

DIE IHR VORBEIGEHEHEN WERDET ...
WENN GRÄBER, TEMPEL UND STATUEN SPRECHEN

Gedenkschrift für Prof. Dr. Sayed Tawfik Ahmed

DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT
ABTEILUNG KAIRO

SONDERSCHRIFT
16

2009

WALTER DE GRUYTER · BERLIN · NEW YORK

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von
Ursula Rößler-Köhler und Tarek Tawfik (Hrsg.)



WALTER DE GRUYTER · BERLIN · NEW YORK

XII, 206 Seiten mit 64 Schwarzweißabbildungen und 27 Schwarzweißtafeln

Bibliografische Informationen der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie;
detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

ISBN 978-3-11-020393-6

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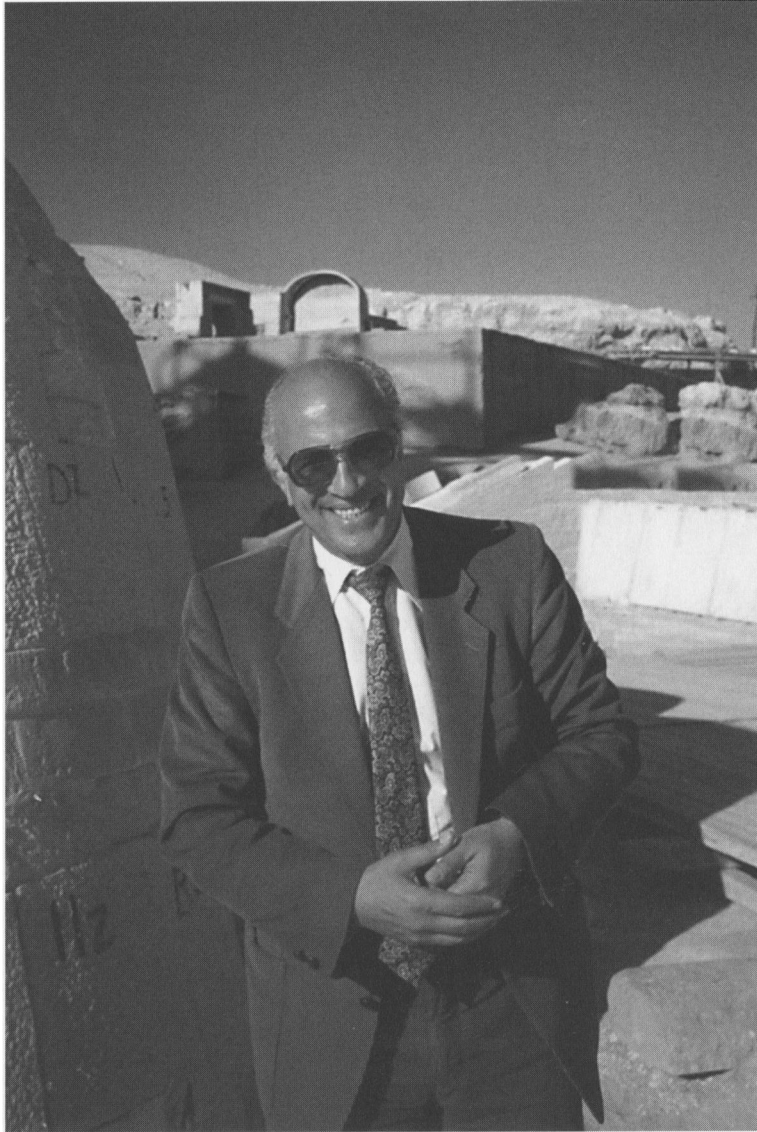
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Printed in Germany

Satz: BlackArt, Berlin

Gesamtherstellung: NEUNPLUS1 – Verlag + Service GmbH, Berlin



Sayed Tawfik Ahmed (1936–1990)

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INHALTSVERZEICHNIS

	Tafel	Seite
In memoriam Sayed Tawfik Ahmed (TAREK SAYED TAWFIK)		IX
Vorwort		XI
SOAD S. ABD EL-AAL	Some Blocks belonging to the Tias from Kafr el-Gebel	1–3 1
HARTWIG ALTENMÜLLER	Prinz und Pharao – Amunherchopeschef und Ramses VI.	4–5 5
MOHAMED IBRAHIM ALY	La Chapelle de Thot à Abou Simbel Est-elle le Mammisi du Temple?	17
NAGWA ARAFA	Les oreilles du roi au Nouvel Empire	35
REHAB ASSEM	Scenes of the Djed-Pillar	51
EDDA BRESCIANI	Les Temples de Medinet Madi passé et future d’une exploration archéologique dans le Fayoum	6–8 59
ZAKIA Z. GAMAL EL-DEEN	Akhenaten’s Religion: A Political View	67
MAMDOUH ELDAMATY	Die leeren Kartuschen im Tempel von Edfu	9–12 81
SAID GOHARY	New evidence on the duration of mummification	103
NICOLAS GRIMAL	Nouveaux fragments des Annales de Thoutmosis III à Karnak	13–14 105
TOHFA HANDOUSSA	A Stela of the God’s Father Psametik	121
ZAHY HAWASS	The Tomb of Keki: The Pyramid Builder	15–16 125
SALAH EL-KHOLY	The lost colossus of the mate of the Sphinx (Part II)	137

