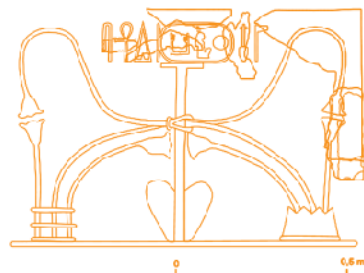


Reconstruction of the bases of sandstone sphinxes from the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari



Abstract: The reconstruction of the iconographic program of the decoration of the sandstone bases of a group of sphinxes of Hatshepsut lining the processional avenue leading to the Queen's Mansion of a Million Years in the temple at Deir el-Bahari is the prime focus of this article. The fragments of these statues discovered in the 1920s by the archaeological mission of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York were never published. The pieces were rediscovered in storage in 2005. A theoretical reconstruction has been undertaken, leading the author to identify an unusual iconographical pattern that reflects changes in art introduced in the times of Hatshepsut. The representations on the bases of the royal sandstone sphinxes from the queen's temple include, among others, *rekhyt* birds, *pat*-people and "enemies of Egypt". They take on a form that departs from that known from other sphinx sculptures.

Keywords: Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut, sphinx, *rekhyt*, foreigners

Individual statues of sphinxes and issues related to these representations have been the topic of many studies. Yet there are still no serious compendia of this subject—or the iconographic program of the decoration on the bases of sphinx statues. The decoration found on the bases is discussed in the context of in-

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Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Dr. Catharine Roehrig from the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York for sending H.E. Winlock's archival drawings of the sphinxes and thus enabling the publication of this article. I would also like to extend my sincere thanks to Assoc. Prof. Mirosław Barwik for his generous consultations and Dr. Zbigniew Szafrąński for drawing my attention to the subject. Dr. Alessia Fassone kindly provided photographs of the sandstone sphinx from the Museo Egizio in Turin.

dividual sphinxes or groups of sphinxes collected in a given place. The catalog of the Brussels exhibition *Sphinx. Les gardiens de l'Égypte* (October 2006 to February 2007) is outstanding in this respect, the authors giving a rather more comprehensive overview of the complex issue of Egyptian sphinxes over time. The present article does not aspire to be a full study of sphinx statues, being focused instead on the specific issue of the decoration of the bases of Hatshepsut's sandstone sphinxes from Deir el-Bahari, which it seeks to reconstruct and interpret in context.

The case of processional avenues lined with statues of sphinxes has received more attention. The work that contributes the most in this respect is the monumental *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes* (Cabrol 2001). Agnès Cabrol discusses all the known remains of processional avenues in the Theban region, describing their structure as well as the sphinx statues. Issues related to processional avenues with sphinxes in general or specific aspects of individual avenues have been discussed in lesser publications.

There are no archaeological sources to indicate the existence of processional avenues framed with sphinxes before the New Kingdom, or more precisely before the reign of Hatshepsut. The assumption therefore was that Hatshepsut initiated the custom by framing the dromos of her temple in Deir el-Bahari with these mythological creatures. It seems, however, that the greatest typological variety of sphinxes framing processional avenues occurred during the reign of Amenhotep III rather than that of Hatshepsut (Ca-

bol 2001: 342–343). It is now believed that processional avenues started to be lined with sphinxes already in the Old Kingdom when images of sphinxes appeared guarding the entrances to royal funeral complexes (Sourouzian 2006: 99–100). The Wadi Hammamat inscription from the 38th year of the reign of Sesostri I refers to the quarrying of greywacke for 60 Middle Kingdom sphinx statues. One idea is that they were intended for a processional avenue (Cabrol 2001: 342). It follows then that processional avenues from the New Kingdom could have copied Old and Middle Kingdom examples, which may have existed in religious buildings in Lower Egypt but have not been preserved (Sourouzian 2006: 102–103).

The article is focused on the sandstone bases of sphinxes framing what is still the oldest surviving Egyptian processional avenue, still preserved to some extent in the 19th century. This amplifies the significance of the reconstruction task, which strives to put together the heavily fragmented ancient substance, first to reconstruct the iconographic program of the decoration found on the bases, and second to improve the understanding of variations of iconographic programs decorating sphinx bases in ancient Egypt over the ages. Moreover, little was known about the sculptures until their recent rediscovery in storage. The proposed reconstruction, considered in the context of the reconstruction of the temple's sphinx-lined processional way as a whole, brings new information on Queen Hatshepsut's Mansion of a Million Years in Deir el-Bahari. It also gives

insight into the origins of processional avenues in the broader Theban region.

The earliest information about the sandstone sphinxes of Queen Hatshepsut comes from the *Description de l'Égypte* where an avenue surrounded by the remains of around 200 limestone sphinx bases was described (Jomard 1809: 174). There is little mention of the sandstone sphinxes in later publications. However, Jean-François Champollion (1833: 298–299) noted an avenue of this kind in Deir el-Bahari, and John Gardner Wilkinson (1835: 91) mentioned pieces of sandstone sphinxes scattered around the site. Their contemporaries must have seen them as well, because an avenue of sandstone sphinxes was marked on some plans of the site dating from between the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century (Jomard 1812: Fig. 38; Wilkinson 1830: Fig. 2; Lepsius 1852: Fig. 87; Mariette 1877: Fig. 1; Naville 1908: Fig. 172).

Excavations by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the 1920s and 1930s discovered numerous fragments of the sandstone sphinxes of Hatshepsut in the “Senenmut quarry” and in the “Hatshepsut Hole” (Winlock 1932: 10). Some limestone foundations, referred to as “beds” and connected with the sphinx bases, were also uncovered along the causeway (a letter from Walter Hauser from 1932, a copy of which is included in Winlock n.d.b.: 4–5). The *Description de l'Égypte* appears to have referred to these foundations rather than to any kind of sandstone bases, contrary to what has been suggested in subsequent publications. Other partly preserved sandstone sphinxes were discovered by Karl Richard Lepsius, who noted a sandstone

head with a *nemes*, Édouard Naville, who found another sandstone head with a tripartite wig, and Ambrose Lansing, who found a pair of sandstone forepaws (Winlock 1932: 10; n.d.a.: 3).

The sandstone sphinxes were heavily damaged and because so many of the small fragments have gone missing since the discovery, it is nearly impossible to fully reconstruct even one sphinx. Even their exact number is a challenge to determine, although an approximate number of statues may be offered and their general disposition reconstructed. Herbert E. Winlock assumed he had found parts of about 120 sculptures, but he also made it clear that their number might have been greater in Hatshepsut's times (1932: 11). Agata Smilgin used this research, mainly the sparse information that could be read from a sketch of the situational plan and photographs taken by Hauser during his excavations in 1932, coupled with the content of his letter to Winlock from the same year cited above, to estimate the number of sphinxes at around 74–76 (Smilgin 2011: 98) or 72–74, with the reservation that the actual number of sandstone sphinxes will not be known (Smilgin 2012: 76–77). Andrzej Ćwiek, who supervised Smilgin's graduate research, agrees with her on the number of sandstone sphinxes of Hatshepsut from the temple in Deir el-Bahari, setting his estimate at about 70 (Ćwiek 2014: 90).

The limestone foundations found by Hauser have not been preserved and the Polish–Egyptian Archaeological and Conservation Mission at the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, working since the 1960s, has not been able to lo-

cate any remains. Therefore, the question of the actual number of sandstone sphinxes that adorned the processional avenue remains open. Nevertheless, in view of the reliability of documentation made by the Metropolitan Museum of Art Expedition under Winlock's supervision, one should take into account the possibility that he rightly judged the number of Hatshepsut's sandstone sphinxes to be closer to 120.

In 2005, the Italian Archaeological Mission headed by Francesco Tiradritti rediscovered around 4500 pieces of sphinxes in the burial complex of Harwa (TT 37) in Luxor. These fragments were part of the Metropolitan Museum of Art finds (Smilgin 2009: 1). They were returned to the Polish–Egyptian Archaeological and Conservation Mission at the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari for reconstruction and restoration. The project was entrusted initially to Smilgin and then to the present author. In the seasons between 2006/2007 and 2012/2013, Smilgin classified the fragments, prepared drawing documenta-

tion and drew preliminary conclusions, primarily concerning the general appearance of the sphinx statues, their form, their headgear and polychromy (Smilgin 2009; 2011; 2012). With regard to the bases of the sphinxes and their iconography, she catalogued the fragments and presented some ideas regarding them without developing her study (Smilgin 2011: 131–135). Based on her own study of the material, the present author questions these preliminary assumptions, giving a new interpretation of the headdress as well as offering a proposition different from Smilgin's regarding the location of the sandstone sphinxes inside the temple.

Smilgin's efforts to catalog and document the rediscovered statue pieces are commendable. Even so, Winlock's drawings are still by far the most precise, because the material he was working with was much more complete than it is now. The actual, physical reconstruction of the sculptures was entrusted to restorer Andrzej Sośnierz from the PCMA UW team.

