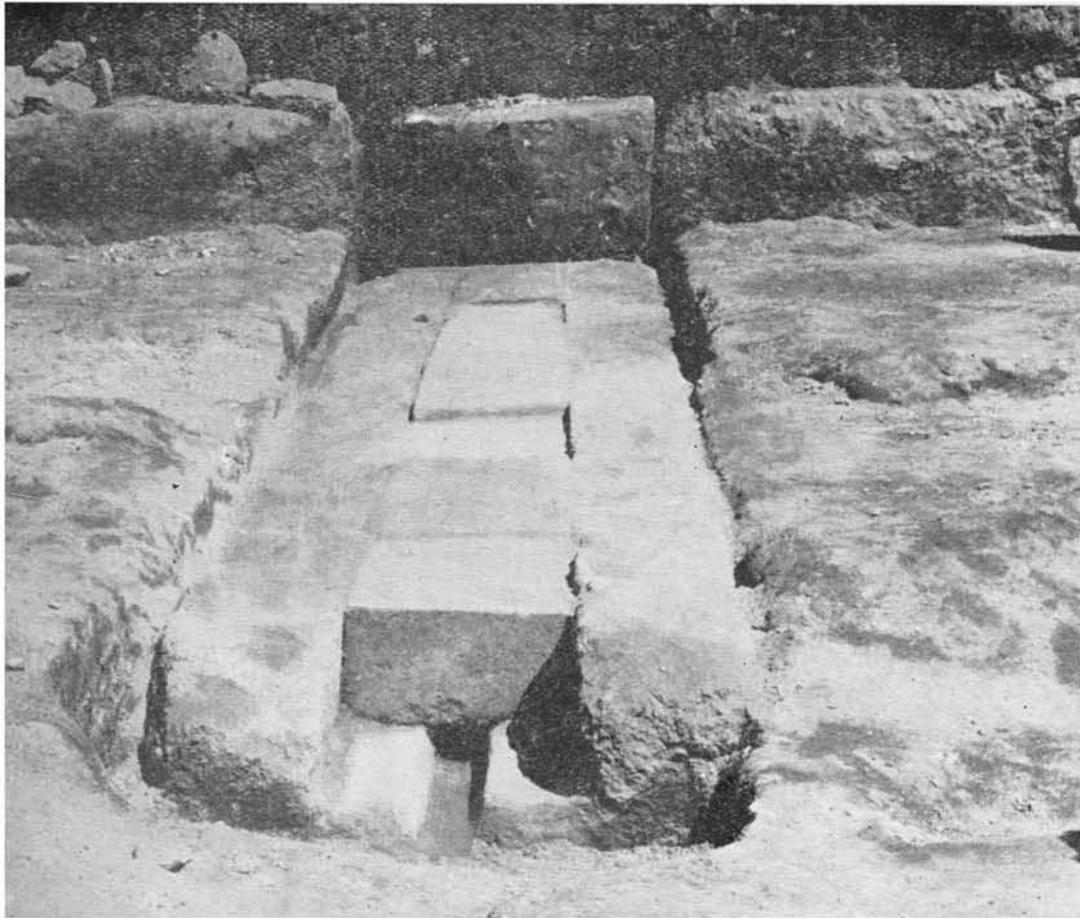


FIG. 15.—A CHANNEL IN THE FLOOR OF THE NORTHERN PASSAGE

A similar channel exists in the floor of the passage of the southern entrance, and appears to have its source at the southern side of the eastern recess. Perhaps these were drains to carry off rain-water or libations.

The western end of the northern passage is blocked by a rock-cut wall 2·10 metres high, above which it is choked with rubble and debris to the level of the plateau, and the foundations of the mud-brick Temple of Amenhotep II were laid across it (*see* p. 150, Fig. 95). At its eastern extremity, it ends in a drop of 1·25 metres.

A similar passage exists on the southern side of the building, measuring 37·0 × 6·30 metres, separating this temple from that of Khafra. It gives access to the Sphinx Court from its south-eastern corner (*see* Pl. XVII).

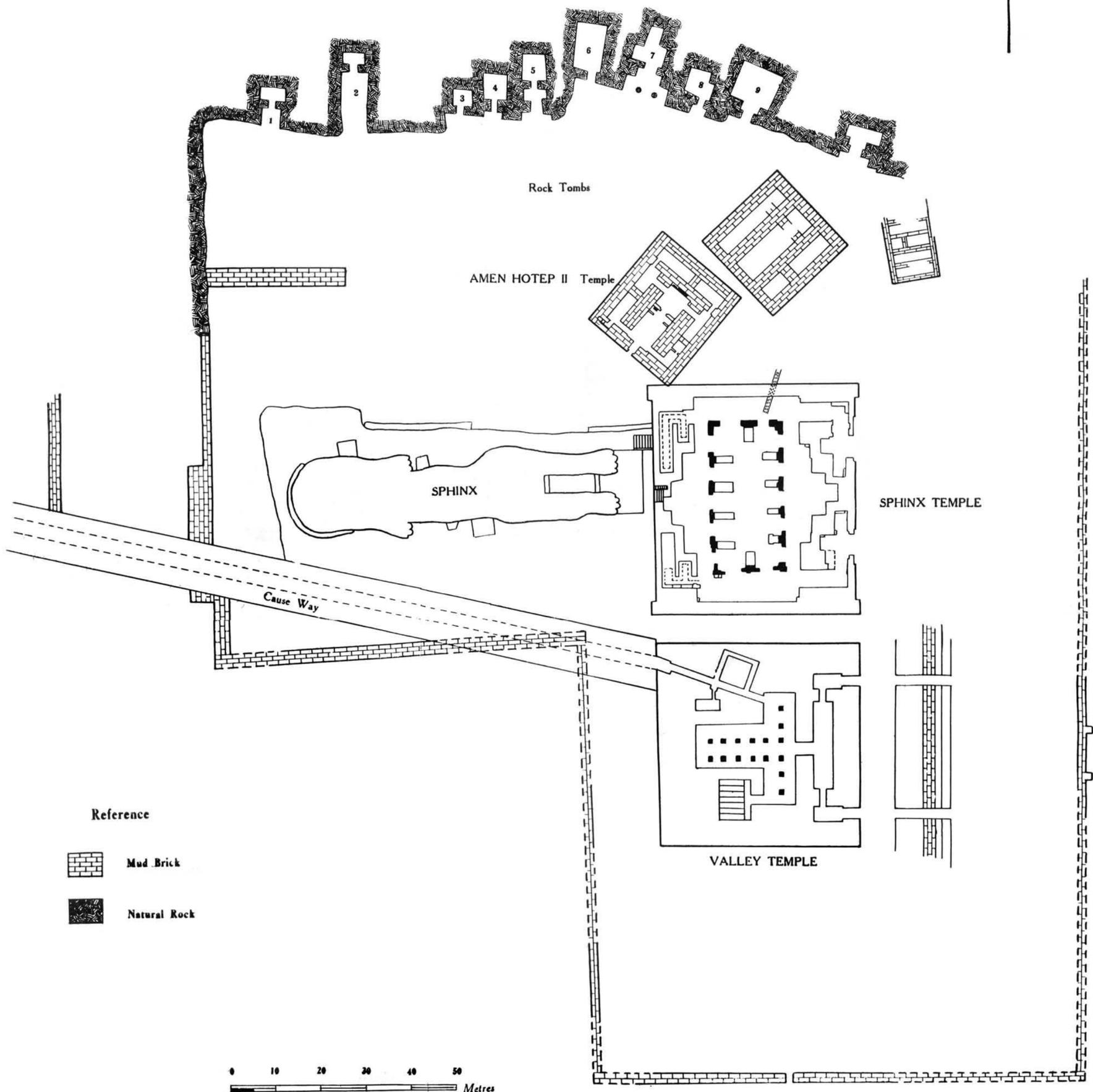
This proves conclusively that the two structures were entirely separate, even though they conform somewhat to each other, both in their outward appearance, and in the materials from which they were constructed.

On the western side of the western wall of the court are some shallow, irregular steps cut in the masonry, and descending into the Sphinx Court. As these steps are very shallow and roughly cut, and have no connection with the interior of the temple, we may suppose that they were the foundations of the staircase which, in the Græco-Roman times, was erected over the buried temple. The architects probably cut these foundations in the wall in the belief that it was the natural rock, such is the enormous size of the blocks used, and never suspected the presence of the huge temple lying buried under their feet.



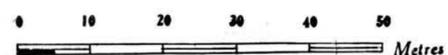
THE SPHINX TEMPLE LOOKING EAST

SPHINX ZONE



Reference

-  Mud Brick
-  Natural Rock





THE SPHINX AND THE TEMPLE



THE SPHINX FROM THE EAST

V.—THE DATING AND IDENTIFICATION OF THE TEMPLE

JUDGING by the style of architecture, and the absence of decoration, or inscriptions, we may safely assign this temple to a date not exceeding the middle of the Fourth Dynasty.

The fact that this temple had no direct communication with the Sphinx Court, seems to point to one of two conclusions ; either it had no connection at all with the Sphinx, or, what is more probable, the Sphinx was regarded as being so holy that approach to it was forbidden to all, save only the King and the higher ranks of the priesthood. This was certainly the rule with regard to the cult images in the later Egyptian temples, but even so, the holy of holies was always provided with an easy means of access.

In the case of the Sphinx, however, we are left to assume that the royal or priestly worshipper had either to climb over the back wall of the temple by some means, or else leave the building altogether and walk round by a narrow passage, to emerge at an awkward angle in the corner of the court, either methods of approach being exceedingly undignified and inconvenient.

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VI.—THE LATEST EXCAVATIONS UNDERTAKEN AT THE SPHINX

IN the year 1936 the Cairo University Excavations were transferred to the Antiquities Department, and thus I was enabled to start work on the site surrounding the Sphinx.

It had always been the dream of my life to excavate this spot, and I had vainly tried many times to get permission to work there, but this site was reserved exclusively for the Department which was carrying on the work there in a desultory manner.

Thanks to the work of M. Baraize, and the protective walls built by him, the actual Court of the Sphinx, as well as most of its temple, were comparatively free from sand, and merely needed some cleaning. But this was only for a very limited area, and the remainder of the surroundings of the Sphinx were wholly encumbered with sand, stones, and debris, the accumulation of ages ; to say nothing of the ruins of mud-brick buildings of different periods. The site had clearly been in this condition since the Sphinx first came into existence, none of the modern excavators having ever attempted to clear this part.

Notwithstanding the advantages of more up-to-date methods and equipment, we experienced many of the difficulties and dangers that beset Caviglia, from the ever-present-menace of the treacherous sand-dunes.

Thus, to clear down to the level of the natural rock, the usual method of procedure in our excavations, was a Titanic task, some idea of which may be gained by comparing the photographs showing the site as it used to be, and after we had finished our work — for which in the end, we got no thanks, but . . . ! (Pl. XIX, *a*, *b*).

In order to effect a rapid clearance, we sometimes arranged our truck lines in three superposed levels, and sometimes spread out fanwise (Pl. XX). On each of these tracks was running a group of twelve trucks, each truck having a load capacity of one cubic metre ; thus resulting in the removal of about 1,300 cubic metres of sand and debris daily, and depositing it at a distance of over one kilometre.

We commenced our season's work on October 4, 1936, at a spot lying close to the northern and eastern protective walls which M. Baraize had built, and which we were forced to demolish before we could get down to our task of excavating. There were also some later mud-brick structures at this spot, which, after photographing, planning and recording, we were compelled to pull down. This is always the case when excavating a site that has been occupied at different successive periods ; the latest remains being always built above the sand-engulfed ruins of the earlier structures.

After a few days, we came upon a part of the system of protective walls erected by Thothmes IV, thus proving the truth of the claims he made on the Granite Stela.

On September 20, our men were working on the clearance of a large mound of mud deposits and ruined mud-brick buildings, at a spot a little to the north of the Sphinx, and only a few paces far from the spot where the excavations of the Antiquities Department had ended. In this spot we brought to light what appeared to be the top of a large limestone stela, above which was a mud-brick ruin (Pl. XXI, Fig. 16). Eagerly we concentrated all our energies in sinking a shaft down the face of the stone, and found that our first suppositions were correct, for we had discovered a large stela of the Eighteenth Dynasty type, bearing twenty-seven rows of hieroglyphs, in a perfect state of preservation (Pl. XXXVIII).



FIG. 16.—MEN CLEARING MUD DEPOSITS AND MUD-BRICK RUINS

Only the rounded top of the monument (which had obviously been left exposed to the elements long after the rest of the stela had been safely buried in the sand) had been effaced. This part had originally borne a double representation representing a king presenting offerings to the Sphinx. With careful haste we cleared away the mud deposits and broken potsherds, with which the face of the stela was encumbered, and were able to read upon it the Cartouche of Amenhotep II. (For the translation of this stela, see p. 74.)

In the mud, debris and potsherds surrounding the stela, we found many votive figures of lions and sphinxes, the former animal seeming to have been particularly sacred to the sun-cult. These votive figures are made of various materials, including bronze, faience and limestone. They were found in the mud deposits, a little to the left of the stela and on a level with its upper part. Pl. XXII, *a, b* shows a limestone lion—although roughly carved, it has a most pleasing appearance; the expression on the face, the pose of the body, and the crossed fore-paws being very natural. If not actually modelled from life, it must have been made by someone who was well acquainted with the leonine form.

On the same day that we recovered this lion, we also brought to light a bowl of red-ware, containing the remains of some dried blue paint and another bowl and a large dish, also of red-ware.

The next day we continued our work of clearing the back and front of the stela, and found that a thick wall of mud-bricks lay about four metres to the west of its base. In this place we found another limestone lion, with a small animal held between its fore-paws and a pottery bowl (Pl. XXIII, *a, b*). We continued to work at clearing this structure, and the following day we received a clue as to its significance. This clue took the form of a fine door-post of white limestone, bearing the Cartouche of the Pharaoh Mer-en-Ptah; and near-by in the sand were some inscribed and sculptured slabs, clearly belonging to a temple. Two days later, another sculptured door-post, fellow to the first one, came to light. We continued our work around the stela, and were rewarded by another inscribed door-post, and some more red pottery.

On October 28, we were clearing away the remains of some ruined mud-brick buildings at the back of the stela, when we came upon a very unusual monument. It took the form of a limestone naos, in which were carved the figures of Isis and Osiris.

In the meantime some of our men continued to trace along the mud-brick wall below the stela, which still continued in a south-westerly direction; and while doing so, recovered some more vessels of red-ware and a copper spoon. Another find in the same place was the torso of a limestone statuette of a man.

In the morning of November 23, we unearthed another stela bearing the name of Amenhotep II (see Pl. XXXIX). It lay *in situ* immediately to the north of the Great Stela, and at first glance, appeared to be common-place, but on careful examination proved to possess some very unusual and interesting features. Its inscriptions were in a good state of preservation, and still retained some of their original colouring.

To the left of this stela lay the pedestal and feet of a life-sized statue of Queen Tyaa, the wife of Amenhotep II (*see* p. 78, Fig. 63). The feet, which are represented as being shod with plaited sandals, are beautifully modelled and shapely, and as these members usually received but scant attention from the ancient Egyptian sculptors, their beauty makes us regret all the more the loss of the remainder of the statue. (Unfortunately, we only recovered one other portion of this statue, a fragment bearing part of a leg and the inscribed plinth.)

But our finds for that day were by no means exhausted, for in front of the smaller stela were two limestone door-posts, this time bearing the Cartouche of Amenhotep II ; while a little to the east, the sand yielded up a fragmentary stela of limestone (Fig. 17). The upper part of this stela shows the Pharaoh Thothmes IV presenting offerings to the Sphinx.



FIG. 17.—FRAGMENTS OF A STELA OF THOTHMES IV

Another interesting little piece came to light a few days later ; it is a small copper plaque, on which are represented two hawks in relief, standing beak to beak,

see Fig. 18. This, and the miniature copper votive hawk (Fig. 19), which we recovered on the following day, were probably offerings to the Sphinx under its identification with the God Hor-akhty.

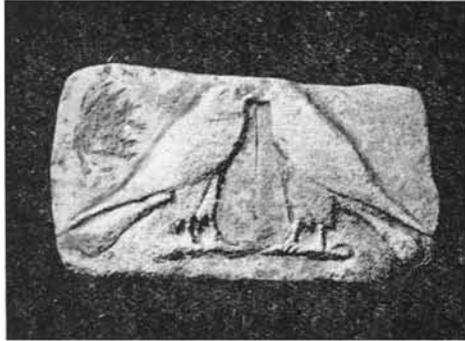


FIG. 18.—TWO HAWKS IN RELIEF
STANDING BEAK TO BEAK ON
A SMALL COPPER PLAQUE



FIG. 19.—A MINIATURE COPPER
VOTIVE HAWK

At the same time our men had uncovered the north-eastern corner of the mud-brick wall, which now appeared to surround the stela, and had also recovered a limestone offering-table (Fig. 20).

From the door-posts, steiae, and votive figures, we had now no doubts as to the nature of the building we were clearing, and our surmise was proved correct by an examination of the text of the Great Stela, in which Amenhotep II expressly states that he had ordered this stela to be set up in a sanctuary in the neighbourhood of the "Pyramids of Hor-em-akhet" (see pp. 76-77).

Our next task was to trace down the mud-brick wall to find the foundations of the door-posts mentioned above, and in so doing, we came upon ten fragments of inscribed and sculptured limestone, that had once formed part of a fine stela, bearing a representation of Thothmes IV presenting offerings to the Sphinx.



FIG. 20.—A LIMESTONE OFFERING-TABLE



FIG. 21.—AN INSCRIBED LIMESTONE BLOCK

After a while, we located the doorway, and found that it gave access to a chamber, apparently paved and cased with limestone. In this chamber lay three inscribed limestone blocks, one of which bore a rough figure of the God Ptah (Fig. 21).

Outside the main entrance was a limestone Sphinx, undoubtedly one of a pair, although its fellow is still missing (Fig. 22). It was in this spot that we recovered part of a leg and the plinth of the statue of Queen Tyaa.

Near this Sphinx lay two white limestone door-posts, inscribed with the Cartouche of Amenhotep II, and another fragment of the smashed stela.

By December 3, we were able to ascertain that the Great Stela was housed in a small hall at the rear of the main hall of the temple. At the north-western end of the main hall we found a small chapel, which was a later addition to the original building, and which contained a stela dedicated by Seti I, bearing a damaged scene representing that Pharaoh hunting big game in desert (Figs. 23, 74, 75). For the translation of this stela, *see* pp. 104-106. In this same chapel we also found a small copper votive Sphinx (*see* p. 17, Fig. 9).



FIG. 22.—A LIMESTONE SPHINX OUTSIDE THE MAIN ENTRANCE OF THE TEMPLE



FIG. 23.—THE AUTHOR AT THE TEMPLE OF AMENHOTEP II. IN THE BACKGROUND IS THE GREAT LIMESTONE STELA PROTECTED BY REEDS. THE STELA OF SETI I CAN BE SEEN IN THE FOREGROUND

Almost every day the spades of the workers were turning out small objects of interest, including flint implements (which remained in use throughout the whole period of the Egyptian history) (Fig. 24), copper votive hawks and lions (Fig. 25), and pottery of various forms and dates.

Outside the main entrance to the temple, and lying a little to the west, were some ruined chambers of mud-brick, the filling of which was mixed with ashes. In one of these rooms was a circular oven of earthenware, still containing the ashes of the last fire that had been lit on it. Later, another room was revealed in this place, and the fact that 2 stelae—one of which

bore representations of Thothmes IV sacrificing to the God Ptah, the chief god of the Memphite triad (Pl. XLVI *b*)—were re-employed in building the walls, proved that this room was of a much later date than the temple.

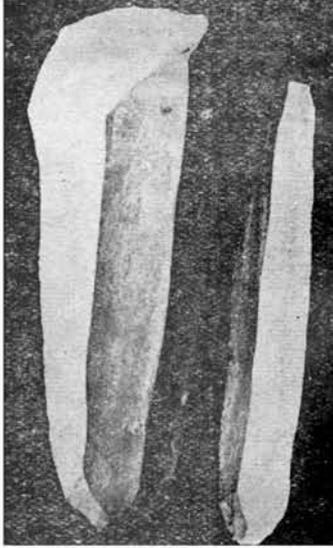


FIG. 24.—TWO FLINT IMPLEMENTS

Near-by were two pottery vases, and fragments of limestone bearing the name of the Sphinx, as well as a faience scarab bearing the name of Amon-Ra (Fig. 26).

By December 9, we were able to make out the accompanying plan of the temple with certainty (Pl. XXIV).

While we were clearing Chamber No. 3 (*see* Plan: Pl. XXIV), we found it to have been paved with limestone, and accordingly removed some slabs in order to investigate. We were rewarded by the discovery that three of them proved to be finely inscribed door-posts, and bore the name of Seti I. This proves that the temple had been re-employed as a dwelling-place during a later period, as the presence of the oven conclusively shows. We also found a limestone hawk, and part of a slate statuette representing the God Osiris, in the same place (Fig. 27).

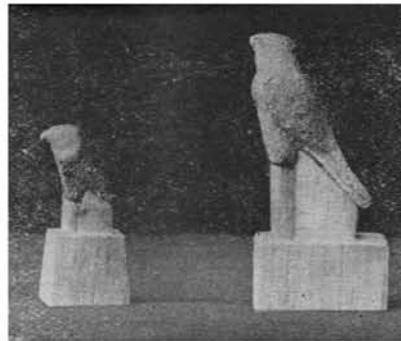
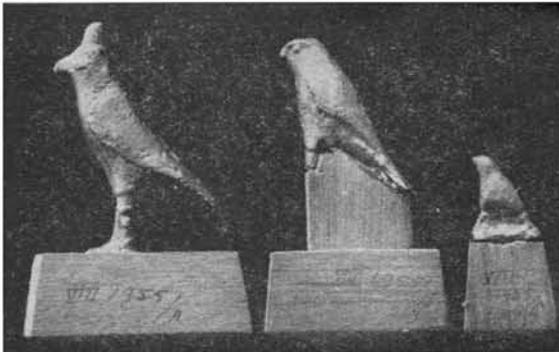


FIG. 25.—COPPER VOTIVE HAWKS AND LIONS

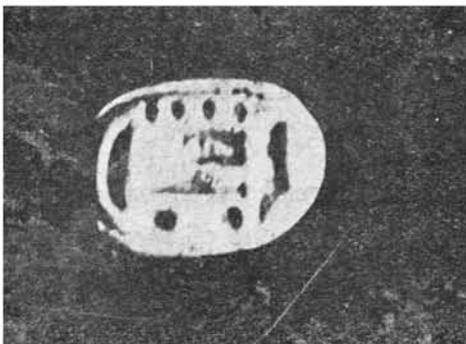


FIG. 26.—A FAIENCE SCARAB

FIG. 27.—A PART OF A SLATE STATUETTE OF OSIRIS



In Room No. 8 were some mud-brick steps, apparently leading up to the roof of the temple, which shows that it followed the usual Eighteenth Dynasty type, and was fronted by a pylon (*see* Plan: Pl. XXIV).

While we were tracing the rear walls of Rooms Nos. 3 and 4, we found lying to their west, a number of large jars, covered with mud, and still retaining their original fillings, which proved to be cremated human remains (Fig. 128). These jars date from the Roman Period, and may represent a family burial. They are eloquent testimony of the sanctity in which the neighbourhood of the Sphinx was held, even by people who did not follow the ancient religion.



FIG. 28.—JARS CONTAINING CREMATED HUMAN REMAINS

Similar jars to these were found above the Mastaba of Queen Rekhit-Ra of the Fifth Dynasty, in the near-by necropolis, and which came to light in our sixth season's work ⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ See "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. VI, p. 243.



FIG. 29.—SMALL JARS OF RED-WARE CONTAINING
BOXES OF SHREW-MICE

While tracing the northern wall of the temple we found, in the mud debris, some small jars of red-ware containing the bones of shrew mice, an animal sacred to Horus of Khemmis ⁽¹⁾ (Fig. 29). These little animals also figure largely in magic, and must have formed the bulk of the equipment of a successful magician, judging by the number of uses to which they were put ⁽²⁾. The reason why these mice, several of which were buried in each jar, should be interred in this spot, may be due to an idea that the bodies of these sacred animals sanctified the ground in which they were buried. On the other hand, it may have been due to the desire to bury the holy mice in the ground already sanctified by the presence of the temple. Or they may have been buried by devotees in the neighbourhood of the Sphinx, because the latter was identified on some occasions with Horus.

Other burials of sacred animals occurred in our excavations, where an Old Kingdom tomb has been re-employed as an ibis burial-place. A figure

⁽¹⁾ ROWE, "*New Light on Objects belonging to the Generals Potasimto and Amasis in the Egyptian Museum*", A.S., Tom. XXXVIII, pp. 157-196; MULLER, "*Egyptian Mythology*", p. 165; BUDGE, "*The Mummy*", p. 387.

⁽²⁾ GRIFFITH, "*Demotic Magical Papyrus*".

of the ibis-headed God Thoth appears upon the wall of the chapel, while the burial-chamber is piled almost to the roof with the mummified bodies of the sacred birds.

Near to these jars was a fine sarcophagus cover of white limestone, and a limestone tablet bearing the representation of a human ear.

These ear-tablets, of which we recovered many examples, are usually to be found in the vicinity of any sanctuary or temple, and many theories have been put forward to explain their use. It was once thought that they were dedicated by the deaf in the hope of obtaining a cure of their affliction ⁽¹⁾, while others say that they were made in order to draw the attention of the God to the prayers of the supplicant ⁽²⁾. Petrie says: "To gain the attention of the gods, there arose the strange custom of carving ears upon the tablet of prayers. Thus, it was thought that the god would more readily hear the petitions. In one example there are dozens of ears on a single tablet".

But it is most probable that we should regard these ears as the actual substitutes for the ears of the god. Thus, the devotee would make a pilgrimage to a sacred spot, dedicate an ear-tablet to the god of the sanctuary, and make his prayer or petition orally into the ear, which was then set up in the wall of the temple, or buried in the sand surrounding it. The ear would retain the prayer of the devotee, and his petition would receive the attention of the god. The inscribed ears nearly all bear the words "made by" followed by the name of the donor. This perhaps refers to the prayers made into the ear, and not to the tablet itself, as might be supposed at first glance.

As regards the tablets bearing multiple ears, these may be connected with an obscure god who was said to possess seventy-seven ears and seventy-seven eyes, and whose name is given by Spiegelberg as *Meszer-setem* ⁽³⁾. Or the ears may be intended to receive separate petitions, one for each ear, represented. But most probably they were a "safety-first" device, based on the idea that if some of the ears should be either wantonly or accidentally destroyed, at least one might escape destruction and store up the prayers for the God's attention. The same idea underlay the multiple ka-statues in the Old Kingdom serdabs. Petrie found many of these ear-tablets at the Temple of Ptah at Memphis; while the French excavations at Deir-el-Medineh also recovered many examples ⁽⁴⁾. According to Erman ⁽⁵⁾ these ears were placed in temples to which pilgrimages were made; therefore it is not surprising to find them in the surroundings of the Sphinx, which, as we shall see later, a famed place of pilgrimage.

⁽¹⁾ WILKINSON, "The Ancient Egyptians", Vol. III, p. 395.

⁽²⁾ PETRIE, "Religious Life in Ancient Egypt", p. 195.

⁽³⁾ See *Rec. Trav.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 56, cf. also BRUGSCH, "Thesaurus", *Insc. Aeg.*, p. 1436, who publishes a stela with four ears, inscribed with a prayer to the Goddess Nebet-hetep, beginning: "Listen to the request (*sdm nh!*), cf. *W.B.*, Vol. II, p. 289".

⁽⁴⁾ PETRIE, "Memphis", Vol. I, pp. 5, 6.

⁽⁵⁾ ERMAN, "The Egyptian Religion", pp. 144, 145.

Among the notable examples found in our excavations, mention may be made of the following (Figs. 30, 31):—

(1) This stela, which is of limestone, shows the two ears of the God carved in low relief, and between them the God Hor-em-akhet in the form of a hawk. At the bottom of the stela, a horizontal row of hieroglyphs reads:  "Made by Hwyt". It was found in the debris to the north of the Temple of Amenhotep II.



FIG. 30.—VARIOUS KINDS OF EAR-TABLETS

(2) A very fine specimen showing a single ear modelled in high relief, and beside it a small figure of the God Hor-akhty in the form of a hawk perching upon a high pedestal. It is inscribed:  "Made by May" (see p. 10, Fig. 6).

(3) A miniature ear in green faience, uninscribed. It was found in the sand to the east of the Tomb of In-ka-f.

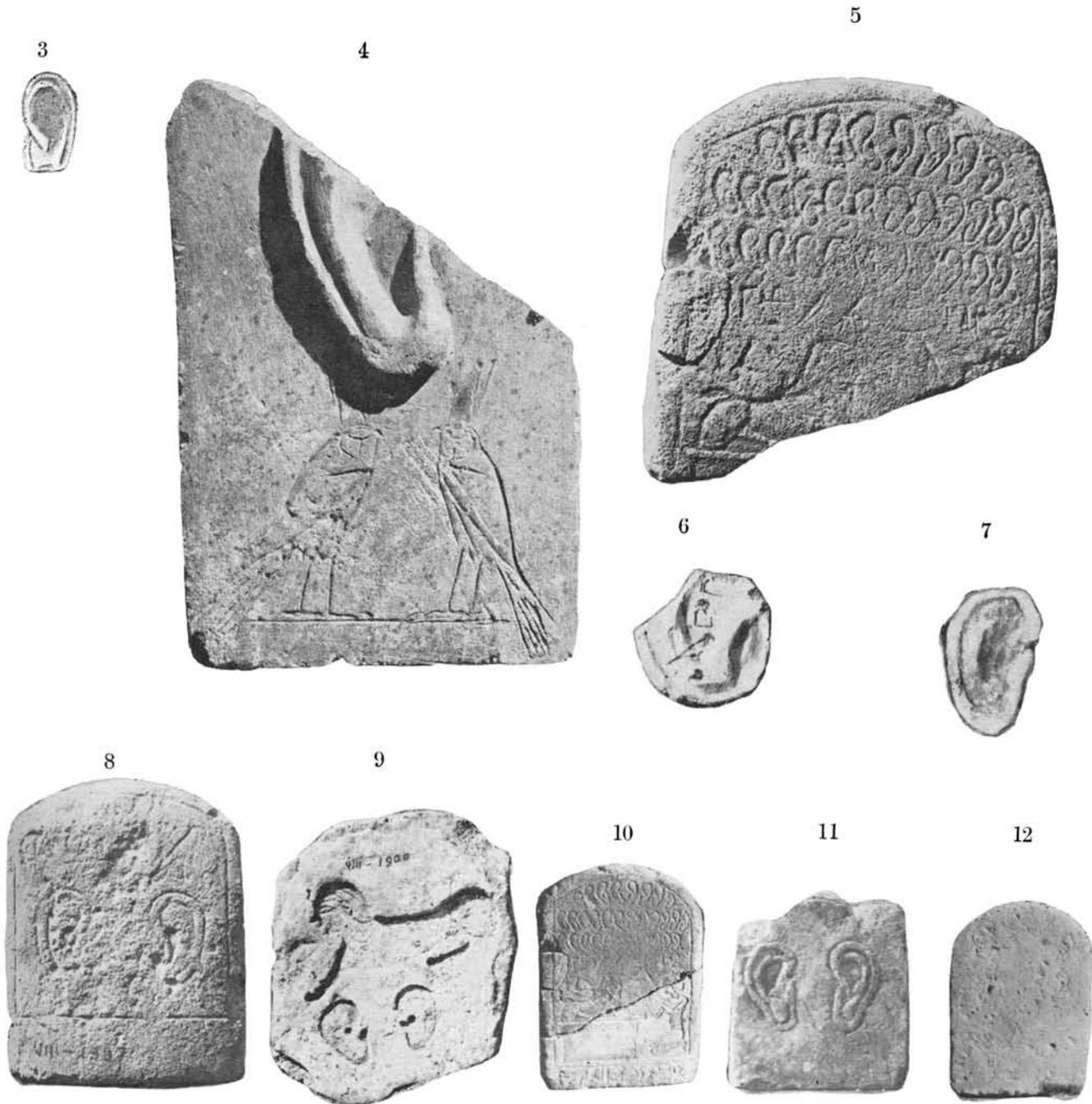


FIG. 31.—VARIOUS KINDS OF EAR-TABLETS

(4) A very interesting tablet bearing a large single ear in high relief, and beneath it the incised figures of two hawks wearing the Double Crown. They are standing beak to beak, as though whispering together. Are they divine hawks repeating the prayers of the devotee

into the ear of the God ; or do they represent the twin souls of Osiris and Ra, as mentioned in " the Book of the Dead", performing this same office (1) ? It was one of the many votive objects found in the debris to the north of the Temple of Amenhotep II.

(5) and (10). A round-topped stela bearing no less than thirty-one ears ! In the lower part is a scene representing the devotee kneeling in adoration before the Sphinx. Above the Sphinx is inscribed : " Hor-em-akhet the Great God, hears ". Above the man is inscribed : " Made by the clever scribe, Mer ". At the bottom of the stela is a horizontal row of much-erased hieroglyphs. It was found in the sand to the north of the Sphinx Court and had been broken into two pieces, the lower part coming to light a few days after we had found the upper part.

(6) The lower part of a small votive ear, of green faience. The name of the God Hor-em-akhet is inscribed upon it in black ink. Found in the sand to the north of the northern protective wall of the Sphinx.

(7) Another green faience ear, uninscribed. It was found in the sand in front of Tomb No. 4.

(8) A small stela bearing two incised ears, and above them a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading : " Hor-(em)-akhet ". It was found in the sand to the north of the Sphinx Court.

(9) A fragment of limestone bearing two ears and a Sphinx. The roughness of the work and the absence of any set style suggest that it was the work of an amateur, rather than that of a professional mason. It was found in the cavity lying between the southern wall of the Temple of Amenhotep II and the Sphinx Court.

(11) A square of limestone on which are carved two ears. It is uninscribed, and was found in the sand outside Tomb No. 4.

(12) A tablet which originally bore multiple representations of ears. They are very lightly incised, and are now almost invisible. This tablet seems to have been in the process of being re-used, the surface of the stone suggesting that it was being re-faced. It was found in the debris of a short passage leading to the first rock-cut tomb in the northern wall of the amphitheatre.

These ear-tablets are fascinating little objects, and one wishes that we could know what were the prayers that were whispered into them. But the God keeps the secret of his worshippers, and no word is revealed to us of the human hopes and longings which these ears received. Let us, however, hope that the God was kind and granted the petitions of his devotees (2).

(1) BUDGE, " *The Book of the Dead* ", Ch. XVII.

(2) For the use of ears, see also *A.Z.*, 70, p. 47 ff.

While our men were working in the sand to the north of the mud-brick enclosure wall of the temple, they found a wooden case containing an inscribed block of limestone. The case which was rotten, fell to pieces at once, but the stone was in a perfect state of preservation (Fig. 32). The presence of such an object in this spot is a great mystery. It would seem that the stone was cut out of a tomb in the neighbourhood by some vandal tourist of the Saitic Period, just as to-day the thoughtless visitor will, if given the chance, damage a whole wall for the sake of carrying away a souvenir of his visit. Or it may have been taken by an artist, who wanted a genuine example of the Old Kingdom work in order to study it at leisure in his studio. In either case it seems almost certain that the theft occurred in the Saitic Period, when such an exaggerated value was put on all the Old Kingdom objects (¹).

But why, having taken the trouble to cut the stone out of its place (which seems to have been the thickness of a doorway) and having made a wooden case shaped to fit it, the stone was then abandoned, it is difficult to say. Perhaps it was merely abandoned because its weight and bulk made it inconvenient to carry away. Or perhaps, surprised by the necropolis guards, the thief abandoned it in his flight, and it lay undisturbed until the shovels of our men brought it once more to the light of day.



FIG. 32.—AN INSCRIBED BLOCK OF LIMESTONE

Near to the northern wall of the Sphinx Temple, and the south-eastern corner of the Amen-hotep Temple, we found two large pottery jars with their mouths fitted together. They contained a human skeleton, but as they were in a condition too fragile to permit them to be removed with safety, we left them *in situ*. This recalls the Babylonian system of burial, and in view of the many remains appertaining to foreigners found in this area, we may perhaps assume that these jars represent the interment of some long-forgotten Babylonian visitor who died far from his native land.

(¹) For another explanation of such an inscribed piece, see PETRIE, "History of Egypt", Vol. III, p. 241. It may have been preserved for mere sanctity.

On December 30, we had occasion to move the pedestal of the statue of Queen Tyaa, and in so doing, found that it covered a small limestone stela, upon which was a representation of the Sphinx, coated with gilded copper (Fig. 33). It is represented couchant, wearing the nemes head-dress and uraeus, and has wide bracelets on its fore and hind legs. Above its back is a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading: "Hor-akhty".

Between its forelegs is a stand bearing a libation vase. The lower part of the stela is occupied by a representation of a man and woman kneeling in adoration, the woman holding a sistrum. Behind them stand a boy and a little child, probably their sons.



FIG. 33.—A SMALL LIMESTONE STELA UPON WHICH THE SPHINX IS REPRESENTED

By December 31, we were fully satisfied that we had traced the extent of the Temple of Amenhotep II, which was now seen to consist of one large hall (see Plan: Pl. XXIV), a smaller hall and six roomy side-chambers (Fig. 34). The entrance opened south-east, affording an excellent view of the head and fore-quarters of the Sphinx. In the main body of the temple, the lower part of the walls was cased with slabs of white limestone to a height of 80 cm. Much of this casing remains *in situ*. The threshold of the main entrance (Pls. XXV, XXVI, XXVII) is also paved with white limestone, and a gangway of the same material, 90 cm. wide and 9.20 metres long, leads to the entrance of the inner hall. The first hall measures 5.30 × 9.0 metres, and has two doors situated in the southern end of its western and eastern walls, and giving access to the side-chambers (Pl. XXIV).

As already stated, a limestone gangway runs down the centre of this hall, and in its northern end is a circular depression cut in one of the slabs, of which it is composed. This depression seems to have been designed to receive an offering-table of the circular

type, which would be utterly inappropriate in its present position. Therefore, we may conclude that this slab was rifled from a neighbouring tomb, after the usual custom of the Ancient Egyptian builders !

At the northern end of this hall is an entrance giving access to the inner hall, before which is a limestone pavement 2·50 metres wide, and running the width of the hall. The eastern and western corners are partitioned off by limestone slabs to form two small chapels, the western one of which contains the Stela of Seti I.



FIG. 34.—THE TEMPLE OF AMENHOTEP II WITH HEAD AND FORE-QUARTERS OF THE SPHINX

The inner hall measures 4·90 × 5·30 metres and retains its limestone dado intact. The centre of its northern wall is occupied by the Great Stela referred to above, and which, on thoroughly cleaning, we found to be mounted on two large blocks of limestone, and still in

its original position. Almost at the northern end of the eastern and western walls of this hall are two doors leading to the rear side-chambers. Against the eastern wall is a block of limestone, which may have been the pedestal of a statue.

Thus, the temple was practically complete in all its parts, and although the walls were denuded down to less than half their original height in many places, the plan of the building remained perfectly preserved (Pl. XXVIII).

When it became a question of finding some means of preserving the Great Stela of Amenhotep II from injury, the state of the temple immediately suggested to me the idea of effecting a restoration which would not only protect the stela, but would also have the advantage of preserving the sculptured doorways as well ; and at the same time show off these monuments to the best possible advantage, by placing them in the actual positions for which they had been designed (Pl. XXIX). All the work that was needed in this connection was to clean the inscriptions, set the door-posts and lintels into their places, and continue the walls up to a suitable height, and finally roof over the whole structure.

In effecting this restoration, I accordingly used mud-brick to match the original structure as well as possible, reinforced internally with burnt-brick pillars and iron girders, to give additional strength (Pl. XXX). It would not have taken long for the new fabric to be weathered by the elements to become a really satisfactory match to the original brickwork.

When the restoration was complete, it was approved of by many persons, experts and amateurs. Indeed, the late Mr. Lucas, whose long experience and technical skill I consulted as to the best method of preserving the Great Stela from the adverse effects of salt and exposure, considered that this restoration was not only the best method of safeguarding the stela, but at the same time gave the monuments an added interest by displaying them in the situations for which they had been designed, and so restoring them to their original appearance.

In spite of this, no sooner had I left the Antiquities Department than this restoration had been promptly demolished, and for some time the stela and door-posts were left exposed to the elements. Finally the inscribed monuments were covered over by unsightly wooden planks, and thus the Temple of Amenhotep has remained ever since.

It seems that the ancient custom of destroying the monuments of one's predecessors did not die out with the end of the Pharaonic regime after all !

Although for convenience's sake this temple has come to be named after Amenhotep II, the entire building cannot be attributed to him. He was certainly the founder, and we may safely attribute the inner hall and its stela to him; but the outer hall and its chapels seem to have been added by later kings down to Rameses IV of the Twentieth Dynasty, (see p. 110).

Some interesting little objects, which seem almost certainly to appertain to this temple, appeared in the autumn of 1936 in the collection of an Antiquarian in New York, and were published in an article in the "*Chronique d'Egypte*", No. 41 (January 1946), p. 46 ff. These were a series of small rectangular tablets of blue faience, inscribed with the prenomen of Amenhotep II, and were evidently part of a foundation deposit from some building erected by that King, and there is very little doubt that this building is none other than our mud-brick temple. Evidence for this statement occurs in the epithet following the King's name (1). On some of these plaques the inscription reads: "The Good God, Aa-kheperu-Ra (Amenhotep II), beloved of Hor-em-akhet", which is the same as the inscription of the model alabaster vases, and the oval alabaster plaque found by M. Baraize when excavating the Old Kingdom Temple of the Sphinx (see p. 21).

But the other examples in the Brooklyn Collection read: "The Good God, Aa-kheperu-Ra (Amenhotep II), beloved of Hurna-Hor-em-akhet". In this inscription, the assimilation of the names of Hurna and Hor-em-akhet, which we know were both applied to the Sphinx, makes it clear that the plaques must have come from a deposit appertaining to a building erected in honour of that God. The only building known to us at present which was erected by Amenhotep II in honour of the Sphinx, is our mud-brick temple, and the similarity of the inscriptions mentioning the King as being beloved by Hor-em-akhet, to those of the alabaster vases and plaque found by M. Baraize, suggests that the Brooklyn plaques are also from the same deposit, and therefore, from the same temple.

But the Brooklyn plaques present a still greater point of interest to us, for they show what is so far one of the earliest mention that we have of the name of the God Hurna in Egypt, and its association with Hor-em-akhet, and application to the Sphinx. They also show two examples of an interesting variant of the writing of the name Hor-em-akhet. Perhaps this is a similar form of writing to the word given in the Berlin Dictionary (Vol. I, p. 17), which seems to be the same as that given in Vol. III, p. 123.

(1) On the advice of M. CAPART, they were acquired by the Trustees of the Brooklyn Museum.

At the conclusion of his article concerning these plaques, M. Capart asks if it is not possible that the Arabic name for the Sphinx of Giza, Abul-Hol, is derived from the ancient name Hurna ? I have already published in my "History of Egypt" (Arabic) in 1940 the explanation, which is given here on pp. 267, 268, to the effect that the name Abul-Hol is derived from the ancient form : Bu-Ḥol=" the Place of Ḥol ", and that Ḥol is another name for the Sphinx, and is derived from Ḥurna.

A



THE SPHINX SITE BEFORE EXCAVATION

B



THE SPHINX SITE AFTER EXCAVATION



THE FIELD OF EXCAVATION LOOKING WEST. NOTE FAN-LIKE LAYING OF TRUCK RAILS

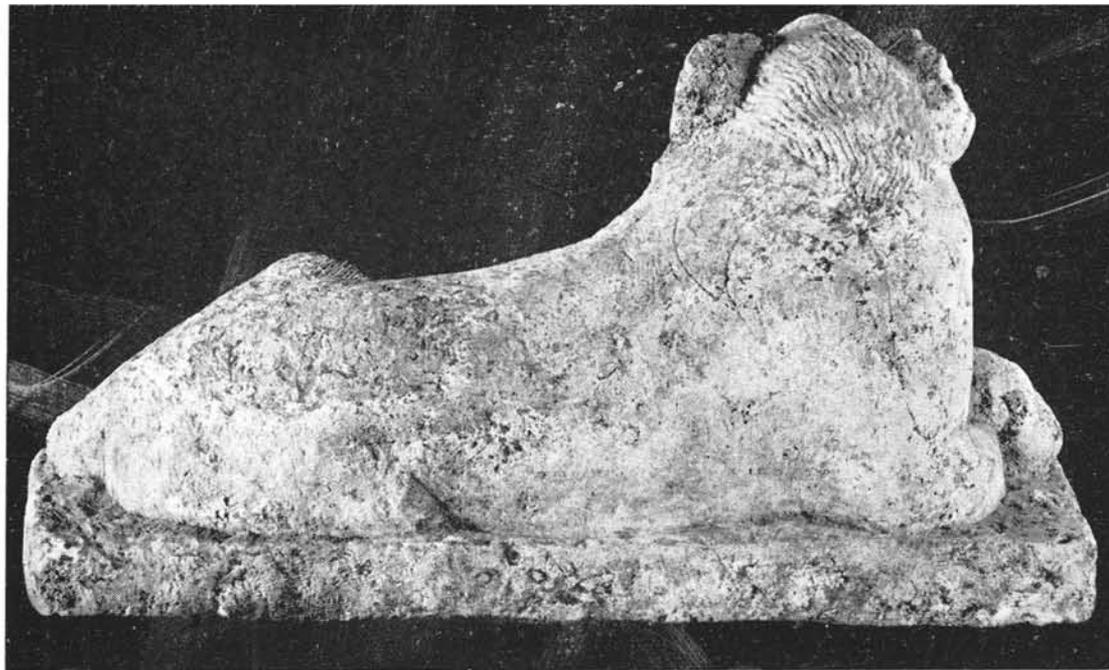


MEN WORKING ON THE CLEARANCE OF MUD DEPOSITS NORTH OF THE SPHINX

A



B

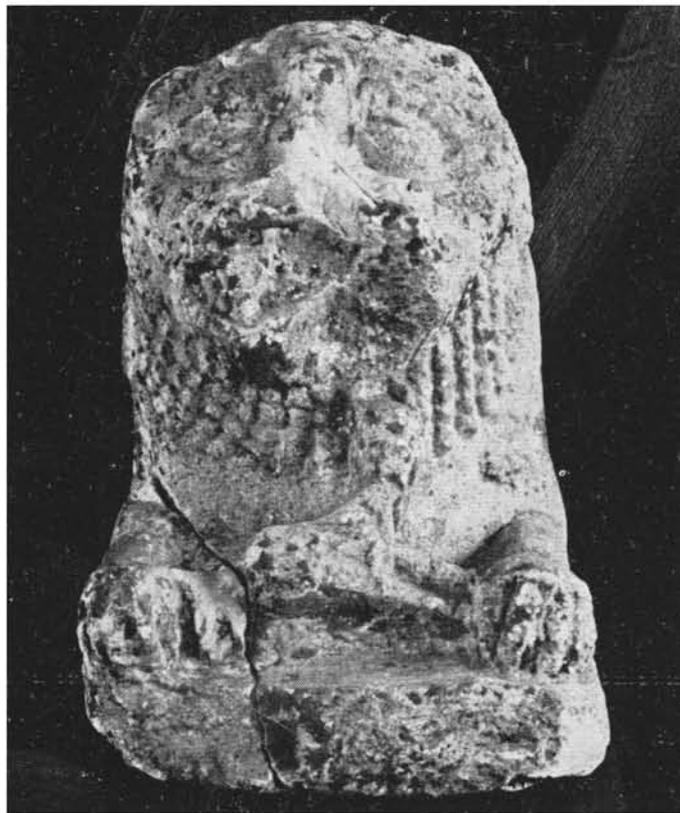


A VOTIVE FIGURE OF A LION



A

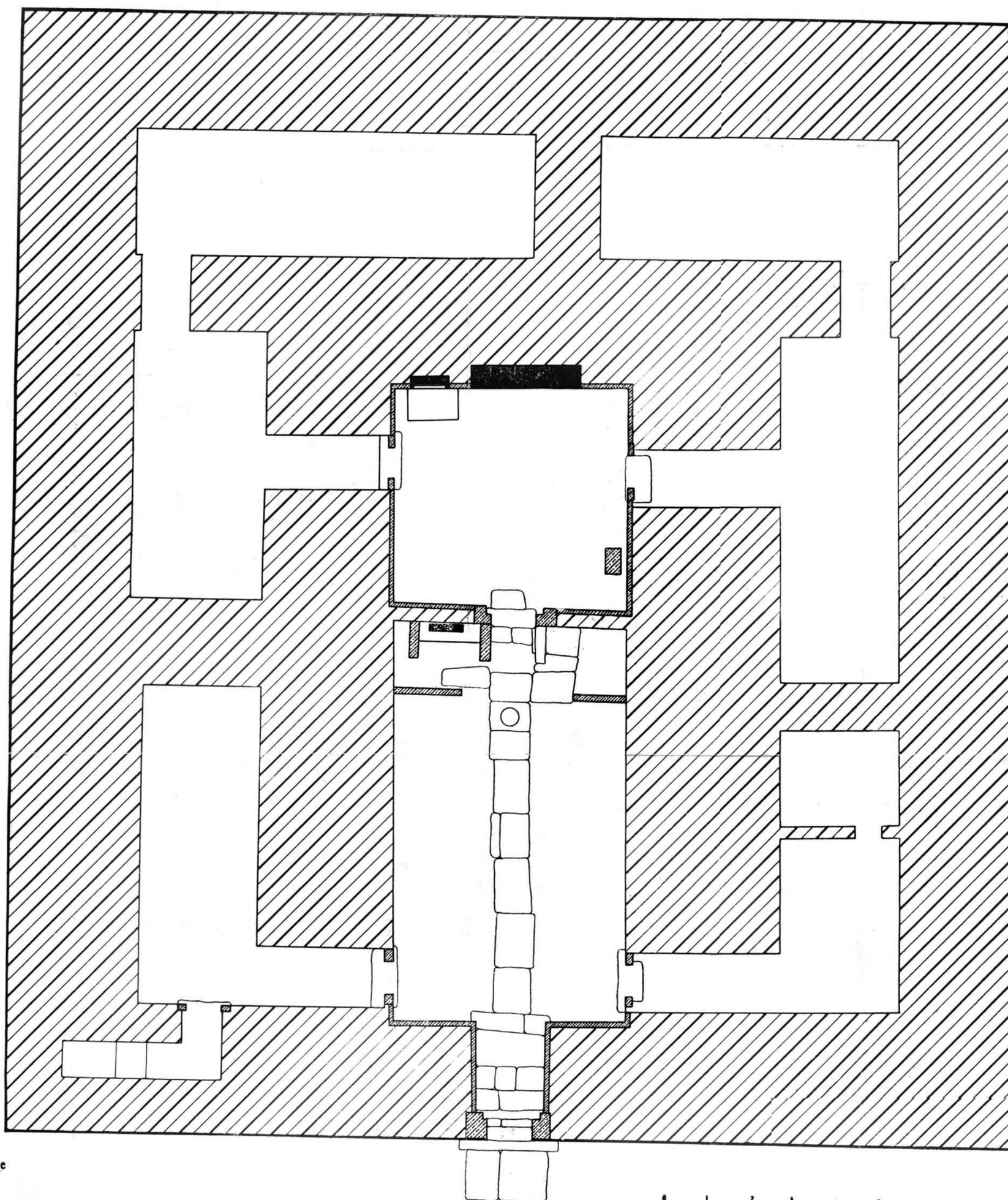
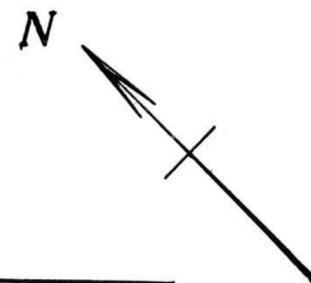
A LIMESTONE LION



B

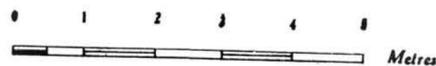
A SMALL ANIMAL
BETWEEN THE FORE-
PAWS OF A LIMESTONE
LION

AMEN HOTEP II TEMPLE



Reference

-  Mud Brick
-  Stone
-  Stelae



ENTRANCE

Fawzy Ibrahim



THE MAIN ENTRANCE. THE THRESHOLD IS PAVED WITH WHITE LIMESTONE



THE MAIN ENTRANCE



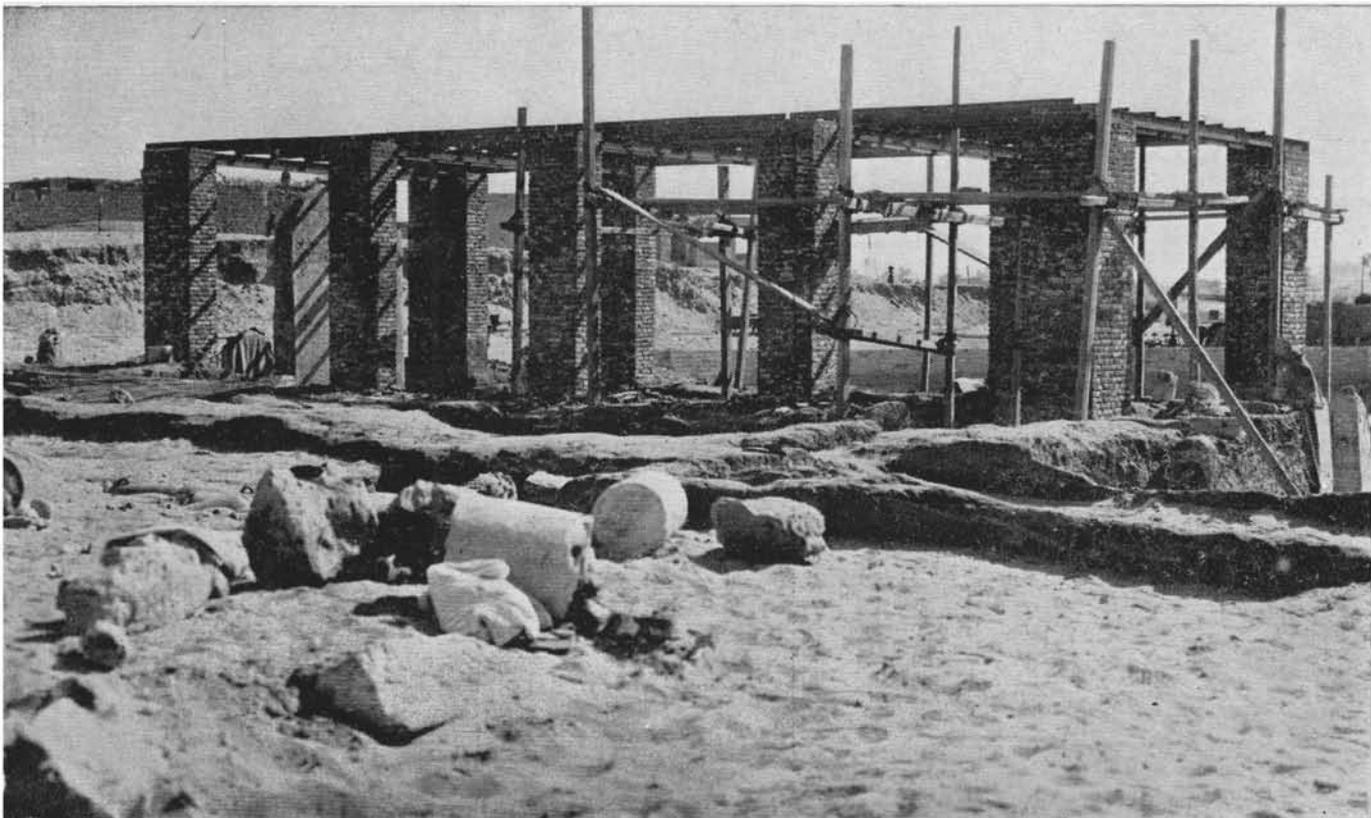
THE MAIN ENTRANCE



THE TEMPLE OF AMENHOTEP II, ALMOST COMPLETE IN ALL ITS PARTS



THE ENTRANCE OF THE TEMPLE OF AMENHOTEP II SHOWING THE LIMESTONE SPHINX



THE STRUCTURE OF THE TEMPLE IN THE COURSE OF RESTORATION

VII.—THE EXCAVATION OF THE SPHINX AMPHITHEATRE

IN addition to the work carried out in the Temple of Amenhotep II, the rest of the Sphinx Amphitheatre was also attended to. It was my aim to clear the whole area, from the Sphinx on the south to the American Concession on the north; and from the western edge of the Sphinx Court to the confines of the village of Nazlit-es-Semman on the east. Here it may be added that we purchased and demolished the hideous modern houses and shops standing just in front of the Sphinx, and which had long been an eyesore to the more thoughtful tourists. The late King Fouad of Egypt, as well as the late King Albert of Belgium, were particularly disgusted with the shops in front of the Sphinx, and remarked upon it during their visit there in 1930. They were criticized again by the King of Italy in 1934.

As I have already mentioned, the area to the north of the Sphinx was in an almost hopeless state of confusion, being littered with the accumulations of thousands of years. To effect a clearance on anything like scientific lines, meant shifting every grain of sand, every scrap of debris, and reaching down to the level of the natural rock. And I am happy to say that in one season we accomplished this task.

As I mentioned before, the trucks were carrying away an average of 1,300 cubic metres of sand and debris daily, and as this clearance continued from October 4, 1936 to June 10, 1937, some idea may be gained of the amount of work which we accomplished, namely the removal of more than a quarter of a million cubic metres of sand and debris. The disposal of such a vast amount of debris was in itself a problem, for, owing to a recently introduced system of irrigation, which controls the Nile flood in narrow canals, we could no longer dump it on the plain, and trust to the waters of the inundation to carry it away; and it was imperative that the material should not be dumped in a place where it would be likely to cover other fields of work. But after some deliberation, I hit upon the idea of extending the truck rails down to the village of Nezlit-es-Semman, and dumping the sand into the hollows and stagnant pools which had long been a source of trouble to the inhabitants. In this way we were able to get rid of our unwanted sand, and at the same time do a good turn to the villagers.

Pls. XXXI and XXXII show the work in progress in front of the Sphinx Temple, while Pl. XIX, *a, b* shows the same site before and after clearance.

Of course, the discovery of the Great Stela of Amenhotep II was the most important and spectacular find of the season, but we also made some other interesting discoveries, including the system of protective walls built by Thothmes IV (*see p. 5*).

Another find of great importance was the series of stelae, which will be described in detail in another chapter. These votive stelae were a great surprise to us, for we found that many of them were dedicated by foreign residents in Egypt, and they give the various versions of the name of the Sphinx as it was known in the Eighteenth Dynasty. They also furnish us with the name of the colony in which these people resided, namely the town of Harronia, probably the hitherto unidentified Horonopolis.

Our first task in starting work in this spot was to pull down the northern protective wall of M. Baraize, as it had served its purpose, and was now in our way. Accordingly, some of our men attacked this wall, while others started clearing away the sand to the south-east of it, and in so doing, recovered many small objects of interest, among which was a fine limestone statuette of a king. It is uninscribed, and represents the Pharaoh in mummy form, symbolizing his identification with Osiris (Pl. XXXIII, *a, b*). He wears the Double Crown, and the plaited Osirian beard, and grasps the ankh-sign \dagger in each hand which project from the tightly swathed mummy-wrappings, for this statuette, represents the Pharaoh as a mummy, symbolizing his identification with Osiris. A curious feature of this statuette is the plinth, which takes the form of an obelisk, the especial emblem of the solar cult. The face and hands still bear traces of the red colour with which they were painted.

Near-by this statuette was a pottery lamp of the Coptic Period, decorated with a design of palm-leaves (Fig. 35).

Later, another party of workmen started clearing the passage lying between the northern wall of the Sphinx Temple, and the cliff face. On October 17, a fresh batch of workers arrived from Kufu, and we re-doubled our efforts. The following day we brought to light a part of the mud-brick wall of Thothmes IV and also a stone wall that ran north to south. A few days later we were encouraged by the discovery of the Great Stela, and devoted all our energies to its clearance.

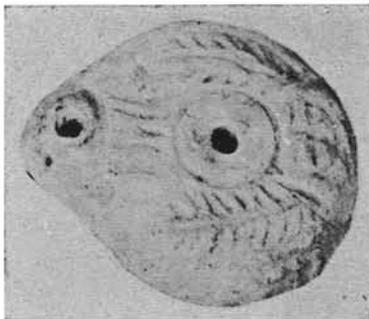


FIG. 35.—A POTTERY LAMP OF THE COPTIC PERIOD

The following month, however, we were able to spare some of our men to continue the clearance of the sand to the north-west of the Sphinx. Here we found some more remains of the wall of Thothmes IV, and buried in the mud deposits at its base, a human skeleton.

A day or two later we found another burial in which the corpse was interred in two large jars with the mouths fitted together, in a manner similar to those discovered near the

temple, and which were also in a condition too fragile to permit of their removal. Further finds in this place included two copper arrow-heads and a bowl (Fig. 36).

On November 22, we decided to clear away the debris from the north of the wall of the Sphinx Temple, and in so doing, we recovered a small headless sphinx of limestone, coloured red and yellow. It bears the Cartouche of Wah-ib-Ra and proves that the Saitic kings visited this neighbourhood and dedicated votive figures (*see* p. 118).

At the top of the western end of the passage, lying north of the Sphinx Temple, was a wall of rough limestone masonry, one of the blocks of which was a demotic inscription, written in ink, and covered by a potsherd, which was mortared on to the wall (Fig. 37).

It proved to be a record of a pilgrimage made there. Near to this wall, but at a lower level, we found part of a foundation deposit, similar to that discovered by M. Baraize at the opposite side of the temple. It consisted of over eighty different types of pottery vases, as well as two cylindrical model alabaster vases bearing the Cartouche of

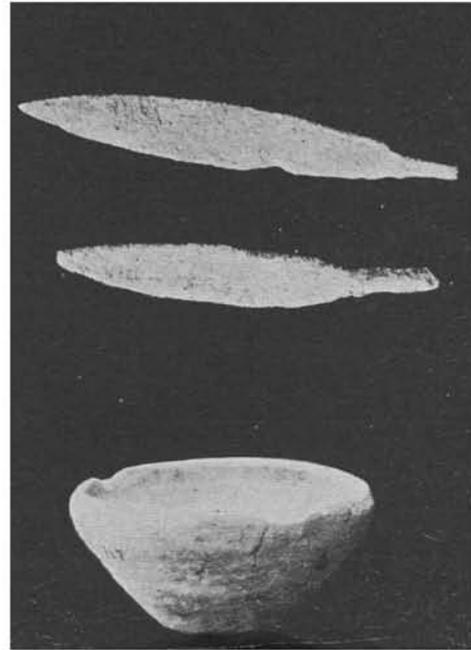


FIG. 36.—TWO COPPER ARROW-HEADS AND A BOWL

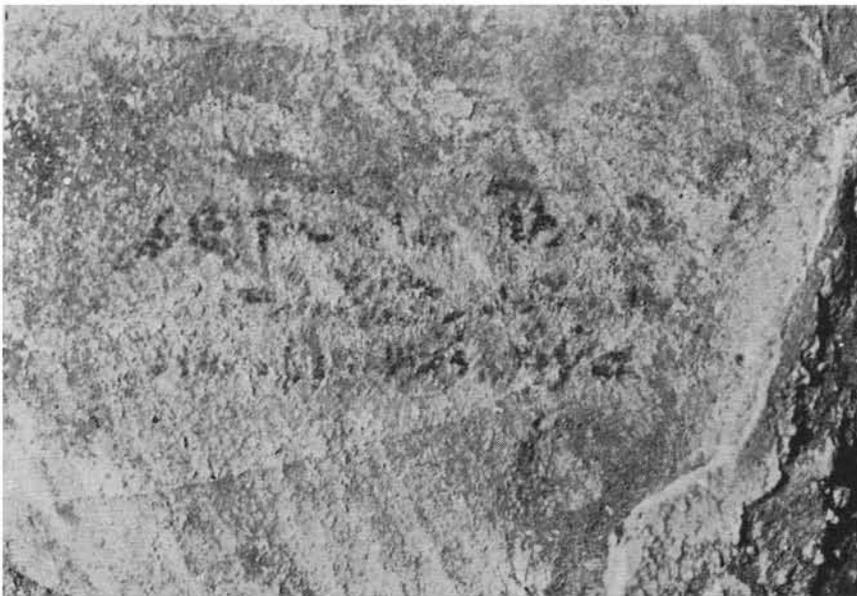


FIG. 37.—A DEMOTIC INSCRIPTION ON A BLOCK FROM A WALL

Amenhotep II, and a semi-circular piece of alabaster bearing the same cartouche.

By December 29, we were carrying on work in two places, clearing the rock face of the western end of the amphitheatre, and tracing the northern wall of the Sphinx Temple. On extending our work along the northern side of the amphitheatre, we came upon a human

skeleton in a very fragile state of preservation, and buried quite near to the surface of the sand. With this skeleton were found *ushabti*-figures of faience (Fig. 38).

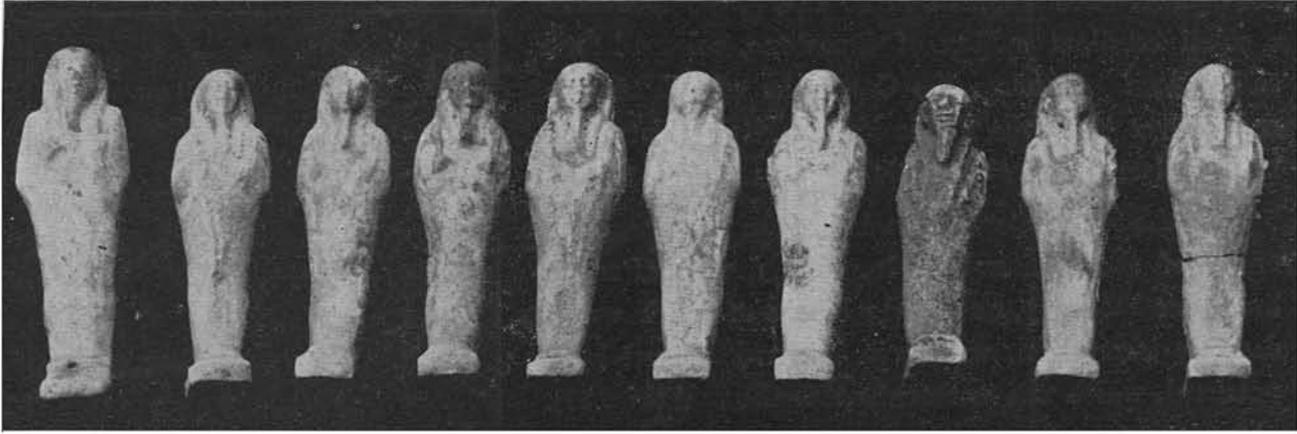


FIG. 38.—*Ushabti*-FIGURES OF FAIENCE

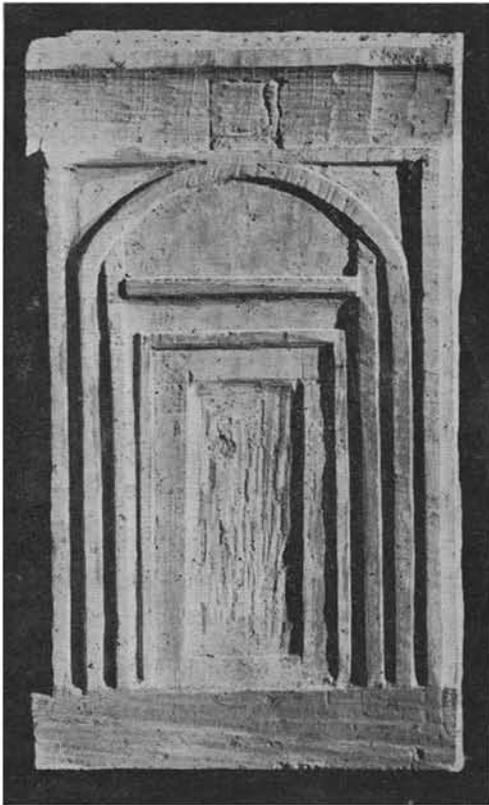


FIG. 39.—AN UNINSCRIBED STELA OF WHITE LIMESTONE

In the north-western corner of the amphitheatre there appeared two parallel walls of rough limestone masonry, and natural rock, which formed a kind of short street or passage. On clearing this passage, we found that it led to a rock-cut chamber, containing a deep burial-shaft. The tomb was uninscribed, and had been thoroughly plundered in ancient times. It was a feature of all the tombs subsequently discovered in this area, that all had suffered despoliation (with one exception, and this contained nothing worth plundering) !

Many tombs showed plain traces of re-employment both for burial, and apparently as repositories for stelae and votive figures.

Out of the debris to the west of this passage, we recovered a stela of white limestone. It is uninscribed, and is of a most unusual type, seeming to have been intended to represent a shrine ; it is unfinished (Fig. 39). Near-by were two pottery dishes

and a fine jar of red-ware (Figs. 40, 41), all of which date from the Eighteenth Dynasty. Having now reached the northern rock-face, we proceeded to work along it to the east, and in so doing, brought to light another rock-cut tomb, which also proved to be uninscribed

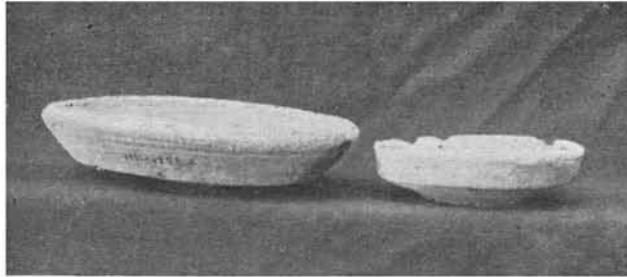


FIG. 40.—TWO POTTERY DISHES

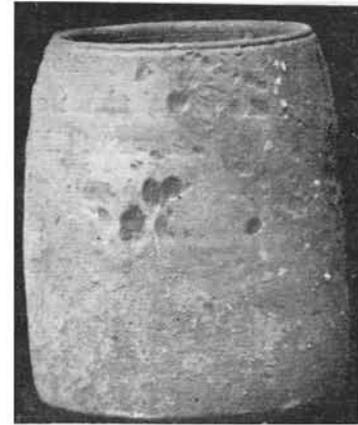


FIG. 41.—A FINE JAR OF RED-WARE

and violated. Some of our men were engaged in clearing away the sand to the north of the wall of Thothmes IV, and found there a further group of sixty-two *ushabti*-figures, five of which were inscribed, and an amulet in the form of the Wazit-sceptre of Eternal Youth (Fig. 42).

On January 9, 1937, we were clearing the second passage against the northern cliff face, and the following objects were recovered from the debris:—

- (1) A stela bearing a representation of a human ear (*see* p. 41).
- (2) Several small votive stelae, mostly bearing representations of the Sphinx.
- (3) Two damaged votive figures, one being of a hawk and the other a Sphinx (Fig. 43, *a, b*).



FIG. 42.—AN AMULET IN THE FORM OF THE WAZIT-SCEPTRE OF ETERNAL YOUTH

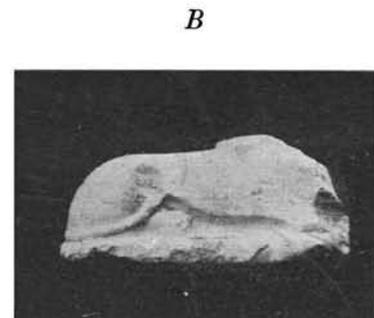


FIG. 43, *a, b*.—TWO DAMAGED VOTIVE FIGURES OF A HAWK AND A SPHINX

The eastern end of the cliff face was heavily encumbered with drift-sand, and also with the ruins and debris of an accumulation of mud-brick structures of various periods, which on removal, revealed a row of tombs cut in the cliff face (*see* Plan: Pl. XVI).

The question is: Were these tombs cut before or after the Sphinx? So far as we can tell, the actual amphitheatre of the Sphinx was formed when Khufu was quarrying the stone for the core-masonry of his Pyramid. We can guess this by the fact that the stone surrounding the Sphinx is of excellent quality, especially that lying to the south, and is similar to that of which the Great Pyramid is constructed. These tombs are mostly cut in the northern cliff face, so that they open south, a very unusual orientation for an Old Kingdom tomb, which generally opens to the north or east. Three more tombs are crowded together in the north-western corner of the amphitheatre, and so face east. The remainder of the walls of the amphitheatre, which are actually surrounding the Sphinx, have never been used for burial, although tombs cut in them would have had the more orthodox orientation. Therefore, we may safely say that the Sphinx preceded the tombs, and as they are mostly of the late Fourth and Early Fifth Dynasty types, they add valuable evidence for the precise dating of the Sphinx.

Later, another tomb appeared at the same spot, but at a higher level and below it was a platform of rubble, on which was resting a limestone offering-table (Fig. 50). Near-by were some stelae of sons of Amenhotep II. The fact that these three stelae were all found in one spot is a further proof that there was some connection between them (*see p. 84 ff.*).

After a few days we found the drum of the entrance of Tomb No. 4 (*see Pl. XVI*), and this identified it at once as having belonged to a certain prince named Akh-Ra, of the Old Kingdom, but it was certainly re-used during the New Kingdom, as can be proved by the scene on the façade, which represents standing figures of Amon-Ra and a man kneeling in adoration before the Sphinx. Between the man and the Sphinx are four vertical rows of hieroglyphs, reading: "Adoration to Hor-akhty, the Great God, the Lord of Heaven, that he may give favour before his Lord, in praise of Hor-akhty, of the Ka of . . . Mut, the justified . . . the Possessor of honour". Above the back of the Sphinx is inscribed: "Hor-akhty, the Great God" (Fig. 44).



FIG. 44.—THE SPHINX WITH A MAN KNEELING IN ADORATION BEFORE IT

(1) Correct  = to   in the inscription above.

On the opposite side of the doorway is a standing figure of the God Amon-Ra, above which is a vertical inscription reading: "An offering which the King gives, and Amon-Ra" (Fig. 45). On the left-hand thickness of the entrance are two more figures of Amon-Ra, but they are in a very bad state of preservation.

We have other evidence of a connection between Amon-Ra and the Sphinx. This occurs on a lintel discovered at Deir-el-Medineh. In the centre of the design are two sphinxes arranged back to back upon high pedestals, in the side of which is represented a door. They are clad in the usual collar, apron, and hawk's plumage, but instead of wearing the nemes head-dress, they have short, curled wigs bound by a fillet, and having a uraeus on the front and streamers down the back, and surmounted by two tall plumes. In front of each Sphinx is inscribed: "Amon-Ra, the Lord of the Southern Ipt (Luxor)".

Before the left-hand Sphinx is represented Amenhotep II presenting two jars of wine, while before the right-hand Sphinx, Amenhotep I presents incense.

The sand in front of the Tomb of Akh-Ra yielded up a surprising number of objects of various dates, among which were no less than thirteen small stelae.

Near to these stelae, we found four limestone votive hawks, a damaged sphinx, and the head of a black granite statuette of a woman, the latter dating from the Old Kingdom (Figs. 46, *a*, *b*, *c*, 47, *a*, *b*).

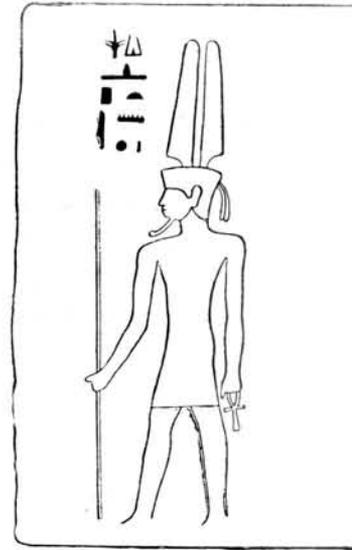


FIG. 45.—A STANDING FIGURE OF THE GOD AMON-RA

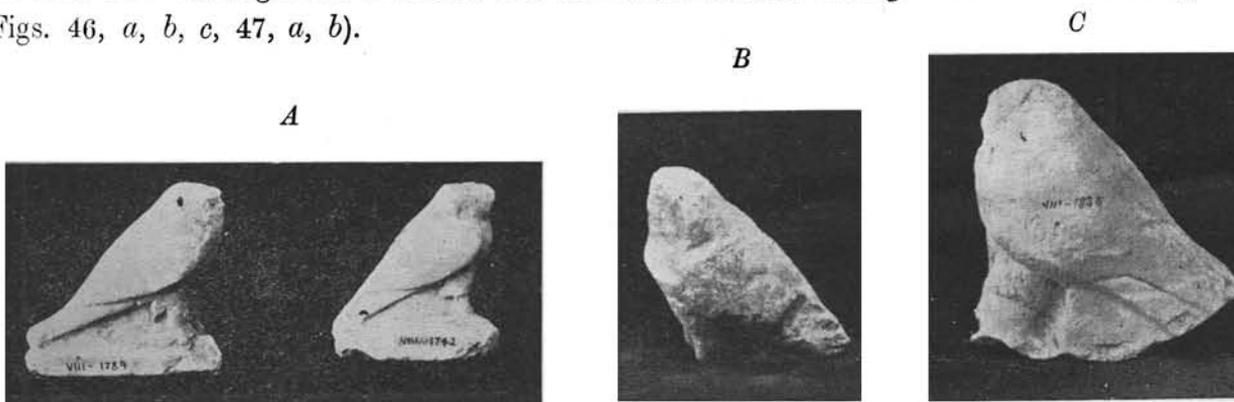


FIG. 46, *a*, *b*, *c*.—FOUR LIMESTONE VOTIVE HAWKS

Below Tomb No. 5 we were fortunate enough to recover a very fine limestone statuette of a king. It is uninscribed, but the features resemble those of Amenhotep II, and it may represent that king in his youth. Unfortunately the legs are missing from a little above the ankles; apart from this, however, the figure is in an almost perfect state of preservation.

It shows the Pharaoh in a standing attitude, with his arms hanging at his sides. The right hand is holding a handkerchief, while the left one is closed upon some object now chipped off. He wears the nemes head-dress, with the uraeus upon the brow, and straight false-beard. Around his hips is the *shendyt*-kilt, upheld by a belt, in the front of which is thrust a dagger. This statuette is remarkable for the grace and delicacy of its modelling; it is, in fact, a typical example of the best orthodox work of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Fig. 48).

A



B



FIG. 47, *a, b*.—A DAMAGED SPHINX AND THE HEAD OF A BLACK GRANITE STATUETTE OF A WOMAN

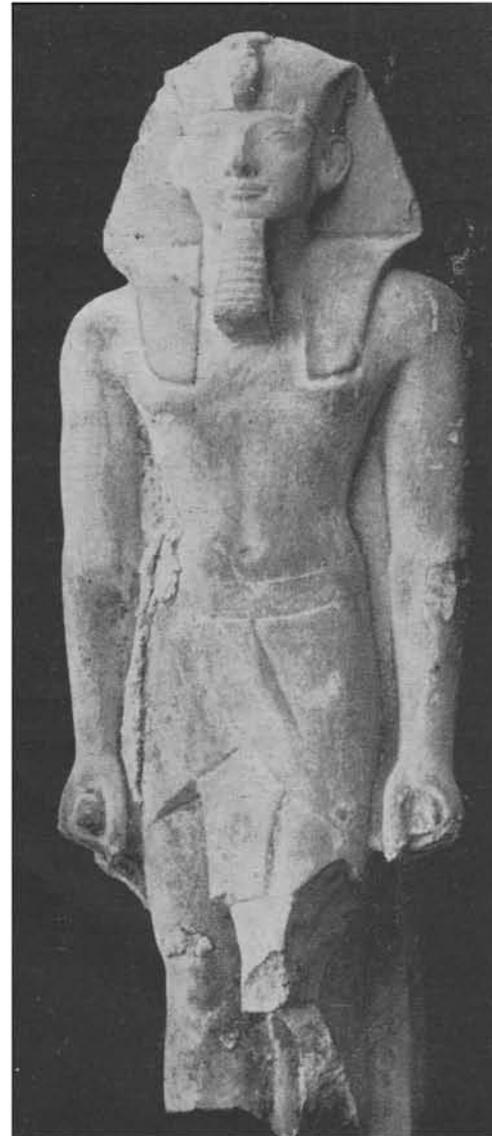


FIG. 48.—A VERY FINE LIMESTONE STATUETTE OF A KING (AMENHOTEP II?)

The following day's work in these places revealed a set of ten faience *ushabti*-figures, a pottery bowl, and by a singular stroke of good fortune, the bottom of a stela, the top of which had come to light a few days before (*see* p. 43, Fig. 31 [10]).

Further clearance in the Tomb of Akh-Ra revealed a queer state of confusion; the serdab, which should be exclusively for the housing of the ka-statues of the owner of the tomb, was found to contain a limestone stela on which is represented a man presenting offerings to the Sphinx, some fragments of inscribed limestone, a limestone votive hawk, and the lower part of a fine white limestone statuette of a seated man. The latter, being of the Old Kingdom school, may have formed part of the original contents of the serdab (Fig. 49).

On January 19, another tomb came to light to the east of Tomb No. 5 and at a higher level. In front of its entrance was a limestone offering-table, standing upon a pedestal (Fig. 50).



FIG. 49.—THE LOWER PART OF A FINE
WHITE LIMESTONE STATUETTE
OF A SEATED MAN



FIG. 50.—A LIMESTONE OFFERING-
TABLE ON A PEDESTAL IN FRONT
OF A TOMB

Near this same place we unearthed a large lintel, composed of three slabs of limestone. It bore two rows of weather-worn inscription, giving the titles and name of a certain In-ka-f, Priest of the Goddess Hathor. It dates from the Old Kingdom. Other tombs of this period and later came to light in this cliff face.

Tomb No. 11 seems to have been re-employed as a repository for stelae during the New Kingdom, for the northern wall is recessed to receive round-topped tablets of various sizes, but the tablets themselves are missing.

Outside this tomb we found a stela of crude work, bearing a representation of the Sphinx wearing the Atef-crown.

On January 31, we revealed the entrance to the Tomb of Kai-whem, and the mouths of seven brick and rubble shafts lying to its west (*see Plan: Pl. XVI*).

The next few weeks were spent in cleaning the ground level in front of the northern cliff face, gradually working south towards the Sphinx.

By February 3, we had reached the edge of the actual depression in which the Sphinx lay, and were working in a deep layer of undisturbed sand. In this spot we made an important find in the shape of a fine seated statue of a man, carved from a single block of sandstone. It represents a middle-aged man of good physique, seated cross-legged in the manner usually associated with statues of scribes (*Pls. XXXIV, XXXV*). The hands are placed flat upon the lap, and between them are five lines of hieroglyphs, incised upon the kilt, and reading (*Fig. 51*):



FIG. 51.—THE INSCRIPTION OF HOTEP

“A boon which the King gives, and Ptah-Seker-Osiris, the Lord of Shtyt, and Anubis who presides over His Mountain, Imyut, Lord of the Holy Land, (gives) thousands of bread, beer, cakes, oxen, geese, alabaster vessels and clothing, to the Ka of the Priest of Sekhmet, Hotep, born of Sat-Ameni . . . (1) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nefer-ir-ka-Ra, Justified”.

On the plinth, supporting the back of the statue, are two vertical rows of hieroglyphs, reading:—

(1) “A boon which the King gives, and Osiris, the Lord of Dedeu, the Great God, Lord of Abydos: that he may give an offering of bread and beer to the Ka of the Priest of Sekhmet, Hotep.”

(2) “A boon which the King gives, and Anubis, who is upon his Mountain, Imyut, Lord of the Land (sic): that he may give an offering of bread and beer to the Ka of the Priest of Sekhmet, Hotep.”

(1) It is possible that there was a temple for this king in that place, especially if we translate  for the temple of . . .

In front of the pedestal is inscribed : “ A boon which the King gives, and Ptah-Seker-Osiris, Lord of Shtyt, to the Ka of the Priest of Sekhmet, Hotep”.

Except for a slight damage to the nose and the right knee, the statue is in a perfect state of preservation, and presents a good example of the sculpture of the Twelfth Dynasty. It was found facing east, and was apparently undisturbed from its original position. Although this statue undoubtedly dates from the Twelfth Dynasty, the inscription on the lap mentions the name of King Nefer-ir-ka-Ra, of the Fifth Dynasty. Now, the name of this King appearing in this place, coupled with the fact that the Tomb of Ra-wer, the most famous and favourite official of King Nefer-ir-ka-Ra, is situated only a stone's throw away, seems to suggest some connection between that King and the Sphinx, or its locality. Perhaps he also carried out some work around the Sphinx, or perhaps he was deified in this district, and has a cult there.

Near the spot, where we found this statue, but not actually with it, were a number of small votive stelae, some inscribed, some bearing representations of the Sphinx, while quite a number were ear-tablets. The most interesting of these are :—

(1) A fragment showing a wheel of a king's chariot, with the hind-quarters of the horses, and attendants standing in attitudes of humble adoration. It is unfortunate that we were unable to recover the upper part of this interesting and unusual scene (Fig. 52).

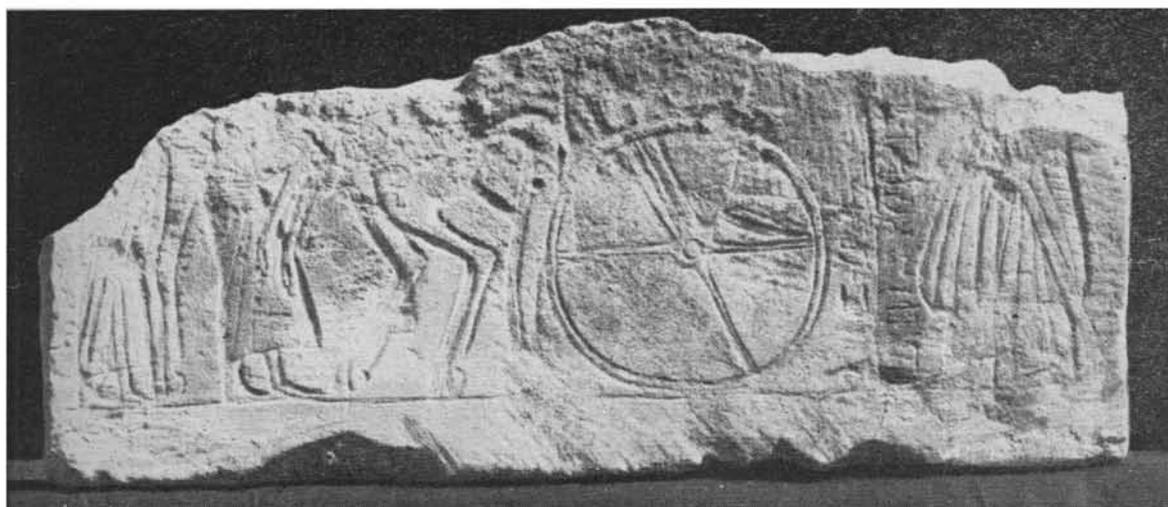


FIG. 52.—A SMALL FRAGMENTARY VOTIVE STELA SHOWING A WHEEL OF A KING'S CHARIOT, WITH THE HIND-QUARTERS OF HORSES AND ATTENDANTS STANDING

(2) A small, rectangular tablet, divided into two registers, in the upper one of which is a scene, so far as I am aware, unique in the history of Egyptian Art. It shows the Sphinx with two Pyramids in the background, and is drawn according to the rules of modern

perspective (Fig. 53). In Egyptian art the rule was that any object, particularly sacred subjects, must be drawn with every part visible. For instance, take the statue of the king between the fore-paws of the Sphinx, in the stelae of the son of Amenhotep II, this appears in the orthodox manner, that is to say it was drawn as though it were in the air above the paws, or standing beside them. But in the case under discussion, the statue is clearly standing *between* the paws, and the lower part of the legs are hidden by the near foreleg of the Sphinx. Then take the Pyramids: It is a most unusual thing for an Egyptian scene to show any back-



FIG. 53.—A SMALL RECTANGULAR TABLET
DIVIDED INTO TWO REGISTERS

ground at all, and in the few examples where such a thing does occur, it is merely suggested in a most conventional manner. In this case, we should expect to see the two Pyramids, showing the rectangular bases, as in the hieroglyph for "Pyramid" \triangle , placed one beside the other, quite separate, and resting in the air well above the head and back of the Sphinx. Instead, we see them in perspective, the one slightly overlapping the other, and both their bases hidden by the body of the Sphinx. Moreover, this view can actually be seen by any person standing on the roof of the Khafra Temple, and looking north-west.