VIII

GEOFFREY T. MARTIN	Ra ^c y, head of the bakery of the Lord of Truth	17	145
DOHA MOSTAFA	Red Sea Ports, Eastern Desert Roads, Quarries and Mines in Greek and Roman Egypt		151
CLAUDIA NAUERTH	Tunika, Dalmatika oder Stola Olympiaka? Eine Anmerkung zum sogenannten Sakralgewand aus Sakkara	18	157
AHMED MOSTAFA OSMAN	Ein verborgenes Allerheiligstes für Imn, den verborgenen Gott? Die architektonische Ausführung eines theologischen Konzepts	19	161
ALI RADWAN	Sayed Tawfik in Saqqara Einiges zu fünf Fundobjekten aus seinen Ausgrabungen	20–23	169
HOSAM REFAI	Die „Herrin der Unterwelt“		175
HASSAN SELIM	Four Pyramidia in the Cairo Museum	24–27	187

In memoriam Sayed Tawfik Ahmed

By TAREK SAYED TAWFIK

SAYED TAWFIK AHMED was one of Egypt's most dedicated Egyptologists. He enjoyed teaching and lecturing about ancient Egyptian history, culture, philology, architecture, art, and religion. He also loved his excavation work at Saqqara and with great administrative skills managed the responsibilities that were burdened on him in the Faculty of Archaeology at Cairo University and later as Head of the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation.

SAYED TAWFIK AHMED was born in Abdeen, a quarter of Cairo, on July 29, 1936. He was the third of six children born to the manufacturer of sweets TAWFIK AHMED EL-ZIR and AZIZA OSMAN EID. His father passed away while he and his brothers and sister were still quite young. It is admirable how his mother, who had never visited a school, managed to raise her six children and to put them through school. All of them later rose to high positions in their field of work. After finishing secondary school in 1955, SAYED TAWFIK joined the Department of Archaeology at the Faculty of Arts, Cairo University. The department had just been established one year earlier. He was taught by some of the great Egyptian pioneers of Egyptology like ABD EL-MOHSEN-BAKIR, ABD EL-MONEIM ABOU-BAKR, GIRGIS MATTA and AHMED FAKHRY. In May 1959 he obtained a B.A. in Egyptology. First, he worked briefly as a teacher of English language in a secondary school in the governorate of Sharkia in the north-eastern part of Egypt. In 1960 he got the *Lepsius-Stipendium*, a scholarship for doctorate studies in Germany. After studying the German language for two months at Lüneburg, he started his research at the Georg-August-University in Göttingen in 1961. His dissertation thesis was entitled: *Untersuchung zur großen Liste der Weihgeschenke Thutmosis III. für Amun in Karnak* and was supervised by Prof. Dr. S. SCHOTT and Prof. Dr. J. SPIEGEL. In April 1966 he was granted his Ph.D. in Egyptology. On returning to Egypt he joined the Akhenaten Temple Project, led by RAY SMITH. The aim of that project was to reconstruct the scenes depicted on the walls of the Akhenaten Temple at Karnak from a large number of stones, so-called *talatat*. Matching the photographs of those individual blocks was partly done by using a computer. This was the first time that the computer was used in Egyptology.

In September 1967 SAYED TAWFIK was appointed Lecturer at the Department of Egyptology at Cairo University. At the same time he continued his work as the Egyptian director of the Akhenaten Temple Project until 1972. His long participation in the project led him to write a series of articles entitled 'Aton studies'. They were published in *MDAIK* over several years.

During his studies in Germany SAYED TAWFIK had met a German lady, FRIEDERUN MÜLLER, at the university in Göttingen. In June 1969 they got married in Cairo. The couple had two children: TAREK, born in 1971, and SAFINAZ, born in 1974.

At the university he was promoted Assistant Professor of Egyptology in 1973. In July 1976 he accompanied the Egyptian delegation that was sent to participate in the celebrations of the bicentennial of the independence of the United States of America. He delivered to the late American

President Gerald Ford the explanation for the stela that was given as a present from Egypt to the people of the USA on this occasion.

He became Full Professor in 1979, and the same year he was appointed Head of the Department of Egyptology, which had become part of the Faculty of Archaeology in 1973. In 1980 he was made Vice-Dean and in October 1981 Full Dean of the Faculty. During the six years he held this position he divided his time between teaching on the one hand and all the different administrative duties for the three Departments of the Faculty on the other. Teaching always remained his love and first priority, and many of his students remember him with gratitude. He was fully dedicated to his work which earned him respect among his colleagues.

Starting from January 1984 SAYED TAWFIK headed the Cairo University excavations at Saqqara, which yielded the discovery of the huge Mastaba of Mennefer dating back to the Old Kingdom and 36 tombs from the New Kingdom. Sixteen of these tombs bore inscriptions that revealed the names and titles of high officials from the reign of king Ramesses II including the vizier Neferrenpet and the overseer of the treasury Amonemint.