TYPES OF SANDSTONE SPHINX BASES

At least three distinct types of sandstone sphinxes could be distinguished in the preserved material applying the following criteria: type of headdress, chest inscription, and base decoration. Among all this diversity (three types of each) there are also some shared characteristics: the bodies and faces of all the sphinxes were painted yellow and they were fitted with royal beards. There is much to support the idea that the statues were monolithic, that is, the body of

the sphinx and its base were carved from one block of sandstone. Most importantly, there is also Winlock's drawing AM1526 showing two blocks that form the rear part of the base with a fragment of the tail marked on the upper part of one of them [see below, *Fig. 3*]. However, a photograph of the same block taken by the MET Expedition (image M12C230) reveals no tail fragment, this part of the of base having been broken. Even with this damage, the cutting of

this element from a single sandstone block is evident. The same concerns the other block shown in the said drawing. Moreover, another fragment of the base from its front part, with a fragment of a front paw on top of it, was obviously part of a larger whole, this despite the damage to it in the past. The proportions between the hieroglyphic signs, the decoration of the bases, their edges, as well as the preserved fragments of the sphinx body clearly indicate that these particular sandstone sphinxes of Hatshepsut were made as monolithic statues and were not furnished with an additional plinth.

Monolithic statues of this kind are quite uncommon. One could mention as such two sphinxes, now in the Museo Egizio in Turin (A 1408 and A 1409), and sphinxes from the Precinct of Mut in Karnak (Cabrol 2001: 330). The sphinxes of Hatshepsut were presumably set up on a limestone foundation ("bed"). Also, the size of the surviving decoration varies very slightly, a mere few centimetres, which may suggest that the statues were of very similar dimensions. The differences in the dimensions can easily be explained by having more than one sculptor at work on the statues and the impossibility of reproducing exactly the same measure every time. The same can be said of Hatshepsut's granite sphinxes: they, too, differ among themselves in terms of style and size (Tefnin 1979: 125; Keller 2005: 164).

The three types of decoration on the surviving sandstone sphinx bases comprised depictions of *rekhyt*-people depicted as lapwings, enemies of Egypt, and humans with lapwing crests. All the

signs carved on the bases were painted yellow and the background was white (Winlock n.d.a.: 139). Winlock estimated the sandstone sphinxes to be 3 m long and 1 m wide (1932: 14). The height of the base would have been about 0.85 m. These measurements are necessarily estimates on account of the heavily fragmented condition of the statues. Solid grounds for making the estimates were provided by a sandstone sphinx body, the larger part of which was excavated between 1923 and 1929. It was 0.86 m in the widest place (Winlock n.d.a.: 130). A few forepaw fragments were also discovered and one of them has survived together with a small part of the front base, making it possible to conclude that the width of the sphinx base was approximately 1.00–1.08 m (Winlock n.d.a.: 318). An estimate of the length of the sphinx base was calculated based on the body length and the best preserved forepaws. The surviving fragment of a sphinx body was 1.46 m long, but its forepaws and back were missing (Winlock n.d.a.: 130). The extant forepaws of another sphinx were around 0.75 m long (Winlock n.d.a.: 133). Based on the proportions in the drawing, Winlock assumed in his reconstruction that the length of the missing part at the rear of the sphinx was 0.30 m (Winlock n.d.a.: 316) and that the last missing part between the forepaws and the surviving fragment of the body was probably about 0.50 m long. The length of the whole sphinx would thus be about 2.70–3.00 m. The height of the base was established on the grounds of the best preserved fragments of the rear end of that base with surviving decoration. A part of the sphinx's

tail can be discerned close to the top of one fragment—this must have been the upper part of the base. Judging by the markings on another fragment, the block must have been the lower part of the base, the bottom of which has survived almost in its entirety. It was based on these dimensions that Winlock set the height of the base at about 0.85 m.

These dimensions were established by means of comparing loose fragments that might have come from sandstone sphinxes of different size. Even so, they may safely be assumed to be close to those of the original sphinxes.

FIRST TYPE

Enemies of Egypt scenes

Bases of the first type were decorated with representations of the enemies of Egypt. The back of the head, arms, and

crenellated oval of an enemy figure can still be discerned on an extant sandstone base fragment. Bearing in mind the proportions of the reconstructed drawing, the height should be about 0.75 m. In spite of significant damage to the surviving fragments, pieces of bases with depictions of the enemies of Egypt are among the best preserved. Parts of inscriptions, some depictions of goddesses, some parts of the figures of the enemies of Egypt, and also fragments of the base front and rear have been preserved.

The front of the base bears a *semtawy* sign below an inscription reading *nfr ntr M3^c.t-k3-R^c di 'nh snb* [Fig. 1]. This fragment of the base decoration may be reconstructed today only thanks to Winlock's drawings, because some blocks have gone missing and the condition of others has deteriorated considerably since their discovery in 1923–1929.

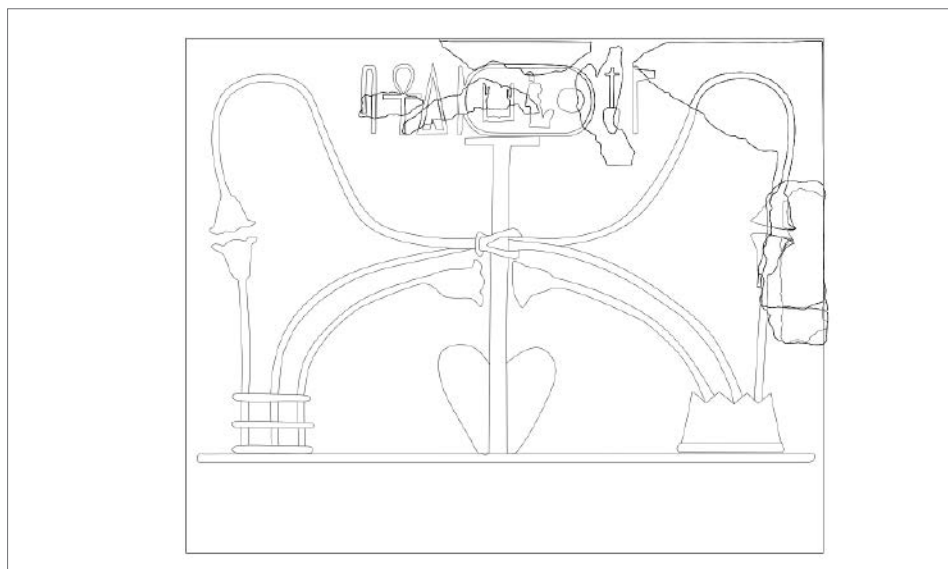


Fig. 1. Reconstruction of the front of a base of the first type depicting the enemies of Egypt, incorporating surviving fragments of the decoration (Based on H.E. Winlock's drawing, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition Archives | drawing K. Kasprzycka)

Decoration on the sides of the base began from the vertical edge joining it to the front wall with the *sema-tawy* sign. First came two long and one shorter column of text. The two long columns each start with the formula: *dd-mdw in(y)*; *dd-mdw di.n*, while the short column in two cases with *smi.t*. Two of the surviving base fragments can be connected with these inscriptions. The signs on them match the text of the two longer columns in terms of both meaning and size. It would seem that the text in two columns, carved before the figural decoration, appeared only on the first type of sphinx base discussed here. On three preserved blocks making up the bases one can see fragments of text. The signs *n.t* from the first column and part of another sign *t* from the second column can be seen on one of the blocks. This block was less damaged in Winlock's times. On the second block, the readable part of the text runs as follows: *Imn nb nsw.t-[t3.wy]*, while the third block bears a passage containing the name of Amun. On one of the blocks, a well preserved, legible name of Amun can be seen in the first column. Close to it appear traces of a second column of text: barely visible tiny fragments of hieroglyphic signs, so small that they can just give a clue to its presence. The third column, apparently complete, appears to consist of *smi.t*, seemingly iden-

tifying the standing goddess nearby. As for other bases with the same type of decoration, only parts of heads, faces, a few strings or belts, and a few fragments with hands and crenellated ovals, representing Asian and Nubian captives, have survived. No toponyms have been preserved.

The reconstruction suggests that the longer text columns were shorter than the other decorative elements; their height was about 0.69 m. Both sides of the base seem to have borne very similar scenes, differing only in some minor details.

The side wall directly next to the papyrus symbol in the *sema-tawy* sign on the front bore representations of Asian captives. These took on the form of anthropomorphic crenellated ovals, five in all, being led by the goddess of the desert toward the front of the base. The other side of the base bears images of Nubian captives, most likely five as well, and also in the form of anthropomorphic crenellated ovals. Presumably, they were led by the god Dedun toward the front of the base, where the lotus flower of the *sema-tawy* sign appeared. The figure of Dedun has not survived on any of the bases [Fig. 2].¹

Scenes with a deity leading foreigners were common in the New Kingdom period (Kitchen 2009: 129). All the captives depicted on the sandstone

1 The reconstruction was based on fragments of sandstone sphinxes coming from statues of slightly different proportions. By the same, lacking fragments that could be said to come from a single base, the presented models are hypothetical and by necessity schematic. For instance, the hieroglyphic signs in the name of Amun in the reconstruction of the motif of the enemies of Egypt are of different proportions than the upper part of the inscription. For the same reason some of the blocks "overlap", and in the case of the reconstruction of bases with the images of *pat*-people, the *dw3.t* inscriptions differ in the proportions and spacing of the hieroglyphic signs.