If the artist was so reliable and accurate in his observations in this respect, perhaps we may also accept his evidence as to the decoration of the Sphinx, which shows the wide collar and the hawk's plumage. Above the head of the Sphinx appears the hawk of Hor akhty, and below it is inscribed: "Hor-em-akhet, the Great God, Lord of Heaven". Underneath this scene is a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading: "Made by the clever scribe, Mentu-her".

The bottom register is occupied by a representation of two men, standing in adoration. The one to the right, who is perhaps Mentu-her himself, wears a long skirt and a wig reaching to his shoulders; while his companion, who is drawn on a smaller scale, has a shaven head, and carries a bag, or perhaps writing equipment, slung over his shoulder. Between the two figures is a vertical row of hieroglyphs, reading: "Made by the Scribe, Ka-Mut-nekhtu, Justified".

The bottom register is occupied by a representation of two men, standing in adoration. The one to the right, who is perhaps Mentu-her himself, wears a long skirt and a wig reaching to his

shoulders; while his companion, who is drawn on a smaller scale, has a shaven head, and carries a bag, or perhaps writing equipment, slung over his shoulder. Between the two figures is a vertical row of hieroglyphs, reading: "Made by the Scribe, Ka-Mut-nekhtu, Justified".

As no specific relationship is mentioned as existing between these two men, perhaps we may surmise that they were master and pupil, who dedicated this joint stela as a memento of a pilgrimage they made together to the Sphinx and Pyramids.

The reverse of the tablet bears a standing figure of a woman. It is uninscribed, and it is uncertain whether she is connected with the men depicted on the obverse, or if the tablet had been usurped (Fig. 54).

With these stelae, we found three damaged limestone sphinxes, one of which bears traces of red colour, and a clay sealing stamped with the name of Seti I.

The following day revealed a fine pink granite statuette of a man. It was broken clean in half, but as no part is missing, it may be repaired without difficulty.

It represents a man seated upon a stool, and the attitude and workmanship are typical of the Old Kingdom (Fig. 55).



FIG. 54.—THE REVERSE SIDE OF THE RECTANGULAR TABLET, BEARING THE REPRESENTATION OF A WOMAN STANDING



FIG. 55.—A STATUETTE OF A MAN SEATED UPON A STOOL

The confused nature of the site is eloquently demonstrated by the fact that from the same place where we recovered this Old Kingdom statuette, there also came to light a number of stelae, apparently dating from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, as well as a glazed scarab of the Saitic Period, and votive lions and sphinxes of various dates (Fig. 56, *a, b, c*); and then again, part of the pedestal and foot of a statue of In-ka-f, apparently thrown out when his tomb was usurped in later times, and which again is clearly Old Kingdom.

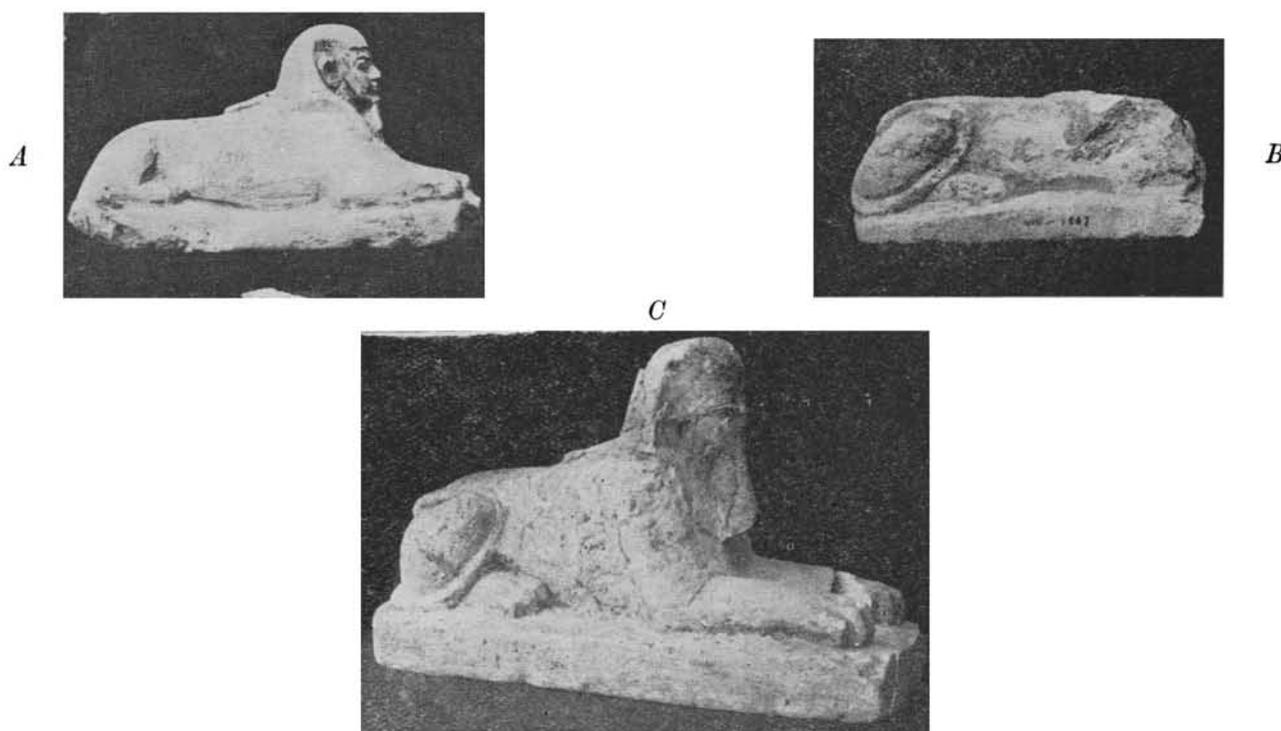


FIG. 56, *a, b, c*.—VOTIVE SPHINXES

The following day revealed another stela, bearing the name of Amenhotep II. It was embedded in a certain mud-brick wall (Pl. XXXVI, *a*) which seems to have been a recognized place for the dedication of stelae, for, on February 18, we recovered from it no less than eight more specimens, as well as damaged statuette set in a niche. One of the stelae, which is almost perfect in its preservation, still bears traces of brilliant blue and yellow paint (Pl. XXXVI, *a*).

If all these stelae were so coloured, and there is reason to believe that they were, the wall must have presented as gay an appearance as any modern advertisement hoarding. As before mentioned, the walls of some of the later structures were partly constructed of usurped stelae. A broken fragment of one of these is shown in Pl. XXXVI, *b*. It was originally coloured red, perhaps to imitate red granite, and bore a long, closely written inscription. The fact that it was built into the fabric of a Roman wall lying at the bottom of the Sphinx cavity, is proof that this area was cleared at that date.

The next four days were wholly taken up working this site, and resulted in the discovery of many interesting objects, differing widely in nature and period. One particularly interesting object is a small limestone statuette of a man, who is represented seated in a carrying-chair with a canopy. An inscription on the arm of the chair informs us that he was from Memphis, and that his name was Hiy (Fig. 57).



FIG. 57.—A SMALL LIMESTONE STATUETTE OF A MAN SEATED IN A CARRYING-CHAIR

Another fine piece is a large limestone naos, seen in Fig. 58. It was found lying face downwards in the sand, and underneath it were two small stelae of limestone. The niche in the centre bears traces of mortar, which probably held a statuette in place, but if so, this figure is now missing. On the jambs are vertical inscriptions, which are identical with each other. They read: "The Good God, the Lord of Offerings, Men-kheperu-Ra, the Son of Ra, Thothmes (IV), Beloved of Hor-em-akhet".



FIG. 58.—A LARGE LIMESTONE NAOS

On February 25, we moved to a spot a little to the north of the Temple of Amenhotep II, and there recovered a small amuletic figure in bronze, representing the Apis bull. The presence of this figure, which is of a late period, coupled with the representation of the same sacred bull

as mentioned on the Inventory Stela (*see pp. 113-116*), may indicate that there was a branch of the Apis cult in this district, as well as at Memphis, which is not at all unlikely, as the Apis was also considered as an incarnation of the sun ⁽¹⁾.

The following days were spent in clearing steadily eastwards, in a line north of the Amenhotep Temple, and each day's work brought its quota of stelae, sphinxes and other small objects. Among other things was the base of a statue of the sacred hawk, only the feet and tail of which remain (Fig. 59, *a, b*). On the front of the pedestal is a damaged statuette of the donor. This seems to have been intended to be set sideways against a wall, for only the right side of the pedestal is inscribed, and this bears five vertical rows of hieroglyphs, reading: "A boon which the King gives, and Horus, the Lord of the Horizon, he who is in the Setepet: that he may

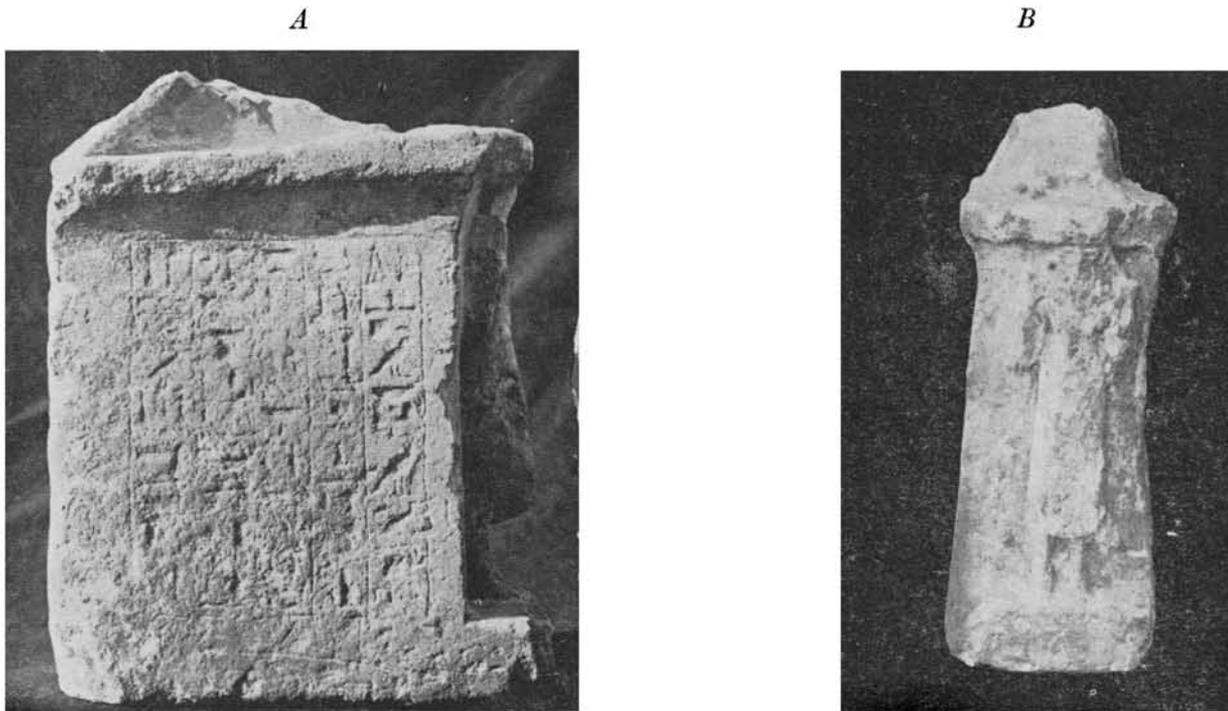


FIG. 59, *a, b*.—BASE OF A STATUE OF A SACRED HAWK WITH A DAMAGED STATUETTE OF THE DONOR

give good life, praise, love and reward in every place, to the Ka of he who follows his Master on water, on land, in the deserts, in the South and in the North, he who fills the heart of the Supporter of the Two Lands (the King), he who is in the heart of the Good God, the Commander of the Army of the Nubians, Amen-heb, the Justified". Note (in Fig. 59 *a*) the variant to the usual title of the God: "He who is in the Setepet". Apparently this Amen-heb was attached to the personal guard of the King, and may have dedicated this statue on the occasion of one of the royal visits.

⁽¹⁾ MULLER, "*Egyptian Mythology*", p. 162.

On March 6, we came upon the foundations of another mud-brick temple, lying immediately to the north of that of Amenhotep II. It is in a very bad state of preservation being denuded down to within a few inches of the foundations. It was apparently entered from the west by means of a flight of steps leading down from a higher level of ground (*see* Plan : Fig. 60).

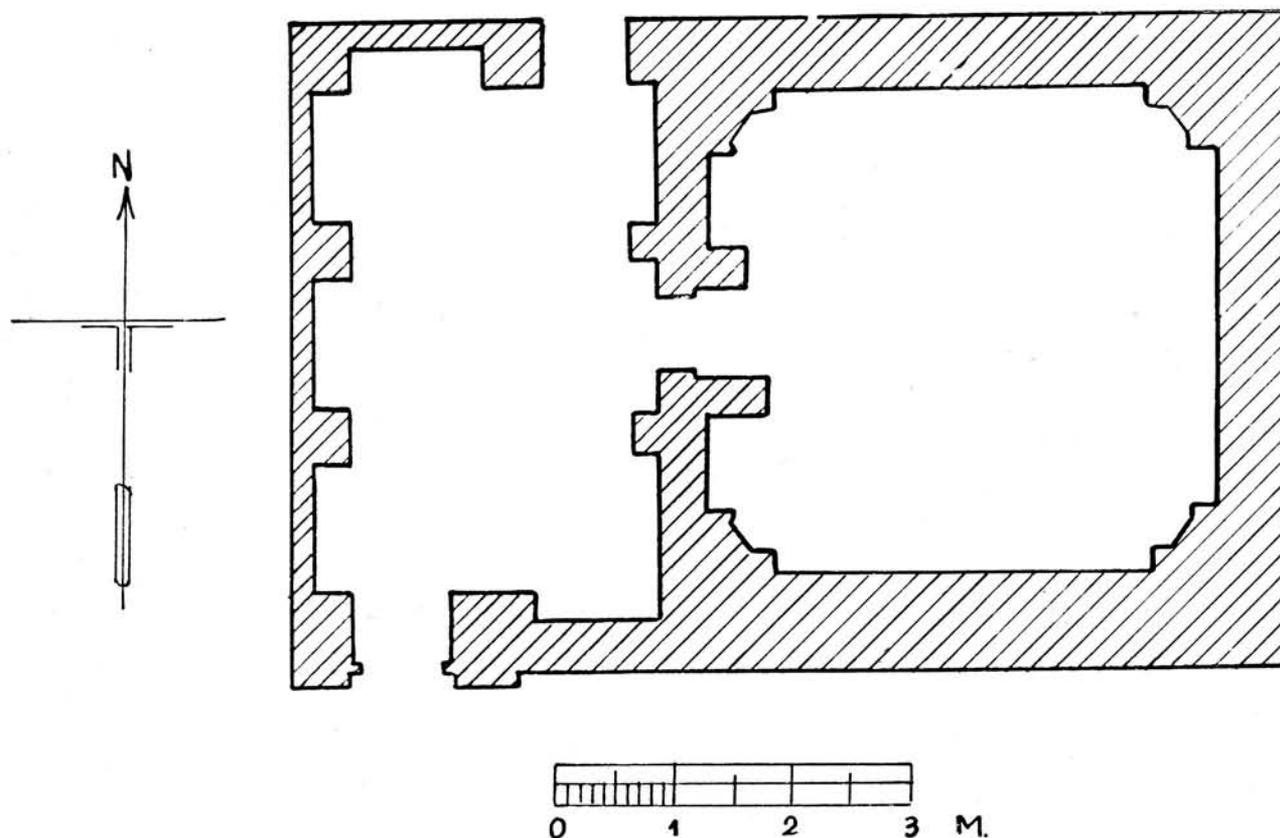


FIG. 60.—PLAN OF THE MUD-BRICK TEMPLE OF THOTHMES I (?)

This temple seems to be older than that of Amenhotep II, and may have been built by Thothmes I. When compared with the Temple of Amenhotep, its extremely ruinous condition arouses a suspicion as to whether it had been used to furnish material for the larger structure! It was erected on a very uneven patch of ground, and the site was accordingly levelled by means of a bed of rubble and concrete.

This site also yielded up many small stelae and damaged votive figures of lions, sphinxes and hawks.

By March 25, we had reached the modern houses at the edge of the village of Nazlit-es-Semman, and proceeded to demolish them. Even at this spot, the sand continued to yield up pottery and votive lions.

By May 11, we had begun to demolish the huge, barrage-like walls of M. Baraize, south of the Sphinx, and by May 27 completed the task, and were able to lay bare the approach to the Sphinx.

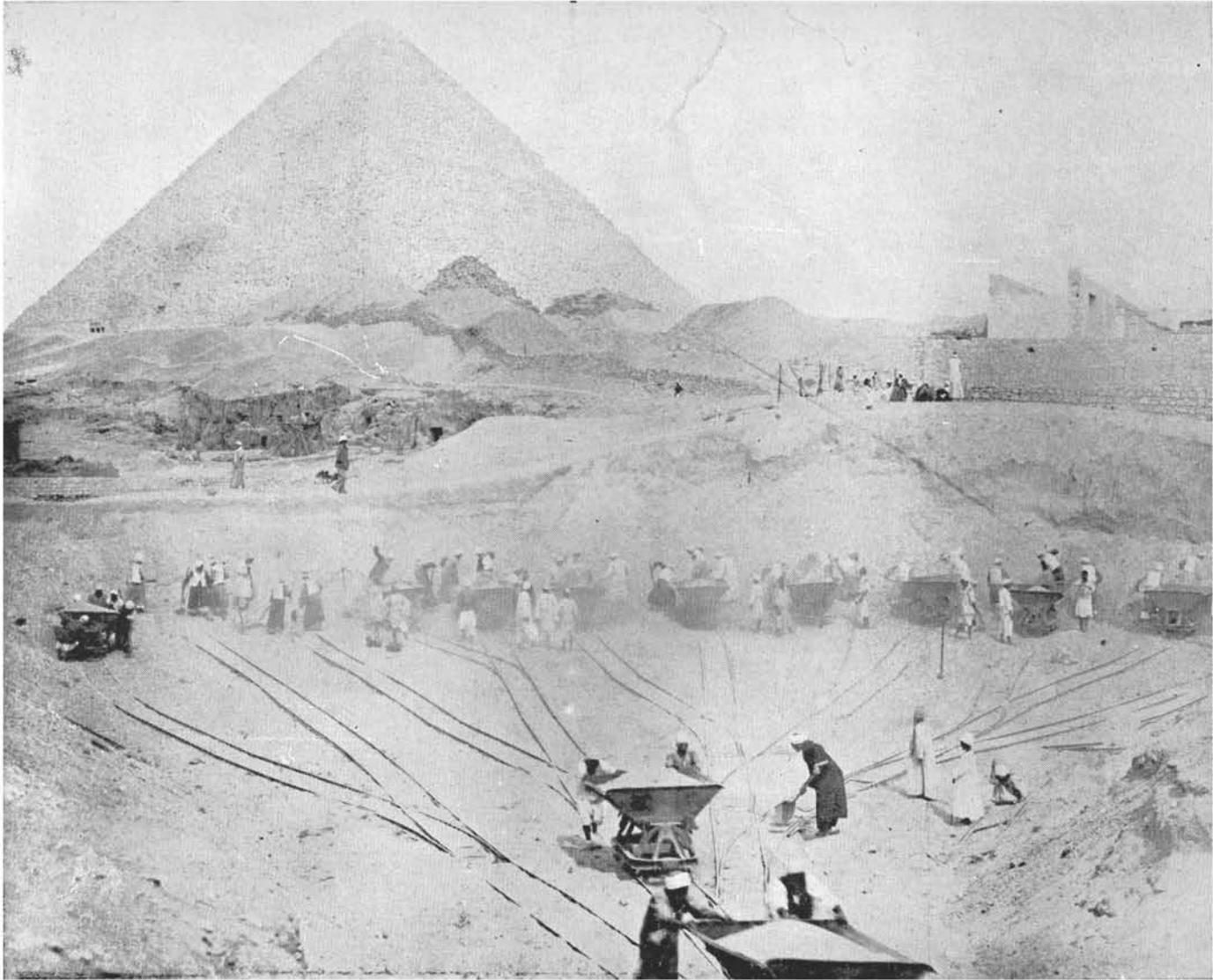
Here we removed the ruins of many late mud-brick structures, and mud debris until, at last, we reached down to the original level of the ground (Pl. XXXVII).

And now, once more the visitor can approach the Sphinx in the manner which was intended by the unknown genius who designed this most wonderful monument.

But our work is by no means finished in this site. Much clearance remains to be made to the east and south of the Sphinx and the Valley Temple of Khafra, entailing many more months of hard, but supremely interesting work, and who knows what secrets the sands may still be hiding!

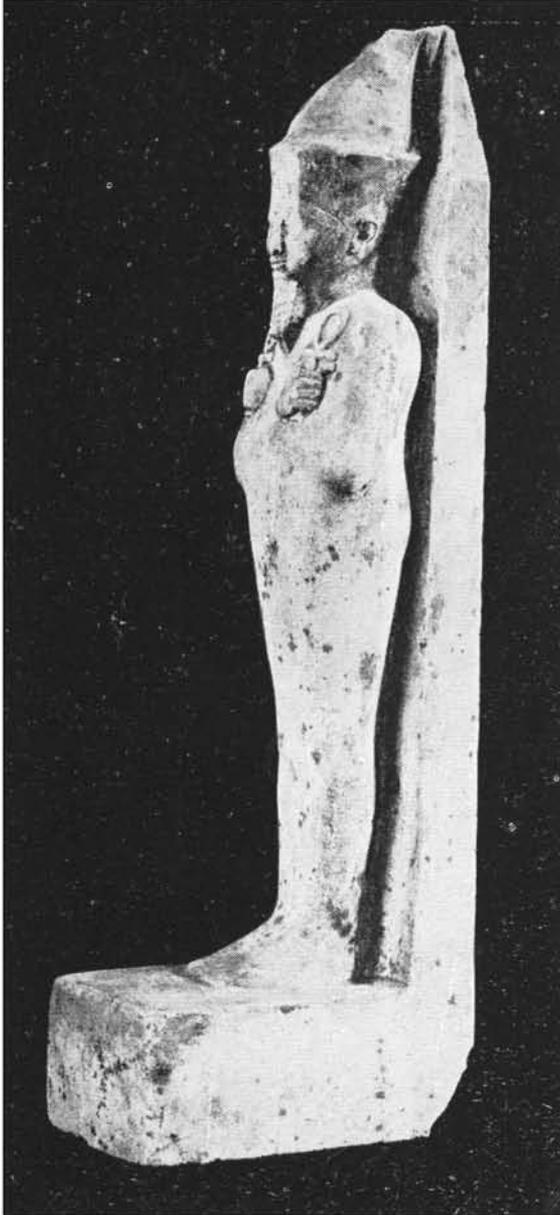


THE WORK IN PROGRESS IN FRONT OF THE SPHINX TEMPLE



MEN WORKING IN FRONT OF THE SPHINX TEMPLE

A



B

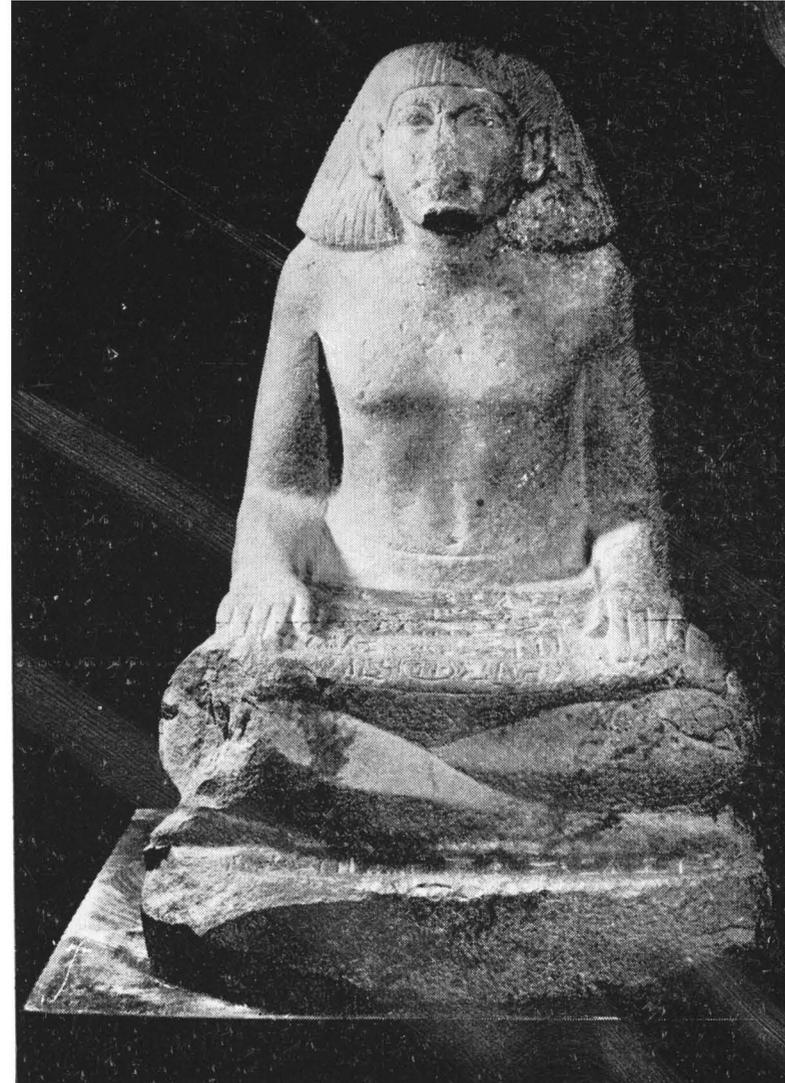


A FINE LIMESTONE STATUETTE OF A KING

A

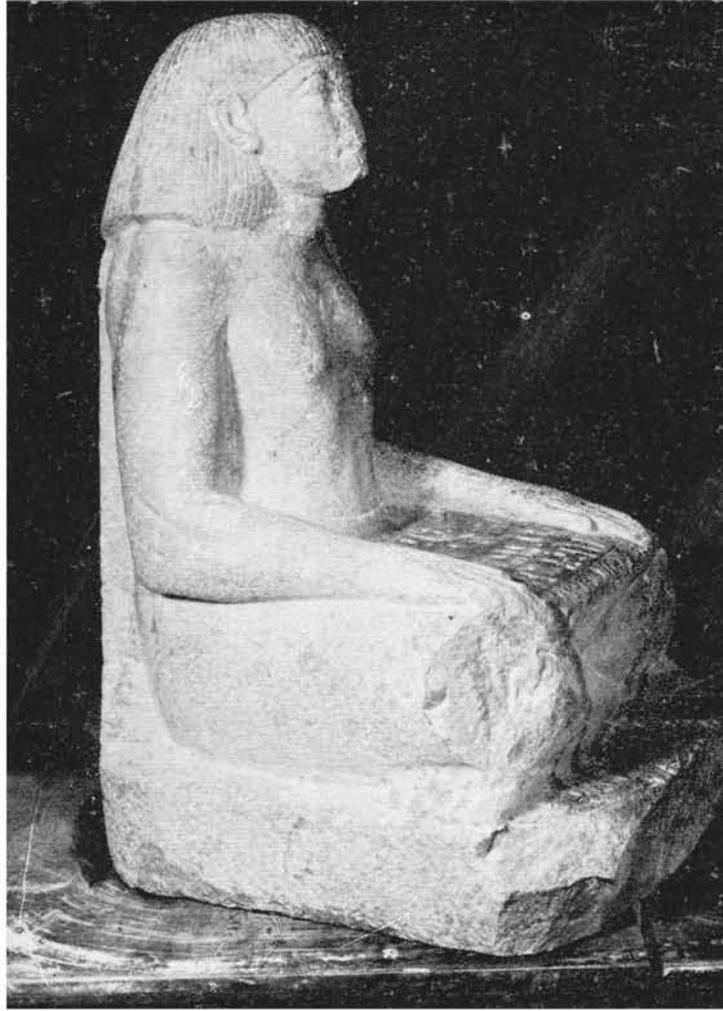


B



PL. XXXIV, a, b

A STATUE OF A MIDDLE-AGED MAN SEATED CROSS-LEGGED

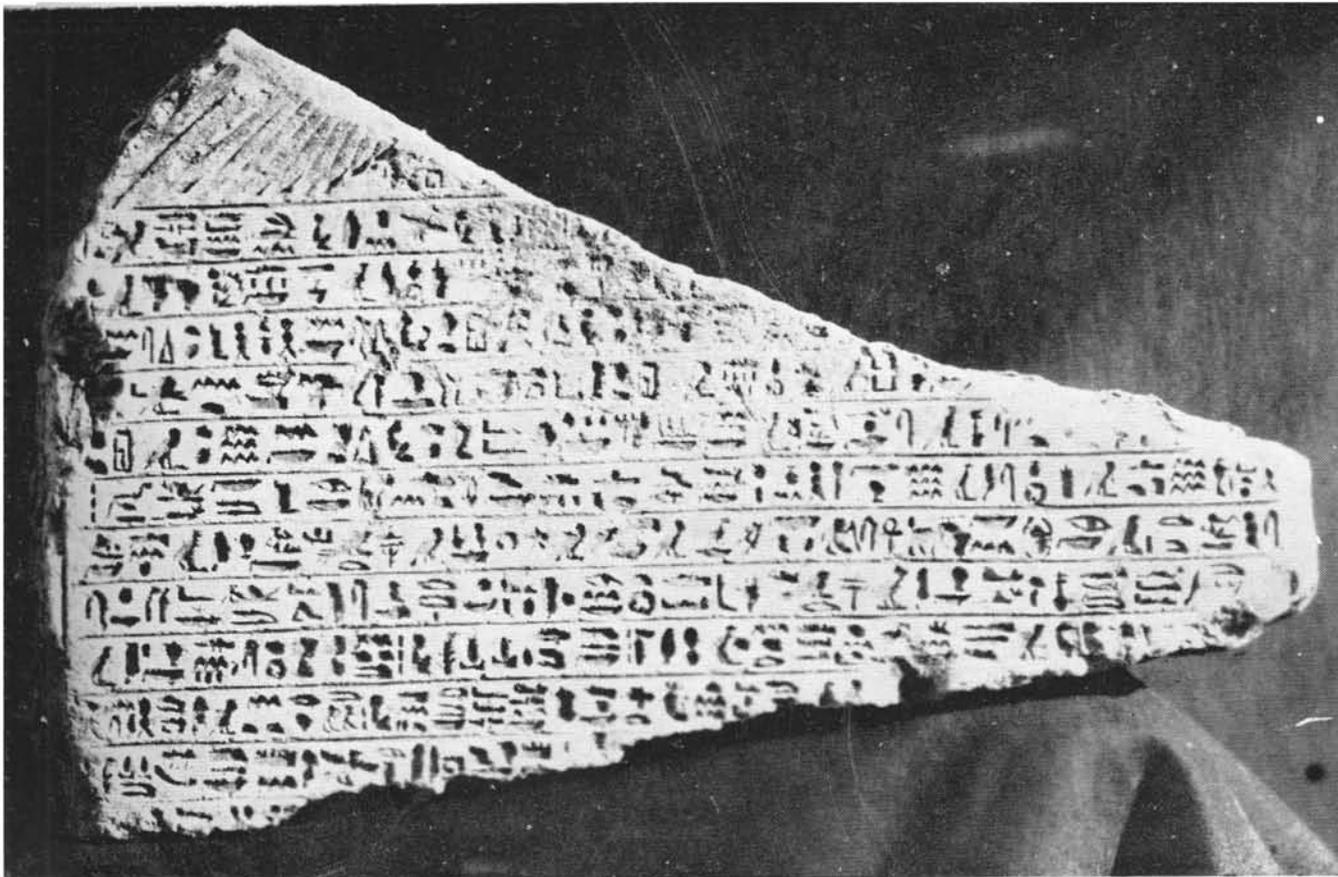


A STATUE OF A MIDDLE-AGED MAN SEATED CROSS-LEGGED



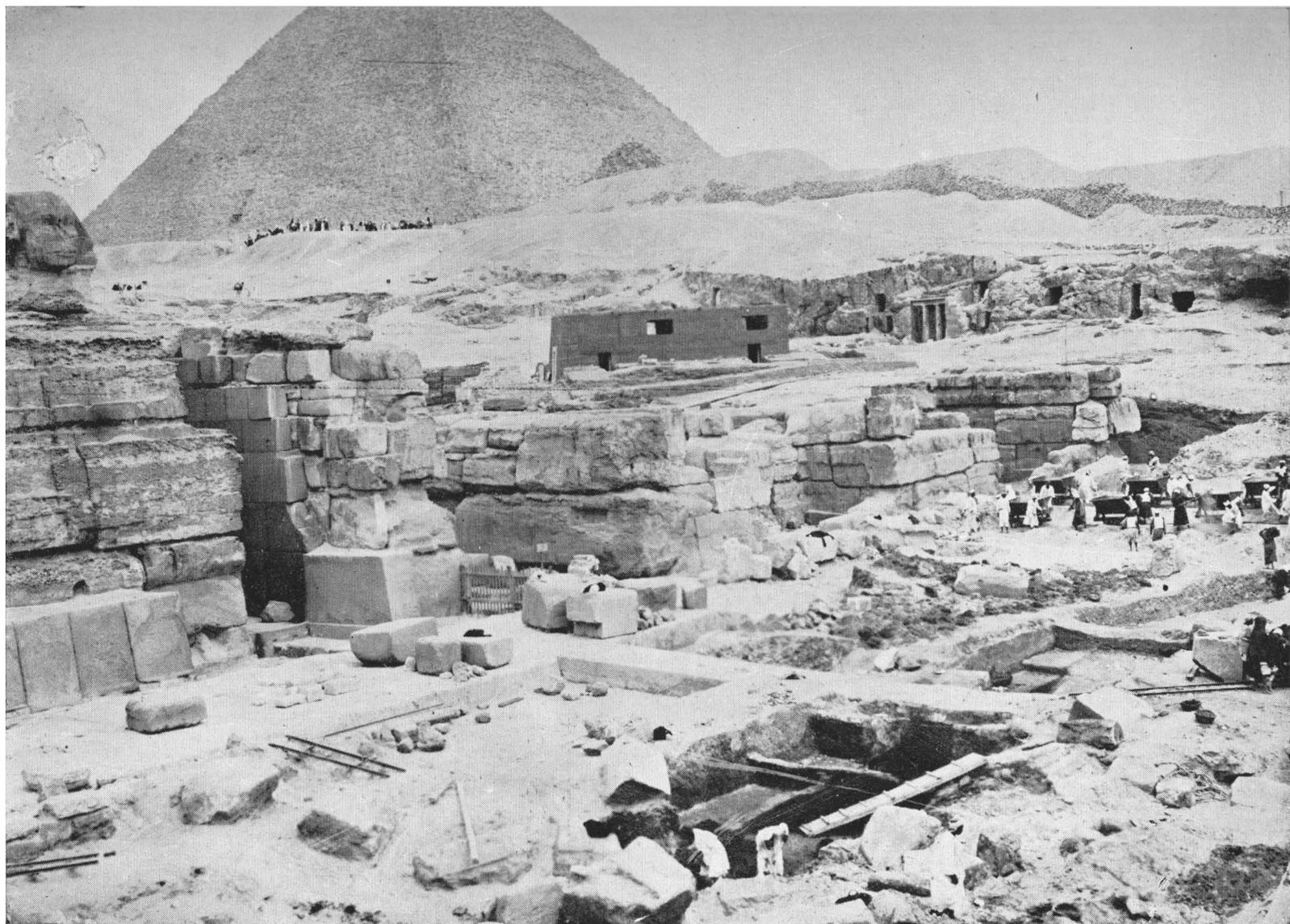
A

STELAE, ONE OF WHICH IS ALMOST INTACT, SET IN A MUD-BRICK WALL



B

A BROKEN FRAGMENT OF A USURPED STELA



THE SPHINX AREA AFTER REMOVAL OF THE RUINS OF LATE MUD-BRICK STRUCTURES DOWN TO THE ORIGINAL LEVEL OF THE GROUND

VIII.—ROYAL VISITORS TO THE SPHINX FROM THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY DOWN TO THE ROMAN PERIOD

I.—THE NEW KINGDOM

IN the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty, it became suddenly, as far as we know, the custom for the rulers and the princes of the royal family to visit the Sphinx and its neighbourhood. The chief purpose of these visits seems to have been for sport, for the desert in this region abounded with game of every description, and was known as the "Valley of Gazelles". So well known was this district, and so famed for its big game, that its name passed into popular idiom, and in the famous poem, falsely attributed to Pentaour, which describes the exploits of Rameses II in the battle of Kadesh, the Pharaoh is likened to "a fierce lion in the Valley of Gazelles (1)".

In the scenes that lined the interior walls of the causeway of Wnas at Sakkara are many representations of the wild animals of the desert, and these include deer, lyre antelope, addax, oryx, ibex, moufflon, dorcas gazelle, wild oxen, lions, leopards, servals, giraffe, foxes, jackals, wild goats, desert hares, hedgehogs, and jerboas. As the capital of Wnas was at Heliopolis, and the Valley of Gazelles lay within the boundaries of the Heliopolitan Nome, these scenes may very possibly represent the wild life to be found in this district, and suggest that it was probably a popular hunting-ground, even in the Old Kingdom.

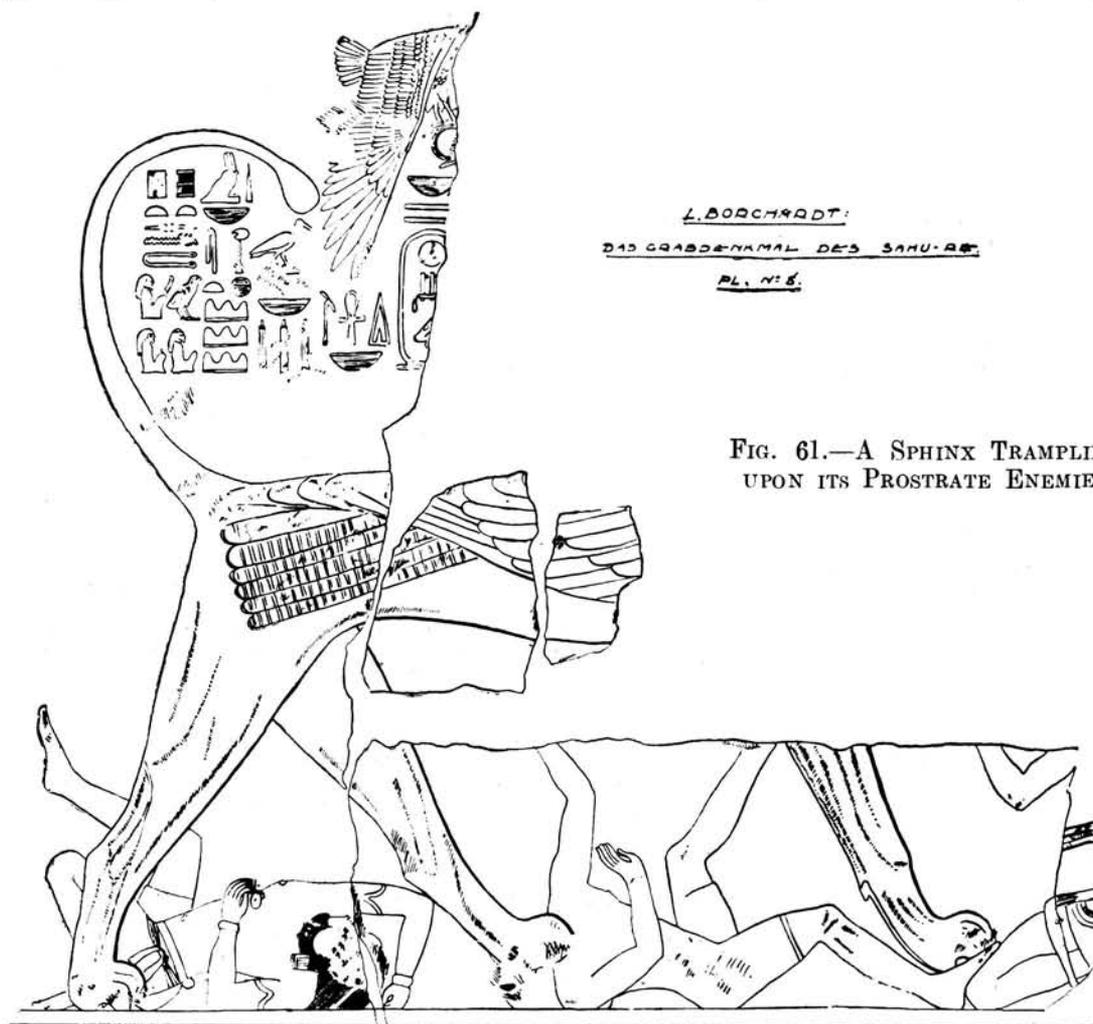
Apart from providing good sport, this neighbourhood has the additional advantage of being within easy distance of both Memphis and Heliopolis, the old secular and religious capitals respectively.

These royal visitors honoured the Sphinx as their protector and the Guardian of the Desert, and there is no doubt that it was this kingly patronage that brought the cult of the Sphinx into such prominence at this time; for since the Twelfth Dynasty it had apparently been in complete abeyance. As in the case of the cult of Amon and the rise of Thebes, so the cult of the Sphinx rose into prominence as soon as the district in which it existed became the pleasure resort of royalty.

This custom of visiting the Sphinx, and the publicity given to its cult, probably gave a new impetus to the fashion of portraying the king in the form of a sphinx; and this being also the age of conquest, the Pharaohs delighted in representing themselves in the form of sphinxes

(1) See my "*Le Poème dit de Pentaour et le Rapport Officiel sur la Bataille de Kadesh*", Pl. 8; Var. L.D., Vol. III, Pl. 195. In reality, Pentaour was not the author of the poem, but was a scribe who made a copy of it upon papyrus.

trampling upon their prostrate enemies. This allegory seems, however, to have originated in the Old Kingdom, for we find Sahu-Ra in the Fifth Dynasty, portrayed in this manner on the walls of his temple at Abusir⁽¹⁾ (Fig. 61). It became very popular during the Twelfth Dynasty, being used by Senuseret III and Amenemhat II as a pectoral ornament (*see* Fig. 110).



L. BORCHARDT:
DAS GRABDENKMAL DES SAHU-RE.
PL. N. 6.

FIG. 61.—A SPHINX TRAMPLING
UPON ITS PROSTRATE ENEMIES

Prince Amen-mes :

The first royal "tourist", of whom we have any record, is Prince Amen-mes, a son of Thothmes I (1541-1516 B.C.). An inscription on a stone naos, found near the Great Sphinx, and now in the Louvre, reads:—

"Year 4 under the Majesty of Thothmes I, beloved of Hor-em-akhet, given life like Ra for ever. There went forth the Eldest King's Son, the Commander in Chief of the Army of His Father, Amen-mes, living for ever, to take a pleasure walk . . . (2)."

(1) See MACADAM, M.F.L., "*The Temple of Kawa*", I, p. 21, Note 51.

(2) BREASTED, "*Ancient Records*", Vol. II, p. 231. Text: "*Rec. Trav.*", Vol. VI, p. 142. Perhaps this is the first mention of the Sphinx of Giza under the name of Hor-em-akhet (?).

The rest of the inscription is lost, but the name Hor-em-akhet which is given *only* to the Sphinx of Giza, and the situation in which the monument was found, are sufficient evidence as to where this pleasure walk took place. Again the reference to Thothmes I as the beloved of Hor-em-akhet is significant. Why was he styled the beloved of an hitherto somewhat obscure God? This seems to point to the fact that he was in some way connected with the Sphinx; and it is not at all unlikely that he was the builder of the mud-brick temple lying to the north-east of that of Amenhotep II. From the Stela of King Ay, which we shall refer to later, we know that Thothmes I had a house and lands in this neighbourhood, in which case it was probably either he or his sons who started (or perhaps re-started?) the vogue for big-game hunting in this region.

Thothmes III :

Amen-mes was followed in his associations with the Sphinx by his kinsman Thothmes III, in whose honour a small stela in the neighbourhood was dedicated (Fig. 62).

It is not surprising to find a relic of Thothmes III in this place, for the hardy old warrior and empire-builder was also a noted archer and hunter.

A stela discovered at Armant describes the exploits of Thothmes III as follows ⁽¹⁾ :—

“ Year 22, second month of winter, day 16. Summary of the deeds of might and victory which the Good God performed, being very excellent occasion of valour from the beginning, since the first generation of men. What the Lord of the Gods, the Lord of Hermonthis (modern “ Armant ”), did for him was to magnify his victories, so that his conquests might be related for millions of years to come, omitting to mention the deeds of valour which His Majesty performed daily, for if one were to mention each occasion by names, they would be too numerous to put into writing. He shot at a copper ingot, all wood having been split



FIG. 62.—A SMALL STELA DEDICATED TO THOTHMES III

⁽¹⁾ MOND and MEYERS, “ *Temples of Armant* ” (text), p. 183.

like reeds. His Majesty set up a sample one in the Temple of Amon-Ra, a target of wrought copper three digits in thickness, with an arrow of his in it, which he had caused to protrude three palm-breadths through at the back of it, that he might fulfil the wish of his followers for success in might and victory. I speak in accordance with what he (actually) did, there is neither deceit nor falsehood in it. If he spends time in taking recreation in hunting in any desert, the number of his trophies is greater than the spoils of the whole army. He killed seven lions when out shooting, in the twinkling of an eye. He secured a herd of twelve wild cattle in an hour, when breakfast time came, their tails to be worn behind him (1). He despatched 120 elephants in the mountain country on Niy, when coming from Naharain. He crossed the River Euphrates and crushed the towns on its borders, they being laid waste with fire for ever. He set up a stela of victory on (its eastern) bank. He bagged a rhinoceros when shooting in the southern desert region of Nubia, when he went to Miu to seek out him who had rebelled against him in that land, etc. etc."

The remainder of the inscription relates to the King's prowess: in war, and so does not concern us here.

As we shall see later, the shooting at a copper target, seemingly of a regulation thickness of three fingers, was the supreme test of archery. The aim was not merely to hit the target, but to pierce it through. This could only be done by the use of an unusually powerful bow, and was thus a testimony of great physical strength as well as of unerring marksmanship, for only a very strong man could have drawn such a bow.

When shooting, the Egyptian archers stood sideways to the target, and holding the bow at arm's length, drew the arrow back to the ear. It will be understood that such bows and arrows were very formidable weapons.

Note that the inscription says that Thothmes was in the habit of amusing himself by hunting in *any* desert. That is to say, he must have been a keen sportsman, and did not fail to avail himself of any opportunity to indulge himself in this pastime whenever an opportunity presented itself. Therefore, we may be sure that he did not neglect to make the most of the good hunting to be had in the famous Valley of Gazelles.

Even when on his campaigns abroad, Thothmes found times to relax from the serious business of war in order to refresh himself in the chase. The mention of the elephant hunt at Niy on the Armant Stela has an independent corroboration in an inscription of the General Amen-em-heb (2). But the latter account reveals another side to the story, and relates how the hunter became the hunted !

(1) A reference to the bull's tail, which, in primitive times, the Kings wore hanging from the back of their belts.

(2) PETRIE, "*History of Egypt*", Vol. II, p. 124.

It seems that on this occasion, his love of hunting nearly cost Thothmes his life, for the bull of the herd, wounded by the King's arrows, suddenly turned upon him. There is no doubt that the King's life was in danger, but Amen-em-heb, who was one of his officers, and a member of the hunting-party, distracted the attention of the enraged beast, which left the King and pursued Amen-em-heb instead. The latter took refuge between two rocks in the river, and from this point of vantage, managed to cut the trunk off the elephant, apparently while it was trying to pull him out of his place of safety. For this act of heroism, the officer Amen-em-heb was suitably rewarded by his grateful King.

It would be interesting to know if the great Queen Hatshepsut, the Aunt and Mother-in-law of Thothmes III, who ruled Egypt in her own right, ever came to Giza. We have no information on this point, but that lady's partiality for sphinxes is marked, and many specimens made for her are in existence. It is to be noted that all of Hatshepsut's sphinxes are bearded and male, a characteristic gesture on the part of the Queen, who wished always to stress upon her *Kingship* (1).

Amenhotep II :

The next royal visitor was Amenhotep II, the son and successor of Thothmes III. Like his famous father, Amenhotep II was a great sportsman and an athlete, as his inscriptions state, and his mummy—which is that of a tall, powerful man—supports the claim. Indeed, archery seems to have been a life-long passion with Amenhotep, for in the Theban Tomb No. 109, which belongs to a certain Min, Mayor of Thinis, who had in his youth fought in the wars of Thothmes III, we have an interesting glimpse of the childhood of the future champion. Min was the tutor of this young Prince Amenhotep II who in one scene is shown as a naked child seated in his teacher's lap; this shows that he was quite a little fellow at the time, when he was handed over to the guidance of the old veteran.

Another pleasing scene shows us Min teaching his young charge how to shoot. The little boy, clad in a loose transparent robe, is aiming his arrows at a rectangular target set upon a post, in which he has already scored four hits. Behind him stands Min, correcting the pose of the boy's arms. The inscription reads: "He (Min) gave (the lad) first rules of instruction in archery, saying: 'Stretch thy bow to thy ear, use all the strength of thy arms, fit the arrow . . . Prince Amenhotep, acting as . . .'".

The scene is entitled: "The Prince (Amenhotep) enjoying a lesson in archery in the courtyard of the castle in Thinis (2)".

(1) For other Sphinxes of queens and female Sphinxes in general, see p. 183 ff.

(2) DAVIES, "The Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art" (1935), pp. 52, 53.

As already mentioned, Amenhotep II built a small temple and dedicated a stela in honour of the Sphinx. This stela, which measures 4·25 metres high, 2·53 metres wide and 0·53 metre thick is divided into two registers. The upper register is badly weather-worn, but faint traces show that it originally bore a duplicate representation of the King offering wine to the Sphinx, which lies up on a high pedestal.

There was evidently a flaw in the stone in the lower right-hand side of the top register, and the faulty portion was neatly cut away by the ancient mason, and a sound piece inserted in the cavity. The lower register of this stela bears twenty-seven rows of finely incised hieroglyphs, reading (Pl. XXXVIII) :—

“ Live Horus, the Strong Bull, Mighty of Power, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mighty of Authority, who appears as King in Thebes ; the Golden Horus, he who conquers everything with his mace in all lands ; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aa-kheperu-Ra, the Son of Ra, Amenhotep, the Divine Ruler of Heliopolis, Son of Amon, who created him, the offspring of Hor-akhty, the glorious seed of the divine members, whose forms Neit had created, the One whom the Primordial God of the Two Lands had brought to life in order to seize the reign which he had conquered ; and whom he made to appear himself as King on the Throne of the Living, and to whom he assigned Egypt under his direction, and the deserts as his subjects ; and to whom he had transmitted the inheritance for ever, and the Kingship to eternity, to whom he had given the Throne of the Earth, and the magnificent office of the God Atum, and the possessions of Horus and Set, and the share of the two Goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt, and their years in life and welfare ; to whom he had placed his Daughter (Maat ?) upon his body, to whom he had fixed his diadem upon his head.

“ He had trodden the Nubians under his sandals ; the northerners are bowing to his power, and all the foreign lands are under his fear, and the Gods are under his love. Amon himself promoted him as the ruler of what his eye is encircling, and what the disk of Ra lightens. He had taken the whole of Egypt, the South Land and the North Land being under his care ; the Red Land delivers to him its products, while every foreign land is under his protection ; his boundaries are reaching to that which heaven encircles, the lands being in his hand in one knot. He had appeared as King upon the Great Throne, reuniting himself the Two Great Magicians (Crowns) ; the Two Mighty Ones (Crowns) had joined his head, and the Atef of Ra his summit, his front was adorned with the Crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, and he had taken the bands, the Kheperesh and the Kufieh, the two Grand Feathers are on his head, and the nemes had enveloped his shoulders. Joined then are the Diadems of Atum, and assigned to his image, according to the orders of the Gods. Amon, the Primordial God, who had made him appear, gave the order that he might take the whole land reunited, and without any omission, (namely he) the Son of Ra, Amenhotep, the Ruler of Iwn (Heliopolis), the Heir of Ra,

the Glorious seed of (Amon), the Illustrious Egg of the Divine members, the noble one of authority, the one, who, on coming forth from the womb, had already set up the White Crown, the one who had conquered the earth, being one with whom is the fluid of Egypt (the one who has Egyptian blood in his veins), the one against whom there is no enemy in what the eye of Atum is casting its rays; the strength of Mentu being in his limbs, whose victories are like those of the Son of Nut (= the God Set), the one who joined the heraldic plant of Upper Egypt to that of Lower Egypt.

“The Northerners and the Southerners are under his Terror, the one whose share is that of what Ra is shining upon; the one to whom belongs what the great ocean is encircling, and the arm of whose messenger is not repelled along all the lands of the Fenhew; and to whom there is no second against the enemies of Horus (?). There is no other protection of mankind (except him ?), the one to whom the Southerners come in bowing, and the Northerners upon their bellies, reunited, all of them, in his fist; the one whose mace is smashing their heads, according to what the Lord of the Gods, Amon-Ra-Atum, had ordered; the one who conquers the lands in triumph without anyone who might equal him in all eternity.

“Now, His Majesty appeared as King, when he was a nice youth, with a perfect body, after having completed eighteen years on his legs in strength. He knew every work of Montu (= God of War), nobody being like him in the arena. He was a connoisseur of horses, and there was nobody like him among these numerous soldiers, not a single one of them being able to draw his bow; and he could not be reached in the foot-race. Strong of arm without being tired, when he drew the oar. He was rowing in the quarter-deck of his falcon boat, equipped with two hundred men. They left the shore, and made half a mile of rowing; but then they became feeble, their limbs growing tired, they could not take breath (any more).

“Then His Majesty was strong with his oar of twenty ells' length. He left the shore, and landed after having made three miles of rowing against the stream, without ceasing work, while the people were admiring him, looking at him.

“He did the following thing: he drew three hundred strong bows, comparing their artisans, in order to discern the ignorant from the skilful. Now, he came, and did what is put before your faces. He entered his northern place, and he found there were established for him four targets made of Asiatic copper, the thickness of which was a hand's breadth⁽¹⁾; and twenty ells were between one post and the next. Then His Majesty appeared upon his team of

⁽¹⁾ Note that Amenhotep wishes to outrival the exploits of his father, Thothmes III, and so increases the thickness of the target from three fingers to one hand's breadth. We must forgive the boastfulness of young Amenhotep; there is no doubt he felt quite eclipsed by the glory of his famous father.

horses, like Montu in his strength. He drew out his bow, and he seized four arrows together. He went north and he shot at it like Montu in his equipment, and his arrow had come out at its back (*i.e.* at the back of the target). Then he attacked another post. That is a thing that has never been done before, and it has not been heard in narrative (conversation): 'An arrow had been shot against a target of copper, and had come out of it, and had fallen to the ground'; but only that (such a thing had happened) with the King, who was strong in might, and whom (Amon-Ra) had strengthened, namely the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aa-kheperu-Ra, valorous like Montu.

"Now, when he was still a young princely child, he loved his horses, and he rejoiced with them, and he was glad to treat them, and he knew their nature, and he was clever in training them, being deep in plans. Then, when this was heard in the Palace of his Father, Horus the Strong Bull, who appeared in Thebes, sweetly touched was the heart of His Majesty concerning it, rejoicing about what was said of his eldest son, and he said in his heart: 'It is he who will be the Lord of the entire Land, there being no assailant for him, because he devotes his heart to valour, and rejoices in victory. He is still a lovely child, and not yet in the age of doing the work of Montu, but behold, he has put aside the desires of the body, and loves the strength, because it is God who had put it in his heart to act so, that Egypt might be protected by him, and might bow down to him'.

"Then His Majesty said to those who were in his surroundings: 'May be given to him the very nicest horses in the stable of His Majesty which is in Memphis, and say unto him: Be careful about them, make them vigorous, let them trot. Manage them if they are recalcitrant!'

"Now, after that, it was put before the King's Son that he might occupy himself with the horses of the King's stable, and when he had been making what he had been charged of—whilst Reshep and Ashtoreth were glad of him—in making everything which his heart liked, he brought up horses which had no equal, and could not grow tired. When he took the reins, they did not pour sweat, even in a long gallop. He yoked the horses in Memphis, when he was still young, and stopped at the Sanctuary of Hor-em-akhet. He spent a time there in going round it (in the chariot) looking at the beauty of the Sanctuary of Khufu and Khafra the Revered. His heart longed to keep alive their name, and he put it into his heart.

"Now, he used to fulfil what his father Ra had ordered. Now, after that, His Majesty was crowned as King, and the Diadem took its seat upon his head, the emblem of Ra reposing upon its place, while the land was peaceful like before, under its Master. Aa-kheperu-Ra governed the Two Lands, all the foreign lands being attached to his sandals . . . Then His Majesty remembered the place where he had rejoiced himself in the neighbourhood of the Pyramids

of Hor-em-akhet, and it was ordered to erect a Sanctuary there, and to erect in it a stela of limestone, on which is inscribed his great name, Aa-kheperu-Ra, beloved of Hor-em-akhet, to whom is given life eternally."

It will be noticed that Amenhotep says that he was given the horses from the royal stable at Memphis, and that he drove from Memphis to the Pyramids, all of which happened in his youth. Now, there is a certain scarab in the Petrie Collection, upon which is inscribed: "Amenhotep II born at Memphis⁽¹⁾." Here is a tiny seal which literally sets the seal of truth upon the narrative of the Great Stela.

The incident related on the stela, where the King, mounted in his chariot, discharges his arrows at a copper target, has confirmation in another monument of the same Monarch⁽²⁾. This occurs on a block of a granite found built into the Third Pylon at Karnak. A representation shows Amenhotep II mounted in his chariot, and armed with his bow. While the horses rush by at full gallop, the King discharges his arrows at a copper shield, which is shown pierced through by five shafts. Ahead is another target, also pierced by arrows. The inscription says: "The King, great in strength, who displayed his dexterity before his army, he, when he shoots at a plate of copper, cleaves it as one does a clump of papyrus. He disdains all wood, as befits his strength. Mighty of arm, and without fear, he, when he appears in his chariot, is the God of War in person".

Concerning the target, the inscription says: "This is the great plate of mined copper which His Majesty shot, three fingers in thickness⁽³⁾. The hero pierced it with many shafts, three hand's breadths of them standing out at the back of the plate . . . His Majesty did that of sportsmanship in the face of all the land⁽⁴⁾".

It is not quite clear if Amenhotep paid another visit to the Sphinx after his coronation, but as he dedicated the temple and stela, we may assume that he was present at the consecration ceremony, and also that he probably hunted here.

Thothmes IV, Queen Tyaa and Prince Amen-em-Apt :

Queen Tyaa, the wife of Amenhotep II and mother of Thothmes IV, dedicated a statue of herself in her husband's temple, presumably after his death, for the titles of the King's Wife

⁽¹⁾ PETRIE, "History of Egypt", Vol. II, p. 162.

⁽²⁾ CHEVRIER, "A.S.", Vol. XXVIII, p. 126.

⁽³⁾ Note that the thickness of the target is three fingers, as in the inscription of Thothmes III.

⁽⁴⁾ DAVIES, "M.M.A.", (1935), p. 49.

and King's Mother show that the statue must have been made during the reign of her son, Thothmes IV. We recovered a fragment of this statue, which bore inscriptions. The pedestal, upon which are the shapely feet of the Queen, is inscribed (Fig. 63).



FIG. 63.—A FRAGMENT OF THE STATUE OF QUEEN TYAA, WIFE OF AMENHOTEP II

“Everything which is coming forth before Atum-Hor-akhty (is offered to) the Hereditary Princess, great in praise, sweet of love, Mistress of the whole Two Lands, She Who Sees Horus and Set, the King's Mother, Tyaa, filling the palace with her perfume, the King's Mother, Tyaa. All she says is done for her, the King's Wife, Tyaa, may she live. The Follower of Horus, and the Priestess of Amon (?), the God's Wife, Tyaa. The Young Lady of Pe (Isis) and the Young Lady of Buto, (Isis) Tyaa (1). The Daughter of Geb, the Powerful Uraeus, the Wife of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the God's Wife, Tyaa. The King's Wife and Mother, the God's Wife, Tyaa. The God's Wife, Pure of Arms, Tyaa.”

On a fragment of plinth is inscribed :—

“. . . keeping away from me . . . may he dispel my sadness . . . Tyaa. May my City God be behind me, may his Ka be before me ; may he drive away . . . (Every offering) before Hor-em-akhet, presiding over the Setepet, shall be for the Ka of the Hereditary Princess in the Great House of the Mistress of the Wives, the (King's Mother of) Thothmes, who is given life, good of steps in the House of Amon, the King's Wife, Tyaa (Fig. 64).”

Among the stereotyped official praises and titles in the rest of this inscription, there is a touch of deep human feeling in the lines where the Queen prays that the God may dispel her sadness.

(1) This is perhaps the first time we find an example of the Queen identified with Isis, the Mother of Horus.

To the west of the Great Stela of Amenhotep, and set in the northern wall of the temple, is a smaller limestone stela (Pl. XXXIX). It is composed of a rectangular panel, surrounded by a raised frame, and an inner rectangular beading, above which is the rounded top of the stela unfortunately somewhat eroded. This rounded part is occupied by a winged solar disk, the usual form of the God Horus of Behdet, of Horus of Edfu; but in the case of this stela, it presents a very uncommon feature. The sun-disk, with spreading wings and flanking uraei, is provided with human hands and arms which support a large cartouche. These members are represented as emanating directly from the disk itself. The name of the King contained in the cartouche, which incorporated the element "Thoth", is completely erased. On each side of the cartouche are two horizontal rows of hieroglyphs carved in relief, and reading from the centre outwards. These inscriptions, which are identical, read: "(May) he be given life and welfare, Horus Behdet, the Great God, Lord of Heaven, coming out of the Horizon".

Here we have a plain reference to Horus of Edfu, but with an uncommon representation. The usual form of the winged disk is, as its name implies, simply the disk of the sun, flanked by uraei, and provided with wings, but never, to my knowledge, having human arms. Can this be an early form of the Aton, or is it merely a fancy on the part of the artist who designed the stela?

The first theory seems to me to be the most probable, for the stela was made at a time approaching to that of Atonism, namely the reign of Thothmes IV⁽¹⁾. If this supposition is correct, it shows that Aton was not a Syrian importation, as many people suppose,



FIG. 64.—A FRAGMENT OF THE PLINTH OF THE STATUE OF QUEEN TYAA

(¹) There is a scarab dated to the reign of Thothmes IV, which bears the name of Aton. See *J.E.A.*, Vol. XVII, p. 23, where we read a discussion of the beginning of the Cult of Aton.

but was a native Egyptian God, and apparently a development of the old Sun-god of Heliopolis. It is significant that a round-topped stela of the time of Akhenaton (Cairo Museum, No. 34174) shows an Aton-disk occupying the place of the winged disk.

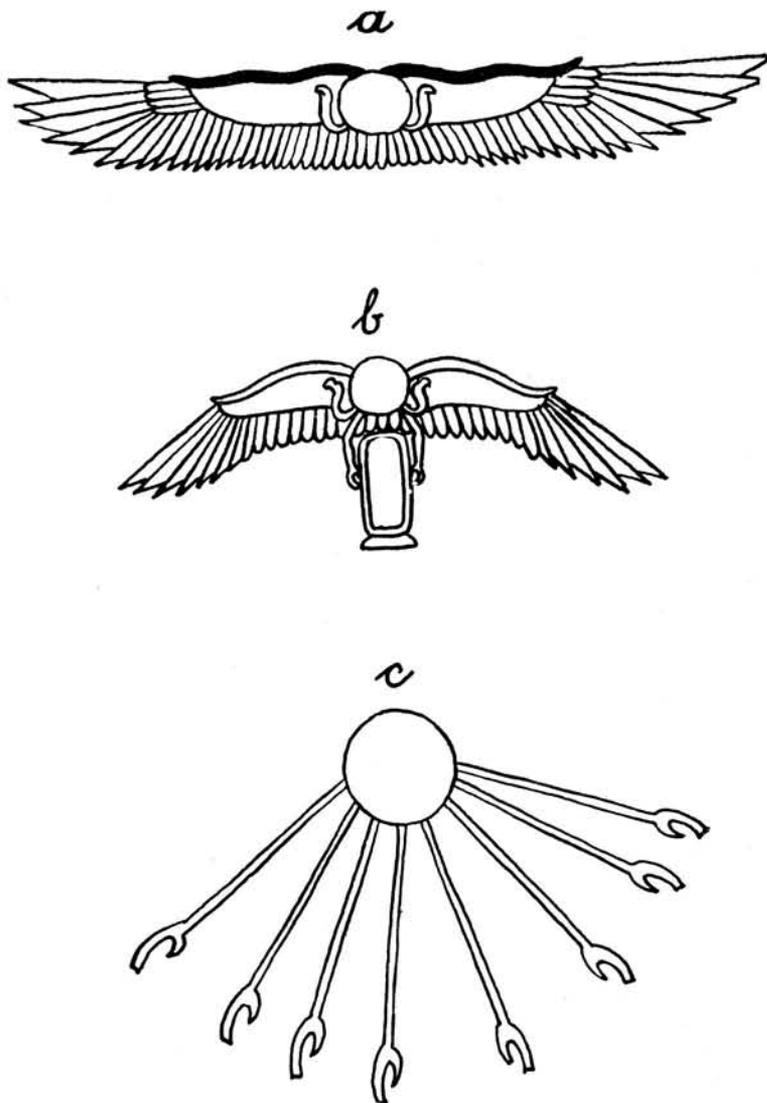


FIG. 65, *a, b, c*.—SYMBOL OF THE SUN-DISK

god with the divine hawk, and adored the sun-disk only) shorn of its wings, emitting many human-handed rays, and called simple Aton "the Disk" (Fig. 65 *c*).

Another point of connection between the Aton-disk and our representation is the function of the arms; those of the Aton are usually represented as supporting and embracing the King; while those on the Amenhotep Stela are represented supporting and embracing the King's cartouche, which, in the belief of the ancient Egyptians, was identical with the personality of the King.

Let us try to trace the development of this symbol. Apparently the earliest representation of the Sun-god was a divine hawk which flew daily across the sky. Later appeared the symbol of the sun's disk, having hawk's wings, and flanked by two uraei, this being the form of the deity due to the assimilation of the symbols of the God Ra, and the Hawk God. The Behdety extends its wings all over the sky to protect the dwellers upon the earth; and in the same manner the winged disk was placed on the tops of stelae and lintels of doorways as a protection against any evil (Fig. 65 *a*). A further development seems to occur in our stela, where the disk is provided with two human hands and arms, extended in an attitude of protection, but still retaining its name of Horus of Behdet (Fig. 65 *b*).

It then appears three generations later (when Akhenaton had cut off the connection of the solar

The fact that on the Amenhotep Stela, the name of the King (containing the element "Thoth"), the sphinxes on the top register of the sunken panel, and the occurrence of the name of Amon in some parts of the text, have all been erased by the Atonists, while great care was taken by them not to injure the symbol of the winged disk in any way, affords clear proof that this form was considered as holy, even by these fanatics. But there is another means of explaining the erasure of the King's name and figure, which might not have been done by the Atonists after all. Another stela found in our excavations also has the figure of Thothmes IV erased (Fig. 66) together with the head of the donor of the tablet, who, from the fact that the King occupies the place of honour on the stela, we may assume to have been one of his loyal subjects, and supporters. Are we then to assume that there was a fierce feud in the royal family, similar to that waged between Thothmes II, Thothmes III and Queen Hatshepsut some years previously? Further evidence of this theory is forthcoming, in a series of stelae, which we shall deal with later (*see p. 84 ff.*).

But to return to the stela which we were discussing: If our supposition is correct and our representation is really a forerunner of the Aton-disk, it shows that the seed of Atonism was sown in the reign of Thothmes IV and was not imported as a fully developed cult from Syria, as has been suggested by Sayce and others⁽¹⁾.



FIG. 66.—A STELA WITH THE FIGURE OF THOTHMES IV AND THE HEAD OF THE DONOR ERASED

⁽¹⁾ SAYCE, "The Religion of Ancient Egypt", p. 94.

The panel of the stela is divided into two superposed registers, the upper one of which is badly damaged by Akhenaton's iconoclasts. It originally bore a scene representing the King adoring the Sphinx (repeated in duplicate) and above them, a figure of the winged disk of the usual type. It is extremely interesting to note that this example of the disk, which by the remains of its outlines, can be clearly seen to be armless, was ruthlessly erased by the Atonists, while they accepted the armed disk on the top of the stela. This seems convincing proof that they wholly accepted the latter symbol as representing their God.

Above the figures of the sphinxes are duplicate horizontal rows of hieroglyphs, reading: "Horus Behdet the Great God, may he give life". Below this, on the right-hand side, is inscribed: "May he give all life and all health (Hor)-em-akhet, the Great God". While on the left-hand side is inscribed: "May he give all life, all pleasure, Hor-em-akhet, the Lord of Heaven".

In front of the King, on the right-hand side, is a vertical row of hieroglyphs, reading: ". . . Son of His Body . . . given life and health". While before the King on the left-hand side is inscribed: "The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of Offerings . . . given all life . . . and welfare".

The Lower register contains fourteen rows of delicately incised hieroglyphs, reading:—

"Live Horus, the Strong Bull, Mighty of Power, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mighty of Authority, he who makes himself appear in Thebes; the Golden Horus, he who conquers by his mace in all lands; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aa-kheperu-Ra, given life. The Son of Ra, Amenhotep, the Divine Ruler of Iwn (Heliopolis), the Son of (Amon), whom he created, the Offspring of Hor-akhty, the glorious seed of the divine members, whose forms Neit had created. The Primordial God of the Two Lands had brought him to life in order to seize the reign which he had conquered, he, (the God) made him appear as the King himself upon the Throne of the Living. He assigned to him Egypt under his direction, and the desert as his subjects. He assigned to him the inheritance for ever, and the kingship to eternity. He gave to him the Throne of the Earth, and the magnificent office of the God Atum, and the possessions of Horus and Set, and the share of the Two Goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt, and their years in life and welfare. He placed his Daughter (the Goddess Maat) as an ornament upon his breast; he fixed his diadem upon his head; he trampled the Nubians under his sandals; the Northerners bowed to his powers, all the foreign lands being under his fear. He gathered the heads of the Nine Bows, and the Two Lands are in his hands. The people are under his fear, all the Gods are under his Love. (Amon) himself promoted him as the ruler of what his

eye encircles, and what the disk of the sun lightens during day-time. He conquers Egypt as one whole; Upper and Lower Egypt being under his plans. He took control of the products of the Red Land, and all foreign countries are under his protection. His boundaries are reaching to that which the heavens encircle, the lands are in one knot. Appearing as King on the Throne of Horus, he has joined the Two Great Crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt upon his head, and the Atef-Crown of Ra is upon his head. His front is adorned with the Crown of Upper and Lower Egypt; he took the bands of the Khepesh helmet, and the Kufieh. The two great Feathers are on his head, and the Nemes has embraced his shoulders; gathered are the diadems of Atum. His likeness was assigned according to the orders of the Gods . . . he made him to appear (as King). He ordered that he should seize the whole land together, without exception. The Son of Ra, the Divine Ruler of Iwn (Heliopolis), given life, stability, welfare and health, for ever, like Ra."

At the bottom of the inscription is a blank space, sufficient to accommodate three more rows of hieroglyphs of the same size as those of the main inscription. It is not clear whether this space was originally left blank, or whether it is a very clean erasure. As will be seen, the inscription is nothing but an abridged version of the first part of the text of the Great Stela of Amenhotep.

The inscriptions on the frame were originally inlaid with some blue and yellow substances, traces of which still remain. The right-hand side of the frame bears a vertical row of hieroglyphs, reading:—

"The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Strong Bull, Mighty of Power, the Good God, Lord of Pleasure . . . life and welfare, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Aa-kheperu-Ra, the Son of Ra, his beloved, Amenhotep, the Divine Ruler of Iwn (Heliopolis), beloved of Hor-em-akhet, given life for ever, life Ra."

The inscription of the left-hand side of the frame reads:—

"The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Strong Bull, Mighty of Power, the Good God, like Ra, the offspring of Hor-akhty, Son of Amon, beloved of Montu, the Avenger of the King of the Gods, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Offering, Aa-kheperu-Ra, Son of Ra of His Body, Amenhotep, the Divine Ruler of Iwn, beloved of Hor-em-akhet, given life (for ever like Ra)."

In our excavations there are three stelae, larger and finer than those usually dedicated by private officials. Each stela bears a representation of a youth, apparently a prince, wearing an elaborately plaited side-lock of hair, and presenting offerings to the Sphinx and a statue of a king, in two cases, that of Amenhotep II. For convenience's sake we will call these Stelae "A", "B", and "C".

Stela "A" (Fig. 67), which is of limestone, had a rounded top, measures 0·91 × 0·78 metre and bears a representation of the prince burning incense, and presenting lotus-flowers to the Sphinx. The lower right-hand corner of the stela is missing, and only the Prince's head, the lotuses and the incense-burner remain of his portrait. The figure of the Sphinx is, however, well preserved and full of finely drawn detail. It is represented couchant upon the usual high pedestal with a cornice, and wears the Atef-crown, the nemes head-dress, with a uraeus, a curved Osirian beard, a wide collar and hawk's wings and plumage upon its back. Between its front paws is a miniature figure of the King, above which is inscribed :

"The Good God,
Lord of the Two Lands,
the Master of Power, Aa-
kheperu-Ra, the Son of Ra,

Amenhotep,
the Divine
Ruler of
Iwn, Beloved
of Hor-em-
akhet".

Above the
back of the
Sphinx
hovers a
hawk,

which
grasps the ankh †, the symbol
of life, in its talons. Above

its outspread wings is inscribed :
"Horus Behdet, the Lord of Heaven,
the Great God of the Parti-coloured
Plumage."

Below the hawk is inscribed :
"Hor-em-akhet, Who presides over
the Setepet, the Good God, Lord of
Heaven, may he give life and welfare
like Ra".

To the right of the
inscription is the sign † 'Nefer' = happiness
and the Sacred Eye ☉, below which are
three vertical rows of finely incised hieroglyphs,
reading : "All vegetables to thy beautiful face, all
good and pure things to thy Ka, O Hor-akhty".

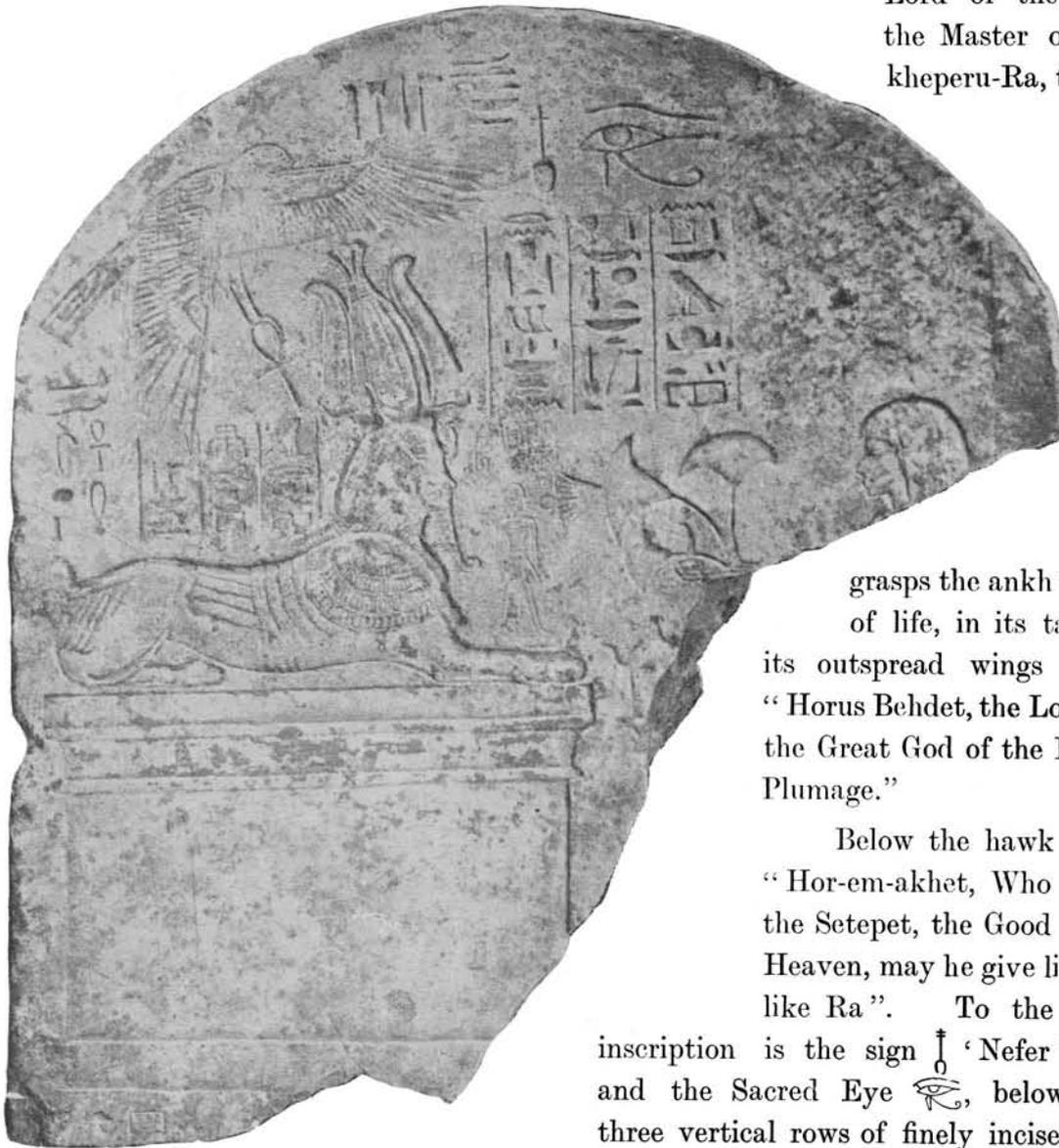


FIG. 67.—THE STELA, No. 1, OF PRINCE "A"

This inscription was originally continued along to the edge of the stela, but these original rows have been erased. This erasure was very neatly done, great care having been taken not to injure either the remainder of the inscription, or the head of the Prince.

Stela "B" (Fig. 68) is also of limestone, and measures 1.0 × 1.70 metres. It was found smashed into four pieces, and thrown in the debris. Like the previously described stela,



FIG. 68.—THE STELA, No. 37, OF PRINCE "B"

the workmanship is of excellent quality, the details of the sculptured scenes being rendered with great care and fidelity to nature; while the hieroglyphs are well cut and neat. It is divided into three horizontal registers, in the top one of which is a representation of what appears to be the same Prince, who is shown on Stela "A"; he is presenting a live duck and some lotus-flowers to the Sphinx. The Prince wears the plaited side-lock of youth, a wide collar, and a double row of round, flat beads⁽¹⁾, which appear to have been very fashionable during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties.

He is clad in a short kilt of a style reminiscent of the Old Kingdom, while some of the titles mentioned on the stela are also distinctly Old Kingdom in their style. As this stela undoubtedly belongs to the Eighteenth Dynasty, it would seem that the above-mentioned details are a deliberate attempt to be archaic, as though the Prince wished to revive Old Kingdom fashions. Above his head are five vertical rows of hieroglyphs, reading: "Hor-em-akhet, all vegetables to thy beautiful face, all good and pure things to thy Ka, O Hor-akhty, the Great God, Lord of Love".

This inscription, being practically identical with that in a similar position on Stela "A", seems to add weight to the theory that the two monuments belong to the same person. On carefully examining the stela, it will be seen that the bottom of the last line has been carefully erased, as well as another vertical row of inscription at the back of the figure of the Prince. Another erasure was made in front of his face, apparently to obliterate a cartouche. Thus, this Prince should have been of true royal descent, as we often find the names of King's children enclosed in a cartouche.

The Sphinx lies upon a high pedestal, as in Stela "A", and is clad in the same manner, except that here the beard is of the straight type. Between the paws of the Sphinx is a small statue of Amenhotep II, above which is inscribed: "The Good God, the Lord of the Two Lands, Aa-kheperu-Ra, beloved of Hor-em-akhet". Above the Sphinx is a hawk with outspread wings, grasping the ankh in its talons; in front of it is inscribed: "Horus Behdet, Lord of Heaven, the Great God of the parti-coloured Plumage".

Beyond this inscription is the "Nefer" sign and the Sacred Eye, as on Stela "A". Above the back of the Sphinx are four vertical rows of hieroglyphs, reading: "Words spoken by Hor-akhty: 'O beloved son of my body, Lord of the Two Lands, Aa-kheperu-Ra, I have given to thee all life, welfare and health'."

⁽¹⁾ For actual specimens of these bead necklaces, see the jewels of Tutankhamon in the Cairo Museum; also CARTER, "*The Tomb of Tutankhamon*", Vol. II, Pl. LXXI.

Behind the Sphinx stands a god, having the body of a man and the head of a hawk, crowned with the solar disk and uraeus. He carries the Was-sceptre in his right hand, and the ankh in his left one. Above him is inscribed: "May he give life and welfare like Ra".

The middle register is very narrow, and in it are displayed examples of different kinds of offerings. The bottom register is occupied by nine horizontal rows of hieroglyphs which read:—

"An offering which the King gives, and Hor-akhty, the great God of the Parti-coloured Plumage, Hor-em-akhet, presiding over the Setepet: may he give offerings of bread, beer, water, breeze, incense and oil to the Ka of . . . welfare and life, great of love . . . among the nobles, he who enters into the presence of his Father without being announced (*i.e.* he is free to enter into the presence of the King without the formality of an announcement), acting as bodyguard to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, beloved, he who is in the heart . . . per em Khent; everybody looks at him, whose dignity is among the multitude. The people speak according to his words, everybody becomes silent when he fortells . . . President of the Stables (?) of the Lord of the Two Lands, the Chief Overseer of the Horses, the Judge and Vizier, he who is attached to Nekhen, the Priest of the Goddess Maat, the Mouth who Pacifies the Whole Land, kind when he hears the words of a messenger . . . the Hereditary Prince, the Count, the Sem-priest, the Director of Every Kilt, the Divine Father, beloved of the God, the Sole Confidant of the Great Palace, he who walks to the splendid staircase . . . he who knows what is right when thinking of the tribute, pure of arms under the incense-burner, he pacifies Him Who separates the Sky from the Earth, with nice arms when he adores the God on the day of . . . House of Osiris . . . pure of fingers, Master of the Secrets of the Temple of Ptah, in the procession of Him Who had begotten the Gods, the Sem-Priest in the House of Seker . . . Horus . . . in this place; may you praise the King, Lord of Eternity, Hor-em-akhet. An offering which the King gives . . . the Divine Egg which comes out of him, may you pronounce his noble name . . ."

Stela "C" (Fig. 69) was found smashed into fragments; the top right-hand corner is still missing. It consists of a rectangular panel surrounded by a raised frame, and surmounted by a cavetto cornice and torus moulding. The figures on the panel are beautifully carved in relief. The right side of the frame is badly damaged; it bears a vertical row of hieroglyphs, the remains of which read: ". . . coming out of his body, Amen-em-Apt".

A vertical row of hieroglyphs on the left-hand side of the frame reads: "The King's Attendant on Land and Water, who is never separated from the steps of the Lord of the Two Lands (*i.e.* who follows him everywhere), Great of Praise in the King's House, the Possessor of Love into the Palace, the King's Son, his beloved, Amen-em-Apt".

The right side of the top of the frame is missing, and the remaining portion bears the part of the sun-disk and a uraeus in the centre, while facing it is a human-handed Sphinx holding a libation jar. This Sphinx is clad in the same manner as those on Stelae "A" and "B", but has a straight beard and no Atef-crown. Behind it is inscribed: "Hor-akhty" in very large hieroglyphs.



FIG. 69.—THE STELA "C" OF PRINCE AMEN-EM-APT

The panel is divided into two registers, the upper one bearing a scene in which the young Prince, presumably Amen-en-Apt, is presenting lotus-flowers and incense to the Sphinx, before which is a statue of a king. Unfortunately, the part of the stone which bore the upper part of this representation of the king's statue, and the cartouches (if any), is lacking. The Sphinx lies upon a high pedestal, and is clad in a similar manner to the preceding examples, with the exception that in this case, the Atef-crown is surmounted by the solar hawk. Above the back of the Sphinx hovers a vulture.

Behind the prince is an attendant bearing two tall bouquets of flowers, elaborately arranged to incorporate the ankh-sign into their design. At the top of the register is the conventional symbol of the sky \curvearrowright , the ends of which are supported upon Was-sceptre \uparrow . Above the head of the Prince were three vertical rows of hieroglyphs, the upper parts of which have disappeared with the break in the stone, and the lower part of the middle one has been carefully erased. The remaining signs read: ". . . the Hereditary Prince, the Count".

Above the vulture is a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading: "Nekhbet, the White One of Nekhen, Mistress of Heaven". In front of the vulture is a short inscription, reading: "Mistress of the Gods". Above the back of the Sphinx a horizontal row of hieroglyphs reads: "Protection, life, stability, welfare and health behind him like Ra".

The lower part of the panel bears a representation of what appears to be the same Prince burning incense before the Goddess Isis, who is enthroned within a shrine. Can this be an indication that Isis was already being worshipped in the small temple near the Great Pyramid (*see p. 110 ff*)? From the roof of the shrine depend lotus-flowers and buds, and the pillars upholding it have lotus capitals and Hathorian abaci. The Goddess, who is seated upon a low-backed throne, wears upon her head the disk and horns and a uraeus. She holds the Was-sceptre in her left hand and the ankh-sign in her right one; while before the shrine is set a table of offerings. The Prince stands facing the Goddess, he wears the side-lock of youth, and is clad in a short kilt, reminiscent of the shendyt of the Old Kingdom. Behind him are two attendants carrying offerings of game, flowers and vegetables. Underneath this scene are two horizontal rows of hieroglyphs, reading:—

"An offering which the King gives, and Hor-em-akhet, the Great God, Lord of Heaven: that he may give him praise before the King, and his love to him who is in the palace, who is on earth, following his Ka, in the favour of the Good God, to the Ka of the one who follows the King in his footsteps, he whom Horus in His Palace (the King) loves, the beloved of his brothers . . ."

At the back of the shrine is a vertical inscription, reading: "The Mistress of the Gods, the Only One in Heaven without equal, the Daughter of Atum". In front of the Goddess is inscribed: "Isis the Great, the Divine Mother". To the extreme right of the stela, behind the second attendant, is a vertical row of hieroglyphs, reading: "The excellent egg which comes forth from . . . (Amen-em) - Apt".

Here, then, we have no doubt as to the name and rank of the owner of the stela. Now, the question is: Who are the Princes represented upon these stelae? Are they the same person, or are they three different youths, perhaps brothers? Let us consider the evidence of Stela "A".

We learn from it that a young prince of personable appearance, presented offerings to the Sphinx and to a statue of Amenhotep II, and that some malicious person erased the identity of this prince, but took great care not to injure any divine name or symbol. This enemy was not an Atonist, as can be gathered from the fact that the name of Amon is uninjured.

Now let us look at the evidence of Stela "B". Here we find a young Prince represented, who closely resembles the one on Stela "A" (1), and who also honours the Sphinx and a statue of Amenhotep II. This Prince, who, by the evidence of his side-lock, has not yet come of age, was represented on a stela inscribed with many high and important titles. The inscription above the head of the Prince is practically identical with that in the same position on Stela "A", and this weighs heavily in the favour of the two monuments belonging to the same person. This stela has also suffered mutilation at the hands of some person whose sole aim was to destroy the identity of the Prince; religious fanaticism was not responsible for this outrage, as no divine symbols have been injured. Before this Prince's face was a cartouche, the outlines of which are still recognizable.

Stela "C" shows a Prince, who appears to be the same as those depicted on Stelae "A" and "B", but whose name, Amen-em-Apt, has been overlooked by his enemies in two places, that is to say on the frame of the stelae; elsewhere it has been erased. This Prince is also represented as honouring the Sphinx and a king's statue, the name of which, though lost, does not seem to have been wantonly erased. This Prince also honours the Goddess Isis.