At the Faculty SAYED TAWFIK was reappointed Head of the Department of Egyptology in October 1987. He left this position when he was made Chairman of the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation in December 1988, a job which he regarded as a great challenge and to which he devoted all his strength and abilities. At a time when international institutions didn't want to get engaged in any great restoration activities at the endangered Sphinx at Giza, he took the difficult task of saving the Sphinx upon himself, relying on Egyptian expertise. He had thorough scientific investigations made about the underground water, the directions and strength of the wind, the anatomy of the Sphinx, the elder restorations that had been carried out before and the best kind of stone that would be suitable for the restoration. He asked the foreign institutions and archaeological missions in Egypt to provide the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation with copies of the earliest photos available of the Sphinx to help restoring it to the state it was seen in at the beginning of the 19th century. When the Egyptian efforts started to be fruitful, the international institutions were quick to offer their help again to share in the successful restoration. Also, while Sayed Tawfik was responsible for Egypt's antiquities, the now famous cachette in the Luxor Temple was discovered in the court of king Amenhotep III on February 9, 1989. He then supervised the lifting of the statues and their transport to the Luxor Museum.

His sudden death on December 20, 1990 abruptly ended all his endeavours and came as a shock to his family and friends.

During his career SAYED TAWFIK lectured not only in Egypt but also in Arab countries like Yemen, the Sudan, Bahrain and Kuwait, in Asia, in India and Japan, in the USA and Canada, as well as in Europe in Germany, England and France.

I experienced my father as a loving, tender parent who could also be very strict at times. He had a great sense of humour and could bring tears of laughter to people's eyes. As I got older he became my tutor and friend as well whom I admired and tried to live up to. In addition to me and my sister, he always considered his students to be his children. He was very keen on authoring several books as guidelines for his students. These books are still valued today.

My decision to join the Faculty of Archaeology made my father quite happy. He was also very proud when I finished my first year of studies on top of my class. It is a pity that his sudden death deprived me of benefiting more from his great knowledge. Nevertheless, his work at Saqqara had been inspiring for my M.A. thesis.

SAYED TAWFIK, may Allah have mercy on him, will live on in the memory of his children and grandchildren. He will not be forgotten by his Egyptian and foreign colleagues and he will be remembered in honour by his students. Hopefully, generations of students to come will still benefit from his scientific work and research.

Vorwort

Mit der Herausgabe dieser Gedenkschrift möchte ich – gemeinsam mit all seinen an dieser Schrift beteiligten Freunden und Kollegen – Professor Dr. SAYED TAWFIK AHMED aus Kairo *in memoriam* ehren, meinen besten Freund in Ägypten über lange Zeit hinweg bis zu seinem plötzlichen Tod am Ende des Jahres 1990.

Wir durften viele freundschaftliche Stunden in Gespräch und froher Runde verbringen, sei es in Deutschland oder in Ägypten, dies sowohl im Kollegen- und Studentenkreis als auch mit seiner geliebten Familie.

SAYED TAWFIK hat der Ägyptologie und damit auch seinem Lande mit ganzer Kraft erfolgreich gedient, und dafür werden ihm für immer unser Dank und unsere Hochachtung gewiss sein.

Dem persönlichen Freund, der viel zu früh gehen musste, möchte ich mit diesen Zeilen noch einmal für seine unverbrüchliche freundschaftliche Treue und seine absolute Fairness danken, die er allzeit – auch in höchster Stellung – mir gegenüber bewiesen hat.

Ich verfasse diese Zeilen bewusst in deutscher Sprache, da SAYED diese Sprache sehr liebte und sie auch deshalb die Sprache unserer Freundschaft war. Zugleich verzichte ich an dieser Stelle auf die vielen Einzelheiten des Lebenslaufes von SAYED TAWFIK, die in dieser Gedenkschrift an anderer Stelle und aus berufenerer Quelle zu finden sind.

Mein Dank gebührt zusätzlich dem Deutschen Archäologischen Institut in Kairo, das uns in großzügiger Weise den Druck dieser Gedenkschrift für SAYED TAWFIK ermöglicht hat.

Bonn, im Oktober des Jahres 2006

Ursula Rößler-Köhler

The lost colossus of the mate of the Sphinx (Part II)

By SALAH EL-KHOLY

This article is a continuation of the subject dealt with in the first part of my study, which is published in the acts of the 8th international congress of Egyptology¹. The subject in discussion is emanated from the writings of some Arab historians on an interesting and unique monument once standing in the environment of Old Cairo. Al-Bishary al-Muqadassy in his book “Ahsan al-Taqasim” was the first who reported on that monument then followed by some other historians such as: al-Masoudy, Ibn Abd el-Hakam and lastly al-Maqrizi.

In their writings they described a colossal statue which represented a seated woman with a child on her lap. They connected the monument with the sphinx, seeing that both were on the same axe, both were looking to the east, and they called it “سرية أبي الهول”, “the mate of the sphinx”. As for its destiny they reported that, during searching for treasures underneath it in year 1305 AD, it was first destroyed and then its pieces later reused as bases for columns in a new mosque called “al-Masjed al-Nasri al-Jadid”.

As to be seen from the given description, this colossus should have belonged to the goddess Isis with Harpocrates on her lap.

The intention of my whole study (part I and II) is to verify the above mentioned reports on the colossus, to research and identify the location or temple in which it formerly stood, and lastly to explain and to clarify the also mentioned connections between the colossus and the sphinx.