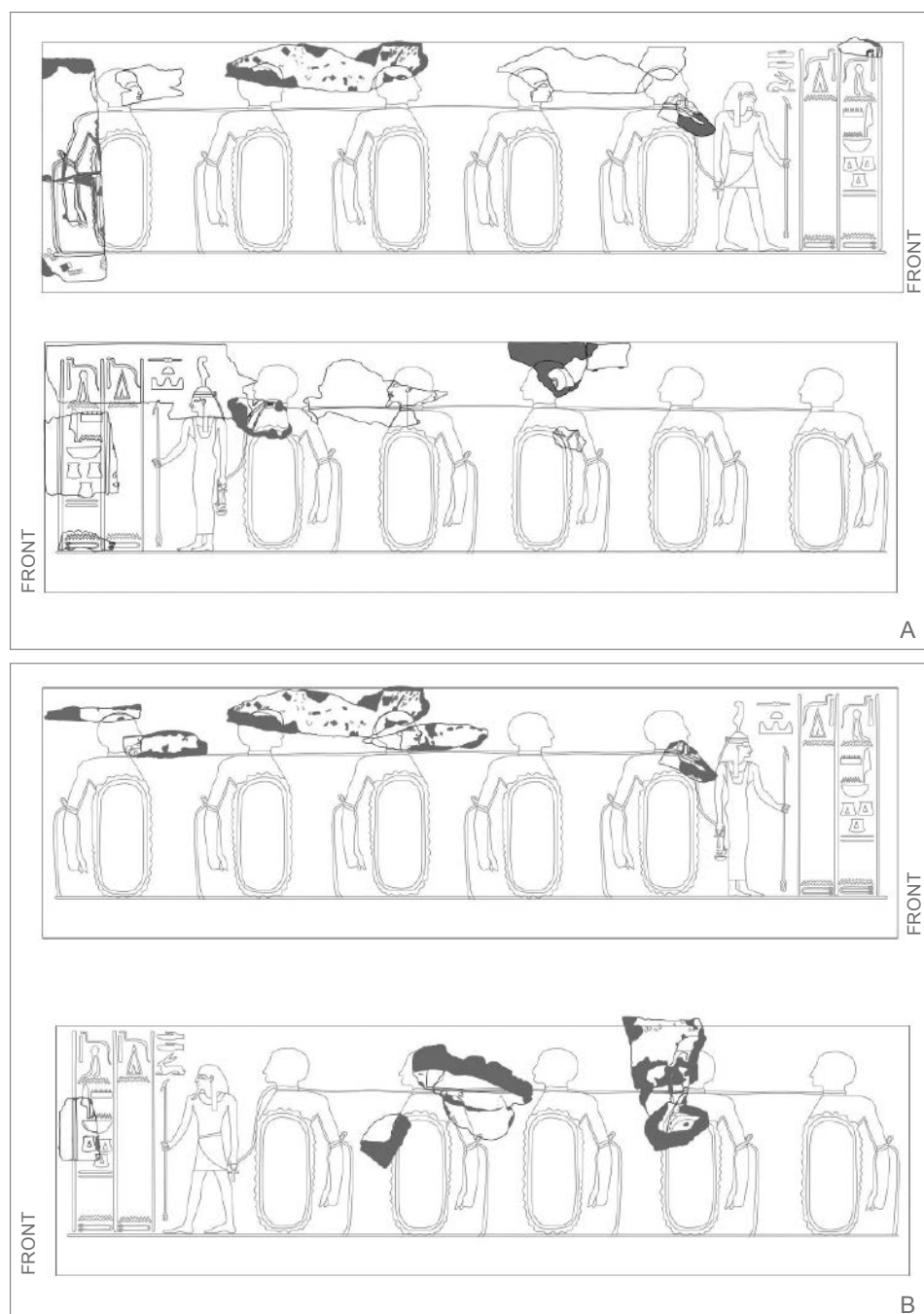


Fig. 2. Two different propositions of the reconstruction of the two sides of a sphinx base of the first type depicting the enemies of Egypt, incorporating surviving fragments of the original decoration coming from definitely more than one base (Based on H.E. Winlock's drawing, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition Archives | drawing K. Kasprzycka)

sphinxes of Hatshepsut were bound. They were shown on the sides of the base, facing towards the lotus and papyrus plants, symbols of the South and North, Upper and Lower Egypt respectively, flanking the *sema-tawy* sign on the front of the base. Lands spreading north and south of Egypt were considered extensions of Lower and Upper Egypt respectively (Anthony 2017: 42), hence the captives would have been bound accordingly, the Asians with papyrus and the Nubians with lotus stems (Roth 2015: 160). It is likely that each base was decorated with depictions of a total of ten captives, five on each side. The number of captive foreigners is reconstructed on the assumption that a base was 3 m long.

Scenes with a god or goddess leading foreign captives date back to at least the Thutmoside age. In the Temple of Hatshepsut itself, in the Portico of Obelisks, there is a partly damaged scene in which Dedun is depicted leading at least 15 Nubian captives shown as native Egyptians (Neville 1908: 2, Fig. 152). Similar scenes, also with a deity, can be found on the seventh pylon, built in the Karnak Temple during the reign of Thutmose III, among others (Mariette 1875: Figs 17–26; <http://sith.huma-num.fr> [accessed: 28.07.2019]).

The sandstone sphinxes of Hatshepsut are not the only known examples of sphinxes with bases decorated with the foreigners motif. The granite sphinx “F” of Hatshepsut, found by the Metropolitan Museum of Art expedition, has depictions of *rekhyt*-birds on the front of the base and captives on the sides. It would seem that the latter

are divided into foreigners from the North, presented on one of the sides, and those from the South on the other (Winlock n.d.a.: 100). Another sphinx made of black granite, currently in the peristyle of the Palace of Diocletian in Split (Belamarić 2017: 20), is dated to the reign of Thutmose III or another ruler from the early Eighteenth Dynasty, although it could have been remodelled during the reign of Ramesses II (Belamarić 2017: 24–25). The front of the base bears a *sema-tawy* sign and figures of foreigners walking away from it are shown on the sides of the base. The captives are divided into two groups: one with Asian toponyms and the other with Nubian toponyms (Jéquier 1912: 211). However, there are Asian toponyms also among the African foreigners (Jéquier 1912: 213). Topographical lists have been considered to be the most common motif on sphinx bases from the period between the reigns of Amenhotep II and Ramesses III, as well as during the reign of Taharqa (Kitchen 2009: 130). Another sphinx with depictions of foreigners on the base is that of Amenhotep III from his Mortuary Temple. Foreigners in human form, bound to a *sema-tawy* sign, were depicted on the front of the base of this statue. The sides of the base bear anthropomorphic crenellated ovals. Such groups of figures can be divided into two main categories, Asians and Nubians, the former bound with papyrus and the latter with lotus stems (Bakry 1968: 68, Figs 18 b–c). One should also mention two more examples of sphinxes, in this case of Seti I from his Mortuary Temple in Gurna, decorated with figures of Inmutef adoring

the king's cartouches on the front of the bases. Depictions of foreigners in the form of anthropomorphic crenellated ovals appear on the sides of the bases; the ovals are personifications of Asian toponyms (Cabrol 2001: 299).

The bases of all the sphinxes mentioned above depicted Nubians and Asians in the form of anthropomorphic crenellated ovals. They were shown as separate groups, bound with lotus and papyrus stems respectively. Interestingly, there are no depictions of Dedun, the goddess of the desert, or any other deities leading foreigners on any other known sphinx bases.

Inscriptions

Partly preserved inscriptions on the bases of Hatshepsut's sandstone sphinxes enable a reconstruction of the complete inscription in one of two ways. The first and more standard reconstruction could begin as follows:

dd-mdw in(y).n(.i) n.t̄ [.n] dd-mdw di.n(.i) n.t̄ [...]

“Words to be spoken:
I have fetched for you [...].
Words to be spoken:
I have given to you [...]. Desert.”