Now let us see what conclusions we can draw:—

- (1) The three stelae are similar in style and workmanship.
- (2) They all belong to the same period.
- (3) The name of the Prince is given in one instance as Amen-em-Apt.
- (4) This youth was a King's Son and also held other high titles.
- (5) In one instance the erased name of the Prince was enclosed in a cartouche.
- (6) On two occasions the Princes are definitely presenting offerings to the statue of Amenhotep II as well as to the Sphinx.
- (7) The names of these princes were erased by a personal enemy, who held no spite against the Gods or the King.

Taking all these things into consideration, it would seem that the Prince represented on Stelae "B" and "C" is the same person, a son of Amenhotep II, and perhaps the Crown Prince. The Prince on Stela "A" may well be the same person, or perhaps a brother. If this is true, then the most likely person to have erased their names was Thothmes IV, their younger brother. When we come to consider the inscription on the Granite Stela, we shall see that the Sphinx speaks to Thothmes in a dream, and makes a bargain with him, to the effect that if he, the Prince, will clear away the sand which is encumbering his image, the Sphinx will give him the

(1) As the Egyptian artists, at this period particularly were apt to treat the features of their subjects somewhat conventionally on the reliefs, too much weight must not be given to the similarity of the features of the Princes.

Crown of Egypt. Clearly then, Thothmes was not the Heir to the Throne, if he were, the promise of the Sphinx would have been meaningless, for he would have automatically become king on the death of his father. We may suppose, then, that these elder brothers stood in the way of his ambitions, and that Thothmes removed them in some way, either by death or disgrace, and then obliterated their names, in order that their very memories might be forgotten. He may even have fabricated the story of his dream in order to justify his action, and this would account for the promptitude with which he fulfilled his part of the 'bargain'.

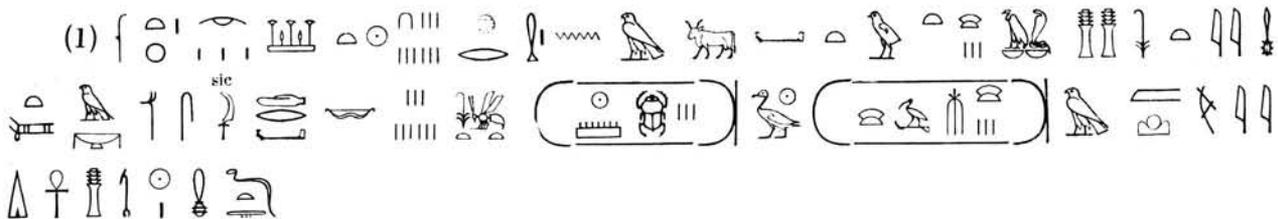
In support of this theory, we know that Amenhotep II had several sons, and in his "*History of Egypt*" (Vol. II, p. 165), Petrie says: "Probably there were five or seven other sons of Amenhotep II, for in the tomb of the tutor of Thothmes IV, Hek-er-nehch, (L.D. III, 69), where Thothmes is a boy on the tutor's knee, there are several other king's sons represented; unhappily all their names have been erased, and from the absence of any other mention of them, it would seem as if their royal brother was unkind to their memory, if not to themselves".

I am afraid that this theory does not present Thothmes IV in a very favourable light, and if he was not actually a wholesale murderer (and there seems to be grounds for supposing that he was), at least he was a cold-hearted egoist. Perhaps he was the cause of the sadness which his mother, Queen Tyaa, complains in the inscription on her statue (1).

A similar case of erasure of names occurs at Karnak when, in the Nineteenth Dynasty, the name and portrait of a son of Seti I, perhaps an elder brother of Rameses II, were removed from the battle scenes of Seti I (2).

But to return to the unfortunate Prince Amen-em-Apt; he apparently upheld the family tradition of visiting the Sphinx and dedicating stelae, so we may suppose that he was also a hunter in the Valley of Gazelles. Probably he and his brothers used to hunt regularly in this district, and among their number was the sly and secretive youth who was afterwards to become Thothmes IV.

The Granite Stela which he erected between the paws of the Sphinx preserves for us the story of an adventure which is supposed to have befallen him on one of these hunting expeditions, while he was still a prince. It runs as follows (Pl. XL) (3):—



(1) It is to be noted that in her inscriptions, Tyaa is not called King's Sister or King's Daughter, that is to say she was apparently not of royal blood, another reason why Thothmes was not the true Heir Apparent.

(2) See KEITH SEELE, "*Co-regency of Ramses II and Seti I*".

(3) Translation: BREASTED, "*Ancient Records*", Vol. II, p. 321; Text: ERMAN, "*Die Sphinxstela*".

(8)

(9)

(10)

(11)

(12)

(13)

“ Year I, third month of the first season, day 19, under the Majesty of Horus, the Mighty Bull, begetting radiance, (the Favourite) of the Two Goddesses, enduring in Kingship like Atum, the Golden Horus, Mighty of Sword, repelling the Nine Bows ; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Men-kheperu-Ra, the Son of Ra, Thothmes IV, Shining in Diadems ; beloved of (Amon), given life, stability and dominion, like Ra, for ever.

“ Live the Good God, the Son of Atum, Protector of Hor-akhty, Living Image of the All-Lord Sovereign, Begotten of Ra, Excellent Heir of Kheperi, beautiful of face like his father, who came forth equipped with the form of Horus upon him, a King who . . . favour with the Ennead of the Gods ; who purifies Heliopolis, who satisfies Ra ; who beautifies Memphis, who presents Truth to Atum, who offers it to Him who is South of His Wall (Ptah), who makes a monument by daily offering to the God who created all things, seeking benefits for the Gods of the South and the North, who builds their houses of limestone, who endows all their offerings, Son of Atum of His Body, Thothmes IV, Shining in Diadems like Ra, Heir of Horus upon His Throne, Men-kheperu-Ra, given life.

“ When His Majesty was a stripling, like Horus, the Youth in Khemmis, his beauty was like the Protector of His Father ⁽¹⁾, he seemed like the God himself. The army rejoiced because of love for him, and he repeated the circuit of his might like the Son of Nut and all the princes and all the great ones . . .

“ Behold, he did a thing which gave him pleasure upon the highlands of the Memphite Nome, upon its southern and northern road shooting at a target with copper bolts, hunting lions and the small game of the desert, coursing in his chariot, his horses being swifter than the wind, together with two of his followers, while not a soul knew it.

“ Now, when his hour came for giving rest to his followers, it was always at the Setepet (Sanctuary of Hor-em-akhet), beside Seker in Rostaw, Rennutet in Iat-Ta-Mut (?) . . . in the desert (or necropolis), Mut of the Northern . . . (Neit ?), Mistress of the Southern Wall ⁽²⁾. Sekhmet, presiding over the Mountain, the Splendid Place of the Beginning of Time, opposite the Lords of Kher-aha (Babylon), the sacred road of the Gods to the Western Necropolis of Iwn (Heliopolis).

“ Now, the very great statue of Kheperi rests in this place the great in power, the splendid in strength, upon which the shadow of Ra tarries. The quarters of Memphis, and all the cities which are by him come to him, raising their hands for him in praise to his face, bearing oblations for his Ka.

⁽¹⁾ A title of Horus.

⁽²⁾ Or Mistress of all North of the Southern Wall.

“ One of those days it came to pass that the King's Son Thothmes came, coursing at the time of mid-day, and he rested in the shadow of this Great God. Sleep seized him at the hour when the sun was in its zenith, and he found the Majesty of this Revered God speaking with his own mouth, as a father speaks with his son, saying : ‘ Behold thou me, my son, Thothmes. I am thy father, Hor-em-akhet-Kheperi-Ra-Atum ; I will give to thee my Kingdom upon earth at the head of the living. Thou shalt wear the White Crown and the Red Crown upon the Throne of Geb, the Hereditary Prince. The land shall be thine, in its length and in its breadth, that which the eye of the All-Lord shines upon. The food of the Two Lands shall be thine, the great tribute of all countries, the duration of a long period of years. My face is directed to you, my heart is to you ; Thou shalt be to me the protector of my affairs, because I am ailing in all my limbs. The sands of the Sanctuary, upon which I am, have reached me ; turn to me in order to do what I desire. I know that thou art my son, my protector ; behold ; I am with thee, I am thy leader ’.

“ When he had finished this speech, the King's Son awoke, hearing this . . . , he understood the words of the God, and he put them in his heart. He said : ‘ Come, let us hasten to our houses in the city ; they shall protect the oblations for this God which we bring for him (or that we may protect . . . and that we may bring) : oxen . . . and all young vegetables ; and we shall give praise to Wennefer . . . Khafra, the statue made for Atum-Hor-em-akhet . . . ’ ”

Thothmes IV also dedicated a fine series of stelae which seem to have been originally set up in one of the mud-brick protective walls which he built around the Sphinx. Of this series of stelae, we have recovered eleven in our excavations. They are of limestone, round-topped, and measure on an average about 65×45 cm. Each one bears a representation of Thothmes IV, sometimes alone, and sometimes accompanied by Queen Nefertari, presenting offerings to various gods and goddesses. These deities are as follows :—

(1) Thoth, Lord of Khemenew, Wazit, Mistress of Pe and Dep (Pl. XLI, *a, b*), and Horus of Nekhebw (Pl. XLII).

(2) Seker, the Great God, Lord of Shtyt, Amon-Ra, Lord of . . . (Pl. XLIII, *a, b*).

(3) Seshat, Mistress of Writing, Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore (Pl. XLIV *a, b*), Hathor, Mistress of Inerty (Pl. XLV).

(4) Atum, Lord of Iwn (Heliopolis), Ptah, Lord of Truth (Pl. XLVI, *a, b*), Rennutet, of Iat-ta-Mut (Pl. XVII) (1).

(1) This is the same form of Rennutet as mentioned on the Granite Stela of Thothmes IV. She was the Goddess of the harvest, and was perhaps worshipped here to induce the barren land to bear crops.

While conducting his excavations around the Sphinx, M. Baraize found three more stelae belonging to this series. They bear the representation of Thothmes IV presenting offerings to the following gods:—

(1) Ptah (Pl. XLVI *b*), (2) Isis, Mistress of Heaven (Pl. XLVIII). (3) A Goddess whose identification is impossible, owing to damage to the stone, which has obliterated both the characteristic head-dress of the Goddess and the inscription giving her name (Pl. XLIX).

Two other specimens from the same series were found by the Von Seiglin Expedition⁽¹⁾. The deities represented upon them are: Hor-em-akhet and Mut.

Still another stela from this same series is at present in the collection of M. Albert Eid, of the Khan-el-Khalili, Cairo. On it is a representation of Thothmes IV presenting flowers to Ra-Atum, who is represented as wearing the Double Crown, and is in full human form.

These stelae are of special interest, for they provide us with the names of the gods worshipped in this district; but the list is by no means complete; Osiris and Sekhmet, for example, who are known to have had shrines here, are omitted. Perhaps the stelae dedicated to them are destroyed, or are still awaiting discovery, if they are not lying neglected and forgotten in some foreign collection.

In spite of the suspicions which we may harbour against Thothmes IV, we must admit that he did more than any other monarch towards the clearance of the Sphinx, though this is probably due to his desire to appear as though he were under an obligation to the God for his Kingship; an insistence on the fact that he had gained the throne by the express command of the Sphinx. Amenhotep III built the Temple of Luxor as a similar thank-offering to Amon-Ra, and also, let us whisper in the hope that the priests would overlook the fact that the King's Mother was a foreign woman, and not a daughter of the true solar blood!

Amenhotep III:

Amenhotep III, the son and successor of Thothmes IV, was also a great hunter, and was very proud of his skill in that sport, for he issued two scarabs, one inscribed with an account of how he had killed 102 fierce lions during ten years of

⁽¹⁾ HOLSCHER, "Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren", p. 109.

his reign; and the other describing a wild cattle hunt which he undertook. The translation of this latter scarab runs as follows (Fig. 70) ⁽¹⁾ :—

“ Year 2 under the Majesty of King Amenhotep, given life, and the Great King’s Wife, Tiy, living like Ra. Marvel which happened to His Majesty. One came to say to His Majesty: ‘There are wild cattle upon the highlands, as far as the region of Sheta’.

“ His Majesty sailed downstream in the royal barge ‘Khammat’ at the time of evening, beginning the goodly way, and arriving at the region of Sheta at the time of morning.

“ His Majesty appeared upon a horse ⁽²⁾, his whole army being behind him. The commanders and the citizens of all the army in its entirety, and the children with them, were commanded to keep watch over the wild cattle. Behold, His Majesty commanded to cause that these wild cattle be surrounded by a wall with an enclosure. His Majesty commanded to count all these wild cattle. Statement thereof: 107 wild cattle. Statement of that which His Majesty captured in the hunt on this day: 56 wild cattle.

“ His Majesty tarried four days to give fire to his horses. His Majesty appeared upon a horse a second time. Statement of these wild cattle which His Majesty captured in the hunt: 20 wild cattle: Total: 76 wild cattle.”

Breasted thinks that this hunt took place in some spot that could be reached in a night from Memphis ⁽³⁾, and in this case, it could easily be the Valley of Gazelles, the usual royal hunting-ground.

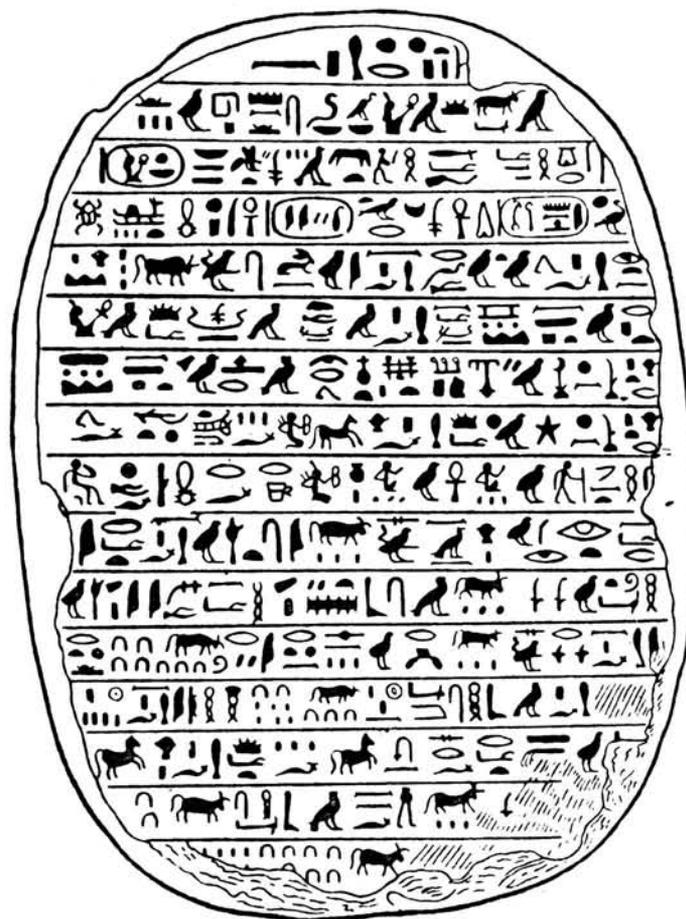


FIG. 70.—AN INSCRIBED SCARAB OF AMENHOTEP III

⁽¹⁾ BREASTED, “*Ancient Records*”, Vol. II, p. 345.

⁽²⁾ A curious statement, as the Egyptians seldom rode horseback. Are we to assume that he means a chariot, or did Amenhotep III follow the Asiatic custom of his Mother’s people, and ride his horses?

⁽³⁾ BREASTED, “*Ancient Records*”, Vol. II, pp. 345, 346.

With regard to the scarab recording the lion hunts in the text, does not mention any special locality, and as the events recorded are spread over a number of years, we may conclude that all the lions were not shot in one place, but without doubt, some of the lions of the Valley of Gazelles are included in the number of the slain. The text of this scarab runs as follows (Fig. 71) :—



FIG. 71.—A SCARAB RECORDING,
LION HUNTS

“Live (here follows his official titles) Amenhotep, Ruler of Thebes, given life, and the Great King’s Wife, Tiy, who liveth. Statement of lions which His Majesty brought down with his own arrows, from year I to year 10: fierce lions, 102 (1).”

Another monument of Amenhotep III, which seems to suggest that he visited the Sphinx, is a stela discovered by the Von Seiglin Expedition, on which is cut the Cartouche of Amenhotep III (2). The scene on this stela represents a young, naked boy in the act of offering lotus-flowers to the Sphinx. The latter lies upon the usual high pedestal, and is crowned with a solar disk, flanked by two uraei. Above the head of the boy was an inscription, but it is defaced, with the exception of the sign , pa. Apparently there was a statue of a king between the paws of the Sphinx, but it has been erased. This representation of the King as a young boy refers to the fact that he was still a minor when he succeeded to the throne.

Queen Tiy, the favourite wife of Amenhotep III, was represented in the form of a female Sphinx (see p. 185).

Akhenaton :

With regard to Akhenaton, we do not know for certain if he ever visited this district. It is quite likely that he visited Heliopolis and Memphis (where monuments, depicting him accompanied by his co-regent and successor, Semenkha-Ra, have been found) and it is significant that we have representations of him in the form of a sphinx (see p. 180). Also in most cases, his iconoclasts have spared the image of the Sphinx (3). Therefore, it is also possible that he came here on pilgrimage, but it is very unlikely that he indulged in any hunting, such a pastime being foreign to his nature and his creed.

(1) BREASTED, *ibid.*, pp. 346, 347.

(2) HOLSCHER, “*Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren*”, p. 107.

(3) It is possible that on the rare occasions, where we find a Sphinx erased, that it was done after the re-action against Atonism had set in, and every symbol remotely connected with the hated cult was destroyed by the more fanatical reactionaries.

Tutankhamon :

Tutankhamon, the brother and son-in-law of Akhenaton, was a child of some ten or eleven years old when he came to the throne, and his mummy seems to indicate that he was not more than nineteen years old at the time of his death. Notwithstanding his youth, and the politically troublous times in which he lived, the young King carried on the royal traditions, and was an ardent sportsman. His funerary equipment affords us ample proof that he was a mighty hunter, and his tomb contained a profusion of bows, arrows, boomerangs, hunting knives, etc. ; while even his perfume-jar bears scenes of hounds pulling down wild beasts of the desert, and the embroidery on his linen tunic has for a motif similar scenes, interspersed with female Sphinxes (*see* p. 189).

The lid of a wooden casket from his tomb shows on one side a panel, beautifully painted in miniature with a representation of Tutankhamon hunting lions. The King is mounted in his chariot, and is accompanied by a powerful hound, which boldly attacks the lions wounded by the King's arrows. These animals are drawn with a stark realism and fidelity to nature, which is simply amazing⁽¹⁾. The other side of the lid of this casket bears a hunting scene, in which the King is shown in pursuit of antelopes, wild asses, hyenas, ostriches, etc.

It is hardly surprising, then, to find that Tutankhamon was among those rulers, who had visited the Sphinx for the combined purposes of pilgrimage and hunting (and let us add that the latter reason was probably the far stronger one !). Moreover, he did not fail to dedicate a stela to the Sphinx, the fragments of which came to light in our excavations (Fig. 72).



FIG. 72.—PART OF A STELA DEDICATED TO THE SPHINX BY TUTANKHAMON

(1) CARTER, " *The Tomb of Tutankhamon* ", Vol. II, Pl. III.

This stela, which bore a representation of Tutankhamon and his young Queen, Ankhes-namon adoring the Sphinx, has suffered wilful damage, probably at the hands of some fanatical Atonist, enraged at the King's return to the old religion. The stela had been smashed to pieces, and the faces of the King and Queen, the figure of the God, and the name of Amon (occurring in the Queen's cartouche), were roughly hacked out. In fact, the Queen seems to have been more thoroughly damaged than the King, whether by chance, or for some special reason, it is difficult to say.

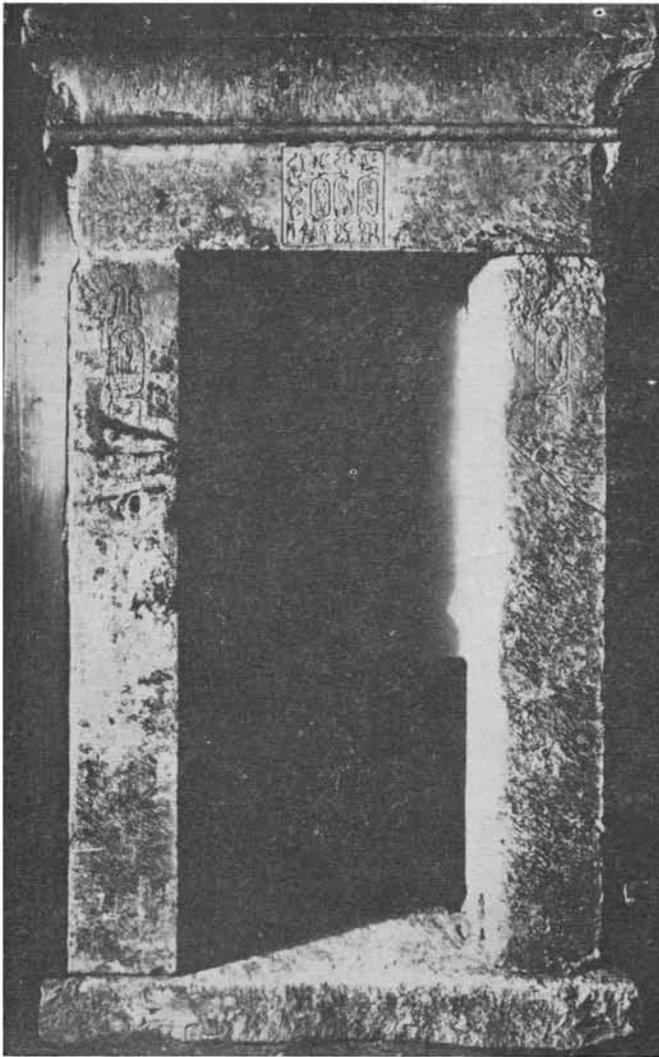


FIG. 73.—A STONE DOORWAY OF TUTANKHAMON,
MONUMENT USURPED BY RAMESSES II

Another monument of Tutankhamon was found by M. Baraize in a small mud-brick structure lying a little to the south-west of the Khafra Valley Temple. Here, a stone doorway, which had been usurped by Rameses II, was found on careful examination to bear an inscription of Tutankhamon. In it he refers to the Sphinx under the name of Hwrna. This appellation of the Sphinx, and its connection with the Canaanite settlers in Egypt, will be discussed in another place (Fig. 73).

It is very probable that the building in which it was found, as well as some of those in the immediate neighbourhood of the Sphinx, were the habitations of the priests, and at the same time contained a suit of rooms suitable to accommodate the Kings and their entourages when they came here on their hunting trips. In this capacity, they would almost be the prototypes of the more modern desert monasteries, which, while serving as a habitation for the priests, were yet capable of accommodating travellers.

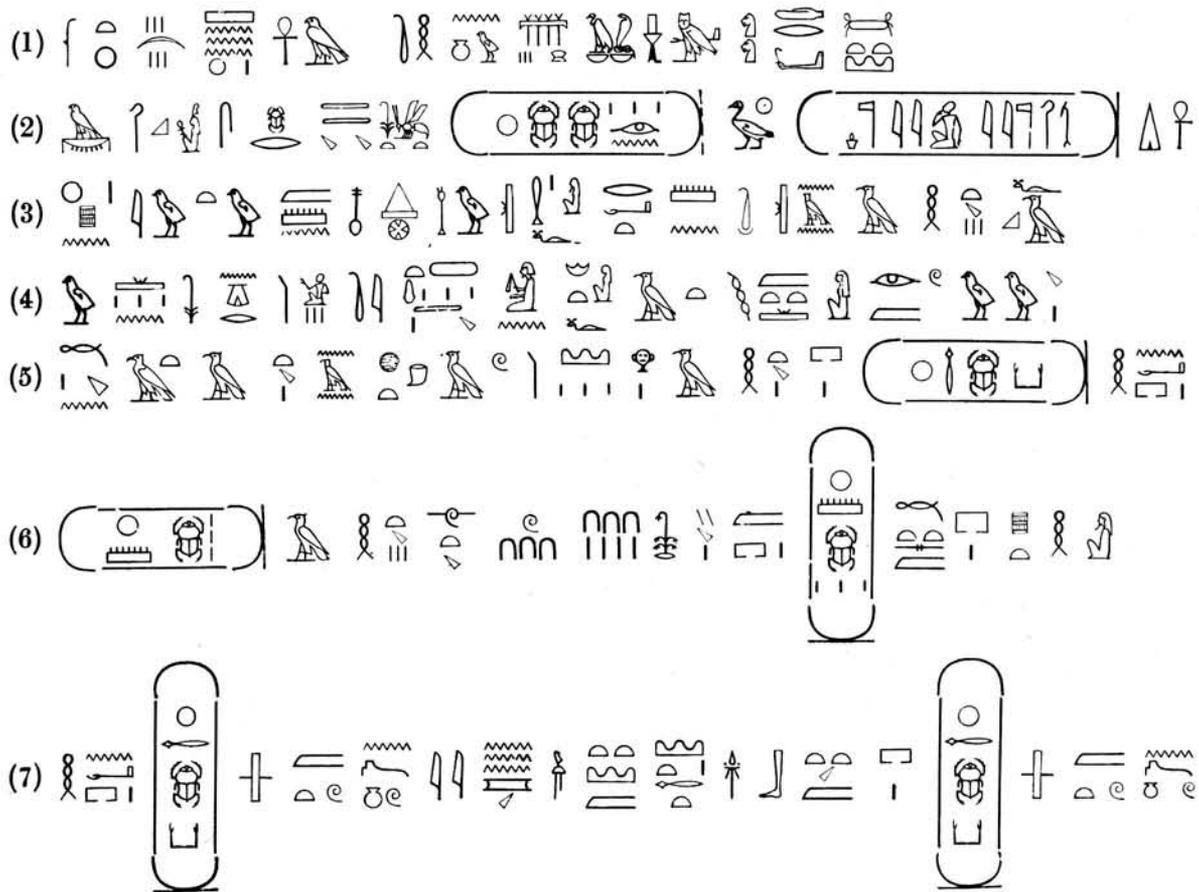
The building in question even contained a bath, and it must have given great pleasure to the royal hunter, coming in all hot from the chase, to plunge into this brimming basin, and scrub off the dust and grime.

Another very interesting proof of the young Tutankhamon's presence in this neighbourhood is the beautiful fan of gold and ostrich feathers, which was found in his tomb (1). On one side of this fan, the King is seen in his chariot, hunting ostriches. On the other side, he is shown returning home in triumph with the coveted plumes tucked under his arm, while his attendants are carrying the dead birds. On the handle is an inscription, which states that this episode took place in the "Eastern Desert of Heliopolis".

Perhaps it was a visit to Giza which inspired Tutankhamon to have himself represented as a Sphinx trampling upon his enemies as seen on the ends of the painted casket, referred to above.

King Ay :

King Ay, the successor of Tutankhamon, dedicated a stela in the Temple of Isis, Mistress of the Pyramids, recording an endowment of land given by him to one of his officials. The text reads (2):—



(1) CARTER, "The Tomb of Tutankhamon", Vol. II, Pl. LXII.

(2) Collated by B. GREDSLOFF.



“Year 3, third month of the third season, first day, (here follows the official titulary of the King) of King Ay, given life. This day, One (the King) was in Memphis, and His Majesty commanded to establish the land of reward to the stranger man, called Teta-Ta for his wife Mut-nezmet. It was laid out in the district north of the Field of the Hittites, in the domain of the House of Thothmes I and the House of Thothmes IV, being a field of 164 arouras ⁽¹⁾ to the south of the House of Thothmes IV, its north being the Temple of Ptah and the House of Thothmes I which is surrounded by the canal, its west being in the great eastern desert, in which the House of Thothmes I is surrounded by the canal. The Royal Scribe, and the Chief of the Granaries, Rames, and the Royal Scribe Meri-Ra and the Scribe, Thay, came for this business and ordered the Chief Servant, Ra, to establish it.”

This reference to the “Field of the Hittites” is tantalizing. We know that the Hittites were one of the peoples conquered by Thothmes III. Was this “Field of the Hittites” an estate worked by these people, brought here as prisoners of war? There is also another possibility. It was the custom of Thothmes III to bring back the young princes of the nations he had conquered and educate them in Egypt; sending them back to their own countries to rule as his vassals when their education was completed, thus spreading the influence of Egyptian culture and ideas, and at the same time developing a better understanding between the conquerers and the conquered.

In this case the “Field of the Hittites” may perhaps represent the estates allotted to these princes, for they would have almost certainly received their education at Heliopolis, the chief educational and theological centre throughout all the periods of Egyptian history.

But whatever may have been the origin of the name “Field of the Hittites”, the chief point of interest in this inscription is that it introduces to us the fact that at this time foreigners were settling in this district, and even receiving royal grants of land. Later, we shall see that a colony of people from Canaan were living in a district not far from the Great Sphinx itself.

The fact that King Ay presented this man with land, suggests that he may have been staying in this district, and Teta-Ta either entertained him or rendered him some service which demanded a liberal reward. So perhaps we may be allowed to include Ay, as one of the royal huntsmen.

⁽¹⁾ About 109 acres.

A plate of engraved gold, which formed part of the decoration of a quiver of King Ay, shows that Monarch driving in his chariot, and shooting at a rectangular target set upon a post. Tied to this post are two foreign prisoners, while a negro and an Asiatic kneel below the King's horses, imploring his mercy. Behind the chariot runs the King's hunting hound and an attendant with a fan. It would seem that the decoration of this quiver is symbolical. The figures of the foreigners remind us that Ay was a former Chief of the Cavalry, while the presence of the hound suggests that he was also a huntsman, and the quiver itself would have been equally necessary to him in either war or the chase (¹).

The fact that some faience rings bearing the name of Ay were found in the Temple of Isis beside the Great Pyramid seems to suggest that he was popular in this district. If, as seems likely, these rings are really contemporary with the kings whose names they bear, they are valuable evidences for fixing the date of any monument in which they are found. As regards their purpose, they may have been made to commemorate a royal visit, and were perhaps distributed among the officials and notable. Or they may bear the name of popular kings and were made and sold by the priests of certain shrines having some connection with these kings.

Hor-em-heb :

Similar rings, bearing the name of Hor-em-heb, were also found in this same Temple of Isis, thus connecting this King with the Giza district; but up till now, no inscriptions of Hor-em-heb have come to light there, so we cannot say in what capacity he came. As he was no longer young when he came to the throne, it is doubtful if he availed himself of a good day's sport then; but in his younger days, when he was still an army officer of high rank and had his head-quarters at Memphis, he may well have been a member of many a merry hunting-party in the Valley of Gazelles.

The first King of the Nineteenth Dynasty, Rameses I, also seems to have been an old man at the time of his accession, and it is very doubtful if in his short reign of two or little more years, he paid any lengthy visits to the northern parts of his kingdom. Therefore, it was his famous son, Seti I, who was to lead his dynasty in the combined pleasure trips and pilgrimages to the Sphinx.

Seti I :

If we may judge by the evidence of the inscribed limestone door-posts which bear his name, Seti I added the south-western chamber and staircase to the Temple of Amenhotep II,

(¹) VAN DE WALLE, "Chronique d'Égypte", No. 26, p. 250.

and also dedicated a stela in this temple. This stela, which is of limestone (Figs. 74, 75) is rather badly damaged, for it was made in two parts, and the smaller slab of stone,

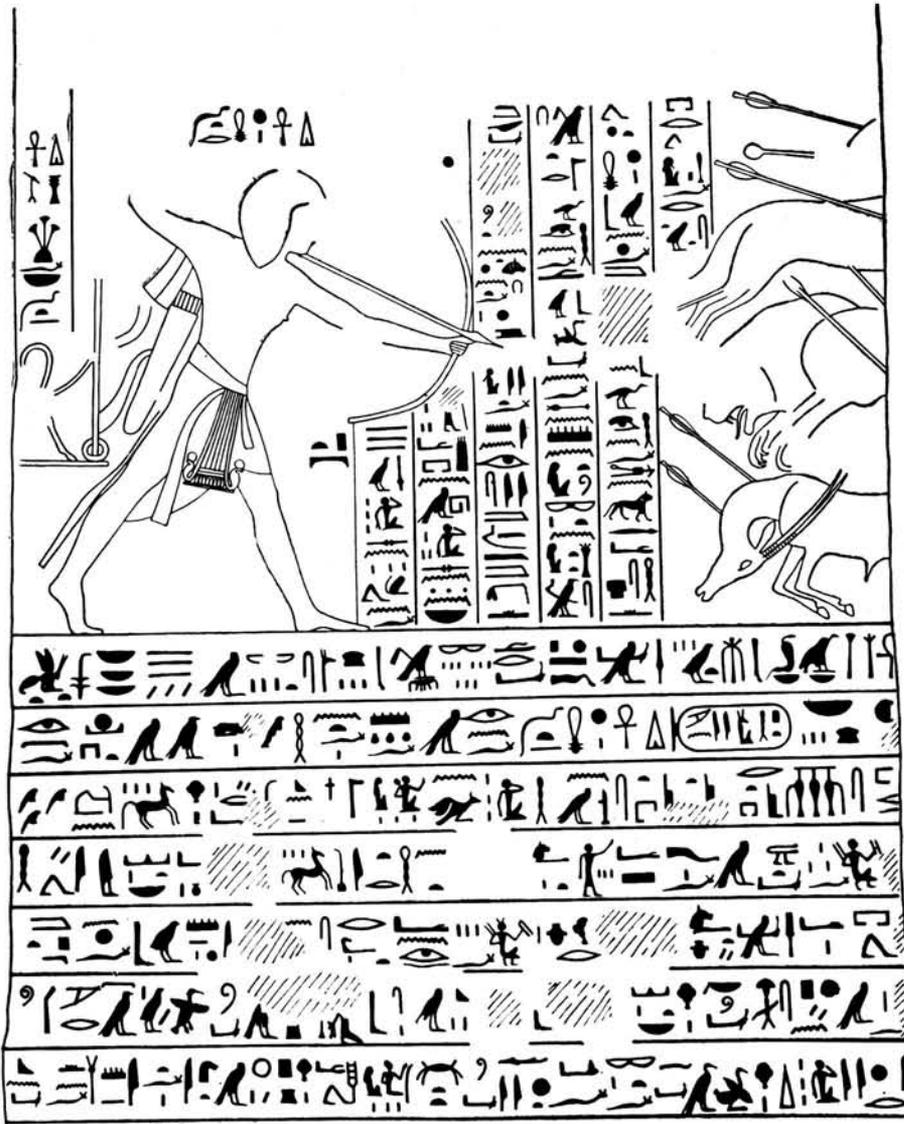


FIG. 74.—THE STELA, No. 80, OF SETI I

which formed the right-hand edge, is lacking; while the surface of the remaining stone has considerably flaked away. Its present measurement is about 1.20 metres high and 0.80 metre wide. It was originally divided into three registers, the upper one of which is totally defaced. The middle register shows Seti I in a hunting scene. The Pharaoh is on foot, which is unusual, as the kings were accustomed to use their chariots for hunting; perhaps he was shown thus in order to prove his courage to the people as a man who dared to attack the savage lion without even the slight protection of his chariot, or the easy means of escape afforded by the swiftness of his horses. He is armed with a bow and arrows, and is taking careful aim at a mixed group of oryx and lions in front of him. The animals, of which there were apparently some more on the missing slab, fall into agonized attitudes, pierced by his arrows. Behind the King is a large ankh-sign, provided with human arms and hands and carrying a long-handled fan (?). Above it is a vertical row of hieroglyphs, reading: "Given life, stability and dominion behind him for ever".

Above the head of the King is a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading: "Given life, like Ra, for ever". In front of the King are seven vertical rows of hieroglyphs which

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read: " His Majesty goes forth to shine like Ra, when (he rises in the sky). Now, he saw a great wild lion, as when the divine hawk sees a hoopoe ; he saw the bow, then he took the arrow of Montu and the bow of Bastet. He killed (the lion) in a moment, because he is Ra, beloved of his father, Amon. This has been done in truth, in the presence of the officials of the palace. They shouted to the Lord of the Lands, and their voices reached to heaven ".

The lower half of the stela bears seven horizontal rows of hieroglyphs, reading :-

" . . . giving life to the Two Lands, the two goddesses, called Renewing Births, powerful of arm, he who defeats the Nine Bows, the Golden Horus, He who is repeating Appearances, mighty of bows in all the lands ; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (the Son of) Ra, Lord of Crowns, Seti Mer-en-Ptah, given life for ever, like Ra.

" He made it (*i.e.* the stela) as his monument for his father, Hwl, Hor-em-akhet ; he made . . . He went forth to promote the places where the people pray. The Good God, the mighty and valiant on the horses in the fighting of hundred thousand . . . his soldiers, he who conquers with his arm, and shouts in front . . . of the cavalry . . . all the foreign lands.



FIG. 75.—THE STELA, No. 80, OF SETI I

Who is coming . . . strong, courageous of heart . . . in the midst of the soldiers, beautiful in front of them (like) Amon-Ra when he rises in the sky . . . at the head of the battle in every foreign land . . . the rebels. Who is conquering (?) Paw-na-mer . . . troops; clever in holding his bow, he forces the Asiatics back; who is standing in the battlefield with the power of his father Amon, who is assigning to him victory. ”

This is perhaps the only monument we have which reveals Seti in the light of a huntsman, or refers to his relaxation from the affairs of the kingdom; and although he says that he kills the lion in truth, it is more probable that Seti hunted here in order to keep alive the royal traditions of the great days of the Empire, which he was so anxious to revive rather than for the love of sport itself.

The limestone door-jambs of the south-western chamber in the Temple of Amenhotep II, referred to above, bear vertical inscriptions, that on the right-hand jamb, reading: “ . . . Men-Maat-Ra, given life for ever ” (Pl. L, *a, b*).

On the right-hand thickness is inscribed: “ The Son of Ra, Lord of Crowns, Seti Mer-en-Ptah; he made it as his monument for his father, Hwl ”. On the left-hand jamb is inscribed: “ Horus, the Strong Bull, he who maintains life in the Two Lands, Men-Maat-Ra, given life ”.

The left-hand thickness bears the following inscription: “ Live the Good God, the Lord of Weapons, he who tramples hundreds of thousands; a fighting lion upon his feet; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Men-Maat-Ra; he made it as his monument for his father, Hor-akhty ”.

Seti also seems to have added the door-posts to the main entrance, but the jambs were later usurped by Mer-en-Ptah. The right-hand thickness bears a scene representing Seti I, and the God Hor-akhty embracing each other, while the God presents the symbol of life to the King's face (Fig. 76). Hor-akhty is hawk-headed, and crowned with the solar disk and uraeus; he wears a wide collar and a short kilt.

Seti wears the Kheperesh helmet, a wide collar and bracelets, a short kilt with an ornamental apron, over which is a long full skirt of transparent material. Above their heads are the lower parts of two vertical rows of hieroglyphs, reading: “ (1) . . . Seti (Mer)-en-Ptah, given life like Ra, every day ”, “ (2) Men-Maat (Ra), beloved of Hor-akhty ”.

Between the King and the God is inscribed: “ Life and welfare to thy . . . Lord of the Two Lands, beloved of Ra ”. At the back of the King is a vertical row of hieroglyphs,

reading: "All life and protection behind him, like Ra, for ever". The left-hand thickness bears a similar scene, but with the figure of a Goddess (Isis ?) substituted for Hor-akhty (Fig. 77).

Above the heads of these figures is inscribed: "Beloved of Hor-em-akhet" "(Like) Ra, for ever". Between the King and the Goddess, and at the back of the King, are vertical inscriptions, identical with those appearing in the same places on the right-hand thickness.

Rameses II :

Rameses II, the son of Seti I, also came to Giza to visit the Sphinx, and left at least four



FIG. 76.—SETI I AND THE GOD HOR-AKHTY REPRESENTED EMBRACING EACH OTHER



FIG. 77.—SETI I AND THE GODDESS ISIS (?) REPRESENTED EMBRACING EACH OTHER

stelae as memorials of his presence. Vyse published a reproduction of one of these ⁽¹⁾, but it apparently only represents the upper part of the stela, and shows Rameses burning incense, and presenting offerings to the Sphinx. The latter is lying upon a high pedestal, in the side of which is represented a door. The inscriptions, which are apparently not very well copied, are only giving stereotyped praises of the King and the God Hor-em akhet.

Another of these stelae, now in the British Museum, is inscribed :—

“Year I under the Majesty of the Horus, the Strong Bull, beloved of Maat, Nebty, who protects Egypt, and dominates the foreign countries. Golden Horus, rich in years, great in victory, King . . . The Good God, renewing as a King, Lord of Strength, valiant and strong on earth like Montu when he is running; going around on the . . . of the Nine Bows; pressing the way back; looking after fighting . . . (like) the breath of the fire when it comes along and rises . . . going through the foreign countries of the end of the earth; hasting is he, more than the arrow on the bow, he flies like the Golden Falcon after the . . . (running) through the foreign countries like . . . like . . . the rising of the fire. The wild lion against the Asiatics, with the sharp teeth and the sharp claws . . . conquering without fail, going through combat.”

As mentioned before (*see* p. 8) it would appear as though Rameses II had made some repairs to the Sphinx, perhaps it was he who added the first coating of masonry of the body and paws. If this is so, let us hasten to record it in his favour, for unfortunately, it is not often that we can speak well of Rameses when it comes to the subject of monuments.

M. Baraize found part of a limestone cornice bearing the Cartouche of Rameses II, but it is not at all clear if it comes from any of the existing buildings, or from some monument, now destroyed (*see* Fig. 14, p. 23).

As already related, Rameses did not scruple to usurp the stone doorway of Tutankhamon. Indeed there is much evidence of usurpation in this comparatively small group of monuments around the Sphinx. Even the Stela of Seti I, already alluded to, was fashioned of slabs taken from the inner casing of the temple, and mounted on another block bearing inscriptions relating to Thothmes IV. In this case, however, the known character of Seti I, coupled with the instances in which he is known to have piously restored ancient monuments, leads us to suspect that this act of vandalism was carried out without his knowledge. It would be an easy matter for a dishonest contractor to seize upon any available stone lying to hand, convert it to his use, and pocket the difference which a new stone would have cost in labour

⁽¹⁾ VYSE, “*Operations carried on at the Pyramids in 1837*”, Vol. III, p. 117.

and transport. If the King was only on a brief visit, and would have in all probability gone back to the capital long before the monument he ordered was well under way, the deception would pass unnoticed. If, by any chance, he should ever return to inspect the finished work, the usurped stones would be in their places and be indistinguishable from new material. But this cannot very well apply to such conspicuous objects as statues and already existing buildings, and such monuments as Tutankhamon's doorway, and I am afraid that Rameses II and his son Mer-en-Ptah must be made to bear at least the greater part of what can only be called their "monumental brigandage".

But to return to the monuments which Rameses II erected or usurped at the Sphinx, it will be seen that they refer to him as a warrior, but do not mention any of his sporting activities. But if he was as bold in civil life as he was in battle, we can be sure that he did not hesitate to take full advantage of the facilities offered by the Giza district; and the line in the "Poem said to be of Pentaour", which likens him to "a fierce lion in the Valley of Gazelles", shows that he must have been well acquainted with the Valley and its wild denizens.

Mer-en-Ptah :

Mer-en-Ptah left a memento of his visit to the Sphinx, by usurping the jambs of the main entrance to the Temple of Amenhotep II, thus proving himself to be a true son of his father, Rameses II. It seems that he was an elderly man when he came to the throne, therefore, it is doubtful if he indulged in any strenuous sports (Fig. 78).

Rameses III :

We know from the walls of Medinet Habu that Rameses III was the great huntsman of the Twentieth Dynasty; therefore, it is not surprising that he was also a visitor to the Valley of Gazelles. We find his name inscribed on part of a door-jamb belonging



FIG. 78.—JAMBS OF THE MAIN ENTRANCE TO THE TEMPLE OF AMENHOTEP II

to the Temple of Amenhotep II, but, unfortunately, we did not find any stela or other inscription giving details of his activities there (Fig. 79).

Rameses IV :

Rameses IV has also left a relic of his activities in the Giza district. It takes the form of a cylindrical column, on which is inscribed : “. . . the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of Two Lands, the Lord of Power, the Lord of Offerings, Weser-Ra Setep-en-Amon, given life . . . (1) ”.



FIG. 79.—A PART OF A DOOR-JAMB OF THE TEMPLE OF AMENHOTEP II

This monument is interesting as being one of the very few of those belonging to Rameses IV which appertain to the Memphite region.

Rameses VI :

Rameses VI also seems to have been a visitor here, as we may gather from a fragment of a stela bearing his name and titles, which was discovered near the Sphinx in 1913.

Pasebekhanu (Psousennes) :

Pasebekhanu (Psousennes) of the Twenty-first Dynasty also visited this district. He seems to have started re-building the Temple of Isis which lies to the east of the small Pyramid of Khufu's daughter, Henut-sen ♂ ☉ | ~~~~ and which, amalgamated with the Sphinx, was destined to become a popular place of worship and pilgrimage during the Saitic Period.

In his "*Pyramids and Temples of Giza*" (p. 156), Petrie says: "Most happily the excavations disclosed a scene of the King offering to Osiris, and though much decayed, the cartouche was legible, and was in every hieroglyph, that of Petukhanu (Pasebekhanu) of the Twenty-first Dynasty. He is represented wearing the Crown of Lower Egypt. This, then, gives the date of the temple, and the character of all the work agrees well with this epoch".

(1) of "*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*", Vol. XIX, p. 116, C.

This temple and the stela, which it contained, were found by Mariette in 1858, and the latter has been one of the stumbling blocks of archæology ever since; for, as we shall see presently, the stela claims that the temple was found (apparently in ruins) by Khufu, and was re-built by him. In which case, it must at the very latest, have been built in the beginning of the Third Dynasty.

As a matter of fact, we possess theoretical and practical proofs of the falsity of this statement, which was only made in a later time by the priests, in order to give their sanctuary the reputation of great age. First, it was dedicated to Isis, Mistress of the Pyramids, but as Khufu was the first King to build a Pyramid in this district, it is difficult to see why the Goddess should bear this title. Secondly, the fact that the cult-chapel of the Princess Henut-sen (¹), and some of the Fourth Dynasty mastabas had been usurped in its construction, proves that the temple is later than the Old Kingdom.

Most probably this temple was built during the Eighteenth Dynasty, when the combined attractions of the Valley of Gazelles and the Sphinx cult had made this district popular. The title "Isis, Mistress of the Pyramid" is probably due to a confusion of the first part of the name of the Princess (whose cult-chapel, we must remember, forms the nucleus of the temple) $\text{Ⲛ} \text{ⲟ}$ Henut, with the word $\text{Ⲛ} \text{ⲟ}$ *henut*, meaning "Mistress", and resulted in the later Egyptians identifying the Princess with Isis. It would seem that the cult-chapel of Henut-sen was repaired and enlarged into a temple of Isis, during the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty, as we can prove by the presence of faience rings bearings the names of Amenhotep III, Tutankhamon, Ay, and Hor-em-heb, also Seti I and Rameses II of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

According to the late Dr. Reisner, who excavated the temple in 1926, these rings were sold to pilgrims by the priests.

The Stela of Prince Amen-em-Apt (*see* pp. 8, 89) shows him presenting offerings to Isis, who is enthroned in a shrine having columns with lotus capitals and Hathorian abaci. As the columns of this temple of Isis have capitals of a similar form, the scene on the stela may perhaps be taken to present this sanctuary.

After the reign of Rameses II, we do not hear any more of the Temple of Isis, until Pasebekhanu, who apparently decided to repair and enlarge it. The work was carried on by one of his successor, Amen-em-Apt, who continued the structure eastwards from the original Fourth Dynasty cult chapel (*see* Plan: Pl. LII).

(¹) Every pyramid had on its eastern side a cult-temple, where the funerary rites of the owner of the pyramid were carried out. The King's pyramids also had mortuary temples situated in the valley for the worship of the dead Monarch.

A slab from one of the walls bore a representation of this King presenting offerings to Isis; and he seems to have been of a pious disposition, for he was one of the Monarchs who were responsible for the re-bandaging and safeguarding of the mummies of the High Priest of Amon, found in the second cache at Deir-el-Bahari in Western Thebes.

2.—THE TEMPLE OF ISIS IN THE SAITIC PERIOD

Under the Saitic Period, much work was done to the Temple of Isis, as might be expected, for it was during this time that Egypt experienced a great revival of the old traditions. It would seem as though the kings of this period sought by restoring the outward appearance of the Old Kingdom, to restore also the power and prosperity that went with it. So great was the vogue for Old and Middle Kingdoms styles of Art, that artists took to visiting the ancient necropoli, in order to study the forms at first hand; moreover, these old necropoli came once more into favour as places for the better-class burials, and we find many of the gigantic shafts typical of the age, in the Giza necropolis. The so-called "Campbell's Tomb", north of the causeway of Khafra, is a good example of this type of burial. Curiously enough, Saitic burial pits occur in some of the smaller chambers of the Temple of Isis, an unusual thing in Egypt, and reminiscent of the Christian custom of interring the illustrious dead in cathedrals and churches.

The temple was now extended eastwards across the wide street lying between the three small Pyramids on the west and a row of large, well-built mastabas on the east (Pl. LI). Chambers were actually constructed in the cores of Mastabas Nos. 7130 and 7140 (*see* Plan: Pl. LII), while the extreme eastern hall was built upon the roof of another mastaba. Moreover, practically all the stones of the masonry had been looted from buildings in the neighbourhood, and cut to the small size characteristic of this period.

On the northern wall of room "A" is a fine relief, showing a priest kneeling in adoration before Isis and the infant Horus (Pl. LIII). The work is neatly done and clearly shows the influence of the Old Kingdom style. The walls of this chapel also bear many graffiti, recording the names and professions of visitors, most of whom appear to have been priests of the neighbouring temples. These graffiti show that there was a revival of the worship of the Fourth Dynasty kings: Khufu, Khafra, Men-kaw-Ra and Ded-f-Ra. Moreover, they contain what is apparently the oldest examples of the priests of the Sphinx "Hem-neter Hor-em-akhet".

Chapel "H" contains the remains of some very fine reliefs, still retaining brilliant colouring in many places (Pl. LIV). Among the objects found during the clearance of this temple were some small limestone sphinxes, and also many statues of the Old Kingdom, which Dr. Reisner thought were taken from a plundered serdab in order to decorate the temple.

But by far the most important find was the stela which Mariette discovered, and which is now in the Cairo Museum, still wrongly placed among the Old Kingdom objects. It has been given various names, including the "Stela of Khufu's Daughter" and the "Inventory Stela", the latter being the more apt, if less romantic-sounding. It is, in fact, a list of the figures of the Gods which Khufu was supposed to have found when he came to repair the temple. This stela (Pls. LV, LVI) ⁽¹⁾, which is of fine white limestone, measures 70 cm. high and 42 cm. wide, and consists of a rectangular panel set upright upon a heavy base, and surrounded on three sides by a frame raised 10 cm. from its surface. This frame and the upper surface of the pedestal are inscribed, the text beginning from the centre of the top bar of the frame and extending down the sides (Fig. 80).

The inscription on the left-hand side reads: "Live Horus Mezdw, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khufu, given life. He made for his mother, Isis, the Divine Mother, Hathor, Mistress of the Western Mountain, a decree made on a stela. He gave to her a new divine offering, and he built her temple of stone, renewing what he had found, namely these Gods in her place".

The right-hand side of the inscription reads: "Live Horus Mezdw ⁽²⁾, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khufu, given life. He found the House of Isis, Mistress of the Pyramid, beside the House of the Sphinx, on the north-west of the House of Osiris, Lord of Rostaw ⁽³⁾; and he built his Pyramid beside the temple of this Goddess, and he built a Pyramid for the King's Daughter, Henut-sen, beside this temple".

The inscription now jumps to the bottom register of the panel where it continues: "The Place of Hwrn (the Sphinx), Hor-em-akhet, is on the south of the House of Isis, Mistress of the Pyramid, and on the north of Osiris, Lord of Rostaw. The plans of the image of Hor-em-akhet were brought in order to . . ."

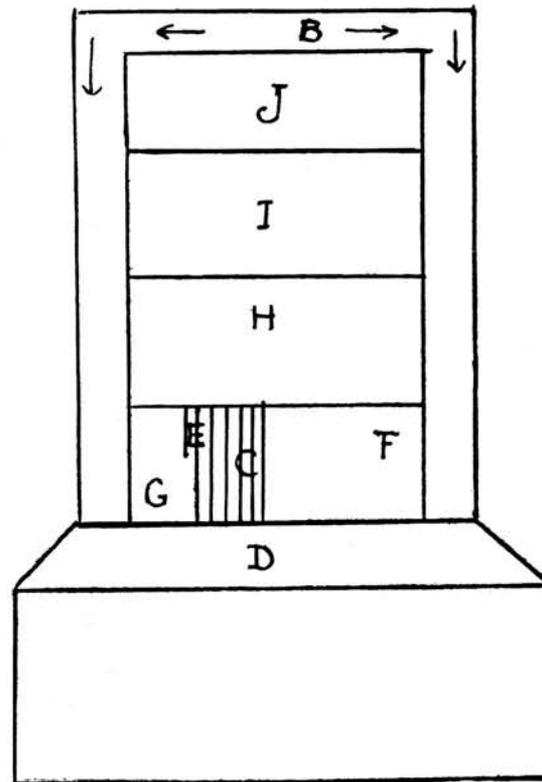


FIG. 80.—A DIAGRAM OF THE "INVENTORY STELA"

⁽¹⁾ Text: MASPERO, "The Dawn of Civilization", p. 413; DE ROUGE, "Recherches sur les Monuments", p. 46; BRUGSCH, "Thesaurus", Vol. V. Text and translation: DARESSY, "Rec. Trav.", Vol. XXX, pp. 2-10. Translation: BREASTED, "Ancient Records", Vol. I, pp. 83-85.

⁽²⁾ The Horus name of King Khufu.

⁽³⁾ In our ninth season's excavations, we unearthed the remains of this temple, and its position corresponds exactly with the disposition of the monuments as given in the text of this stela.

The inscription continues in the four lines inscribed on the upper surface of the pedestal ; these are very badly worn, but M. Daressy who has made a special study of the monument, succeeded in deciphering most of the signs, and if we may trust his translations, it reads (the inscription is completed in the bottom register of the panel, at "E") :—

" . . . bring to revision the sayings of the disposition of the Image of the Very Redoubtable. He restored the statue, all covered in painting, of the Guardian of the Atmosphere, which guides the winds with his gaze. He made to quarry the hind part of the nemes, which was lacking, gilded stone, and which had a length of 7 ells (3·70 metres). He came to make a tour, in order to see the thunderbolt which stands in the place of the Sycamores, so named because of a great sycamore whose branches were struck when the Lord of Heaven descended upon the Place of Hor-em-akhet ; and also this image, retracing the erasure according to the above-mentioned disposition, which is written . . . of all the animals killed at Rostaw. It is a table for the vases full of these animals, which, except for the thighs, were eaten near these seven Gods, demanding . . . (The God gave) the thought in his heart, of putting a written decree on the side of this (above-mentioned) Sphinx, in an hour of the night ⁽¹⁾. The figure of this God, being cut in stone, is solid, and will exist to eternity, always having its face regarding the Orient."

The main part of the panel is occupied with various representations of sacred statues and emblems, arranged in four superposed registers, and accompanied by explanatory inscriptions :

The Top Register:—

(1) A statue of the God Min, standing upon a pedestal provided with carrying-poles. It is inscribed : " Min, acacia wood, height 1 ell, 1 hand (60 cm.) "

(2) A figure of a jackal standing upon a support, the front of which ends in a spiral. Before its front legs is a uraeus ; inscribed : " Wep-wat, gilded acacia wood "

(3) The same as the preceding.

(4) A hawk, crowned with the disk and plumes, perching upon a papyrus-headed standard, to which is attached a menat ; inscribed : " Gilded wood "

(5) An ibis on a perch ; inscribed : " Gilded wood "

The Second Register:—

(1) . . . A portable barque of Isis, on the prow and stern of which are ægises of that Goddess. There is a veiled naos amidships ; it is inscribed : " Support for the splendours of Isis ; gilded wood, inlaid with stones "

⁽¹⁾ As on the Stela of Thothmes IV, the God gives his instructions in the form of a dream.

(2) A statue of Isis, crowned with the disk and horns, and seated within a naos ; it is inscribed : “ Isis the Great, the Divine Mother, Mistress of the Pyramid. Hathor in her barque ; nen-stone, plated with gold ; head-dress and uraeus of silver. Height : 3 hands, 2 fingers (26·4 cm.) ”.

(3) Nephthys, seated upon a low-backed throne ; inscribed : “ Nephthys, gilded nen-stone, head-dress of gold ; height : 3 hands ”.

(4) Isis suckling Horus ; it is inscribed : “ Isis, Mother, nen-stone, head-dress of black bronze ; height : 2 hands, 2 fingers (19 cm.) ”.

(5) The Goddess Selkt, seated and wearing a scorpion upon her head ; inscribed : “ Isis-Selkt, nen-stone, scorpion of gold ; height : 2 hands, 2 fingers (19 cm.) ”.

The Third Register :—

(1) Horus the Child, seated, and inscribed : “ Horus the Protector of His Father, ebony, eyes of inlaid stone ; height : 2 hands, 2 fingers (19 cm.) ”.

(2) Horus the Child, seated, but without a throne, inscribed : “ Horus the Child, gilded wood, eyes of inlaid stone ; height : 4 hands, 2 fingers (32 cm.) ”.

(3) The God Ptah, standing in a naos ; inscribed : “ Ptah, gilded wood ”.

(4) Sekhmet, standing and holding a papyrus sceptre ; inscribed : “ Sekhmet, black bronze ; height : 3 hands, 2 fingers (26·4 cm.) ”.

(5) Osiris, standing in a naos ; inscribed : “ Osiris, gilded wood, eyes of inlaid stone ”.

(6) Isis, seated and suckling Horus ; inscribed : “ Isis, Superior of the Great Place ; black bronze ; height : 3 hands (22·6 cm.) ”.

(7) Isis suckling Horus ; inscribed : “ Isis, gilded wood ; height : 5 hands ” (37·7 cm.).

(8) Horus, wearing the Double Crown, seated, but without a throne ; inscribed “ Horus, who Takes Possession of the Two Lands, gilded wood, eyes of inlaid stone ; height : 3 hands, 1 finger (24·5 cm.) ”.

The Fourth Register :—

(1) At the top of the space “F” is a figure of the Apis bull, standing on a low pedestal. It has a disk between its horns, and its special distinguishing marks are engraved upon its body. It is inscribed : “ Apis (1) ”.

(1) See the bronze figure of the Apis found near to the Sphinx, p. 65.

(2) Below the bull is a curious object, consisting of two plumes springing out of a lotus-flower, which is set horizontally upon a rectangular pedestal. It is the emblem of the God Nefer-tum, and is inscribed : " Nefer-tum, gilded wood ; height : 3 ells (1·58 metres) ".

(3) Behind the two preceding figures, and occupying the full height of the register, is the figure of a uraeus having the head of a woman, and crowned with the head-dress of the Goddess Hathor—a disk between two long horns, and surmounted by two plumes. It is inscribed : " Uraeus of gilded wood ; height : 1 ell (52·8 cm.) (1) ".

(4) In space "G" is the representation of a sphinx, couchant upon a high pedestal, and evidently intended to represent the Great Sphinx of Giza ; above it is inscribed :  which seems to be a corruption of  " seshep " : apparently the first mention of this word as a name for the Sphinx in this district (see p. 232) and also   "Hor-em-akhet".

This, then, is the contents of the stela that has caused so much controversy in the archaeological world. If we could believe its inscriptions, we should have to credit Khufu with having repaired the Sphinx, apparently after it had been damaged by a thunderbolt. As a matter of fact, there may be a grain of truth in this part of the story, for the tail of the nemes of the Sphinx is certainly lacking, and it is not a part, which, by reason of its shape and position, could be easily broken off, except by a direct blow from some heavy object delivered with terrific force. The scar of this breakage is actually to be seen on the back of the Sphinx, as well as traces of the old mortar with which it was repaired. This scar measures about 4 metres which accords with the measurements given on the stela ; the extra 30 cm. damage may easily have occurred at the last destruction of the tail of the nemes.

Therefore, it is quite likely that the Sphinx was struck by a thunderbolt, but there is no grain of evidence to show that this event happened in the time of Khufu.

As a matter of fact, the whole stela, in its form, method of inscription, decoration, and the similarity of the writing to that of the graffiti in the temple, all point to it being entirely the work of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

Maspero states that in his opinion (2), the Inventory Stela is not an original document dedicated by Khufu, but is a later copy or perhaps a forgery, made long after the death of Khufu, to support some fictitious claim of the local priests. He says : " The temple of Isis was re-built where it was found during the Twenty-first Dynasty by the Tanite King, Pasebekhanu,

(1) This may perhaps represent the Goddess Rennutet, whom we know to have been worshipped in this district (see the Granite Stela of Thothmes IV).

(2) MASPERO, " *Guide to the Cairo Museum* ", 1910, p. 65.

and the stela must have been made or restored under this King, or perhaps under one of the Ethiopian Pharaohs. If it is a copy of a decayed monument, it probably preserves the arrangement of the original”.

It is, as Maspero says, quite possible that this stela is, in actual fact, a copy of an older document, such occurrences having been known. A good example of such a restoration is the black Granite Stela of King Shabaka (Twenty-fifth Dynasty), which states that the King had found the original document being eaten by worms (a papyrus or perhaps a wooden tablet ?) and “illegible from beginning to end”, and he ordered the writing to be made anew “more beautiful than the one that was before” (1).

Therefore, we have no reason to doubt that the Inventory Stela is a copy of an older text, and like that of Shabaka, made “more beautiful than the one that was before” by a few exaggerations designed to enhance the sanctity of the temple, but it is certainly not dating from the Old Kingdom, as the titles of the gods alone will show.

The attribution to Khufu of the reparation of the Sphinx and the temple is typical of the mentality of that period, when people were waxing enthusiastic over monuments merely on account of their real or supposed antiquity. A similar craze swept Europe and America only a few years ago, when any real or manufactured “antique” commanded a high price, far exceeding its real intrinsic value or artistic worth.

By far the most interesting part of the inscription is the account of the thunder-storm. It seems to bear the stamp of truth, and it would be interesting to know under which king this event really took place. The mention of a great sycamore tree having also been struck is also of interest, for there is a similar tree, of immense age, still flourishing a little to the south of the Sphinx. These trees often live to a very great age, and the present specimen is said to be older than the so-called Virgin’s Tree at Materieh. It may very well be the offshoot of the tree mentioned in the stela. It is also this “family” of trees that may have given to Hathor her title of “Mistress of the Sycamore”, a form under which she was extensively worshipped in this district.

Needless to say, the figures of the gods which are mentioned on this stela are the suspicious part of the text, because most of these deities were unknown in these forms or by these titles during the Old Kingdom. While the materials from which they were made, and the showy gilding, speak eloquently to us of the degraded taste of the period preceding the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. These statues were most probably votive offerings from private people, and this temple, being far from the King’s residence, would be unlikely to possess very rich statues, such being usually royal gifts.

(1) ERMAN, “*Eine Denkmal Memphitischer Theologie*”; SETHE, “*Dramatische texte*”, Pls. 12-22.

Psamtik II:

Unfortunately, we do not know the names of the Saitic kings who restored this temple, but two clues seem to be given. One of them is a part of a granite statue of Psamtik II, found at Giza, and now in the Berlin Museum. It is inscribed: "Psamtik II, living for ever, beloved of Osiris-Seker, Lord of Rostaw . . . ib-Ra, living like Ra, beloved of Osiris, Lord of Rostaw". This seems to connect him with the three amalgamated places of worship in the Giza necropolis.

Wah-ib-Ra:

The other clue is a sphinx of limestone, inscribed with the name of Wah-ib-Ra, the Hophra of the Bible, and the Apries of Herodotus. This Sphinx was found in our excavations, near to the Great Sphinx. It is painted with red and yellow, and the hawk's wings and plumage on its back have become conventionalized into a chequered "saddle-cloth" (Fig. 81).



FIG. 81.—A LIMESTONE SPHINX OF WAH-IB-RA

According to Herodotus (Book II, Ch. 163) Wah-ib-Ra was a cruel, vindictive man, unpopular with his subjects, who eventually made a successful revolt against him. The leader of the rebels, Amasis, treated Wah-ib-Ra with honour, and the two kings ruled conjointly for some time.

During the Persian Period we hear little about the Sphinx; even that old chatterbox, Herodotus, is silent on the subject, which is a most unusual thing. It could not have been completely covered with sand in his time, as it still retained a priesthood; but evidently it was not considered of much importance by the dragoman who guided Herodotus, for he evidently did not see the monument. It is to be regretted that the "Father of History" is silent upon this subject, for it would have been interesting to know his opinion about this unique monument, and the story, savoury or otherwise, that he would have related concerning it!

The worship of Isis, Mistress of the Pyramids, as well as the cults of the Kings of the Fourth Dynasty, were still continuing at this time, as can be proved by a stela found in the Serapeum at Sakkara, and dated in the thirty-fourth year of Darius. It was dedicated by a certain Psamtik-menkh, who held the offices of Priest of Osiris Apis, the Great God, Isis, Mistress of the Pyramid, and Priest of Khufu, Khafra, and Ded-f-Ra, and Priest of Hor-em-akhet. His son held similar offices (¹).

(¹) See CHASSINAT, "Rec. Trav.", Vol. XXII, p. 173.

At the time when this stela was inscribed, there was a great revival of the worship of the Apis bull at Memphis and that animal ought also to have been venerated in this district, at least in this period, and during the Saitic age, as we can gather by the fact that its image appears among the sacred statues on the "Inventory Stela" and it was also regarded as an incarnation of the Sun-god Atum, or better the herald of the God Ra.

The titles of the Priest, Psamtik-menkh appear to be written in the same manner as those in the graffiti of the Temple of Isis, and the office of Priest of the Deities of Isis, Hor-em-akhet, Osiris, and the Pyramid Kings was apparently habitually held by one person, which seems to be a clear proof of the amalgamation of these various cults into what one might almost refer to as the "Giza Federation". In the Saitic Period, and again later, in the Ptolemaic Period, these places of worship were almost bordering on being "show-places", as they are at the present day, and I am afraid that the priests were more to be regarded as dragomans in the worldly sense, than as guides in the spiritual one !

3.—THE GRÆCO-ROMAN PERIOD

In Græco-Roman times the Sphinx and its neighbouring monuments had become a veritable tourist centre, very similar to what it is to-day. with only a very thin veneer of religious sentiment as the motive for making the visit. These monuments had truly come to be regarded as antiquities, and indeed, there is a greater number of years separating the age of the Pyramid Builders from the Græco-Roman Period, than there are between the Græco-Roman Period and our present day.

Under Roman domination, the Sphinx enjoyed a wide popularity, being visited by some of the Roman Emperors, who made these visits partly out of curiosity, and partly from their desire to present themselves to the Egyptians as carrying on the Pharaonic traditions (for political reasons). The Roman Emperors who were represented on the monuments in the traditional attitudes, wearing the traditional garb of the Pharaohs, and addressed by the traditional titulary, must also pay their homage to the Sphinx in the traditional manner.

Septimus Severus :

Septimus Severus was among the distinguished visitors to the site, and is said to have erected an altar on the staircase in front of the Sphinx. (He is also said to have repaired the Colossus of Memnon at Thebes.)

Many of the visitors of this period, royal or otherwise, left records of their presence at the Sphinx, in the form of either monuments, stelae, or graffiti, and also dedicated many votive figures, lions again coming into prominence, for this purpose, though sphinxes and hawks also appear. These inscriptions, which often form an eloquent picture of the times in which they were written, may best be left to tell their own story.

The following inscription occurred on a block of limestone discovered by M. Baraize, during his excavations at the Sphinx. It is now in the Cairo Museum (Fig. 82). "Offering of Aragaios, his wife, and their children".



FIG. 82.—A LIMESTONE BLOCK DISCOVERED NEAR THE SPHINX,
NOW IN THE CAIRO MUSEUM

While another from the same source, reads: "Adoration of Discoros, the stone-cutter, and his children, and . . .". The rest of this inscription had never been completed (Fig. 83) in spite of the fact that its donor was a stone-cutter!

Certain visitors left their inscriptions, either on the Sphinx itself, or on a detached stone placed near it. These inscriptions are often of a more ambitious nature than those quoted above, and sometimes they take the form of small poems, in which the visitors attempt to express their admiration. Unfortunately for us, most of those survived are in a fragmentary condition.

A poem of this class, which is somewhat well-preserved, was inscribed on a front claw of the left paw of the Sphinx, and is now in Paris. It was published in "*Greek and Latin Inscriptions*" by Letronne (see p. 123).

We possess the entire latter half of another of these poems, which has reached us in a very curious manner. A fragment of it had been in the Vienna Museum for over one hundred years, and was published for the first time in 1829. No one knew from whence it came, beyond the fact that it was purchased in Egypt at the time when Caviglia was making his excavations there in the vicinity of the Sphinx. In 1926, M. Baraize found four more fragments near the Sphinx, and a great Austrian Epigraphist discovered that they fitted together with the Vienna fragment. This poem is very interesting, and conjures up, before our eyes, visions of the feasts and gay banquets which used to take place beside the Sphinx, and which sometimes lasted all through the night.



FIG. 83.—A LIMESTONE BLOCK WITH INCOMPLETE INSCRIPTIONS

How similar is this to the present day, when every moonlit night brings its party of picnickers to the zone of the Sphinx, when the silence of the desert is once more broken by the sound of laughter and singing, and the youthful lovers wander hand in hand round the Pyramids.

The following is a translation of the part of the poem that has survived:—

. . . they are perished also,
 Those walls of Thebes, which the Muses built ;
 But the wall that belongs to me has no fear of war ;
 It knows not either the ravages of war or the sobbing.
 It rejoices always in feasts and banquets,
 And the choruses of young people, united from all parts.
 We hear the flutes, not the trumpet of war,
 And the blood that waters the earth is of the sacrificial bulls,
 Not from the slashed throats of men.
 Our ornaments are the festive clothes, not the arms of war,
 And our hands hold not the scimitar,
 But the fraternal cup of the banquet ;
 And all night long, while the sacrifices are burning ;
 We sing hymns to Harmakhis,
 And our heads are decorated with garlands.”

This fragment, especially the haunting beauty of the last two lines, is one of those scintillating gems that gleam like stars in the darkness of the Past, and make us regret all the more those treasures which are lost to us for ever.

The Sphinx and its girdle wall were also considered to be a place of special honour, where stelae were sometimes erected, in order that they might be seen and read by the largest number of people possible. These stelae do not necessarily bear inscriptions relating to the Sphinx. Modern excavations have provided us with some examples of this class of monument. There is a stela, now in the Cairo Museum, which bears a decree from the inhabitants of Busiris, a village near the Pyramids of Giza (not the ancient Abusir near Memphis) and which at that time formed part of the Letopolitan Nome. This decree expresses the gratitude of the people of Busiris towards Pompeius Sabinus, who was at that time (A.D. 22-23) the Governor of the Nome. The villagers thanked him for the incorruptible manner in which he administered justice, for the care which he took in the maintenance of the canals, and for his benevolence towards the workers, etc. It was also said that the stela was to be erected in the most conspicuous place in the village, that is to say near the Sphinx. And here it was found by

M. Baraize. The fact that the text of the stela orders that it would be erected in the most conspicuous place in the village, coupled with the fact that it was actually found by the Sphinx, seems to suggest that Busiris and the modern village of Nazlit-es-Semman are one and the same place.

Apparently the villagers were fond of issuing decrees, for we have another example coming from the same place, later in date than the preceding, having been made for the Emperor Nero (A.D. 54-68). Like the above-mentioned stela, it was found near to the Sphinx, but about one hundred years previously, and was published by Caviglia in 1817. The translation runs as follows :—

“ To Good Fortune. Whereas the Emperor Nero Claudius, Ceasar, Augustus Germanicus, the Good Genius of the World, in addition to all the benefits he has conferred upon Egypt, has shown the most special care of its interests by sending to us Tiberius Babillius as Governor, through whose favour and acts of kindness abounding in all good things, Egypt, beholding the gifts of the Nile yearly increasing, is now, more than ever enjoying the proper rising of the Deity (the Nile), it has seemed good to the inhabitants of the village of Busiris in the Letopolitan Nome, who live near the Pyramids, and to the local and village clerks therein, to vote and dedicate a stone column . . . It preserves his godlike . . . column . . . in sacred characters, to be remembered for ever . . . for having come to our Nome, and for having worshipped the Sun, Armachis, the Overseer and Saviour, and for having been delighted with the magnificence and . . . of the Pyramids”.

The rest of the inscription is mutilated, but it perhaps mentions some work ordered by Babillius in connection with the Sphinx, he having been struck with the abundance of sand lying around it. The inscription also expressly says that the stela was to be erected near the “ Great God Helios-Armachis ”.

A third decree, also found by Caviglia, commemorates the restoration of the retaining walls which surrounded the Sphinx, and is dated A.D. 166. The translation reads as follows :—

“ Thy formidable form is the work of the Immortal Gods. In order to spare the level, harvest-bearing land, they placed you in the midst of your cavity, as a rocky island, from which they had driven back the sand. They placed you as a neighbour to the Pyramids, for our beholding ; not like the Sphinx of Thebes, slain by Ædipus, but as a sacred servant of the divine Leto, who vigilantly guards the good, lamented Osiris, the Sacred Guide of the Land of Egypt . . . ”

The remainder is too fragmentary to translate, but at the end, the name of the author, Arrian, appears. This man had referred to the Sphinx as being the servant of Leto, and it is undoubtedly a simple allusion to the fact that the Sphinx was included in the territory of the Letopolitan Nome.

With the downfall of the Roman power in Egypt, the Sphinx sank into neglect and oblivion. The ever-encroaching sand, no longer held at bay by a King's command, gradually engulfed the monument, until only the head was left above the ground level, a prey to the elements and religious fanaticism. But even then, neglected and battered as it was, the Sphinx still continued to exercise its powerful influence over the minds of those who beheld it ; and many guesses and conjectures as to its nature and origin are preserved to us in the writings of the Arab historians (*see* p. 155), while its very name passed into popular idiom as a synonym for enigma in almost every civilized language.

And now once more the sands are cleared away, and the Sphinx which preserved its secret from even the great conquerors of the Eighteenth Dynasty, has been made to speak at the command of Science. For we of to-day are in the unique position of knowing more about the Sphinx than even the Genius who created it ; for we see it as it was, and as it became, tracing its history forwards as well as backwards.

There are many so-called poetic souls who deplore the excavation of the Sphinx, claiming that it was more romantic and picturesque when half buried in the sand. It seems to me that these are people of small understanding. Is it not easier to recall the Past when we have the whole monument clear before us, and the actual evidence in our hands ? Surely there is more romance in the real facts of History than there is in a sand-engulfed meaningless ruin ? Let the Poet visit the Sphinx now ; let him study its history and surely his imagination will at once revive the pomp and splendour of the royal pilgrims. He will hear the thudding of the hooves of their horses as they career across the desert in pursuit of their fleeing quarry. He will rejoice in their triumphs and deplore their feuds and jealousies. He will witness the religious ceremonies, and hear the prayers of the pilgrims who come to beg the God to grant them their human desires ; and at the end, he will catch the echoes of the songs which the garlanded revellers sang throughout the livelong night, and will appreciate anew the trite but veracious saying that "Truth is stranger than fiction".

Also, let us add, the poets, who always want to see the Sphinx buried up to the neck in the sand, are setting their wills against that of the God himself. Did not the Sphinx ask Thothmes IV to rid him of the sand ? What, then, are we poor archaeologists to do ; are we to please the Sphinx or please the poets ? I think we had better enlist on the side of the God and Science, and leave the poets to their dreams and lamentations !

A LIST OF THE KINGS CONNECTED WITH THE GREAT SPHINX OF GIZA
AND THEIR APPROXIMATE DATES ⁽¹⁾

Name	Dynasty	Year
THOTHMES I	<i>Eighteenth</i>	1557-1501 B.C.
THOTHMES III	"	1501-1447 B.C.
AMENHOTEP II	"	1448-1420 B.C.
THOTHMES IV	"	1420-1411 B.C.
AMENHOTEP III	"	1414-1379 B.C.
TUTANKHAMON	"	1338-1347 B.C.
AY	"	1350-1347 B.C.
HOR-EM-HEB	"	1350-1315 B.C.
SETI I	<i>Nineteenth</i>	1313-1292 B.C.
RAMESES II	"	1292-1225 B.C.
MER-EN-PTAH	"	1225-1215 B.C.
RAMESES III	<i>Twentieth</i>	1198-1167 B.C.
RAMESES IV	"	1167-1161 B.C.
RAMESES VI	"	1157- ? B.C.
PASEBEKHANU	<i>Twenty-first</i>	1085-1067 B.C.
WAH-IB-RA	<i>Twenty-six</i>	588- 569 B.C.
NEKHT-HOR-HEB	<i>Thirty</i>	332 circa. B.C.
EMPEROR NERO	<i>Roman Period</i>	A.D. 54-68
VERUS	"	A.D. 130-169
HADRIAN	"	A.D. 117-138
ANTONINUS	"	A.D. 138-161
MARCUS AURELIUS	"	A.D. 161-181
SEPTIMUS SEVERUS	"	A.D. 193-211

In the "*Chronique d'Egypte*" of 1944 ⁽²⁾, M. Bruyere puts forward an entirely different view concerning the royal visitors to the Sphinx, and their sporting activities in its neighbourhood, and says, in effect: "Twenty years ago I attended a conference at the Louvre, in which I proposed the hypothesis of a relationship between the Great Sphinx of Giza and the sporting prologue to the ceremonies attending the coronation of the Hereditary Prince, as it appeared from a close examination of the Dream Stela of Thothmes IV. This hypothesis had received good support in the important discoveries made by the Antiquities Department during the clearance of the Sphinx ⁽³⁾."

⁽¹⁾ According to our knowledge of to-day.

⁽²⁾ BRUYERE, "*Le Sphinx de Guizeh et les Epreuves du Sacre*", *Chronique d'Egypte*, (1944) No. 38, p. 194 ff.

⁽³⁾ These are our excavations of the eighth and ninth seasons.

Recently, M. Van de Walle, in an article entitled "*Les Rois Sportif dans l'Ancienne Egypte*", which appeared in the "*Chronique d'Egypte*", No. 26, spoke of these new historical acquisitions, especially the Stela of Amenhotep II, which treats a certain side of the question with which we are now occupied. He illustrates his demonstration by reproducing the significant monuments, which we are going to use here, and consulted in the aforesaid article.

On the other hand, the excavations of the French Institute at Deir-el-Medineh, in 1939, had found in the Ptolemaic Temple of Hathor a lintel of a granite doorway (No. 105) published as a photograph in No. 28 of the "*Chronique d'Egypte*", p. 271, Fig. 2, and three stelae dedicated by the Royal Scribe Ramose to the little Saviour-god, Shed, in the reign of Rameses II.

The relationship between these two very dissimilar objects and the subject in question, is not apparent at first glance. It demands, first of all, an explanation of the Stela of Shed⁽¹⁾, and the lintel. We know that Shed is a young Horus, the Harpokrates of Khemmis, that is to say Horus the Son of Isis of Buto and Horbeit. He still carries the side-lock of hair, worn by the sons of gods and the Crown Princes. It is thought that he appeared at the end of the Middle Kingdom, that he is a Solar Horus, defending the throne of Ra as the Horus of the Osirian myth defended the throne of Osiris, and was the avenger of his father. As he was armed for the chase and for war, and was a clever archer and charioteer, he pursued the wild animals of the desert related to the clan of Set, and was ready to attack the hereditary enemies coming from the eastern sands. In addition to having these physical qualities, he was well trained in the science of magic, which he learned from his mother, Isis, the Great Magician. The Harris Magical Papyrus and the Metternich Stela teach us that by the absorption of syncretism and the centralization of Heliopolis, Shed is nothing but the double of Shu, the Son of Atum, the Inheritor of Ra, who gave his qualities to Anhur, to Anhur-Shu, the warrior armed with the spear, to Shu the hunter, and to other sons of gods who propose to defend their fathers, and to do all for the eventual salvation of Ra.

Thus, endowed with all the spiritual and corporal gifts favourable to this great work, Shed offers himself as a model to the royal princes called to the succession to the Crown. This is enough to draw our attention to him here, even if there were no more facts than that under the Semetic influence of the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. He received the name of Hourouna, the Canaanitish structure of which sometimes makes one doubtful of his origin. The new name of Shed was the logical consequence of the assimilation of Horus the Son of Isis to Harmakhis.

In reality, at this same epoch, Tanis was counterbalancing the power of Thebes, and the Great Sphinx of Giza, which was the symbol representative of the Heliopolitan theology, added this sobriquet of Hourouna to the other names under which it was venerated, Atum-Kheper-Ra-Harmakhis, divine personifications of the seasons of the day and of the year. In reality, up to the time of Amenhotep III, the names Harmakhis and Kheper were the predominating

⁽¹⁾ See what is written about the God Shed on p. 259, Fig. 195, Stela 2.

ones, specifying in him the hours of the morning, the days of spring, the youthfulness of the sun in the fulness of its vigour; and equally well, the promise of the future, and the oracular science of the secrets of destiny.

It was also known by the surname of Hou or Hurna (M. Bruyere now discusses the origin of the new names of the Sphinx, Hou and Hurna, but his hypothesis is faulty, because he misinterprets the value of the hieroglyphic sign of the lion in the name, and is apparently unaware of the variant writings of the name, and the correct form Hwl) (*see p. 254 ff*).

“Shed and the Sphinx,” that is to say Horus the Son of Isis and Harmakhis, are always found united under the same exotic label, and it is this similarity which now leads us to speak of the Lintel No. 105, as it represents an act of adoration made by two kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty to the God Amon of Luxor, under the form of a human-headed sphinx.

Without insisting on the originality of the Libyan head-dress of Amon, which connects him with Anjiti of Busiris and Anhur of Thinis, and of the falcon's skin of Harmakhis which he wears, let us mention only the symmetrical arrangement of the scene, the central group of two identical sphinxes placed back to back, and receiving on the right, incense from the hands of Amenhotep I and on the left wine from the hands of Amenhotep II.

On the Lintel No. 369 (163) of the British Museum, we find a similar arrangement for the adoration of the triads of Karnak and Elephantine, by Amenhotep I and Thothmes III—again kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty.—which exalts the identification of Amon and Khnum under the complete or partial ram-form of Amon, which was much in favour on the western bank of the Nile at Thebes.

Without doubt, this arrangement of personalities would present nothing of interest to us if we did not remark the same thing on the front of the famous Dream Stela of Thothmes IV between the paws of the Sphinx at Giza. There, back to back in the centre, are opposed two figures similar to the colossus, and at the two extremities, Thothmes IV in his war-helmet, on the right, offers incense, while in the khaft (nemes) on the left, he offers spherical pots of wine. The increasing predilection of the Diospolitan Kings for the hybrid form of the Sphinx can be proved by many examples; but it takes a very significant appearance when we examine the facts accompanying the occasions on which it was manifested, in the light of texts inscribed upon stela.

The relationship being established between the Great Sphinx Ra-Atum, father of all gods, and Shed, the Crown Prince, by the interpretation of the name of Hourouna, which is common

to both, since a certain period in history, had, as a parallel, the relationship which afterwards unites the Sphinx, ancestor of the divine dynasties and all the Pharaonic offspring, the continuation of the earthly line.

If we know only the Dream Stela we could interpret its erection to two incidents, which in appearance are mere fables, without historical value, namely the prophetic dream, and its consequences, the removal of the sand from the site. Seen from this angle, the stela is nothing but a foundation stone commemorating a vow provoked by a natural cause, and is a fortuitous act of homage to the Heliopolitan dogma. Had not Thothmes II been favoured by an equally propitious dream in the same place? He constructed for his souvenir the little naos of limestone, No. E3074 of the Louvre, which some savants consider to be apocryphal, and attribute to Rameses III. But the excavations made since 1920 by the Antiquities Department had discovered around the Sphinx monuments of the same nature, among which is a lintel of Tutankhamon, mentioning the name of Hourouna, a little votive Sphinx presented by Rameses III, and especially, a great stela of Amenhotep II (¹).

By researches among the collections, and by the methodical continuation of the excavations, the list of ex-votos of this kind may be extended, and furnish a proof of the hypothesis which we put here.

The Stela of Amenhotep II has a similarity to that of Thothmes IV, and the parallelism of their texts overthrows the scale of the respective value which ought to be given to the different parts of the narrative of Thothmes IV. It is now impossible to see in either of these two stelae a simple account of a pilgrimage left there as a sign of piety by two illustrious travellers, set at hazard at the foot of the celebrated Image who turned this act of homage to their personal benefit by employing it to enlarge upon their athletic performances or coursing prowess.

If we compare the condition of the persons concerned, the time and place, the proceeding of the actions related, their cause and their effect, we shall see that all the circumstances are intimately related, and governed by a common direction, and are reproduced nearly identically in both cases.

Let us take by turn these two typical examples. Amenhotep II says at the beginning of his memorial that he "appeared, in his quality as a king, as a beautiful young man who had taken knowledge of himself, and had accomplished his eighteenth year on his two legs in full vigour".

(¹) For the Great limestone Stela of Amenhotep II, see p. 74.

Amenhotep II, who was the son to Thothmes III and Crown Prince, was probably associated to the throne during the lifetime of his old father. He was eighteen years old, and was without doubt officially crowned when he came to prostrate himself at the foot of the Sphinx. The erection of this stela, made after this, would, therefore, date to the first year of his reign. One of the principal aims of the monument seems, then, to fix for posterity the age of succession to the throne and the legitimacy of his right to the supreme office.

On the other hand, Thothmes IV begins with these words: " His Majesty was a child, like Horus the Youth in Khemmis, beautiful as a god, preferred by his father, highly considered by the princes of the blood, and the courtiers, praised by the army, and especially beloved by the God himself ".

The stela is dated to year one of his reign ; it is naturally posterior in date to the dream, which means that Thothmes was not yet king, and that he made it later, therefore he was only of the tender age of Horus of Khemmis. This point was fixed, as the Pretender, who had little chance of being appointed king, owing to his mother being a concubine, had reason to fear the intrigues of the harem which was likely to advance the benefit of another prince of the blood, better related on his mother's side. Also, after showing this physical advantage, his paternal heritage, he affirms that he enjoys the preference of his father over all his rival brothers, and that the choice did not meet with any hostility in the family or the court, and was sanctioned by the army and the god. The dream follows this introduction in order to prove that the imperious divine will acknowledge this bastard as the legitimate inheritor of the King. This trick, which duped no one, substituted for a deficiency of rights, the advantage of a divine election, and the credulous populace were satisfied.

This artifice was like currant coinage, it had served with success for Thothmes III and elsewhere the mystic marriage of the Queen with Amon had given to her offspring the benefit of direct filiation with the gods.

As a continuation to this introduction which was destined to precisely fix the date of their coronation, and to support this historic fact, of which the political aim is clear, by revealing without modesty all the exceptional physical and moral qualities of the two candidates to the throne, was developed the enumeration of proof required and realized to show the aptitude of the future king for his métier. These proofs are of two kinds.

On the one hand, they are works of piety. Their intention is to satisfy the ancestral divinity by taking measures to preserve the reputed sanctuaries, by the restoration of the Pharaonic tombs, and by donations to the priestly colleges.

In Egypt one cannot say whether policy was more religious than religion was political, as the two domains were mixed together to such an extent that separation between the State and the Church had never been accomplished during the Pharaonic regime. The Throne sometimes revolted against a temple, but not against the Temple, and it never passed the limits of a schism. On their side, the clergy in their almost forced mingling in temporal affairs were sometimes abandoned to questions of persons, but not to questions of principals.

On the other hand, the proofs required are really tests of skill and endurance ; athletic prodigies and gymnastic prowess, always with satisfactory results, which demonstrate that the Prince is worthy to receive the investiture, because he is endowed with knowledge, moral and muscular force, which render him capable of "doing the work of Montu", as it is said on the Stela of Amenhotep II.

The young Thothmes IV was not an athlete like his father, therefore he insists more upon the good works which he made in favour of the gods of Heliopolis, and he limits himself to affirming without supporting proofs that "his strength is amazing, and he maintains it, as Osiris, the Son of Nut".

On the contrary, Amenhotep II, proud of his uncommon strength, was pleased to describe in detail a nautical exploit, throwing in relief the energy of his character and the force of his arms. The success which he gained was so great that it excited the admiration and enthusiasm of the crowd, assembled upon the banks of the Nile to be present at the trial.

This makes one to understand that it is not merely a kind of competition, improvised and disinterested, but a pleasure rowing-match, without witnesses or useful aim.