In my first part (cf. footnote 1) the following points have been dealt with:

- The truth in/beyond the reports given by the Arab historians on the monument. It was proven that it had really existed: It stood once in the environment of al-Fustat, about 200 m away from Qasr el-Shama or al-Kanissa al-Muallaqa.

- The statue should have stood in a temple. That temple was proven to be the great temple known as *pr-psd.t* “the temple of the ennead”, which is known only through the texts. This temple was dedicated mainly to Atum and the ennead as a second cult centre beside the main temple in Heliopolis, “*pr-Itm*”.

- This colossal statue of Isis must have stood in a little temple or a chapel dedicated to Isis within the area of the aforementioned temple of the ennead.

In the following part II my study intends firstly to identify the suggested temple of Isis and then to clarify and prove the connection between Isis and the sphinx as it has to be concluded from the previous reports of the Arab historians.

¹ S. EL-KHOLY, *The Lost Colossus of the Mate of the Sphinx (Surriat Abu al-Haul)*, in: Z. HAWASS (ed.),

Proceedings of the 8th international congress of Egyptology II, Cairo 2003, pp. 352–361.

The suggested Isis temple and its exact location

The goddess Isis possessed temples or sanctuaries at many sites in Egypt. In Memphis we know her little, but very important temple in Giza to the east of the great pyramid of Cheops, which originally was a chapel consecrated to one of the three queen pyramids, namely that of Henoutsen. The temple, which is supposed to date back to the 18th Dynasty, was rebuilt under the second king of the 21st Dynasty "Pasebekhanu" and flourished during the Saite Period².

There are also evidences from sources of the Graeco-Roman Period that once there existed a shrine of Isis in Memphis, perhaps dating back to the Ramesside Period³. Herodot II, 176 refers to a further temple of the goddess in Memphis and reports that king Amasis erected a great and magnificent temple for her in Memphis⁴. Amasis' devotion to Isis is well attested, as his activities in Philae show. He is moreover reputed for his gigantic building activities (Herodot mentioned a colossus of him of 22 m height, which must have been the largest known statue⁵). This Isis temple referred to by Herodot may have been connected with the particular cult of Isis as Hesis-cow (a form of Hathor), the mother of Apis, for the earliest recorded burial of a Hesis-cow is reported under the reign of Amasis⁶.

Strabo in his passage about Memphis, where it is connected with Babylon, mentioned a temple of Aphrodite in Memphis: "who is considered to be a Greek goddess, though some say it is a temple of Selenê, goddess of the moon"⁷. Aphrodite, as it is known, was in the Greek Period a designation of Hathor, who had already a cult centre on the other side of the Nile in Aphroditopolis/Atfih, but she was also assimilated with Nephthys and Isis⁸, and Isis herself was seen as a moon goddess⁹. This temple should be located in the neighborhood of the Ptah temple in Memphis, since it occurred in connection with Strabo's report on the Hephaesteium and Serapium.

It seems, however, that none of the other mentioned temples in Memphis and Giza can be identified with the great and magnificent temple of Amasis mentioned by Herodot.

But no remains of such a great temple of Isis have ever been attested on the west side of that area¹⁰.

Hence it may be justified to look for this temple on the opposite side of the Nile, namely in Kheraha or Babylon, where the colossal statue once stood. The reference to Memphis in Herodot's report may be taken as a general designation to the whole site west and east of the Nile. He himself had never seen some sites in Memphis such as the Sphinx¹¹. Strabo, for instance, used the term Memphis when referring to the Pyramids site, but seeing it close to Babylon¹². The name of Giza is

² S. HASSAN, *The Sphinx. Its History in the Light of Recent Excavations*, Cairo 1949, pp. 216 ff.; C. ZIVIE-COCHE, *Le Temple d' Isis à Giza*, in: SAK 4, 1991, pp. 119 f.

³ A. B. LLOYD, *Herodotus, Book II, commentary*, in: EPRO 43 III, 1988, p. 218.

⁴ J. FEIX, *Herodot historian I*, München 1980, p. 355 (Ch. 176).

⁵ A. B. LLOYD, *op. cit.*, pp. 218 f.; J. FEIX, *op. cit.*, p. 175 (= Hdt II, 175).

⁶ D. J. THOMPSON, *Memphis and the Ptolemaies*, New Jersey 1988, p. 192.

⁷ STRABO, 17 I. 31, D. J. CRAWFORD, *Hellenistic Memphis: City and necropolis*, dans: *Alessandria e il mondo*

ellenistico-romano: Studi in onore di Achille Adriani I, Rom 1983, pp. 16–24; T. HOPFNER, *Fontes historicae religionis Aegyptiacae II*, Bonn 1923, pp. 194 ff.

⁸ D. J. THOMPSON, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

⁹ G. FRAZER, *Adonis, Atti, Osiris*, London 1906, p. 287 (reference to Diodor); J. HANI, *La Religion Égyptienne dans La Pensée de Plutarque*, Paris 1976, p. 219.

¹⁰ A. B. LLOYD, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

¹¹ S. HASSAN, *op. cit.*, p. 228.