In this case, it can be assumed that the rest of the text referred to the enemies of Egypt and the lands subject to Egypt. However, there is a block with the Amun name written between two vertical lines separating the columns of text, a very small fragment of the text in the second column, and part of a *sema-tawy* sign located on the adjoining side

of this block. Taken as a whole, these elements suggest that the block was part of a sphinx base of the kind discussed here. Based on the assumption that this is indeed part of a sphinx base, the proportions between the hieroglyphic signs and the *sema-tawy* sign on the front of the base impose a non-standard reconstruction of the text. Furthermore, the block with the preserved *n.t̄* would have to be located in a much lower part of the text, because between *dd-mdw in(y) [.n] Imn* there is not enough space to insert *n.t̄*. Moreover, below *t̄* there is a fragment of a horizontal line, which in the case of the first, more standard reconstruction, may come from *t̄3*, meaning land, while in the case of the second reconstruction, it may also come from *t̄3*, but in that case it means the end of the text and decoration. In this case, the reconstruction of the text would read as follows:

*dd-mdw in(y)[.n] Imn nb nsw.t-
[t̄3.wy ...] n.t̄ dd-mdw di.n(.i)...
n.]t̄ Smi.t.*

“Words to be spoken: Amun lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands brings [...] for you. Words to be spoken: I give to [...] to you. Desert”.

Most likely, in the case of a scene with Nubians and Dedun, the word *Smi.t*, Desert, should be replaced with *Ddwn*, Dedun. In both cases, it seems probable that the recitation in question is uttered by the deity depicted immediately next to the columns of text [see Fig. 2].

The second solution – reconstructing the text between the name of Amun and *n.t.* – seems risky, just like attempting to reconstruct the second column of the text based on indecipherable hieroglyphic signs that are impossible to interpret. Moreover, as has been demonstrated with other inscriptions, the texts carved on Hatshepsut's sandstone sphinxes were not typical, making it difficult to find a parallel. Surviving fragments of signs from the second column seem not to match parts of inscriptions concerning depictions of foreigners in the shape of anthropomorphic crenellated ovals found in the Portico of Obelisks or the text from the Portico of Punt, or the inscription of Thutmose III in the Karnak Temple, even though they also pertain to Nubia or the Near East. The surviving signs are also inconsistent with the formula *h3s.w.t nb.w.t.*

typically used with foreigners. In spite of that, one could assume that the second column contained references to foreign lands led by deities and that the regions in question were most likely Nubia and the Near East.

It is also possible that the fragment of the block with the name of Amun was not part of the mentioned base, belonging instead to one of the other two types of bases discussed later in this article. Regardless of the doubtful assignment to one of the base types, this block certainly comes from Hatshepsut's sandstone sphinxes, because one of its sides contains the *sema-tawy* sign, resembling in this respect other bases discussed here; moreover, the proportions and form of the hieroglyphic signs are the same as the hieroglyphic inscriptions fragmentarily preserved on the other sandstone sphinx bases from this set.

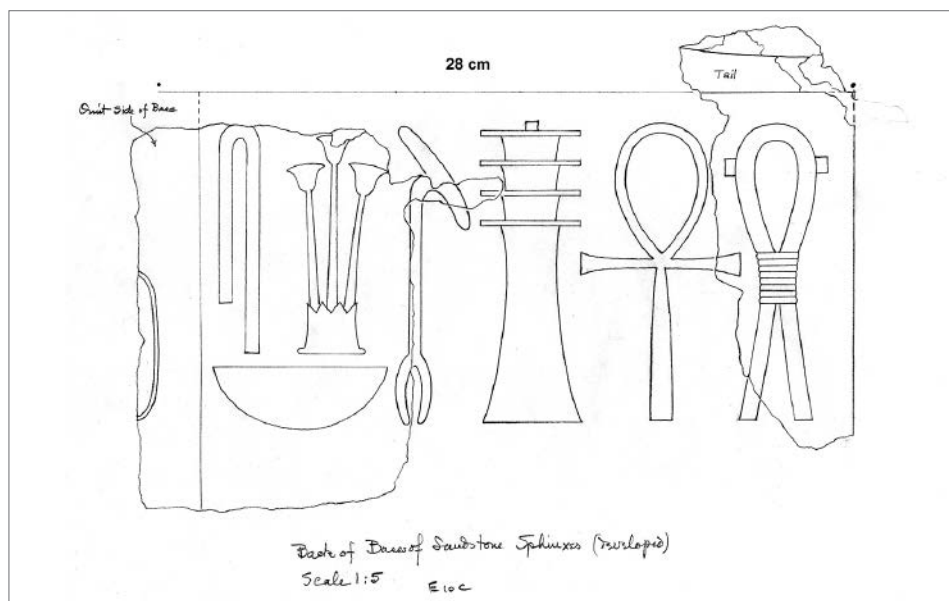


Fig. 3. Reconstruction of the back of a sphinx base depicting the enemies of Egypt (Drawing H.E. Winlock, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition Archives)

Back of the base

Winlock reconstructed one back part of a sphinx base decorated with enemies of Egypt [Fig. 3]. The inscription on it reads as follows:

s3 [ḥnh dd.t w3s] nb h3.s

“protection, life, enduring,
dominion all around her”.

It set apart the two groups of foreigners, indicative of the idea that Asian captives were depicted on one side of the base and Nubians on the other.

SECOND TYPE

Of the second type of sandstone sphinx bases only pieces with crests and *dw3.t* inscriptions have survived. As in the case of the first type of base, Winlock's drawings were very helpful in the reconstruction. The heads in this case turned out to be crested. The figures were long-haired and raised their hands to the level of their eyes in a gesture of adoration. The distance between two figures was established thanks to one relevant fragment. The *dw3.t* was placed in a gap between two figures, slightly above the tops of their heads.

Save for a fragment depicting parts of legs and a torso, the lower parts of this type of base have not survived. Some sandstone fragments from the Luxor Temple, which had come from the Sixth Way-station of Hatshepsut, were very helpful in the reconstruction of the decoration. These depicted, among others, figures interpreted as *pat*-people worshipping Amun-Re (Bell 2005: 164). All human figures were de-

picted kneeling on *nb*-signs with short inscriptions reading ḥnh.sn inserted between them. The upper part of the block has not survived and the depictions end just above the level of the eyes. In front of the *pat*-people, there is a single column of text with the restored name of Amun, and, below it, a preserved preposition *in* (Bell 2005: Fig. 58). The proportions and stylistic features of preserved fragments of Hatshepsut's sandstone sphinxes are nearly identical with those on the block from the Luxor Temple. Such similarities lead to the conclusion that human figures were also depicted on Hatshepsut's sphinxes in the same way as on the Sixth Way-station.

Moreover, among surviving fragments of Hatshepsut's sphinxes, there are three blocks that once clearly formed part of a sandstone sphinx base. On the front of each one was a fragment of the *sema-tawy* sign and single columns of inscriptions on the side. The first fragment came from the upper part of a sphinx base; the front bears a depiction of a plant stem from the *sema-tawy* sign, while an inscription reading *di[.t] i3w* appeared on the side. The second and third blocks bear the same text: *n Imn-Rᶜ nb nsw.t-[t3.wy]* and there is no room for other signs between those that are visible. There is also very little space left below the name of Amun, enough for placing the end of Amun's titlature and a short text below. Another comparison with the block from the Luxor temple suggests that the *in* preposition should be placed there and the entire text ought to be reconstructed as follows:

*di[.t] i3w n Imn- R^c nb nsw.t-[t3.
wy in]*

“giving praise to Amun-Re, lord
of the thrones of the Two Lands
by”.

Depictions of humans complemented
the inscription. They were shown kneel-
ing on *nb*-signs with arms raised in adora-
tion and between them were inscriptions
reading *ḥnḥ.sn* [Fig. 4]. It still remains to
be resolved whether the figures here were
pat- or *rekhyt*-people. The crests argue in