A symbolism always mixes with royal gestures ; it is not forbidden to see in the role of steersman held by the Prince, an assimilation to the god Houl, the celestial steersman of the barque of Ra, and vanquisher of the sullen efforts of Apep against solar navigation. From this point, the texts of the two stelae offer a most eloquent symmetry, and it is here that we refer to an article by M. Van de Walle for illustration, and we shall follow its order because it coincides exactly with the trials imposed upon the Crown Princes.

The two royal sons abandon themselves in effect, and in the order described by our colleague, to a series of gymnastic exercises and sporting prowess, which take place in the same frame of the Memphite region, embracing all the desert region of Giza-Sakkara, and the plain between Mit Rahinah and Heliopolis.

In the vast enclosed field, under the eyes of the people assembled, and perhaps under the presidency of the old King enthroned on the dais of the Palace of Memphis, it was first the shooting at a target by the archer on foot, and having as successive aims the pole Heb planted in the ground and the panel of Asiatic copper Dejbet-Khemet-Setit, having the form of an ingot of the metal of Sinai imported by the nomadic Setiou. The Prince is here identified with the young Horus of the morning, who, to the eastern horizon, shoots as an arrow, his first rays of light ; a symbolical identity between the slow progress made on foot at the beginning of the shooting with the bow, and the rising sun elevating itself gently above the eastern desert and transfixing with its first ray, the country of copper.

Afterwards, the archer, mounted in his chariot, and bounding at the full gallop of his Asiatic mares, is likened to Shed, the hunter of the sands when he discharges all his quiver at the same two immobile targets. This exercise, which combined skill in managing the horses with the ability to shoot with the bow, is the image of the sun, which having bounded over the obstructing mountain of the Egyptian horizon, rushes with all speed towards the zenith darting his luminous rays more and more strongly and rapidly.

Finally, still on the course, the Prince pursues in his chariot the animals at large, famous for their speed, and considered as the subjects of the God Set. Hares, gazelles and ostriches fall beneath the infallible blows of the Nimrod.

Formerly, in the marshes of the Delta, the Pharaohs launched the boomerang and harpoon against the creatures of the papyrus forests. With his pack of greyhounds, he also hunted the beasts of the Wadi. After the entry of the horse into Egypt, the hunt and the hunting grounds were led away to more distant theatres. Similarly, in former times, the enemies of Ra were hunted at the very gates of Memphis, but to-day, one had to track them to their far off lairs in Libya, Asia and Nubia. For the moment the symbolical carnage is enacted in the Memphite region, and it is inferred that certain species of animals, at present immigrated towards the interior, or completely disappeared, at this epoch roamed in Lower Egypt, or that in accordance with the caprices of an oriental Monarch, a kind of immense zoological park, not far from the royal palace, conserved a collection of game animals reserved for the Pharaonic hunts. The real botanical garden of Hatshepsut at Deir-el-Bahari, and the album of representations of wild flowers of Thothmes III at Karnak, permit us to suppose the construction of a menagerie for the King's use, just as the temples of certain gods admitted special enclosures for the zoomorphic substitutes for their divinities.

In the inscription engraved upon the handle of an ostrich feather fan, does not Tutankhamon boast of having taken these feathers from the bodies of ostriches, which he had killed with his

own hand on the plain of Heliopolis ? This hunting episode shows at once the existence of an important herd of these birds in this district, and perhaps equally the necessity for the young Prince to accomplish in this respect an act of prowess proving his superior sportsmanship.

One may ask if such an act did not enter into the category of the trials which were imposed upon the Heir before assuming the Crown.

The gradation of the scenes reproduced in the article by M. Van de Walle brings to light the allegorical sense which can be conveniently given to the different targets before the archer. It is not only a question of the origin or the hardness of the metal pierced by the arrow, it is exactness with which the panel of copper is made the most representative expression for the Semitic race of Asia, loathed by the Egyptians as the earthly enemies of Ra. In taking this for a target, then, he will be called to the supreme charge of defending the interests of his heavenly father, thus, the Prince does not have to furnish better proofs of his national faith, his hereditary hatred, and of the physical courage which he spends in the service of his cause.

In guarantee of these patriotic sentiments, and of the way in which he is disposed to act, the God Montu guides the arms of the archer. He assures him of the victory, and this sponsor of chivalry escorts in his chariot the Pretender, who pierces with his darts the Asiatics imploring his mercy. He crowns the Victor, and on the stela of the dream, ordains to Thothmes IV the sword of honour, Khepesh, consecrating his imperishable glory. The captive Syrians tied to stakes which purport the copper panel on the decoration of the quiver of King Ay, and the mêlée of Asiatics overwhelmed by Thothmes IV on the side of his war-chariot do not permit a single doubt as to the real significance to be accredited to the objective of the archery.

An ordered succession of the varied exercises of the programme fixed by ritual, of public demonstrations destined to prove the capacities of the aspirants to the royal power, seems evident here. Moreover, after the preceding trials, one sees Amenhotep II undergo an equestrian examination ; or in an exhibition of training, he reveals his aptitude to drive his chariot drawn by untamed horses.

If the parallelism of the two texts extols the interpretation of a sporting prelude obligatory to the coronation ceremonies, the place chosen for this examination does not seem to have been an arbitrary one, but was always the same. One should admit that reason of a political order as much as of a religious one had imposed this venerable site, where was passed the infancy of Horus.

This sacred region effectively included the great royal necropolis of the ancestors, with the gigantic mausoleum of Zoser, Khufu and Khafra, the solar temples of Abusir, the majestic

construction of Imhotep surrounding the Step Pyramid, the sanctuary of Heliopolis, and finally, above all, the prodigious Sphinx of Giza, dominating with his famous statue, all the ensemble of divine and royal glory. The ancient prestige of the capital of Lower Egypt is the principal factor in the choice of the arena in which were to be developed the episodes regulated by tradition, of the athletic ceremonies of the fêtes of the coronation. At the close, invariably favourable to the candidate, of the official trials, under the eyes of the Court, the Church and the people, the assembly celebrated by acclamations, offering of presents, the manifestation of joy and loyalty, the young Victor of the tournament.

“The palace of Memphis and the houses of the towns and villages came to him from all parts, their hands laden with presents,” declares the Stela of Thothmes IV.

The old King (Thothmes III), who had perhaps come from Thebes to Memphis for this occasion, received with transports of joy the news of the success attained by his Heir.

“It was heard in the royal palace, and the Sovereign rejoiced in his heart about what was said of his Eldest Son . . . He ordered that there be offered to this Prince, the most beautiful horses of his stud,” is stated on the Stela of Amenhotep II.

According to custom it was a messenger who came to announce to the Pharaoh the result of the public manifestation of the skill of his future successor, as the protocol enforced that the Living God should always employ an intermediary between himself and the rest of the mortal world, in order that by the petty oriental glory the greatest publicity was given to all the acts of his life. The story of Sinuhe proves to us that even if he was an eyewitness, the Sovereign was in need of an interpreter to make the conventional scenario of the herald at arms, announcing by his trumpet the advantageous issue of the examination, in order that he may consecrate the news by memorable words inscribed in the archives destined to posterity.

After this is the triumph. The young Elect traverses the field of his exploits, haloed with glory in his chariot of victory, drawn by the horses which were given to him by his father, and in which are mounted by his side esquire, quiver, and his fan-bearer. The people of his house follow in other chariots and this cortege passes before the multitude in order to go now and pay homage for this triumph to the Gods and to the spirits of the ancestors. The new recipient of the sceptre then accomplishes a kind of ritual pilgrimage to all the sacred places of the region.

“Amenhotep II stopped at the Khenou of Harmakhis, on making the tour, to contemplate the funerary temples of Kheops and of Khephren . . .”

Thothmes IV "when came the hour of noon, rested with his people near the Sphinx, at the place sacred since primæval times, and himself went after having visited the famous sanctuaries of Sokaris, of Rennutet, of Sekhmet, and having traversed the sacred ways of the western necropolis of Heliopolis".

Although it is not clearly stated that a halt was made in any place in Sakkara, in the shadow of the Pyramid of Zoser, it is natural to think that the royal investiture included, without doubt, the pageantry of the first Sed feast of the new King in the kiosk erected for this purpose before the eastern face of the great stepped tomb.

Amenhotep II declares precisely: "Then His Majesty appeared as King (was raised to the supreme dignity) and the Double Crown was placed upon his brow". This detail gives here an undoubtedly historical value; the stela is not a memento of a hunting party, a performance of rowing, an exercise of shooting or a carousal, it is the memorial of solemnities which accompany the coronation, of the same kind as the foot-race of the Pharaoh and the sacrifice of bulls are the rites of the consecration of a temple. But the most important phase of the sacred journey appears to have been the halt in front of the Sphinx.

Amenhotep II "stopped at the sanctuary of Harmakhis until this happened which had been ordered him by his father Ra". It should without doubt be understood that this sanctuary of Harmakhis was that which we call to-day the Temple of the Sphinx, consequently it is at the foot of the great colossus of Giza, where the Prince, afterwards King, made the obligatory pause.

The text, sufficiently ambiguous, allows one to suppose that the celebrated statue was oracular, as in the legend of Œdipus, and that in this act of submission to the father of all the gods and kings, it was suitable to consult the divine will of Ra, and the divinatory science of the god of the Future, Kheper. And by a mysterious sign, or by a miraculous voice, of the origin of which the Great Seer of Heliopolis was probably not ignorant, the father of the gods dictated to the new king his rules of conduct. It seems that the granite temple was playing the same role held by Epidaure through the dormitory Abaton of Asclepias, where the faithful came to ask for a prophetic dream of the wonder worker.

Thothmes IV says explicitly that he was sleeping at the foot of the Sphinx. He had, therefore, to have recourse to the artifice of the dream, and this for motives of the order of succession and legitimacy, as we know. Nothing prevents the thought that this dream was previously fixed in all its points by the Palace and the Temple, and to see in this occurrence an example of the modelling of religion in politics. It is true that at this epoch a dogmatic rivalry between

the theological schools of Karnak and Heliopolis, which was gently drawing the kings towards the schism of Atonism, made possible the interference of the priests in an affair of state of such importance as that of the royal succession.

Thothmes IV "lay down in the shadow of the colossus of Khepera and a special sleep had overtaken him". During this sleep a voice is heard. Khepera affirms that the sleeper is indeed his very beloved son, in whom he places all his confidence. But he laments over the forgetfulness and ingratitude of men, who turn away from him to the profit of the god of Thebes, and allow the sands to cover his shoulders. At least, one should interpret the complaint of the Sphinx as having two demands—the return to the ancient faith and the clearance of his image from the sand. The god (that is his priests) grieves over the spiritual detachment of the royal line and of the people, putting, as proof, the neglect to keep the sacred site in order. The ex-votos of Thothmes IV and the Stela of Amenhotep II do not at all times clearly express the subject, but permit the supposition of, if not a seeming request on the part of the Sphinx, at least the accomplishment of a similar task by these two Kings at the beginning of their reigns.

Amenhotep II "took no rest until he had accomplished all that his father Ra had ordered to be done . . . and he made to revive the names of Kheops and Khafra".

From what happens in our days, the sanding up of the Sphinx must have been produced just as rapidly in those times, and in less than the space of a reign, the divine effigy and the funerary temples in its environs were re-covered. The entire site periodically demanded measures for reparation and works of re-building. The first act that the new King performed was to deliver the sacred place from the attacks of the sand. Although there are no clear traces of restoration earlier than those of Thothmes IV, one ought to accept the idea that his predecessors should also have repaired the injuries of time on the statue of Khepera, as one of them boasted of having, in addition, made to live the names of the great builders of the pyramids, which means, that which was lacking in the state of their mortuary temples, and maintained the goods of the funerary endowments devised to perpetuate their cults.

When on the sixteenth day of Epiphi of the season Shemou (Summer) Thothmes IV made his inspection of the holy places at the conclusion of the sacred trials, he found the colossus eaten by erosion, and nearly buried in the bottom of his rocky hollow, under a winding-sheet of sand, brought by the blowing of the Khamsin wind. At once he engaged himself to remedy this deplorable state of affairs. "The Prince awoke, and a great calm was on his soul; he said: 'Come, let us hasten to our dwellings, and bring from them a propitiatory offering in order that the god may absolve us . . .'" The mutilation at the end of the text does not allow us to know what followed; nevertheless, by the aid of some parsimonious bribes by the ruin, it

is easy to guess that Thothmes IV also engaged himself to make live the names of those, who sleep under their pyramids, "to celebrate" all the feasts of Ra-Harmakhis, and to raise in his honour a monument "under the form of a beautiful stela of Aswan granite".

Before him, Amenhotep II had "ordained to be constructed a chapel near the Sphinx, and to place in it a stela of beautiful Tura limestone, recounting his high deeds and affirming his devotion to Harmakhis".

The place of this edifice, found by the Antiquities Department, allows the verification that the sanding up was, with a trifling difference, equal to that which Thothmes IV had stated. If we may see an allegory in this sanding up, one may find it an image speaking of the periodical invasion of the sand as the enemies of Ra, that is to say the masters of the eastern and western sands, a recollection of the invasion of the Shepherds, and of the danger always threatening of a new Asiatic tide unfolded to the gates of Memphis.

Thus, there were sovereigns who, under the Eighteenth Dynasty faced the sacred sporting trials in a closed field at Giza, and who, out of gratitude, dedicated these ex-votos to the gigantic symbol of life and resurrection, and restored his cult, which was likely to fall into oblivion.

One is astonished that they were the only members of a long line of emperors who had fulfilled the preliminary conditions of the coronation. Notwithstanding their marked fervour for the God of Heliopolis, the Eighteenth Dynasty ought not to have been the only one to have constructed a monument, so small, and of whatever nature it may be, to the giant of Giza. To this title the hunting scarabs of Amenhotep III—by reason of the God Khepera, who was represented as a scarab—had an analogous signification. The slaughter of a great quantity of lions enters into the category of the hunting exploits imposed by the customs of the coronation.

To conclude, Thothmes IV had heard the Sphinx say: "My face is turned towards you on whom I have placed all my hopes" and he was armed knight by the gift of a war-horse for fulfilling the "works of Montu", the exploits of the god by the king, at the head of which is placed the fight against the unconquered adversary Asia, the agent of Set.

The stelae of the Sphinx, conceived from our point of view, definitely display their apparent character of Nimrodian boastfulness and valueless athletic fatuities; they find a reason of high historical value in a fabulous intervention of the divinity and cease to be a regular anecdotal document, without political value, to become a piece of biographical archive, the importance of which is to be underlined. That they divulge the same stroke of zeal of the priests of Heliopolis to preserve the legend of the Sphinx by the learned apologies of his power, by miracles and by marvellous dreams, by oracles, and by apparitions skilfully appropriated to the circumstances, is without doubt.

That all these manouvres, of known usage in all ancient religions, to arrest and retain the believers, had a more elevated aim than making the gifts of royalty and nobles flow, is an undeniable fact. The political aim of these manifestations is rendered here too apparent to be eliminated by partiality. In these efforts of the Heliopolitan clergy to perpetuate the faith in the ancestor of the dynasties, one should probably find the favour which the human head of the lion enjoyed at this period, and with it, the cult of Hourouna participated by the Great Sphinx of Giza and by Horus the Saviour, Shed.

This theory of M. Bruyere is very plausible, and makes interesting reading, but it seems to me to lack substantial proof.

One cannot deny that there is a similarity between the texts of the Stela of Amenhotep II and that of Thothmes IV, but this similarity is superficial, and the texts may be interpreted in quite another manner. To begin with, if it was a rule that the Crown Princes had to undergo athletic trails in order to prove their fitness for coronation, we should have heard a great deal more about it, just as we do about the Heb-sed ceremonies, which was a definitely established rite.

In addition to the two stelae dealt with by M. Bruyere, we have also in favour of his theory the hunting Stela of Seti I (of the existence of which M. Bruyere was, of course, ignorant) and the Armant Stela of Thothmes III. Thus, we have four important documents (or five, if we assume the naos of Amen-mes to have been of this order) all recording royal sporting activities, and with the exception of that of Thothmes III, all dedicated to the Sphinx. But when we examine these stelae, they do not bear out the idea of an ordered succession of events, such as would have been the fixed case in a fixed ceremony.

That of Thothmes III is a record of all the principal valiant deeds of his reign, and includes target-shooting and hunting, but does not specifically state that any of these events took place in the neighbourhood of the Sphinx. Amenhotep II mentions rowing, archery, foot-racing, horsemanship, but not hunting. Thothmes IV boasts of his archery and hunting, but does not mention the other sports; while Seti I speaks only of hunting. Furthermore, we have the stela which Rameses II dedicated to the Sphinx in the first year of his reign, which mentions his warlike prowess, but makes no reference to hunting, archery or any other kind of sport.

With the exception of Thothmes IV, who definitely says that he was alone "with two of his followers, while not a soul knew it", all the other kings tell us that their exploits were witnessed by many persons. This is quite natural, we should expect a crowd to collect to watch any action performed by the King; while from the hunting scarabs of Amenhotep III, we know that the army was employed on hunting trips to help drive the game. Also on the painted

casket of Tutankhamon we see soldiers and officials discreetly following the King on foot and in chariots. But this does not necessarily imply that there was an official audience composed of palace officials, priests and general populace, which M. Bruyere conjures up before our eyes, and to which there is not the least allusion in any of the texts.

Finally, as we have already seen, we have found monuments in our excavations appertaining to several of the most important kings from the Eighteenth Dynasty to Saitic times, and not one of these bears any reference to any sporting activities of the Monarchs concerned.

M. Bruyere also refers to a propitious dream recorded on a naos by Thothmes II. This monument seems to be the same as the one to which we have just alluded, and which was made for the Prince Amen-mes, in the reign of Thothmes I. The surviving part of the text does not mention a dream. He also states that Thothmes IV was not an athlete like his father Amenhotep II, whereas the Dream Stela plainly states that Thothmes had been "shooting at a target with bolts of copper, and hunting lions and small game of the desert".

His poetical interpretation of the supposed symbolical meaning of Amenhotep's sporting activities is far removed from the workings of the Egyptian mind; it is, in fact, pure classical mythology. It is not the Egyptian Sun-god who drives his splendid chariot across the sky, shooting his arrows of light, it is Apollo. Also, when did M. Bruyere ever see a representation of, or a reference to, a Pharaoh driving a chariot drawn by mares? It is a well-known fact that the Egyptian chariots were drawn by stallions, and on this fact depended the success of the strategy of the King of Kadesh, when he sent out a mare on heat before the Egyptian cavalry drawn up in battle array, in order to excite their stallions and throw them into confusion.

We would also like to know where, in the text of the Dream Stela, is it said that Montu "ordains to Thothmes IV the sword of honour, Khepesh, consecrating his imperishable glory"? The only reference to the Khepesh of this stela is in the Golden Horus name of the King, which is "Weser-Khepesh (1)".

The description of the young hero's triumphal parade does not occur on either stela, while the description of the Prince mounted in his chariot and accompanied by his quiver-bearer and fan-bearer, for which the quiver of King Ay is cited for reference, is nonsense. To begin with, in Egypt, the bow case and quiver hang from the sides of the chariot, with an extra quiver slung from the shoulder of the occupant of the chariot. The Pharaoh was not a Knight of Mediæval Europe, that he needed an esquire as armour-bearer. Also, on the quiver of King Ay, the fan-bearer runs behind the chariot, and does not ride with the King.

(1) GAUTHIER, "Le Livre des Rois", Vol. II, pp. 290, 292-295, 300.

M. Bruyere thinks that the visit of the young princes to the Sphinx was an obligatory pilgrimage to the sacred places of the district. On the two stelae in question, there is no suggestion of such a thing. On the other hand, there is no doubt that it was customary for the Pharaohs to visit the Sphinx, and this may well have been started by the Monarchs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, whom we know to have been connected with the Memphite region, and also it seems to be about this time that we see the first mention of the Sphinx as Hor-em-akhet. But there is nothing to denote that this was more than a custom, and there is no evidence at all that these were fixed ritual pilgrimages.

He also suggests that the princes may have possibly held their Sed-festivals in the Step Pyramid Complex of Zoser at Sakkara, although the state of the site reveals to us that most of this complex was buried under the sand, by the time of the New Kingdom and that what remained exposed, was being used as a quarry!

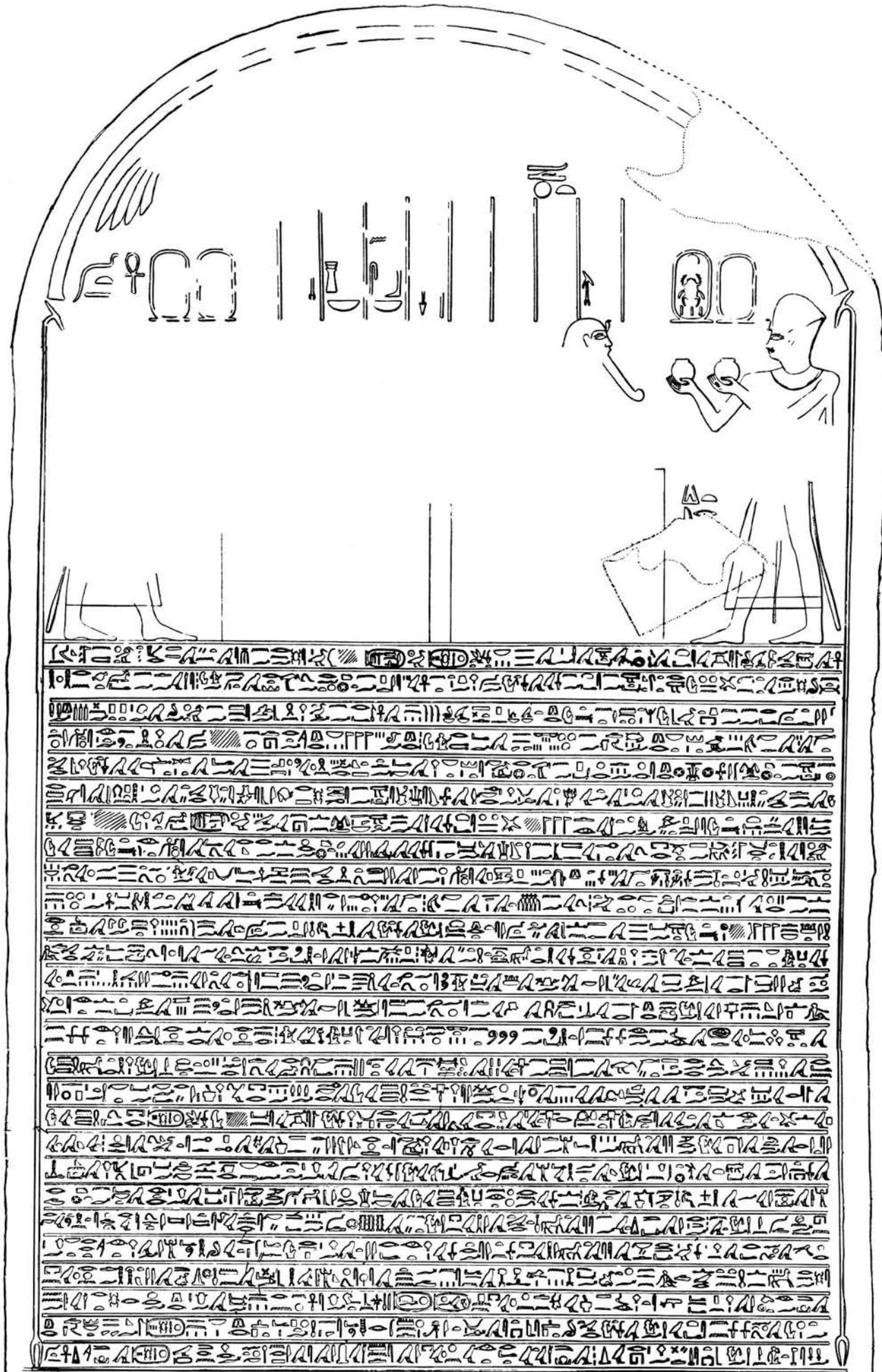
M. Bruyere further suggests that the granite Temple at Giza was being used as a dormitory where the princes slept in order to receive prophetic dreams. We have only one account of such a dream, that of Thothmes IV, and he clearly states that this came to him while he was sleeping at noontide in the shadow of the Sphinx. Moreover, as, at this time, the real temple of the Sphinx was completely buried under the sand, as we have proof (*see p. 14*), it is probable that the granite temple, which is beside it and on the same level, was also buried. If the line in the Inventory Stela, where Khufu seems to receive instructions from the Sphinx "in an hour of the night" really refers to an oracular dream (*see p. 114*), it may bear out M. Bruyere's contention that the Sphinx was noted for oracles of this kind. But we must remember that the text of this stela is a late forgery, and that it may, therefore, be coloured by the already existing story of Thothmes IV, which would, of course, be well known in the neighbourhood. Neither in the original text of the dream stela does the Sphinx complain of the ingratitude of men "who turn away from him to the profit of the God of Thebes". He merely states the fact that his image had been sanded up, which was doubtless true.

Another instance, where M. Bruyere reads more into the texts than the original warrants, is where he says that Amenhotep II had "*ordonne de construire une chapelle près du sphinx et d'y placer une stèle en beau calcaire de Tourah, racontant ses haut faits et affirmant sa dévotion à Harmakhis*". The line in question merely states "and it was ordered to erect a sanctuary there, and to erect in it a stela of limestone, on which is inscribed his great name, Aa-Kheperu-Ra, beloved of Hor-em-akhet".

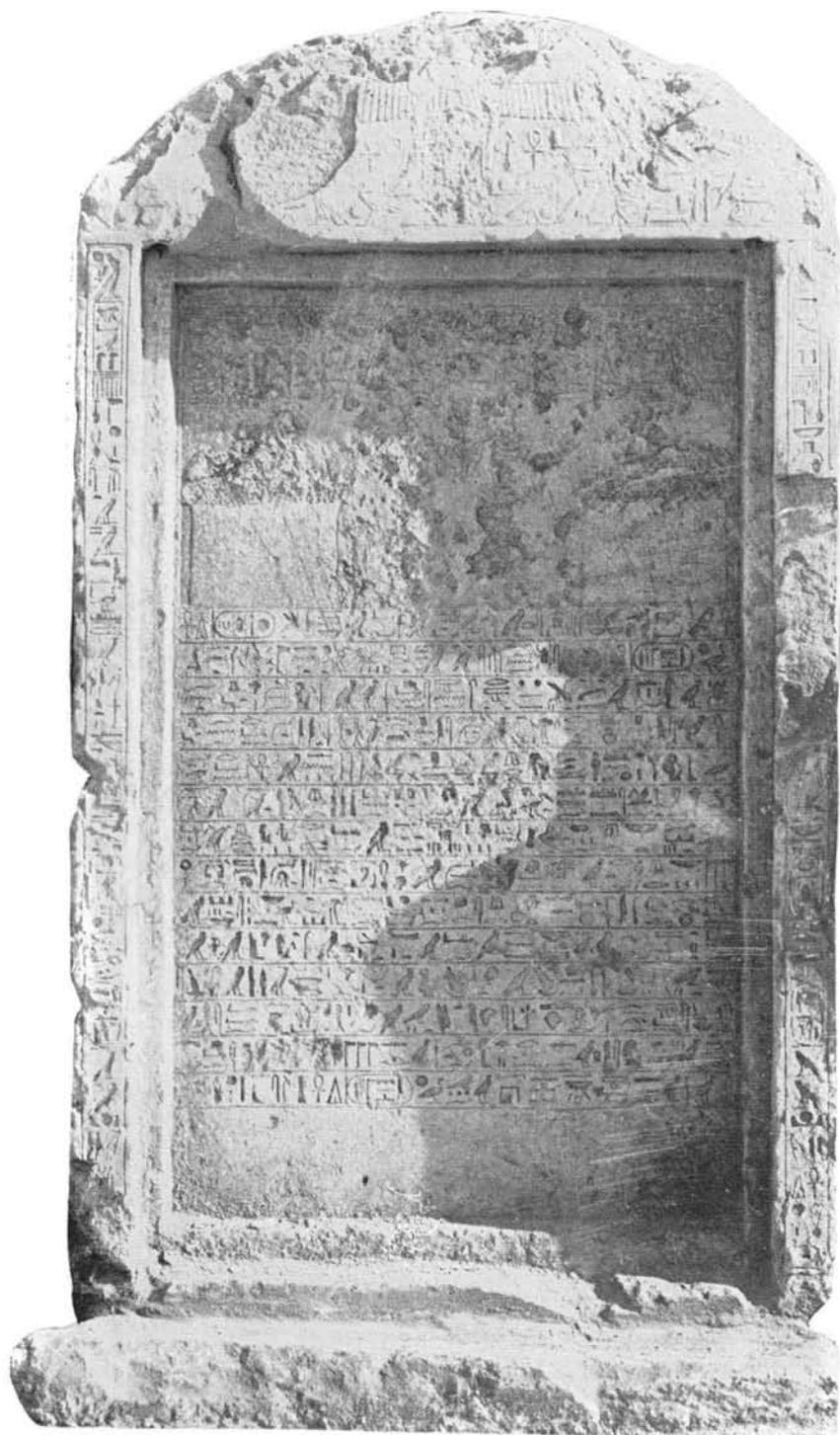
It seems that M. Bruyere is basing his theory on these two isolated stelae, and that the evidence, which he brings to support it, is itself not strictly accurate. What really seems to be the case is that Amenhotep II really was a devotee to sport, as we might expect from a son

of that hardy old warrior and sportsman Thothmes III ; and as we have already seen, we have independent evidence that as a mere child, as well as an adult, he practised archery. Allowing for a little human boastfulness, and the fact that the King, being divine, must naturally surpass the deeds of ordinary mortals, the account of the limestone stela probably records a statement of facts, and as we have already mentioned, the mummy of Amenhotep II proves him to have been a tall, muscularly powerful man of the athletic type. In the case of the Stela of Thothmes IV, we have a combination of two motives for its erection. One of which, M. Bruyere rightly recognizes as an attempt to legitimize his accession to the throne. The other motive is the ingrained desire of the Egyptians to emulate the deeds of their predecessors. Amenhotep II had left a monument to the Sphinx, recording his sporting prowess, therefore his son must do likewise. For this reason, he mentions his archery and hunting at the beginning of the inscription.

We have already seen that many other kings from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards left stelae at the Sphinx recording their visits, which were clearly a custom but not a rite, and a custom which was also followed by private people. But in none of these other stelae is there any mention of organized athletic trials. If such trials had really existed, we can be sure that every king would have been only too glad to have boasted of his success therein, particularly such a man as Rameses II, whose stela at the Sphinx is markedly silent as to any mention of sport.



THE GREAT LIMESTONE STELA OF AMENHOTEP II



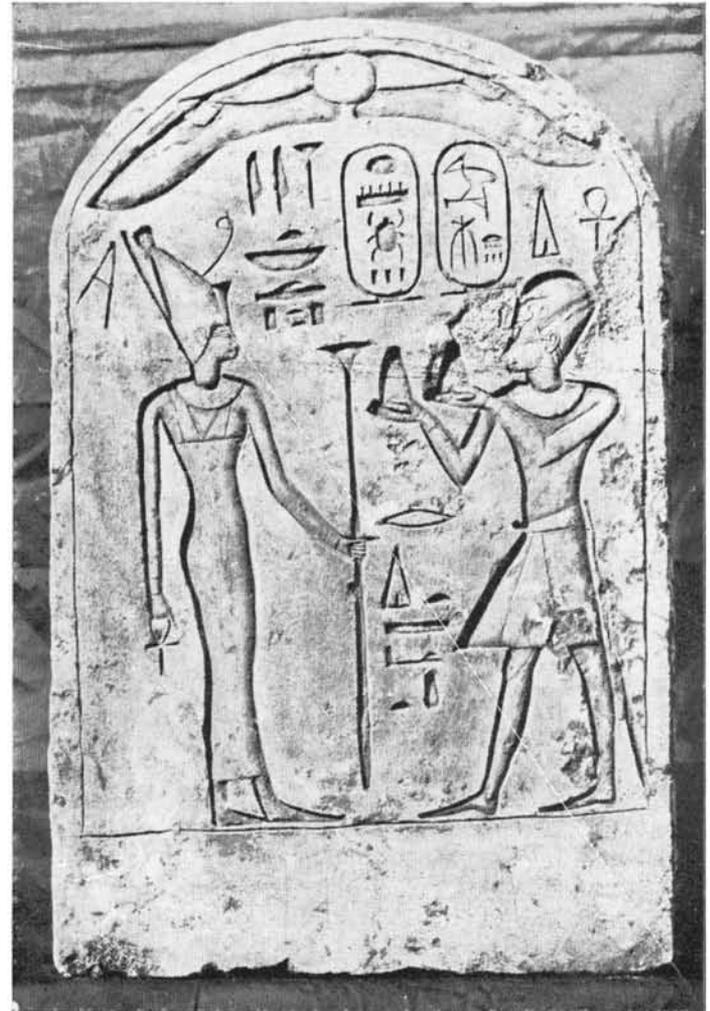
A SMALL LIMESTONE STELA OF AMENHOTEP II



THE GRANITE STELA OF THOTHMES IV



A LIMESTONE STELA SHOWING THE KING AND QUEEN
NEFERTARI IN FRONT OF THE GOD THOTH



A LIMESTONE STELA SHOWING THE GODDESS WAZIT
WITH THE KING PRESENTING BREAD



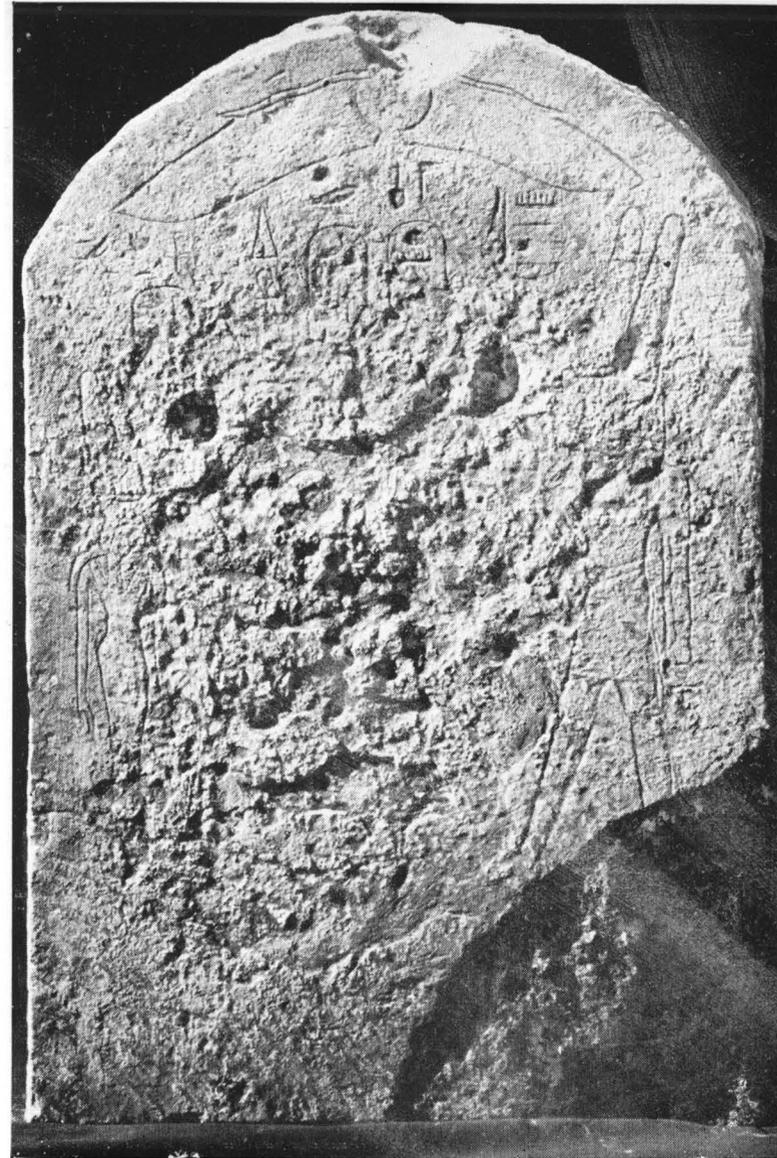
A LIMESTONE STELA SHOWING THE GOD HORUS WITH THE KING
OFFERING INCENSE AND THE QUEEN BEHIND HIM

A



A LIMESTONE STELA SHOWING THE GOD SEKER WITH THE KING AND QUEEN PRESENTING OFFERINGS

B



A LIMESTONE STELA SHOWING THE GOD AMON-RA WITH THE KING AND QUEEN PRESENTING OFFERINGS

A



A LIMESTONE STELA SHOWING SESHAT (THE GODDESS OF WRITING) WITH THOTHMES IV

B



A LIMESTONE STELA SHOWING HATHOR (MISTRESS OF THE SYCAMORE) WITH THOTHMES IV



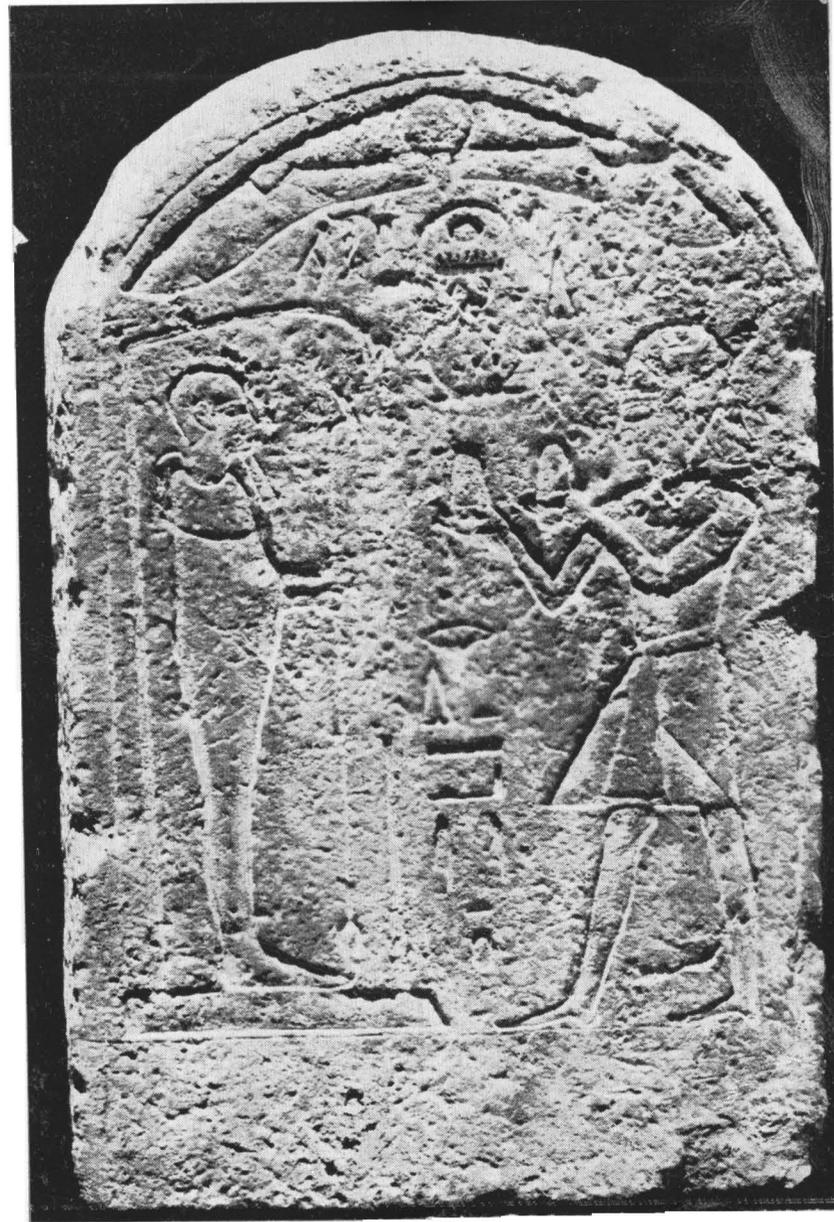
A LIMESTONE STELA SHOWING HATHOR
(THE MISTRESS OF INERTY) WITH THOTHMES IV

A

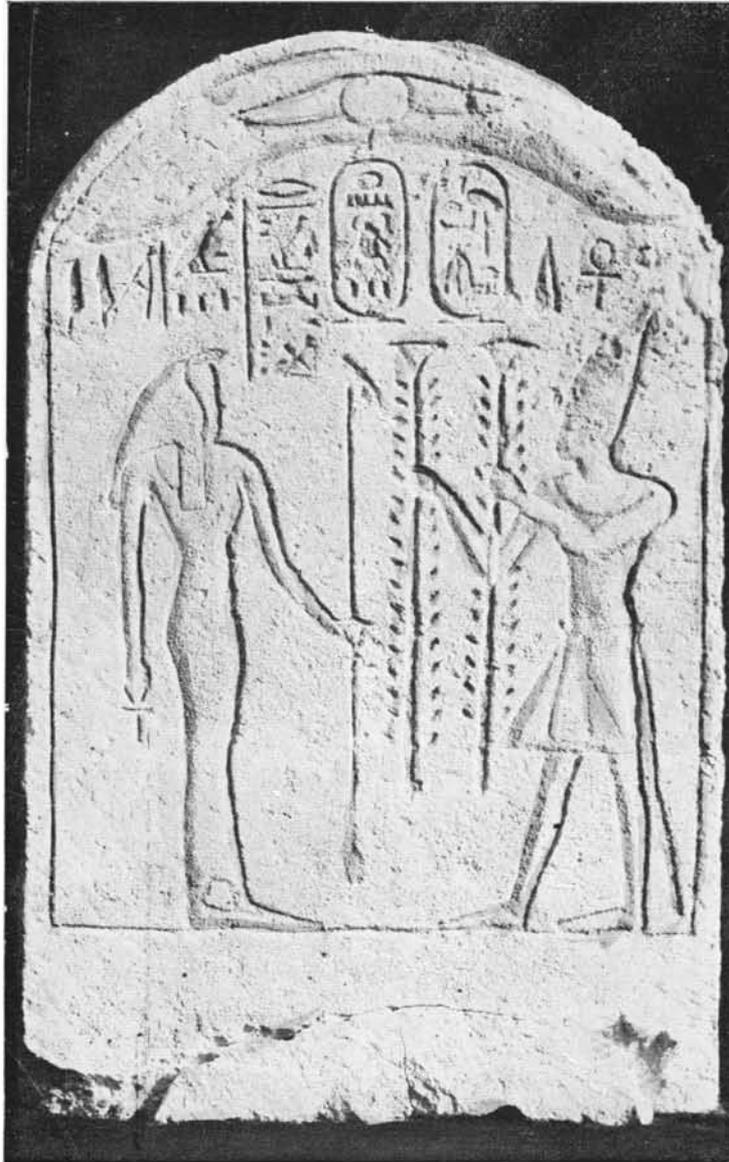


A LIMESTONE STELA SHOWING ATUM (LORD OF HELIOPOLIS)
WITH THOTHMES IV

B



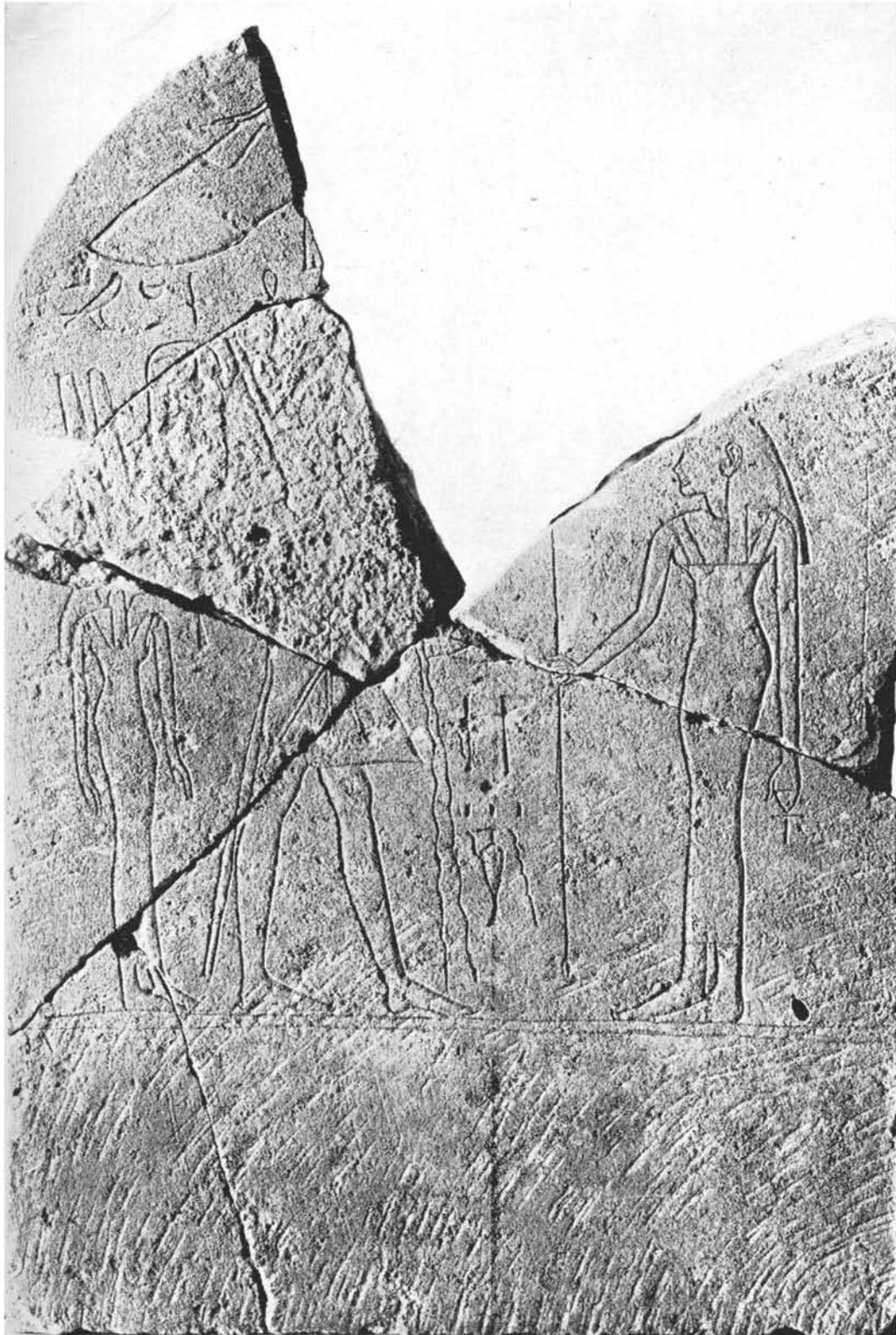
A LIMESTONE STELA SHOWING PTAH (LORD OF TRUTH)
WITH THOTHMES IV



A LIMESTONE STELA SHOWING THE GODDESS RENNUTET
OF IAT-TA-MUT WITH THOTHMES IV



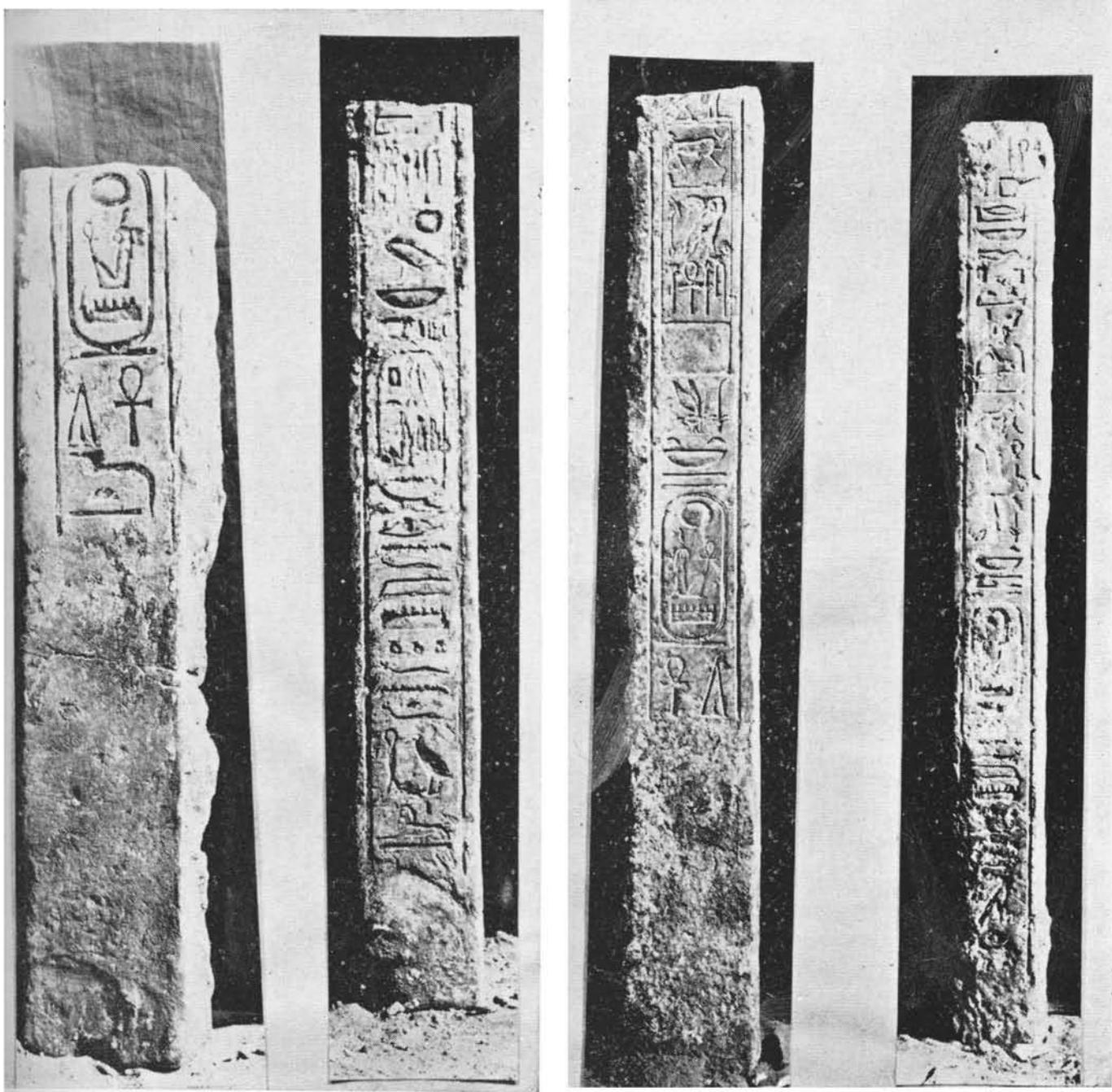
A LIMESTONE STELA SHOWING THOTHMES IV OFFERING
FLOWERS TO ISIS, THE MISTRESS OF HEAVEN



A LIMESTONE STELA SHOWING KING THOTHMES IV AND HIS WIFE NEFERTARI
BEFORE A GODDESS WHOSE IDENTIFICATION IS UNKNOWN OWING TO
THE DAMAGE TO THE STONE

A

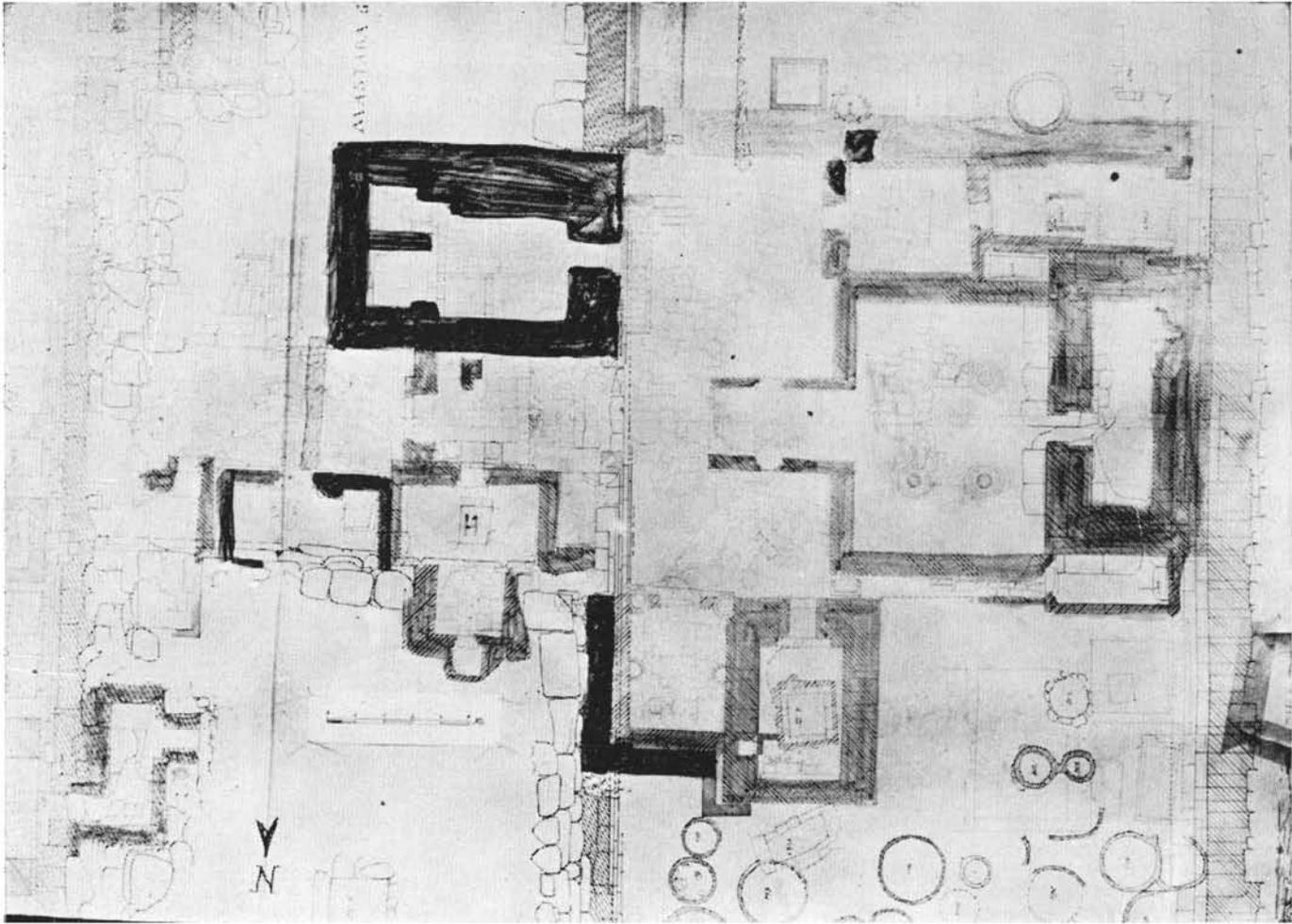
B



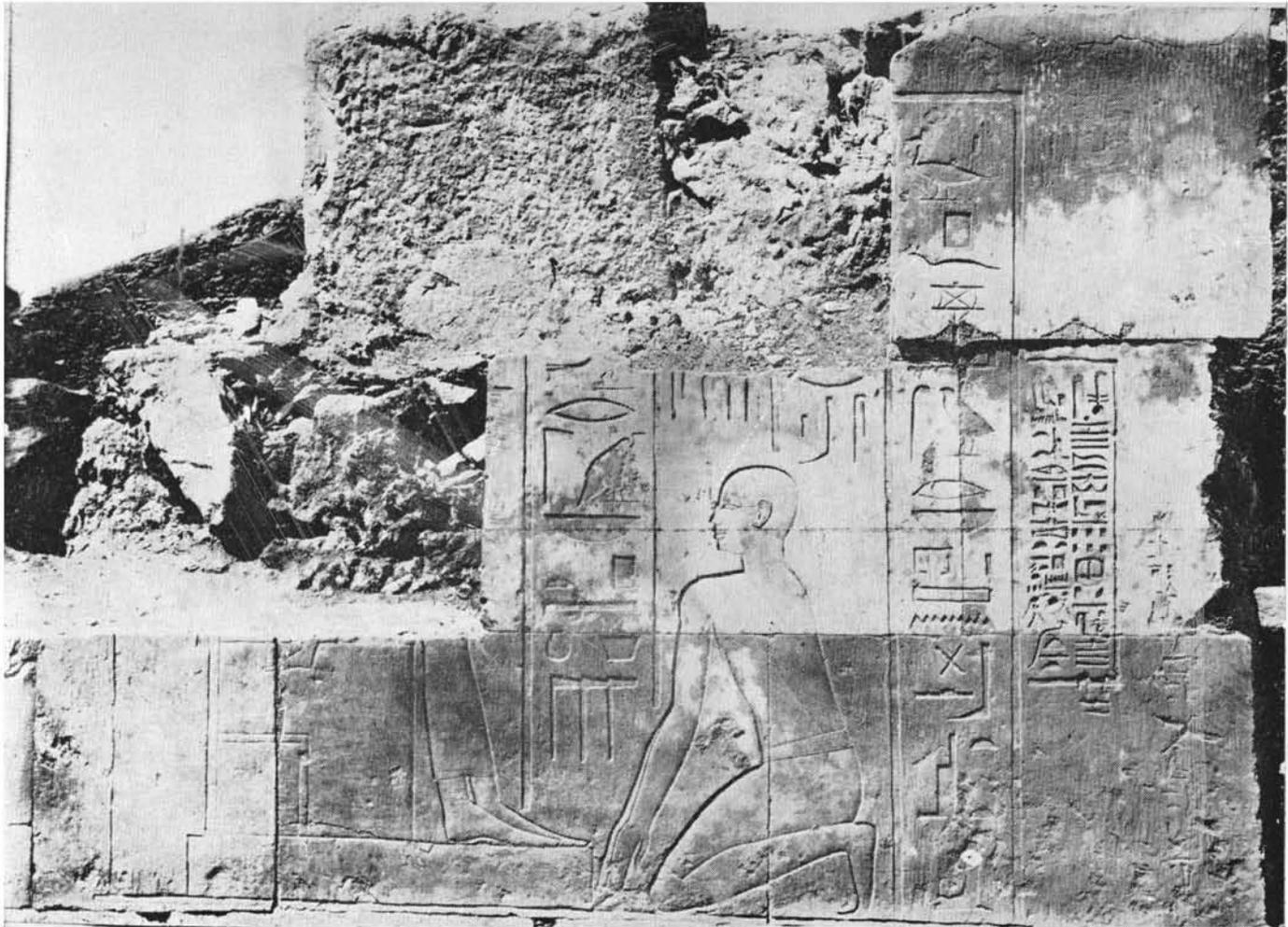
LIMESTONE DOOR-JAMBS OF THE SOUTH-WESTERN CHAMBER IN THE TEMPLE OF AMENHOTEP II



THE TEMPLE OF ISIS BETWEEN THE THREE SMALL PYRAMIDS ON THE WEST AND A ROW OF LARGE MASTABAS ON THE EAST



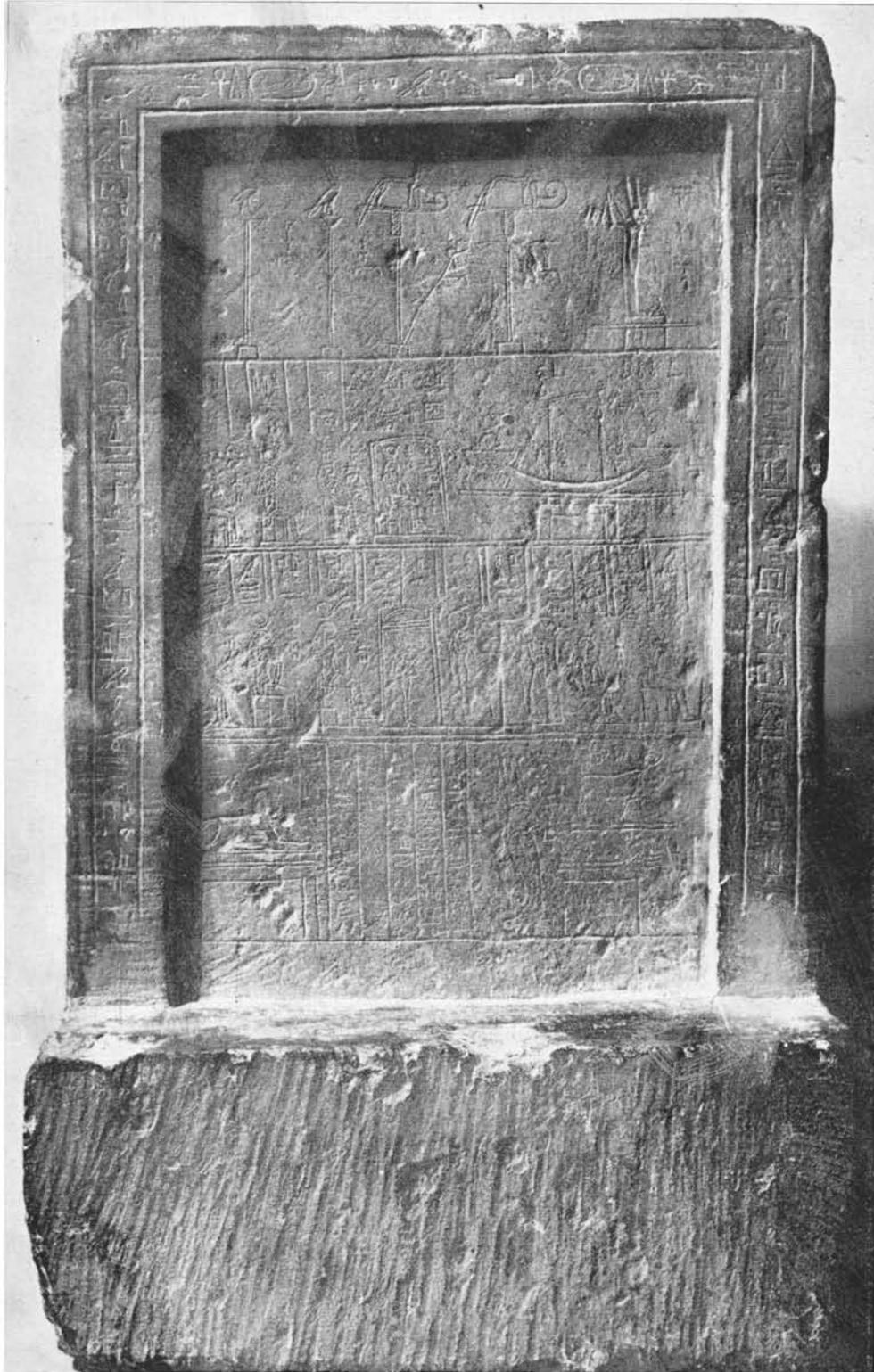
PLAN OF THE CHAMBERS OF THE TEMPLE OF ISIS



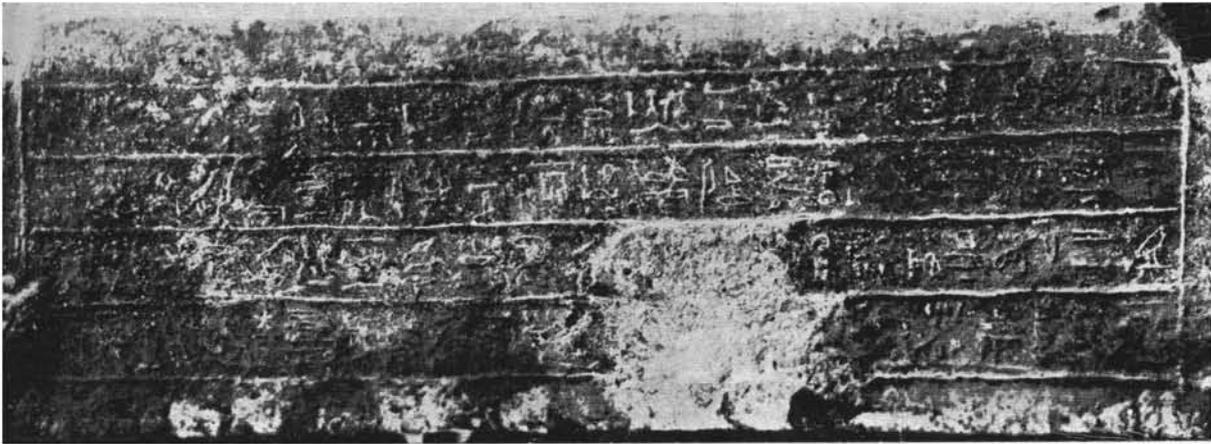
A PRIEST KNEELING IN ADORATION BEFORE ISIS AND THE INFANT HORUS



CHAPEL "H" WITH REMAINS OF FINE RELIEFS RETAINING BRILLIANT COLOURING



THE "INVENTORY STELA"



THE PEDESIAL OF THE "INVENTORY STELA"

IX.—THE ORIGIN OF THE SPHINX

THE LION GUARDIAN

ONE is so familiar with the form of the Egyptian Sphinx, which has, indeed, almost come to symbolize Egypt itself, that one is apt to take it for granted, and to accept it without enquiring from whence came its hybrid form. Yet like all other things, the Sphinx had a genesis, and that was the Lion. This we can tell from the pre-dynastic slate palettes, of which we will cite two examples. Fig. 84 shows a powerful lion represented in the act of disemboweling a prostrate man of an un-Egyptian type. Other men of a similar type lie dead upon the ground, prey to the carrion-eating birds. To the right of the lion-group, a prisoner is pushed forward by a person wearing a long embroidered robe with an ornamental border. The foreigners wear a girdle and sheath, similar to those of the Bantu of the present day, except for one man, who is naked, and is uncircumcized. They all wear beards resembling the Pharaonic false-beards.



FIG. 84.—A POWERFUL LION DISEMBOWELING A PROSTRATE MAN



FIG. 85.—SEVEN SYMBOLIC FORTIFIED TOWNS

The second example (Fig. 85) shows seven symbolic fortified towns, which are the picture signs of their names (1). In the case of the town "Kaw" (?) (2), it is being attacked by a lion, who undermines its foundations with a pick or hoe.

What then do these lions represent? Mr. Legge, in his article on the slate palettes in the "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology" (3), considers that the lions and other animals shown upon the pre-dynastic slate

(1) The first of these palettes is now in the British Museum in London. See LEGGE, "P.S.B.A.", Vol. XXII, p. 135. For the second palette, see DE MORGAN, "Recherches sur l'Origin de l'Egypte", Vol. II.

(2) Are we to interpret these signs as the first beginning of the hieroglyphic system of writing?

(3) Vol. XXII, pp. 204-211, 279-310.

palettes, represent a tribe, whose name and tribal totems were connected with these animals. Sethe, on the other hand, identifies these lions with the victorious king, and gives some very sound reasons for his theory. He recalls that the later Egyptians constantly referred to the Pharaoh as a "lion", "like a lion in the battlefield", "an angry lion" "a lion among the rulers", etc., and represented him in this form throughout all periods of Egyptian history.

Amenhotep III was particularly fond of being represented as a lion, and the inscriptions on the two beautiful statues of lions from Gebel Barkal state (Fig. 86): "He made this monument to his image living upon earth, Neb-Maat-Ra, the Lord of Ta-Kemset, the Dweller in the Mennu of Het-Kha-em Maat".



FIG. 86.—A BEAUTIFUL STATUE OF A LION
FROM GEBEL BARKAL

The text goes on to refer to the King as a mighty lion, beloved by Amon-Ra (1).

These lions, which are now in the British Museum (2), have been described by Ruskin as being the finest pieces of animal sculpture ever known.

It is a most natural thing for a primitive people, and even for some civilized ones, to liken their chiefs to the most powerful and beautiful animal they knew; and indeed, the lion has filled and is still filling this role in many different parts of the world. It will be recalled that one of the titles of the Emperor of Abyssinia was "the Lion of Judah"; while Chaka, the great King of Zuiuland (South Africa) was called "the Black Lion".

We may then say that the pre-dynastic Egyptian kings were, perhaps, usually represented as lions, and this allegory continued into dynastic times.

The king was sometimes also represented as a bull, but the leonine type was more ancient, for it would be the animal best known to a people who were hunters more than agriculturalists. On the palette of Narmer, which is later than the palettes we have just described, the king is represented as a bull. This is clearly an allegory devised by a more settled community of agriculturalists, whose ideal of power and majesty might very naturally be represented by a fine bull. Though the actual representation of the king in bovine form did not persist, the title "Mighty Bull" remained side by side with the leonine representation to the end of the Pharaonic regime. In classical Arabic, "bull" means "chief" (سيد).

(1) BUDGE, "The Egyptian Sudan", Vol. I, p. 618.

(2) BUDGE, "Guide to the Egyptian Galleries" (Sculpture), p. 121.

It was perhaps the sight of the bull being used as a draught animal, or slaughtered for food, that caused the Egyptians to return again to the noble ferocity and savage freedom of the lion as a more fitting representation of their rulers.

From its strength and courage, the lion came to be regarded as a powerful guardian, and in this manner its figure passed into what may be called "magical ornament", for since pre-historic times we find the lion acting the part of a guardian.

Its image formed the arms of chairs, and its limbs the legs, as though to guard the occupant from attack (1). It also forms the pedestal of the thrones of the kings (2). The lion formed the framework of beds for the living (3), guarding the sleepers from natural and supernatural enemies, and fulfilled the same function on the biers of the dead (4). Its image in relief, or in the round, guarded the temple doorways, as at Deir-el-Bahari in Western Thebes, or even as in the little temple between the paws of the Sphinx at Giza.

A tame lion accompanied the king into battle (5), and perhaps also played the part of palace watch-dog in times of peace; while from a relief at Medinet Habu in Western Thebes, we know that

a tame lion accompanied Rameses III in the religious processions. Figures of lions were favoured as "men" in several games (6) and small figures of these animals served as amulets in pre-dynastic

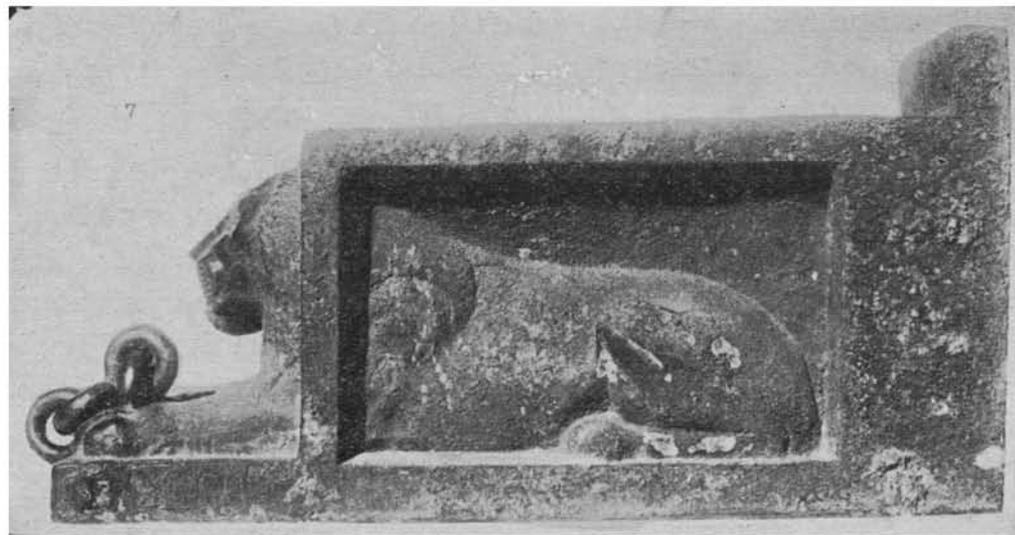


FIG. 87.—A BRONZE LION AS A DOOR-BOLT

and dynastic times (7). Lions of bronze acted as door-bolts (8) and as standard weights (Fig. 87). The head of a lion served as a gargoyle (9), in which capacity it passed into

(1) WILKINSON, "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians", Vol. II, Pl. XI, and the statue of Khafra, Cairo Museum; STEINDORFF, "Die Kunst der Aegypter", p. 179.

(2) See reliefs on the walls of the Causeway of Wnas at Sakkara (not yet published).

(3) CARTER, "The Tomb of Tstankhamon", Vol. II, pp. 59, 89.

(4) *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 117.

(5) WRESZINSKI, "Atlas Altaegypt", S.T. 127, 142.

(6) PETRIE, "Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt", pp. 134, 135.

(7) *Ibid.*, Fig. 18.

(8) MASPERO, "Egypte", p. 286, Fig. 541.

(9) WRESZINSKI, "Atlas Altaegypt", S.T. 129.

Europe, where it seemed to spread to every faucet and fountain, even down to the present day. This association of the lion's head with the emission of water, recalls the Goddess Tefnut, the twin sister of Shu (the first pair of gods created by Ra). Tefnut, whose name means "the spitter" (1), was represented as a woman with the head of a lion or lioness, or sometimes in completely leonine form, and was the personification of moisture, rain or dew. Perhaps a lingering tradition of this Goddess, imported into Europe via Greece and Rome, accounts for the lions on almost every public fountain, and explains what is otherwise a very inappropriate, yet picturesque, form of ornament. According to Horapollo (2): "Lions were a type of the inundation in consequence of the Nile rising more abundantly when the sun is in Leo. Those who anciently presided over the sacred works, made the water-spouts and passages of fountains in the form of lions".

Apart from the Sphinx and the Goddess Tefnut, many of the Egyptian gods possessed leonine characteristics. Nefer-Atum, the third member of the Memphite triad, is usually represented as standing upon a lion, while his mother, the Goddess Sekhmet, has the head of a lioness. The God Mahes appears either as a lion, devouring a captive or as a lion-headed man; while Bes, whose figure forms one of the principal motifs for the decoration of toilet and household articles, is a dwarfish creature, partly human and partly lion. But to return again to all these varied and numerous representations, what do they signify?

In the earliest times, the lion, as we have seen, was the strongest and most imposing animal known to the Egyptians, and as such, it symbolized the king, or perhaps, as we had better say in the case of a more primitive people, the tribal chief. The chief or king was the protector of his people; they looked to him to guard them from their enemies, to lead them into battle, to find them fresh hunting-grounds, and to feed them in times of famine. The chief and the lion were one in their minds, therefore the lion amulet probably came into existence in this manner.

There is, however, no doubt that the innate beauty of its form, and the adaptability of that to form various uses, were factors which contributed to the popularity of the lion symbol. At the same time its original purpose never seems to have been forgotten, and the leonine guardian was just as popular with the Egyptians of the Ptolemaic Period as it was in the far-off days before Mena.

Moreover, it is one of the few animal forms that passed into Arab Art, an example of which may be seen in the famous fountain of lions of the Alhambra at Grenada, and the lions erected by El-Malik-ed-Daher Bibars Bondokdari on the old bridge, at Abul-Mennaga, Cairo.

(1) In modern Arabic, "tef" means "to spit".

(2) HORAPOLLO, Book I, Ch. 21.

Then came an occasion when the Egyptians wished to create an imposing image for their God-king, who after his death was called the Hor-akhty, the Lord of Heaven. How to represent him? They had been long familiar with the solar falcon, but desired some finer representation, as the King, though identified with Horus and Hor-akhty, was never represented in the same manner as these gods, namely in the form of a hawk-headed man.

The idea of using the form of the Lion God, Ruti, probably occurred first, but it was not the ideal representation, for the lion had become associated in their minds with ferocity as well as kingship, and they wished to represent a wise and powerful but beneficent deity. It is perhaps in this manner that they evolved the idea of the Sphinx, which displays on one form the grace and terrific power of the lion and the superior intellectual power of a man, and at the same time, may be made as a portrait of the reigning king.

So far as we know at present, the Great Sphinx of Giza (Fig. 88), is one of the first examples of these composite monsters⁽¹⁾, and it is certainly the most famous; so let us pause awhile to examine it in greater detail, and see if we can arrive at some idea of its age.

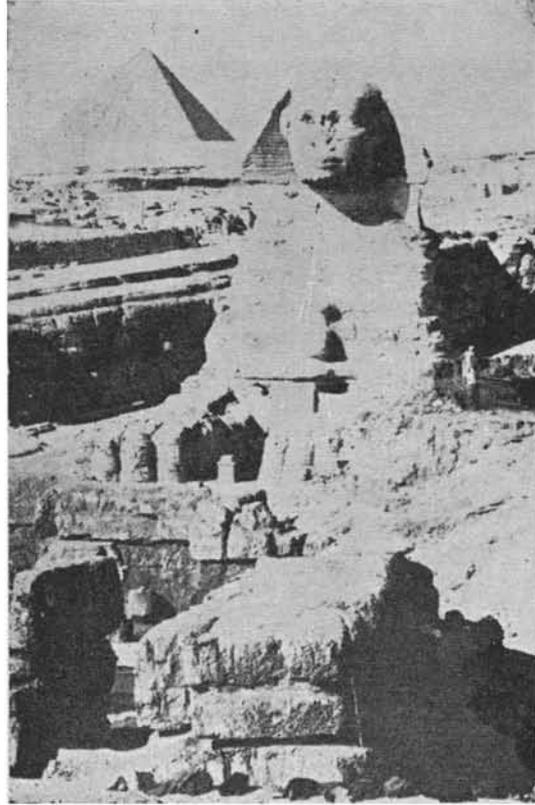


FIG. 88.—THE GREAT SPHINX OF GIZA

The Great Sphinx presents the most usual, and from the æsthetical point of view, the most successful type of sphinx. It has a powerful leonine body, unencumbered by wings, a well-set human head wearing the nemes head-dress (which is most apt, as it suggests, the lion's mane) the uræus, and at one time, the Osirian beard.

As far as I am aware, we only possess one example of a predynastic sphinx, and that occurs on a slate palette, now in the British Museum (Fig. 89). This creature has the body of a lion, and the head of a hawk or eagle. It is provided with wings, which, however, spring from the middle of its back, to which they appear to be attached by means of cords passing

(1) A female Sphinx was found near the Pyramid of Dad-ef-Ra at Abu Roash. If this is contemporary with the Pyramid, as it seems to be, then it is a few years older than the Great Sphinx, and also indicates that the sphinx-form must have been known at least as early as the reign of Khufu, for the female form of the Sphinx cannot have been the original one, but must have been adapted from an already recognized male model(?).

under its body. It is represented in the act of springing upon a bull, in a scene depicting wild animals. A similar creature, in the act of leaping upon a lion, occurs upon an engraved silver vase from Tell Basta. The group occurs in a scene representing wild animals (as also in the pre-dynastic palette). The silver vase dates, at the earliest, to the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty ⁽¹⁾.

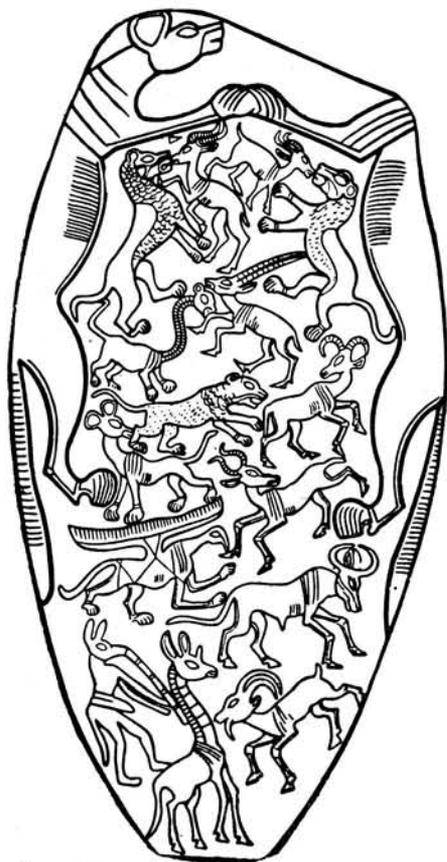


FIG. 89.—A PREDYNASTIC SPHINX
ON A SLATE PALETTE

walls, and the exterior decoration of sarcophagi. Compare this with Fig. 90, which shows the same form of decoration applied to a white limestone sarcophagus, and Fig. 91 which is a typical palace-façade of the Old Kingdom. Both of these examples are of the Giza type, having been found in our excavations.

But it will be noticed that the New Kingdom artists were not fully conversant with their subject, for the details of the wood panelling, interspersed with reed matting, and the cordage which fastened the latter to the wooden beams, so minutely and accurately rendered in the Old Kingdom examples, are treated on the Thothmes Stela as a conventional design of lines and rectangles.

As far as we can tell, there does not seem to be any symbolical meaning attached to this pre-dynastic monster but it is the ancestor of a long line of fabulous creatures, the descendants of which survive to the present day in heraldry.

In the reliefs, the Great Sphinx is nearly always represented couchant upon a pedestal, the form of which has hitherto caused much speculation on the part of archaeologists. It usually takes the form of a high rectangle, surmounted by a cornice, a typical example of which occurs in Fig. 94. To this is often added a door or the representation of panelling. Out of fifty-one stelae bearing representations of the Sphinx, and which are known to have come from Giza, thirty-one are shown upon pedestals of the above-mentioned type, and seven bear representations of doors. The remaining nineteen stelae are either damaged, or are small, crudely carved and lacking in detail.

Pl. XL shows the Sphinx as it appears upon the Stela of Thothmes IV. From this it can be seen that the pedestal is intended to represent the favourite Old Kingdom Motif of panelling, so frequently seen on "palace-façades" of tomb

⁽¹⁾ EDGAR, *A.S.*, Vol. XXV, p. 256, Pl. I, Fig. 1.

Another example of this type of pedestal occurs in our excavations on Stela No. 12. Here the Sphinx is clearly represented as though lying upon a building surmounted by a cavetto cornice and torus moulding, and provided with a doorway (Fig. 189).

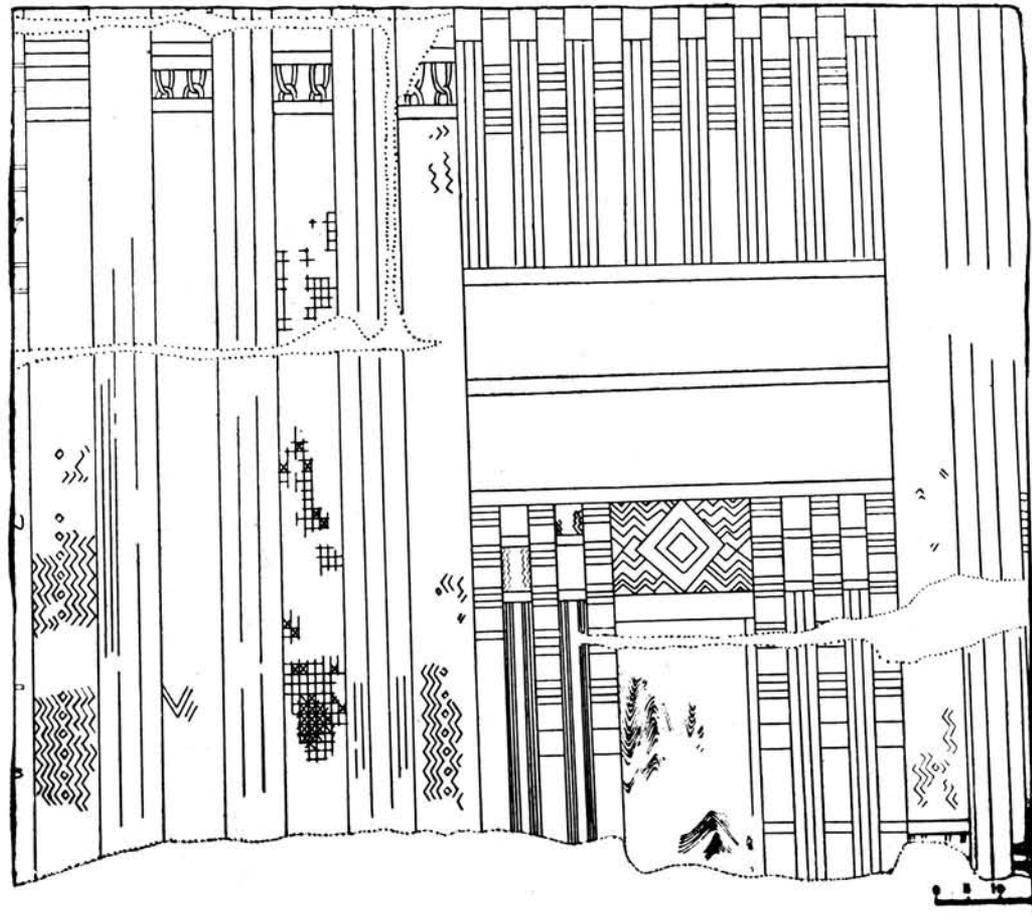


FIG. 90.—THE DECORATION OF A WHITE LIMESTONE SARCOPHAGUS

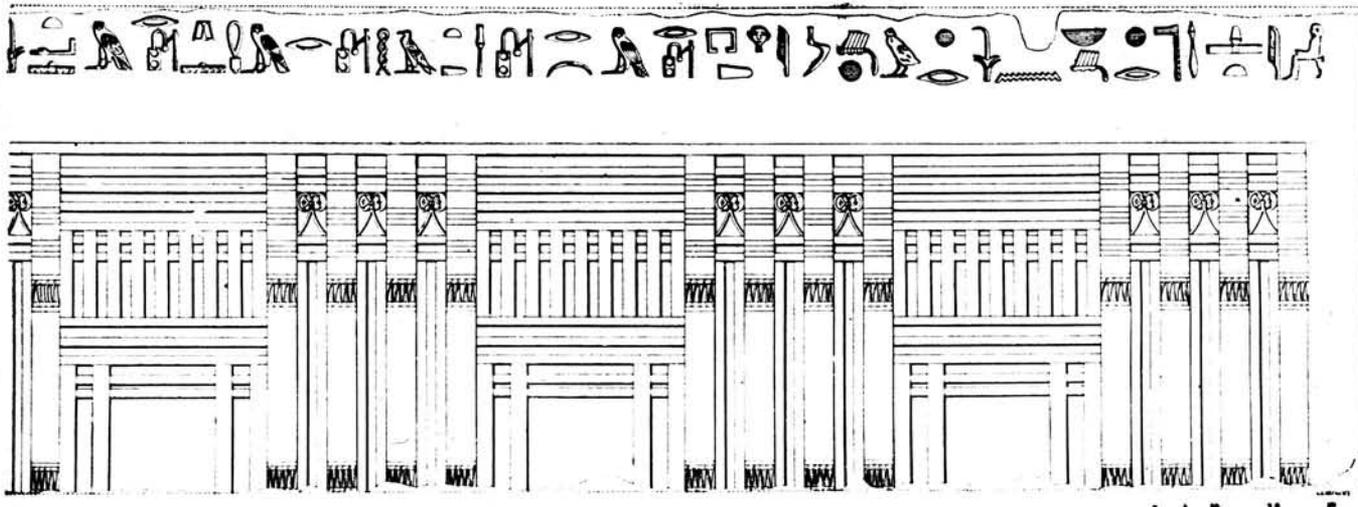


FIG. 91.—PALACE-FACADE OF THE OLD KINGDOM

The motif of the two lotus-flowers, tied together by their stalks, has also been interpreted by the artists of the New Kingdom as merely a meaningless conventional design (Fig. 92).

The Stela of Nezem-merit, at the Louvre, goes one step further, and adds a flight of six steps to the base of the pedestal (Fig. 93). In his description of this stela, M. Moret

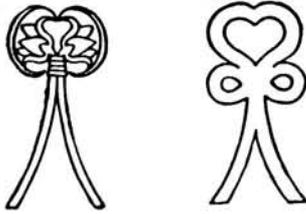


FIG. 92.—MOTIF OF TWO LOTUS-FLOWERS

says ⁽¹⁾: “On our stela, it (the pedestal) is in the form of a naos with a narrow doorway, and approached by a staircase. The Stela of Khufu’s daughter, which is of a later date, also shows the Sphinx couchant upon a pedestal in the form of a naos, but lacking a doorway and a staircase. What then was the exact form of the pedestal of the Sphinx ⁽²⁾?”

This is the same question which Maspero asked himself when he was making his fruitless search for the pedestal of the Sphinx. But now, thanks to the light thrown upon the matter by the clearances effected during our excavations, we are able to give an answer to the question. The actual pedestal of the Sphinx is the natural rock upon which it rests, cut down to a depth of about 2.50 metres below the level of the paws; and when the temple Sphinx was built, this pedestal was utilized as the lower half of the western wall of the great court (see p. 26).

Now, as we have already seen, the centre of this western wall was occupied by a large niche or false-door. Let us look at the Sphinx from the doorway of the temple, or from the open court, and immediately the form of the pedestal is explained! The Sphinx appears to be lying upon a large, rectangular mass, which in its original state was surmounted by the usual cornice and moulding ⁽³⁾ and would give exactly the impression which is recorded upon the stelae (Pl. LVII). The doorway of the pedestal is the false-door or niche



FIG. 93.—STELA OF NEZEM-MERIT

⁽¹⁾ MORET, “*Revue d’Égyptologie*”, (1919), p. 14, Pl. IV.