¹² STRABO, 17 I. 31, whereas Pliny (36. 16) makes a difference between the pyramid's site and Memphis the city, see STRABO, p. 87 note 4.

mentioned once in connection with Babylon in a Coptic document kept in the Louvre¹³. Amasis' activities in this environment are well attested by his Sphinx found in Athar al-Naby¹⁴.

The connection of Amasis with this west site may also be deduced by the name of the father of one of the priests of Kheraha, called Hory, namely the priest, wezîr and judge "Amasis-men-em-hut-aat" (*Iḥ-ms mn m ḥ.t ʿ3.t*), i.e. "Amasis is enduring in the great house"¹⁵. The great house referred to here may be identified with the great temple of Atum at Arab al-Hisn¹⁶ (i.e. in Heliopolis), but it could also be identified with his second great temple in Kheraha¹⁷ as the epithet *ḥri ib nīw.t.f* denotes.

The texts of the statue of the god's father Hory, son of Amasis-men-em-hout-aat, just mentioned (now in Berlin), provides us with a second evidence of special interest, hinting to an Isis temple or Isis sanctuary in Kheraha: Hory, who was a priest in Kheraha (concluded from his title *imi iwn.t*), is described on the statue as *im3ḥw ḥr Wsjr Hmg nb ip.t im3ḥw ḥr Is.t nb.t Ḥt-rḥit*: "The revered one under Osir-Hmg, lord of Opé, and under Isis, mistress of the house of the people". In the same text his father is also described as a priest of Osir-Hmg, lord of Opé, and of Isis, mistress of the house of the people¹⁸.

These passages inform us for the first time of a temple of Isis and its name in Kheraha or near by:

 *Is.t nb.t Ḥt-rḥit*.

The temple of Opé, which was consecrated to the saite god Osir-Hmg, is confirmed to have existed near Kheraha¹⁹. So consequently we should expect to find at the same site the *Ḥt-rḥit* of Isis, his consort, which I suppose to have been a part of it or to be connected with it, both again connected with the temple of the ennead in Kheraha²⁰.

A passage from the temple of Dendera shows that not only Osiris, but also Re had connections with this *Ḥt-rḥit* of Isis. In this passage it is said to Osiris: *iw.k ḥtp(w) r gs Rḥ m Ḥt-rḥit* "and you are resting (satisfied) beside Re in *Ḥt-rḥit*"²¹.

Anyhow, it seems very likely that with this *Ḥt-rḥit* we are dealing with the temple or the sanctuary of Isis in question. This temple could be either an independent part of or directly connected with the Pi-Pesedjet in the vicinity of Kheraha (Babylon).

There is but a little probability to locate another Aphrodite temple (other than the one mentioned by Strabo) here in Athar al-Naby if we accept the interesting interpretation of MASPERO that the name Athar al-Naby (Arabic: أثر النبي), which is usually interpreted as "the trace of the foot of the Prophet", is a corruption of the Coptic ⲁⲃⲁⲣ ⲛⲉⲛⲟⲩⲃⲉ "Venus aurea", which also corresponds with a Greek place name χρυσης Ἀφροδιτης (Aphrodite of the gold) mentioned by Diodor (I, 97) in the environment of Memphis²². If one agrees with this interpretation, the name ⲁⲃⲁⲣ could be con-

¹³ G. MASPERO/G. WIET, *Materieux servir à la Géographie de l'Égypte*, MIFAO 36, Cairo 1919, p. 71.

¹⁴ *Loc. cit.* I'm not sure if this headless sphinx is the same as that referred to by CASANOVA, who spoke of sphinxes which were discovered near the station of al-Madapigh on the line of Helwan and rendered them to the same temple as the Idol (the Isis colossus), cf. P. CASANOVA, *Topographie*, p. 11 footnote 1.


¹⁵ J. YOYOTTE, *Prêtres et Sanctuaires*, in: BIFAO 54, 1957, pp. 87–89.

¹⁶ S. HASSAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 133 f., 139 f.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 87 f.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

²⁰ Any identification of this *Ip.t* temple with the Luxor temple, G. LEFEBVRE, *La statue du Louvre E 10366*, in: *RdE* 1, 1933, pp. 101 f. is extremely unlikely, since it is also connected with the great Ennead (*ibid.*; J. YOYOTTE, *op. cit.*, p. 96.) , clearly attached with a solar temple.

²¹ J. YOYOTTE, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

²² G. MASPERO/G. WIET, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

nected with the goddess Hathor, whose name became current in the Greek times as Athyr (Gr. Αθυρή)²³, and the whole name would correspond to the Egyptian *Ht-hr n nbw*, i.e. “Hathor of Gold”.

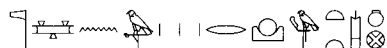
Indeed, Hathor was considered as “the mistress of the light” (not only as a lunar goddess)²⁴, an epithet which is also attached to Isis. Through this connection with the light, Hathor got her epithet “the golden one” or “that of gold”. A sanctuary of this Hathor of Gold (simply referred to as the golden one) is attested through a relief of a priest (in Kheraha) called **zy-nfr*, who carried the title *hm Nbwt* “Servant of the gold (or golden one, i.e. Hathor), mistress of Hotep”²⁵, *Htp* being the name of her sanctuary. This sanctuary is supposed to be in Heliopolis or in Kheraha²⁶ according to YOYOTTE.