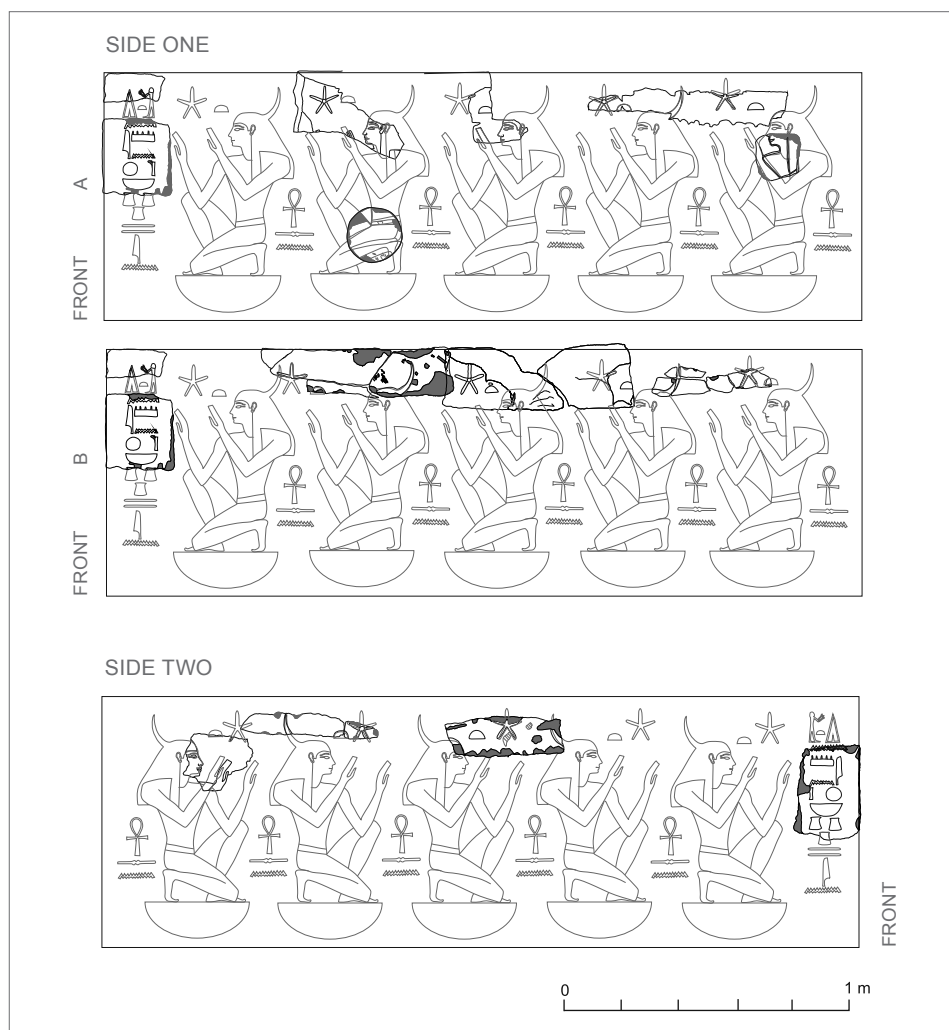


Fig. 4. Reconstruction of the two sides of a sphinx base of the second type depicting *pat*-people, incorporating surviving fragments of the original decoration coming from more than one base (hence two possible reconstructions A and B) (Based on H.E. Winlock's drawing, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition Archives, and A. Smilgin's documentation | drawing K. Kasprzycka)

favor of interpreting these figures as depictions of *rekhyt*-people. However, there are a few examples where *pat*-people and *henememet*-people were also depicted with crests, so the crest itself does not discriminate between the two groups (Griffin 2018: 138). In fact, it seems very likely that they actually represent *pat*-people. Based on this assumption, the text should read:

*di[.t] i3w n ʿImn-R^c nb nsw.t-[t3.
wy in p^c.t nb.t ʿnh.sn]*

“Giving praise to Amun-Re, lord
the Two Lands by all *pat*-people
in order that they might live.”

The *sema-tawy* sign on the front of the base is very likely the same sign

as in the case of the first type [Fig. 5]. This would suggest that the figures depicted represent foreigners because the proportions of both signs and their arrangement are nearly identical. The back of the base has not survived, but Winlock assumed that all backs of bases shared the same iconographic program (Winlock n.d.a.: 139). This assumption is supported by the similarity of their fronts. The reconstruction shows that the maximum number of kneeling humans that could be depicted would be no more than five; there is no room on the base for more. However, if the rear part of the base differed from what Winlock assumed it to be, then the number of figures should be reduced to four, as in the case of the *rekhyt*-birds.

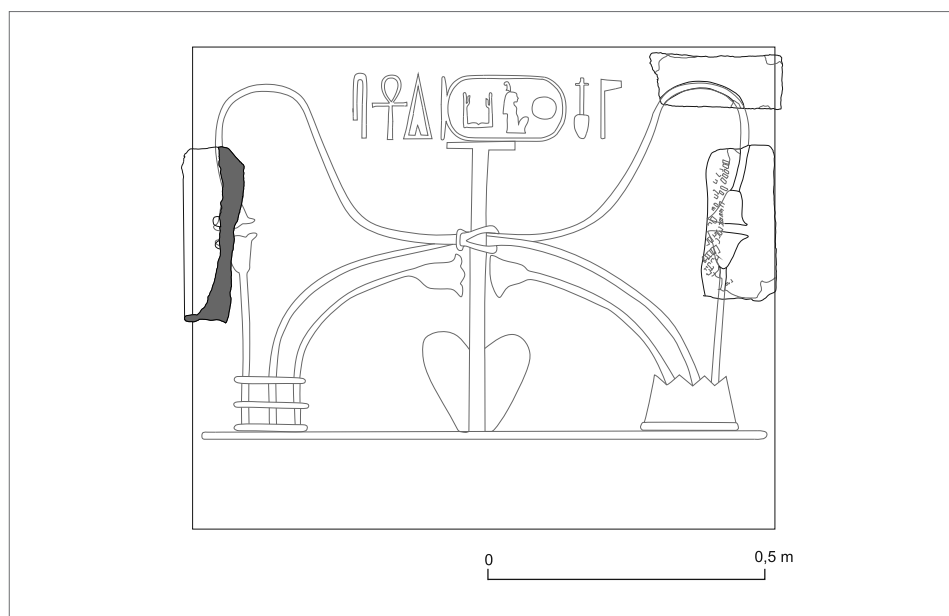


Fig. 5. Reconstruction of the front of bases of the second and third types with depictions of *pat*-people and *rekhyt*-birds, incorporating surviving fragments of the original decoration; (Based on H.E. Winlock's drawing, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition Archives | drawing K. Kasprzycka)

THIRD TYPE

The third type of sandstone sphinx base was decorated with depictions of *rekhyt*-birds. Only fragments of the upper parts of such bases have survived, and these are damaged extensively. Thanks to Winlock's drawings, it is possible to establish the exact distance between the heads of the birds and it is clear that they almost touch one another. There is evidently no space for inscriptions in front of the *rekhyt*-bird heads, so a *dw3.t* inscription could not have been placed there. The *rekhyt*-birds form a row and raise their human hands above their heads in a gesture of adoration [Fig. 6].

Comparison with the sandstone blocks from the Sixth Way-station of Hatshepsut in the Luxor Temple should facilitate the reconstruction task. Apart from the pieces depicting *pat*-people that were discussed above, there are also some sandstone fragments showing *rekhyt*-birds standing on *nb*-signs. The dimensions of these signs are similar to those seen in the depictions of *pat*-people. In Griffin's drawing of an image from the Sixth Way-station of Hatshepsut, a *rekhyt*-bird is shown standing with hands raised above its head in a gesture of adoration. Unfortunately, the bird's head has not survived while the wings have been only partly preserved. An inscription reading *ʿnh.sn* appears between the *rekhyt*-birds. No other fragments of this scene seem to be preserved (Griffin 2018: Pl. XXb).

Rekhyt-birds in a frieze from Hatshepsut's Chapelle Rouge at Karnak appear to be depicted in the same way as on the Sixth Way-station (Grif-

fin 2018: 174). A closer examination, however, reveals that certain important details are different. Firstly, the hands of the *rekhyt*-birds from the Chapelle Rouge are not raised as high. Secondly, there is a *dw3.t* inscription above the *nb*-sign. Thirdly, their *nb*-signs are much larger (Burgos and Larché 2006: 159–161). These discrepancies show that the imagery from the frieze in the Chapelle Rouge and from the Sixth Way-station differ significantly. However, the surviving fragments of the *rekhyt*-bird depictions from the Sixth Way-station are very similar to those on the preserved fragments of the sandstone sphinxes of Hatshepsut. Despite the missing heads, wings, and palms in images from the Sixth Way-station of Hatshepsut, the proportions and posture of the surviving bird images are nearly identical with the other ones. Consequently, it would seem that the depictions of *rekhyt*-birds from Hatshepsut's sandstone sphinxes should be reconstructed as standing, on small *nb*-signs, in a row, with their hands raised above their heads, and with the inscription *ʿnh.sn* between them. This particular form is very rare, but it may have been quite popular judging by the depictions on the Deir el-Bahari sphinxes, the Sixth Way-station and the Chapelle Rouge friezes (Griffin 2018: 137). Also, the phrase *ʿnh.sn* was used on very rare occasions, but its presence on the bases of Hatshepsut's sphinxes seems very likely when considering the Sixth Way-station material and columns from the upper terrace of the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (Griffin 2018: 141).