⁽²⁾ It will be noticed that M. Moret gives the name of the owner of the stela as “Merhet”, but M. Boreaux in his Guide “*Antiquités Égyptiennes*”, Vol. I, p. 78, gives it more correctly as “Nezem-merit”. Apparently M. Moret had confused the sign , H. with , H.

⁽³⁾ Parts of the granite cornice were found fallen in the debris filling the temple and its passages.

of the western wall of the court; and we need not trouble ourselves over the discrepancies in the details of the representations, for in these matters the ancient Egyptian artists were very lax, and gave free rein to their fancies. In all probability the design displayed on the Stela of Thothmes IV is the most accurate, in spite of its conventionalization, because it is typical of the Old Kingdom style.

As further proof of the correctness of this theory, let us cite Stela No. 9 (Fig. 94) which shows the Sphinx lying upon a pedestal of the actual rock upon which it rests, while before it lies the temple. The offerings, which, in reality, are supposed to be deposited inside the temple, are represented under the rule which allowed objects inside a building, to be shown as though standing on top of it, or even suspended in the air above it. In the present case they appear as though standing upon the roof.

All the stelae showing representations of the pedestal of the Great Sphinx of Giza agree in the main points, but vary in degree according to the skill or caprice of the artists, or to the amount of space placed at their disposal (¹).

There is, however, a point which has hitherto been somewhat obscure, but which our latest excavations have made clear. The Sphinx of Thothmes IV is shown lying upon a pedestal with the Old Kingdom panelling, the origin of which we have already traced. How did the artists of Thothmes IV know that the Sphinx rested upon a pedestal? How did they know what that pedestal was like? There are two solutions: either the temple was exposed to view, and they had seen the pedestal for themselves; or else it was copied from an older representation. Now we know from the text of the Granite Stela that at the time of Thothmes IV the



FIG. 94.—STELA NO. 9 SHOWING THE SPHINX LYING UPON A ROCK PEDESTAL

(¹) So far as I am aware, no other sphinx, except that of Giza, is represented on this type of pedestal.

Sphinx was wholly encumbered by the sand, therefore, the temple, which is on a considerably lower level of ground, must also have been completely engulfed. In proof of this, we must state that the foundations of the Temple of Amenhotep II were built bridgewise

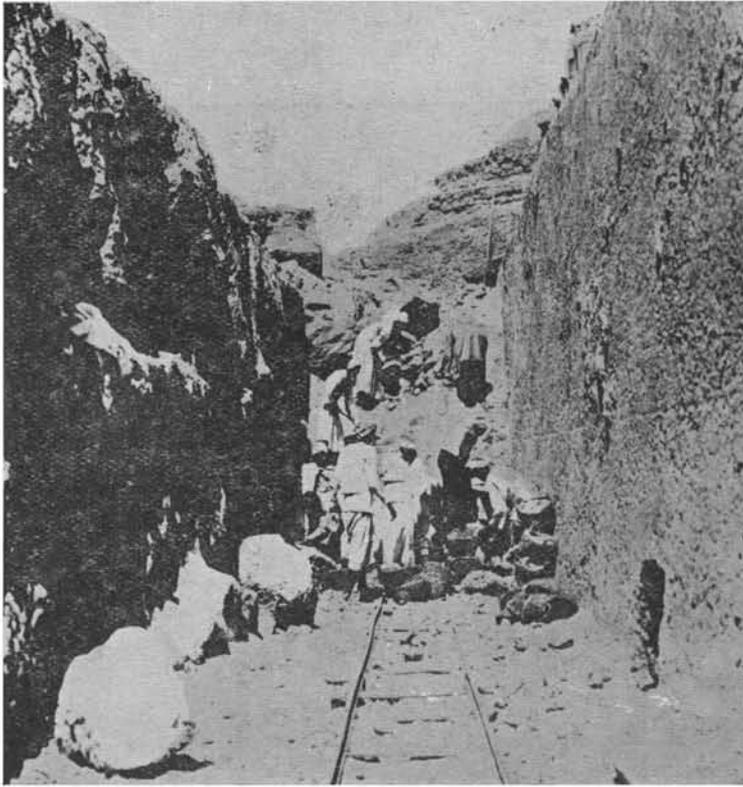


FIG. 95.—THE NORTHERN PASSAGE OF THE SPHINX TEMPLE

over the northern passage of the Sphinx Temple (Fig. 95), while M. Baraize also found mud-brick buildings, and even some foundation deposits of Amenhotep II above the Sphinx Temple.

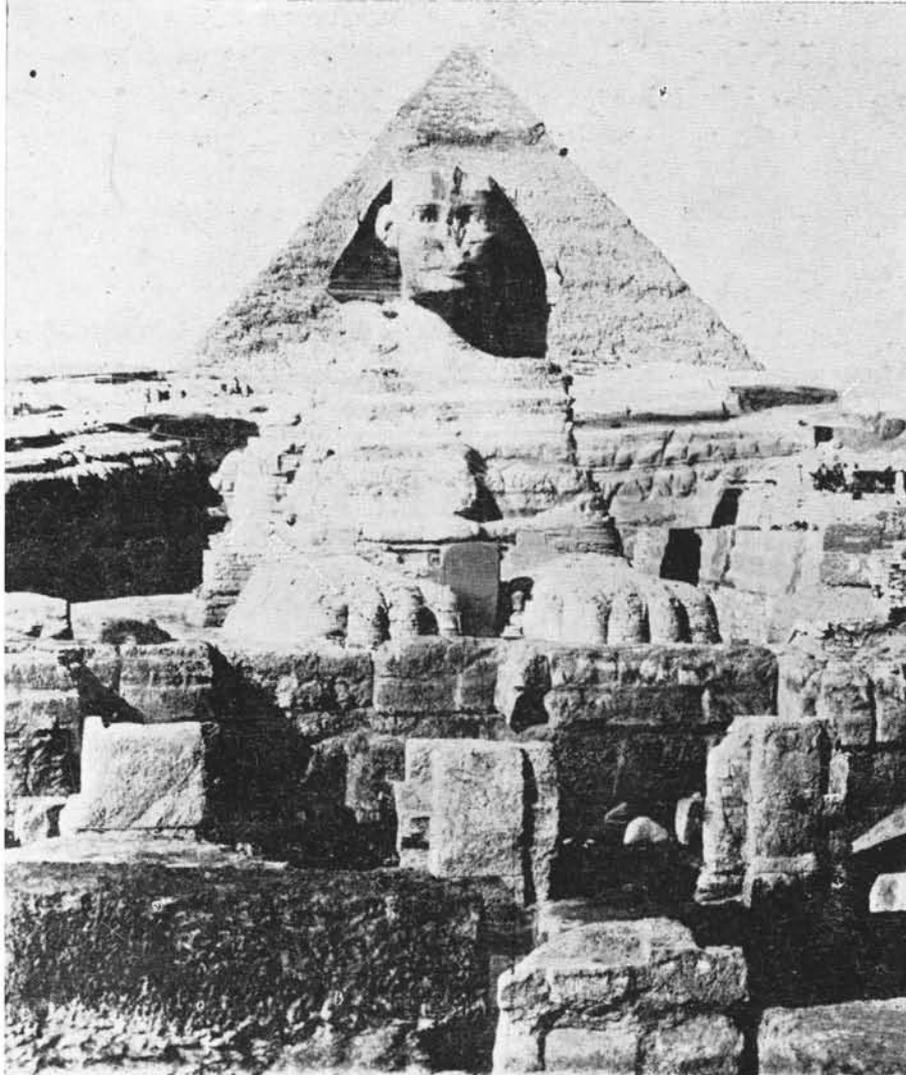
the Sphinx couchant upon the same type of pedestal, but without detail, due perhaps to the fact that the artist had not so much space at his disposal as on the Granite Stela. But for the evidence of the inclusion of the name of Hwrna on the Inventory Stela, and the late form of the titles of the Gods, one would be tempted to state that both of these monuments had been copied from an older model, with the addition of a few minor alterations to meet the needs of the time.

Therefore, unless it was cleared at the same time that Thothmes IV effected his clearance of the Sphinx, which is very unlikely, we can safely say that the pedestal of the Sphinx had never been seen either by that King or by his artists. We are left, then, to assume that the artists had copied the representation from some earlier stela, which has now vanished.

As it is, we may assume that the Sphinx representation of Thothmes IV was copied from an ancient model, with the addition of a few minor changes.

The Inventory Stela also claims to be a copy of an older monument, and it also shows

In the case of the stela seen in Fig. 94, we may ask the same question: How did the artist know of the existence of the temple lying in front of the Sphinx, if it was already buried? In answer we may say that perhaps the monument which gave the form of the pedestal of the Sphinx was also inscribed with a record of the existence of the temple, or else it was copied from an older scene, as was customary.



THE GREAT SPHINX OF GIZA WITH ITS LARGE RECTANGULAR BASE

X.—THE OPINIONS OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS CONCERNING THE SPHINX

NO definite facts are known, as to the exact age of the Sphinx, and to whom we should attribute the honour of its erection. We have not, up to the present, one single contemporary inscription to enlighten us upon this point.

The Egyptians of the New Kingdom were equally in the dark concerning it, and it is extremely doubtful if there was a single person living in Egypt at this period, who knew as much of the true history of the monument as we do to-day.

Let us see what the ancient writers have to say concerning the Sphinx and its origin

Unfortunately, the Egyptians of the New Kingdom were far more interested in identifying the Sphinx with various forms of the Sun-god than in establishing its early origin, and so we get mere theology than archaeology from their texts.

1.—AMENHOTEP II (1448–1420 B.C.)

Up to now, the earliest authentic opinion concerning the Sphinx is given by Amenhotep II, but even this was written about two thousand years after its erection, and no mention is made of its originator. On his Great Limestone Stela, Amenhotep II refers to the “Pyramids of Hor-em akhet”, a name which perhaps shows that he considered the Sphinx to be older than the Pyramids. He refers to the Sphinx under the names of Hor-em-akhet and Hor-akhty which means “Horus in the Horizon” and “Horus who dwells in the Horizon”, the latter being a god mentioned in the Pyramid Texts as being older than Ra.

2.—THOTHMES IV (1420–1411 B.C.)

In the story of his dream on the Granite Stela, Thothmes IV sets out what was apparently his opinion of the Sphinx, and identifies the God with Kheperi-Ra-Atum, as well as giving it his usual name of Hor-em-akhet. The last legible line of the text, which is, however, much mutilated, reads: “And we shall give praise to Wennefer . . . Khafra, the statue made for Atum-Hor-em-akhet . . .”

It is most unfortunate that the text breaks off at this place, for it would appear that Thothmes in some way connected the Sphinx with Khafra. From the theological point of view, he apparently regarded the Sphinx as a type of the Sun-god in all his phases, as is clearly shown by the name "Hor-em-akhet-Kheperi-Ra-Atum". Nevertheless, it is more than probable that neither Thothmes IV nor the priesthood, attached to the Sphinx (if, indeed it had a priesthood at that time), knew the truth of the origin of the statue.

If we can take the text as it is (*see* p. 240) and consider the Sphinx as the equivalent of Atum, then we can date it back to the first appearance of Atum, whose name occurs in the Pyramid Texts, along with the names of Khepera and Ra (the sun in its three phases), and Hor-akhty, who is older than all of them. On this basis, we can consider the Sphinx as the oldest god in Egypt, but unfortunately we are building our hypothesis on New Kingdom texts, which were written at a time when the Egyptians themselves had probably forgotten the original traditions of the God. But perhaps they were right, if, as we shall see later, the construction of the Sphinx Temple can be taken as a material proof of the existence of the Sphinx in the Old Kingdom.

3.—SETI I (1313-1292 B.C.)

On the stela which he dedicated in the mud-brick Temple of Amenhotep II, Seti I makes no mention of the early history of the Sphinx. As this Monarch displayed throughout all his reign a marked interest in the ancient sacred monuments, it is strange that he should make no reference to the origin of the Great Sphinx. This fact seems to suggest that he could get no reliable information on the subject, and so contented himself by referring to it as the "place where the people pray". On the other hand, the text of this stela is somewhat mutilated, and it may be that some unlucky chance has destroyed the very sentence that would have been of importance to us. Seti calls the Sphinx by the name of Hwl and Hor-em-akhet, the usual names in vogue for it during the Eighteenth Dynasty and onwards.

4.—PASEBEKHANU (POSOUSENNES) (1085-1067 B.C.)

Pasebekhanu partly re-built and decorated the Temple of Isis that lies to the east of the Great Pyramid. Later, a stela was set up here giving the previous history of the temple. The text purports to be a copy of an ancient stela existing in the temple, but is obviously a late forgery, as has been shown elsewhere (*see* p. 110). Accordingly, we may take it as expressing the opinion of the people of this period concerning the Sphinx and Pyramids, and which seems to have been influenced by the text of the Great Limestone Stela of Amenhotep II, and the

other stelae of the Eighteenth Dynasty, as mention is made of the Sphinx under the name of Hwrna, a name apparently unknown in Egypt before the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, but very usual at that time. This fact affords clear proof that the stela cannot possibly be a copy of an Old Kingdom text, as it pretends to be. The stela refers to the Sphinx under the names Hwrna and Hor-em-akhet ⁽¹⁾.

5.—PLINY (A.D. 23)

Pliny says ⁽²⁾: "In front of the Pyramids is the Sphinx, which is perhaps even more to be admired than they. It impresses one by its stillness and silence, and is the local divinity of the inhabitants of the surrounding district. These people believe that it is the Tomb of King Amais, and they further state that it was carved in some other place and transported to its present situation. But it is, in reality, part of the natural rock, and was carved *in situ*. In order to conform with the cult, it was painted red. The circumference of the head is 200 feet (sic!). The length of the body is 143 feet. The height from the belly to the top of the head is 62 feet ⁽³⁾".

Pliny, then, was clearly ignorant of the origin of the Sphinx, and so were its worshippers at that time.

From the foregoing accounts, we can see that the general opinion of the ancients was that the Sphinx was older than the Pyramids. It would be interesting to know the source from whence they derived this idea. Perhaps it was the natural result of the identification of the Sphinx with the God Horus Behdety. In this way they might easily have supposed it to have been pre-dynastic, and perhaps dated it from the dynasty of semi-divine kings known as the "Followers of Horus".

In the inscriptions of the Temple of Horus at Edfu is the following passage: "And Horus of Edfu transformed himself into a lion which had the face of a man, and which was crowned with the Triple Crown ⁽⁴⁾".

⁽¹⁾ For a discussion of the name of this God, see JOHN GRAY, "Journal of Near Eastern Studies", Vol. VIII, January 1949, No. 1, p. 27 ff.

⁽²⁾ Pliny's works, Book XXXVI, Ch. XVII.

⁽³⁾ Actually the measurements of the Sphinx are as follows: Height: 66 feet, length: 240 feet, height of ears: 4 feet 6 inches, height of nose: 5 feet 7 inches, width of mouth: 7 feet, 7 inches, entire breadth of face: 13 feet, 8 inches (BAEDEKER, "Egypt", 1929, p. 145).

⁽⁴⁾ BUDGE, "Legends of the Gods", pp. 88-89.

Curiously enough, the scene which accompanied this text shows the God represented as a normal lion, which indicates how readily the Sphinx and the lion forms were interchangeable in the minds of the Egyptians (Fig. 96).

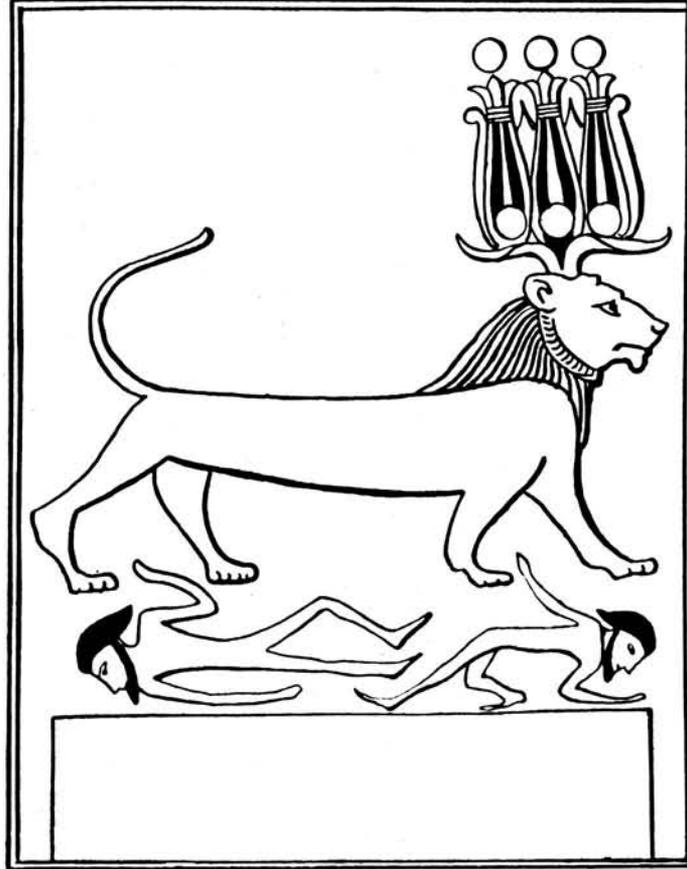


FIG. 96. —HORUS REPRESENTED AS A NORMAL LION

XI.—THE OPINIONS OF THE ARAB WRITERS CONCERNING THE SPHINX

THE opinions expressed concerning the Sphinx, after the Arab Conquest are few, but are not without some interest.

1.—ABDEL-LATIF EL-BOGHDAI (1)

Abdel-Latif El-Boghdadi states: "Near to one of the Pyramids is a colossal head emerging from the ground. It is called Abul-Hol. It is said that its body is buried in the ground, and judging by the dimensions of the head, the body should have been 70 cubits in length. The figure was painted red".

2.—EL-MAKRIZI (2)

El-Makrizi says: "In our time, there was a man whose name was Saim-el-Dahr, one of the Sufis (780 A.H.). This man wanted to remedy some of the religious things, and he went to the Pyramids and disfigured the face of Abul-Hol, which has remained in that state from that time until now. From the time of this disfigurement also, the sand has invaded the cultivated lands of Giza, and the people attribute this to the disfigurement of Abul-Hol" (3).

3.—ALI MUBARAK (4)

Ali Mubarak says: "This statue (the Sphinx) is called nowadays Abul-Hol, but used to be known by the name of Balheeb, as mentioned by El-Makrizi".

4.—EL-KODAI (5)

He says: "The idol of the two pyramids is called Balhouba. It is a large idol, situated between the two pyramids, and only the head is visible. The mob calls it Abul-Hol and Balheeb, and believe that it is a talisman to prevent the sand of the desert from invading Giza. In a book entitled "*The Wonders of Building*", it says: "At the Pyramids is a very huge head and neck protruding from the earth. The people call it Abul-Hol, and think that its body is buried under the ground" (6).

(1) ABDEL-LATIF EL-BOGHDAI, "*Relation de l'Egypte*", Vol. I, p. 106.

(2) EL-MAKRIZI, "*Khitat El-Makrizi*", Abul-Hol, Part I, p. 197.

(3) For a similar idea, see *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. VIII, January 1949, No. 1, p. 31.

(4) ALI MUBARAK, "*Khitat Misr*", Vol. XVI, p. 44.

(5) EL-KODAI, *ibid*, Part I, p. 197.

(6) For a similar idea, see *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. VIII, January 1949, No. 1, p. 31.

5.—VANSLEB (1)

Vansleb says: "Its nose (the Sphinx's) has been broken by a Moor, of whom a story is told in beautiful verses of the Arabic language, and which, in order to be brief, I do not mention here, as I do not believe it to be true. This same maniac who mutilated the Sphinx did the same to the lions decorating one of the Cairo bridges, which lions were erected by El-Malik-el-Daher Bibars Bondokdari. But according to Abdel-Latif, the lions and the Sphinx were mutilated by Sheikh Mohammed, called the 'Faster of his time'. He did this in the belief that it would be agreeable to God".

It is perfectly clear that the Arab and mediæval writers had no knowledge at all of the history and origin of the Sphinx. It is also interesting to see that even in Islamic times the local inhabitants seemed to have regarded it as a beneficent spirit and protector of their lands. The same idea is displayed on the Inventory Stela (*see* pp. 113-116), and occurs again in Græco-Roman inscription (*see* p. 123) (2).

The Arab writers guessed that the body of the Sphinx was buried under the sand, but it is not clear if at this period they were aware that it was the body of a lion.

(1) VANSLEB, "Relazione dello Stato Presents dell Egitto", p. 266.

(2) *See also Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, *ibid*, p. 31.

XII.—THE OPINIONS OF MODERN EGYPTOLOGISTS CONCERNING THE SPHINX

1.—FLINDERS PETRIE

IN his "History of Egypt" Prof. Petrie says⁽¹⁾: "Near this temple (the Valley Temple of Khafra) stands the Sphinx; and as there is no evidence as to its age, we may consider it here owing to its position . . . When was this knoll of rock so carved, and by whom? A later limit is given by the Stela of Thothmes IV, placed between its paws . . . It must, then, be much older than his time. On the other hand, it has been supposed to be pre-historic, but there is some evidence against this. In the middle of the back is an old tomb-shaft; such would certainly not be made when it was venerated, and it must belong to some tomb which was made here before the Sphinx was carved. No tombs near this are older than Khufu, nor are any in this part older than Khafra. We may see this on looking at the wide causeway in the rock up to the Second Pyramid. On either hand of that is a crowd of tomb-shafts, but not one is cut in the whole width of the causeway. In short, the causeway precedes the tombs in the neighbourhood, but the Sphinx succeeds these tombs".

Such is Petrie's opinion, but he is speaking of the causeway before it was fully revealed. It is true that there are no tombs cut in that part of the causeway that lies near the Sphinx, and which was the only part of it on view, until I cleared the remainder in 1935-1936. It can now be seen that the part of it lying to the west of the Sphinx, and extending up to the Second Pyramid has shafts sunk in its upper surface, as well as tomb-chambers cut in its sides.

Taking the facts as he knew them, Petrie's arguments are sound enough; but unfortunately he fell into the fatal error of trying to form a definite opinion about a site that had been only partly excavated, a practice that cannot be too strongly condemned.

2.—MASPERO

Maspero was at first inclined to relegate the Sphinx to the Pre-dynastic Period. He says⁽²⁾: "The Great Sphinx, Harmakhis, has mounted guard over its (the Libyan Plateau's) northern extremity ever since the time of the 'Followers of Horus'."

(1) PETRIE, "History of Egypt", Vol. I, pp. 68-69; 1923.

(2) "The Dawn of Civilization", p. 247.

Later, however, he modifies his opinion ⁽¹⁾ and states that the Sphinx: "probably presents Khafra himself guarding his temples and Pyramid by the magic power possessed by a sphinx".

Further on in the same book he says ⁽²⁾: "Its date (the Sphinx's) has been the subject of endless discussion. Recent discoveries point to it being Khafra himself, a portrait head of the Pharaoh with the body of a lion, guarding his pyramid and temples from all evil by the magic power possessed by a sphinx".

3.—BRUGSCH

Brugsch says that King Khufu had seen the Sphinx, and that, therefore, it must have existed before his time, an opinion which he had evidently founded on the famous Inventory Stela, an object that has proved itself to be a stumbling block in the path of historical research ⁽³⁾.

4.—BORCHARDT

Under the title "*Über das Alter des Sphinx bei Giseh*", Borchardt has indulged in an astonishing flight of fancy! He commences by stating that the aim of the article is to investigate the question of the age of the Sphinx from a new standpoint, and remarked that misleading results have occurred in the past, by historians basing their theories on the Granite Stela of Thothmes IV, and the fancied resemblance between the features of the Sphinx and those of Khafra. Therefore, he proposes to make his investigations from the point of view of the study of the eye-paint, referring to the line of kohl with which the ancient Egyptians (as well as their descendants) decorated their eyes.

He says: "In the following, an attempt is made to arrive at the establishing of a date, from the details of the dress; as this seems to be the only safe way for dealing with Egyptian sculpture, whereas for the treatment of such questions from the purely stylistic point of view, there is neither sufficient material, nor preliminary studies. To-day, even after adding all the stylistic observations on the treatment of the portrait, muscles, etc., we must content ourselves with settling the following study by considering it as a matter of costume; to reduce it from a matter of calculation, to something palpable.

"The chief criterion of this sort, which we want to discuss here, consists of the paint stripes which are applied to the exterior corners of the eyes of the Sphinx, in a very flat relief, and with traces of blue paint. To this we should have to apply the law lately fixed by

⁽¹⁾ "*A Manual of Egyptian Archaeology*", p. 74.

⁽²⁾ MASPERO, *ibid.*, p. 237.

⁽³⁾ BRUGSCH. "*Egypt under the Pharaohs*", p. 37.

Herr von Bissing, according to which paint stripes are unknown in the Old Kingdom. This is confirmed, as far as the Cairo Museum is concerned, but it can be slightly altered according to monuments belonging to other collections. ”

He then proceeds to give a list of statues and reliefs which he had examined, and goes to a great deal of trouble to “ prove ” that those examples of Old Kingdom statuary which unfortunately show eye-paint, and thus upset his theory, are wrongly classified, and belong to later dates.

Finally, he finds one example that undeniably dates to the Sixth Dynasty and shows eye-paint, an uncompromising specimen that refuses to conform to his theory ; therefore, he begins to juggle with Egyptian history, and wishes to push the beginning of the Middle Kingdom back to the Sixth Dynasty. Having thus “ solved ” the greatest limit of the age of the Sphinx, Borchardt then proceeds to settle its lowest limit, when he calls to his aid the details of the pleating of the nemes head-dress, and gives a long list of the statues he had examined in this connection. By some strange process of reasoning, he comes to the conclusion that the grouped stripes of the nemes only appeared during the Twelfth Dynasty, and observes :

“ The grouped stripes of the nemes appear only under the Twelfth Dynasty, perhaps even only under Amenemhat III, because all the objects, with such an arrangement of stripes and bearing a precise date, belong to his reign ; for the other monuments classified as belonging to the Twelfth Dynasty, it is not excluded that they do not represent Amenemhat III. For this confined limitation of the stripes fashion only to the time of Amenemhat III, speaks also the fact that the statues of Usertsen I (Senwesert I) from Lisht have no such groups, but regular stripes.

“ If we want to limit the period of the grouped stripes only to Amenemhat III or not ; in either case it remains a fact that, after the Twelfth Dynasty, this fashion does not appear any more . . .

“ For dating the Giza Sphinx we deduct the following facts : As the head-dress of the Sphinx has the broad stripe accompanied by the narrow stripes, the Sphinx can surely not belong to a period coming after the Twelfth Dynasty. We would, thus, limit the age of the Sphinx between two staves, an upper one and a lower one.

“ According to the paint stripes she (sic) is of the Sixth Dynasty or later, and according to the head-dress stripes, before the end of the Twelfth Dynasty. If we want to be less cautious, we would add perhaps at the time of Amenemhat III. For this dating there are several secondary facts, to which we do not want to give much weight : (1) The lack of mention of the

Sphinx in the Old Kingdom, so far as we know, from the inscriptions now. (2) The lack of objects belonging to the Old Kingdom in the nearest neighbourhood of the Sphinx. (3) The presence of two vertical shafts in the back of the Sphinx, one of which ends in a tomb chamber, and contained coffin boards. From this we can deduce that a mastaba has perhaps existed on the back of the Sphinx.

“The original lack of the beard, exactly the same as Amenemhat, is represented. The presence of the god’s image in front of the breast, between the paws, is similar to the Middle Kingdom Sphinx from El-Kab (Cairo Museum). The traces of this divine image are still visible. Lastly, we could also perhaps recognize the portrait of Amenemhat III in the features of the Sphinx, but, of course, this is very doubtful.

“We can now give an outline of the story of the Sphinx: It was hewn in the rock by Amenemhat III, where there was a mastaba (on the actual back of the Sphinx), and it was partly built up with hewn stone. It represented the King in the form of a couchant lion, with a human head, and a statue of the god before the breast, perhaps Harmakhis or Kheper. As the monument was later covered by sand, Thothmes IV ordered it to be excavated for the first time. This is shown by the stela. Perhaps the beard was added to the Sphinx at that time. During the Nineteenth Dynasty, the Sphinx must have again been partly cleared from the sand. In later times it was surrounded by a mud-brick wall, to protect it against the sand of the desert. From the east, a staircase led down to a small chapel before the god’s statue at the breast. All these protective measures were, however, useless, and in 1883 she (sic) was again cleared, and to-day it would again be necessary.”

It seems to me that Borchardt had gone to a great deal of trouble to prove a theory that it is altogether wrong from the beginning to the end; that is if he is not having a joke with the scientific world, and indulging in a little “leg-pulling” at our expense. Note how he refers to the Sphinx in the feminine gender, and at the same time passes observations upon its beard, and identifies it with the King!

If Borchardt was really serious about this article, then I think that of all the theories that he ever put into writing, he must have bitterly regretted having published this one!

5.—BREASTED

Breasted is frankly uncertain about the age of the Sphinx; he says (1): “Whether the Sphinx itself is the work of Khafra, is not yet determined. The Great Sphinx, like other

(1) BREASTED, “*A History of the Ancient Egyptians*”, pp. 110-111.

Egyptian sphinxes, is the portrait of a Pharaoh, and an obscure reference to Khafra in an inscription between its fore-paws, dated fourteen hundred years later in the reign of Thothmes IV, perhaps shows that in these times he was considered to have had something to do with it'.

6.—BUDGE

Budge is another writer who later re-considers his opinion, for at first he says ⁽¹⁾: "The oldest and finest human-headed lion statue is the famous Sphinx at Giza, which was regarded as the symbol of the Sun-god Ra-Temu-Khepera-Heru-khuti, and was made to keep away evil spirits from the tombs which are round about it. The age is unknown, but it existed in the time of Khephren, and was probably very old, even at that early period".

Later he modified this statement, and in the last edition of "The Mummy", he says ⁽²⁾: "Near this temple (the Khafra Valley Temple) stands that mysterious monument, the Sphinx . . . which was at once the symbol of the god Hor-em-akhet . . . and of the King, the earthly representative of the god. An inscription, found by Mariette in the Temple of Isis near the Pyramid of Khufu, says that Khufu built this temple, and some suppose that it was he who had this spur of rock carved into the form of a man-headed lion, and parts of it filled up with masonry to make the contours of the body more perfect. Others take the view that the Sphinx is a pre-dynastic monument, but this theory has no foundation".

7.—HALL

Regarding the probable age of the Sphinx, Dr. H. R. Hall says ⁽³⁾: "The Sphinx (Abul-Hol: "Father of Terror", as the Arabs call it) is of much later date than the Pyramids, and is probably to be assigned to the time of Amenemhat III (Twelfth Dynasty)".

Later, in the same book, he modified this statement, and says: "More probable that the Sphinx and its temple really date from Khafra's time". By "its temple", Hall is referring to the Khafra Valley Temple, which has nothing to do with the Sphinx.

In my opinion, the Great Sphinx of Giza was erected after the completion of the Khafra Pyramid Complex. The evidence which led me to this conclusion is the trench, which runs down the northern side of the causeway leading from the Valley Temple to the Mortuary Temple

⁽¹⁾ BUDGE "The Gods of the Egyptians", Vol. II, p. 361.

⁽²⁾ BUDGE, "The Mummy", p. 32.

⁽³⁾ HALL, "The Ancient History of the Near East", p. 124 (footnote).

of Khafra. This trench, which measures about 2 metres wide and about 1·50 metres deep, is cut in the rock, and, if contemporary with these monuments, served as a kind of division between the Necropolis of Khufu on the north and that of Khafra on the south.

The same form of marking boundaries by means of shallow trenches can be seen in conjunction with rock-cut mastabas, where they are usually cut in the upper surface of the rock, to define the limits of the tomb.

In the case of the trench we are discussing, it stops abruptly at the western edge of the cavity of the Sphinx (*see* Plan : Pl. XVI). Now, in the case of a heavy rainfall, this trench would act as a drain and discharge all its dirty water into the cavity of the Sphinx. Here, then, seems to be a clear proof that the Sphinx was cut after the causeway, because had it existed before, the excavators would never have continued cutting the trench right to the edge of the cavity, it being unthinkable that the sacred enclosure of the God would become the receptacle for drainage water, even periodically. However, when the Sphinx was cut, this state of affairs was unavoidable, therefore the architects did their best by plugging the end of the trench with great blocks of granite ; and it is this which forms a convincing proof that the Sphinx was a later addition to the Khafra Pyramid Complex, but not necessarily belonging to it.

This, then, seems to limit the age of the Sphinx to the latter end of the reign of Khafra at the very most ; moreover, the form of the eye of the statue, the pleating of the nemes and the conformity of the uraeus, are all in keeping with the Old Kingdom types. Further, as we have already seen on p. 56 the Sphinx antedates the late Fourth and early Fifth Dynasty tombs cut in the walls of the amphitheatre, while the style of its temple is without doubt Fourth Dynasty. As the pedestal of the Sphinx actually forms the lower part of the western wall of this temple, I think that we cannot but accept this fact as putting the lowest limit to the age of the Sphinx at the end of the Fourth Dynasty (about 2750 B.C.).

Thus, we may safely take the Giza Sphinx as the best representative of what is the outstanding example of the Old Kingdom type of Sphinx. But it is not the oldest example, for in addition to the female Sphinx found at Abu Roash, we have another example from our excavations. While excavating the Mortuary Temple and rock-cut solar-boats of Khafra, in the season of 1934-1935, I came across a limestone fragment which proved to be of the greatest importance for the dating of the early appearance of the Sphinx in Egypt.

This fragment was the base and forelegs of a large limestone Sphinx, the paws being as large as those of a living lion. That it is a true Sphinx and not a lion can be proved by the lower part of the chest which remains on the pedestal, and shows the lower edge of

the apron falling forward. In a statue of a lion this junction between the body and the pedestal would be undercut (Fig. 96 *a*).

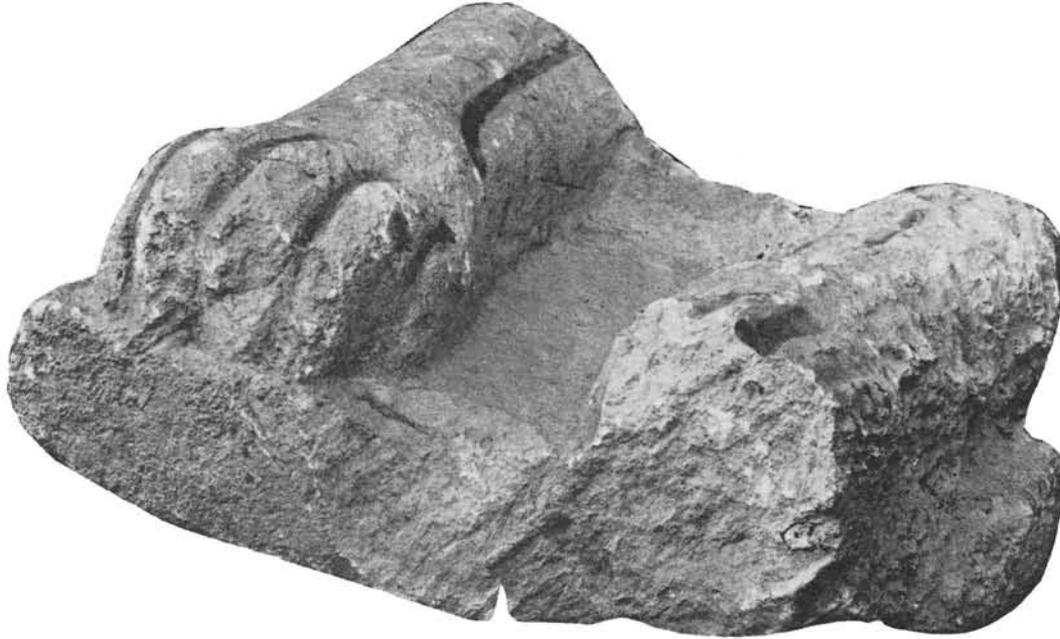


FIG. 96 *a*.—A FRAGMENTARY BASE AND FORELEGS OF A LARGE LIMESTONE SPHINX

From its position near the western solar-boat of the King, and the characteristic spacing of the joints of the paws (*see* p. 167), there is no doubt whatever that this fragment relates to a sphinx of King Khafra, and once and for ever removes any doubt as to the existence of the Sphinx in the Fourth Dynasty.

Holscher suggested that a pair of sphinxes guarded the entrance to the Valley Temple of Khafra (¹), perhaps our fragment is part of another pair performing the same office in respect to the Mortuary Temple.

There is no doubt that this latter specimen belongs to Khafra, and there is evidence which seems to prove that this King was responsible for the erection of the Great Sphinx, the facts in favour of this theory being:—

(1) That the Great Sphinx is later than Khufu can be seen by the evidence of the trench of the causeway, which makes it practically certain that it was cut after the causeway was complete.

(2) If we are to regard the Sphinx as a representation of the King-God, then we must look for its originator in the king, whose pyramid and temples lie nearest to it, and here again, the evidence points to Khafra.

⁽¹⁾ HOLSCHER, "Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren", Pl. VIII.

(3) It can hardly belong to Men-kaw-Ra, for two reasons: First, it is far from his pyramid complex, and secondly, he was unable to finish even his own temples and pyramid.

(4) That Khafra was responsible for the erection of the Sphinx seems all the more probable when we study the plans of the Sphinx and Valley Temples (*see* Plan, Pl. XVI). It seems quite obvious that the two buildings were part of one gigantic scheme, for they conform in outward appearance, lie on the same axis, and are constructed of the same materials, and on the same massive scale, as needs must be for a building designed to stand in front of such a colossal and impressive effigy as the Great Sphinx.

Therefore, taking all these things into consideration, it seems that we must give the credit of erecting this, the world's most wonderful statue, to Khafra, but always with this reservation that there is not one single contemporary inscription which connects the Sphinx with Khafra, so sound as it may appear, we must treat the evidence as circumstantial, until such a time as a lucky turn of the spade of the excavator will reveal to the world a definite reference to the erection of the Sphinx.

The end of the Fourth Dynasty and the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty give us a new type, that of the standing Sphinx.

While I was excavating the Pyramid and Complex of Queen Khent-kawes in 1933-1934, there came to light the torso of a statuette of a sphinx in schist, which, from its position in the lowest strata of the debris filling the Valley Temple of the Queen, makes us certain in placing it in the Old Kingdom. Unfortunately the head is missing, and the legs are broken off, but the remaining stumps, and the fact that the belly of the animal is free on all sides,

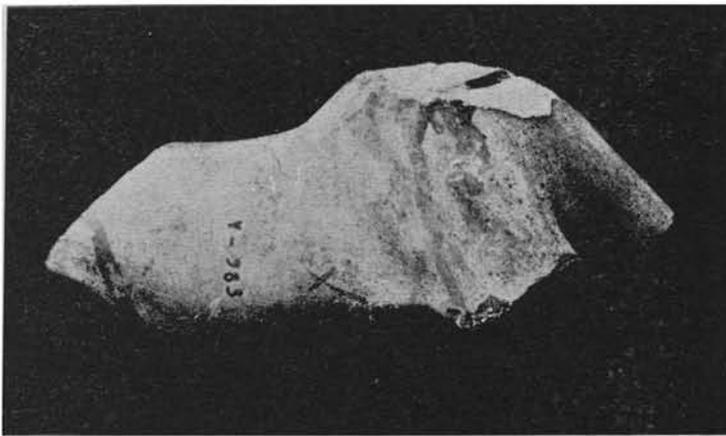


FIG. 97.—A TORSO OF A STATUETTE OF A SPHINX

indicates that it was in a standing posture; while the upward lift of the shoulders and the widely planted forelegs, of which more remain than of the hind ones, suggest a posture of defiance. The body, which is graceful and well-modelled, is free from any ornamentation (Fig. 97).

The Fifth Dynasty gives us a new conception of the Sphinx, due perhaps to the Heliopolitan kings, who seeing the æsthetical possibilities of the sphinx-form, were quick to appropriate it to their own use, and it is perhaps to this period that we can assign the first "mortalizing" of the Sphinx.

As this dynasty claimed to be the direct descendants of the Sun-god himself, and the first three kings, Wser-ka-f, Sahu-Ra and Nefer-ir-ka-Ra were the actual physical sons of the God, there was no thought of impiety in their being represented in his image. Therefore, we find Sahu-Ra representing himself as a powerful lion clad in a hawk's wings and plumage, and trampling his enemies underfoot. This scene is shown in a magnificent relief from Sahu-Ra's sun-temple at Abusir, and it is a great misfortune that the head of the figure is destroyed. But there is a later copy of the same scene, also discovered by Borchardt, in which the head is shown to be that of a hawk; this shows the affinity to the hawk's wings and plumage upon the back, and agrees with the fact that the next time we meet this type (in the Twelfth Dynasty) the head is again that of a hawk (*see* Fig. 110).

The Sixth Dynasty gives us an important example in the shape of the Sphinx of Pepi I now in the Louvre. Here we have a fine, powerfully modelled lion's body, full of strength and vigour, united to a human head, with a straight beard, and crowned with the nemes and uraeus. Around the neck is the wide collar, and an apron adorns its breast, merging into the lion's mane behind (Fig. 98). This Sphinx is said to have come from Tanis, but it is



FIG. 98.—A SPHINX OF PEPI I

not certain if that is its original home, as it has been usurped several times by later kings, including Rameses II and his son Mer-en-Ptah. On the other hand, Montet found a number of Old Kingdom objects at Tanis, many of which relate to Pepi II.

Fig. 99 and Fig. 100 show the base and forepart of a black granite Sphinx of Pepi I, an example that has by some means escaped usurpation, perhaps because it was broken in ancient times.

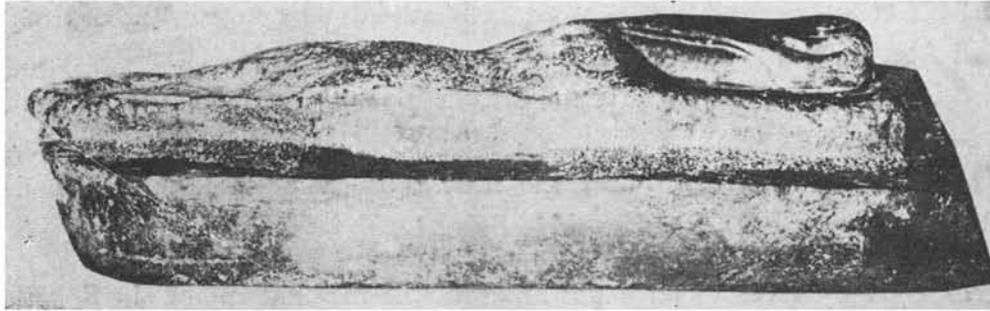


FIG. 99.—BASE OF A BLACK GRANITE SPHINX OF PEPI I



FIG. 100.—THE FORE-
PART OF BLACK
GRANITE SPHINX
OF PEPI I

There are certain characteristic features by means of which we may distinguish the sphinxes of the Old Kingdom from those of the later periods, apart from the general vigorous style which always characterizes the early work. First, during the Old Kingdom, the eyes of the statues and the human-headed sphinxes, had the eyelids meeting in a point at the outer corners, as seen in Fig. 101, while the pleating of the nemes is arranged as in Fig. 102. The uraeus also has its characteristic form as in Fig. 103; while the paws also display a special peculiarity⁽¹⁾. In the paws of the Old Kingdom Sphinx, the horizontal distance between the roots of the digits "A" and the top of the knuckle "B", was greater than the distance between the top of the knuckle "B" and the root of the claw "C" (Fig. 104).

These are the principal traits which distinguish the Old Kingdom work; but the latter rule referring to the paws cannot be applied to the Great Sphinx, as its paws have been twice re-cased in later times, and the original contours lost.

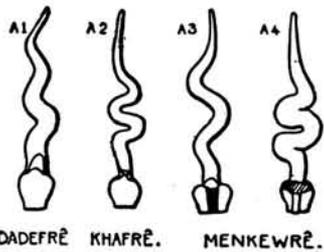


FIG. 103.—THE URAEUS FORM OF THE OLD KINGDOM

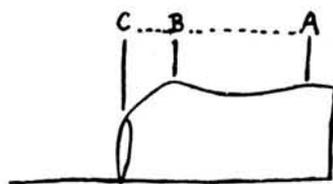


FIG. 104.—THE CHARACTERISTIC MEASUREMENTS OF THE PAWS OF THE SPHINX OF THE OLD KINGDOM

It may be wondered why we have such a shortage of Old Kingdom sphinxes. This is especially strange when we come to consider the fact that the Great Sphinx is one of the oldest example of a human-headed sphinx that we possess. It is difficult to imagine a sculptor carving such a magnificent monument on such a colossal scale, without being familiar with his subject. In other words, the man who carved the Great Sphinx is very unlikely to have been the inventor of the form; he must have been well-acquainted with the idea of a man's head attached to a leonine body, there being no discordance between the junction of the head and shoulders. What, then, has become of the numerous figures of sphinxes which we are entitled to suppose existed contemporary with, or even a little prior to, the Great Sphinx? It is very unlikely that they have all perished; and were they merely hidden, surely over one hundred years of scientific (and alas, unscientific!)

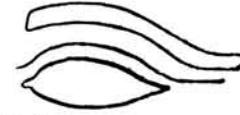
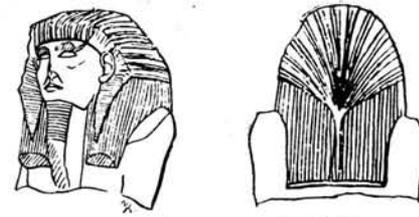


FIG. 101.—THE EYE OF A HUMAN-HEADED SPHINX



III^d DYNASTY (ZOSER).

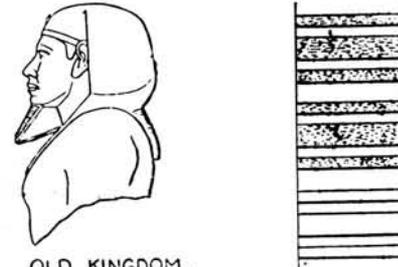


FIG. 102.—THE PLEATING OF THE NEMES HEAD-DRESS ACCORDING TO THE OLD KINGDOM STYLE

(¹) ENGELBACH, "The So-called Hyksos Monuments", A.S., Vol. XXVIII.

treasure-hunting would have revealed some of them, at least; but not even broken fragments have appeared. This is all the more to be wondered at, when we remember that the Old Kingdom was a prolific period for the production of statues and kindred objects, most of which were of a large size, as for instance the granite head of Wser-ka-f (Cairo Museum).

In the excavations of the Antiquities Department alone, there were found the smashed remains of between three and four hundred statues of Khafra, many of which were considerably larger than life, and all executed in hard stones, such as diorite, granite and fine alabaster. Again, in the Third Dynasty, King Zoser equipped himself with the almost incredible number of 30,000 stone vases, each of which is estimated to have taken a skilled worker one year to make. It speaks much for the high standard of the people of that time, when we realize that Zoser could actually find sufficient skilled artists to turn out that number of vases, each a perfect gem of line and finish, in a space of twenty-nine years.

Even private persons, as for instance, Ra-wer, an official of King Nefer-ir-ka-Ra (*see* p. 61) had over one hundred statues in his tomb, most of which were life-sized (1). A black granite head of a statue of Prince Neb-em-akhet also came to light in our excavations. Notwithstanding the hardness of the stone, the details of the wig and the modelling of the features are all that could be desired. This head is somewhat larger than life.

So, when we are enquiring into the whereabouts of the Old Kingdom sphinxes, perhaps we should look to later times, particularly to the early Middle Kingdom. It may be that some of the best specimens attributed to this period are in reality Old Kingdom work usurped and altered in detail to meet the prevailing fashion. This is particularly likely to have been the case with good statues existing in quantities, in a period known to have been one of conflict and internal unrest; for in all nations, it is at such periods that the standard of art rapidly declines, just as it rises during eras of prosperity. Therefore, any tendency to usurp statues would naturally occur at a time when the contemporary artists were unable to reach the standard demanded by the reigning monarch. It must further be remembered, however, that haste was also a factor responsible for usurpation, the Pharaoh perhaps demanding a larger output than could possibly be realized in new work. Therefore, the sculptors resorted to the alteration and re-inscribing of existing statues, etc., just as is done in the present day with regards to street names, bridges and other buildings.

(1) *See my "Excavations at Giza", Vol. I, p. 1, ff.*

XIII.—THE SPHINXES OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

THE Middle Kingdom provides us with six types of sphinxes, and many examples of most of these types are fortunately preserved. The most striking of these is the series commonly known as the "Hyksos" sphinxes, or "Tanis" sphinxes (Figs. 105, 106).

These are among the most discussed monuments of the Egyptian civilization, many theories having been brought forward to explain their date and origin.

In his article on the "So-called Hyksos Monuments" (¹), Mr. Engelbach states that, in his opinion, these monuments date from the Twelfth Dynasty, and belong either to Senuseret III or to Amenemhat III, most probably to the latter. He bases his supposition on the strong resemblance between the features of the Tanis sphinxes (and other "Hyksos" monuments) and those of Amenemhat III, together with the forms of the uraei, and the shape of the eyes, which, in the statues of the Middle Kingdom, have the upper eyelid descending over the lower one at its outer corner (Fig. 106) to a greater or lesser degree. This trait is certainly to be seen in the "Hyksos" monuments.



FIG. 105.—A HYKSOS SPHINX FROM TANIS

On the other hand, one of the statues known to represent Amenemhat III has Old Kingdom pleating on the nemes, while the limestone statue of King Zoser, which can be placed with certainty in the Third Dynasty, had Middle Kingdom pleating on the nemes. The eyes of the

⁽¹⁾ *A.S.*, Vol. XXVIII.

Amenemhat statue show the characteristic overlapping of the upper lids, and as the eyes of the statue of Zoser are damaged, we cannot say anything concerning them ; but it shows that while Mr. Engelbach was right in his deductions relating to the special features of the statues, yet variations of a type could, and did, occur.



FIG. 106.—THE HEAD OF A TANIS SPHINX SHOWING THE DROOP OF THE UPPER EYELID

There is also another point which he had apparently overlooked. The Tanis sphinxes all possess that air of grandeur and majesty inseparable from the best examples of Old Kingdom statues, and like these, the Tanis sphinxes also possess that air of arrested movement. The Tanis Sphinx is a lion at rest, in so far as it is represented couchant on a pedestal. But observe it closely, and you will see that there is no repose in the figure, every nerve and every muscle is tense, ready for instant action ; it is the intent motionlessness of the cat about to spring.

This uncanny effect is also seen in the diorite statues of Khafra, even broken fragments of which retain the air of terrific energy held in check. So far as I am aware, this characteristic does not appear in Egyptian art in any other period after the early part of the Old Kingdom.

Also, the leonine bodies of these sphinxes are muscular and stocky, while the later Egyptian lions are slender and cat-like in form. Their faces certainly resemble those of the statues of Amenemhat III very closely, but they also show a likeness to the statue of Zoser. If Mr. Engelbach was right, and he certainly gave good reasons for some of his theories, then we may perhaps say that the Tanis sphinxes were made for Amenemhat III.

On the other hand, M. Capart gives some very good arguments to uphold his theory that the Tanis sphinxes and the "Hyksos" monuments are archaic. He also supports Petrie's statement that one of the sphinxes in the Louvre dates from the Sixth Dynasty, and in this connection traces the supposed development of the Sphinx, from the lion with only a human face and beard (the Tanis Sphinx) to the lion with the human face and nemes, which merges into the lion's mane behind, down to the completely human-headed Sphinx of later times.

This would be very feasible if we were definitely able to date the Tanis sphinxes to a very remote period. If, as would appear in M. Capart's theory, the nemes was an attempt to model a royal head-dress on the style of a lion's mane (and as the king is sometimes identified with a fierce lion, this is not impossible), then we find Zoser of the Third Dynasty wearing a nemes which, though somewhat smaller than those of the later periods, is nevertheless a conventional nemes, and has lost any affinity to a lion's mane, if, indeed, it was ever intended to possess any. The question now becomes: Were the sculptors of the Archaic Period capable of producing such magnificent pieces of work as these Tanis sphinxes? It is difficult to judge from Zoser's statue, as it is sadly disfigured, but it certainly possesses its artistic merits. Some of the smaller objects, which are even known to be pre-dynastic, are remarkable for their grace and realism⁽¹⁾. But could these primitive artists produce such excellent work on a large scale? We cannot answer, for we have no examples to go upon, unless, as already suggested, some of the works attributed to a later period are in reality usurped from this archaic time.

In his remarks in the Catalogue-Guide to the Egyptian Antiquities in the Louvre, M. Boreaux says (p. 34): Among the first monuments which exalt the majesty of the King is the Sphinx, a lion with a human head, symbolizing Hor-em-akhet (Horus in the Horizon)⁽²⁾.

This shows that the god represents the sun, lighting and vivifying the world. The sphinxes, then, symbolize the formidable power of the Pharaoh and all the good actions of every kind which he performed in Egypt, like the beneficent sun.

Usually the sphinxes were placed in front of temples, and often lined the avenues leading to these temples. The two magnificent specimens of sphinxes which the Louvre possesses, come from the Salt Collection (1826). One of them is known to have come from Tanis in the Delta, and that is the very place where Mariette discovered, in 1860, the group of sphinxes now in the Cairo Museum. The existence of the name of the Hyksos King, Apopi, on one of them, led him to attribute them to the Hyksos Period. In reality, a close study of these monuments, and the multiple usurpations which they have undergone, proves that they go back to a period more ancient than that of the Hyksos; and also shows that the Kings of the Nineteenth and Twenty-first Dynasties had collected at Tanis, monuments originally belonging to other cities, many of which were ancient, even in those days.

Golénischeff was struck by the style of the sphinxes at Cairo, and by comparing their features with those of the statues of Amenemhat III, he concluded that they belonged to the Twelfth Dynasty. On the other hand, Flinders Petrie is of the opinion that they date to the

(1) PETRIE, "Prehistoric Egypt", Pl. 11, No. 28.

(2) In reality, Hor-em-akhet is a name belonging *only* to the Great Sphinx of Giza.

end of the Old Kingdom, while Capart, as we have already seen above, pushes their date back still further, and wishes to assign them to a period no less remote than the era preceding the Fourth Dynasty.

Thus, the date of these sphinxes is not yet definitely settled, but concerning those at the Louvre, Ebers states that one of them certainly belonged to the Middle Kingdom.

Taking into consideration the likeness of the features to those of Amenemhat III and the style of the uraeus, I am inclined to agree with Mr. Engelbach in placing these monuments in the Twelfth Dynasty; but we must always leave a narrow margin of doubt.

A similar type to the foregoing, but lacking the grim features that characterize the "Hyksos" sphinxes, also exists (Fig. 107). This limestone specimen which came from



FIG. 107.—A LIMESTONE SPHINX FROM DEIR EL-BAHARI

Deir el-Bahari, is now in the Cairo Museum. It had been usurped in the Eighteenth Dynasty by Hatshepsut, who, from her usual desire to appear as powerful and kingly as possible, no doubt eagerly seized upon this sphinx, whose strong leonine characteristics adequately fulfilled all her requirements.

The next type possesses a lion's body clad in a shoulder cape and apron; it has a human head and a straight beard. This form, of which Fig. 108 is an excellent example, became very popular.

This particular specimen is of red granite, and has been usurped by Rameses II. This form occurs in various localities, and most of the specimens have suffered usurpation.



FIG. 108.—A RED GRANITE SPHINX WITH A HUMAN HEAD AND A STRAIGHT BEARD

A pair of sphinxes of this type were found at the Great Temple of Edfu. They were smashed to fragments, and had been re-used in the filling of the gateway of Rameses III. The fragments were brought to Cairo and re-assembled.

These sphinxes do not present any abnormality of form, but they are inscribed: "The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Sa-ankh-ni-Ra, the Son of Ra, Montu-hotep, given life eternally, the beloved of Horus Behdet".

The place of this King in history is uncertain, and M. Gauthier suggests placing him in the period between the Thirteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ GAUTHIER, "*Deux Sphinx du Moyen Empire Originaires d'Edfou*", A.S., Vol. XXXI, pp. 1-6.

Another new type is the andro-sphinx with human hands (Fig. 109). This new feature was probably introduced for artistic reasons, as it only occurs in sphinxes that are performing some action with the hand, such as holding a vase, presenting the Image of Truth, or receiving



FIG. 109.—AN ANDRO-SPHINX WITH HUMAN HANDS

the rays of the sun, as we shall see in a later example. In all these poses, the human hand is more graceful than the round, paddy paw of the lion.

On the splendid inlaid pectoral of Senuseret III, found at Dahshur, we again meet the lion with the wings and plumage of a hawk, trampling upon its foes, as it had already appeared

in the sun-temple at Abusir. In this example, we are more fortunate than in the case of the Old Kingdom specimen, for it is intact, and reveals a falcon's head, surmounted by two tall feathers springing from ram's horns (Fig. 110). The inclusion of these ram's horns is a significant point, being a symbol usually associated with Amon-Ra. The fact that they appear in this capacity, coupled with the names of some of the Pharaohs of this Dynasty, shows the first signs of the rise of the cult of Amon-Ra, which was later destined to overshadow all other cults.



FIG. 110.—A SPHINX WITH A LION'S BODY AND A HAWK'S HEAD

This type clearly depicts the victorious Pharaoh under the form of Horus, and does not represent the God pure and simple. So far as we can tell, this is the same form as the conquering Sphinx of Sahu-Ra.

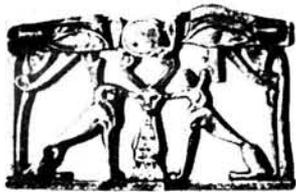


FIG. 111.—A HAWK-HEADED SPHINX REPRESENTING THE GOD HORUS

A similar type appears on a gold pectoral (Fig. 111) but here we have the lion's body undecorated, and a simple hawk's head, covered only by a long wig or head-cloth, such as usually appears on the representations of the animal-headed gods, and which was cleverly used by the artists to effect a harmonious junction between even such inharmonious elements as a crocodile's or a serpent's head and a human body. It is seated

upon its haunches, and from its position opposite to a similarly posed Set-animal, we know that it is a divine sphinx, and must represent Horus.

Another, but simpler type is really nothing but a re-appearance of the creature on the pre-dynastic slate palette. It occurs in the wall-paintings of Beni Hassan, in the form of a winged lion with the head of a bird of prey. It may be either male or female, and sometimes the tail ends in a full blown lotus-flower. It is called a "Sefer" but appears to be a monster of the desert only, and not possessing any special religious signification.

Fig. 112, *a, b* shows a small ivory sphinx from Abydos, and is of a very unusual type. From the position in which it was found, and the other objects discovered with it, it seems to belong to the late Middle Kingdom. Dr. Hall of the British Museum gave us his opinion that it represented one of the Hyksos kings, possibly Khian remorselessly worrying

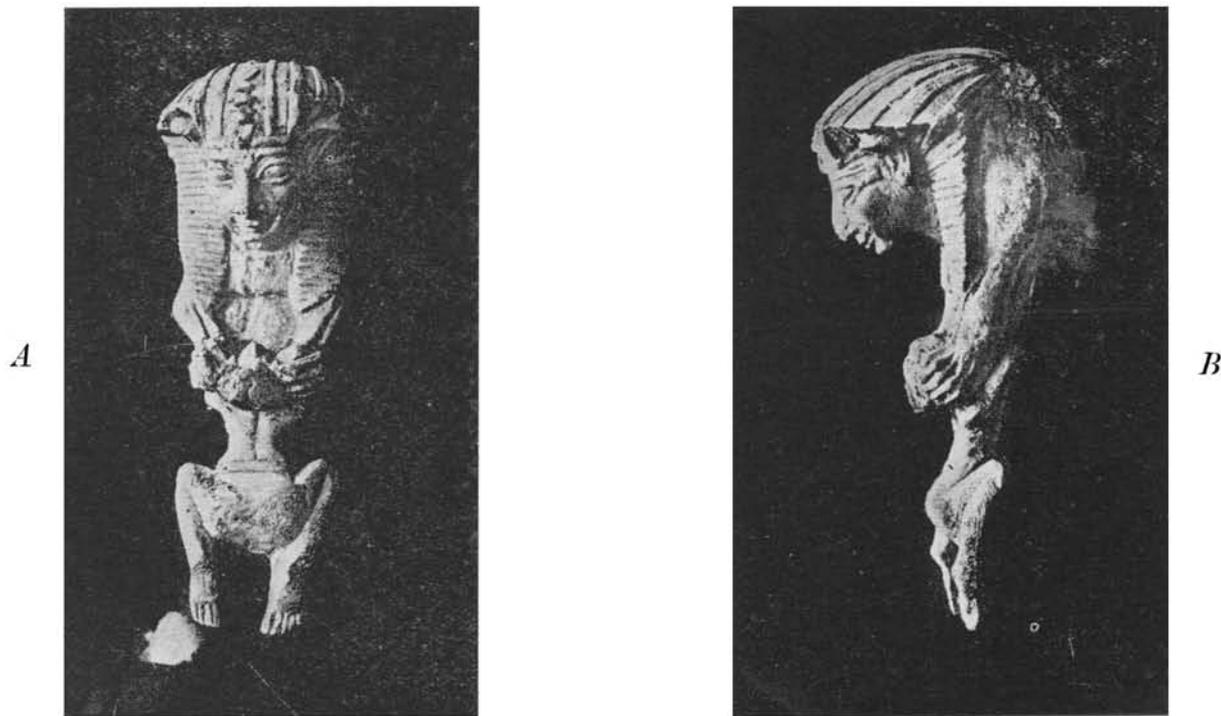


FIG. 112, *a, b*.—A SMALL IVORY SPHINX FROM ABYDOS

an Egyptian, who struggles in his grasp. His opinion is based on the fact that the profile of the Sphinx is definitely Syrian and Semetic, and is totally unlike any of the Pharaohs. The object seems to have formed the handle of an ivory casket, if we may judge by its shape, and the presence of the peg-holes by means of which it was attached.

From these examples we see the Sphinx developing new types and new styles ; moreover, there seems to be a tendency towards the royal, rather than towards the divine, nature. With the exception of the Horus Sphinx on the gold pectoral, all the foregoing specimens are the portraits of kings in sphinx-form, even though as in the case of the pectoral of Senuseret III, he may be identified with the god.

The apparent retrogression of the " Hyksos " sphinxes to the more purely leonine form is very interesting, and may be accounted for by the fact that the Pharaohs of the time, realizing the growing power of the Asiatic states, wished to appear as formidable as possible. Indeed, this grim ferocious cast of countenance is noticeable in nearly all the royal portraits of the period. The same motive was, doubtless, responsible for the representation of the Sphinx trampling upon its enemies.

XIV.—THE SPHINXES OF THE NEW KINGDOM

FROM the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, we find the Sphinx rapidly developing new forms. We have seen six different types in the Middle Kingdom, but the end of the New Kingdom furnishes us with no less than sixteen types.

The first two of this series seems to be those shown on the axe-blade of King Ahmes I (Fig. 113, *a, b*).

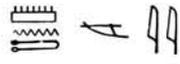
On one side of the axe-blade appears a couchant sphinx, having a lion's body and a bearded human head. The hands and arms are human as far as the elbow and are



FIG. 113, *a, b*.—THE AXE-BLADE OF KING AHMES I

raised in the act of presenting offerings, which appears to take the shape of a human head. Note that this is one step further than the Middle Kingdom specimen, whose human hands extend only to the wrist. The body is becoming slender and cat-like, showing a distinct breaking away from the thick set form of the early specimens (Fig. 113 *a*).

The reverse side of the same axe-head reveals our old friend of the pre-dynastic slate-palettes. He appears in this era as a couchant lion, with the head of a crested eagle, and with ornamental wings springing from his shoulders. Between the head and the upraised wing

is inscribed :  "Beloved of Montu" ; which seems to indicate that it represents the King (Fig. 113 *b*). Perhaps it is an allusion to his destructive power, as this representation occurs under a scene which shows the king smiting a kneeling prisoner (¹).

The middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty ushered in a great revival of the Sphinx cult, for reasons dealt with at length elsewhere (*see* p. 69), and the Great Sphinx of Giza naturally came in for a great deal of attention. It is represented on the stelae of the period under its old form of the man-headed lion (Fig. 114), sometimes having the straight beard and some-

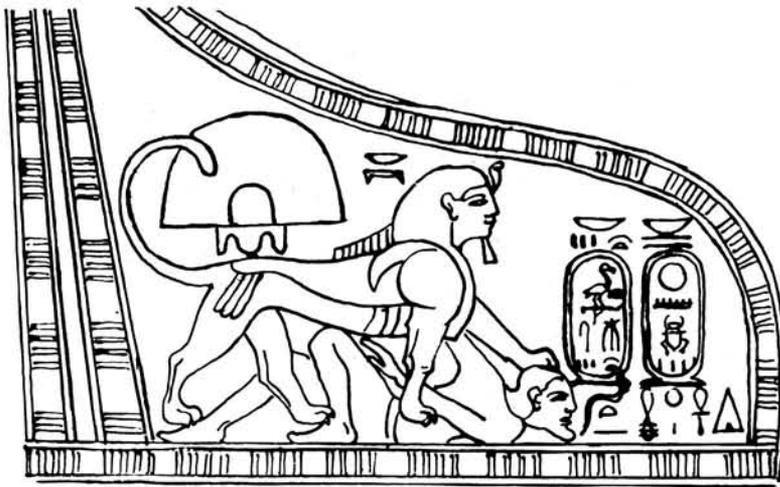


FIG. 114.—THE SPHINX IN THE FORM OF A MAN-HEADED LION TRAMPLING ON HIS ENEMIES

times the Osirian beard. It has, however, received many additions to its clothing, for in addition to the nemes and uraeus of the Old Kingdom type, we find it wearing the Atef-crown, wide collar, and falcon's plumage. It is possible that these details were added to the Great Sphinx ; it would be an easy matter to paint the body decorations of the monument, while the hole in the top of the head may originally have been a socket for the insertion of the tongue of a crown, either of stone or metal.

In support of this theory, we have the small, unusual stela showing the pyramids in perspective, the artist of which—who apparently drew things as he saw them—included these extra decorations in his picture of the Sphinx (*see* Fig. 53).

Sometimes the Sphinx is represented with the solar-disk (Pl. LXIII), and sometimes with a fan beside him (Figs. 114, 192, 197), or a clump of lotus-flowers (Figs. 181, 196). But nearly all these forms agree on one point, they nearly all show the Sphinx couchant upon the corniced pedestal which we have previously discussed.

Under this form we find the Sphinx called Hor-em-akhet, Ra-Hor-em-akhet, Hor-akhty, Ra-Hor-akhty, Hwl and Hwrna ; the two last names being Asiatic importations, as we shall

(¹) VERNIER, "*Cat. Gen., Bijoux*", Pl. XLII.

see later. Most of the sphinxes of this type were found in the Giza district. The Asiatic campaigns of Thothmes III gave an impetus to the fashion of representing the Pharaoh as the victorious sphinx trampling on his enemies, but now this type is represented as human-headed. Fig. 114 also shows an example from the throne-arm of Thothmes IV ⁽¹⁾, while Fig. 115 is from the gilt chariot body of the same King ⁽²⁾. In the latter example, the curved ram's horns are prominently displayed as though growing on the head of the Sphinx. Fig. 116 is from a throne-arm of Amenhotep III ⁽³⁾.



FIG. 115.—THOTHMES IV REPRESENTED AS THE VICTORIOUS SPHINX TRAMPLING ON HIS ENEMIES



FIG. 116.—THE SPHINX AS SEEN ON THE THRONE-ARM OF AMENHOTEP III

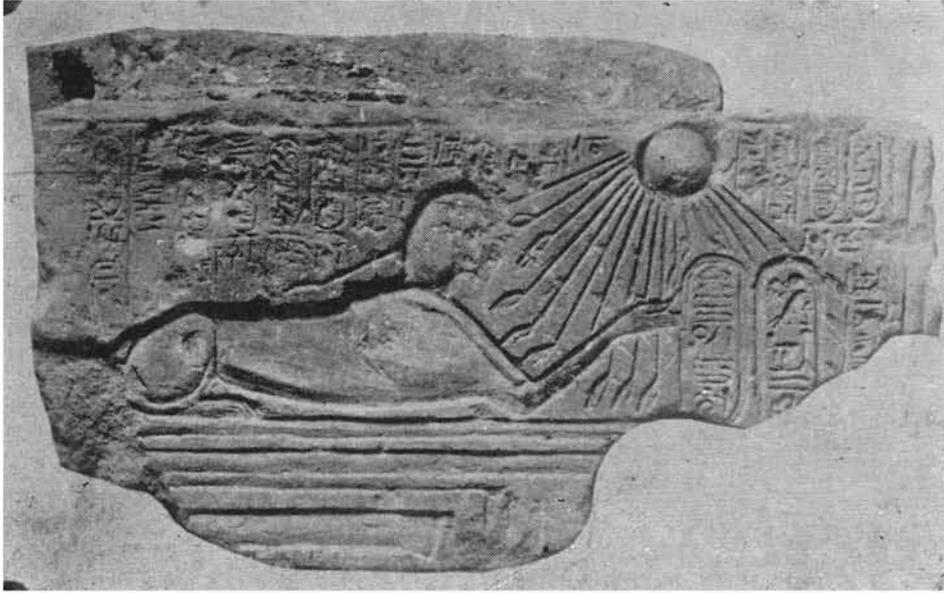
The Amarna Age also gives us another type of sphinx, as shown in a bas-relief of Akhenaton (Fig. 117). This example shows the elongated body of the lion, surmounted by a portrait head of the King. The arms are human for their entire length, and the hands are raised to receive the beneficent rays emanating from the Aton disk. The exaggeration of the King's features suggest that this relief was made fairly late in his reign, as the morbid traits are not so strongly marked in his earlier portraits. Therefore, the very fact that the King allowed himself to be portrayed in this form, when he was at the height of his religious fanaticism,

⁽¹⁾ PERROT and CHIZEZ, "*History de l'Art*", Vol. III, p. 770.

⁽²⁾ *A.S.*, Vol. XLII, p. 97, Fig. 13 B.

⁽³⁾ *A.S.*, Vol. XLII, p. 97, Fig. 13 A.

show how firmly the image of the Sphinx was interwoven with the sun-cult. Akhenaton is also represented in the form of a sphinx, presenting the Image of Truth (1).



An unusually beautiful example of this type of sphinx comes from a relief in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos, here the human arms and hands are presenting a basket of food-offerings before a divine bark (2) (Fig. 124).

FIG. 117.—AKHENATON AS A SPHINX

Another sphinx, also said to be of Akhenaton, is seen in Fig. 118. It is of hard white stone, crudely carved, and glazed. The features are clearly intended to be a portrait of the Heretic King. Strangely enough, it was found at Karnak, and is now in the Cairo Museum.



FIG. 118.—A SPHINX OF AKHENATON MADE OF HARD WHITE STONE

(1) PERRING, "Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature", second series, Vol. I, Pl. III.

(2) CALVERLY and BROOM, "The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos", Vol. II, Pl. 20.

A very popular type of sphinx, either in relief or in the round, is the man-headed lion couchant upon a low pedestal, and wearing either the nemes and uraeus, the atef or the Double Crown. The body is usually clad in the wide collar, hawk's plumage, or shoulder cape and apron. Fig. 119 is a magnificent specimen of this type, belonging to Thothmes III.



FIG. 119.—THE SPHINX AS A MAN HEADED LION COUCHANT
UPON A LOW PEDESTAL (THOTHMES III)

The hawk-headed Sphinx is also seen at this time, either couchant or standing, and wearing the Double Crown. Figs. 174 and 175 show examples of these from stelae discovered in our excavations. The fact that they appear mounted upon the high corniced pedestal, seems to connect them directly with the Great Sphinx.

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XV.—THE FEMALE SPHINX

THE female Sphinx may be divided into three types: "A" the purely Egyptian form, differing from the normal male Sphinx only in the head. "B" a special form showing Syrian or Canaanitish influence, and which for convenience's sake, we will call the Syrian Sphinx. In addition to its exotic head-dress, this type is often shown with the body of a lioness. "C" the Greek Sphinx is a re-importation of the Egyptian Sphinx, in Hellenic guise, and surrounded by new legends and traditions.

Let us now examine the various examples of these types in detail and see if we can deduce their significance.

The oldest type is, of course, the purely Egyptian form, a specimen of which came to light in the excavations of the Institute Française d'Archæologie Orientale at Abu Roash. This Sphinx resembles the ordinary male type, even to the head-dress, but the sex is made clear by the beardless face, which is, moreover, coloured yellow, the traditional skin-colour for women. If this Sphinx is really contemporary with the pyramid of Ded-f-Ra, as it seems to be, then it antedates the Great Sphinx of Giza by some years. Leibovitch suggests that this Sphinx may perhaps represent one of the great Queen-mothers of the Fourth Dynasty (1).

If the King at this period is represented under the form of a male sphinx, it is quite logical that the Queen should appear as a female sphinx.

If we omit the sphinxes engraved upon scarabs of the Hyksos Period as being too small and roughly cut to afford us any clear data, our next example of the Egyptian female Sphinx dates to the Eighteenth Dynasty, and Bruyere suggests that it may even represent Queen Hatshepsut (2).

In Tomb No. 1332*b* at Deir-el-Medineh, Bruyere found a damaged relief representing two female sphinxes. One is almost completely destroyed, but the other retains all the essential details, and shows that the face was beardless, and in place of the nemes head-dress, wears the long wig or natural hair usual to women. The shoulders are covered by a wide collar. The leonine forelegs are replaced by human arms and hands, which are raised at the elbows, and support a vase of the form . A bracelet encircles the wrist nearest to the spectator.

(1) LEIBOVICH, "*Bull. Inst. d'Egypte*", Vol. XXV, pp. 247, 248.

(2) BRUYERE, "*Fouilles à Deir-el-Medineh*", Vol. I, pp. 71-72.

Against M. Bruyere's suggestion that this Sphinx represents Hatshepsut is the fact that all the sphinxes known of this Queen represent her as a bearded male, in accordance with her insistence upon her *kingship* (1).

A sphinx representing a Queen of Thothmes III is shown in a scene in the Tomb of the Vizier Rekhmara, which depicts some royal statues. This Sphinx has a beardless face, and wears the vulture crown of the queens of Egypt, beneath which descends the heavy tresses of a wig usually associated with the Goddess Hathor, and the queens and ladies of the Middle Kingdom. Illogically, the "tail" of the nemes head-dress is shown at the back of the head (2).

A serpentine sphinx found at Minya-wal-Shurafa, and now in the Cairo Museum (3), is strikingly similar to that represented in the Tomb of Rekhmara. Even the tail of the nemes is shown at the back of the head. The shoulders are clad in the large cape common to Egyptian sphinxes, as we have seen, and part of the wide collar appears on the breast between the two tresses of the heavy wig. She also wears the vulture crown. The forelegs are broken off and lost.

Engelbach was unable to decide whether to place this Sphinx in the Eighteenth Dynasty, on account of the combination of the vulture crown and the Hathorian wig, which also appear together on a statue of a queen of Thothmes III from Kom Ombo (4); or to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty on account of its resemblance to an unfinished Sphinx of King Kashta.

As it closely resembles the representation in the Tomb of Rekhmara and a sphinx of the Barraco Collection which is known to date from the reign of Thothmes III, and as a block of black granite bearing the name of this king was also found at Minya-wal-Shurafa, the earlier dating seems to be the most probable.

A sphinx, almost identical with the preceding one, was found in the Temple of Isis at Rome, and is now in the Barraco Collection (5). It represents Queen Merit-Ra Hatshepsut, the daughter of the Great Queen Hatshepsut, and wife of Thothmes III. It must have been carried off to Rome as an Egyptian antiquity about 2000 years ago! Mr. Davies regards this Sphinx as being the original of the representation in the Tomb of Rekhmara, and suggests that Thothmes III had his wife represented in this fashion as a protest against the arrogant male sphinxes of Hatshepsut. He wished to demonstrate that her representation in sphinx-form was not in her own right, but merely as the consort of the lion-king (6).

(1) See *M.M.A.* (1929).

(2) NEWBERRY, "*The Life of Rekhmara*", Pl. XXII; DAVIES, "*M.M.A.*" (1926), Fig. 7.

(3) *A.S.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 128, Pl. III.

(4) *A.S.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 128.

(5) *M.M.A.* (1926), p. 13, Fig. 9.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 13.

A representation of a metal vase, dating also to the reign of Thothmes III, shows two couchant female sphinxes, back to back, before a cluster of lotus-flowers and buds (¹).

Their leonine forelegs terminate in human hands holding the bowl ∇ (Fig. 120).

A very interesting example occurs in a representation of Amenhotep III and Queen Tiy, in the Tomb of Khereuf at Thebes (²). On the side of the throne on which Queen Tiy is seated, is shown a rampant sphinx trampling upon the prostrate forms of a Syrian woman and a negress. The Sphinx is beardless and female, and the group is an adoption of the well-known motif of the victorious king trampling upon the enemies of Egypt. In this case, the female Sphinx represent Queen Tiy (Fig. 121).

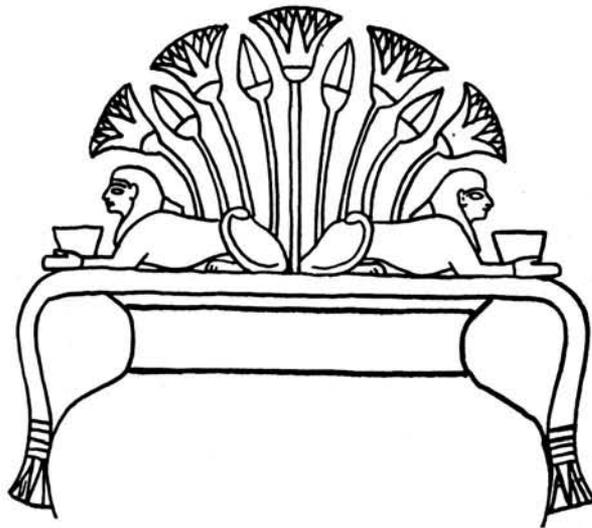


FIG. 120.—TWO COUCHANT FEMALE SPHINXES
BACK TO BACK

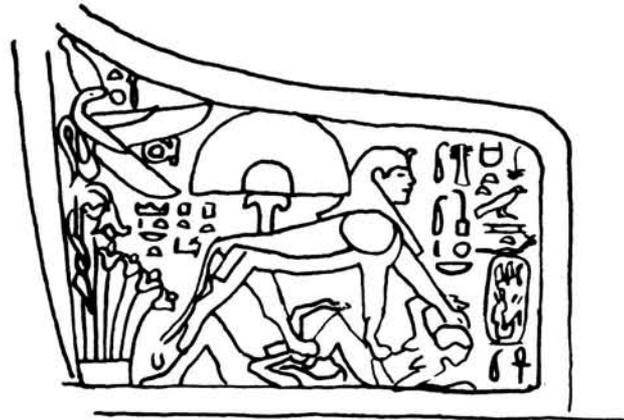


FIG. 121.—QUEEN TIY REPRESENTED IN THE
FORM OF A SPHINX

From the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (?) we have two sphinxes of Queen Shep-en-wepet, one of which is in the Cairo Museum, and the other in Berlin (³).

There is no doubt that the sphinxes mentioned above (with the possible exception of those on the representation of a vase) are to be regarded as representing queens, and are the logical female counterpart of the royal male sphinx. The sphinxes on the represented vase may be merely a decorative element, or they may also represent the Queen.

(¹) PRISSE D'AVENNES, "*Histoire de l'Art Egyptien*"; LEIBOVITCH, "*Bull. Inst. d'Egypte*", Vol. XXV, p. 249.

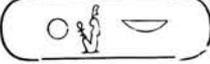
(²) FAKHRY, "*A Note on the Tomb of Khereuf at Thebes*", A.S., Vol. XLII, p. 449, Pl. XXXIX.

(³) PETRIE, "*History*", Vol. III, p. 327.

Let us now examine the so-called "Syrian" type of female sphinx. On a coffer in the Abbott Collection is represented a creature with a graceful lioness's body, the teats of which are rendered by a wavy line on the underside of the belly. The forelegs are replaced by human arms with braceleted wrists. The head is female, and is crowned by a tall head-dress made famous by the reputed portraits of Queen Nefertiti, and which is often called to-day the "Amarna Crown". This is surmounted by a floral decoration, consisting of a lotus-flower, buds and foliage, all treated in a very conventional manner. She wears large hoop ear-rings, and in addition to the usual wide Egyptian collar, she wears a circular medallion bearing the design of a rosette, and suspended by a narrow ribbon, or chain. This latter feature is usually associated with the Goddess Ashtorath ⁽¹⁾. This Sphinx is winged, but unlike the Egyptian form, the wings are raised high and bent downwards at the tip, the one nearest to the spectator being bent at a sharper angle. This last fact led Leibovitch to think that the wings were crossed and interlaced, as is sometimes seen in the representations of the rekhit birds, and on real birds in the scenes of fowling, where the practice was in use to prevent the captive bird from flying away. (It is still in use among poultry sellers at the present day.) In reality, the Sphinx's wings are not crossed, and the sharper depression of the nearer wing-tip is an artistic device to show that two wings are intended. The tail of the creature is raised high and curved over, to descend and form an elongated loop. The human arms are bent at the elbows and the hands are raised in the gesture of adoration. In the reproduction given by Prisse



FIG. 122.—A FEMININE SPHINX WITH ARMS RAISED

d'Avennes ⁽²⁾ no cartouche is shown, but Montet describes it as "a feminine sphinx raising the arms in sign of adoration before the cartouche of Queen Hatshepsut" (Fig. 122) ⁽³⁾. Can it be that we have here a scribal error which has confused the Cartouche of Amenhotep III  with that of the prenomen of Hatshepsut,  as this type of sphinx was well known in the reign of the former King, but does not seem to have appeared earlier?

⁽¹⁾ DUSSAUD, "Syria", (1923), Vol. IV, p. 310; MONTET, "Reliques de l'Art Syrien", p. 47.

⁽²⁾ PRISSE D'AVENNES, "Histoire de l'Art. Egyptien", Vol. II, 45.4.

⁽³⁾ MONTET, *ibid.*, p. 173, Fig. 201.

A compromise between the Egyptian sphinx and the exotic type is seen in the Temple of Sedeinga in Upper Nubia ⁽¹⁾ (Fig. 123), where they are incorporated into a decorative design. In the centre of this design, two Hathor heads rest upon the sign \cup . Flanking them, one on each side, and facing inwards are two sphinxes. Each has a woman's head, crowned with the flat-topped Amarna Crown. Around the neck is a kind of scarf with floating ends, perhaps the cape and apron of the normal Egyptian Sphinx treated in the style of this period, when floating streamers and ribbons were all the rage. The sphinxes are represented pacing forward with characteristically feline tread. The tail is carried forward between the legs, a necessary device to fit

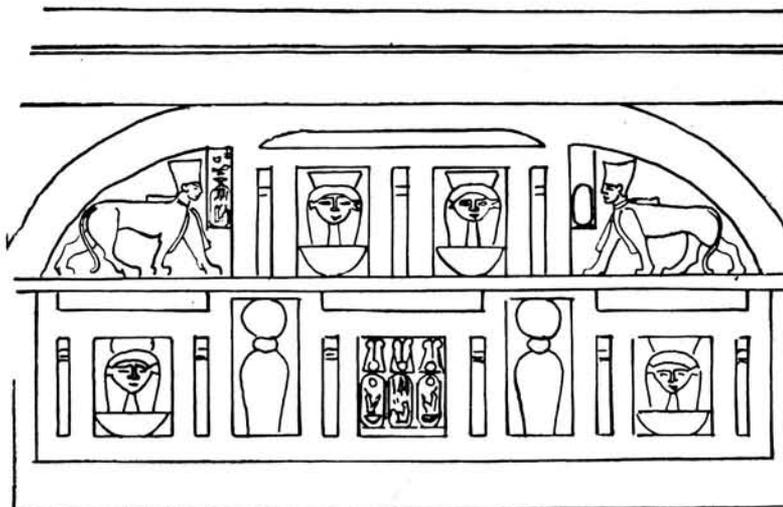


FIG. 123.—DESIGN FROM THE TEMPLE OF SEDEINGA IN UPPER NUBIA



FIG. 124.—A MALE SPHINX FROM THE TEMPLE OF SETI I

the creature successfully into the curve of the design. The rendering of the leonine body is particularly well done and true to nature. In front of the face of each sphinx is inscribed: "The Great Royal Wife, Tiy", which at once identifies the sphinxes and dates them to the reign of Amenhotep III.

These sphinxes only differ from the normal Egyptian type, by their head-dresses and the position of their tails, which is here an artistic necessity. The Sphinx was seemingly a recognized element in a design of this type. Fig. 124 is from the Temple of Seti I at Abydos, but shows a male sphinx, representing the King ⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *L.D.*, Vol. V, Pl. 82.

⁽²⁾ CALVERLY and BROOME, Vol. II, Pl. 20.

From the same period comes the Sphinx from the onyx gem of Amenhotep III (Fig. 125). Here the creature is represented couchant, the forelegs are replaced by human arms and



FIG. 125.—A SPHINX FROM THE ONYX GEM OF AMENHOTEP III

hands with braceleted wrists. The left hand supports a cartouche of Amenhotep III and the right one is raised in adoration. The head-dress is again the flat-topped Amarna Crown, here encircled by a bandlette and surmounted by a bouquet of very stylized flowers. In fact, the floral origin of this element is only made apparent by comparison with other specimens. Circular ear-rings adorn the ears, a wide collar encircles the neck and descends over the shoulders and chest. The wings are raised high and bent sharply backwards, and the tail is raised and carried in a curved loop.

It has been suggested that this Sphinx, of marked foreign appearance, may perhaps represent the Mittanian wife of Amenhotep III (1). On the other hand, it may be a symbolical figure representing the submission of Egypt's Asiatic possessions to the mighty name of the Pharaoh.

Female sphinxes appear as motifs in the design on the embroidered tunic of Tutankhamon, now in the Cairo Museum (2). Here they are arranged facing inwards towards the "sacred tree" (3) (see Fig. 128). Their wings are raised on high, and are only slightly bent at the tips. Their human arms are raised in adoration to the "sacred tree". Their head-dress seems to be the usual type of short wig worn by the wife of Tutankhamon as she appears in several representations, as for example on the back of the Golden Throne (4). This wig is surmounted by a modius, from which springs a profusion of decorative flowers, intended to represent the lotus as seen from above. The tails of these sphinxes are raised high, and curved over at the tips, which, Leibovitch suggests, may be the prototype of the serpent tails of the pantheistic sphinxes of the Roman Period (see p. 200). These sphinxes form part of a design in which the other elements consist of groups of wild animals, chased by hounds or fighting among themselves, and which also include the hawk-headed sphinxes or griffons. Thus, it is in close relationship with the design of the pre-dynastic slate-palette and the Nineteenth Dynasty silver vase from Tell Basta, and of which the Middle Kingdom link is perhaps the hunting scenes of Beni Hassan (5).

(1) LEIBOVITCH, *ibid.*

(2) CARTER, "The Tomb of Tutankhamon", Vol. I, p. 172

(3) DAVIES and CROWFOOT, "J.E.A.", Vol. XXVII, p. 128 and Pl. XX.

(4) CARTER, "The Tomb of Tutankhamon", Vol. I, Pl. XIII.

(5) NEWBERRY, "Beni Hassan", Vol. II, Pl. 16.

Another certainly dated sphinx of this exotic type occurs on the pedestal of a sculptured group representing King Hor-em-heb and Queen Nezem-Mut. The form is almost identical with that of the Sphinx of the Abbott Collection (Fig. 126) ⁽¹⁾. Four teats are shown on the underside of the lioness's body, and only one arm is raised in adoration to the cartouche, which rests upon the sign  ⁽²⁾. According to Davies ⁽³⁾, this Sphinx may represent "the homage of Syria or its goddess to the throne".



FIG. 126.—THE SPHINX WITH ONE ARM RAISED IN ADORATION TO THE CARTOUCHE

Still dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty are the sphinxes represented in the interior decoration



FIG. 127.—TWO SPHINXES FACE EACH OTHER WITH THE SACRED TREE BETWEEN THEM

of a faience bowl, found in Gurob ⁽⁴⁾ (Fig. 127). These two creatures face each other, and the single arm represented is raised in adoration before the "sacred tree". In their attitude, and the single wing, they resemble the sphinxes on the tunic of Tutankhamon (Fig. 128), but their head-dress is different, and is an undetailed form of a kerchief type which will appear more clearly in a later example. This head-dress is surmounted by a cluster of a lotus-flower.