Although it is tempting to adopt the last interpretation in favour of Athar al-Naby as a location of a Hathor/Isis temple, the distance between it and the attested site of the Colossus of Isis is still standing against it, moreover the Aphrodite temple referred to by Strabo seems, as mentioned above, to have been close to the Ptah temple at Memphis (Fig. 1).

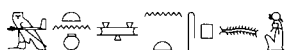
The connection of the temples of Kheraha and the Pyramids’ site

Now I like to refer to the connection between the special part of the Ennead temple of Kheraha, where the colossal statue stood, and the Pyramids’ site on the other, the west side of the Nile.

This special connection can be assured through the fact that Kheraha (and its temples), as expressed on the Sphinx stela, was a central station on the way of the gods’ procession from Giza (Memphis) to Heliopolis via Babylon and back, especially the journey of Apis to Heliopolis and that of *Mr-wr* (Meneves) to Memphis²⁷. Babylon was the resting place on this holy procession’s road, as referred to on the Sphinx stela:



“the sacred road of the gods to the western Necropolis (Horizon) of Heliopolis”²⁸. In reference to the temple of Kheraha, this sacred road is also identified with the famous road of the god Sepa:



*mn nt sp*²⁹, which Piankhi had crossed on the mountain of Kheraha after capturing Memphis³⁰. The god Sepa can be an Osiris-form, occurring then as *Wsir-sp*³¹. His temple *Ht-sp* is supposed to be likewise located near Babylon³². His connection with Kheraha as a battlefield, where his enemies were defeated, is well expressed in the Edfu temple: In a passage Horus is called “who takes Sep/Seph (Osiris) to Kheraha on his raft in order that he may see the execution place of his enemies”.

The very incident is referred to early in the PT Sp. 550: “crawl away (spoken to *Km-wr*) into *Hr* ‘h, into the place where they (Horus and Seth) had crawled”³³.

²³ T. HOPFNER, *Plutarch über Isis und Osiris* II, Darmstadt 1967, p. 239 (Kommentar zu Plutarch, Ch. 56 Note 61).

²⁴ J. YOYOTTE, *op. cit.*, pp. 97 f.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 105

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 97 f.

²⁷ J. HANI, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

²⁸ *Urk.* IV, p. 1542, 4 (Sphinx Stele, 7); S. HASSAN, *op. cit.*, p. 195; *AEO* II, p. 141.

²⁹ *AEO* II, p. 141; H. KEES, *Anubis, Herr von Sepa und der 18. oberägyptische Gau*, in: *ZÄS* 58, 1923, p. 85.

³⁰ *AEO* II, pp. 140 f.; M. HAMZA, *The Statue of Merenptah found at Athar En-nabi*, in: *ASAE* 37, 1937, p. 239.

³¹ H. KEES, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

³² *Ibid.* pp. 85 f.

³³ R. O. FAULKNER, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, Oxford 1969, p. 212.