No trace of the third kind of inscription in front of the figures has been observed on the third type of sandstone sphinx bases. Neither are there any fragments that could be connected with the backs of such bases. However, it is very probable that there was a single column of text in front of the *rekhyt*-birds,

similarly as in the case of the bases with human figures. An examination of photographic images of the base of a sandstone sphinx from the Museo Egizio in Turin confirms this assumption; traces of a *rekhyt*-frieze can be observed despite extensive damage to the stone. The *rekhyt*-birds were depicted in a close-

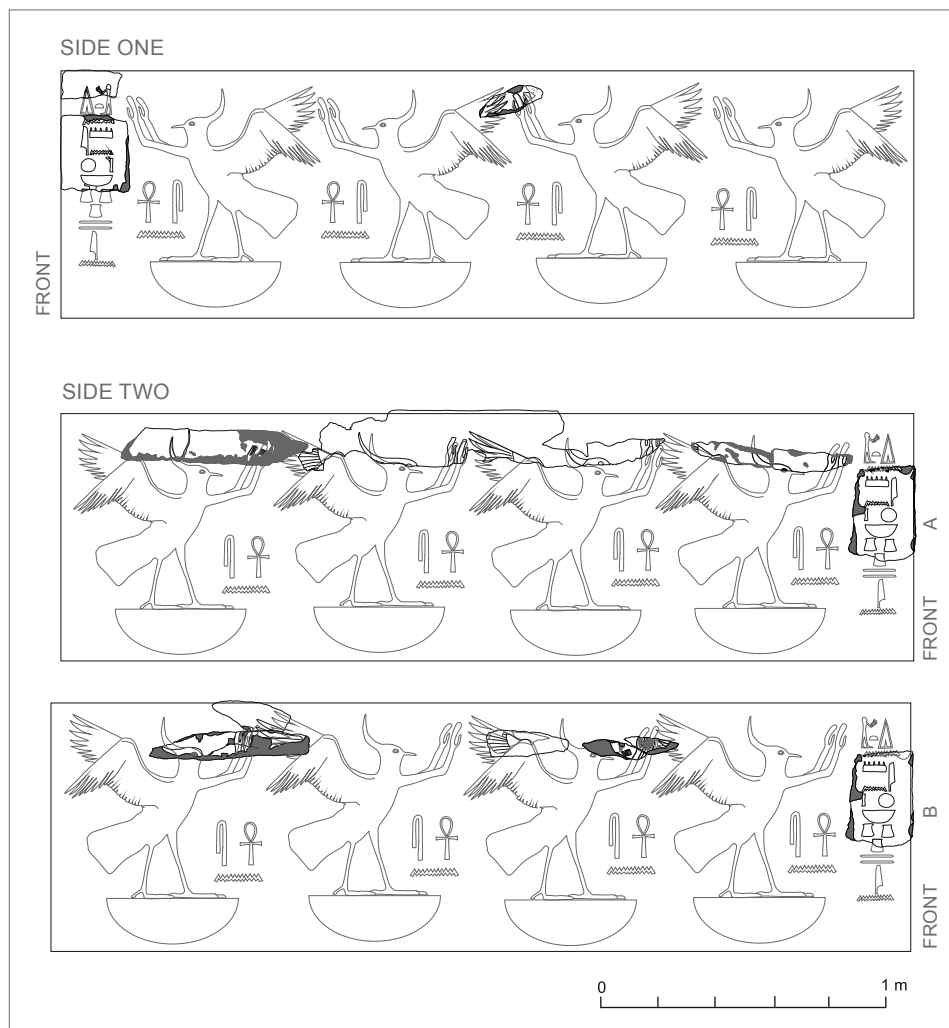


Fig. 6. Reconstruction of the sides of a base of the third type depicting *rekhyt*-birds, incorporating surviving fragments of the original decoration coming from more than one base (Based on H.E. Winlock's drawing, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition Archives | reconstruction drawing K. Kasprzycka)

knit row with human hands raised above their heads in a gesture of adoration. There is no space between them for the *dw3.t* inscription. Moreover, the hands of the first *rekhyt*-bird almost touch a single column of inscription and it seems that the inscription started with *rdi.t i3w*.

The situation is similar in the case of sandstone sphinx bases from the Precinct of Mut in Karnak, which probably belong to the same group as the sphinx in Turin (Cabrol 1995: 47–49). The dimensions of the sphinxes from these two locations resemble the dimensions of Queen Hatshepsut's sandstone sphinxes. For instance, the sphinx in Turin was about 3 m long and 0.88 m wide (Cabrol 2001: 274). It is very probable that the inscription on the sandstone base with *rekhyt*-birds was the same as in the case of the base with crest-headed human figures. If so, the text should read as follows [see Fig. 6]:

*di.[t] i3w n Imn- R^c nb nsw.t-[t3.
wy in rhy.t nb.t 'nh.sn]*

“Giving praise to Amun-Re, lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands by all *rekhyt*-people in order that they might live”.

Generally, *i3w* is common in depictions of *rekhyt*-people from the New Kingdom period (Griffin 2018: 47). Moreover, when *rekhyt*-birds raise their hands in a gesture of adoration, then, in rare cases, the *i3w* inscription can be

used and the *dw3* inscription is omitted (Griffin 2018: 139–140).

Assuming that these two types of bases bore the same kind of inscription and the composition of their decoration was similar, it should be assumed that bases showing *rekhyt*-birds also had the *sema-tawy* sign on their fronts [see Fig. 5] and bore the same inscription on their back side. Based on similarities between the decoration on the base of sphinx A 1409 from the Museo Egizio in Turin and on the bases of the sandstone sphinxes of Hatshepsut, one may conclude that the back parts of their bases were identical as well. In favor of this idea is the fact that sphinx A1409 has on the front of its base a *sema-tawy* motif with a cartouche. The back of the base of the Turin sphinx has an inscription reconstructed by Cabrol, extending onto the sides of the sphinx base (Cabrol 2001: 276). Four is the estimated maximum number of *rekhyt*-birds in the reconstruction of a side of the third type of sphinx base. There was also an inscription on the back of the base. It seems that this inscription differed from the inscriptions known from the bases where the enemies of Egypt were depicted, and it probably would have had an end that was similar to the sphinx bases from Turin and the Precinct of Mut in Karnak. If so, it would have extended along the side walls of the sphinx base, occupying the place of the fourth *rekhyt*-bird, thus reducing the possible number of *rekhyt*-birds to three.

INSCRIPTIONS ON THE FRONT OF THE SPHINX

Three types of inscriptions were found on the front of the sphinx statues. The columns of text began on the chest and ended in the space between the forepaws. Once more, Winlock's documentation proved helpful in reconstructing the inscriptions, determining both dimensions and the type to which they belonged. All the inscriptions were more or less 18 cm wide; the part located on the chest of the statue was about 0.45 m long and the part between the forepaws about 0.65 m. The dimensions could vary

by several centimeters. The text was inscribed within a frame crowned by the *pt*-sign and painted blue. It seems that in all cases a cartouche with a title was placed on the chest and the inscription unfolded between the forepaws [Fig. 7].

Two of the inscriptions contained Hatshepsut's prenomen *M3^c.t-k3-R^c* preceded by the *ntr nfr* and *nsw.t-bit* titles [Fig. 7:a,b]. A third inscription contained her nomen *H3.t-šps.w.t-hnm.t-Imn* preceded by the title *s3.t R^c* [Fig. 7:c]. A fragment with the name of

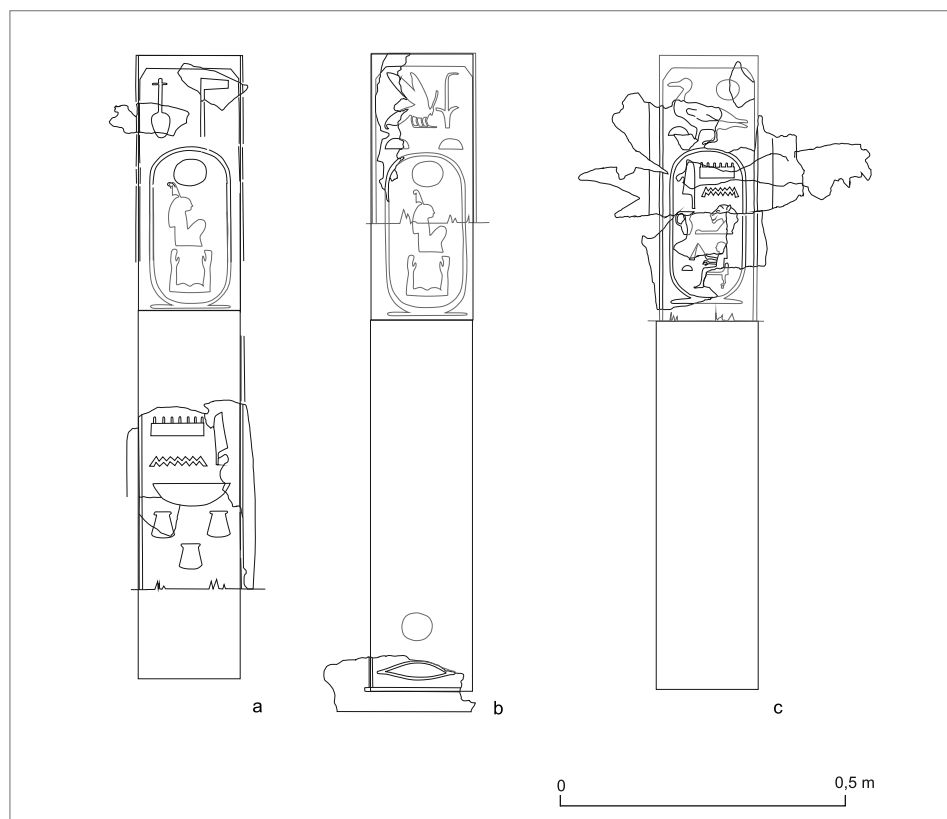


Fig. 7. Reconstruction of the inscription on the chests of the sphinxes, incorporating surviving fragments of the original decoration (Based on H.E. Winlock's drawing, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition Archives | reconstruction drawing K. Kasprzycka)

Amun is the only surviving part of the inscription between the forepaws [see *Fig. 7:a*]. Traces of a *s nb* sign directly below the name of Amun indicate that it also probably included the title “lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands”.