Female sphinxes form part of the decoration on two golden vases, which formed part of the tribute brought by the conquered Syrians to the Pharaohs of the Nineteenth Dynasty ⁽⁵⁾. This Sphinx is very similar to those which we have just discussed, and wears a detailed form of the head-dress, which we have already seen on the sphinxes from Gurob. This head-dress is also worn by the Goddess Ashtoreth, who, during the New Kingdom, was worshipped at Memphis in connection with Ptah ⁽⁶⁾. The arms of this sphinx are in the same attitude of adoration, but she is wingless.

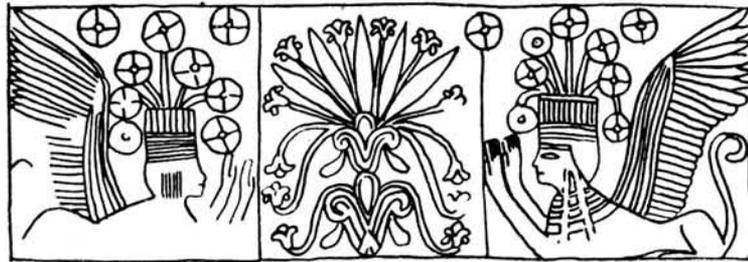


FIG. 128.—A DECORATION OF FEMALE SPHINX ON THE TUNIC OF TUTANKHAMON

⁽¹⁾ CHAMPOLLION, "Lettres au Duc de Blacas relatives au Musée de Turin" (1824).

⁽²⁾ In the cartouche the sign  is an error for .

⁽³⁾ DAVIES, *J.E.A.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 129.

⁽⁴⁾ PETRIE, "Illahun, Kahun and Gurob", Pl. XX.4, p. 19.

⁽⁵⁾ WRESZINSKI, "Kulturallas", II, 49, 59; MONTET, "Reliques de l'Art", p. III.

⁽⁶⁾ PETRIE, "Memphis", Vol. I, Pl. XV. 37; see also the goddess on the silver vase from Tel Basta; EDGAR, *A.S.*, Vol. XXV, Pl. II.

Fig. 129 shows a roughly drawn female sphinx on an ostrakon, now in the Cairo Museum (1). The creature is standing, with the wings raised and the tail curled between the hind legs. Under the belly are eight teats, perhaps an attempt to show the normal four pairs of the feline. She wears the wide collar and pendant medallion, but the long tress of hair is different from what we have already seen.



FIG. 129.—A FEMALE SPHINX WITH WINGS RAISED AND TAIL CURLED BETWEEN HIND LEGS

A similar form of sphinx, but much more carefully drawn, appears in Fig. 130 (2). Here the attitude is the same as the preceding, two wings are shown, and seven, instead of eight teats. The head-dress is similar to those of the Gurob sphinxes, but is surmounted by a row of buds, and has also a pendant tress of hair. Between the feet are lotus-flowers.



FIG. 130.—A FEMALE SPHINX WITH HEAD-DRESS SIMILAR TO THOSE OF GUROB



FIG. 131.—A DECORATIVE MOTIF

From the late period we have a small kohl pot on which a female sphinx forms the decorative motif (Fig. 131) (3). This Sphinx has lost nearly all the characteristics of her predecessors of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Her head-dress is faintly reminiscent of those of the sphinxes on Tutankhamon's tunic, but lacks the floral bouquet. Only one wing is shown, and that is raised stiffly backwards, and ends in a curve. The creature is seated upon its haunches in an attitude commonly adopted by a cat, but not by a lion, and with its raised left paw it plucks at a lotus bud, part of a floral group before it. In this gesture we have a combination of two motifs observed, but confused, by the artist. First, the raised paw is reminiscent of the earlier sphinxes, who raise their arms in adoration. Secondly, the gesture of plucking, the flower recalls the beautiful ointment spoons and toilet objects of the

New Kingdom, which represent young girls gathering lotus-flowers in the swamps. The attitude and general appearance is similar to that of the Greek Sphinx, which we shall discuss later, when speaking of the sphinxes of this period in general.

(1) DARESSY, "Ostraca", No. 25090, Pl. XVIII.

(2) BORCHARDT, "Allerhands Kleinigkeiten", Pl. XIII.

(3) BENEDITE, "Objects de Toilette" Vol. I, Pl. XVII, p. 50; VON BISSING, "Steingefasse", Pl. IX, p. 129.

How are we to explain these female sphinxes ? It is very clear that those of a purely Egyptian type are representing queens, in exactly the same manner as the royal male sphinxes typify the king. Any shadow of doubt about this is removed by the rampant sphinx on the throne of Queen Tiy. But as the male Sphinx also represents the king identified with a god, or even a god, pure and simple, are we justified saying that the female Sphinx represents a goddess or the queen identified with such ?

There are, indeed, some goddesses with leonine characteristics, such as Sekhmet, Tefnut and Pakht, the two latter sometimes appearing in complete lion form ; but there is nothing to prove that the queens were ever identified with these goddesses, or with any other, for that matter.

With the so-called Syrian sphinxes, the case is different. The Sphinx of the Abbott Collection, that of the pedestal of the group of Hor-em-heb and Nezem-Mut, and of the vases of Thothmes III can hardly represent queens, but they may very easily represent the Goddess Ashtoreth. In her own land, Ashtoreth does not seem to possess leonine characteristics, but as we have seen, one of her cult centres in Egypt was at Memphis, where she is sometimes called " Daughter of Ptah " (1), the deity whose wife was the lioness-headed Goddess Sekhmet. From this source, Ashtoreth may have acquired a local sphinx form.

The sphinxes of Sedeinga certainly represent Queen Tiy, and are more akin to the Egyptian sphinxes ; but those of Gurob, of the tunic of Tutankhamon and of the kohl pot, seem to be purely decorative motifs with no more signification than the amuletic value of the sphinx form ; for we must always remember that Egyptian decoration usually tries to achieve an amuletic value as well as an artistic one.

(1) MULLER, "*Egyptian Mythology*", p. 155 and Notes.

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XVI.—OTHER SPHINXES OF THE NEW KINGDOM

FROM the Fayoum comes a very curious design on a cup (Fig. 132). It reveals a strong foreign influence, and represents two sphinxes standing facing each other, with a conventional sacred palm-tree between them. This sacred or celestial tree occurs in the religious beliefs of almost every nation, and mystical trees, possessing magical properties, are a

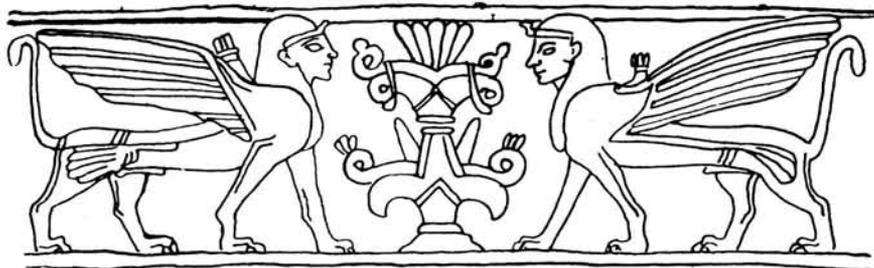


FIG. 132.—SPHINXES FROM THE FAYOUM

standard feature of folklore. In Egypt these trees seem to be connected with sun-worship; and we see the holy Persea tree at Heliopolis, which was the earthly counterpart of the heavenly tree whereon the gods wrote the names of the kings. Sometimes it is figured as a palm-tree flanked by baboons in a posture of adoration⁽¹⁾; while the "Book of the Dead" contains many allusions to the heavenly tree.

Again the sun is represented as resting on the topmost branches of the tree⁽²⁾, which recalls the incident in the "Tale of the Two Brothers"⁽³⁾, where Bata places his heart on the topmost branches of the Acacia tree, and continues to live as long as the tree flourishes, but dies when it is cut down; only to be reincarnated again by means of a chip of wood from a Persea tree entering the mouth of the woman who was destined to become his mother.

According to Muller: "Another early concept describes the sky as a huge tree overshadowing the earth, the stars being the fruit or leaves which hang from its branches. When

⁽¹⁾ MULLER, "*Egyptian Mythology*", p. 32.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁽³⁾ ERMAN, "*The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*", p. 150.

'the Gods perch on its boughs', they are evidently identified with the stars. The celestial tree disappears in the morning and the Sun-god rises from its leaves ; in the evening he hides himself again in the foliage, and the tree (or its double of evening time) once more spreads over the world, so that three hundred and sixty-five trees symbolize the year, or two typify its turning points, or night and day (*Pyramid Texts*, 1433, etc.) (1) ”.

This conception of the celestial tree gives the idea of the Tree of Life, whose fruit gives eternal youth and wisdom (2).

It is also the Tree of Fate upon whose leaves are inscribed the destinies of mankind ; and this idea prevailed in such divergent places as Scandinavia and Arabia. Sometimes this world-tree is likened to the sycamore, the tree with the widest-spreading branches known to the Egyptians, and which, in some cases, is still regarded by them as a holy tree (3).

But to return to the Sphinxes of the Fayoum cup: They wear the nemes and the uraeus, and their elongated leonine bodies are decorated with hawk's wings and plumage. The most curious part about them is that the beardless human face appears to be female, while the leonine body is male, but the phallus is not that of a lion, either in shape or position. This cannot be accidental, as the Egyptians were particularly naturalistic and observant, when dealing with animal forms. We also find the same type of hermaphroditical sphinx occurring in a later time, and with the phallus approaching to the human form.

Another new type, certainly due to the rise of the cult of Amon-Ra, is that of the ram-headed Sphinx (Pl. LVIII). As Amon rose from the position of an ancient, but obscure god to the head of the Egyptian Pantheon, he usurped, or rather absorbed, the functions of the hitherto supreme Sun-god, and came to be known as Amon-Ra. As his name became fused with that of the Sun-god, so also did the form of his sacred animal, the ram, become merged with the solar lion, so producing the Kriosphinx, a form much favoured by Amenhotep III, who erected an avenue of these sphinxes leading to the Temple of Khonsu at Karnak.

Therefore, we may well call the Eighteenth Dynasty the Golden Age of sphinxes, in so far as numbers and varieties are concerned. But it is a matter of doubt if some of these overdecorated creatures, balancing tall and unsuitable crowns on their heads, are to be compared æsthetically with the noble simplicity of the Great Sphinx, or the austere vigour of the Tanis type. However, these forms continue in vogue until the end of the Pharaonic regime, and apparently only three more types, or rather sub-types, were added.

(1) MULLER, *ibid*, p. 35.

(2) *cf.* Genesis, Ch. II, verse 17.

(3) See MARIE LOUISE BUHL, "The Goddesses of the Egyptian Tree Cult", J.N.E.S., Vol. VI, April 1947, No. 2, p. 80, *ff.*

A relief from a Nubian temple of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (Fig. 133) shows a ram-headed sphinx crowned by a solar disk, couchant upon a pedestal, and overshadowed by



FIG. 133.—A RAM-HEADED SPHINX
CROWNED BY A SOLAR DISK

a sacred tree. It is styled "Amon Pnubs" ⁽¹⁾. Another relief in the Temple of Mut, at Karnak (Fig. 134), and dating from the reign of Piankhi, shows a human-headed sphinx couchant at the foot of an obelisk, while behind it is the Persea tree.



FIG. 134.—A RELIEF IN THE TEMPLE OF MUT
SHOWING A HUMAN-HEADED SPHINX

⁽¹⁾ *L.D.*, Vol. V, Pl. 9.

What is the significance of the fact that we have two different representations belonging to the same period, each showing the sphinx and the tree? In each case also, the solar influence is strong; the Nubian relief includes the solar disk, while the Karnak relief shows the obelisk, an ancient and well-known solar emblem.

A third emblem of interest are the Sphinxes of Wah-ib-Ra, of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Fig. 81 shows an example in the round, found in our excavations, and Fig. 135 is from a relief. Both show the hawk's plumage degenerated into a checked saddle-cloth. In the latter example, the human arms extend right up to the shoulders.



FIG. 135.—A SPHINX WITH A SADDLE CLOTH

The only characteristics of the New Kingdom sphinxes is the rule of the front paws, which display the characteristic measurements seen in Fig. 136; and the pleating of the nemes, which appears as in Fig. 119.

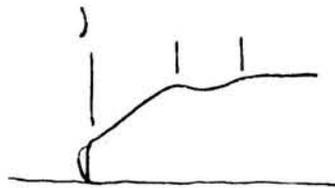


FIG. 136.—A DIAGRAM SHOWING THE CHARACTERISTIC MEASUREMENTS OF THE FORE-PAWS OF THE NEW KINGDOM SPHINX



A RAM-HEADED SPHINX

XVII.—THE GRÆCO-ROMAN PERIOD

THE Græco-Roman Period provides us with four distinct types of sphinxes, each of which contains sub-types to a greater or lesser degree. The main types are as follows:—

- (1) The purely Egyptian Sphinx, which, however, often shows Greek influence in the modelling of the face and body.
- (2) The purely Greek Sphinx.
- (3) The hybrids, which show a strong mixture of both Greek and Egyptian elements.
- (4) The composite sphinxes.

The Sphinx must have been very popular with the rulers and people of this epoch. In the comparatively small and monumentally poor site of Canopus, there is a remarkably large percentage of sphinxes, some of which are considerably older than the site in which they now lie, and appear to have been brought there from some other place. One particularly good example is a small alabaster sphinx, the head and hind quarters of which are lacking, but the anatomical details of the lion's body are rendered with truth and vigour. All the sphinxes, now remaining on the Canopic site, are strictly of the Egyptian type, and were probably the work of Egyptian sculptors.

The Serapeum at Sakkara also provides some excellent examples of Græco-Roman sphinxes. It shows a specimen which still retains its Egyptian character, but lacks the characteristic pleating of the nemes, and the lines of the shoulder cape. It bears a Greek inscription on the breast (now in the Cairo Museum).

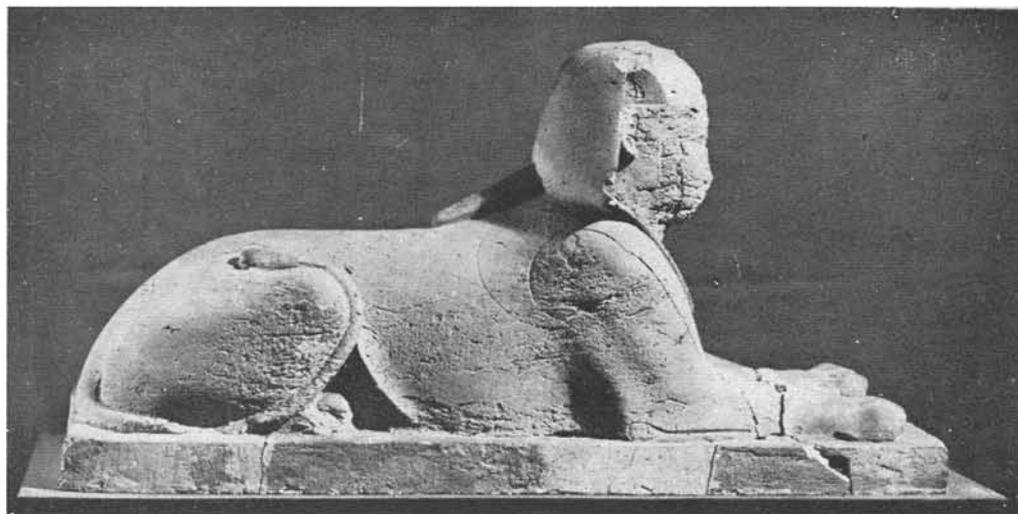


Fig. 137.—A GRÆCO-ROMAN SPHINX

Fig. 138 shows another example, fine in detail, but showing Greek influence in the features.

Pl. LIX, *a* illustrates a good example of the hybrid Sphinx. The head-dress is purely Egyptian, but the modelling of the lion's body, and the position of the crossed fore-paws, are entirely Greek in conception and treatment. Compare this with the limestone lion found beside the Great Stela of Amenhotep II.



FIG. 138.—A SPHINX WITH GREEK INFLUENCE IN THE FEATURES

Pl. LIX, *b* shows a further step towards the Hellenization of the Sphinx. Here we see the lion's body with the head and breasts of a woman. The hair, arranged in long curls, frames the face in the Egyptian style. The Osiride statue between the breasts is also Egyptian. Can this be intended to represent Isis in the form of a sphinx, protecting Osiris ⁽¹⁾ ?

Still more Greek in design is Pl. LIX, *c* which, Maspero states, came from Coptos. The pose of the lioness's body, the wings, and the general treatment are all Greek, but the style of the hair-dressing shows the remains of an Egyptian influence.

In the Bucheum was found a female sphinx in connection with a late mastaba. The head shows a purely Greek influence, while the treatment of the body is Egyptian, except for the human breasts ⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ From Kom Mâdi, Fayoum.

⁽²⁾ MOND and MEYERS, " *The Bucheum* ", Vol. I, p. 36; Vol. II, Pl. LXIV.

Fig. 139 shows a golden bracelet, now in the Cairo Museum, the ends of which terminate in two winged sphinxes. Here the Egyptian influence is practically nil.

The terra-cotta Sphinx of the Alexandria Museum is also purely Greek in conception and execution (Fig. 140).

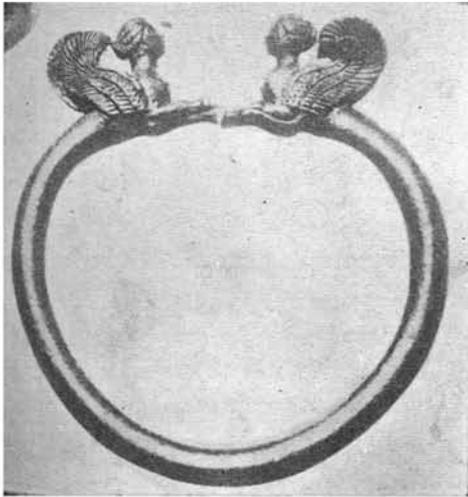


FIG. 139.—WINGED SPHINXES ON A GOLD BRACELET

We now come to two types that have survived from earlier ages. Fig. 141 shows the monster of the slate palette in Greek form, and of female sex. In the earlier representations, the female 'Sefer' was represented with the teats of a lioness, but here it is provided with the breasts of a woman, probably borrowed from the form of the female Sphinx.



FIG. 140.—A TERRA-COTTA SPHINX

Fig. 142 shows a hawk-headed sphinx from the western wall of the Osiris Chamber at Philæ⁽¹⁾. With the exception of the disk and horns, this specimen resembles the one on the golden pectoral of the Twelfth Dynasty, and like it, represents Horus.



FIG. 141.—THE SPHINX AS A MONSTER

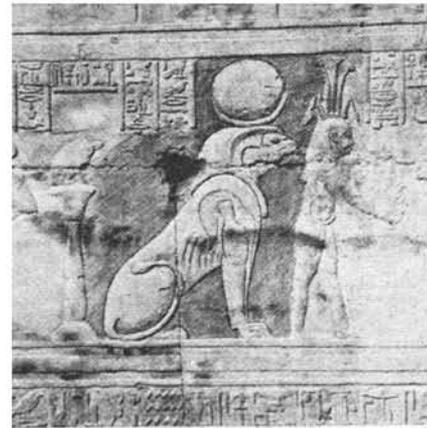


FIG. 142.—A HAWK-HEADED SPHINX

⁽¹⁾ WEIGALL, "Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia", Pl. XVI.

A very interesting, if not beautiful types of, sphinxes appear up on a series of stelae, which from the similarity of their forms to those on the coinage of Hadrian and Trajan, suggest that they must be a little prior to, or contemporary with, the reign of the former (A.D. 117-138).

Like all other forms of art, this type starts in a comparatively simple manner. Fig. 143 shows a bas-relief in the Cairo Museum. It represents a sphinx with a beardless human face set upon a lion's body. As in the Fayoum sphinxes, of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the phallus

is not leonine in form. The back is clothed in hawk's plumage, and from its centre spring a pair of wings, the whole being apparently attached to the body by means of crossed chains passing under the belly⁽¹⁾.



FIG. 143.—A SPHINX WITH A BEARDLESS HUMAN FACE SET UPON A LION'S BODY

From the rump springs a hawk's head crowned with the solar disk and ram's horns, and turned to face the tail of the Sphinx, which ends in a cobra. Protruding from the chest, and occupying the place of the female breast, is the head of a crocodile. The human head—represented full face—is covered with a mass of curly hair, framed by the nemes, and sur-

mounted by what appears to be the disk and horns of the Goddess Isis. From the shoulders hangs an apron, which extends the full length of the body underneath. Above the tail is an indistinct object that appears to be a cobra erect upon a pedestal. Under the feet of the Sphinx is a long cobra, which uprears its head in front; while small serpents are twisted around the legs above the paws.

Another example, also in the Cairo Museum, shows a sphinx, more Egyptian in conception, having a human head in profile, with an Osirian beard, attached to the thick, stumpy leonine body (Fig. 144). It wears a long wig bound by a ribbon, and surmounted by a disk and plumes set upon ram's horns, and flanked by uraei. The body is clad in the shoulder cape and apron, and has a ram's head protruding from the shoulder and facing to the rear of the Sphinx. In the upper left-hand corner is the tip of a wing, perhaps belonging to a solar disk or a hawk, now broken off.

(1) Compare this with the monster on the pre-dynastic slate-palette (see Fig. 82).

Before the Sphinx is a large, full-faced representation of the God Bes, brandishing a large knife. The whole was enclosed in a plain, rectangular frame, but the left-hand side of the monument is totally destroyed.

Pl. LX, *a* shows yet another of the composite sphinxes, also preserved in the Cairo Museum. It is enclosed in a frame of Egyptian type, consisting of a cornice of uraei beneath which is a solar disk, flanked by uraei, the whole being supported by columns with lotus capitals.



FIG. 144.—A GREEK SPHINX MORE EGYPTIAN IN CONCEPTION, WITH A HUMAN HEAD IN PROFILE

The Sphinx seems to have a woman's head, wearing a crown similar to that of the preceding example. It is shown full-face. The leonine body has a tail ending in a uraeus, and another large serpent forms a pathway under its feet. In its right front and left hind paw it holds a knife, and with its left front and right hind paw, it crushes a serpent. From the ground behind it springs a lotus-flower, and above its back hovers a hawk.

The style is a mixture of Egyptian and Greek influences. Pl. LX, *b* shows a crudely sculptured sphinx whose human head is beardless and is clad in the nemes and uraeus. As in the other examples, the tail ends in a uraeus. It also tramples on a large serpent. Under its body can be seen the leg and body of a crocodile, the head of which protrudes from the breast of the Sphinx. From the top of the head of the Sphinx springs the head of an ape, and from its shoulders, the head of a ram (?). Above its back is a seated griffon, with a circular object, perhaps a sun-disk between its paws.

An extreme development of this type came from Luxor, and is now in the museum of the College of the Sainte Famille at Cairo. It is enclosed in a rectangular frame of Egyptian style. The Sphinx treads upon a large uraeus, and has a tail ending in a serpent's head. Its chest is covered by an apron, from which protrudes a crocodile's head, in the same position as in the previous examples. The human head is represented in the full-face, and is beardless. It is framed by a typically Egyptian nemes, surmounted by three pairs of ram's horns and a rudimentary crown. Above the back is a disk and bull's horns, as can be seen crowning the statues of the God Khonsu; while in the upper left-hand corner is a winged disk with a single uraeus (?).

Surrounding the human head like an aureola are the heads of eight animals, those to the right being a bull (Apis), a crocodile (Sebek), a hawk (Horus), and a ram (Amon). Those to the left are an ibis (Thoth), a cynocephalus (Thoth or Hapi) the Son of Horus, a jackal (Anubis), and a lion (Sekhmet, Tefnut, Pakht or Mahes). What then do these nightmare creations represent? The leonine body, the beardless human face (except in one example) and the crocodile's head taking the place of the human breast, all seem to suggest a creature at one male and female, a generator, a producer and a nourisher.

Are we to interpret these sphinxes as Egypt, the producer and sustainer of life from whose breasts issues the life-giving Nile, symbolized by the crocodile, and who tramples the unfertile desert, the serpent, under her feet? The animal heads seem clearly to represent her most popular gods. It is significant that this same type, and developed in the same way, should form the motif for the coinage of Hadrian and Trajan; but it is not clear if these stelae were copied from the coins or vice versa, or if the two were contemporary, both being based on a symbolism current at that time.



A

A HYBRID SPHINX



A HELLENIC SPHINX WITH THE BODY OF A
LION AND THE HEAD AND BREASTS
OF A WOMAN



B

C

A SPHINX MORE GREEK IN DESIGN
WITH LIONESS'S BODY
AND WINGS



A

A COMPOSITE SPHINX



B

A SPHINX SHOWING A MIXTURE OF EGYPTIAN AND GREEK INFLUENCE

XVIII.—THE APPEARANCE OF THE SPHINX IN ASIA

SINCE the beginning of this study we have limited our discussion to the Sphinx in Egypt, and in Egypt only. Now let us see if Egypt was the original home of the Sphinx, or if it was borrowed from another country. It is a very curious coincidence that we find these countries in the neighbourhood of Egypt possessing sphinxes, which, if not actually identical with those of Egypt, at least resembling them more or less strongly in some point or other. In my opinion, it is most probable that Egypt is the home of the Sphinx, and that it was copied from here by the Asiatics, the Mycenæans, and the Greeks, each of whom made some alterations to its nature or appearance, to fit in with their own mentality and culture. Let us now examine the Sphinx in each of these countries separately.

The first appearance of the composite monster in Asia was the griffon, a winged lion with the head and forelegs of a bird of prey. Fig. 145 illustrates such a creature from a cylinder of Susa (Elam), dated 3000 B.C. (1) which would make it coincide with the Second or Third Egyptian Dynasty, and thus it is considerably later than the monster of the pre-dynastic slate-palette. The workmanship also is very crude, and in no way equals the Egyptian example.

As in Egypt, so in Asia we find the pure lion or pure bull form alternating with the Sphinx. These types and sub-types seemed to remain in vogue for a vast number of years, changing only slightly in the method of representation, according to the local tastes of the district in which they occurred.



FIG. 145.—AN ASIATIC COMPOSITE MONSTER



FIG. 146.—THE SPHINX AS A GRIFFIN—FROM MEGIDDO

We meet the griffin again in an example from Megiddo, dating from the Thirteenth Century B.C., and coinciding with the late Eighteenth or early Nineteenth Dynasty of Egypt (Fig. 146). Except for the pose, the details of this creature are identical with that on the axe of Ahmes I, but again, the Egyptian example is the older (2).

(1) CONTENEU, "*Manuel d'Archæologie Orientale*", p. 395.

(2) *M.M.A.*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 2, p. 42.

Fig. 147 shows a female sphinx also from Megiddo (1). Had we not known for certain the place in which it was found, we should have been tempted to class it as piece of Amarna work; and one can even see in it a likeness to some of the less flattering portraits of Queen Nefertiti.

The Sphinx is couchant, and its attitude is similar to that of the Sphinx on the onyx gem of Amenhotep III (see Fig. 125). But instead of holding a cartouche like her Egyptian prototype, she holds a cup of the form S containing two



FIG. 147.—A FEMALE SPHINX
FROM MEGIDDO

Are we to consider this sphinx as an example of Egyptian workmanship imported into Syria, or is it local work consciously copying or much influenced by an Egyptian model?

A carved ivory sphinx from Nimroud (Assyria), now in the British Museum (Fig. 148), definitely shows its Egyptian origin, even the design on its collar and apron is decidedly Egyptian in form. This specimen dates from the Ninth Century B.C., and corresponds with the Twenty-first

elongated cones, which Keimer suggests may be the ointment cones worn by the Egyptians at feasts. The head-dress consists of the Amarna Crown, surmounted by what is clearly a kerchief or turban, and resembles the head-dress of the Sphinx of the tribute vase of the Nineteenth Dynasty, and those of Gurob (see Fig. 127). The pendant tress is like that of the Sphinx of the ostrakon and that of the Borchardt Collection. Surmounting the head-dress is a confused floral bouquet. She wears a wide collar of Egyptian type, and shows only a single wing, as the Gurob sphinxes. Four prominent teats are shown under the belly; and lastly, she lies upon a mat of purely Egyptian form (2).

Gordon Loud attributes this Sphinx to the Thirteenth Century B.C. (3) on account of the presence of an ivory box belonging to a messenger of Rameses III, which was among the objects in this find.



FIG. 148.—AN IVORY SPHINX
FROM NIMROUD (ASSYRIA)

(1) LOUD, "The Megiddo Ivories", Illustrated, London News, 23, 1937.

(2) M.M.A. (1938), p. 39.

(3) LOUD, *ibid.*

Egyptian Dynasty. It is by no means an isolated example, being typical of many specimens known, which are of the same date and locality, and which vary but little from each other, and that in minor details only.

Another specimen from Nimroud, now in the British Museum, is shown in Fig. 149. Here the Egyptian influence is practically nil. Beyond the original conception of the man-headed lion—in this case winged—this ungainly monster, with its five legs (so placed as to render the creature complete when seen from front or side view), its heavy barrel-shaped body, long legs, and hard, bony paws, is far removed from the graceful strength of the Egyptian Sphinx. Note also the typical Assyrian head, and the awkward manner in which the head and wings join the body. This specimen, which came from the palace of Ashur-nasir-pal, King of Assyria, is dated about 883-889 B.C., and is also contemporary with the Twenty-first Egyptian Dynasty.



FIG. 149. — ANOTHER SPECIMEN OF A SPHINX FROM NIMROUD

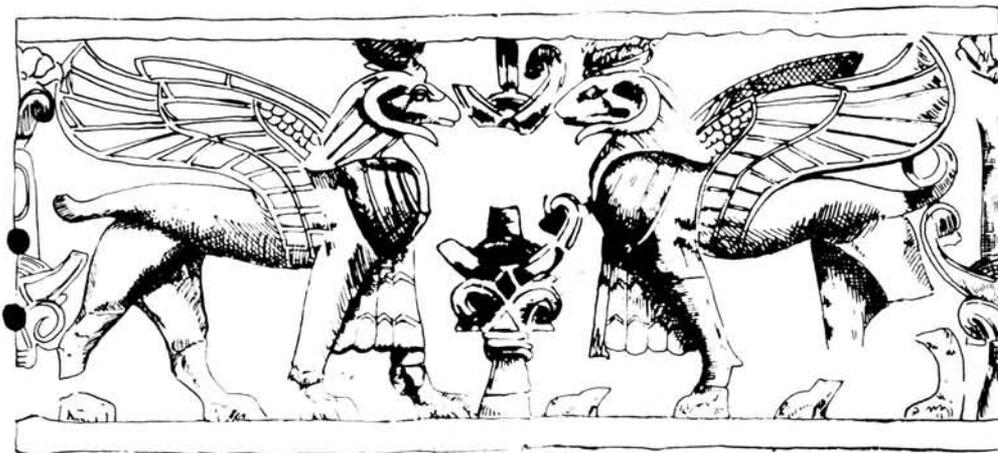


FIG. 150.—RAM-HEADED ASIATIC SPHINXES

Fig. 150 shows a group of two sphinxes facing each other before a conventional tree, a similar theme to that which we have already seen on the Fayoum cup, but in this

case having the head of a ram. Here also, the genitalia are made in a manner never seen on a feline, and are emphasized by gilding ⁽¹⁾.



FIG. 151.—A SPHINX FROM SENJIRLI WITH THE BODY OF A WINGED LION AND A HUMAN HEAD SPRINGING FROM ITS HEAD

This group is dated to about 721 B.C., or at the time of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty of Egypt.

From Senjirli comes the unpleasing form of sphinx which shows a winged lion, from whose head springs a human head wearing the White Crown and uraeus of Egypt. It also shows the plaited side-lock of Horus. Like some of the composite sphinxes of Egypt, its tail ends in a serpent's head ⁽²⁾.

The form of the lion is purely Asiatic, so are the features of the human head; but the crown and the hair are typically Egyptian (Fig. 151).

A retrogression to the pure lion form occurs at Babel, in the fine basalt group shown in Fig. 152. Here the motif is purely Egyptian, and shows the victorious lion trampling upon its prostrate enemy. The work is crude, and lacking in detail, but gives a satisfying impression from its grand conception and monumental simplicity. It is dated to about 605 B.C. and is contemporary with the Twenty-sixth Egyptian Dynasty ⁽³⁾.



FIG. 152.—THE SPHINX AS A VICTORIOUS LION TRAMPLING UPON ITS PROSTRATE ENEMY

⁽¹⁾ THEREAU and DANGIN, "*Arslan Tash*" (1931), Pl. XXVII.

⁽²⁾ VIKENTIEV, "*The Collection of Paul Bobrovsky*", p. 18.

⁽³⁾ PARIBENI, "*Architettura dell Oriente Antico*", p. 273.

Fig. 153 shows a damaged sphinx which displays a strong Egyptian influence. It appears to be female, and in this case apparently presents the first type of female sphinx in Asia (unless the Sphinx of the Megiddo ivory is really to be classed as local work). Note how the raised fore-paw rests upon a lotus-flower.

Fig. 154 shows another example of the same style of work, but bearded and definitely male.



FIG. 153. — A DAMAGED SPHINX, APPARENTLY THE FIRST TYPE OF FEMALE SPHINX, IN ASIA



FIG. 154. — ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THE SAME WORK BUT BEARDED AND DEFINITELY MALE

Both these examples are from Arslan Tash, and date from about the Eighth Century B.C., or at the time of the Twenty-fifth Egyptian Dynasty.

From the foregoing account, it can be seen that in each of the parallel types, the Egyptian Sphinx precedes the Asiatic example, and that, therefore, Egypt must be the birthplace of the Sphinx.

By nature, the Asiatic Sphinx seems to resemble the Egyptian type, and fulfils much the same role, appearing as a guardian of doorways, and in similar situations.

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XIX.—THE SPHINX IN GREECE AND MYCENÆ

WE have already seen that the first appearance of the female Sphinx in Egypt was during the Old Kingdom. It appeared on scarabs of the Hyksos Period, disappeared for a while, only to re-appear again in the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Now let us examine the Sphinx of Greece, which is always female, and by comparing it with the oldest examples of the Egyptian female Sphinx, we shall see if we can arrive at any relationship between the two.

It may seem strange to us at first to see that the Greeks, in copying the Sphinx from Egypt, should pick upon the female type, which is, after all, very rare, and by no means typical of the Egyptian sphinx. But we have to allow for the inherent love of physical beauty, so strongly developed in the ancient Greeks. The idea of the Sphinx appealed to their romantic and highly imaginative mentality, while the combination of the beauty of woman and the feline grace of the lion, commended itself to their æsthetic taste.

From the pictorial point of view, there seems to be but little resemblance between the sphinxes of Egypt and Greece, but we must always bear in mind that our knowledge of the Hyksos sphinxes is confined to the examples represented on scarabs, which are of necessity small and lacking in detail. Neither do the Egyptian female sphinxes of the Eighteenth Dynasty outwardly resemble the Hellenic type; while a casual glance reveals no similarity of nature. However, on closer examination, it will be seen that these changes observed in the Greek Sphinx do not affect the inherent nature of the creature, while its solar affinity remained unchanged, as we shall see later.

The most notable example of the Greek Sphinx, and the one most frequently portrayed, is the monster which plays such a significant part in the tragedy of *Œdipus*; and as reference will frequently be made to this form, let us briefly outline the story here. There are several versions of the *Œdipus* legend known ⁽¹⁾, but the most popular one runs as follows:

“Laius, the first King of Thebes (Greece), and Iocaste, his wife, were childless, and on questioning the oracle on this matter, were informed that if a son should be born to them, he would live to be his father’s murderer. Accordingly, when at last Iocaste gave birth to a boy, his parents pierced his feet, and exposed him on Mount Citharon, to be the prey of wild beasts.

⁽¹⁾ Strangely enough, Homer makes no mention of the Sphinx, and the first reference occurs in HESIOD, “*Theogony*” (about 750 B.C.).

“ However, the child was found by a shepherd of King Polybus of Corinth, and his wife, Merope, who took pity on the child and adopted him, bringing him up as their own son, and named him Œdipus on account of his swollen feet when found.

“ Later in his life, he was taunted by one of the Corinthians with not being the King’s real son. Therefore, he had recourse to the oracle to determine the truth of the matter. However, the oracle replied only that he was destined to slay his father, and commit incest with his mother.

“ Still believing Polybus to be his real father, Œdipus determined never again to return to Corinth, in order that the prophecy might not be fulfilled. On the road, while he was travelling between Delphi and Daulis, Œdipus chanced to meet Laius, the two men being, of course, unknown to each other. The Theban King’s charioteer wished to push him roughly out of the way, and in the quarrel which ensued, Œdipus slew Laius and his charioteer, and thus the first part of the prophecy was fulfilled.

“ Meanwhile, the Sphinx had appeared on the top of a high cliff outside Thebes, having, according to Appolodorus, come thither from Ethiopia. Having been taught by the Muses a certain riddle, she waylaid every passer-by, propounding this riddle to them, and in the event of their being unable to answer it, slaying them. No one had found the solution, and every day the monster claimed fresh victims, sparing neither rank nor beauty.

“ Each day the Thebans met in their market-place, and discussed the problem, offering the Kingship of Thebes, and the hand of Queen Iocaste in marriage, to anyone who should rid them of the monster. But none had lived to claim the reward.

“ When Œdipus chanced to pass this way, the Sphinx seized upon him, and propounded the riddle to him as follows : ‘ What is it that goes on four legs in the morning, on two legs at noon, and on three legs in the evening, and is weakest when its legs are most ?’

“ After some consideration, Œdipus answered : ‘ Man ! in the morning of his life he crawls on all fours ; in his noontide he walks erect upon his two legs ; but in the evening of his life, as an old man, he uses a staff, which is a third leg ; and in his infancy and in his old age he is weakest.’

“ This was the correct answer, and the Sphinx in a fit of rage, leapt down the cliff and was dashed to pieces. Œdipus returned to the city, where he was welcomed as king, and straightway married to Iocaste, both parties being unaware of the relationship existing between them. And thus, the second part of the prophecy was fulfilled.

“ Some years later, after Iocaste had born children to Œdipus, the truth of their relationship was revealed by the oracle. In shame and remorse, Iocaste committed suicide, and Œdipus put out his own eyes.”

A fresco at Tuna-el-Gebel (Hermopolis West) represents Œdipus confronting the Sphinx at the gates of Thebes (Fig. 155) (1). Although the scene is painted in the classical style, the artist has clearly been influenced by Egyptian, or one might say, Giza traditions, for he has placed his purely Græcian Sphinx on the high, corniced pedestal, similar to those upon which the Great Sphinx is represented on many of the stelae from the Giza site.

The legend of Œdipus explains the meaning of the word "sphinx" which means "strangler" and has come to be used to denote the whole family of human-headed lions, as well as the purely Greek type. But there exists also other variants of the name. Hesiod gives it as *Pix* (2). These variants seem to be reminiscent of the Sphinx of the legend. When the form immigrated to the west, it appeared in Latin as *PIX* (3). Other forms are: Σφίγξ, Σφίς, σφρίυς. In Egyptian the Sphinx is sometimes called *seshep-ankh* the living statue (4).

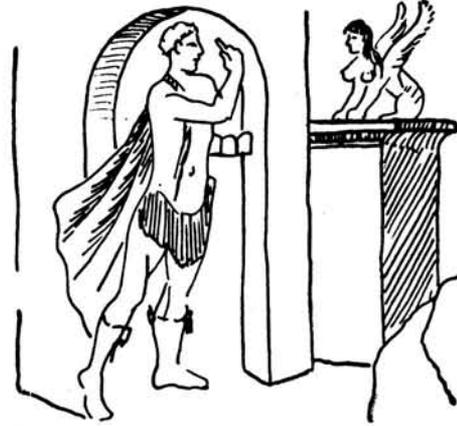


FIG. 155.—ŒDIPUS CONFRONTING THE SPHINX AT THE GATES OF THEBES

There are several elements in the Œdipus legend which are distinctly related to the Egyptian form. First, there is the strong solar affinity as displayed in the famous riddle itself, which the Sphinx was said to have learned from the Muses, who were attendants of the Sun-god. In it we can recognize the reference to the infant as a clear allusion to the Egyptian idea, which represented the early morning sun as a child, rising out of a lotus-flower. Man in his prime is Kheper, the sun in its noonday strength is Ra; while the old man with his staff is Atum, the aged God of the setting sun, tottering feebly towards the west.

It would seem as though the Greeks themselves recognized the solar elements contained in the riddle, which, in the version of Arachloba, reduces the periods of human life to the three periods of the day. Then there is the tradition, which describes the Sphinx as having come from Ethiopia, which clearly shows that the Greeks assigned to it an African origin, and laid no claim to having been its originator.

A further factor in favour of the Egyptian origin of the Greek Sphinx is its nature; and at first glance, this seems to be a paradox; for the Greek monster is a malicious demon, while the Egyptian type is a beneficent guardian. But the Egyptian Sphinx is kindly disposed *only* towards its chosen people, the Egyptians. How numerous are the representations of the

(1) GABRA, "Rapport sur les Fouilles d'Hermopolis Ouest", Pl. XLVI.

(2) 2 Gloss d'Hesiod Ch.

(3) Platus. *picis-accusatif*.

(4) See *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*, Vol. IV, p. 536 =  = Seshep-Ankh.

Egyptian Sphinx trampling upon the foreign enemies of Egypt? And how natural that strangers, ignorant of the true meaning of the allegory, seeing only the wretched plight of the victims, represented under the claws of the Sphinx, should conceive of it as a ravishing monster, descending upon their territory, and exacting its daily toll of victims.

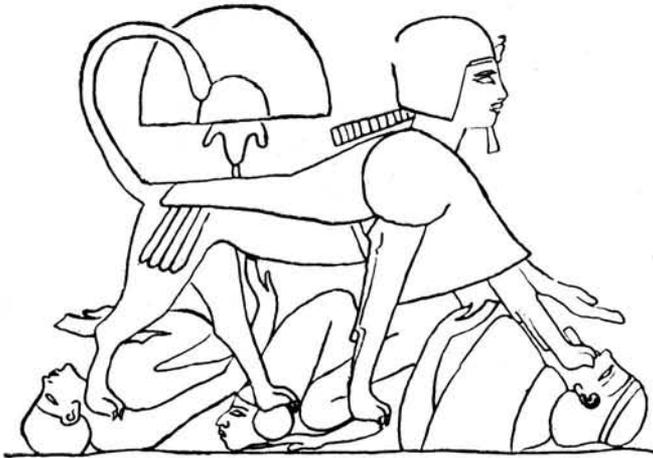


FIG. 156.—A SPHINX FROM THE THRONE OF AMENHOTEP III

their affinity of design to the Egyptian original, as well as the similarity of the place which they adorn, is very marked. (Fig. 157) ⁽¹⁾.

The Greek Sphinx maintains its baleful characteristics on almost all occasions, and this particularly seems to connect it with death. Hence we find it figuring as an ornament upon sarcophagi (Fig. 167).

According to Weiker and Furtwangler, the Sphinx is a demon of enrapturing death. This would connect it with such

Moreover, it seems as though the Greek artists and sculptors, even one of such great renown as Phidias, were deeply influenced by Egyptian art forms when representing the Sphinx. When choosing a motif for the decoration of the sides of the throne of Zeus, Phidias seems to have been consciously influenced by the decoration on the sides of the thrones of Amenhotep III (Fig. 156) and Thothmes IV (Fig. 114) to say nothing of the many other groups representing the victorious Sphinx trampling and mauling its enemies.

Fragments of the group by Phidias are preserved in the Vienna Museum, and



FIG. 157.—THE SPHINX OF PHIDIAS

⁽¹⁾ FRITZ EICHLER, "Thebanische Sphinx", *Jahreshefte des Osterreichischen Archaeologischen Instituts in Wien*, Vol. XXX, pp. 75-110.

creatures as sirens, harpies, etc. ; and indeed, it is sometimes represented as partaking of the form of these demons. Fig. 158 shows a painting from a Corinthian aryballos, where the monster is represented as having a woman's head, with long, flowing hair, huge spreading wings, the front feet of a bird of prey, and a lion's body. Here the Sphinx partakes of the nature of the siren ⁽¹⁾.

Harrison considers that it represents the evilly-disposed soul of a dead person, personified as a strangler ; and this would class it with such beings as the vampire, incubus, or the enraged Ka, an evil ghost of the Egyptians which comes in the night to snatch away sleeping children.

According to R. C. Jebb ⁽²⁾, the Sphinx was a symbol of demonic might, both physical and mental ; and he states that in Greek art, the sphinxes, represented upon sepulchral monuments, are often the emblems of the unconquerable and inscrutable might, which lays men low. But it seems more likely that these funerary sphinxes are a perverted echo of the Egyptian tradition, which makes the Sphinx the vigilant guardian of the tombs. But there is one very great departure from the Egyptian tradition ; the Greek Sphinx is conquered and humbled, but the Egyptian Sphinx is never tamed or vanquished. Is this due to the foreigners' sub-conscious wish to humble the pride of the conquering sphinx ; or is it that the female monster, partaking of the essence of womanhood, must by the law of nature, submit to man ?

Plutarch compares the Sphinx with the insinuating power of love ; while other writers compare it sarcastically with the hetaires, especially those of Megare ⁽³⁾. Attempts have been made to compare it with Aphrodite, owing to the fact that figures of sphinxes were used to decorate perfume vases, mirrors and other articles of the feminine toilet. We have at least one example of this use of the Sphinx form in Egypt, where a kohl pot from the late period is decorated with a figure of a sphinx (*see* p. 190).



FIG. 158.—PAINTING SHOWING THE MONSTER WITH A WOMAN'S HEAD, SPREADING WINGS AND A LION'S BODY

⁽¹⁾ EDGAR, "Greek Vases", Pl. IV, No. 26165.

⁽²⁾ *cf.* SOPHOCLES, "Œdipus Tyrannus", p. 227 ff.

⁽³⁾ Apost. XI, 15. Diogen. 6.35. Arsen., 35, 36. Herych., Suidas ; Aristo. Achain, 738.

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XX.—THE SPHINX IN GREEK ART

FOR the origin of the outward form of the Greek Sphinx, we must look to Mycenæ and the Ægean Isles.

The presence of the composite monster occurs very early in Mycenæan art, the eagle-headed lion appearing in a fresco in the First Palace of Knosso, at about 2000 B.C., or contemporary with the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty.

Here we see the griffin wingless, but adorned with the feathered crest and spiral decorations which are a feature of the griffin of the axe-blade of Ahmes I. This suggests that the Egyptians may have borrowed the spiral motif from Mycenæ; although this form of decoration was extensively used on Egyptian scarabs during the Twelfth Dynasty.

At about the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Egypt came into close contact with Cyprus, and much commercial intercourse took place, which did not fail to have its effect on the art of the two countries, although Egypt still appears to have lent more than she borrowed. An excellent example of the Egyptian influence on Cyprian art may be seen in the sacrificial cups in Figs. 159, 160, 161.

Fig. 159 shows a cup from Dali, the central motif of which is purely Egyptian, represents the well-known device of the Pharaoh slaying his enemies. The inner zone of decoration shows a procession of winged sphinxes trampling on prostrate enemies. Except for the position of the wings, one would say that these sphinxes were from Egypt, the products of Egyptian craftsmen. The outer zone shows groups of men, also in the Egyptian style, fighting with lions and winged monsters.

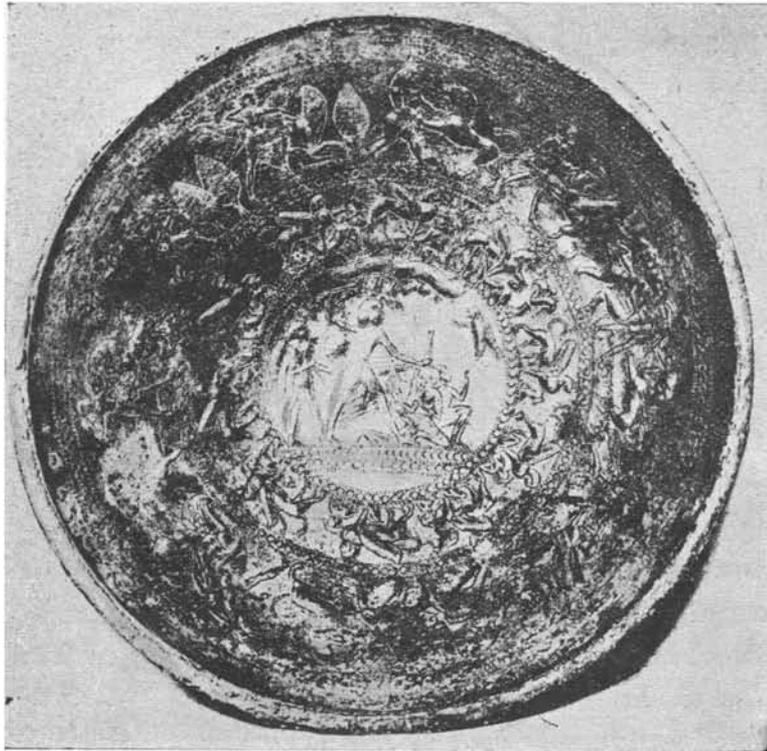


FIG. 159.—A SACRIFICIAL CUP FROM DALI

Still very Egyptian in appearance, but displaying a stronger foreign element, is Fig. 160.

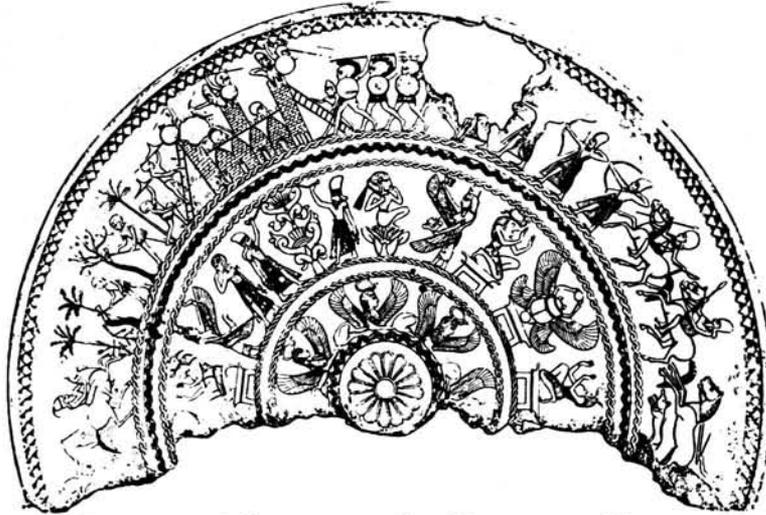


FIG. 160.—A SACRIFICIAL CUP DISPLAYING MORE OF THE FOREIGN ELEMENTS

The rosette is a typical Egyptian motif, and was lavishly used during the Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, occurring in such widely divergent spheres as metal-work and glazed ware⁽¹⁾.

The inner zone bears winged sphinxes crowned with the solar disks and uraeus⁽²⁾. The middle zone shows a mixture of Egyptian and foreign elements, with the Egyptian predominating; but the outer zone has the foreign element in excess.

Fig. 161 shows the Asiatic influence predominating, although the Egyptian element is still strong. The hawk in the central motif, the couchant sphinxes on the inner zone, and the kneeling archer, are distinctly Egyptian, but the horse and the fighting bulls betray a foreign origin. In the outer zone the influence is again mixed, and varies from the typically Egyptian group of the Pharaoh smiting his enemies before the hawk-headed god and the winged goddesses, to the semi-Egyptian Sphinxes and the purely Asiatic animal groups.



FIG. 161.—A SACRIFICIAL CUP WITH A MIXTURE OF EGYPTIAN AND MYCENÆAN STYLES

(1) PETRIE, "Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt", Figs. 108, 117.

(2) The solar cult again.

On the other hand, Fig. 162 shows a seal from the same period, but from Zakro, and here the influence is entirely foreign ⁽¹⁾. Evans refers to the wings of this monster as being those of a butterfly, and attempts to read a religious significance into them ⁽²⁾. But they seem to me to be clearly bat's wings, and as such would connect the creature with the vampires of southern Europe and other evil powers of the darkness; a faint re-echo of the double Sphinx Aker, through whose body the sun travelled during the hours of the night.



FIG. 162.—A SEAL FROM ZAKRO, SHOWING A SPHINX WITH THE WINGS OF A BUTTERFLY

The little winged sphinxes seated upon the cover of the sarcophagus of Amathonte (Fig. 163) are faintly reminiscent of the Egyptian type

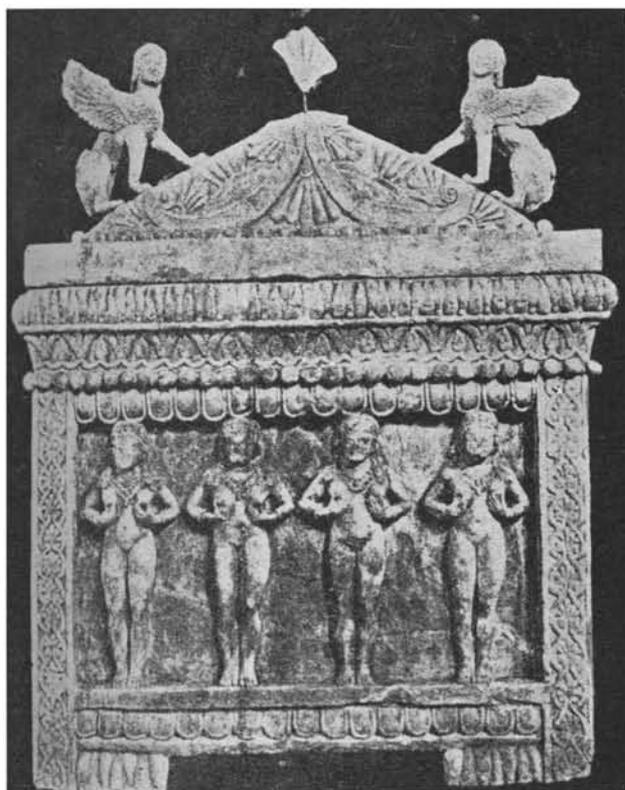


FIG. 163.—WINGED SPHINXES SEATED UPON THE COVER OF THE SARCOPHAGUS OF AMATHONTE

in the treatment of the wings, but chiefly in the underlying idea which associates them with the protection of the dead. The coffer of the sarcophagus bears a distinctly Egyptian border of lotus flowers and buds ⁽³⁾.

The sphinxes on the ivory comb from Spata (Fig. 164), on the other hand, display a head-dress that is clearly of Hittite origin ⁽⁴⁾ and which was destined to enjoy a wide vogue

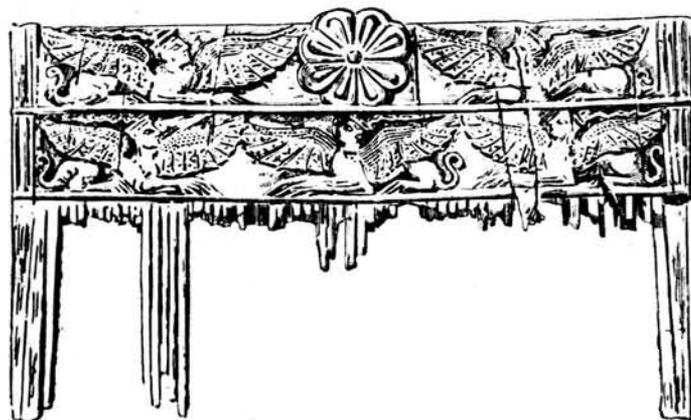


FIG. 164.—SPHINXES ON AN IVORY COMB FROM SPATA

⁽¹⁾ DUSSAUD, "La Civilization Prehelleniques".

⁽²⁾ EVANS, "The Palace of Minos", Vol. III, p. 196.

⁽³⁾ PICARD, "La Sculpture Antique", Vol. I, p. 217.

⁽⁴⁾ The Amarna art had produced a fashion of portraying fluttering ribbons and streamers on such diverse objects as a royal crown and a horse's harness.

in archaic Greek art. We find this form occurring on sheets of beaten gold from the third Tomb of the Acropolis of Mycenæ, at Lalysos, and in the treasure of Ephesus (¹).

From Hagia Triada comes the crouching Sphinx shown in Fig. 165, which seems to display Assyrian, rather than Egyptian, traits.



FIG. 165.—THE ASSYRIAN SPHINX

One of the most graceful and pleasing of the foreign sphinxes may be seen in the group shown in Fig. 167, and which adorn the end of a sarcophagus from Sidon (400 B.C., and contemporary with the Twenty-ninth Egyptian Dynasty). Here the beautiful faces, graceful vigorous bodies and harmonious grouping, constitute a very charming whole. The Egyptian influence is lacking altogether, except again in the underlying idea of the Sphinx acting as a guardian of the dead, as we shall discuss more fully in another chapter.

This latter type seems to have been the one most frequently used by the Greeks in the classical period; and we find it in many and varied situations, displaying but little variation of detail, and that

A beautiful example dated about 560 B.C., and contemporary with the Twenty-sixth Dynasty of Egypt, is seen in Fig. 166. Here we are approaching to the true Greek Sphinx, but the Egyptian element is still to be seen in the treatment of the wings, and the covering of the breast.



FIG. 166.—A WINGED GREEK SPHINX

(¹) "*Dictionnaire des Antiquities*" (the Greek Sphinx).

only in such unimportant matters as the style of the hairdressing, and the posture of the body. Its naturally artistic form, and its versatile adaptability rendered it a popular motif of decoration, even when theologically its presence was meaningless.

It will be noticed that the bodies of many of these later Greek sphinxes resemble the bitch more than the lion, this probably being due to the fact that the artists were more familiar with the canine than the leonine form, whereas in Egypt, the lion was common, and its form was familiar to all.

That the Greeks intended the Sphinx to be leonine, can be proved by the tails, which always carry the characteristic tassel of hair, this appendage never appearing naturally on any breed of dog, either ancient or modern.

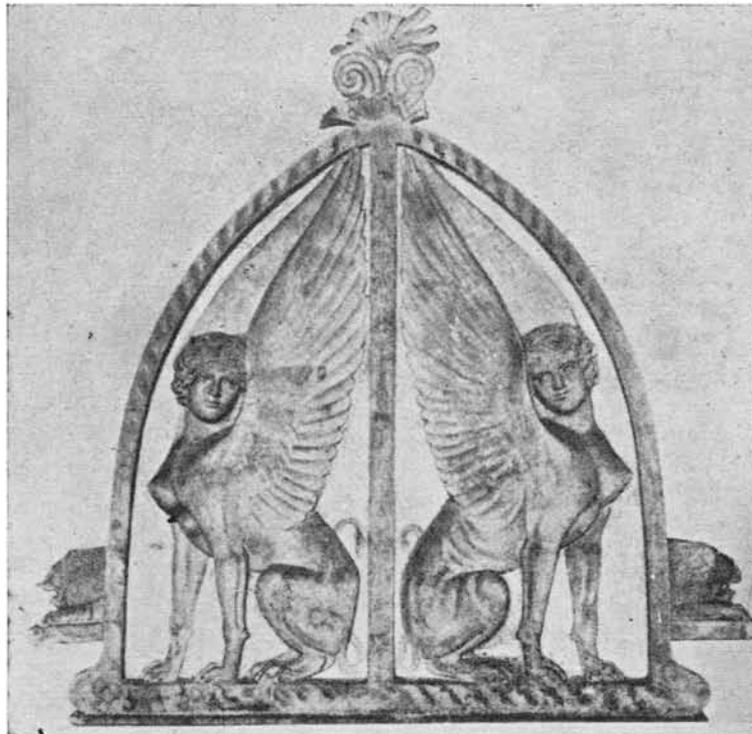
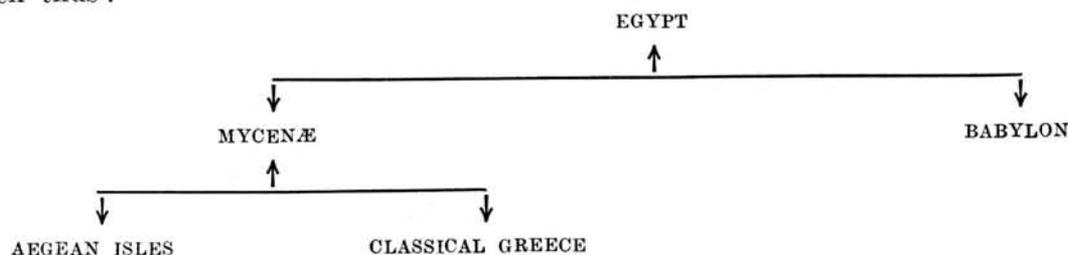


FIG. 167.—SPHINXES ADORNING A SARCOPHAGUS FROM SIDON

From the foregoing pages we can see that the Greek Sphinx, despite its apparent physical and mental differences, is nevertheless, derived from the Sphinx of Egypt; and its pedigree may be given thus:



It is curious to note that with the growth of Hellenic culture in Egypt under the Ptolemies, the Greek Sphinx was re-introduced into Egypt, thus returning to its original home under a new guise, and surrounded by a crop of new legends.

For an interesting article on the spread of the Sphinx from Egypt to Greece, and its final return to Egypt, see LEIBOVITCH, "*Quelques Elements de la Décoration Egyptienne sous le Nouvel Empire*", Bull. Inst. D'Egypte, Vol. XXV, p. 245 ff.

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XXI.—THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SPHINX

I.—WHAT WAS THE NAME OF THE SPHINX?

UP to the present moment we have been dealing with the outward aspects of the Sphinx, so now let us try to examine what we may term its inner and theological significance. To begin with, what was the name by which the Sphinx was known in the Fourth Dynasty? One of the very surprising facts about the Sphinx is that in all the tombs of the Old Kingdom necropoli, not one inscription mentions the man-headed lion by any name known to us, although we have indisputable proof that sphinxes were in existence as early as the Fourth Dynasty (*see p. 56*). Nevertheless, like all other animate or inanimate objects, they certainly must have possessed a name.

It has hitherto been thought that sphinxes were not referred to in writing until the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty, but, as we shall see below, careful and patient study has revealed to us that the Sphinx was known and mentioned in the Pyramid Texts, which in their written form date to the end of the Fifth Dynasty, but of which many parts have a far earlier origin. An earlier mention than this has so far not come to light.

The fact that no mention of sphinxes is made in any of the private tombs of the Old Kingdom necropoli may be due to any one of several reasons. First, the Sphinx is inseparably connected with royalty; no private person, or even a prince, has ever been represented in the form of a sphinx, so far as we can tell from the monuments that over one hundred years of excavation have revealed to us. Therefore, perhaps it was regarded as the god of royalty alone, and had no connection at all with non-royal persons. This would account for our finding mention of it in the Pyramid Texts, if not in private tombs, and it would also explain the silence of the Fourth Dynasty, for at that period the buildings, especially the royal tombs, are characterised by an almost complete lack of inscriptions. As an example, take the Great Pyramid (itself not its mortuary temple), the long passages and chambers of which are devoid of even a single hieroglyph (if we except the quarrymen's gang-names daubed in red paint on certain stones).

Secondly, the only gods mentioned in the tombs are those intimately connected with the dead, and with their future existence in the Other World. If the Sphinx did have such a function, which its identification with Atum renders possible, mention of it has so far escaped us, and it is not until the Eighteenth Dynasty that we find proof of the Sphinx acting in this capacity.

The earliest conception of the functions of the Sphinx seems to have been that of a guardian of the tombs and their contents (*see* p. 213), but it is not until the Eighteenth Dynasty that we find a sphinx, and that is the Great Sphinx of Giza, mentioned in the offering-formulae and the same is true of Atum, with whom it was identified.

Let us now examine the first appearance of the name of the Sphinx as it was mentioned in the Pyramid Texts. Line 2081 *B* reads: "He (*i.e.* the dead King) is, taken to Ruti (the Sphinx) and presented to Atum". Here we have a distinct allusion to the identification of the Sphinx with Atum.

It was Naville who first pointed out the connection between this word "Ruti" and the Sphinx, and he referred especially to its occurrence in the "Book of the Dead". In a series of articles in a revue called "Sphinx" (1), Naville first draws attention to the connection of the Sphinx with Atum, quoting, as his references, Bergmann (2) and Lefebure (3) and the line from the Granite Stela of Thothmes IV, which says: "I am thy father, Hor-em-akhet-Kheperi-Ra-Atum". He also cites other sphinxes, such as that of Pithom, as being attached to Atum. He did not fail to notice that on the Inventory Stela, and in the Harris Magical Papyrus, the Great Sphinx of Giza is called  or  or  or  or  , but he mistakes the final interchangeable *L* or *R* (the lion sign) for a determinative, and so pronounces the word "Hu" an error followed by many other writers, and even by the Berlin Dictionary. But, however, he rightly recognized it as an appellation peculiar to the Great Sphinx of Giza.

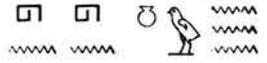
He was also quick to recognize the essential interchangeability between the lion and the Sphinx, stating that, in his opinion, it was the leonine body of the latter that was the most important part, and cites as proof the modern name of Wadi Seboua, so named on account of the avenue of sphinxes leading up to the temple. "Wadi Seboua" means in Arabic the "Valley of Lions", and is so named despite the fact that the creatures lining the avenue are sphinxes. He also points out that in the late epoch, the word "ru" = "lion", is sometimes determined by a sphinx (4). Then he comes to the name  "Ruti" as it appears in the "Book of the Dead", and which he applies to the androcephalic Sphinx in its connection with Atum-Harmakhis, especially in the chapter where the God is considered as the giver of breath to the dead.

(1) Vols. V, X and XXI.

(2) *A.Z.* (1880) p. 50.

(3) *Rituel*, p. 85 ff.

(4) PIEHL, "Sphinx", Vol. III, p. 128.

Ch. 38, line 2, says: " I am Atum who come out of Nu, going towards the celestial lake, when I have received my dwelling in Amenti. I speak with the Happy Ones, whose dwellings are hidden; my splendour is the splendour of Ruti (the Sphinx), and I traverse the lake henhenw (1)  of Kheperi" (the Sun-god in the morning).

Ch. 38 B, line 2: " I am Ruti (the Sphinx) the first-born of Ra".

Ch. 3, line 2: " O Atum, who appears as Master of the Lake, who shines as Ruti, who maketh thine orders to be heard by those who are before thee".

Ch. 41, line 2: " O Atum, I was rendered shining before Ruti, the Great God, who opens the door of Geb". (Variant texts read: " I have rendered Ruti shining".)

Ch. 78, line 18: reveals the Sphinx as the presenter of the nemes, its usual head-dress, and refers to it as the guardian of the House of the Nemes.

Again Naville quotes from the text :—

Ch. 78, line 21: " The nemes was given to me by the Sphinx".

Ch. 78, line 23: " The Sphinx hath taken off his nemes for me".

The two lions appear to be a survival of a much earlier school of thought, a time when the funerary texts were intended for the sole use of the Pharaoh. No private persons have been represented on the monuments habitually wearing the nemes (2), therefore, these lines must have been written for funerary texts which were originally for royal use. When the royal funerary texts at length became the property of the population in general, they also adopted the royal funerary equipment, and we see the nemes include among the clothing of the deceased in the painted equipment depicted inside the wooden sarcophagi of the Heracleopolitan Period (3).

Naville then propounds an ingenious theory in which he states that the Sphinx represents the gods Shu and Tefnut; the male human head representing Shu, and the lion's body the Goddess Tefnut. But this theory seems to lack proof.

When Naville first published his opinion concerning Ruti, and the identification of the Sphinx with Atum, Gardiner disagreed with him. Later, however, he changed his opinion, and said that: " Ruti  is a lion-god connected with Atum, seems to me as to Naville, quite evident".

(1) A name of a lake in the underworld.

(2) A wooden statue of an official of the Twelfth Dynasty is represented wearing what appears to be a nemes, according to a photo in GARSTANG'S " *Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt*", p. 104, Fig. 93.

(3) LACAU, " *Sarcophages Anterieur au Moyen Empire*", Vol. I, Pl. LIV.

Whether the Sphinx is more solar deity or more Pharaoh is a question which the Egyptians themselves, who made it, could probably not have answered. Can it be regarded as in any way parallel to the boats of the sun at Abu Gurab (1) ?

Apparently Gardiner is offering the suggestion that the Great Sphinx may personify the dead king, in the same manner in which the solar boat at the Temple of the Sun at Abu Gurab personifies the divine boats in which he is expected to sail to his heavenly abode.



FIG. 168.—STELA No. 28

When writing this, Gardiner was not, of course, aware of the solar boats belonging to the Khafra Pyramid Complex, which came to light in our excavations of 1934-1935 (2). As we should expect, the divine solar boats doubtless received adoration in this district, and the small stela shown in Fig. 168, seems to give some support to this theory. It is Stela No. 28, and was found in our excavations, beside the Temple of Amenhotep II. It is quite unique in our collection. The surface is almost entirely occupied by a scene depicting a man, clad in a long, full kilt, standing before an altar, upon which rests a model solar boat. The whole scene is very peculiar in appearance, and were it not for the Egyptian name of the donor, we should be tempted to attribute it to a foreign pilgrim. To begin with, the man is represented as carrying a papyrus wand, an emblem usually carried by goddesses, but I believe,

not elsewhere by men (?); moreover, he is represented standing on a pedestal, as though he were a statue. Then the solar boat—which is itself of a normal type, and has the upturned prow and stern, ornamented by figures of the divine hawks crowned with the solar disk—has, in the naos amidships, a strange-looking male figure, also carrying the papyrus wand. The head of this figure seems to be covered by a round skull-cap, from which hangs the side-lock of youth. Above the boat is inscribed: "May the King be gracious and give . . ." (here a chip occurs in the surface of the stone, followed by the signs: $\overline{\text{Q}}$ Q Q "Praise" (?).

(1) GARDINER, "Rec. Trav", Vol. XXXIV, p. 66.

(2) See my "Excavations at Giza", Vol. VI, Part I.

Between the figure of the donor and the altar is inscribed : " Made by the Fan-bearer (?) Ptah-khu ".

The boat is clearly intended to be that of the Sun-god, as may be seen by the solar hawks with which it is adorned, but the figure in the naos is difficult to explain. It is unlikely to be that of Ra himself, as he is rarely represented in purely human form, and when so depicted in the only example known to me, he is crowned with a large sun-disk, which this figure is not ⁽¹⁾, nor does it seem to represent Atum. Judging by the side-lock, it might represent Horus the son of Isis, Shed or Khonsu, but none of these gods appear dressed in such a costume. Nor does it seem to represent a king. The only alternative, we can suggest, is that it represents the deceased himself sailing in the solar boat, a hitherto royal privilege, which, from the time of the Middle Kingdom onwards, was available to "the Man in the Street" ⁽²⁾.

2.—THE SPHINX AND THE SACRED BOATS

As the Sphinx represents a form of the Sun-god, it is not surprising to find it appearing in the solar boat. A relief from Luxor Temple, dating from the reign of Amenhotep III, shows the God Amon enthroned in the solar boat, which before him is a small figure of a sphinx, placed upon the perch-like standard which is common to sacred objects ⁽³⁾.

An interesting scene occurs on the lid of a sarcophagus of the Saitic Period. This lid is divided longitudinally into two equal halves, on one of which is represented the Day-boat of the sun, carrying the solar disk, in which is represented the primitive reed floats ⁽⁴⁾ and before it the Goddesses Isis and Nephtys. It is towed by a ram-headed God and the Four Sons of Horus.

On the other side of the lid is the Night-boat of the sun, in which is the Sun-god in the form of a mummied hawk, lying on a bier under a catafalque amidships. It is crowned with a solar disk. In front of this God stands the God Thoth and the deceased, their hands raised in adoration. In the bows of the boat is a human-headed sphinx, crowned with the atef diadem and clad in hawk's plumage ; it stands on a low, rectangular dais. The boat is towed by Anubis and two jackals. Here the presence of the Sphinx in the Night-solar-boat, and its absence in the Day-boat, connects it with night, death and the Underworld, and thus with Atum and Iwf, the nocturnal Sun-gods.

⁽¹⁾ See BRUYERE, " *Fouilles de Deir el Melineh* ", Pl. VII ; SELIM HASSAN, " *Excavations at Giza* ", Vol. VI, Part I, p. 48, Fig. 15.

⁽²⁾ See " *Excavations at Giza* ", Vol. VI, Part I, p. 151 ff.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 138, Fig. 62.

⁽⁴⁾ For a discussion of the reed-floats and their connection with the solar boats, see *ibid.*, p. 1 ff.

The Sphinx also appears in other divine boats, for example, in sacred boat of Amon, named Weser-hat. This was an actual vessel in which the statue of the God was carried in the sacred processions, and played a prominent part in the ceremony known as the "Beautiful Feast of the Valley", which was celebrated at Thebes. There are many representations of this gorgeously decorated boat, dating from the Eighteenth Dynasty to the Roman Period, when the human-headed Sphinx, crowned with the atef diadem, stands in the bows (1).

The Sphinx also stands in the bows of the divine tug-boat, which, manned by the King and the Souls of Pe and Nekhen, is represented towing the barque of Amon-Ra, on the Second Pylon at Karnak (2).

The Sphinx also takes its place in the bows of the divine boats of other Gods, and in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos it fulfils this function in the boats of Isis, Horus the Son of Isis, Amon-Ra, Mut, Khonsu, Ptah, and the deified King Seti I (3).

In these examples, the Sphinx perhaps personifies the King.

The Sphinx also occurs on the large wooden model boats which were found in the Tomb of Amenhotep II, in the Valley of Kings. The exact nature of these wooden boats is not clear, the absence of the characteristic prow and stern posts seems to preclude them from being solar boats (4).

On boat No. 4944 is a kind of enclosure, open at the front, just behind the supports of the steering oars. The sides of this enclosure are decorated in relief with a sphinx, crowned with the atef diadem, and trampling on a prostrate enemy. In front of it is a cartouche, erased. The hull of the boat is painted in colours. On the extremity of the prow is a lotus-flower, followed by the head of a ram, surmounted by a uraeus, and posed upon a pedestal in the form of a pylon. Next comes the head of a hawk crowned by a solar disk, and mounted on a pedestal of a similar form to the preceding. Then comes the sacred eye  also on the same type of pedestal, followed by two hawks which protect the Cartouche  of Amenhotep II with their wings. Next comes a ram-headed sphinx, with a uraeus upon its head, and an elaborate feather fan behind its back. It crushes the head of a Syrian enemy who lies prostrate under its paws. In front of this sphinx is inscribed: "Amon-Ra, Lord of Heaven", as we should expect from the ram's head of the Sphinx. Then follows a blank space, after

(1) FOUCAULT, "La Belle Fête de la Vallée", B.I.F.A.O. Vol. XXIV, Pls. I, III, VI, X, XI, XII, XIII.

(2) *Ibid.*, Pl. V.

(3) CALVERLY and BROOME, "The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos", Vol. I, Pls. 19, 22, 27, 30, 31; Vol. II, Pls. 1, 5, 10, 11, 23, 35.

(4) DARESSY, "Fouilles de la Vallée des Rios", p. 239, Pls. XLVIII, XLIX.

which is a narrow panel in which is depicted a human-headed sphinx, crowned with the atef, and trampling on a fallen enemy, whose beard and costume proclaim him to be a native of Punt. Behind the Sphinx is a fan and a winged disk. A similar narrow panel decorates the beginning of the stern, but the enemy is a negro. Although there is no inscription, these sphinxes perhaps represent the king.

Following a blank space, come three figures of Montu, the God of War, hawk-headed, and crowned with the solar disk surmounted by a pair of tall plumes. They are all transfixing prostrate enemies with their spears, the first victim being a Syrian, the second a negro and the third a Libyan. In front of each god is inscribed his name: "Montu, Lord of . . .", "Montu in the Midst of Thebes", and ". . . Montu, Lord of Zerti⁽¹⁾". Behind the last Montu is a hawk-headed sphinx, crowned with the solar disk, and trampling on a Tehenu (Libyan). It is inscribed: "Montu, Lord of Hermonthis". Last of all comes a winged figure of the Goddess Maat kneeling on the sign \smile . This last sphinx is very interesting, for it shows that Montu could also be represented in this form. Its function as a destroyer of Egypt's enemies reminds us of the many groups where we see the king as a sphinx trampling on foreigners, and this raises a question. Did the king copy this symbol from Montu, the God of War, or did the God borrow it from a form already established by the king? Were it not that this form has existed for the king at least as early as the Fifth Dynasty, we should be inclined to think that the God was the original triumphant sphinx.

The wooden model boats Nos. 4945 and 4946 carry similar decoration⁽²⁾.

3.—THE SPHINX AS AKER

As we have already seen, the Sphinx was sometimes regarded as the guardian of the dead and of the necropolis. It is perhaps this aspect of the Sphinx which led to its form being sometimes employed to represent Aker, the God of the Underworld. I have discussed the nature of this god in some detail elsewhere⁽³⁾, and it now remains to consider his outward form and his connection with the Sphinx.

According to the texts of the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms, Aker could be regarded as personifying the Underworld, or part of it, the Guardian of the Underworld, the spirit of the earth—either hostile or beneficent⁽⁴⁾, or even the cultivated land⁽⁵⁾.

⁽¹⁾ An important town in the fourth Nome of Upper Egypt, sacred to Montu, about 17 miles south of Luxor. GAUTHIER, "*Dictionnaire Geographique*", Vol. VI, p. 131.

⁽²⁾ DORESSY, *ibid.*, pp. 241, 242, Pl. XLVIII.

⁽³⁾ "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. VI, Part I,

⁽⁴⁾ So also, the Sphinx was of a dual nature, kindly and beneficent to the Egyptians, but an implacable destroyer of their enemies.

⁽⁵⁾ In later times the Great Sphinx was also regarded as the guardian of the cultivated lands.

In the Pyramid Texts, the writing of the name of Aker is frequently determined by the forequarters of a Sphinx  (Line 796 B, Mer-en-Ra), or by a double sphinx joined in the middle  (Line 555 A, Nefer-ka-Ra), or  (Line 325 A, Wnas and Pepi), or by a normal lion  (Line 393 B, Wnis). In the New Kingdom the double lion appears as a determinative ⁽¹⁾.

The name has also the plural form Akerw, and in the Old and Middle Kingdoms is determined with the signs we have already seen, but in addition to these, it may, in the New Kingdom, be determined by a sphinx ⁽²⁾.

In the New Kingdom we begin to get actual representations of Aker, these occurring principally in the royal tombs of the Valley of Kings, where they form part of the scenes representing the night journey of the Sun-god. Aker is here personifying a part of the Underworld through or over which the nocturnal Sun-god must pass. Fig. 169 is from the Tomb of Rameses IV and shows Aker in the form of a double sphinx, its bodies covered by the hawk's plumage. The left-hand is labelled: "Fair entrance", and the right-hand one is "Fair Exit". Both heads of the Sphinx support the solar boat in which the Sun-god travels with his companions Hw (?) and Sia ⁽³⁾.



FIG. 169.—A SCENE FROM THE TOMB OF RAMESES IV

The appellation of the two heads here connect Aker with the setting and rising sun. "Fair entrance" is where the setting sun enters the dark Underworld, to emerge next morning in the eastern horizon at the "Fair exit". This at once reminds us of the two lions, who, in the

⁽¹⁾ BUDGE, "Book of the Dead" (text), Vol. II, p. 61, 2, etc.

⁽²⁾ SETHE, A.Z., Vol. LIX, Pl. 58.

⁽³⁾ RENOUF, "Egyptological and Philological Essays", Vol. IV, Pl. XV (Hw = command, and Sia = understanding).

"Book of the Dead" are shown seated back to back and support the sun-disk in the horizon ☉ between them. In Ch. XVII of the "Book of the Dead" these lions are called: Yesterday and Tomorrow, and the text concerning them says (Middle Kingdom version): "I was Yesterday, I know tomorrow". "It is Osiris". "As to Yesterday, it is this Osiris." "As for Tomorrow, it is this beaming (?)."

The New Kingdom version reads: "I am Yesterday, I know Tomorrow". "What is that?". "As to Yesterday, it is Osiris, as for Tomorrow, it is Ra" (1).

In the Papyrus of Qenna, the two lions crowned with solar disks are seated back to back before a clump of papyrus plants. They represent the gods of the evening sun and of the morning sun (2).

This form of the double lion-god was made and worn as an amulet, and some specimens were found in the neighbourhood of the Great Sphinx (see p. 241).

The most interesting form of Aker as the Underworld Sphinx is in the Tomb of Seti I, where it occurs in a scene representing the Fifth Division of the Underworld, according to the book "Imy Dwat" (3). This division is called "Rostaw" which from the time of the Middle Kingdom is the local Memphite name for the Underworld kingdom of Osiris or Seker (the two Gods were fused under the name Seker-Osiris), and it is perhaps included in the book "Imy Dwat" as the survival of a religious tradition of an Underworld once complete in itself. The name "Rostaw" was also given to the Giza necropolis (see p. 4) and the reference to the Temple of Osiris, "Lord of Rostaw" occurs on the Inventory Stela (see p. 113).

In this representation from the Tomb of Seti I, we see the forequarters of two sphinxes protruding from the lower curve of the ends of an oval (Pl. LXI). This oval contains a monstrous serpent, winged, and having a double head and a tail terminating in a human head. Between the wings stands a hawk-headed god.

There is nothing to indicate precisely the name of the god, but it is interesting to note that in his hawk's head we have again a connection between this bird and the Sphinx. Above all this rises what appears to be a pyramid surmounted by a human head. The Sphinx forms coupled with this pyramid suggests that the Underworld Rostaw was moulded upon its earthly counterpart. In this scene the name given to the sphinxes is Iwf, which during the New Kingdom was one of the names of the Night Sun-god.

(1) GRAPOW, "Religiose Urkunden", pp. 11, 12.

(2) BUDGE, "The Book of the Dead", p. 81.

(3) LEFEBURE, "Le Tombeau de Seti I", Pls. XXVII, XXVIII.

This is perhaps the clue which gives us the explanation of why the spirit of the Underworld should be represented as a sphinx. Iwf, the Night Sun-god, is nothing but another and later form of Atum, and Atum, as we have already seen, was identified with the Sphinx.

Therefore, it is not surprising that in personifying the spirit of the Underworld, or that part of it through which the Sun-god passed on his nightly journey, the priestly scribes should choose the most striking emblem of Atum, the Night Sun-god, namely, the Sphinx.

As we have seen, it is in the Pyramid Texts that we have apparently the oldest reference for the identification of the Sphinx with Atum, under the name of Ruti ; it is also in the Pyramid Texts that we have what is up till now the first example of the writing of the name of Aker determined by the forequarters of a sphinx.

The reason why we find the double representation of Aker, either as a sphinx or as a lion, is because of the dual nature of the Sun-god, the young sun of the day, Horus, or Ra, and the old sun of the night, Atum or Iwf.

4.—THE SPHINX AS A DEMON

We have seen that the Sphinx can represent the beneficent Sun-god and the royal majesty and victorious power of the kings ; it was the protector of Egypt and the Egyptians, but the terror of their foreign enemies. But for a limited time, and in a special locality, the Sphinx could be a demon of Hell, dreaded even by those Egyptians who did not know the correct magical formulæ for dealing with it.

During the First Intermediate Period, when Egypt was in an upheaval of revolution, following the breakdown of the royal power at the end of the Old Kingdom, the cry was for Democracy, democracy in religious as well as in worldly affairs. Hitherto entry into the Solar Paradise was the exclusive right of the kings and nobles, and the only religious literature which has survived to us from this period was written for these exalted personages. But now the "Man in the Street" was claiming the same after-life as his betters, and to meet this demand the combined priesthoods of Hermopolis, Heliopolis and Memphis devised an edition of the royal funerary texts, interspersed with material from the old popular religion of Osiris, and from this produced two types of religio-funerary literature.

One of these works was a loose collection of miscellaneous magical spells and prayers, known to-day as the "Coffin Texts" (1). The second was a more or less set work, known nowadays as the "Book of the Two Ways".

(1) DE BUCK, "*The Egyptian Coffin Texts*", Vols. I, II, III.

This latter work purported to be a guide-book to Paradise, and consisted of a map of the route with explanatory text, and sometimes illustrations. According to this work, the deceased had a choice of two roads, one by land and one by water; these were divided from each other by a lake of fire. Each led to Paradise, but each was guarded by fearsome demons, and it was only by the knowledge of the special spells and passwords, contained in this work, that the deceased could hope to reach his goal. These demons were of hideous and impossible shapes, but in two cases they are clearly intended to be sphinxes.



FIG. 170.—THE DEMON SPHINX GALLOPING TOWARDS THE DECEASED

In the first example (Fig. 170) the creature is shown galloping towards the deceased. It has a human head with the royal or divine beard, and is crowned with a sun-disk on ram's horns. The body and hind legs are leonine in form, but the front legs seem to be intended to resemble a maggot, doubtless because these disgusting creatures were feared on account of the corruption and destruction on the corpse. Its tail, held stiffly erect, is that of the Set-animal. The text concerning it reads: "The Blasphemer, who repulses the Crocodile. This is the Guardian of the Bend (of the road); this is his name (1)".

The second sphinx (Fig. 171) has a bearded human head, with a feather stuck in its hair. The body is leonine, but the tail is bushy. In one fore-paw it clutches a lizard, and its head is turned as though it were looking behind it. Its name and function are stated as follows (2): "His name is Makty-neter (Divine Protector?). This is the Guardian of the Bend. It is he who is the guardian therein".



FIG. 171.—ANOTHER SPHINX WITH A BEARDED HUMAN HEAD AND A FEATHER IN ITS HAIR

It seems as though the Sphinx was chosen for this function because of its power, and its connection with Aker and Atum, and was exercising its dangerous qualities only on those who were unable to recite the required spell. If this last supposition is correct, then we have an early form of the Sphinx incident in the legend of Œdipus, where the monster destroys those who were unable to answer its riddle.

But to return to the question of the name of the Sphinx: Curiously enough, Naville mentions a name which he says sometimes refers to the Sphinx, and that is "seshep"; but he dismisses it as being of no importance, it having a general meaning of "image" or "figure".

(1) LACAU, "*Sarcophages Anterieur au Nouvelle Empire*", Vol. I, p. 192.

(2) *Ibid*, pp. 192 (33).

Gardiner, however, has made a more minute study of the word, which he includes in his "Notes on the Story of Sinuhe" (1) and he mentions the variants  of "seshep-ankh", and as it is sometimes written  which means the "living statue", and certainly seems to have been used to denote a sphinx. While referring to this word in the "Story of Sinuhe", Gardiner makes a very important and interesting statement. He says: "If "sšp" in the "Sinuhe" passage means "sphinx", and I have little doubt that it does, it must be an abbreviation for "sšp-Atum", "Image of Atum"(2) and the tradition that the Sphinx was an image of the Pharaoh in the form of the Sun-god, then it must go back at least as far as the Twelfth Dynasty (the date of the "Story of Sinuhe")."

These remarks of Gardiner caused Naville to change his opinion somewhat (2).

It has also been suggested that the word "seshep-ankh" was corrupted by the Greeks into their word "sphinx", which is not at all impossible (for the meaning of the Greek word "sphinx", see p. 211).

In the above-mentioned article, Gardiner quotes some examples of the use of the word "seshep-ankh", in sentences where the meaning is undeniably "sphinx", as the determinative clearly shows. But unless the name was changed in the course of time, these words "ruti" and "seshep" or "seshep-ankh" apply to sphinxes as a general type, and are not the particular name of any one specimen. What then was the name of the Great Sphinx of Giza?

It is surprising to know that it is not until the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty that we find any written reference to the Great Sphinx, and it is only by a lucky chance that a small fragment of an inscribed naos has survived from the wreck of the past, which gives the name of the Sphinx as Hor-em-akhet, the Harmakhis of the Greeks. This piece is dated in the fourth year of Thothmes I and is the first direct reference to the Great Sphinx which we have.

Here, at least we have definite ground upon which we can tread but unfortunately, at the time in which our evidence occurs, the Sphinx was already regarded as an antiquity, and it is more than possible that much of its original significance had been forgotten even by the Egyptians themselves.

But side by side with the name Hor-em-akhet (Horus in the Horizon), we find the Sphinx called Hor-akhty (Horus the Dweller in the Horizon), and this name has a profoundly interesting meaning. So let us try now and trace its origin and development, for it penetrates into the very roots of the Egyptian religion.

(1) *Rec. Trav.*, Vol. 34, p. 66.