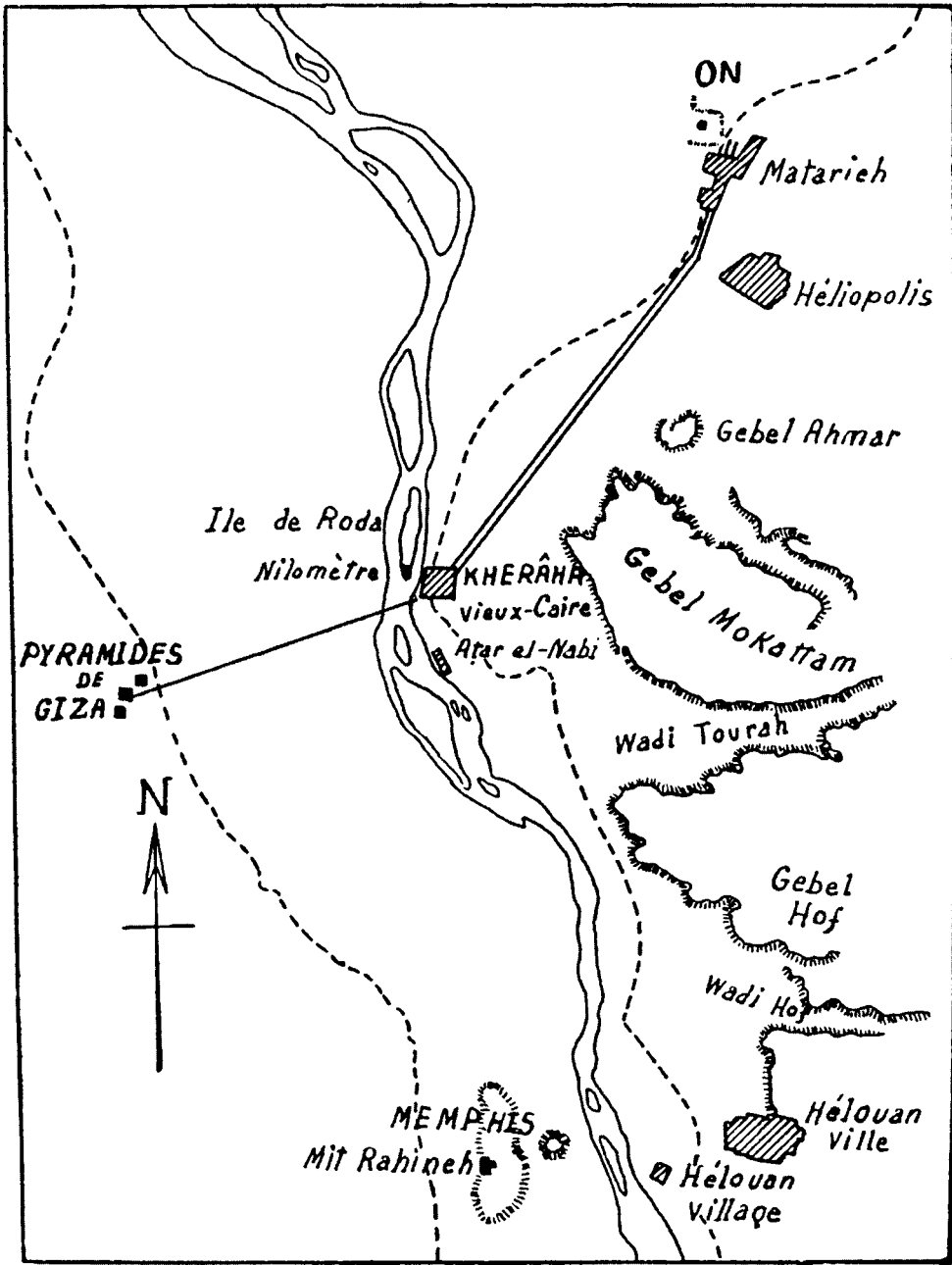


Fig. 1: Plan of the Memphite region

The connection between Isis and the Sphinx of Giza

With this point I come to the last subject of my study, namely the connection between this colossal Isis idol and the Sphinx of Giza and the reason for assigning it with the epithet “Mate of the Sphinx” or “سرية أبي الهول” according to the Arab historians.

The only probable relation between them is a sort of association in form of a triad. And since the colossus clearly represented Isis and her son Harpocrates, it would be only consequent to expect that the Sphinx was identified with Osiris or any other God who might also be related to Isis in a similar connection.



Fig. 2: Book of the Dead, vignette of chapter 16

a) The relation between Osiris and Raharakhty/Re

As we know, the Sphinx was originally a representation of a reigning king of the 4th Dynasty, who is mainly identified with Khephren. During the 18th Dynasty the Sphinx was connected with the solar cult, being associated with the god Atum and considered as his living image and therefore representing the sun in all its phases: “Hor-em-akhet-Kheperi-Ra-Atum”³⁴. Since that time he was known as *R^c-Hr-3hty* and *Hr-m-3ht* “Harmakhis”.

In fact, a direct identification of the Sphinx with Osiris is not attested, but the Sphinx, on one hand through this identification with Atum, was regarded as a god of the dead³⁵, and the name of him could refer to the dead king, who was at the same time identified with Osiris, the god of the dead (since the 5th Dynasty)³⁶.

³⁴ S. HASSAN, *op. cit.*, p. 129; J. VAN DIJK, *The Canaanite god Hauron and his cult in Egypt*, in: SAK 4, 1985, p. 25.

³⁵ S. HASSAN, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 133 and footnote 1.

On the other hand, the connection between the sun god, with whom the Sphinx was associated, and Osiris is well attested as the following sources may indicate (all New Kingdom):

In the Book of the Dead (Ch. 182, 15–19) it is mentioned that “the active souls of the two great gods (Re and Osiris) are united in the netherworld”³⁷.

And in a vignette (BD Ch. 16) Osiris is shown in the shape of the Djed-pillar raising the sun disk with two hands coming out of an Ankh sign³⁸ (Fig. 2). In this scene, Osiris is regarded as the power, which drives the sun forward in the morning to leave the underworld newborn and illuminating the eastern heaven. In this role Osiris has a very clear sun aspect, which is confirmed by his name “Wennefer-Harakhty”. Hinting to this role, the name of Osiris is often written in later sources with the sun disk and the seat instead of the eye and the seat as normal writing³⁹.

In the Book of the Dead Osiris is sometimes directly conceived as Re. In this quality he is called Osiris-Re, and Isis is called the royal consort of Re⁴⁰.

This is also attested in the earlier CT Sp. 820, where Horus clearly declares his relation to Re saying “For I’m his son, who issued from Isis, and my father Re gave me the strength of the sky ... for I’m his son who issued from him”⁴¹.

The two gods Re and Osiris complete one another, and this happens when at sunset the living sun god Re descends into the Netherworld (to the dead) and unites with Osiris, the god of dead, both coming to life again with this unification⁴².


This aspect is clearly illustrated in the tomb of the queen Nefertari, where the nightly sun god is depicted in the Osirian mummiform with the ram head of Atum and surrounded by the two lamenting goddesses Isis and Nephthys.