The surviving part of a forepaw shows that the text was located in the middle of the space between the forepaws. The lower part of a sign with a standing man wearing a kilt has also survived. There is also an *r* preserved, ending the whole inscription, at least in this particular case. Winlock suggested that it might have been the end of the preposition *xr*. Were this so indeed, then this inscription would be similar to a text from one of the queen’s granite kneeling statues (Winlock n.d.a.: 135, see 166, 168). However, a part of the *hpr*-sign is also present in the inscription, hence the *r* in question might have been a phonetic complement to *hpr*. It should be added that a single column of text between the statue’s forepaws, also ending in *r*, survives on one of the sandstone sphinxes from the Precinct of Mut in Karnak, reused during either the Third Intermediate Period or the Late Period (Cabrol 1995: 47–48). The dimensions of the column there and of the sphinx itself are near to those of Hatshepsut’s sphinxes from Deir el-Bahari. The inscription is also similar to the text on a kneeling statue mentioned by Winlock. Taking into account the similarities between these two inscriptions, it is possible to reconstruct one of the texts on the sandstone sphinxes of Hatshepsut in similarity to inscriptions on sphinxes from the Precinct of Mut in Karnak, that is: “... placer toute [sorte] d’offrandes auprès

de [ou par?]”. The base of the sphinx on which this text has survived was badly damaged. It was decorated with a *rekhyt* frieze (Cabrol 1995: 48).

If the sphinxes of Hatshepsut bore the same type of inscription as the sphinx from the Precinct of Mut in Karnak (and such a conclusion may be drawn based on the similarities between the sphinxes), then the inscription on the sphinx from the Precinct of Mut may be compared with the one between the forepaws of the sphinx of Hatshepsut located on a base with *rekhyt*-birds. The inscription ends in *hpr(.i)*, which is exactly the kind of ending present in the inscription on the base of the sandstone sphinx of Hatshepsut examined here [see *Fig. 7:b*].

The state of preservation of fragments from the chest and forepaws does not permit any further reconstruction of inscriptions. It is impossible to determine which inscription types are connected with the fragment with the name of Amun that should be placed centrally between the forepaws. Neither can one determine the type to which the inscription with the *hpr* sign and a standing man belonged. It is also possible that the last two signs do not come from Hatshepsut’s sphinxes. Some other sandstone fragments painted blue were identified among the examined material, but they are not likely to be from the Hatshepsut sphinxes on account of their size and style.

Inscriptions on other sculptures of Hatshepsut usually end with standard wishes of eternal life with the *d.t*, but in the discussed case other solutions are possible.

SPHINX HEADRESSES

The sphinxes of Hatshepsut presented three different types of headdress: a *nemes*, a *khat*, and a tripartite wig, all of them topped with uraei. Two uraei were recorded between 1923 and 1929 from the excavation of a rubbish layer on the Lower Terrace. They came from a *khat* and a tripartite wig, which led to the assumption that sphinxes with such headdresses populated the Lower Terrace, while sphinxes with the *nemes* stood along the causeway (Winlock n.d.a.: 103–104, 108).

Generally, the *nemes* was the most common headdress for sphinxes (Collier 1996: 76). It was also worn by kings in scenes in which they appeared in the company of solar gods (Collier 1996: 88) and was closely connected with the god Re (Collier 1996: 76). From the times of the Eighteenth Dynasty, it was associated with Amun Re as the main Theban god (Goebs 1995: 181). Furthermore, in the New Kingdom period, the *nemes* was a symbol of the connection between the *Ba* of Re and the *Ba* of Osiris (Goebs 1995: 180). In the Coffin Texts and in the Book of the Dead, besides having ties with solar gods, the *nemes* was also connected with the nightly sailing of the sun. Moreover, these texts indicated that the *nemes* was necessary for the resurrection of Osiris (Goebs 1995: 168–169). All this seems to indicate that this headdress might have been related to solar rebirth and rejuvenation (Goebs 2015b: 147).

In the New Kingdom, the sphinx and the *nemes* were closely connected with the solar gods like Atum, Horus, and others (Goebs 1995: 181). The roy-

al sphinx personified a god on Earth (Goebs 2015a: 17). The *nemes* symbolized two aspects of a pharaoh: solar, as a son of Re, and royal (Goebs 1995: 181). Interestingly, starting with the late Eighteenth Dynasty, scenes in royal tombs depicting kings wearing a *nemes* were placed near the tomb entrance, while scenes in which the Pharaoh is wearing a *khat* were situated farther inside the tomb (Collier 1996: 89). This seems to confirm Winlock's assumption that sphinxes with the *nemes* were situated along the causeway. It would seem that *nemes*-sphinxes were placed before the mortuary temple to emphasize the living aspect of a king; they also appeared in front of areas with sepulchral overtones. Secondly, a sphinx with a *nemes*, a "traditional" form of headdress, seems a more suitable decoration for a causeway than one depicting a less common crown.

The *khat* is also related to funerary beliefs and derived from them (Goebs 2015a: 8). It could symbolize the night side of the solar cycle and thus complement the solar aspect of the *nemes* (Goebs 2015a: 8). This headdress seems in a way identical with the white crown and, through it, with Nekhbet and night (Goebs 2015b: 146–147). All in all, a crown of this kind is worn in scenes associated with rebirth and with a king's reign in the afterlife and before the ultramundane gods. This is particularly visible in the Osireion at Abydos (Collier 1996: 88–89). The *khat* is considered to be related to the rebirth of a pharaoh and to his reign in the other world (Collier 1996: 91). When worn by

a ruler, the headdress seems to represent a deceased king (Collier 1996: 94). At least from the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the *khat* became a symbol of rebirth of the king in the other world (Collier 1996: 85). However, it can also be associated with depictions of a Pharaoh's *Ka* or his deified form in the other world (Collier 1996: 91). The conclusion that this type of headdress was indeed connected with the *Ka* is supported by a statue of a so-called guardian wearing a *khat* from the tomb of Tutankhamun, which is interpreted as the royal *Ka* (Collier 1996: 87).

The *khat* also seems to have had ritualistic connotations. In the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, the queen

is depicted wearing a *khat* in some scenes in which she is awaiting the gods. Generally, from the Old Kingdom inwards, kings wearing a *khat* were depicted making offerings or praying (Eaton-Krauss 1977: 27–28). Because of the strong association with the other world and the prayer-related connotations, it seems more likely that sphinxes in *khat* crowns would have been placed in the temple temenos area, as suggested by Winlock.

Sphinxes with a tripartite wig may have been placed in the same area as sphinxes wearing a *khat*. It seems that the tripartite wig also had strong religious and funerary connotations, accounting for their frequent appearance in a large number of iconographic scenes.

DISCUSSION

Hatshepsut's sphinxes with foreigners depicted on their bases display unique features that are not found on the bases of other sphinxes in general.

One of the main tasks of a king was to defeat the enemies of Egypt (Roth 2015: 156). The motif of a sphinx trampling foes was used to symbolize triumph over chaos personified by foreigners (Anthony 2017: 44). Furthermore, the motif of offering the enemies of Egypt to the gods, depicted on the sphinx bases, was just one way of depicting the motif present in Egyptian iconography in many different forms (Jéquier 1912: 210).

In the New Kingdom, the Nine Bows, which symbolised foreigners, were depicted not only as bows but also as anthropomorphic crenellated ovals. The oldest, classical and well-known version of them dates to the reign of Thutmose

III and comes from the tomb of Amenmose TT 42 (Anthony 2017: 38–39). The Nine Bows personified all the enemies of Egypt (Roth 2015: 160) and the name of Nine Bows could be applied to foreign lands already known to ancient Egyptians as well as new lands as they became known (Uphill 1967: 401). Although these lands were not always under Egyptian rule, this was an easy way to show them as a dependent people (Booth 2005: 9). Also lands with diplomatic relations with Egypt could have been depicted as captives (Valbelle 1990: 136). Ancient Egyptians believed their pharaoh was the ruler not only of Egypt, but also of the entire world and the motif of the Nine Bows reflected that idea (Anthony 2017: 39).

However, the depictions of foreigners on the sphinx bases from the Temple

of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari seem to have formed a topographical list rather than taking on the traditional Nine Bows form. The number of depicted enemies is greater than nine and they are divided into two separate groups, Asians and Nubians [see Fig. 2]. In topographical lists, it is common for Asians to be depicted on one side and Nubians on the other. They are often presented in this way on the towers of pylons, near doorways, and on other walls (Simons 1937: 7). Moreover, anthropomorphic crenellated ovals on statue bases were often extracted from longer lists found in wall reliefs (Simons 1937: 10). This suggests that the depiction of enemies of Egypt on the bases of Hatshepsut's sandstone sphinxes resembled images in the wall decoration of the Portico of Obelisks in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari.