(2) NAVILLE, "Sphinx", Vol. XXI, p. 12 ff.

In late times the God Hor-akhty appeared in several forms. He could be represented as a sphinx with the head of a hawk, or with a human head, as a hawk-headed man, or as a simple hawk, and many representations of him occur upon our stelae showing him in these guises.

It will be seen that in each case the hawk-like nature of the god is more or less prominently expressed, and this is the clue which leads us to the heart of the mystery.

First, in the dawn of Egyptian history the hawk was the symbol of the Great God of the Western Delta Kingdom, whose two eyes were the sun and the moon. When the rule of the Delta kings expanded, and they made Heliopolis their capital, the priests of that city, who had hitherto worshipped the solar disk, mingled the two faiths together for political purposes, and represented the god as a man with the head of a hawk, and crowned with the solar disk; and they called him either Ra-Horus or Hor-akhty.

In the beliefs of the Egyptians, the king was the earthly representation of this god, and we have material proof that the dead king especially was called Hor-akhty, for the name appears in this sense in the Pyramid Texts, as the following lines make clear:—

Line 337 :—

“ Words spoken : ‘Had been placed the reed-floats of Heaven for Ra, he, therefore, traverses with them to the Horizon ;

“ Had been placed the reed-floats of Heaven for Hor-akhty, therefore, Horus, the Inhabitant of the Horizon traverses with them to Ra ;

“ Had been placed the reed-floats of Heaven for Wnas, he, therefore, traverses with them to the Horizon to Ra ;

“ Had been placed the reed-floats of Heaven for Wnas, he, therefore, traverses with them to Hor-akhty to Ra. ”

(For this identification of the King with Hor-akhty, see “ *Excavations at Giza* ”, Vol. VI, Part I, p. 4.)

This text gives us the oldest mention of the dead king sailing to the western horizon of heaven ⁽¹⁾, and must be of extreme antiquity for a people to imagine the king using such a primitive means of navigation as a pair of reed-floats. Here is another instance of the crystallization of ideas, so often occurring in the Egyptian religion, owing to the extreme conservatism of the people, which stoutly refused to abandon any formula or custom hallowed by long usage ⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Pyramid Texts*, line 337.

⁽²⁾ For the question of the reed-floats and the solar journey, see “ *Excavations at Giza* ”, Vol. VI, Part. I, p. 1 ff.

When Khafra cut the Great Sphinx, it was made in his likeness, *i.e.* in the likeness of Hor-akhty, with whom he was identified. In later times, when the king was no longer called "Neter-aa" "the Great God", but was called instead "Sa-Ra" "the Son of Ra", the appellation of Hor-akhty was also dropped, and the Great Sphinx passed from being a dual likeness of the King and the God and both its image and the name Hor-akhty came to represent the god alone.



FIG. 172.—STELA No. 31

This name also appears alone on the limestone doorposts, which Seti I added to the Temple of Amenhotep II, on which the King says : "He made it as his monument for his father, Hor-akhty" (*see p. 106 and Pl. L, b*).

Votive Stelae found around the Sphinx :

And now, before going any further into the names of the Sphinx, let us examine the votive stelae found around this monument during our excavations, and see what they reveal to us concerning the question of Hor-akhty.

First, we have five stelae on which the name Hor-akhty  appears alone ⁽¹⁾. They are : (Fig. 33) ; No. 31 (Fig. 172) ; No. 47 (Fig. 173) ; No. 41 (Fig. 182) ; and No. 22 (Pl. LXIV).



FIG. 173.—STELA No. 47

(1) Var. .

There are also examples of stelae where Hor-akhty appears among other names of the Sun-god, but in these examples the representation of the God usually has some special feature, as for instance on Stela No. 1 (Fig. 67) where the God is addressed as Hor-akhty and Hor-em-akhet, and represented as a couchant sphinx, clad in the wings and plumage of a hawk. Here we have a reminiscence of the old hawk-god of the Western Delta, fused with the solar lion of Heliopolis.

Stela No. 37 (Fig. 68) gives an interesting representation, or perhaps dual representation, for in addition to the plumage-clad sphinx wearing the Atef-crown, we have also Hwl represented as a hawk-headed man crowned with the solar disk; and this is again reminiscent of the ancient fusion of the faith of the old hawk kings with the Heliopolitan cult of Ra, the disk of the sun.

The name appears as  Hor-akhty on the small Stela of Amenhotep II (Pl. XXXIX), but owing to wanton erasure, we are unable to determine the aspect under which the God was represented, beyond the fact that he was in sphinx-form.

The God is referred to as Hor-akhty on the Great Stela of Amenhotep II (Pl. XXXVIII), but here again we are only able to determine that he was represented as a sphinx, and we may suppose that it was clad in the usual plumage.

Two other very interesting stelae are Nos. 40 and 49; they are uninscribed, but almost certainly represent the Sphinx under his form of Hor-akhty.

On Stela No. 40 (Fig. 174), we see the couchant lion on the high, corniced pedestal; but he is represented here with the head of a hawk, and is crowned with the Double Diadem.



FIG. 174.—STELA NO. 40

Before him is the figure of a king wearing the Khepersh helmet, and presenting an offering of lotus-flowers. Unfortunately the surface of the stone is badly eroded, and any inscriptions that there may have been, have long since disappeared.



FIG. 175.—STELA No. 49

A fragmentary stela, No. 53 (Fig. 177), bears a similar representation, but includes a large sun-disk, with a single pendant ureaus, a touch of the influence of the Heliopolitan priesthood.



FIG. 177.—A FRAGMENTARY
STELA No. 53

Stela No. 49 (Fig. 175) shows the hawk-headed lion standing upon the high pedestal, a most unusual position. It also wears the Double Crown.

In both these examples the presence of the hawk's head denotes the form of Hor-akhty; while the high pedestal seems to be a clear proof that the Great Sphinx of Giza is intended (¹).

Stela No. 50 (Fig. 176) shows the God in the form of a hawk, crowned with the Double Diad and having a votive ear inscribed before him.



FIG. 176.—STELA No. 50

(¹) In the case of Stela No. 49, the standing figure of the Sphinx may be a reminiscence of the old royal Sphinx of King Sahu-ra.

No. 55 (Fig. 31 [4]) gives a double representation of the God in his form of a hawk.

But the theologians of the New Kingdom were not content with such a comparatively simple designation, and they wished to stress more forcibly upon the solar affinity of the Sphinx. Thus we find the name Ra-Hor-akhty existing beside Hor-akhty, and even occurring in the same inscription with it. This is a later invention of the Heliopolitan priesthood and their school of thought ⁽¹⁾. But here we must stress upon the fact that although the composite names of the Sun-god, containing the element Ra, were frequently applied to the Sphinx, it was never, so far as we can tell, actually identified with Ra alone. Ra is very seldom represented as having a human head, but Atum, on the contrary, has always a human head crowned with the White Crown or the Double Crown, except in very rare cases, where he may be represented with the head of an ichneumon.

We have two examples of stelae where the name Ra-Hor-akhty is mentioned alone. Stela No. 5 (Fig. 178) is a small, rectangular tablet on which is a simple, well-drawn figure of a sphinx, carved in low relief. Before its face is inscribed: "Ra-Hor-akhty".

The name Ra-Hor-akhty also occurs on the right-hand jamb of the main entrance to the Temple of Amenhotep II, and is accompanied by a representation of the god in the form of a hawk-headed man crowned with the solar disk. The scene represents the God Ra-Hor-akhty and the King Seti I standing, and affectionately embracing each other; while the God presents the ankh-sign of life to the King's face (see Fig. 76).

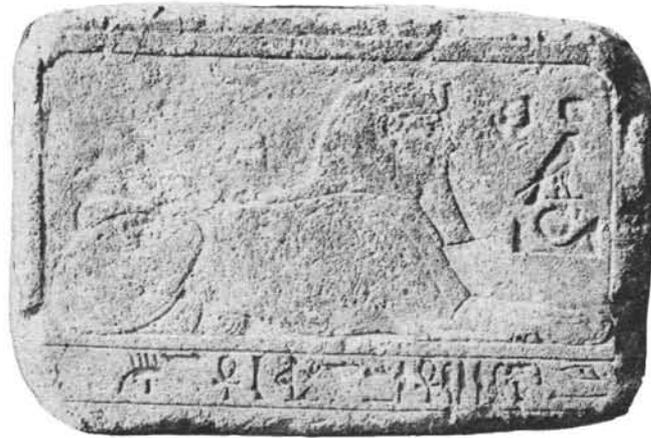


FIG. 178.—STELA No. 5

Ra-Hor-akhty is also mentioned in the same inscription as the other names of the Sun-god, but in each case he is only represented as a plumage-clad sphinx, and this clearly proves the artificiality of the name, for no additional emblem has been added to the figure of the Sphinx, which would warrant the inclusion of the element "Ra" into the name.

⁽¹⁾ SETHE, *Urgeschichte*, 121.

Stela No. 83 (Fig. 179) gives the name of the God as "Ra-Hor-akhty, the Great God". In this case the God is represented as a couchant sphinx. Above it is inscribed: "Ra-



FIG. 179.—STELA NO. 83

Hor-akhty the Great God of the Multicoloured Plumage, Hor-em-akhet, who presides over the Select Place (Setepet)", the latter part of the title being, as we have already seen, the especial designation of the Great Sphinx. Another very significant point about this inscription is that the name occurs in the place hitherto occupied by Anubis, or later, by Osiris, in the Old offering formula, and thus constitutes one of our earliest proofs of the function of the Sphinx as the God of the dead, as well as the guardian of their tombs. See also the previously discussed stela.

Hor-akhty the Great God, Atum, who hears the prayers, he who dwells in Shtyt". This inscription is very interesting, for it shows that the Sphinx is here definitely identified with Atum as a funerary god, as we may see by the epithet: "He who dwells in Shtyt" (¹), which is also held by Ptah-Seker, Anubis and Osiris. The lower part of the stela is occupied by the representation of two men bearing floral offerings, to which the leading figure has added a holocaust. In front of the leading figure is inscribed: "Made by the one praised by his Lord, the Overseer of the Builders of the Lord of the Two Lands, the beloved of Ptah, Her-nefer, Justified".

Above his companion is a horizontal row of hieroglyphs. While in front of him is inscribed his name: "Mer-Ptah".

As proof that the Sphinx itself is meant by these composite names, we find in Stela No. 37 (Fig. 68) the

(¹) Shtyt means temple or tomb in the underworld; see *W.b.*, 4, p. 559.

Sometimes the beliefs of the Heliopolitan school of thought alone predominate, and we find the Sun-god addressed simply as Ra, but the fact that the stelae so inscribed have been found beside the Sphinx shows that although the Sphinx does not actually represent Ra himself, it is closely and inseparably connected with the Sun-cult.

One of these stelae dedicated to Ra, and found in the vicinity of the Great Sphinx, is worthy of mention, both for the sake of its uncommon form, and for the interesting hymn with which it is inscribed. It takes the form of a naos (Pl. LXII), in which is a statuette of the deceased kneeling in an attitude of adoration. The top and sides of the frame of the naos bear two rows of hieroglyphs, reading from the top centre downwards, and concluding in a single vertical row, inscribed on the front of the kilt of the Deceased. This inscription reads :—

“Adoration to Ra in the early morning, when he riseth in the horizon of heaven, by the Chief *W'ab*-priest of Amon, Nekht.

“Hail to thy face, O Ra, when thou risest, the Mysterious among the Gods ; when thou risest, thou shinest upon the Two Lands.

“Adoration to Ra when he sets in life, by the *W'ab*-priest, the Carrier of the Offering-table, Nekht, the son of the *W'ab*-priest of Khonsu, the Chief of the Second Phyle, Kha, Justified.

“He says : ‘The arms of thy mother are thy protection. The King’s Son, the Chief Priest of Amon, Nekht, Justified’.

“He says : ‘Thou risest, thou doest exist, thou shinest in thy kingdom, thou wanderest to heaven . . . Thou reposest in the Mandit Boat daily and everyday. The Chief *W'ab*-priest of Amon, Nekht, Justified’.

“He says : ‘Thou comest in peace, thou doest embrace the earth, and thy two arms join the eastern mountains. Thy Majesty took the venerability (*i.e.* he became as a venerable old man) ; thou didst make thy body of Yesterday (*i.e.* re-creates himself in the same form everyday)’.”

Here we see the name “Ra” used as a general term for the Sun-god, unqualified by any special name to denote the morning or evening sun.

It would also seem as though the name Ra for the Sun-god is either the oldest name for it, or else it arose in a place where the standard of culture was higher than in any other part of Egypt, for we find the name Ra used in the old Egyptian language to mean “day”, “time” and kindred words, and the disk had become the symbol with which they were written. For example , the God Ra  “the sun” or “day”.

As we have already seen (pp. 151, 152), the Sphinx was associated with Atum from the earliest time, but during the New Kingdom, when it had come also to be regarded as a god of the dead, we find this relationship to the aged God of the setting sun more strongly emphasized, and on the pedestal of the statue of Queen Tyaa, we find the God referred to as Atum-Hor-akhty (Fig. 63).

But it must not be thought that these names were a contradictory muddle, such is far from the case. They are all names of the Sun-god and represent him in his different phases; and as the Sphinx was the incarnation of the Sun-god, these names were rightly applied to him in addition to, and side by side with, his own personal name. Similar instances occur in other religions, where God is recognized as the One Supreme Being, but nevertheless, possesses numerous names expressive of his manifold attributes.

Now let us return to the personal name of the Sphinx, which applies *only* to the Great Sphinx of Giza; I refer to Hor-em-Akhet "Horus in the Horizon".

As already stated, our first example of this name applied to the Sphinx, occurs on a fragment of a naos of Thothmes I, and at that time the Sphinx was apparently regarded as a God of the dead. Before giving any examples of the use of this name, let us see if we can arrive at a satisfactory explanation of its origin. The word "akhet" means "horizon", but as early as the Fourth Dynasty it had acquired another symbolical meaning of "tomb" as we know from the ancient name of the Great Pyramid, which was "Akhet Khufu" = the Horizon of Khufu.

This seems to be due to the fact that the horizon was the dwelling-place of the heavenly God, especially Horus, in his connection with the Sun-cult. He had an eastern horizon, from which he arose in the morning, and a western one in which he set in the evening. Now, the living king was identified with Horus, as the dead king was identified with Hor-akhty; therefore, Khufu named the place where he was to set in the evening of his life, his "horizon".

From thence the name was extended to the whole necropolis which came to be called "The Necropolis belonging to the Horizon of Khufu"; and as the necropoli of the ancient Egyptians were generally situated on the western bank of the Nile, the appellation was an apt one, for the dead go down to their tombs as the sun goes down to its western horizon.

Therefore, the name Hor-em-akhet can mean simply "Horus in the Horizon", which is an apt designation for a Sun-god; but it also bears a deeper significance of Horus in the Necropolis, which exactly described the Sphinx of Giza, because it is the western desert in which the monument is situated, and the western desert is the western horizon of the Sun-god. Also the Sphinx is resting in it, as are the dead kings and their people, and in this way, the original connection of the Sphinx with the Giza necropolis is maintained. Is this name Hor-em-akhet

also a reminiscence of the time when the Sphinx really represented Khafra, the dead King in his horizon (necropolis), and which became a divine name when the Great Sphinx was regarded only as a God and no longer as the God-king, namely at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty?

Also we must remember that the Sphinx lies in a depression between two hills, which is the exact form of the hieroglyph ☉ "akhet" "horizon", the great head of the statue appearing from the valley like the disk in the hieroglyph. It is interesting to note that two amulets in this form were found in the neighbourhood of the Sphinx. A variant of this type of amulet is seen in Fig. 180 which represents the double lion-god, Aker, with the disk of the sun between its two heads, the whole still preserving the outline of the horizon.



FIG. 180.—AN
AMULETIC
FIGURE OF
AKER

As we have already seen, the name Hor-akhty could refer to the dead king, and this was also the case with Hor-em-akhet. The living king was called "Horus in his Palace", while the dead king was "Horus in his Horizon", and as the passage in the "Story of Sinuhe" runs: ". . . the God (*i.e.* the King) entered his Double Horizon, the King Sehetep-ib-Ra sprang to heaven uniting himself with the solar disk and the limbs of the God were absorbed in him who had created them" (1).

Later on in the same story, the death of the King is again alluded to in these terms: "a journey to the Horizon, in the Palace of the King of the Two Egypts (2)".

This seems to indicate that the name was known in this sense as early as the Twelfth Dynasty, which is the date in which the story is set.

There seems now but little doubt at all that the Great Sphinx was regarded as the guardian of the dead, an attribution which its situation at the entrance to the necropolis renders very suitable. From this attribution it was only natural that the Sphinx should come to be identified with Atum, the setting sun, according to the Heliopolitan school of thought, whose worship dates from the Old Kingdom, and is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts. Originally perhaps, the idea was that the God-king, and later the God alone, was like Atum situated here in the western horizon, and from thence, he became the protector of the dead in the west.

This connection of the Sphinx with the dead was even more strongly insisted on by the later Egyptians, who made it say: "I protect thy sepulchral chapel, I watch over thy sepulchral chamber, I keep away the stranger who would enter, I overthrow the foes with their weapons, I drive the wicked from thy tomb, I annihilate thy opponents . . . so that they are no more (3)."

(1) MASPERO, "Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt", p. 75.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 77.

(3) *A.Z.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 50.

Here there is no doubt at all of the function of the Sphinx as the guardian of the dead. But it also appears as the god of the dead in the same manner as Hor-akhty, and on the Stela of Amen-em-Apt (*see* p. 88), we find Hor-em-akhet taking the place of Anubis in the offering-formula.

But now we come to a curious point. We have already seen that the earliest mention of the name of Hor-em-akhet, as applied to the God, appears in the reign of Thothmes I; but in common with the names of other popular gods, that of Hor-em-akhet was also used as a personal name by the devout, especially by the people of Memphis. The earliest example we have occurring in this capacity is under the reign of Amenhotep I, where it appears on a stela now in the Louvre (C. 34). The name is written "Hor-em-akhet", the brother and Scribe of the King's Relative, Atef-nefert⁽¹⁾.

The fact that at this early date the name had become popular enough to be adopted by such ultra-conservative people as the Egyptians for use as a personal name, is a proof that it must have been long familiar to their ears; and we may surmise that it was known to them at least as early as the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty, and very probably long before that, but we have no concrete evidence for this.

A fragment of papyrus, bearing part of a funerary text known as the "Chapter of Opening the Mouth", was discovered by Quibell at Sakkara in 1906, and given the name of the deceased as Hor-em-akhet and identifies him with the composite god of the Memphite necropolis, Seker-Osiris⁽²⁾.

Another example occurs in the necropolis of Giza in the Tomb of Thery, there were discovered two stela belonging to a certain Hor-em-akhet, one of which is now in Boston, and the other in Brussels⁽³⁾.

Still another stela, now in the Louvre, was dedicated to the Apis bull by one, Hor-em-akhet, who was the father and father-in-law of two priests of Ptah, and doubtless a citizen of Memphis⁽⁴⁾.

It occurs again in a tomb at Sakkara; this time the name being that of the High Priest of Memphis, under the reign of Ptolemy IV. It is written: . The stela on which this name occurs is now in the British Museum⁽⁵⁾.

Another stela bears the name of Hor-em-akhet, the son of 'An-m.hr and is dated to the reign of Ptolemy III⁽⁶⁾.

⁽¹⁾ See, for Hor-em-akhet appearing as a personal name, RANKE, "Die Agyptischen Personennamen", pp. 247, 251.

⁽²⁾ A.S., Vol. XXII, p. 193.

⁽³⁾ PORTER and MOSS, "Memphis", p. 65.

⁽⁴⁾ LEIBLÉN, "Dict. Nom. Hierog.", p. 1234.

⁽⁵⁾ See "Guide" (Sculpture), pp. 267, 268.

⁽⁶⁾ BRUGSCH, "Thesaurus", pp. 915, 916.

An even more interesting inscription is that of the great functionary, Hor-em-akhet, the son of the Sedem of Ptah, and who was entitled (1) : "The good Temple-slave of Sekhmet, the good lover of Ptah, the great Hereditary Prince, the Director of the Artisans of Ptah, the Priest of Arsinoe (2)".

It will be noticed that in the majority of the above-mentioned examples, these names date from the Ptolemaic Period, which proved that the name itself, and therefore the Sphinx must have been very well known at this time; and yet we have found practically no monuments relating to the Ptolemaic Period around the Sphinx.

But the use of this name was by no means confined to private persons, and in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty we meet with the name Hor-em-akhet Qebah, which was borne by a son of King Shabaka, the Ethiopian. A statue of this King, now in the Cairo Museum, gives the name as , and says that he was one honoured before Hor-em-akhet (the Sphinx) (3).

A king, bearing the name Hor-em-akhet, appears to have ruled in the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes. In an article entitled "*The King Hor-em-akhet*", M. Revillout says : (4) "A scarab bearing the legend Hor-em-akhet, Lord of Memphis" must refer to the Ethiopian King who ruled over Thebes at the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes. The fact that he is also called 'Lord of Memphis' suggests that he ruled all Egypt.

We have no exact evidence as to the career of this mysterious king, beyond the fact that he seems to have actually existed. Perhaps he was a descendant of Nekht-neb-f, the last Pharaoh of the Thirtieth Dynasty, who fled to Ethiopia when Ochus the Persian won the victory that made him master of Egypt; and he may have revolted against the rule of the Ptolemies, and even succeeded in holding the country for a while.

Lovers of romance will perhaps be interested to know that it was upon the supposed career of this king that the late Sir Rider Haggard based his celebrated novel "Cleopatra". But the paths of the historian and the novelist diverge somewhat, and as much as we should like to, I am afraid that we cannot accept all of Haggard's very interesting theories as to the date for the reign of King Hor-em-akhet, or as the Greeks called him : Harmakhis.

But to return to the name of Hor-em-akhet in its proper use, that is as the personal name of the Great Sphinx, we have in our excavations the following stelae where this name appears alone :—

A stela (Pl. LXIII) bearing the name of the Sphinx : "Hor-em-akhet, the Great God". It is rectangular in shape.

(1) Sedem a kind of servant or attendant, literally a "hearer".

(2) LEIBLEIN, *ibid.*, p. 1316.

(3) *Cat. Gen. statues et statuettes de Rois et Particuliers*, Tome III, pp. 12-13.

(4) "*Rev. Egy.*", Vol. X, p. 86.

The top part is occupied by the representation of the winged sun. Below this is the representation of two sphinxes, face to face; each is seated on a pedestal and wears the nemes head-dress with the uraeus and the sun-disk. Over the two sphinxes is the following inscription:—

“Hor-em-akhet, the Great God, that he may give him life, happiness, praise and love. The Lord of Heaven that he might give life, health, prosperity and intelligence.”

Below the representation of the sphinxes is a man on the right, kneeling and raising his hands in adoration, giving jubilation to Hor-em-akhet, who presides in the Setepet, the scribe, etc. etc.



FIG. 181.—STELA No. 20

two horizontal rows of hieroglyphs, reading: “A boon which the King gives, and which Hor-em-akhet (gives); may they give to him happiness in every place. Made by Inhermes”.

No. 41 (Fig. 182): It is of very crude workmanship, and represents the Sphinx, wearing the Atef-crown.

No. 20 (Fig. 181): Here the God is represented in the form of a couchant sphinx, wearing upon its head a crown of ram's horns, surmounted by the solar-disk and two tall plumes. Before its fore-paws is a bunch of lotus-flowers and buds, while above its back is a single-winged disk, which indicates that it dates from the reign of Thothmes IV. Below the Sphinx are



FIG. 182.—STELA No. 41

No. 48 (Fig. 183): It is also of very crude work, and the Sphinx appears to be wearing a short square-cut wig, rather than the traditional nemes head-dress.

No. 54 (Fig. 184): This is a fragment of a very fine stela; note the forceful rendering of the lion's body, and the clear-cut hieroglyphs. The triple cornice of the pedestal is unusual.



FIG. 183.—STELA No. 48

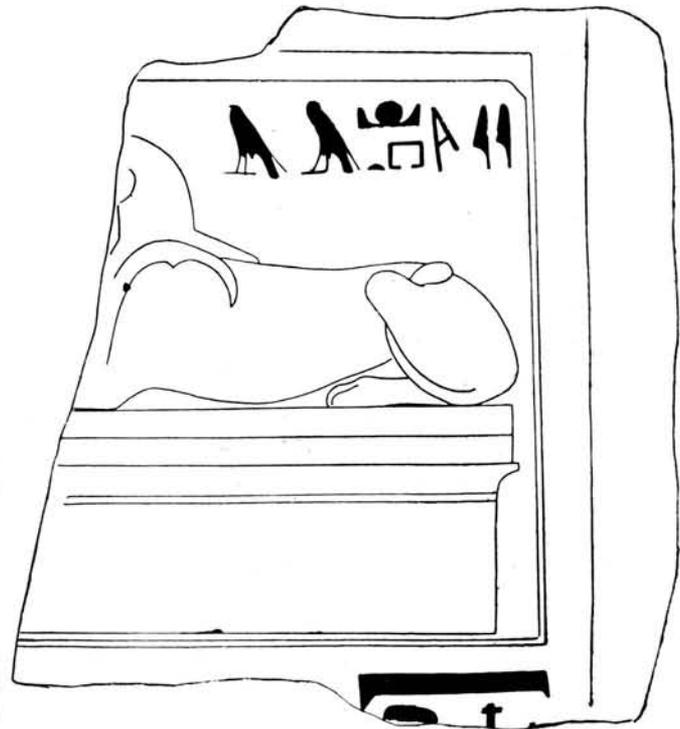


FIG. 184.—STELA No. 54



FIG. 185.—STELA No. 57

No. 57 (Fig. 185): This is one of the votive ear-tablets, and is dedicated to Hor-em-akhet (*see p. 44*).

No. 71 (Fig. 186): This is again only a fragment, and depicts the God in the guise of a plumage-clad sphinx.

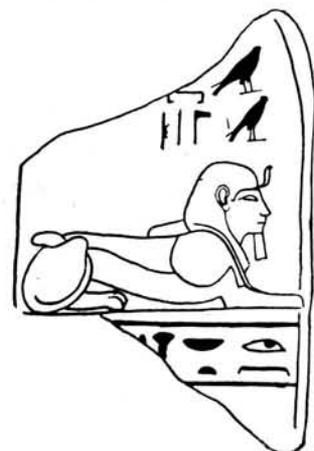


FIG. 186.—STELA No. 71

No. 84 (Fig. 187): It is of a very unusual type, and bears an inscription recording an endowment made by Thothmes IV in respect to the Temple of the Sphinx (perhaps that of Amenhotep II). The text is badly preserved, but enough remains to show that Thothmes IV had set aside a specified number of acres of land, apparently in Phœnecia (Dahi), with the object of providing a daily offering to the Sphinx (¹).



FIG. 187.—STELA No. 84

The name of Hor-em-akhet also occurs on the left-hand jamb of the main entrance to the Temple of Amenhotep II, where King Seti I is represented embracing a Goddess, and is styled: "Beloved of Hor-em-akhet" (Fig. 77). It also appears on three of the other inscribed doorways of that temple (Pls. XXV, XXVI).

We have also about fifteen examples in which the name Hor-em-akhet appears in the same inscription with other names of the Sun-god (²).

In most cases, the representation of the God on these stelae display him in the form of a couchant sphinx, resting on the usual high pedestal; but in two examples, he is represented as a hawk (³). One example, No. 37, bears a dual representation of the Sphinx and the hawk-headed god referred to on p. 85 (Fig. 68). In two instances we see given the full title of "Hor-em-akhet, presiding over the Select Place". (Pls. LXVI, Fig. 68) and in both we have the representation of the hawk-headed God standing beside the Sphinx.

On Stela No. 39 this God is styled "Ptah-Seker-Osiris, presiding over the West, the Great God, who is in Rostaw". Here we see again the influence of Memphis, for this deity is the composite god of the dead, as worshipped in that city, being a fusion of Ptah, the chief God of Memphis, Seker, the God of the Memphite necropolis, which survived to this day in the name of Sakkara, and Osiris, the great God of the Dead. This inscription corroborates that on the Granite Stela of Thothmes IV, mentioning a sanctuary of Seker at Rostaw, which should be somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Sphinx.

(¹) For this King's association with Canaan, etc., see especially, ROWE, "Cat. of Scarabs in the Pal. Arch. Museum", Pl. XXVII, No. 58.

(²) These are Nos. 1, 9, 11, 15, 16, 21, 22, 29, 36, 37, 38, 64, 80, 81, 82.

(³) Nos. 15 and 54.

We have also an example which shows clear evidence of the influence of Heliopolis, No. 78. (Fig. 188) and gives a variant of the name: "Ra-Hor-em-akhet".

The representation shows the usual couchant Sphinx, but above its back is a large solar disk, from which depends a single uraeus.

There is a curious point to be noticed upon these stelae, and that is a detail concerning the offerings. In almost every case the offerings set before the Sphinx are of a vegetarian kind, or flowers, fruit, incense, wine or water. Only on rare occasions do we see flesh offerings, which is strange, when one considers that these were presented to a God having the body of a lion, and who was, moreover, intimately connected with the hawk.

Can we account for this by the fact that the Sphinx, situated in the desert, lacked only the products of the cultivation? (It is to be noted that on the rare occasions when flesh-offerings are presented to the Sphinx, they take the form of water-fowl.) It may also be due to this peculiarity of the offerings that the Sphinx came to be regarded as the guardian of the cultivated lands, unless, of course, the reverse is true, and these offerings were presented *because* of this function of the Sphinx. Moreover, in its manifestation as a God of the dead, the Sphinx could be identified with Osiris, who was also a god of the cultivation, or with Aker, who sometimes personified the cultivated lands, or through Aker, with Geb, who was the father of all vegetation.

The name Hor-em-akhet remained in vogue as an appellation of the Sphinx, until the downfall of Paganism.

The Origin of the Name Hwron and Abul-Hol:

Now let us consider some of the other names of the Sphinx, one of which survives in a corrupt form to the present day.

In modern Arabic, the Sphinx is called "Abul-Hol", which is wrongly translated as "The Father of Terror"⁽¹⁾. In reality, the name is a very ancient one, and is linked up with a romantic history. Let us then trace it to its very source.



FIG. 188.—STELA No. 78

(1) This name, and its erroneous translation, was even employed by the Arab historians, and is still used by the modern Egyptians.

In the winter of 1933-1934, M. Montet discovered at Tanis, about 100 kilos from the frontiers of Asia, a large group of statuary representing Rameses II as a young child, crowned with the solar disk holding a reed in his hand, and sheltering beneath the breast of a large hawk. By an ingenious device of the sculptor, this granite group spells the Egyptian form of the name of Rameses. The sun-disk \odot is "Ra", the child is "mes" 𓂏 , and the reed is "sw" 𓂏 = "Ra-messu". But apart from its artistic and other merits, this group has proved to be of great importance, for on the sides of the base is an inscription, reading: "The Son of Ra, Rameses, beloved of Amon, the beloved of Hwron".

Hwron is the great hawk who is shown protecting the King. Who, then, is this God, and what are his functions? This is a question which has long awaited a satisfactory answer, and I believe that in the light of recent discoveries, we are now in a position to clear up the mystery.

Before the discovery made by Montet, the name of this God was only known from two Egyptian sources. One being the Harris Magical Papyrus, where it occurs four times in a spell for rendering wolves harmless, and to which we shall refer later. The other source is a fragment of a sphinx or lion, found at Tell-el-Maskhouta, which is inscribed: "Hwrna of the Lebanon" ⁽¹⁾.

But the name of Hwron was known from the Greek inscription: and many articles have been written concerning this god, some of them being very near to the truth. So before dealing with the new material which the recent discoveries have placed before us, let us survey the pioneer work that had already been done. The following are the writers who have dealt with this subject:—

1. JOUGUET.—"C.R. Acad." (1909), p. 354.
2. PERDIZET.—"Rev. Anc." (1904), p. 59, and recently "Cultes et Myths du Pangee", p. 20, Note 3.
3. LEFEBURE.—"Le Dieu Haron d'Egypte", A.S., Vol. XX, p. 237.
4. DARESSY.—"Le Dieu Haron sur les Monnaies du Nome Disopolite", A.S., Vol. XXI, p. 7.
5. LEFEBURE.—"Bas-reliefs du Dieu Haron", A.S., Vol. XXIV.
6. GARDINER.—"J.E.A.", Vol. V, p. 268.
7. EDGAR.—"A.S.", Vol. XXII, p. 79.
8. MONTET.—"Rev. Bib." (1935).

⁽¹⁾ LEIBOVITCH, "A.S.", Vol. XLIV, p. 171. Recent discoveries showed that Hwron was known during the Middle Kingdom as part of proper names (see FOSENER, "Prince et Pays d'Asie et de Nabie" (Bruxelles, 1940).

9. ALBRIGHT.--“ *The American Journal of Semetic Languages and Literature* ”, Vol. LIII, pp. 1, 12.
10. VIROLLEAUD.—“ *Rev. et Etude Semitiques* ”, (1937), p. 36.

In his article in the *Rev. Bib.* (1935), Montet at first suggests that perhaps Hwron is but another form of the God Horus, a divine hawk. But that is unlikely, as the cult of Horus as the hawk, though certainly very widely spread during the Old Kingdom, was not so much practised in the Nineteenth Dynasty as to warrant Rameses II causing it to appear so prominently in the Tanis group. But we have evidence of a God called Hwrna, whose cult was known in Egypt from the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and it may have been imported during the reign of Thothmes III, or Amenhotep II, at a time when Egypt was keeping open house to any foreign ideas or fashions, particularly those of Syria and Phœnecia, and this is the time when other foreign gods, Anat, Ashtoreth, Reshep and Qedesh, made their appearance in the Land of the Nile. In the case of Ashtoreth, it was her second visit here, for she was known in Egypt during the Hyksos Period, and was expelled with her Asiatic protectors at the downfall of their power (*see p. 277*), and only reappeared after peace had been restored between the two nations, by means of the foreign marriages of Thothmes IV and Amenhotep III.

It has also been suggested that the name of the last King of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Hor-em-heb, would be more correctly transcribed as Hwron-em-heb; but I cannot find any decisive proofs to support this theory. In fact, Montet's reading and interpretation of the name Hor-em-heb has been questioned and contradicted. Seele has pertinently pointed out that Hor-em-heb was a native of the town Hatnesut which was the centre of the cult of the native God Horus (KEITH SEELE, *J.N.E.S.*, IV [1945], p. 239). It is, therefore, natural that in loyalty to his antecedents, he should bear a theophoric name compounded with the name of his local god and meaning “Horus in festival” (*see J.N.E.S.*, Vol. VIII. (1949), No. 1, p. 27 ff.).

Before the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Hwron had become associated with Horus, and by the time of the reign of Rameses III, the partnership of these two deities seemed to be much in demand by the magicians, for we find their coupled names appearing in the Harris Magical Papyrus, in a charm for procuring protection for the crops and herds. The first passage mentioning Hwron, is on Reverse I, 7, which is a spell for disabling a wolf. It reads: “Hwron make thy fangs impotent, thy foreleg is cut off by Asaphes, (Horus, Son of Isis) after Anat hath cut thee down”.

Anat was a Syrio-Canaanitish goddess who fells the wolf in the incantation, even as she overthrows the demon Mot in the Ugaritic legend of Baal and Mot.

The second passage occurs on Reverse II, I, and is placed at the end of the same spell. It reads: “Thou art the Valiant Shepherd, Hwron”.

The third passage is in the next line, and begins a new spell to give protection against all wild beasts or demons. It reads: "O Hwron, drive the beasts from the harvest field, O Horus, let none enter".

Here we must remind the reader of the tradition which credit the Great Sphinx with the protection of the cultivated lands; as hinted at in the text of the Inventory Stela (*see* p. 113 *ff.*), and is clearly referred to in the Græco-Roman inscriptions (*see* p. 123), and which persisted among the local fellaheen, even after the Arab conquest and the adoption of Islam (p. 155). Nor is this the only connection between the god Hwron and the Sphinx, as we shall see later.

We have just mentioned a group from Tanis representing Hwron in the form of a hawk protecting Rameses II; from Tell-el-Maskhoutha comes a similar figure of a divine hawk protecting the Cartouche of Rameses II. Here the hawk is called Hor-akhty⁽¹⁾. A similar group to that of Tanis, but with the King represented as an adult, was found at Heliopolis. The hawk is here called Horus, the King is Nekht-Hor-heb, and the group forms a cryptograph of his name⁽²⁾. On a standard represented in the Chapel of Osiris in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos, Horus as a large hawk is shown protecting Seti I.

Thus we have four groups of a similar import, with a principal motif of a large hawk protecting the King; but the name of the hawk may be either Hwron, Hor-akhty or Horus. This can only mean that these three gods were closely associated with each other in the minds of the Egyptians, if not actually different aspects of the same god.

A stela in the Cairo Museum, which is believed to have come from the eastern Delta, represents Hwron, Amon-Ra and Reshep. As the deities found together on one stela are usually all of a simpler nature, we must see an accordance between these three divinities. In the case of Amon-Ra this is not difficult, for he is also called Hor-akhty, as in the Harris Magical Papyrus: "Adoration to Amon-Ra-Hor-akhty, who created himself"⁽³⁾.

As we have seen, Hor-akhty and Hwron were identified. In an article on this stela (in *A.S.*, Vol. XLIV, p. 173 *ff.*) Leibovitch discusses the question of the possible connection between Reshep and Hwron, through the identification of the latter with Her-shef who is associated with Hwrna in a magical spell⁽⁴⁾.

Concerning the identification of Horus with Hwron, we have a stela which seems to have some bearing on the matter, for it refers to the Sphinx under the name of Horus, and was

⁽¹⁾ NAVILLE, "The Store City of Pithom", Pl. XII.

⁽²⁾ WINLOCK, "Recent Purchases of Egyptian Sculpture", M.M.A., Vol. XXIX (1934), p. 187, Fig. 2.

⁽³⁾ LANGE, "Die Magische Papyrus Harris", p. 32. 1.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 85, 22-25.

moreover dedicated by a man of seemingly Asiatic extraction. It is an important document, as it seems to form a connecting link between the Gods Horus and Hwron, through the medium of the Sphinx.

Stela No. 12 (Fig. 189) appears to have been dedicated by a pilgrim, who was of foreign extraction on his mother's side, if we may judge by the sound of her name: Wer-na-ra. The surface of this stela is almost entirely occupied by the representation of a man offering incense to the Sphinx which, crowned with the Double Diadem, lies upon a high pedestal provided with a cornice, and having a door in its side (*see p. 147*). Above the back of the Sphinx is a large winged sacred eye, which extends its wings in an attitude of protection.

Above this scene are six vertical rows of hieroglyphs, reading: "A boon which the King gives, and Horus, the Great God, the Lord of Heaven, Ruler of Thebes. Made by the *W'ab*-priest of the Scribe of Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore of the South, Ahmes".

On the pedestal of the Sphinx is a horizontal row of hieroglyphs, reading: "Born of the Mistress of the House, Wer-na-ra". On the right-hand edge of the stela is inscribed: "Made by the Scribe of Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore of the South, Ahmes, Justified".

The left-hand edge was also inscribed, but the signs are now so badly damaged as to be unreadable.

The title of Hathor, "Mistress of the Sycamore of the South" may refer to a local form of the Goddess, and is perhaps connected with the sycamore tree to the south of the Great Sphinx, as mentioned on the Inventory Stela (*see p. 113 ff.*).

The greatest point of interest about this little tablet is that here the Sphinx is definitely identified with Horus, and is unqualified by any other name. This all goes to prove the innate solar character of the Sphinx, which made its form readily adaptable to receive any name of the Sun-god which its worshippers chose to give, according either to their personal religious beliefs or to the traditions in which they had been reared. The fact that it is here identified with Horus, recalls the fusion of that God with Hwron, as seen in the Harris Magical Papyrus.



FIG. 189.—STELA No. 12

After studying all the material available to him, Montet finally came to the conclusion that Hwron and Horus were two gods distinct from each other, though similar in form. But it remained for M. Virolleaud to add the point which tipped the scale in favour of Montet's contention; and that was a passage in the "Poem of Ras Shamra (Ugarit).

In the legend of Keret, King of Sidon, it is said that the King Keret was once seriously ill with a malady of the nose and throat; but when he began to recover, and his appetite returned he begged his wife to prepare him a good meal.

"Kill a lamb, and I will eat of it," he cried. His wife prepared the feast, and Keret ate continuously for three days, after which he retired to the interior of the palace, to take some rest.

But the son of King Keret was led astray by a demon of revolt, and rushing to the palace, he entered unannounced into the presence of his father, and began reproaching him in very severe terms, accusing him of not fulfilling his duty to the state.

"Give justice," cried the youth, "to the widow and the orphan. Drive away the robbers who extort the poor people. Give food to the hungry. If you will not do these things, then abdicate the throne, and I will sit in your place"!

But King Keret, who had regained his force, stood up to drive away his son, and cursed him in the following terms: "Hwron, will break your head, Ashtoreth will break your skull (1)".

This story seems to show that Hwron was considered to be the especial protector of the King, quick to take revenge on rebels and traitors; a function which we exactly find him fulfilling for Rameses II, as can be seen in the Tanis group (2).

Here, also, we find a link with the sun-cult of Egypt. Have we not seen the Sphinx protecting the temples, tombs and statues of the King? Or the human-armed sun-disk protecting the royal cartouche (see p. 79), or the solar hawk hovering over the head of the King?

But Hwron may also have had another side to his nature; he may, like the Sphinx, have been also a god of the dead.

Albright suggests identifying him with such gods as Attys, Adonis, and Tammuz; while in a Greek inscription at Delos, dated 2 B.C. and which was published by Plassart (3), we find Hwron mentioned as being a god of the town of Yamnia in Palestine, and associated with Herakles.

(1) It would appear as though Ashtoreth was the female companion of Hwron, just as her Egyptian counterpart, Hathor, was sometimes considered as the female companion of Horus. So also the "Syrian" female sphinxes seem to have a connection with Ashtoreth, just as Hwron may be represented as a sphinx.

(2) See also the discussion of this point, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. VIII, January 1949, No. 1, p. 29 ff.

(3) PLASSART, "*Le Sanctuaire de la Culte du Monte Cynthe*", p. 279.

All the above-mentioned deities were what may be termed fertility gods, like Osiris of Egypt, who possessed somewhat of the same nature. They were also gods of the dead.

The mention of Hwron in connection with the town of Yamnia also occurs in the above-mentioned "Poem of Ras Shamra", which was written twelve hundred years before the Greek inscription. This town is situated to the west of Jerusalem, not far from the sea, and near to a district called Bet Harun, a significant name as its meaning is "House of Hwron". Therefore, in consideration of this latter fact, and the fact that Yamnia was known for at least twelve hundred years to have been the home of the god Hwron, I do not think that we need to search any further for his place of origin. As additional evidence in favour of this theory, we have in Arabia and Palestine, other place-names compounded with the name of Hwron. For example; Wadi Hawran in the Syrian Desert and another Wadi Hawran in the Nejed⁽¹⁾. Perhaps all these places were originally ancient seats of the cult of Hwron.

In his article in the "American Journal of Semetic Languages and Literature", Albright puts forward a theory that the etymology of the place-name Hwron may mean "depression", "bottom" (as of a well) and similar words; and that the name of the god may have a kindred significance, perhaps signifying "the Deep One", or the "One Inhabiting the Underworld". A parallel is the Biblical Sheol, which means not only the Underworld, but also the presiding spirit of the place. This leads us once more to the Sphinx in its depression in the Libyan Plateau, Horus in the Horizon. It may also accord with the identification of the Sphinx with Aker, who is at once the Underworld, and the Spirit of the Underworld.

Therefore, let us follow Hwron once more into Egypt, and try to trace his career in the light of recent discoveries.

As we have seen, Montet stated that the earliest mention of the god Hwron⁽²⁾ in Egypt was at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty in the reign of Hor-em-heb. But from the Excavations of the Antiquities Department at Giza are the foundation deposits of Amenhotep II which bear this name.

Among the numerous stelae found in the immediate vicinity of the Sphinx in our excavations of 1936-1938, there are many which give the name of Hwrna, and its variant Hwl.

(1) Yaqt-Wustefeld, II, 358.

(2) In the inscribed figurines representing the enemies of the Pharaoh of the later Twelfth Dynasty which were published by Posener in 1940, occur three names compounded with *Hrn*, presumably Horon (*G. Posener Princes et Pays d'Asie et de la Nubie* (1940). See also *J.N.E.S.*, Vol. VIII, No. I, p. 2.

Let us first examine the group of twelve which give the name as Hwrna. The first of this series to come to light was No. 38 (Fig. 190), which bore a large figure of a hawk, very finely executed and full of delicate detail. Behind the hawk are three vertical rows of hieroglyphs, reading: "O Hwrna, Hor-em-akhet, may he give praise and love to the Ka of the Servant of Kher-aha (the Egyptian Babylon)⁽¹⁾, Neb-neny".



FIG. 190.—STELA NO 38

by the fact that in most of the specimens, we found the name of the donor had an outlandishly foreign sound to it.

Stela No. 3 (Fig. 191), is interesting on account of its inscriptions, which help to throw light on the functions

At first we were extremely puzzled over the leading word of the inscription, which did not seem to make any sense at all; and we were even inclined to look upon it as a mistake on the part of the sculptor, although the general excellence of the work seemed to refute any imputation of carelessness. But when other stelae, bearing the same name, kept coming to light, we began to suspect the truth of the matter, namely that we were dealing with a foreign god. Moreover, we were confirmed in our suspicions



FIG. 191.—STELA NO. 3

⁽¹⁾ For the mention of Kher-aha, see the Granite Stela of Thothmes IV.

of the solar god. The stela is divided into two registers, in the upper one of which is seen the usual winged sun-disk, and underneath it, the Sphinx, clad in hawk's plumage and couchant on a pedestal with a cornice.

In the lower register is the badly preserved figure of the donor, but enough remains to show that he was a shaven-headed man clad in the ample and fanciful kilt affected by the upper classes at the end of the Eighteenth and beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty. In each hand he holds aloft a small brazier, on which reposes a burnt offering, consisting of water-fowl. In front of him are four vertical rows of hieroglyphs, reading: "Receiving the good things of Hwrna, Ra-Hor-em-akhet".

The passage, where Tha the owner of the Stela asks for a "Goodly burial", clearly shows that Hwrna, whom he identifies with Ra-Hor-em-akhet, is regarded by him as a god of the dead as well as of the living.

Stela No. 6 (Fig. 192) is also divided into two registers, showing in the upper one the couchant Sphinx before a table of offerings. It is clad in the hawk's plumage, and crowned with the Double Diadem, while its back is shaded by a large fan. Before the face of the God is inscribed: "Hwrna".

Below this scene is a representation of two men, apparently father and son. The larger figure is kneeling in adoration, and before him a vertical inscription, reading: "Made by the Steward of the Great House, Amen-em-isit-neb".

Behind him stands a smaller figure of a man, clad in a military or police uniform⁽¹⁾. There was originally a vertical row of hieroglyphs in front of him, but owing to a break in the stone and surface erosion, only two signs can be read, which are:  pa.



FIG. 192.—STELA NO. 6

⁽¹⁾ See PETRIE, "El Amarna", Vol. II, pp. 15, 18, 20, 42.

Stela No. 9 (Fig. 94) is of a type similar to the preceding, but contains some extra details worth noting. First, it is surmounted by a winged sun-disk, designated "Hor-Behdet". Secondly, in front of the plumage-clad Sphinx is a representation of its temple. Thirdly, the donor is an army officer. This man's portrait appears in the lower register, where he is shown holding his peculiar baton standard. Before and behind him is an inscription, reading: "Adoration to Hor-em-akhet in his name of Hwrna. I give praise to thy beautiful face, I make content thy beauties. Thou art the Only One who will exist till eternity, while all people will die. Mayest thou give me good life, while I am following thy Ka. For the Ka of the Fan-bearer of the Phyle of the Amon-nekht Regiment Khery-itef-u".



FIG. 193.—STELA No. 15

Here we have a statement that is of the greatest value to theology and philology, for here is a definite declaration that Hwrna is a god identified with Hor-em-akhet, and the two are regarded as the personification of the One Eternal God. It is not often that we are so fortunate as to get such a clear and definite statement from the monuments.

Stela No. 15 (Fig. 193) again represents the god in the form of a hawk, and so proves that he is really to be regarded as the same deity who is seen protecting the infant Rameses in the Tanis group, and therefore to be identified with the Canaanitish Hwron. Behind the hawk is a vertical inscription, which reads: "O Hwrna-Hor-em-akhet, may he give favour and love to the Ka of Amen-em-heb".

On Stela No. 22 (Pl. LXIV), we again see the winged disk of Hor-Bhedet the Great God at the top, this time flanked by uraei; while the God is represented as a couchant sphinx, clad in the usual hawk's plumage. Between its paws is a curious covered jar; while a heap of offerings, surmounted by a lighted censer, is piled up before him. In front of the Sphinx is inscribed: "Ra-Hor-akhty, Lord of Heaven". Above its back is inscribed: "Coming forth from the Horizon".

This may well be applied to the Great Sphinx which actually seems to be coming forth from the horizon of the western desert. In the lower half of the stela is a representation of the donor, kneeling in adoration; and before him are six vertical rows of hieroglyphs, reading: "Adoration to Ra-Hor-em-akhet, and making obeisance to Hwrna, that he may give life, prosperity and health, and a happy pleasant life. without misfortune, and a sound mouth

before the Lord of the Two Lands, and a goodly burial after an old age, in order to attain to the dignity in peace, while mine eyes are beholding thy beauties; to the Ka of the official, Nehy, justified and possessed of honour”.

In this charmingly human petition, we again see that the God is regarded as being concerned with the dead, not merely as a guardian of the tomb, but as a provider of a burial.

A very unusual feature occurs on Stela No. 29 (Pl. LXV) which portrays a large figure of a cow in the bottom register. The surface of the stone is badly eroded, but enough remains of the details to show that the cow is tethered, and is being milked by a woman who kneels beneath her. In front of this cow, but turning his back to her is the figure of a man with his arms raised in adoration. The inscriptions are so badly eroded as to be almost illegible, but at the extreme right-hand side can be seen: “Made by Pa-Ra-em-heb (1)”.

The upper register bears the usual representation of the couchant Sphinx, about which there is no uncommon detail to remark upon. Above its back and before its face is an inscription, reading “A boon which the King gives, and a boon which Hwrna-Hor-em-akhet the Great God, the Lord of Heaven . . . Pa-Ra-em-heb”.

The scene on Stela No. 39 (Pl. LXVI) has already been mentioned on p. 246 in connection with Hor-em-akhet, but there remain a few points of interest to be added.

First, we must draw attention to the figure of the donor and a lady, probably his wife, who are represented adoring the Sphinx and the God Ptah-Seker-Osiris; between them and the Gods is a large pile of offerings, which included flesh. Above the two Gods is inscribed: “Hwrna-Hor-em-akhet, the Great God, presiding over the Select Place, Ptah-Seker-Osiris-Khenty-Amenti, the Great God who Dwells in Rostaw”.

Above the worshippers and the offerings are six vertical rows of hieroglyphs, reading:

“Adoration to Hwrna, and kissing the earth to Sokaris, that they may give life, prosperity, and health to the Ka of Shui (?), the Overseer of the Scribes of the Lord of the Two Lands, Amen-wah-sw (and his wife ?), his beloved of the desire of his heart, the Mistress of the House, Mut-em-weir.”

(1) Another Pa-Ra-em-heb is mentioned on a stela at Beisan in Palestine. This stela is dedicated to Mekal, the local deity. cf. ROWE, “*Topography and History of Beth-Shan*”, pp. 14, 15, Pl. 33.

Unfortunately the lower part of the stela is in a bad state of preservation, which is most disappointing, as it appears to have been largely, if not entirely, occupied by a vertical inscription. Only three lines from the left-hand side remain, and they read:—

“Adoration to thy Ka, thou Living God, Hwrna-Hor-em-akhet, who presides over the Select Place, and kissing the earth for Ptah-Seker, the Lord of Shtyt, and all the Gods, Lords of Rostaw, (that they may give) offerings of bread, beer . . . cool water (?) . . . Atum . . .”



FIG. 194.—STELA NO. 14

It would have been most interesting to have known the end of this inscription.

A variant of the name of Hwrna occurs on Stela No. 14 (Fig. 194), which gives the name of the God as Hwrnana. It bears on its upper part the usual representation of the Sphinx, above which is inscribed: “Hwrnana, the Great God, Lord of Heaven”.

Below is a kneeling figure of the donor, who clasps a small kid or gazelle under his left arm. In front of him is inscribed: “Made by the Goat-herd *mh* . . . to the Great God”.

The animal under his arm may be an offering which he intends to present to the God, or it may be merely the symbol of his calling.

Now let us consider the seven examples which give the variant of Hwrna, namely Hwl⁽¹⁾.

Here we must mention that in Egyptian, the signs  or  are interchangeable as *R* or *L*, hence we see the variants    , determined by a sphinx, or    , or sometimes    , where the lion-sign is replaced by a sphinx.

⁽¹⁾ See also for the pronunciation of the name of this God, GARDINER, “*The Wilbour Papyrus*”, II, Commentary, p. 215 *f.*

On one example the determinative takes the form of a hawk, and this is a further proof that we are dealing with the Canaanitish god Hwron, the divine hawk, whose figure appears as the protector of the infant Rameses II at Tanis⁽¹⁾.

Stela No. 2 (Fig. 195) bears clear evidence of foreign influence, both in its scenes and inscriptions. As usual, it is divided into two registers, but the upper one, contrary to the general practice, is made much deeper than the lower one. On it are sculptured three gods, all of whom are in a standing attitude. The figure to the right represents a hawk-headed man, who carries the ankh-sign in his left hand. His right hand is clasped in that of a youthful, naked god, who stands before him; and mingled in their grasp—are various weapons and the Was-sceptre. Probably the weapons belong to the younger god, as we shall see later.

The young god wears the plaited side-lock of youth, emblem of Horus the Son of Isis. To the extreme left-hand side of the register is the figure of a goddess, who wears a strange, flounced dress, upheld by cord braces⁽²⁾. She has no characteristic head-dress, save a uraeus upon her brow, and her natural long hair. She holds the Was-sceptre in her left hand and the "ankh" in her right one. Another foreign characteristic is the wide spacing of the feet of this figure, which gives the impression that she is rapidly striding along. Egyptian goddesses—and women—are represented with their feet placed together.



FIG. 195.—STELA No. 2

⁽¹⁾ I must be pardoned for digressing, but must add that Rameses really had this group made for himself, and did not usurp it!

⁽²⁾ cf. the costume of the Asiatic women prisoners of war, depicted in the Tomb of Hor-em-heb; ERMAN, "Agypten und Agyptisches Leben", Taf. 42, 2.

Above these figures is an inscription consisting of six rows of hieroglyphs, two of which read from left to right, while the remainder read from right to left. The former read: "The Son of Isis, sweet of Love"; while the latter are translated: "Shed, the Great God, the Lord of Heaven, the Clever Archer, beloved of Egypt". Over the Goddess is written: "Meteri (?) this God's mother". Are we to consider this Goddess as the mother of the God Shed and thus counted as a new Goddess in the Egyptian pantheon which is not known as far as I can tell? The text, accompanying the scene, calls Shed: the Great God, Lord of Heaven, the Clever Archer, beloved of Egypt; and over that Goddess is written: "*mtrjw this God's Mother*". Is there any relation between this Goddess and the Mitannian Goddess Mitra (see RENÉ DUSSAUD, "*Les Religions Des Hittites et Des Hourrites Des Phéniciens et Des Syriens*", pp. 304, 390, 409; JACQUES VANDIER "*La Religion Égyptienne*", p. 224, where Mitra is called: "*La Grande Mère (the Great Mother)*").



FIG. 196.—STELA No. 13

woman kneeling before a laden table of offerings, the man burning incense and the woman carrying an offering of lotus-flowers. An inscription surrounding these figures reads: "Made by the Scribe Yukh, of the Granaries of the Double Forecourt, life, prosperity and health, and the Chantress, the Mistress of the House, Sepet, Justified".

This would appear to be a funerary stela made on behalf of the woman, who is referred to as "Justified", denoting that she is already dead.

The lower register depicts a man kneeling in an attitude of adoration. Before him are six vertical rows of hieroglyphs, and a seventh row behind his back completes the inscription, which reads: "Giving adoration to Pa-Shed, and kissing the earth to Isis the Great, and praising Horus the Son of Isis, that they may give life and welfare every day to the Ka of the Measurer of Hwl, Paia".

Stela No. 13 (Fig. 196) does not present any particularly unusual features, and follows the general type. It shows the Sphinx couchant upon a pedestal, which has a door in the side. Before it are two offering-tables bearing libation-vases and lotus-flowers; while behind the Sphinx is a cluster of lotus-flowers. Above the scene is a vertical inscription, reading: "A boon which the King gives, and a boon which Hwl (gives)". In the lower register are a man and a

On the Stela No. 7 (Pl. LXVII), the Sphinx is named Hwl and the name is determined with a hawk. It is curious and, at the same time, remarkable to note here that the donor of the stela is doing salutation to the Ka of the Akhet (*i.e.* the Ka of the horizon of the Great God), undoubtedly meaning the Sphinx.

Notice here that the King is standing in a miniature form in front of the Sphinx, but giving him his back and facing the offering-table charged with victuals and a brazier.

Now we come to a very fine specimen of these foreign stelae; I refer to No. 34 (Fig. 197). It is in an excellent state of preservation, and even bears traces of its original brilliant colouring; moreover, it possesses an additional interest, by reason of the fact that it was one of those stelae which we found actually *in situ*, set in the mud-brick wall to the north of the court of the Sphinx.

The upper register shows the Sphinx couchant upon a flat pedestal. It is crowned by the Double Diadem, and wears the Osirian beard, while the body is clad in the hawk's plumage. Its back is shaded by a large fan, and before its breast is a curious double representation of a statue, which, judging by the shendyt kilt and the examples given on other stelae, appears to be a king (or two kings?), although in this case neither crown nor uraeus is visible.



FIG. 197.—STELA NO. 34

On the edge of the pedestal is a laden offering-table, surmounted by a censer. Before the Sphinx stands the figure of an elderly man, as his lined face and comfortable paunch denotes. He is clad in a long, finely pleated robe, and wears his own hair in place of the conventional wig. This, as though to compensate for the somewhat negligent manner in which it is arranged, is coloured vivid auburn, which coupled with the evidently advanced years of its owner, leads us to suspect that the old gentleman was not entirely ignorant of the excellent properties of the henna plant!

Above the table are five vertical rows of hieroglyphs, reading : ‘ Hwl, the Great God, the Lord of Heaven, Ruler of Eternity. Adoration to Hwl-Atum, Father of the Gods, that he may give a long and prosperous life to the Scribe, Tw-tw-ia, Justified, the possessor of honour ’.

The lower register shows us Tw-tw-ia again, this time accompanied by his sister and two brothers, and still resplendent in the glory of his flaming locks ! In front of him is a vertical inscription, reading : ‘ Adoration to thy Ka, O Hwl, the Great God, Lord of Heaven may he give life that the body may be in joy, to the Ka of the Scribe of the Offering-table of the Lord of the Two Lands, Tw-tw-ia, Justified ’.

By this, we may deduce that the old gentleman was of a somewhat worldly disposition.

Behind him appears the figure of a lady, bearing an offering of lotus-flowers, and before her is inscribed : ‘ His sister, the Mistress of the House, his beloved, I-ia ’.

Behind this pair are the figures of their two brothers, who, being represented on a smaller scale, are probably younger members of the family. In front of the first one is inscribed :

‘ His brother, A-hy-ia ’, and in front of the second is inscribed : ‘ His brother, I-ia ’. The name of the latter, being the same as that borne by his sister, must have caused a great deal of confusion to their friends (1).



FIG. 198.—STELA No. 66

inscribed in front of a figure of a sphinx. The lower register shows a representation of a kneeling man and woman, while behind them stands a boy. Behind each person is inscribed his or her name.

But for our present purpose, the most interesting part of this very human stela, is the identification of Hwl with Atum. It serves to show that Hwl was connected with the setting sun, which links it up on one side with Hor-akhty and Hor-em-akhet, and on the other side with the Canaanitish god Hwron (Horon).

Stela No. 66 (Fig. 198) also bears the name of Hwl, which is

(1) Note that the names of this family have a totally un-Egyptian sound and structure.

The latest examples of these names of the Sun-god, actually found in the immediate vicinity of the Sphinx, occur on three monuments dating from the reign of Seti I, at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

One of these is a beautifully preserved stela, dedicated by a Vizier of the Pharaoh. It is Stela No. 21 (Fig. 199). As usual, it is divided into two registers, the upper one of which is surmounted by a winged disk and uraei, below which is a kneeling figure of Seti I presenting libation vases to the Sphinx. In front of the king, and level with his head-dress of ram's horns and plumes, is inscribed: "The Lord of the Two Lands, Men-Maat-Ra, the Lord of Diadem, Seti Mer-en-Ptah, who is given life".

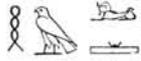
Above the Sphinx are three vertical rows of hieroglyphs, reading: "Giving adoration to Hwl, and kissing the earth for Hor-em-akhet, that he may give life, prosperity and health, intelligence and favour every day, to the Ka of the Chief Vizier (?) of the Lord of the Two Lands, Haity".

The fact that the text gives the pronoun "He", following the names of Hwl and Hor-em-akhet, proves that Haity considered them to be but two names for a single god.

Stela No. 80 (Figs. 74 and 75) is that which Seti I erected in the Temple of Amenhotep II, and he mentions on it that he made it as a monument for his father Hwl.



FIG. 199.—STELA NO. 21

This same sentence occurs on the limestone door-posts of the south-western chamber which Seti added to the same temple (*see* p. 106), but here the lion-sign is replaced by a sphinx, thus:  and is written in such a manner as to make us doubt if it is to be read as the letter *L*, or as a determinative. On the other hand, this Sphinx-sign may serve the double purpose of the letter *L* and a determinative, as was frequently the case in ancient Egypt.

If a decisive proof were needed to convince us that Hwrna and its variant, Hwl, were indeed the same god as the Canaanitish Hwron, that proof is forthcoming in Stela No. 87 (Fig. 200), which is perhaps one of the most curious of all the stelae discovered in this neighbourhood, and at the same time one of the most interesting, for it preserves the name of the God Hwron intact and thus gives the final irrefutable proof that he was really worshipped here.



FIG. 200.—STELA No. 87

The stela itself is rectangular in shape, and takes the form of a naos, in the niche of which is a very strange figure of the god.

This effigy was apparently in the form of a mummified hawk, the head of which is carved in one with the stone of the stela. Below this, the stone was cut away to the required outline of the body, which was then modelled in red earthenware, and inserted in the cavity. This body, a large part of which had fallen out, was shaped like that of Osiris, and the projection of the elbows from the sides suggests that, like the latter god, this deity was holding something in his hands. This mummiform body also shows very clearly that Hwron was here regarded as a god of the dead.

Above the niche of the stela is a winged disk, but the upward curve of the wings shows clearly an Asiatic origin. Down the right-hand side of the stela, a vertical row of lightly incised hieroglyphs reads: "The Assistant of the Overseer of the Artisans of . . . in the House of Hwron".

This stela was recovered with a number of small objects of various dates, lying in the loose sand to the north of the Sphinx Court.

That these names of Hwrna, Hwl and Hwron did not pass out of use, may be seen in the passage in the Inventory Stela which reads: "The place of Hwrna-Hor-em-akhet is on the south", etc. (*see p. 113 ff.*), though this was doubtless copied by the later priests from the examples occurring upon the earlier stelae.

Before leaving the subject of these stelae, we must first mention a very important specimen, which has served to help in solving what has long been a geographical mystery, and this is Stela No. 16 (Fig. 201). In form it is similar to most of the preceding examples, showing a couchant sphinx in the upper register, and a kneeling man and woman in the lower one. The inscription above the Sphinx reads: "O Hor-em-akhet, the One of Harronia, the Great God". While the inscription in the lower register reads: "A boon which the King gives to thy Ka, O One of Harronia, Hor-em-akhet the Great God. May he give life, prosperity and health to the Ka of the Sculptor of the Lord of the Two Lands, Dhwtj-nekht. His sister, his beloved, the Mistress of the House, Anth-em-heb".

Here we have a clear reference to a town bearing the name of Harronia, and apparently connected with Hwrna and the Sphinx. Now it has long been known from the Greek inscriptions that there was a town called Horonopolis (the city of Horon) and many archaeologists have tried, but unsuccessfully, to locate it. In a lengthy article in the "Journal of Egyptian Archaeology", Gardiner tried to fix it at Pithom in the Delta, but the theory was not altogether convincing, and Heronopolis had come to be regarded as a lost city ⁽¹⁾.



FIG. 201.—STELA NO. 16

But our stela from Giza affords a powerful clue, for we learn from it that a town of the god Hwron certainly existed, and the fact that it seemed to be in some way connected with the Sphinx, led us to suspect that it must be somewhere in the neighbourhood. Therefore, we studied all the place-names of the small districts and villages, lying between Memphis and Heliopolis, and were rewarded by discovering a large site, situated within two miles of the Sphinx itself, and which is now divided into two villages, bearing the names of North Harronia and South Harronia.

It seemed almost too good to be true, but a little investigation soon proved it to be an ancient site; and some inscribed slabs of large size were recovered from it.

(1) There is, however, the possibility that there were two cities: called Horonopolis. The presence of the group of Rameses II and the God Hwron at Tanis suggest that there should have been a sanctuary of this god somewhere in the vicinity. There is a village called to-day Mit-el-Haroon in Dakahliya Province, Markaz Mit Ghamr, in the Delta.

Therefore, I think that we may safely say that the lost city of Harronia (Horonopolis) had been located at last and that it even bears its old Pre-Hellinic name, unchanged. More than that we have a strong clue as to the class of people who inhabited this town. Most of the names of the donors on the Sphinx stelae, particularly those bearing the names of Hwl or Hwrna, appear to be distinctly foreign in formation. This, coupled with the Canaanitish god they worshipped, leads us to suggest that they were Canaanites. In other words, we have here a record of a Semetic people, who, without a doubt, lived by themselves away from the native population, in the town of Harronia. These people, perceiving the likeness of the Sphinx in his role of protector of the king, clad in the plumage of a hawk, and sometimes even represented with the head of a hawk (or even simply as a hawk) to their god Hwron of Ras Shamra, identified the two gods as one. The fact that the two deities could also be regarded as gods of the dead, encouraged this fusion.



FIG. 202.—STELA No. 54

Although uninscribed, there are some small votive stelae, which by reason of their style and workmanship, and the treatment of the scenes, seem to suggest that they had been made by these foreign settlers in the neighbourhood of the Sphinx. Typical examples of this class of stelae are the following :

Stela No. 54 (Fig. 202). — This stela presents some points of interest, despite its wretched crudeness of execution. The upper register represents the Sphinx couchant, but without a pedestal. Between its fore-paws is a full-blown lotus-flower, a variation, or perhaps a misrepresentation of the covered jar seen on Stela No. 22 (Pl. LXIV). Notice the un-Egyptian treatment of the body of the Sphinx, and its foreign features, particularly the eye, which is typically Asiatic. In the lower register are

the figures of two men, standing in adoration, one on each side of an offering-table. The larger figure wears a costume, which though Egyptian in style, is more akin to that of the Old Kingdom, than to that of the later period, to which this stela clearly belongs. The smaller figure is merely scratched in outline on the stela, but plainly shows a foreign dress and a pointed cap, suggesting the head-dress of the Phœnecians and other people of Canaan, etc.

This stela was made for a foreigner, and apparently by a foreign hand. The extreme crudeness of the work suggests that it was executed by an amateur, who, while wishing to depict a traditional Egyptian scene, was unable, in spite of himself, to forget the art-forms of his native land.

Stela No. 61 (Fig. 203).—This is far better work, and more orthodox in style than the preceding stela. The upper register shows the Sphinx couchant upon the usual pedestal. It is clad in the hawk's plumage and crowned with the Double Diadem. Before it are two offering-tables placed together, and laden with provisions, including joints of meat, and surmounted by a lighted brazier.

In the lower register is the figure of a woman, kneeling in front of four offering-tables, similar to those mentioned above. Although uninscribed, there are indications that this stela was dedicated by a foreigner. First, the woman's hair is dressed in a style similar to that of the sister of Tw-tw-ia on Stela No. 34, while her costume is the same as that of the lady represented on the reverse of Stela No. 35. Secondly, the offerings to the Sphinx include meat, which is not offered to him in those representations where the donors are clearly Egyptians. Is it possible that the flesh-offering was given to the Sphinx only when it was identified with the Canaanitish Hwron, the divine hawk?

How these people came to settle in Egypt, and why and when they left, we have not, as yet, any written inscription to tell us. But we may guess that they migrated here in the first place in the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

After the time of Seti I, we have no further news of them (so far as the monuments discovered up to date reveal). We may perhaps then consider them as one of the tribes of Israelites who left Egypt with the Exodus of the Jews. This is all the more probable when we remember that the Israelites were said to have inhabited a district lying between Horonopolis and Rameses (Pe-Ramses=Kantir); while the Biblical description of the green and fertile Land of Goschen aptly described the Delta in these parts.

Finally, let us return once more to the name Hwl, and see what had become of it. As before mentioned, the Great Sphinx is named by the modern Egyptians Abul-hol, the "Father of Terror". As a matter of fact, this name has nothing to do with either "Father" or "Terror", it being simply a corruption of  or  per-Hwl, or bw-Hwl, an ancient Egyptian name, meaning the "Place of Hwl" ⁽¹⁾ and we have also the form pr-Hwron.



FIG. 203.—STELA NO. 61

⁽¹⁾ See the Inventory Stela, p. 113 ff.

That this name has survived intact in the place of the purely Egyptian Hor-em-akhet or Hor-akhty is readily understood, when we remember the affinity between Arabic and that other branch of the Semetic language from which Hwl is derived.

The Stela of Pa-Ra-em-Heb.—Now we must mention one of the most interesting of the stelae discovered in the Sphinx zone. This is No. 83 (Pls. LXVIII, *a, b*, LXIX, *a, b, c*) which was discovered *in situ* near to the entrance of the Temple of Amenhotep II. It is very unusual, both in form and inscription, being of abnormal thickness (66 cm. high, 57 cm. wide and 18 cm. thick) and is sculptured on all its surfaces, except the base thus necessitating its erection in an open space, which would leave it free on every side.

It is inscribed with a long hymn in praise of Sun-god, which contains passages of unique interest, being, as one might say, an epitome of the philosophy of the College of Heliopolis. The fact that this stela was dedicated to the Sphinx, and found in the immediate vicinity of its temple, together with the clear reference to the fusion of the names of the Sun-god, is a positive proof of the innate, undeniable solar character of the Sphinx.

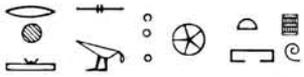
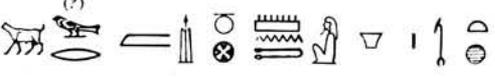
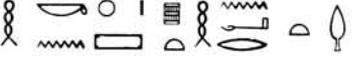
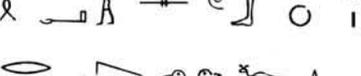
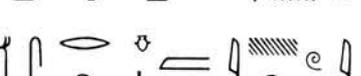
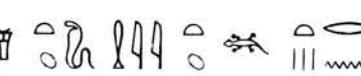
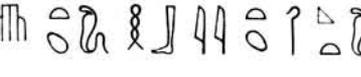
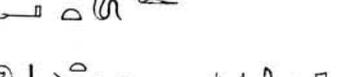
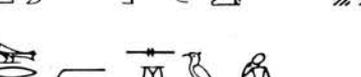
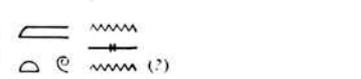
Judging by the style of the work, and the ideas expressed in the text, I think we may consider this monument as dating from about the Twenty-first Dynasty.

The scene on the obverse of the stela (Pl. LXVIII, *a, b*) represents the donor of the monument, standing in an attitude of adoration before the God Atum, who is represented as a bearded man, crowned with the Double Diadem, and carrying the Was-sceptre in his right hand, and the "ankh" in his left one. Behind him is the figure of a goddess, who, judging from her head-dress of disk and horns, should be a form of Hathor or Isis.

On the reverse, (Pl. LXIX, *a, b, c*) the donor is shown in a similar attitude as on the obverse, but here he is adoring Ra-Hor-akhty in the form of a hawk-headed man, crowned with a large solar disk and uraeus. He is accompanied by a figure of a goddess similar to that on the obverse.

The inscription runs as follows:—

- (1) 
- (2) 
- (3) 

- (55) 
- (56) 
- (57) 
- (58) 
- (59) 
- (60) 
- (61) 
- (62) 
- (63) 
- (64) 
- (65) 
- (66) 
- (67) 
- (68) 
- (69) 
- (70) 

“Hail to thee, King of the Gods, Atum-Kheperi, in the beginning who has begotten himself, and brought up himself as the Unique Lord, the One who came into existence, and no other came into existence with him.

“He made the names of the Gods before the mountains and the deserts were, and the things under the earth . . . but thee and thy hands, thou hast made them in a moment.

“Thou extendest the ropes (for the plan), and thou didst form the lands; no any other God or Goddess did it (or before was made any God or any Goddess).

“Thou didst make secret the Underworld . . . and the earth is under thy leading. Thou didst make high the sky to elevate your Ba, in thy name of Kai (the High).

“Thou hast built for thee a castle in the holy desert, with hidden name, and thou risest in the day opposite to them, in thy manner of every morning eternally.

“A boon which the King gives, and Atuni, Lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis, the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis, the Good God, Lord of . . .

“A boon which the King gives and Iws-aast, Mistress of Heaven, Mistress of All Lands: may they give a nice lifetime in their favour for the Director of the Works, Pa-Ra-em-heb, the Justified, the Possessor of venerability.

“Praising Ra . . . by the Director of the Works (?), Pa-Ra-em-heb, the Justified. He says: ‘Hail to thee Kheperi-Atum-Hor-akhty, born in the sky, the Great . . . whose breast is adorned, and with beautiful face, with the Two Great Feathers’ (1).

“Thou art rising beautifully every morning, according to what all the Gods said, and applauded in . . . the evening . . . Thou art early born . . . out of thy Mother every day. Thou art crossing the sky with a good wind . . . Thou art traversing the sky in the boat . . . Thou . . . the boat . . .

“Praising Ra when he shines in the horizon . . . what is above and beneath the sky.

“The sky is jubilating, the earth is shouting of joy. The crew of Ra do praising every day. Smitten is the enemy of Atum every day, smitten is the enemy of Ra every day. Ra comes forth in triumph, Ra comes forth in triumph, Ra comes forth in triumph, Ra comes forth in triumph (2).

(1) A head-dress.

(2) This fourfold repetition is common in Egyptian religious and magical texts since a very early period. It seems to have originated when the Kher-heb used to recite the magical formulae to the four points of the compass, and thus the gods who presided over them. See for this, “Excavations at Giza”, Vol. VI, Part II.

“ A boon which the King gives and the Goddess . . . the Mother of the Solar Horus Hathor, Mistress of Hetepet (1); may they give intelligence, favour, and love and offerings, to the Ka of the Director of all the Works of the King, Pa-Ra-em-heb, Justified, the son of Pa-anket.

“ Praising Ra-Hor-akhty-Atum, the One who is in Heliopolis, by the Director of All the Works of the King, Pa-Ra-em-Heb. Thou risest and shinest, thou risest, and shinest the Holy Apes, Amy and Haiyty adore thee, and every god and every goddess of . . . is praising thee every day. Thou art in heaven, and cross the sky; and knoweth even the plans of the Dwat (2). The Great Khenu in Hermonthis (3) . . . Thebes.

“ Hail to thee who rises as Gold (4); he who jubilates when Ra is rising, rejoicing . . . rejoicing Mistress of the horns (?) Diadem on the brows; strong of heart as the . . . of the solar boats. Bastet and Uto rich of names; *khentyt*, *hbyt*, Queen in Pe, companion of Ra whom he loveth, his Sole One. The One on the head of Atum, in the chapel with secret words in . . .

“ The Great Ones are praising . . . made is haly praise which is sweet to them (?) .”

It is extremely interesting to observe how this hymn begins with the story of the Creation, and the recognition of the Sun-god as the Supreme Being, the self-created Architect of the Universe. Moreover, there is a great similarity between this account of the Creation, and that given in Genesis, and other religious books (5); a similarity extending even to the passage mentioning the creation of the gods (angels) before the world came into existence.

That the composer of this hymn was not ignorant of the famous hymn of Akhenaton, may be seen in the line where he says : “ Thou hast made high the sky to elevate thy Ba (Soul) ”. Compare this with the hymn of Akhenaton, which says : (6) “ Thou didst make distant the sky in order to rise therein”.

This seems to indicate either that the writer of the hymn was conversant with, and slightly influenced by the Aton hymn, or else the latter and the hymn we are dealing with are derived from a common and much older source, most probably of Heliopolitan origin. In reality,

(1) A place near Heliopolis.

(2) A name for the Underworld.

(3) A town near Thebes, the modern Armant.

(4) A name for the Goddess Hathor, who is now addressed in the hymn.

(5) Some of the ideas of this hymn are certainly taken from the Decrees of Amon during the Twenty-first Dynasty; see MASPERO, “*Momies Royales*”, Pls. XXV-XXVII, ED. MEYER, “*Gottstaat, militär herrschaft und standwesen in Aegypten*”, Akademie der Wissenschaften XXVII Sitzung Phil-hist. kr. 1928. pp. 495-532. Here we see Amon as the sole creator of the universe, and the other Gods are also his creation and are his dependants, and subordinates.

(6) BREASTED, “*The Dawn of Conscience*”, p. 285.

these ideas are a new development of the unity of the unseen sole God (Amon-Ra), as compared with Aton who was personified in the solar disk with the difference that Aton was the only god worshipped, while, on the other hand, Amon-Ra let other gods to be worshipped beside him.

The following passage is perhaps the gem of the whole inscription, affording at once an interesting idea poetically expressed, and showing a clear connection between the solar cult, the Sphinx and its surrounding monuments. I refer to the passage which says: "Thou hast built for thee a castle in the Holy Desert, with hidden name (Shtyt), and thou risest in the sky opposite to them after thy manner of every morning, for ever".

This also seems to show that at the time when this stela was made, the Egyptians had completely forgotten the origin of the Sphinx and its temple, and were inclined to attribute their erection to divine agency. This idea is clearly expressed in the Græco-Roman inscriptions on the paws of the Sphinx, where it says: "The formidable form is the work of the Immortal Gods" (*see p. 123*). Indeed, the remarkable skill displayed in these monuments, the precision of detail, combined with their colossal dimensions, and the huge stones used in their construction, might well lead the people of a more degenerate age to see in them a clear evidence of divine handiwork.

The terms in which the deity is addressed are also instructive. For example, compare how the sections of the hymn begin: "Praising Ra", etc., referring to the general idea of the Sun-god, and then proceeding to qualify him under his different aspects, by use of the names Atum, Kheperi, Hor-akhty, etc. Yet all the while the connection between the Sun-god and the Sphinx is never lost sight of, as we may see by the reference to the Sphinx Temple, and the very fact that the stela was dedicated to the Sphinx.

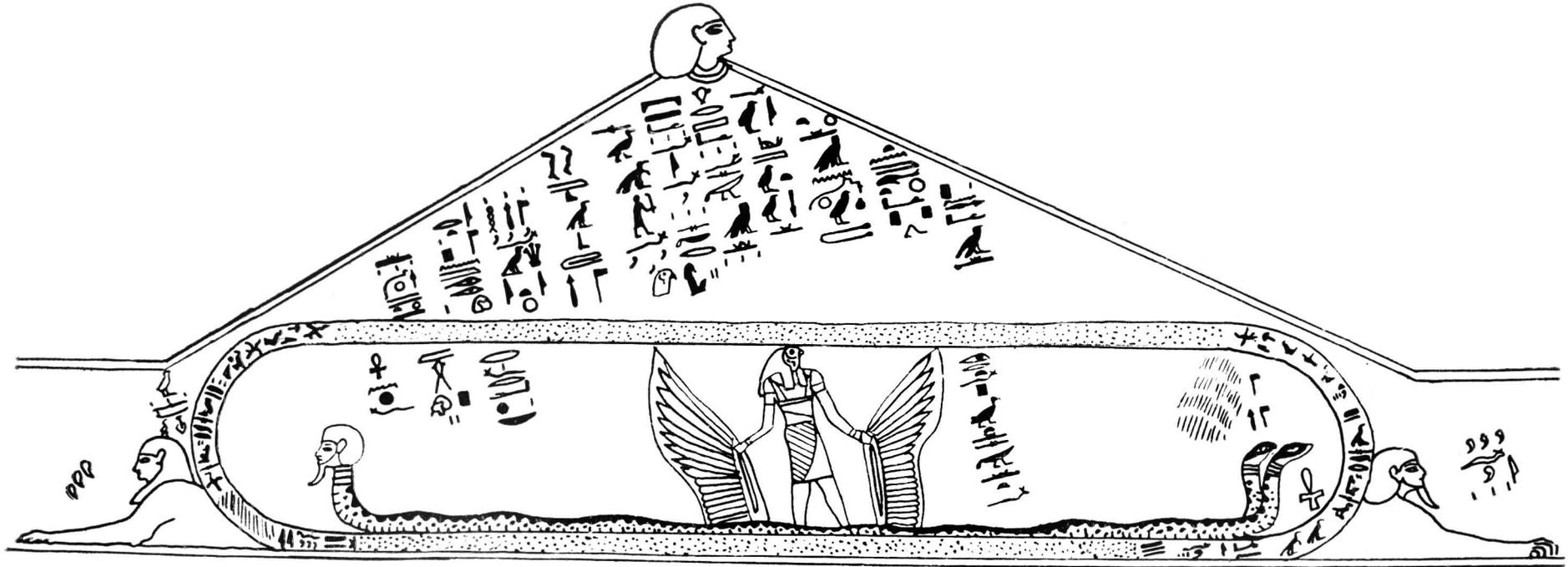
The mention of the holy apes refers to the spirits in ape-form who were supposed to greet the Sun-god at his rising and at his setting. This idea probably grew out of the observation that these animals really have the habit of gathering together at sunrise and sunset, and chattering shrilly, a phenomenon similar to the morning and evening clamour of a rookery. This naturally gave the impression that the creatures were greeting the Sun-god. Many little amuletic figures of these animals have been found in the vicinity of the Sphinx. during the course of successive excavations there.

Thus, from the forgoing account, one can see how the Sphinx by reason of its unusually gigantic size, and the genius of its originator, who imparted to its features that air of god-like aloofness, has attracted the attention of the Egyptians from the beginning of its history, down to the Arab Conquest.

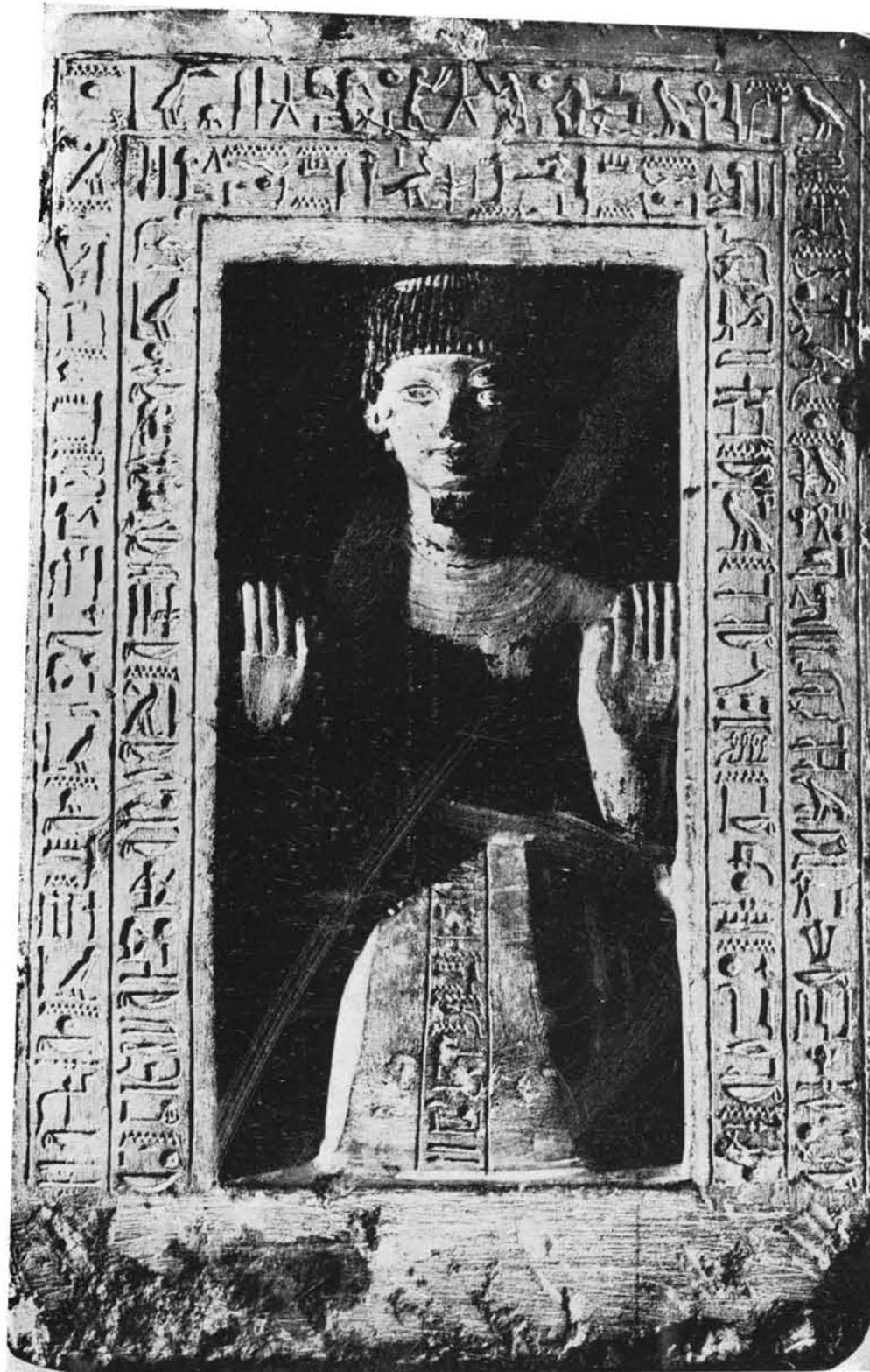
And still it attracts its admirers, who come yearly from all parts of the earth to gaze fascinated upon its wonderful face.

People have enjoyed contemplating the riddle of the Sphinx, there are many who do not want to see that riddle solved; for by so doing, they are for ever deprived of a fruitful and pleasant field of speculation.

But we are sorry, for Science must go forward; and under its powerful light, the Sphinx stands clearly revealed, freed alike from the encumbering sands of the desert and from the enshrouding mists of superstition and ignorance with which it has hitherto been hidden.