The scene is accompanied with the following text: *R^c <pw> ḥtp(w) m Wsir, Wsir pw ḥtp(w) m R^c* “This (is) Re, who comes to rest in Osiris. This is Osiris, who comes to rest in Re” (Fig. 3). The same text only shortened to “It is Re, who rests in Osiris” occurs with another figure of both in mummiform⁴³.

In Ch. 17 of the Book of the Dead the deceased is identified with both gods, when he declares himself as: “I am yesterday (Osiris), I know tomorrow (Re)”⁴⁴.

In a praise to Osiris on Pap. Louvre I. 3079 from the Ptolemaic Period, Osiris is invoked with: “Rise up to heaven, unite yourself with Re; the crew of the holy barque, they give praises...”⁴⁵.

In another hymn to Osiris on stela Louvre C 268 the god is referred to as “Ba of Re, his very body... like Re, when he rises in the light land, he places light above the darkness”⁴⁶.

In the Ramesside Period and later on, his name can be written with the throne and the sun disk () instead of the usual writing⁴⁷ and the name ‘Osirphre’ is found in Greek magical papyri⁴⁸.

In the Graeco-Roman Period, according to Plutarch⁴⁹, Osiris is also identified with the sun, whereas in parallel Isis is identified with the moon.

³⁷ K. KOCH, *Geschichte der ägyptischen Religion*, Stuttgart 1993, p. 411.

³⁸ *Loc. cit.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 410 f.

⁴⁰ J. G. FRAZER, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, London 1906, p. 288 (a reference to R. LEPSIUS, in: *Abh. Akad. Wiss.*, 1851, pp. 194 f.).

⁴¹ R. FAULKNER, *The ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts III*, Warminster 1978, 107 a, pp. 10 f.

⁴² A. PIANKOFF, *The Tomb of Ramses VI*, New York 1954, p. 34.

⁴³ J. HANI, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

⁴⁴ A. PIANKOFF, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁴⁵ G. GOYON, *Le Cérémonial de glorification d’Osiris, du Pap. Louvre I. 3079*, in: *BIFAO* 65, 1967, p. 100, Col. 110, 48, p. 146.

⁴⁶ M. LICHTHEIM, *Ancient Egyptian Literature II*, Berkeley 1976, pp. 81, 83.

⁴⁷ K. KOCH, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

⁴⁸ J. HANI, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 217; J. G. GRIFFITHS, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride*, Cardiff 1970, p. 203.

But the most interesting evidence concerning the association of Osiris with the sun god is shown on the statue BM 24429 of Ity from the 25th Dynasty, on which the text refers to *R^c-Hr-3hty-Itm-Wsir* as one god:

“Recitation by Raharakhty, the great god, lord of the heaven, Atum, lord of the two lands and of Iwnw, Osiris *Hnti-imntiw*, he says ...” (*dd.f*)⁵⁰.

Osiris and Raharakhty are addressed as one god in the same way on a stela in Edinburgh, dated to the 25th Dynasty⁵¹.

In general, the name of Raharakhty appears frequently associated with Osiris⁵² and with his name ‘Wennefer’ Osiris is also associated with Raharakhty as the name *Wnn-nfr-Hr-3hty*⁵³ shows.

To sum up: At least since the New Kingdom a strong relation between the two gods as parts of one life concept is quite clearly expressed in the documents.

b) The relation between Isis and Harakhty

A direct connection of the goddess Isis with the sphinx (Raharakhty/Re) in form of a triad can also be found in the aforementioned different aspects (since the New Kingdom) relating to the sphinx especially as a form of the sun god at night and to the Re-Osiris-conjunction every night with the renewal of both in form of a young born child (Hor-the child/Harpokrates or Shed etc.).

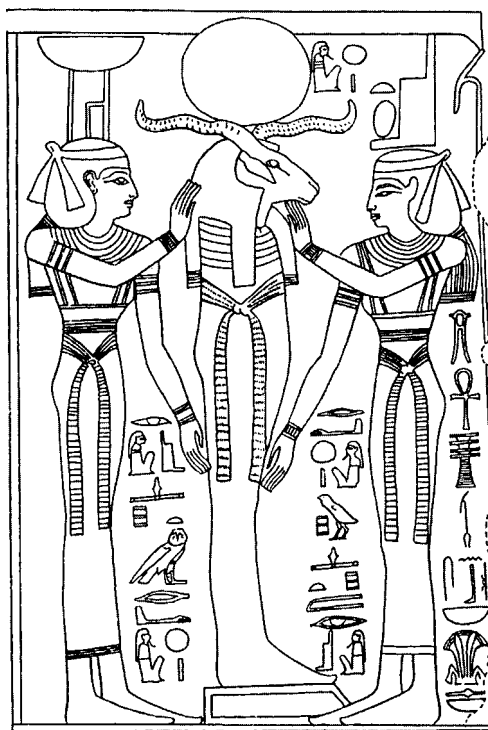


Fig. 3: Tomb of Nefertari

⁵⁰ J. LECLANT, *Enquêtes les sacerdoces et les sanctuaires égyptiens à l'Époque dite "Éthiopienne"*, in: *BdE* XVII, 1954, p. 16, 19 e.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁵² K. KOCH, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

⁵³ J. LECLANT, *op. cit.*, p. 19 f.; J. HANI, *op. cit.*, p. 218, note 1, 3.