This kind of decoration was depicted on the pylons from the reign of Thutmose III. It was customary to depict foreigners from the Near East on one pylon tower and those from Nubia on the other. If possible, Asians would appear on a tower on the north side and Nubians on its opposite on the south side (Kitchen 2009: 129). Presenting Nubians in relation to the South and Asians as connected with the North is a reflection of the dualism that played an important role in ancient Egyptian thinking (Roth 2015: 159–160).

The evidence suggests that sphinxes with bases decorated with depictions of foreigners were placed along the temple causeway (so also Winlock 1932: 14). However, since the causeway in Hatshepsut's temple was aligned east–west,

it was not possible to arrange the Asians and Nubians on the sandstone sphinx bases on the north and south respectively. But the ancient Egyptians, especially in the New Kingdom, often associated the north with the east and the south with the west (Posener 1965: 74, No. 1). This solution can be seen in some depictions of the *sema-tawy* sign in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari where the sign is placed on the east–west axis. In this case, the lotus plant is depicted on the west and the papyrus plant on the east (for example Naville 1901: Fig. 110; 1906: Fig. 129). Following this line of reasoning, it can be assumed that the *sema-tawy* sign depicted on the front of the sphinx bases followed the same principles: Asians led by the goddess were depicted on the eastern side of the bases and Nubians led by Dedun on the western side. In this way, the sphinxes of Hatshepsut with their decorated bases would have formed a veritable map of foreign lands. The fact that they were placed in front of the temple temenos could be a reference to pylon decoration and could also emphasize the military aspect of Hatshepsut's reign. If that was the case indeed, bases of this kind should be connected with the *nemes*, the traditional headdress of sphinxes. The entire representation could then be interpreted as follows: A living king, associated with the solar gods, defeats all enemies and introduces *mꜣt*. If this reconstruction is correct, then the inscription with the praenomen of Hatshepsut beginning with the title of *ntr nfr* should be placed on the chest and between the forepaws. A fragment of a *nemes* close to the inscription positions it in the right

place on the statue (Winlock n.d.a.: 125). It seems logical for sphinxes wearing a *nemes* and with the *ntr nfr* inscription on the chest and between the forepaws, bearing with depictions of foreigners on their bases, to be located along the causeway, because such sphinxes would have been duplicated in the same style along the whole causeway (Cabrol 2001: 338) and only these types of sphinxes do not have their counterpart.

The second and the third types of bases as presented here should be examined jointly because, unlike the first type, they seem to have been treated as complementary. Had they been present together on the Lower Terrace, then depictions of crest-headed humans should be interpreted as *pat*-people and they would thus complement bases depicting *rekhyt*-birds. The oldest known depiction of *pat*-people is found on blocks that come from the Sixth Way-station of Hatshepsut. They are always depicted as bare-chested humans wearing kilts with hair reminiscent of the tripartite wig (Griffin 2018: 32). If *rekhyts* are depicted in their human form, as in the Old Kingdom period, then they are depicted in the same way as *pat*-people and can be identified only by the inscriptions (Griffin 2018: 26). In rare cases, *pat*-people can be crest-headed (Griffin 2018: 32). The crest does not always indicate that its wearer is a *rekhyt*; *pat*- and *henememet*-people were also depicted with crests (Griffin 2018: 138). *Pat*-people and *rekhyt*-people often appear together in texts from the Middle Kingdom period and in iconography (Griffin 2018: 30, 32), and they are always in one group adoring a pharaoh (Grif-

fin 2018: 35). If bases with kneeling human figures and *rekhyt*-birds are indeed from the Lower Terrace, it would have been illogical to use two different depictions of *rekhyts* on two kinds of bases in one court. Furthermore, *dw3.t* was placed in front of each human figure, while *rekhyt*-birds with raised hands do not have such inscriptions because their gestures replace the *dw3.t* (Griffin 2018: 139). Consequently, it is logical to identify depictions of humans with crests as *pat*-people supporting *rekhyt*-birds in adoration of Amun Re. This conclusion seems to be confirmed by the inscriptions on the bases, which were carved in front of the *rekhyt*-birds and *pat*-people.

The first mention of *rekhyt*-people who adore gods so that they might live comes from the Middle Kingdom. Depictions of this type grew popular with time. They were expanded in form during the reign of Hatshepsut (Griffin 2018: 65). In order to live, the *rekhyt*-people adored the gods and the pharaoh upon seeing them (Griffin 2018: 51, 65). Adoration could also have been evoked by the sight of the sacred bark (Griffin 2018: 90) and it could also take place during festivals (Griffin 2018: 83) or during the Daily Temple Ritual when Amun Re was the main recipient of their adoration. Even when depicted framing the main temple axis, the adoration of *rekhyt*-people is always directed to the god of the temple or the pharaoh (Griffin 2018: 191). Taking into account scenes presenting Amun Re adored by *rekhyt*-birds and *pat*-people, as well as all earlier data, it seems proper to locate sphinxes with these kind of bases in the area of the Lower Terrace, along the causeway.

This specific location of the sphinxes would have placed the *rekhyt*-birds and *pat*-people depicted on their bases facing the main temple axis. Moreover, these two groups would have adored Amun Re together whenever the god came from Karnak to the temple at Deir-el Bahari during the Beautiful Festival of the Valley. The location on the Lower Terrace could have also been intended as a greeting extended to the arriving god by the *rekhyt*-birds and *pat*-people waiting in the temple temenos, especially as causeways were dedicated to the gods' journeys (Cabrol 2001: 2).

Sphinxes wearing *khats* and tripartite wigs would have stood most probably on these two types of bases. The association between the *khat* and bases decorated with depictions of *rekhyt*-birds or *pat*-people is based on the assumption that both groups would adore the approaching gods and worship them. This could refer to the prayer pose assumed by kings wearing the *khat* and to Hatshepsut in a *khat* awaiting the gods (Eaton-Krauss 1977: 27–28).

However, it does not seem possible to match up these two types of headdresses with the two kinds of bases in question. It has been suggested that sphinxes with a *khat* and sphinxes with a tripartite wig could have been situated alternately on both sides of the causeway

or that sphinxes in *khat* crowns were on one side and sphinxes with tripartite wigs on the other side of the causeway (Tefnin 1979: 123). This issue is best left unresolved, at least until more information is available.

The inscriptions from the chests and forepaws, which started with Hatshepsut's praenomen *M3^c.t-k3-R^c* preceded by the *nsw.t-bit* title and her nomen *H3.t-šps.w.t-hnm.t-Imn* preceded by the title of *s3.t R^c* [see Fig. 10:b,c], could be assigned to bases with *rekhyt*-birds and *pat*-people. Based on similarities to sphinxes from the Precinct of Mut in Karnak and to inscriptions on the granite kneeling statuary of Hatshepsut from Deir el-Bahari, the inscription on the sphinx bases could refer to making offerings, and, as in the two cases mentioned above, end with [*h*]*r(.i)*.

It is impossible to assign these inscriptions to representations with different headdresses, but if the above-indicated similarities between the sphinxes are correct, the text about offerings can be connected with the bases bearing depictions of *rekhyt*-birds. Taking into account all the iconographical and textual considerations discussed above, it appears that sphinxes with depictions of *rekhyt*-birds and *pat*-people could have been located in the area of the temple temenos.

CONCLUSION

The sandstone sphinxes of Hatshepsut from Deir el-Bahari appear to reveal some unusual solutions applied to a classical form of sculpture. This may be because Hatshepsut introduced an innovative

form of processional causeway bordered by sphinxes and was the first to use, in one area, several types of sphinxes differing in material, headdress, and iconography (Cabrol 2001: 342–343).

Locating sphinxes along the causeways might have served to protect the Mansion of a Million Years (Keller 2005: 164). However, some scholars believe that the most important function of the sphinxes bordering the causeways was to affirm the permanent presence of the king in rituals performed at the temples (Cabrol 2001: 347). Both of the above statements may be true in the case of Hatshepsut's sandstone sphinxes. A sphinx shown above captives being led could be a representation of how the pharaoh overcame chaos and also offered captives to Amun.

Sphinxes with depictions of *rekhyt*-birds and *pat*-people on their bases, in-

terpreted as scenes of adoration, seem to be associated clearly and closely with religious purposes. Hatshepsut's sandstone sphinxes could have been instrumental in demonstrating the unique link between the queen and Amun, as well as a symbolic sign of her exceptional reign. To these ends, she employed iconographical motifs that were very popular in the New Kingdom. Kingdom, although in architecture rather than in sculpture.

Nothing can be said with absolute certainty about where the sphinxes were located in the Hatshepsut complex as the only evidence pertaining to their location comes from the causeway itself.

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How to cite this article: Kasprzycka, K. (2019). Reconstruction of the bases of sandstone sphinxes from the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean*, 28/2, 359–387. <https://doi.org/10.31338/uw.2083-537X.pam28.2.20>

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