A SCENE FROM THE TOMB OF SETI I



A STELA DEDICATED TO RA WHICH HAS THE FORM OF A NAOS



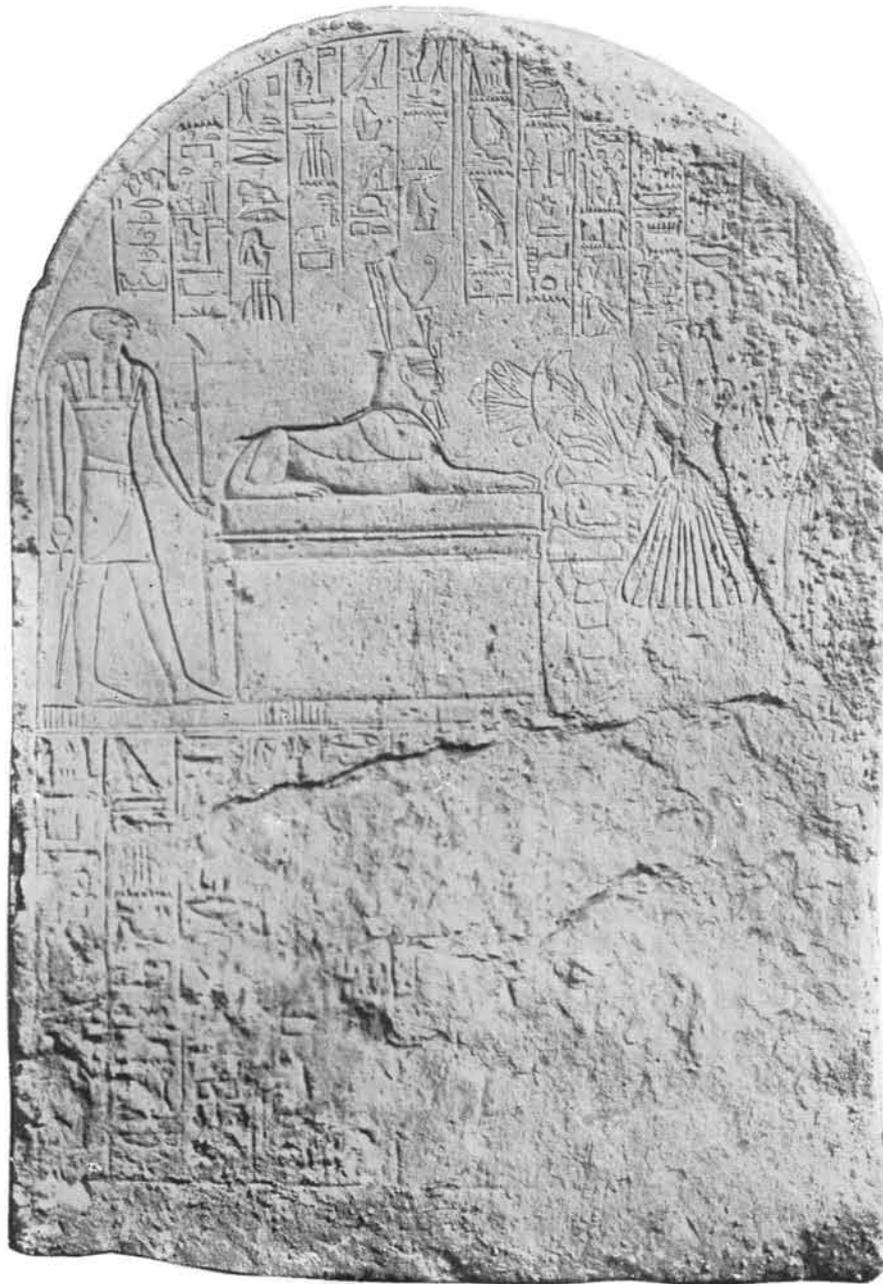
A LARGE STELA OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY



STELA No. 22



STELA No. 29



STELA No. 39



STELA No. 7



THE OBVERSE OF THE STELA OF PA-RA-EM-HEB AND THE TOP

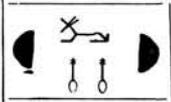


THE REVERSE OF THE STELA OF PA-RA-EM-HEB AND THE SIDES

APPENDIX I

THE FORM OF THE SPHINX OCCURRING UPON SCARABS AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

It would seem as though the representation of the Sphinx appears upon scarabs for the first time during the Hyksos Period, that is to say the Hyksos Period is the earliest date to which we can assign these scarabs with any degree of certainty. An example of a scarab of Ded-nefer-Ra is given by Fraser⁽¹⁾, which shows

a couchant man-headed sphinx, and above it the name of the King . This scarab is, however,

not really contemporary with this King, who lived in the period after the Sixth and not later than the Eighth Dynasty. In reality, it is later, and may even be from the Saitic Period, when an attempt was made to revive the ancient art and traditions. Another factor against it being prior to the Hyksos Period, is the fact that it is an isolated example, whereas in the Hyksos Period, this form of Scarab was common⁽²⁾.

We may assume that the invaders, coming as strangers to the country, were firstly impressed with the idea of the Sphinx, their Asiatic minds being already accustomed to the combination of human and animal forms, as shown in the art of their own land, and they readily adopted it as a representation both of a divine being and of a conquering monarch⁽³⁾.

They were also apparently impressed with the scarab, and recognized in it, as in the Sphinx, a convenient means of spreading their propaganda, in a form in which it would be perfectly understood by the Egyptians; therefore they issued a number of these scarabs showing the conquering Sphinx trampling upon its foes, a motif which no doubt appealed to their war-like nature. Moreover, they displayed a grim sense of humour in using against the Egyptians a device long since employed by these latter people in respect to other nations.

It must have been a fruitful source of rage and shame to a patriotic Egyptian to see a king of the hated conquerors represented in a manner which his ultra-conservative mind was accustomed to associate with the once-all-powerful Pharaoh. If these scarab talismans, so decorated, were distributed to the officials to be worn by them, with perhaps vindictive persecution in the case of failure to comply with the regulation to wear them, it must have been one of the cruelest acts of the conquerors, for it struck a blow at the very heart of the national pride of the Egyptians. Similar milder instances can be seen in modern times in those countries ruled by a powerful political organization. Many persons, though at heart hating and disapproving of these movements, are compelled through well-grounded fear of persecution to adopt the badges and outward forms of the oppressors.

When represented in the above-mentioned manner, no legend accompanies the Sphinx, the idea being that the plain representation of the physical power of the conquering king, was sufficient magic to conjure with.

(1) FRASER, "P.S.B.A.", Vol. XXI, Pl. II, No. 29.

(2) Many scarabs of a late period, which bear the names of pharaohs of the Fourth Dynasty, are known.

(3) Observe how they were quick to usurp the fine, black Sphinxes of Tanis.

In those examples where the Sphinx is shown as a female, it most probably represents Ashtoreth, the great Patron Goddess of the Canaanites (¹). The fact that in the Eighteenth Dynasty, this goddess also appeared in the form of a female sphinx supports this theory, and the fact that the Hyksos also represented the Egyptian God Set, whose cult they adopted, identifying him with their god Baal, in the same manner, *i.e.* with the head of the characteristic Set-animal and the body of a lion, also agrees with this theory.

These Hyksos scarab sphinxes are often represented as wearing, or associated with the Red Crown of Lower Egypt, perhaps referring to the complete dominion of the Delta by the conquerors, who, though nominally rulers of the entire country, seemed to possess less authority in the south, from which quarter eventually arose the power which was to terminate their hated rule.

These Hyksos scarab sphinxes are all characterized by the air of brutal vigour seen in the Tanis sphinxes, and these probably served as the model or inspiration for the scarab sphinxes. This characteristic is apparent even when the cutting of the scarab is crudely done (*see* Pl. LXX, No. 6).

It is to be noted that the scarabs of this period were used as talismans, as can be proved by the hieroglyphic signs often inscribed upon them. No. 6 (Pl. LXX) shows the signs  and  representing "good" and "evil"; while No. 8 bears  "life".

The later sphinx scarabs may be divided into three classes:—

(1) Those representing the divine sphinx, either Hor-em-Akhet himself, or another god, perhaps of a solar nature, who was identified with the Sphinx.

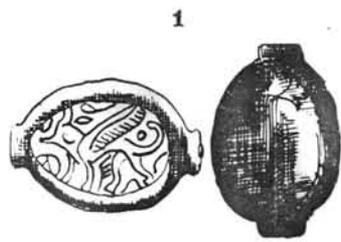
(2) The King in the form of a sphinx, either alone, trampling upon his enemies, or accompanied by symbolic emblems.

(3) Scarabs bearing the sphinx, the name of a god, and a royal cartouche. The divine name in this latter class denoting the deity which was identified with the sphinx, protecting the King (personified by the cartouche) just as in the larger examples in the round, the sphinx guards the temples and tombs, and just as the arms of the sun on the small Stela of Amenhotep II protect the Cartouche of Thothmes III (*see* p. 80).

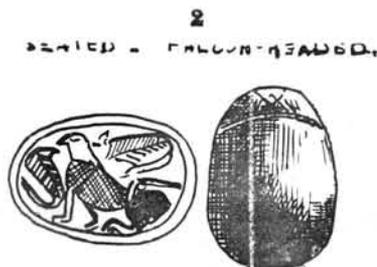
In some cases the Sphinx is depicted on the scarabs with its head turned in a reverse direction to its body. This had a special significance, and refers to the action of the god in listening to the prayers of his worshippers. This can perhaps be proved by No. 36401 of the Cairo Museum, where the sign  *sdm* = "hearing" accompanied the representation of a jackal with a reversed head. This attitude is a perfectly natural one; the worshipper cries out for aid, and the god turns his head to hearken to the petitions of the mortal (²).

(¹) After the expulsion of the Hyksos, Ashtoreth disappears, owing to the detestation which was felt to anything appertaining to the hated race. She re-appears in Egypt when friendly relations had been established between Egypt and Asia in the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

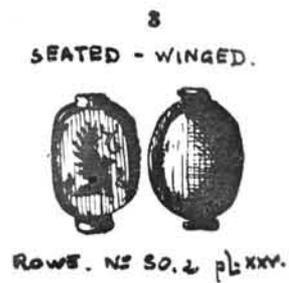
(²) GRENFELL, *Rec. Trav.*, XXXII, p. 136, Pl. IV, Nos. 187, 188, 189, 190. A similar example to No. 190 is in the King Fouad Collection, Cairo Museum. *See also* PETRIE, "Memphis", Vol. I (1909), Pl. XIII, ear-stelae.



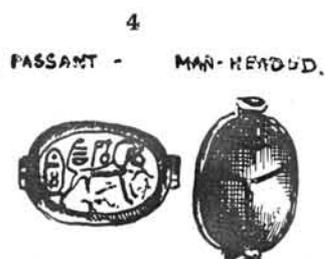
Rowe: N. 182. pl. V.



Rowe - N 302 pl. VIII.



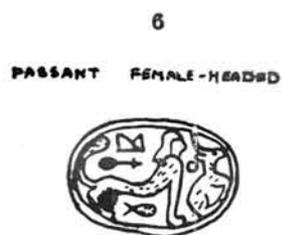
Rowe. N 302. pl. XXX.



Rowe N 476 - pl. XI.



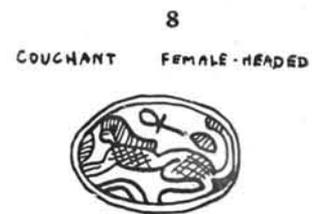
NEWBERRY - SCARABS. PL. XXV. N 8, 9.



NEWBERRY: SCARABS PL. XXV N 7.



NEWBERRY - SCARABS PL. XXV. N 11.



NEWBERRY: SCARABS PL. XXV N 10.



Rowe N. 181. pl. V.



Rowe N. 304. pl. VIII.



Rowe N. 303 pl. VIII.

A SELECTION OF SCARABS BEARING REPRESENTATIONS OF SPHINXES

11

PASSANT - WINGED.



NEWBERRY: SCARAB SHAPED
SEALS. Pl. VI. N^o 36367.

12

PASSANT - FALCON-HEADED.



ROWE: N^o 299. pl. III.

13

COUCHANT

MAN-HEADED.



NEWBERRY: SCARABS PL. V. N^o 17, 25

14

SEATED MAN-HEADED



NEWBERRY: SCARABS
Pl. XXII. N^o 125.

15

COUCHANT FALCON-HEADED



NEWBERRY - SCARABS
Pl. XXX N^o 5.

16

COUCHANT WINGED



NEWBERRY SSS. Pl. XV.
N^o 36966

A SELECTION OF SCARABS BEARING REPRESENTATIONS OF SPHINXES (continued)

In almost every case of a figure represented in this position upon a scarab, the sign ☉ appears also either clearly drawn or debased in style through ignorant copyists or through constant repetition. This at once reminds us of the votive ears found around the Sphinx at Giza and suggests that he was a god particularly prone to listen to the prayers of his devotees. This class of scarab is clearly a talisman (1).

Another favourite device on the talisman scarabs is that of the name of a powerful king whose cartouche was considered a "name to conjure with".

This explains the fact that we often find the names of the Pyramid builders inscribed upon scarabs, although this form of talisman was unknown in the Fourth Dynasty. These scarabs are most probably of the Saitic Period, when there was a great revival of the worship of these kings.

Another King whose scarabs are very numerous is Thothmes III, and a great many of them bear representations of sphinxes. These come mostly under the heading of Classes 2 and 3 (see p. 278). Many of them are contemporary with that Pharaoh, and show him as a sphinx trampling his enemies or couchant, but wearing the Kheperish war-helmet, which was introduced into Egypt by the Hyksos. Perhaps these scarabs were issued by the king or by his viziers, to commemorate his many victories in his Asiatic campaigns. But the Cartouche of Thothmes III remained a word of power long after his death, and it was certainly the most frequently used name in this connection.

The Eighteenth Dynasty, being the age of conquest, most of the royal scarabs of this period bear representations of sphinxes of the three classes mentioned before. Sometimes the figure of the sphinx is substituted for that of a lion—but the poses are identical—which proves the close connection between the sphinx and the sun, even in the secular form.

(1) The scarabs bearing the divine sphinx (or any other deity) alone, may have been issued by the priests of the different sanctuaries to be sold to pilgrims. In this connection, certain scarabs bear such inscriptions such as "a token of a journey to Thebes", WARD in *P.S.B.A.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 29, No. 268.

APPENDIX II

NOTES ON THE SPHINXES OCCURRING ON EGYPTIAN SCARABS AND SEALS FROM EGYPT AND PALESTINE, TOGETHER WITH REFERENCES TO SPHINX AMULETS

1.—Scarabs and Seals

The portrayal of the sphinx on Egyptian scarabs and seals has never received the attention it deserves, and it is, therefore, fitting that a general account of the same should be included in the present volume, such account dealing with examples found not only in Egypt, but also in Palestine. In the latter connection the so-called "Phœnician" types are mostly excluded, as being beyond the scope of this chapter. So as to make the survey as complete as possible, there are added bibliographical references to all the examples quoted.

From the details set out below in the Chronological List, it will be observed that on the examples of scarabs and seals giving the sphinx :

- (a) has the body of a lion ;
- (b) is either *passant*, *couchant*, or seated on its haunches ;
- (c) is with ⁽¹⁾ or without ⁽²⁾ wings ; and finally ;
- (d) has the head of a man or a woman, or that of an animal (usually a ram) or a bird (usually a hawk).

One interesting example which is *couchant* and winged (PETRIE, "*B.D.S.*", Pl. XV, No. 1028) has the head of the God Set ; this dates from the Nineteenth Dynasty.

It is extremely important to note that the sphinx or griffin of the desert, which appeared on the pre-dynastic slate-palette and in the hunting scenes of Beni Hassan in the Twelfth Dynasty, survives on certain scarabs of the Hyksos Period, found, for example, at Tell-el-'Ajjul, Tell Beit Mirsim, and Gezer in Palestine, and also in Egypt where the creature is associated with conventional desert symbols ⁽³⁾.

(1) The winged sphinx (especially those having the head of a bird of prey) is generally referred to as a griffin. Its wings are either laid flat on its back or are outstretched. In the New Kingdom it was called  *c*  and usually represented the fighting king of Egypt. cf. ROWE, "*C.E.S.P.M.*", p. 251, No. S. 60 ; *W.b.*, Vol I, p. 225. BUDGE, "*An Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary*", (1920), p. 135. HALL, "*The Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age*", p. 278, believes that the hawk-headed griffin was borrowed from Egypt during the Middle Minoan Era, 1900-1580 B.C. (Twelfth-Seventeenth Dynasty) ?

(2) When a winged sphinx is shown on scarabs and seals, the wings are always represented raised. This may be due to Asiatic influence, but is more likely done for the sake of clarity, as no detail is possible in the very limited space of the outline of the body.

(3) ROWE, "*C.E.S.P.M.*", Scarabs Nos. 181, 299, 301, 182, 303 (Palestine examples) ; NEWBERRY, "*Scarabs*", Pl. XXV, Nos. 8, 10 (Egyptian examples).

As will be seen presently, the sphinx (with the body of a lion) makes its appearance of Hyksos scarabs and seals under the following forms:—

1.—*Passant* :

- (a) With the head of a man.
- (b) " woman.
- (c) " an animal, winged.
- (d) " bird, winged.
- (e) " hawk.
- (f) " hawk, winged.

2.—*Couchant* :

- (a) With the head of a man.
- (b) " woman.
- (c) " hawk, winged.

3.—*Seated* :

- (a) With the head of a man.
- (b) " man, winged.
- (c) " woman.
- (d) " hawk.
- (e) " hawk, winged.

It is unnecessary to give here the details of the first appearance of the later types of sphinxes on scarabs and seals, for these details are set out in the Summary of the Chronological List.

From what can be seen at present, the Sphinx or griffin on the scarabs and seals represents, respectively, and at various periods, the following:—

- (1) A mythological desert creature, especially in the Hyksos era.
- (2) A God, usually Amon (1), but occasionally Atum (2).
- (3) The King, in various attributes, including that of a triumphant warrior trampling on the enemy.
- (4) The Queen and even a Goddess (?) (3).

In connection with No. 3, perhaps a certain Twenty-sixth-Dynasty scarab, showing a *passant*, winged sphinx, with the head of a Semite (4) actually represents an Asiatic king. This example was found in Palestine, and is now one of the treasures of the Palestine Archæological Museum. See also the "*Asiatic Sphinx*" of HALL, "Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc., in the British Museum", p. 246, No. 2463 (Time of Sheshonk IV).

(1) The name of the god is generally written near the sphinx on the scarab or seal.

(2) This we gather from a sphinx shown on a scarab of Akhenaton which has  (sic) behind it, and  in front (cf. HALL, "C.E.S.B.M.", p. 195, No. 1947). The Great Sphinx of Giza is doubtless referred to here, for on the Dream Stela of Thothmes IV, the Sphinx is named Hor-em-akhet-Ra-Kheperi-Atum.

(3) This is certainly what some of the female-headed sphinxes must represent. cf. also the so-called "Asiatic Sphinx", female-headed and winged, figured in the text of ROWE, "Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs in the Palestine Museum", p. 173, No. 722. Like her statues, the sphinxes on the scarabs of Hatshepsut are man-headed. cf. the Chronological List.

(4) ROWE, "C.E.S.P.M.", p. 214, No. 911.

2.—The Chronological List of Scarabs and Seals

This list gives in chronological order brief details of the representative types of sphinxes met with on certain scarabs and some seals from Egypt and Palestine (¹). It has not been possible, unfortunately, to include all the examples of sphinxes known, because certain of the publications of scarabs and seals are sadly lacking in details, which would allow even an approximate date to be placed on many of the objects. This is especially so in the case of scarabs, where drawings or photographs of the backs and sides are usually left out. Again, the drawings themselves are not always very good, no doubt in many cases due to the state of the originals, so in many instances one is left in doubt as to what kind of a head the sphinx is supposed to have :—

Form	Description	References
<i>I.—HYKSOS (FIFTEENTH-SIXTEENTH DYNASTIES)</i>		
Passant	Man-headed	ROWE, "C.E.S.P.M.", p. 48, No. 181; p. 78, 301; NEWBERRY, "S.S.S.", Pl. VII, No. 36600. NEWBERRY, "Scarabs", Pl. XXV, Nos. 8, 9.
Passant	Female-headed	ROWE, "C.E.S.P.M.", p. 79, No. 303 (Head is reversed); NEWBERRY, "Scarabs", Pl. XXV, No. 7.
Passant	Animal-headed (?), winged	NEWBERRY, "S.S.S.", Pl. VII, No. 36367.
Passant	Hawk-headed	ROWE, "C.E.S.P.M.", p. 78, No. 299.
Passant	Hawk-headed, winged	NEWBERRY, "Scarabs", Pl. XXV, No. 11.
Passant	Bird-headed	ROWE, "C.E.S.P.M.", pp. 48, 49, No. 182.
Couchant	Man-headed	HORNBLOWER, "J.E.A.", VIII, Pl. XXI, No. 21.
Couchant	Female-headed	NEWBERRY, "Scarabs", Pl. XXV, No. 10; PETRIE, "Hyksos Cities", Pl. IX, No. 167 (doubtful).
Couchant	Hawk-headed, winged	ROWE, "C.E.S.P.M.", p. 221, No. 3063.
Seated	Man-headed	<i>Ibid</i> , pp. 70, 71, No. 266.
Seated	Man-headed, winged	PETRIE, "B.D.S.", p. 23, No. 1259 (head reversed).
Seated	Female-headed	<i>Ibid</i> , p. 23, No. 808; ROWE, "C.E.S.P.M.", p. 79, No. 303 (head reversed).
Seated	Hawk-headed	<i>Ibid</i> , p. 79, No. 302.
Seated	Hawk-headed, winged	<i>Ibid</i> , p. 221.
<i>II.—AMENHOTEP I (EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY)</i>		
Passant	Ram-headed	HALL, "C.E.S.B.M.", p. 44, No. 414.
Couchant	Man-headed	<i>Ibid</i> , p. 45, No. 415; PETRIE, "H.S.", No. 958.
Couchant	Hawk-headed	HALL, "C.E.S.B.M.", p. 45, No. 416.
Seated	Man-headed	<i>Ibid</i> , No. 876.

(¹) All the Palestine examples are in ROWE, "C.E.S.P.M."

Form	Description	Reference
<i>III.—THOTHMES I (EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY)</i>		
Couchant	Man-headed	PETRIE, "H.S.", No. 667.
Seated	Man-headed	<i>Ibid</i> , No. 876. <i>cf.</i> also PETRIE, "S.C.", Pl. XXV, 18.3.4.
<i>IV.—HATSHEPSUT (EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY)</i>		
Couchant	Man-headed	HALL, "C.E.S.B.M.", p. 57, No. 539.
Couchant	Hawk-headed (?), winged	PETRIE, "H.S.", No. 889; BUDGE, "Meux", p. 107, No. 379.
<i>V.—THOTHMES III (EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY)</i>		
Passant	Man-headed	HALL, "C.E.S.B.M.", p. 97, No. 1002, p. 98, No. 1014 (head reversed), p. 99, No. 1016; ROWE, "C.E.S.B.M.", pp. 112, 113, No. 476, pp. 241, 242, No. S. 23; NEWBERRY, "Scarabs", Pl. XXVIII, No. 12; WARD, "P.S.B.A.", Vol. XXII, Pl. III, No. 108, Pl. IV, 301.
Passant	Man-headed, winged	HALL, "C.E.S.B.M.", p. 100, No. 1028 (Nineteenth Dynasty or later re-issue).
Passant	Hawk-headed	<i>Ibid</i> , p. 99, No. 1020.
Couchant	Man-headed	<i>Ibid</i> , p. 97, Nos. 1001, 1003, p. 98, No. 1005, p. 100, No. 1023, p. 102, No. 1041; BUDGE, "Fitzwilliam", No. 116; GRENFELL, "Rec. Trav.", Vol. XXXIII, Pl. IV, No. 197; ROWE, "C.E.S.P.M.", p. 114, No. 482, pp. 241, 242, No. 23; NEWBERRY, "Scarabs", Pl. XXVIII, Nos. 15, 27, 31.
Couchant	Man-headed, winged	HALL, "C.E.S.B.M.", p. 102, No. 1044.
Couchant	Ram-headed	<i>Ibid</i> , Pl. 101, No. 1035 (Nineteenth Dynasty re-issue).
Seated	Man-headed	<i>Ibid</i> , p. 97, No. 999; NEWBERRY, "S.S.S.", Pl. III, No. 36157; <i>cf.</i> PETRIE, "H.S.", pp. 31, 33, 35, and "S.C.", Pl. XXVII, 18, 6, 49-55.
<i>VI.—AMENHOTEP III (EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY)</i>		
Passant	Man-headed	WARD, "P.S.B.A.", Vol. XXII, Pl. IV, No. 470; HALL, "C.E.S.B.M.", p. 157; No. 1589, p. 163, No. 1648; ROWE, "C.E.S.P.M.", p. 245, No. S.38, pp. 245, 246, No. S.39.
Passant	Hawk-headed	HALL, "C.E.S.B.M.", p. 162, No. 1645.
Couchant	Man-headed	WARD, "P.S.B.A.", Vol. XXII, Pl. IV, Nos. 481, 499.

Form	Description	Reference
Couchant	Hawk-headed	HALL, "C.E.S.B.M.", p. 162, No. 1644, p. 163, No. 1649 ⁽¹⁾ ; NEWBERRY, "Scarabs", Pl. XXX, No. 5; cf. PETRIE, "H.S.", p. 36. and "S.C.", Pl. XXX, 18, 7, 17-21.
VII.—THOTHMES IV (EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY)		
Passant	Man-headed	HALL, "C.E.S.B.M.", p. 169, No. 1707.
Couchant	Man-headed	<i>Ibid</i> , p. 169, No. 1709; WARD, "P.S.B.A.", Vol. XXII, Pl. IV, No. 64.
Seated	Hawk-headed	NEWBERRY, "S.S.S.", Pl. IV, No. 36026; cf. PETRIE, "H.S.", p. 37.
VIII.—AMENHOTEP III (EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY)		
Passant	Man-headed	HALL, "C.E.S.B.M.", p. 185, No. 1851, p. 186, 1856; WARD, "P.S.B.A.", Vol. XXII, Pl. IV, No. 18.
Couchant	Man-headed	NEWBERRY, "S.S.S.", Pl. VII, No. 36336; BUDGE, "Meux", p. 290, Nos. 1520, 1523; ROWE, "C.E.S.P.M.", p. 134, No. 560, p. 246, No. S.41.
Couchant	Ram-headed	HALL, "C.E.S.B.M.", p. 186, No. 1856 (Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasties re-issue).
Couchant	Hawk-headed	<i>Ibid</i> , p. 18, No. 1855; cf. PETRIE, "H.S.", pp. 38, 39.
IX.—AKHENATON (EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY)		
Couchant	Man-headed	HALL, "C.E.S.B.M.", p. 195, No. 1947. cf. PETRIE, "S.C.", Pl. XXXVI, 18.10.12.
X.—HOR-EM-HEB (EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY)		
Couchant	Man-headed	HALL, "C.E.S.B.M.", p. 198, No. 1975.
XI.—(EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY (GENERAL)		
Passant	Man-headed	NEWBERRY, "S.S.S.", Pl. VII, No. 36342 ⁽²⁾ ; ROWE, "C.E.S.P.M.", p. 139, No. 580, pp. 139, 140, No. 681.
Passant	Hawk-headed	<i>Ibid</i> , p. 140, No. 582.

⁽¹⁾ It is possible that No. 1649 is hawk-headed and not man-headed.

⁽²⁾ This sphinx stands on the tail of a uraeus, the head of which is in front of the sphinx; cf. GRENFELL, "J.E.A.", Vol. II, p. 22 (hawk on uraeus); FRASER, Pl. VIII, No. 239 (goose on uraeus). Also NEWBERRY, "Scarabs", p. 55, the hawk over the *serekh* of Pepi I stands on a uraeus. See also *ibid*, Pl. VIII, No. 10 (Khafra).

Form	Description	Reference
Passant	Ibis-headed ⁽¹⁾ , winged	NEWBERRY, "S.S.S.", Pl. VII, No. 36424.
Couchant	Man-headed	<i>Ibid</i> , Pl. VII, No. 36933.
Couchant	Hawk-headed, winged	<i>Ibid</i> , Pl. VII, No. 36941.
Couchant	Ibis-headed	WARD, "P.S.B.A.", Vol. XXIII, p. 84, Pl. XIII, No. 314 (this example may, however, be later).
Seated	Man-headed, winged	NEWBERRY, "S.S.S.", Pl. VII, No. 36392.
Seated	Hawk-headed	<i>Ibid</i> , Pl. XII, No. 37381.
XII.—EIGHTEENTH-NINETEENTH DYNASTY (GENERAL)		
Passant	Man-headed	ROWE, "C.E.S.P.M.", p. 151, No. 635.
Passant	Bird-headed, winged	<i>Ibid</i> , p. 151, No. 634.
Couchant	Man-headed	ROWE, "C.E.S.P.M.", p. 244, No. S.3.
Couchant	Ram-headed	<i>Ibis</i> , p. 151, No. 636.
XIII.—SETI I (NINETEENTH DYNASTY)		
Passant	Man-headed	NEWBERRY, "Scarabs", Pl. XXXV, No. 9.
Couchant	Man-headed	<i>Ibid</i> , No. 1416; cf. PETRIE, "S.C.", Pl. XXXIX, 19.2.3.43.
XIV.—RAMESES II (NINETEENTH DYNASTY)		
Passant	Man-headed	NEWBERRY, "Scarabs", Pl. XXXV, No. 9.
Couchant	Man-headed	HALL, "C.E.S.B.M.", p. 223, No. 2231.
Couchant	Ram-headed	<i>Ibid</i> , p. 223, Nos. 2227, 2228, 2230; NEWBERRY, "Scarabs", Pl. XXXIV, No. 27, Pl. XXXV, No. 3; cf. PETRIE, "H.S.", pp. 48, 49, 50, and "S.C.", Pl. XL, 19.3.27.28.
XV.—NINETEENTH DYNASTY (GENERAL)		
Passant	Man-headed, winged	NEWBERRY, "S.S.S.", Pl. XV, No. 37237.
Passant	Hawk-headed	<i>Ibid</i> , Pl. VII, No. 36771.
Passant	Ram-headed	<i>Ibid</i> , Pl. IX, No. 36339.

(¹) The beak is long, like that of an ibis; cf. the couchant example given below.

Form	Description	Reference
Couchant	Man-headed	<i>Ibid</i> , Pl. VII, Nos. 36404, 37304; ROWE, "C.E.S.P.M.", p. 175, No. 729, p. 176, No. 730.
Couchant	Man-headed, winged	NEWBERRY, "S.S.S.", Pl. XV, No. 3695, 66.
Couchant	Ram-headed	NEWBERRY, "S.S.S.", Pl. IX, No. 36324; ROWE, "C.E.S.P.M.", p. 176, No. 731.
Couchant	Hawk-headed, winged	NEWBERRY, "S.S.S.", Pl. VII, No. 36985.
XVI.—RAMESES III (TWENTIETH DYNASTY)		
Passant	Man-headed	HALL, "C.E.S.B.M.", p. 234, No. 2335; <i>cf.</i> PETRIE, "S.C.", Pl. XLV, 20.1.12.
XVII.—SHESHONK (TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY)		
Seated	Man-headed	HALL, "C.E.S.B.M.", p. 246, No. 2463, "Asiatic Sphinx"; <i>cf.</i> PETRIE, "S.C.", Pl. L, 22.9.3.4.
XVIII.—TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY (?)		
Passant	Hawk-headed	ROWE, "C.E.S.P.M.", p. 264, No. S.103.
XIX.—SHABAKA (TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY)		
Passant	Hawk-headed	PETRIE, "H.S.", No. 1885.
Couchant	Man-headed	<i>Ibid</i> , No. 941; NEWBERRY, "Scarabs", Pl. XXXVII, No. 29; WARD, "P.S.B.A.", Vol. XXII, Pl. VII, No. 500.
XX.—MEN-KA-RA (TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY)		
Couchant	Man-headed	HALL, "C.E.S.B.M.", p. 3, No. 27; NEWBERRY, "S.S.S.", Pl. I, No. 3600; ROWE, "C.E.S.P.M.", p. 207, No. 884.
Couchant	Hawk-headed (?)	HALL, "C.E.S.B.M.", p. 4, No. 35; <i>cf.</i> PETRIE, "S.C.", Pl. LII, 25.A.21.

Form	Description	Reference
XXI.—MEN-KHEPER-RA ⁽¹⁾ (RA-MENY), (TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY)		
Couchant	Man-headed	HALL, "C.E.S.B.M.", p. 128, No. 1304, No. 1486, p. 147, No. 1495 [here used as a hieroglyph ⁽²⁾ , p. 153, No. 1561].
Seated	Hawk-headed, winged	PETRIE, "H.S.", No. 1951; cf. PETRIE, "S.C.", Pl. LIII, 25.C.14.16.
XXII.—SHABAKA (?) (TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY)		
Seated	Hawk-headed, winged	ROWE, "C.E.S.P.M.", p. 208, No. 886.
XXIII.—PSAMTIK I (TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY)		
Couchant	Man-headed	HALL, "C.E.S.B.M.", p. 253, No. 2527; PETRIE, "H.S.", No. 1921.
XXIV.—WAH-IB-RA (TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY)		
Couchant	Man-headed	NEWBERRY, "Scarabs", Pl. XXXIII, No. II; cf. LOFTIE, "An Essay on Scarabs", 1884, p. 54, No. CLXXII.
XXV.—TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY RE-ISSUE OF EARLY SCARABS		
Couchant	Man-headed	HALL, "C.E.S.B.M.", p. 13, No. 134.
XXVI.—TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY		
Passant	Man-headed, winged	ROWE, "C.E.S.P.M.", p. 214, No. 911 (has a head of a Semite).
Couchant	Ram-headed	HALL, "C.E.S.B.M.", p. 20, No. 191.
XXVII.—HELLENISTIC, FOURTH-THIRD CENTURY B.C.		
Couchant	Hawk-headed, winged	ROWE, "C.E.S.P.M.", p. 296, No. 2815.

⁽¹⁾ Often confused with the pre-nomen of Thothmes III.

⁽²⁾ In the Late Period the couchant sphinx was frequently used for ; cf. for example, in the name of Nekht-neb-f I of the Thirtieth Dynasty: HALL, "C.E.S.B.M.", p. 296, No. 2815.

3.—Summary of the Chronological List of Scarabs and Seals

This particular list gives in a concise form details of all the various types of sphinxes shown on the scarabs and seals mentioned in the foregoing list. It does not, however, include the additional examples with the word “*cf.*”, or those in the addendum below. In any case, the information now given is very representative, and clearly illustrates in a general way the various types of sphinxes met with on scarabs and seals:—

I.—PASSANT

Man-headed	First appeared in	Hyksos Period
Man-headed, winged	„	Nineteenth Dynasty or later
Female-headed	„	Hyksos Period
Animal-headed (?), winged	„	„
Bird-headed, winged	„	„
Hawk-headed	„	„
Hawk-headed, winged	„	„
Ibis (?) -headed, winged	„	Eighteenth Dynasty
Ram-headed	„	Amenhotep I

II.—COUCHANT

Man-headed	First appeared in	Hyksos Period
Man-headed, winged	„	Thothmes III
Female-headed	„	Hyksos Period
Ram-headed	„	Eighteenth-Nine- teenth Dynasty
Hawk-headed	„	Amenhotep I
Hawk-headed, winged	„	Hyksos Period
Ibis-headed	„	Eighteenth Dynasty

III.—SEATED

Man-headed	First appeared in	Hyksos Period
Man-headed, winged	„	„
Female-headed	„	„
Hawk-headed	„	„
Hawk-headed, winged	„	„

Compare also the doubtful sphinx with wings (?) dating from the Eleventh Dynasty or earlier, already mentioned in the first part of this appendix (*see* p. 281). *See* further in “*Revue Egyptologique*”, Vol. II, p. 145, Vol. X, p. 86, for a King Harmakhis, in the later instance called “Lord of Memphis” (*see* p. 243).

4.— Other Scarabs and Seals Showing the Sphinx, not chronologically arranged

This addendum does not, of course, profess to be complete, but it gives the names of many of the more or less important publications containing references to the sphinx on scarabs and seals. Other references will be found in the various memoirs of excavations, etc. See especially NEWBERRY, "Scarabs", pp. 99-101 :—

BUDGE.— "Meux", Nos. 493 (used as a hieroglyphic), 668, 686, 688, 702, 1565, 1572, 1589, 1684 (with a hare).

— "Wilkinson", No. 59 (an interesting example).

— "Fitzwilliam", Nos. 83, 168, 203, 229.

BIRCH.— "Alnwick", Nos. 722, 820, 848, 855, 856, 948, 931, 1019, 1037, 1102, 1104.

FRASER.— Nos. 63, 200, 229, 240, 248, 297, 301, 382.

GRENFELL.— "Rec. Trav.", Vol. XXX, Pl. I, Nos. 30, 31, 32; Pl. III, Nos. 141, 154; Vol. XXXVII, Pl. II, Nos. 59, 60.

— "J.E.A.", Vol. II, Pl. XXXIII, No. 123; Pl. XXXIV, Nos. 139, 142.

HILTON PRICE.— Nos. 790-795.

LANZONE.— "Dizionario", Vol. I, pp. 653, 654.

NEWBERRY.— "Scarabs", Pl. XLI, Nos. 18, 35.

— "Timins", Pl. VI, No. 102; Pl. VII, Nos. 121; Pl. VIII, Nos. 5, 7, 13, 24; Pl. XI, No. II; Pl. XIII, No. 16; Pl. XIV, Nos. 20, 25; Pl. XV, No. 2, 7; Pl. XVI, Nos. 6-6⁽¹⁾, 12-17; Pl. XX, No. 22.

PETRIE.— "B.D.S.", pp. 19, 23, 25-27; Pl. XII, Nos. 808-838; Pl. XIV, Nos. 894, 895; Pl. VI, rev. of 630; Pl. XV, No. 1028; Pl. XXX, Nos. 955, 1421, 1469, 1553⁽²⁾.

— "H.S.", No. 1736.

— "S.C.", Pl. LIV, 25.C.2.; Pl. LV, 26.A.46.

— P.S.B.A.: Vol. XXI, p. 154, Pl. II, No. 29.

Vienna: Pl. I, Nos. 3b, II, 16; Pl. II, Nos. 31, 34, 65, 81; Pl. III, Nos. 148, 166a, 182, 182; Pl. IV, Nos. 203b, 211, 241, 277, 290, 306.

⁽¹⁾ No. 7 shows two passant, man-headed sphinxes facing each other.

⁽²⁾ No. 836 is associated with an ostrich, while No. 1028 has the head of a Set-animal (Nineteenth Dynasty)

5.—Amulets Portraying the Sphinx

The following list gives references to a certain publications of amulets portraying the sphinx—all with the body of a lion unless indicated to the contrary. Details are provided in each case, and, taken as a whole, present a general idea of the class of objects now under discussion :—

BUDGE.—“*Fitzwilliam*”, No. 216. Couchant, man-headed. Undated.

CARNARVON and CARTER.—“*Five Years' Exploration at Thebes*” (1912), p. 76, No. 13; “Human-headed sphinx, cut out of a sheet of copper”.

HALL.—“*C.E.S.B.M.*”, Plate opposite to p. XV. Couchant, hawk-headed, Rameses II, Nineteenth Dynasty.

HILTON PRICE.—Nos. 1790, 1795. Couchant, man-headed; No. 2537. Passant, man-headed. Undated.

LEXA.—“*La Magie dans l'Egypte Antique*”, Vol. III, Pl. LXVII, No. 141. Couchant, ram-headed. Undated.

LOFTIE.—“*An essay on Scarabs*”, No. CXXVI. Couchant, hawk-headed, Rameses II.

PETRIE.—“*Amulets*”, p. 40, No. 184, man-headed; also hawk-headed, winged. According to PETRIE, Sixth, Eighteenth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties. No. 185; Female-headed sphinx, with : (a) body of a “bird” and (b) body of a “cat”. According to PETRIE, Sixth Dynasty. Ptolemaic Period.

— “*H.S.*”, No. 1497. Couchant, hawk-headed, Rameses II.

— “*S.C.*”, Pl. XLII, No. 114, Couchant, hawk-headed, Rameses II; No. 115. Couchant, man-headed, Rameses II; Pl. XLV, No. 19.8.34. Couchant, man-headed, Seti II, Nineteenth Dynasty.

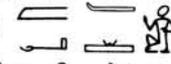
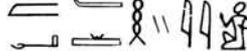
REISNER.—“*Amulets*”, Pl. IX, No. 12102. Couchant, ram-headed. Shabaka, Twenty-fifth Dynasty; No. 12016. Passant, man-headed, Seti I; pp. 169–171, Nos. 12329–12343 (*cf.* Pl. XXI); Couchant, ram-headed. Undated (No. 12328 came from the area of the Great Pyramids at Giza in 1884).

The Greyfriar (Charterhouse School Magazine): Vol. V, p. 162, No. 3. Couchant, man-headed. Undated.

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APPENDIX III.—A LIST OF OBJECTS FOUND IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD
OF THE GREAT SPHINX AND WHICH ARE NOW
IN THE CAIRO MUSEUM

Journal No.	Description	Material	Date
515	A plume from the crown of a statue of Osiris ...	Bronze	1858
1476-1477	Two <i>Ded</i> emblems surmounted by the head-dress of Osiris	Lapis lazuli	1858
1478-1487	Ten <i>Ded</i> emblems	"	1858
1488	A <i>Ded</i> emblem	Carnelian	1858
1489-1491	Three <i>Ded</i> emblems	"	1858
1492-1508	Seventeen heart amulets	Lapis lazuli	1858
1509-1513	Five heart amulets	Carnelian	1858
1514	A heart amulet	Root of emerald	1858
1515-1535	Twenty-one heart amulets	Steatite	1858
1536-1538	Three heart amulets	"	1858
1539-1567	Twenty-eight Eyes of Horus	Lapis lazuli	1858
1568	A square plaque bearing in the centre an Eye of Horus	"	1858
1569-1589	Twenty-one Eyes of Horus	Carnelian	1858
1590	An Eye of Horus	"	1858
1591	An Eye of Horus	"	1858
1592-1602	Eleven Eyes of Horus	Red jasper	1858
1677	A figure of Ta-wer.t	Brown jasper	1858
1678	A figure of a hawk	Lapis lazuli	1858
1679	A crouching ape, crowned with the disk of the moon	Steatite	1858
1680	A standing figure of an ape	Root of emerald	1858
1681	A figure of the Goddess Neith	Lapis lazuli	1858
1682-1683	Two figures of the Goddess Neith	Black stone	1858
1684-1689	Six figures of the God Thoth	"	1858
1690	Ra, without a solar disk	"	1858
1691	Ra, without a solar disk	"	1858
1692-1700	Nine figures of the God Ra, similar to the above ...	"	1858
1701-1703	Three figures of the Goddess Nephtys	"	1858
1704-1706	Three figures of the Goddess Selk	"	1858
1707-1710	Four figures of the Goddess Isis, crowned with her name symbol	"	1858
1711-1714	Four figures of uraei	"	1858
1715	A figure of a frog	Root of emerald	1858
1716-1718	Three figures of frogs	"	1858
1719	A figure of the God Ptah	Red jasper	1858
1720	A figure of the God Iy-m-hotep	Carnelian	1858
1722	A figure of a hawk	Steatite	1858
1977	A <i>ushabti</i> -figure bearing the name and one title of a certain Ankh-pa-krouti	Faience	1858
1978-1979	Two <i>ushabti</i> -figures similar to the above	"	1858
1980	A <i>ushabti</i> -figure bearing the name of Ankh-pa-krouti but giving different titles	"	1858

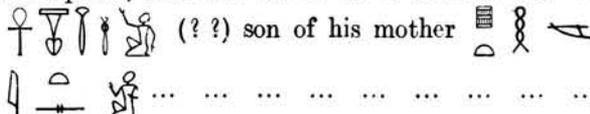
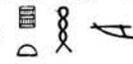
Journal No.	Description	Material	Date
1981	A <i>ushabti</i> -figure of a Priestess of the Sun-god, named Sheb Sothis	Faience	1858
1996	A figure of the God Anubis of fine workmanship. Found at the bottom of a tomb-shaft	Bronze	1858
1997	A figure of the God Osiris, at his feet are two uraei, crowned with the diadems of Upper and Lower Egypt respectively	„	1858
1999	A figure of the God Osiris	„	1858
2000	A figure of the God Osiris	„	1858
2001	A figure of the Goddess Bastet standing with her arms at her sides	„	1858
2002	A figure of the Goddess Bastet in the form of a cat-headed woman	„	1858
2003	An ægis with the head of the Goddess Isis lacking the horns	„	1858
2004	A figure of the Goddess Isis wearing the horns of a cow	„	1858
2005	A figure of the Apis bull	„	1858
2006-2007	Two figures of the Apis bull	„	1858
2009	A <i>ushabti</i> -figure of a person named 	Wood	1858
2010	A <i>ushabti</i> -figure of a person named 	„	1858
2067	A figure of the Apis bull	Bronze	1858
2068	A small figure of the God Osiris	„	1858
2091	The "Inventory Stela" (see p. 113)	Limestone	1858
2549	A scarab bearing a representation of a king standing between two uraei	Faience	1858
2565	A scarab	White carnelian	1858
2612	A scarab bearing a proper name	Root of emerald	1858
2880	A figure of the Goddess Isis wearing the disk and horns	Grey faience	1858
2881	A figure of the God Anubis	„	1858
2882	A figure of the God Thoth	„	1858
2906	A figure of the Goddess Ta-wer.t	Blue faience	1858
2907	A figure of the God Aubis	„	1858
2917	A figure of the God Ra crowned with the solar disk	„	1858
2918	A figure of the God Ptah	Grey faience	1858
2919	A figure of the Goddess Nephthys	Blue faience	1858
2920	A figure of the God Thoth	„	1858
2921	A figure of the God Ptah	„	1858
2922	A figure of the God Thoth	„	1858
2923	A figure of the Goddess Ta-wer.t	„	1858
2925	A couchant lion	„	1858
2927	A figure of a bull (Apis ?)	„	1858
2928-2930	A group of three crocodiles made from the same mould.	„	1858
2931-2933	Three figures of the Goddess Sekhmet crowned with the solar disk	„	1858
2940	A figure of the God Osiris	Bronze	1858
3092-3099	Eight statuettes of the Gods: Isis, Anubis, Thoth, Khonsu, Neith ⁽¹⁾ , Selk and Ta-wer.t	Faience	1858

(¹) Neith is here represented as suckling two crocodiles.

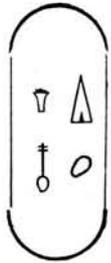
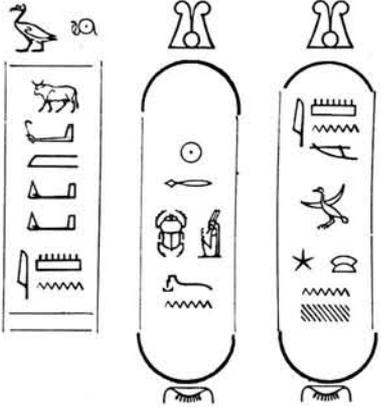
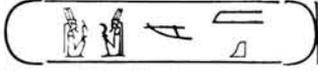
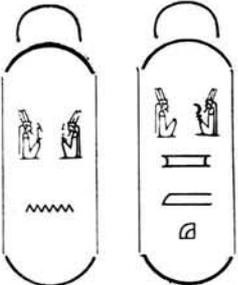
Journal No.	Description	Material	Date
3100	A figure of the Goddess Ta-wert	Faience	1858
3101	A figure of the Goddess Neith suckling two crocodiles.	"	1858
3102-3103	Two figures of the God Anubis	"	1858
3104-3105	Two figures of the God Khnwm	"	1858
3106	A figure of a hawk-headed God wearing the Double Crown	"	1858
3107	A figure of the God Ptah-Khonsu	"	1858
3108	A figure of the God Thoth	"	1858
3109	A figure of the God Ptah	"	1858
3110	A figure of the God Ptah-Patique, standing on the backs of two crocodiles ⁽¹⁾	"	1858
3121	A figure of the Goddess Nephthys	"	1858
3122	A figure of a seated cat	"	1858
3123	A figure of the God Ptah-Patique	"	1858
3124	A figure of the Goddess Nephthys	"	1858
3125	An amuletic figure of the Double Lion God	"	1858
3126	A figure of the God Anubis	"	1858
3127	A figure of the God Khnwm	"	1858
3128	A figure of a hawk-headed God crowned with the Double Crown	"	1858
3129	A figure of the God-Ra crowned with the solar disk	"	1858
3130	A <i>Ded</i> amulet	"	1858
3131	A <i>Ded</i> amulet	"	1858
3132	An amulet in the form of a serpent's head	"	1858
3133-3135	Three amulets in the form of serpents' heads	Carnelian	1858
3136	An amulet in the form of a head-rest	Hæmatite	1858
3137	An Eye of Horus	Grey stone	1858
3138	The "Shen" amulet	Root of emerald	1858
3139	A "Sem" amulet	Black jasper	1858
3140	A <i>Ded</i> amulet	Carnelian	1859
3141	A <i>Ded</i> amulet	Lapis lazuli	1858
3142	An "angle" amulet	Hæmatite	1858
3143	A tablet of Thoth with a small column in relief	Root of emerald	1858
3144	A "Menat" amulet	White carnelian	1858
3145-3146	Two figures of frogs	Root of emerald	1858
3147	A figure of a frog	Brown porphyry	1858
3148	A figure of the Goddess Isis crowned with the symbol of her name	Lapis lazuli	1858
3495	A scarab inscribed with the name of the Scribe, Amen-em-Apt	Hard white stone	1859
3542-3554	Thirteen Eyes of Horus	Hard stone	1859
3555-3559	Five amulets in the form of head-rests	Hæmatite	1859
3568-3571	Three amulets in the form of papyrus columns	Hard stone	1859
3572-3574	Three tablets of Thoth	"	1859
3575-3576	Two "Sem" amulets	"	1859
3577	A table of Thoth	"	1859
3578-3586	Nine angles and nine triangles	Hæmatite	1859
3587-3590	Four amulets in the form of serpents' heads	Carnelian	1859

(1) On the back of this group is a figure of the Goddess Isis.

Journal No.	Description	Material	Date
3591-3603	Thirteen divine head-dresses in the form of two plumes.	Hard stone	1859
3604-3606	Three amulets of a similar form to the above	"	1859
3607	A seal; symbol of eternity	Lapis lazuli	1859
3608	A table of Thoth with a small column in relief	Root of emerald	1859
3609-3611	Three "Menat" amulets	"	1859
3612-3614	Three figures of frogs	"	1859
3615	A figure of a hawk	Lapis lazuli	1859
3616	A figure of the Goddess Isis, crowned with the disk and horns	"	1859
3617	A figure of the Goddess Isis crowned with her name symbol	"	1859
3618	A figure of the Goddess Neith	"	1859
3619	A figure of the Goddess Isis crowned with her name symbol	"	1859
3620	A figure of the Goddess Selk	"	1859
3621-3622	Two figures of the God Thoth	"	1859
3623	A kneeling figure of a genius with the head of a hawk	"	1859
3624-3642	Nineteen vases	Hard stone	1859
3643-3647	Five figures of frogs	"	1859
3648-3675	Twenty-eight Eyes of Horus	"	1859
3676-3678	Three vases	Faience	1859
3679-3682	Four figures of calves bound for sacrifice	Red paste (?)	1859
3683-3686	Four figures of genius	Faience	1859
3687	A figure of the God Ptah-Patique	"	1859
3688	A figure of the God Thoth	"	1859
3689	A figure of the Goddess Ta-wer-t	"	1859
3690	A figure of the Goddess Isis, seated, crowned with the disk and horns	"	1859
3691	An amulet	"	1859
3692-3696	Five <i>Ded</i> amulets, all made from the same mould	"	1859
3697-3753	Fifty-seven <i>Ded</i> amulets	"	1859
3754-3756	Three <i>Ded</i> amulets	Carnelian	1859
3757-3767	Eleven figures of the following Gods: 2 Khonsu, 2 Isis, 2 Amon, 2 Nephthys, 2 Horus, 1 Selk	Faience	1859
3768-3770	Three figures of the God Amon	"	1859
3771-3773	Three seated figures of the Goddess Isis	"	1859
3774-3776	Three figures of the Goddess Nephthys	"	1859
3777-3778	Two figures of the God Anubis	"	1859
3779	A figure of the God Khnwm	"	1859
3780-3781	Two figures of the God Thoth	"	1859
3782	A figure of Horus the Son of Isis	"	1859
3783	A figure of the God Khonsu	"	1859
3784	A figure of the Goddess Selk	"	1859
3785	A figure of the God Ra; the sun-disk is lacking	"	1859
3786-3788	Three "Menat" amulets	"	1859
3789-3791	Three amulets of the form ☉	"	1859
3792-3795	Four seals having a square base	Hard stone	1859
3796-3801	Six seals, pyramidal in form and having a square base.	Faience	1859
3802-3806	Three head-dresses formed of the two plumes	Hard stone	1859

Journal No.	Description	Material	Date
3807-3814	Eight tablets of Thoth	Hard stone	1859
3815-3821	Seven "Shen" amulets	"	1859
3822	An amulet in the form of the sun in its horizon ☉	Red paste (?)	1859
3823	A figure of a hawk	Lapis lazuli	1859
3824-3825	Two amulets in the form of serpents' heads	Carnelian	1859
3826-3830	Five libation tablets with and without Eyes of Horus (sic)	Faience	1859
3831-3832	Two scarabs with the legs folded under the body	Hard stone	1859
3833	A funerary scarab	Root of emerald	1859
3834-3835	Two amulets in the form of a hawk's head crowned with the solar disk	Faience	1859
3836	A figure of a Goddess kneeling and placing her hand on her head in a gesture of mourning. She has no distinguishing head-dress	Blue faience	1859
3837-3842	Six Eyes of Horus	Faience	1859
3843	An uninscribed scarab	Green porphyry	1859
3844	A scarab with the legs folded under the body	Black stone, spotted with white	1859
3845	A scarab bearing a conventional design	Blue paste	1859
4405	An Eye of Horus	Root of emerald	1859
4406-4407	Two Eyes of Horus	Red paste	1859
4408-4410	Three <i>Ded</i> amulets	Faience	1859
4411-4412	Two scarabs with the legs folded under the body	Black stone	1859
4413	A vase	"	1859
4414	An amulet in the form of a divine head-dress of two plumes	"	1859
4415	A mason's plumb	"	1859
4416	A "Shen" amulet	"	1859
4417	An amuletic figure of the Double Lion-God	Faience	1859
4422	An uninscribed scarab	Brown porphyry	1859
4423	An amulet in the form of two human fingers	Black stone	1859
4424	A very beautiful heart scarab, bearing eleven lines of inscription, and the name of a certain son of  (??) son of his mother 	Green stone, highly polished	1859
4425	A figure of the God Ptah	Bronze	1859
4426	A figure of the God Ptah	"	1859
4427	A figure of the Apis bull	"	1859
4428	A figure of the Apis bull	"	1859
4429	A sphinx	"	1859
4430	A human mask with incusted eyes	"	1859
4431	A head of a sceptre, surmounted by an erect uraeus.	"	1859
4537	An amulet in the form of a serpent's head	Carnelian	1859
4538	A figure of the God Ra; the sun-disk is lacking	Lapis lazuli	1859
4539	A figure of the Goddess Nephthys	"	1859
4540-4541	Two <i>Ded</i> amulets	"	1859
4542	A "Shen" amulet	"	1859
4543	A vase	"	1859

Journal No.	Description	Material	Date
4629-4630	Two amulets in the form of two human fingers ...	Hard stone	1859
4544	An amulet in the form of a head-rest	Hæmatite	1859
4545	A "Menat" amulet	Lapis lazuli	1859
4546	A tablet of Thoth, decorated with a small column.	Root of emerald ...	1859
4547-4548	Two amulets in the form of the sun in the horizon	Red paste (?)	1859
4549-4551	Four <i>Ded</i> amulets	Faience	1859
4552-4555	Four scarabs having the legs folded under the body.	Various hard materials ...	1859
4556-4557	Two calves bound for sacrifice	Red paste (?)	1859
4558	A pyrimidal-shaped seal havirg a square base ...	Faience	1859
4559	A figure of a frog	Black stone	1859
4560	A figure of a hawk-headed God crowned with the Double Crown	Faience	1859
4561-4562	Two <i>Ded</i> amulets	Lapis lazuli	1859
4563-4564	Two <i>Ded</i> amulets	Carnelian	1859
4565	A <i>Ded</i> amulet	Faience	1859
4566	A <i>Ded</i> amulet	Red paste (?)	1859
4567	A vase	Lapis lazuli	1859
4568	A vase	Carnelian	1859
4569	A vase	Green porphyry ...	1859
4570-4573	Four vases	Hard stone	1859
4574	An Eye of Horus	Faience	1859
4575-4581	Seven Eyes of Horus	Hard stone	1859
4582	A figure of the God Khnwm	Faience	1859
4583	A figure of the God Amon	"	1859
4584-4585	An amuletic triad of Isis, Horus and Nepthys ...	"	1859
4586	An amulet similar to the above examples	"	1859
4587-4589	Three figures of frogs	Hard stone	1859
4590-4593	Four figures of calves bound for sacrifice	Red paste (?)	1859
4594-4595	Two amulets in the form of a head-dress of two plumes.	Black stone	1859
4596	A figure of the God Thoth	Lapis lazuli	1859
4597-4598	Two figures of the God Ra with a solar disk	"	1859
4599-4600	Two figures of the God Thoth	"	1859
4601	A figure of the Goddess Isis crowned with her name symbol	"	1859
4602-4604	Three amulets in the form of papyrus sceptres ...	Hard stone	1859
4605-4607	Three mason's plumbs	"	1859
4608	A "Shen" amulet	"	1859
4609	A "Shen" amulet	"	1859
4610	A scarab with the legs folded under the body; very fine work	Black stone, highly polished	1859
4611	A scarab similar to the above but not such fine workmanship	Black stone, highly polished	
4612	A scarab	Faience	1859
4613	An amulet in the form of the sun in the horizon ...	Red paste (?)	1859
4614	An amulet in the form of a serpent's head	Faience	1859
4615	A belt buckle	Red paste (?)	1859
4616	A belt buckle	"	
4617	An Eye of Horus	Faience	1859
4618-4628	Eleven uninscribed scarabs	Hard stone	1859

Journal No.	Description	Material	Date
4631	An inscribed scarab, set in a very fine gold mount, Inscribed : 	Hæmatite and gold	1859
4747	A fragmentary square base and part of a statue of a kneeling person, clad in a long robe. Inscribed : 	Limestone	1859
4748	A damaged piece of sculpture, representing the Goddess Isis receiving the homage of a king. Inscribed :  and another figure of Isis, with the two cartouches : 	Limestone	1859
4757	An amulet in the form of two human fingers	Black jasper (?)	1859
4758	An amulet in the form of two human fingers	,,	1859

Journal No.	Description	Material	Date
4759-4761	Three amulets of the same form as the above	Black jasper	1859
4762-4768	Seven uninscribed scarabs	Hard stone	1859
4769-4774	Six figures of calves, bound for sacrifice	Red-paste (?)	1859
4775	A figure of the God Bes	Faience	1859
4776-4781	Six vases	Green porphyry	1859
4782	A vase	Carnelian	1859
4783-4787	The two plumes of Amon	Green porphyry	1859
4788	An amulet in the form of two ostrich plumes	"	1859
4789-4791	Three tablets of Thoth	Black jasper	1859
4792-4794	Three "Sem" amulets	"	1859
4795-4798	Four amulets in the form of papyrus sceptres	Root of emerald	1859
4799-4800	Two "Menat" amulets	Lapis lazuli	1859
4801-4808	Eight uninscribed scarabs	Various hard materials	1859
4809-4811	Three scarabs having the legs bent under the body	"	1859
4812-4814	Three figures of frogs	"	1859
4815-4817	Three amulets in the form of the sun in the horizon	Red paste (?)	1859
4818-4819	Two "angles"	Black jasper	1859
4820	A mason's plumb	"	1859
4821	A "Shen" amulet	"	1859
4822	An amulet in the form of a serpent's head	Carnelian	1859
4823	An amulet in the form of a head-rest	Hematite	1859
4824-4838	Fifteen Eyes of Horus	Hard stone	1859
4839-4843	Five Eyes of Horus	Faience	1859
4844-4846	Three belt buckles	Red paste (?)	1859
4847-4853	Seven <i>Ded</i> amulets	Faience	1859
4854-4855	Two <i>Ded</i> amulets	Red paste (?)	1859
4856	One <i>Ded</i> amulet	Carnelian	1859
4857	An uninscribed scarab	Red paste (?)	1859
4858	An uninscribed scarab mounted in a gold ring	Red jasper and gold	1859
4859-4860	Two seals, pyramidal in shape	Black stone	1859
4861-4863	Three amulets in the form of a cartouche	Various stones	1859
4864	A figure of a hawk wearing the Double Crown	Faience	1859
4865	Two Eyes of Horus	"	1859
4866	A figure of the Goddess Isis crowned with her name symbol	Lapis lazuli	1859
4867	A figure of the Goddess Neith	"	1859
4868	A pierced cylinder with figures of divinities	Faience	1859
5135	A beautiful scarab bearing an effaced inscription	Green stone, polished	1859
5136-5138	Three fine uninscribed scarabs	Various hard materials	1859
5139-5150	Twelve un-inscribed scarabs	"	1859
5151	A figure of Isis the Mother wearing the Double Crown.	Green faience	1859
5152	A figure of the Goddess Bastet ⁽¹⁾	"	1859
5153	An amulet in the form of a head-rest	Black jasper	1859
5154	A scarab bearing a figure in relief	Green faience	1859
5155	A scarab	"	1859
5156	A scarab bearing an effaced inscription ⁽²⁾	Hard green stone	1859
5157	A scarab	"	1859

(1) Catalogue No. 39005.

(2) Perhaps Gnostic in character.

Journal No.	Description	Material	Date
5158	An uninscribed scarab	Amethyst	1859
5159	An uninscribed scarab	Red jasper	1859
5160	A scarab bearing the name of Amon-Ra	Blue faience	1859
5161	A scarab	Grey faience	1859
5162	An uninscribed scarab	Hard grey stone	1859
5163	A stone from a ring, on one side, and on the other side, a damaged inscription	Hard stone, mottled green and brown	1859
5169-5174	Six figures of calves bound for sacrifice	Red paste (?)	1859
5175-5185	Eleven scarabs, the legs bent under the body	"	1859
5186	A stone from a ring engraved with the Eye of Horus	Red jasper	1859
5216	A heart-scarab. Inscription almost illegible	Hard white stone	1859
5217	A scarab bearing the name of Heru, son of Ptah-iri-sis(?)	Brown stone	1859
5387	A square stela. Upper register shows deceased, Unnefer, standing before Osiris. Second register: The offering formula, terminating in a mention of the age of the deceased: 51 years, 10 months and 17 days.	Limestone	1859
5388	A stela of the same form and workmanship as the preceding. Upper register: deceased, Pinefer, adoring Osiris. Second register: offering-formula, giving age of the deceased: 57 years, 10 months, 5 days.	"	1859
5389	A figure of a hawk, in profile	Blue faience	1859
5390-5391	Two kneeling figures of hawk-headed genius	"	1859
5392	A figure of the God Soped in the form of a mummified hawk	Wood	1859
5412	A kneeling figure of a hawk-headed genius	Yellow faience	1859
6367-6369	Three canopic jars; lids in the form of heads of the Sons of Horus	Hard white limestone	1860
6411	A scarab bearing the names of Rameses II	Faience	1860
6412	An oval amulet, covered with gold-leaf, inscribed with the name of Amon	"	1860
6413	A band of gold, with a figure of the Goddess Hathor in sunk relief	Gold	1860
6414	A figure of a ram worked on a small piece of gold leaf.	"	1860
6415	An amulet in the form of a collar, terminating in the heads of Hawks	"	1860
6416	A <i>Ded</i> amulet	"	1860
6417	An ankh	"	1860
6418	A "Menat" amulet	"	1860
6419	A "Menat" amulet	Porphyry	1860
6420-6422	Three vases	Carnelian	1860
6423	An amulet in the form of a head-rest	Hæmatite	1860
6424	An amulet in the form of a serpent's head	Carnelian	1860
6425	A figure of the Goddess Isis crowned with her name symbol	Lapis lazuli	1860
6426-6427	Two figures of the Goddess Selk	"	1860
6428	A figure of the God Thoth	"	1860
6429	A figure of a hawk	"	1860
6430	A cartouche	"	1860
6431-6432	Two figures of Horus the Child	Faience	1860

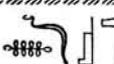
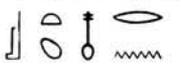
Journal No.	Description	Material	Date
6434	A figure of the Goddess Bastet	Faience	1860
6435-6437	Three figures of the Goddess Ta-wer.t	"	1860
6438	An amulet in the form of an erect uraeus	"	1860
6439	A square amulet bearing a figure of a fish	"	1860
6440-6444	Five scarabs having the legs bent under the body ...	Various materials ...	1860
6445	A golden ear-ring on which are threaded two beads.	Gold	1860
6446-6454	Nine Eyes of Horus	Faience	1860
6455-6459	Five amulets in the form of papyrus sceptres	Green jasper	1860
6460-6463	Four scarabs	Faience	1860
6464-6465	Two amulets in the form of divine head-dresses ...	Black jasper	1860
6466	An amuletic "angle"	"	1860
6467-6468	Two vases	Red paste	1860
6470	A figure of Isis the Mother crowned with the disk and horns	Faience	1860
6881	A figure of a semi nude woman arranging her hair ...	Gold	1860
8052-8059	Eight Eyes of Horus	Various materials ...	1860
8060-8062	Three uninscribed scarabs	"	1860
8063-8067	Five scarabs having the legs bent under the body ...	"	1860
8068-8069	Two amulets in the form of two human fingers ...	"	1860
8070-8072	Three vases	"	1860
8073-8077	Five amulets in the form of divine head-dresses ...	"	1860
8078-8082	Five "Shen" amulets	"	1860
8083-8084	Two amulets in the form of the sun in the horizon.	Red paste (?)	1860
8085-8090	Six seals with square bases	Various materials ...	1860
8091	A figure of a vulture	Lapis lazuli	1860
8092	A figure of the God Thoth	Faience	1860
8093	A figure of the God Khnwm	"	1860
8094-8095	Two amulets in the form of serpents' heads	Carnelian	1860
8096	A figure of the Goddess Isis	Lapis lazuli	1860
8097	A figure of the Goddess Selk	"	1860
8098	A figure of the Goddess Nephtys	"	1860
8099	A figure of the God Thoth	"	1860
8100-8101	Two figures of the God Horus	"	1860
9419-9425	Seven Eyes of Horus	Hard stone	1860
9426-9427	Two uninscribed scarabs	"	1860
9428-9431	Four scarabs having the legs bent under the body ...	"	1860
9432	A scarab	White stone	1860
9433	A vase	Carnelian	1860
9434-9436	Three vases	Hard stone	1850
9437-9443	Six figures of various Gods	Lapis lazuli	1860
9444-9447	Four amulets in the form of divine head-dresses ...	Hard stone	1860
9448-9449	Two amulets in the form of serpents' heads	Carnelian	1860
9450	A shuttle	"	1860
9451-9462	Twelve fragments of a collar formed of square amulets.	Various materials ...	1860
9463-9464	Two amulets in the form of two human fingers ...	Stone	1860
9950	A libation basin, of the Old Kingdom style. Inscribed with the name of Nub-hotep	"	1860
9956-9960	Five Eyes of Horus	Various materials ...	1860
9961-9986	Twenty-six Eyes of Horus	"	1860
9987-9989	Three scarabs having the legs bent under the body ...	Hard stone	1860

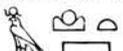
Journal No.	Description	Material	Date
9990-9991	Two uninscribed scarabs	Hard stone	1860
9992-9997	Six <i>Ded</i> amulets	"	1860
9998-10003	Six vases	Various materials	1860
10004-10009	Six amulets in the form of divine head-dresses	"	1860
10010-10012	Three amulets in the form of head-rests	"	1860
10013-10016	Four seals with square bases	"	1860
10017-10021	Five seals	"	1860
10022-10023	Two figures of the God Set	Red paste (?)	1860
10024-10025	Two figures of frogs	Various materials	1860
10026-10028	Three emblems of divinities	"	1860
10029-10031	Three amulets in the form of papyrus sceptres	"	1860
10062	A diorite statue of the King Khafra, seated on his throne. Behind his head is the divine hawk in an attitude of protection ⁽¹⁾	Diorite	1860
10851-10856	Six Eyes of Horus	Various materials	1860
10857-10861	Five un-inscribed scarabs	"	1860
10862-10864	Three vases	"	1860
10865-10867	Three <i>Ded</i> amulets	"	1860
10868	An amulet in the form of a head-rest	Hæmatite	1860
10869-10871	Three scarabs having the legs bent under the body	Various materials	1860
10872-10878	Seven figures of Gods : 2 Isis, 2 Nephthys, 3 Ra	Lapis lazuli	1860
10879-10881	Three heads of serpents	Carnelian	1860
10882-10886	Five broken amulets : 2 vultures, 1 phallus, 1 soul, 1 winged serpent... ..	Gold	1860
10889	A head-rest, made in three sections, the base is missing. Alabaster	Alabaster	1860
10901-10906	Six un-inscribed scarabs	Various materials	1860
10907-10908	Two figures of calves bound for sacrifice	Red paste (?)	1860
10909-10910	Two amulets in the form of serpents' heads	Carnelian	1860
10911-10912	Two amulets in the form of papyrus sceptres	Green jasper	1860
10913-10915	Three Eyes of Horus	Faience	1860
10916	A vase	Blue faience	1860
10917	An un-inscribed heart scarab	Basalt	1860
10918	A figure of a frog	Green jasper	1860
10919-10920	Two figures of the God Ra	Lapis lazuli	1860
10921-10925	Five figures of Gods : 1 Nephthys, 1 Isis, 1 Thoth, 1 Ra	Various materials	1860
10926	An amulet in the form of two human fingers	Faience	1860
11533-11534	Two Eyes of Horus	"	1860
11535	A figure of a hawk-headed crocodile	"	1860
11536	A scarab having the legs bent under the body	Hæmatite	1860
11537	An amulet in the form of a divine head-dress	"	1860
11538	A tablet of Thoth	Green jasper	1860
11539	An amulet bearing a representation of four Gods	Faience	1860
12181-12183	Three inscribed scarabs	"	1860
12184-12186	Three square amulets	"	1860
12187	A figure of the Goddess Bastet	"	1860
12188-12193	Six figures of the Goddess Bastet from the same mould.	"	1860
12194-12195	Two Eyes of Horus	"	1860
12196-12197	Two vases	"	1860

(1) This is the world-famous statue of Khafra.

Journal No.	Description	Material	Date
12198	An amulet in the form of a fish	Faience	1860
12199	A figure of the God Ptah-Patique	"	1860
12200	A figure of a frog	"	1860
12201	A figure of a cat	"	1860
13161-13162	Two <i>Ded</i> amulets	Carnelian	1860
13163	A vase	"	1860
13164	A group of seven Gods: 3 Ra, 3 Isis, 1 Thoth ...	Faience	1860
13165	A triad of Isis, Horus and Nephtys	"	1860
13166-13167	Two uninscribed scarabs	Hard stons	1860
13168-13170	Three Eyes of Horus	Faience	1860
13171-13172	Two amulets in the form of head-rests	Hæmatite	1860
13173-13177	Three amulets in the form of the plumes of Amon, and two tablets of Thoth	Various stones	1860
13178-13180	Three scarabs with the legs bent under the body ...	"	1860
13181	A frog-headed scarab, with the legs bent under the body	Hard stone	1860
13182	A figure of a hawk, head-dress lacking	"	1860
13183	A figure of an ape	Limestone	1860
15161-15164	Four figures of Gods: 1 Bastet (seated), 1 Bastet (standing), 1 Bes, 1 Bastet (?) crowned with two plumes	Faience	1860
15165	A figure of the Goddess Isis	"	1860
15166	A figure of the Goddess Mut	"	1860
15167	An Eye of Horus	Ivory and black enamel (sic)	1860
15168	A vase	Atabaster	1860
15169	A vase	Terra cotta	1860
15170	An uninscribed scarab	Green porphyry	1860
15171-15172	Two inscribed scarabs	Faience	1860
15173-15174	Two figures of frogs	"	1861
15175-15176	Two figures of ibis	"	1861
15177-15178	Two figures of cats	"	1861
15179	A square amulet bearing a head of Hathor between two apes	"	1861
15211 <i>bis</i>	A statue of Khafra, seated upon a throne (headless)	Diorite	1861
15212 <i>bis</i>	A damaged statue of Khafra	"	1861
15219-15270	Fifty-two figures of cats	Faience	1861
15271	A standing figure of a cat	"	1861
15272	A figure of a pig	"	1861
15273	A figure of the Goddess Bastet	"	1861
15274	A figure of Isis the Mother	"	1861
15275-15276	Two figures of the Goddess Mut (one broken)	"	1861
15277	A figure of the Goddess Bastet	"	1861
15278	A figure of the Goddess Mut	"	1861
15279	A figure of the Goddess Bastet (seated)	"	1861
15280-15281	Two inscribed scarabs	"	1861
15282	A damaged figure of the Apis bull	"	1861
15283	A group of six figures of Bes	"	1861
15284-15291	Eight Eyes of Horus	"	1861
15292	An Eye of Horus	"	1861
15293	An amulet representing the Goddess Ta-wer.t before an Eye of Horus	"	1861

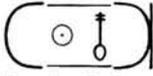
Journal No.	Description	Material	Date
15294	A figure of the God Bes, standing on a papyrus head, and carrying a child in his mouth	Terra cotta	1861
15956	A scarab	Black stone	1861
15957-15958	Two scarabs	Grey stone	1861
15959	Three divinities: Horus, Niphtys and Isis	Porcelain	1861
15960	A hawk	"	1861
15961	Three gods	"	1861
15936			
15964-15965	Two <i>dd</i> (stability)	"	1861
18220	The sarcophagus and mummy of Khufu-ankh (Old Kingdom):	Red granite	1861
19588-19600	Thirteen unscribed heart-scarabs	Black and red stone	1862
19601-19612	Twelve scarabs, with the legs bent under the body...	Various materials	1862
19612	Seven amulets in the form of two human fingers ...	Black stone	1862
19613-19619	Seven mystic fingers	"	1862
19620	A <i>Ded</i> amulet	Faience	1862
19621	An amulet in the form of a papyrus sceptre	"	1862
19622	A vase	Black stone	1862
19623	An amulet bearing a figure of the <i>Ded</i> between two figures of the God Ra	Faience	1862
19624-19630	Seven figures of Gods: 3 Moui (sic), 1 Horus the Son of Isis, 2 Isis, 1 Khnum	"	1862
19631-19636	Six triads of Isis, Horus and Nephthys	"	1862
19637	A figure of an ibis	"	1862
19638	A figure of the Double Lion God	"	1862
19639	A figure of a frog	"	1862
19640	An amulet in the form of the two plumes of Amon	Black and grey stone	1862
19641	An Eye of Horus	(?)	1862
19752-19755	Four inscribed scarabs	Faience	1862
19756	An amulet bearing an inscription. On the reverse, a hawk and an erect uraeus	"	1862
19757	A figure of the God Ptah-Patque... ..	Terra-cotta	1862
19758	A vase	Black stone	1862
19759	An unscribed scarab	Root of emerald	1862
19760	A small vase	Grey stone	1862
19761	An ægis of the head of the Goddess Bastet (?) ...	Faience	1862
19762	Fragments of a bas-relief, representing a standing man, holding a baton	Limestone	1862
20430-20431	A square stela bearing the names of a certain Nakht, and his family, Twelfth Dynasty	"	1862
25017	<i>Ushabti</i> -figures	Blue porcelain or grey	1881
	1o 102 <i>ushabtis</i> , very coarse	"	1881
	2o 54 <i>ushabtis</i> , inscribed 	"	1881
	3o 1 <i>ushabti</i> , inscribed as the preceding	"	1881
	4o 1 <i>ushabti</i> , front inscription effaced, back inscription as above	"	1881
	5o 9 <i>ushabtis</i> , unscribed	"	1881
	6o 2 <i>ushabtis</i> , inscribed 	"	1881

Journal No.	Description	Material	Date
	 (?)	Blue porcelain or grey	1881
	70 2 <i>ushabtis</i> , inscribed on back: 	Faience	1881
	80 1 <i>ushabti</i> , feet lacking, inscribed on back: 		
		Alabaster	1881
25018	Fifty-seven uninscribed <i>ushabti</i> -figures	"	1881
25019	An uninscribed heart-scarab, fine workmanship	Serpentine	1881
25020	An uninscribed heart scarab	Carnelian	1881
25021	An uninscribed heart scarab	Basalt	1881
20522	Amulet in the form of two human fingers	Black stone	1881
25023	A figure of a hawk	Lapis lazuli	1881
25024	A triad of Isis, Horus and Nephthys	White faience	1881
25025	Five Eyes of Horus	Various materials	1881
25027	Amulet	Black stone	1881
25028	Amulet "a pillow"	Hæmatite	1881
25690	Small columns with lottus-flowers	Blue terra cotta	1881
25692	A figure of the Goddess Isis, seated, and suckling Horus	Green faience	1881
25693	A scarab	Blue terra cotta	1881
25694	A little calf	"	1881
25695-25699	A figure of the God Shu	Green faience	1881
25696	A scarab	Basalt	1881
25697	A figure of the God Ra	Green faience	1881
25698	A seated figure of the Goddess Bastet. On the back is inscribed: 	"	1881
25699	A figure of a hawk wearing the Double Crown	Yellow faience	1881
25700	A figure of the God Thoth in the form of an ibis. Before him is the feather 	Blue stone	1881
25701	A scarab inscribed: 	Faience	1881
25702	A scarab inscribed: 	"	1881
25703	A scarab with a damaged inscription as No. 25702...	"	1881
25704	A figure of the God Bes	"	1881
25772	A base of statue (?), bearing the name of Queen 	Limestone	1881
25776	A bas-relief from the tomb of  with the Cartouche of Khafra... ..	"	1881
26109	A figure of the Goddess Isis, seated and suckling the infant Horus	Green faience	1881
26511	A <i>ushabti</i> -figure, bearing the name: 	"	1881

Journal No.	Description	Material	Date
28175	A fragment bearing the name :  (Pasebekhanu II)	Limestone	1888
30189	A sarcophagus bearing the name of a priest of Men-kaw Ra  . Late Fourth Dynasty	"	1888
30234	A small stela bearing two vertical lines of inscription giving the name of a certain "Khou-setn-Thoth" (sic)	"	1888
30345	A small figure of a couchant hare	"	1893
30409	A small table of offerings, bearing the name of Hapi	"	1893
30411	A figure of Horus standing and holding two crocodiles in his hands	Faïence	1893
30437	A small stela, of coarse work. It bears two lines of Demotic inscription	Limestone	1893
30836	A <i>Ded</i> amulet, surmounted by the Atef-crown	Green faïence	1893
33974	A stela, on which is represented the Sphinx, it is named Hor-em-akhet. An inscription of four vertical lines has been effaced	Limestone	1893
44693	A fragment of a large stela (?), bearing two horizontal lines of inscription with the title of Rameses VI...	Grey granite	1913
49662	A <i>ushabti</i> -figure bearing seven lines of coarsely incised inscription	Blue faïence	1926
50042	A block of limestone, bearing an inscription in Greek.	Limestone	1927
50043	A stela bearing an inscription in Greek	"	1927
50044	A block of stone bearing a fragmentary inscription in Greek	"	1927
50045	Four fragments forming part of a stela. It bore an inscription in Greek, apparently a poem	"	1927
50046	A small votive stela, with a rounded top. It bears a representation of the Sphinx above which is a hawk crowned with the Double Crown. It is inscribed  Below is a horizontal inscription, reading :  	Limestone	1927
50047	A block of limestone, the top of which is somewhat rounded. It bears a figure in sunk relief	"	1927
51271	A figure of a sphinx	Bronze	1927
51272	A figure of a sphinx	"	1927
51876	A stela found near the Great Sphinx, bearing a decree by the inhabitants of Busiris in honour of the Stratagus Geneus Pompeius Sabinus	Limestone	1927

Journal No.	Description	Material	Date
52481	A group of ten miniature sphinxes, painted red (Ptolemaic Period)	Plaster	1928
52482	An altar (?) bearing six lines of a finely incised Demotic inscription	Limestone	1928
52483-52491	A model jar bearing the Cartouche of Amenhotep II.	Alabaster	1928
53835-53843	Amulets of coarse work	Blue faience	1929
53844	A figure of the God Bes	"	1929
53845-53846	Two figures of the God Bes	"	1929
53847-53848	Two damaged figures of the Goddess Bastet	"	1929
53849	A figure of the Goddess Hathor	"	1926
53850-53851	Two figures of the Goddess Hathor	"	1929
53852-53853	Two figures of the God Thoth	"	1929
53854	A figure of the God Anubis	"	1929
53855	A figure of Ptah-Patque	"	1929
53856	A figure of Ptah-Patque	"	1929
53857	A figure of the Goddess Ta-wer.t	"	1929
53858	A figure of the God Anubis	"	1929
53859	A figure of the Goddess Ta-wer.t	"	1929
53860	A figure of the Goddess Ta-wer.t	"	1929
53861	A figure of the God Thoth	"	1929
53862	A figure of the God Anubis	"	1929
53863	A figure of the God Bes	Wood	1929
53864	A gold plate with embossed hieroglyphs	Gold	1929
53865	A "Menat" amulet	"	1929
53866	A vase bearing a vertical inscription, reading: 	Blue faience	1929
53867-53909	Forty-three inscribed <i>ushabti</i> figures	"	1929
53910-53913	Four <i>Ded</i> amulets	"	1929
53914	A seal (?) amulet	"	1929
53915-53918	Four <i>Ded</i> amulets	"	1929
53919-53922	Four <i>Ded</i> amulets	"	1929
53923-53930	Eight <i>Ded</i> amulets	"	1929
53931	An amulet in the form of a papyrus sceptre, on the top of which are two squatting figures (cats?) ...	"	1929
53932	An amulet in the form of a papyrus sceptre	"	1929
53933-53938	Six <i>Ded</i> amulets	"	1929
53939-53940	Two amulets in the form of serpents' heads	"	1929
53941-53943	Three <i>Ded</i> amulets	"	1929
53944	A triad of Isis, Horus and Nephtys	"	1929
53945	A figure of the God Khnwm	"	1929
53946-53947	Two Eyes of Horus	"	1929
53948	A figure of the God Khnwm	"	1929
53949	A triad of Isis, Horus and Nephtys	"	1929
53950-53951	Two figures of Horus, wearing the Double Crown ...	"	1929
53952-53953	Two figures of Horus-Ra, crowned with the solar disk	"	1929
53954	An Eye of Horus	"	1929
53955	A figure of the God Shu	"	1929
53956	A figure of the God Thoth	"	1929

Journal No.	Description	Material	Date
53957-53959	Three figures of the God Khonsw...	Blue faience ...	1929
53960-53962	Three figures of the Goddess Nephthys ...	" ...	1929
53963	A figure of the Goddess Maat ...	" ...	1929
53964	A figure of the God Shu ...	" ...	1929
53965	A figure of the Double Lion God ...	" ...	1929
53966	A figure of the God Amon ...	" ...	1929
53967-53968	Two figures of the God Thoth ...	" ...	1929
53969	A <i>Ded</i> amulet ...	Lapis lazuli ...	1929
53970	A frog amulet ...	Hard greenish stone	1929
53971	A fine large heart scarab ...	" ...	1929
53972	A large scarab, with loop for attachment below	" ...	1929
53973	An amulet in the form of a papyrus sceptre ...	Lapis lazuli ...	1929
53974	An uninscribed scarab ...	Hard greenish stone	1929
53975	An amulet in the form of a papyrus sceptre ...	Hæmatite ...	1929
53977	An amulet in the form of a papyrus sceptre ...	Hard green stone ...	1929
53978	An Eye of Horus ...	Carnelian ...	1929
53979	An Eye of Horus ...	" ...	1929
53980	An amulet in the form of a head-rest ...	Hæmatite ...	1929
53981	An Eye of Horus ...	Red jasper ...	1929
53982	An Eye of Horus ...	Hard green stone ...	1929
53983	An "angle" amulet ...	Hæmatite ...	1929
53984	A "Shan" amulet ...	Hard green stone ...	1929
53985	An amulet of the form  ...	Hæmatite ...	1929
53986	An Eye of Horus ...	Hard green stone ...	1929
53987	A "Buckle of Isis" ...	Red jasper ...	1929
53988	A heart amulet ...	Carnelian ...	1929
53989	An amulet in the form of a divine head-dress ...	Hæmatite ...	1929
53990	A heart amulet ...	Carnelian ...	1929
53991	A "Buckle of Isis" ...	Red jasper ...	1929
53994	A damaged figure of the Goddess Isis (?) ...	Lapis lazuli ...	1929
53997	An amulet in the form of a serpent's head ...	Carnelian ...	1929
53999	An Eye of Horus ...	Hæmatite ...	1929
54000	A "Buckle of Isis" ...	Red jasper ...	1929
54001	A scarab with a hawk's head (?) ...	Lapis lazuli ...	1929
54002	A "Buckle of Isis" ...	Red jasper ...	1929
54003-54004	Two Eyes of Horus ...	Hæmatite and red jasper ...	1929
54005	A scarab with a loop for attachment ...	Red jasper ...	1929
54006	A heart scarab ...	Serpentine ...	1929
54007	A scarab with a loop for attachment ...	" ...	1929
54008-54009	Two Eyes of Horus ...	Hæmatite ...	1929
54010	A <i>Ded</i> amulet ...	Lapis lazuli ...	1929
54011	A scarab with a loop for attachment ...	Hæmatite ...	1929
54012	A <i>Ded</i> amulet ...	Lapis lazuli ...	1929
54013	A "Shen" amulet ...	" ...	1929
54014	A figure of a baboon in an attitude of adoration ...	" ...	1929
54015	A figure of the Goddess Isis ...	" ...	1929
54016	A figure of the Goddess Neith ...	(?)	1929
54017	A figure of the God Horus ...	(?)	1929

Journal No.	Description	Material	Date
54018	A figure of a baboon in an attitude of adoration ...	(?)	1929
54019-54020	Two amulets in the form of papyrus sceptres ...	(?)	1929
54021	An amulet in the form of a head-rest ...	Hæmatite ...	1929
54022-54023	Two amulets in the form of papyrus sceptres ...	" ...	1929
54026	An Eye of Horus ...	Carnelian ...	1929
54027	A heart amulet ...	" ...	1929
54028	An Eye Horus ...	" ...	1929
54031	An amulet in the form of a serpent's head ...	" ...	1929
54033	An Eye of Horus ...	" ...	1929
54036-54075	Forty amulets of thin Gold foil. Details impressed.	Gold ...	1929
54076-54095	Twenty amulets of thin gold foil ...	" ...	1929
54096-54128	Amulets, two bracelets, finger and toe-covers of thin gold ...	" ...	1929
54170-54184	Fifteen inscribed <i>ushabti</i> -figures ...	Blue faience ...	1929
54186	Six scarabs on a single base. On the reverse is inscribed :  ...	" ...	1929
55301	A lintel of Amenhotep II ...	Limestone ...	1929
56691-56692	Two moulds in which bread was baked ...	Red pottery ...	1931
56693-56722	Vases of various forms ...	" ...	1931
56723-56728	Small dishes ...	" ...	1931
56729-56731	Flint scrapers ...	Flint ...	1931
56732	An oval plaque, inscribed with the name of Amenhotep II	Alabaster ...	1931
57195	Door jambs, lintel and threshold of Tutankhamon, usurped by Rameses II. Painted red, with original cartouches coloured blue ...	Limestone ...	1931
59458	A slab bearing a Greek inscription ...	" ...	1933
59459	Part of a large vase, painted blue, with red lines...	Red pottery ...	1933
59460	A stela of Thothmes IV. The King is represented offering two flowers to the Goddess Isis ...	Limestone ...	1933
59461	A stela of Thothmes IV. The King offers wine to the God Ptah. Behind him stands the Queen Nefertari ...	" ...	1933
59462	A stela of Thothmes IV. The King presents offerings to a Goddess (Isis ?). Behind him stands Queen Nefertari ...	" ...	1933
59463	A block bearing the remains of one or two inscriptions in Greek ...	" ...	1933
59634	A heavy stone chisel ...	Dolerite (?) ...	1933
65829	A stela bearing six lines of inscription in Greek ...	Limestone ...	1935
29/12/28/1	A drum of a small column (?), bearing one line of lightly incised inscription (Aramaic) ...	" ...	1928
31/12/28/10	A large figure of a hawk (headless) ...	" ...	1928
3/2/29/2	Fifteen <i>ushabti</i> -figures ...	Blue faience ...	1929
10/5/30/1	Head of a statuette of a King. Obelisk at back. Traces of red paint ...	Limestone... ...	1930
12/11/30/4	A box of sealings, shreds and flints, of Khafra ...	Various materials ...	1930
22/7/31/2	Foundation deposit ...	Bronze ...	1931
10/5/33/1	A block bearing the Cartouche of Thothmes IV ...	Limestone ...	1933
10/5/33/2	An offering-table ...	" ...	1933

Journal No.	Description	Material	Date
10/5/33/3	A fragment of a stela, bearing a representation of a sphinx, and above it a winged disk	Limestone	1933
10/5/33/4	A block bearing a series of cartouches	„	1933
10/5/33/5	A block of stone bearing some hieroglyphs	„	1933
10/5/33/7	A fragment of a freize, with a decoration in relief ...	„	1933
10/5/33/9	A stela bearing a crude figure of a sphinx	„	1933
14/12/34/4	A small, rectangular stela, of very rough, late (?) work. It bears a representation of a man adoring a hawk-god	„	1934

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